ICH

6th**International Conference on Humanities**

GENDER STUDIES:
LAW, MEDIA AND SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS BOOK

KOLEGJI UNIVERSITAR
BEDER

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6ᵗʰInternational Conference on Humanities
GENDER STUDIES:LAW, MEDIA AND SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS BOOK

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ABOUT ICH 2019

The conference aims to discuss the impact of law, media and society on gender studies as a source of peace, prosperity and social enrichment. The focus of the conference is to emphasize the importance of law, media and society on improving the situation of gender issues. It also intends to stress the role that justice system and law, enforcement agencies, including the tradition of religious law, have in preserving and contributing to multicultural communities with diverse identities. Notwithstanding, media promotes an inspiring collaborative perspective in building communication bridges among different cultures as a catalyzer for a reciprocal social and economic development.

The International Conference on Gender Studies will provide a platform where latest trends, knowledge and concepts in Gender Studies can be presented and discussed. The conference will bring

together academicians, law experts and policymakers and create a platform to share the research findings, in the field of Gender Studies in relation to media, law and society.

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Përgjigje e thukët mediatike shejtanisë për gruan

Abstrakt

Në vitet '30, kur emancipimi i gruas shqiptare filloi të shihej si çështje e jashtme, i riu Vexhhi Buharaja, që të ndalte shejtanin i cili qeshte me punët që shkonin keq, pa marrë parasysh mungesën e përvojës, me sigurinë dhe maturinë që i jepte formimi marrë në Medresenë e Përgjithshme të Tiranës, ftoi publikisht ta kalonin diskutimin te vatra e problemit. Studimi u realizua me synimin për të vlerësuar kontributin real të Buharasë në fushën e publicistikës dhe të poezisë sufiste. Botimet digjitale ofrojnë mundësi për kërkime dhe zbulime më të imta, që plotësojnë figurën e tij shumëplanëshe dhe të cilat kërkojnë analiza, që u bien ndesh qasjeve deskriptive, që e japin këtë ish-medreseist ekselent të pandriçuar sa dhe si duhet. Kriteret dhe parimet e përdorura e plotësojnë sadopak atë pjesë të pandriçuar të veprimtarisë së tij jo vetëm fetare, por edhe publicistike e letrare, ku dëshmohet niveli i lartë i kurrikulës laike, që përfshihej brenda kurrikulës së Medresesë së Përgjithshme, nga dera e së cilës dolën personalitete të kulturës shqiptare, për nivelin e së cilës kanë folur edhe të huajt. Metoda e hulumtimit, e analizës dhe e vlerësimit të materialeve të gjetura, ndihmoi të zbardhej ndonjë pjesë ende e panjohur e veprës së V. Buharasë.

Hulumtimi i kryer nuk mëton të jetë shterues dhe fton që të vijojë, duke shënuar bindjen se do të vijnë gjetje të reja.

Fjalët kyçe: feministe, sufist, kurrikul, edukim, traditë, emancipim

Hyrje

E quajnë "Poet, filolog, orientalist, historian, por edhe teolog (para diplomimit për gjuhë-letërsi në Universitetin e Tiranës, ai kishte mbaruar Medresenë e Përgjithshme në Tiranë); Vexhhi Buharaja ishte poliglot.", por, edhe duke dashur ta vlerësojnë, i hyjnë përsëri në hak, mbeten në periferi të figurës së tij, sepse para së gjithash, Vexhhi Buharaja ishte njeriu që jetoi nën diktatin e fetarisë së kulluar, çka e dëshmoi me pastërtinë e qartësinë e fetarisë së pastër si qytetar, teolog, përkthyes, orientalist, historian, poet e gjithkund ku iu desh të jepte ndihmesën e vet.

Së pari le të qartësojmë emrin Vexhhi.

"Në shqip dëgjohet edhe Vexhim-i m. "Vision" Ro. Nga tur. vecih (?) "fytyrë" në fjalorin etim. të G. Mayer f. 465. Në tur. vecih (ar. vexhh: fytyrë, çehre, mënyrë, stil, pafte, etj. Përfundimisht shih tashti shtjellimin e prof. Çabej." (Dizdari, 2005: gërma V / 1087)

I sigurt te njohuritë gjuhësore të përvetësuara në familjen Buharaja, ku fliteshin disa gjuhë orientale, ai shfaqet plot skrupuj, kur nënshkruan si fillim në fushën ku la aq shumë gjurmë. Vexhhi (emri me dy "h" është shkruar në fund të vjershës "Shiu", botuar te revista "Kultura Islame", ku ai ishte redaktor) Buharaja shfaqet së pari e megjithatë paraqitet me dinjitet profesional në faqet e revistës "Zani i Naltë" në verën e vitit 1936, në numrin e përbashkët 6-7 të saj. Vetëm gjashtëmbëdhjetëvjeçar, medreseisti sqimatar, u kthen përgjigje me shkrimin e titulluar "S'duen me na kuptue", dy argumentimeve emocionale të mëparshme botuar te revista "Bota e re" dhe te gazeta "Arbënija", në maj 1936. Të dy shkrimet polemizuese janë nënshkruar me emra letrarë, siç ishte e modës asokohe. Kryeartikulli i botuar te revista që dilte në Korçë me titull "Ditareja e një gruaje", kishte për autor Harbutin, pseudonimi i Selim Shpuzës, si përkrahës i

flaktë i feminizmit, që i binte ndesh traditës sonë konservatore në raport me gruan. Në traditën tonë gruaja është parë kryesisht si nuse, si ngjizëse e celulës hyjnore, siç është familja. Është kjo arsyeja pse kur ajo moshohej bëhej zonjë shtëpie a zonjë e rëndë. Ky bashkëpunëtor i zellshëm i revistës "Bota e re", asokohe botoi artikullin "Intelektualët dhe populli", duke bërë të qartë kahjen ideologjike, por dhe formimin e vet kulturor. Atje Harbuti dëshmohet si përkrahës i skajshëm i mohimit të trashëgimisë sonë letrare, sidomos i vlerave artistike të krijuara, qëndrim që e kishte vendosur atë atje ku i takonte, në një skaj, sepse pjesa e rëndësishme e kulturës shqiptare, nuk dëshironte të pranonte pezmin idhnak "harbut" të tij.

Tjetri shkrim referues, ishte botuar në gazetë nga Përparim-dashësi, një D. O. M. që nuk dimë se cili ka qenë, me titull "Mbulesa e gruas muslimane".

Titulli redaksional "S'duen me na kuptue" jep qartë prirjen për diskutim që kërkon zgjidhje e nuk prodhon tensione të panevojshme. I riu beratas u kthehet polemizuesve, që druhen të dalin me emrin e tyre, duke u sqaruar shkrimin redaksional të revistës me titull "Zbulimi i grues muslimane", botuar në numrin e majit 1936, të së përmuajshmes së Komunitetit Mysliman Shqiptar.

Gjimnazistit të pjekur para kohe i duken tipare të mohimit të traditës apo liberalizmit të tepërt, kur rreket t'u sqarojë autorëve e nëpërmjet tyre lexuesve të revistës se qëllimi i dispozitave të "Kuranit" te Surja 24 "En-Nur" është të mbrojë virtytin e nderin e njerëzisë e jo të robtojë femrën:

"Thuaju besimtarëve që të ulin shikimet e tyre (nga e ndaluara) dhe ta ruajnë nderin e tyre (nga marrëdhëniet e jashtëligjshme)! Kjo është më mirë për ta! Vërtet, Allahu është i Dijshëm për atë që bëjnë ata." (KURANI, 2017, Nahi; 24: 30)

I grish gazetarët, të cilët janë më pranë me propagandimin dhe në udhën e kundërt me predikimin, që nënshkruajnë me emra letrarë, të cilët nuk sigurojnë për gjë, të shohin problemin realisht e jo të jenë të sipërfaqshëm, kur u ofron argumentin:

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"Sëmundja asht gjetiu; por si thamë më sipër, ata qi merren me këtë çashtje ja s'janë kompetent e flasin kot, ose kanë tjera qëllime qi s'u ep dorë t'i çfaqin." (7, 1936 / 5:144)

Buharaja i ri është i bindur që themeli për emancipimin e gruas shqiptare është edukimi i saj shpirtëror, intelektual e profesional dhe jo zbulimi i tepëruar i trupit, i cili nuk e shëron dot sëmundjen e prapambetjes së trashëguar. Te problemet e parashtruara nga Harbuti ai veçon:

""1 – Të zbulojë e të çlirojë gruen."

"2 – Të oksidentalizojë elementin Musliman."

Harbuti kërkon t'i bajë këto dy vepra të mëdha! Po kush asht Harbuti? Mos pyetni, se ka frigë të dalë në shesh jo për tjetër, po se do të kuptohet shkolla e tij e naltë (!), ku i ka kryer studimet e do të kuptohet arsyja, se përse nuk i duken të përshtatun universitarët t'onë qi kanë studjue në Evropë.

…

"Zani i Naltë" duke i parë këto qëllime të liga të Harbutit me shokë këshillon vëllaznit musliman e të krishterë qi të ruhen nga të këtillë mikrobë qi përpiqen me na shembë moralin.""

Kaq i ri në moshë dhe Buharaja del si dizdar i kështjellës familjare, ku turpi, veçmas ai i femrës së celulës shpirtërore, është një vdekje reale shoqërore:

"Ndjenja e nderit, gjaja ma e vlershme për shpirtin shqiptar asht nji përzierje e krenarisë dhe sedrës. Kanuni pohon: "Për nderin e fyem nuk ka gjykim dhe gjykatë. Fale po të duash, përndryshe laje ballin tand të njollosun, derisa shnderimi të mos jetë shpague me lamjen e gjakut apo me nji falje fisnike. Përpara Kanunit i fyemi quhet si një njeri i dekun.""

(Koliqi, 1999: 55)

Sa i përket Përparim-dashësit, mendimeve të tij, është i bindur se nuk është i sinqertë në argumentin që jep, sepse ai kërkon zbulimin

e gruas jo si nevojë të kohës, por veçse nga turpi i të huajve. Gruaja shqiptare ka karakter të fortë, sipas Buharasë, është punëtore dhe di të bëjë durim. E mbështet gjykimin e vet te filozofi Sami Frashëri, i cili te drama "Besa" ka vendosur në qendër Merushen, malësoren shqiptare që këndon e lumtur:

"Kasollen e kemi mirë, / Për pallas s'kemi dëshirë. / E ku ka gjë më të mirë! / Kshu si rrojmë na të lirë! / Rrofshin qofshin malësitë! / Zili paçin mbretëritë!" ("Besa", përktheu A. Ypi)

(Për rastësi apo si ndreqje e kohës, Vexhhi Buharaja e përktheu veprën dramatike të Sami Frashërit dhe ky fragment do të jepej):

"Kasollen e kemi të mirë, / Për pallat s'kemi dëshirë / E ku ka gaz më të mirë / Sa të rrosh si ne i lirë? / Rrofshin, qofshin malësitë, / Zili paçin mbretëritë?"

(Frashëri, 1988: 33)

Për të qenë të saktë, këtu emri i përkthyesit është Vexhi, pa e ditur se është marrë mendimi i autorit apo jo për ndryshimin, që prek kuptimin.

Duke u qëndruar besnik porosive kuranore e profetike, sqaron se gruaja mund të dalë jashtë shtëpisë e zbuluar, por pa pasur qëllim jetën e kafeve, ekspozimin e stolive femërore ku nuk duhet dhe parazitizmin e kopjuar trashë prej Perëndimit materialist. Njëherazi ai sqaron raportin mes së drejtës dhe detyrës që pranon gjithsecili edhe kur përshtatja e "Kuranit" lë hapësirë dhe sipas moshës së gruas:

"Gratë e moshuara, që nuk shpresojnë më të martohen, nuk është gjynah ta heqin mbulesën e jashtme, por jo duke i treguar stolitë e tyre. E, nëse përmbahen, është edhe më mirë për ato. Allahu i dëgjon dhe i di të gjitha." (KURANI, 2017, Nahi; 24:60)

Në fund të shkrimit ai premton se çështjen e Zejnebit e të Zejdit (Redijell-llahu anhumma) do ta sqarojë në artikujt e mëpasëm, por nuk kemi mundur të gjejmë firmën e tij në ndonjë periodik tjetër

kombëtar, deri sa del me emrin e vet te një e përkohshme, por si vjershëtor.

Emri i Vexhhi Buharasë del te revista e përmuajshme "Kultura Islame" qysh në vitin e parë, te numri i përmbledhur 6-7, në një përkthim të kryer bashkë me profesor Sadik Begën. Te rubrika "Udhëheqësit e mendimit" i kanë lënë vendin e nderit aedit grek Homer, i cili është vënë në qendër të shkrimit të Dr. Taha Hysseinit botuar te revista "El Hilal". Studiuesi Hyssein sqaron se ka pasur model Plutarkun, i cili pasqyroi jetën e shumë personaliteteve grekë e romanë, që i shërbyen evolucionit botëror. Shkrimi i pambaruar mbyllet në faqen 85, ku pas njoftimit (Vazhdon) shënohet: "Përkthyer nga Profesor S. Bega dhe V. I. Buharaja, Stud. në Med. Përgjith.", që do të thotë Student në Medresenë e Përgjithshme, siç emërtohej asokohe Medreseja e Tiranës.

Sadik Bega, i porsa kthyer nga Kajroja, ku kreu studimet e larta teologjike, pasi kishte mbaruar medresenë e përgjithshme të Tiranës në vitin 1932, duke qenë bashkënxënës me maturantët e parë të kësaj shkolle të mesme kombëtare, ka përkthyer nga arabishtja edhe materiale të tjera, por duket e ka afruar maturantin e medresesë për t'i lënë rubrikën letraro-artistike dhe diturore, sepse revista e Komunitetit Mysliman Shqiptar, pas numrave të fillimit, do të shënonte në kapak që do të ishte Fetare, Letrare, Diturore, Artistike.

Në numrin e parë të shtatorit (shaban) 1939, në kapakun e saj sqarohet se e përmuajshmja do të jetë Fetare, Filozofike, Letrare, Morale e Shoqnore. Rubrika e paraqet aedin grek si mendimtar e jo vetëm letrar.

Shkrimi vijon në numrin 8 të revistës dhe ku shënohet vetëm V. I. Buharaja, pa përcaktimin 'student', duket Buharaja do të ketë marrë dëftesën e pjekurisë. Kësisoj shënohet edhe në numrin 9 të revistës, i cili vazhdon në numrin 13-14, ose numrin e parë të vitit të dytë, ku mbaron shkrimi mbi Homerin dhe fillon një shkrim mbi Sokratin, marrë edhe ky nga revista arabe "El Hilal". Shkrimi mbi të nuk përfundon te ky numër, sepse në fund shënohet (vijon), por si

përkthyes i tij shënohet vetëm S. Bega, duke munguar emri i V. I. Buharasë. Rubrika letrare dhe diturore vijon në numrin 22 të vitit të dytë me Sokratin, për t'u pasuar në vitin e katërt, te numri 9-10 me një shkrim mbi tragjedinë "Antigona" e tragjedianit të lashtë grek Sofokli.

Revista "Kultura Islame" që filloi të dalë për lexuesin shqiptar në shtator 1939, mbylli veprimtarinë e vet në fundvitin 1945, pasi i ishte ofruar lexuesit shqiptar në 46 numra.

"Kultura Islame", e cila pasoi me dinjitet shkencor e profesionalizëm "Zanin e Naltë", të mbyllur nga fashizmi italian, në numrin 13-14 të vitit të dytë, del një vjershë e ngrohtë dhe që zbut shpirtin e tharë prej dhunës, jo vetëm nga moti zhuritës, me emrin e njëzetvjeçarit Vexhhi I. Buharaja. Autori kishte kryer medresenë në Tiranë, ishte përplotësuar me formim gjuhësor, fetar, shpirtëror, kulturor e letrar dhe kishte vendosur t'i shpallte cicërimat e para në periodikun e kohës. Themi 'cicërimat' sepse nuk kemi hasur më herët ndonjë botim të tij.

•   Shiut…

Pika… pika… zuri shiu…,
Na dha frymë gjallërije
Shpresa prap` na përtëriu:
Shpresa jete… lumtërije.

☐

Thirri bota prandaj derdhi…
Lot` mëshire për mbi dhe`,
Qanë zëmrat prandaj erdhi…
Me peshqesh të math për ne`.

☐

Zunë pikat e të shtohen,
Zuri toka të gufonjë;
Zunë shpresat të shumohen,
Zuri jeta të lulzonjë.

☐

Këto pika, ujë s'janë,
Nukë vijnë këto nga retë;
Bjen` nga Qjelli i pa anë
I një Botës plotë jetë.
☐
Janë lotë dashurije,
Të një Nënës së motuar,
Që me afshe dhëmshurije
Derth mbi Bijën e mërguar.

Berat, Gusht 1940.

VEXHHI I. BUHARAJA   (Kultura Islame)

Vjersha është botuar në qoshe të faqes 22, ku përfundon shkrimi i hartuar nga S. K. "Çështje e gjuhës s'onë" mbi gjuhën letrare dhe zyrtare. Autori mbështet dialektin e Elbasanit për të qenë gjuhë zyrtare, sugjeron që të mos përdoret diktati, por të luajë rol të dobishëm edhe shkolla, sepse e kërkon interesi kombëtar:

"Pra detyra e mësojsit nuk është me imponue dialektin e një krahine tjatër. Tani të vijmë në pikën e atyre që thonë se e don interesi kombtar që dialekti i Elbasanit të bëhet zyrtar. Unë kishnja për të thënë nga ana ime se na jemi të gjithë shqiptarë e kemi që të gjithë një gjuhë; këtë na e kanë ruajtur me shekuj stërgjyshnit t'onë. Kte pra duhet t'a ruajmë edhe na, t'a pasurojmë me vepra letrare, kombtare, shoqrore, morale, etj.; këte duhet t'ua lëmë edhe fëmijvet t'onë si gjënë më të çmuar e më të shejtë. Ky, më duket, është interesi i ynë kombtar i përbashkët."

