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Romina GURASHI • Luiza LLURI • Alma GOLGOTA
• Jani SOTA • Anila SULAJ • Brunilda KONDI
• Agim LEKA • Juljana LAZE • Edit BREGU
• Ali PAJAZITI • Leke SOKOLI

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Contacts:

Rr. “Pjetër Bogdani”, Pall. 36/1, Tiranë – Shqipëri

Mobile: ++355(0)694067682

E-Mail: albsa@sociology.al; studime.sociale@gmail.com;

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LIVING SMART IN SMART CITIES; CHANGING SENSES AND CHANGING INSTITUTIONS

Romina GURASHI

Sapienza University of Rome, ITALY

E-mail: romina.gurashi@uniroma1.it

ABSTRACT

With the introduction of digital technologies in every area of our daily life, the way people conceive cities with their squares, streets and infrastructures has radically changed. In their race for sustainability and smartness, cities are adapting their urban models to new ways of life that are radically different from the past and that are inspired by principles connected to ecology, democracy and well-being. To change is not only the geographical or architectonic characteristic of the place, but also its sense in the individual and collective identity dimension. Alongside the changes produced in the senses, there is also a change in the way institutions are understood and lived both in their normative and community dimensions. Through the relational dimension, socially built cities are slowly and inexorably abandoning an identity based on history, symbols and emotional experiences to create a standardized model of urban social organization where, in accordance with the processes of culturalization carried out at the UN with the Agenda 2030, what counts is functionality, savings, efficiency. A project where there is no space for feelings, emotions, authentic sharing. This grey perspective of inauthenticity leads us to wonder how

Romina GURASHI is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in Sociology (SPS/07) at the Department of Political Sciences of “Sapienza” University of Rome. Her main research and teaching activities are aimed at the problematization of the phenomenon of capitalism, the identification of the principles of peace economics and the study of the relation between peace and sustainable development. She is Managing Editor of the scientific journal *Rivista Trimestrale di Scienza dell’Amministrazione; Studi di Teoria e Ricerca Sociale*, and member of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. She is author of *Pathways of Peace. The Philosophy and Sociology of Peace and Nonviolence* (2018) and *Smart Society: A Sociological Perspective on Smart Living* (2019) by Routledge and co-author of *From Intractability to Pacification; A Federal perspective for the Abkhaz-Georgian Conflict* (2017), by Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

much dangerous these changes in terms of urban well-being are, considering that the material dimension is constantly being reshaped and people are constantly moving.

Keywords: Digital technologies, urban models, ecology-democracy-well-being, socially built Cities, UN Agenda 2030, Sustainable development, Smart Society/City; living smart

Introduction

The introduction of new technologies in every sphere of human life is currently contributing to breaking down every existing boundary between local and global, albeit the tendency to overstep the physical and cognitive limits has always characterized Western tradition. It is sufficient to think of the experiences of the maritime republics in the Mediterranean, the expedition for the circumnavigation of Africa, the discovery of America or the expedition for the exploration of the Pacific.

Nevertheless, the current process of globalization is rooted in assumptions radically different from previous market integration attempts and is characterized by the relentless spread of technological innovations in the transport and communication sectors.

The evolution of these two sectors made it easier for the companies to outsource production to distant countries and to expand sales on a global scale, allowing almost anyone anywhere in the world to access sales, products and services merely using the Internet. The current liquidity and volatility of the capital is the result of a long historical sustained phenomenon of cross-border economic processes encouraged by the flows of capital, labour, goods, raw materials, tourists (Sassen 2005: 27) and affects in an unprecedented way the inter-state integration system. The emergence of the so-called “global cities” as new actors of the international economic panorama, their importance in the network of social-economic affairs, and their primary role in the development of the states implies the emergence of a new form of political and

social organization.

As a result of globalization, the differentiation between centre and periphery proper to the urbanistic and social structure of the cities is transposed into the international context, where the “centre” now corresponds to the areas of the world where the industrialized states are located. The central areas are therefore those marked by extensive human and economic capital functional to the management of the political, economic and administrative decision-making activities, while the “peripheries” are the subordinate areas of the world where the goods are produced (Wallerstein 1974; Gunder Frank & Gills 1993) and where the negative externalities of the centres are conveyed.

The predisposition to overcome limits not only favoured the globalization process but also led to the emergence of a new paradox: the more the market tends towards globalization of tastes, products and lifestyles, the more the local dimension is marked by new nuances of identity and meaning not replicable elsewhere.

The smart city is precisely the emblem of this paradox. While on the one hand it intends to offer universal and technological solutions to problems common to different social and political contexts, on the other hand it shows its own limits in terms of authenticity, meaning/sense, and identity.

The paradigm of the “smart city” and the role of innovation

The dimensions of space and time can be considered distinctive and constitutive elements of the way in which each society interprets the reality surrounding it.

Therefore, the organisational, urbanistic, geostrategic and political choices should be interpreted as the external representation of the social organisation in the spatial perspective. By modifying the existing space and by attributing new meanings to the existing, social individuals give shape to new organizational models. As already acknowledged by Georg Simmel (1908), space has a fundamental social function, coordinating and converting the unrelated perceptions of individuals into unit, offering them a sense of cohesion but also a coordinating individual action and interaction between the spatial parts. Space understood in this way is not to be considered as a given dimension in which social phenomena are inscribed, but rather as the product of the social relations (Bianchi 2019: 8-9).

The implementation of the paradigm of the “smartness” in the context of urban development has recently introduced the idea of the “smart city”, contributing to radically change the ways the urban structure has hitherto been understood and imagined. When talking about the smart city it is generally assumed that it should be understood as a new way of conceiving the city highlighting the role of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in the development of sustainable lifestyles.

Digital technologies have penetrated every area of everyday life¹ revolutionizing not only the modes and times of daily life (Gurashi 2019: 208-222) but also the imagination related to places.

Cities are becoming full-fledged hi-tech systems where innovation becomes a central ingredient in the proper development of social life. Some will argue that, from a historical point of view, cities have always been the places of technological innovation as in the case of the Roman aqueduct system, that of the canals linking Kaifeng to the

Yellow River, or of the defensive system implemented in Verona between 1833 and 1866, but the phenomenon we have before us today is radically different from the past.

As Saskia Sassen (2014) pointed out, the beating heart of modern cities, and of the smart cities more than ever is based on the technological element. The reason lies in the fact that the city is a complex and at the same time incomplete system (Sassen 2014: 1). These two characteristics of complexity and incompleteness represent the substratum on which the processes of reinvention of our cities are embedded and which find their foundation in technological innovation.

The race for “smartification” and the Agenda 2030 for sustainable development

As persisting and vital systems, cities are the place where the interaction between the technological element, people, infrastructure and buildings takes place. For this very reason, cities are also at the centre of an unprecedented race for sustainability and “smartification”.

In this sense, the model of innovative and sustainable development that each city is pursuing according to its own distinctive path is rooted in the vision of a brighter future promoted by *The Agenda 2030 on sustainable development* (UN 2015) in its 17 goals in general and in goal 11 in particular. The aim of goal 11 is, in fact, to make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable.

To achieve these development objectives, the document proposes to:

- ensure access for all to adequate, safe and affordable housing and basic services and upgrade slums;
- provide access to safe, affordable, accessible and sustainable transport systems for all;

¹ We can think about contemporary phenomena like smart working, digital economy, smart homes, smart mobility and so forth.

- enhance inclusive and sustainable urbanization and capacity for participatory, integrated and sustainable human settlement planning;
- strengthen efforts to protect and safeguard the world's cultural and natural heritage;
- reduce the number of deaths and the number of people affected and substantially decrease the direct economic losses relative to global gross domestic product caused by disasters, including water related disasters, with a focus on protecting the poor and people in vulnerable situations;
- reduce the adverse per capita environmental impact of cities;
- provide universal access to safe, inclusive and accessible, green and public spaces;
- support positive economic, social and environmental links between urban, peri-urban and rural areas;
- substantially increase the number of cities and human settlements adopting and implementing integrated policies and plans towards inclusion, resource efficiency, mitigation and adaptation to climate change and resilience to disasters;
- support least developed countries,

including through financial and technical assistance, in building sustainable and resilient buildings utilizing local materials (ONU 2015: 24).

From this brief enumeration of agenda items on the subject of cities, it is clear that this is a complex vision that presupposes the integration of several disciplines (including architecture, engineering, sociology, politics, economics and so forth) in the pursuit of a common goal. In this sense, the smart city paradigm represents a very current trend of urban problem-solving which, by proposing the adoption of new urban lifestyles (i.e. urban smart living), is trying to adapt the ways people live the city to highly noble principles such as ecology, democracy, well-being, inclusion and resilience.

It is a complex paradigm based on six essential dimensions: smart economy, smart governance, smart environment, smart people, smart mobility and smart living². Each of these dimensions should theoretically be implemented simultaneously with the others, but the reality is that it is difficult for this to happen on the basis of three reasons:

- the choices of the political class to invest more in an area rather than another, for example by increasing mobility to

² In order to become a smart city, a city should develop all these aspects:

- *Smart governance*: in order to effectively and efficiently integrate governmental and administrative organizations removing the obstacles to communication (both top-down and bottom-up) and collaboration between institutions and communities, as well as to facilitate individual access to public services;
- *Smart People*: to recover of a somewhat anthropocentric reading of the world, in which the social individual becomes the creator par excellence of a change that is not only technical or economic, but above all cultural;
- *Smart environment*: that is to say, the commitment to reduce the waste of natural resources through the recycling of materials and to reduce energy consumption through the implementation of new technological solutions;
- *Smart mobility*: to reorient the lifestyles by fostering intelligent, efficient and sustainable transport networks, as well as “social” mobility solutions like car sharing, carpooling, and/or combinations of car and bike mobility services;
- *Smart economy*: as the abandonment of the logic of possession in favor of sharing, but also as the promotion of ruralism, expanding the business opportunities located outside the major urban centers;
- *Smart living*: examples of which are the intelligent services thought and implemented to make the homes “smarter” (home automation) and the building industry more innovative (the use of hi-tech materials), or the ambition to guarantee social inclusion, general well-being, access to high standards of health care to all (especially to the disadvantaged sections of the population such as the disabled and the elderly). (Gurashi 2020)

a greater extent and governance to a lesser extent;

- because historical, geographical and cultural reasons attribute to the urban territory characteristics that facilitate the development of some sectors more than others;
- or, because the development of a dimension is more urgent than the others.

Examples of the aforementioned approaches are the strategies adopted by the cities of Wein (Austria), London (UK) and St. Albert (Canada).

Ranking first in the *Smart City Strategy Index* (Roland Berger 2019) completed by the Roland Berger consulting company to study the levels and paths towards smartification of the world's most important cities, Weinstood out for the innovative nature of its measures. By giving a great deal of space to the digital agenda and by adopting new performance monitoring systems the city has favoured a greater coordination and cooperation between the public and industrial activities and the individual players. A measure implemented through the expansion of access points, the testing of intelligent traffic lights, and the establishment of virtual offices through which citizens are able to fulfil their bureaucratic burdens.

On the other hand, London and St. Albert have opted for a strong focus on technological innovation and the application of technology to all areas of societal life. For example, the British capital has sought to further develop road infrastructure and smart street furniture (street lamps, benches, etc.) in order to provide its citizens with various services (including charging and wi-fi) that meet the highest technological standards. This strategy goes hand in hand with the installation of sensors to provide information on air quality. An essential determination to increase the levels of urban well-being.

Therefore, it can be said that the process of smartification of the cities represents a structured but non-binding model through which each urban organization is free to pursue its objective according to its own political design.

The loosing of the sense of place and the parallel institutional change

In this constant process of physical and social construction of smart cities through the elaboration of new smart lifestyles appropriate to the urban dimension, new standards, new moral values and new institutions are being shaped. What has perhaps been lost, or at least not included in the cold design of political, architectural and economic-industrial choices, is “the sense of place”.

This aspect, now marginalised with respect to the transformative role of technology and innovation is in fact an essential aspect of urban life.

Although the literature on the sense of place offers multiple definitions and conceptual constructs (Hidalgo & Hernández 2001; Jorgensen & Stedman 2001), it is possible to say that the sense of place can manifest itself through the emotions and place attachment. Places can provoke contrasting emotions, the same happens to the urban context. In some cases, the individual may feel “at home” and perceive himself as part of a community, while in other cases he may feel isolated, stressed or pervaded by dystopic emotions associated to population density. The emotions, the ideas, the feelings are the filter through which the social individual attributes meaning to the spaces and places he inhabits, and this meaning – or better to say this sense – influences the perceptions people have on certain streets, areas or even cities. As highlighted by the study by Gene Theodori (2009) community satisfaction, attachment. Therefore the sense people give

to places influence the general well-being of the population because it determines the way people interact with the places and the imaginery associated to their development.

In general, the sense of place describes the relationship between social actors, social action and places. It is a combination between place attachment and place meaning (Kudryavtsev, Stedman & Krasny 2012; Semken 2005; Smaldone, Harris, and Sanyal 2008; Stokowski 2002) and is characterized by emotions, history, imagination, personal experiences and so forth.

In a nutshell, the sense of place represents the lenses through which people live and give meaning to the place. It follows that the sense of place is not a given element, but something that changes according to the historical period, or to the dominant political, economic, social, cultural and aesthetic system.

Over the years, sociology has sought to investigate the relationship between the sense of place and city along various research directions. Park, Buergeess and Mckenzie (1925) of the Chicago school of Sociology have tried to understand the sense of the city through the study of demographic dynamics, migratory phenomena and infrastructural choices. On the hother hand, trying to focus on the phenomenon of urban loneliness, Tönnies (1957) implemented a distinction by opposition between the groups living in “rural villages”, which were pervaded by a strong sense of community membership, and the highly impersonal “urban society”, characterized by a series of exchange relationships which left individuals isolated.

Since the 1940s, sociologists have been dealing with issues such as urban policy i.e. a set of decisions and actions produced by public bodies for urban intervention. In recent years, this led to the flourishing of reflections on the “crisis of the city” (Clark 2019; Florida 2018; Greenberg 2008; Phillips-Fein 2018;) aimed at inventing

new forms of urban planning for local communities, new cities or metropolitan districts with a higher degree of integration between productive activities, housing (Iannone & Gurashi 2019; Marcuse & Madden 2016) and social services.

And it is precisely this last research direction that most affects the development of smart city paradigm strenghtening the technological dimension on the basis of a standardized design and not recognizing any space to the “spiritual” or “emotional” dimension. Loosing the “spiritual” dimension people are losing their identity. The sense of place is slowly and inexorably giving way to solutions centred on functionality, saving and efficiency (Sennett 2018).

The social canges brought by the introduction of tecnology and technological devices in every spere of contemporary daily life is having an impact also on institutional change. As institutions are the “rules of the game” (North, 1990), the changes produced in the sense of the smart city are able to have an impact on norms, policies and governance decisions through a modification of the sense of the public intervention in society and of the most appropriate path to societal development.

From the point of view of “social engineering”, institutional change can be conceived as a well-defined objective to be achieved and to be pursued through political and cultural tools (Klandermands, 1984a, 1984b, 1986; UN 2015; Van Stekelenburg et al. 2009) used in an instrumental manner. However, a growing body of literature wants to highlight the evolutionary nature of the process of instututional change (Evans 2004) and the limits “monocrop” (Levy 2014) approaches to governance. By considering change as an evolutionary process is finally possible to focus on the role played by culture, dialogue and co-production processes in shaping institutions able to respond to the changing needs of our society. As Shand (2015: 22) pointed

out, “small-scale adaptive changes can lead to more substantive shifts in institutions and institutionalised behaviours over time. However, to be sustainable, these changes must be situated and fit political and social realities – reflecting the web of incentives and constraints acting upon social agents”.

It is therefore necessary to overcome “social engineering” – i.e. the rational calculation of opportunities, tools, expected results and the tendency to design from an “ivory tower” the shape of future societies – so as not to run into the greatest risk of smartification: the loss of authenticity. Behind the standardized process being conducted under the impulse of the Agenda 2030, there is the serious risk of an institutional change thought through the

lenses of rational choice; a situation unable to adapt and conform to the complex nature of our reality.

This grey perspective of authenticity, meaning and identity loss raises the question of how significant this emptying of meaning can be in terms of urban well-being. From the perspective of smart people, this phenomenon certainly represents a critical element contributing to strengthened community disintegration and encourage the dynamics of isolation/non-participation.

It is therefore essential to produce a radical change in the direction of this trend. This means that technology should be relocated in its position of a useful tool to make life easier, abandoning its primacy on the individual and the ecosphere.

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ANALYSIS OF ROAD SAFETY ON THE SECONDARY ROAD NETWORK IN ALBANIA

Luiza LLURI

University Aleksandër Moisiu of Durres, ALBANIA

Faculty Professional Studies

Department of Engineering Sciences & Marine

E-mail: luizalluri@yahoo.com

Alma GOLGOTA

University Aleksander Moisiu of Durres, ALBANIA

Faculty of Professional Studies

Department Engineering and Marine Sciences

E-mail: almagolgota@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Fatal and injury accidents increase as traffic congestion increases. Congestion is a well-known traffic problem, in particular on motorways. On the secondary road network, the same problem arises when traffic volume increases. To evaluate the effect of congestion on road accidents, it is of importance to measure traffic congestion correctly. Overall traffic congestion has a negative impact on road safety. Increased traffic congestion reduces road safety on major roads. Congestion has an impact on both the speed of travel and on the

Luiza LLURI is a lecturer at the Department of Engineering and Maritime Sciences at “Alexander Moisiu” University, Durres. She holds a degree from the Polytechnic University of Tirana (Bachelor in Mechanical Engineering), from the Polytechnic University of Tirana (Scientific Master in Mechanical Engineering). She is the author and co-author of several publications in scientific journals and regional, national and international conferences. Her publications include, among others: “The Influence of Road Infrastructure in Road Safety”, (International Interdisciplinary Research Journal); “Utilization of Solar Energy for an Ecological Tourism in the Region of Durres in Albania” (Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Publishing, Rome-Italy), “Technology in the field of transport - an Innovation to be Evaluated” etc.

Alma GOLGOTA is a lecturer at the Department of Engineering and Maritime Sciences, “Alexander Moisiu” University, Durres. She holds a degree from the Polytechnic University of Tirana (Bachelor in Construction Engineering), the Polytechnic University of Tirana (Scientific Master in Construction Engineering) and the Polytechnic University of Tirana (Doctorate in Civil Engineering). She is the author and co-author of several texts and publications in scientific journals and regional, national and international conferences.

reliability of travel conditions. This study is limited to the relationship of road congestion and road safety on 80 km / h roads that are part of the secondary road network.. These roads have different types of intersections, namely signalized or priority intersections and roundabouts. Road accident data analysis as a perspective of engineers revolves around the two major factors: geometric design and traffic characteristics. Because of that reason, hotspot identification of accident-prone locations remains a focal point of interests for transportation engineers. Many researches are involved in relationship analysis of accidents in context of volume/capacity (V/C), vehicles miles travelled (VMT), vehicles hours travelled (VHT) , speed , flow and geometric design. Considering that the effect of traffic congestion on accident severity is limited and not uniform over accidents, the effect of traffic congestion on accident frequency is argued to be more significant and important than accident severity. The two most common types of intersections, roundabouts and signalized intersections are discussed in the present study. From the perspective of the sustainable safety vision, roundabouts are the preferred control since they reduce conflicts and conflicting speeds. Traffic signals, although essential from a capacity point of view, are not a preferable alternative from a safety perspective since they result in high speeds and red light violations, and lead to relatively high crash rates. From a road safety point of view, a roundabout is safer than a traditional 3 or 4 arm intersection as there are fewer conflict locations.

Keywords: traffic congestion, accident data, secondary road network, road safety.

Introduction

Roads with a speed limit of 80 km/h are part of the secondary road network and generally they are single carriageway two-lane roads outside the built-up area. Our road network has different types of intersections between two 80 km/h roads where two common types are: roundabouts and signalized intersections. Since traffic congestion increases accident frequency increases too, but decreases accident severity. It can be concluded that traffic congestion has a mixed effect on road safety. Congestion has an impact on both average travel speed and travel time reliability. The most obvious consequence of congestion is the increase in travel time, especially at peak periods, which has reached levels well above those considered acceptable in some cities. In addition, the slow pace of circulation is a source of exasperation and triggers aggressive behavior in drivers. Road network in Albania cannot keep up with the growing volume of traffic. At certain times

of day, traffic volumes increase, the driven speed decreases and roads get congested. Furthermore, the number of interactions between road users increases. In general, higher traffic volumes and congestion affect road safety. Limited road safety constitutes a major problem for Albania, as the number of accidents with either fatal casualties, serious or light injuries have increased significantly over the last 10 years. The number of road traffic victims and the severity of the injuries are the most direct measure of road safety. However, it is also useful to monitor road user behavior or characteristics of the road that have been proven to relate to the road safety level. Such safety performance indicators help in giving a more complete picture of the level of transport safety and in understanding road crash trends. Other tools such as public surveys or online knowledge portals can also help to increase general road safety awareness. Making road safety a priority means placing a higher value on life and respecting others in the community we share.

Tabela 1: *Factors involved in a road accident*

Category	Factors
Traffic characteristics	Speed / Density / Flow / Congestion
Road infrastructure and geometry, vehicle	Street/road layout Road geometry (e.g. number of lanes and road curvature) / Infrastructure quality / Vehicle design
Demographic, driving behavior, and land use	Age, gender, population and employment densities / Seat belt, helmet usage / Shopping ,commercial activities; urban scale.
Environment	Lighting/ Road surface conditions / Weather (e.g., rain, snow).

Methodology

This report focuses on the effects of traffic volume on road safety. The aim is to gain more insight into the relationship between traffic volume and road safety and is limited to road sections and intersections on road network in Albania. The two most common types of intersections, roundabouts and signalized intersections are discussed in the present study. During the last five years fatalities have remained within a band ranging between 300 and 390 per year or equivalent to a rate of between 10 and 12 fatalities per 100,000 persons. This is a very high range in terms of European

standards and the country is aiming to halving it by 2020. The traffic congestion has a mixed effect on road safety: increased traffic congestion has a negative impact on road safety in terms of increased accident frequency; it however has a positive impact on road safety in terms of decreased accident severity. Since the effect of traffic congestion on accident severity is marginal, it was argued that overall traffic congestion has a negative impact on road safety. As such it is desirable for transport policy makers to reduce traffic congestion so as to improve road safety. Road crashes often result from a series of root causes: the vehicle (a factor up to 10 per cent of crashes), road

Figure 1: *Road accidents by months, January 2015 – January 2019*

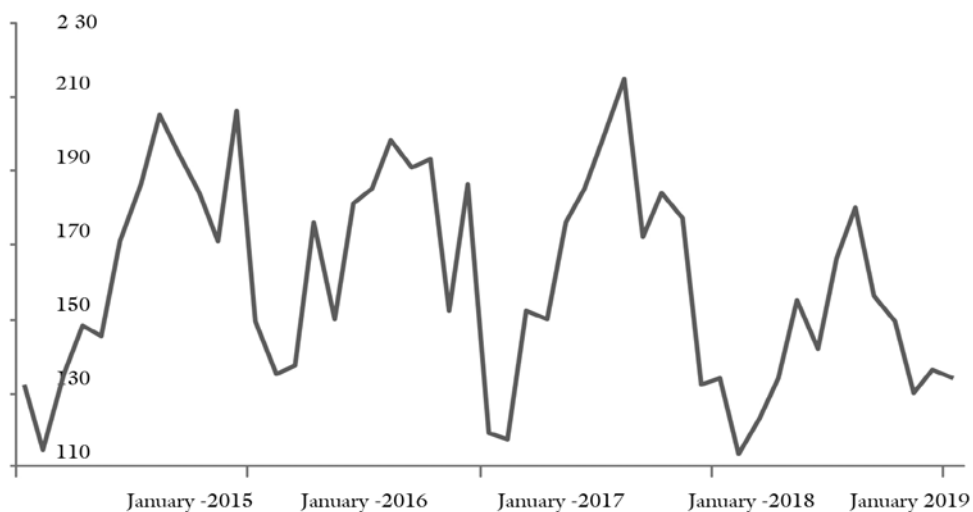
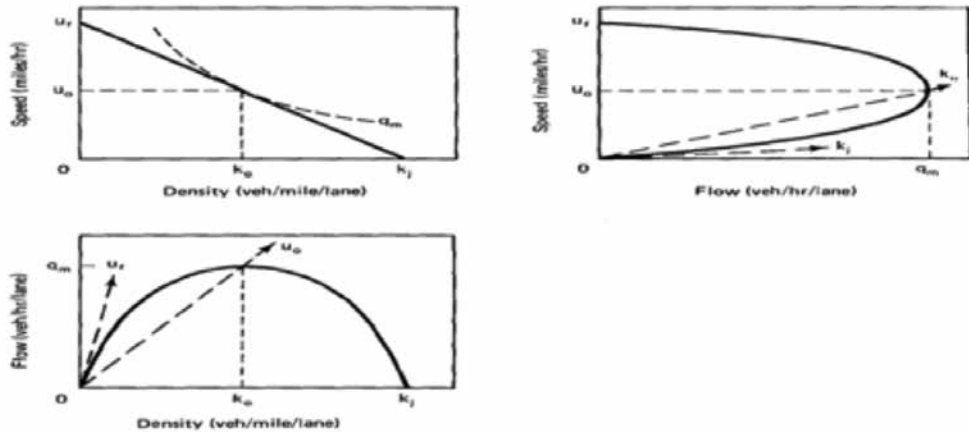


Figure 2: Traffic flow diagrams



infrastructure (to which 10 to 20 per cent of crashes may be attributed) and road user behavior (which is responsible at least in part for some 80 to 90 per cent of road crashes). The most important traffic flow characteristics are:

- flow (q): the number of vehicles passing a specific point or short section in a give period of time in a single lane,
 - density (k): the number of vehicles occupying a section of roadway in a single lane,
 - speed (u) the average rate of motion..
- At table 1 are described main factors involved in a road accident. Figure 1 shows the road accidents by months, January 2015 – January 2019.

Figure 2 shows the basic traffic flow correlations in three diagrams. These correlations are rather theoretical. The actual field conditions need to be described while distinguishing more sophisticated correlations.

However, for the purpose of this study, a description of the theoretical correlations suffices. When there are hardly any vehicles and therefore density approaches zero, speed will approach free-flow speed, meaning that

a driver’s speed is not influenced by that of other drivers. Speed will decrease to an optimum speed when density increases to the optimal value. As there are more vehicles on the roadway, there is more interaction of vehicles. At the same time, traffic flow will increase to the maximum flow called capacity. A further increase of density to the maximum value or jam density will result in a further reduction of speed until speed approaches zero. Flow will also decrease and approach zero. In such a case, vehicles are queuing in a traffic jam. The flow-speed and the density-flow diagrams are used to characterize the operational conditions of the traffic flow. These conditions are called the level of service (LOS), which is a qualitative measure. The level of service is based on measures such as speed and freedom to maneuver. In the Highway Capacity Manual, six levels are defined from A to F, describing the best operating conditions. Table 2 shows the six levels of service¹.

