

THESIS

*Volume 8
Number 1
Spring 2019*

pISSN 1848-4298
oISSN 2623-8381



Kolegji AAB

International Research Journal

Thesis

International Research Journal

PUBLISHER

MST PLUS d.o.o. - Nova Cesta 52, 10000 Zagreb,
Croatia, in cooperation with
AAB PPoHE, Prishtinë, Kosovë

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Hasan Salihu, AAB PPoHE

Proofreader: Uranela Demaj

Copy Editor and Cover Design: Besfort Mehmeti,
Lirigëzon Selimi

EDITORIAL BOARD

Artan Fuga, University of Tirana, Albanian
Academy of Sciences, Tirana, Albania
Cécile Vrain, Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme,
Paris, France
Denis Poniž, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia
Derek Elzein, Université Paris Descartes, Paris,
France
Huseyin Uzunboyly, Near East University, Turkey
Ivo Banac, Yale University, USA
Jožef Kunič, Slovenian Association for International
Relations, Slovenia
Letizia Materassi, University of Florence, Italy
Lulzim Tafa, AAB College, Pristina, Kosovo
Margerita Kefalaki, Communication Institute of
Greece, Hellenic Open University, Greece
Nedžad Korajlić – University of Sarajevo, Bosnia
and Hercegovina
Pierluigi Musarò, University of Bologna & London
School of Economics, Italy
Ramo Masleša, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia and
Hercegovina
Rolando Marini, University for Foreigners, Perugia,
Italy
Rubin Zemon, Balkan University, Skopje,
Macedonia
Samir Arnautović, University of Sarajevo, Bosnia
and Hercegovina
Šerbo Rastoder, University of Montenegro,
Montenegro
Silvia Pezzoli, University of Florence, Italy
Teuta Arifi, SEEU, Tetovo, Macedonia
Valentina Gulevska, “St. Kliment Ohridski”
University, Bitola, Macedonia

Thesis is a journal that emerges twice a year, the June edition
and the December edition. The journal uses double-blind
peer review, which means that the reviewer does not know
the author's identity and neither the author knows who the
evaluator of his article is.

EDITORIAL OFFICE

AAB PPoHE
Zona Industriale Prishtinë-Fushë Kosovë
10000 Prishtina, Republic of Kosova
Tel.: +381(0) 38 600 005, ext. 158; 176
url. www.thesis-journal.net
e-mail: thesis@aab-edu.net

Printed by:

Thesis

Revistë Kërkimore Ndërkombëtare

BOTUES

MST PLUS d.o.o. - Nova Cesta 52, 10000 Zagreb,
Kroaci, në bashkëpunim me
BPrAL AAB, Prishtinë, Kosovë

KRYEREDAKTOR

Hasan Salihu, AAB BPrAL

Redaktor Teknik dhe ballina: Besfort Mehmeti,
Lirigëzon Selimi

KËSHILLI REDAKTUES

Artan Fuga, Universiteti i Tiranës, Akademia e
Shkencave të Shqipërisë, Tiranë, Shqipëri
Cécile Vrain, Ecole Supérieure de Journalisme,
Paris, Francë
Denis Poniž, Universiteti i Lubjanës, Slloveni
Derek Elzein, Université Paris Descartes, Paris,
Francë
Huseyin Uzunboyly, Near East University, Turqi
Ivo Banac, Yale University, ShBA
Jožef Kunič, Slovenian Association for International
Relations, Slloveni
Letizia Materassi, Universiteti i Firences, Italy
Lulzim Tafa, Kolegji AAB, Prishtina, Kosovë
Margerita Kefalaki, Communication Institute of
Greece, Hellenic Open University, Greqi
Nedžad Korajlić – Universiteti i Sarajevës, Bosnjë e
Hercegovinë
Pierluigi Musarò, Universiteti i Bolonjës & London
School of Economics, Itali
Ramo Masleša, Universiteti i Sarajevës, Bosnjë e
Hercegovina
Rolando Marini, Universita per Stranieri, Peruxha,
Itali
Rubin Zemon, Balkan University, Shkup,
Maqedoni
Samir Arnautović, Universiteti i Sarajevës, Bosnjë e
Hercegovina
Šerbo Rastoder, Universiteti i Malit të Zi,
Podgoricë, Mal I Zi
Silvia Pezzoli, Universiteti i Firences, Itali
Teuta Arifi, UEJL, Tetovë, Maqedoni
Valentina Gulevska, Universiteti “Shen Klimenti i
Ohrit”, Manastir, Maqedoni

Thesis është revistë shkencore që del dy herë brenda
vitit, edicioni i qershorit dhe edicioni i dhjetorit. Aplikon
recensionin e dyfishtë anonim, që do të thotë se
recensenti nuk e di identitetin e autorit dhe autori nuk e
di se kush është vlerësuesi i artikullit të tij.

ZYRA E REDAKSISË

AAB BPrAL
Zona Industriale Prishtinë-Fushë Kosovë
10000 Prishtinë, Republika e Kosovës
Tel.: +381(0) 38 600 005, lok. 158; 176
url. www.thesis-journal.net
e-mail: thesis@aab-edu.net

Shtypi:

Thesis
International Research Journal
Vol. 8, No. 1, 2019

Table of contents

The Impact of Political Socialization in Kosovo Political Culture <i>Behar Haziri</i>	5
Issues on Learner Autonomy: Teachers' Effort and Responsibility towards it. <i>Flora Maliqi</i>	31
Nicolaus Cusanus Unbound: An Investigation into Parallels between his Liberal Philosophy and Object-Oriented Ontology <i>Naruhiko Mikado</i>	51
Lin-Manuel Miranda: Hamilton, a New Era of Broadway Musicals <i>Besmir Shishko</i>	69
In Order to be Great, One must be a Woman: Reading Sanjukta Dasgupta's Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems <i>Saptarshi Mallick</i>	85
Some lessons from scientific practice on its development and growth of knowledge. On Feyerabend's perceptive view in epistemology <i>Hajdin Abazi</i>	115
The denationalization Policy of the International Community in Kosovo <i>Donik Sallova</i>	139

Reorganization of the Ombudsman model in Kosovo
Agron Xhemajli 165

Determinants of Job Sastisfaction Among the Nurses of the
University Clinical Center of Kosovo
Vlora Sopi 187

The Impact of Political Socialization in Kosovo

Political Culture

Behar Haziri, PHD. AAB College, Pristina, Kosovo

Email: b.haziri@aab-edu.net

Abstract

This paper analyses agents of political socialization and their impact on Kosovo's political culture. The importance of political socialization in defining Kosovo's political culture is considerable, because with a special attention to its factors such as: family, education, religious institutions, peer groups, social classes, interest groups, political parties and the media, it may represent the attitudes, developments and changes that are involved in shaping political culture. To analyse the problems of political culture and the functioning of the Kosovo political system, the analysis is based on empirical research realized in February 2016, extending across the territory with a representative sample of (n=1007) respondents, including majority Albanians, and minorities Serb, Turkish, Bosnian, Roma and Ashkali. We compare the results with the empirical analysis of the pattern of political culture of Almond, Powell, Dalton and Strom (2008), always referring to the methodological criteria. The applied methods in the development of the study are the comparison method and the deductive method.

Keywords: *political culture, political system, agents of political socialization;*

Article received on the 10th of March, 2019.

Article accepted on the 24th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

Kosovo's political history has gone through some different models that not every country can experience. Kosovo passed through some undemocratic political systems, ranging from the Ottoman Empire as a vilayet, then occupied by the Serbian kingdom, then into communism as a constitutive part of the Yugoslav federation until 1989 when its autonomy was abolished and placed in the totalitarianism of Slobodan Milosevic's regime from 1990 to 1999. From 1999 to 2008, Kosovo was a democracy supervised by the international community and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (Haziri, 2017, p. 49). On February 17, 2008, Kosovo declared independence by being the newest state in Europe. The study of Kosovo's political culture is divided into two different periods. First, in the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter: SFRY) from 1945 to 1990, where three different political cultures dominated: a) the Yugoslav political culture, an attempt to create a Yugoslav multicultural identity (Flere, 1988, p. 439-453); b) the Serbian political culture, which dominated Kosovo since the Serbian annexation of 1912, and c) the Albanian political culture, which because of numerous efforts managed to survive external pressures. Between 1990 and 1999, Kosovo was part of a totalitarian system imposed by the Serbian state. Second, during the protectorate period under the international community from 1999 to 2008, three political cultures dominated: a) the political culture of the internationals, reflected through its administrators at the local and central level; b) the political culture of the Serbs represented by political parties and directly influenced by the Serbian state; c) the Albanian political culture represented through political parties (Haziri, 2017, p. 132-133).

The general research question in this study is: "*Do the political socialization agents influence in the political culture of the Republic of Kosovo*"?

Based on the statistical analysis we will try to argue or reject the hypothesis that the agents of political socialization are the main criteria in determining behaviours, beliefs, values and attitudes of political representatives within state institutions, but also active civic participation through voting and other forms effect the normal functioning of the political system.

The measurement of the confidence of the questionnaire was done through the coefficient Cronbach's Alpha (α) .708 for 24 variables, which is accepted by psychology and sociology researchers. In our case for 29 variables we have a value of 0.59 of the Cronbach's Alpha (α), which includes a larger number of categories versus the answers (I agree, disagree, abstain) and is accepted for research in political science, especially in cases when it comes to the sensitivity of the analysis of behaviour, beliefs, attitudes and decision-making within the political system, so we should be careful what categories to remove to increase the Cronbach's Alpha (α) (Pennings, Keman, Kleinnijenhuis, 2006, p. 75).

Political Culture

Political culture explains the ways of studying behaviour, attitude, values and beliefs in the political system (Almond, 1956, p. 393), deals with studying the relationship between the psychological and political characteristics of the nations (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 11), as well as deals with the explanation and impact of subculture and deviant forms that can be presented through language, religion, social classes as a form of reference for many people, and that provide significant breakdowns in political systems (Kanavagh, 1972, p. 20). Based

on this explanation for political culture, we can understand the way of the political system functions and the difficulties that arise in input and output control of the political system. Political culture is also the gathering of beliefs, attitudes and values that give meaning to a political process that provides rules on how governance behaves in the political system (Pye, 1968, p. 218). The empirical analysis of this study will attempt to identify and verify if beliefs, behaviours, attitudes, and values are based on state-building policy or self-satisfaction policy (Siemens & Roodt, 2008, p. 599), both of these elements which have had a direct impact on shaping Kosovo's political culture in relation to political institutions. It also aims at presenting implications as well as findings that may be reflected and resulting from the correlations of independent and dependent variables. In order to determine the political culture through the empirical analysis, we tested independent and dependent variables as well as their interrelations in order to find the most approximate model of Kosovo's political culture. In the analysis of political culture an extraordinary role is also attributed to agents of political socialization (Hyman, 1959; Almond et al., 2008; Dobratz et al., 2012; Gimpel et al., 2003), which directly affect the development of the political culture of the state of Kosovo. Kosovo's political system has been followed by numerous problems as a result of the constant change of agents of political socialization. This has come as a result of the many changes in the political system, which have caused a domino effect of problems even in other factors. However, these agents of political socialization, such as: family, education, religious institutions, peer groups, interest groups, political parties and media, have changed frequently because they have been influenced by ongoing processes that have taken place in Kosovo. In communism, these factors have been directly influenced by the communist party that presided the

state of the SFRY, of which Kosovo formed part as a constitutive element of the federation since the 1974 Constitution. From 1990 to 1999 substantial efforts were made to change the political culture by means of elements of liberal democracy. During the 1990s, the political culture ensuing the interethnic tensions was a form of survival that exerted an influence on a new political culture, due to the parallel power organized by the Albanian political parties, which during the 1990s did not have the power of decision-making in the Serbian-dominated political system as it was placed under the total control of the Serbian government. In the period of the protectorate, the agents of political socialization began to take on another role because Kosovo, despite all the problems and major fractures of the political parties, was able to establish its political institutions and conduct the process of decision-making in the political system with international surveillance.

Kosovo's road towards the creation of a new political culture begins after independence on February 17, 2008. Despite the great expectations of Kosovo society that everything will change after independence, political culture remains at a low level because the agents of political socialization have been neglected and remain without any clear orientation from political representatives. The theory of political culture (Almond & Verba, 1963; Eckstein, 1966, 1997; Pye, 1968; Inglehart, 1971; Kavanagh, 1972; Elkins & Simeon, 1979; Ellis, 1993), and impact of political socialization (Hyman, 1959; Almond et al., 2008; Gimpel et al., 2003; Dobratz et al., 2012; Wasburn & Covert, 2017), is argued by providing sufficient evidence of the importance and impact of agents of political socialization in acquiring political knowledge, meaning of political symbols and recognition of the values of political representatives, a form of awareness of society that as its mission has the transmission of political culture in future

generations. This has been achieved by participating in various activities that may be formal meetings, discussions, and focusing on the nature of political learning, particularly in childhood and adolescence (Dobratz, Waldner, Buzzell, 2012, p. 82). The concept of political culture has been analysed to present the national character, model of personality, the political socialization of development or growth of the child and impact into his adult political roles and attitudes (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 11). Political socialization refers to the way in which political values are formed and the political culture is transmitted from one generation to another (Almond et al., 2008, p. 67). Based on this explanation, we can say that the transfer of political experience and the culture of institutions is of great importance for the normal functioning of the state. Kosovo did not have a case such as, for example, Slovenia, which achieved state consolidation from the structures that were part of the SFRY system. This happened because after 1990, Kosovo underwent a considerable institutional disconnect that was forced into the creation of parallel institutions versus a totalitarian system represented by Serbia, causing major problems that the state of Kosovo suffers still today. Culture by Clifford Geertz (1957) is an organized knowledge system shared by all the individuals, enabling them to communicate and act toward a common goal, while social structure is a network of social relationships between actors in the social platform, which is in contrast to the followed scenario understood and shared with other social actors (cited in Keesing & Strathern, 2008, p. 377). Institutionalization according to Talcott Parsons (1961) involves not only the socialization of individual actors but also the accommodation of cultural values in the full range of demands for an organized social life. Parsons explains that in institutions there is a

hierarchy of control, which means physical access for concrete persons to concrete positions where they operate (p. 37-41).

Agents of Political Socialization

Political socialization is the form by which members of the social group acquire the means, abilities and beliefs for political action and the exercise of power (Dobratz et al., 2012, p. 82), which shows the way in which values are formed and that political culture is transmitted from generation to generation (Almond et al., 2008, p. 67). Kosovar society after 1999 found it difficult to establish a model of high-level political culture that would be the main factor for a sustainable political system. First, there was the lack of political experience, which was the cause of major fractures of the left and right political parties, culminating in the rejection of the transfer of values from generation to generation. This created major political crises, which in no way were solved without the mediation of the international factor that had been deployed in Kosovo as UNMIK by Resolution 1244. Secondly, there was the major detachment from all institutions at the central and local level, which made it harder for Kosovo's normal functioning. Another ,third problem, was the attempt of citizens to overcome the socio-economic problems that had further hampered the lives of citizens after the 1998-1999 Kosovo War. Finally, the rejection of the new reality created after 1999 by the Serbian minority facilitated in placing Kosovo in the model of centrifugal democracy with constant problems that it faces today. Gimpel, Lay, Schuknecht (2003) argue that citizens socialize politically from the information they receive. This information certainly changes over time as communities and their constituent parts structure the content and flow of relevant political messages in particular ways (p. 7). The political values in Kosovo have been

deformed because of the continued pressure of the Serbian state to the level of apartheid, in violation of all civil, political, social and economic rights. To understand the importance of the agents of political socialization and their influence on shaping political culture, we will analyse all the factors separately.

Family is the first and most important factor for society and the state. The basic state building unit is the family. The role of the family is enormous, as it is where the building of knowledge on parental authority and decision-making begins as a functional agreement between parents and children. The family has its significance in political socialization, because it defines the child's social position in his ethnic, linguistic, class, and religiously-oriented approach (Almond et al., 2008, p. 69). One of the main factors negatively impacting Kosovo's political culture was the inability to disconnect from the monarchy model in which the decision of a single individual dominates known in the Albanian patriarchal culture as "bajraktarizëm" (Haziri, 2017, p. 186). In the traditional German family, it is known as the "*fatherland*", which is considered a model of monarchy (Eckstein, 1997, p. 5). Describing the importance of defining responsibilities within the family, Talcott Parsons (1951) puts the key focus on the importance of categorizing family status in a more open meaning, between the role of age and gender as they affect the internal structure of the family. Particular emphasis is placed on the responsibility of women, due to the importance of participation in political-professional structures and the importance of emotional needs, it seems clear that this type of society has a strong emphasis on women as love objects but not as women that can provide intellectual capacity of a high order (Parsons, 2005, p. 133). According to Hegel in *Philosophy of Right* (2001 [1820]), state development is characterized by three stages. First, it's the family. In the family, parents are altruistic about the children they love them for love

and not for interest. Second is society and interest. In society, children come together out of need and interest, not for unconditional, altruistic love. Thirdly is state, which is altruistic to its citizens, just as the parents are to their children (Hegel, 2001, p. 146-159). This powerful relationship between family, society and state shows how important it is to invest and preserve the family's healthy features for building a political culture.

Education is the second significant factor for building a stable political system, where political culture should be of a high level. Education of children's (students) for political institutions and processes helps shaping political culture. The school helps in strengthening parts of the political system including common symbols, such as flags, emblems, hymns, institutions, and contributes to raising awareness within the political system. Kosovo's political culture consists of: a) educated politicians in the education system of SFRY, in the spirit of socialism, communism and where access to the Western values was not missing; b) educated politicians during totalitarianism from 1990 to 1999, who were in fact more oriented to popular movements to help the Kosovo issue rise internationally; c) educated politicians after June 1999, who managed to be educated in prestigious world universities through scholarships (Haziri, 2017, p. 178-179). However, Kosovo's political culture is a mix of education and values of different periods. David Easton and Jack Deniss (1969) in their study of children's views on political authority analysed by means of a sample (n = 12,000) that children first understand the political community, the social group local gathering together with political influences. First is politicization that refers to the fact that young children learn to distinguish between family authority and outside superior power to the family. Second comes personalization, which means that children become

aware of political authority easier through contacts with individuals. Third, there is idealization, which implies that the idealization of authority takes place at the beginning of life, as political figures are seen as extremely good. Fourth is institutionalization, which refers to the process of shifting attention and love from individuals to political institutions (p. 391-392). EACH of these features of early socialization were discussed in detail in Easton and Dennis (1969) by analysing all implications for the political system.

Religious institutions are the third important factor in building a high-level political culture, greatly influencing the ethical values of especially complex societies with separating characteristics among its people (Almond et al., 2008, p. 70) such as the Kosovo society. Indeed, the mission of religious teachers is teaching, and preaching through various religious services. Religion is considered an injection of morality. Most of the research shows that parents are the most important factor in the religious education of children. On the other hand, religion is important to public life, because it is another important teacher of moral virtues (Gimpel et al., 2003, p. 122-123). The meaning of religion teaches us a truth about how the individual and society are connected to the wider social group in the common sense and in the importance of understanding the major issues about how the society functions itself (Mcguire, 2007, p. 63). In Kosovo society, many religious communities co-exist as the result of the historical, cultural and social heritage of the country including the Islamic Community of Kosovo, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church, the Jewish Community and the Protestant Evangelical Church of Kosovo. Each of these religious communities has its impact on the citizens belonging to one of the main beliefs in Kosovo: 96% Muslim, 2,20% Catholic, 1,48% Orthodox, 0,69% Others (Kosovo Agency of Statistics [KAS], 2011). The way in which

religious institutions are influenced has been analysed by many scholars, who have empirically analysed their impact on the normal functioning of the political system, starting with the cleavage and formation of political parties and organizing elections (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Brooks & Manza, 1997; Wilcox, Wald, Jelen, 2008). In Wilcox, Wald and Jelen (2008), religious institutions are described as religious communities that help individuals to experience and understand the religious ecstasy. Religious elites offer theological interpretations, and religious communities offer a kind of living theology. Then religious and political elites help turn this meaning into political preferences, choices, identities and values (p. 875). From the view of political analysis, rather than understanding the nature of religious experience, we are interesting in the ways in which this experience affects political thought and behaviour. Regardless of whether identities and values are critical to religious significance, they are the language that people use to describe their political experiences (Wilcox et al., 2008, p. 875). Distinguishing Kosovo from other states is the vast religious tolerance within the Albanian society towards the co-existence of various religious adherences.

Peer groups are the fourth factor of importance to the impact they have on political culture. These are various groups that are formed in schools, colleges, and universities. These groups have a great influence on motivating and changing the attitudes or behaviours of political representatives. There are different cases in the world, as as for instance the role of these groups in raising socialist personality in the ideals of Marx and Lenin, in which different movements have rejected certain classes of society (Almond et al., 2008, p. 71). In Kosovo the importance of these groups in the communist era was great. School groups were part of the Albanian demonstrations organized in 1981 and 1989. During the period of Serbian

totalitarianism between 1990 and 1999, these groups had a great impact. Their participation was extended through the peaceful resistance of the Democratic League of Kosovo, and the involvement in the resistance organized by the Kosovo Liberation Army in 1998 and 1999. After the end of Kosovo War (1999), peer groups were mostly manipulated by all parties in Kosovo, making the most of their use for electoral elections. After the Declaration of Kosovo's Independence (2008), these groups have failed coalescing into an independent organization, and having rather been subjected to the controlling mechanisms of the existing political parties. These groups have their organization mainly in universities, due to the large participation of students at the university level. The most popular organizations are: The Pro-European Student Union, the Independent Journalist Union, the Independent Student Opinion, the New Student Spirit, the SEA-Study-Critique-Action, Reform and Student Peace, etc.

Social classes are the fifth important factor that helps in the accurate presentation of political culture. Presentation and categorization of classes began from Aristotle continuing with Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, Immanuel Kant, Hegel, and Karl Marx, who, unlike other philosophers, for the first time, distinguished the class between economic and political interest (Polyanthas, 1978, p. 58). A society is developed when it has all the classes like: a) low class, b) the middle class divided into three groups: low, middle and high and c) high class. Categorizing classes is important because it gives every citizen the opportunity to have an education and a life independent of interest groups and political elites, which have a tremendous impact on determining the political culture of a state (Haziri, 2017, p. 27). The concentration of the high class in a common space affects the development of various forms of speeches, dress, recreation and entertainment, such as social clubs, trade

unions and political parties (Almond et al., 2008, p. 71). In Kosovo society, social classes have undergone a rapid change from which the perception is created that this rapid change has greatly influenced the placement of low-level Kosovo's political culture. A radical change of classes after 1999 is a consequence of the impossibility of normal development of Kosovo society especially in the period from 1990 to 1999. Social classes are sometimes referred to as structures of social inequality (Keesing & Strathern, 2008, p. 292).

Interest groups are the sixth factor in the importance of creating a stable political system and have a significant impact on political attitudes and mainly on their influence on the creation of political parties. The trade union as an interest group does not have a strong role in decision-making because organizational structures of trade unions have often been part of the influence and controls of the ruling party (Haziri, 2007, p. 179). Interest groups in the political system act in two forms: direct participation through political parties, and pressure from the outside environment. According to David Easton (1965), the source of stress in the political system comes from the fractures between the executive and the legislature, and stem from political parties and interest groups that come into conflict during the policy-control competition at all levels of government (p. 234). Interest groups have often been out of control and have the primary responsibility for the low-level of political culture. In democracies with polarized political culture, with a split and uncertainty accumulated, we can see that interest groups pay a high price to control the citizens (Almond et al., 2008, p. 29). James Madison at *Federalist Paper* on interest groups writes that "interest groups are the worst essentials and it is better to control them than to destroy them" (Hamilton, Madison, Jay, 2007, p. 40-46).

Political parties are the seventh factor with direct impact on Kosovo's political culture because their behaviour in the political system is analysed through forms of behaviours, beliefs, values and attitudes in the political system. Political parties are defined as an institutionalized interest groups (Della Porta, 2006, p. 102), which have a strong structure of organization and are distinguished by the articulation of their interests and their role in the political system. At the organizational level, parties recruit and train future political leaders and candidates for political positions, associate them with the norms and values of democratic governance, contributing to long-term political stability (Dalton, Farrell, McAllister, 2011, p. 6). Political representatives in the party represent their education and ethics, so it is easy to understand if the political culture is of low or high level. Political culture in Kosovo remains low for two reasons. First, it is decision-making in the political system, which is mainly related to the personal interests of representative groups. Secondly, it is the dualism that comes from the Serbian minority to the state institutions of Kosovo, where they represent the interest of the Serbian state (Haziri, 2017, p. 216). This leaves to understand that many political parties in Kosovo's political system are primarily concerned with the ongoing functionalization of their political actions and their interests to the detriment of the state-building approach according to the principles of liberal democracy.

Media are the eighth and the last factor in the importance of building a high-level political culture. The media play a strong role in the information, attitude, and values of a nation (Almond et al., 2008, p. 73), as they have the ability to prepare voters to transform their limited electoral preferences with significant political influence in election results (Della Porta, 2006, p. 94). Explaining the importance of the media in democratic societies, Brian McNair (2011) noted some functions

that serve to communicate with society. First, it is informing the citizen. Second, education regarding the meaning and understanding of the facts. Third, the media provide a platform for public, political discussion in order to facilitate the creation of public opinion. Fourth, it acts as a platform for the publicity of governmental and political institutions. Fifth, the media in democratic societies serve as a path to the advocacy of political views (p. 18-20). Therefore, the power of the media is great. If misused for the benefit of certain interest groups, then through propaganda, they can ruin the political system. In the 21st century, the main problem that appears as a negative phenomenon is the issue of "fake news", which is causing problems also in states with liberal democracies and stable political systems. In Kosovo, the media are placed at a higher level than other factors, and this implies that political culture is often disproportionate from the way that media reflect it.

Discussion

The analysis of empirical data enables us to ascertain if the agents of political socialization affect the political culture of Kosovo. Kosovo's political culture from the realized measurement is low compared to the model of political culture representation resulting the empirical research of Almond, Powell, Dalton, Kaare (2000, 2008). Political culture is not the same in all countries, and it is greatly influenced by the determination of internal regulations of society, which can be democratic or undemocratic. Socialization agents have an enormous impact on how political culture is presented, so it is difficult to transfer political culture from one country to another. In Kosovo, there are efforts to take education models from societies that have made progress in this area. This is impossible, because raising the level of education in the stable

political systems with liberal democracy has been a tough part of the transition begun in the 18th century. All the agents of socialization have had a separate impact, ranging from family education to the influence of the media.

After a series of results and careful analysis, we can conclude that Kosovo's political culture model as based on sustainable empirical measurements and the analysed results between the .001 and .005, is between the authoritarian transitional model due to high level participation of political culture of subjects, a middle level of parochial and a low level of participants and democratic preindustrial model due to the high level of the parochial, a middle level of the subjects and a low level of participants political culture. Table 1 presents the bivariate analysis, which explains the democratic criterion, the loss of credibility and accountability of political representatives.

Correlations^a
Table 1. Bivariate analysis of dependent variables

Spearman's rho	Voting in local/national elections	Correlation Coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)	Voting in local/national elections	Institutional Independence	Democracy	Cognitive Attitudes	Politicians' viewpoint	Individual credibility
				1.000	.101**	.099**	-.104**	.097**	.104**
				.	.001	.002	.001	.002	.001
				.101**	1.000	.238**	-.011	.055	.111**
				.001	.	.000	.739	.078	.000
				.099**	.238**	1.000	-.055	.077*	.123**
				.002	.000	.	.084	.015	.000
				-.104**	-.011	-.055	1.000	-.011	-.131**
				.001	.739	.084	.	.729	.000
				.097**	.055	.077*	-.011	1.000	.049
				.002	.078	.015	.729	.	.121
				.104**	.111**	.123**	-.131**	.049	1.000
				.001	.000	.000	.000	.121	.

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N = 1007

Source: Author's Research

The statistical findings confirm the hypothesis about political culture. Using the reciprocal links of the variables, we conclude that the effect of education in Kosovo society, settlement and mutual connection with the political system and especially nationality (Albanians, Serbs...etc.), are the main elements that determine the political culture while taking into account the different beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviours of the citizen has in relation to the political system and the state itself (Haziri, 2017, p. 224). Cultural fragmentation is a continuing obstacle to achieving a sustained political system for an indefinite period. Differences ascertained through hypothesis analysis confirm the position that Kosovo's political system faces problems that are difficult to manage because there will always be interference from a third party. Therefore, in order to overcome all difficulties, there is a need for a transformation of political culture and an adaptation with Western values based on the values and traditions of Kosovo, with a single purpose, namely changing the political culture of Kosovo in relation to the political system. Table 2 presents the behaviour of the elite in the political system and lack of accountability in decision-making.

Nationality * Institutional decision-making Crosstabulation

Table. 2. Presentation of the variable (nationality) expressed through variable (institutional decision-making)

Nationality	Albanian	Count	Institutional decision-making			Total
			I agree	I do not agree	Abstain	
Serb		Count	601	196	125	922
		% within Institutional decision-making	92.2%	92.0%	88.0%	91.6%
Turkish		Count	40	8	10	58
		% within Institutional decision-making	6.1%	3.8%	7.0%	5.8%
Bosnian		Count	6	2	2	10
		% within Institutional decision-making	.9%	.9%	1.4%	1.0%
Roma		Count	1	4	4	9
		% within Institutional decision-making	.2%	1.9%	2.8%	.9%
Ashkali		Count	3	1	0	4
		% within Institutional decision-making	.5%	.5%	.0%	.4%
Total		Count	1	2	1	4
		% within Institutional decision-making	.2%	.9%	.7%	.4%
		Count	652	213	142	1007
		% within Institutional decision-making	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's Research

Another measurement is that of family preference for candidates in electoral elections. This measurement shows that agents of political socialization strongly affect and should therefore be invested in liberal democracies' level. All agents of political socialization have influence in elections organized by the Kosovo institutions from 2001 to 2017. Figure 1 shows the measurement of the independent variable (education) and dependent variables (preference) that explains the influence of someone else in your choice with the question "Do you agree that everyone in your family voted on the basis of preferences?" with response categories: 1) I agree 2) disagree 3) abstain.

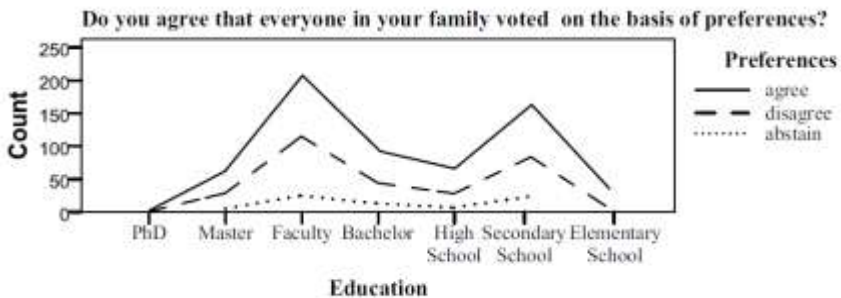


Fig. 1. Graphic presentation of the independent variable (education) and dependent variables (preference) Source: Author's Research

In Fig. 2 measurements from independent variable (gender) and dependent variable (information) are presented. Respondents were submitted to the question: "Through which information sources is your attitude as a citizen towards Kosovo institutions ? ", with response categories: 1) Newspapers; 2) Television; 3) Radio; 4) Internet; 5) Professional literature; 6) Friends in the cafe; 7) Comparison with other countries; 8) Abstain. Most respondents are oriented to obtain

information from television, creating the effect of 'videocracy' (Haziri, 2017, p. 182).

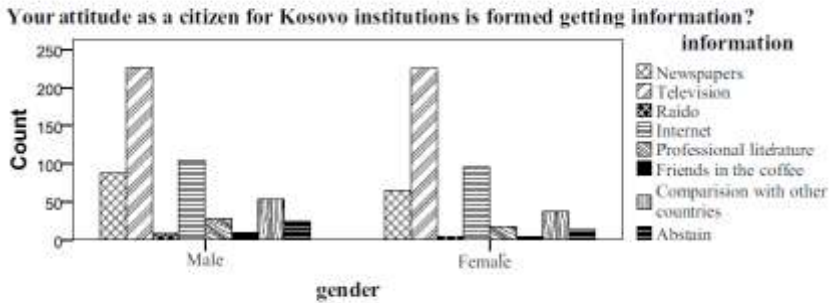


Fig 2. Graphical presentation of the independent variable (gender) and dependent variables (information) Source: Author's Research

The biggest impact in informing citizens continues to be the television to keep up with information from the Internet, daily newspapers, etc. Worrying remains that very few Kosovar citizens use the professional literature, to create a different opinion about how to increase the pressure for a stable political system, different from what they see and hear on a daily basis by the media.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that agents of political socialization are the main factors in building political culture. This finding can be easily verified in practice. If we take the criterion of education then we can say that education is the basis for creating a stable political system. This means that the radical change in political culture lasts for a period of one-man's education, from pre-school to doctoral level, to approximately 20-25 years. Even the influence of religious institutions can be

easily verified in practice. If the power of faith is oriented in support of the state and its political institutions, then political culture takes its form by expediting the way of behaviour, attitude, and values of political representatives in the political system. All factors can be easily verified by daily experience. Political parties have the main role that through government they provide constant communication with the citizen. Media should also take care of the primary mission of information, education and entertainment of citizens.