Lirika e natyrës "Shiut…" e përdor tripikëshin mbas titullit vetëm te katrena e parë. Zbrazësirat e ftojnë lexuesin të ndiejë njomjen e gjithçkaje të zhuritur nga vapa edhe si gjallëri shpirtërore, sepse përtërin shpresën që të lumturon. Vjersha është dëshmi e problemeve gjuhësore të cilat i shkaktonte mungesa e gjuhës letraro-kombëtare, veçmas shmangiet fonetike krahinore. Kalimi i e-së në 'ë'

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te fjala 'zëmrat' në strofën e dytë i ndjekur nga shurdhimi i bashkëtingëllores' dh' në 'th' te fjala 'të math', po te kjo strofë.

Në strofën e tretë del mënyra lidhore e ndërtuar me mbaresën 'një' për 'jë' te foljet 'të gufonjë', 'të lulzonjë'. Te katrena e katërt shmangiet krahinore shtohen. Pjesëza mohuese 'nuk' del 'nukë', kurse zanorja 'i' kthehet në 'j' te folja 'bjen'. Më tej për 'qielli' kemi 'Qjelli' i ndjekur nga vargu i fundit 'I një Botës plotë jetë' që duhet të ishte 'I një bote plot jetë.'

Strofa e pestë dhe e fundit kalon 'i'-në në 'j' te fjala 'dashurije', te fjala 'dhëmshurije', ku ndodh kalimi i 'e'-së në 'ë' dhe që mbyllet me vargun e 20-të të vjershës me shurdhimin e bashkëtingëllores 'dh' në 'th' te fjala 'Derth" si fjala nistore e vargut përmbyllës: "Derth mbi bijën e mërguar."

Vjersha e të riut pasqyron formimin e tij mistik që dëshmon shkrirjen dhe njësimin e shpirtit të hartuesit nga ana e tesavvufit. I shijon vargjet e ndjera kur i pranon si frymë (nefes). Term ky që lidhet fort me termin sufist nefes-i rahmani (fryma e Të Gjithëmëshirshmit). Fjalët mbi të cilat është hedhur fryma e vjershës janë verb mbarsës, një verb që lind, prandaj dhe nyjëtohet nga vjeshëtori. Kjo 'frymë gjallërije' e natyrës që ringjallet, mund të ngjallë jetën biologjike, siç ngjalli të vdekurin Isa (paqja qoftë me të!), pranohet në vjershërim si "kuptim".

Ibn Arabiu, Mevlana dhe Junus Emreja janë tre poetët sufistë që ndikuan më fort se të tjerët te poetët osmanë, por pranohet se në familjen Buharaja fliteshin të gjitha këto gjuhë orientale. Duhen punime të tjera për të argumentuar se cili prej tyre ndikoi më tepër, apo ndonjë tjetër më pak me emër, por është e sigurtë që te Vexhhi Buharaja ndikoi sufizmi, që e ndihmoi të ngjeshë brezin jo vetëm artistik, por edhe më tepër, atë kulturor. (Mahmut, 2004: 97)

Në fund të vjershës autori ka dhënë qytetin e Beratit si dhe muajin gusht, para vitit 1940, që na vendosin në hapësirë dhe kohë, si dy elemente bazë të realitetit. Ky qytet i lashtë, ndoshta më i nxehti në verë, si vend, e dëshiron pikën e ujit, veçmas në gushtin zhurritës e

pse jo edhe në vitin e dytë kur atdheu ishte nën çizmen e fashizmit që digjte shpirtin e patriotit, të cilit ia kishin mbyllur revistën zëmadhe "Zani i Naltë", me të cilën ishte rritur e formuar si i ri vjershëtor, përkthyes apo publicist. Jo vetëm kaq. Vargjet përcjellin shpresë e besim, sepse bija ka siguri, kur ka nënën.

Kushtet e kishin diktuar të kthehej në vendlindje, por nuk e kishin ftohur interesin e tij për dijen e librin.

Vexhi Buharaja ishte poliglot. Komunikonte shumë mirë anglisht, gjermanisht, frëngjisht, italisht, rusisht, por, padyshim, njihte edhe persishten, arabishten dhe osmanishten, sepse i kishte gjuhët e tij, trashëgim familjar brezash me radhë, që e flisnin dhe e shkruanin lehtësisht persishten e poezisë së orientit 'si në Buhara", toponim që u mbeti te mbiemri.

Në fillim të viteve 1940-të emri i Vexhi Buharasë u bë i njohur në mjediset intelektuale të Tiranës dhe shkrimtari Ernest Koliqi, asokohe minister i Arsimit, i ofroi një bursë në Itali për orientalistikë, të cilën nuk mund ta përdorte. Andrrallat familjare bënë të lërë edhe Tiranën dhe të kthehet në Berat, ku kishte vendlindjen. Vepra të botuara prej tij janë: "Gjylistani dhe Bostani" i Saadi Shiraziut (1960) dhe "Shah-Name" e Firdeusiut (2001, 2010). Vexhi Buharaja ka përkthyer jo pak poezi e letërsi me frymëzim fetar, por shumica e përkthimeve të tij janë letërsi laike, dokumente të historiografisë shqiptare, etj. Solli në shqip nga persishtja dhe turqishtja kompozimet parake "Tehahylat" (Endërrimet) dhe "Katër stinët" të poetit kombëtar Naim Frashëri, dramën "Besa" të Sami Frashërit, të cilën në vitin 1901 e kishte përkthyer së pari Abdyl Ypi, tekstet universitare "Kozmogonia" dhe "Psikologjia" të rektorit Hasan Tahsini, 12 dokumente të Pavarësisë Kombëtare të shkruara në osmanisht, letërkëmbime të Ismail Qemalit, proza të shkurtra e poezi të poetit turk Teufik Fikret, dokumente të historiografisë shqiptare në gjuhë të huaja etj. Përkthimi i një numri të madh mbishkrimesh turko-arabe të xhamive, etj. është një kontribut tjetër i madh i tij. "Për mua, - shkruan Lasgush Poradeci, – dy janë më të mëdhenjtë në përkthimet

nga persishtja në gjuhën shqipe: i madhi Fan Noli në Amerikë dhe i madhi Vexhi Buharaja në Berat." Poradeci nuk ka qenë vetëm poet elitar, ai ishte dhe studiues lucid, duke qenë edhe doktor i shkencave filologjike, por asaj kohe do t'i ketë munguar informacioni i saktë. Përkthimi i vetëm i Fan Nolit (Rushit Bilbil Gramshi), ai i poezive të Omar Khajamit, nuk u krye nga origjinali, sepse Fan Noli nuk ka ditur persisht, por nga anglishtja. Madje për këtë 'pakujdesi' profesionale ka shkruar edhe Hafiz Ali Korça, që e përktheu poetin pers nga origjinali:

"Megjithatë, them se zotëri Rushiti mund të ketë zotësi të ligjërojë si bilbili e ca më bukur se bilbili si në shqip ashtu edhe në gjuhë të tjera, por në persisht nuk mund të ligjërojë aspak.
Them kështu sepse jo vetëm që shumicën e rubaive i ka përkthyer krejt gabimisht por edhe disa të tjera që nuk ndodhen fare në rubaijatin e Khajjamit, nuk e di se ku i ka gjetur zotëria e tij dhe se përse e me ç'qëllim i ka ndarë dhe i ka mbledhur aty?!..."

<div align="right">(Korça, 2006: 13-14.)</div>

Ishte pak më tepër se 67 vjeç, kur u largua nga kjo jetë, në korrik të vitit 1987. As fjalori i Tahir Dizdarit nuk ishte botuar, as… Megjithatë lind natyrshëm pyetja: "Pas Vexhi Buharasë, a është orientalistika, së paku, në nivelet e traditës?" Do të ishte i mangët vlerësimi për të po të mos njehsohen mirfilli mes veprës së tij studimet, që materializojnë formimin e thellë kulturor, dija e thellë mbi historinë e vendit dhe saktësia dokumentare: "Shkollat e para të qytetit të Beratit", "Kuvendi i Sinjës dhe memorandumi i tij", "Vështrim panoramik mbi të kaluarën e lagjes Muratçelepias" etj., duke lënë të hapur vendin për zbulime të reja, që mund të jenë midis dorëshkrimeve të tij.

Vexhi Buharaja, duhet pranuar, i lindur poet, ka shkruar poezi qysh herët, por botoi qysh në moshën 15-vjeçare. Në organet periodike apo shtypin e kohës ka botuar: "Dua të jem flutur", "Shiu", "Mbi varr të saj", "Poetit" Lasgush Poradeci, "Margaritës", apo "Përpara Tomorit" (me të cilën fitoi çmim të parë në një konkurs

kombëtar). Te gjeniu i ardhshëm ravijëzohet shpirti delikat dhe i sinqertë, në një varg paqësor dhe plot humanizëm, të ndikuar nga romantizmi dhe letërsia e Rilindjes Kombëtare, e kryesisht nga Naim Frashëri apo Lasgush Poradeci, të cilit i këndoi.

Vexhi Buharaja, në gjithë krijimtarinë e vet artistike, në radhë të parë mbeti poet. Në konkursin letrar që u organizua në Tiranë dhe që u shpall më 1 janar 1942, kur ai ishte 22-vjeçar, fitoi çmimin e parë me poezinë "Përpara Tomorit". Disa vargje nga ajo vjershë të diktojnë të pranosh se vargjet e saj shpërfaqen me elemente lëndore, por vendburimi i tyre nuk është gjuha:

"Zog i shpirtit tundi krahët mbi Tomorin fluturo!
Shpuz'e mallit po valvitet, trete helmin, ligjëro!
Thuaja si ia thot' bariu, kur dëgjon zën' e gugashit.
Shko si shkon syr' i gjahtarit nëpër udhën e larashit,
Qesh, si qesh një shtizë hënë përmbi faqen e dëborës,
Ndrit, si ndrin një fije ari, mu në buzën e kurorës…"

Shpirt dhe kuptim përcjell edhe vjersha "Poetit" e Vexhi Buharasë, kushtuar Lasgush Poradecit, e cila përfundon me lavde mes një similitude befasuese, që të përkujtojnë tragjeditë e antikitetit grek dhe njëherazi tingullin autokton poetik dhe formimet e mbipërbëra si epitete:

Lum kush shuan zjarr' e zemrës për të ndezur yje shprese
Dhe nënqesh si rreze hëne përmes netëve të vrerit
Dhe duron çdo fshehtësirë që venit si pikë vese
Ashtu si duron lopatat shpirt-i heshtur i liqerit…

Vargjet e ndjera provojnë gjykimin e Umberto Ecos se përkthim do të thotë "Të thuash gati të njëjtën gjë". Dhe të thuash gati të njëjtën gjë për kryevepra poetike botërore del se është guxuar jo

pak, ndonëse ke pasur dhuntinë poetike si dhuratë:

"Kjo na mbështet në bindjen e përbotshme se në poezi është shprehja (fryma) ajo që kryeson mbi përmbajtjen. Pra përmbajtja, si të thuash, duhet të përshtatet me këtë pengesë të shprehjes. Parimi i prozës është rem tene, verba sequentur (rëndësi ka dëshira, fjala del e dyta), parimi i poezisë është verba tene, res sequenter (rëndësi ka fjala, dëshira del e dyta).

(Eco, 2006:60)

Po të mos kishte të lindur këtë aftësi nuk do të kishim tani në dorë dy kryeveprat perse dhe njëherazi të kulturës botërore, për të cilat kishte aq shumë nevojë kultura shqiptare. Edhe fjala mori peshë, gdhendi më imët duke i shtuar peshë gjuhës së shqiptarëve. Te publicistika qytetare, te vargu poetik, te përkthimi apo të punimi shkencor ndihet dashuria si burim i dijes që emancipon, por asnjëherë falsifikimi apo errësimi i fjalës.

Për Vexhi Buharanë, luçidin e orientalistikës shqiptare me shpirtin e poetit qytetar, radha e kërkon të flasë një tjetër i madh i letrave, Visar Zhiti me poezinë "Vdekja e përkthyesit të Saadiut":

Ece zbathur në shkretëtirë,

Përdore e more Saadiun

Dhe e solle në shtëpitë tona,

Mysafir.

Por ty të harruam

Megjithëse edhe rëra,

Ka kujtesë gjurmësh.

Prisnim të ikje, që të dinim ç'humbëm.

Përsëri vdiq Saadiu dhe e futëm në arkivolin

Si mirazh.

Lëkunden në ajër,

Qindra duar të ngritura lart

Që të mbajnë Ty shenjtor dhe të çojnë,

Në asnjë varr.

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Prof. Dr. Liljana Siljanovska
Theoretical analyzes of European media culture
yhtough contemporary discourses of
communication reality and social changes

Abstract

This paper has a qualitative approach in the research with analysis of documents of the European Union, a comparative analysis of certain European media and a case study in the Republic of Northern Macedonia on European media policies and regulations applied in the Macedonian media practice, for which interviews were conducted with representatives from academic and professional circles in media communication analysis of research from international and national projects and documents, as well as analysis of media texts. The paper aims to confirm the thesis of the multidimensionality of the discourse media culture in Europe in light of social changes with cultural globalization with an emphasis on the influence of contemporary discourses on the communication reality in Macedonia. European communication reality increasingly confirms the thesis that the culture of the media simultaneously offers both the worst and the best, while showing the growing inclination towards the average. It replaces democracy with consensus, starting from the view that if it fails to like, must take care to satisfy the needs of the whole public. The excessive imposition of the media on the public, on the other hand, replaces the true professional and ethical standards and criteria with media recognition imposed on the communication market according to the needs and wishes of the consumers. Global communication increasingly expresses the need for media pluralism and democratization of society, but if one starts from the thesis that a multitude of information "kills" information, then the lack of analytical media genres adversely affects the awareness of critical public opinion. The extensive global media coverage in the Macedonian media reality stimulates the media

generation and construction of the global significance of a local conflict by activating the global civil society and the global dimension of the conflict.

Keywords: media, culture, communication, European, values, unification

Introduction

Media universality and particularity are two related aspects of cultural globalization which define the unification of European values and diversity of cultures and identities through individualization and self-actualization. Global media polarize communication practices expressed through the media phenomenon of homogenization of content and media diversity of communication messages. The Europeanized actualization of the problem opens a dilemma caused by the policy of quotas and other measures applied by the Member States of the European Union embedded in the European Directive on Television. The question arises: Has the EU failed to create an appropriate media culture for European citizenship. Modern discourses of communication reality and social changes redefine media literacy in the multidimensional construction of the phenomenon-media culture which represents a dynamic form of communication culture through the components of communication process: the source of the message, its structure and organization, the distribution of the message and the recipient of the message, that is, the audience.

1. DIMENSIONS OF MEDIA CULTURE IN EUROPE

According to Douglas Kellner, "media culture uses images, sounds and ideas that form the content of everyday life, dominate leisure time, shape political views and social behavior." (Kellner. D, 2003) Media reshape people's lives by creating patterns of identification and projection, political and civic participation, reflecting the democratization of culture and the modernization of society. Media culture dominates many forms of social life and is of most importance for understanding the 21st century culture defined as the era of postmodernism.

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1.1. MEDIA CULTURE AS AN IDENTITY DISCOURSE AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Media content through electronic media shapes the identity of people.

"... It seems clear that among the hottest questions of the new century that will be fought on both an international and intra-state level, with profound political and economic consequences, will not be the end of the history and the loss of the subject, but the politics of identity and preservation of culture ". (Sreberny-Mohammadi, 1991, The Global and the Local in International Communication in J.Curran and M Gurevitch (eds) Mass Media and Society, London: Routledge, p.135)

Questions about the media influence on cultural identity polynomiality were re-actualized and imposed as a necessity and demand of social globalization. Several reasons create irreplaceable globalization and multidimensional media culture: information revolution, communication technology and democratic principles of regulating social relations as basic human rights. European radio and television were instruments that built collective life and national cultures. In American communication reality, radio and television were used to focus on national interests and activities. "In the United States, as opposed to commercial electronic media that worked exclusively for the purpose of realizing financial assets and were a kind of norm, this role was played by the national networks of ABC, CBS and NBC." (Siljanovska, 2007: 12,)

Today's electronic media have a dual role to serve the political public sphere of the national state and to focus on national and cultural identification.

1.2. UNIFICATION OF SOCIAL VALUES AND THE PHENOMENON OF A PLANETARY AUDIENCE

Television and new interactive multimedia services build a planetary audience that offers new dangers such as the one for a single media

culture in which a "unified" way of living is marketed as global behavioral values. According to Marshall, McLuhan maxim - the medium is a message, and the world is a global village, this connection introduces two key terms in media communication: visualization and virtualization of the media reality needing to be understood as challenges and as threats to the individual dimension of individual media by defining their identity.

The global issues also influence the creation of global attitudes and opinions. Unification of attitudes is particularly expressed in international conflicts for which media practice shows that they encourage conflicts rather than manage them through alternative solutions.

The phenomenon of the planetary audience cannot allow the creation of a single media culture in the whole world. Separate specific international cultural values are embedded as universal values in local identities. There is always a danger of cultural ghettoization in the light of the globalization of culture.

2. MEDIA LITERACY AND MEDIA INFORMATION LITERACY – DISCOURCES OF MEDIA CULTURE

The American National Association for Media Literacy defines discourse as media literacy as the ability to access, analyze, evaluate and create media content in a variety of forms and how to use them.

The American professor Renee Hobbs sets out the five basic questions that a media literate person should always ask when he follows some media content, which are: who created the message and why it is sent; which perspectives and techniques are used to attract attention; which views and values are represented through the message; how different people interpret the message differently; what has been missed in the message.

The European Charter for Media Literacy contains a definition that goes beyond the four components - source, message, channel and recipient, and adds other aspects such as the behavior of the audience to avoid offensive or harmful content as well as the use of media for practicing citizens' rights. The Media Literacy Expert Group, established by the European Commission, defines media literacy as:

"... ability to access, analyze and evaluate the power of images, sounds and messages that we now face daily and which are an important part of our contemporary culture, as well as competent communication in the media available on a personal basis. Media literacy refers to all media, including television and film, radio and recorded music, print media, the Internet and other new digital communications technologies. "

According to the EU, the goal of media literacy increases the awareness of many forms of media messages that organize and structure social life. Media literacy should enable citizens to recognize how the media filter their perceptions and beliefs.