To study the relationship between road safety and traffic volume on the national roads network, it is necessary to make a distinction between road sections and intersections as these have different characteristics.

¹ Defined by the American Association of State Highway and Transportation Officials AASHTO (2001)

Tabela 2: *The six levels of service*

Symbol	Level of service
A	Free flow
B	Reasonably free flow
C	Stable flow
D	Approaching unstable flow
E	Unstable flow
F	Forced or breakdown flow

An example of an uninterrupted traffic application is a motorway type facility such as a road section. A signalized intersection is an example of an interrupted traffic application. As an area shared by two or more roads is designated for the vehicles to turn to different directions to reach their desired destinations. Uninterrupted flow facilities do not have external fixed elements which might disrupt traffic flow, such as traffic signals. At interrupted flow facilities, there are controlled access points such as traffic signals and uncontrolled access points such as stop signs which may interrupt the traffic flow. These access points cause the traffic to stop periodically or slow down significantly, irrespective of the volume of traffic. The traffic process of road sections and intersections is described in the next paragraphs. On the basis of those traffic processes, expectations about how traffic volume affects road safety are formulated and presented in the next paragraphs.

Road network

When considering the combined road sections and intersections in the road network, a growing volume of traffic affects road safety negatively as vehicles take shortcuts to avoid the congested roads. Vehicles take short cuts on the secondary road network (80 km/h roads) when the motorway becomes congested. Similar to this, shortcuts on the 60 km/h roads will

be taken when the secondary road network becomes congested. This is not a desirable situation since the shortcuts are usually over roads that are not designed for large volumes of motorized traffic and generally also have bicyclists and pedestrians using them. The issue of shortcuts is not part of the present study. Studying the effects on road safety, the various crash types and crash severity levels will be considered. Road sections are uninterrupted flow facilities where 'traffic flow conditions result from the interactions among vehicles in the

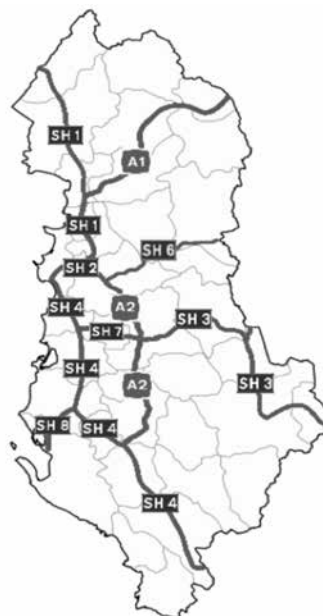
Figure 3: *Road network in Albania*

Tabela 3: *Road accidents*

Period	Total	Killed persons		Injured persons		
	Accidents	Female		Accidents		Female
January -2018	134	1		12	51	111
January- 2019	104	5		10	49	89
The annual progressive change (%)	-22.4	400.0		-16.7	3.9	-19.8

traffic flow, and between vehicles and the geometric and environmental characteristics of the roadway. When there is not much traffic, speed will be high, as there is low interaction between vehicles. If allowed, vehicles can overtake each other. It is known that crash severity is higher when speeds are high. It is expected that when there is not much traffic, more single vehicle crashes will occur. Overall length of road network in Albania 18,300 Km, included: 19 main axes of our National Road Network (figure 3):

- National roads
- Local road
- Urban or municipal roads
- Private access roads

As density and flow increase, speed decreases which results in lower crash severity of single vehicle crashes. This

situation is also expected to result in a change of crash type, as speed of vehicles is now limited by the vehicle in front. Since it becomes more difficult to overtake other vehicles, the number of single vehicle crashes will decrease, but the amount of head-on crashes will increase. It is also expected that an increase in density and flow will result in an increase of the number of risky overtaking maneuver and in a higher crash severity of head-on crashes. When the road is oversaturated (high density, low speed), overtaking maneuvers are no longer possible, resulting in a decreasing number of head-on crashes.

According to INSTAT, in May 2019, 115 road accidents were recorded, out of 155 accidents in May 2018, down 25.8% compared to the same period of the previous year. The number of accidents in the first

Tabela 4: *Road accidents by users of road*

Period	Accidents by		Killed persons by	
	Behavior of the driver	Behavior pedestrian	Behavior of the driver	Behavior pedestrian
January -2018	100	34	9	4
January- 2019	90	14	14	1
The annual progressive change (%)	-10.0	-58.8	55.6	-75.0

Tabela 5: Road accidents by driver's age

Period	0- 25 year old	25- 35 year old	35- 45 year old	45-60 year old	60+ year old	Left the accident scene
January -2018	26	23	28	33	10	14
January- 2019	23	30	23	18	4	6
The annual progressive change (%)	-11.5	30.4	-17.9	-45.5	-60.0	-57.1

five months of 2019 is 583, from 659, down 11.5% compared to the same period of 2018. The number of casualties (killed and injured) is 143, from 201 that was a year ago, falling by 28.9%. The number of casualties in the first five months of 2019 is 773 people, out of 852 people, falling by 9.3% compared to the same period of 2018. Road accidents, in 87.0% of cases, occurred as a result of the driver's behavior. The highest number of accidents in this period was performed by the age group 25-35 years, accounting for 27.0% of the total number of accidents. Accidents in this age group have decreased by 24.4% compared to the same period a year earlier. However, there will be more rear-end crashes. But since speeds are low, crash severity is expected to be low. There are developing crash prediction models in order to estimate the road safety performance of certain road types or intersection types. Crash prediction models are mathematical models that express the safety performance of road types or intersection types or a road network, based on traffic and road characteristics.

The following equation of a crash prediction model is the basic form of almost all models developed:

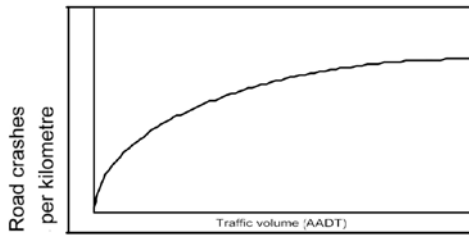
$$E(\lambda) = a Q \beta e^{\sum \gamma_i x_i} \quad (1)$$

Where:

$E(\lambda)$ - is the estimated number of crashes; Q - is traffic volume; x_i - is a risk factor ($i = 1, 2, 3, \dots, n$); γ_i - is the

corresponding coefficient; and β - is the effect of traffic volume on crashes. The aim of crash prediction models is to provide insight into the safety level of types of roads and intersections. Crash prediction models can also be used to monitor the safety performance of a road network and give road authorities the opportunity to enhance it in case it is necessary.

As can be seen in equation 1, traffic volume is a variable in crash prediction models. In general, the annual average daily traffic (AADT) is used to represent traffic volume. To develop such models, a considerable amount of data is required, in particular data related to the length of an annual average daily traffic (AADT) on these roads. A crash prediction model can also be represented by a graph, see figure 4. On the x-axis, the AADT is plotted, and on the y-axis the number of road crashes per kilometer. On the x-axis the annual traffic volume (AADT) of different intersections is displayed, which means that it does not represent an increasing traffic volume of a single intersection. Another comment concerns the variable AADT itself. AADT is estimated as the total traffic volume passing a point (or segment) of a road in both directions divided by the number of days in a year. As the average number of vehicles in one year, it means that variations in traffic volume are averaged out. These variations in traffic volume occur depending on both

Figure 4: *Graph of crash prediction model*

the hour of the day and the day of the week. Differences in traffic volume over the months, for example during holidays and as a consequence of seasonal conditions (rain, snow), are not considered either. Studies on crash prediction models do not always focus on how traffic volumes affect road safety. They usually do focus on the influence of infrastructural characteristics on road safety. In fact, road safety is without doubt an area where action by the public authorities can be profitable. Investing in road safety leads to economic savings while protecting both a country's current population and its future generations.

Making road safety a priority should not be equated with creating added burdens for road users, as is sometimes associated with the implementation of new or more stringent traffic laws such as speed limits or seat-belt laws.

Road sections

The number of crashes increases with an increasing traffic volume. This increase is not a proportional one, however. This means that the crash rate, which is here defined as 'the number of crashes per motor vehicle kilometre, decreases with increasing traffic volume. It is however unknown whether this is due to the higher traffic volumes or to a safer design of roads with higher traffic volumes. Some relationships are investigated, namely the relationship between (1) crash frequency and congestion

level, (2) crash rate (which is defined as 'the ratio between the number of crashes and associated volumes') and congestion level and (3) crash severity and congestion level. The volume per lane is taken as the surrogate variable for congestion. Peak (7:00-9:00 and 16:00-18:00) and off-peak periods at five arterials are investigated. For the relationship between crash frequency and congestion level, there is an increase in crash frequency on arterials with increases in traffic volume. If the number of intersections per unit length (intersection density) on arterials increases, the crash frequency seems to increase as well. For the relationship between crash rate and congestion level on arterials, the crash rate declines if the traffic volume increases. In general, the crash rate increases as intersection density increases. The analysis of the relationship between crash severity and congestion level on arterials leads to the conclusion that crashes with a lower severity level are more likely to occur at arterials, whereas at intersections crashes with a higher severity level are more likely to occur when compared to road sections. In general, the collision rate decreases as the traffic flow increases, but it may be that the collision rate does not increase significantly. An increasing traffic flow consisting of both cars and trucks is shown to lead to a decrease in crash rate. However, the crash rate is constant or even increases when only cars.

Intersections

Conflicts at an intersection are different for different types of intersection. The essence of the intersection control is to resolve these conflicts at the intersection for the safe and efficient movement of both vehicular traffic and pedestrians. Two methods of intersection controls are there: time sharing and space sharing. The type of intersection control that has to be adopted depends on the traffic volume, road geometry, cost involved, importance of the

road etc. Crash prediction models have also been developed for intersections. Increasing minor road traffic volumes lead to higher crash rates (number of crashes per million vehicle kilometers). When the volume of traffic on the minor road is high, crashes with a left-turning vehicle are in general more frequent while single vehicle crashes are less frequent. The volume of traffic on the minor road is more important at four-arm than at three-arm intersections.

As traffic volume increases, the percentage of crossing and rear-end crashes increases while the number of single vehicle crashes decreases. According to the author, many multiple vehicle crashes 'have originated as potential single vehicle' crashes where the vehicles concerned crashed into another vehicle instead of running off the road or crashing into an obstacle. In these situations, the presence of other vehicles seems to be naturally correlated with traffic volume. It also appears that with increasing volumes, the risk of rear-end crashes increases as a result of the traffic driving in platoons with short headways. In conclusion, it appears that the number of crashes and their victims is proportional to the total number of vehicles entering the intersection and that the risk of crashes increases with an increasing traffic volume on the minor road.

Roundabouts

Three volume levels are investigated: low (1,500 vehicles per hour), medium (2,000 vehicles per hour) and high (2,500 vehicles per hour). From the results it appears that, with an increasing volume, the percentage of vehicles in conflict increases for both roundabouts and signalized intersections. When analyzing rear-end conflicts, signalized intersections have a significantly higher proportion of vehicles being in conflict than roundabouts have. According to the authors, roundabouts 'result in a reduced exposure to rear-end

traffic compared with signalized traffic control at intersections.

The previous sections describe different studies on the relationship between traffic volume and road safety. Many studies state that the subject matter of the study is the relation between road characteristics (e.g. median treatment, number of lanes), traffic volume and crash rate/severity/frequency, the studies do in fact not focus on the relation between traffic volume and road safety. Especially studies in which crash prediction models are developed do not explicitly investigate how traffic volume affects road safety. This does not mean that data on traffic volume are not collected or used. In fact, traffic volume is the requisite variable in order to be able to develop crash prediction models. In other studies, traffic volume is not used as an explanatory variable, but the effect of traffic volume is cancelled out by normalizing crash rates for traffic volume. Since the primary road network is burdened with increasing congestion, there is a possibility that the secondary road network will consequently experience increasing traffic volumes. It is therefore important to understand the relationship between traffic volume and road safety on this network as well. A four-branch intersection with a roundabout contains only 8 potential conflict points (32 without). It simplifies conflict situations: vehicles weave in and out, without crossing paths. It reduces speed at conflict points: all vehicles have to follow a curved path, and slow down when entering the roundabout and weaving. It reduces waiting time, since they have a large capacity and a relatively quick traffic flow.

Conclusions

In general, as traffic volumes increase, the number of crashes seems to increase but the crash rate seems to decrease. With an increase in traffic volumes, the number of multiple vehicle crashes seems to increase in

contrast to single vehicle crashes.

As traffic volumes increase the percentage of crossing and rear-end crashes seems to increase as well. The number of crashes and victims is proportional to the number of vehicles entering the intersection, and the risk of crashes increases when the traffic volume on the minor road increases.

Red light running is affected by traffic volume, as most of the red light running cases occur during peak periods. The platoons of vehicles are approaching the intersection at the end of the yellow phase and some following drivers do not anticipate that leading drivers will stop, resulting in a relatively high incidence of rear-end crashes.

Traffic intersections are problem spots on any highway, which contribute to a large share of accidents. For safe operation, these

locations should be kept under some level of control depending upon the traffic quantity and behavior.

Roundabout is the safest of all intersection types. It avoids encounters between vehicles driving in opposite directions.

Keeping congestion under control is an ongoing, never-ending task. Tools exist for this purpose, but a set of measures which has the support of the local population is needed in order not to run the risk of succumbing in the face of the modern scourge of traffic congestion.

Rapid action needs to be taken to address the major risk factors, despite the disadvantages and inadequacy of the accident data collection system, the quality of the road network and the condition of the country's vehicles.

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HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATION SYSTEM BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS AND TODAY

Jani SOTA

University Aleksander Moisiu of Durrës, ALBANIA

E-mail: jani_sota@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

I have chosen this topic, due to my expertise in the history of education and pedagogical ideas, one of the fields of study is that of American education and culture and English influence on us. Another important reason is the great scientific discoveries and technological- revolutions from 1947 to 1994, which were crucial to humanity in general, thanks to education. I was also concerned about the idea of learning more about the development and characteristics of today's education in the US. Certainly, most of us know less about education and schools in this country during the years between the two world wars and after 1945. One of the reasons is that is not written much about US in Albania, especially before 90s. American thinking and activity attracts not only because this problem is not treated in pedagogical sciences, especially in Albania, but even though from American pedagogical legacy can be learned a lot by considering the interplay of problem and chronological criterion. There are many core foundations and factors of the development of education in American society. In this paper are highlighted the following moments and preconditions of this education: a) Historical development of schools and education in USA in the period of study and importance of this heritage; b) Rapid economic, technological and scientific-cultural development of the country after 1947, constitutional

Jani SOTA is graduated in History at the University of Tirana. He was the Dean of the Faculty of Education, Head of the Department of Sociology, and the Vice Dean of the same Faculty. He has published articles in scientific journals published in the Albania, Kosovo, Northern Macedonia, USA, Germany, Italy etc. He has participated in many national and international conferences and is the author of several monographs published in Albania and Germany. Jani Sota continues to teach at the Faculty of Education of "Alexander Moisiu" University, Durres and at the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of Tirana, Albania.

documents and legal acts on education, c) social changes, demographic structure and migrations of different people towards this developed country; and d) “Marshall” Plan, which started in a meeting on 5 June 1947 in Paris, attended by 16 European countries. Analyzing these factors, we come to the most credible scientific results that the United States is today the place of learning, work, major changes, developmental tendencies, and more and more the birth of technical intelligence and other intellectuals such as the place of spiritual progress of people themselves.

Key words: Educational system, school, economics, science, technology, culture.

Introduction

In an effort to elaborate and analyze educational developments over the 100 years following the end of World War I, it would be appropriate to document an assessment of the most important economic, political, and social factors in the United States (USA). In their abundance, economic and political orientation was the most decisive.

As it is known, at the end of the century, the social and political system of the United States of America (US) became a model for other countries. His strength lies in the close bond between the central government and other branches of power in the states, in terms of the cultivated autonomy of the subjects and the existence of wide spaces. On this basis, the American economy could also grow rapidly and recover within a few years from the damage caused by the Civil War. In 1893, the United States came in first in terms of total industrial output.

The Indian population almost disappeared, and the black people had little

economic opportunity even after liberation from slavery. For the most part, they became day laborers.

In 1910 the US-born population was 13,500,000 or about 15% of the total. Of these, 17% came from Germany, 10% from Ireland, had almost the same income from Italy and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, about 9% English for each of the UK, Scandinavia, Canada (many of them with British origin) and from Russia; almost 7% from Russian, Austrian, German and Polish; and a number of other countries' income¹.

Immigrants² found in the US had such a system that enabled them to develop their talents and elevated them to the highest levels of social and political hierarchy. The rich showed great devotion to the nation, investing in schools, libraries, art, etc. The economic system was developed in such a way that it was then imitated in other countries around the world. The great

¹ Rodon Cameron and Larry Neal, *A Concise Economic History of the World: From Paleolithic Times to the Present* (hereinafter: *A Concise Economic History ...*), Fourth Edition, Published by Oxford University Press, England, 2002, p. 262.

² Më 1910, Jugu kishte numrin më të vogël të emigrantëve; në Minesotë, Dakotën e Veriut, Masaçusets, Konektikat, Rod Ajlënd, në kufirin me Meksikën dhe në zona të Maleve Shkëmbore më shumë se gjysma e popullsisë ishin emigrantë [Mark C. Carnes dhe John A. Garraty, *Historia e Shteteve të Bashkuara të Amerikës* (më tej: *Historia e Shteteve ...*), Përkthime: Andi Pinari, Eva Hyskaj, Kujtim Ymeri dhe Mira Kroqi, botuar nga Zyra e Marrë Dëshironi mua Publikun të Ambasadës së SHBA, Tiranë: “Dituria”, 2016, f. 487.]

[In 1910, the South had the smallest number of immigrants; in Minnesota, North Dakota, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, on the border with Mexico and in the Rocky Mountains more than half of the population were immigrants. [Retrieved from: Mark C. Carnes and John A. Garraty, *History of the United States of America* (hereinafter: *History of States ...*), translated by: Andy Pinari, Eva Hyskaj, Kujtim Ymeri and Mira Kroqi, published by the Office of Public Relations of the US Embassy, Tirana: “Knowledge”, 2016, p. 487.]

monopolistic unions took the form of trusts³, which sought to control as much as possible the production sectors.

In the XX century the development of the American economy was quite successful. Industrial production during 1922-1929, almost doubled. The real per capita income of the population increased 30%⁴. It had increased the profits of the entrepreneurs and the salaries of the employees. The market offered new production items previously unknown: washing machines, vacuum cleaners, synthetic goods, telephones, radios, cars etc. All of these accomplishments were called the miracle of the American economy.

In the circumstances of economic boom and mass production in the US *the consumer economy triumphed*. This was the economy, where almost 2/3 of the country's production consisted of goods and services purchased by individuals for their own use, while 1/3 of it was done by government and private business⁵.

Rapid economic growth and the creation of large national wealth averted the tensions between capitalist entrepreneurs and the working class, whose standard of living was very high compared to European countries.

The economic boom did not last long. In 1929, the US was plagued by an unprecedented economic crisis until then. As such was described by experts in the field of economics as the "Great

Depression"⁶. The indicators of the crisis were: overproduction, closure of banks and factories, unemployment⁷, worsening economic situation expressed in suffering. The crisis was also of social consequence. 5.000 schools closed, children and adults in the middle of the camp fall prey to epidemic diseases⁸. But the biggest shock was the pessimism and the fear of the future.

After the 1932 presidential election, the government formed by democrat Franklin Roosevelt (1901-1909) took action to bring the country out of economic crisis and restore the miracle of the past, in the context of the implementation of the "New Course"⁹. The reforms included anti-crisis measures intertwined with new long-term policies linked to the systems of government and economic and social functioning of the state. Reforms undertaken in the context of the implementation of the "New Course", was accompanied by concrete results that influenced the changing economic situation and above all aroused the optimism of most Americans.

The results of the "New Course" "were in several directions: It affected the increase in workers' wages. Revenue doubled. The number of unemployed decreased. The unemployed in 1938 differed from those in 1932 because they were provided with benefits. The solid foundations for

³ The Rockefeller Trust took control of the extractive and petroleum industry. Morgan, however, was one of the strongest trusts in the heavy industry and rail network. [Retrieved from: R. Cameron and L. Neal, *A Concise Economic History* ..., p. 264-265.]

⁴ R. Cameron and L. Neal, *A Concise Economic History* ..., p. 407.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The "Great Depression" relates to the deepest and most enduring economic crisis in United States History, lasting from 1929 to 1939. [Retrieved from: M. C. Carnes and J. A. Garraty, *The History of States* ..., p. 855.

⁷ In 1932, there were about 13 million unemployed in the US. One in four workers was not employed. [Retrieved from: R. Cameron and L. Neal, *A Concise Economic History* ..., p. 41.]

⁸ M. C. Carnes dhe J. A. Garraty, *Historia e Shteteve* ..., f. 654; [M. C. Carnes and J. A. Garraty, *History of States* ..., p. 654.]

⁹ The New Course has been used as a term by President John F. Kennedy for a revived national agenda, particularly in relation to foreign policy and space research. [Retrieved from: M. C. Carnes and J. A. Garraty, *History of the States* ..., p. 855.

the State of Social Welfare, the guarantee of income, were laid. Implementation of social security components, income guarantees started. Private property and the profit motive remained central to the economic system. Meanwhile, a modest redistribution of national income among different social groups was achieved. The workers would operate within the spectrum of the two main political parties: *The Republican Party* and *the Democratic Party*, without creating their own labor parties. He began to deliver through direct government services in the economy and social security, relit regulating and controlling business activities, direct assistance and sustainability and economic growth¹⁰.

Even after World War II, even until the late 1970s, the presidential administration in *their policy adhered to the legacy of Roosevelt's "New Course"*. They applied it in *terms of enhancing the role of government and expanding the components of the social welfare state*.

During 1945-1979, U.S. total national production almost doubled. Per capita income increased from \$ 1,515 to \$ 2,788. Purchasing power rose 22%. In every ten American families, eight had cars, the same number of televisions, and seven had washing machines. The increasing consumption of widespread commodities was an incentive for greater production, so for more jobs and a lot of money to spend. Keeping demand and spending high, it was the driving force behind the successful development of the economy. [...] About 60% of American households counted their being in the middle class. This was a major difference with the social structures of the XIX century and the beginning of the XX century. Being a country of political stability and prosperity, US society has become "rich society"¹¹.

Both parties - *Republican* and *Democratic* - continued to play an important role in US political life. At the end of the XIX century and early XX century, the Republican Party stayed in power more, which is related not only to the prestige it gained in the Civil War, but also to its strengthening. The political struggle of the two American parties or otherwise called the "two-party political system", played an important role in the continued stabilization and democratization of the country's life.

"The political rivalry between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party caused problems in the US to not accumulate and then explode, shaking the whole building of society, but the shortcomings and weaknesses were gradually discovered and resolved in a legal way. [...] Mutual supervision led to such negative phenomena as: corruption, moral degeneration of civil servants etc. In line with the interests of the American masses, the government enacted laws to curb the force of trusts (Sherman's law) and to impose customs taxes, which would promote the country's economic development (MacKinley's law)¹².

The economic miracle further strengthened the system of government. There were numerous opportunities for a better life; for the sake of changing social status, increasing the number of shareholders, for the first time workers were able to buy shares. But big business grew even more as a result of mergers or mergers.

During the 1920s, presidents from the Republican Party were elected at the head of the US administration: Warren Herding (1920-1923), Calvin Coolidge (1924-1928), Helbert Hoover (1928-1932). Especially notable was Kelvin Coolidge, who was

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 656-667.

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 703-754.

¹² [*Ibid*, p. 737-738.

cultured, hardworking, practical, determined and verbose. [...] After World War II, the presidential administration of Harry Truman (1945-1953), Duke Eisenhower (1953-1961), John Kennedy (1961-1963), Lndon Johnson (1963-1969), Richard Nixon (1968-1974), Gerald Ford (1974-1977), Jimmy Carter (1977-1981), Ronald Reagan (1981-1989), Bill Clinton (1993-2001), George HW Bush (1989-1993), Bill Clinton (1993-2001), George W. Bush (2001-2009), Barack Obama (2009-2017), and Donald Tramp (2017- President-currently-in-Office) the tendencies of modern liberalism reached the highest point of further democratization of American society, reforms for expanding the state of social welfare. Governments have taken responsibility both for the quality realization of social security and for increasing the standard of living. Also, the inclusion of all citizens; *equality in contributions and benefits for all; full consolidation of social security, increasing unemployment benefits; health care for the whole population; increase in pensions for the elderly; equality and opportunities for education etc.*, - were and are the basic features of the welfare state in the US¹³.

The transition to a social welfare state meant the fundamental transformations of the educational model. The younger generations would benefit from a type of society fundamentally different from the one in which they were born and, therefore, have to prepare for it. The school that historically represents the most important institution in the preparation of human resources had to be completely transformed to be able to prepare the citizens of this society in the space of years.

Reflecting on them seems justified to us, given the objection of retrial to the

conditions of transition over a period of time, when the processes have more or less fermented and their real proportions have become more tangible. This is all the more necessary in the context of democratic developments, the progress of science and technology. *In this regard, as the most important processes of emancipation of American society, we highlight the educational activity that has undoubtedly been and remains an irreplaceable element of communication between people and progress in general.*

Conditioning and Developing Education by the End of the XIX Century

Education, as an integral part of civilization, represents one of the fundamental pillars of a free and democratic society, on which is built a strong and advanced state, which is undoubtedly the US. As a phenomenon of many dimensions, with many directions and trends of development, it evolves in accordance with the political and social system where it operates.

American education and school dates back to the colonial period (1600-1776). Education was considered an important tool at that time. Thus, the Massachusetts Laws of 1642 and 1648, cities were required to force parents and teachers of kindergarten to teach their children (boys) not only about certain jobs and crafts, but also to educate them on reading, religion and fundamental rights¹⁴.

The English colonists brought to America not only the practice of apprenticepsh education, but also the experience of Latin grammar schools, which year after year saw expansion in the country. The first colleges were established at this time, such as that of Havardai,

¹³ John L. Renne and Jan S. Wells, *Emerging European-Style Planning in the United States: Transit-Oriented Development*, Published by State University of New Jersey, New Jersey, 2017, p. 227-229.

¹⁴ William J. Reese, *America's Public Schools: From the Common School to No Child Left Behind* (hereinafter: *America's Public Schools ...*), Published by Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore (Maryland), 2001, p. 16.

founded in 1636 and opened in 1638¹⁵. Private and religious schools were opened in the commercial centers. Later, efforts were also made to educate the Indians, blacks and women. Teachers were generally treated as servants of the church or state.

However the low economic and industrial development of the country, which was liberated from colonialism in 1776-1783, the large debts of the newly formed state, the small number of cities and the predominantly agrarian population, influenced American education and schools at the end of the XVIII century. were in poor condition and with limited development. The low educational attainment of the American population and marked illiteracy would continue until the 1920s.