Empirical methods in political science explains that empirical analysis is just a point of light at the end of the tunnel. But if the researcher fails to permeate deep at that point, then it expands so much the point that the analysis reveals that at the beginning of the study has set as a hypothetical question (Almond & Verba, 1989). This shows that empirical analysis offers a great opportunity to analyse the problem, which in our case, has to do with the importance of agents of political socialization. The study of these factors should be longitudinal studies, to convey eventual changes and to ensure if any of the factors have changed. Great importance is attached to the factors of political socialization in societies with sustainable political systems because the future of society and the state depends on these factors. Therefore, the role and importance of these factors, whether social or economic, should not be neglected at any moment. Scientific research needs to be backed up constantly because there is no other alternative to measuring variables (cause-effect). The transitional phase from the communist model to the model of liberal democracy in which Kosovo has passed has been very difficult, especially in the case of Kosovo from 1990 to 1999 when most of the factors of political socialization were dysfunctional. Now in the state of Kosovo, the possibility to change the political culture exists, only the civic willpower and the setting of priorities between

the factors such as family, education, and religious institutions before personal interests conveyed through media as is the current case in Kosovo is required.

References

- Almond, G., Powell, G.B.Jr., Dalton, R.J., Strom, K. (2008). *Comparative Politics Today: A Theoretical Framework*, New York: Pearson Longman.
- Almond, G., Verba, S. (1989). *The Civic Culture-Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Almond, G. (1956). Comparative Political System, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 18, No.3. (August, 1956), p. 391-409.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/2127255?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Mcguire, M.B. (2007). *Religjioni: konteksti shoqëror*, (Ali Pajaziti, Translated.). Shkup: Logos-A. (Original work published 2002).
- Della Porta, D. (2006). *Bazat e Shkencës Politike*, (Nikollë Berishaj, Translated.). Prishtinë: Kolegji Victory. (Original work published 2002).
- Dobratz, B. A., Waldner, L. K., Buzzell, T. (2012). *Power, Politics, and Society: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, London: Routledge.
- Easton, D. (1965). *A System Analysis of Political Life*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Easton, D., Deniss, J. (1969). *Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy*, New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Eckstein, H. (1966). *Division and Cohesion in Democracy - A study of Norway*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Eckstein, H. (1997). *Congruence Theory Explained*, CSD Working Papers.

- Flere, S. (1988). National (Ethnic) Identification and Preferred National (Ethnic) Identification Among Youth: The Question of Yugoslavism, Review: *Migracijske i etničke teme*, Vol.4 No.4 Prosinac 1988, Institut za migracije i narodnosti (IMIN), Zagreb, p. 439-453.
https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=189615
- Gimpel, J.G., Lay, J.Celeste., E. Schuknecht, Jason. (2003). *Cultivating Democracy: Civic Environments and Political Socialization in America*, Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.
- Hamilton, A., Madison, J., Jay, J. (2007). *The Federalist with Letters of "Brutus"*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Original work published 1787).
- Haziri, B. (2017). *Kultura Politike e Kosovës*, Tiranë: Toena.
- Hegel, G.W.F. (2001). *Philosophy of Right*, (S.W Dyde, Translated.). Ontario: Batoche Books Lim Limited. (Original work published 1820).
- Dalton, R.J., M.Farell, D., McAllister, I. (2011). *Political Parties and Democratic Linkage: How Parties Organize Democracy*, New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Hyman, H.H. (1959). *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior*, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Kavanagh, D. (1972). *Political Culture*, London: Macmillan Education.
- McNair, B. (2011). *An Introduction to Political Communication* (5th ed.), New York: Routledge.
- Parsons, T. (2005). *The Social System*, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

- Parsons, T. (Ed.). (1961). *Theories of Society: Foundations of Modern Sociological Theory*, New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.
- Pennings, P., Keman, H., Kleinnijenhuis, J. (2006). *Doing Research in Political Science (2nd ed.)*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Poulantzas, N. (1978). *Political Power and Social Classes*, (Timothy O'Hagan, Translated.). London: Verso. (Original work published 1968).
- Pye, L. W. (1968). Political Culture. In D. L. Sills (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, (Vol. 12, p. 218-224). New York: The Macmillan Company & The Free Press.
- Siemens, H.W., Roodt, V. (Ed). (2008). *Nietzsche, Power and Politics Rethinking Nietzsche's Legacy for Political Thought*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Wilcox, C., Wald, K., & Jelen, T. (2008). Religious Preferences and Social Science: A Second Look, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 70, No. 3, July 2008, p. 874-879.
https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.1017/S0022381608080821.pdf?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents

Issues on Learner Autonomy: Teachers' Effort and Responsibility towards it.

Flora Maliqi, PHD.

AAB College, Pristina, Kosovo

Email: flora.maliqi@aab-edu.net

Abstract

This paper aims to discuss issues on learner autonomy and teachers' effort and responsibility in promoting autonomous learning in English language classrooms. The concept of learner autonomy is a focus of many researchers in different countries. Many researchers and academics consider this phenomenon as a central concern in language learning. In cultivating learner autonomy there is a two-way street; the teacher whose role is highly important in fostering and encouraging learners to learn in an autonomous way and the learner who is responsible for his/her own learning after getting the required need and help from the teacher. However, teachers around the world still struggle with the ways to foster autonomous learning in the language classroom or outside it. Therefore, this study was conducted in three high schools in Gjilan, where 30 teachers were interviewed in order to find out if they promote autonomous learning, and if so, how much effort and responsibility they show with their learners, and their opinions on the necessity in promoting Learner Autonomy (LA) in English classrooms. As a result, study findings show that the interviewed teachers are aware of the importance, but regarding the implementation of learner autonomy however,

Article received on the 5th of March, 2019.

Article accepted on the 24th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

they still struggle on implementing it into practice in their classrooms stating reasons which hinder this important issue in English language teaching.

Keywords: *Learner Autonomy, Issues, ELT teachers*

Learner autonomy and learner responsibility are interrelated topics in language learning education. In order to be successful in learning and searching new things, learners should be aware of their responsibility. In this case this is possible through their teachers' effort towards it. Recently, in the process of language learning and teaching, learner autonomy has become a central issue in many developing countries. Currently, this change is required because of the common phenomenon of learners such as being passive learners and not responsible for the outcome of the things they learn. Hence, if learners do not feel responsible for their own work they can never succeed in learning new things independently.

Autonomous learning has been defined by different researchers whose definitions lead to the same concept. Holec (1988) defines learner autonomy as *the ability to take control over one's own learning*. Furthermore, another researcher (Little, 1991) defines this term as *a capacity for detachment, critical reflection, decision-making, and independent action*. Little (1991) also claims that *autonomous learners understand the purpose of learning, accept responsibility for their learning, share in the setting of learning goals, take the initiative in planning and executing learning tasks, and regularly review their learning to evaluate its effectiveness*. As it is seen, the concept of learner autonomy is described as *responsibility, charge, control, freedom, choice, motivation and making decisions*. Therefore, the learners are autonomous when they are able to take responsibility on their own for the tasks they are supposed to fulfill and ready to take control for their

own learning by having the independent capacity or freedom and being highly motivated to choose the right way or the appropriate things they need to learn.

Promoting Language Learner Autonomy

Researchers have used different approaches for the purpose of finding out how learner autonomy can be enhanced. According to Thanasoulas (2000) activities like self-reports, diaries, evaluation sheets and persuasive communication might foster a certain degree of learner autonomy. Ma and Gao (2010) claim that learner autonomy can be attained by developing syllabuses in the language classroom where learners can make their decisions for their own needs and learning. According to him learners are highly motivated and take great responsibility to work on their own. Moreover, according to a study conducted by Dafei (2007) it can be concluded that the relationship between learner autonomy and language proficiency is highly interrelated. This results that autonomy indicates levels of English language proficiency which learners possess, and this means that the more autonomous the learner becomes, the more proficient he/she is.

Another researcher (Trinh, 2005) presented two separable goals: to foster learner autonomy, and to develop communicative competence. Accordingly, to foster learner autonomy the author believes that learners should be given the opportunity of choices of the learning content and strategies. Whereas to enhance communicative competence learners should be offered opportunities in the following issues: *use English in planning, monitoring, and assessing their task performance; seeking support from the teacher and classmates; and negotiating meaning.*

Teachers' role in autonomous learning

Many researchers claim that the role of the teacher in learner autonomy is highly important, and therefore consider them as active participants, monitors and consultants who always guide students to better learning and help develop their learner autonomy. According to Nunan (1988) there are nine steps in fostering autonomous learning;

Step 1: 'Make instruction goals clear to learners' - The first strategy that teachers should do employ is to make instructional goals clear to learners.

Step 2: 'Allow learners to create their own goals' - The next step aims to give learners an opportunity to create the content for their own goals. Parkinson and O'Sullivan (1990) report the practical way of learners' involvement in this regard. Their notion of the *action meeting* is reported below;

A mechanism was needed for course management: as the guiding and motivating force behind the course, it would have to be able to deal with individual concerns and negotiate potential conflicts of interest, need, and temperament. As foreshadowed in the orientation phase, the group would now experiment with a mechanism suggested by the teachers, namely a series of Action Meetings. ... [These] would provide an opportunity for individuals to participate (interpersonally and interculturallly) in an English-medium meeting, negotiating meaning and authentic content. They would also be a means of facilitating group cohesion and motivation and would be a primary mechanism for ongoing program evaluation by the participants (Parkinson and O'Sullivan, 1990, p. 119-120).

Step 3: 'Encourage learners to use their second language outside the classroom'- Encouraging learners to use the language outside the classroom is a good idea. There are many

activities which learners can engage in to improve their second language proficiency outside the classroom.

Step 4: 'Raise awareness of learning processes'- As mentioned in the previous section teaching learners how to learn is very important. In this regard, raising learners' awareness of their learning process is something that teachers should do to teach learners the best strategies.

Step 5: 'Help learners identify their own preferred styles and strategies'- In order to develop learners' ability to choose their own preferred learning styles and strategies, they should be well trained in this aspect. In order to achieve that, teachers should give learners a range of options to choose from. According to Widdows & Voller (1991), learners are able to make their own choices. Their findings showed that learners preferred being active rather than reading and translating passively. Therefore, teachers should think of best ways to address the learners' needs in developing their preferred styles and strategies.

Step 6: 'Encourage learner choice'- In some places the notion of learner choice may not be familiar. However, in such a case it is good to engage learners in decision making process. The way learners decide depends on the teachers' criteria; they can be asked to make decisions between two tasks or they may also be asked to do different tasks at the same time.

Step 7: 'Allow learners to generate their own tasks'- The previous step discussed how to encourage learners in making their own choices. Once this decision is reached, learners should be given opportunities to make modifications and adaptations on their classroom tasks. Accordingly, this can proceed by teaching learners to make their own tasks including developing their own materials. For instance, learners can be given a text lacking questions, so they can be encouraged to

generate questions on their own based on the text they are given.

Step 8: 'Encourage learners to become teachers' - Although teaching is not an easy job, another challenging step is to encourage learners to become teachers. Learners can be given a topic and asked to prepare it in a PowerPoint presentation by bringing the materials created on their own.

This is a good opportunity for them to have the feeling of being a teacher and good practice for their future career. This can be done individually or in a group. By doing so, learners have the opportunity to increase their self-esteem and become more confident.

Step 9: 'Encourage learners to become researchers' - Lastly, encouraging learners to become researchers is among Nunan's steps in fostering autonomous learning. When learners are able to search on their own it means that they have reached an adequate level of autonomy. However, in order to arrive at an autonomous stage, they need much support from their teachers who should be very responsible in addressing this issue.

Furthermore, Cotterall (1995) believes that learners, who consider their teachers as facilitators of learning are ready for autonomous learning, which means that teachers appear to be central in preparing and raising learners' awareness about working independently.

Ways to Foster Learner Autonomy in English Teaching and Learning

Among the different ways to foster English Teaching and Learning, researchers mention some important elements that should be used in order to enhance learner autonomy in teaching and learning. The first principle that teachers and

learners should follow is to change their beliefs about learning. According to Tudor (1992) *teachers need to prepare learners for their new role by developing learners' self-awareness as language learners and their awareness of learning goals and options and of language itself.* They should also be aware of their roles as facilitators, consultants, guiders, and supporters in learning processes.

Not only teachers, but learners as well should change their traditional way of learning to their central role in learning. They should be aware of their roles as managers, organizers, and evaluators. This surely influences their approach of learning and develops learner autonomy.

Furthermore, according to Oxford (1989) *learning strategies are specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self-directed, more effective and more transferable to new situations.* In this aspect learner autonomy involves refinement of learning strategies. In order to make learners learn autonomously, teachers should give them sufficient training in order to prepare them to work independently (p. 8).

Accordingly, Weinstein and Mayer (1986) state that *the goal of strategy use is to affect the learner's motivational or affective state, or the way in which the learner selects, acquires, organizes or integrates new knowledge.*

However, as such strategies have to be learnt, it is teachers' job to find a suitable approach applicable to their learners. There are various learning strategies, in which the key component is maximizing learner autonomy. Among them social strategies are highly important because people use the language between them. In this regard, three kinds of strategies are included; *asking questions, cooperating with others and empathizing with others* (Oxford, 1990).

When learners are able to ask questions it means that they have acquired the learning and it results to cooperating with others. Many studies show that cooperative learning affects learners' self-esteem and confidence in a positive way, and as a result, it also increases learners' level of autonomy. In this regard, empathy is also important. If a learner is empathic he/she is able to put his/her self in someone else's situation and therefore, understands the others' point of view (Oxford, 1990).

In cooperative learning, the learners' role is to direct their own needs. Based on many studies, cooperative learning is an influential approach for learner autonomy. The main aim is to create a group of learners which can develop their lifelong learning skills-learner autonomy. According to Johnson (1991) cooperative learning incorporates five elements: *positive interdependence; face-to-face interaction, individual accountability and personal responsibility; interpersonal and small group skills and group processing*. Positive interdependence appears when the members in the group are all for one and one for all, which means that the group is able to support each of the individual member and each member is able to support the group (Freeman and Anderson, 2011).

Making learners report what they think and perform is also a good way of collecting information and see learners' progress. If learners are able to self-report, this means that they are able to introspect on their own introspective progress. Therefore, *the introspective self-report is a verbalization of one's stream of consciousness* (Wenden, 1998). These kinds of reports are expected to offer information on the strategies learners use at the time they do the report (p. 81).

Another kind of report is called a retrospective self-report because of the fact that learners are required to think back in

retrospect of their own learning. There is no limit to what learners say in response as such self-reports are open-ended.

Furthermore, there are two kinds of retrospective self-reports: semi-structured interviews and structured questionnaires. The aim of the semi-structured skill is to be focused on specific skills such as extracting information about learners' attitudes to reading, writing, listening, and speaking, problems they may have come across, or dealing with learning tasks. The aim of the structured interview, on the other hand, is to seek information differently such as by means of questions and statement.

In addition, diaries and evaluation sheets are highly important for learners to evaluate their own progress. This helps collecting and developing learners' thoughts and interpretations that cannot be easily observed but which require time during the inquiry process. Accordingly, they offer learners the opportunity to plan, monitor, evaluate and identify problems that they may face during the learning process (Wenden, 1998). Moreover, the use of portfolios leads to more autonomous learning including planning, taking responsibility, setting goals making decisions and so forth (p. 107).

Accordingly, Shimo (2003) suggests that providing "optional tasks which allow students to make choices" and "decision-making tasks which enable students to plan and organize their learning" will help learners feel the sense of autonomy (p. 175). Furthermore, Thomsen (2010) claims that "the portfolio helped learners talk about their learning experiences, and assume an active role in their learning."

Learner autonomy in cultural context

As we know, education and culture are closely related. Accordingly, techniques and methods used in one culture may

not be applicable in another culture. This is also true for learner autonomy. In this aspect Holliday (2007) states that *the issue of autonomy has often been connected with the individualism and collectivism dimension in cultural difference*. In this regard individualism is connected with the culture where people live their lives in a self- directed way.

Their priority is to make their own desires and feelings as they wish. They make their own choices and are always open to new things. However, collectivism has to do with the people who are group-oriented. They are dependent on the group they belong to. Therefore, learner autonomy functions in an individualistic culture rather than in a collectivist one. Based on the literature, some researchers state that the origin of autonomy comes from the European continent whereas some others say that the origins are rooted in Eastern philosophies.

According to the researcher Pierson (1996), the roots of *learner autonomy* come from Chinese. Despite of the fact that there have been various debates on this, many studies have been conducted relating to those issues and it was found that the national culture is an important factor for fostering learner autonomy (p. 49-58). Pennycook (1997) states that the concepts of autonomy originate from a particular context, and they are appreciated differently from culture to culture. As humans cannot escape entirely from the cultural assumptions and preconditions that shape us there are always opportunities to make differences (p. 35-53).

Thus, culture is very important in education. Kneller (1965) claims that culture includes the following elements: a community which shares the culture (e.g. *a society*, or *a classroom*); learning practices which are recognized in this community (e.g. *going to classes*, or *practicing language by talking to tourists*) with their associated roles (e.g. *teachers*, *learners*, *learning counsellors*); institutions within this community which

structure learning (e.g. *schools, self-access centers or families*) and tools and products which play some part in the community's learning practices (e.g. *computers, textbooks or students' essays*).

Research Methodology

In order to conduct this study both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. This methodology was appropriate because it helped us find teachers' responsibility and the effort that they show to promote learner autonomy in their teaching classes. Therefore, they answered the following research questions; 1. What does 'Learner Autonomy' mean to English Language teachers? 2. What is the teacher's role in promoting learner autonomy? 3. Does learner autonomy mean learning without the teacher? They also proved the following hypotheses;

- H.1 Teachers' role in promoting Learner Autonomy is essential,

- H.2 Learner autonomy cannot be promoted alone.

The participants of this study were 30 English teachers from three secondary schools in Gjilan. They contributed by answering the questions in the questionnaire and interview.

In this study, the main instruments used were the teachers' questionnaire and interview. The first instrument in this research study was the teachers' questionnaire, which consisted of 10 questions, where the teacher participants were supposed to choose between the following options; *very much, partly and not at all*.

The second instrument in this research study was the teachers' interview on learner autonomy consisting of eight questions distributed among 30 English teachers in total. The purpose of the teachers' interview was to find out more

information related to their responsibility and efforts in developing Learner Autonomy and their ELT classes.

Data Analysis

Findings of the teachers' questionnaire render positive results in general and show that 70% of them, which makes up for the majority, stated that they feel responsible in promoting learner autonomy. However, 50% of them claimed that they use different strategies to help learners become autonomous, 12 % chose the option partly and 38% not at all. Regarding the next statement, it is revealed that proficiency in English plays an important role where 85% of the teachers chose the *very much* option for the statement "I have difficulties in promoting autonomous learning to non-proficient students".

In addition, 80% of them stated that they encourage learners search things on their own, 17% partly and not at all 3%. The following results state that the majority of teachers give regular opportunities to complete tasks alone. However, although many researches claim that giving learners opportunities to assess themselves is a part of autonomous learning, the study findings show that teachers do not encourage learners to asses themselves at all, where 68 % chose *not at all* option, 22% partly and only 10% very much.

Furthermore, only 30% of the teachers involve learners in decision making on the choice of learning task and none of them in selecting textbooks, claiming that the textbooks are approved by the ministry of education which does not give them room to choose the materials themselves. Notwithstanding these restrictions, 90% of the teachers said that they encourage learners to use different additional materials for their tasks.

Regarding the first question, in the teachers' interview "What does 'Learner Autonomy' mean to you as an EFL teacher" all of interviewed teachers shared the same opinion where they stated that learner autonomy means students' ability to learn independently as well as their ability to learn material they are interested in. In addition, two teachers mentioned that it is not ability or even a level that every learner can reach since they should be able to set themselves goals and then work hard independently to reach those goals.

Furthermore, all of them consider LA as the learners' capacity to take some control over their learning as well as the ability to act on oneself regardless of what others may or may not be doing. This means that if a student wants more autonomy and has an idea of what he/she wants to learn, guided self-study should be initiated. Moreover, according to the respondents, another piece of the puzzle includes learning outside of usual English classroom, or learning through various websites on the Internet.

In addition, in relation to the second question "What is the teacher's role in promoting autonomous learning" one teacher responded as follows; *their role in this aspect should be more in pinpointing the ways and the sites where autonomous learning may be developed.* Three other teachers stated that they see themselves as motivators and good advisers, believing that teachers can help develop students' learner autonomy by demonstrating how to use available materials to gather and disseminate credible information.

Moreover, five other teachers claimed that they can promote autonomous learning since they can encourage learners to search on the internet for specific topics independently and then discuss them in the classroom. This can be done by suggesting different useful links with different exercises that give immediate results.

As for the statement Teaching how to learn is very important in developing learner autonomy'' the five interviewed teachers claimed that teaching how to learn is very important in developing learner autonomy because learners should not just take any materials and try to learn them but they are supposed to take only the best practices in "how to learn" and try to develop them in the manner that suits their intellect so teachers in this case may explain and give their personal experiences and other scientific arguments that are in favor of autonomous learning. What is more, one teacher stated that teaching how to learn is very significant considering that the material comes the second to teaching how to learn. Students should be taught how to learn and what to learn, they should be taught to highlight the important parts and different techniques to acquire the learning. Additionally, five other teachers stated that teachers are those who are responsible to lead learners toward those paths and make them independent learners.

The following question'' How motivated do teachers feel in promoting Learner Autonomy'' in general, teachers stated that learners' willingness determines how much the level of autonomy can be promoted to certain learners. Some of them claimed that it depends on learners' proficiency stating that if learners are good at English it makes their job easier.

Regarding the next question'' Do the students you teach have a fair degree of learner autonomy'' some of the teachers stated that their students are ready to take initiative and control in their learning. However, the majority of them believed that most of the students usually wait for ready-made learning. Some others stated that in the early stages of learning English they don't really develop learner autonomy but after they finish Pre-Intermediate level they start to broaden their aspects of learning English and therefore they start learning new things

from the Internet and other technological devices, which show kind of autonomy in learning.

Results from the question "Do you think that learners can be autonomous without the help of the teacher" show that teachers believe that learners cannot promote autonomy alone because it is teacher's duty to show the path on how to start learning and searching things on their own and learners need their teachers' support and guidance on this issue. A small number of them believed that it is slightly possible for learners who are proficient but they still need the teachers as advisers.

Moreover, concerning the question "What about your own experience as a language teacher – do you encourage your learners to work on their own?" all the teachers stated that they try to advise and encourage learners to search for the useful materials and websites that suit them best. Although some of them stated that they do, most learners do not even try to learn on their own. In addition, respondents claimed that they advise them to pick their 'battles' in the sense that they suggest some of the ways they can learn and also encourage them to join online forums, and alternative books or lessons are all tools.

Results from the question "Is it harder to promote learner autonomy with proficient language learners than it is with beginners" the findings reveal that teachers think that it is easier to promote learner autonomy to learners who are proficient, it also depends on the learners' willingness. If they are ambitious enough in language learning it means that it is possible to promote autonomy to both kinds of learners.

Conclusion

The study findings show that teachers are aware of their inevitable role and responsibility in learner autonomy and it is accepted as a very important issue, stating their role as a

motivator and a good adviser, believing that teachers can help develop students' learner autonomy by demonstrating how to use available material to gather and disseminate credible information. This proves the first hypothesis that teachers' role in developing students' learner autonomy is essential. Therefore, learner autonomy is meant to be the capacity to control learners' own learning, to choose their materials according to their preferences and hold their learning responsibility on their own, which answers the first research question. From the data available from the questionnaire we find out that teachers make some effort in promoting learner autonomy such as; *encouraging them in completing tasks alone, finding explanations to the classroom tasks and using different appropriate materials*. However, the results show that they do not encourage learners to assess themselves neither choose the learning tasks to select textbooks, stating that they do not have enough autonomy in selecting main textbooks because they are offered and approved by the ministry of education which does not give them the opportunity to choose themselves. Based on the results from the teachers' interviews, we may conclude that teachers believe that learner autonomy cannot be developed alone however, learners need their teachers' support in order to promote learner autonomy. Accordingly, this proves the second hypothesis that learner autonomy cannot be promoted alone. However, the overall findings show that students often wait to be served the learning material by their teachers in spite of the latter's efforts to cultivate new learning habits. The results showed that teachers were willing to involve learners in the learning process. In general, they agreed with the idea that teachers encourage learners to be researchers on their own by advising them how to find useful and appropriate materials which help them meet their needs. They also concluded that being autonomous means pursuing life-long learning, which is

possible at different times and in different places. Which conversely results in enabling learners to change the habit of being taught only by the others. Finally, in this regard, the relationship between teachers and learners is inevitable. Teachers have a high degree of responsibility to help learners become researchers, teaching them not (only) what to learn, but also how to learn and work independently. However, the teachers' main concern is the lack of sufficient promotion of learner autonomy at schools.

Recommendations

- It is essential to broaden the possibilities of involving learners in decision making about their preferred tasks.
- Teachers should give learners more opportunities to search and discover the path on how to learn autonomously.
- Teachers themselves should be constant researchers and always search for new techniques and teaching strategies.
- More studies should be conducted in this area in order to raise teachers' awareness about LA.
- Organize workshops to remind teachers and stimulate them by showing effective strategies on how to start promoting LA.

References

- Cotterall, S. (1995). *Readiness for autonomy: Investigating learner beliefs* in Towards a Potential Model to Enhance Language Learner Autonomy in the Vietnamese Higher Education Context, Faculty of Education Queensland University of Technology.
- Dafei, D. (2007). *An exploration of the relationship between learner autonomy and English proficiency*. Asian EFL Journal, 1-23 in Supporting Self-efficacy and Learner Autonomy in Relation to Academic Success in EFL Classrooms (A Case Study).
- Freeman, D. and Anderson, M. (2011). *Teaching and principles in language teaching*. Oxford University Press. Oxford.16 (1) 31-42.
- Holec, H. (1988). *Autonomy and Self-Directed Learning: Present Fields of Application*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Holliday, A. (2007). *Autonomy and cultural Chauvinism. Independence*, 42. (20-22).
- Johnson, D.W. (1991). *Cooperation in the classroom*. Edina, MN: Interaction Book Company.
- Kneller, G. F. (1965). *Educational Anthropology: an Introduction*. New York: Wiley & Sons.
- Little, D. (1991). *Learner autonomy: Definitions, issues and problems*. Dublin: Authentik.
- Ma, Z. & Gao, P. (2010). *Promoting Learner Autonomy through Developing*
- Process Syllabus - Syllabus Negotiation: the Basis of Learner Autonomy*. Journal of Language Teaching and Research, 1(6). (901-908).

- Nunan, D. (1988). *The Learner-centred Curriculum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Oxford, R.L. (1989). *Language learning strategies: What every teacher should know*. New York, Newbury House.
- Parkinson, L. & O'Sullivan, K. (1990). *Negotiating the learner-centred curriculum* in G.
- Brindley (Ed.) *The Second Language Curriculum in Action*. Sydney: National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research.
- Pennycook, A. (1997). *Cultural Alternatives and Autonomy*. London, Longman. (35-53).
- Pierson, H.D. (1996). *Learner Culture and Learner Autonomy in the Hong Kong Chinese Context*. Hong Kong. Hong Kong Uni. Press. (49-58).
- Shimo, E. (2003) *Autonomy in language teaching and learning process*. 16(1). (31-42).
- Tudor, I. (1992). *Learner-centredness in language teaching: finding the right balance.*' system.
- Trinh, Q. (2005). *Stimulating learner autonomy in English language education: A curriculum innovation study in a Vietnamese context*," PhD Thesis. Graduate School of Teaching and Learning, University of Amsterdam.
- Thanasoulas, D. (2000). *What is Learner Autonomy and how can it be fostered*, TESL journal.
- Thomsen, H. (2010). *Writing and talking to learn - a portfolio study*. In teaching English at lower secondary level and EFL learning and second language acquisition: Reading handouts Reykjavík: University of Iceland, (191-202).

Weinstein, C. and Mayer, R. (1986). *The teaching of learning strategies*, in M.C. Wittrock. (ED) Handbook on research on teaching. New York, Macmillan.

Widdows, S. & Voller, P. (1991). *Applied Linguistics and Language Study Series; General Editor, C. N. Candlin*. London: Longman. Asian journal of English Language Teaching vol. 7, 1991, (127-130).

Wenden, A. (1998). *Learner Strategies for Learner Autonomy*. Great Britain: Prentice Hall.

Nicolaus Cusanus Unbound: An Investigation into Parallels between his Liberal Philosophy and Object-Oriented Ontology

Naruhiko Mikado

Osaka University, Osaka, Japan

Email: naruhiko.mikado.19921027@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper intends to reexamine the idiosyncratic thoughts of Nicholas Cusanus (Nicholas of Cusa), a fifteenth-century German theologian-cum-philosopher who has generally been considered to be just a transitional figure to the succeeding, modern thinkers. The chief argument of this essay is that his conception of God as both immanent and transcendent has a number of interesting parallels with contemporary, de-anthropocentric philosophies, especially with Graham Harman's object-oriented ontology (OOO), and in fact can be regarded as a prescient harbinger to OOO in that Nicholas evidently urges one to assume a more liberal worldview while simultaneously equipping his own theory with a logic intelligible to others. In the closing section, the author of this paper poses a few proposals drawn from the investigation both to the discipline of philosophy and to the general public.

Keywords: *Nicholas of Cusa, Object-Oriented Ontology, Graham Harman, flat ontology, withdrawal.*

Article received on the 24th of April, 2019.

Article accepted on the 28th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

In so far as one can discern from various accounts in existing publications, it appears to be a general consensus amongst most scholars to adjudicate Nicolaus Cusanus (Nicholas of Cusa) either to be a transitional thinker between the high Renaissance and the early modern period, or to be a harbinger to the latter. For instance, McTighe (1964) judged his conception of 'coincidence of opposites' to be a forerunner of modern, rational ways of thinking, because with it Nicholas tried to prove the existence of God with the aid of mathematical rationale, that is, with a scientific method, while Miller (2017) regards that pantheistic orientation which can be widely seen in his texts as the precursor to the philosophy of Spinoza (pp. 153-154). True it is that these evaluations are legitimate to a respectable extent, and it is not only pointless but also counterproductive to poke holes in them.

Nevertheless, it would remiss of us to demote the varied qualities of the ideas which he propounded just to the role of a mere herald of succeeding philosophies. There is no doubt that he retained a touch of the medieval theology in that he principally discussed problems relative to the God; still, when one observes them from a little detached standpoint, she or he will locate a lot of traits which bear a curious resemblance with several philosophical thoughts of our age.

Above all else, it is remarkable that the philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa evinces 'object-oriented' characters; concretely speaking, in his texts we can identify a horizontal perspective which regards every one of existences as ontologically equal, as well as a fastidious argumentation which guarantees the independence of each of those beings. As is well known these days, object-oriented ontology (OOO) is a school of philosophy that has been advocated by a number of theorists like Graham Harman, Levi Bryant, and Timothy Morton, and the influence of OOO is rapidly spreading especially in art and architecture (Kolatan, 2019, p. 91). Although OOO is a product of this era, it shares peculiar characteristics with the thoughts of Nicholas of Cusa, and it seems that to heed this aspect would be conducive

to some interesting discoveries which have potential to make our worldview more broad-minded.

In order to demonstrate the analogies between them, the argument of this essay will go as follows: in the beginning, OOO itself and two of its essential components—flat ontology and withdrawal—are going to be explained by quoting passages from Harman's texts. Thereupon, the parallels between these principles of OOO and the progressive metaphysics of Nicholas of Cusa will be investigated, and then the next section will demonstrate that the philosopher of the 15th century possessed an astoundingly de-anthropocentric intention, positing that God as the absolute maximum inheres in every single one of entities and that all of them are unable to be reduced or exhausted by another. In closing, this essay will put forward several proposals both to the discipline of philosophy including a reappraisal of underestimated thinkers like Nicholas of Cusa and to the general public.

Object-Oriented Ontology, Flat Ontology, and Withdrawal

One notable tendency in the field of philosophy during the last couple of decades is that our species, scilicet mankind, has been gradually deprived of its exceptional status among other forms of beings; one could modify it with such adjectives as 'post-human' and 'de-anthropocentric'. Richard Grusin (2014), who has been active in multiple spheres of scholarship, gave a lucid exposition of this trend with the term of 'nonhuman turn':

Intended as a macroscopic concept, the nonhuman turn is meant to account for the simultaneous or overlapping emergence of a number of different theoretical or critical 'turns'—for example, the ontological, network, neurological, affective, digital, ecological, or evolutionary.... Each of these different elements of the nonhuman turn derives from theoretical movements that argue (in one way or another) against human exceptionalism.... (pp. ix-x)

Needless to say, despite having a shared aim to challenge the naïve human centrism which had long gone unquestioned, each of those movements pursues its own distinctive agenda: For example, some theorists have placed a major emphasis upon animals, mammals in especial, rather than existences in general (Hallaway, 2013; MacCormack, 2014), whereas other figures like Iain Hamilton Grant (2006) has criticized such a leaning as “biocentrism” and claimed that we should also take note of inanimate matters.

One can rightly hold object-oriented ontology as one ramification of this tide and may have a snag in discriminating it from other critical approaches; yet, it signalizes itself amidst them with its categorical determination to treat every object as ontologically tantamount and with its meticulously constructed framework that substantiates the apparently quixotic aspiration. Although one could spot an upholder of OOO in diverse academic domains, the person who has made the most outstanding contribution to the theoretical refinement of the ontology is Graham Harman; now a distinguished professor of Southern California Institute of Architecture, he has energetically written scores of papers and books about OOO.

He has stated that the starting point of his philosophy is the concept of ‘flat ontology’, and what corroborates it theoretically is the notion of ‘withdrawal’. The section below will elucidate these notions in order to clarify how OOO is unique and why the worldview which it is presenting should be attended to.