David McClelland (1961) in his work "Productive Society" dealt with the link between mass communication and motivation for productivity, as well as developing the thesis of the relationship between "Protestant ethics and the spirit of capitalism", trying to connect the emergence of periods of economic growth and the existence Of motivation for productivity of the population. (Weber in Kunchik, M, Zipfeld, A, 1998).

As emphasized in the European Commission's recommendations on media literacy in the digital society (2009), "media literary society at the same time is a stimulus and prerequisite for the pluralism and independence of the media, for expressing different opinions and ideas in different languages that represent different groups, and in the society a positive impact on the values of diversity, tolerance, transparency, equality and dialogue."

UNESCO pays great attention to the development and encouragement of media literacy, using the term "media and information literacy". Since the 1980s, media literacy has become an integral part of education within educational plans and programs and has increasing importance in media policy and regulation.

The EU report on the progress of the Republic of Northern Macedonia in the European integrations has introduced a new benchmark since October 2013 - the level of media culture in the country. Analyzes of this new condition suggest that Brussels in the media space in Northern Macedonia wants to see a media culture that clearly scans the communicative reality of who has the power and who does not.

Media and journalists often interfere with media literacy with "language literacy" and "journalistic skills". But they recognize the importance of interaction with the audience and other than traditional forms of communication almost all have channels for online communication (mostly via social networks Facebook, Twitter, YouTube) without standardized rules and divided tasks.

Hence, media reflects standards, a reflection of media pedagogy, "as Douglas Kellner (2003), who teaches how to think freely, how to choose what to believe and how to acquire skills that will teach one person how to recognize media manipulations.

3. ANALYISIS OF A CASE IN THE REPUBLIC OF NORTHERN MACEDONIA

In Republic of Northern Macedonia little has been done to promote and implement media literacy. By adopting the Law on Audio and Audiovisual Media Services (December 2013), the term "media literacy" was firstly mentioned "institutionally. From interviews with representatives of the non-governmental sector in Northern Macedonia, it was concluded that a few years earlier (2009-2011) the Macedonian Institute for Media will engaged this issue, by conducting research, developing a special teacher handbook regarding media literacy (primary and secondary education), organizing teacher training and creating a web site dedicated to the exchange of experiences regarding media literacy.

Today, attempts to promote media literacy in the Republic of Northern Macedonia are still at a beginner level, despite the recommendations and resolutions from the EU and the Council of Europe. Analyzes of the research show that in the country's legislation, the only segment where the normative regulation of media literacy is the media sphere, but without its clearly defined strategy.

The Agency for Audio and Audiovisual Media Services should legally promote media literacy, especially the Macedonian Radio and Television should implement promoting programs. The Agency, whose obligation is stipulated by the Audiovisual and Audiovisual Services

Directive of the European Commission, is late with surveys to measure the level of media literacy in the country, causing an absence of basic official data on the real state of media literacy. According to the analysis of the research of the Higher School of Journalism and Public Relations, the adaptation of several media literacy spots for children and adults (parents) popularize media literacy.

Analyzes of media culture segments show that Macedonian communication reality lacks educational content to help the audience to overcome digital divide. In developed European countries with a long democratic tradition, it can generally be concluded that public services are essentially following official state policies, such as the example with BBC in the UK, and not politics and the ideology of the ruling party.

4. MEDIA PLURALISM AND INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM IN THE MACEDONIAN COMMUNICATION REALITY

Freedom of expression and information, as enshrined in Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, is one of the fundamental principles on which democratic society is based. The two most commonly used democratic forms of media pluralism are the representative and the participatory. According to Blumer, what citizens need most in the sphere of information is the existence of "... well-informed agents who will be able to act effectively in analyzing the information environment and who will find reasonable solutions to the problems that society today faces "(Kunchik, M. Tsipfel, 1998: 101)

Regarding how the citizen in the Republic of Northern Macedonia ranks the quality and degree of objectivity of informing about politics and political developments, opinion polls on the IRI (2017) show that informative shows, TV diaries or popularly called News (be they presented on television, radio, newspaper or information portals) have the highest credibility, ie the majority of respondents (39.2%) believe that the most objective information is received from the News. For 29.4 percent of respondents, objective information is also offered by debates, such as "Top

Theme" on "Telma", "360 degrees" on "Alsat-M", "Only Truth" on "Channel 5", "Wall" on Alpha ".

In our country investigative journalism is not practiced as a team work. Namely, more than half of our journalists (55.2%) were not part of a journalistic research team, while 36.2% were part of such a team. Only 4.9% of journalists were part of a journalist international team. A series of newspapers around the world, such as Newsweek, LExpress, Der Spiegel and Economist, hire journalists specialists whose texts are based on in-depth research and use data from specialized institutions and documentation, archives, libraries, public opinion research organizations, telegraph services agencies and so on. In our country, the specialization of journalists for certain narrower topics is modestly represented. Namely, this research showed that the majority of journalists (76.7%) are not specialized in thematic reporting / writing and research in a particular area. Sunday Times was the first British newspaper to hire a team of reporters who worked synchronized in the 1960s to conduct a thorough investigation into the harmful effect of the thalidomide, which was the cause of the birth of children with impairments. Their report won numerous awards for investigative journalism.

Television operates on the principle that is the shortest journalistic form of expression with video genetic qualities and the potential to attract as many viewers as possible. The newscasts - news on television, are not suitable for this type of journalism, due to the excessive abundance of information and limited duration.

Solution Journalism is the result of new media and demands of a new audience. This type of journalism offers ideas for solutions to various social problems. The first stage is the search for the background of the event aimed at answering the questions of who, what, where, when and how. The second stage is the analysis, ie placing the event in a wider social context and answering the question - why. The indication of the further development of the event predicts the third stage. If we analyze the results of the survey on citizens' perceptions of the media, (Project of the School for Journalism and Public Relations, 2018), a favorable climate for the development of solutions

offering journalism has not yet been created. Namely, more than half of the citizens (52.2%) do not expect journalists to discover in their texts the reasons for the events and offer solutions, but only to inform them.

CONCLUSION

In the era of cultural globalization, the world's media culture determines the key aspects of contemporary communication reality and social change. The communicational culture expressed through media contents influences the development of democratic relations and the pluralism of the people's interests through a relationship for their role in the socio-political, economic and cultural life. Moreover, as the European Commission's recommendations on media literacy in the digital society (2009) point out, "media literary society at the same time is a stimulus and prerequisite for the pluralism and independence of the media, for expressing different opinions and ideas, different languages that represent different groups, and in society a positive impact on the values of diversity, tolerance, transparency, equality and dialogue.

Media culture imposes the need for multidimensional approach and involvement of the competent ministries, capital owners, representatives of the journalistic profession, the non-governmental sector and scientific institutions. The media regulation based on the country's social and economic needs and European media standards. Particular attention should be paid to the regulation that should strengthen the public service ("MRTV).

For the practice of investigative journalism it is necessary to provide direct financial support to the journalists and journalists' teams by the media who are trying to maintain its rating with quality journalism.

Media associations should work on a more intensive and comprehensive promotion, thus explaining to the citizens the meaning and role of contemporary journalism and the role of the media in a democratic society.

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The Role of Media on Empowering Women and Gender Equity in the Sustainable Development of Albania

Abstract

The role of media has become very important in shaping present days society. Media is often considered as the fourth pillar of the society and democratic medium of information. In the other hand women empowerment is very essential for the development of the country. The issue of women empowerment and gender equality is at the top of the agendas across the world. In development country, gender disparity is highly rampant compared to the development country.

The purpose of this study is focused to uncover the role of media on empowering women and achieving gender equality in the sustainable development of Albania. To achieve the purpose of the study is used a methodology based on primary and secondary data. Based on the data analyzed, finds of the study shows that the impact of media on empowering the role of women across different dimensions sustainable development is less reflected in the country.

Media has a key role in shaping issues, but in this case they do not have strategies for helping gender equity. So the study concluded that media itself need to build up strategies for creating media gender equality in the media itself, such as: a) including news about and for women, b) strong commitment for management, c) women occupy all roles, d) create pay equality e) increase skills and leadership abilities.

Keywords: media empower women, gender equity, and society value

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents an overview of the different definitions of and conceptual approaches to empowerment of women and the role of media in achieving gender equality in the sustainable development of Albania. In fact, there is no common definition of women's empowerment, but the phrase is used pervasively in the gender equality and women's empowerment space. It is generally in the context of issues; economic empowerment, political participation, and girls' education. Discussions around empowerment are so much related to activities associated with 'economic', 'social' and 'political' empowerment.

Economic empowerment: seeks to ensure that people have the appropriate skills, capabilities, resources, access to secure and sustainable incomes and livelihoods. Women's economic empowerment is a prerequisite for sustainable development, pro-poor growth and the achievement of all the MDGs*. At the same time it is about rights and equitable societies. (OECD, 2011)

Human and social empowerment: as a multidimensional social process that helps people gain control over their lives (Robert, A., 2008). This is a process that fosters power (that is, the capacity to implement) in people, for use in their own lives, their communities and their society, by being able to act on issues that they define as important.

Political empowerment: The capacity to analyze, organize and mobilize. This results in the collective action that is needed for collective change. It is often related to a rights-based approach to empowerment and the empowering of citizens to claim their rights and entitlements (Piron and Watkins, 2004). Cultural empowerment: The redefining of rules and norms and the recreating of cultural and symbolic practices. This may involve focusing on minority rights by using culture as an entry point (Cecilia, L., Sitna, Q., Claire, S., Kate B.:2008). So, Empowerment is a process of increasing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and to transform them into desired actions and outcomes. Media plays a very important role as an agent of changes in society.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The purpose of the research was to understand the role of media on empowering women and gender equity in the sustainable development of Albania. Specifically, the goals of the study were to: 1. document the media experiences in social and community lives; 2. promote a balanced and non-stereotyped portrayal of women in the media; 3. view the role of the media in the creation of women's social roles to reinforce them. Almost everyone benefits from the media.

So, this study is an attempt to understand and explore more on: What is the role of the mass media in our country in the creation of women's social roles to reinforce them? How can we benefit from mass media for gender equality and women empowerment? How can be improved women's visibility in the decision making process in the media sector? So, in this paper the role that media can play in the empowerment of women and gender equality has been analyzed and identified.

To achieve the purpose of this paper it is used a methodology based on primary and secondary data. Based on the data analyzed, the study attempt to shows how the impact of media is on empowering the role of women across different dimensions to sustainable development in the country.

EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY AS A SOCIAL VALUE

It has already been acknowledged that the media contributed undoubtedly to (re) dimensioning public opinion. As in the developed societies, they are seen as the biggest generators of emancipating society to democratic values and principles. Since the 1980s, the theme of empowerment has become central to the work of many development organizations. SDC (2004) conceptualizes empowerment as an emancipation process in which the disadvantaged are empowered to exercise their rights, obtain access to resources and participate actively in the process of shaping society and making decisions. However, there is a range of definitions and approaches used by different organizations. A democratic society with strong, open and transparent institutions, but also with the active participation of all members of society, especially women, will ensure the long-term stability of peace and security

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(USAID, 2018). Providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in political and economic decision-making processes will fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large (UN, SDG, 2019). Empowerment of women and the development of gender equality would undoubtedly affect the powerful mediators of social development.

Gender equality is seen not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. So there are two goals of SDGs that are very related to our study: a) to promote gender equity and empowering women; b) to enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women. Moreover, it has been shown that empowering women spurs productivity and economic growth. So goal 5, to "achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" is known as the stand-alone gender goal, because it is dedicated to achieving these ends.

So, in able to create, connect and highlight the initiatives that the global community is working on to achieve the SDGs, a live format of interviews, panel discussions and other digital content is created. The SDG Media Zone (http://www.un.org/sdgmediazone) provides a dynamic space to strengthen the commitment of the international community and bring together well-known personalities and Member States as well as content creators, influencers and media partners. So, media is seen as an important agent that plays important roles in society. Media report on current events, provide frameworks for interpretation, mobilize citizens with regard to various issues, reproduce predominant culture and society, and entertain (Llanos, B., Nina, J. , : 2011). As such, media is seen to be an important factor in the promotion of gender equality and empowering women.

Gender describes the socially-constructed roles and responsibilities that societies consider appropriate for men and women (WHO, 2011). If media are a mirror of society as they should be, they certainly need to reflect better the fact that gender equality is a fundamental human right. It is essential that the media promote gender equality, both within the working environment and in the representation of women. While statistics show that more and more women are

training and entering the field, the number of women producers, executives, chief editors, and publishers remains shockingly low (UNESKO, 2009). In our country there is an increase in the participation of women as journalists in print and electronic media. According to EUROSTAT (2016) journalism is the areas of study where women graduate most (13.6%), but we emphasize that there is still a challenge not to participate in decision-making positions in women's media. Globally, no country has fully attained gender equality (WEF, 2010). Gender parity is fundamental to whether and how economies and societies thrive (WEF, 2010). This report finds that, globally, although many countries have achieved important milestones towards gender parity across education, health, economic and political systems, there remains much to be done.

Since 2006 the Global Gender Gap Index presented in this report seeks to measure the relative gaps between women and men across four key areas: health, education, economy and politics. It does not seek to set priorities for countries but, rather, to provide a comprehensive set of data and a clear method for tracking gaps on critical indicators so that countries may set priorities within their own economic, political and cultural contexts. The Global Gender Gap Report (WEF, 2018) benchmarks 149 countries on their progress towards gender and according to data Albania has these indicators for 2006/2018.

Albania Gender Gap score from 2006 to 2018

	Year 2006	Year 2018
	Rank	Rank
Economic participation and opportunity	61	34
Economic participation and opportunity	38	54
Educational attainment Health and survival	58	91
Political empowerment	110	134
	105	34

	Rank out of 115	Rank out of 149

Note: The data of this table are taken from World Economic Forum 2018. www.weforum.org.

Today, the Global Gender Gap score stands at 68%. This means that, on average, there is still a 32% gap to close. It highlights how the gap is still large across most of the 149 countries assessed. To data, no country has achieved parity, and only the top seven countries in the rankings have closed at least 80% of the gap. Among them, the top four are Nordic countries (Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland). As highlighted by previous editions, the progress towards parity continues to be very slow.

In recent years, Albania has improved the status of women and promoted gender equality. However, the country still faces many challenges in terms of fully displaying and utilizing the women's potential in the labor market and economy, increasing participation in decision-making and eradicating the widespread violence against women, particularly in the family realm. In addition, the country still needs to strengthen its legislative and institutional framework pertaining to gender equality and non-discrimination, improve monitoring and accountability of public offices towards women as well as ensure gender mainstreaming in public policies (UN Albania, 2019)

Gender equality is now a core principle in the Organic Budget Law (2016), enabling Albania to stand out among many European countries. A growing trend of public expenditures at the central level directed towards achieving gender equality is noted. Year 2017 saw inclusion of Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) as a legal requirement in the local government financial management cycle, attributed to approval of Law no. 68/2017 "On Local Government Finances" (Progress Report, UN Albania; 2017). Creating a sustainable economy in the context of a global economic crisis and developing a responsible budget to the current reform efforts remains a major challenge. The Mid-Term Budget Program (2018-2020) reflects an increase of funds, respectively about 3% of the medium-term budget program (Ministria e Shëndetësisë dhe Mbrojtjes Sociale, Raport 2017). Within the framework of

gender-responsive budgeting, training was carried out within the framework of the changes that the Organic Budget Law has undergone, whereby the inclusion of the principles of gender equality is very important. One of the issues addressed in the fourth report of the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women is awareness rising with seminars with media representatives on the proper reporting of gender equality issues and strengthening of women in our society (CEDAW, 2016). However, media in the country there are still no specialized journalists in this field. Also, there is a lacking specific media strategies where gender is seen as a priority. Politics is still a major media place. Consequently, the issues around these issues are not very addressed in the media.

Meanwhile, empowerment is a multidimensional social process that enables people to gain control over their lives (WHO, 2011). Strategies for empowerment therefore often challenge existing power allocations and relations to give disadvantaged groups more power.

Empowered women contribute to the health and productivity of their families, communities, and a country, creating a ripple effect that benefits everyone. So, what, is women's empowerment? Women's empowerment has five components: women's sense of self-worth; their right to have and to determine choices; their right to have access to opportunities and resources; their right to have the power to control their own lives, both within and outside the home; and their ability to influence the direction of social change to create a more just social and economic order, nationally and internationally. McClelland (1975) has suggested that in order for people to take power, they need to gain information about themselves and their environment and be willing to identify and work with others for change (McClelland, D.C.,:1975). Women's empowerment is a critical aspect of achieving gender equality. It includes increasing a woman's sense of self-worth, her decision-making power, her access to opportunities and resources, her power and control over her own life inside and outside the home, and her ability to effect change.

So is very important that media play its role in our society and according to the findings is required: a. to encourage the creation of appropriate groups in local media to ensure that women's needs and concerns are properly reflected; b.

creating networks and developing information programs for women's organizations and professional media organizations to recognize the specific needs of women in the media; c. training women for using the information technology for communication and media; d. raising media strategies for the promotion of women's human rights and gender equality; e. encourage the media to develop more reports on educational institutions. Use various forms of communication by media and putting in center more information on development and social issues; f. encourage the media to develop specific programmes to raise awareness on these important issues. g. increasing the number of journalists who are socially concerned, especially in gender issues.

MEDIA RELATED TO THESE ISSUES

Media plays a very important role in our daily life. Media helps form our social values. But how media is related to these issues? Partnering with private sector organizations, different issues on empowering women can be promote by using of media, especially social media, as a powerful tool to advocate for elimination of violence against women and promote gender equality also. Gender equality is at the very heart of human rights. It is a driver for sustainable development and good governance.