In the first decades of the XIX century, in the US there were significant and profound economic, social and political changes, which also influenced the construction and development of the American public (state) education system. The “*labor movement*” and employees’ awareness of the social implications of democracy were influenced by this. They demanded that their children, based on the Baconian philosophy that “Knowledge is power. Also, many American lecturers who have studied the development of education in European countries, especially in Prussia and France, such as: John Griscom, William C. Woodbridge, Calvin Stowe, Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, brought many pedagogical innovations from Europe to American education. Among other things, Victor Cousin’s project on public education in Germany (1813) was implemented in Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and influenced many other American states.

The development of American

education at this time also influenced some thinkers of school system reforms. One of them was Horace Mann, who was also the first secretary of the Massachusetts Department of Education. He opposed religious propaganda in public schools. At the same time, we will also mention American thinker Henry Barnard, secretary of the Connecticut Ministry of Education, who became a national figure in education who first established the *United States Commissioner of Education*¹⁶. As an excellent connoisseur of education needs and pedagogical-didactic, psychological, etc. requirements, Barnard achieved great authority through the publication of the pedagogical periodical “*American Journal of Education*”, in 1855¹⁷. Through it, Barnard updated the pedagogical disciplines to serve a more organized educational activity in schools (elementary, etc.) and pledged that American pedagogical opinion be timely informed, encouraged and inspired by the work and results of many world-renowned pedagogues of his time. For this reason, studies and articles published in the pages of this periodical would popularize the pedagogical views of pedagogues and psychologists over the centuries.

Without denying the relative presence of the opinions and ideas of other teachers, some influence on school work in the US was also the influence of foreign pedagogical currents that were prominent especially in teaching and education methods. Particularly strongly influenced by the experience of education systems in France, England and Prussia, especially during the second half of the 19th century.

Educational developments during the second half of the XIX century is in line with the general legalities of the political system.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American education, 1876-1957* (hereinafter: *The Transformation of the School ...*), New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961, p. 83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

But directly or indirectly they were influenced by the internal factors of the federal states¹⁸, that ultimately defined those specific trends and phenomena that put the American stamp on the process. The education system in the US has taken on its full physiognomy since 1830, especially since 1850. The education system at that time and in the first decades of the second half of the XIX century stood out for its strong centralized orientation¹⁹.

The deepening of the decentralized character naturally served to strengthen education in each federal state. In the context of organizational measures, the administration and control of education was carried out through *the central federal administration*²⁰. The latter exercised *the right of administration and control* by holding a command position for the most efficient organization of educational activities²¹. In terms of counties and municipalities the organization of their staff was the same as that of the Federation, but adapting to the condition of the personnel of a particular locality.

Each federal state has its own education system school legislation; the management and control of schools was the responsibility of the federal states and local authorities. [...] In some states, schools were run by

an education council composed of the state governor, deputy governor, and high school inspector. In some school districts the school was run by a select school senior that was primarily responsible for administering school funds, such as: set school fees for students, teacher salaries and more. [...] The funding of education was attended by the relevant federal state, local (municipal) bodies and, for special purposes, the Federation. [...] In 1867 the National Central Institute for Education was established, who, for example, provided assistance to several states, shared school land funds, collected and published pedagogical experiences of various schools, etc.²²

Creation of structures at the center and at the base served to strengthen the state character of education. This strengthening created prerequisites for a wider education of the population. It was, and remains, a democratic measure insofar as it did not affect and narrow the spaces of private, secular or religious education, as another opportunity in the field of schooling and education.

Analytical study of educational developments in the last decades of the XIX century allows us to give a clearer vision to answer the question: what was their impact on the life of the individual in

¹⁸ In the United States, a state is a constituent political entity, of which there are currently 50. Bound together in a political union, each state holds governmental jurisdiction over a separate and defined geographic territory and shares its sovereignty with the federal government. Due to this shared sovereignty, Americans are citizens both of the federal republic and of the state in which they reside. State citizenship and residency are flexible, and no government approval is required to move between states, except for persons restricted by certain types of court orders (e.g., paroled convicts and children of divorced spouses who are sharing custody). States are divided into counties or county-equivalents, which may be assigned some local governmental authority but are not sovereign. County or county-equivalent structure varies widely by state, and states may also create other local governments. State governments are allocated power by the people (of each respective state) through their individual constitutions. All are grounded in republican principles, and each provides for a government, consisting of three branches, each with separate and independent powers: executive, legislative, and judicial. [Retrieved from: Mark Stein, *How the States Got Their Shapes Too: The People Behind the Borderlines*, New York: "HarperCollins", 2008 p. 16-17.]

¹⁹ W. J. Reese, *America's Public Schools ...*, p. 119.

²⁰ L. A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School ...*, p. 84.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Leon Zhlebk, *General History of Schools and Pedagogical Ideas*, Published by the Institute for Publishing Texts in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 1964, p. 181.

the entire American society, to come further into the analysis of the consequences in the near and distant future. So, first of all, they were important and complex, leading to the creation of a new education system.

The general trends are the rapid rates of expansion and the gradual creation of a disproportionate structure, expressed at different levels of particular categories of the school system. Until the early 1970s, when the main lines were drawn and contoured, the most important developments were in *primary education*, which lasted 3-4 years²³. Priority treatment, in relation to other school chains, we think was conditioned by both the inherited level and the increasing difficulty. The simultaneous and similar expansion of all educational categories would be enviable. But for a country with a population of over 45% heterogeneous and coming from different countries of the world, mainly from Europe, the faster development of primary education, and further, of other higher education categories, constituted a forced, feasible and realistic solution at the moment.

But from the beginning of the period and especially beyond, differences were observed within primary education between urban and rural schools. It attracted about 48% of students who completed primary education in the city, and about 32% of village school students²⁴. In less developed areas the percentage was lower and for student withdrawal, charitable funds for the poor were slightly increased by the *Public Education Association*, indicators remained low²⁵.

Expansion rates in elementary education, as well as other school categories,

were conditioned primarily by the federal state's financial ability to invest in this area, utilization of the capacity of educational institutions, provision of teaching staff and a material-didactic basis, even minimal of the number of students who completed primary education, etc.

Village schools had an infrastructure not very suitable for normal learning development compared to city schools and fewer classrooms, whereas city schools had better infrastructure, and more classrooms; inadequate material-didactic basis or scarce and unsatisfactory staffing created problems. [...] Meanwhile, the preference for the city's primary schools and the favorable position in the development of primary education, seemed to be determined by the country's economic development goal, but also by the priority the federal administration gave to the city's elementary schools²⁶.

Despite the shortcomings, the preparation of programs, plans and textbooks paved the way for change. The technical, organizational, administrative and political measures taken by the federal states also added to the creation of a material-didactic basis, for the preparation and qualification of educational staff, etc., that together created opportunities for significant school content development. To give an overview and illustrate the elementary school content, we are bringing some comparative data.

The curriculum in the elementary schools was largely extensive. Students were taught singing, writing, drawing, hygiene, the

²³ William Boyd, *The History of Western Education* (hereinafter: *The History ...*), 12th edition, Published by Barnes & Noble Books-Imports, New York: "LLC Sterling Publishing", 1994, p. 51.

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 68.

²⁵ William Boyd, "American Education: The Metropolitan Experience", 1876-1980, in: *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 22, No. 2, Published by Cambridge University Press, New York: "Routledge", 1990, p. 16-29.

²⁶ C. A. (Chet) Bowers, "The Progressive Educator and the Depression: The Radical Years", in: *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Published by Cambridge University Press, New York: "Routledge", 1971, p. 79-84.

basics of physics and chemistry, science of morality and the state, drawing, singing and aerobics. The girls also learned wisdom from housekeeping and tailoring. [...] In some schools, students taught handicrafts, land measurement, accounting, and a foreign language. At the center of the elementary school curriculum was mother tongue teaching and numeracy, then vocational courses and, lastly, subjects of general culture (of course, except mother tongue and calculus). [...] The teaching of religion, as a separate subject, was not taught in public schools²⁷.

Positive was the fact that teaching in primary and secondary school was common (boys and girls). It is true that in state (public) universities girls have been pursuing higher education since their inception (although their numbers were small). This also determined the high degree of emancipation of American society in this process of rapid and continuous change, an important element of nationwide development.

A worrying problem was the very low percentage of black children in primary schools, especially those from the village, which was actually very low. There was a significant improvement in the social composition of primary school students. It is well known that in the early years after the Civil War, elementary education as the basic educational category in the US was attended by students with rich or middle class backgrounds. The analysis of the period papers can show that the general tendency remained the ever increasing efforts for education of blacks.

After the Civil War, the number of schools for blacks was relatively small in the US.

Some teachers organized teaching for blacks. The school year lasts only two years and four months. The number of illiterates in them was much higher than in the rest of the population (in 1890 there were 56.8% illiterate; among whites there were 7.7% illiterate); their education was more limited and racial discrimination was also prevalent in the field of education. [...] Schools for blacks and whites in some states were strictly separated until 1918²⁸.

Alongside public schools, many foreign and domestic private schools were opened, as well as many religious schools. In fact, schools occupy an important place in education. In the US, as in many other countries, the clergy did not remain indifferent to the problems of education and education of the younger generation. The policies pursued during this period impeded the consolidation process of the national school, primary, state and secular schools. However the foundations laid during 1820-1870 favored further deepening, affecting the rates of expansion of higher education chains and the increase in the general education rate of the population.

Secondary education after the second decade of the XIX century he recognized other dimensions. It was and was one of the important links of the American education system, which served to raise the educational and cultural level of the youth and the entire population. Historically the development of secondary education in the US has gone down a difficult path. According to US researcher Patricia A. Graham, "The few Latin grammar-type high schools (religious colleges) that were then intended to prepare young people with

²⁷ Since independence American public schools have been secular. Religious education was organized in other forms: such as in the family, singing religious hymns in the morning (at the beginning of the lesson) in church, in schools and other religious institutions. [Retrieved from: Hajrullah Koliqi, *History of World Pedagogy* (hereinafter: *History of Pedagogy ...*), Vol. II, Published by University of Pristina, Pristina: "GME", 1998, p. 139.

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 182.

faith in God rather than life. Teaching in these schools had a number of drawbacks: the lessons were precise, book-based and the use of old methods was used²⁹.

After the XVIII century, the efforts to strengthen existing schools and open new schools increased in many US federal states. The development of economics and technical progress constituted the main set of basic laws of the creation of the *classical high school (in Latin)*³⁰. They were established at various times, depending on the educational policy of the federal state. They were presented in various forms and programs. The classical high schools were not religious institutions but aimed at meeting the needs of democracy and to provide insights into scientific innovation, economic change, and uplift national culture.

The first high school was opened in Boston in 1821. [...] Later the network of these schools was expanded to rural areas. In these schools young people prepared for college studies and for various professions. English, mathematics, history, natural sciences and business occupy the top spot. By 1900 Latin, Greek, German and French were also favored³¹.

In addition to this category of schools, there were also mixed, widely professional schools, which in addition to the *general culture* gave the students, first of all, knowledge of *professional culture* in the specialty of trade, agriculture, technique, political economy, ethnography, shorthand etc³². For better profiling in the framework of branch reorganization, the opening of

other branches (industrial, agricultural, etc.) within the existing schools as well as new vocational schools did not have a good effect on the students' overall knowledge of the general culture. After that, more attention was paid to "the development of students' physical abilities, ie gymnastics, sports and games"³³.

In the late 90s of the XIX century, the nineteenth was to equip schools with materials and didactic literature. The federal administration of many states in the guidelines of this period, required education sections and school directorates "not only the use of contemporary materials in an organized manner, but also the systematic control over teachers of the degree of use of teaching aids, laboratories, workshops, cabinets, teaching films, etc., in the function of concrete teaching through experiments, in order for students to worked independently on problem solving. As an efficient way of achieving results, school teachers also praised the organization of excursions and scientific walks"³⁴.

Mid-80s seems to have marked a crucial moment in the process of transitioning from the phase of laying school foundations in secondary education to the concentration of all activity in nationwide leadership and orientation centers. Quantitative developments prepared the ground for deepening the process and undoubtedly influenced the alleviation of the demand for senior specialists. That the transition to high school was a necessity, now could not be doubted. This transition, which the state and the individual were interested in, was favored by several factors that nevertheless

²⁹ Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Progressive Education: From Arcady to Academe: A History of the Progressive Education Association, 1919-1955", in: *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 11, No. 1, Published by Cambridge University Press, New York: "Routledge", 1971, p. 56-61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë* [The history of Pedagogy] ..., vëll. II, f. 140.

³² L. A. Cremin, *the Transformation of the School* ..., p. 93.

³³ L. Zhlebins, *Historia e përgjithshme* ..., f. 183.

³⁴ [*Ibid.*]

led to the expansion and consolidation of *colleges, universities* and *higher technical schools*, such as the higher education categories in the United States³⁵.

With the gradual separation of the church from the state, conditions were opened for the opening of new non-ecclesiastical colleges. Colleges are institutions of higher education with a focus mainly on scientific activity, where, first of all, efforts were made to link theory with practice in the various sciences, especially the natural sciences. Among the first colleges can be mentioned the Washington, Virginia, New York, etc., which were opened at the end of the XVIII century. They were a product of free thought since the time of the Revolution, a product of the influence of the secular ideas of the French Revolution³⁶.

The ensuing developments left a mark on American higher education. Universities were also part of this process. The latter were for the most part founded in the twentieth century. The universities were state-owned, but also private. At the time of the independence war, there were nine universities in the US, and the UK (as a colonizer) had only two. At universities, professors read lectures and high school methods were often used in seminars, with standard questions and answers that did not encourage students to discuss and generalize.

The establishment of *higher technical schools* also belongs to this period³⁷. Often these schools joined colleges and universities and, all together, they constituted the institutional system of American higher education. The studies lasted mainly four years. Measures of social character were also deepened for the purpose of higher education. Until these years and beyond,

students did not pay high taxes. Meanwhile, the state was always subsidized by canteens, student houses, libraries, teaching practices and textbooks purchased by students at the real cost of publishing³⁸.

Changes in the American education system and rapid expansion of all categories strongly influenced the mass development of new generations. The constant demands for qualified staff and workers would make it more urgent to intensify measures to increase the education rate of the population, even at a fast pace to adapt regular curricula and textbooks for the non-partisan *adult education system*, taking into account the level of students and the different school times.

In addition to correspondence schools, there was a need to open *evening schools, Sunday schools, residential colleges* and more. The establishment of *agricultural, industrial workers' education institutions, various voluntary associations*, etc., also had a positive impact., all together created the opportunity for significant development of adult education content.

Problems of Massive Education in XX Century

The years after World War I would bring new elements to American state policies in the field of education. The focus would be more and more on the issues of school democratization. However, the expansion and consolidation of the education system remained part of the change. Within the disproportionate structure and the problems it carried, measures would be initiated that brought about new relations between the school categories. *Priorities shift to those that provide ever-growing numbers of educated and*

³⁵ John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (hereinafter: *A History of American ...*), Second Edition, Published by Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore (Maryland), 2011, p. 209.

³⁶ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë ...*, vëll. II, f. 141.

³⁷ J. R. Thelin, *A History of American ...*, p. 219.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

able people to participate widely in production in line with labor market demands. In the mosaic of the new education system, the central place would be reserved for compulsory pre-university education and further up the higher links.

Developments in pre-university education

After the XIX century, *pre-university education* managed to get the full physiognomy of a broad, unique system, varied from pre-school to higher education. The US education system stood out for the flexibility of organizational forms, for state and private, secular and national character. *The most noticeable effect was the overthrow of many old norms and mindsets, paving the way for a more emancipated mindset in dealing with the fundamental problems of time.* It was in this spirit that it became possible to democratize and massively educate the US.

Preschool education

Child care has existed in every society. It is clear that education has also changed along with the development and change of society. This means that *preschool education of children* existed prior to the formation of *preschool pedagogy*. On the other hand many educators, psychologists, philosophers and others have written about preschool education, emphasizing the role and need of educating children especially during the ages of 3-6. Many of their opinions are relevant today, and some of them are current. Everyone who has been involved with preschool education research in the US in the past agrees with the fact that preschool education is concerned, it is almost impossible to research this problem

in the past, because these institutions did not exist in the colonization period. In this period the influence of family and family education on young children dominated, who were educated and prepared for work and family participation.

Before World War I in the US there were so-called *kindergartens* dedicated to children up to 4 years old, which were mainly private with a confessional and communal character³⁹. There are also *nurseries* from 4 to 6 years old, in which “Recreation and learning” are organized in the native language⁴⁰. Attendance of children in these institutions was not mandatory at that time.

We emphasize that in the US, as well as in other European countries, this category of preschool education was practically delayed, because previously they have shown the utmost care especially about opening primary schools and later, Especially where it was found that *preschool education* is an integral part of the whole educational system, these institutions started to form.

After 1945 the strengthening of preschool education would require a broad commitment not only by the state, but also of social organizations and the parents themselves. In spite of all the efforts, the expansion of preschool institutions has proceeded at a slow pace.

Compulsory basic education

Primary and later secondary education represented the basis of general education in the US. At the beginning of the 20th century many federal states changed their system so, instead of 8-year elementary school, introduced *6-year elementary school* and *6-year high school (three lower and three upper grades)*, was considered sufficient⁴¹.

³⁹ Paul E. Peterson, *The Politics of School Reform, 1870-1940* (hereinafter: *The Politics of School ...*), Published by The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1985, p. 122-123.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

In this period, primary education extends almost everywhere, in cities and villages. Its basification was an important prerequisite for the inclusion of children in school. In a way, the coordinated activity of the state with the broader population were the two main driving factors for the return to compulsory education. Legislation drafted and measures for its implementation, within a decade, put the problem on the way to a final solution.

In accordance with the specific conditions of each federal state, population-backed state institutions would fight for the opening of *primary schools* even in the least developed areas of the country. However, education would no longer recognize the source of the expansion of previous decades, and further key developments would be determined by *the demands of natural population growth and the implementation of the law on compulsory primary education*. The latter, for the sake of study, will be treated in conjunction with primary education, as it has actually worked.

Beginning of the first decade of the XX century, marked the transition to legal settlement. It positively affected all socio-economic developments in general and educational in particular, conditioned the deepening of the processes started in the field of expanding *public (state) and non-public (private) primary education*, which was organized by Catholic, Protestant clerical institutions, by various religious sects and organizations that you operate at the time. Respect for children's rights to education was made a priority, involving as many students as possible in public or private schools.

The idea of drafting a law forcing citizens to attend primary schools has long been debated in the country's intellectual and educational districts. According to

the law, *the compulsory and free character* of primary education for all was defined⁴². It was implemented in state-run primary and secondary schools throughout the country. Bearing in mind the conditions of America, when primary and secondary schools had managed to spread everywhere, "the law allowed a time of application of up to 10 years, for some federal states even 12 years. The school obligation began at age 6 or 7, and lasted until age 16-17 or 18, subject to federal state education legislation"⁴³.

In order to avoid difficulties in the practical implementation of compulsory primary and secondary education, the legislation in force provided for four variants, depending on the implementation of the state concerned:

First variant: 8 + 4 (eight years of elementary school and four years of high school); *Second option:* 6 + 2 + 4 (six years of elementary school, two years of lower secondary school and four years of high school); *Third variant:* 6 + 6 (six years of elementary school and six years of high school, junior high and high school); *Fourth variant:* 6 + 3 + 3 (six years of elementary school, 3 years of high school and three years of high school)⁴⁴.

It is understood that only by law; the problem could not be solved automatically. It created only a basis for accelerating rates and increasing efficiency. The results of this period would continue to be conditioned by poetic, economic and social factors.

The preparation, processing and stabilization of school documentation is the next step and, at the same time, one of the most important phenomena of the educational process for federal states until the early 1930s.

American elementary school until then was characterized by a mix of systems and

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 207.

⁴³ *Ibid*.

⁴⁴ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë ...*, vëll. II, f. 241.

methods, largely borrowed from schools in other Western countries. Not a small problem was the difference between federal state primary school programs and plans from other state schools, actually impeding the attendance of students from a federal state in higher education.

Direct aspects of socio-moral education, especially patriotic education, were of particular importance, developing American citizenship habits of aesthetic, physical and health education. Many teachers had a problem view. Most often they treated socio-moral education as “a moment of mental education or moral education, as something that could be accomplished by itself along the way, through different lessons and working outside the classroom and school”⁴⁵. The legacy of traditional subjects and Western culture training of specialists who worked on updating their content, made it possible to preserve originality and tradition in general subjects.

In elementary schools in the US we worked on different curricula. The federal state drafted *the education strategy* and *basic principles*, whereas the curricula were designed by education inspectors, teachers in cooperation with parents. Whereas, traditional courses are grouped in: *Language Arts, natural sciences (with a small number of hours), social sciences, arithmetic, Fine Art (music, drawing, drama)* and *physical and health education*. Foreign language was optional and only taught in some schools⁴⁶.

In the early 1940s *new plans* and *programs* for American elementary schools provided for simplifications that provided students with

more free time to acquire knowledge and a more reasonable teaching load. Changes also affected the organization of the learning process accordingly. The improvements were related to easing programs from overloading, relocating, removing unnecessary ones and introducing new ones.

The technical and organizational achievements of the school were not without influence. Due to the flexibility of the schedule, the grouping of students into classrooms and the best form of learning organization - undoubtedly influenced the quality level of the school. For more, “primary school students do not repeat class but progress according to individual performance”⁴⁷.

High school education

Until the end of the 50s of the XIX century, when the main lines were drawn and contoured, the most important developments are compulsory primary education. Further, when the education system could enter the path of further consolidation priorities shifted towards *6-year secondary education (three lower and three upper grades)* and included ages 14-18⁴⁸.

As an intermediate link, it would play a significant role in accelerating the pace of preparation of qualified American youth through high schools, such as: *Traditional high school, where teaching lasted eight years; Junior school, in which teaching lasted two or three years; Four-year high school and Six-Year high school*⁴⁹. There are also, *Junior high school* and *Senior high school* with grades X-XII⁵⁰.

Through the lesson the students learned about different sciences, but what was being achieved by many federal states was achieved

⁴⁵ Herbert M. Kliebard, “Afterword: The Search for Meaning in Progressive Education: Curriculum Conflict in the Context of Status Politics”, in: *The Struggle for American Curriculum (1893 – 1958)*, 3rd Edition, New York: “Routledge-Falmer”, 2004, p. 271-292.

⁴⁶ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë ...*, vëll. II, f. 241.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ P. E. Peterson, *The Politics of School ...*, p. 122-123.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

in addition to increasing math and foreign language classes, concrete steps were made in humanitarian subjects, such as literature, history, geography or direct citizenship, which were known to strongly influence the democratic formation of students and give many opportunities in this field, the recognition side prevailed. *In this context, what was required by the democratic state was to use every opportunity and avenue that led to "confronting opposing video-scientific, video-political, video-moral and video-aesthetic views" and who ultimately proved and demonstrated the superiority of progressive views over those of matter, list-science*⁵¹.

The rapid expansion of primary education and the implementation of school compulsory education had positive effects that reflected trends toward mass mobilization and the consolidation of secondary education. Based on a study compiled by a working group of well-known figures in the field of education, progress was noted, especially in the 1930s.. From published data, always well received, it resulted that the number of high schools and students had increased significantly. In some indications many federal states were ahead of other European countries and those of the region. Thus, in secondary education, for every 1.000 residents in the US, 516 students attended school, 381,3 in England, and 354,2 in France.⁵²

After World War II, secondary education only included 70% of students who were of age to attend it. With the exception of New York State, where 100% of students completing primary education were attracted, this numeral was 70-96% for about eighteen countries, 60-70% for sixteen districts, 50-59% for nine states and only 20-45% for six other federal states⁵³.

Higher education

The beginning of the XX century would mark the conclusion of that crucial phase, during which the foundations of *higher education* were laid and was achieved in the creation of *colleges, universities and higher technical schools* organized at the federal state level⁵⁴.

The dominant and unchanged factor stemming from the very nature of the political system remained the growing interest of the democratic state in preparing its intellectual elite, numerous in numbers and committed to implementing the policies of American governments. *High school represented the pinnacle of the American Education System*; increasingly it would be seen as the most qualified institution of democratic education of the younger generations and once, the most efficient mechanism for meeting the demands of a centralized socialist economy, with specialists in various fields.

A distinctive feature of the post-40s period would be, not so much expansion with new institutions as consolidation of the existing network, opening new branches, internal reorganization and specifically, deepening the democratic content of all higher education teaching and learning activities.

With the opening of *colleges, universities and higher technical schools*, the opportunities for higher education were significantly expanded. State, individual and society-wide interest in improving the overall cultural level, increased pressure to expand the network of higher education. To better reflect the state of the art of science and technology, it was envisaged that each high school would have its own *faculties and units* for the realization of its activities⁵⁵.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² L. A. Cremin, *the Transformation of the School ...*, p. 138.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵⁴ J. R. Thelin, *A History of American ...*, p. 403.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

“In the 1930s, *Columbia University of New York*⁵⁶ had two faculties in its organizational structure: *Faculty of Pedagogy* for the preparation of pedagogical teachers, pedagogical instructors or inspectors in other schools, psychology instructors, etc., and *Faculty of Practical Sciences* for the preparation of teachers of fine arts, industrial skills in primary school etc. The institution included Summer schools, University extensions, and Extramural courses, Home study courses. *Colombia Teachers College* also carried out its activities through its institutes, such as: Institute for Practical Preparation of Preschool, Primary and Secondary School Teachers; Institute for Pedagogical Research; International Institute, Pedagogical Institute, Institute for School Research, Institute for Practical Skills Research. There were also certain schools at the service of this college, where students performed both active and listening practice. The Teachers College also had the basic unit for publishing books, magazines, etc. (Columbia University Press). This activity was enriched year after year⁵⁷.

After 1945 on the basis of scientific and pedagogical criteria, in the higher schools, besides drafting new syllabuses, work was being done to redraft *curricula* and *textbooks* for all subjects. In particular, it was intended to make the introduction of new scientific information as thoroughly studied as possible in a holistic conception, not to make new grafts and patches on the old so that new theories, concepts and knowledge become more organically linked, to be fully intertwined with classical knowledge and to have wide scope for application.

“In new programs, in general, the compilation of *scientific material* has increased through the improvement of structure, the introduction of fairer reports of theoretical and applied problems, lectures and practical lessons, contemporary and current problems with classical and traditional ones. Efforts were also made to avoid lengthy and unnecessary descriptive information, theories and technologies that were overcome. [...] The new course programs, introduced for the first time, were designed on the basis of the development of science according to time, choosing those achievements that are of value to the country, which fit the stage of American economic development and culture⁵⁸.

The research work in higher education was aimed at “realizing some important goals: *first*, it served directly to elevate the learning process to a higher creative level; *second*, it promoted, stimulated and set in motion the entire intellectual potential of the students, conducted scientific research, enabled them to embark on new technical-scientific developments in the sector where they would work after graduating high school; *third*, it was the most necessary condition for expanding and increasing pre-university scientific qualification; *fourth*, it was directly in the service of economic development, production, defense and culture in the US⁵⁹. We emphasize that research activity in higher education has been expanding, massively enriched and enriched from year to year and from decade to year. Thus, higher schools, and in particular universities, established links with many foreign educational and

⁵⁶ One of the most prominent universities in the US was and is Columbia University in New York. It started with King's College, which was founded in 1754. In 1784 it was renamed Columbian College. It was transformed into a university in 1912, named Columbia University in New York. [Retrieved from: H. Koliqi, *History of Pedagogy* ..., Vol. II, p. 243.