Flat Ontology

‘Flat ontology’ is a term which was originally set forth by the English philosopher of science Roy Bhaskar to collectively designate “theories that flatten the world into its accessibility to human observers”, and “it was a dismissive phrase aimed at positivism” (Harman, 2011, p. 177). But the meaning of the expression was later transformed by Manuel DeLanda into a positive one; now the foremost sense of the phrase is an

ontology that first and foremost deals with all objects in the same way (Harman, 2018). Although he has repeatedly made clear that he intends to furnish his object-oriented ontology with a more sophisticated, persuasive structure, he has reckoned flat ontology as a suitable starting point for philosophy and as a useful way to ensure that we do not cave in to our personal biases about what is or is not real (Harman, 2018).

The concept of flat ontology might strike one as too simple and plain, and some would wonder the reason why Harman puts such a particular stress upon it as the ground zero of his ontology. In fact, this is exactly because he wants to bring the usually disregarded fact to light that most philosophies from antiquity to this day have not accorded condign consideration to each of the different, discrete objects and in lieu reduced them either downward to their material foundations or upward to their functional aspects (Harman, 2011a). Albeit a bit abstract, this penetrative assertion is of considerable intellectual significance since it reveals the central problem with which many of the modern philosophical schools are beset: namely, the predilection for prioritizing *relationships* between/among objects to the substantive *objects themselves*. One could adduce Plato's philosophy, German idealism, theories advanced by structuralists and post-structuralists, 'philosophy of organism' of Alfred North Whitehead, and 'actor network theory' of Bruno Latour.

Harman (1999) censured these theses by remarking that "the paradigm of 'contextuality' or 'relationality' has now been stamped in our minds to the point that it dominates every corner of our thinking" (p. 174), and highlighted the importance of reconsidering the independence and autonomy of individual objects: "once we begin from naïvete rather than doubt, objects immediately take center stage" (Harman, 2011b, p. 7). Being keenly aware of this situation and realizing how problematic it is, Harman has put forward flat ontology as the base of his object-oriented ontology.

Withdrawal

However evident the ethical cogency of flat ontology may be, it is sure that most people would not rate solely advocating the equality of beings as a convincing metaphysics. Harman has been naturally cognizant of that, observing that a OOO thinker were to say nothing more than ‘humans, animals, inanimate matter and fictional characters all equally exist’ after many years of theorization, then not much progression would have been made (Harman, 2018). ‘Withdrawal’ is the conception that Harman has employed and polished up in order to turn the loose idea of flat ontology into his rigorous, object-oriented ontology.

Although Harman derived a profound inspiration for it from the famous ‘tool-analysis’ which Martin Heidegger had conducted in *Time and Being*, he has evolved it into a more comprehensive intellectual conception. The key points of the ‘tool-analysis’ are as follows: when a person uses a tool, she or he is normally never conscious of its presence; in other words, she or he reduces the tool to only an instrumental quality, forgetting that it can probably work in a variety of different ways; still, it can break, and then she or he is confronted with the fact that the tool possesses aspects which have been beyond her or his comprehension—in that manner, the tool withdraws from its user (Heidegger, 1927/1962, pp. 73-77). Whereas Heidegger, possibly constrained by the anthropocentric bent of his time, had presumed that withdrawal could occur only between a *human* subject and an object, Harman has posited that it could occasion in every contact between objects:

Just as we never grasp the being of the two pieces of rock, neither do they fully unlock the being of *each other* when they slam together in distant space. Contra Heidegger, withdrawal is not a specific feature of human temporality, but belongs to *any relation whatsoever*. That tool-beings retreat into a silent background means not only that they are invisible to humans, but that they exceed any of their interactions with other tool beings. (Harman, 1999, 5; italics original)

Harman proffered the most thorough discussion regarding 'withdrawal' in a chapter of his first book *Tool-Being: Heidegger and the Metaphysics of Objects* (1999, pp. 101-205), and has introduced a good deal of examples to prove the validity of the concept elsewhere (2005, pp. 190-230; 2011c, p. 177; 2012, pp. 251-260).

Here one would perceive how cogently this theoretical device could equip flat ontology with a logical foundation. Allowing for the fact that every single one of existences always retains some dormant qualities that might be unknown to others and perhaps to itself—what Harman has called “unexhausted surplus” (2011d, p. 174)—it would be an improbable fantasy and sheer hubris for one to assume herself or himself to have perfect comprehension of another being. Such a realization would prompt one to embrace a schema characterized by flat ontological thoughts. Object-oriented ontology is, in short, a systematic type of flat ontology which is logically upheld by the coherent conception of 'withdrawal'. One is able to know the primacy of 'withdrawal' in OOO from the fact that other ideas that Harman invented to construct his ontology (e.g. 'vicarious causation', 'allure', etc.) are all based on it.

As could be understood even from the abridged account above, OOO has tremendous resonance in this age when the cumulative (and often pernicious) effects of our anthropocentric activities upon other existences are becoming more and more palpable in the various districts of the world. Therefore, although those who first come across the bold doctrines of OOO may consider them to have been born out of the needs of the present day, yet, when one looks into the past history of philosophy, she or he will detect several thinkers who presciently voiced opinions analogous to OOO: Aristotle and Leibnitz are, as Harman (2013) himself pointed out, noteworthy

in that they partially accentuated the equal autonomy of each being. But the man whom Harman has failed to descry as one of his forerunners and who articulated probably the most object-oriented opinion before him is Nicholas of Cusa.

Object-Oriented Characters of Nicholas of Cusa

As adumbrated in the introductory part, Nicholas of Cusa seems to be understood as follows by and large: A Renaissance theologian, the principal worth of whose ideas consists in that they jointly functioned as one of the springboards for modern, more rational thoughts and philosophies (Taton, 1964, p. 13; Scribner and Johnson, 1996, p. 244).

This and other reductive types of comprehension of him, however, should be amended since they fail to recognize many interesting facets which his texts bring forward. This essay would like to throw one of them into relief, namely, its *object-oriented* quality. One could locate the most conspicuous manifestation of it in his idiosyncratic conceptualization of God. He radically opined that God was *immanent*, which means that every entity is the embodiment of God; it inevitably entails that all objects are set on a flat plane; meanwhile, he tactfully held the view that God was *transcendent*, therefore each of them was not exhaustible by another in that God the Maximum could not be fully attained by anything else. This section will describe the strategic definition and illuminate how close it is to OOO in terms of their de-anthropocentric, object-oriented nature.

God as both Immanent and Transcendent

When one would like to appreciate the unique significance of the ideas that Nicholas of Cusa set forth, she or he would be recommended to possess an elementary knowledge of the predominant view on the relationship between God and other beings (both animate and inanimate) which most people had assumed to be true during the middle ages. To put it schematically, it had been almost universally embraced that the

supreme property of God was being *transcendent*, that is, God was conceived as the absolute, perfect creator and originator from which all of the other existences were born, and thus literally superior to everything else (Bréhier, 1969, pp. 148-149; Grant, 2001, p. 287); in other words, people at that time had presupposed that “God is above the world” (Schneider, 1931, p. 626; Muessig, 2006, p. 60). Harman (2018b), as a matter of course, has repudiated such an image of God as irrationally privileged exception, and this is also the very conception of God against which Nicholas of Cusa flung down the gauntlet; he, in lieu of the mainstream presumption, proposed a perspective on God and other existences that was singularly similar to the Harman’s object-oriented ontology.

His ontological framework was rooted in the firm belief that God was, albeit assuredly transcendent, *immanent* at the same time, which means that God exists in all beings all over the universe. Although he was not the first figure who put forward such an understanding of God (Simmons, 2015, p. 153), he should be noted since he was probably the most strenuous advocate of the attitude in his day, to the extent that several coeval churchmen suspected that his view had gone too far from the official credo and even discussed whether he should be arraigned (Hopkins, 1986, p. 8; Gilson, 2019, p. 803). As early as the Christmas of 1439, he pronounced this stance in a lecture wherein he preached that God should dwell in the soul of every being (Hoffman and Klibansky, 1929), and later developed it in elaborate detail both in the first and chiefly in the second volumes of his signature work which was titled *On Learned Ignorance*. He posited that the world was the enfoldment and unfoldment (*explicatio* in Latin, the original language) of God; since every entity in the world exists thanks to God, is born out of God, and is in God, the world is both one entirety and is made of numerous entireties (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001 pp. 32-39). It follows that “there is neither anything which is other nor anything which is different, where a man does not differ from a lion, and the sky does not differ from the earth” (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, p. 41).

One could apprehend how radical this proclamation of Nicholas of Cusa would have sounded to the ear of his contemporaries by simply remembering that those who believed in the Roman Catholic Church during the medieval period took the naively discriminatory precept of the 'great chain of being' for granted (Knowles, 1962, p. 356); to wit, in medieval thought, men "have enjoyed a special place within the cosmic scheme" (Jones, 2013, p. 62). The worldview which Nicholas of Cusa advanced was quite the opposite. For him, the world was the arena where every existence was given completely equal status as God.

Some would argue that such a flattening postulation may, on account of its very flatness, dispossess individual beings of their individuality by blotting out differences between/among them, as some of the less capable pantheistic theorists which succeeded to Nicholas contended with rash arguments, conferring preference upon generality over peculiarity (Erickson, 1998, p. 330; Jaroszyński, 2007, p. 196). But, Nicholas went to assiduous pains to differentiate his theory from such a totalitarian doctrine (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, pp. 65-68). The concluding remark below would mightily attest his solid conviction that although the ontological standing of each object must be equal, its individuality should be considered with proper deference:

It is evident that God is in all things in such way that all things are in Him; and it is now evident that God is in all things through the mediation of the universe, as it were. Hence, it is evident that all is in all and each in each. (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, p. 71)

Here one would identify an unmistakable analogy to Harman's espousal of flat ontology in his philosophical system of OOO. In the universe which Nicholas pictured, all objects are not different ontologically; nonetheless, each of them simultaneously holds its own position as an independent unit.

As Harman has looked on the notion of ‘flat ontology’ just as the base point, Nicholas of Cusa knew well too that he would not persuade others who were more or less confined by the traditional beliefs to accept such a revolutionary view without a well-reasoned logic, and was shrewd enough to grant sometimes a certain amount of concession when the circumstances required him to do so. Here we should remember that he did not deny the *transcendental* property of God. One would estimate the delineation to be a fundamental inconsistency; yet, Nicholas of Cusa defined the transcendental quality of God in a tactical fashion which reasonably bolstered his objective to make his more open-minded outlook understandable; to put it differently, in his deductive structure, the conception of transcendental God carries out a function which ‘withdrawal’ does in Harman’s OOO—i.e. it theoretically props up the radically liberal stance which looks on all existences without discrimination.

In the early part of *On Learned Ignorance*, he, like many of the intellectuals in his epoch, frankly made clear that God should transcend the understanding of all things; yet, he then employed an idiosyncratic expression: “Absolute Maximum” was the phrase that he used to verbalize the trait, and he defined the word in the following manner: “I give the name “Maximum” to that than which there cannot be anything greater” (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, p. 6). There may seem to be little difference between ‘transcendent’ and ‘maximum’ as a word to modify the Christian God; still, this apparently tiny differentiation and the emphasis on the latter were his cunning tactics to convince his conservative contemporaries of his point.

In a preliminary discussion, he put forth the notion of “learned ignorance”, and clarified that it was by no means the same with the knowledge of one’s own ignorance that Socrates in Plato’s dialogues had promoted (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, p. 6). He presented it as a *religious* tenet which a follower of Christianity should bear as a subject of the Absolute Maximum: “learned ignorance sees most clearly...that the

unqualifiedly Maximum exists necessarily" (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, p. 12).

To summarize, Nicholas of Cusa lodged his theory in the following fashion: inasmuch as God as the Absolute Maximum, in nature, never allows any other being to be comparable with it, it is beyond every opposition and contradiction; hence, we are on no account able to define God by any affirmative or negative statement; as a predictable consequence, nothing in the universe can comprehend it, because the understanding of a being, limited by the law of contradiction, is not capable of uniting the contradictory definitions like X and non-X; everyone is thus required to espouse this form of "learned ignorance" to be a better Christian (Nicholas of Cusa, 1440/2001, pp. 16-46). Such a relationship between God as the Maximum and 'learned ignorance' was further developed in his later works, with Nicholas stating: "In an infinitely excellent way He is prior to whatever is conceived and named by us as truth" and "I understand clearly that in the realm of all creatures neither God nor His name is found and that God escapes all conception" (Nicholas of Cusa, 1444/1994, pp. 304-305).

These discourses must strike a modern reader as all too banal and old-fashioned theological abstractions, and the reader would not fathom the reason why Nicholas harped on the same string over and over. But, this was the incarnation of diplomatic ingenuity of Nicholas. He, cognizant of the indispensability to partly conform to the established intellectual paradigm, blended his staple argument for the immanence of God with the traditional picture of God as transcendent. If God inheres in every existence of the world and God as the Absolute Maximum, in turn, is never attainable by any other being, it would logically follow that nothing can acquire mastery nor supremacy over another. Undoubtedly, this kind of reasoning was a rhetorical tactic and would not sound sufficiently convincing for us modern people; notwithstanding, we ought not to ignore the epistemological difference lying between the premodern people and us. As Harman sought to propound his

object-oriented ontology to other people with the aid of an insight of Heidegger, whose ideas have arguably impressed modern people most strikingly, Nicholas of Cusa had recourse to transcendent God in order to make his case and depicted a world where inexhaustible God should inhabit all existences, each of which democratically should 'withdraw' from each other.

It is natural for one to ponder why such a progressive worldview has been basically overlooked for a long time. Michel Foucault gave us a beneficial clue to reflect over this problem with the famous conception of 'episteme'. According to him, the primordial pattern which determines people's way of thinking before the seventeenth century was totally different from those which would be accepted thereafter (Foucault, 1962/2002, pp. 375-422); probably, because of the structural disparity, few have been able to regard Nicholas as a thinker who advanced an agenda that has an echo with the contemporary era. Therefore, he has been counted as just a Renaissance theologian. But, at this very moment when the esteem for other beings is becoming increasingly important, we should look back upon his philosophy, according to which no object would be permitted to reign over another as a superior because every single one of existences in the world, as God, should be given equal status.

Conclusion: Proposals to Philosophy Today and the General Public

Above, this paper revealed that object-oriented ontology's conceptions of flat ontology and withdrawal have unmissable similitude with the thoughts of Nicholas of Cusa. In this closing section, the author of this paper would like to venture a few suggestions for the discipline of philosophy and my fellow human beings. Firstly, we ought to reread texts written by

philosophers whose ideas are ordinarily deemed as obsolete. Words like 'medieval' and 'transitional' may imply that their ideas have already been overcome by succeeding generations; still, as this article made clear, one could sometimes espy an unanticipated insight for this epoch. Although a thorough examination will require other papers, the exact logic of Thomas Aquinas should be studied in its own right, and the cosmology of Giordano Bruno has telling analogies with the centrifugal theory of Jacques Derrida. Secondly, it is notable that de-anthropocentric opinion was proposed in a quite convincing manner as early as the 15th century. The era is far ahead of the beginning of the industrial revolution, yet, as Hughes (2014) attested, harmful repercussions which activities of mankind imposed upon the environment and other existences began to expand around that time (p. 104). For those who live at this volatile time, it is an imminent task to contain the human centrism and to pay due respect to other beings which stand on the same plane with us; if we fail to cope with this problem, we would be sent to our doom. As long as our forefathers including Nicholas of Cusa have afforded beneficial monitions, it would be our obligation to hearken their calls and to conduct ourselves in a more appropriate manner; the resultant world would be, possibly, a republic of objects.

References

- Bréhier, E. (1963). *The history of philosophy: The middle ages and the renaissance*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Erickson, M. (1998). *Christian theology*. Ada, MI: Baker Publishing Group.
- Foucault, M. (2002). *The order of things: An archaeology of the human sciences*. London, NY: Routledge.
- Gilson, E. (2019). *History of Christian philosophy in the middle ages*. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press.
- Grant, E. (2001). *God and reason in the middle ages*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Grant, I.H. (2006). *Philosophies of nature after Schelling*. London, NY: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Haraway, D. (2008). *When species meet*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
- Harman, G. (1999). *Tool-being: Elements in a theory of objects*. Chicago, IL: DePaul University.
- Harman, G. (2005). *Guerrilla metaphysics: Phenomenology and the carpentry of things*. Chicago, IL: Open Court.
- Harman, G. (2011a). The problem with Metzinger. *Cosmos and history: The journal of natural and social philosophy*. n.1. Vol7, (7-36).
- Harman, G. (2011b). *The quadruple object*. Washington, D.C.: Zero Books.
- Harman, G. (2011c). *Heidegger Explained: From phenomenon to thing*. Chicago, IL: Open Court.
- Harman, G. (2011d). The road to objects. *Continent*. n.3. Vol.1, (171-179).
- Harman, G. (2012). *Weird realism: Lovecraft and philosophy*. Alresford, U.K.: John Hunt Publishing.

- Harman, G. (2013). *Bells and whistles: More speculative realism*. Winchester, U.K: Zero Books.
- Hopkins, J. (1986). *A concise introduction to the philosophy of Nicholas of Cusa*. Minneapolis, MN: A.J. Banning Press.
- Hughes, J.D. (2014). *Environmental problems of the Greeks and Romans: Ecology in the ancient Mediterranean*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Jaroszyński, P. (2007). *Science in culture*. Amsterdam: BRILL.
- Jones, R. (2013). *The medieval natural world*. Harlow, U.K.: Pearson.
- Knowles, D. (1962). *The evolution of medieval thought*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Kolatan, F. (2019). In pursuit of the allusive object. In M. Gage (Ed.), *Aesthetics equals politics: New discourses across art, architecture, and philosophy* (pp. 83-98). Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Maccormack, P. (2014). *The animal catalyst: Towards ahuman theory*. London, U.K.: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.
- McTighe, T.P. (1964). Nicholas of Cusa as a forerunner of modern science. *Actes du dixième congrès international d'histoire des sciences*. Paris: Hermann, Vol.1 (619-622).
- Miller, R.A. (2017). *The biopolitics of embryos and alphabets: A reproductive history of the nonhuman*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Muessig, C. (2006). Heaven, earth and the angels: Preaching paradise in the sermons of Jacques de Vitry. In C. Muessig & A. Putter (Eds), *Envisaging heaven in the middle ages*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press.
- Nicholas, of Cusa. (2001). *Complete philosophical and theological treatises of Nicholas of Cusa*. (J. Hopkins, Trans.). Minneapolis, MN: A. J. Banning Press.

*Nicolaus Cusanus Unbound: An Investigation into Parallels between his
Liberal Philosophy and Object-Oriented Ontology*

- Nicholas, of Cusa. (1994). *A miscellany on Nicholas of Cusa*. (J. Hopkins, Trans.). Minneapolis, MN: A.J. Banning Press.
- Schneider, H., & Green, M. (1931). *The history of world civilization from prehistoric times to the middle ages*. London, U.K.: G. Routledge and Sons.
- Scribner, R., & Johnson, T. (1996). *Popular religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400-1800*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Simmons, M. (2015). *Universal salvation in late antiquity: Porphyry of Tyre and the pagan-Christian debate*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Taton, R. (1964). *The beginnings of modern science, from 1450 to 1800*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Lin-Manuel Miranda: Hamilton, a New Era of Broadway Musicals

Besmir Shishko, PhD (C.)

Karl Franzens University, Graz, Austria

Email: besmirs@gmail.com

Abstract

Over the past two years, something odd has happened on Broadway, which can be accredited to one man, or rather two. A new musical known as *Hamilton*, based on the genius and life of Alexander Hamilton, is striving to become one of the most beloved, most viewed and widely appreciated Broadway shows of all time, and it is all the creation of Lin Manuel Miranda. This paper aims to address the issues of changing the conventional Broadway music by introducing hip-hop, which seemingly focuses on rapping about relevant issues over edgy beats. In line with relevant literature, the dissertation attempts to explore the role of the introduction of modern hip-hop music and diverse cast playing the protagonist parts of the Founding Fathers in achieving to convey the message of *Hamilton* while changing the face of orthodox Broadway plays. The paper departs from the question of whether these elements are successful in attracting diverse ethnicities and a younger audience, while simultaneously managing to gross higher ticket sales.

Keywords: *Broadway, hip-hop, Hamilton, audience members, diversity.*

Article received on the 6th of March, 2019.

Article accepted on the 12th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

Hamilton connects American history, musical theatre and hip-hop to present an experience that is exciting and fresh for theatre goers. While playwrights and composers may have made progress bringing rock and pop into Broadway, none have dared ventured as deeply as Miranda into Hip-Hop, the genre of music that has a style and culture of its own. Indeed, Miranda himself has been quite experienced in this culture since his youth and in *Hamilton* he delivers a lifetime's worth of immersion and study. Cast albums as well as rap artists like Jay-Z inspired Miranda for they were able to convey a narrative with rhyme, albeit with different time. Young Lin-Manuel found that he had a talent for both as well, and in *Hamilton*, he has brought together music and history with a plot that stands more than 200 years outside of what is considered the typical culture of hip-hop. The genius of Miranda, who also stars as Founding Father Alexander Hamilton, is nowhere more evident than in the way he has translated this historical tale into 21st century musical exuberance – the kind of sound today's urban swashbucklers already have streaming into their ears.

By relating the hopes and setbacks, squabbles and seductions, triumphs and tragedies of these 18th century American rebels in a score that allows the past to speak in the musical language of the rebellious present – rap, he connect audiences to characters separated by more than 200 years (Zeitchik, 2015). Lin-Manuel Miranda, the Tony winning playwright of *Hamilton*, created this musical with the idea of having a diverse cast due to the fact the United States has more immigrants than any other country in the world, where roughly more than 40 million people living in the U.S. were born in another country, accounting for about one-fifth of the world's migrants in 2016. (Lopez & Bialik, 2017).

While *Hamilton* is based on the founding father Alexander Hamilton during Revolutionary America, Miranda thinks that the casting of Black, Hispanic, Asian American, etc. in roles that are historically white will not take away from what the show is about (Miranda & McCarter, 2016). He wanted to separate the

history from today and make the show current and relatable (Delman, 2015).

The genre “hip-hop musical” may appear to some as degradation to the high standards of Broadway productions yet one look at *Hamilton’s* lyrics may refute any such criticism. Within *Hamilton*, Miranda’s musical score excellently merges so many diverse musical elements from a masterful score and expert rapping style to lyrics that shake the foundations of the country. Although modern day rap and America’s near 250-year-old revolution may seem as far apart from one another on the surface as can be, Miranda states that rap would likely have been the language of the founding fathers for rap has always been a way for people to remove themselves from circumstances of oppression. To clarify, rap is often a means for rappers to distinguish themselves from their environment, expose their environment, and overcome their enemies; all things that the founding fathers would have needed to do in order to establish the country.

Miranda comments that in his show, Broadway audiences are given a chance to see Hip-Hop in a manner that’s consistent with the genre’s most important conventions. Indeed, the show’s cast album has achieved well on its own. Hip-Hop fans have high praise of *Hamilton* due to its complex and outstanding rhyming. Indeed, to see them perform, one cannot help but feel that they are holding a beat that is, in the words of former President Barack Obama, “Young, scrappy, and hungry” (CBSN, 2016). This fresh, feisty and eager attitude is described by the former President as a quintessentially American attitude which is what makes the art so timelessly moving. He states, “Rap is the language of revolution, hip hop is the back beat. In each brilliantly crafted song, we hear the debates that shaped our nation and the debates that are still shaping our nations” (CBSN, 2016). Perhaps this is the hidden sympathy that unites rapper’s rhetoric with the discourse of democracy; that both have accepted and owned the necessary ‘trial by fire’ from which all great things come about.

The resonance between hip-hop rappers’ challenges and the ones faced by the founding fathers is apparent in the

thematic elements and lyrics that Miranda utilizes in *Hamilton*. For instance, in 'My Shot', one of the fieriest and lively of the play's songs, Hamilton raps for his life and his stake in it with a die-hard desperation that is instantly recognizable by hip-hop enthusiasts as something similar to Eminem and his song 'Lose Yourself'. Hamilton sings "I am not throwing away my shot. Hey yo, I'm just like my country, I'm young, scrappy and hungry, And I'm not throwing away my shot, We're gonna rise up (time to take a shot)" (Miranda, 2015). Compare this defiant challenge to Eminem's "You own it, you better never let it go, you only get one shot, do not miss you chance to blow, this opportunity comes once in a life time" (Eminem, 2018). What most profoundly ties together Hamilton however with a hardcore rapper like Eminem is that both of them come from such humbling backgrounds. In Eminem's case, the struggle was in not having a father, living with his mother in the trailer park and feeding his child. Hamilton's ranting of tears is no less daunting in the play's self-titled song '*Hamilton*' in which the protagonist is identified as the forgotten bastard son of a whore, left alone by a roommate and also stuck living in starvation. Surely, the pages of *Hamilton* look like something scribbled from the loose leaf diary of a deprived destitute from Harlem rather than the diary of the nation's 10-dollar forefather.

Nevertheless, for as miserable as his beginnings were, Hamilton's vision, literacy, and rap skills portrayed in *Hamilton* seemed destined to raise him from the lowest of the lows to the highest of the heights once they were put to use in the right environment, New York. The play's opening describes how "In New York you can be a new man, just you wait, Alexander Hamilton, We are waiting in the wings for you, You could never back down, You never learned to take your time" (Miranda, 2015). How similar is this love for New York to acclaimed hip-hop rapper Jay-Z's own 'Empire State of Mind' which describes how "In New York, Concrete Jungle where dreams are made of, There's nothin' you can't do, Now you're in New York, These streets will make you feel brand new, Big lights will inspire you, Let's hear it for New York, New York, New York" (Jay-Z, 2018). New York, New York is said to be the

city so great they named it twice. Residents come to the city not only for its greatness but for unlocking the greatness that lies within them and, in doing so, make a name for themselves. New York is the big apple because it is the place where one's desires can be fulfilled, that is if they are willing to take a bite of it as big as Americans Jay-Z and Hamilton have proven is possible. No wonder why *Hamilton* has consecutively sold out more than a year's worth of its New York Broadway shows and is a hit with the hundreds of inner city students who have received free private theatre performances from the cast.

Perhaps the only place more American than New York is Washington D.C., a place where *Hamilton* has also been performed for dozens of politicians. On Broadway, African-American and Latino actors dressed in the costumes of the Revolutionary War period are portraying the Founding Fathers – George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton – in Lin-Manuel Miranda's "*Hamilton*," a critically acclaimed hip-hop musical whose audience last month included President Obama (Aucoin, 2015). During *Hamilton*'s condensed White House performance, the former president emphasized that "We hope that the remarkable life of Alexander Hamilton will show our young people the possibilities within themselves and how much they can achieve in the span of a lifetime. We hope that they will walk away with an understanding with what our founders got started, that it was just a start, just a beginning..." (CBSN, 2016). The former president may be biased about *Hamilton* however. Miranda, who had composed just the first song of *Hamilton*, performed it successfully at the Obama administration's White House poetry jam, which according to Barack Obama helped to set wind in the screenwriter's sails. Following his amazing reception at the White House, Miranda went onto the writing of the rest of the play's songs.

Despite the fact that Miranda wrote the songs in the most unlikely of places, such as on the subway, the *Hamilton* record rose to Billboard 200's 12th position making it the most acclaimed musical recording in over 50 years (Gate, 2015). Additionally, *Hamilton* ranked third in rap charts, an

achievement echoed by the “Best Rap Album of 2015” accolade from Billboard. The awards came again as well in 2016 after the cast’s recording took the Award for Best Musical Theatre Cast from the Grammys. What all these achievements demonstrate is that, with a powerful message delivered through a soulful genre of music, it is possible for Broadway productions to earn the respect and admiration of a larger audience than any before.

Perhaps the success of the cast album is in that it encloses the story’s entirety with just a single recording. From beginning to end, the narrative for each historical character is clearly presented and reads as coherently as a history book. Indeed, much of the play’s historical basis is taken from one such printed book, Rob Chernow’s biography of Alexander Hamilton, a text which Miranda picked up by chance at the airport. Clearly, the power of the story impacts not only those who can travel to New York and purchase tickets, but anyone who listens to the album. Furthermore, the availability of the track is becoming quite widespread meaning that listeners, even not having seen the show, have access to the captivating portrayal of the Hamilton story.

Essentially, *Hamilton’s* wide ranging charm which stretches over several genres and generations, gives the show the ability to unite them all with one story and its soundtrack. In *Hamilton*, Miranda widens the spectrum of the modern-day musical by eliminating cliché and passé theatric maneuvers for the sake of a more gripping narrative told in the moving spirit of rap, a genre of music that has always had the intention of shaking things up. In so doing, *Hamilton* reaches a wider sphere of people who now are realizing there is something more current and amazing to see on or hear from Broadway. Essentially *Hamilton* proves that even a Broadway show can deliver a performance capable of moving people on the streets rather than just the upper ranks of society. Nevertheless, Lin-Manuel has further succeeded in overturning the upper-middle classes’ perceptions of the musical genre as well. The prejudice against rap—that it is a weak or shallow form of art—dissolves in the context of *Hamilton*. The show maintains the magic of Broadway while introducing the standard musical crowd to the

world of rap and hip-hop. By combining these two styles, Miranda opens the door to a variety of viewers quite unlike any performance before. Essentially, the show merges its diverse elements so perfectly that no matter which feature originally attracted the viewer—hip-hop, history, or musical theatre—he or she will be captivated for the entire show, even by parts that may not initially have seemed interesting.

A Historical Production

History is a common theme for Broadway shows to delve into. *Camelot* and *1776* are two such musical performances that successfully made their mark on Broadway, and in *Hamilton* the historical trend continues, albeit in radically new style of rap. Nonetheless, *Hamilton* references surpass the history of historic musicals to include lyrics like “sit down, John!” (Miranda, 2015) a line taken directly from *1776* to dismiss the insufferable John Adams. Miranda’s work gives audiences the chance to feel Alexander Hamilton and his colleagues more directly, thereby gaining an insight into the ideals and challenges each of them faced. Some of this sympathy is surely attributable to the dozens of pop-culture allusions interspersed throughout the play such as songs that reiterate themes and wordage from contemporary rappers, like Jay-Z for example, and odd references to other musical productions like *Beauty and the Beast* when the actors sing “Screw your courage to the sticking place” (MsMojo, 2017). These many modern references help to frame the past in a contemporary and interesting lens.

The complexity of the nation’s founders is not a topic brought up that frequently. To many, they are distant and mythological personas belonging to the distant past rather than contemporary present. Even so, in *Hamilton*, their performances help to overturn these biases as audiences see them for who they are truly, as human beings with human strengths and weaknesses. On NPR’s “All Songs Considered,” the contributor admitted that he was “ready to hate” *Hamilton* (Aku, 2015). The contributor believed the basis of *Hamilton*, which combined hip-hop with a history was too ridiculous to

be good. However, after watching the show, he was very moved by the performance, both as a show as well as an album of hip-hop on its own. Actually, the performance inspired him to delve deeper into Alexander Hamilton's life to confirm what he had learned on stage and see what more there was to know. This is the transformative power *Hamilton* delivers, that it will make researchers from even the skeptics.

Immigration Nation

One of the most significant contributions *Hamilton* makes to the audience, and indeed the people of the United States of America, is its emphasis on themes of immigration, diversity, and the achievement possible when the two cooperate together. Hamilton, who was born in the Caribbean island of Nevis, immigrated to the United States in his teens, is a powerful example of the ongoing support that immigrants have provided for the country, as without Hamilton's immigration, the world would not only have been deprived of an invaluable founding father but also of the award winning musical about his life.

Miranda is a fine candidate to articulate these themes for he himself is the son of immigrants. Though he was born in New York, his parents are from Mexico and Puerto Rico. President Obama, who evidently noticed this connection, stated of Alexander Hamilton that he was "a striving immigrant who escaped poverty, made his way to the new world, climbed to the top by sheer force of will and pluck and determination; in him Lin-Manuel saw something of his own family and every immigrant family" (CBSN, 2016). Miranda certainly broadcasted his support for immigration on Broadway through his line "Immigrants: We get the job done" in the song Yorktown (The World Turned Upside Down) (Miranda, 2015). Lin-Manuel and his crew picked up and expanded upon this verse with "The Hamilton Mixtape: Immigrants (We Get the Job Done)," a full length song with a provocative video on YouTube describing the importance of immigrants to the American economy.

Regardless of whether or not one is in favor or against immigration, *Hamilton* shows how fundamental the practice has been to the founding of the country. In describing Hamilton, Burr says he was “Another immigrant comin’ up from the bottom” (Miranda, 2015). Throughout the play, the term ‘immigrant’ is used 9 times to describe Hamilton, a repetition that Miranda uses to emphasize the significant role the immigration plays into the identity of the forefather and all like him who have relocated to the U.S. in hope of a better life. Rather than allow his foreign birth and humble origins define him, Hamilton, in the words of his biographer Ron Chernow “had totally and irrevocably repudiated his past” (Chernov, 2005, p. 580). His triumph is shared with *Hamilton’s* increasingly diverse audiences. Demographic trends indicate that, as of 2015, 43.2 million U.S. residents had been born abroad which translates to roughly 13.4% of the U.S. population. Certainly, an aspect of Alexander Hamilton’s success is in that it not only promotes such a popular theme but also uses a cast made up of racially diverse actors.

Broadway is known for only casting white actors so exclusively it is called “The Great White Way.” Raised in central New York, Lin-Manuel saw that Broadway had hardly any openings for Latino actors and the channels which did open were obscure and infrequent. He says, “I don’t dance well enough to play Bernardo [in *West Side Story*] or Paul in *A Chorus Line* and that’s it. If you’re a Puerto Rican man, that’s what you got” (Deerwester, 2016, p. 1). Miranda sought to adjust the inequity in Broadway casting with *Hamilton’s* highly diverse cast. The accolades they have achieved since is a testament to both the capacity of Latino performers as well as the ability for talented actors to deliver outstanding performances regardless of any discrepancies between them and their characters’ race.