Studies show that in general human rights, anti-discrimination issues and even more so gender equality issues have not yet been integrated into the natural course of daily reporting (Dasara, D. Z., 2013). Albania is the first country in the region to have an action plan and online platform for the monitoring of human rights in the country (UN Albania, 2019). There is a notably high attention of the media towards events, conferences and discussions around the issues of gender issues, but they are generally supported by the international donor community in Albania which usually makes headline news. Also while treating gender themes and issues, the articles occasionally touch upon women empowerment issues or gender equality.

Media in general are very useful though not at the desired level to support women's emancipation movements by focusing on women's positions in society. Still women on the TV screen appear very rarely and very superficial and inadequate (Bukureze S., 2012). Thus, media access to focus on gender

issues and empowering women in our country through a specific strategy seems to be lacking.

In a recently realized report in Albania, it is shown how the media often affects the dehumanization of women's figures. Albania shows the propensity to vehiculate sexualized and objectified female images in various media channels (Gus 2018). But, media is the first government and plays a crucial role in creating mentalities on gender equality and the role assigned to women and men in society, because traditional and social media reach and penetrate across the country and are followed by all strata and groups of society (Çepani, E., 2016). In this sense, the way in which girls and women are portrayed in the media directly affects the creation of gender perceptions and stereotypes about the role of women in society or the expectations that society promotes and promotes regarding the status and social contribution of women.

Despite several progresses in women empowerment, more attention and commitment are necessary to tackle the instrumentation of female images in media, phenomenon highly related to the logic of consumerism. It is really common to see a stereotyped usage of women images in advertisements, which encourages discriminatory and sexists' attitudes at social level.

The powerful and positive role that the media can play in the empowerment of women and gender equality should be supported and further explored. The development of gender-sensitive indicators for media organizations would be a first important step in these directions (Desara, Z., 2013). Despite the level of professionalism, media reports that some forms of coverage, such as those of vulnerable groups, are difficult to finance through commercial media schemes in a small market like Albania, which leads many journalists and editors to avoid news (BIRN, 2015) So, it is very important to encourage the media industry and media institutions to develop, in appropriate forms of strategies of media, such as reflecting to gender issues and women empowerment, utilize these forms of communication to disseminate information on development and social issues.

The coverage of civil society in the Albanian media has the same problems as the coverage of marginalized groups, women, children, etc., which are considered superficial and are not followed up. This kind of coverage is

related to the norms that Albanian media apply in the process of newsgathering, analyzing, contextualizing, etc. It depends also on the professionalism of the journalists and on the personal values and beliefs of the editors toward civil society (Sulçe V., (2016). Overall our study shows that the media in Albania have no specific policy for covering empowerment of women and gender equity. Studies conducted observing some media for a long time, have ascertained that: a) In general, the reporting is neutral, describing the activities correctly, but they often cite their representatives who in most cases are political characters who may have participated in a meeting or activity rather than the direct representative of civil society; b) in most of the cases there is no periodically follow up on the events, only in case of street protests or context about the profile of the organizations etc; c) Mass media (newspapers, TV, revises, etc.) are more ethical than social media with regard to various gender-based issues. Meanwhile in most cases civil society sees media as a partner, but civil society organizations strive for media attention. The civil society focused on women and gender issues should invest more on media relationships, as a special value of their work together. Civil society needs to explore innovative ways to work with media and make its activities interesting and newsworthy, so to have more investigative reporting, more contexts of the reported news and more follow up.

As a conclusion the role of media to empowerment of women is very important, as a factor, where power can be developed, facilitated or secured with the purpose of enabling challenged individuals or groups to: a) improve their self esteem; b) increase their resources

c) build up the ability to act on their own in different situations.

SOCIAL MEDIA TO EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN AND GENDER EQUALITY

It is undoubtedly true that empowerment of women can be made possible by education through mass media. Mass media has played a vital role in empowerment of women. Today life is conditioned by mass media. It has molded public opinion of the masses. On other hand, social media could enhance women's participation in economic and political life, and allows them

to increase their self expression and promote social change, and this is a strong belief that has risen up in the society (Mira, D., 2012).

According to the study conducted from Albania Media Institute most of the Albanian people (60.10 %) use internet. The number of male users in Face book is almost two times more than those of females. The next most popular social network is Twitter. It has a bigger audience in countries with more advanced democracy, according to statistics. This is explained to a greater extent due to the fact that in these societies exist a higher level of reaction and idealization, and also a more developed culture of following role models, including politicians. Based on level of usage, Twitter remains with limited penetration level in Albania (Albanian Media Institute 2015). Also other social media are used.

Meanwhile, studies show that women are more likely to be social media users than men. In many cases the influence of social media in increasing the audience is significant (Duggan, M.,:2015). Recently the tendency of using social media as a source of information for news media is on the rise. So, following the global trend of increasing participatory culture through internet, even in Albania online communities are getting bigger and are playing an important role in raising public awareness on important social causes.

In a study conducted by AMI under the heading "Report on the coverage of vulnerable groups in the Albanian media," the least affected topics in the media were the LGBT community, the elderly and the mental health problem (AMI, 2018). While topics such as reporting on the empowerment of women in education, science, community or even in the media, etc., are not addressed. Although these topics are of great social importance and represent a great public interest as they affect everyone. Thus, the approach towards the creation of well-defined sectors within the editorial offices seems to be the profiling of journalists. In this way, it is possible to create a better informed, fuller and deeper reporting of each of the themes of social importance. It also help them being part of civic participation and social changes. It was found at that more men than women believed that social media can be used for the political empowerment of women (Mira D.,:2012). Also, social media is used for more activism or to contribute to community. So analyzing social media it appears

that it is a tool of empowerment women being communication and self expression.

The majority of online newsrooms have not established yet any code of ethics or a self regulating framework. A positive example in this respect is shqiptarja.com, which is the first online media that has created a comprehensive code of ethics (AMI, 2015). Ethical issues remain a great challenge for social media in Albania. Some ethical issues media are faced in Albania are those related with the violation of privacy and personal data, hate speech, personal attacks, ect, often taking advantage offered by the internet to remain anonymous .

SUGGESTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper research has shown that addressing gender equality and women's empowerment requires strategic interventions at all levels of media programming and policy-making.

- Even though, discrimination against and exploitation of women are global phenomena, their consequences are more tragic in the some parts of the globe particularly in under developed countries where, ignorance, deprivation of the basic necessities of life.

- Media models focusing on vulnerable groups or social issues should be supported in order to cover on topics of this importance.

- The powerful and positive role that the media can play in the empowerment of women and gender equality should be supported and further explored.

-Social media has had a noticeable impact for more activism or contribute to community, but ethic issues remain a great challenge for social media in Albania.

- It is important that a government approach to be taken to media reporting on sensible social issues, by providing legislation for the vulnerable groups or including appropriate legislation against women in media.

- Media have a huge impact for the empowerment of women; however the overall use of this media by women is still low.

As a conclusion, the role of media to empowerment of women is very important, as a factor, where power can be developed, facilitated or secured with the purpose of enabling challenged individuals or groups to: improve their self esteem; increase their resources

and build up the ability to act on their own in different situations.

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PhD. Urtak Hamiti

Between religious nationalism and state –sponsored facism the Serbian Orthodox church and the issue of Kosovo's statehood and its Albanian majority population

Abstract

Religious nationalism is often perceived as a manifestation of a certain nation, such a nation being a community of ancestors and those living presently, both dead and alive, sharing a common religion. In this case, nationalism incorporates within its territory all past and current markers of nationhood, religious monuments, religious tales, and in the case of Serbian religious nationalism even the self-perpetuating myth of "Kosovo as the Jerusalem of Serbian faith and birth place of Serbian country". The correlation between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian State, inspired by religious nationalism, bent on disintegrating former Yugoslavia and creating a "Greater Serbia" has been explained and presented historically. However, nowhere better than in the conflict of Kosovo and in the aftermath of the creation of Kosovo as an independent and sovereign state, has the Serbian Orthodox Church taken such a strong stance of inspiring and defending Serbian religious nationalism, failed to condemn Serbian state's fascist and genocidal tendencies and crimes against Kosovo Albanians (a majority of whom are Muslims, practicing or non-practicing) and still remains opposed to any political solution that would settle the relations between the two countries, Kosovo and Serbia.

Keywords: religious nationalism, the Serbian Orthodox Church, Kosovo War, Kosovo Statehood, Kosovo Albanian Muslim heritage

The complete restructuring of nations in the area of the Western Balkans (more specifically in the area of former Yugoslavia), which foresees settled disputes between nations and countries and no open issues, that began three decades ago, is still an ongoing and unfinished business. Ethnic tensions fueled by nationalisms that destroyed former Yugoslavia began with the annulment of Kosovo's autonomy within the Yugoslav Federation by Serbian state authorities on March 23rd 1989. Serb nationalist movement began its plan to create a "Greater Serbia", a country that would encompass all areas in former Yugoslavia with Serb population, exactly by suspending Kosovo's autonomy, where the majority of population were and still are Albanians of mostly Muslim religion, who had previously demanded even greater autonomy within Yugoslav Federation through massive demonstrations in 1981. Although, religion was not officially banned in socialist Yugoslavia Federation, it did not play a significant role in the society and identity of nations that lived alongside each other in the Federation. The Serbian Orthodox Church was the first Serb institution that dared, in the early 1960's and later in 1982, to publicize that Kosovo Albanians allegedly planned and executed the expulsion of Kosovo Serbs as well as persecution of the Church itself.

Unable to deny the historical truth that Kosovo has always been a majority Albanian- populated area, both as part of the Ottoman Empire or the Yugoslav Federation, Serb nationalists have always laid claim to Kosovo on historical grounds. Serb nationalists and the Serbian Orthodox Church have posited Kosovo as the cradle of their culture and religion emphasizing the battle that took place in 1389 between a Christian Coalition and Turkish Ottoman forces, at the Fushe Kosova/Kosovo Polje or Field of Black Birds, and the fact that Patriarchate of Peja/Pec has always been in Kosovo even during five centuries of Ottoman rule.

In the Yugoslav Federation, the Serbian Orthodox Church offered a different mythical and historically distorted narrative for Serb nationalists by stating that Serbia has always been sacrificed and in

defense of Christian values; therefore, the Serb nation has every right to lay claim to territories it once controlled, according to the Church. The Serbian Orthodox Church coined the phrase "Kosovo is the Serbian Jerusalem" precisely aiming to back a stance where the Serbian nation and religion are one in defense of Christendom. This discourse was applied by Serb nationalists in pursuit of their of "Greater Serbia". However, this was an invented tradition. As in many other cases of religious nationalisms, modern nationalist practices often use historical materials and events to construct an invented tradition for immediate purposes mainly to mobilize their nationalist base.

Serb religious nationalists used other historical events to enhance their position such as the retreat of defeated Serbian army that was almost obliterated by Austrian-Hungarian forces in the First World War. The retreat took place through present Kosovo and Albania to the island of Corfu, Greece. This retreat was branded as "Serbian Golgotha" and after the war, in 1918 while commemorating it as martyrdom and comparing it with the heroism of Serbs at the Battle of 1389, Patriarch Dimitrije Pavlovic used the phrase of "Serbian Jerusalem" urging Serbs for holy journeys to the island of Corfu that has memorials and Serbian military cemetery, as pilgrims go to Jerusalem

The first published quote of Kosovo as "Serbian Jerusalem" was used by Serbian general and Nazi Collaborator Milan Nedic in June of 1939, marking the 550th anniversary of the Battle of 1389 in daily "Politika" in which he stated "that as dark clouds gather in the skies of Europe, Serbs are again returning to Kosovo, Serbian Jerusalem". This discourse was replicated in 1989 by Serbian nationalists aiming to mobilize and militarize its base seeking "Greater Serbia". However, it also proves that the phrase "Serbian Jerusalem" itself exemplifies the nationalist practice of the invention of tradition and distortion of history.

Not only Serb religious nationalists where using the phrase "Kosovo is Serbian Jerusalem", but also prominent intellectuals and Communists further developed the Serb-Jewish parallel. One of the most prominent Serbian writers, Dobrica Cosic, who was also was the first President of

the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (from 1992 to 1993) and considered by his admirers as the Father of the Nation due to his influence on modern Serbian politics and the national revival movement in the late 1980s, resorted to the same rhetoric. In an interview in 1983 Cosic stated that "Serbs are the new Jews at the end of 20th century eternally in search of their promised Holy Land" Another Serb nationalist and prominent writer Vuk Draskovic in 1985 published an open letter to Israeli writers outlining a new history according to which both Serbs and Jews were hated and have historically suffered because of their identity, religion, and tradition. Draskovic went further to claim that Serbs are the thirteenth lost tribe of Israel, that traces of ancient Serb and Jewish kingdoms can be found in two holy lands of Kosovo and Israel-Palestine, hence Kosovo is "Serbian Jerusalem" .

The relationship between religion and nationalism is still a subject of debate. In theory nationalism can be understood as both a secular and religious phenomenon. For instance, Albanian nationalists have historically been of Muslim, Christian Roman Catholic and Orthodox backgrounds, respectively. Rogers Brubaker separates four approaches or categories of religion and nationalism, which are not mutually exclusive. One of the categories states that religion is imbricated or intertwined with nationalism. In Serbia this phenomenon is further strengthened by the fact the that the founder of Serbian State was Stefan Nemanja, the brother of Saint Sava who managed to gain autocephality for the Church of Serbia from Patriarch of Constantinople in 1217 . After the fall of the Serbian State under Ottoman rule according to Serbian version of history "Ottoman occupation was characterized with destruction of Serbian Orthodox Churches and monasteries" . However, in the same article the author explains how under Ottoman rule the responsibilities of Patriarchate of Peja/Pec were enhanced and expanded geographically to include Northern Macedonia, Montenegro, and Orthodox Dioceses of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia and parts of Hungary This was the basis for the forgers of the idea of "Greater Serbia" as the territories that these religious nationalists

were seeking basically were under Serbian Orthodox Church jurisdiction and this proves even more the correlation between Serbian Orthodox Church and Serbian nationalists, religious and secular.

The beginning of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the rising idea of "Greater Serbia", in the beginning of 1990s in Serbia proper, was also the start of a race between Slobodan Milosevic, an atheist and former Communist who rose to prominence and power on a party-nationalism card, and the Serb Orthodox Church, as the only guardian of Serbian national identity. As nationalisms rose in former Yugoslavia so did the role of the Serb Orthodox Church in war mobilization. The war that started in the early 1990s was depicted by most of the clergymen as a war of defense. In October of 1991, a document of the Holy Synod declared that " the Serbian State and the Serbian people must protect them (Serbs living on the territory of Croatia) with all legitimate means including also the armed defense of Serbia lives of all Serbian provinces" In 2005 a video recording, believed to be made in 1995, appeared in the Serbian press, showing an Orthodox priest blessing members of Serbian paramilitary forces, the so-called "Scorpions". In this video members of Scorpions are shown killing Bosnian Muslim civilians near the city Sarajevo. The same unit will replicate their war crimes, this time killing Kosovo Albanian men women and children, on March 28th 1999, in the town of Podujevo during the Kosovo war.

The basis of secular Serbian nationalism was a document, later to be used by Slobodan Milosevic as a blueprint for his program of destruction and ethnic cleansing of non-Serbs, a Memorandum of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences called "Current Social Question in Yugoslavia, 1986" This document purported that "genocide (against Serbs) was taking place in Kosovo" also arguing that Serbia has every right to "return to its own historical roots", and declared that "the establishment of complete Serbian national and cultural integrity, regardless of which Republic or Province in Yugoslavia they might be living in, is their historical and democratic right"

Religious nationalism influenced secular Serbian nationalism by positing a common goal, i.e. "Greater Serbia", and common enemies, Kosovo Albanians and Bosnians of Muslim religion and Croats, that from religious point of view represented a threat that for centuries questioned Orthodox ideals and culture, also seen as a the spearhead of Catholic Rome's ambition to extend its jurisdiction to the Orthodox areas in the Balkans. Kosovo Albanians were especially targeted by religious nationalist also for not being of Slavic origin and allegedly aiming to, in the words of Bishop Atanasije Jeftic, "exterminate the Serbian people in Kosovo." Both the Serbian Orthodox Church and Milosevic's Serbia, the army and police, were seeking a just solution for themselves and Serbs in general. However, their just solution during disintegration of Yugoslavia included the aspiration toward an ideal one-state "Greater Serbia" and Serb majority only, but in both cases the etalons they aimed to return to were man-made myths and propaganda rather than verified historical truths.

What followed was a brutal genocidal campaign firstly against Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1995), by Bosnian Serb forces aided by Serbian State, and later a large scale Serbian State planned and executed genocidal and ethnic cleansing campaign against Kosovo Albanians (1998-1999). According to international figures verified by human rights organizations, Serbian state police and army forces were responsible for the murder of more than 12.000 Kosovo Albanian civilians, a campaign of raping of more than 20.000 women, and a campaign of expulsion of more than 1 million from their homes either to Albania or Northern Macedonia. During this military genocidal campaign Serb forces introduced another dimension of ethnic cleansing, a religious one, targeting Muslim cultural heritage of Kosovo Albanians. Approximately 225 of Kosovo's 600 mosques were completely destroyed, damaged, or vandalized. Also, most commonly there were written in the walls of the mosques Serbian traditional sign of the cross with Cyril Cs, "Kosovo is Serbia", "This is Serbia". The Cross with Cyrilc Cs is the Serbian national symbol and was also used by Serbs in Kosovo to identify their

property, houses and apartments, as Serb-occupied so that military and paramilitary forces passed over them as they passed through towns, villages, and cities to expel Kosovo Albanians. In other words, the same symbols were graphitized on Serb property and on mosques appropriating a clear representation of ethnic identity, ethnic space and inscribing it on representation of ethnic alterity.