⁵⁷ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë* ..., vëll. II, f. 243.

⁵⁸ J. R. Thelin, *A History of American* ..., p. 427.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 442-343.

scientific centers. Lecturers and scientists have duly represented American science in many international scientific activities, there are many who have also been awarded the *Nobel Prize*, especially in the field of natural sciences.

Specifically, the American state remained interested in easing the economy's demand for senior specialists, through maximizing the capacity of the high school and maintaining the contingent of students until their graduation, which ultimately proved the effectiveness of the entire system of preparation. Completing the number of students for the "difficult" faculties such as the sciences or engineering or the less "favorite" ones such as agriculture and the teacher, would be a difficult process. Of course this was not a new phenomenon because even before, the number of quotas for particular sectors was not met. Most federal states programmed the total number of students and directed them to areas which they considered priority, which meant that this selection went in the same direction as the desires and aspirations of young people.

According to Prof. Hajrrulla Koliqi, "in the academic year 1962-1963, operated a total of 141 universities, 82 of which were state - owned. *Colleges* in this period function alongside *universities*.⁶⁰ The four-year studies ended with a bachelor's degree, followed by postgraduate studies for the *Master's degree* and doctoral studies (2-year degree) for a *Doctor of Science*.⁶¹ Starting from 1965-1966, 85% of high school students, 15% of vocational school graduates and those working in various sectors of the economy would be attracted to higher education⁶².

With the network of secondary schools in rural areas and small municipalities still limited and the disproportionate distribution of most of the needs of these territorial units in this period would continue to be met by elements from urban areas.

At the end of the study period, significant improvements were observed in the expansion of higher education. Thus, the university and academic level begins after the secondary school has been completed. These include *colleges* and *universities* and consist of two or four years of study.

These years of study conclude with degrees, which are divided into the "Bachelor" of the respective branches: *Bachelor of arts* and *Bachelor of science*. According to official data in the United States, there are many higher education institutions, private and public, as well as community colleges open to all concerned. Among Americans 25 and over, 84,6% have graduated from high school, 52,6% have completed undergraduate studies, 27,2% have a bachelor's degree, and 9,6% have a postgraduate degree⁶³.

Adult education

In view of the progress of *higher education without interruption*, state institutions will tend towards measures to improve legislation, creating new spaces for participants through reduced working hours, granting special exam permits, etc.

According to Prof. H. Koliqi, "The Adult Education System in the U.S., During 1921-1961, was greatly developed. It had a large number of institutions with different cultural and educational functions. It stood out for its multifunctional, flexible,

⁶⁰ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë ...*, vëll. II, f. 244.

⁶¹ J. R. Thelin, *A History of American ...*, p. 428.

⁶² *Ibid*, p. 430.

⁶³ Nicole Stoops, "Educational Attainment in the United States: 2003", in: *Current Population Reports*, June 2004, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce Economy and Statistics Administration, p. 4-7. [Retrieved from: <https://www.census.gov/prod/2004pubs/p20-550.pdf>]

interactive system and relied on *lifelong education*⁶⁴. It intertwined with regional, local and personal national interests, so there is a variety of federal, state, local, and municipal institutions. Among the forms for adult education are University extension, first established 1887, at the University of Pennsylvania, agricultural extension, community colleges, public schools, where evening classes were organized, educational centers at various companies and many others working under the *Credit and Non credit* programs⁶⁵. But according to him, “different organizations and associations, cultural institutions, etc. have played a special role, etc. The US stands out for the establishment of university institutions dealing mainly with andragogical studies”⁶⁶, which have recently received considerable development nationwide.

The clearest effect of American democratic state policy would be that decades later, American society, though better educated, would become the promoter of new movements for development and democracy around the world.

3. Education in the age of automation

At the end of the study period, more significant improvements were observed in the development of education after the 1990s. The general tendency is the rapid pace of development and consolidation of a disproportionate educational structure, expressed at different levels of particular categories of the school system in the federal states. Educational institutions were further consolidated. Compulsory primary and secondary education, and after the 1990s, increased the rate of education

at younger ages. General secondary education, in addition to vocational and higher secondary education, entered the path of expansion and consolidation. *The positivity of the model itself, which is followed by educational institutions at the federal state level, was also strongly influenced*. As we know the whole school and education system functioned on the basis of the experience of the western schools. Along with the experience were the achievements of the western schools, which in terms of American education received greater burdens to respond to the labor market.

Seen in double perspective, as in the results that are most tangible and mark a commendable boom, as well as that less accumulated experience, but it still has its weight, educational developments helped the process of emancipation of American society. The school even today offers all citizens a very wide spectrum of opportunities to benefit from, compared to previous periods. Developments in this field represent a new stage of education leading to an increase in the number of national intelligence, which has brought out year after year personalities that serve the country a little. In the interests of the state and the interests of the state to serve the consolidation of democracy, all public education activity in public education is maintained by state and local government, and is supported by *applicable US Department of Education* legislation. Children are required in most states to attend classes 6-7 years old (starting with preschool or first grade) until they are 18 (usually by the end of twelfth grade, high school); some countries allow children to drop out of school at age 16 or 17⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ Carl F. Kaestle, “Ideology and American Educational History”, in: *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 22, Issue: Summer 1982, Published by Cambridge University Press, New York: “Routledge”, 1982, p. 123-137.

⁶⁵ H. Koliqi, *Historia e pedagogjisë ...*, vëll. II, f. 244.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ J. R. Thelin, *A History of American ...*, p. 431.

Compulsory education is mainly provided at the primary or secondary levels, which are otherwise called elementary and higher education. School age varies from state to state, from 5-8 years old and ends at 14-18 years old. Some states have compulsory up to 18 years of age⁶⁸.

Preschool education is the first step in educating children, starting at age 5 or 6 for some countries and for others 4 to 5 years⁶⁹.

Primary education or otherwise (primary level) Elementary school teachers are provided with the necessary education of cognitive and psychological development of children at university. Generally the two main levels, which are elementary and secondary, are divided into the first grade taken from kindergarten and the final grade at the end of the 12-year system⁷⁰.

Secondary education or (secondary level). This level is divided into two other levels: high school and high school. n high schools (start 14-18 years old and vary by country) technology, personal skills, application of knowledge, thinking and communication are highly valued⁷¹. In addition to the normal high schools, there are also some public schools called *magnet schools*, which offer a unique philosophy of education. Likewise, *vocational schools* that focus on commercial or industrial courses. Those who do not obtain a high school graduation certificate, ie at the age of 18, are considered to have dropped out of education.

High school or (third level). Undergraduate and academic levels begin after secondary school is completed. These include colleges or universities and consist

of two or four years of study⁷². These years of study conclude with degrees, which are divided into the “Bachelor” of the respective branches: “Bachelor of arts” and “Bachelor of science”⁷³

Conclusions

Multilevel analysis of key phenomena and trends in the development and consolidation of the US education system allows us to draw some conclusions. Centuries The XX would be crucial for development and consolidation as one of the most important areas of American society’s emancipation. Developments in this area are in line with changes throughout American education, especially after the 1930s. XX. Besides the general features, under the influence of various economic, political and social factors, where the political (democratic system) would most definitely be the dominant one, it would also manifest specific phenomena.

The American state has stimulated and financially supported the expansion of all school categories that would undoubtedly lead to significant differences between quantitative and qualitative differences. What was achieved during this period and further had significant consequences on the further progress of the school and beyond, for the rapid development of the country in the path of a decentralized economy.

The existence of these pre-university and university education institutions depended on what factors were considered to be key in the emergence and development of social phenomena or processes.

⁶⁸ Juergen Herbst, “The once and future school: Three hundred and fifty years of American secondary education” (hereinafter: “The once and future school ...”), in: *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 38, Issue 1, Published by Cambridge University Press, New York: “Routledge”, 1996, p. 88-91.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² R. Thelin, *A History of American ...*, p. 473.

⁷³ J. Herbst, “*The once and future school ...*”, p. 88-91.

Some authors emphasize the dominant role of one factor, others the role of two factors, and the third the role of more factors, regardless of whether they are social or methodological factors and scientific explanations, the object of these schools is always to find human society or any part of it. It is important to understand that school category names are always closely linked to the education sciences that determine that explanation, or to the factors through which educational phenomena and processes are explained.

For many Western authors, what the US administration and the leadership itself intended to achieve in the field of secondary education was, “ the objectives were the same as the political ones, to consolidate

the foundations of democracy and to build a Western model of social welfare states through industrialization, private property and improved social services. The combination of all of these factors would allow him to create the young, democratic man who would have the mercy of strong American identity and consciousness in decision making⁷⁴. Undoubtedly education and school occupied a prominent place in this process over the years.

From a realistic point of view, both in the enlargement where results were tangible and in the quality of the framework prepared, developments in American education helped emancipate American society and further the country’s economic and social development.

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DIFFICULTIES IN ACCESSIBILITY AND MOBILITY OF DISABLED STUDENTS IN THE PUBLIC UNIVERSITY INFRASTRUCTURE IN ALBANIA

Anila SULAJ

Agriculture University of Tirana, Albania
Faculty of Economy and Agribusiness
Department of Rural Tourism Management
E-mail: asulaj@ubt.edu.al

Brunilda KONDI

University of Tirana, Albania
Faculty of Foreign Languages
Department of English Language
E-mail: asulaj@ubt.edu.al

ABSTRACT

Education is a fundamental right to every citizen in Albania and also for disabled people. All universities in Albania are obliged to respect and to fulfill these rights in order to create and adapt infrastructure for all students. This study carried out during the academic year 2018-2019, has assessed the situation of the infrastructure and social care for disabled students in public universities in Albania. Providing effective academic services and ameliorating the infrastructure access of disabled students was the focus of this survey, as well as their general mobility and adaption in universities. In fifteen public universities are taken some institutional

Anila SULAJ is lecturer of Rural and Urban Sociology at the Department of Management of Rural Tourism, Faculty of Economy and Agri-business, Agriculture University of Tirana. She has been graduated on social sciences in 2001, in the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tirana. Anila Sulaj completed the PhD in 2014 and the research interests are focusing on Urban and Rural Sociology, Quantitative and Qualitative Social Research, Sociology of Education and socio-economic problems in rural and urban areas.

Brunilda KONDI is lecturer in Department of English Language at the Faculty of Foreign Languages, University of Tirana. She has long teaching experience on Higher Education in Albania. Brunilda Kondi has been Fulbright Visiting Reserach Scholar at University of Maryland, Washington DC, USA from 2015 to 2016, and currently she is teaching American studies and American culture.

initiatives to improve infrastructure facilities regarding university infrastructure and services. The study results showed that accessibility of university infrastructure and transportation and moving access are offered respectively in the level of 61.2% and 31.4%. University space is accessible only for 25.5% of disabled students. Teaching and other educational equipment are missing in the most of public universities, they are offered only in 2.6% of university auditoriums. Access for personal and special needs as well as for workstations in libraries and labs are provided respectively in 1.8% and 4.5% of university facilities. Volunteer help for student with disabilities is offered by 38.5% of people having access in university area. University office for disabled students regarding to academic issues, transport, accommodation, social affairs and medical problems are missing in almost public universities. The accessibility and mobility of disabled students is not fully provided by current university infrastructure. This study indicates that improvement of infrastructure for disabled students is an emergency that should be addressed to the politics of institutions of higher education in Albania. Providing of effective academic services for students with disabilities is demands among others that should be achieved thorough appropriate organizational scheme, human resources with specific expertise, advanced technological support, on an equal basis with others and integration of them in university life.

Key words: accessibility, mobility, disabled, students, universities, Albania.

Introduction

The number of universities offering services for students with disabilities has grown considerably over the last decade worldwide. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD), article 24 (1), provides that states must ensure an inclusive education system at all levels including also the Higher Education System. Nevertheless, not all students with a disability are getting adequate level of support, even in the same country. Providing effective academic services for students with disabilities is remaining a difficult education process (Bickenbach et al., 1999). Currently, disabled people withstand different kinds of discriminations, posing difficulties and disadvantages of different sizes (Connor & Ferri, 2007). Among lot of difficulties such challenges is the ability to access built infrastructure like roads (Danson et al., 2017). Students with mobility impairments are in different types and they are facing with difficulties as learning routes to and from classes and across campus that is not a barriers. Auditorium, classrooms, stairs,

curb, narrow walkway, heavy door, elevator door without delay mechanism a vehicle blocking a ramp, a sign in the road or walkway are common barriers for disabled students (Anastasiou & Kauffman, 2013).

Academic considerations for disabled students are related to accessibility of disabled students with university and faculty office, class location, room assignment, time restrictions to schedule classes, contact with personal attendants, laboratories, physical education, social and political activities (Basser, 2011). University services are not fulfilling all requests of community of students with mobility impairment. Transportation assistance is often very useful for disabled students. While some students with impaired mobility are generally able to use the fixed-route buses, some students may not be able to do so. Disabled students are facing many problems related to the appropriate infrastructure, university services and social care in university campuses as well as missing of information about student organizations and social integrations (Simonson & Ellen, 2013).

Problems in Higher Education System

have been the subject of much debate recently in Albania. Among of problems facing to the Higher Education System in Albania, difficulties and accessibility of disabled students in public university are more common. This has also led to changing of education policy making more imperative education of disabled people alongside the country. The number of disabled students frequenting the university auditoriums in recent years is increased. In Albanian Higher Education System, the goal of achieving education for all is far from accomplishment. Students with disabilities have very low rates of initial enrolment. Also, they are more likely to drop out and leave studies early without graduation (2014).

Students with disabilities are also at increased risk exposing them in uncomfortable infrastructure and bullying, preventing the enjoyment of their right to education (Mor, 2006). Being committed to implementing the Stabilization Association Agreement with the European Union, the Albanian government has regularly amended the country's legal framework to improve efforts towards an inclusive education. Although the efforts for establishing the inclusive education, there are doubts as to whether this right has led to a new direction in policy making.

In 2009, it was estimated that 20 million of those requiring a wheelchair for mobility did not have one. There are indications that only a minority of those in need of wheelchairs has access to them, and of these very few have access to an appropriate wheelchair (WHO, 2010). The wheelchair is one of the most commonly used assistive devices for enhancing personal mobility, which is a precondition for enjoying human rights and living in dignity. Wheelchairs assist people with disabilities to become productive members of their communities (WHO, 2010). About 10% of the global population, i.e. about 650 million people, have disabilities (WHO,

2010). In poor and undeveloped countries the community of disabled students is facing the same situation.

Materials and method

This survey is based on the analysis of the requirements of students with disabilities in public universities in Albania. The methodology has foreseen the evaluation of the university services critically takes into account both infrastructure and individual accommodation approaches for disabled students. This study was based on evaluation of selected services for the students with disabilities as are: accessibility of university structure, transportation and moving access, provision of accessible university space, teaching and other educational equipment, personal and special needs, accessible workstations in libraries and labs, structural arrange of volunteer work for helping the disabled students in public universities in Albania.

The information about the accessibility and mobility of disabled students in the public universities in is gathered carrying out visits and making different questions to students. The specific questions about the university infrastructure mobility access were designed in the simple questionnaire. For all public universities are interviewed 750 students. All data collected from the answers of student's interviews have been calculated and interpreted with simple mathematical and statistical methods.

Results and discussion

The evaluation of situation for accessibility and mobility of disabled students in the public universities in Albania is carried out during the academic year 2018-2019. From results of interviews of 750 students of public universities is evident that accessibility and mobility of disabled students is not offered for all disabled students. University

infrastructure and services are not fulfilling all needs of disabled students. In the most of the public universities are done renovations of buildings going to improve infrastructure and services. In some investments for building renovation are installed ramps, automatic main entrance doors and are created access route making buildings more accessible for disabled students. However, there are lot of old buildings missing ramps, lifts, stairs and routes to be used by students with disabilities.

Accessibility of university structure: Student's interview results are shown that public universities in Albania have renovated and improved the infrastructure for disabled students in 61.2% of university buildings. In more than 33.7% of university buildings are not installed and constructed ramps, stairs and other infrastructure facilities. In university buildings, lifts having very limited provision for accessibility by the disabled students.

The number of universities offering services for students with disabilities has grown considerably over the last decade worldwide. In USA the university infrastructure was compliant to the physically handicapped students (Simonson & Ellen, 2013). However, not all the students with a disability receive adequate level of accessibility. In 2015, Kortupfe observed absence of ramps, functional elevators, and accessible lavatories in public buildings in Ghana (Kortupfe, 2015).

Transportation and moving access: These services for disabled students are not ensured in all university campuses. Only 31.4% of students confirmed that transportation is providing the moving access by bus, special cars, and wheelchair to public universities. Some authors in their studies reveal bad services of transportation and moving access in developing countries (Goodley, 2011).

Accessible university space: According to study results in the campuses of public university and in the space around the university buildings are missing the parking places and special bus stations to make easier the transportation and moving of

students with disabilities. Only, 25.5% of interviewed students mentioned the existence of accessible university space for disabled students. Studies focused on accessibility of the university places confirmed the problems with parking places and other space facilities in the university area and campuses (Danso et al., 2017)

Teaching and other educational equipment: The situation of using of special educational equipment's and teaching materials by disabled students is unwelcome. 2.6% of students confirmed that this service is almost not provided by all public universities. Special tablets, computers and teaching materials are missing in public universities. Only few educational equipment and teaching materials mostly provided as donation by the projects are used in sporadic cases. This fact is mentioned by others authors (Mor, 2006; Simonson & Ellen, 2013).

Access for personal and special needs: In the university buildings, roads and campus infrastructure there are not provided and installed toilets, special chairs, tables and other facilities to be used by disabled students. This is confirmed by the answers of interviewed students. Small number of interviewed students (1.8%) declares the access for personal and special facilities in university infrastructure. All university buildings, and other university areas must be equipped with personal and special facilities fulfilling all needs of disabled students (Basser, 2011).

Accessible workstations in libraries and labs: The data interpretation of this survey signify the special tables and chairs, lifts in libraries, in laboratories are not provided for most of disabled students. 4.5% of disabled students have the access to use these facilities.

Volunteer people offering help for student with disabilities: In the university administration is not established the office for disabled students. Survey results shows that volunteer help for disabled students is casually offered by students, university

Tabela 1: Results of student's interviews for the accessibility and the mobility of disabled students in the public universities in Albania; Student's interviews carried out in the academic year 2018-2019

University infrastructure and services	Answers confirmed the accessibility for students with disabilities (Yes)	Answers confirmed the missing the accessibility for disabled students (No)	Not answered	Accessibility of students with disabilities in (%)
Accessibility of university structure (roads, ramps, stairs, lifts etc.)	459/750	253/750 (33.7%)	38/750	61.2%
Transportation and moving access (bus, special cars, wheelchair etc.)	236/750	455/750	59/750	31.4%
Accessible university space (parking place, bus station etc.)	189/750	535/750	26/750	25.2%
Teaching and other educational equipment (special tablets, computers and teaching materials etc.)	20/750	665/750	67/750	2.6%
Access for personal and special needs (toilets, special chairs and tables etc.)	16/750	659/750	75/750	1.8%
Accessible workstations in libraries and labs (special tables and chairs, lifts etc.)	34/750	633/750	83/750	4.5%
Volunteer people offering help for student with disabilities (students, university employees and others)	289/750	384/750	77/750	38.5

employees and others by 38.5% of the people having access to university surroundings. In UK, USA and other developed countries there are more organized volunteer people offering assistance and help for community of disabled students (DSAE, 2019).

Conclusion

The public university authorities in Albania should take more care for students with disabilities to have access,

on an equal basis with others, to the physical environment, to transportation, to information and communications, including university infrastructure and communications technologies. More university space, other facilities and services should be opened or provided for disabled students in public universities. Public university authorities need to improve the strategy for the care of students with disabilities by unifying it as part of the National Higher Education Strategy.

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INTEGRATION OF RELIGION IN EDUCATION

Agim LEKA

University Alexander Xhuvani of Elbasan, ALBANIA

E-mail: leka.agim@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Integral thinking (IT) harmonizes the scientific formation with philosophical thinking and belief. By the integrating of the religion with education creates the possibility of building IT. It is a natural connection between argument, proof and skepticism of faith in the tree of human knowledge. This model conceives integration, as the intercommunication of identities and their multiplication. The integrating of religion into the education process is taboo, yet. Experience proves that exclusion of religion from secular education creates a dark gap in process of thinking formation. The same problematic occurs also the exclusion of religion from science and from philosophy. During the post totalitarian period the thought is transformed from ideological thought to the integral critical thinking. Meanwhile, religious terms occupy greater space in school and public communication. The media jungle prevents youth to build meaning and to select their use. The school cannot root or stop the religion. But learning knowledge about religion is not religious education and does not affect scientific formation, but a space for building human values. Faith in a religion is different from observation, critical analysis of religious fact and rationalism. The content of empirical knowledge is religious, everyday facts.

The method of developing the learning process is based on the methodology of education sciences. Public school is the safest space for informing the student about religion. The teacher is the safest professional, most responsible for learning the knowledge of religion

Agim LEKA is Docent and PhD in philosophy. Head of several pre-university and ILP (EU) schools. He has worked as a councilor, a member of the Albanian Parliament, an adviser to the Minister of Education and Sport. PhD at the University of Verona, Italy. Participant in international scientific activities, including the 23th World Congress of Philosophy (Athens, 2013). Member of the European Academy of Religion. Author of books: "History of Philosophy" (2009), "History of Modern Western Philosophy" (2012) and "Thinking Like a European" (Processing).

and beliefs. The broadest consensus about the new relationship of religion education is indispensable. Our research is based on the study of curricular experiences and on data from consultations with students, parents and specialists. The search method is holistic and:

- Integration is understood as a process that “produces” a new identity greater than the sum of the parts.
- Genealogy of classical concepts varies throughout history and their authenticity is revealed by placing them in the context of time and space (hyperspace)

Keywords: *Integral Thought (IT), Education, Values and Integration: Religion and Science.*

1. The contexts of religion in Albania

The main religious beliefs in Albania are four: Catholicism, Orthodox, Islamism, and Bektashism. In Kosovo, most belong to the Islamic faith 92 per cent and the minority, the Catholic faith. Distribution of followers of the world in the world is: Christianity has 31.5 per cent, Islamism: 23.2 per cent, Hindus: 15.5 per cent, Buddhism: 7.1 per cent, Religions: 5.9 per cent, Religions Other: 1 per cent, Non-religious believers: 16.3 per cent. Hence, it is necessary that knowledge of religion include Hinduism, Buddhism, and other smaller religions such as Baha’i, etc. (*Worldwide Percentage of Adherents by Religion, 2010*). During the Communist regime (1944-1990), the state fought religion and declared the Albanian people atheists. Religious institutions became museums. 2169 cult objects were destroyed (church, mosque and teqe), 217 clergymen were imprisoned. Some of them were sentenced to death.

2. Albanian identity and religion

Religion is the attribute that does not determine the substantial essence of the Albanian identity of Albanians. The beliefs of Albanians, and their religion, are based on natural phenomena. The Albanian people are pagan and the roots of religion are not as deep as in some other peoples not only Europeans. The Albanians’ knowledge of the world is knowledge of natural content.

The Albanians’ opinion has been, from its beginnings, empirical thought with the distinct pantheistic “gen”. Even the essence of Albanian religion is pantheism. In Albania, the religious holidays of Christian and Muslim communities preserve traces of the mythical polytheistic period. Albania is ranked 20th among the 20 least religious countries in the World, together with Austria, Hungary and Luxembourg. (<https://www.telegraph.co.uk>)

3. The Albanian schooling contexts

At present, in pre-university education students receive some historical and sociological knowledge of religion in the subjects “History”, “Sociology” and “Civic Education”.

In the formation of new teachers and professional development there is no specific program for this problem. In ten primary and lower secondary schools (sixth and tenth grade), the development of knowledge about religion is being piloted. They are developed as a special topic in the subject of citizenship. In public opinion, unclear situations have arisen often for approaching the religion with secular education.

My message for integrating religion with education to 4000 face book friends, answered 84, commented 21, were against 2. The message that compares Albania with 13 countries around the world regarding religion and secular school responded to 41, and no one objected.

4. Intercommunication between religion and science. Their conception of laicism and contemporary secularism.

The scientifically formation in education is realized by walking in two areas of knowledge: science and religion. The two spaces have no irreplaceable walls. They intercommunicate between them through dialogue. This makes it possible the development of science, technology and democracy in the rule of law in the global order. Among them there is neither war nor persecution, but the possibility of moving from truth to the other.

Their independence is the foundation of school laicism and secularism. But independence cannot exist without interdependence. Darwin's theory of evolution and "Intelligent design" (ID) compete in our time. ID is religious doctrine and not scientific theory, because it is not legitimized by science. It is based on the Religious Book of Genesis, which conflicts with science.

We still do not have an argument and method of scientific research that proves the creative intelligence of an unattainable power (God). The theory of evolution does not argue about the origins of our universe or about the essence of life in it¹.

She claims that there is no contradiction to the idea that living and non-living beings have the quality of change during their existence.

4.1. The scientific Big Bang hypothesis

The Big Bang phenomenon occurred 4.5 billion years ago. It was a mass explosion as a result of the concentration of hydrogen

and helium gases. Then, the cold gases were condensed and, together with other elements, formed stars and planets. Earth is one of the formed planets. The "foggy hypothesis" was developed for the first time in the 18th century by E. Swedenborg, I. Kant, and P. S. Laplace. The discovery is made up of many scientific disciplines such as astronomy, physics, geology, astronomy, and so on. Along with its scepticism, the hypothesis marked the differentiation of religion from science into the origin of the universe and the solar system. There are also other hypotheses about the origins of the universe and the solar system, but none to date has been scientifically proven. For this reason Big Bang's scientific hypothesis is the basis of scientific formation in the secular education system.

5. The Roads of Religious Integration in the Public School Curriculum

The knowledge about religion in the pre-university education system can be developed in two ways:

1. Integrating in the fields of history, culture, sociology, philosophy and citizenship. This alternative has two weak points:

- Students are required to build knowledge of religion and beliefs through many learning areas.
- The professional development of teachers who develop these disciplines, together with the thematic on religion, is complex.

The strong point of this alternative is the building of the knowledge about religion is developed parallel and simultaneously with the whole process of education.

¹ Hence the natural science are of no philosophical interest; the Darwinian theory has no more to do with philosophy than other hypothesis of natural science" (Pete A Y Gunter, Andrew C. Papanicolaou "Bergson and modern thought towards a unified science", Routledge, New York. 2016). "Biologists in the world are locked in battle with the ID movement, which opposes the teaching of Darwinian evolution in schools." (*C. N. Harari. 2011*). Removal of evolution is seriously hinders medical research for: cancer, AIDS, biodiversity, climate change. ID undermines the separation of religion from the state.

2. On separate subjects and / or choices between the group of fields of sociology, philosophy, culture and civic education.

The strong point of this road: creates more for specialized information in the field of religion, for the professional development of teachers and for the more useful orientation of students and parents.