Hamilton, though about a group of all-white men, uses diverse actors to reach beyond itself. Excellent actors of color bring characters like Aaron Burr, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington to life. *Hamilton* denies stereotypes of casting stereotypes and in so doing, “transcends race” according to

Miranda (Vosick-Levinson, 2015). Instead of looking at George Washington's powdered wig, audiences have to pull from a deeper level to see the character for who he truly is. In so doing, they may get closer to not only the character but themselves as well.

Lin-Manuel attracts audiences to recognize these figures of history as real-life individuals rather than distant and glorified beings who are larger than life. His decision to cast non-white actors is a testament to this vision. He states "In *Hamilton*, we're telling the stories of old, dead white men but we're using actors of color, and that makes the story more immediate and more accessible to a contemporary audience" states Miranda (DiGiacomo, 2015). Hence, the hip-hop elements ingrained in Alexander Hamilton's story with elements relatable to today's culture and the diverse cast makes these long-dead white characters relatable to contemporary, and diverse audiences. "We have the opportunity to reclaim a history that some of us don't necessarily think is our own," said Renee Elise Goldsberry, the actress playing Alexander Hamilton's sister-in-law Angelica Schuyler, (Perez & Ashley & Salima, 2016). Her feelings extend beyond her cast mates and into the audience as well.

Hamilton's diverse actors serves to both humanize the characters that they portray as well as help viewers to see their story as potently and relevantly as though it happened at present. Such casting is admitted to the timeless message of Martin Luther King Jr., that one day a man "will be judged by the content of his character rather than the color of his skin". In *Hamilton*, the actors are exclusively judged by this standard alone. Contributing to this insightful perspective is the background of the former president Barack Obama, who emerged as an African-American in a historically all-white occupation. Indeed, without Barack Obama's White House Poetry Jam, it's unlikely that *Hamilton* would be in production now. Similarly shattering stereotypes is Christ Jackson, the African-American in *Hamilton* playing George Washington, a man who was white as the powdered wig he wore.

By breaking down the stereotypes of musical theatre and history, Lin-Manuel Miranda has opened up new avenues of theatre goer demographics on Broadway. Presently, the common age of the Broadway audience member is white and around 50 years old with nearly a quarter million dollar annual income. As one writer notes, "80 percent of Broadway ticket-buyers are white, according to the Broadway League, but the percentages of Black, Hispanic and Asian theatergoers have all risen significantly over the last decade" (Paulson, 2015, p. 1). Obama also remarked that tickets to a Broadway show were pricey but that, thanks to the generosity of *Hamilton's* cast, thousands of high school students are now getting a 'shot' to see the live play in action.

Like adult audiences, the increase in the number of students shows that they appreciate the cast's diversity, which one student described as reflecting "real life," and that "it's nice to see not just one race represented onstage" (D'Orio, 2017, p. 1). Fundamentally, the play wins over audiences white and colored, young and old, rich and low-income because of its ability to eliminate the social distance between them through the shared story of their country's founding. Like the many branches of a tree recognizing the shared heritage of its roots, the people of America find meaning and a common identity in *Hamilton's* performance. The ethnic cast also helps to recreate the moment of America's founding in real time since immigrants like Hamilton founded the nation.

Conclusion

Ultimately, the tactics and message of *Hamilton* are proving as revolutionary for Broadway shows as the protagonist was for the country's founding. By including modern genres of music like hip-hop and rap, an ethnically diverse cast, and reaching out to school, *Hamilton* consistently endeavors to build a bridge between the founding father's past and the future the belongs to the youth and all the ideals and art forms that are unequivocally theirs. Perhaps one of the greatest questions that *Hamilton* has raised following their performance is what is next

for Broadway? If *Hamilton* can succeed in winning the hearts of countless audience members and students with diversity, rap, and outreach education, what directions might present and future Broadway productions be able to go? Might dubstep ballet be coming to a theatre soon? Or perhaps a wicked inspired anti-bullying campaign for schools? The possibilities *Hamilton* has inspired are as endless and they are still unknown. In many ways *Hamilton's* inspiration value is directly related to America's own contribution to the free world. This is a country where there is no law telling who can be what and many laws that entitle people to the inalienable rights of liberty. *Hamilton* is a profound example of citizens expressing their inalienable right to express themselves innovatively in theatre and, in so doing, win over hundreds of thousands, earn a name for themselves, and decent salary to be sure; all things that are part and parcel to the wildest dream belonging to most any American, past or present.

Shows like *Hamilton* appeal to people of all different ages, races, and backgrounds. It seems as though Lin-Manuel Miranda's production is in full motion to influence musical theatre not just for a season, but quite a while as Broadway comes to grips with the infusion of its least ever used musical genre, hip-hop. Though tickets may be 'pricey', anyone can get a front row ticket to the show with the cast's recording which, though without the theatrics of the stage, is acclaimed in its own right nonetheless. In Miranda's words, "art changes people's minds, because it allows us to empathize with people we never empathize with" (Vozick-Levinson, 2015, p. 1). Within *Hamilton*, Lin-Manuel succeeds in uniting many diverse crowds of theatre goers not only with music and theatre but each other as well. His style is forging a common ground for those of all background to find their voice in Broadway and more by transcending stylistic conventions. Lin-Manuel Miranda, by creating an art form for all, has made history forever. What's even more astounding however is what avenues for the future the play has opened up with is creative contributions and innovative casting. Truly, the full contribution that *Hamilton* makes for the world remains to be seen, just like America itself.

References

- Aku, T. (2015). "+1: Why 'Hamilton' The Musical Works." *All Songs Considered*. NPR. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/sections/allsongs/2015/09/25/443413372/all-songs-1-why-hamilton-the-musical-works>
- Aucoin, D. (2015). "Diverse Casting a Sign of Progress Onstage." *Boston Globe*. Retrieved from: <https://www.bostonglobe.com/arts/theater-art/2015/08/22/diversity-onstage-challenges-traditional-thinking-about-the-classics-and-our-own-shared-history/mD39Nr7ZuyHDRDFYLaQFeK/story.html>
- CBSN. (2016). Hamilton cast performs "Alexander Hamilton" at the White House. *Youtube*. Retrieved from: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZPrAKuOBWzw>
- Chernow, R. (2010). *Washington: A life*. Penguin.
- D'Orio, W. (2017). Hamilton Goes to High School. *Education Next*. Retrieved from: <https://www.educationnext.org/hamilton-goes-high-school-how-students-learn-history-from-broadway-musical-lin-manuel-miranda/>
- Deerwester, J. (2016). Hamilton producer defends diverse casting. *USA Today*. Retrieved from: <https://www.usatoday.com/story/life/theater/2016/03/31/producer-diverse-casting-key-hamilton/82461036/>
- DiGiacomo, F. (2015). Hamilton's Lin-Manuel Miranda on finding originality, racial politics and why Trump should see his show. *Hollywood Reporter*. Retrieved from: <https://www.hollywoodreporter.com/features/hamiltons-lin-manuel-miranda-finding-814657>
- Edwards, S. (1969). "But, Mr. Adams: 1776 Original Broadway Cast Recording". Sony. CD.

- Eminem. (2018). Lose Yourself. *Genius.com*. Retrieved from <https://genius.com/Eminem-lose-yourself-lyrics>
- Gate, A. (2015). "Hamilton, the Best Broadway Musical in Years, Boasts an Equally Thrilling Cast Recording: Album Review." *Billboard*. Retrieved from: <https://www.broadwayworld.com/article/HAMILTON-Cast-Recording-to-Make-History-with-No-12-Debut-on-Billboard-200-20151007>
- Lopez, G. and Bialik, K. (2017). Key findings about U.S. Immigrants. *Pew Research Center*. Retrieved from: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/05/03/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/>
- Miranda, L.M. (2015). *Alexander Hamilton. Original Broadway Cast of Hamilton*. Atlantic Recording Corporation. CD.
- MsMojo. (2017). Top 5 must know Hamilton the Musical Facts. *YouTube*. Retrieved from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_fuaoomVONs
- Paulson, M. (2015). "This Broadway Season, Diversity Is Front and Center." *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/09/13/theater/this-broadway-season-diversity-is-front-and-center.html>
- Perez, A. Ashley R. and Salima K. (2016). "Why History Has Its Eyes on Hamilton's Diversity." *Time*. Retrieved from <http://time.com/4149415/hamilton-broadway-diversity/>
- Vozick-Levinson, S. (2015). "Revolution on Broadway: Inside Hip-Hop History Musical 'Hamilton'" *Rolling Stone*. Retrieved from: <https://www.rollingstone.com/culture/culture-features/revolution-on-broadway-inside-hip-hop-history-musical-hamilton-74059/>
- Zeitchik, S. (2015). "Hamilton" Offers American History with a Hip-hop Beat." *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from: <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/theater/la-et-cm-ok-hamilton-broadway-20150727-story.html>

Miranda, L. McCarter, J. (2016). *Hamilton: The Revolution*. New York: Grand Central

Delman, E. (2015). How Lin-Manuel Miranda shapes history [online]. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from:
<http://www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2015/09/lin-manuel-miranda-hamilton/408019/>

Jay-Z. (2018). Empire State of Mind. *Genius.com*. Retrieved from:
<https://genius.com/Jay-z-empire-state-of-mind-lyrics>

***In Order to be Great, One must be a Woman:
Reading Sanjukta Dasgupta's Dilemma: A Second
Book of Poems***

Saptarshi Mallick, PHD.

Guest Lecturer at the Department of English, the Sanskrit College and
University, Kolkata, West Bengal, India.

Email: saptarshieng@gmail.com

Abstract

Poets play an important role in alighting the lamp of the human mind. The technique of writing poetry comes with 'creation' which is the primacy of knowledge and Sanjukta Dasgupta's poetry is the source of light vindicating her formidable creativity and apt awareness as a 'progressive [woman] writer' of Indian Writings in English. Women writers contribute towards the female literary tradition of *écriture féminine*, strengthening the genre of gynocriticism. Elaine Showalter comments 'women writers...found [themselves]...without a history, forced to rediscover the past anew, forging again...the consciousness of their sex' facilitating the patriarchal interrogation through women's writings, accelerating the birth of a woman authored literary canon. It has enabled them to break the silence towards an egalitarian world. This essay explores the 'micropolitics' of an urban environment in Dasgupta's *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems*, and critically reconnoiters her entelechy to observe life and interrogate the stereotypes society imposes upon women.

Article received on 28th of February, 2019.

Article accepted on the 12th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

Keywords: *Women's Writing, Interrogation, Patriarchy, Gender stereotypes, Positive endurance, Progressive future.*

Through their own joyful extension, poets play an important role in keeping alight the lamp of the human mind as its part in the illumination of the world (Tagore, 2003, p. 1). It is through this realm of freedom that the poet not only speaks of great human truths but also narrates the verses of victory (Tagore, 1978, p. 20) as knowledge is freedom leading towards the creation of Art, and "man's civilization is built upon his surplus" (Tagore, 2007, p. 8). Life and Society can reach to the highest realms of freedom if they actively endeavor "to solve the problem of mutual relationship" (Tagore, 2011, p. 628). Therefore, the poet being the "world-worker" is able to "transcend the limits of mortality" (Tagore, 2005, p. 55) towards an existence where all the people are coordinated by the vision of the poet to be "receptive as well as creative" towards an "inspiring atmosphere of creative activity" (Tagore, 2003, p. 2) through which "a harmonious blending of voice, gesture and movement, words and action, in which [the poet's] generosity of conduct is expressed" (Tagore, 2001, p. 495). Through an expression of her/his own worldview and ideology, the poet is able to voice the universal experience of humanity facilitating an interrogation of the hypothesis of marginality which has often been used to describe Indian poetry written in the English language as "English is no longer the language of colonial rulers; it is a language of modern India...attending to local realities, traditions and ways of feeling" (King, 1987, p. 3). Therefore, through their poetry written in English the Indian poets have been able to maintain their pluralism by enhancing the arrangement of inter-connections among cultures and communities, traditions and technologies to locate the literary

cultural heritage of Indian English poetry. As concerns of identity have been one of the commonest themes of Indian writings in English (Narayan, 1995, p. 63), it may be considered as "a risk" (Singh, 2011, p. 3) which many Indian-English poets have adopted through a "process of adjustment on emotional, intellectual and ethical-philosophical planes" (Gadgil, 1995, p. 8) by incurring a methodology to harmonize the classical tradition along with the richness and variety of the Western literature, ensuring Indian poetry in English to be "a complex labyrinth of subtle interweavings" (Paniker, 1991, p. 16) but the Indo-English writer must "steer clear of the Scylla of invoking excessive 'local colour' reference and the Charybdis of embracing some 'Indianisation' theory that asserts a limited or biased view of Indian religion, philosophy and politics" (Singh, 2011, p. 3). As the "poet is not the product of an ethnic stud" (Katrak, 1971, p. 243) therefore Indian poetry in English is pan-Indian poetry which is "capable of expressing the totality of Indian experience" (Paranjape, 2009, p. 6). The English language was not "a medium of merely utilitarian communication" but "a potent vehicle of progressive thought and passion" (Bose, 1996, p. 515) for writers to voice their creative aspirations through a creative homogeneity involving a cultural comprehension between the East and the West towards a ubiquitous magnitude by exploring the secrets of existence and discovering "the principle of unity in nature...by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen" (Tagore, 1996, p. 379). As a result, the English language cannot be dismissed as an alien language because "the native intellectual will try to make European culture his own. He will not be content to get to know Rabelais and Diderot, Shakespeare and Edgar Allan Poe; he will bind them to his intelligence as close as possible" (Fanon, 1970, p. 176) rather

“the creative choice of language must be respected and one should judge by results” (Rajan, 1965, p. 93). Writing is an activism for a writer; it is the only possible way by which she/he can express her/his political standpoint, ideology, worldview, dreams and visions; leading towards a harmonious fusion of ideas (Dasgupta, 2015, np) in an “understanding world of creative participation” (Fraser, 2015, p. 66). Through their creative writing the poets continue the art of discovering the mystical humanity. As communication of life can only be possible through a living agency therefore writers through their art of writing communicate and nurture the growth, development and progress of a culture which grows, moves and multiplies in life (Tagore, 2003, p. 21).

The Female Author - Gynocriticism

To ensure an efficient communication of life, a cultural evolution within “a social environment that blended the traditional with the modern, the Eastern with the Western” (Dasgupta, 2017b, p. 26) is necessary. This evolution is complete when the “psychodynamics of the individual or collective female literary tradition” (Showalter, 1981, p. 201) receives the vindication of ‘great’ literature, similar to the literature authored by men. Women writers being enthralled by their “inspirational eleventh muse” (Dasgupta, 2017a, p. 49) successfully continue the tradition of *écriture féminine* through a room and a voice of their own to rapidly and powerfully contribute towards the strengthening of the exclusive style of women’s writing “which draws upon the formless primeval song that emanates from the voice of the mother” (Bhaduri and Malhotra, 2016, p. 112), which the male writing often attempts to erase as “an undercurrent” (Moi, 1985, p. 55) thereby

naturalizing their gender roles as the virtuous woman, the seductress and the sacrificing mother (Nayar, 2010, p. 94). As a result, Elaine Showalter (1977) comments "each generation of women writers has found itself, in a sense, without a history, forced to rediscover the past anew, forging again and again the consciousness of their sex" (pp. 11 - 12) which contributed towards the birth of a strong subculture within patriarchy (Nayar, 2010, p. 97). Such patriarchal mechanisms augmented through the naturalization of power structures are interrogated through women's writings which contribute towards the birth of a literature of their own bearing a feminine aesthetic which is often identified with language: a language which is discrete to women's writing, whose variance is guaranteed by the feminineness of the author. This language used by women authors, poets contribute towards the birth of a literary canon by women as Showalter has argued by consigning the authors into three main types, equating to the three main stages in the evolution of women's writing itself in her *A Literature of their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing* (1977). She coined the term 'gynocriticism' which involves in "the study of women as *writers*, and its subjects are the history, styles, themes, genres, and structures of writing by women; the psychodynamics of female creativity; the trajectory of the individual or collective female career; and the evolution and laws of a feminist literary tradition" (Showalter 1982, pp. 14 - 5) to account for the woman writer as the author [creator] of texts and meanings involving critical interpretations and thereby "uncover particular modes of women's writing by positioning the woman's experience as being at the centre of both writing and criticism" (Nayar, 2010, p. 97). This distinctive difference in women's writing became a reality as women began to voice their causes, depict their real selves through

their women characters as they should be, unlike the male authors whose women characters are repressed under patriarchy. As a result, the literary creation and critical interpretations by women authors gave birth to 'woman-centered criticism' and accelerated breaking their centuries' silence and ripping apart the imposed barriers of barbed wires towards "a wider field of their talents". Therefore, women's literature is a firm response and challenge to patriarchy disintegrating at once "the relative segregation of the women as [the second] sex" (Guha, 2012, p. 267) by probing their "servile submission to custom and practice" (Banerjea, 2009, p. 118). This process aims to revive and preserve "the echo of women's literature" (Spaull, 1989, p. 85) and strengthen the female literary tradition for creating a world characterized by disenthralment, egalitarianism and erudition where the woman writer cannot be contained, smothered, confined or silenced from gyrating the world with her perception embodied through her writings (Fraser, 2015, p. 61).

The Poetry of Sanjukta Dasgupta

Being indoctrinated in the principle of "No, no, don't be afraid, you are bound to win, this door will surely open - / I know the chains that bind you will break again and again" (Tagore, 2013a, p. 35) Sanjukta Dasgupta's poetry is the source of "light where the sun sets" (Fraser, 2015, pp. 93). The technique of writing poetry comes with 'creation' which is the primacy of knowledge (Fraser, 2014, p. 24) and Dasgupta's poetry authenticates her formidable creativity and apt awareness as a "progressive writer" (Hasan, 2006, p. xiii) to awaken the 'Jibandebata' through her creativity which aims to unite the fragments of life "allowing it to be in harmony with the world"

through an “encompassing fullness” (Tagore, 2009, pp. 4 - 5) as our socio-cultural issues resonate in the recesses of the poet’s mind (Dasgupta, 2017a, p. 6) wandering in search of a space with more light. Dasgupta’s *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems* (2002) explores the “cultural roots and commitment to the enduring earth” and unravels the fathomless depths pertinent within the “micropolitics of everyday living in an urban environment” (np) in order to contribute towards the genre of women’s literature through their ingenious distinctive style (Moers, 1977, p. 66). This intuitive style of the female poet is ‘the echo of women’s literature’ which patriarchy tries to erase through several coercive mechanisms but remains unsuccessful. The power of poetry facilitates Dasgupta to re-vision women “to seek out a feminine aesthetic, or ‘essence’, which differentiates women’s writing from men’s” (Spaull, 1989, p. 84) and their varied dimensions in their respective cultures, questioning and revising the passive, impoverished and anaemic stereotypes, to “celebrate and venerate the dignity and strength of the enlightened woman and represent a critique of the regressive ideals of patriarchy” (Kumar, 2009, p. xxvi). The style of Dasgupta’s poetry is an expression of a woman poet’s experience of the home and the world; contributing to the style and content of women’s writing “by which women offer some resistance to patriarchy through their writing” (Spaull, 1989, p. 86). Her poetry echoes the birth of a female reader impeding the strategic patriarchal alienation and manipulation of the female reader/writer and the implanted male perspectives as expostulated by Judith Fetterley’s arguments regarding the politics of manipulation, androcentric value system and the portrayal of female characters through ‘male eyes’ in her famous book *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (1978). Like other women writers, Sanjukta

Dasgupta's poetry is deeply engaged with issues involving not only to women's history, culture and literature, but also their plight and neglect by patriarchal generations which are often suppressed and unrepresented. As the proverbial narratives of Scheherazade, there is always a room for further relating and reviewing of these subjects (Kumar, 2009, p. xix), similarly Dasgupta's poetry aims towards creating

a new understanding of our literature [in order] to make possible a new effect of that literature on us [providing] the conditions for changing the culture that the literature reflects (Fetterley, 1991, p. 497).

Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems

Through the thirty-nine poems in *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems*, Sanjukta Dasgupta has passionately not only re-explored the aura that determines her creative words, but also addressed issues that require immediate attention and interrogation. The poems in this collection portray Dasgupta's experiences as well as establish her "authentic female voice in women's writing: a style and genre which were distinctly female" (Spaull, 1989, p. 84). From exploring a self-dilemma to interrogating social issues and stereotypes, and recollecting a memoir at the 2001 SAARC Writers Conference, this collection of poetry places before the reader a "woman-centered criticism" (Showalter, 1981, p. 198), observations, opinions and worldviews of various aspects of life; of truths that get negated by the dominating power structures of society and life. Anette Kolodny's essay "Dancing Through the Minefield" (1983) exposes these androcentric power structures and "deactivates its components" (p. 113) facilitating the birth of a "unique and

uniquely powerful voice capable of cancelling all those other voices" (Capkova, 2011, p. 4) which has coerced the former since times immemorial. "Permeated with the spirit of creation" (Tagore, 1978, p. 3), most of Dasgupta's poems seem to interrogate women's caged freedom; they also instigate our thoughts on the necessity of women to be a free female Prometheus, as evident through Dasgupta's *Lakshmi Unbound* (2017), a "response and a challenge to patriarchy" (Spaull, 1989, p. 85). The introductory poem "Dilemma" has an inherent poetic charm to depict the dilemma which often gets nurtured in a sensitive soul brought up amidst the cacophonous city only to feel the call of the Mother Nature through the symphonious countryside. The imagery employed through the following lines

I feel the soil under my eager feet
I dig in my toes, I want to be a tree now.
I want to have birds in nests, leaves, flowers, fruits
These are the treasures that I seek;
My feet cling to the earth child-like (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 1)

seems to embody an assimilation of the poet's soul with the soul of Nature; a romantic admiration for Nature which involves "a deep sense almost from infancy of the Nature, an intimate feeling of companionship with the trees and the clouds, and felt in tune with the musical touch of the seasons in the air" (Tagore, 1978, p. 3). But with time as the city summons the poet departs with an ecstatic admiration in her heart which is still in a dilemma as expressed when she states "Should I hail a cab and leave? / Should I stay here till birds, flowers, fruits hide me?" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 1). The poems that follow are the

poet's debriefing of social issues which often seem to entrap humanity in the context of social norms, both at home and the world. "Shame", "Identity", "Empowered" are creative outpourings through which Dasgupta interrogate the enslaved femininity drubbing its wings prudently in the dark. Employing the classical reference to Draupadi, the woman who was born from fire in the *Mahabharata* "Shame" cross-examines the methodology employed by the "saree" to become a social instrument to coerce women and limit her movement which has often been stigmatized as 'transgression' as explored by the poet when she writes "The saree folded me with care / I folded myself into the saree / Till years later I suddenly saw / My legs were lost alas / Shrouded in five meters of graceful cloth- / Draupadi's textile trap" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 2). While the poet denounces this patriarchal instrument, with "a free and happy and intense approach" (Lal, 1971, p. vi) she also juxtaposes within the fabric of the poem the image of "the sky-clad dusky Kali" who stripped to be herself "shining rapier in uplifted arm" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 2) only to emerge with "A garland of skulls round her neck / The dark woman warrior / In tempestuous rage / Flings off the shame-shielding textile / Night-shawled Kali on the kill - / Woman Terminator annihilating shame-enforcing demons" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 2).

Balance for Better

Through the use of the images of the "saree" and "Kali" the poet as a socially conscious citizen raises serious questions and addresses issues of a patriarchal society which on the one hand subtly coerces women and on the other hand indulges in extravagance to worship the Goddess, the woman in her divine incarnate. The two images are quite contrasting, while "saree"

is employed by the poet to establish the idea of covering the body - slavery, while the image of "Kali" in her half-naked clan is embodying the principle of power and freedom without any inhibition. 'Shame' seems to be a sequel poem to "Trapped" from *Snapshots* (1996), Dasgupta's first collection of poems, where the poet exposes the 'don'ts' imposed relentlessly upon women leading towards a "cloistered, claustrophobic" (p. 21) existence interrogated and exposed by the poet. She seems to be compelled to be a part of this social struggle but through the inspiration of her "Eleventh Muse" (Dasgupta, 2017a, p. 46) she looks forward to "that midnight hour / Of metamorphosis" when she incarnates as the "stark dark Kali / With flying tresses / Unbound" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 3) - her power resides in her physical and mental strength as the 'phenomenal woman'. This powerful note strikes the necessity of the advent of the true empowerment of women in this era of cultural and economic globalization where they will exist and be respected and honoured at par with the men i.e. 'balance for better', the UN theme for international women's day 2019. This clarion call ventured by the United Nations women's organization focuses on treading towards a gender-balanced world, where women are not considered and treated as the other. We hope towards a society where a collective effort will be endeavored to root out all kinds of sexual exploitation.

The "midnight hour" harks the approach of a new millennium where the murder of the female foetus, molestations and witch slaughtering will cease to exist, the tribal Dopdi, Roop Kanwar, Mrinal and Satyabati will have their due honour, when Tasleema's true voice will be recognized and respected to enable human beings to understand that women are "not just breasts, vagina and uterus" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 5) but human beings; they are also

empowered individuals who are neither “to be used”, or “abused”, or “to be seduced” (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 6), nor are they “goddess to be worshipped, nor yet / The object of common pity to be brushed aside / Like a moth, with indifference” (Dasgupta, 2017a, p. 21). These powerful and moving images sway the mind of the readers who can apprehend the message the poet wants to convey and fathom its depth, by recollecting the injustices inflicted upon women since time immemorial. They are “the epicenter of human validity, / Daring the adventurer and dreamer” as they are “the Renaissance seeker of wisdom” (Fraser, 2015, p. 65), who with their individual identity assert themselves to be the assimilation of the forces embedded within “*sangam* and *shakti*”, being the source of the “power of fire, water, air and earth”, “the Mother-provider of every root” (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 7). Like most of her other creative artefacts Dasgupta through these poems too contribute as the gynocritics’ aim to “construct a female framework for the analysis of women’s literature, to develop new models based on the study of female experience’ to create an awareness for the ‘visible world of female culture’” (Rice and Waugh, 1993, p. 94). The psychodynamics of the feminine aesthetic in Dasgupta’s poetry contribute to the echo of women’s literature and thereby “challenge to the male tradition and to the silencing of women effected by patriarchy” (Spaull, 1989, p. 85). She attempts to spread the positive, hopeful force for a social awakening towards a space of more light, as evidently embedded through the eight lines (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 6) of her bright poem “Seasons!” in this collection. Like Dasgupta’s other poems, this also bears a concerted effort towards a day when men and women will understand that gender equality is not for any exclusive advantage for women but for the benefit of every citizen of a nation, from children to

adults (Dasgupta, 2019, np). Amartya Sen in *The Argumentative Indian* (2005) had stated

Women are, in this broadened perspective, not passive recipients of welfare enhancing help brought about by society, but are active promoters and facilitators of social transformations. Such transformations influence, of course, the lives and well-being of women, but also those of men and all children - boys as well as girls (p. 222).

Nature in Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems

Sanjukta Dasgupta's association with Nature plays an important aura through the creative canvas of *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems*. Rabindranath Tagore was mesmerized by the monsoon clouds and the pelting rain, similarly Sanjukta Dasgupta being an ardent admirer of the Bard seems to be captivated by rain drops which seems to cast a spell upon her "earthen elixir bowls" (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 18) washing the bitterness and frustration for peace to descend upon her disturbed soul, as "sleep, the balm of hurt minds" (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 41). Through the intriguing portrayal of nature in "Misfit" the poem is an apt epigraph to T. S. Eliot's "Preludes" through the discontinuities in postmodern life which it embarks for the individual to exist with a hope that "Every yesterday pours into today / A cupful of the same dregs / The fog and moss like mucus / Blurs the view / Deludes with the never-will-be / But then turning away / Is a hemorrhage that kills" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 8). "Loneliness", "Nihilism" and "Ecstasy" are the poems that nurture ahead the theme propounded by "Misfit". The journey of a soul towards loneliness establishes the existential perspectives of life which gets established when the poet, like Samuel Beckett states "It is nothing / Nothing at

all / Nothing is happening / Nothing will ever happen" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 10). Through her creative canvas the poet has successfully portrayed the postmodern individual's "languor [which] stretches" "out in a listless stupor" causing the verbal signals to be blurred and slurred (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 41) along with "the smug Sargasso sea / Of chores and chatter / Narcotic domestic daze" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 11). Nature images have been widely used to relive the charm that involves in the art of poetry as it is "an art as exacting and painstaking as the carving of an original design in ivory...a delicate choreographic pattern within a state of balanced tension produced in a refined sensibility...must be used precisely, nobly and with a sense of purpose" (Lal, 1971, p. vii). Dasgupta's poetry not only percolate such fragrance but also contribute towards the development of the efflorescence in poetry by moving beyond one's "tight little private world" (Lal and Rao, 1959, p. vi) to the cosmos by representing her creative musings as embodiments of modern Indian English poetry, and thereby contributing towards a

better understanding and communication not only among Indians speaking different languages but also between Indians and people of other countries [as] English has in a very real sense become a common medium for people of different races, nationalities and traditions [through which] the feelings and the thoughts of the poet can however raise echoes in the hearts of the people across the barriers of language (Kabir, 1958, p. 12).

Carrying ahead the spirit of a comprehensive dissemination of universal ideals and feelings Dasgupta's "Wild Rose", "For You", "On the Birthday of Buddha" and "Urban Krishnachura" seem to possess a ray of hope after an existential turmoil. The wild rose, like Banaphool's "Neem

Tree" becomes a metaphor of a woman who in spite of her talent gets stereotyped, ignored and faintly remembered after her demise as "a ravaged token" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 12). While the romantic overtones in "For You" echo personal associations of one's loved people, "On the Birthday of Buddha" vindicates the need of peace in a world ready to wage a war and "Urban Krishnachura" is a colourful rendering of nature and its seasonal changes which also affect our lives from "radiant red" to "dark brown" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 15). "Dawn", "Lunar Daze", "Telephone", "Reconstructed", "Ceaseless", "Definition" and "Death of a Flower" are observations on several spheres of life through the use of images and metaphors as portrayed through the desire "in its intense core" for a peaceful calm life like the dawn when "calmness seems unreal [due to] motor horns, sound of speeding wheels [and] air thick with sky shrouding fumes" (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 16), the deluge of the modern city life. The passage of time and the onward march of life towards death get poignantly explored in "Lunar Daze" and "Telephone". The note of personal touch which is poignantly embedded in Dasgupta's poetry often bereaves a sensitive reader who can associate to her powerful words and their "kinetic force" (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 32) with her/his life and associations. "Telephone" is a sensitive poem and its predicament can be shared by anyone who has gone through the phase of losing her/his near and dear ones; echoing avidly the intensity of the poet in her poem "Dad" from *Snapshots* (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 30). Along with the other compositions, "Reconstructed", "Ceaseless", "Definition" and "Death of a Flower" are equally powerful to report and portray aspects out of a life which are uncertain and bleak, where hope and determination is "reborn from its ashes" to challenge

“destructive deconstruction” (Dasgupta, 2002, p. 20) through a poetic vein.

Towards a Liberal Space

With her structurally diligent tonal patterns, Sanjukta Dasgupta’s poetry is most scrupulous, polished and precise (Peeradina, 2010, p. ix) in its argument and reverberations, authenticating the female literary tradition through the “demonstrable working of a genius” (Narasimhaiah, 2006b, p. 1) whose is a “vibrant voice of the Indian poetry in English” (Narasimhaiah, 2006a, p. xxiv). Though Salman Rushdie had castigated the prose of the Indian languages due to its inferior quality, he grudgingly admitted that “the rich poetic traditions of India [which has] continued to flourish in many of the sub-continent’s languages” (Ramakrishnan, 1999, p. xix). These poetic traditions are “opportunities to sift, reevaluate, rethink ourselves and our traditions; or simply to assert our tastes, laying on them the line in the service of discussion, in ‘the common pursuit of true judgement’, however elusive and conflict-ridden these may be” (Dharwadker, 1996, p. ix). Dasgupta’s poetry is a “redefinition of the paradigms of modernism” by connecting “poetry and the public sphere in Indian society” (Ramakrishnan, 1999, pp. xix - xx). Poems like “Analysis”, “Alliteration”, “Passing by”, “Mahalaya - 1996”, “Estranged”, “Mythologies”, “Learners”, “Shower Drops”, “In Memoriam”, “Sometimes”, “Lament”, “My Fifty Year Old Woman”, “Transition”, “Revisited” are very simple yet they are dynamic and enthralling in thoughts and perspectives which vindicate Dasgupta’s “female imagination” seeking “to find answers to the questions that come from our [women’s] experience” (Showalter, 1981, p. 184). It augments “as the only

possible measure for women's true aspirations", which affirms in "far-reaching ways the significance of their inner freedom" (Spaull, 1989, p. 88) through which women's own subject, own system, own theory and their own voice are recognized (Showalter, 1981, p. 184). Like Thomas Hardy's "In Time of 'The Breaking of Nations'" and Jibanananda Das's "Ora Kaaz Kore", these poems by Dasgupta inscribe the truths of life, beyond the portals of worldly, externally constructed dichotomies, an association the poet has intensely experienced in her heart through all her descriptions and images. It has enabled her to comment on the truth which is the continuity of life as "two streams flow in the same city, / meeting only in cemeteries and crematoriums" with a free heart "in the map-free domain of endless time" (Dasgupta, 2002, pp. 27, 31).

The Poet's Progressive Individuals

Amidst all the discontinuities and bleakness of life, Sanjukta Dasgupta's admiration for Rabindranath Tagore, Ernest Hemingway and Che Guevara is vividly intimated through the poems "To Rabindranath", "Remembering You In Our Time: On Ernest Hemingway's Birth Centenary (1899 - 1999)" and "On Reading Anderson's Che" respectively. In "To Rabindranath" the poet in her aesthetic style conveys her esteem for the Bard but also manifests his influence upon her creative spirit, as evident is the influence of Tagore's "Bajao Amaare Bajao" (2013b)

Set my life to music

Play your melody of the light at dawn in my life.