After the end of the Kosovo war, and the withdrawal of all Serbian military, police, and paramilitary forces from Kosovo in June 1999, a new opportunity was brought forward for the Serbian Orthodox Church to once more reinforce its role as "the only Serbian authority among Serbs now living in Kosovo". Regime change in Belgrade, in October 2000, Slobodan Milosevic being arrested in 2001, him and the top Serbian political and military brass facing charges for crimes committed against Kosovo Albanians at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY) in the following years, offered a chance for all Serbs to see what has been done in their name in pursuit of "Greater Serbia". While many in Serbia chose to face the past and begin to live with the new reality, especially in relation to Kosovo and Kosovo Albanians, this was not the case with the Serbian Orthodox Church. The Serbian Orthodox Church refused to acknowledge its role in the wars of former Yugoslavia but opted to contribute to the expansion of anti-Semitism in Serbia as a reaction and opposing the West and what it perceived as globalization. Serbian far-right political organizations such as Obraz, Dveri, Nomokanon, still act with the blessing and in close cooperation with the Serbian Orthodox Church. The Holy Assembly of Bishops of the Serbian Orthodox Church canonized Bishop Nikolaj Velimirovic (1880-1956), who was a notorious anti-Semite and Nazi-collaborator, on 19th of May 2003.

Politically the Serbian Orthodox Church remained active against Kosovo's ambitions to achieve its independence. At the time when the talks for Kosovo's final status were in preparation, sponsored by the international community, the Serbian Orthodox Church was involved in a campaign to prevent any possible legal outcome that would include

Serbia's recognition of Kosovo as a sovereign and independent state. The Serbian Orthodox Church issued a Memorandum in 2003 stating that "the Serbian Constitution must include a provision stipulating that no one shall ever ne allowed to give up Kosovo". So, while the "sanctity" of Kosovo is an integral part of Serbian nationalism and mythology, the idea to incorporate it in the Constitution was for the first time spelled out by the Serbian Orthodox Church. The Preamble of the Serbian Constitution passed in 2006 stipulates that "Kosovo is an integral part of the territory of Serbia (and that) all state bodies (are obligated) to uphold and protect state interests of Serbia in Kosovo in all internal and foreign political relations."

After the Declaration of Independence of Kosovo and its recognition by 115 states, members of the UN, a process of dialogue for normalization of relations between Prishtina and Belgrade was initiated in 2010 and is still ongoing. Tangible results of this dialogue are still debatable since the sides remain positioned against each other in the one and main issue-recognition of Kosovo by Serbia and Kosovo's acceptance as a full UN member state. The Serbian Orthodox Church for the most part opted to stay out of the issue of dialogue because it was considered that it will be a failed matter.

However last year, in 2018, both Kosovo's President Hashim Thaci and Serbia's President Aleksandar Vucic publically, in open international forums and statements and, in some cases, meeting with foreign diplomats, stated that they are close to reaching a deal that would put an end to hostilities between two nations in what was coined in EU Brussels as "a legal binding comprehensive final agreement". The Serbian Orthodox Church was quick to react. Around 200 intellectuals in Serbia, academics, but also Bishops and clerics of the Serbian Orthodox Church issued a public statement calling for "the halt of dialogue through which Kosovo will secede from Serbia" and opting for the return of the issue of Kosovo to the UN and preferring a "frozen conflict" scenario such as the one in Cyprus as the best solution. In May 2018, the Serbian Orthodox Church held its gathering issuing a statement rejecting

any compromise when it comes to Kosovo forcing President Vucic himself to state that "Serbia is a secular country but he also recognizes the position of the Church"

To stress further its Kosovo links, the Serbian Orthodox Church announced in March 2018 that it is planning to change its original name to the Serbian Orthodox Church - Pec-Patriarchate that was considered a clear sign that the Church is opposing Serbian government's position of dialogue with Kosovo which could include, in the final agreement, Kosovo's recognition by Serbia. About one year later, in April 2019, Patriarch Irinej visited Kosovo to send a message that the Serbian Orthodox Church is opposed to any recognition, division, or partition of Kosovo along ethnic lines, and that Kosovo is and will remain part of Serbia. "Kosovo is our home, it is a gift from God and no one gives away its home", stated openly Patriarch Irinej adding another message for Kosovo Serbs "to endure since no occupation lasts forever". It is clear that the Serbian Orthodox Church is back at its core idea of religious nationalism and preferring to if nod lead than at least deal with the matters of the State when it comes to Kosovo.

CONCLUSION

The Serbian Orthodox Church has for centuries used myths of "Serbian martyrdom in defense of Christianity" and "Kosovo as the cradle of Serbian civilization and its Jerusalem" as a tool to spiritually guide its believers. However, the Church has also been an inspiration for religious Serb nationalists to harbor fascist ideas towards Kosovo's Albanians as the enemy, both of their nation and religion. The Serbian Orthodox Church has never taken a public stance against horrible crimes committed against Kosovo Albanians, at end of 20th century, nor has it

condemned the policies of Serbian State in this regard to this date. In the past three decades religious nationalism and state fascism in Serbia have always found common ground in denial of the reality that Kosovo has been inhabited by an Albanian majority (mostly of Muslim, practicing or non-practicing) or such cultural heritage, and oppose any kind of autonomous or independent Kosovo that would enhance its statehood apart from Serbia.

The Serbian Orthodox Church offers only the answer of self-preservation and isolation. This has proven to gradually always convert into hatred toward Kosovo and Kosovo Albanians. The most recent April 2019 Easter Message of the Serbian Orthodox Church Patriarch Irinej that "Serbia without Kosovo is not Serbia, it is nothing but a headless corps" sends a daunting message to all familiar with the history of Serbian Orthodox Church, especially Kosovo Albanians. However, it is completely along the lines of the rhetoric used by the Church for hundreds of years, when it comes to Kosovo, which has been to deny the reality, never fully separate the Church from the Serbian State, and never to accept that Kosovo has its own path defined by the people of Kosovo.

The Serbian Orthodox Church chooses to live in such denial because it has been its modus operandi and it has proven successful especially among religious nationalists who, on the other hand, choose to use such rigid stances of the Church, especially those represented in the Government of Serbia, to advance their own political agendas in regard to Kosovo. The Church and the State are therefore currently locked down and share quite a similar stance when it comes to Kosovo. Accepting that Kosovo is independent and a self-run state would mean for Serbs giving up on their myths and false ideology.

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Refugees rights and the challenge in European Union

Abstract

Protecting refugees and guaranteeing they rights has always been an issue which concerned the international community. The common asylum procedure in European Union gave access millions of refugees to request the assistance of states in order to be protected from plights in their country of origin by facilitating the asylum claims examination.

The main purpose of legal instruments acting in Europe is to avoid abuses and violations of refugee rights. Thousands of refugees head to Europe as they consider it as a save place where they will not live with the fear of being persecuted for political, economic, social rights and for racial or religious reasons.

The purpose of this paper is to measure how effective are the mechanisms of European Union in providing the necessary means for refugees to seek asylum. In order to be able to answer about the efficiency of the mechanisms regarding asylum it will be analyzed the international and European legal framework, refugee status, the principle of non-refoulement and case studies to verify how these rights are applied by states when confronted with situations in which refugees enjoy the right to be protected.

Key words: European Union, refugees, asylum, non-refoulement, international law, Italy case

Introduction

The status of refugees has evolved since the First World War. Early legal instruments for the recognition of refugees date back to 1920 where refugee status has been specific to certain national groups. In this period, the League of Nations tried to resolve the crisis without giving a general definition of the term refugee. After World War II, it was considered necessary to set up a special structure to administer the situation with refugees and therefore the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution on the establishment of the High Commissioner for Refugees.

The 1951 Convention improved the previous instruments by providing the determining criteria for an individual to be considered a

refugee. Under this convention, a refugee is considered a person who has grounded fear to be persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion and cannot be defended by his state.[1]

Inhumane treatment of refugees has prompted the need for the development of international law on refugees to enable the protection and safeguarding of their fundamental rights. But what is meant by the protection of refugees? Definition of the notion of protection under international law implies an unlimited human rights power, which means that refugees should be treated as human beings enjoying all the rights set forth in different conventions and laws.

The presence of refugees creates a difficult situation for host countries, because states are faced with a situation where they must balance internal affairs with international obligations not to harm diplomatic relations with other states. However, regardless of international obligations, refugee protection varies from country to country based on the fact how they are perceived by states in relation to national interests.

As a result, the assistance provided to their defense has been at different levels but not enough because of the perception that each state owns. In some cases, states have refused to allow refugees to cross their borders, which has not only helped them but puts in an inevitable danger to life and security. What are the legal instruments that protect refugee rights? Who is considered a refugee and how are their rights implemented in practice? How effective are the legal procedures that contribute to the protection and treatment with dignity of refugees?

The Conventions referring to the 1951 refugee status as well as other multilateral agreements did not contain mandatory elements for the protection of refugees from the states. The standards for the treatment of refugees have become binding to be enforced by States through the

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[1] Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, opened for signature July 28, 1951 , 189 U.N.T.S. 137

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights[2] and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights[3] . Based on the provisions codified in the aforementioned conventions it is concluded that the main instrument of refugee rights is the state, but these provisions can only "be enjoyed" by refugees only if the domestic legislation of the host country includes the law and international law standards[4].

The problems faced by refugees are one of the most important issues at the international level this as a consequence of the considerable increase in the number of refugees regardless of the measures taken by the states. The main cause that refugees leave their country of origin is the violation of human rights, which implies that the violation of human rights and the difficulties that refugees need to pass are different aspects but belonging to the same problem.

Legal framework

The Convention relating to the status of refugees

The 1951 Convention establishes minimum standards for the treatment of refugees. The refugee protection concept does not necessarily extend its effects forever, which means that a person may not enjoy refugee status when the conditions that have turned him into refugees do not exist anymore. An example of this is when people are repatriated to their homes. This Convention defines the rights of refugees among which some of them are: the right to work, the right to education, the right to freedom of movement, the right of access to court, etc.

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[2] International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, G.A. Resolution 2200A (XXD, 21 U.N.GAOR supp. (No. 16) at 52, UN Doc. "6316 (1966), 999 U.N.T.S. 171, entered into force March 23, 1976

[3] International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, G.A. Resolution 2200A (WO, 21 U.N.GAOR supp. (No. 16) at 49, UN Doc.A/6316 (1966), 993 U.N.T.S. 3, entered into force January 3, 1976

[4] Domestic Implementation of International Refugee Law"(1991)3 International Journal of Refugee Law at 504

Among the rights guaranteed by this convention there is also an obligation for refugees, compliance with laws, regulations and other measures taken by the receiving state to preserve public order.

The Convention proposes that refugees should receive at least the same level of treatment as the citizens of that country. This treatment is considered as the minimum level of treatment. The most favored treatment relates to the right to engage in employment versus payment that would serve to an effective solution to the situation in which they are located. National treatment is the treatment in the same way as the citizens of the host country for a large part of issues such as freedom to practice their faith, the right to attend primary education, issues related to labor legislation and social security etc.[5]

In the Convention is stated that:

"No Contracting State shall expel or return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion[6]"

This article it can be considered as the most important right detailed in the Convention as it offers protection refugees against forcible return, or refoulement, to the territory from which the refugee had fled.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the first document after the Second World War, through which human rights and fundamental freedoms are sanctioned. This statement was passed on 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations and represents the first attempt to protect those rights that are considered essential to human beings. By the declaration, the individual was first made not only subject to international law but also a holder of a set of rights sanctioned therein.

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[5] http://legal.un.org/avl/pdf/ha/prsr/prsr_e.pdf

[6] The Convention relating to the status of refugees

Although the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is a non-binding document, it is considered a standard of human rights that should be imposed by all states. Among the rights and freedoms protected by this Declaration, the right of persons to be resettled in other States is guaranteed, and in particular Article 14 (1) of the Declaration states:

"Everyone has the right to seek and enjoy shelter in other places because of persecution." [7]

Through this article, the right of persons to shelter in another country is penalized when there are grounded suspicions that they will be persecuted and can not receive the necessary assistance from the countries of origin. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, helps all persons with refugee status to guarantee their place of refuge in another country by protecting their right not to be persecuted in their own countries.

The European Convention on Human Rights

The purpose of ECHR is to provide minimum standards for the protection of human rights. The contracting states are obliged to implement this convention in their domestic legislation and respect all the provisions in this convention in accordance with the Treaty of European Union. Article 6 constitutes of the ECHR constitutes that:

Fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and as they result from the constitutional traditions common to the Member States, shall constitute general principles of the Union's law[8].

The European Convention on Human Rights does not specifically includes the concept of right to asylum, but in article 3 it implies that the extradition or expulsion of a person, where there are substantial ground

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[7] http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf
[8] Treaty on European Union

for believing that he or she will be subjected to such treatment, constitutes a breach of that article of the ECHR[9].

In article 3 of the ECHR is stated that:

'no one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment'

under this article are set limits to states by prohibiting them to send in the place of origin asylum seekers if there is a reason to believe that they will be subject to these treatments. All contracting states have the responsibility to offer protection to everyone in the state jurisdiction in order to avoid mistreatments mentioned above.

To conclude European Convention of Human Right does not offer direct protection for persons who seek asylum but it prohibits all the inhuman or degradation action toward human beings which means that everyone has the right to be treated with respect and not deported in a place where it has reasonable grounds to be believed that it would be faced with persecution.

Refugee status

Refugee definition is treated in article 1(A)(2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention where it is defines that the person must be:

"owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, outside the country of his nationality due to this fear, be unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country[10]".

The requirement that the person has a well-founded fear of being prosecuted it includes number of reasons of persecution, but the term itself it has not a clear legal definition itself. However a border concept of the term is found in article 33 of the same convention referred as:

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[9] Ireland v United Kingdom (1978) 25 Eur Court HR; Soering v United Kingdom (1989)
[10] Geneva Convention of 1951, article 1(A)

"threat to life or freedom on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership to a particular social group"

From this article in order that a treatment to be considered as prosecution it must be classified as severe deprivation of the individual's fundamental rights such as threats to life discriminatory treatment, and arbitrary penalty, producing substantial consequences to the life of the claimer.

The provision specifies that persecution shall be accompanied of well-founded fear, which existence is justified through both, subjective and objective elements[11]. Objective terms refer to claimers country of origin, country of nationality and country of residence, while the subjective term refers to health conditions, age, family and personal background belonging to specific ethnical, religious, political and social groups. Objective and subjective elements help the authorities to analyze claimer's individual situation by getting information about the circumstances in his country of origin and his own experiences.

In the UNHRC handbook is stated that:

"in general, the applicant's fear should be considered well-founded if he can establish, to a reasonable degree, that his continued stay in his country of origin has become intolerable to him for the reasons stated in the definition, or would for the same reasons be intolerable if he returned there" [12]

In order to be in the conditions of prosecution the claimer must prove that he is facing prosecution for one the reasons mentioned in the Convention of Refugees. It can be understood that it is fundamental that the applicant well-founded fear it is at a degree that residence in the country of origin will bring violations of the rights protected by the convention.

When defining well-founded fear of prosecution the nature of the actions of prosecution is not essentially. What is important is to create a

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[11] UNHRC of Handbook , paragraph 38
[12] UNHRC of Handbook, paragraph 42

connection between the action of prosecution and the grounds of prosecution. The requirement of eligibility is fulfilled if the individual can prove his fear is founded on objective elements that can actually result in serious and severe threats to his fundamental rights.

The requirement that are based on the need of the individual to be found "outside his country of his nationality" and to be "unable or willing to avail himself of the protection of that country", are related together. A person can seek international protection when his state of nationality fails to protect him or unwilling to secure fundamental rights. The country of origin it may be prosecuting itself the person who is seeking for international protection or not being effective in protecting individuals belonging to a specific group.

Principle of non-refoulement

The prohibition to expel or return a person to the country of origin where he could face persecution, torture or inhuman treatment is defined as the principle of non-refoulement. Under the principle of non-refoulement when an individual applies for protection all states member or not of the refugee convention are obliged to respect it, which means that the principle it is applied as soon as the asylum seeker gives reasons to be protected[13].

Protected under this principle are not only refugees that own a legal statues, under article 1(2) of the convention for refugees as refugee is considered to be the person who owns a legal founded fear of being persecuted that is unable to return to the country of origin which means that the legal status is not necessary the principle of non-refoulement will avail such persons irrespective of whether or not they have been formally recognized as refugees.[14] This principle offers protection to every individual who may be in the risk of persecution in a country by different

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[13] Reinhard Marx, "Non-refoulement, Access to Procedure and Responsibility for Determining Refugee Claims

[14] The Scope and Content of the Principle of non-refoulement : Opinion

forms of removal such as extradition, expulsion, deportation, rejection or even refusal of entry into an international zone.

The prohibition of non-refoulement is not only in the country of origin of the asylum seeker but also in any country where he may be transferred or expelled if in this country's the applicant may face threat to life or freedom. An exception to this principle is if the person who asks for protection represents danger to the security of the country or to the community of that country. Not all offences may be considered as threat to national security the crime itself must be of a very grave nature[15].

The Dublin III Regulation

The Dublin III Regulation was adopted on 26 June 2013. It was applicable for application from 1 January 2014. Beside the general principle that the responsibility for asylum applications will be the state were the individual has entered for the first time it also introduced same changes and new provisions in order to enhance the efficiency of the functioning of the Dublin system as well as to ensure higher standards of protection for the applicants who fall under the Dublin procedure[16]. Member states is given a practical guidance in order to identify in which case they can shift the responsibility to another state or hold responsibility for the asylum seeker. Moreover, the Regulation applies to all applications for international protection, which includes both applications to seek refugee status and subsidiary protection status[17].

An asylum seeker has only one opportunity to apply for asylum within the Dublin area and in case of a negative decision, all Member States apply it that means the individual cannot apply in other states, as

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[15] UNHCR, UNHCR Note on the Principle of Non-Refoulement, Prepared for the EU Seminar on the Implementation of the 1995 EU Resolution on Minimum Guarantees for Asylum Procedures, Luxembourg

[16] Council of the European Union, 'Recast of the Dublin Regulation: enhancing the efficiency of the functioning of the current system' (7 June 2013)

[17] Dublin III Regulation, art 1, 2(b) and Qualifications Directive 2011, art 2

settled under Article 3(1) DRIII. Based on a hierarchy of objective criteria, in the Dublin Regulation III criteria's on the examination of the applications are grounded on family ties under Articles 8-11, issuance of residence permits or visa under Article 12, irregular entry of stay under Article 13, and visa waived entry under Article 14[18].