The weak point lies in the high school, where teachers are formed and prepared, because there is no discipline in this field, which would also serve as a reference source. Additionally, adding a new subject to school would be a greater burden on students and would not encourage overcrowding and facilitating the student from curriculum subjects.

It should be noted that the requirement to add a new text is also encouraged by interest groups (publishing houses) because they have a secure market. In the Albanian case the second alternative is not based on any known tradition and all accepted.

6. The learning of knowledge about religion and beliefs is an academic process

The lesson for learning about religion and belief is academic process. The purpose is not the education of devotion to any religion (religious education). It is the building of critical scientific thinking. The teacher is based on the scientific principles of pedagogy and didactics. The best model would be “mixed learning” as a combined implementation of pedagogical didactics: constructivism, behaviourism, and conjunctive (Driscoll, 2003).

7. “The Didactic Transposition”

“The Didactic Transposition” (Y. Chevallard, 1985) is the method of moving the theoretical knowledge from the academic level to the level school, which is the most appropriate form to and understand by

the students. In this case, the knowledge passes from the “property” of the scholars to the “property” of the students. In short, it is the shift from scientific knowledge to learning to learn. Religious axioms are the first premises of judgment. The premise is a base for the building knowledge, skills, and values attitudes in comprehensively addressing contextual situations. The question is **How** do we go to the truth? Not: **What** is the truth?

The source of religious premises is the sacred religious books and encyclopaedic which are renowned by the international authority. Their reading should be set in the contemporary context (contextual reading) of students’ maturity and mother tongue². When in the religious doctrine of creation it is stated that “Man is created by God” in the historical, cultural, linguistic context of Albania it would be appropriate: “God has made man also.”

8. The religious faith of the teacher

Teacher beliefs affect in their perceptions, judgments, reasoning, behaviours and attitudes. But regardless of this influence, the determinant factor is in thoughts, conceptions, learning from the experience of teacher life. The teacher behaviours and his / her thoughts are determined by the mission, the role, and the sense of responsibility. The personal freedom of the teacher is limited to the student environment.

The influence of trust is not deterministic and fatalistic for the specialists of medicine, justice, business field. “In the world of thought, concepts are the most useful, because without them it is impossible to have a clear and well-defined opinion” (H. Lewis, 1999). Teacher learns how students learn the knowledge of religious beliefs and facts. He possesses the competence of logical critical thinking and builds the logical connection between faith and knowledge.

For him, where knowledge ends, trust begins. The knowledge system is open to

evaluations and critical attitudes, while beliefs are personal.

Conclusion

The value education and scientific formation at school are based over three

integral components: scientific, religious and philosophical truths. Integrating religion with education can be achieved through methodologies and scientific methods. Critical thinking integrated with trust, reflection, and value-oriented, becomes an integral thought.

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ISSUES AND CHALLENGES ON STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN ALBANIA

Juljana LAZE

University Aleksandër Moisiu of Durrës, Albania

Faculty of Education; Department of Sociology

E-mail: julilaze@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Education is one of the most important priorities of the strategy for developing, which will guarantee the progress. According to this importance that education has, it has come into view and is done an initial issue that has taken place in governance of Albania. The aim of this study was: a) to stress the importance of the strategic planning in this phase of the development of sustainable education, b) to evident and analyze the actual problems that the education is faced to c) to analyze the advantages and disadvantages of strategic planning development in sustainable education and society. The exertion of this proceeding is connected to some conclusions and recommendation that are considered as an essential part of it. The information used for this study is based on multiple sources. A qualitative research design was used with the purposive and opportunity sampling being applied. Data was gathered using focus groups, and in depth semi-structure interviews and was analyzed using thematic analysis. Through interviews we tried to identify some of the problems associated with the process and to draw conclusions for strategies for the future of education. Interviews were addressed and distributed at management levels of educational institutions in various universities.

The key finds of this study showed that strategic development plan for higher education in Albania is considered the document that articulates a vision of what higher education we

Juljana LAZE is a lecturer at “Alexander Moisiu” University, Durrës. She holds a degree in Philosophy-Sociology, is postgraduated in Sociology, and has received the title “Doctor” from the University of Tirana, Faculty of Social Sciences. She also holds a Bachelor of Laws as well as an Executive Masters in Management of Higher Education Institutions from the Maastricht School of Management. She is the author and co-author of many publications in scientific journals, national and international conferences.

wish for and envisions the direction of fulfilling the strategic objectives. The management of universities reflects the cooperation between political factors, academic and scientific community, students, civil society, education stakeholders and the general public. There can be no sustainable social development without respect for the diversity in society.

Keywords: *Strategy Plan, Sustainable Education, Educational Development Plan, Issue*

Introduction

Higher education has a primary role in building a skilled human capacity to face the challenges of the time, so it is the case that the education sector is central to reforms, as in transition countries, and in countries developed. The education system in Albania has undergone many changes in recent years, in terms of quality, and also in terms of management.

In this period of huge transformations in Europe and in the region need to communicate with the international community is considered an important partner. Therefore, it can be said that higher education in Albania, despite the challenges and problems faced at this stage, but tends towards regional and European integration. At such a stage, every company should consider medium and long term development of education. Despite numerous problems and willingness to make changes, we understand that there are no easy solutions and the rapid development of higher education system.

Given this definition for our country to become an inseparable part of the European Area of Higher Education as defined in the objectives of the Bologna Process, the choices and the choices made will be able to create preconditions for higher education to be a function of sustainable development of society.

General issues

Strategic Development Plan for Higher Education in Albania is considered the document that articulates a vision of

what higher education we wish for and envisions the direction of fulfilling the strategic objectives. The management of universities should reflect the cooperation between political factors, academic and scientific community, students, civil society, education stakeholders and the general public. There can be no sustainable social development without respect for the diversity in society.

In XXI century, higher education is considered one of the key drivers of democratic consolidation and economic prosperity. In this sense, universities play a central role in creating political and social stability and the consolidation of a democratic society. Higher education is one of the essential components of social and political transformations, which also directly affect the steady state institutions and the creation of preconditions for economic development. As shown by the experiences of many other countries, education helps scale staff in ensuring quality and competitive in the labor market. Therefore, the higher education system, the political situation and economic development are interrelated and interdependent.

In essence, higher education institutions have some main functions and mutually interrelated: the function of enriching the knowledge and skills of staff development function for the labor market and ultimately social and political functions.

Given these facts, Higher Education in Albania must be perceived as an opportunity and as a key factor in the growth of human resources, which on one hand allows economic development and in turn could strengthen the democratization of society.

Methodology and main objectives of the study

The information used for this study is based on multiple sources. For this purpose it is used not only experience and previous studies of the authors, but also many other Albanian materials and foreign authors. This work has been aimed at gathering information on knowledge and implementation of the process of education in public and non public universities. Through interviews we tried to identify some of the problems associated with this process and to draw conclusions for strategies for the future of education. Interviews contain mostly questions structured and semi-structured in order to allow freely express opinions, evaluations, comments and suggestions from respondents. Interviews were addressed and distributed management levels of educational institutions in various faculties of public and private universities.

Context of Higher Education in Albania

What is actually happening in Albania is a constant change of the legal and institutional framework of the Higher Education space. These changes are partly caused by general movement that characterizes the last 20 years in Albania, and at the same time, due to the continued impact and dynamics of the European Space of Higher Education. The main indicators of these changes can be summarized in a drastic and continuous laws and regulations in the Higher Education System; important developments have taken place in higher education space caused by the entry of private operators in this sector; development of perceptions and choices about university studies-component development of other essential aid to higher education and vocational training. Leadership styles and their potential effects on the environment

are often defined which makes it possible to be implemented and tested (Newspaper 55, 2010).

At the same time there are some key indicators that should be kept in mind: First, universities operating in which sector? Is it public or private sector? Secondly, what kind of legal restrictions on universities operating in the process of setting targets and goals and in providing service delivery. Legal restrictions placed on the System of Higher Education, some restrictions general condition and guidance to universities. Currently, the mission and goals of higher education are generalized. In this context, what can be the model and the most appropriate style of leadership in the planning of higher education in Albania? In the public sector, the main objectives set by the government must be followed and the Ministry of Education, Science and youth, secondary decisions are left to the other participants. It mainly affects many elements. Clashes between the models often bring disorientation university staff, the total lack of a clear orientation for the future and development of academic shallow.

It seems that the management teams of private universities in Albania are showing much more careful in the selection and implementation of an organizational model. This is because the general climate and potential changes to the law are converging towards a partnership between the state and private sector in higher education. Albanian private universities have created a broader base in the management and development of the university, ranging from special unit (department or faculty) about the development of curricula and research up to the senior. Albanian university system is facing the charges stand objectives vital to the future of the Albanian society. This system should be able to absorb massive demand growing to attend university, must face the challenge of modernization and qualitative improvement, must find the

balance necessary and establish equality and reciprocity between the university system public and non-public, should to find ways and opportunities to generate and attract the financing necessary, should be open and accessible to an international assessment of the international basis for the quality of its bid should be more attractive to the human resources quality of motivated in the academic sphere, there must be a degree as high autonomy of operation and management in all spheres of its activity, should close the cycle of implementation “Bologna process” and to be more integrated all the European university system internationally.

Some strategic objectives and the means to achieve them are presented as follows:

- To enable the development of society and the establishment of standards of democracy and citizenship;
- To assist the country’s economic development through the preparation of qualified people;
- To meet the aspirations of young people by providing opportunities for all to education;
- The well affects the education of future generations by building a healthy society without social conflicts;
- To implement the reforms in order to achieve European standards;
- To raise standards of teaching and learning through the application of information technology in universities. (ESU, 2007).

Stakeholders are interested in accordance with the objectives and interests to identify the most appropriate strategy to minimize weaknesses and threats of the external environment (EHEA, 2007). So, assessing the importance of stakeholder interests is an important part of any strategic analysis. It consists in answering the question: How much is the possibility for each interest group to impose its claims on

the organization, so to influence its strategy? For this purpose several methods are used to determine the strengths and interests of groups. Based on the matrix of interest groups we can say that the main actors in the higher education system in Albania are the government and the Ministry of Education and Youth. In the framework of Bologna and in terms of requirements for the development of a modern high education, the scheme should change. The student, business and the scientific community should be the main stakeholders in the development of higher education. (Rivjera Dedaj, 2008). Appreciating the difficulties in this sector, and the challenges set by the timing and development of the country, we present strategic alternative that best suits reforming higher education.

Creating a functional system to achieve European standards by:

- design an appropriate legal framework, awareness of society to the challenges of higher education; create independent institutions to assess the education system;
- increased academic autonomy, structural, financial and administrative;
- increasing the budget for higher education;
- distribution of a specific budget intended to qualification of academic staff;
- Granting autonomy to the management of income generating universities.

The role of strategic planning in higher education - the entrepreneurial university

Education is considering one of the strategic development priorities, which guarantee the progress of society. To this importance that it has, higher education is become the primary issue and occupies a central place in the Albanian government programs. Its role is interconnected with all

the characteristics of a society. Education in general and higher education in particular, constitute without a doubt one of the most important areas of the life of a nation. It has long-term and sustainable impact on all aspects of activities related to the people and their welfare. In this framework we should emphasize the importance of drafting a strategic plan for higher education, which indeed would require time, resources and long-term commitment, but would have positive effects incalculable in all areas and the effects of leaves development of the country. The complexity of the problem is recognized without difficulty in all aspects of it. There is no perfect strategic planning model for each sector. A set of strategic planning can be used, making adjustments consistent with the development stage and the environment.

The strategic thinking requires not only analysis, but also the synthesis that require creativity and intuition. The role of the analysis is to provide inputs for the drafting of the strategy and evaluation of results, where required to fulfill several tasks such as:

- think more than ever in the long run;
- Should translate their intentions into effective strategies, which will enable coping with environmental; changes,
- Strategies need to dismantle programs that will assist in the implementation of strategies.

Since 2000, higher education environment in Albania has undergone radical transformations. Respondents believe that education sector is a strategic sector, at national as well as international level. Currently, one of the strongest barriers to entry into higher education sector is legislation (Jan De Groof, 2008). But, as we have witnessed, this is not happened in the higher education sector in Albania. Opening a private university is considered the most comfortable business with lower risk and safe profits.

Modern education emphasizes critical thinking, analysis and processing of knowledge and the need to achieve intellectual independence is one of the conditions that promote progress. Besides the poor quality of universities that has to do with poor management of existing resources, there is a discrepancy of educational official policy with labor market demand. The advantages of private universities look at all the aspects. Unfortunately for the moment it is difficult to occur in public universities not only because existing capacities and possibilities of the state budget to add they are limited, but also because the management system and their organization is outdated, staffs they find it difficult to fit the needs of the time.

Understanding these factors and broadening the role of planning in higher education in a globalized world is the first step to deal constructively with the challenges that are inevitably emerging in the horizon for our higher education system as well.

So, what is the importance of strategic planning for HEIs in Albania? *Firstly*, as the plan is for university staff, students, faculties, councils and administration institutions, all these actors develop a sense of partnership and *secondly*, a top-notch plan in the universities serving foreign actors such as government, employment agencies and other partners. The strategic plan has important role to playing declaring the members of the university and to clients observes outside the university, that the institution is being guide on its course and it is not simply drifting.

The main challenge for the planning is by finding the real needs of policy makers. While the concept of strategic planning is well known for its changing impact on the economic sector, it has also gained ground in the context of higher education as a tool for tackling growing problems more effectively. As a group of researches argue that strategic

planning and management are fundamental concepts of the development of a higher education institution in today's world (Unesco, 1994). The complexity of the problem is recognized without difficulty in all aspects of it. Csirik (1994) describes the inherent difficulties in restructuring, where perhaps many faculties should try to develop this trend. Meanwhile, Kashoki (1994) incorporates strategic planning into his list of management priorities and highlights the dangers that may arise from this key function if the staff of academics or administration has no knowledge. These important papers point out that: *First*, experiences focus on the common goal of academic, managerial pedagogical excellence. At the same time, they point out that none of these areas can be treated in isolation but should be seen as components of a comprehensive institutional development strategy. Moreover, they point out that the value of this integrated approach to development staff is now widely recognized in different regional contexts. *Secondly*, their content is related to current questions that will probably continue to dominate in higher education at least during the first decade of the 21st century.

Meanwhile Philip V. Notten (2006) defines scenarios as: "consistent and coherent descriptions of alternative hypothetical futures that reflect different perspectives on past, present, and future developments, which can serve as a basis for action". According to OECD studies (2006; 20012), scenarios for higher education for the countries of Western and Central Europe are stories that present a number of future potential. In terms of planning method through scenarios, the studies showed that Albania could have a future in the type of scenario "entrepreneurial university", since changes must be gradual so that the results be positive.

According to the article of Thorp & Goldstein: "*The Entrepreneurial University in the 21st Century*" entrepreneurial universities

are consider the key to taking the economy to a prosperous and more egalitarian future need examples and evidence to help make the case for investment in universities and basic research. So the authors attempt to define what the entrepreneurial university, it's not: *First*, it is not a trade school designed to train students how to start or run a commercial activity. *Second*, it does not involve the wholesale adoption of methods and values from the commercial world. *Third* it is not merely an assembly line for the creation of new companies. *Finally*, entrepreneurial universities are not economic development authorities.

So, a university does not become more entrepreneurial by blowing up centuries of tradition or replacing the expertise and culture. On the other hand, the entrepreneurial university does embody these characteristics: *First*, the entrepreneurial university is naturally attracted to big, complex societal problems and involves the entire community in seeking solutions. *Second*, the interviewer of the humanities and social sciences are critical to the skills and worldview needed by successful entrepreneurs in all sectors. This scenario is more market-oriented but without losing the basic values of academia, focus on three areas: teaching (considered as elite), research activities (very important) and community services. *Third*, it encourages partnerships between academics and entrepreneurs.

According to the interviewers of our study it is not possible for a university to be entrepreneurial without being international. It becomes essential for universities to be able to make decisions on institutional direction, to assess and enhance performance according to different objectives of international activities. To develop as an entrepreneurial organization with an entrepreneurial culture the entrepreneurial activities should be established in the strategy. So it is very important to take measures to draft a higher education strategy so that the

vision of higher education institutions in the country is well known. In addition, the strategy could have specific objectives for entrepreneurship with associated performance indicators. Universities with fewer barriers or hierarchies find it easier to undertake entrepreneurial activities and speed up idea creation and decision making. Bureaucratic barriers should be overcoming in able to have strong entrepreneurship process. The interviewers believe that universities need more autonomy. All parts of the university have to work together, creating synergies and linkages across faculties, departments and other structures, breaking down traditional boundaries. It is crucial for the university to invest in its entrepreneurial activities through a sustainable strategy.

The impact of the external environment of the university strategic planning

Various environmental forces can be less or more important for the university. Managers of public sector and civil service are particularly interested in public policy and perhaps demographic changes. Remote environmental factors are: economic, social, political and technological. Review and evaluation of these factors is important to find the opportunities and threats posed by the environment in the universities.

Economic factors

Economic factors related to the nature and direction of the economy where the organization operates. Increasingly important economic influences today are becoming international. In terms of global trade liberalization, internationalization and globalization of the economy will continue at a rapid pace. Economy in a prolonged transition has brought a very unstable labor market. "Education is a long-term investment, should start today and matures after 15 years minimum. I look forward to

this, survival will tell " - said an academic with experience in our education.

Many studies show a close correlation between the development of higher education and economic development (Fielden, J., 2008). This is a challenge related to the improvement of governance structures and management and planning practices (Samli, J., 2002). It should be noted that comprehensive studies by well-known scholars suggest that planning increases effectiveness. While the concept of strategic planning is well known for its changing impact on the economic sector, it has also gained ground in the context of higher education as a tool for tackling growing problems more effectively (Wack, P. 1985). Strategic planning and management are fundamental concepts of the development of a higher education institution in today's world. (Kume, V., 2006). The complexity of the problem is recognized without difficulty in all aspects of it. There is no perfect strategic planning model for each sector. A set of strategic planning can be used, making adjustments consistent with the development stage and the environment.

Social factors

Social factors include the beliefs, values, attitudes, opinions and lifestyle of individuals who belong to the organization's external environment. Social factors are conditioned by the situation of cultural, ecological, demographic, religious, ethnic education and the country where the organization operates. For a long time, Albania has experienced the phenomenon of brain drain [brain drain] and the need to generate intellectual capacity and potential was evident (Gdeshi, I., et al, 1999).

Removal of intellectual labor force in those years was in 4 ways:

- Direct migration: Here we should mention two types of migrations: the emigration of Albanian intellectual elite in terms of Western Europe, USA,

Canada, even far away, in the direction of Australia; and migration of the elite towards Eastern Europe, to and from Israel.

- Non-returning home from various specializations.
- Non-returning home after graduation elsewhere.
- Employment in international organizations in the countries of Africa and Asia.

Albania, which has funded the education of its specialist's often Western countries, has failed in its investment in the light of investment expenditure. The opinion of the respondents that were asked to give their opinion on the state of our universities is summarized as: "They are in the same place that you list the country. If you are the fifth economy, we will be the fifth in education, health, football, etc". As Le Bra (2008) argues change is inevitable over time, and represents a field of higher education with more complex challenges for each passing decade.

Political Factors

Leadership and political stability factors is one of the main issues that stakeholders should take into consideration in formulating the strategy. Political factors determine the legal and regulatory parameters within which organizations must operate.

The government is essential greatest influence in education policy. Understandably, policy stability is a very important factor in the education system in general and to the higher Education particularly. Since 10 years ago were drafted two laws of higher education (see law No. 7810, 8461,) that contributed significantly to the creation of a content more modern system of higher education, but with the opening of Albania to advanced systems European current legislation of higher education must necessarily take new form

to reflect changes in the entire system in accordance with European standards and models. Current conditions (Law 80/2015) and targets for inclusion in the European family require decentralization and inclusion of a greater autonomy for universities as well as a rationalization of responsibilities and roles of various central bodies.

Technological factors

Technological developments and in particular the rapid pace of advancement of information technology in the world has so many significant including our country. Especially young people are facing an information boom, possession and well-administration of which brings the necessity for education and training. There are a great many studies and projections in this direction, but the challenge lie in their use of public administrators.

Conclusions

Higher Education System of Albania has gone through continuous transitions. Currently, it has raised a series of questions and dilemmas for management models and styles not only for individual institutions of higher education, but also for the National Education System as part of the European Higher Education Area. Recent research, driven by the environment always changing, in which institutions of higher education operating in Europe and beyond, bring to the fore a view steering, scientific and practical at the same time, to assess the problems and their choice, in the perspective of development and orientation of Higher Education. Education Management Systems comes as a practical field of study related to the operations of educational institutions. In this regard the face of these challenges is essential and it requires wide involvement of all academic structures university in the country, also the engage of civil society, close cooperation with international partners and

benefit from positive experiences and many other countries in this field. After an analysis of information collected, taking into account the opinions of respondents and key interest groups we concluded:

- Regard to the scenario-based planning method, Albania may have a future in the type of “entrepreneurial university” scenario, as changes need to be made gradual in order for the results to be positive.
- Entrepreneurship universities are keys to addressing socio-economic challenges, and universities should be directly tackling problems such as unemployment, poverty, low economic growth and inequality.
- Higher education institutions need to be more directly involved. Universities need to evolve from teaching and learning, research and engagement to being drivers of innovation and entrepreneurship.
- Higher education institutions need to work with all stakeholders in the entrepreneurship system in the best interests of the society.
- Universities must raise awareness of the importance of entrepreneurship, providing more opportunities to experience the culture entrepreneurship.
- To develop as an entrepreneurial university with an entrepreneurial culture the entrepreneurial activities should be established in the strategy.
- Higher education institutions should to invest through a sustainable strategy involving all stakeholders in it. For universities to be entrepreneurial they need to support the pathways taken by entrepreneurs (staff and students) from ideas to market growth or into employment. This is not just a process internal to the university but one where a pluralistic approach in necessary providing access to internal and external opportunities.
- In the framework of Bologna and in terms of requirements for the development of a modern high education, the scheme should change. The student, business and the scientific community should be the main stakeholders in the development of higher education.

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THE UPRISINGS OF 1910-1912 AGAINST THE OTTOMANS AND THE INCREASING ROLE OF THE ALBANIAN FACTOR

Edit BREGU

Wisdom University College, ALBANIA

Faculty of Law

E- mail: edit_kane@yahoo.com; edit.bregu@wisdom.edu.al

ABSTRACT

The issue and the Albanian factor have been present in the Balkans and the events that were taking place at an early age, but came on the rise and were significantly strengthened at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. But despite this, ever since the creation of the Prizren League on June 10, 1878, three days before the Berlin Congress was held, Albanians have shown that they would not stand aside but they will turn as an important factor into the Balkan region. Members of the Istanbul Committee were of the opinion that the totality of the Albanian lands could only be protected if the war were based on the principle of nationality and led to the securing of Albania's autonomy. Meanwhile, the Sultan sent his army to dissolve the League of Prizren, after three years of its activity. But more clearly the presence and role of the Albanian factor in the region surfaced during the armed uprisings of 1910-1912, with the intention of liberating the Albanian lands from Ottoman Empire, proclaiming autonomy and subsequently independence and the creation of an independent Albanian nation state. The Catholic minority was the first to start the revolt, but since the spring of 1910 the uprisings have spread to all lands inhabited by Albanians. In these uprisings the Albanians clearly displayed and affirmed their ideal and national identity.

Keywords: Balkans, congress, uprising, autonomy, war, independence

Edit BREGU is Senior Lecturer at "Wisdom" University College. She is the Vice Dean in Law Faculty. Previously, she works in different universities in Tirana and Pristine. She is also the Trainer and Development officer in one of the biggest real estate companies in the world "CENTURY21", in charge of the Training Department at Century21 Albania Macedonia and Montenegro. Editi graduated from Tirana Public University with a dual degree in "Social Sciences and International Relations". She holds the title "Doctor of Sciences" in International Relations, since 2016.

The issue and the Albanian factor have been present in the Balkans and the events that were taking place at an early age, but came on the rise and were significantly strengthened at the end of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. But despite this, ever since the creation of the Prizren League on June 10, 1878, three days before the Berlin Congress was held, Albanians have shown that they would not stand aside but they will turn as an important factor into the Balkan region. "At first the League activists were encouraged by Istanbul, but the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as the liberation of the Ottoman territories of Greece and Montenegro had earlier linked the government to open war with one another, the League's goals of gaining autonomy from Istanbul were also encouraged by Britain ..."¹. The Sultan sent his army to dissolve the League of Prizren after three years of activity. More clearly, the presence and role of the Albanian factor in the region emerged during the armed uprisings of 1910-1912, with the aim of liberating the Ottoman Empire, proclaiming autonomy and subsequently independence and the creation of an independent Albanian nation state. The researcher E. R. Hooton says that in the whole panorama before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars, Albanians also played their part. According to him, "... the situation was also encouraged by the events that took place between the Albanians in the westernmost extremity of the Ottoman Empire..."²

The Albanian population included the Christian population, most of whom were Roman Catholic, the vast majority were Muslims, and carried on the Ottoman culture.³ He wrote that the Catholic minority was the first to start a revolt, but since the spring of 1910 uprisings have spread to all lands inhabited by Albanians. "Albanian people saw: Serbia, Greece and Montenegro agree to prevent Albanian autonomy"⁴. According to researchers Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw: "... Sultan Reshad⁵ himself went to Kosovo in June 1911 to calm the situation and declared a general amnesty. The uprising ended on September 4, 1912"⁶. In these uprisings the Albanians clearly displayed and affirmed their national ideal and identity. According to one description, it was estimated that Albanians in Peja are concerned about the constitution ... " If we anger this innocent people, if we are unable to keep our promises, then the weapons they hold in their hands will be turned against the constitution. We will play the role of a man whose fault was that he did not keep his word or did not realize what he got out of his mouth. You know the Albanian "Besa" ... Pejak Hafiz Ibrahim⁷. That's what author George Gawrych wrote in his book.

Indeed, the Ottoman rule in the Balkans had begun to decline earlier, but was significantly undermined, little by little, in the early years of the century. XX. But despite all this and the growing turmoil

¹ Caroline Finkel, *Osman's dream - The story of the ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, (London: John Murray Publishers, 2005), 502.

² E. R. Hooton, *Prelude to the First World War, the Balcan Wars 1912-1913*, U.S.A: Fonthill Media Limited, 2014, 27.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Misha Glenny, *the Balkan History 1804-1999*, Tiranë: TOENA, 2007, 227-228.

⁵ Sultan Mehmed Reshad, the son of Sultan Abdul Majid, took the throne of Sultan-Khalifa on April 27, 1909. See at: Mehmet Maksudoğlu, *Ottoman History and Institutions*, Tiranë: ALSAR, 557.

⁶ Stanford J. Shaw, and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II. Reform, Revolution and Republic-The rise of the Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977, 288-293.