The tune that fills your wordless songs, and a child's flute of life

Smiling at its mother's face – make me the instrument of that tune.

Adorn me,

Adorn me in the dress that adorns the dust of this earth.

The rhythmic beauty of the evening malati, adorned in its secret aroma,

The decoration that joyfully forgets itself, embellish me in that adornment (p. 12).

“Remembering You In Our Time: On Ernest Hemingway's Birth Centenary (1899 – 1999)” and “On Reading Anderson's *Che*” are bereaved outpourings of an anguished heart residing in a society bereft of heroes and progressive individuals like Ernest Hemingway and Ernesto “Che” Guevara. The poet with her progressive ideals justifies that in spite of their cruel demise they eternally exist

In-between sound and fury

Cosmos out of chaos for a while

Stirring in the memory

Of a single sprouting thought

Like a bud unfurling its proud petals

Like a bird stretching its wings of power

Like the venturing spirit of Prometheus

Like a flash of searing light

Faster than any sound

Each end is also a beginning, as always (Dasgupta, 2008, p. 37).

The concluding poems of *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems* – “My Fifty Year Old Woman”, “Transition”, “Revisited” and “SAARC Writers Conference – 2011” bear the note of hope in spite of a desolating existence. Looking forward “for a new dawn” the poet contemplates and revisits the transitions of life which in spite of all bizarre, trauma and shock authenticates as “the old, zestful, enduring” spirit. It augments the ethos of “love and peace among shards and rubble” as the “serene fury of ahimsa” remains “unvanquished” (Dasgupta, 2002, pp. 38 - 42) when

the words reach the world

Spinning in wild wonder

Whirling through the planet

Touching a heart

Caressing a mind

Coaxing a nod

A flutter of butterfly wings

Somewhere, anywhere

Links in an invisible chain

That is after all invincible (Dasgupta, 2008, p. 53).

Conclusion

With the “freedom of metre and courage of expression” (Tagore, 1978, p. 3), Sanjukta Dasgupta’s poetry sustains the spirit of a gynocritic and guides us towards “a new conceptual vantage point” (Showalter, 1981, p. 185). It involves breaking free women’s writings from “the glass coffin of the male-

authored text" only to attain and enjoy "a dance of triumph, a dance into speech, a dance of authority" (Gilbert, 2000, p. 44). Her poetry possesses a distinct Indian character, context, tone, sensitivity and language (Peeradina, 2010, p. xi), intertextuality encapsulating that "all creative art must rise out of a specific soil and flicker with a spirit of place" (Gifford, 1986, p. 58) to "open new windows and doors of perception enabling a holistic understanding of the world" (Dasgupta, 2016, np). Dasgupta's entelechy is explored through her astute treatment of the issues of our everyday life through her poetry as for her, with a strange crisis each poem is born (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 32) and as these creative petals embedded with a vibrant force are unfurled by the sensitive reader, the individual thinks and sometimes tries "to stand up" against "trauma, fears and oceans of tears" (Dasgupta, 2017a, pp. 73, 77). Like Sanjukta Dasgupta's *Snapshots* (1996), *First Language* (2005), *More Light* (2008) and *Lakshmi Unbound* (2017), *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems* (2002) also interrogates and deconstructs "the double blind with power and understanding" towards "a wider trajectory of the cultural diversity" along with the "ideological position of the subject's voice of power" (Dasgupta, 2006, p. 178). Both at home and the world Dasgupta's poetry is an odyssey which facilitates the reader no jargons, no illusions but a positive endurance "which the reader himself has not experienced, or experienced without sufficient sensibility, but to which he is rendered sympathetic by the rhythm, linguistic precision and incantation of the poem he is reading" (Lal, 1971, p. vii). Sanjukta Dasgupta's "delicate perception" through an "intense self-reflexivity" (Prasad, 2009, np) colour her creative aura and emanate an emotion when an individual possesses "only the faintest intellectual, and no emotional, idea of what that emotion is" (Lal, 1971, p. vii). Through her poetry Dasgupta

elevates the female literary tradition which encourages the 'female imagination' as the only feasible vent for women's true aspirations, the means by which they can "affirm in far-reaching ways the significance of their inner freedom" (Spacks, 1976, p. 316). With Dasgupta's poetic creations her words reach the world and "ceaselessly deconstructs the male [androcentric] discourse" (Jacobus, 1979, pp. 12, 13) only to provide a window to witness and hear the long unheard voices, which are different and distinct, but orchestrated together in its identity and sensibility (Vatsyayan, 2009, p. xviii); facilitating a realization of gender inclusiveness and gender equality – the harmony of androgyny, instead of misandry and misogyny (Dasgupta, 2019, np). Voicing herself through her verses Sanjukta Dasgupta undergoes the process of "self-discovery" which establishes her identity as a woman poet whose experiences, like most other women poets, differ from men's in profound and regular ways – as "for every aspect of identity as men define it, female experience varies from the male model" (Gardiner, 1982, pp. 178, 179). The reason is that female experiences vary as it involves a shift in "the point of view" (Spacks, 1976, p. 315) to emphasize female imagination – creativity - voice by transcending historical boundaries; and it is through these great experiences as a woman Sanjukta Dasgupta envisions a creative genre of postcolonial women's writing in Indian English for whom creative effluence are words that

tumble out in incessant rush,
Eager to reach out, care or sting,
Each word spoken, a kinetic force,
Each word withheld, a potential bomb.
Words congealed, dormant behind

Silent, sealed lips. Eyes spy,
Words well up in their eyes.
Arms, fingers, hands and feet are word banks too,
Bridges of power, forging bonds
Intimacy of signifiers and signified.
Body crumbles, ashes fly,
Words live on.
Words colonize memory, tease thought,
Expressions mind-monitored.
Cautious, thoughtful, effusive, thoughtfree,
Creating, destroying, at the drop of a word (Dasgupta, 1996, p. 32).

References

- Banerjea, K. M. (2009). A Prize Essay on Native Female Education. K. Sen (ed). *Inscribing Identity: Essays from Nineteenth Century Bengal* (116 – 124). Kolkata: K. P. Bagchi and Company.
- Bhaduri, S. and S. Malhotra (ed). (2016). *Literary Theory: An Introductory Reader*. India: Anthem Press.
- Bose, A. (1996). Bengali Writing in English in the Nineteenth Century. N. K. Sinha (ed). *The History of Bengal (1757 – 1905)* (514 – 528). Calcutta: University of Calcutta.
- Capkova, B. K. (2011). Selected Concepts of Woman As “The Other” In Critical Feminist Writings. S. Dasgupta and C. Guha (ed). *Breaking The Silence: Reading Virginia Woolf*,

*In Order to be Great, One must be a Woman: Reading Sanjukta Dasgupta's
Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems*

Ashapura Devi and Simone De Beauvoir (3 – 27). Kolkata: Das Gupta & Co. Pvt. Ltd.

Dasgupta, S. (1996). *Snapshots*. Kolkata: Writers' Workshop.

Dasgupta, S. (2002). *Dilemma: A Second Book of Poems*. Kolkata: Anustup.

Dasgupta, S. (2006). In a Double Blind: Indian Women Poets Writing in English. S. Arya and S. Sikka (ed). *New Concerns: Voices in Indian Writing* (161 – 180). New Delhi: Macmillan.

Dasgupta, S. (2008). *More Light*. Kolkata: Dasgupta and Company Private Limited.

Dasgupta, S. (2015). Surviving In My World: Growing of Dalit in Bengal. YouTube British Council. Kolkata.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_NQuevxbcpY.

Dasgupta, S. (2016). Interview. *Incredible Women of India: It is all about you and your story*. India.
<https://incrediblewomenofindia.wordpress.com/2016/03/18/sanjukta-dasgupta/>

Dasgupta, S. (2017a). *Lakshmi Unbound*. Kolkata: Chitrangi.

Dasgupta, S. (2017b). Rabindranath Tagore's Daughters and the 'New Woman'. *The Statesman Festival*. Kolkata. 2017, (24 – 31).

Dasgupta, S. (2019). Balance for Better. *The Statesman*. Kolkata.
<https://www.thestatesman.com/opinion/balance-for-better-1502736058.html?fbclid=IwAR0hfjAIRYoTxqSGPCf5frjsl8k3GOY8NeQY-PDJGdsoGad4EEOQLbLA9fl>. 3 March 2019.

- Dharwadker, V. (1996). Preface. V. Dharwadker and A. K. Ramanujan (ed). *The Oxford Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry* (vii – xii). Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Fanon, F. (1970). *The Wretched of the Earth*. United Kingdom: Penguin.
- Fetterley, J. (1991). Introduction on the Politics of Literature. R. R. Warhol and D. P. Herndl (ed). *Feminism: Anthology of Feminist Literary Theories* (492 – 501). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Fraser, B. (2014). Introduction. S. Mallick (ed). *Images of Life: Creative and Other Forms of Writing* (17 – 32). Kolkata: The Book World.
- Fraser, B. (2015). *Letters to My Mother and Other Mothers*. Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited.
- Gadgil, G. (1995). Keynote Address. S. K. Desai (ed). *Creative Aspects of Indian English* (6 – 13). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Gardiner, J. K. (1982). On Female Identity and Writing by Women. E. Abel (ed). *Writing and Sexual Difference* (177 – 191). Sussex: The Harvester Press Limited.
- Gifford, H. (1986). *Poetry in a Divided World: The Clark Lectures 1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gilbert, S. M. and S. Gubar. (2000). *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer And The Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination*. USA: Yale Nota Bene.
- Guha, R (ed). (2012). *Makers of Modern India*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

- Hasan, M. (2006). Foreword. B. Fraser (ed). *Bengal Partition Stories: An Unclosed Chapter* (xiii – xvii). London: Anthem Press.
- Jacobus, M. The Difference of View. M. Jacobus (ed). *Women Writing and Writing About Women* (10 – 22). London: Croom Helm.
- Kabir, H. (1958). Foreword. A. V. R. Rau (ed). *Modern Indian Poetry* (11 – 13). New Delhi: Kavita.
- Katrack, K. D. Replies to the Questionnaire. P. Lal (ed). *Modern Indian Poetry in English: An Anthology and a Credo* (242 – 243). Calcutta: Writers Workshop.
- Kolodny, A. Dancing Through the Minefield. R. R. Warhol and D. P. Herndl (ed). *Feminism: Anthology of Feminist Literary Theories* (97 – 116). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- King, B. (1987). *Modern Indian Poetry in English*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Kumar, S. P., and M. Lal. (2009). Introduction. S. P. Kumar and M. Lal (ed). *Speaking for Myself: An Anthology of Asian Women's Writing* (xix – xxviii). New Delhi: Penguin Books.
- Lal, P. (1971). Introduction. P. Lal (ed). *Modern Indian Poetry in English: An Anthology and a Credo* (i – xlv). Calcutta: Writers Workshop.
- Lal, P. and K. Raghavendra Rao. (1959). Introduction. P. Lal and K. Raghavendra Rao (ed). *Modern Indo-Anglian Poetry* (i – vii). New Delhi: Kavita.
- Moers, E. (1977). *Literary Women*. London: The Women's Press.

- Moi, T. (1985). *Sexual/Textual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory*. London and New York: Methuen.
- Mukhopadhyay, B. C. (2005). D. Dutta (trans and ed). *Neem Tree: A Bouquet of Short Stories*. New Delhi: Rupa.
- Narasimhaiah, C. D. (2006a). General Introduction. C. D. Narasimhaiah (ed). *An Anthology of Commonwealth Poetry* (xx – xxiv). Kolkata: Macmillan India Limited.
- Narasimhaiah, C. D. (2006b). India. C. D. Narasimhaiah (ed). *An Anthology of Commonwealth Poetry* (1 – 13). Kolkata: Macmillan India Limited.
- Narayan, Shyamala A. (1995). Some Characteristics of Indian English Writing. S. K. Desai (ed). *Creative Aspects of Indian English* (63 – 70). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Nayar, Pramod K. (2010). *Contemporary Literary and Cultural Theory: From Structuralism to Ecocriticism*. India: Pearson.
- Paniker, K. A. (1991). Introduction. K. A. Paniker (ed). *Modern Indian Poetry in English* (11 – 19). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Paranjape, M. (2009). Introduction. M. Paranjape (ed). *Indian Poetry in English* (1 – 27). India: Macmillan Publishers.
- Peeradina, S. (2010). Introduction. S. Peeradina (ed). *Contemporary Indian Poetry in English: An Assessment and Selection* (ix – xi). Kolkata: Macmillan Publishers India Limited.
- Prasad, M. (2009). An Urbane, Sophisticated Wordsmith. *Muse India*. India.
- [http://www.museindia.com/Home/ViewContentData?arttype=book%20review\(s\)&issid=25&menuid=156025](http://www.museindia.com/Home/ViewContentData?arttype=book%20review(s)&issid=25&menuid=156025).

- Rajan, B. (1965). Remarks on Identity and Nationality. *Literature East and West*. Texas. n.9. Vol2, (91 – 94).
- Ramakrishnan, E. V. (1999). The Tongue Tree of Poetry. E. V. Ramakrishnan (ed). *The Tree of Tongues: An Anthology of Modern Indian Poetry* (xix – xxiv). Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- Rice, P. and P. Waugh, (ed). (1993). *Modern Literary Theory: A Reader*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Sen, A. (2005). *The Argumentative Indian*. London: Penguin Books.
- Showalter, E. (1977). *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Bronte to Lessing*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Showalter, E. (1981). Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness. *Critical Enquiry*. Chicago. n.8. Vol2, (179 – 205).
- Showalter, E. (1982). Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness. E. Abel (ed). *Writing and Sexual Difference* (9 – 36). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Singh, A. (2011). Contemporary Indo-English Literature: An Approach. M. K. Naik (ed). *Aspects of Indian Writing in English* (1 – 14). New Delhi: Macmillan.
- Spacks, P. M. (1976). *The Female Imagination: A Literary and Psychological Investigation of Women's Writing*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Spaull, S. (1989). Gynocriticism. S. Mills, L. Pearce, S. Spaull, E. Millard. *Feminist Readings/Feminists Reading* (83 – 121). Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Spender, D. (1986). *Mothers of the Novel*. London: Pandora.

- Tagore, R. (1978). S. K. Ghose (ed). *Angel of Surplus: Some Essays and Addresses on Aesthetics*. Calcutta: Visva-Bharati.
- Tagore, R. (1996). The Meeting of the East and the West. S. K. Ghosh (ed). *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore* Volume III (376 – 379). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Tagore, R. (2001). Creative Unity. S. K. Ghosh (ed). *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore* Volume II (493 – 569). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Tagore, R. (2003). *The Centre of Indian Culture*. New Delhi: Rupa & Co.
- Tagore, R. (2005). *The Religion of Man*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Tagore, R. (2007). *Personality*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd.
- Tagore, R. (2009). D. Joardar and J. Winter (trans). *Of Myself*. Kolkata: Visva-Bharati.
- Tagore, R. (2011). Freedom. N. Ghosh (ed). *The English Writings of Rabindranath Tagore* Volume III (627 – 628). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Tagore, R. (2013a). S. Dasgupta (trans). *Swades: Rabindranath Tagore's Patriotic Songs*. Kolkata: Visva-Bharati.
- Tagore, R. (2013b). S. Bose (trans). *Tagore: The World Voyager*. U.K.: Random House Group Limited.
- Vatsyayan, K. (2009). Foreword. S. P. Kumar and M. Lal (ed). *Speaking for Myself: An Anthology of Asian Women's Writing* (xv – xviii). New Delhi: Penguin Books India and India International Centre.

End Notes:

1. The title of this essay "In Order to be Great, One must be a Woman" is inspired from Dale Spender's *Mothers of the Novel* (1986) where she concludes that "in order to be great, one must be a man" (p. 119).
2. The concluding sentence of Sanjukta Dasgupta's poem 'Gora's Re-birth' from her fifth collection of poetry, *Lakshmi Unbound*. The title of the essay is inspired from Tagore's essay 'The Artist' (Tagore, 1978, p. 21).

Acknowledgements:

I am grateful to Dr Sanjukta Dasgupta, Professor, Department of English, University of Calcutta, for her perpetual guidance, inspiration and blessings. I also take this opportunity to heartily thank Mr Aditya Prasanna Bhattacharya for his wisdom. Last but not the least, this essay is for Mr Norman Aselmeyer for his percipience, and enduring love, support and friendship.

In Order to be Great, One must be a Woman:
Reading Sanjukta Dasgupta's *Dilemma: A Second Book of
Poems*¹

"The magic mantra of limitless freedom"²

*Some lessons from scientific practice on its
development and growth of knowledge
On Feyerabend's perceptive view in
epistemology*

Hajdin Abazi, PHD, Prof. Assist.

AAB College, Pristina, Kosovo

Email: hajdin.abazi@aab-edu.net

Abstract

Feyerabend generally is known most for his discovery on the helpfulness of breaking rules when they become a hindrance and for the legitimacy of the counter-inductive approach as a way to make fundamental changes in science. But his view about the decontamination of old theories and the implantation of new theories' conception deserves equal recognition. And, of course, his alternative of open instead of closed exchange is invaluable as epistemological contribution. All this together make Feyerabend's viewpoint very distinct, especially to understand the need of openness as a condition to make easy the scientific development. Those three aspects constitute the originality of Feyerabend's contribution in the philosophy of science, which will be the focus of this paper. These novelties, as it will be argued, fill respective aspects where previously there were shortcomings, which made possible to clarify

Article received on the 14th of March, 2019.

Article accepted on the 12th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

epistemologically the understanding and explanation, according to the practice, how the development of science and the growth of knowledge were attained (and as a consequence how they usually go). The approach of the treatise pursues the historical context and the theoretical articulation of Feyerabend's view, including some critical reflections.

Keywords: *legitimacy of counter-rules, open exchange, (de)contamination of evidence, scientific development, growth of knowledge, Feyerabend*

From the outset it must be stated that the epistemological contribution and approach of Feyerabend can rightly be understood only in the light of the developments of 20th century philosophy of science, and especially the famous 1965 debate, where Karl Popper, Thomas S. Kuhn, Imre Lakatos, Paul Feyerabend, John Watkins, Stephen Toulmin, Margaret Masterman and others were faced (Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970). Though Kuhn's new view of *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* first published in 1962 had to be debated, because it overturned almost everything and restructured a new look on the development of science, the debate was in turn transformed into a general epistemological confrontation. It was argued for and against different viewpoints like the verificationism of logical positivism, which no longer had any representatives but inevitably had to be taken into account due to the specifics of their approach (Misak 1995, pp. 58-88), and Popper's falsificationism; as well the Kuhn's new epistemological theory has been hardly attacked. It turned, therefore, into an intellectual frontal confrontation between Karl Popper (Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970, pp. 51-58), Thomas S. Kuhn (pp.

1- 22, 231-277), Imre Lakatos (pp. 91-193) and Paul Feyerabend (pp. 197-230). There Kuhn excelled in defending his point of view - the development of science through the normal periods and scientific revolutions which happened from time to time. The influence of Kuhn's theory emerged in that debate as well: Imre Lakatos (Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970, pp. 91-193) introduced a theory similar to that of Kuhn, with a more philosophical formulation, merging the theory and methodical rules into the *methodology of scientific research programmes*.

In this debate, Feyerabend (Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970, pp. 197-230) was presented with the "Consolations for the Specialist", where he presented an approach somewhat different from others, a very original aspect, the embryonic view which he would develop in a genuine epistemological theory in the *Against Method* first published in year 1975. This view of Feyerabend was an extension encouraged by Kuhn's and Lakatos' epistemological theory, as an attempt to understand the historical configuration of science from a comprehensive approach.

In the spectrum of modern epistemological theories of the 20th century, besides the verificationism of logical positivism, Karl Popper's falsificationism, Kuhn's paradigms shift as alternation of normal science-scientific revolution, the Lakatos's methodology of scientific research programmes, and the epistemology of Feyerabend had a meritorious place. All of these theories are puzzles that make up a mosaic of diverse views of science, of its problems and progress, including agreements, differences and contradictions, which also made good contributions but also led to mutual dismantling (Abazi, 2014, p. 413-422).

Given this historical context of the philosophy of science, a context somehow still current, the contribution of Feyerabend to the most relevant issues will be emphasized, including some of the epistemological implications which he brought.

The epistemological necessity of breaking rules

Like logical positivists including Alfred Ayer (1936, 1940, 1956, 1959), Karl Popper (2002, 1962, 2009), Thomas S. Kuhn (1970, 1985) and Imre Lakatos (1970), Feyerabend has similarly derived his viewpoint from the history of science.

It can be said that similar to the logical positivists, Popper Feyerabend realized that it was common for science to exist in a plurality of scientific theories. For the logical positivists, the plurality of the theories was applied on the local level and to particular theories. For Popper, alternatively, it was at the general level of theories, i.e. systems. Influenced by Kuhn and Lakatos, Feyerabend, too, re-concepted the word theory, giving a similar meaning to what Kuhn's paradigm or Lakatos's research programmes have. According to him, the science consists of two main components: the normal and philosophical component (Lakatos & Musgrave, 1970, p. 212). In this sense, the changes in the normal component are resistant, and when they occur, they are visible, while those of the philosophical component are both strong and noticeable (p.213). Apparently, the view of Feyerabend is a simplification of the concept of paradigm and the scientific research program, but it lacks a further elaboration. It can be said that in terms of the plurality of theories, Feyerabend is closer to the concept of logical positivists and Karl Popper as well as Lakatos on

pluralism of theories that, in addition to other aspects, influenced him to perceive the scientific situation as anarchist.

However, there was something essential that the logical positivists or Popper did not understand, which Feyerabend did. The first considered that progress of science is possible by the inductive method and in their perception, this was the only scientific method; the latter, including Popper, considered solely the deductive method (i.e. the trial and error method). Contrastingly, Feyerabend (1993, 1978, 1987) understood that there was not *yet* a method that could make possible the progress of science. Of course, science had advanced, but differently.

Thomas S. Kuhn had argued that there is no such method to be valid inter-paradigmatically (Kuhn, 1970, p. 3), according to which one could determine to choose between rival paradigms. Moreover, he had set the rules on the second plan, and had claimed that science could function without any rules when there is a paradigm. He writes: "Paradigms may be prior to, more binding, and more complete than any set of rules for research that could be unequivocally abstracted from them" (Kuhn, 1970, p. 46). Feyerabend went further. By studying Copernican Revolution, especially Galileo Galilei's example of action, he understood that methodical rules could play a wholly different role from what the logical positivists or Karl Popper surmised.

If the implemented methodical rules are considered as compulsory, then they can at a given time become a hindrance to progress, having a conservative, deterrent role. This becomes visible especially at the time of dramatic developments when science has to make radical changes, i.e.

scientific revolutions, but that those changes are strictly prohibited by the rules of the method. In order to make the progress of science, one must act contrary to such prohibition. This is clearly expressed in Feyerabend (1993, p. 14):

... there is no single rule as convincing as it seems, and however well-based on epistemology, which has not been violated at any time or else. It is clear that such violations are not accidental events, are not the result of insufficient knowledge or carelessness that could have been avoided.

Indeed, the breaking of the rules was (and is) an epistemologically necessary action to open the perspective of change, that is, to bring science out of deadlock.

In what sense is the epistemological counter-rule helpful?

In his masterpiece *Against Method* (1993, p. 14, 20) Feyerabend has clearly expressed his standpoint against fixed rules, and instead has advocated for counter-rules and has argued why they are valid and more functional. It can be said that the counter-rules are to science just as valuable as the rules itself, and in certain times, far more valuable than rules. Therefore, the action against the rules Feyerabend established –was the counter-inductive method (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 20).

Common scientific practice, according to the logical positivists, was to develop hypotheses in accordance with the facts so that they (i.e. hypotheses) could be empirically verified (Ayer, 1936, p. 6). According to Popper (2002, p. 66), scientists had to look for potential falsifiers within theories

or to develop opposing hypotheses to existing theories in order to refute them. Feyerabend put forward a different view, broadening it:

Hypotheses, namely theories, could be developed differently, approached in the opposite perspective, i.e. counter-inductive manner. This method suggests, on the one hand, "the counter-rule that urges us to develop hypotheses inconsistent with accepted and highly confirmed theories ", and, on the other hand, the "the counter-rule that urges us to develop hypotheses inconsistent with well-established facts" (Feyerabend 1993, p. 20).

Feyerabend continues by providing an explanation of how this can be done. He writes: "Examining the principle in concrete detail means tracing the consequences of 'counterrules' which oppose familiar rules of the scientific enterprise" (p. 20). This is based on the assertion that "given any rule, however 'fundamental' or 'rational', there are always circumstances when it is advisable not only to ignore the rule, but to adopt its opposite " (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 14). A common rule of scientific research is that "experience" or "facts" or "experimental results" are considered as a measure of the success of the theories. According to this rule, the agreement between a theory with the 'data' favors the theory or leaves the situation unchanged, while the discrepancy risks it until elimination. This rule, being the core of empiricism, is an important part of all theories of confirmation and corroboration. The 'counterrule' corresponding to it advises us to introduce and elaborate hypotheses which are inconsistent with well-established theories and/or well-established facts. It also "advises us to proceed counterinductively (Feyerbaend, 1993, p. 20).

First, it is known that, the creation of hypotheses contrary to prevailing theories has been highlighted by Popper in order to reject the ruling theory. But the purpose of Feyerabend is different: to know more from the theories that contradicts well-established ones. Secondly, the creation of hypotheses in opposite to well-established facts is an original idea of Feyerabend. If it is possible to write such hypotheses and to be consistent, then chances are that knowledge into a different part of reality is to be achieved. This indicates that in the epistemological aspect Feyerabend aims to liberate scientists, but also philosophers, from the rigidity of approaches, from looking exclusively in one direction. Such a perspective is contrary to dogmatism, whether open or camouflaged, because it is non-dogmatic (Abazi, 2018, pp. 103-122).

This brings us to the explanation of Feyerabend concerning the epistemological usefulness of counter-inductive action: "Hypotheses contradicting well-confirmed theories give us evidence that cannot be obtained in any other way" (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 24). Thus, according to him, acting through the breaking of rules is absolutely necessary for the growth of knowledge (p. 14), of course, under certain conditions and circumstances, when such action actually allows the exit from the state of stagnation.

The theory -counterinduction- a new theory relationship

Against Method is an elaboration that, in some ways, strips the role of the method from the cloaks of myth, understood in its narrow and strict usage, pointing to cases where there is no other way of action except in contradiction to the rules

that had prevailed for decades and perhaps even for centuries.

Unlike Francis Bacon (2003), René Descartes (2006), David Hume (1826) and others which tried to find a proper method for science (Abazi, 2018, pp. 108-115), there were some other philosophers who had seen in the other direction as well. One of them is Michael Oakeshot, who, in his "Rationalism in Politics" first published in 1947, had noted the negativity of the absolutizing role of the method, which he called "the sovereignty of technique" (Oakeshott, 1991, p. 22). Another, as mentioned above, was Thomas Kuhn (1970, pp. 41, 46-47), who has shown that science, when there is a paradigm, can function without any rule. Hence, it can be said that Oakeshot, as well as Kuhn, were the forerunners of the viewpoint of Feyerabend. Unlike them, the latter managed to synthesize their views in his own way, eliminating the exclusivity of the technique's sovereignty.

The result of this was the alternation theory-counterinduction- as a new approach. With the counter-inductive action, Feyerabend showed that it is legitimate to approach well-established theories with the creation of new, alternative theories, as well as practical action of scientists. His viewpoint was clear: the science may advance by proceeding counter inductively (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 20).

The alternation theory-counter-induction- a new theory as an approach, according to Feyerabend, aims to create research tolerance for the alternative actions in scientific practice by removing scientists from dogmatic tightening to methodical rules and theories. It was also a boost for the creation of new, alternative theories. Feyerabend rightly believed that if such freedom of choice, selection and action existed, unimpeded by the existing

rules, science would progress more freely, and knowledge would gradually increase unhindered.

Contaminated evidence and objectivity issue

Evidences are generally considered as independent, as data, which are as they are. This view was shared by logical positivists (Ayer, 1959, 144), taking them as natural, that is, they exist somewhere in nature as they are. But Karl Popper (2002, 37, pp. * 1) reveals another possibility, that the interpretations of observations are made in the light of theories. Thomas Kuhn (1970, p. 7) had gone even further, emphasizing that it was a paradigm that indicated not only what kind of entities universe contains but also what it does not contain.

Feyerabend pays special focus to this aspect, making a valuable contribution. Epistemologists, e.g. Alfred Ayer and Karl Popper, talk about the mistakes contained in the theories about reality. But Feyerabend saw the issue from another perspective: "it is not always the theory that is to blame" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 52). And if so, then the issue should be treated differently, and that is exactly what Feyerabend did.

Against the conditions and circumstances when the theories, especially the new ones, did not match the evidence, his focus was to understand why the evidence was inappropriate. In his examination, he understood that the problem could be in the evidence as well. "Facts are constituted by older ideologies" asserts Feyerabend (1993, 39). This concerns the facts known in a historical context of science with the "old ideologies" referring to existing theories, which are contrary to the new one. Based on this,

he concluded that "*the evidence is contaminated*" (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 52).

If that is the case, then it touches on an important epistemological issue: that the facts are objective, in the sense that they are independent and uninfluenceable from the views of scientists. The argument of Feyerabend that the evidence is contaminated reveals a major problem: the objectivity is not entirely objective, and therefore objectivity should be seen in another light. First and foremost, the facts do not always have primacy over theories. Therefore, one of the conditions for objectivity, according to Feyerabend, is the existence of different views, since the "Variety of opinion is necessary for objective knowledge" (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 32).

The issue, indeed, is deeper. Feyerabend still breaks down more concretely. He writes that it "*is ... historico-physiological character of the evidence, the fact that it does not merely describe some objective state of affairs but also expresses subjective, mythical, and long-forgotten views concerning this state of affairs, that forces us to take a fresh look at methodology*" (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 52)

Accordingly, "it would be extremely imprudent to let the evidence judge our theories directly and without any further ado" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 52). This results in a different methodological outlook: If the evidence expresses discrepancy with the reference of the new theory it may be indicative of something altogether else. Concretely "a clash between facts and theories may be proof of progress" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 39).

With this difficulty of mismatching the facts with the new theory, he addressed the theories of Copernicus, and particularly Galileo (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 52). The latter's action, to which Feyerabend paid special attention as a case

study, is an illustration that clearly conveys what he means by the contamination of evidence, which will be put forward in the following.

Decontamination is an infiltration of new language

How did Galileo succeed to push forward heliocentrism, given that the evidence was contaminated with the “old ideologies” of geocentrism? The answer is that he did this indirectly, as geocentrism was embedded in conviction and worldview, in belief, and was transformed into “reality”. In such a situation, it seems that the only mode of action was the stunt, using, according to Feyerabend (1993, p. 16), of “propaganda and coercion”. Of course, not only that. In addition, “interests, forces, propaganda and brainwashing techniques play a much greater role than is commonly believed in the growth of our knowledge and in the growth of science” (p. 17).

Of course, this was not the entire business, but just the foreplay. Such a foreplay, nonetheless is nonsensical, and not methodical. However, it turns out to be “an unavoidable precondition of clarity and of empirical success” (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 16-17). Such action is no exception, but it is a normal act says Feyerabend (1993, p. 16). Of course, the condition and circumstances of the methodological stoppage was harsh in Galileo's time and its contestation was forbidden. Such actions, analogously, can also be made in any similar circumstance.

One dimension of this action is directly and inevitably related to the scientific language, and from it the incommensurability, a thesis to which both Kuhn and Feyerabend arrived separately, but at the same time. This

thesis is related to the different languages that use different theories, suggesting that, to make them understandable, they should be translated. Such a theory like geocentric, its language, due to the long usage, is considered by all to be a "natural language". But it is not. It is just a language of a certain theory, a language that needs to be changed. This can be done by implanting the language of the new theory, e.g. of heliocentric, that would make the earth look like a planet and the sun as a non-planet, which is a very deep and substantive change.

To understand developments of this kind in a general way, writes Feyerabend, "we are, of course, obliged to appeal to the existing forms of speech ...which must be distorted, misused, beaten into new patterns in order to fit unforeseen situations". He continues that it is no coincidence but the rule that "without a constant misuse of language there cannot be any discovery, any progress" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 18).

That is what Galileo did, according to Feyerabend. By doing this, he decontaminated the observation, perception, experience and the way of understanding from the old language. He made the changes undeclared, that is, by infiltrating them, nourishing them with the new Copernican language, so that the evidence becomes perceptible in a new way.

How did Galileo act?

Feyerabend makes a breakthrough interpretation of Galileo Galilei's action. In the debate with the Aristotelians Galileo asserted the correctness of observations data, as well deactivated (rather than rejecting) the main argument

against the movement of the earth, aiming to change the conceptual system (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 55). Arguing that our perceptions through the senses may deceive, Galileo said: "how easily anyone may be deceived by simple appearance, or let us say by the impressions of one's senses", and to avoid the deceives of senses is needed intervention of reason (p. 56).

After the intervention of reason, although observations have not changed, new observational assertions are introduced, which play a better or worse role in our knowledge, whereby the appearance and affirmation are not two, but melted into one; that is to say that the appearance or phenomenon is just as the assertions say they are, and the language with which they speak is influenced by the beliefs of the early generations (Feyerabendi 1993, f. 57), which are called "*natural interpretation*" (p. 58).