Dublin III Regulation in article 18 reaffirms that one member state will be responsible for the examination of an applicant also in the same article it clarifies that the responsible member state has no obligation towards the applicant when it proves that he/she has left the EU territory for at least three months. Entry and residence of an applicant in a member state defines the obligation of the state for the examination of the request, with an exception to protect family unit.

A special attention is paid to the protection of unaccompanied minors. Article 8 of Dublin III Regulation it contains rules on the division of responsibility for the application of unaccompanied minors, depending on whether the unaccompanied child has or has not family members in other Member States. Under this article is recognized that the main consideration should be the best interest of the child.

Moreover article 16 offers guaranties for vulnerable people that are depended on others such as in the cases of the applicant and his or her child, sibling or parent, where he or she is dependent on their assistance due to pregnancy, a new-born child, serious illness, severe disability or old age in order to bring them together[19].

Another innovation of the Regulation was the combination of two clauses in article 17 the sovereignty clause and the humanitarian clause. Court of Justice of the European Union clarified that regarding sovereignty that its use is not dependent on any condition[20]. While the

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[18] Dublin III Regulation
[19] Dublin III Regulation, art 16(1)
[20] Case C-528/11 Zuheyr Frayeh Halaf v Darzhavna [2013] ECLI:EU:C:2013:342, §§35-36, 39

humanitarian clause it becomes obligatory when families would be separated by applying the Dublin criteria[21].

The competent authorities of the member states are required to inform the applicants about the Dublin procedures including information about the objectives and consequences of the Dublin system, the right to challenge a transfer decision and the right of access to data relating to the applicant[22]. An important procedural safeguard under Dublin III for applicants who can be subject of a transfer decision is provided under article 26 of the regulation under which it is required from member states to provide information on the legal remedies that are available to the applicant or his legal advisor.

Dublin Regulation is a legislative instrument that guarantees legal certainty and legal redress. To conclude this instrument turned to be a necessary tool in order to determine and share responsibility, this way guaranteeing asylum-seekers' access to asylum procedures, whilst dividing reception and protection burdens among Member States[23].

Deficiencies in the implementation of the Dublin Regulation

Despite that Dublin system brought substantial developments in the management of EU asylum protection same issues has arisen when it was applied in practice. To begin with during periods of massive flows member states faced challenges as the procedure proved to be obstacle which resulted in delays and insufficient capacity to deal with a large amount of asylum seekers in a short period of time. Defining the responsible state for the examination of asylum application under the provisions of the regulation does not account the capacity of the member state to process claims. Same member states receive more applicants than others because of their geographical position or for the better conditions that offer which brings a disproportional distribution of applicants in Dublin area.

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[21] Case C-245/11 K v Bundesaylamt [2012] ECLI:EU:C:2012:685, §46;

[22] Dublin III Regulation, art 4(1)

[23] European Commission, Evaluation of the Dublin III Regulation (Final Report), 2015.

This disproportional distribution become clear during the refugee crises where the main routes where by land so the borders of the states like Turkey, Greece, Italy ect were boosted which brought the application of article 3 of the Dublin III Regulation inferring that:

"an applicant that has irregularly crossed the border into a Member State…, the Member State thus entered shall be responsible for examining the application for international protection"[24].

Under this criteria the percentage of cases being assessed related to first country of asylum was high in the Balkan states[25]. Member states that served as enter doors in EU did not registered all the asylum seekers which gave the applicants the opportunity to refuse proceeding with their application in the state where their first arrived.

Dublin regulation functions in bases of hierarchy criteria. Because of this criteria the needs of the applicants are not prioritized and there still persist consistent differences within asylum procedures, reception conditions and integration capacity along the Dublin area; the feeling of uncertainty and fear of being denied international protection in the designated State affects the asylum seekers. This reasons led that applicant stays in an irregular form and logs of multiple applications on different states[26].

Secondly Dublin Regulation effectiveness was influenced by the difficulty of transferring applicants to Member States with systemic flaws in critical aspects of their asylum procedures or reception

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[24] Dublin Regulation III, article 3

[25] Munari, F., The perfect storm on EU Asylum Law: The need to Rethink the Dublin Regime, DUDI, 2016, p.526.

[26] European Commission, Evaluation of the Dublin III Regulation (Final Report), 2015, p.5.

conditions.[27]An illustration of that was the suspensions of Dublin transfers to Greece considering that this state was in a critical situation because of the large amounts of asylum seekers arriving there. Also through different judicial decisions was proved that in same member state the reception conditions of applicants were not those required as minimum standard by violating in this way human rights.

Thirdly, the clarity in the hierarchy of criteria in determining the responsible state is another factor of the malfunctioning of the Dublin Regulation. Member states have interpreted and applied this criteria differently.[28] Even though the Eurodac system was very effective instrument to find evidences on applicant's situation, the migration crises increased pressure on border control authorities of the member state.

Dublin System has showed that it permits all level of standards protection within the EU asylum policy. Member states have to struggle during massive influx of asylum seekers, this because the different interpretations that each state has over the hierarchy of criteria and the lack of solidarity towards the countries that deal with the major number of third national that ask for international protection are some of the deficiencies of the Dublin System.

This has led to different violations of refugee rights in human rights aspect because they have been treated in depredating way by member states that examine their application. Different cases are reviewed by ECHR and are found irregularity in transfers of asylum seekers or the in the minimum standard conditions during the examination of the application.

Applicability of EU Asylum protection system, Italy case

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[27] European Commission, Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council Towards a Reform of the Common European Asylum System and Enhancing Legal Avenues to Europe, 2016, p.4
[28] European Commission, Evaluation of the Dublin III Regulation (Final Report), 2015, p.6

Currently Italy it is applying a new policy in disembarkation of the refugees implementation of which started on 10 June 2018 by refusing to authorize the disembarkation of 630 individuals which were rescued is sea in Italy by one rescuer vessel Aquarius[29]. In the passing weeks Italy escalated its decision by not allowing or deleing the disembarkation not only of NGO rescue vessels but also of two foreign navy ships.

In the law of sea are not specified criteria's to identify which state has the obligation to accept the disembarkation of people rescued at sea, but the new policy of Italy it branches obligation under human right law and refugee law. In the maritime tradition is accepted as costmary law that shipmasters must assist those in distress at sea[30] and states are required to cooperate among each other in order to reduce the risk of non-rescue[31].   Masters of ships that offer   assistance in the rescue should be released from their obligation by arranging the disembarkation as soon as possible[32].

In the case of Aquarius Italy was the state through whose jurisdiction hundreds of those rescued had passed and as the coastal state whose territorial waters the Aquarius was approaching, had a responsibility under the law of the sea to ensure the swift disembarkation of the people on board in a place of safety.[33] This recue vessel was

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[29] MSF, MSF urges immediate disembarkation of 629 people on board Aquarius at nearest port of safety, 12 June 2018, www.msf.org/msfurges-immediate-disembarkation-629-people-board-aquarius-nearest-port-safety
[30] UNCLOS Art. 98 (1); SOLAS Chapter V, Regulation 33 (1); SAR Chapter 2.1.10
[31] UNCLOS Art. 98(2); SOLAS Chapter V, Regulation 7; SAR Chapter 3
[32] May 2004 Amendments to the 1974 International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea (SOLAS Convention) and to the 1979 International Convention on Maritime Search and Rescue (SAR Convention) adopted by in May 2004 and entered into force in July 2006
[33] SOLAS, Chapter V, Regulation 33, SAR, Chapter 3, para. 3.1.9 as amended by the 20 MAY 200 Maritime Safety Committee of the IMO Amendments, which

obliged to stay in the sea until Spain offered to allow the disembarkation in Valencia port where the refugees was given a temporary permit and claim asylum in Spain.

The Aquarius denial to disembark was not the only case that Italy refused to authorize. Since the influx of refugees Italy for its geographical position has been one of the states that has awaited major number of refugees and has demanded for a fair sharing of responsibilities associated with the rescue of people in the central Mediterranean, including reception, processing of protection claims, as well as management of the presence of irregular migrants and their return. Disembarkation it might be considered as a pressure tool to achieve responsibility sharing in the area of asylum and migration[34].

Treating the phenomena as unmanageable by stoking unstained fears by the EU governments affects in the adoption of new polices that put borders over dignity and human rights. Instead of addressing the migration with joint and fair policies the EU governments are exacerbating rather than solving problems and a cause for this is the failure of the Dublin system and the need to reform it in a way that avoids the penalization of countries who disembark people on their territory[35].

Conclusion

Refugee protection has been and remains one of the most important problems due to the various violations faced by refugees for a long time. All refugees enjoy the right to be treated with dignity by the countries where they apply for asylum and the right not to be returned at their

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Italy has ratified, and integral IMO Guidelines on the Treatment of Persons Rescued at Sea.

[34] Europe fails refugees and migrants in the central Mediterranean, Amnesty International

[35] Europe fails refugees and migrants in the central Mediterranean

country of origin according to the principle of non-refoulement. These rights and not only are sanctioned by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Refugee Convention and the 1967 Protocol. The effectiveness of these legal instruments is a link that depends on each country where refugees chose to go in order to avoid persecution.

It can not be disputed that national authorities have every right to control the borders of their state and decide who has entered their territory illegally, who must be expelled and who are in need of international protection. However, any action taken should not violate the principle of non- refoulment, expressly guaranteed by international conventions and European law. This means that under no circumstances a third country can not forcefully return to their country of origin where they may be subjected to death penalty, torture or other inhuman or degrading treatment of punishment as provided for in Article 19 of the Charter.

In order to ensure that each individual, irrespective of where the application is submitted, has the same high standard of protection, Member States should ensure that similar cases must be treated equally. The establishment of a single European asylum system is crucial to ensuring the fulfillment of the basic principles of the refugee law at all stages of the asylum procedure.

The Common European asylum procedure is not functioning for two main reasons. Firstly, State practice audits have shown violations of confidentiality of interviews, lack of effective access to the services of a competent interpreter, as well as insufficient justifications based on refusal of requests for asylum. Unless all asylum seekers can fully benefit from fair and efficient procedures they should not claim to be respected the right of refugees to good administration. Moreover, if we consider the detailed detention provisions with its adverse impact on the integration process, the accelerated procedures that may impede the right to individual and objective examinations of the claim, it can be concluded that the true will of the Member States to provide adequate protection, rather than simply prevent the future coming.

Secondly, the process of harmonization is affected by the fact that the large number of asylum seekers mentioned above are not equally distributed across Europe. Countries whose borders are also the EU's external borders will inevitably expect refugees and will handle their examinations more than the capacity they have available which leads to the violations of refugee rights.

In addition, it must be taken into consideration that for refugees departing from the countries of origin has come as a result of various factors, the most important is to survive. It should be noted that these persons do not find fully enforceable in their right to emigrate, which is the essence of this right which is protected by many important international acts but, by reference to and the way in which they live is considered to be in violation of human rights because of the inhuman treatment they receive from host countries. Another aspect related to their departure and most importantly protected by legal acts is the duty of a state to provide shelter to persons who have left their countries for persecution, which is mentioned as one of the important needs in the absence of which the fundamental right, the right to life, is at stake.

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Ph.D Matilda Likaj Shaqiri

A sociological analyze of media impact on emigration phenomenon and gender issue

Abstract

Last years, emigration phenomena, is one of the most discussable topics in media. Movement of people (refugees, emigrants and asylum seekers), is a challenge phenomenon for origin and host societies. Movement of people influences directly on social order, social mobility, stratification in society and social changes in society's structure for sending and hosting societies. Regarding to last year's emigration report reflects that European societies, especially France, Germany and some Nordic countries are facing with a very huge number of emigrants, refugees and asylum seekers. Reflection of media in this phenomenon has been in different point of view, especially on the negative dimension. Based on this fact, this article will be focus on analyze of media impact on last years emigration phenomenon and the manner they treat the gender issue. This analyze will be based on sociological perspective, based on a descriptive method research.

Keywords: sociological analyze; media; emigration phenomenon; gender issue

INTRODUCTION: EMIGRATION AS PHENOMENON AND PROCESS

This study stemmed form the previous works, focusing on emigration as phenomenon, process and its influences on origin and host countries. The study focus on sociological analyze of the up following concepts and compare to the multiple dimensions of media reflected on emigration, media and gender issue fields.

Emigration as a phenomenon extended in a long period of time, for this reason at the same time, it is knowledge in social sciences as a process too. 'Migration all over the world is the excepted as documented or undocumented people movement, which

are effected by political incorporation, economics, politics or historical associations. Migration is a very complex phenomenon and process in the perspectives of socio-cultural and economic life. Human migration is the movement of people from one country to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi permanent residence, usually across a political boundary[36]. Include origin or destination country perspectives, macro or micro analyses, discipline based approaches, concerns over short or long term impacts, varying types of migration and development spatially and over time and, not least, various ways of measuring the two. Increasing interdependencies of social, economic and political aspects require an approach that takes these global interdependencies into account, but also embeds the analysis in a specific social and geo-historical context relevant to the study.[37]

Recently theories of emigration focus on the development of the process of integration. This process sometimes is known as post emigration situation in the host society. But in sociological terminology, this process is knowledge as integration. 'The term 'integration' is used by social researches in migration field for referring the degree of involvement of migrants in hosted society as the other social actors[38]. The term 'integration' is to emphasize respect for and incorporation of differences and the need for mutual adaptation. According to Fix 'integration' reflects an

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[36] Likaj, *Migration as a challenge for Albanian post communist society*, 144

[37] Likaj, *Migration as a challenge for Albanian post communist society*, 144

[38] Likaj, *Education as an Important Factor on Migrants Integration: Albanian Migration Case*, 79

appreciation of diversity instead of the homogeneity that 'assimilation' has come to connote'[39].

As Ares emphasizes that, emigration as a process reflect with an extended on time, it results wit a mixed integration as a model. Mixed integration model, influenced by various of different stages (see figure one).

Figure 1: MIM (Mixed Integration Model)[40]
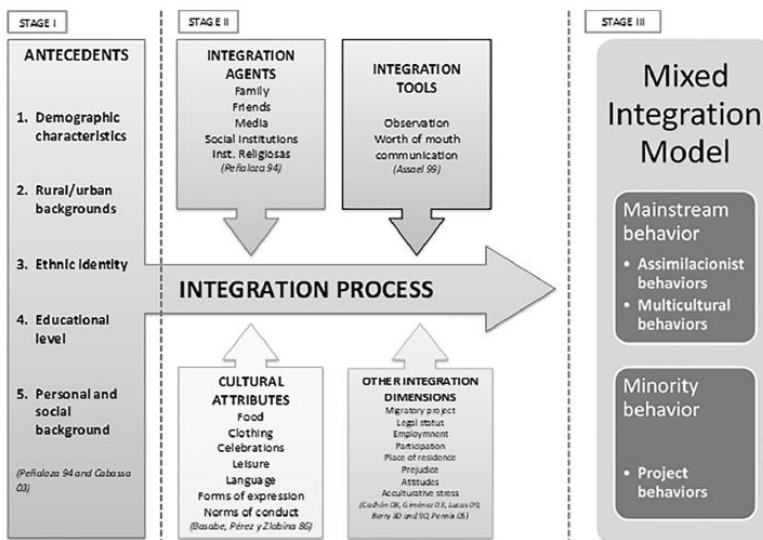
First stage is based on the emigrants personal characteristics termed as antecedents that are primary factors influencing in the integration process. Antecedents, listed by Ares, are focusing on demographic, rural/urban backgrounds of emigrants, ethnic identity, education level and personal and social background. These factors

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[39] Fix & Passel, *The Integration of Immigrant Families in the United States*,

[40] Ares & Fernandez, *Toward a mixed integration model based on migrants' self perception*, 639

are the first initiators of integration process. During the process, integration agents (family, friends, media, social institutions etc), integration tools (such as observation, worth of mouth communication etc), cultural attributes (food, clothing, celebrations, leisure, language, forms of expression, norms of conduct etc) and other integration dimensions (migratory projects, legal status, employment, participation, place of residency, attitudes, prejudices etc.) influence directly and indirectly on the process of integration of emigrants. All these factors, oriented the emigrants toward a model of emigration, termed as mixed integration model (MIM). MIM measures the behavior of emigrants to identify if the process of integration include the mainstream behavior of are more minority behavior oriented.

All the explanation focus on analyze of emigration as a phenomenon and as a process during the emigrant life. Meanwhile in nowadays, all media is focusing on the alternative form of emigration that is refugee movement toward the European countries. Migration as phenomenon is as old as human history, but recently migration movement (emigration, refugees, asylum seekers etc) are very discussed in media. Exactly in this period of time, media as a medium (definition used by Mc.Millan) is influencing public discourse and impact on forming an opinion about emigration as phenomenon.

'Figures from the UNHCR (2015), revealed that in the first six months of 2015 137,000 refugees and migrants attempted to enter the EU, a rise of 83 % on the same period in 2014. This increase is largely attributable to the sharp rise in people using the Eastern Mediterranean route from Turkey to Greece, the great bulk of whom are refugees fleeing the wars in Syria and Iraq. Since the beginning of the Syrian civil war, the number of refugees in Turkey has risen to more than 2 million. In the first three months of 2015, 479 refugees and migrants drowned crossing the Mediterranean crossing in comparison to 15 during the same period in 2014. However the death toll reached a peak in April 2015 when 1,308 refugees and migrants

were lost at sea[41]. From 2015 till today the media report widely the topic. The question that is raised is about how media represent this phenomenon and how media treat the gender as an important issue on the emigration and refugee crisis in EU. In the following chapter of this article it is going to be focused more on this issue and to discuss about the reflection of this phenomenon by media.