⁷ George Gawrych, *The crescent moon and the eagle*, Tiranë: Bota shqiptare, 2007, 213.

within the empire, Sultan Abdul Hamid did not betray and abandon his ideology of Islam and, therefore, refused to consider the demands of the Albanians. "In his view, such a concession would have eroded from within the Islamic religion, the illuminating beacon of the Hamidean regime, allowing Muslim Albanians to develop as a national community within a secular structure and removing the emphasis on the difference between religious divisions. By 1903, the last Albanian schools were closed. The Albanian publications had been banned and Semsedin Sami had proved to himself the taste of Hamidean restrictions on the protection and expression of Albanianism."⁸

Abdul Hamid II, ruled despotically for about 32 years. "The Ottoman Empire under his leadership degenerated into a police state. Political activists were jailed or deported, newspapers and magazines were censored, and citizens were kept under surveillance all the time by spies or people working for the government."⁹ This cause served to cause much opposition both within the Empire by the reformist wing that demanded an end to the Sultan's absolutist rule, and to the territories of other nationalities in the rule of the High Gate. In this panoramic view, Albanians also protested. "Due to the suppression of "Ittihad ve Terakki", as well as the incitement by European states, uprisings broke out in Albania. "Ittihad ve Terakki" sent to Albania an armed military force, but some of its officers formed a group called "halaskaran" (saviors) and moved to the

hilly area, as did Enver and Njazi, from "Ittihad ve Terakki", in the year 1908"¹⁰. Some Albanians living and working in emigration worked and demanded the achievement of Albania's autonomy. Dervish Hima (1873-1928), in the first issue of the "Arnautluk Sadasi" (Voice of Albania) newspaper, which was published in Rome, echoed such a request while writing: "Turkey's existence in Rumeli depends on Turkey's existence... From here, we want to govern our country as a united Albania, but also under the guidance and protection of the Ottoman Empire, and we want to clear our territories of officials who came from Arabia and Anatolia"¹¹. "Dervish Hima's request was a repetition of the request that Abdul bey Frashëri had made to Abdul Hamid and was certainly rejected. The Albanian Ibrahim Temo from Ohrid (1865-1902): "... together with other students of the Military School of Medicine he was one of the founders of the Ittihad ve Terakki Secret Society, on May 21, 1889, in which students and officers joined. of the army"¹². Not only that, but the role of the Albanians in the Young Turk revolution¹³ would be considerable and concrete even though some Turkish nationalist historians have tried to downplay this role. Many Albanians became part of the Committee for Union and Progress, popularly known as the "young Turks" in the resistance against Sultan Abdul Hamid. The role played by non-Turks (i. e individuals of non-Turkish nationality), is known relentlessly and

⁸ Ibid, 214.

⁹ Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*, New York: Basic Books Publisher, 2015, 6.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*, 6.

¹² Ibid, 546.

¹³ See at: Caroline Finkel, *Osman's dream-The story of the ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, London: John Murray Publishers, 2005, 520. According to the researcher, it is true that the Young Turk revolution began on July 3, but more than two weeks before the events in Istanbul, an Albanian Captain Ahmed Niyazi, with 200 men, took possession of the goods between Ohrid and the Monastery, and from there, in the name his sent a request for the constitution to be restored.

without much desire by Turkish nationalist historians¹⁴. Meanwhile, Albanian political thought continued to consolidate. Patriotic clubs and societies in Egypt, Bulgaria, Romania, Italy, Belgium, etc. played a very important role.

Their activity consisted, among other things, in publishing some thirty Albanian newspaper or magazine titles. "Faik Konica, who was the editor of the newspaper Albania, published in Brussels, called for better governance in Albania through reforms, but opposed any guerrilla war. Nuri Frasherri, a new landowner, saw Albania's salvation in its aristocracy, which he said was the only force to govern the country"¹⁵. All this activity in exile clearly indicated that Albanian political thought was shaping up and the armed movement was soon expected to begin. Thus, around 1905 we have the creation of the Committee for the Freedom of Albania by Halil Bey, Feim Bey Zavalani, Bajo Topulli etc. In 1906 the brothers Bajo and Cerciz Topulli formed their own gang, which would remain active for several years. The Albanians, who had hoped for an understanding of the Ottomans and allowed them to develop a sense of Albanianism without being hampered by government bans, found it to be quite the opposite. And that had a reason. According to C. Finkel the concessions to the Albanians by the Young Turks for several reasons, among which the major reason was that: "Albania had served as the shock absorber that had protected the heart of the Empire from the greed and pretensions of the European powers"¹⁶. In this way it became clear that the only way to win national law would be through force and uprisings. "The Albanian disobedience proved that the period between 1909 and

1912 would be really turbulent"¹⁷.

For a long time the Albanians had strongly supported Ottoman rule in the Balkans. Most of them embraced Islamic religion and Ottoman culture. This is also because, over the centuries, Albanians have gained certain privileges from taxation on Constantinople and the possession of weapons. Concerning this well-known British scholar, Ottoman scholar Caroline Finkel states, among other things: "If the loss of most of the Christian-populated territories in the Ottoman Empire under the Berlin Treaty of 1878 proved the necessity of Midhat's idealistic plans. The push for reforms in the Empire's provinces, the vigorous separatist movement of Albanians, 70% of whom were Muslim, reinforced this necessity... The Albanian movement was a companion to Ottoman diplomacy given that Albanians had traditionally been among the most loyal peoples of the world. Empire..."¹⁸. In numerical terms the Albanians constituted the majority of the population in the Ottoman provinces of Ioannina, Kosovo and Shkodra and a considerable part of the population of the province of Bitola. Early on, Albanians welcomed the new regime in Constantinople because they hoped that reforms would begin, leading to the recognition of Albanian autonomy within the empire. But those hopes were quickly dashed. The motives of this break had their explanation. The new centralized policies of the new government aroused the fear of losing privilege and even assimilation in the Albanian areas of the Ottoman Empire. Concerning the accumulated dissatisfaction of Albanians, C. Finkel states that: "... They came and increased because the loyalty of the

¹⁴ Finkel, *Osman's dream - The story of the ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, 520.

¹⁵ Gayrich, *The crescent moon and the eagle*, 223.

¹⁶ Finkel, *Osman's dream-The story of the ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, 520.

¹⁷ Gayrich, *The crescent moon and the eagle*, 260.

¹⁸ Finkel, *Osman's dream-The story of the ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, 501.

Albanians to the Ottoman Empire was taken for free for a long time and little consideration was given to the inclinations and their national aspects during the time of the administrative reorganization of the Empire, made at the beginning of the 19th century, placing next to them Greek, Serbian and Bulgarian militant nationalists who would later claim their lands¹⁹. Discontent included many of the Albanian-populated areas, and the first open revolt broke out among the North's Catholics, but soon spread to all Albanian regions in the winter and spring of 1910. The Albanian revolt, or more accurately, the Albanian uprising of 1910 was directed against Ottoman rule and is essentially one of the uprisings that preceded those of 1911 and 1912 and led to the country declaration of independency.

The uprising broke out in April this year in the areas of Mitrovica, Vucitern and Llap, but subsequently its waves spread to other parts of Kosovo, as well as in certain areas of the Shkodra and Bitola vilayets. The uprising was triggered by the harsh punitive expeditions of Javit Pasha in 1909, policies and measures of oppressive and centralizing character of the so-called Young Turks (Jon Turk), which were particularly involved in massive military recruitment, general disarmament and disarmament, especially in heavy taxation. Especially the police pursuits against Albanian clubs and patriots, the backlash against schools and writing in the Albanian language, which had worsened the relations of Albanians with Turkish governors²⁰. But, step by step, they focused on the major motives that were behind the pan-Albanian movement for administrative autonomy²¹. The magnitude of the uprising and the importance of

Kosovo's strategic character pushed the Ottoman forces to strike a blow to the Albanian national movement as far as its organization and formation, in order to prevent it from spreading to other Albanian areas of the Balkans. To this end, the High Gate undertook a major military operation commanded by Shefqet Turgut Pasha.

During this course, after the first battle in the Kaçanik outfall, fighting also took place in the Carraleva outfall. In the second half of May, the Ottoman forces encountered a strong resistance of the Albanians of the Gashi, Krasniqi and Bytyci highlands and after crossing "Qafe Morina" they stopped in "Qafe Agri" by the rebel forces. By crossing Mirdita, on July 24 they arrived in Shkodra. After nearly four months the uprising was suppressed. There were many reasons that the uprising never succeeded in achieving its goal, due to its inferiority in forces and weapons. But, for the most part, the insurgents' actions were unrelated and unrelated to the secret area committees in the rest of the country "for a joint armed struggle"²². Despite the shortcomings and failure, this uprising had a significant impact on the further progress of the Albanian National Movement. Even its echo was felt in the liberation movements of other peoples of the Balkan region and the Ottoman Empire²³. In conclusion, it can be said that the Kosovo Uprising of 1910 was the first armed movement that was widely implemented by Albanians from the beginnings of the 20th century, but which could not come out of the confines of a single vilayet. But the uprising, - as it is written in the History of the Albanian People, "did not expect the support of the political circles of the neighboring states

¹⁹ Finkel, *Osman's dream-The story of the ottoman Empire 1300-1923*, 502.

²⁰ Albanian Academy of Sciences, *the Albanian People History*, Volume II, Tirana: TOENA, 2002, 426.

²¹ *Albanian Encyclopedic Dictionary* (FESH), New Edition Volume 2, Tirana: KRISTALINA – KH, 2008, 1379.

²² *Ibid*, 1380.

²³ *The Albanian People History*, Volume II, 436.

and the Great Powers that continued to adhere to the policy of preserving the traditional status quo²⁴. In May 1911, an Albanian committee in Vlora called for the unification of the Ottoman provinces of Shkodra, Ioannina, Kosovo, and Bitola into an autonomous Albania within the Ottoman Empire. In an attempt to restore Ottoman prestige, Sultan Muhammad V visited Kosovo in June 1911. But this effort had little effect on the Albanian revolt. The government never fully succeeded in suppressing this uprising before the outbreak of the Balkan Wars. Raising Albanian nationalist awareness in the Kosovo region challenged Serbian claims. This issue forced the Serbs to act quickly. And not without reason. They feared that the Austrians were behind the Albanian unrest. Belgrade's diplomacy, also engaged in a campaign of defamation against Albanians, carried out it by its own means, exerting constant pressure on Istanbul to force it to take vigorous measures to establish peace in the Turkish provinces, to improve the plight of the Serb population and the eradication of the "Albanian wrongdoers"²⁵.

Regarding Serbia's intentions in the settlement and division of Albanian lands, the renowned scholar D. Tucoviq in his book bitterly talks about the results of Serbia's expansionist policy. He wrote: "Serbia's expansionist attitude towards the Albanian people is special ... it is seen in politics as hatred among peoples"²⁶. There is no issue of the newspaper "Vardar", which has been out for two years, the Albanian newspaper "Skopje" wrote in September 1911, not to mention the Albanian name, the Arnaut militia, continued "Vardar", is a killer, they

kill without no blame Serbs steal cattle, drive them out of their lands ... Serbs flee their land from the oppression of the Albanians²⁷. On the other side were the Greeks, equally concerned about the Albanian revolt. Albanian national unrest also threatened Montenegro's aspirations linked to parts of Northern Albania, including the important city of Shkodra. Already, the Albanian nationalism had jointly threatened the national aspirations of Greece, Montenegro and Serbia. In the meantime, this problem has pushed these Balkan countries to act against it and always together. By 1911, Nicholas, who had given himself the title of king of Montenegro a year earlier, included his country in the northern Albanian revolt.

He supported the rebels against the Ottoman authorities with weapons and sanctification. In order to retain control of the last important Islamic region in their European possessions, the Ottomans sent troops to crush the Albanian revolt. Fighting on the Balkan Peninsula intensified in Albania in 1911, when another uprising broke out. An Albanian historian defines the uprising as a process of unification and trial. He writes: "The Highland Uprising of 1911 greatly influenced a greater unification of Albanians among themselves, compared to the preceding periods. Thanks to this union, at least part of the nation was able to reap some victories, though those victories were clearly uncertain before the double standards policy pursued by the Young Turk authorities"²⁸. The uprising of Kosovo in 1910 and its suppression proves the need for unity, co-ordination, and the direction of the forces of all the vilayets and Albanians to win the war against the

²⁴ *The Albanian People History, Volume II*, 439.

²⁵ Zekirja Cana, *the Politics of Serbia on the Albanian Issue 1903-1913*. (Pristina: Albanological Institute 2006), 75-76. Quoted in: Thoma Murzaku, *Serbia's Policy towards Albania during the Balkan War 1912-1913*, (Tirana: Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, 1987), 22.

²⁶ *Serbia and the Albanians. Pristina Institute of History, First Book*, (Pristina: 2011), 42.

²⁷ The Skopje Newspaper, September 12, 1911. Quoted in, *Serbia and Albanians*, 51.

²⁸ Romeo Gurakuqi, *Albania 1911-1914*, (Tirana: UET Press, 2012), 357.

Ottoman invaders. But on the other hand, as one scholar writes of these anti-Ottoman uprisings, “the suppression of the 1910 Kosovo uprising and the efforts of the Young Turk government to reconcile with the Albanians did not put an end to their armed anti-Ottoman movement”²⁹. On the contrary, for the Albanians, the experience of 1910 not only served as an impetus to continue the war, but taught them that the uprising could not succeed unless it was coordinated, if not by the majority of the people. Albanian of all Albanian lands and if it did not start all over Albanian territory. Likewise, the uprising would not have won if it had not been led by a single leadership center. Of course, the Albanians did not extinguish the efforts for new organization and uprising. A new uprising, the second, was launched in the course of March 23, 1911. It spread to the areas of Hoti, Gruda and Kelmendi and further to Shkrel and Kastriot. Again, the motive was to achieve territorial and administrative autonomy. The impetus for the uprising was the anti-Albanian internationalization policies pursued by the Young Turks, the increase in taxes, forced military mobilization, and the disarmament of the ethnic Albanian population³⁰. This time, the direction of the uprising and its hostilities was entrusted to a Leading Committee that was located in Podgorica, Montenegro, a body that came into contact with and coordinated with the steering committees of other Albanian areas inside and outside. Albania of that time.

The uprising had a rapid outbreak and progress, because after they captured Tuzi, they reached Koplik near northeast of Shkodra, but the city of Shkodra could not be reached. The fiercest fighting was

fought on Mount Dacic, but they continued for quite a few months even though the Turks sent numerous troops under General Shefqet Turgut Pasha. Following the amnesty proclaimed by Turgut Pasha, representatives of the rebels gathered in Greece approved a Memorandum known as the name of this country, which they sent to the High Gate and the Great Powers. The essence of the Memorandum and the rebellious actions of the insurgents was the recognition of Albania as an autonomous province, furthering the propaganda of the Young Turks and those of the neighboring Balkan states, that the insurgency was motivated by both local and religious motives and the preservation of old local venoms³¹. The Greça Memorandum was followed by similar requests as the meeting of Oppos, Qafe Shuja and the Drashovica Bridge. Obstructed by the Great Powers, neighboring Balkan states and Ottoman authorities, the leaders of the Albanian insurgents were forced to sign the agreement with the Turkish authorities. The agreement was signed in Podgorica, through which Albanians were granted some rights, but limited. Such an agreement was also made with the southern Albanian insurgents in Tepelena.

Thus ended the 1911 “sealed” Albanian uprising, “by half agreement because it failed to turn into a general uprising”³². Despite the failures, though it was hampered by the ambitions of the Balkan states and faced opposition from Russia and Austria-Hungary, it was of particular importance because it was more organized, run by a single center, and spread over a larger Albanian area. After this it culminated in the Greek Memorandum,

²⁹ Sokol Gjermeni, *The Albanian Uprising of 1911, in the Optics of European and Balkan Diplomacy*, (Tirana: 2011), 11.

³⁰ *Albanian Encyclopedic Dictionary* (FESH), 1380.

³¹ *Ibid*, 1381.

³² *The Albanian People History*, Vol.II, 436.

which openly proclaimed Albania's demand for autonomy as a "national-wide movement program"³³. After all, this uprising served as a base, as a school or an entrance to the General uprising, which would follow a few months later throughout the whole Albanian and diaspora space and would be crowned with the Independence of Albania and the creation of the first independent Albanian state. The Balkan states had taken different stances on this uprising, "... some supported it and some did not"³⁴. According to the author of the monograph, "The Albanian Uprising of 1911", "All the steps taken by the Balkan chancellors of Cetinje, Belgrade and Athens can be said to express their political and diplomatic pragmatism"³⁵. For these reasons it can be assumed that the Balkan states were in agreement regarding Albania's autonomy. According to the aforementioned author, Albania's autonomy "...was considered to be incompatible with their aspirations because these states considered themselves to be the only legitimate heirs of the lands of European Turkey in the event of its fragmentation. After presenting the political program of the Albanian uprising on June 23, 1911, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece were interested in suppressing the uprising"³⁶. These situations provoked in the Albanian patriotic circle, headed by Ismail Qemali, Luigj Gurakuqi, etc., the feeling and thought that the most appropriate time and moment had come to seek the independency of the Albanians. This time there had to be a single organizational center that would coordinate movements at home and abroad. It was written about this request at the time: "The creation of an organizational center was accepted at the beginning of

the venture by the Albanians of America, Bucharest, Sofia, but was initially opposed and the positive response was postponed by the Albanians of Alexandria, in Egypt. Ismail Qemali, with the capacity of Vlore MP and Basri Bey MP of Dibra, had agreed to join the Leading Center Commission"³⁷. It was further written: "The full reasons for the opposition that came from Alexandria and especially one of the most prominent diaspora activists there, Sotir Kolea, are not known. But it is learned that he was mostly of the idea that, for the organizing center, more work had to be done inside Albania than outside it"³⁸.

However, with the passage of these objections, Ismail Qemali decided to leave for Vlora, trying to implement the goal of declaring independence from the High Gate, especially with the Balkan events that, with the developments that were taking place, did not appear to be very promising for Albanians tired of Turkish centuries-old yoke and pose a new threat to the Balkan neighbors. In fact, Ismail Qemali failed to go to Vlore, because on the way he was informed that the Turkish authorities were ready and waiting for him to be arrested and imprisoned. So he changed his plan and stopped in Corfu. Meanwhile, the situation in Vlore was very tense due to the confrontation between government forces and the people. This situation was accompanied by many deaths and injuries among the civilian population.

The cause of the uproar was the authorities' attempt to prevent Ismail Qemali's election as Vlore MP. And, in fact, they succeeded, because a deputy in Vlore came out afterwards Syria Bey Vlora, who was also a sucker for the prominent

³³ Ibid, 460.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Gjermeni, *the Albanian Uprising of 1911, in the Optics of European and Balkan Diplomacy*, 212.

³⁶ Ibid, 213.

³⁷ Gurakuqi, *Albania 1911-1914*, 358.

³⁸ Ibid, 358.

Vlora family. At the same time, unfavorable political and public order prevented Luigj Gurakuqi from entering Albania at this time, and therefore ended up in Athens³⁹.

In these circumstances, faced with this situation Ismail Qemali planned visits to European capitals in the hope that he would sensitize the Great Powers to what was happening in the Albanian lands and to the desperate demand for help in their favor. From an organizational and political point of view, these uprisings accelerated the process of joining and terminating the Balkan Alliance and, consequently, accelerating the approach of war declared by its members to the Ottoman Empire. It follows that it is undeniable that these uprisings served as a powerful catalyst for the events on the Balkan Peninsula at the end of the first decade of the 20th century. The beloved researcher of the Albanian culture and history, Edith Durham, was of the opinion that, if Albania had been given a permanent place after the Treaty of Berlin, there would have been no need for further population movements. Miss Durham would write: "A people like this, of very special qualities, vibrant must have enough places to live. If it is not given to them, they will take it from them. This is one of the most fundamental issues of the present difficulty. As long as Albania remains without its borders, under the so-called Turkish government, its situation will be anarchic and improvement in the Balkan situation will be almost impossible"⁴⁰. This is a living proof of the English Edit Durham, who watched closely what had happened and was preparing to happen to the Albanians and, of course, she gives her assessment of the situation. Considering the circumstances of that time it would be

unfair to claim that the Albanian factor did not affect the agony of the Turkish Empire. During the general uprising of 1912, which was the largest against the Ottoman state, the liberation activity of the Albanian insurgents, unlike the two previous ones, "spread throughout Albania, uniting the Albanians regardless of province, religion and social affiliation"⁴¹. And, most importantly, the fact that this uprising led to the successful crowning of the event, to the proclamation and, subsequently, to the recognition of Albania's Independence, which was its culminating goal!

In conclusion it can be said that, throughout all this Balkan story, there is an undeniable fact. The Albanian uprisings served as the catalyst that accelerated the fall of the Ottoman Empire. This fact increased the neighbors' claims of "the spoils" that were Albanian lands and, consequently, the Balkan allies, in the interests of their interests, accelerated the start of the Balkan Wars. The history researcher Romeo Gurakuqi in analyzing the events of this time states that: "Between the Albanian uprisings of 1910, 1911, 1912 there is a line of continuity and interconnection of causes and circumstances of the same incentive, program interconnections, and human interconnections". According to him, "... these three uprisings together can be considered integral to a permanent national revolution, not interrupted but interrelated, though weak and structurally weak, and with the same zigzagging, ups and downs that have characterized similar national movement of other Balkan peoples"⁴². It can be written that, despite claims to see the Albanian Uprising of 1910-1912 as a random movement, separated from one another and without any common bond and

³⁹ See at: Ekrem bej Vlora, *Memories 1885-1925*, (Tiranë: BOTA SHQIPTARE 2003), 141.

⁴⁰ Edit Durham, *The burden of the Balkans*, Tiranë: Argeta-LMG, 2000, 71.

⁴¹ *The Albanian People History*, Vol.II, 496.

⁴² Gurakuqi, *Albania 1911-1914*, 774.

purpose, historiography, not only Albanian but also worldwide, has already proved through documents and historical facts the influential role of the Albanian cause and factor in the development of the Balkan wars and the agony of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. The Albanian uprisings of these years, in fact, helped the Balkan allies, who rose to exploit them for their own interests. But they did not appreciate the Albanian national interests at all. And this is not without purpose, because in essence the political circles of the neighboring Balkan states were intended to prevent in

any form the creation of a nation state even if it were autonomy!

Claims and problems for the Albanian lands would not have endured, and would continue even after the end of the Balkan Wars 1912-1913, during and after the proceedings of the Conference of Ambassadors in London. This is also evidenced by Sotir Gjika in a letter in which he writes: "... Greece and Yugoslavia claim Albanian lands ... they oppose the constitution of an Albanian state at all costs, even claiming to take full possession of what they have given the London Conference"⁴³.

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⁴³ The Albanian National Library, Balkan Wars Fund, Doc. 81/c/116, Albanian documents, A letter from Sotir Gjika, 108.

DEKADENCA:

TRAJTIM NGA KËNDI I CALINESCUT

Ali PAJAZITI

Universiteti i Evropës Juglindore Shkup, Maqedoni e Veriut

E-mail: a.pajaziti@seeu.edu.mk

PËRMBLEDHJE

Një ndër termat e rëndësishëm në sferën e shkencave sociale është edhe ai i dekadencës, që nënkupton gjendjen e rënies, shkatërrimit, kalbjes, zhezhitjes, rrëzimit, marrjes së tatëpjetës, të zhbërjes. Termi në fjalë është përdorur edhe për të përshkruar rënien e qytetërimit që i paraprin shkatërrimit në kuadër të ciklit historik. Në fundin e shekullit XIX ka mbizotëruar ndjenja se Europa ka arritur fundin e një epoke ose fin de siècle. Në këtë artikull do të ndalemi te pikëpamja e mendimtarit dhe kritikut letrar rumuno-amerikan Matei Calinescu (1934-2009) *për këtë çështje*, “filozof” ky i cili duke e riinterpretuar dhe duke e rivlerësuar dekadencën, këtë term e ndërlidh me botën tonë të shteruar, pra asocion një botë në fazë të rënies e të degradimit, të shpërbërjes. *Fjalët kyç: moderniteti, dekadencia, Calinescu, arti, kultura, ideologjia*

*I pakënaqur me vrapimin, ai parapëlqeu
të kalërojë drejt humbjes....*

E.M. Sioran

Hyrje: Kush është Calinescu?

Calinescu, një erudit në mënyrën borhesiane (indiana.edu), një analist i ideve të estetikës që drejtuan krijimtarinë letrare

perëndimore në 150 vitet e fundit, është njeri i mirënjohur i letrave, i diplomuar në Universitetin e Bukureshtit (1957), autor i gjishtë librave të kritikizimit letrar, i një novele *Life and Opinions of Zacharias Lichter* dhe i tre vëllimeve të poezisë. Në vitin 1960 ka filluar karrierën si asistent e më vonë si lektor në Departamentin e Literaturës Botërore të Universitetit të sipërpërmendur.

Ali PAJAZITI është sociolog, studiues dhe përkthyes nga Shkupi (Maqedoni); pedagog në Universitetin e SEE për sociologji, etikë dhe antropologji; redaktor i botimeve të shkencave humane në Logos-A Publishers, anëtar i Këshillit të Max Instituti van der Stoel. Ai është i disa librave në këtë fushë: “Ese Sociologjike”, “Rinia Universitare dhe Feja”, “Traktatura Veritas-Sociologjike”, “Etika Publike” (transl & Ed.), “Teknologjitë e informacionit dhe etika”, “Kultura dhe cilësia e jetës: Rasti i Maqedonisë”, “Studime Kulturologjike: Edukimi, Politika, Identiteti” etj. Ai është autori i veprës “Fjalori i Sociologjisë” (i pari në gjuhën shqipe, me 832 faqe, botuar më 2009), si dhe i disa botimeve dygjuhëshe (shqip dhe maqedonisht). Në vitin 2014, në Sofie, Bullgari, është zgjedhur President i Forumit Sociologjik të Ballkanit.

Më 1972 merr gradën e doktorit të shkencave në letërsinë komparative në Universitetin e Kluzhit. Në vitin 1973 e fillon karrierën në Universitetin Indiana (SHBA) si profesor vizitor dhe ligjërues Fullbright. Librat dhe artikujt e tij kapin gamën e studimeve rreth modernizmit dhe lidhjeve midis triadës letërsia, feja dhe politika. Publikimet e tij përfshijnë veprat si *Duke eksploruar postmodernizmin (Exploring Postmodernism*, ed. me D.W. Fokkema, Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1988), *Rumunët: një histori (The Romanians: a history*, Ohio State University Press, 1991), veprën më të njohur të tij *Pesë fytyrat e modernitetit: Modernizmi, avangarda, dekadenca, këçi dhe postmodernizmi (Five Faces of Modernity: Modernism, Avant-Garde, Decadence, Kitsch, Postmodernism* (Duke University Press, 1997), *Eugène Ionesco: Tema identitare dhe ekzistenciale (Eugène Ionesco: Teme identitare și existențiale*, 2006), *Enigma e Metjut (Mathew's Enigma*, Indiana University Press, 2009) etj.

Ç'është dekadenca?