It is this natural language, being Aristotelian (geocentric) that had to be decontaminated, to make it possible to see reality differently, namely according to Copernican (heliocentric) language. Galileo, through the method of reminiscence, created the impression that nothing is changing and observations in the old family language are being repeated (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 58). "It is, therefore, better" wrote Galileo on his book *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems*, "to put aside the appearance, on which we all agree, and to use the power of reason either to confirm its reality or to reveal its fallacy" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 58). Indeed, it was not that everyone agreed with the appearance, Galileo disagreed, but he said this with the deed to create the confidence of interlocutors that it would not be contested as such, as they had agreed. Attention was drawn elsewhere: what would be considered was appearance's

truthfulness, to achieve a confirmation or to reveal an error. Really, behind that was concealed the purpose to show that the appearance was wrong, and that a conclusion was to be achieved.

This is obvious because natural interpretations are so intimately related to appearances (Feyerabend, 1993, 58). What Galileo did was to replace existing natural interpretation with another new one, so he inserted "a new observational language" (Feyerabend, 1993, 63). This was done without being noticed (Feyerabend, 1993, 65). In this sense, stresses Feyerabend, "Galileo uses *propaganda*. He uses *psychological tricks*... These tricks are very successful: they lead him to victory" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 65).

Galileo intends to replace the conceptual system of absolute movement with that of the relative movement as valid for all cases (Feyerabend, 1993, pp. 69-70), partially revising the observation language or experience (p. 71). With this action of Galileo "experience which partly contradicts the idea of the motion of the earth is turned into an experience that confirms" (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 71).

Galileo expressed a simple example: while the boat is in motion if you look at sail yard it will appears motionless to you (Feyerabend. 1993, p. 67). Similar examples are: everyone can imagine that, for example, if you are within a navigating boat and look to shores it will appear to move the shores and not the boat, while if you are on the shore it appears that the shores do not move, but the boat. Such impressions, Galileo stressed, have been known since, but indeed they were the result of Galileo's propaganda machinery (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 71). In this way, he changed the conceptual system, also the experience, whereby the doctrine of Copernicus could be accommodated. Feyerabend

asserted that as a result of such changes “the relative notions not only to boats, coaches, birds, but to the 'solid and well-established earth' as a whole” can be practiced (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 72).

“It is this change” of notions meaning, concludes Feyerabend (1993, f. 72), which underlies the transition from the Aristotelian point of view to the epistemology of modern science”. In other words, this is a part of how the triumph of Copernican revolution has become possible.

The way of progress of science with open exchanges

The path through which science advances in its headway is a very complex one. Since a view is accepted and embraced by the majority of the scientific community, a view of decades' or centuries' longevity turns somehow into a natural state, in something that is so, undisputed. Such was the situation when geocentrism ruled.

Such a condition, by itself, becomes a barrier to fundamental change. At its service are the overwhelming majority of scientists, ecclesiastical institutions, the judiciary, and even the general public. Having this in mind, everyone can consider the big hindrances in the case of the Copernican hypothesis, “whose invention, defense, and partial vindication runs counter to almost every methodological rule one might care to think of today” (Feyerabend, 1993, p. 51).

Change could be made at the outset to the way Galileo acted, not contesting observations but stealthily changing the conceptual content. Such acting was de facto against the rules of the game. In the circumstances of the prohibition of a different approach, the action that broke the rules was "a

necessity for progress" and this is "the fact of the history of science", which is also "reasonable and absolutely necessary for the growth of knowledge" (Feyerabend 1993, f. 14).

This was done in practice whenever revolutionary changes were required, and from the perspective of advancing science, such actions were legitimate, as they are the only possible way for the necessary changes.

Feyerabend has argued convincingly that the natural way to change the state is simply the counter-inductive action. From this derives that no methodology should be absolutized. In science there is nothing that can be said not to be allowed, if it makes possible the progress and growth of knowledge:

"To those who look at the rich material provided by history, and who are not intent on impoverishing it in order to please their lower instincts, their craving for intellectual security in the form of clarity, precision, 'objectivity', 'truth', it will become clear that there is only one principle that can be defended under all circumstances and in all stages of human development. It is the principle: *anything goes*" (Feyerabend, 1993, f. 18-19).

If this principle was to be accepted as a correct, legal action, then the methodological constraints are abolished. It means that scientists would be free to test different methodologies, different theories and hypotheses, as well as to examine evidence in order to achieve new knowledge differently. This acting, surely, would not harm science. On the contrary - it would help science develop more freely. Such a principle, indirectly, suggests a different approach to scientific developments: that of open exchanges (Feyerabend, 1993, pp. 227-228).

What had been understood by Feyerabend from the history of science and its greatest transformations was that the attitude and perception had to change. The defense at all costs of any epistemological point of view, no matter how good of a purpose it may have, can yield opposite results, even wholly inadvertently. Yet, so far, based on the history of science, science is an activity that changes, usually partially and rarely entirely, all the time, and it is obviously in its nature to be changed, as a process of advancement and growth of knowledge. But against this nature of science seem to operate the methodological rules when they are taken as inviolable and as universally valid, which prohibit actions outside the frames, prohibit changes, even thinking differently, that do not derive from its rules. When the state of non-change is also defended by the institutions of power, as was geocentrism by the Church, then all these, synchronized, turn into a developmental hindrance. The worst example of this and at the same time the most illustrative is the Inquisition. It is well known that it condemned to death Giordano Bruno in 1600. In 1616 it forbade Galileo the expression and defense of Copernicus views, sentencing him to house arrest in 1633 where he stayed until the end of his life (January 8, 1642). Likewise, in 1616 the Inquisition cursed and banned the work of Copernicus and Galileo, as well as all the writings that were in the heliocentric spirit (Kuhn, 1985, p. 106). The violence, however, merely delayed and pushed the change for the future, but could not stop it. The change, as it is already known, occurred.

Thus, from the history of triumph of Copernicanism it can be understood that violence, support from institutions, authority, and power is not the solution. As in the case of

geocentrism, such action can only cause victims, and makes the change more difficult. This was bad, wrong, and deterrent to the development of science, that's why it had to be changed. In this sense, Feyerabend advocated the separation of science from the state, just as the church was separated from the state. In this understanding, science should be developed according to its nature, character and internal conditions, without any external hindrances. In other words, a better, more flexible and open-minded approach to changes from the internal developmental processes of science were needed.

He expressed a new view: the changes, assimilations, calibrations of views, traditions and approaches have to be done freely, without imposing and without dictation, i.e. through "open exchanges". Feyerabend (1993, pp. 227-228) expressed this in the following way:

An open exchange... is guided by a pragmatic philosophy. The tradition adopted by the parties is unspecified in the beginning and develops as the exchange proceeds. The participants get immersed into each other's ways of thinking, feeling, perceiving to such an extent that their ideas, perceptions, world-views may be entirely changed - they become different people participating in a new and different tradition. An open exchange respects the partner whether he is an individual or an entire culture, while a rational exchange promises respect only within the framework of a rational debate. An open exchange has no organon though it may invent one, there is no logic though new forms of logic may emerge in its course. An open exchange establishes connections between different traditions and transcends the relativism ... However, it transcends it in a way that cannot be made objective but

depends in an unforeseeable manner on the (historical, psychological, material) conditions in which it occurs.

Thus, if the scientific community and the society itself advance within the mentality of tolerance, freedom of choice and free determination of the alternatives that are considered appropriate by those who embrace them, and accordingly, changes would be made through open exchanges accepted voluntarily and only through persuasion the serious limitations, such as the rational exclusivity of a certain theory, as in the example of egocentrism would be avoided. It would facilitate changes. Scientific development in a milieu of tolerance, understanding, and naturalness should proceed in function of what, in essence, is everyone's intentions - the progress in science and the growth of knowledge.

Conclusion: Feyerabend as a torch against prejudice and closed-minded

Some of the novel thoughts, those most essential, that Feyerabend brought were discussed in this paper. His epistemological view, which expresses the intellectual permeation of certain aspects that no one previously attempted, bring some new aspects of understanding to the fore such as the advancement character of counter-rules, the alternation of theory-counterinduction-a new theory, the contamination of evidence with old theories, the need for their decontamination, and open exchanges as a path of developing science in a tolerant way.

It seems that the view of Feyerabend against the dogmatic character of method in science is historically right

by pointing to examples in history that illustrate the dangerous hindrances and restraints in the development of science if changes are banned, and how it could help if the counterinductive action was legitimized. In strengthening this, arguments that evidence is contaminated by old theories and must therefore be decontaminated as a condition for the emergence of new perspective were put forward. Through the counter-inductive approach, the principle that everything goes in order to reduce e hindrances, and open up exchanges in scientific activity, Feyerabend laid out an original epistemological point of view, in which a a tolerant road of development and progress of science can materialize.

Such a spirit turned into a view of the postmodern state: four years after the publication of the *Against Method*, Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) broadly elaborated and pointed it out as a developmental stage in the *Postmodern Condition* first published in 1979. Particularly its two last chapters "Postmodern Science as the Search for Instabilities" and "Legitimation by Paralogy", considered by the author as the scientific approaches at present, are very similar to that of Feyerabend discussed in this paper.

In conclusion, it should be underlined that anyone who sincerely deepens in the contributions of Feyerabend stressed above, understands how current they still are in reducing scientific prejudices of a closed-minded mentality.

References

- Abazi, H. (2014). *Shqyrtime të racionalizmit në epistemologji*. (Investigations in epistemological rationalism) Pristina: Zef Serembi.
- Abazi, H. (2018). "The opposite methodological perspective: a non-dogmatic and novel approach", Thesis, no. 2, 2018. Pristina: AAB College.
- Ayer, A. (1936). *Language, Truth and Logic*. London: Penguin Books.
- Ayer, A. (1940). *The Foundation of Empirical Knowledge*. London: The MacMillan Company.
- Ayer, A. (1956). *Problem of Knowledge*. An inquiry into the main philosophical problems that enter into the theory of Knowledge. Edinburg: A Pelician Book.
- Ayer, A. (ed). 1959. *Logical positivism*. New York: Free Press.
- Bacon, F. (2003). *The New Organon*. New York & Port Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Descartes, R. (2006). *A discourse on the Method of Correctly Conducting One's Reason and Seeking Truth in the Science*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Feyerabend, P. (1978). *Science in a Free Society*. London: NLB.
- Feyerabend, P. (1987). *Farwell to Reason*. London & New York: Verso.
- Feyerabend, P. (1993). *Against Method. Outline of an Anarchistic Theory of Knowledge*. London & New York: Verso.

Some lessons from scientific practice on its development and growth of knowledge On Feyerabend's perceptive view in epistemology

- Hume, D. (1826). *Philosophical Works*. Vol. 1. *Treatise of Human Nature*, pp. 5-235. Edinburgh: Adam Vlack and William Tait; London: Charles Tait.
- Oakeshott, M. (1991). *Rationalism in politics and other essays*. New and expanded edition. Indianapolis: LibertyPress.
- Kuhn, Th. (1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. USA: University Press of Chicago.
- Kuhn, Th. S. (1985). *The Copernican Revolution. Planetary Astronomy in the Development of Western Thought*. Eighteenth printing. Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press.
- Lakatos, I. & Musgrave, A. (1970). *Criticism and The Growth of Knowledge*. Proceedings of the International Colloquium in Philosophy of Science. London: Cambridge at the University Press
- Lyotard, J-F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. United Kingdom: Manchester University Press.
- Misak, C. J. (1995). *Verificationism. Its History and Prospects*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Popper, K. (1962). *Conjectures and Refutations. The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. New York & London: Basic Books.
- Popper, K. (2002). *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*. London and New York: Classics Routledge.
- Popper, K. (2009). *The Two Fundamental Problems of Theory of Knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis group (firs published by Routledge, 2009).

The denationalization Policy of the International Community in Kosovo

Donik Sallova, PHD.

AAB College, Pristina, Kosovo

Email: donik.sallova@universitetiaab.com

Abstract

This paper aims to argue that the international community, especially the UN and the EU, through their missions in Kosovo, have never supported resolving the Kosovo issue in the context of the Albanian issue in the Balkans. International mechanisms have been against the identification of Kosovo as an Albanian national issue, as they have imposed standards, criterias and policies that lead to the alienation of *political identification* of Kosovo with what is *albanian*. Through formulas and slogans on multiethnic society, the international community has made it impossible to build and identify Kosovo as an Albanian national state. By stopping Kosovo's identification with the Albanian nation, making it impossible to unite with Albania by imposing exclusively non-Albanian state symbols, promoting the relativization of Serbia's invasive past in Kosovo through the so-called history review process, the international community in Kosovo clearly has implemented denationalization policies that, as a last resort, after denationalization, would have the creation of the so-called *new Kosovo national identity*. Through qualitative methodological approaches, the paper will review, analyze

Article received on the 15th of March, 2019.

Article accepted on the 22th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

and interpret constitutional documents, laws and policies in theoretical and historical contexts to witness the denationalization policy of the international community in Kosovo, namely the failure of this policy to construct Kosovo's new national identity.

Keywords: *politics, identity, denationalization, multiethnic, nation, state.*

Following military NATO intervention in the Kosovo war (1998-1999) that led to the capitulation of former Yugoslavia and the withdrawal of its state apparatus from Kosovo, it enabled the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 to establish the Protectorate of Kosovo. In the first years after 1999, the conviction was made that the international community was on the Albanian side in terms of resolving the Kosovo issue as part of the "*unresolved Albanian issue*" in the Balkans. Albanians believed that after the military intervention, the international community would "formally recognize" Kosovo's independence, as it aspired to the 1990s independence movement and so the Albanians would become with two national states, fulfilling what the theorist Ernest Gellner calls the realization of the principle of nationalism or the creation of a national state on the border of the national culture (Gellner, 2009). In this case, therefore, that is, the Albanian nation with two national states, Albania and Kosovo, according to Gellner, "a nation can approximate the realization of the principle of nationalism or break it down by having more states that are related to the national culture" (2009, 222).

As is known, over 90% of its population belonged to the Albanian national culture of the people of Kosovo. However, despite this misunderstanding (or contradiction) by the Albanian side, the international community,

especially the United Nations (hereafter: UN) and the European Union (hereafter: EU), through their missions in Kosovo, have never supported resolving the Kosovo issue in the context of the Albanian issue in the Balkans. International mechanisms have been against the identification of Kosovo as part of the Albanian national issue, as they have imposed standards, criteria and policies that lead to the neutralization of Kosovo's identification as a political entity with the "Albanian" as national component. Through formulas and political slogans concerning the creation of a "multiethnic society", the international community has made it impossible to build and identify Kosovo as an "Albanian nation state", as defined in the founding act of the Republic of Kosovo, in Article 1 of the Kacanik Constitution of 7 September 1990 (Assembly of Republic of Kosovo, 1990). For the international community NATO intervention in Kosovo was done only as a consequence of humanitarian reasons, while the historical, cultural, political and almost juridical truth (with the resolution '1244') on Kosovo, the official version had the view of Serbia (then FRY).

The UN Mission (UNMIK) in Kosovo it was just a kind of experiment aimed through the international practice of 'trusteeship' to guarantee and to help build self-governing institutions in Kosovo as a "Serbian province under the FRY." Thus, the sovereignty of Serbia as a subject of international law was respected (Knudsen & Lausten ed., 2006, p.65-66). Kosovo continues to be denied UN membership, as a considerable number of states continue to condition Kosovo's recognition based on the normalization report, almost of the functional dependency and co-governance that it needs to build with Serbia. Even today, in 2019, Kosovo's membership in the UN and its ultimate

international sovereignty is related to the need for a historic agreement of Kosovo's recognitions of Serbia, but at the price of Kosovo's Albanian-Serbian interior division, or external divisions such as the definition of Albanian-Serbian borders in the Balkans.

By stopping Kosovo's identification with the Albanian nation, making it impossible to unite with Albania (thus denying self-determination) by imposing representative state symbols that had nothing to do with Albanian history, culture and symbolism, promoting the relativization of the past occupying Serbia in Kosovo, through the so-called "history review process", the international community in Kosovo, in the name of peace building, has obviously implemented identity policies that would ultimately have the creation of the so-called "kosovar nation" at the expense of Kosovo's Albanian denationalization. This denationalization aimed at secession or division of the idea of the state of Kosovo with Albanian nationalism as the division of Kosovo with the Albanian national culture disconnected from the historical roots of the idea of the state of Kosovo. In the ethno-cultural nations of South East Europe, the importance of their cultural roots is particularly fundamental for the political essence of national and state identity. In this context, the historical national memory, myths, the historic glorification of the homeland, its language and its culture are fundamental to the building of nations and national states (Smith, 2008a).

This was intended through identity policies that promoted Kosovo's identity as a different identity from the Albanian national identity with which Kosovo had both culturally and politically identified over the course of its history. In this way, the image was presented to the outside world that Kosovo struggled to become a state with its own

national identity rather than of the realities of Albanian demands for protection against Serbian discrimination and their determination to advance their national Albanian identity on an equal footing with the other peoples of former Yugoslavia.

The International Community in Kosovo imposed an identity policy that disregarded the fact that the people of Kosovo had their formed national identity. In this way, the international community aimed at necessarily linking Kosovo's inevitable state-building process with the process of creating a new national identity. In fact, as the researcher Francis Fukuyama says, "nation building is crucial to the success of state building" (Fukuyama, 2015, 181). In the case of Kosovo *international policy* of nation-building substantially revolved around *de-nationalisation*. This de-nationalization denied the fact that in Kosovo formed nations exist with a specific relationship tied to the idea of the state of Kosovo, and rather aimed at initiating the process of identity construction through legal-constitutional impositions and public policy mechanisms to form the *new national identity* of Kosovo that relied on the *principle of multi-ethnicity* and the supreme idea of the state of Kosovo as *a purpose in itself* of all its inhabitants. This international community's (identity-forming) policy, which is intended to be imposed on the state of Kosovo by the principles of the Ahtisaari Package (2007) incorporated in the Kosovo Constitution (2008), is in conflict with the ideal and the purpose sought and realized by the Albanians in the state of Kosovo: the ideal of protecting the Albanian national identity of Kosovo.

Kosovo Albanians as part of the Albanian people in the Balkans have begun the process of the nation and state-formation or national revival in the period of the National

Renaissance at the end of the nineteenth century. The historical culmination of this process was the proclamation of national independence and the establishment of the Albanian state on 28 November 1912. Despite the fact that the ethnic borders of the declared Albanian national state were not recognized, the process of the Albanian nation-forming, already conceived of as a nation-consolidation process, has continued and will continue if we rely on E. Gellner, until the full realization of the nationalist principle for the formation of a united state is achieved. In this case Albanian, it concerns the consolidation of the Albanian state regardless of how the political and administrative unit of its internal organization as a federal or confederative state (Sallova, 2017).

In this regard, the idea of establishing the state of Kosovo has been the realization of Albanian nationalism. The Kosovo Albanians and their elite movement for independence did not intended to create the state of Kosovo either as purpose itself or as a path leading to the creation of the "Kosovar nation". The aim was to create the Republic of Kosovo, initially as part of the Yugoslav Federation, to cultivate and protect the Albanian national identity of the people of Kosovo, as a realization of national self-determination and equality with other nations of the federation (Zajmi, 1997, p. 16-18). Albanians had their own political entity in the form of high autonomy even within Yugoslavia, but their request for the Republic (state) was a request for national equality as self-determination within the federation and not to create any new national identity. Precisely the demand for the emphasis of the Albanian national identity of Kosovo in the form of the establishment of the Republic, a state equal to other states within the Federation, caused Kosovo to abolish autonomy of self-

government with violent, unconstitutional legal, political and police-military measures by Serbia (Stavileci, 2001, pp. 75-114). So the new political entity (the state) does not create a priori even a new nation as Kosovars claim. In the case of Kosovo, the old and formed Albanian nation has created the new state as another Albanian state, complementing the authentic national aspiration, unable to temporarily join the old national state of Albania. Independent Kosovo was thought to be a continuation of the solution of the Albanian issue in the Balkans and this was also a pragmatic solution made by the then political elite, considering the general circumstances of the Albanian nation at large, and in Yugoslavia in particular (Agani, 2002, pp. 139-146).

Contrary to this ideality and political reality, the international community, on the occasion of the adoption of Resolution 1244, then the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government of Kosovo, to the Comprehensive Proposal for the Final Status Settlement of Kosovo has promoted and imposed another policy in relation to Kosovo. The international community at all stages after 1999 was not only neutral and unspecified in relation to the political-national status that Kosovo should have. With its own documents it has also aimed to neutralize and effectively de-nationalize, the existing identity politics in Kosovo. In this regard, the first substantive element in achieving this goal was the imposition of the term 'community' in avoiding the issue of nationality, or a national minority in politically and legally defining the citizenship status of the people of Kosovo. In all of the aforementioned documents and others that have been derived from them, the people of Kosovo are categorized into communities rather than as an Albanian nation and a national minority (non-Albanian). This policy was aimed at

the depoliticization of national collectivities in Kosovo, although it is well-known that the modern state is inextricably linked to the modern collective called nation from which the sovereignty of the state derives. The community without the modern national standard is not a political category equal to the national collective and national identity. By imposing such a thing, the international community has aimed at denationalizing Kosovo, with the aim of reducing it to a simple community, especially Albanians to prevent the identification of Kosovo with the Albanian nation or the independence of Kosovo as a political context of the Albanian national unresolved issue while simultaneously creating the “need” for the unification of all communities in Kosovo withing the future political collectivity called “kosovar nation”.

Thus, the international community has aimed, through the mechanisms of the future state, in this case of the Republic of Kosovo, to create the new national identity of the people, in this case to renationalize the denationalized people despite the historical course of events and processes in Kosovo and the Balkans in the last 100 years. This is known in the theories of nations and nationalism as the nation-consolidation process or the formation and alignment of standardized national culture applicable to all members of the nation and the national state. According to Anthony Smith, this is accomplished particularly through three mechanisms including “public education, mass media and social cultural policies” (Smith, 2008b, p.104). But in the 21st century, Kosovo can not be treated as it was in the 19th century, the culminating time when modern nations and national states were founded in Southeast Europe. Despite the fact that Albanians in the Balkans have not managed to have a unified national state, the process of Albanian

consolidation has continued throughout the 20th century. Despite the fact that it developed in two different political realities, its ideality has remained the same and is based on the principles and cultural and identity frameworks constructed according to the contours defined by the Albanian National Renaissance (Sallova, 2017).

Political degradation of the people of Kosovo under UNMIK: from the Albanian nation and the national minorities to non-national communities

Since the adoption of UNSCR 1244 by the UN Security Council on 10 June 1999 on the temporary international administration of Kosovo through the UNMIK mission, respectively with the adoption of the Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo by the Special Representative Secretary General, Hans Hakerup, on May 15, 2001, Kosovo was established in a constitutional and political context. This also included a new cultural frame, where for the first time its people were no longer defined in national (nation) terms, but neutralized and reduced to *communities*, without giving the other attributes of *national community*. Thus, with the *community* definition, the international community began the process of *depoliticizing the people of Kosovo*, denationalizing any collectively established national identity, and reducing national culture and national identity to ethnic culture warranted to be cultivated privately but not politically manifested by public institutions (PISG of that time). In essence, the main purpose of this process was to remove the Albanian national features of Kosovo as a political entity that would no doubt go to independence and state-building in the future. Moreover, the entire political process of

international support that would lead Kosovo towards independence was “conditioned,” in the sense that it depended on the success of this de-nationalization process. Indeed, to achieve independence, Kosovo had to become *multiethnic*.

At first this was not conceptually understood and was rather perceived as a policy to promote equality between Albanians and national minorities in Kosovo and to prove that the state of Kosovo would be tolerant and comprehensive. However, in the negotiations on Kosovo's final status settlement, which had as its outcome the *Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement*, known as the Ahtisaari Proposal (2007), it was proved that *Kosovo's multiethnic state* was a modality to keep Kosovo Albanians outside Serbia, but making it impossible for the Albanian nation to fully complement the national self-determination, even by creating a second state with the legal, political and cultural title of Kosovo Albanian nation.

Over the years and with the continuation of other negotiations with Serbia sustained towards the normalization of relations between Kosovo and Serbia aimed at finding a modality for the integration of Serbs in the state of Kosovo (despite constitutional rights and civic equality that guaranteed Kosovo's new constitution), but which were actually used by Serbia to empower and legalize the deepest political separation of Serbs from the central government authority in Kosovo. As such, the *multi-ethnic Kosovo model* has been a political experiment of the international community, one from which the internationals themselves will seem to give up. From this experiment, Serbia has benefited mostly, which in the name of *imposed multi-ethnicity* on Kosovo has strengthened its domination in the territory just as intended. Serbia, while unable to stop

Kosovo's independence, prevented Kosovo from being a second Albanian state, imposing a multiethnic state in the negotiations, all the while refusing to recognize its independent statehood. The next requirement of Serbia was autonomy, through the Association of Serbian Majority Municipalities stipulated by the Brussels Agreement (2013) in order to recognize the *multiethnic state* in the Kosovo Albanian part. In the end, however, we may venture that Serbia will once again refuse Kosovo's recognition.

After render the Association with autonomy and the executive self-governing powers, it may be argued that Serbia will seek Kosovo's partition as the only way for it to accept Kosovo's membership in the UN. Subsequently,, Serbia will seek to have a certain footnote stipulating that even if Kosovo will become a member of the UN, it will not be fully sovereign if it aspires to join Albania. So, Serbia will do its utmost to prevent the strengthening of the Albanian national factor in the Balkans against, and will do so under the pretext for the wellbeing of the Serbs in any part of Kosovo.

Let us return again to Kosovo's *communities*. It should be noted that even in the Rambouillet Agreement (1999), which at that time stipulated that Kosovo was to remain part of Serbia until the final settlement, the proposal of which was accepted by the Albanian side, but rejected by the Serbian side, the definition of the people of Kosovo was done by giving the term *community*, the national attributes as *national communities, ie national communities*, despite the categorization of all members of these communities as *equal citizens of Kosovo* (US Department of State Archive, 2001).

The constitutional framework in Kosovo does not explicitly mention the Albanian identity of the people of Kosovo, naturally with all the national minorities, which

neither the movement for independence nor the liberation war has denied. In the first chapter of the constitutional framework where the basic provisions are presented, where usually with such provisions determine the political-juridical and socio-cultural conjectures and features of a state or political entity and, most importantly, their representatives are appointed, it is said only "Kosovo is an entity under the temporary international administration that with its own people has unique historical, juridical, cultural and linguistic and political attributes" (Kosovo Assembly, 2002). Furthermore, in the other points of this fundamental chapter, the inseparable character of Kosovo is defined and described, is specified the provisionality of this constitutional framework and its compatibility with the resolution 1244, temporary central and local self-governing institutions and their democratic character, and finally a very interesting element, it is determined that these provisional self-governing institutions "will use only those symbols that are or may be defined by UNMIK legislation" (2002).

It is clear that this provisional constitutional document, in its essential part, speaks to the people of Kosovo, but without mentioning the name: Kosovo Albanian nation and other national minorities. Meanwhile, although the framework recognizes the unique historical, juridical, cultural and linguistic attributes of the people of Kosovo, it excludes and does not mention the main attribute of a people in modern times: the attribute of national identity. The struggle of the people of Kosovo has had as its fundamental ideal the aspiration for national liberation from Serbian oppression and the building of the state of Kosovo as a complement to the ideal for national unification. Further, Chapter 4 of this framework, titled "Rights of Communities and their Members" in point 4.1 clearly defines the

collective nature of Kosovo's communities, which is reduced only within the ethnic, religious and linguistic character (2002). In this chapter in which the rights of communities are defined, it is clearly stated that there are no national communities in Kosovo, meaning that Kosovo, at least under UNMIK, will not be part of any national project, nor part of Serbia, although the international community has paradoxically recognized and legitimized Kosovo as part of the national, cultural and religious legacy of Serbia, nor part of the Albanian national project to make Kosovo an Albanian state, as a complement to Albanian national self-determination.

This framework of degradation of the political nature of the people of Kosovo, from national communities, the Albanian national majority and other national minorities (Kosovo as a multi-national political entity), in non-national communities (Kosovo as a multiethnic political entity) goes further below the legal and political treatment of the Albanian people of Kosovo by the 1974 constitution of the former Yugoslavia. In the SFRY Kosovo Albanians were not ethnic minorities, but together with Hungarians they were called a *nationality* in the sense of members of a nation that had a *mother state* as a territorial source of sovereignty outside Yugoslav borders. But with the 1974 constitution, the SFRY nations and nationalities were declared equal as founders and titular entities of the SFRY, with the respective federal units such as as Republics and the Provinces. So, in fact, even constitutionally, the provinces were also given the right to sovereignty. Therefore, Kosovo and Vojvodina, together with Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia and Montenegro represented and exercised their national sovereignty equally in all the organs of the state of Yugoslavia (Weller, 2011, pp. 83-84). And this *right of*

sovereignty exercised by the federal unit of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo was recognized to Albanians as a nationality (ie as a nation that has another sovereign state) and not as an ethnic minority without territorial-political sovereignty, ie national.. Thus, the sovereign national political entity of Kosovo existed at that time and its title was the Albanian nation in Kosovo: That total sovereignty was denied to the Kosovar nation as an independent Republic, as today when Kosovo's sovereign political entity continues to exist after the dissolution of Yugoslavia was the result of Serbian constitutional, jurisdictional, political and military aggression towards its constituent units (the Socialist Parliamentary Assembly Autonomous Kosovo, 1974).

Ahtisaari's package and the new Constitution of Kosovo as a final escape from the national, political and constitutional principles of the Kaçanik Constitution

Negotiations conducted in Vienna (2005-2007) under the mediation of UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy Martti Ahtisaari between Kosovo and Serbia about the final status of Kosovo resulted in a series of compromises made by the Kosovo Albanian delegation, but unanswered by the Serbian delegation, which fundamentally influenced the transformation or final deformation of the idea of the state of Kosovo. Despite the fact that the negotiations focused on the best possible accommodation of national and ethnic minorities in Kosovo, particularly of the Serb minority, the imposed compromises went beyond constitutional clauses that would regulate the freedoms and rights of minorities in Kosovo. The logic of imposing these compromises on the

Albanian side was that by neutralizing the national authority, Serbia would be persuaded into the idea of the Republic of Kosovo to persuade Serbia and sign a *historic agreement*, accepting the status of an independent state of Kosovo within which the Serbs were granted a privileged constitutional status.

However, no such agreement ensued and Serbia did not recognize and continued to disregard Kosovo, and even though the *Ahtisaari Proposal* for Kosovo's Independent Status did not pass the UN Security Council, leaving resolution 1244 in power, Kosovo employed the compromises made during the negotiation process, despite the fact that they became the prize for recognition from Serbia. This conditionality and the imposition by the international community, respectively the states that supported Kosovo's independence encouraged the implementation of the negotiation compromises despite the fact that they were not concomitant with a final Kosovo-Serbia agreement. In fact, they testify to *the denationalization policy of the international community* as opposed to the idea of the state Kosovo. Kosovo could not become a second Albanian state and Kosovo Albanian nation could not be recognised as the provider of this state nor even dominate it politically, culturally or symbolically. As such, independent Kosovo was recognized by the international community (the western countries) more as a result of not being able to return Kosovo under the state of Serbia, rather than in recognition of Kosovo's right to national self-determination. In this context, Kosovo is presented as a "sui generis" case in the context of international law and the right of self-determination, not recognizing the course of Kosovo's statehood along the lines of the dissolution of the former SFRY.. Despite the fact that it has reached the number of

about 110 states who have declared recognition, 1 Kosovo continues to face problems of full international legitimacy, precisely because it was presented as a special case. Accordingly, the states without information fear the precedent of special cases set by the Kosovo context (Fabry, 2018, pp. 248-266).

Kosovo Assembly deputies by (re)declaring independence in a coordinated manner with the allies, on February 17, 2008, through a Declaration in which Kosovo is proclaimed as multiethnic republic undertook the building of the state of Kosovo under the Comprehensive Status Settlement Proposal Kosovo with the negotiator Martti Ahtisaari. The Albanian political elite of Kosovo finally deviated from the national, constitutional and political principles of the Kacanik Constitution adopted on 7 September 1990. The Constitution of 1990 formed the basis of the Movement for Independence in the era of the 1990s, but also the motive of the liberation war aimed at freeing the Republic of Kosovo from Serbian occupation, as a cause of complementing Albanian national self-determination.

Since the preamble of the new Kosovo Constitution adopted on 9 April 2008 (which entered into force on 15 June 2008), there is a national anonymity of the people of Kosovo and the lack of any historical reflection on the testimony of the sacrifice of efforts and the struggle of Albanians for the state of Kosovo:

“We, the people of Kosovo, determined to build a Kosovo future as a free, democratic and peaceful country, which will be the homeland of all its citizens; Committed to the creation of a state of equal citizens, which will guarantee the rights of every citizen, civil liberties and the equality of all citizens before the law; Committed that Kosovo be a state of economic well-being and social prosperity; Ensure that the

state of Kosovo will contribute to the stability of the region and throughout Europe by establishing good neighborly relations and good relations with all neighboring countries; Convinced that the state of Kosovo will be a worthy member of the family of peace-loving states in the world; With a view to involving the Kosovo state in the Euro-Atlantic integration processes; We solemnly adopt the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo” (Kosovo Assembly, 2008).

In contrast to this Constitution, which was the materialization of the compromises of Vienna's denationalizing negotiations (as a policy of the international community), the first Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo adopted in Kaçanik by members of the Assembly of Kosovo on 7 September 1990, solemnly and openly stated in its Preamble the political, legal and historical carrier of the state of Kosovo. Among other things, the deputies who adopted this Constitution expressed at its introduction that:

“Relying on the progressive and freedom-loving tradition of the Albanian nation and members of other nationalities of the Republic of Kosovo, relying on the liberation wars and the common antifascist struggle to defend its national self and independence. Albanian nation of the Republic of Kosovo, in full compliance with the principles of democracy and equality and on the basis of the right to self-determination until detachment, and based on the Independence Statement of 2 July 1990, the Assembly Of Kosovo Issued the Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo”. (Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës, 2005, p. 11).