2-SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYZE OF MEDIA AND EMIGRATION

Media refer to the audience a perspective of emigration and refugee phenomenon narratives that generally are one dimensional. Role of public attitudes and the public discourse on this phenomenon generally is shaped by media and its alternatives. For that reason media is termed as the best indicator on the formation of a hegemonial culture and cultural hegemony. Formation of public attitudes and discourse, generally on its background media reflects the ideological domination too. 'Gramsci's contribution avoided the extremes of economic determinism and opened up possibilities of for direct analysis of the process of ideological domination'[42]. According to the de Certeau, the conduct of local practice is always an expression of human agency[43]. Human agency in terms of de Certeau, means the most powerful tool used in this century, which is media. The cultural hegemony of Gramsci and the expression of human agency of de Certeau, translated in terminology of Bourdieu are scheme of social reproduction. By social reproduction, media influence on promotion of propaganda by a sense of game that is Bourdieu termed as 'habitus'. 'Habitus' used as an instrument by media, influenced on the migration and refugees trajectories, and on

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[41] Berry, Blanco, & Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 3-4
[42] Erickson, *Talk and Social theory: ecologies of speaking and listening in everyday life*,135
[43] Erickson, *Talk and Social theory: ecologies of speaking and listening in everyday life*,142

the trajectories of public perception about this phenomenon. There is less focusing on forming habitus, on the gender issue as a part of emigration and refugee phenomenon. 'it is impossible to ignore the role of the mass media in influencing public and elite political attitudes towards asylum and migration. The mass media can set agendas and frame debates. They provide the information which citizens use to make sense of the world and their place within it[44].

In 2014, more than 200,000 refugees and migrants fled for safety across the Mediterranean Sea. Crammed into overcrowded, unsafe boats, thousands drowned, prompting the Pope to warn that the sea was becoming a mass graveyard. The early months of 2015 saw no respite. In April more than 1,300 people drowned. This led to a large public outcry to increase rescue operations, and its reflection of media are just statistically and less humanity. Throughout this period, UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations, engaged in a series of large scale media advocacy exercises, aiming at convincing European countries to do more to help. It was crucial work, setting the tone for the dramatic rise in attention to the refugee crisis that followed in the second half of 2015. But the media was far from united in its response. 'While some outlets joined the call for more assistance, others were unsympathetic, arguing against increasing rescue operations. To learn why, UNHCR commissioned a report by the Cardiff School of Journalism to explore what was driving media coverage in five different European countries: Spain, Italy, Germany, the UK and Sweden. 'Researchers combed through thousands of articles written in 2014 and early 2015, revealing a number of important findings for future media advocacy campaigns. Most importantly, they found major differences between countries, in terms of the sources journalists used (domestic politicians, foreign politicians, citizens, or NGOs), the language they employed, the reasons they gave for the rise in refugee flows, and the solutions they

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[44] Berry, Blanco, & Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 9

suggested[45]. Germany and Sweden, for example, overwhelmingly used the terms 'refugee' or 'asylum seeker', while Italy and the UK press preferred the word 'migrant'. In Spain, the dominant term was 'immigrant'. These terms had an important impact on the tenor of each country's debate. Media also differed widely in terms of the predominant themes to their coverage. For instance, humanitarian themes were more common in Italian coverage than in British, German or Spanish press. Threat themes (such as to the welfare system, or cultural threats) were the most prevalent in Italy, Spain and Britain[46].

'Too often easy assumptions are made about how news media narratives might be changed to encourage a more unbiased, fair or accurate representation of migrants and migration. For example, as one recent European Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) asserts: 'The media needs to be actively engaged and encouraged to help increase the participation and visibility of migrants, contributing to a more positive overall narrative'[47].

However, as existing research demonstrates, there have been times of intensely negative media coverage about migration where the 'visibility' of migrants has certainly not been lacking. The participation of migrants in media (as sources or indeed as journalists) may or may not make a difference to the media narratives in which they are involved[48]. As it is referred to the previous paragraph, media does influence the mostly on public attitudes and opinion, by focusing on the issue that politically is integrated on. Regarding to the following figure, it is important to

[45] Berry, Blanco, & Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 4

[46] Berry, Blanco, & Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 3

[47]___ ,*European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights*

[48] Berry, Blanco, & Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 22-23

note that, most influential newspapers in Europe, trait the following issues of emigration and refugee as are in the figure 2.

Figure 2: Daily Mail/Mail on Sunday Themes (proportion of articles featuring each theme)[49]

Immigration Figures / Levels	81.8%
Mortality / Mortality Figures	81.8%
Mafia / Traffic	63.6%
Search and Rescue / Aid	54.5%
Receiving/Rejecting	36.4%
Political response	27.3%
Welfare / BenefitsResources	9.1%
Humanitarian (elements)	18.2%
Journey	9.1%
Human Rights	9.1%
Total N	42

Most important issues of emigration and refugee crisis featuring in two most important newspapers in EU, focused on the theme that have negative connotative such as mafia, traffic, mortality, search and rescue, receiving and rejecting, and welfare and benefits resource. Based on the humanitarian elements, human rights and journey tragedies emigrants and refugees face, are the last themes to be discussed and take just few percent of these newspapers. This shows that media form the powerful propaganda on the negative issues that emigration and refugee phenomenon reflect on the society. So it influence on public attitudes and discourse about negative connotation of emigration and refugee, and reflect it as a political, economical but more as social and cultural crises indicator. 'The media

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[49] Berry, Blanco, & Moore, *Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries*, 163

played a very direct role in heightening the polarization on immigration issues during the news presentation[50]'. 'The results of various surveys of the public opinion in the European countries most affected by the influx of immigrants[i], show a high level of opposition and skepticism on domestic public opinion against immigrants. The British media analysis has shown a negative terminology on immigrants focused on the key words like 'illegal', 'failure', 'terrorist', etc. Unlike the United Kingdom, other European countries and the US, public attitudes on immigration are more tempered. Germans and Americans have more positive attitudes on immigrants, while the Greeks and Italians have the most negative views.

Researches and monitoring of the media in Italy and Greece have found that news coverage urged the panic to resolve the issue of immigrants. The Studies on media reporting and public attitudes on immigration have shown that the images in the media, the descriptions and the labeling of the immigrants, influence public attitudes on immigrants and affect the policies on immigration[51]. Shortly, media form a cultural reproduction of natives about emigration and refugee perceptions as negative issues and bad inflators in EU societies.

3- GENDER ISSUE ON MEDIA ABOUT EMIGRATION AND REFUGEE

Despite the least themes (see figure 2) of reflection of media about the emigrants and refugees, there are very les news reflected on media about the gender issue of emigrants. In social sciences

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[50]____, *A Report on the Media and the Immigration Debate, democracy in the age of new media, Governance Study at Brookings*
[51] Kosho, *Media Influence On Public Opinion Attitudes Toward The Migration Crisis*,88

literature of emigration, gender studies take a very important corner. Meanwhile in media, it is totally opposite situation. 'The initial interest of migration literature that brought gender at the forefront has been a sort of rectification of a historic injustice. So one of the main concerns of , gender-sensitive studies is to insist on the presence and importance of women in past and present migrant mobility. Going further beyond the initial perception of female migrants as followers of their husbands through family reunification and as keepers and transmitters of tradition and cultural identity of the country of origin to the children by focusing on daily life and culture, women migrants have been largely reinvented, revisited and reconfigured[52]. So the most spread news about the gender issue on emigration and refugee is focused on the family union, everyday life practice, policies and its influence on social capital of new generation and their integration on social and cultural practice of the hosted societies.

'The supplementary-to-male-migration type of approaches have given their place to approaches and analyses that take into account the autonomous female migration, which anyhow is considered as one of the main tendencies of contemporary migration[53].'Growing feminization of migration, and particularly growing awareness of feminization of migration by researchers and policy makers, has opened new questions and new fields of inquiry in all countries involved'[54]. So, there is huge lack on news and media focusing on the emigration and refugee issues, and only feminist perspective journalist and researchers stress those issues as a huge deficiency.

Most of the literature on migration does not include gender aspects, apart from the literature that has gender as its main focus.

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[52] Green, *Repenser les migrations*, 15

[53] Castles & Miller, *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, 79

[54] Kambouri & Parsanoglou, *Transnational digital networks, migration and gender*, 8

'Although in many texts we find 'men' and 'women' as sex categories, there is no further analysis of gender as a social relation that affects all aspects of migrants' lives. On the other hand, although intersectionality among various axes of differences is evoked as a constitutive element of identity construction, gender is very often limited to the specific case of women. It is not perceived as a constitutive element/factor of social relations, like class or race, but as a necessary supplement for a more complete analysis of migration[55].

In this context, we could argue that although gender has become part of migration studies, it is yet to be considered as integral aspect to the more general analyses of migration.

There are difficulties or even inexistence of theoretical and methodological (path) ways that help to grasp the intersection between digital-migration-gender, without reproducing supplementary type approaches. 'Apart from this general conclusion that demonstrates the relevance and the necessity of this project, some analytical categories and concepts have to be revisited and re-theorized. Gender, for instance, albeit the massive development, production and impact of Gender studies remain in many cases a mere sex category[56]. Recently it has been theoretically established that gender is a very important element that influence on the constitutive form of social relations and social processes, most often it is conceived and used within the transnational corpus examined for the needs to report as a an important genderism issue and its evocation that offers a global comprehension of social phenomena such as emigration and refugee.

4-CONCLUSION

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[55] Kambouri & Parsanoglou, *Transnational digital networks, migration and gender*, 9

[56] Kambouri & Parsanoglou, *Transnational digital networks, migration and gender*, 16

Media coverage is not simply a textual artifact, but a data source from which we can draw inferences about public discourse[57]. This is because the media do not exist in a vacuum, but are situated in societal norms and culture and present stories in ways that are likely to resonate with the intended audience. 'Some media influence on the construction of immigrants and refugees as foreign, threatening, or illegitimate is one means through which national identities are forged and understood'[58]. The medium of this situation on media extended to refer to the distinction between foreigners and benevolent host societies as part of a complex process of meaning-making and identity formation. This is reflected on the main topics (see figure 3) that are most treated in media such as economy, ethnicity (media prefer not to use term of race, to reduce the power of racism and to follow the convent of human rights guide), rights, security, services and validity.

3: Categorical Dictionary Frames and Examples[59]

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[57] Nesbitt-Larking,*Politics, society and the media*, 27
[58] Dhamoon, *Identity/difference politics*, 15
[59] Lawlor & Tolley**,** *Deciding Who's Legitimate: News Media Framing of Immigrants and Refugees,* Pg 976

Frame	Description
Economy	Economic impact of admitting immigrants/refugees
Ethnicity[a]	The ethnoracial, national or religious background of immigrants/refugees
Rights	Dialogue around individual rights afforded to immigrants/refugees
Security	Possible threats to security on account of the admission of immigrants/refugees
Services	Access to and use of state services by immigrants/refugees
Validity	Discussion around the validity, legitimacy, or deservedness of immigrants/refugees

Even though, there are a lot of issue to be discussed by media (see to the figure 1,2,3), there is a huge gap on news focus on gender. Gender issue is one of the les discussable topics on the field of emigration and refugee, by media.

As conclusion, is very important to stress that media, more than moving parallel with multi dimensions of researches about emigration and refugee, there are oriented toward the forming of a 'habitus' of referring emigration and refugee more than positive, by negative connotations. By using this form of policies (unwritten policies), media influence on the hegemonity of referring the treatment of emigration and refugee themes, that are in favor of EU policies. Also in media, gender issues regarding to the emigration and refugee are left on the corner, without need of treatment as important ones.

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Msc. Elion Kollçaku
Stereotipet gjinore në mediat shqiptare

Hyrje

Stereotipet gjinore janë të shfaqura në shoqërinë shqiptare, por ato janë të pranishme edhe në mediat shqiptare.

Ky punim do të ndalet në analizën e stereotipeve gjinore të shfaqura në mediat shqiptare. Analiza do të ketë të bëjë me tre stereotipe kryesore, amvisja (gruaja tradicionale), gruaja profesionale (e pavarur, ambicioze, me vetëbesim) dhe lepuroshja e Playboy-it (objekt seksi), bazuar nga teoria e Ashmore dhe Del Boca.

Analizë do të shqyrtojë rastet kryesore të këtyre tri stereotipeve gjinore, në media në Kosovë dhe Shqipëri.

Emisionet që janë marrë në analizë për dy stereotipet e para janë "Metamorfoza" me Suzana Mushkolajn, "Lemza" me Kiki Rrahmanin, "Pasdite" me Rudina Magjistarin, "Prive" me Liberta Spahiun. Ndërkohë për stereotipin e tretë, që është ai i lepuroshes së Playboy-it, objekt seksi, është marrë në analizë emisioni "Zonë e lirë" me Arian Çanin, që është shembulli më i mirë.

Ndërkohë, personazhet e përfshirë në këto emisione janë kryesisht persona të njohur të show-bizzit, politikës e jetës kulturore. Ndër to, janë Vlora Dumoshi, Dorina Mema, Safete Mustafa, Kallashi, Iva Aliko, etj.

Qëllimi kryesor i këtij hulumtimi është vënia në pah e elementeve stereotipizuese në lidhje me gjininë e që janë të pranishme në nivele të larta.

Shqyrtimi i literaturës

Stereotipet gjinore janë të lidhura ngushtë me rolet gjinore. Stereotipi gjinor është një pamje e përgjithësuar ose paragjykim për atributet ose karakteristikat që duhet t'i posedojnë gratë dhe burrat, si dhe rolet që duhet t'i kenë ata. Stereotipat për atë se të cilat

karakteristika "mashkullore" i përfshin karakteristikat si: konkurrenca, guximi, ashpërsia, agresioni, aktiviteti, ndërsa si karakteristika "femërore" trajtohen: kooperativiteti, frika, butësia, pasiviteti dhe ndjeshmëria". (Koenig, 2011:48).

''Rolet gjinore krijojnë përçarje midis grave dhe burrave. Gratë dhe burrat zotërojnë nivele të ndryshme lirie, privilegji, statusi dhe vlerash në shoqëri. Pasojat e kësaj sjellin fuqizimin jo të njëjtë midis burrave dhe grave, midis grave apo midis burrave." (shiko http://fuqizimirinor.com/sq/youth-amb-2/take-action/gender- roles-gender-stereotypes-2/)

Një teori interesante është "thelbi i së vërtetës", që lidhet me stereotiper gjinore. Teoria "thelbi i së vërtetës" bazohet në presupozimin se stereotipet gjinore kanë njëfarë vlefshmërie empirike, domethënë ka dallime të mirëfillta në mes të gjinive të cilat stërzmadhohen nga stereotipet. Kjo qasje sugjeron se së pari ka dallime dhe se stereotipet thjesht i pasqyrojnë ato dallime. Në këtë rast, ato që janë quajtur stereotipe do të ishin përgjithësime të thjeshta.

Carol Martin (1987) ka studiuar këtë çështje dhe ka zbuluar se shumica e tipareve sterotipe të gjinive ishin në fakt stërthjeshtësime dhe stërzmadhime të dallimeve të vogla mes grupeve.

Por, edhe stereotipet gjinore në media janë të shfaqura në emisione të ndryshme, me tematika krejtësisht të ndryshme nga njëra-tjetra. Stereotipet shfaqen në shumë forma, në emisione që kanë të bëjnë me show-biz, me kulturë, me politikë, etj. Me një fjalë, janë të shfaqura në të gjitha format mediale, duke mos lënë pa përmendur edhe reklamat.

Përshkrimi i metodave të shfrytëzuara

Për këtë punim u përdor metoda përshkruese, metoda e monitorimit dhe e analizës së emisioneve televizive, emisioneve në TV Klan, Tribuna Channel, RTV 21 dhe Klan Kosova. Analiza do të

fokusohet në këto transmetime televizive, Do të analizohen tereotipet gjinore që përçohen te audienca në kuadër të këtyre produkteve mediale dhe mënyrën se si këto stereotipe mund të ndikojnë te publiku.

Stereotipet gjinore dhe realiteti i konstruktuar në media

Stereotipet gjinore janë të pranishme jo vetëm në jetën e përditshme, por edhe në përmbajtjet mediatike.

Kur flitet për stereotipet e rolit gjinor apo seksual, atëherë bëhet fjalë për "bindjet e strukturuara lidhur me veçoritë personale të grave dhe burrave".[1]

Ekzistojnë së paku tri stereotipe për gra që dalin në pah: amvisja (gruaja tradicionale), gruaja profesionale (e pavarur, ambicioze, me vetëbesim) dhe lepuroshja e Playboy-it (objekt seksi).[2]

Që nga librat në shkollat fillore, fëmijëve u servohet modeli i gruas si nënë dhe amvise, ku nëna bën punët e shtëpisë, motra i ndihmon, kurse babai punon jashtë shtëpisë dhe siguron burimin e ekzistencës. Edhe në realitet situata nuk është shumë ndryshe në Kosovë, duke pasur parasysh se shumica e grave janë amvise, edhe pse shumë prej tyre me përgatitje të lartë shkollore. Sipas të dhënave të publikuara nga Instituti GAP, vetëm 12.9 % e grave me moshë pune janë të punësuara. Pabarazia në tregun e punës, ku për të njëjtën punë shpesh-herë gruaja paguhet më pak se burrat, fakti që për shkak të rolit riprodhues jo rrallë diskriminohet, si dhe ngacmimet seksuale në punë janë shkaktarët kryesorë, që edhe ato gra që kanë gjetur ndonjë vend pune, mbesin pa të.

Përkundër këtij fakti, mediat nuk merren me gratë amvise. Roli i amvises nuk është i pasqyruar në mediat shqiptare. Ato mund t'i shohim, eventualisht, në disa kronika si "Edhe unë jam Kosovë", ku kërkohen ndihma, ose kur dhurohet ndonjë fondacion, gjatë dorëzimit të ndihmave. Mund të haset edhe te emisioni

"Metamorfoza" me Suzana Mushkolajn, ku ndonjë amvise transformohet në një grua "të hijshme", për t'i ngjarë një gruaje të suksesshme.