Dekadenca, që rrjedh nga rrënja latine *de* “nga” dhe *cadere* “rënie” nënkupton, gjendjen e rënies së kulturës, ekzistimin e gjendjes shoqërore ose kulturore më të mirë ose më të dëshiruar, shënjon një gjendje të dërmimit të një aspekti të ekzistencës së civilizuar, një baule të mbushur me zbrazëtirë (Gilman, 1979). Sipas A. E. Carter dekadencia nënkupton përkeqësimin e diçkaje, rënien, kollapsin (Carter, 1958). Dekadenca është një hap normal drejt një periudhe madhështore dhe kusht i domosdoshëm për një risi kreative që do të marrë hov nesër ose pasnesër. Kur njerëzit e pranojnë kotësinë dhe absurdin si gjë normale, kultura është dekadente (Barzun, 2000: 11). Në vitin 1933, Praz ka shkruar një vepër impresioniste dhe enciklopedike të reagimeve dekadente ndaj modernitetit, një

histori të frymës (*geistgeschichte*) (Hartman, 2000: 1-2) Në pikëpamjet e historianëve të vjetër të krishterë, tek pasuesit e tyre mesjetarë dhe të mëvonshëm (J.B. Bousset) dekadencia është komentuar si dënim i pashmangshëm hyjnor. Për filozofët e progresit dhe të së drejtës universale (Jean Bodin, Montesquieu, Turgot, Kant, de Condorect, Comte) dekadencia është shmangie e rastësishme nga përparimi i paevitueshëm. Nga Ibën Halduni, Hjumi dhe në veçanti Spengleri, dekadencia është pjesë e procesit të ngritjes dhe rënies ciklike, gjëgjësisht, lindjes, zhvillimit, pjekurisë dhe vdekjes. Utilitaristët thonë se dekadencia ndodh për dy shkaqe: dobësia funksionale dhe udhëheqësia joadekuate. Për ata që besojnë në vlerën e normave tradicionale, çdo shmangie nga tradita, nga *ancien régime* nënkupton dekadencën. Për fundamentalistët, radikalët fetarë dhe ithtarët e autoritarizmit çdo risi e mendimit është shenjë e dekadencës.

Në kryeveprën e vet Calinescu merret edhe me çështjen e dekadencës, si një term ky që nuk është përdorur para Mesjetës në formën e vet si *decadentia*, *decadenzia* apo *Decadenz*, ndonëse ideja është e lashtë sa vetë njeriu, duke shënjuar fuqinë asgjësuese të kohës dhe fatalitetin e zvetënimit (Calinescu, 2012:166) Sipas tij dekadencia mund të bashkëshoqërohet me fjalët si perëndim, muzg, vjeshtë, plakje, shterim, dhe ën faza më të përparuara, kalbje organike dhe qelbëzim – krahas antonimeve të vetvetishme si ngritje, agim, pranverë, rini, çelje etj.

Njerëzit e kohërave më të hershme, pra ata të periudhës para qytetërimit modern perëndimor mendonin se e kaluara ishte më e mirë se e tashmja. Pra sipas nesh kanë qenë regresivë, në kuptimin që mirësinë dhe shembulloren e kanë kërkuar në të shkuarën, në histori e jo në të ardhmen siç insisiton paradigma moderne e përparimit ose progresit vijëdrejtë (linear). Greqia p.sh., ka qenë e mbërthyer nga e shkuara, Epoka e Artë ka qenë dominante si në

Greqinë ashtu edhe në Romën antike. Për grekët antikë, koha s'ka qenë gjë tjetër pos një rënie e vazhdueshme, për ta, nocioni i progresit të vazhdueshëm ishte i padëgjuar. (op.cit., 166) Ngjashëm kanë menduar edhe arabët paraislamikë që besonin te koha si shkatërrues i gjithçkafit. Në Francë është përdorur që në shekullin XVI, kurse në Angli, ky term, për herë të parë ka filluar të qarkullojë në shekullin XIX (1837), në veprën e famshme *History of French Revolution*. Prej viteve '50 të shek. XIX ky term u pasurua në aspektin semantik, që gjatë viteve '80 pruri një varg fjalësh të reja ironike-trillane, si *decader*, emërtimet *decadizme* dhe *decadentisme*. Në Itali, ky term do të njihet si një kategori kritike *decadentismo*.

Dekandena te Calinescu: Nga miti i progresit drejt realitetit tëhuajësues

Siç dihet termi moernitet ndërlidhet me besimin në progresin e vazhdueshëm. Saint Simon dhe Auguste Comte kanë qenë aderues të besimit në progres dhe natyrisht se është dashur që të vërtetën shoqërore ta sqarojnë sipas formave të zhvillimit historik. Në skemën e Hobbesit, i cili është progresivist, shkalla e përparimit që e ka arritur Evropa legjitimohet përmes ligjeve të domosdoshme dhe natyrore të zhvillimit historik. Morgan thotë se shoqëritë deri më sot kanë përjetuar një evolucion shoqëror (egërsia, barbarizmi dhe qytetërimi). Mendimi i qytetërimit i cili në shekullin XIX në Evropë fitoi rëndësi të madhe dhe i cili prej gjysmës së dytë të shekullit XVIII i motivoi thellë kombet dhe shoqëritë evropiane, në kulturën tonë kaloi si një trashëgimi të cilën kohëve të mëvonshme ua la “besimi për përparimin e pafund”. Në këtë kohë evropianët ishin thellë të bindur se njerëzimi ka hapëruar në një shekull - kohë të re - në shekullin e qytetërimit absolut. (Bullaç, 2002:17)

Megjithëse ideja e modernitetit është e lidhur pothuaj vetvetiu me shekullarizmin,

elementi përbërës kryesor i tij është ndjenja e kohës së pakthyeshme, dhe ky element përputhet me *Weltanschauung*-un eskatologjik judeo – kristiane të historisë. Ja pse, ndonëse nuk kishte qenë aspak e pranishme në botën e lashtësisë pagane, ideja e modernitetit lindi gjatë Mesjetës së krishterë. Pikërisht gjatë Mesjetës fjala modernus, si ndajfolje dhe emër, u formua prej ndajfoljes modo (që do të thotë “e kohëve të fundit, pikërisht tani”) në të njëjtën mënyrë që fjala hodiernus zuri fill pre hodie (“sot”). Modernus, sipas *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, do thotë *qui nunc, nostro tempore est, novellus, praesentaneus* (e tanishmja, e kohës tonë, e reja, e pranishmja/prezentja). Antonimet kryesore të tij ishin ashtu siç i rendit fjalori: *antiques, vetus, priscus* (antike, e vjetër)... Vepra e Calinescut për modernitetin, që ngërthen edhe çështjen e dekadencës, është “studim plot ditori, i kthjelltë, i mprehtë dhe origjinal, i cili shtrihet mbi hapësirën e pothuaj krejt Europës, duke përfshirë kohën prej hyrjes së fjalës modernus në latinishten mesjetare deri te postmodernizmi i ditëve të sotme.”

Calinescu duke shpjeguar ligjin e përgjithshëm të dekadencës përmend ndërvarësinë e saj me begatinë apo pasurinë, të cilën e nënvizon Montesquieu. “Në historinë e perandorive asgjë nuk është më pranë dekadencës, se sa begatia e madhe; po ashtu, në republikën tonë të letrave, duhet të trembemi se mos begatia çon në dekadencë”. (op.cit., 172-3) Një gjë të tillë e përmend edhe sociologu i parë, Ibën Haldun, në veprën e tij *Prologomena* (Muqaddimah) ku thotë se shoqëritë zhvillohen si njeriu, pra me një qasje biologjiste shpjegon se çdo entiti social kalon nëpër procesin e fëmijërisë, rinisë, dhe pleqërisë, që plotësohet në brezin e katërt me shkatërrimin përfundimtar. (Bullaç, 2002:188).

Sipas Calinescut, dekadencia, të cilën e komenton më tepër në rrafshin e artit por gjithnjë duke e ndërlidhur edhe me sferta tjera

të jetës, në fakt është *antimoderne*, antirisuese, antiimagjorative, është përshkruese dhe shkon në dëm të arsyes, ajo dalëngadalë e dërrmon kombin, andaj dekadencia në Francë ka bërë “nam” në shekullin XIX, kur u vërejt se “ndjenja e fuqisë dhe prestigjit të kombit francez po binin”.

Dhe tani, në epokën e postmodernes, gjendje kjo kur është humbur besimi në “rrëfimet e mëdha legjitimuese”, është emër i një epoke që shënon fundin e të gjitha miteve ngushëlluese rreth mbisundimit intelektual dhe të „së vërtetës“, gjendje që shprehet me “mosbesim ndaj metanarracioneve”, “kryengritje kundër monotonisë jetësore të imponuar nga mënyra moderne e jetesës që i shkrin në kazanin e vet të gjitha veçoritë”, “këputje e lidhjeve me fushën estetike të modernizmit”, „bërthamë e paskriticizmit dhe politikë e interpretimit të së sotmes“, “periudhë skizofrenike e shoqërisë së konsumit” (Pajaziti, 2009:484), kur “njeriu modern, i shtërnguar t’u besojë koncepteve ‘zhvillim’ dhe ‘përparim’, ka humbur shumë gjëra dhe jeton pa shpresë, kur ai nuk di se çfarë ka humbur” (Bullaç, 2002:7), kur duket se progresi dhe neuroza janë të pandarë (*Ditari* i vëllezërve Gonkur). Për këtë sëmundje flet edhe Zola (“sëmundja e progresit”), simptomat e të cilës ai i gjente në çdo refleksion të kohës së tij, edhe në letërsi: “Ne jemi të sëmurë, kjo është e sigurt, të sëmurë me progres”. Calinescu i referohet edhe Burzhesë, autor i *Theorie de la decadence*, i cili me një diskurs sociologjik analizon dy llojet e shoqërive, ato organike – në të cilat energjitë e përbërësve u nënshtrohen qëllimeve dhe kërkesave të “organizmit total” dhe, të dytat, shoqëritë dekadente, të cilat shënohen nga një shkallë në rritje anarkie, nga një tendosje e marrëdhënieve hierarkike. (Calinescu, 2012:182-184)

Ndërkohë, Calinescu analizon etërit e ligjshëm të dekadentizmit, Shopenhauerin, Niçen dhe Vagnerin, raportin marksizëm-art, duke theksuar se arti ideologjik është dekadent, kurse dekadencia është patologji estetike, duke e quajtur romantizmin si sëmundje moderne dhe pikënisje të të gjitha dekadencave, duke përfunduar më thënien Fojerbahut se deri tani filozofët janë kënaqur vetëm me interpretimin e botës, ndërkaq me rëndësi është ta ndryshosh atë (op. cit., 225)

Përfundime

Calinescu, mendimtar me nam, përmes kryeveprës së vet *Pesë ftyrë e modernitetit* jep një ekzegjzë të shkëlqyer të fjalëve kyç të modernes, modernizmi, pararoja, dekadencia, kiçi dhe postmodernizmi, duke shpjeguar dimensionet estetike, sociologjike dhe kulturologjike të kësaj epoke të rëndësishme të historisë perëndimore, duke u ndalur në mënyrë të veçantë (një kapitull) te çështja e dekadencës, si fazë e shterimit, zvetënit, korrupsionit, degjenerimit, sëmundjes, perëndimit dhe çoroditjes, si një Kitsch (kiç) i *Zeitgeist*-it¹ modern, kur mbizotëron “hipokrizia e luksit”, kur bien standardet si në krijim ashtu edhe në konsum të artit dhe të vlerave (Calinescu, 2012: 240), kur qytetërimi është brutalizuar, kur lëvizjet të shumta promovojnë kthimin prapa, konservatorizmin në vend të lëvizjes emancipuese, kur edhe vlerat janë partishmëruar (shih: rasti Shkupi 2014, shtatorët, “barok revolucionari”). Sugjerojmë që kjo vepër të shndërrohet në një tekst të dorës së parë për studentët e departamenteve të filozofisë, sociologjisë dhe shkencave politike, meqë Calinescu e ka të mprehtë edhe te hën filozofik, sociologjik dhe politologjik, përveç atij letraro-kriticist.

¹ Gjerm. Fryma apo shpirti i kohës.

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ABSTRACT

One of the important terms in the field of social sciences is that of decadence, which means the state of decline, destruction, decay, disarray, collapse, downhill, decay. The term is also used to describe the decline of civilization that preceded destruction within the historical cycle. At the end of the 19th century there was a feeling that Europe had reached the end of an era or fin de siècle. In this article we will dwell on the view of Romanian-American thinker and literary critic Matei Calinescu (1934-2009) on this issue, a "philosopher" who, by reinterpreting and re-evaluating decadence, relates this term to our exhausted world, therefore, associates a world in a phase of decline and degradation, of disintegration.

Keywords: *modernity, decadence, Calinescu, art, culture, ideology*

POLITIKA DHE STANDARDET ETIKE; REFLEKSIONE NGA “RIKTHIMI I POLITIKËS” I ERHARD EPPLER

Lekë SOKOLI

Universiteti Aleksander Moisiu Durrës (UAMD)

Instituti Shqiptar i Sociologjisë (AIS)

E-mail: lsokoli53@gmail.com; lsokoli@sociology.al

Hyrje

Erhard Eppler (1926-2019), ishte politikan dhe, njëherësh, politolog gjerman, personalitet i njohur në fushën e shkencës e të politikës, në vendin e tij dhe më gjerë. Ne do ta shikojmë Epplerin, në disa plane:

Së pari, Eppler si politikan, ishte një personalitet i shquar i Partisë Socialdemokrate Gjermane (SPD), i cili gjatë karrierës së tij ka ushtrua një mori funksionesh si në Republikën e Baden-Württemberg'ut (Stuttgart), ashtu edhe në nivel federativ.

Eppler ishte anëtar i Bundestagut - Parlamenti federativ Gjerman (1961-1976), ministër fedreativ për bashkëpunim ekonomik (1968-1974), anëtar i kryesisë të SPD-së (1970-1980) etj. Nga funksioni i ministrit fedreativ për bashkëpunim ekonomik ai themeloi të mirënjohurën GTZ (Shoqëria për Bashkëpunim Teknik), e cila koordinon ndihmat e shtetit gjerman në shtete të tjera të botës.

Së dyti, Eppler si politolog, apo edhe filozof, është autor i disa veprave, siç janë: “Pak kohë për botën e tretë”,

Prof. Dr. Lekë SOKOLI është Zv.Rektor për Kërkimin Shkencor dhe Kryetar i Këshillit Shkencor të tij. Është, gjithashtu, drejtor themelues i Institutit Shqiptar të Sociologjisë, themelues i Forumit Sociologjik të Ballkanit (BSF) dhe presidenti i parë i tij, si dhe drejtor themelues i revistës “Studime Sociale” [Social Studies]. Për më se 30 vjet ai është marrë me studime, botime dhe mësimdhënie në fushën e sociologjisë, filozofisë e shkencave të tjera sociale. Është autor i mbi 25 librave (monografi apo tekste universitare) të botuar në shqip dhe anglisht dhe i rreth 100 artikujve shkencorë të botuar në Shqipëri apo në vende të tjera (SHBA, Kroaci, Kosovë, Suedi, Bosnje-Hercegovinë, Turqi etj.). Është, gjithashtu, anëtar i Këshillit të Organizatave Kombëtare të International Sociological Association (ISA), si dhe president themelues i Shoqatës Sociologjike Shqiptare (ALBSA).

“Fundit ose kthesa”, “Rrugëdaljet nga rreziku”, “Fjalime për Republikën”, “Utopia sigurisë”, “Platformë për një shumicë të re”, “Privatizimi i moralit politik” etj., si dhe vepra së cilës do t’i referohemi në veçanti “Rikthimi i politikës”. Nga shqyrtimi i veprës, sikurse edhe i sjelljes së tij politike, rezulton se Eppler ishte një ndër përfaqësuesit e politikës moraliste (Kelmendi & Sokoli, 2001) madje nuk do ta tepronim po ta konsideronim atë si shëmbëlltyrë e politologut dhe e politikanit etik.¹

Së treti, cilësimi i Epplerit si ‘shembull i politikanit dhe politologut etik’ legjitimohet nga shumë qendrimet, qoftë edhe “kundër rrymës” që ai ka mbajtur në momente kyçe të karrierës së tij. Ndonëse ishte një ithtar i së majtës brenda SPD, sërish ai ka përkrahur reforma ekonomike dhe sociale të qeverisë, edhe kur ato janë kritikuar gjerësisht si neo-liberale (sikurse gjatë mandatit të dytë të Gerhard Schroeder si Kancelar, në vitet 2002-2005, për shembull). Ai ishte, gjithashtu, një ndër partizanët e hershëm të mbrojtjes së mjedisit. Referuar librit të tij “Jo shumë kohë për Botën e Tretë”, për shembull, Eppler rezulton të jetë një nga të parët studiues që tregoi lidhjet midis mbrojtjes së mjedisit dhe zhvillimit ndërkombëtar e që, në ditët e sotme, vlerësohet me të ashtuquajturën “gjurma ekologjike” (ecological footprint) e cila monitorohet në nivel global si tregues kryesor i zhvillimit të qendrueshëm.

Por qasja etike, në vizionin dhe qëndrimin politikën e Epplerit, del më në pah nëse i referohemi politikës së jashtme gjermane të viteve ‘1980-të, mbështetjes së politikës së ndërhyrjes ushtarake në Kosovë (1999) dhe, më pas, edhe në Afganistan (nga viti 2001). Rast i Kosovës (1999) përfaqëson ngjarjen me peshën më të madhe etike. Qëndrimin ndaj Luftës çlirimtare të Kosovës ishte një provë e

madhe morale e vetë Perëndimit. Në qëndrimin ndaj saj Eppler e dëshmoi veten si politikan moralist. Ibrahim Kelmendi, një veprimtar i shquar i lëvizjes për çlirimin e Kosovës, kujton:

Në vitin 1998, me ndërmejetësimin lobiuës të ish-këshiltarit të presidentit algerian Bumedien, Dr. Sahrou - politolog algerian në Gjermani, kemi konaktuar Erhard Eppler-in, bashkë me bashkëveprimtarin Sabri Kiçmari, për ta informuar për gjendjen në Kosovë dhe për t’iu lutur që të angazhohej për lobim që qeveria gjermane të mbante qëndrim të angazhuar e përkrahës ndaj Luftës çlirimtare në Kosovë.

Çfarë ndodhi më pas? Në mars të vitit 1999, vijon Kelmendi, kur Kancelari Gerhard Schröder i dha përkrahjen Presidentit amerikan Bill Clinton - që NATO të bombardonte objektet ushtarake e policore të Serbisë, nën presionin e krahut pacifist të SPD-së (partia në pushtet), u mbajt kongresi i jashtëzakonshëm i kësaj partie. Mendimi mbizotërues ishte që të ndërrohej kancelari, pikërisht sepse ai ishte pro bombardimeve të NATO-s. Kongresi u mbajt në Bonn. Rreth 60 % e deputetëve të atij Kongresi të jashtëzakonshëm ishin kundër bombardimeve, pra edhe kundër kancelarit. Qeveria e Schröderit kishte vendosur për sulme ajërore në kuadrin e NATO-s. Por anëtarësia e SPD-së, sidomos disa liderë të saj si Egon Bar etj., dolën hapur kundër vendimit të qeverisë gjermane dhe të vetë NATO-s. Nga reagimi i tyre u thirr një kongres i Partisë në pushtet, në të cilin “pacifistët” donin të rrëzonin kancelarin e tyre, njëherësh Kryetar i Partisë. Pritej me padurim fjala e Epplerit, aq i njohur si politikan moralist. Por Eppler i zhgënjeu ‘pacifistët’. Fjala e tij bëri që shumë delegatë të ndryshojnë

¹ Eppler ka qenë, për disa vite, edhe kryetar i Këshillit të Kishës Evangeliste të Gjermanisë. Ai ka qenë, gjithashtu, mjaft aktiv edhe në lëvizjet paqësore në Perëndim.

aty për aty, mendim. U evitua, kështu, një krizë e madhe e Gjermanisë dhe e vetë NATO-s. Ky ishte vetëm një episod nga angazhimi i tij i shumanshëm përkrash çështjes sonë kombëtare shqiptare.²

Përkthimi në shqip dhe botimi i librit “Rikthimi i politikës” në Tiranë në vitin 2001, me iniciativën, financimin dhe nën kujdesin e Ibrahim Kelmendit, lidhet pikërisht me këto ngjarje.³

Botimi i libri ishte dyfish i merituar: së pari, si mirënjohje ndaj autorit të librit, ndaj Eppler-it mbështetës i madh çështjes kombëtare shqiptare; së dyti, sepse libri ka vlera të mëdha, sidomos për lexuesin shqiptar.

Në “Rikthimi i politikës” Eppler ka shpalosur njohuritë e tij të thella si shkenctar, sikurse edhe përvojën e madhe si politikan. Analizat e tij ai i konkretizon me zhvillimet politike e ekonomike të Gjermanisë së kohës së zhvillimit të vrullshëm politik dhe ekonomik, kohë në të cilën startoi ajo politikë e mirëmenduar që çoi në bashkimin e Gjermanisë. Autori i këtij libri kërkon të zgjojë, së pari, vetëdijen qytetare. Madje përfshirja e qytetarëve në jetën politike është, sipas tij, çelsi i “rikthimit” të politikës (Kelmendi & Sokoli 2011).

Mblidheni mendjen: Pa politikë nuk bëhet...!

Eppler shtron, që në fillim, pyetjen sfiduese: A mund të bëjmë pa politikë? Para pak vitesh, të thojë se nuk zhvillohet

më politikë, ishte një nga ato provokimet që politikanin nuk ia merrte për keq një sociologu, shkruan ai. Njerëzit duhet të zbulojnë gjithnjë gjëra të reja, pse jo, edhe vdekjen e politikës. Dhe vijon (fq. 4):

Tani lajmi për fundin e politikës ka depërtuar në kryetitujt e shtypit: politika nuk ka vlerë, ajo është një punë e papastër e që bëhet nga njerëz që kanë nevojë për t’u dukur, prej saj rrallë del diçka, por edhe atëherë, jo ndonjë gjë e mirë. Fjala “politikan”, që dikur thuhej me gjysmë zëri e iu ngjethte mishtë njerëzve, thua se është kthyer në një fjalë fyese, si “playboy” apo “mashtues”. Vetëm me ndryshimin që “mashtuesit” nuk kanë nevojë të zgjidhen, ndërsa politikanët, megjithatë, nuk burgosen, por zgjidhen. E natyrisht, tashmë dëgjohen edhe zërat e cinikëve: “E çfarë? Bëjmë edhe pa politikë. Ndoshta edhe më mirë!”

Por çfarë është politika? Ka popuj, tradita politike e të cilëve është pasqyruar atje ku është e pranishme, për këdo e në çdo çast: në gjuhë. Në gjuhën angleze është ruajtur përvoja e shumë shekujve për diskutimin politik. Atje ku, gjermanët (shqiptarët etj., shënimi im L.S.), përdorin vetëm fjalën “politikë”, anglishtfolësit mund të zgjedhin midis tri fjalëve. Kur e kanë fjalën për format e politikës, për institucionet në të cilat zhvillohet ajo, atëherë thonë “*polity*”; politika e përditshme, lufta për përfitimet e vogla, paraqitet pak a shumë vanitoze për

² Kelmendi kujton, më tej: E kemi takuar Epplerin në hollin e sallës ku mbahej kongresi, pikërisht para se ai të ngjitej në foltore për të mbajtur fjalimin e vet historik. Pritej që nga fjalimi i Erhard Eppler në atë Kongres, përqindja të rritej në 80 % kundër ‘Po-së’ së Kancelarit Schröder për bombardime, sepse Eppler ishte kuadër i udhëheqjes së vjetër të SPD-së, me ndikim të madh etik. Por fjalimi i Eppler në Kongres i ka bërë shumë delegatë që t’u përloteshin sytë. Ai mbajti një fjalim tepër emocional. Ai, jo vetëm që nuk iu bashkua grupit të ‘pacifistëve’ por, krejt përkundrazi, shprehu vetëkritikë për vonesën e ndërhyrjes për të ndaluar agresionin dhe genocidin serb në Kosovë. Dhe ishte pikërisht fjalimi i Eppler-it që shpëtoi rënien e qeverisë së Kancelarit Schröder...

³ Në “In memoriam” për Erhard Eppler, më 21 tetor 2019, Kelmendi shkruan: “Për hir të respektit të madh për angazhim aktiv të Erhard Eppler-it në përkrahje të Kosovës, por edhe për hir të vlerës së librit të tij bestseller “Rikthimi i politikës”, i shkruar nga Eppler si filozof dhe politolog, kam finacuar përkthimin dhe shtypjen e këtij libri, punë që e ka koordinuar Instituti Shqiptar i Sociologjisë në Tiranë (ISHS), nën drejtimin e Prof. Dr. Lekë Sokoli. Për promovim të librit në Tiranë kishim dy ditë mysafir vet autorin, tashmë të ndierin Erhard Eppler. Respekt, deri te Dielli, për jetën dhe veprimtarinë e korifeut Erhard Eppler!”

ekranet televizive janë veçori të përhershme të “*politics*”. Por e gjithë kjo ka kuptim vetëm atëherë kur bëhet e durueshme, kur lidhet me një “*policy*”, pra me një drejtim politik, me mesazhe politike, të cilat janë pjesë e një koncepti. Vetëm atëherë dallohet se për çfarë hyjnë ose duhet të hynin në punë të mërzitshmet “*politics*”. Të trija së bashku përbëjnë atë që, në vija shumë të trasha, quhet politikë.

Por politikë do të thotë, gjithmonë, edhe përdorim i pushtetit. Kush e konsideron pushtetin si diçka të pandershme, të pamoralshme, të keqe, duhet të mos i fusë duart në këtë punë. Megjithatë, jo çdo përzjerje me pushtetin është automatikisht politikë. Ka rast kur arrihen “maja të panjohura përsosurie” në metodat e ruajtjes së pushtetit, pikërisht në kurriz të politikës.

Ç’është politika, çdo të ishte politika sot, – në dallim nga administrata – përse ajo është bërë më e vështirë e, megjithatë, më e nevojshme se kurrë; përse politika nuk mund të zhduket; përse do të rikthehet dhe si mund rikthehet – pikërisht për këto flet ky libër.

Por, kujt i drejtohet “Rikthimi i Politikës”? Ky libër, vijon (fq. 8), u drejtohet të dyve: shkencëtarit dhe politikanit, atyre për të cilët e mira e përbashkët ka rëndësi. Ai është, gjithsesi, një libër shkencor. Por, në rast se shkenca dhe pasioni për politikën e përjashtojnë njëra-tjetrën, atëherë ky nuk është libër me pretendime shkencore. Por atëherë, edhe Max Weber-i nuk do të ishte shkencëtar. Ai nuk kërkonte të zbulonte vetëm të vërtetën, por kishte edhe vullnet politik. Nëse politika është tkurrur, është tharë, ka vdekur dhe veç kësaj është e panevojshme ose e pashmangshme, kockëfortë dhe e paasgjësueshme, nga kjo mund të varet e ardhmja e të gjithëve ne, veçanërisht e nipërve të mi – thotë Eppler.

Për këtë arsye nuk do të më dukej për t’u lavdëruar sikur të arrija të luaja rolin e vëzhguesit indiferent. Nuk besoj të jem në gjendje të ndërtoj një urë mbi hendekun që ndan teorinë dhe praktikën e politikës, por dëshiroj të vendos një tra aq të fortë sa të mbajë të guximshmit që duan të shohin pak më shumë nga ana tjetër, sepse kanë mësuar ose kuptuar: pa politikë nuk bëhet...!