As can be inferred without including the full preamble of the first Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo (1990), the Constitution clearly distinguished the national conception of this Republic as a state of the Albanian nation and this represented no problem in guaranteeing the rights

of national minorities which are mentioned in the preamble as co-editors of the state of Kosovo. The second essential argument that proves the conceptual reform of the idea of the state of Kosovo in this constitutional point of view are the general provisions that define the nature of the state. Thus, Article 1 of the General Provisions of the First Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo stated that: "The Republic of Kosovo is a democratic state of the Albanian nation and of members of other nations and national minorities of its own citizens; Serbs, Muslims, Montenegrins, Croats, Turks, Roma and others living in Kosovo" (2005, f.12).

Whereas, in the new constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, in the general provisions, Article 1 - the definition of state, point 1 states: "The Republic of Kosovo is an independent, sovereign, democratic, unique and indivisible state". (Kosovo Assembly, 2008). Neither at this point nor in the other two points of this fundamental article is the nationality of the people of Kosovo defined. The new constitution is essentially a derivative of the Ahtisaari Package (2007) and the Declaration of Independence (2008) because its language is depoliticizing and denationalizing in relation to the people of Kosovo and the national, majority and minority communities of which it is comprised. Article 3 of this Constitution, which deals with equality before the law, states that "The Republic of Kosovo is a multiethnic society, composed of Albanians and other communities that are governed democratically ..." (2008). This article where the multiethnic nature of Kosovo's society is defined serves as the only case where the term "Albanians" is used albeit in a depoliticist context, in which the Albanians are viewed as just one of the ethnic (non-national) communities that make

up Kosovo society. The term (ethnic) communities in this Constitution is encountered 77 times.

The importance of the symbols, traditions and rituals in constructing and cultivating cohesion and national identity are expressed in early theoretical studies of nationalism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 2014). In this regard, Kosovo has proved its conceptual, political and cultural loyalty towards Ahtisaari's principles when it adopted the Law on Use of State Symbols (2008). Although in the Constitution of Kosovo (2008), article 6 states that the use of state and national symbols will be regulated by law, this arrangement is made only for state symbols through the Law on the Use of State Symbols (2008), but the law of special use of national symbols is not approved. Within this Law, an article is included that attests to the private character of using national symbols in Kosovo. While for state symbols public institutions are allowed and obliged their appearance, i.e. Article 6.1 states the "The state flag is placed in the internal and external environments of state and public institutions", in the case of national symbols the law only the right of individual and collective use by citizens, but not as Institutional manifestation: "citizens of all communities in Kosovo have the right, individually or as a community, to use national flags in accordance with the law and international standards" (GZK a., 2008).

Likewise, even in the Law on Official Holidays in the Republic of Kosovo, only those dates relating to religious holidays, international events and dates related to Kosovo's history since the declaration of independence (2008) onwards are formally endorsed. Meanwhile, national holidays of Kosovo's national communities, Albanians as a majority nation and national minorities, have been designated as commemorative celebrations by which

national history is remembered, but it is not officially related to the idea and history of the state of Kosovo (GZK b., 2008). We can straightforwardly relate the purpose of this imposition to the denationalization policies of the international community: It is not farfetched to assume that traditional public manifestations are increasingly transformed into memory, passing on from the political-administrative domain into the cultural-political symbolism (Kosovar nation) of Kosovo's "communities". In fact this is a typical political elite politics that has had the effect of massive national culture in the early centuries of nation building. Yet, nowadays, according to Jon E. Fox, there is a discrepancy between the various social strata in experiencing these national commemorative manifestations even in the consolidated nations (Tsang & Woods, 2014, pp. 38-50).

Final Reflections: Failure of Multiethnicity

For 20 years, the multiethnic, denationalizing politics of the international community versus the Kosovo Albanian state-building project failed to produce multi-ethnic coexistence as a constructed ideology of the Republic of Kosovo. Although much was invested, policies implemented and constitutional provisions stipulated in order to prevent the building of the state of Kosovo as a continuum to the Albanian national issue in the Balkans, anno 2019, i.e. 20 years after NATO's humanitarian intervention in the war Kosovo, the Serbia-Kosovo's stalemate solution has returned to the point the international community precisely attempted circumventing through the socio-political experiments that disagree both with the modernity of nation building and the history of nation-formations in the Balkans.

Under international pressure, especially of the American allies, Kosovo and Serbia are urged to reach a historic agreement of reconciliation designed at overcoming the disagreements, and normalizing the reports, which in essence concerns the reciprocal recognition between the states. This goal, which was attempted during the negotiations mediated by the European Union from 2011 onwards had the 'advantage' of removing the red lines that could hinder the deal. For the first time after many years, the new US supported position equally corroborated in the EU's foreign policy is that the parties are under no restrictions that may prevent an agreement between them. In particular, for any agreement that they can reach, including "territorial exchange", America will impede on the process as was more or less voiced by the National Security Adviser to US President John Bolton (Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, August 24, 2018). This new, unconstitutional attitude to the basic principle of Kosovo's building of multiethnicity, such as Kosovo's state Ahtisaari law, did not delay bringing to question the change of Kosovo's ethno-demographic, and spatial make-up, namely the division of Kosovo in ethnic lines: the Serb-dominated part to join the north in Serbia, with a disproportionate potential exchange with the Albanian-dominated part of southern Serbia, known as the Presevo Valley.

In addition to this solution of ethnic division, is also another equally separating solution establishment of the Association of Serb-majority Municipalities is an equally separation solution as the executive power of self-government equals Serbian autonomy, according to the agreement reached in Brussels on 25 August 2015 between Kosovo and Serbia on the General Principles of the Association of European Municipalities (European Union

External Action Archive, 2015). In other words, both solutions circulating today in the public but also at the informal and informal roundtables of talks, now without the “red lines”, are evidence of the failure of the international policy for the construction of any “multiethnic state” of Kosovo, ignoring the true essence of wars and conflicts in the former Yugoslavia.

Thus, as has been discussed thus far, the denationalization of Kosovo as an international policy, which was essentially a desecration of the project of the state of Kosovo, already in peaceful circumstances, and the granting of special legal-political and cultural status to the Serbian national minority, failed to build the political reality whereby Kosovo Serbs would consider the state of Kosovo as their state. Although a minority, the Serbian language became a co-official language in Kosovo, an ethnic Serb municipality established through the so-called (artificial) decentralization process was established, creating a situation of ethnic decentralization with enhanced competences rendered to the Serbs that went beyond the normal powers of local government. In addition, the orthodox church was officially nationalized and guaranteed by all constitutional clauses as part of Serbia’s legacy. In spite of the compromises extended to the ethnic Serbs, the Kosovo Serbs continue to deny and challenge the legitimacy of Kosovo, exploiting any political participation in Kosovo's institutions as an additional, internal mechanism for opposing the state. In these circumstances, and after two decades of efforts and investments intended to stabilizing the region from possible Russian influences, the US and the West may likely give up on the “invention of the multiethnic state.” In this case, however, Kosovo, which accepted the implementation of

multiethnic politics that served only advancement of Serbia's interests within Kosovo will likely pay the price.

References

- Agani, F. (2002). *Vepra 3 – Vështrim mbi programin e sotëm kombëtar të shqiptarëve (Works 3 - Overview of the Albanian national agenda today)*. Prishtinë: Dukagjini.
- Akademia e Shkencave dhe e Arteve e Kosovës. (2005). *Akte të Kuvendit të Republikës së Kosovës 2 korrik 1990 – 2 maj 1992, Kushtetuta e Republikës së Kosovës (Acts of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo 2 July 1990 - 2 May 1992, Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo)*. Prishtinë: ASHAK.
- Fabry, M. (2018). *Njohja e shteteve – Shoqëria ndërkombëtare dhe krijimi i shteteve të reja që nga viti 1776 (Recognition of States - International Society and Foundation of New States since 1776)*. Tiranë: AIIS. Translated by: Ledion Kristafi.
- Fukuyama, F. (2015). *Rendi politik dhe shthurja politike – Nga Revolucioni Industrial deri te Globalizimi i Demokracisë (Political Order and Political Decay - From the Industrial Revolution to the Globalization of Democracy)*. Tiranë: AIIS. Translated by: Jorgji Qirjako
- Gellner, E. (2009). *Kombet dhe Nacionalizmi (Nations and Nationalism)*. Prishtinë: Rozafa. Përktheu: Mentor Agani
- Hobsbawm, E. & Ranger, T. ed. (2014). *Shpikja e Traditës (The Invention of Tradition)*. Tiranë: Pika pa sipërfaqe. Translated by: Doan Dani & Enis Sulstarova.
- Knudsen, B. T. & Lausten, B. C. (2006). *Kosovo between War and Peace – Nationalism, Peacebuilding and international trusteeship*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Sallova, D. (2017). *Politika e ndërtimit të identitetit kombëtar shqiptar - Disertacion i doktoratës (Albanian national identity building politics - Doctoral dissertation)*. Tetovë: Universiteti i Evropës Juglindore.
- Smith, D. A. (2008a). *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, D. A. (2008b). *Kombet dhe Nacionalizmi në erën globale (Nations and Nationalism in the global era)*. Tiranë: DADAJ. Translated by: Enis Sulstarova.
- Stavileci, E. (2001). *Vazhdimësia e mendimit për Kosovën dhe Çështjen Shqiptare (The continuity of thought on Kosovo and the Albanian issue)*. Prishtinë: Lidhja Shqiptare në Botë.
- Tsang, R. & Woods, T. E. ed. (2014). *The Cultural Politics of Nationalism and Nation-Building: Ritual and performance in the forging the nation*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Weller, M. (2011). *Shtetësia e kontestuar - Administrimi ndërkombëtar i luftës së Kosovës për pavarësi (Contested Statehood: The International Administration of Kosovo's Struggle for Independence)*. Prishtinë: KOHA. Translated by: Flaka Surroi.
- Zajmi, G. (1997). *Vepra 1 (Works 1)*. Prishtinë: ASHAK.
- European Union External Action (2015). *Association/Community of Serb majority municipalities in Kosovo – general principles main elements Agreement* http://eeas.europa.eu/archives/docs/statements-eeas/docs/150825_02_association-community-of-serb-majority-municipalities-in-kosovo-general-principles-main-elements_en.pdf (last seen on March 9 2019).
- Gazeta Zyrtare e Republikës së Kosovës. (9 prill 2008a). *Kushtetuta e Republikës së Kosovës (Constitution of the*

Tepublic of Kosovo). Prishtinë: Kuvendi i Republikës së Kosovës.

<https://gzk.rksgov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=3702>

(last seen on March 15 2019)

Gazeta Zyrtare e Republikës së Kosovës (2 qershor 2008b).

Ligji për Përdorimin e simboleve shtetërore të Kosovës (The Law on the Use of Kosovo State Symbols). Prishtinë: Kuvendi i Republikës së Kosovës.

<https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDetail.aspx?ActID=2517> (last seen on March 20 2019).

Gazeta Zyrtare E Republikës së Kosovës. (15 qershor 2008c).

Ligji për Festat Zyrtare Në republikën e Kosovës (Law on Official Holidays in the Republic of Kosovo). Prishtinë: Kuvendi i Republikës së Kosovës. <https://gzk.rks-gov.net/ActDocumentDetail.aspx?ActID=2539> (last seen on March 20 2019)

Kuvendi i Republikës së Kosovës (7 shtator 1990). *Kushtetuta e Republikës së Kosovës (Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo)*. Kaçanik: Kuvendi i Republikës së Kosovës.

Kuvendi i Kosovës (IPVQ). (2002). *Kornizë Kushtetuese për Vetëqeverisjen e Përkohshme në Kosovës (Constitutional Framework for Provisional Self-Government in Kosovo)*. Prishtinë: Kuvendi i Kosovës.

https://www.kuvendikosoves.org/common/docs/FrameworkPocket_ALB_Dec2002.pdf (last seen on February 25 2019)

Radio Free Europe – radio Liberty (2019). *Bolton Says U.S. Won't Oppose Kosovo-Serbia Land Swap Deal*.

<https://www.rferl.org/a/bolton-says-u-s-won-t-oppose-kosovo-serbia-land-sëap-deal/29451395.html> (last seen on March 9 2019).

U.S. Department Archive (2001). *Rambouillet Agreement - Interim Agreement for Peace and Self-Government in Kosovo*. Washington: U.S. Department Archive. https://1997-2001.state.gov/regions/eur/ksvo_rambouillet_text.html (last seen on March 15 2019).

Reorganization of the Ombudsman model in Kosovo

Agron Xhemajli, MA, AAB College.

agronshxh@gmail.com

Abstract

The advancement of the Ombudsman's work directly affects the strengthening of the rule of law. Every administration undergoing transition as is the case in Kosovo must increase its efficiency in meeting the rule of law standards. The edifice of mechanisms controlling the powers does not suffice if they are not attended by functional and efficient practices, which from time to time and when needed, are examined and analyzed, both in structure and in terms of the results they give. Therefore, this is the motivation and main purpose of the analysis at hand, which takes into consideration the normative content, comparing it with other countries in the region and beyond. The current model belongs to the "emergency" phase before the era of independence when its role was left in the second plan, while it has much more importance in controlling the work of public administration bodies. In addition, the Ombudsman is still not sufficiently respected in public administration, and has a limited scope in society mainly due to lack of competence. From the examination it will appear that the role of the Ombudsman will increase by shifting from the current monocratic model to the collegial model in order to expand the scope of activity and increase

Article received on the 15th of March, 2019.

Article accepted on the 26th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

the competencies. This will influence his recommendations to be taken into account more by those segments of the administration that make concessions or violations of legality. Recommendations should be legally binding.

Keywords: *Ombudsman, organizational models, competencies, public administration, human rights.*

Meeting the standards for the rule of law from Kosovo's state institutions on the road to successful state building necessarily requires the strengthening of the role of independent power control mechanisms. In this regard, the Ombudsman plays an important role, provided that he is more respected by other public administration bodies to which he is addressed in case of violations.

The purpose of this work is based on this need and benefits the functioning and increase of the efficiency of the Ombudsman as an independent body of control over public administration and human rights protection in Kosovo. The paper focuses on trying to answer the issue of extending the scope of this mechanism. The implementation of new models imposes additional competencies for specific areas, which so far have not been discussed. Remodeling necessarily requires a new normative approach and consequently constitutional and legal changes.

The administration is aware of its duties and obligations under the constitution and the law, but it often happens that these obligations are not respected in practice. Therefore, the idea of the existence of a mechanism such as the Ombudsman, whose responsibility has always been to prevent and independently correct the administration. The paper's focus is on model analysis that could be recommended to be implemented in Kosovo by comparing

successful experiences from other countries as well as scientific research by various authors.

The paper relies on qualitative methods the legal contents in a comparative context are compared with those at the regional and partly European level. The models that are being considered have been successfully implemented by different European countries, departing from Nordic countries of the origin of this mechanism. Finally, the synthesized results of what have been reviewed are given, and recommendations for the new organizational model and additional competencies for the institution of the Ombudsman in Kosovo.

The paper analyzes opportunities to increase the role of the Ombudsman in Kosovo through the re-organization of the current model and competences. For this purpose, a brief overview of the origin of this mechanism is provided, and the various models referred to by scientists and state legislation.

Origin, dissemination and definition of the Ombudsman Institutions

The first signs of the existence of institutions similar to the Ombudsman lie deep in history and early civilizations. In the electronic Sensagen Dictionary, the article titled *Origins and etymology* of Ombudsman, it is said that in Ancient China, in the Huan Dynasty an institution called Juan (221, B.C) was created tasked with controlling the abuses of officials with power. As stated in the Electronic Encyclopaedia Antique History, in the article *Tribuni Plebis* in ancient Rome, tribunes played the role of lawyers of the people. They were responsible, among other competencies, for citizen complaints against power abusers. In the Arab

Caliphate, according to the Conference Report *The Network of Ombudsman in the Member States of the Islamic Cooperation Organization* (2014), this mechanism was called *Judge of the Judges* (in the original: *Qadi-al-Qaddat*), who was a powerful official with full financial and administrative autonomy able to investigate any and every action involving a state official in maladministration. According to this report, in the Ottoman Empire, the Sultan appointed a person named *Mohtasib* in order to control the conduct of imperial officials in the execution of his orders, protecting the remonstrants from violations.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the mechanism of the Ombudsman was installed in the Scandinavian countries. It did not take long for it to spread with great intensity in other countries in Europe.

According to Herzog (2015) "It was King Karl XII of Sweden ... who in 1713 named a representative called the *Högste ombudsmännen* to control government administration (p.185).

The Swedish Ombudsman, who is the first of its kind in Europe, according to Herzog (2015), "apparently originates from the inspiration of Swedish King Charles XII, from his time in Istanbul ... and after returning in Sweden, decided to have a similar office there" (p.185).

It took a relatively long time until this institution began to spread to other places, followed by Finland in 1919. According to Kucsko-Stadlmayer (2008), "it was Denmark that in 1954 initiated the popularity of this mechanism and created a new legal framework that became a very important model for future developments. But also Norway adopted such a legal structure in 1963" (p.1). Reif (2004) also points out that "public sector ombudsman popularity grew in the 1960s, as it was said, it was the version of the Danish and

Norwegian office embraced by other countries” (p.6). With regard to the European extension of the Ombudsman, the author Henk Addink (2005) distinguishes three stages of its extension: “The first phase belongs to Sweden (1809) and Finland (1919), the second relates to Denmark (1954) and Norway 1962), while the third phase begins in the seventies and ends in the nineties of the last century” (p.271).

The definition of the scope of work and the social causes that led to the formation of this mechanism have been formulated by some authors, among whom are Buck, Kirkham and Thompson (2011). These authors argue that “Large-scale bureaucracies created new opportunities for both arbitrary and incompetent exercise of power and, as a consequence, a growth in citizen complaints against the various emanations of the state” (p.10). Hedee (2000) adds in this respect that “in much of the remainder of Europe, the reason for the adoption of the ombudsman institution has been more prosaic and has been linked to the growth of the administrative sector” (p.10).

A more basic definition is given by author Frahm (2013), who states that “although there is no universal definition since the birth of the Ombudsman Institution, however, there is a broad agreement that the Ombudsman is an institution that receives, investigates and reports complaints about the (or lack of) actions of the public administration” (p.4). For the same problem, the albanian author, Stavileci (2010), states that “the Ombudsman is an institution of Swedish descent who understands the mediator or citizen's representative in relation to the administration in the protection of their rights; an institution of control over the work of the administration, with full independence, without any excessive formalism ...” (p.46). From another point of view, Roy and Philips (2000), despite

the differences in typology share a common vision of the features of the institution should include:

“Investigating violations committed against any person or group of persons arising from decisions, recommendations or any other administrative act issued by an organ or public administration official; investigating complaints against the government or government officials, departments, and various public agencies; relevant recommendations, at the end of investigations on the administrative bodies that are within its jurisdiction; reporting of the legislative body to the results of its activity, as well as to any specific issue that could result in a wider interest” (p.3).

Regarding the issue of defining the ombudsman, the author Sokoli (2010) emphasizes “this mechanism, which in his genesis was determined to maintain the balance between the executive (see: the king) and the legislative” (p.147). In line with this, Vogiatzis (2018) contends that “... the Ombudsman institutions in general have the potential to contribute to policy democratization, including more accessible policies, introducing opening and transparency, being a mediator between individuals and the administration and an instrument of democratic participation “ (p.58). Thus, it is a common thought among many authors that as a result of the rapid development of social relations, the state also grows. Resultantly, the legal relations and the bureaucracy may also increase the abuse of power. Hence, there was a need for additional mechanisms for dealing with complaints, such as the Ombudsman. Determining the scope of activity in some countries as a controller of the legality of administrative and human rights decisions and in others with jurisdiction over violations in the justice system or competencies in special areas, the scope

of these control mechanisms was mainly defined according to the political cultures of the specific countries but also depending on the stage of democratic development in which specific countries were located at the time when they formed these mechanisms.

Ombudsman in the countries of the region and in Kosovo

The Ombudsman in Albania is a constitutional body that operates based on the Law on Ombudsman no. 8454 of 4.2.1999 and the internal regulations of his office. The Ombudsman has full jurisdiction at the national level. It was formed with the 1998 Constitution, since in 1995, Albania joined the Council of Europe, which warranted the existence of a mechanism for human rights protection. This was reflected in the 1998 Constitution (Articles 60-63). Under the constitutional authorizations, "the Ombudsman protects the rights and legitimate interests of the individual from unlawful and irregular acts or inactions of the public administration bodies" (Article 60). In addition to these acts, its activity is based on the Code of Good Administrative Behavior, the Law on Consumer Protection, the Law on the Right to Information, the Law on Rights and Treatment of Prisoners and the Internal Rules of Work of his office.

The Slovenian Ombudsman was preceded by the Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The members of this Council were university professors, artists, journalists, priests and other specialists in the field of human rights. The Human Rights Ombudsman, based on Article 159 of the Constitution, took over the duties of this Council on the first of January 1995 (Human Rights Ombudsman official web page, Slovenia).

According to the Slovenian Constitution of 1991 (Article 159), “with the aim of protecting Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in relation to the state authorities and local self-government, the holders of public authorizations, the office of the Ombudsman for Citizens' Rights will be established by law”. Thus, the Law on the Slovenian Ombudsman No. 71/1993 was created, which sets out detailed provisions regarding the legal status, duties and competencies of the Ombudsman. According to the Law on Ombudsman No. 71/1993, the working criteria of the Slovenian Ombudsman are constitutional provisions and international legal acts on human rights. In addition to human rights, the Slovenian Ombudsman is in charge of and has legal jurisdiction over regimes in cases of mismanagement (Article 3).

The roots of the Ombudsman Institution in Kosovo are not very profound. They relate to the time of the end of the war (1998) and the subsequent deployment of United Nations administration (hereafter: UN). For the first time in Kosovo, this administration founded the Ombudsman in 2000 based on the Regulation no. 2000/38, after almost two centuries from the establishment of the first Swedish Ombudsman (1809). Peculiar in the case of Kosovo is that of its founder, i.e. the UN. According to Regulation 2000/36, this institution was designated as the Ombudsman Institution of Kosovo and was authoritatively appointed by the UN's Head of Mission. Later, in 2006, according to Regulation No. 2006/6, the Ombudsman was elected by the Assembly, democratizing his election and accountability, but still leaving behind the importance and power of the competences he should have. After the independence of the country (2008), circumstances changed for the benefit of the Ombudsman. Thereafter, its authorizations are based on the

Constitution and the Law on Ombudsman No. 05/L-019, 2015. Although these documents include a wide range of fields, some of them are not included. According to these documents, the final acting mechanism of the Ombudsman is the Recommendation which should be applied by the bodies to which it is addressed. However, because of its insufficient legal power, it can not force the parties to fully implement what is recommended. Consequently, the analysis carried out in this paper is focused on the remodeling and enhancement of competences, in the benefit of the efficiency of its controlling role, both for human rights and the legality of the public administration decisions.

Regarding the competences, the Kosovo Ombudsman has the following powers: children's rights protection; protection of citizens from discrimination and promoting equality; the implementation of the role of the National Mechanism for Torture Prevention; the promotion of the protection of human rights; the performance of Amicus Curiae, and mediation and reconciliation. These competences are defined by the Constitution (Article 22). Against this scope, we note that its competences are deficient because they do not cover some important areas, both from the public and private sectors.

Different models for the Ombudsman Institution

Regardless of the typologies and competences it embodies, the role of an Ombudsman has generally been thought of as a mechanism for control purposes. Various countries around the world, in the region and in Kosovo, have created different models of the Ombudsman. These models have been based on the need to strengthen the rule of law through independent control over their administrative organs,

somewhat against judicial ones, by implementing this practice both in the public and often private sector (the latter lacking in Kosovo); in general; somewhere elected by the legislative and elsewhere by the executive, at the national or regional level; in the case of the European Union as a supranational level. Different authors have mentioned different models, implemented for different and even specific areas. This facilitates understanding the scope and role of these institutions. In reality, the purpose of this paper is to find an adequate and more efficient model to reflect on the organization of the Ombudsman in Kosovo.

Hence, there are different models that apply across developed countries, which could serve as good and convenient practices to implement in the circumstances of Kosovo. Some of them referenced by the author Reif (2004), of interest to our review, are as follows:

- 1) Executive Ombudsman created by government departments, agencies and public corporations to handle internal or external complaints: Established by a government department, agency or public corporation at the national or regional level of government;
- 2) The public and private sector hybrid ombudsman created by legislation on an industry or service sector to resolve customer complaints;
- 3) Private sector self-created ombudsman (industry, services) for solving client-customer complaints;
- 4) Organizational Ombudsman created by private sector institutions and corporations (p.26-28).

Based on these models and in line with our point of view, it is of particular interest to cover the private sector as in some of its branches major violations have been observed thus far especially regarding issues of informality that as a consequence, result in a situation where complaints about

violations from employees can not appear in the courts although they may have far-reaching consequences for the lives of employees in this sector. In this regard, an Ombudsman covering the private sector would be considered a right and necessary solution.

By classifying them according to their competencies Kucsko-Stadlmayer (2008) distinguishes three other models of the Ombudsman: "the classic model, the hybrid model of human rights and the rule of law model" (p.61-62). The last missing model, the one on the rule of law, is of great interest to be implemented in the transitional circumstances that Kosovo is going through. Strengthening the rule of law is of vital interest both for the state building itself and for the country's aspirations in the Euro-integration processes. Thus, its weight surpasses the role of the human rights protection and the rule of law, more so when we consider a well-respected statement by Stroink (2005), who characterizes the Ombudsman's institution as "a mechanism which can play a balancing role between the three powers" (p.271).

In comparison, unlike Kosovo, we can take the fact that from the regional countries discussed in this paper, the rule of law model is applied in Slovenia. Consequently, a proper analysis of the remodeling of the Ombudsman in Kosovo takes special attention.

Reorganization of the Ombudsman model in Kosovo

Referring to models in general, we can say that their review has helped us draw similarities and adaptability to Kosovo's needs and circumstances. The most typical and common feature in all the countries that were compared is the authority of the Ombudsman to provide recommendations regarding violations. In the Kosovo case there are legal

weaknesses in terms of its competences. From a legal point of view, they should be strengthened to ensure that beyond the authoritarian obedience or public pressure and charisma, the administration should be obliged to implement the recommendations of an Ombudsman. The lack of a legally binding character for his recommendations prevents the necessary and immediate implementation of these recommendations from the public administration bodies. obedience and public denunciation does not suffice. In this sense, we have many civil society organizations that can play this non-binding awareness-raising role, of which many exist in Kosovo. In this case, a legal norm is needed that binds the administration to legal sanctions in cases of offense.

The Ombudsman's recommendations are acts that charge administration with certain tasks. In various doctrines, recommendations are considered as "soft law" acts. Actually, the Ombudsman's recommendations exert their influence not through the typical attribute of power, which is t *obligative* to others, but through its *authority*, its *arguments* and *public pressure*. The recommendation instrument expresses the special character of the Ombudsman's function d without the norm of obligation, but through his *power of persuasion*. As such, what is the real legal force of these recommendations? The Ombudsman's decisions are similar to administrative acts, but are not authentic administrative acts. The main quality that differentiates between these is the sanction. The administrative act is an expression of the legal will, which also contains sanctions in case of non-enforcement, while the Ombudsman's recommendation does not have this element. On the other hand, his recommendations are an expression of administrative activity and legal will, but without binding force. These recommendations have a legal and

administrative contravention in themselves because they are sent for enforcement to another body, which itself is responsible for the violations that are evidenced in the given recommendation. So in this case, a voluntary self-implementation of the administrative decision is required. However, no official body responsible for violations will sanction itself without being obliged to do so by another norm.

For these reasons, in the future, the idea is to give the Ombudsman recommendations the power of sanctioned administrative acts. The investigative procedure when initiating a case consists of three stages: initiation, proceeding and investigation. This lacks the last phase that exists in the proper procedure of an administrative act, i.e. sanctioning. Therefore, if the Ombudsman's decisions would have the power of a legally binding recommendation, results in controlling the administration and citizen protection would be significantly greater. This is also based on the fact that the Ombudsman is a body of constitutional power and therefore its authority should be imposed on the bodies over which it has jurisdiction control and which do not comply with the law.

The model applied in Kosovo of an Ombudsman for all areas and cases, the hybrid or human rights model as it is otherwise called, is inadequate for a state that is undergoing democratic transition, as these societies are expected to have more violations and maladministration, and consequently a greater workload. In the Constitution of Kosovo (2008), it is stated: "The Ombudsman oversees and protects the rights and freedoms of individuals from the illegal and improper actions or inactions of public authorities" (Article 132, point 1). So, as seen, this mechanism only covers the public domain, but not the private sphere.

The need for expanding the scope of activity also takes into account the number of violations referred by the Ombudsman. According to his report, the low level of compliance with the recommendations is only 31%, while 78% of the violations that have been made by public authorities are stated in the Annual Report for 2017 (p.321).

Based on these considerations, we recommend that the existing Ombudsman should be reorganized. The reorganization should include establishing a collegial body that will consist of Ombudsmen for specialized areas that operate with competences in more than one field, currently extending the scope of the institution beyond the protection of human rights even in control of the legality of public administration acts as well as in the judiciary. The composing lawyers within this collegial body will do their work in interaction but independent of each other by being co-ordinated by a leading lawyer of the institution. This body can be referred to as the Council, the Institute, the Board, etc., as stated by Kucsko-Stadlmayer (2008) in Norway, called the "Federal Ombudsman College" (p.450).

By aiming for a more effective public administration in Kosovo that meets human rights standards and respects legality, it is obviously very important to implement a new form of organization for the Ombudsman. This should be done so that its activity covers all areas of social life in the function of independent control of the public and non-public administration.

This way, some special models could be applied to the Ombudsman, such as the private sector that would cover and deal with the field of labor rights, social and pension affairs, the rights of employees in the private sector toward employers, the rights of unemployed and social cases; then for the missing persons; for children; for education; health

and the military. Other similar models could also be incorporated into this collegial body as the need and rationality that the legislative branch of power would foresee as necessary.

An Ombudsman cannot have more success in all areas than a specific one for a particular field. In addition to the low level of compliance with its recommendations (31%), and the high rate of violations committed by public authorities (78%), arguments for this are the fact that court proceedings have proven to be not a fully effective mechanism, due to delays in procedures and higher financial costs incurred in court hearings. A major obstacle is the lack of implementation of the European Court of Human Rights practice, as argued by Martinez and Cuchi (2017). Finally, the other argument is the private sector involvement in the possibility of complaints against commercial and non-commercial entities in cases of violation of administrative rights and procedures. In this regard, O'Brien and Seneviratne (2017) argue that "the Ombudsman's treatment was traditionally reserved for public authorities, although the 1980s witnessed the appearance of the Ombudsman to investigate complaints against various private sector bodies" (p.10).

Based on the data on the low impact of the recommendations, we suggest to extend the Ombudsman's powers so that he can force the administration to correct the abusive decisions, all this in benefit of strengthening the rule of law. This fact is reinforced by McMillan (2004) too, who argues that "from the perspective of the rule of law, the handling of complaints by the Ombudsman strengthens the notion that the government is bound by rules and that there may be one independent assessment of compliance with the rules. The accountability of the government and the right to

complain go hand in hand ... Knowing the right can be an important sign if democracy and rule of law are being practiced" (p.7).

As a preliminary conclusion, the role of the Ombudsman can not be successful if it is based solely on charisma, persuasive power (arguments) and the public pressure he exerts on public administration bodies. But this is also argued by the examples implemented by more developed democracies than Kosovo. There is scope for implementing some models that provide more rule of law and are more efficient in organizational terms, that is, they have the widest scope, and consequently the competence that guarantee the imposition of the Ombudsman's role.

As a preliminary conclusion, we may note that the Ombudsman's role can not be successful if it is based solely on charisma, persuasive power (arguments) and the public pressure it exercises in the public administration bodies. But this requires additional competencies through an new and more effective organizational structure. In this effort we want to follow the examples that are applied in the most democratic countries. Our scope, in the case of Kosovo, is to implement the model for the Ombudsman, which provides more rule of law in order to impose its role in society.

Conclusion

The views on reorganizing the activity of the Ombudsman in Kosovo are motivated by the aim to increase the efficiency of public institutions in the rule of law, the overall social goal. Especially as the current form of organization is extensive and even bureaucratic relying on an "emergency" model of UN administration in Kosovo (UNMIK), which has almost been a mere decoration in the political institution's mosaic,

where its importance was rather insignificant, it is vital to reconsider its role in Kosovo.

Given the barriers from the past, and the arguments we analyzed for the functionalization of the work, we think that the conditions are met, and this is also required by the political processes of state building as well as the Euro-Atlantic integration ones, henceforth implementing a more advanced model for the Ombudsman in Kosovo. Two elements that we recommend would have made it more effective in solving the cases that the jurisdiction is liable to. These are a) the reorganization of the institutional model with the aim of *expanding the scope of activity*, and b) the strengthening of competencies by making his recommendations legally binding.

With regard to these two issues, without prejudice to the role of “the fourth power” and without interfering in the balance of powers, the Ombudsman could be transformed, by means of a mechanism that stamps the time of emergency institutions, to a modern and efficient enforcement mechanism in accordance with the most advanced European and global standards.

This is reflected in the overall review through a series of examples from both European and regional countries, which support the conclusion that the role of the Ombudsman in external control is of great importance for the democratization of society, and this role needs to be consolidated.

References

Ancient History Encyclopedia. Tribuni Plebis. Retrieved from: <https://www.ancient.eu/Tribune/>

Annual Report of the Ombudsman of Kosovo 2017.
Retrieved from: <https://oik-rks.org/raportet/raportet-vjetore/>

Buck, T., Kirkham, R., & Thompson, B.(2011). *The ombudsman enterprise and administrative justice*. Farnham: Ashagte.