Reflektime mbi politikën: Shmit, Poper, Arend dhe Veber

“Reflektime mbi politikën”. Kështu titullohet pjesa e parë e veprës së Eplerit “Rikthimi i politikës”, ku ai analizon katër përfaqësues të mendimit politik: Karl Shmit, Karl Poper, Hanah Arend dhe Maks Veber.

I pari ndër ta, Karl Shmid (Carl Schmitt, 1888-1985), siç vëren Hoffman (2015: 114), ishte teoricien politik dhe jurist konservator, anëtar i shquar i Partisë Naziste. Shmid shkroi gjerësisht për ushtrimin *efektiv* të pushtetit politik⁴, që në emër të pushtetit justifikon thujtë gjithçka. Ai justifikoi, për shembull, edhe 90 vrasjet, në të cilat Hitleri morri pjesë për herë të parë si “gjykatës suprem i popullit gjerman”. Epler i referohet sidomos artikullit të famshëm të Karl Shmit mbi “Nocionin e politikës”, që doli në dritë 6 vjet pas shpalljes së Hitlerit kancelar i Raihut. Në këtë artikull Shmit kërkon atë çfarë Niklas Luhmann, një gjysmë shekulli më vonë, do t’i quajë – kod të pjesësistemeve, pyetje që vlej në një fushë të caktuar, që e përcaktojnë atë dhe prej të cilave ajo bëhet e qartë: për estetikën dhe artin Karl Shmitit, ashtu si të tjerëve, i ofrohet ndryshimi mes të bukurës dhe të shëmtuarës; për moralen kontradike mes së mirës dhe së keqes; për ekonominë çifti i nocioneve e dobishme – e dëmshme, ose më saktë: rentabël dhe jo rentabël. Të gjesh për politikën një çift të tillë

⁴ Vepra e tij, siç vëren Hoffman (po aty), ka patur një ndikim i madh në teorinë politike të mëvonshme, në teorinë juridike, në filozofinë kontinentale dhe teologjinë politike. Ajo e mbetet ndikuese, sado që tejet e diskutueshme për shkak të besnikërisë juridiko-politike me nazizmin.

nocionesh të thjeshtë dhe të drejtpërdrejtë, është, me sa duket, më e vështirë dhe prandaj Luhman gjeti më vonë një të ndryshëm nga Karl Shmit, kredon e tij: “Ndryshimi specifik politik me të cilin shjegohen sjellja dhe motivet politike, është ndryshimi mes mikut dhe armikut”. Dhe, për Shmit, vazhdon ai,

politika nuk është aty ku kërkohen konsensusi dhe ku negociohen kompromiset; ajo fillon aty ku miku dhe armiku qëndrojnë përballë njëri-tjetrit për të gjuhëzuar e, madje, shkatërruar tjetrin. Shkaqe të armiçësisë mund të jenë tensionet etnike, zënkat fetare apo interesat e kundërta. Kundërvënia bëhet politike kur arrin një intensitet të caktuar, kur bëhet e papajtueshme, kur nuk mund të zbutet përmes asnjë ndërmjetësimi, kur herët apo vonë janë armët ato që vendosin se kush është ngadhënjimtari dhe kush i munduri. Në këtë proces armiçësia vetëshkatërrohet. I munduri nuk është më armik. Politikja eliminon vetveten (fq. 14).

Armiku politik nuk ka nevojë të jetë i keq moralisht apo i shëmtuar estetikisht; nuk ka nevojë të prezantohet si konkurrent ekonomik; nganjëherë është, madje, e dobishme të bësh biznese me të. Shmit hedh poshtë, gjithashtu, edhe akuzën logjike se ai nënvleftëson paraprakisht çdo politikë paqeje: Në asnjë mënyrë nuk është i vërtetë supozimi se prania politike s’qenka gjë tjetër veçse luftë e përgjakshme apo çdo veprim politik është negociim ushtarak lufte, a thua se çdo popull kundrejt një tjetri gjendet vazhdimisht përpara alternativës: mik ose armik, dhe se veprimi i drejtë politik nuk qëndroka pikërisht në shmangien e luftës. Këtu Shmit i afrohet shumë një të vërtete politike, të cilën, në hartimin e këtij artikulli në 1927, nuk mund ta dinte: luftës së ftohtë. Gjatë saj, ndryshimi mes mikut dhe armikut ishte më i mprehtë se kurrë. Kush nuk ishte mik, ishte armik; çdo lloj neutraliteti ishte i dyshimtë. Çdo politikë brenda dhe jashtë përcaktohej nga antagonizmi i dy blloqeve

dhe ideologjive, e megjithatë kishte për të dyja palët arsye të mira për shmangien e betejës, luftës së nxehtë. Dhe ajo u shmang.

Teoritë politike që e konsideronin njeriun të mirë, si për shembull ato të Rusoit, nuk ishin, sipas Shmit “origjinale”. Sipas tij, vetëm njeriu i lig ka nevojë për politikë:

Në një botë të mirë, mes njerëzve të mirë, mbizotërojnë, natyrisht, vetëm paqja, siguria dhe harmonia e të gjithëve me të gjithë; priftërinjtë dhe teologët janë po aq të tepërt sa edhe politikanët dhe burrat e shtetit.

Politika ekziston, sipas tij, pasi njerëzit janë të këqinj dhe të rrezikshëm. Kjo nënkupton gjithashtu se nga vullneti i lirë i shumë të liqve, pak të mira mund të vijnë. Mbi bazën e një imazhi kaq të errët të njeriut duhet të duket absurde edhe vetë ideja e mundësisë së vetëqeverisjes demokratike.

Por kush është armiku, nëse ai s’është patjetër i shëmtuari dhe i urryeri, i ligu, përfaqësuesi i të keqes apo konkurenti i rrezikshëm? Është tjetri, i huaji. Dhe që ai të ekzistojë, mjafton që, në një mënyrë të veçantë, intensive të jetë diçka tjetër dhe e huaj; kështu që, në rast ekstrem, konfliktet me të të jenë të mundshme, konflikte të cilat nuk mund të vendosen as përmes një normimi paraprak të përgjithshëm e as përmes vendimit të një të “jashtmi”, pra të një pale të tretë, “të paanshme”.

Armik është, gjithashtu, ai që shpallet i tillë nga “shteti”. Por kush është shteti? Bashkësia e organizuar që ka të drejtë të përcaktojë armiqtë? Nga ky rreth vicioz nuk mund të dalësh, por mund ta identifikosh. Kur armiku përcaktohet nga shteti dhe shteti sovran nga e drejta e përcaktimit të armikut, atëherë kjo është logjike vetëm për atë që ndihet mirë në këtë rreth. Por, sipas Shmit, ai që përcakton armikun është udhëheqja e shtetit, pikërisht instanca ekzekutive përgjegjëse për politikën e jashtme. Në monarki ky është monarku. Në diktaturë është vetëm diktatori.

Por çfarë kuptimi ka teoria e Shmitit për politikën brenda shteteve, p. sh. për një rend demokratik? Edhe për politikën e brendshme vlen njësoj: Nocionet mik, armik dhe luftë përftojnë kuptim real përmes faktit që ato i referohen në veçanti mundësisë reale të vrasjes fizike. Rasti kritik i politikës së brendshme është atëherë lufta civile... Pra, politika nuk është vetëm luftë, por është gjithmonë edhe luftë.

Karl Poper (1902–1994) sikurse Shmit, vinte nga një hapësirë gjermanishtfolëse, njihte Kantin, Hegelin dhe Marksit. Por mes tyre qëndrojnë botë e epoka të tëra. Ndërkohë që Shmit, në 1934-ën, justifikonte vrasjet e kryera nga Hitlerit me fjalën “Röhmputsch”, Karl Poperi, në Vjenë, filloi të mendonte për një kundërprojekt ndaj shtetit totalitar, të cilit i dha emrin “shoqëria e hapur”; kur në 1945 Shmitit iu desh të mësonte se ç’do të thoshte në praktikë mposhtja e armikut nga armiku Poper, i dëbuar nga Vjena, mundi të publikonte në një libër, frytet e përvojës së tij intelektuale dhe ekzistenciale; nëse Shmit ngelet rob i periudhës mes dy luftërave botërore, Poperit i referohemi edhe në shekullin e 21-të. Tema e Poperit ishte origjina dhe kapërcimi i fashizmit (Eppler, 2011: 24).

Shoqëria, të cilën Poperi e vinte përballë fashizmit,

duhej të ishte e hapur për debatin e lirë, për polemikën demokratike, e hapur për angazhimin e qytetarëve të saj, për dëshirat, dyshimet, kritikën, etjen për dije, përpjekjet dhe gabimet e tyre; por kjo shoqëri duhej të ishte e hapur edhe kundrejt së ardhmes...

Poperi e kritikonte Hegelin sepse, për të, shteti nuk ishte petku mbrojtës, i ngrohtë dhe komod i shoqërisë, por “mishërimi i idesë hyjnore në tokë.” Në këtë mënyrë, sipas Poperit, Hegeli kishte përgatitur dhe legjitimuar shtetin totalitar.

Sipas Poperit, vetë Platoni kishte prishur të menduarit politik të Perëndimit

kur kish formuluar pyetjet fatkeqe: “Kush duhet të sundojë? Vullneti i kujt duhet të jetë ligj?” Faktin që pyetja ishte shtruar gabim, nuk e ndryshon përgjigjja revolucionare e Rusoit: populli duhet të sundojë, jo zengjini. Poperi nuk interesoj për atë se *kush duhej të sundonte*, por për *mënyrën se si duhet ushtruar pushteti*, si duhet qeverisur në mënyrë që njerëzit të kenë një jetë dinjitoze në liri. Një diktaturë në emër të popullit nuk ishte për të më e dëshiruar se një në emër të Zotit, apo prej monarkëve të zgjedhur prej tij. Këtu qëndronte edhe kritika e tij ndaj Marksit. Edhe Karl Marksi interesohet vetëm për pyetjet “kush” sundon dhe kush duhej të sundonte. Për mënyrën e sundimit ai pothuaj nuk diskutonte fare.

Megjithëse i jepte të drejtë në kritikën e tij ndaj idealizimit, Marksi ishte për Poperin “një profet i remë.” Teoria e Marksit ishte për Poperin një shembull i atij “historicismi” i cili, nëse merret seriozisht, zhvlerëson veprimin politik dhe e bën atë të panevojshëm.

Edhe sipas Epplerit, politika në mendimin e Marksit ishte “e pafuqishme”. Dhe kjo nuk ka të bëjë vetëm me profecinë e tij, por shumë më tepër: me varësinë e çdo politike nga ekonomia. Për Marksit politika mbetet një funksion i ekonomisë.

Politika është e pafuqishme. Ajo nuk mund ta ndryshojë kurrë në mënyrë vendimtare realitetin ekonomik. Detyra më e rëndësishme, për të mos thënë e vetmja e veprimtarisë politike të emancipuar, është të kujdeset që ndryshimet në petkun juridiko-politik . . . të ecin me të njëjtin hap me ndryshimet në faktorët e prodhimit dhe në marrëdhëniet mes klasave (Marks, Cit. Eppler, 2001: 26).

Por, në fakt, në “socializmin” e Leninit dhe Stalinit (apo Enverit, shënimi im L. S.) ndodhi e kundërta: ekonomia duhej t’i bindej politikës. Ajo bindej pa vullnet e duke u sforcuar, duke patur kështu shumë pak rezultate. Pra s’ishte çudi pse ky lloj socializmi u shkatërrua.

Poper e kundërshtoi Marks-in, por as ai nuk paraqiti ndonjë analizë tjetër, veçse shpalosi një tjetër vullnet: nuk mund të fshihet që, në “një sistem të pakufizuar kapitalist”, në të cilin qeveria “nuk ka asnjë institucion për mbikëqyrjen e pushtetit të parasë”, “gangsterizmi i pakufizur i kësaj të fundit mund të ushtrojë pushtetin.” Kundër tij Poperi këshillonte “një mjet shërues politik”:

Ne duhet të ndërtojmë institucione sociale, të cilat duhet të mbrojnë të dobëtit nga të fortët ekonomikisht, dhe pushteti shtetëror duhet t'i ndihmojë këto institucione të bëhen realitet. . . Nëse duam të sigurojmë lirinë, duhet të kërkojmë që politika e lirisë së pakufizuar ekonomike të zëvendësohet nga ndërhyrja e planifikuar ekonomike e shtetit. Duhet të kërkojmë që kapitalizimi i pakufizuar t'i lërë vendin “intervencionizmit ekonomik.” (Poper, Cit. Eppler, 2001: 26).

Pikërisht kjo ka ndodhur, konstaton Poperi. Kapitalizmi i pastër nuk ekziston më. Politika, pra, duhet t'i mbajë sytë hapur që njerëzit të jetojnë me dinjitet njerëzor. Por këtë mund ta bëjë vetëm nëse i vë vetes kufij. Ajo mund të ndërhyjë në ekonomi. Poperi përshkruan dy format e ndërhyrjes, të cilat duhen dalluar edhe sot: “e para konsiston në hartimin e një kuadri ligjor”. Vendosja e një kuadri të tillë ligjor duhet parapëlqyer kundrejt formës së dytë, ndërhyrjes direkte administrative, “nëse një gjë e tillë është e mundur”. Edhe sot, pakkush mund ta kundërshtojë një gjë të tillë. Pra, Poperi përbuz diktaturën e ekonomisë po aq sa edhe atë politike. Mendimi i tij synon drejt një rendi politik në të cilin njerëzit të mund të marrin frymë lirisht.

Literatura e Karl Poperit, konkludon Epler, është edhe sot e dobishme për të gjithë ata që merren me politikë. Ne kemi arsye t'u kushtojmë vëmendje tabelave paralajmëruese të tij, në të cilat, në shumicën e rasteve, shkruhet: “Kujdes! Rrezik rrëzimi!” ose “Kujdes: greminë ideologjike!” ose “Kujdes,

këtu merr fund demokracia!” Por ai nuk na thotë se në ç'drejtim duhet të ecim.... Madje as që na vë në dijeni. Dhe, së fundi, mund të vendosen edhe dy tabela paralajmëruese, të cilat mbështeten në veprën e njerit prej evropianëve më të zgjuar të shekullit të 20-të : « Kujdes, politics without policy!» ose, madje: «Kujdes, këtu mbaron sektori i politikës! Këtu fillon administrata!»

Epler kalon, në analizën e tij ballafaqese, nga Poper te një grua filozofe dhe teoriciene politike, tanimë gjermano-amerikane, Hanah Arend (1906 –1975). Kjo sepse, ndër mendimtarët e politikës Hanah Arend ishte e para që diktoi rrezikun e “zhdukjes së politikës”.

Për Hanah Arend, e cila në 1933 (në moshën 27- vjeçare), u detyrua të largohej nga Gjermania për shkak të prejardhjes hebraike, shteti totalitar i ardhut të Kantit dhe Goethes (!) përbënte eksperiencën e parë politike. Si ishte e mundur, çfarë kishte dështuar edhe në mendimin politik të Perëndimit? Kjo pyetje hipotetike u bënë pikënisje e veprës së saj. Ashtu si Karl Poperi, edhe Hanah Arend ishte e mendimit se Platoni, me pyetjen e tij fillestare se kush duhet të sundojë, e kishte joshur mendimin politik të Evropës në një drejtim të gabuar. Por, ndryshe nga Poperi, ajo nuk gjente asnjë tërheqje në mendimet tepër praktike se si duhet qeverisur. Sundimi ishte për Hanah Arend thjesht e kundërta e politikës. Aty ku urdhërohet dhe pastaj vjen bindja, nuk ekziston politika. Për këtë arsye totalitarizmi, në teorinë e të cilit Arend kishte shumë për të thënë, nuk përbënte politikë të keqe apo të gabuar, por thjesht fundin e politikës. Për Arend dhuna nuk ishte, si për shumë të tjerë, një formë primitive dhe e paqendrueshme e pushtetit, por e kundërta e tij. Ajo thotë :

Nga aspekti politik nuk është e mjaftueshme të thuash se pushteti dhe politika nuk janë e njëjta gjë. Pushteti dhe dhuna janë dy antagonizma: aty ku njëra sundon në mënyrë absolute, tjetra nuk ekziston. Dhuna shfaqet

aty ku pushteti është në rrezik. Ose: Dhuna lakuriq shfaqet aty ku pushteti është humbur (Arend, Cit. Eppler, 2001 : 34).

Sipas Arend politika nuk fillon *te* njeriu por *mes* njerëzve. Njeriu nuk është, siç mendonte Aristoteli, një qenie politike në vetvete, por mund të bëhet “politik” ku takohet me të tjerë, kur shkëmben mendime me ta dhe, së fundi, kur bie dakord me ta. Por vetëm kur këto ndodhin në liri. Të vepruarit është i mundshëm vetëm në liri. Ky veprim në liri është mundësia më e lartë e njeriut: Duke vepruar dhe folur, njerëzit bëjnë të qartë se kush janë, tregojnë në mënyrë aktive veçoritë personale të qenies së tyre, hipin së bashku në skenën e botës ku më parë ishin të padukshëm...

Aftësia për politikë është pra, për Hanah Arendin, *një nga dhuntitë më fisnike të njeriut*, është shprehje e lirisë së tij. Kështu është i kuptueshëm edhe përkufizimi çuditërisht i thjeshtë: “Kuptimi i politikës është liria” Liria nuk është qëllimi i politikës, shton menjëherë Arend. Politika nuk zhvillohet me qëllim mundësimin e lirisë. Ajo çfarë nënkuptohet është që “liria ose të qenit i lirë është pjesë e “politikës” dhe veprimit politik”. Edhe ky përkufizim lë vend për disa interpretime. Së pari, nuk ekziston asnjë lloj politike që nuk zhvillohet në liri. Dhe më e pazakontë: liria njerëzore ndodh fillimisht, e para së gjithash, në të vepruar, pra në politikë. Politika është fusha e lirisë.

Arend ndan në mënyrë të pastër edhe “politikën” nga socialja. Vetëm revolucionin amerikan është për të një revolucion politik dhe sjellës i lirisë, ndërsa ai francez, përmes kërkesave të të varfërve, u kthye në një revolucion social.

Edhe diçka tjetër mund të mësohet nga Hanah Arend: në esetë e saj mbi “Pushtetin dhe dhunën” gjendet kalimthi thënia:

Në të vërtetë, funksion i çdo të vepruari në ndryshim nga sjellja e thjeshtë reaktive (behavior), është të ndërpresë procese që

ndryshe do të ndodhnin automatikisht dhe në mënyrë të parashikueshme. Të vepruarit, veprimi politik, është pra, diçka e ndryshme nga kryerja e detyrimeve objektive.

Maks Veber (1864-1920), është i katërti mendimtar i analizës ballafaqese të Eplerit. Prej tij ai merr fillimisht raportin mes tipit të politikanit dhe atij të nëpunësit, kur citon (2001: 50),

... Ndryshimi qëndron në llojin e përgjegjesisë të njërit dhe tjetrit, dhe prej këtij përcaktohet në masë të madhe edhe lloji i kërkesave që paraqiten për secilin prej tyre. Një nëpunës, që merr një urdhër, sipas mendimit të tij të gabuar, mund dhe duhet të paraqesë objeksione. Nëse eprori i tij ngulmon në udhëzimin e dhënë, nëpunësi e ka për detyrë ta zbatojë urdhrin njëlloj sikur ai t’u përgjigjej bindjeve të tij. Kështu e kërkon fryma e postit. Një drejtues politik, që do të vepronte kështu, do të meritonte përbuzje. Ai është shpesh i shtrënguar të pranojë kompromise, që do të thotë: t’i flijojë të parëndësishmet më të rëndësishmen. Por nëse nuk arrin t’i thotë zotit të tij (qoftë ky monarku apo demosi): ose marr tani këtë instruksion, ose largohem, atëherë ai është një “kërmill” i mjerë, siç e ka pagëzuar Bismarku këtë tip, por jo lider.

Veberi nuk mohon se nëpunësi kundrejt politikanit, sekretari i shtetit kundrejt ministrit ka përparësi përse u përket çështjeve të specialitetit:

“Këshilli i fshehtë”, i kualifikuar nga pikëpamja e specialitetit, ka epërsi ndaj ministrit (edhe ndaj një ministri të dalë nga radhët e nëpunësve të specializuar, siç ndodh shpesh), në Angli, njëlloj si në Gjermani. Dhe kështu duhet të jetë. Kualifikimi në specialitet është, në marrëdhëniet moderne, një kusht i domosdoshëm për njohjen e mjeteve teknike për arritjen e objektivave politikë. Por vendosja e objektivave politikë

nuk është çështje specialiteti; politikën thjesht si të tillë nuk duhet ta përcaktojë nëpunësi specialist (Po aty, fq. 62).

Detyrë e politikës është të përcaktojë objektiva, drejtime dhe të marrë përgjegjësi për to. Me qenë se të tillë objektiva nuk mund të përcaktohen pa një listë përparësish të çështjeve më të rëndësishme, dhe meqë çdo listë përparësish mbështetet në vlerësime dhe vlerësimet janë të lidhura me vlera, politikani e di se objektivat e tij janë të kontestueshme nga të tjerët, që vlerësojnë ndryshe dhe për të cilët të tjera çështje janë më të rëndësishme. Ai di, gjithashtu, se vendimet e tij sipas listës së përparësive, mund të rezultojnë të gabuara, pasi shumë gjëra mund të kenë ndodhur ndryshe nga ç'mund t'i kishte menduar ai. Ai e di, pra, se duhet të pranojë gjithnjë marrjen përsipër të rreziqeve. Kjo për nëpunësin është diçka e huaj. Ai mund të dëshmojë se ka vepruar drejt kur zbaton me korrektesë ligje dhe udhëzime. Kështu Veber arrin në përfundimin se (po aty):

Tërësia e nëpunësve shtetërorë ka dështuar plotësisht aty ku u angazhua me çështje politike. Dhe kjo nuk është rastësi. Nga ana tjetër, do të kishte qenë e çuditshme nëse aftësi krejt të ndryshme do të ndesheshin brenda të njëjtës krijesë politike. Pra, siç kemi thënë, nuk është punë e nëpunësve të marrin pjesë në polemikën politike, duke luftuar me bindje personale dhe, në këtë kuptim, “të bëjnë politikë”, e cila është gjithmonë luftë. Krenaria e tij është, përkundrazi, mbrojtja e paanshmërisë, pra që të mundë të kapërcejë priret dhe bindjet e tij dhe të zbatojë në mënyrë skrupuloze dhe kuptimplote atë çfarë rregullat e përgjithshme apo udhëzimet e veçanta kërkojnë prej tij, edhe nëse ato nuk u përgjigjen aspak pikëpamjeve të tij politike.

Karakteristikë e një nëpunësi është që, në rast nevoje, ai vë në plan të dytë apo vepron kundër mendimit të tij politik, nëse

e ka një të tillë. Nga politikani pritet që të mos e bëjë këtë kurrë, që të mbrojë bindjet e tij, të japë argumente në favor të tyre, të fitojë përkrahës, të luftojë për ta edhe duke rrezikuar.

Kushdo që sot, një shekull pas publikimit, e lë veten të ndikohet prej shkrimit të famshëm të Maks Veberit “Politika si profesion”, duhet të ketë të qarta dy gjëra. Së pari, që Veberi, ndryshe edhe nga Karl Shmit dhe Karl Poper, ishte një njeri tejet politik dhe me pasion politik dhe, së dyti, për të politika përcaktohej, para së gjithash, nga antagonizmi i saj me administratën. Ky është edhe ndryshimi kryesor i Veberit nga Poperi. Për Veberin politika, të paktën në formën e saj demokratike, ishte një polemikë e bazuar në vlera për përcaktimin e drejtimit politik, për hapat e parë të përgjegjshëm në këtë drejtim, si dhe luftë për pushtet, i cili është i vetmi që mund t'i bëjë të efektshme dhe detyruese vendime të tilla politike.

Veber vë disa thekse të qarta, kur thotë se çdo polemikë politike për një çështje, është njëkohësisht edhe luftë për pushtet. Kush bën politikë, synon pushtetin. Pushtet ose si mjet në shërbim të synimeve të tjera (më ideale ose më egoiste) – ose pushtet në vetvete: për të shijuar ndjenjën e prestigjit që të jep ai.

Ai shprehet, madje, edhe më qartë: “Të gjitha betejat partiake nuk janë thjesht beteja për qëllime objektive, por, para së gjithash, për poste.” Nëse Veberit do t'i duhej sot të fliste para studentëve gjermanë, do të kishte rast ta transformonte kështu thënien e mësipërme: të gjitha betejat politike bëhen jo vetëm për poste, por edhe për vendime objektive. Aty ku bëhet politikë, të dyja shkojnë përkrah njëra-tjetrës.

Politika, sipas Veberit, bëhet me kokë dhe jo me pjesë të tjera të trupit apo të shpirtit. Kjo, thotë Epler, është një fjali shumë polemike dhe e përshtatshme për të ngjallur polemikë. Vetëm se në shumicën e rasteve heshtet mbi atë çfarë pason këtë fjali:

E megjithatë përkushtimi në politikë, kur kjo nuk është një lojë intelektuale mendjelehtë, por një veprim autentik njerëzor, mund të lindë dhe të ushqehet vetëm nga pasioni. Por çdo nënshtrim i fortë i shpirtit, që karakterizon politikanin e pasionuar dhe e dallon atë nga diletanti i thjeshtë politik, “i eksituar në mënyrë sterile”, është i mundur vetëm në sajë të të mësuarit me distancën – në çdo kuptim të fjalës.

Për Veberin politika zhvillohej në fusha tensioni, në tensionin mes pasionit dhe distancës, përgjegjësisë dhe predispozitave, por edhe mes synimit dhe mënyrës, qëllimit dhe mjetit, mes teorisë së afërt me praktikën dhe praktikës asnjëherë të zhveshur

plotësisht nga teoria, mes programit të formulueshëm dhe realitetit të rëndë dhe, së fundi, mes bindjeve të dallueshme dhe luftës së pamëshirshme për pushtet, mes polemikës mbi një çështje dhe luftës së pozicioneve, orientimit drejt së mirës së përbashkët dhe nevojës personale për t’u dukur, mes shanseve të habitshme dhe rrezikut asnjëherë plotësisht të llogaritur. Kush nuk është në gjendje t’u bëjë ballë të tilla tensioneve, mendon Veberi, ai nuk bën për politikë.

Vijon...

Studime Sociale [Social Studies], Vol. 13, Nr. 4 (48) 2019, në titullin: “Ringjallja e politikës mes utopisë dhe pragmatizmit”

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In general

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Short references in text

Weber (1998); (Weber, 1998: 156); or Weber (1998: 156); (Lazesfeld and Berelson, 1990); (Olzak, Shanahan & West, 1986); (Larsen et al., 1989); (Blau, 1980; Kadare, 1995; Uçi, 2003; Pëllumbi, 2004; Omari, 1999); 2011a, 2011b.; (Tocqueville [1835] 2010), etc.

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