Conference Report The Ombudsman Network in the member states of the Islamic Cooperation Organization. Islamabad, Pakistan (2014). Retrieved from: http://www.oicoa.org/downloads/OICOA_Conference_Report_2014.pdf

Frahm, M. (2013). *Australasia and Pacific Ombudsman Institutions. Mandates, Competences and Good Practice*.(Ed.). International Ombudsman Institute. Vienna: Springer.

Hedee, K. (2000). *European Ombudsman: Readiness and Control at Union level*. London: Kluwer Law International.

Herzog, E.M. (2015). *The Ombudsman: Origin and expansion in The book of Ombudsman*. Retrieved from: https://www.defensordelpueblo.es/en/wpcontent/uploads/sites/2/2015/06/The_book_DP_Ingles.pdf

Jose Garcia Martinez, F., & Cuchi, U. (2017). An exploited system: The Status of the Human Rights Framework in Kosovo. In: Kosovo Institute for Research and Development (KIPRED), Legal and Policy Studies Group, Artpolis - Center for Art and Communication, Ed. Ariana Qosaj Mustafa. Retrieved from: http://www.kipred.org/repository/docs/Albanian_Version_350593.pdf

Konventa kundër Torturës dhe Trajtimeve a Ndëshkimeve të tjera Mizore, Jonjerëzore ose Poshtëruese. Miratuar nga Asambleja e Përgjithshme me Rezolutën e saj 39/46 të

datës 10 dhjetor 1984, hyrë në fuqi më 26 qershor 1987. (The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Adopted by the General Assembly by its Resolution 39/46 of 10 December 1984, entered into force on 26 June 1987). Retrieved from:

<http://www.unmikonline.org/regulations/unmikgazette/03albanian/Ahri/AConAgainstTortureOtherCruelInhuman.pdf>

Kucsko-Stadlmayer, G. (2008). *European Ombudsman-Institutions. A comparative legal analysis regarding the multifaceted realization of an idea*. Wien, New York: Springer.

Kushtetuta e IRJM, 1991. (Constitution of the FYROM, 1991). Retrieved from:

[http://ombudsman.mk/SQ/kompetenca/kushtetuta_e_rm_\(neni_77\)](http://ombudsman.mk/SQ/kompetenca/kushtetuta_e_rm_(neni_77))

Kushtetuta e Republikës së Kosovës, 2008. (Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo, 2008). Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosovo, 9 April 2018.

Kushtetuta e Republikës së Sllovenisë, 1991. (Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia, 1991). Retrieved from:

<http://www.varuh-rs.si/legal-framework/constitution-laws/?L=6>

Kushtetuta e Republikës së Shqipërisë, 1998. (Constitution of the Republic of Albania, 1998). Official Publication Center. Retrieved from:

<http://www.qbz.gov.al/kushtetuta.htm>.

Ligji Nr. 05/L-019, Për Avokatin e Popullit në Kosovë, 2015. (Law no. 05 / L-019, On the Ombudsman in Kosovo, 2015). Official Gazette of the Republic of Kosovo, Nr. 16.

- Ligji Nr. 71/1993, Për Ombudsmanin e të Drejtave të Njeriut në Slloveni. (Law no. 71/1993, On the Ombudsman for Human Rights in Slovenia). Official Gazette of the Republic of Slovenia, no. 14/90.
- Ligji për Avokatin e Popullit në IRJM, nr. 07-4502/1, 2003. (Law on Ombudsman in FYROM, no. 07-4502/1, 2003). Retrieved from: http://ombudsman.mk/SQ/competence/law_for_the_ombudsman.aspx
- Ligji për Avokatin e Popullit, Republika e Shqipërisë, nr. 8454, 1999. (Law on Ombudsman, Republic of Albania, no. 8454, 1999). Retrieved from: <http://www.avokatipopullit.gov.al>
- McMillan, J. (2004). *The ombudsman and the rule of law*. In: Reif, C.L: The International Ombudsman Year Book. Vol. 8, 2004.
- O'Brien, N., & Seneviratne, M. (2017). *Ombudsmen at the Crossroads. The Legal Services Ombudsman, Dispute Resolution and Democratic Accountability*. London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.
- Reif, L.C. (2004). *The Ombudsman, Good governance and International Human Rights System*. Leiden: Springer Science and Business Media Dordrecht.
- Roy G., & Philips, G. (2000). *The Ombudsman in sixth continents. The Ombudsman Institution Development and Growth*. (Ed). Amsterdam: Washington, DC: IOS Press.
- Rregullore e UNMIK-ut Nr. 2000/38 mbi Themelimin e Institucionit të Ombudspersonit në Kosovë, 30.6.2000. (UNMIK Regulation no. 2000/38 on the Establishment of the Ombudsman Institution in Kosovo, 30.6.2000). Retrieved from:

<http://www.unmikonline.org/regulations/2000/reg38-00.htm>

Regullore e UNMIK-ut Nr. 2006/6, Për Institucionin e Avokatit të Popullit në Kosovë, datë 16.2.2006. (UNMIK Regulation no. 2006/6, For the Ombudsman Institution in Kosovo, dated 16.2.2006). Retrieved from:

<http://www.unmikonline.org/regulations/unmikgazette/03albanian/A2006regs/A2006regs.htm>

Sensagen Dictionary. *Origins and etymology*. Retrieved from: <http://dictionary.sensagent.com/ombudsman/en-en/>

Sokoli, A. (2010). *Format e veçanta të kontrollit të administratës. Një: E drejta administrative. Administrata. Kontrolli i administratës dhe përgjegjësia politike e saj. Kompjuterizimi i administratës (Special forms of administration control. In: Administrative law. Administration. Control of the administration and its political responsibility. Computerization of administration)*. Prishtinë: Universiteti i Prishtinës.

Stavileci, E. (2010). *Fjalor shpjegues i termave administrativë (Explanatory Dictionary of Administrative Terms)*. Prishtinë: Akademia e Shkencave dhe Arteve të Kosovës.

Stroink, F., & Van Der Linden, E. (2005). *Judicial Lawmaking and Administrative Law (Ed.)*. Antwerpen: Intersenti.

Vogiatzis, N. (2018). *The European Ombudsman and Good Administration in the European Union*. London: Pallgrave Macmillan.

Determinants of Job Satisfaction Among the Nurses of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo

Vlora Sopi, Msc AAB College

Email: vlora.sopi@aab-edu.net

Abstract

The aim of this study was to assess the job satisfaction of the nurses working at the Pediatric Clinic of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo (UCCCK) based on the modified McCloskey/Mueller questionnaire. The study involved 50 nurses with different backgrounds. Intrinsic factors that dominated the survey were career opportunities, positive interpersonal relations, participation in decision making, perception of the work as important, and sense of personal achievement. Results have shown that the satisfaction was higher among the nurses aged older than 50, nurses with the secondary school education, nurses with more than 20 years of work experience, and nurses with less than 500 Euros monthly income in their families. At the overall job satisfaction of nurses, intrinsic factors have been shown more important than extrinsic ones.

Keywords: *nurses, job satisfaction, job satisfaction determinants, Clinic of Pediatrics, work experience*

Article received on the 24th of February, 2019.

Article accepted on the 20th of May, 2019.

Conflict of Interest: The author declares no conflict of interests.

Nurses are the largest group of medical workforce. In addition, they are the first and the longest lasting contact of the health system with the patients. Seen from this perspective, their job satisfaction is crucial for the performance and image of the entire health system. Although job satisfaction is the most studied aspect of the psychology of the organization and industry (Judge, 2001), it has so many definitions that is hard to determine the right one. (Peters, 2010; Locke, 1970; Spector, 1997; Lu, 2012, Utrianen, 2009; Shader, 2001). However, in its fundamental nature, job satisfaction is the way an individual sees his job. When speaking of health workforce, it means how she or he is behaving with patients (Utrianen, 2009; Chevalier, 2017; Jarosova, 2017; Ntantana, 2017; Liu, 2016; Pantenburg, 2016).

The measurement of job satisfaction can be done in three ways – by single question, by global measurement, and by facet measurement. The single question measurement is performed by asking respondents if they are satisfied with their job or not. Responders usually answer by saying “yes” or “no”, or a 1 to 5 rating response from “dislike my job very much, dislike my job, neither dislike/ nor like” to “like somewhat” and “like very much.” The global measure finds a general score based on several questions regarding pay, working conditions, and career opportunities. It combines scores on different questions or items to determine a global score for satisfaction. On the other hand, facet measurement asks questions pertaining to different themes or areas of a job such as pay, promotion, supervision, and coworkers. Additionally, it presents a score for each of these facets. This last method of measurement is the most reliable too. An Example of such a questionnaire is the Minnesota Satisfaction Questionnaire, which is composed of 100

questions measuring 20 facets of the job satisfaction (Weiss, 1967; van Saane, 2003) and the McCloskey/Mueller Satisfaction Scale (Mueller, 1990).

Factors that determine job satisfaction, according to Herzberg (1966), are intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic factors are: perception of the job as important, challenging and interesting, career opportunity and recognition of contribute. These factors are known as motivating. This means that the stronger the intrinsic factor is, the higher the satisfaction with the job. On the other hand, extrinsic factors are: pay, employment status, job security (type of contract, whether the job is permanent or temporary, etc.), working condition, extra payment and job privileges (car, food, travel, uniform, telephone), administrative politics and practices of the organization and interpersonal relations. These factors are known as hygienic and in essence, according to Herzberg (1966), are demotivating. This means the stronger the extrinsic factors, the higher the dissatisfaction with the job.

Aim and hypothesis

The aim of this paper is to measure the satisfaction of the nurses at the Pediatric Clinic of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo with their job and identify determinants of their satisfaction and dissatisfaction. It also aims to suggest, based on the results, interventions in order to improve job satisfaction.

This paper is based the hypotheses formulated below:

1. Intrinsic factors – the perception of the job as important, challenging and interesting, career opportunity and recognition of contribute are decisive for the satisfaction of the nurses with the job at UCKK.

2. Extrinsic factors – pay, employment status, job security (type of contract, whether the job is permanent or temporary, etc.), working condition, extra payment and job privileges (car, food, travel, uniform, telephone), administrative politics and practices of the organization and interpersonal relations, are important but not decisive for the job satisfaction of the nurses at UCK.

These hypotheses are derived from the similar studies widely cited in literature (Hayes, 2010), but were never tested for validity within the nurses' community in Kosovo.

Material and methodology

The study was conducted at the Pediatric Clinic of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo by using the questionnaire specifically designed to serve the aim of assessing the satisfaction of the nurses with their job. Fifty randomly selected nurses were enrolled in the study..

The survey was anonymous and composed of three parts. The first part contains socio – demographic data and is composed by author herself. The second part represents the standard job satisfaction questionnaire designed by McCloskey/Mueller (MMSS, McCloskey/Mueller Satisfaction Scale). This questionnaire was modified to exclude the “neutral” option and encourage the participants to take stands about the questions and not hide behind this answer. The third part measures the overall perception on the job satisfaction. The acquired data were interpreted employing the classification suggested by Likert (Likert, 1932). Time spent to fill the survey was 10 minutes.

The overall job satisfaction and the influence of intrinsic and extrinsic factors on the level of satisfaction were in the focus of the study. The classification of factors according to the intrinsic and extrinsic was based on the classification suggested by Herzberg (1966).

Results from the survey were processed using SPSS 22.0.0.0 (2016) and discussed in line with established standards and practices.

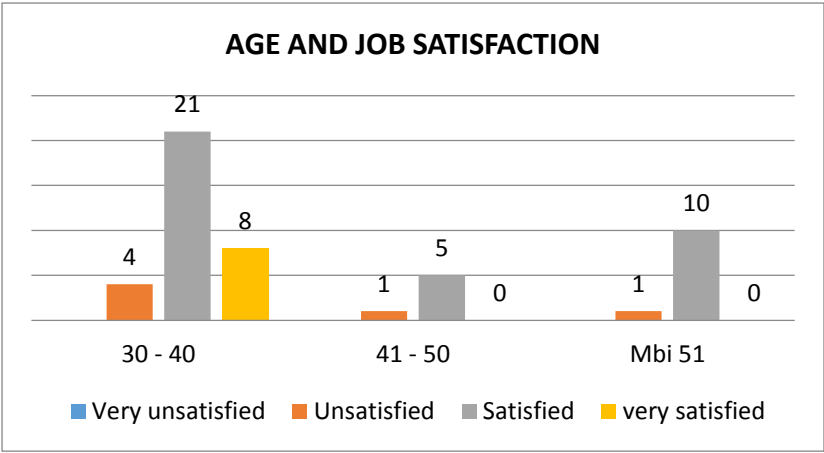
Results

Fifty respondents (nurses) randomly selected were enrolled in the study. The average age of the respondents was 41.02 years, with the youngest respondent in age 30 and the oldest in age 57. More than half of the respondents had a bachelor (48% of the respondents) or a master degree (8% of the respondents). Twenty-four nurses had a secondary school degree (48% of the respondents).

All respondents were women.

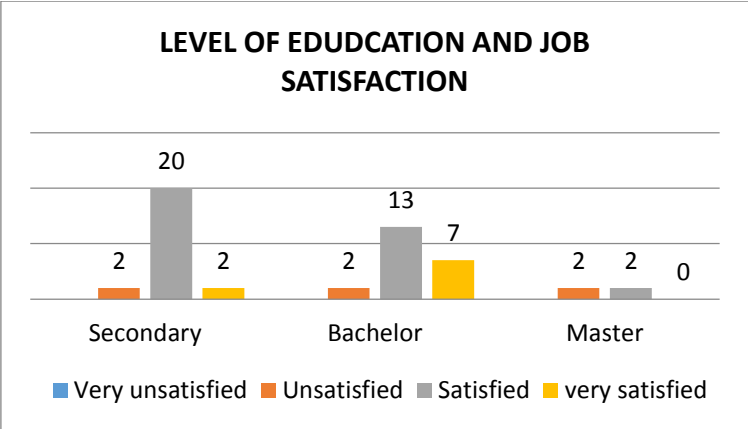
1. Correlation between the age of the respondents, their level of education, financial status of the family and job satisfaction

At the first part of the survey we collected the data on the age of the respondents, their level of education and financial status of the family. Then, we correlated those data with their response on the level of satisfaction with their current job.

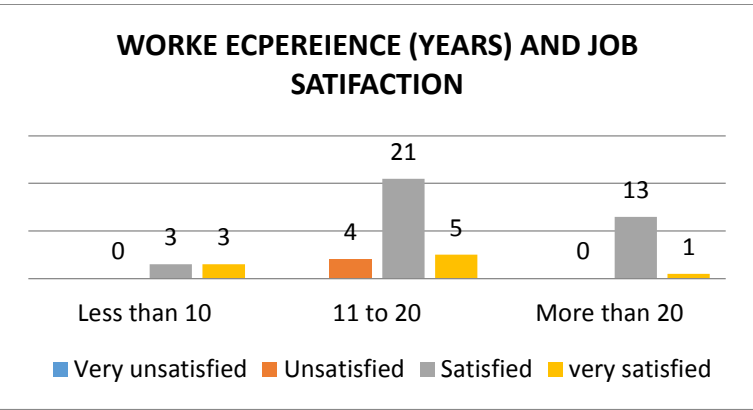


Graph 1.
Age of the respondents and their job satisfaction.

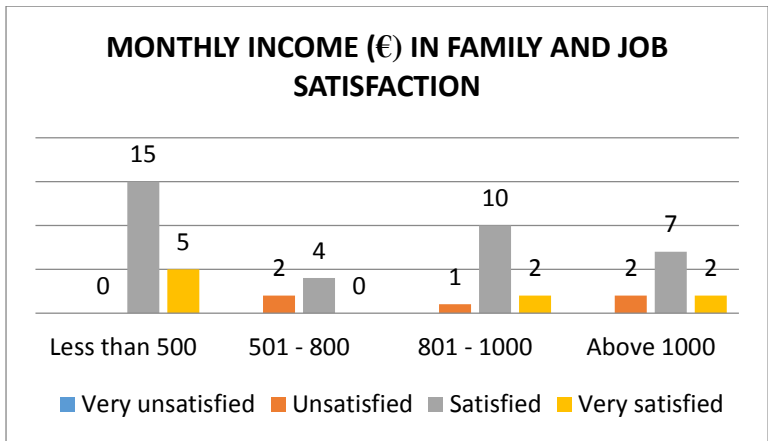
As can be seen from the results, the higher the age of the respondents the higher the satisfaction with the job (Graph 1) and the higher the level of education, the lower the job satisfaction (Graph 2). On the other hand, the longer the work experience of the respondents, the higher the satisfaction with job (Graph 3) and the lower their overall monthly income in the family, the higher the satisfaction with job (Graph 4).



Graph 2.
Level of education and job satisfaction



Graph 3.
Work experience (years) and job satisfaction



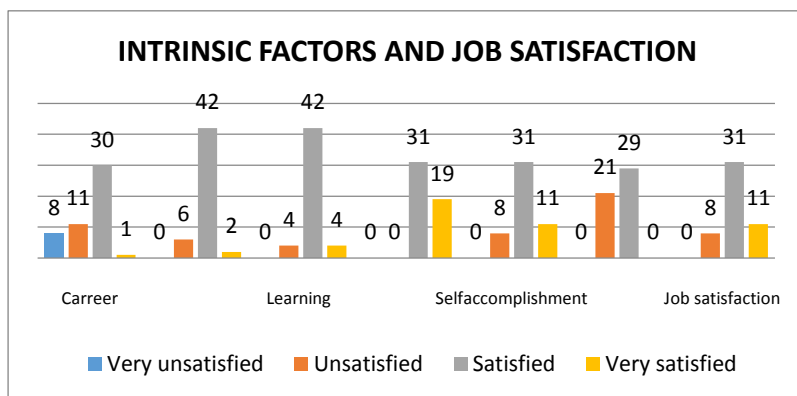
Graph 4.
Monthly income in family and job satisfaction

2. Intrinsic factors of motivation and job satisfaction

In the section on the intrinsic factors, we asked respondents about: the possibility to advance in career, relation with other workers, possibility to learn and adopt new skills at the work, the way they see the importance of their job, the sense of self achievement in their current job, and the degree to which they participate in the decision making process. The answers are presented in Graph 5.

As can be seen from the Graph, the majority of the respondents responded to be satisfied (62%) or very satisfied (22%) with their job. All respondents view their job as important (62%) or very important (38%). 92% percent of the respondents continuously learn new things and acquire new skills, making their job to be attractive and challenging. 78%percent of the respondents found the possibility to advance in their careers as an important motivation for work and 88% found good interpersonal relations equally

important. Similarly, 62% and 22% of the respondents respectively felt accomplished and very accomplished in their jobs.



Graph 5.

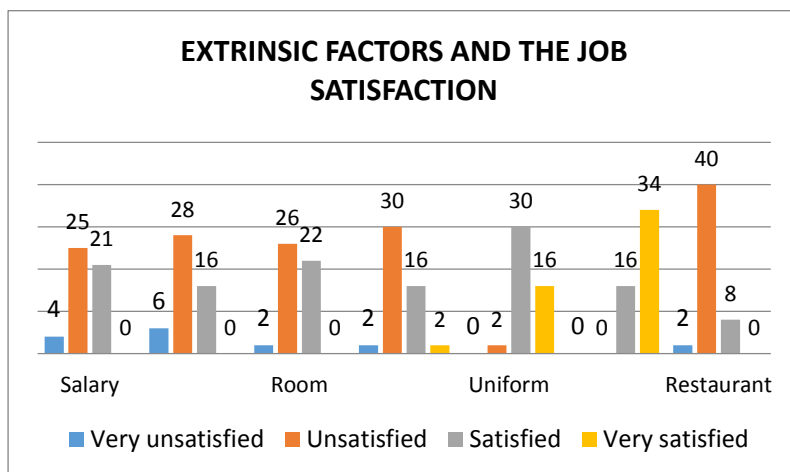
Intrinsic factor and job satisfaction

Statements about the participation in decisions in the organization of work, representation in professional and union bodies and other issues related to decision-making processes in the work sphere were divided. Twenty-one respondents (42%) stated that have never been asked about decisions and 29 respondents (58%) stated the opposite.

3. Extrinsic factors and job satisfaction

In the section on the extrinsic factors of motivation we asked respondents if they are happy with their salaries, payment for extra work, their rooms and offices, as well as bonuses (uniform, food in the restaurant and paid phone calls). The responses are presented in Graph 6.

As can be inferred from the responses, the majority of the respondents are not satisfied with the salaries (58%) and payment for extra work (64%); as they are not satisfied with their rooms (56%), offices (48%), the quality of food and the restaurant (84%).



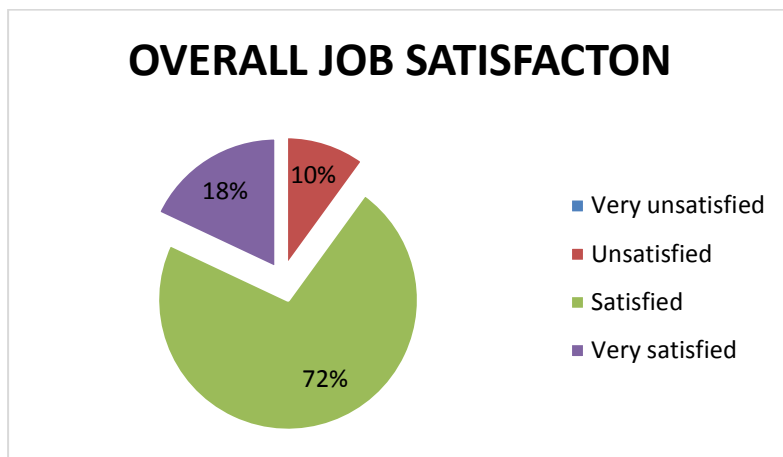
Graph 6.
Extrinsic factors of motivation and job satisfaction

On the contrary, all respondents (100%) were satisfied with the opportunity to use free cell phone calls for official communication and 98% percent of the respondents were satisfied with the uniforms provided free of charge by the hospital.

4. Overall job satisfaction

Asked about their overall job satisfaction, 36 respondents or 72% of nurses declared themselves being satisfied with their job, 9 respondents or 18% of nurses were

very satisfied with their job, and only 5 respondents or 10% of nurses were not satisfied with their job (Graph 7).



Graph 7.

Overall job satisfaction of respondents

Discussion

In this study conducted at the Clinic of Pediatrics of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo, authors have tried to answer two questions: (1) how satisfied are nurses with their job at the Clinic of Pediatrics of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo and (2) which are the determinants of the satisfaction of nurses with their job?

In contrast to the majority of published studies, including the national study on the overall job satisfaction of the Albanian workers, both in Albania and Kosovo, performed by EP & Partners Consultancy sh.p.k, the overall level of job satisfaction in our study has proven to be high. 72% percent of the nurses in our study stated to be satisfied with their job - 18% percent, surprisingly, even very

satisfied. As stated this is significantly different from the reported results in the EP & Partners Consultancy sh.p.k study, where it was found that only 30% were satisfied workers and 7% very satisfied workers. EP & Partners Consultancy sh.p.k, which is a mixed Albanian-Dutch owned company, furthermore, found that 53% of the Albanian workers were not satisfied with their job and 7% not satisfied at all (EP & Partners Consultancy, 2017).

This difference may have at least two explanations.

First, the survey conducted by EP & Partners Consultancy sh.p.k. involved not only nurses but included a wider scope of workers in industry, construction, government, tourism etc.. A significant number of workers involved in their study were carrying out jobs that they did not like, were temporary, or for other reasons unprepared to carry out their job responsibilities. This is not the situation with nurses. The majority of the nurses are well-prepared for their duties the moment they enter nursing school. Furthermore, during their education, they spend extended practice hours in their future working environment.

A second explanation concerns the carried out methods. The survey from EP & Partners Consultancy sh.p.k was conducted making phone calls to the workers, which may have induced undeliberated answers

The third explanation may concern the salaries of the nurses. which in comparison with salaries in other sectors with a comparable level of education are not bad. Naturally, this argumentation takes into the the Gross Domestic Product of the country.

In our study the satisfaction with intrinsic factors was higher than with extrinsic factors (45.57% of the respondent

vs. 39.16% of the respondent). Both were significantly lower than the overall job satisfaction (90% of the respondents).

Older and more experienced nurses were happier with their job than their younger and less experienced colleagues. Further, nurses with lower incomes were also happier with their job than the ones with higher incomes in their families. Although the dissatisfaction with the salaries was high, this did not influence the overall job satisfaction in our study. Similar findings are reported by other researchers as well [O'Keeffe, 2015, Motowildo, 1983; Upenieks, 2002; Lu, 2002; Lum, 1988]. These results may lay in the fact that the salaries of the nurses in the families with less than five hundred euro are the only means of income in the family, contributing as such to their overall job satisfaction as the loss of their job may have catastrophic consequences for the wellbeing of the entire family. Another reason may be in the perception grounded in our culture linking the status of the nurse's profession of the nurse not to the salary of the salary, but to the noble and of self- sacrificing nature of this line of work.

When speaking about the relation of the level of education and the job satisfaction, literature is not conclusive (Murrels, 2008); Ingresoll and co-authors (Ingresoll, 2002), Rambur and co-authors (Rambur, 2005) and Blegen and co-authors (Blegen, 1993) each find positive relations between the job satisfaction and the level of education. By contrast, Robins and co-authors (Robins, 2006) and Shields and co-authors (Shields, 2001) contrarily found a negative relation between education and job satisfaction.

Our study produced findings that support the second group of researchers. This is due to the fact that job satisfaction was highest among the nurses with secondary school education (91.66% of whom were satisfied with their

job), followed by the nurses with bachelor degree (90.90% of whom satisfied with their job) and nurses with master degree (50% of whom satisfied with their job). This dissatisfaction originates, probably, in unmet expectation of the nurses with higher education, who believed that with the promotion in higher grades their privileges and their salaries will increase.

Conclusions and recommendations

Job satisfaction of the nurses working at the Pediatric Clinic of the University Clinical Center of Kosovo is high. The most important determinants of the satisfaction are intrinsic factors, namely perception of the job as important, challenging and interesting, sense of personal accomplishment, feeling of high responsibility in work and career opportunity. These findings are not unexpected: As mentioned above, they reflect upon the fulfillment of the expectation and the pleasure with the job they do. At the same time, the expectations represent insights to be used by the policy makers, by putting a stress on these factors, to further increase the job satisfaction of nurses and, by doing so, the satisfaction of the patients as well.

The Nursing Law and administrative instruction on responsibilities and competencies of the nurses, both legal acts that are in the process, but still missing, are one opportunity. Both intrinsic and extrinsic factors of job satisfaction are to be promoted in these legal acts in a way that increases the job satisfaction of nurses. The second opportunity is through better management. Management that endorses motivation prior to punishment.

Encouragement before discipline. This kind of management should be part of daily practices and long-term strategies of the health institutions.

The Nursing Law is essential. The Law will recognize the difference between nurses at the different levels of education (secondary school, bachelor), and establish practices of different payment for different levels. It will also regulate the specialization in nursery, a very important issue in the era of task substitution (transfer of the tasks from doctors to nurses). Low and deriving acts, like the above mentioned administrative instruction on the responsibilities and competencies of the nurse, will exactly define the responsibility and competency of every single position and open the road to standardization of the clinical procedures, agreement on management plans and nursing protocols. Al together, these acts and practices will further upgrade the profession of the nurse, and increase the satisfaction of both nurses and patients.

References

- Blegen, M. A. (1993). Nurses' job satisfaction: a meta-analysis of related variables. *Nursing research*.
- Chevalier, S., Lejeune, J., Fouquereau, E., Coillot, H., Gillet, N., Gandemer, V. & Colombat, P. (2017). Organizational and Managerial Resources and Quality of Care in French Pediatric Oncology Nursing. *Journal of Pediatric Oncology Nursing*, 34(6), 406-413.
- EP&Partners Consultancy SHPK, 2017. www.epcc.al.
- Hayes, B., Bonner, A. N. N., & Pryor, J. (2010). Factors contributing to nurse job satisfaction in the acute hospital

- setting: a review of recent literature. *Journal of nursing management*, 18(7), 804-814.
- Herzberg, F. I. (1966). *Work and the nature of man*.
- Hughes, F. (2006). Nurses at the forefront of innovation. *International Nursing Review*, 53(2), 94-101.
- Ingersoll, G. L., Olsan, T., Drew-Cates, J., DeVinney, B. C., & Davies, J. (2002). Nurses' job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and career intent. *Journal of Nursing Administration*, 32(5), 250-263.
- Jarosova, D., Gurkova, E., Ziakova, K., Nedvedova, D., Palese, A., Godeas, G., ... & Babiarczyk, B. (2017). Job Satisfaction and Subjective Well-Being Among Midwives: Analysis of a Multinational Cross-Sectional Survey. *Journal of midwifery & women's health*, 62(2), 180-189.
- Choi, J., & Boyle, D. K. (2013). RN workgroup job satisfaction and patient falls in acute care hospital units. *Journal of Nursing Administration*, 43(11), 586-591.
- Judge, T. A., Thoresen, C. J., Bono, J. E., & Patton, G. K. (2001). The job satisfaction-job performance relationship: A qualitative and quantitative review. *Psychological bulletin*, 127(3), 376.
- Likert, R. (1932). A technique for the measurement of attitudes. *Archives of psychology*.
- Liu, Y., Aungsuroch, Y., & Yunibhand, J. (2016). Job satisfaction in nursing: a concept analysis study. *International nursing review*, 63(1), 84-91.

- Locke, E. A., Cartledge, N., & Knerr, C. S. (1970). Studies of the relationship between satisfaction, goal-setting, and performance. *Organizational behavior and human performance*, 5(2), 135-158.
- Lu, H., Barriball, K. L., Zhang, X., & While, A. E. (2012). Job satisfaction among hospital nurses revisited: a systematic review. *International journal of nursing studies*, 49(8), 1017-1038.
- Lu, K. Y., Lin, P. L., Wu, C. M., Hsieh, Y. L., & Chang, Y. Y. (2002). The relationships among turnover intentions, professional commitment, and job satisfaction of hospital nurses. *Journal of Professional Nursing*, 18(4), 214-219.
- Lum, L., Kervin, J., Clark, K., Reid, F., & Sirola, W. (1998). Explaining nursing turnover intent: job satisfaction, pay satisfaction, or organizational commitment?. *Journal of Organizational Behavior: The International Journal of Industrial, Occupational and Organizational Psychology and Behavior*, 19(3), 305-320.
- Mohr, D. C., Young, G. J., Meterko, M., Stolzmann, K. L., & White, B. (2011). Job satisfaction of primary care team members and quality of care. *American Journal of Medical Quality*, 26(1), 18-25.
- Motowidlo, S. J. (1983). Predicting sales turnover from pay satisfaction and expectation. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 68(3), 484.
- Mueller, C. W., & McCloskey, J. C. (1990). Nurses' job satisfaction: a proposed measure. *Nursing research*.
- Murrells, T., Robinson, S., & Griffiths, P. (2008). Job satisfaction trends during nurses' early career. *BMC nursing*, 7(1), 7.

- Ntantana, A., Matamis, D., Savvidou, S., Giannakou, M., Gouva, M., Nakos, G., & Koulouras, V. (2017). Burnout and job satisfaction of intensive care personnel and the relationship with personality and religious traits: An observational, multicenter, cross-sectional study. *Intensive and Critical Care Nursing*, 41, 11-17.
- O'keeffe, A. P., Corry, M., & Moser, D. K. (2015). Measuring job satisfaction of advanced nurse practitioners and advanced midwife practitioners in the Republic of Ireland: a survey. *Journal of nursing management*, 23(1), 107-117.
- Pantenburg, B., Kitze, K., Lupp, M., König, H. H., & Riedel-Heller, S. G. (2016). Job satisfaction of foreign-national physicians working in patient care: a cross-sectional study in Saxony, Germany. *Journal of occupational medicine and toxicology*, 11(1), 41.
- Peters, D. H., Chakraborty, S., Mahapatra, P., & Steinhardt, L. (2010). Job satisfaction and motivation of health workers in public and private sectors: cross-sectional analysis from two Indian states. *Human resources for health*, 8(1), 27.
- Rambur, B., McIntosh, B., Palumbo, M. V., & Reinier, K. (2005). Education as a determinant of career retention and job satisfaction among registered nurses. *Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 37(2), 185-192.
- Robinson, S., Murrells, T., & Clinton, M. (2006). Highly qualified and highly ambitious: implications for workforce retention of realising the career expectations of graduate nurses in England. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 16(3), 287-312.

- Spector, P. E. (1997). *Job satisfaction: Application, assessment, causes, and consequences* (Vol. 3). Sage publications.
- Shader, K., Broome, M. E., Broome, C. D., West, M. E., & Nash, M. (2001). Factors influencing satisfaction and anticipated turnover for nurses in an academic medical center. *Journal of Nursing Administration*, 31(4), 210-216.
- Shields, M. A., & Ward, M. (2001). Improving nurse retention in the National Health Service in England: the impact of job satisfaction on intentions to quit. *Journal of health economics*, 20(5), 677-701.
- Upenieks, V. V. (2002). Assessing differences in job satisfaction of nurses in magnet and nonmagnet hospitals. *Journal of Nursing Administration*, 32(11), 564-576.
- Utriainen, K., & Kyngäs, H. (2009). Hospital nurses' job satisfaction: a literature review. *Journal of nursing management*, 17(8), 1002-1010.
- Van Saane, N., Sluiter, J. K., Verbeek, J. H. A. M., & Frings-Dresen, M. H. W. (2003). Reliability and validity of instruments measuring job satisfaction—a systematic review. *Occupational medicine*, 53(3), 191-200.