Stereotipi i dytë është modeli i gruas së susksesshme të pavarur, që ndërton karrierën e vetme, pa përkrahjen e burrit. Emisionet "Lemza" në Tribuna Channel, si dhe "Pasdite" me Rudina Magjistarin japin shembuj të tillë. Në një puntatë te "Lemza", ka qenë e ftuar Vlora Dumoshi, e cila shpalos gjithë historinë e saj, si një grua shumë e suksesshme, që ia doli e vetme të ketë karrierë si politikane por edhe si një nënë e devotshme për dy djemtë e saj.

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[1]Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979, f. 222

[2] Ashmore, Del Boca & Wohlers, 1986; Deaux & Kite, 1987; Deaux, Winton, Crowley & Lewis, 1985; Six & Eckes, 1991

Kurse, te "Pasdite" në TV Klan, si shembull ishte Dorina Mema, kampione në bodybuilding, që bashkë me vajzën e saj flasin për marrëdhënien e tyre, edhe pse ajo është një nënë e shkurorëzuar,

që e rriti bijën e vetme, e përkundër rrethanave, vajza e saj konsiderohet si shembull.

Gjithashtu, edhe rasti i këngëtares Safete Mustafës vlen të përmendet, e cila u martua pas vdekjes së burrit të saj. Ndonëse u komentua shumë, ajo foli publikisht për emisionin "Prive" në Klan Kosova, duke thyer tabunë se gruaja pas vdekjes së burrit duhet të mbajë zi e të vishet në të zeza, duke mos u martuar kurrë. Në këtë rast, përmes këtij emisioni janë thyer shumë stereotipe.

Privé SAFETE MUSTAFA E LUMTUR ME VAJZAT E BURRIN E DYTË!

Këto shfaqen si modele të grave që kanë arritur synimet në jetë dhe karrierë, pa marrë parasysh sfidat që kanë hasur. Megjithatë, jo rrallë paragjykohen nga rrethi tradicional, pasi që si shoqëri nuk jemi të gatshëm të promovojmë këtë model të familjes, ku gruaja mund të mbijetojë me sukses pa mbështetjen e burrit.

Por, modeli tjetër stereotipizon gratë si objekt seksi. Rast i veçantë është emisioni "Zonë e lirë", me Arian Çanin. Ky emision transmetohet çdo të premte, në ora 21:00 në TV Klan. Personazhet që bëjnë më së shumti zhurmë kur ftohen në këtë emision, e që ftohen shumë shpesh, janë Kallashi, Iva Aliko, Linda

Morina, Xhesika Ndoja, etj. Madje, emisionet ku ato janë pjesëmarrëse kanë miliona klikime në YouTube.

Por, qëndron një arsye e fortë se pse këto emisione kanë kaq shumë shikueshmëri. Të ftuarat trajtohen si objekte seksi.

Kjo mbështetet në disa fakte. E para, Kallashi dhe Iva Aliko, ftohen në këtë emision, në qoftë se publikojnë ndonjë klip të ri. Mirëpo, edhe kur vijnë të flasin për këngën e re që kanë publikuar, medoemos gjithë debati do të vijojë te marrëdhëniet e tyre seksuale, partnerët, format trupore, veshja provokative, dhe nëse realizojnë ndonjë set fotosh të zhveshura dhe gjysmë të zhveshur, i tërë programacioni do të ndalet në atë pikë.

Madje, ka pasur raste kur arsyeja kryesore se pse janë ftuar, ka qenë thjesht komentimi i fotove provokative apo ndonjë afere të përfolur me ndonjë politikan ose bizensmen, identiteti i të cilëve mbetet i fsheur, për ta zgjuar kurrreshtjen e audiencës dhe për arsye që kjo temë të vazhdojë me "episode".

Gjuha e përdorur në këto emisione është qëllimisht shumë banale. Duke filluar nga mënyra e referimit të vazhdueshëm nga moderatori drejt të ftuarave, me fjalët "zemër", "loçkë" e deri te pika ku ai flet për trupin e tyre. "Duhet ta pranojmë se ke alamet bythë e cica", "Ke

veshur të brendshme apo je siç të ka bërë nëna?", "Cila është pjesa më "hot" e trupit tënd?", janë pyetje të zakonshme në këtë emision, që duket se gjithçka bën për vetëm për shikueshmëri e për show.

Të ftuarat prezantojnë vlera të tilla, si:

- Të kesh dashnor një burrë të martuar;
- Të bësh foto e zhveshur dhe gjysmë e zhveshur;
- T'i bësh dhuratë organin gjenital dikujt;
- Gjoksin e vithet t'i kesh me intervenime plastike;
- Të bësh belfie, e shumëçka tjetër.

Të gjitha këto gra, edhe pse i takojnë kategorive të ndryshme shoqërore, kanë shumë pika të përbashkëta. Ato dëshmojnë se gruaja mund të arrijë atë çfarë do, mirëpo vetëm nuk duhet të jetë e penguar.

Mirëpo, njëkohësisht shihet se çfarë efekti të madh kanë mediat në krijimin apo luftimin e stereotipeve gjinore.

Roli i mediave është i pazëvendësueshëm në thyerjen e tabuve, ku më asgjë nuk është jashtë syrit të objektivit, por vetëm varet se sa afër do ta ketë nën vështrim personazhin të cilin e paraqesin. A do të paraqitet vetëm sipërfaqësisht si objekt, apo do të merret me karakterin e personazhit dhe atë çka prezanton?

Mediat konstruktojnë realitetin, në kohën kur edhe vetë gjinia është konstrukt.

Duke i njohur përmes mediave këto gra, ato duhen, idealizohen, paragjykohen dhe ndiqen si model nga qindra e mijëra vajza, prandaj roli i medias në kohën e shumë zbrastësirave, në procesin e edukimit të rregullt është tejet i rëndësishëm.

Përfundime

Emisionet televizive shqiptare stereotipizojnë gratë dhe vajzat në baza gjinore, dhe kjo ndodh në mediat më të njohura shqiptare.

Gratë dhe vajzat stereotipizohen në bazë të tri modeleve, amvisja (gruaja tradicionale), gruaja profesionale (e pavarur, ambicioze, me vetëbesim) dhe lepuroshja e Playboy-it (objekt seksi). Roli i amvises nuk është i pasqyruar në mediat shqiptare. Ato mund t'i shohim, eventualisht, në disa kronika si "Edhe unë jam Kosovë", ku kërkohen ndihma, ose kur dhurohet ndonjë fondacion.

Stereotipi i dytë, ai i gruas së pavarur, ambicioze, me vetëbesim u pa në mediat kryesore, RTV Klan, Klan Kosova dhe Tribuna Channel. Protagoniste ishin politikania Vlora Dumoshi, këngëtarja Safete Mustafa, si dhe kampionja e body building, Dorina Mema. Këto përmes rrëfimeve të jetës së tyre të vështirë, treguan se si ia kanë dalë të jenë të suksesshme përtej çdo sfide dhe paragjykimi nga rrethi.

Mirëpo, problemi më i madh është modeli i tretë kur gratë dhe vajzat trajtohen si objekt seksi. Rerzultatet nxorën se në

emisionin "Zonë e lirë" të ftuarat e shpeshta trajtohen në këtë mënyrë dhe bisedat orientohen në atë mënyrë. Pjesëmarrësest, si Kllashi e Iva Aliko ftohen në këtë emision, në qoftë se publikojnë ndonjë klip të ri. Mirëpo, edhe kur vijnë të flasin për këngën e re që kanë publikuar, medoemos gjithë debati do të vijojë te marrëdhëniet e tyre seksuale, partnerët, format trupore, veshja provokative, dhe nëse realizojnë ndonjë set fotosh të zhveshura dhe gjysmë të zhveshur, i tërë programacioni do të ndalet në atë pikë.

Nga të gjitha këto raste, shihet se mediat kanë nevojë për ndërrim axhende, duke larguar premisat që kanë kultivuar stereotipet gjinore e që janë shumë të theksuara.

Problemet do të vazhdojnë dhe nuk do ketë përmirësim të situatës nëse nuk do ndërmerret asnjë hap.

Stereotipet do të vazhdojnë të ekzistojnë në nivele të larta, e sidomos kur ato promovohen nga vetë media.

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http://fuqizimirinor.com/sq/youth-amb-2/take-action/gender-   roles-gender-stereotypes-2/)

PhD. Ferdinand Xhaferaj
"The Tunisian Revolution: A rock in one hand, a cell-phone in the other"

Abstract

In this paper I study the Tunisian revolution in order to deduce and quantify the role that social media played in it. The Tunisian revolution has been referred to as the "Twitter revolution", however is this nomer a rightful one? Further, this paper approaches the question of the role that social media should play in the aftermaths of revolutions.

Keywords: Law, Revolution, Social Media, Society

On December 17th 2010, Mohamed Bouazizi set himself on fire in Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, in protest over a series of humiliations suffered at the hands of petty officialdom.[1] His plight came to symbolize the injustice and economic hardship afflicting many Tunisians under the Ben Ali regime, and it inspired street protests throughout the country against high unemployment, poverty, and political repression. The events began on 18 December 2010 with the spread of videos and images of Bouazizi setting himself alight and continued until the ousting of longtime President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011 (Howard & Hussain, pg. 3). "Social media was absolutely crucial," says Koubaa. "Three months before Mohammed Bouazizi burned himself in Sidi Bouzid we had a similar case in Monastir. But no one knew about it because it was not filmed. What made a difference this time is that the images of

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[1] Malveaux, Suzanne; *A timeline of the Arab Spring*, May 19th, 2011, CNN World News: http://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2011/05/19/a-timeline-of-arab-spring-unrest/

Bouazizi were put on Facebook and everybody saw it."2 The success of the uprising, which came to be known in the media as the "Twitter Revolution", inspired a wave of similar protests throughout the Middle East and North Africa. However, can Twitter overthrow a government?

This paper grapples with the question of how social media changed the way people protest. I focus on the Tunisian revolution because it is particularly important due to the very effective use of social media on two dimensions: to organize locals and to attract international attention. The paper will be divided in four parts. Firstly, it will investigate the role the media played in the local organization of the protesters; secondly, it will demonstrate how the media was used to attract international support and attention, catapulting Tunisia to the center of the world's attention and globalizing the revolution happening there; thirdly, it will seek to inquire into the governments' social media response Although there have been many studies on how the protesters and opposition used social media, little has been written about the government's social media response. In conclusion, I will discern how the unrest in Tunisia in 2010 changed the face of protesting and set a precedent of social media facilitating the organization of people through giving more individuals more power in less time. In order to do so, I will compare the unrest in Tunisia to the 1989 protests in Eastern Europe that brought about the fall of Communism. I will also draw from protests in Egypt that brought about the toppling of Mubarak as well as attempts to counter the authoritarian regime in Iran which were successfully ceased by the Islamic Republic in order to demonstrate how social media is not sufficient to bring about regime change or

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[2] Beaumont Peter; *The Truth About Twitter, Facebook and the Uprisings in the Arab World*, The Guardian UK, February 25th 2011,
http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/25/twitter-facebook-uprisings-arab-libya

stop it from occurring, however it is a powerful facilitator and it has
permanently changed the scope and pace of protest.

Social Media: A Catalyst for Revolution

Since the rise of the Internet in the early 1990s, the world's
networked population has grown from the low millions to the low
billions. Over the same period, social media have become a fact of
life for civil society worldwide, involving many actors - regular
citizens, activists, nongovernmental organization,
telecommunications firms, software providers, and governments.3
Despite the Internet's increasing role in people's lives, it would be
undercutting the causes of the Tunisian revolution to claim that it
was "A Twitter Revolution" and that Tunisians were "Tweeting out
a Tyrant". "The Internet in this case has assumed the role of a very
effective uncensored news agency"4 from which every individual
has been provided with a platform to share events and opinions. As
we've studied and discussed in detail during Week 6: Online
Revolution and Resistance in Authoritarian Regimes, new
technologies certainly empower individuals, yet they are a catalyzing
force rather than a driving force. As stated by Rim Nour, a protester
interviewed by NHS: "Tunisia wasn't a Twitter or Facebook or
Wikileaks revolution. It was Tunisians on the ground. Regional
disparities, corruption, unemployment were primary drivers, she
emphasized."5 Thus, although the causes that bring about revolution

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3 Shirky, Clay; The Political Power of Social Media, Foreign Affairs, February
2011: https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/2010-12-20/political-
power-social-media
4 Miladi, Noureddine; Tunisia: A Media Led Revolution, AlJazeera World
Politics:
http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2011/01/2011116142317498
666.html
5 Delany, Colin, How Social Media Accelerated Tunisia's Revolution, An
Inside View, E-Politics: digital strategy for politics and advocacy, February

have not changed much over time, the means certainly have. Peter Beaumont captured this quite simply when he said: "The barricades today do not bristle with bayonets and rifles, but with phones."

Certainly, people with a grievance have throughout history found ways to communicate. People protested and toppled governments long before the Internet was invented and revolution existed much before Facebook, Twitter or Youtube. Prominent scholars such as Malcolm Gladwell have argued one way or another that if revolutions existed before social media, how could it be so important? The answer is just as simple as the question: "The medium that carries the message shapes and defines as well as the message itself"6. The instantaneous nature of how social media transmits uncensored, self-broadcast images and sentences "explains in part the speed at which these revolutions have unravelled, their almost viral spread across a region"7. Further, it explains the loose and non-hierarchical organization of the protests. And most importantly, because information was shared instantaneously and by multiple sources, it had credibility.

Civil society is constituted by a plurality of groups representing diverse perspectives and promoting those perspectives through communications media and cultural institutions (Howard, 5). There is a correlation between democracies and strong civil societies, and authoritarian regimes and lack thereof. A democratic state cannot be stable unless it is effective and legitimate, with the respect and support of its citizens; civil society serves as a check, a

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2011: http://www.epolitics.com/2011/02/10/how-social-media-accelerated-tunisias-revolution-an-inside-view/

[6] Beaumont Peter; *The Truth About Twitter, Facebook and the Uprisings in the Arab World*, The Guardian UK, February 25th 2011, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/25/twitter-facebook-uprisings-arab-libya

[7] Ibid.

monitor.8 In the case of Tunisia, many groups were pushed online because they sought to "check" the regime and broadcast to the world the defective conditions most Tunisians were living in. Television, radio and newspapers were censored. The well-monitored broadcast media were a means by which the state controlled discourse (Howard, 5). The Internet provided a platform for communication which was not easily censured, not costly and it transitioned the political discourse from one shaped by mostly pro-regime journalist to one of citizen-journalists. Because of the Internet, not only were people able to share their own versions of events without being censored, but also they were able to organize and convene while sharing the unfolding events with a wide, eager audience that knew no geographic boundaries. This brings us to the power of the Internet to make the Tunisian revolution one that was not limited to national boundaries.

From local to global

NPR senior strategist Andy Carvin, co-founder of DC Media Makers and an expert analyst regarding the role of online communications in uprising, observed that Facebook had become the open platform for Tunisians to share videos. People in Europe would migrate those videos into Posterous, then upload to YouTube, and then share them using Twitter. Carvin pointed out the website nawaat.org which aggregated Facebook videos almost as fast as they went up. All of the services worked together on the platform that the Internet provides."9

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8 Diamond, Larry; What Civil Society Can do to Develop Democracy, Stanford University, February 10th 2004:
https://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/Develop_Democracy021002.htm

9 Howard, Alex, A Tunisian on the Role of Social Media on the Tunisian Revolution", January 2011: http://gov20.govfresh.com/a-tunisian-on-the-role-of-social-media-in-the-revolution-in-tunisia/

Bouazizi's self-immolation and plight is often seen as the spark that started a movement that spread throughout the Middle East in a 'domino-effect' way. However, he was not the first Tunisian to set himself alight in an act of public protest. What made his case different were video clips of his desperate act that were recorded on mobile phones by bystanders and immediately posted on the Internet. As argued in "Democracy's Fourth Wave: Digital Media and the Arab Spring", "digital media helped turn individualized, localized, and community-specific dissent into a structured movement with a collective consciousness about both shared plights and opportunities for action" (Howard, pg. 25). The video of Bouazizi was shared and viewed millions of times, more times than Tunisia had Youtube and Facebook subscribers. His plight was no longer of Tunisians alone, but rather it had also become the plight of many netizens around the world who were empathetic to the resentment and hardships of the Tunisian population.

In July 2012, the United States Institute of Peace, published a report in which they analyzed bit.ly links from the uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Bahrain. Bit.ly links, or short URLs, are predominantly used in social media such as Twitter.[10] The study suggests that although social media served as a facilitator for local organization, the true importance of it lies in the ability it provided for Tunisians (and other Arab citizens) to communicate to the rest of the world what was happening in their home countries. New [or social] media outlets that use bit.ly links are more likely to spread information outside of the region than inside it, acting like a megaphone more than a rallying cry.[11]

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[10] Brown Heather, *The Role of Social Media in the Arab Uprisings*, Pew Research Center, November 28th 2012:
http://www.journalism.org/2012/11/28/role-social-media-arab-uprisings/

[11] Lynch, Marc et al, *Blogs and Bullets II: New Media and Conflict after the Arab Spring,*

Data from the Pew Research Center's Global Attitudes Project at least somewhat supports this conclusion with its findings that the majority of Egyptians, for instance, are not even online with about two-thirds (65%) of the total population not being Internet users. In Tunisia as well only about one-third of the population uses social media.12   The Project on Information Technology and Political Islam assembled data about blogging in Tunisia one month prior to the crisis in that country, and had special data on the link structure of Egyptian political parties one month prior to the crisis there as well. They discovered a correlation between heightened political discussion in blogs and outbreak of protest; "in Tunisia, conversations about liberty, democracy and revolution on blogs and on Twitter often immediately preceded mass protests"13. As demonstrated, although social media was not widely used, it was a major tool for many of the activists who did use it to share their grievances and come together in order to try to put an end on them, while making sure that people elsewhere had information on the events as they unfolded.

The early risers of the Tunisian revolution all had access to social media. Irritated

by the fact that the local media (controlled by the government) was not portraying the initial protests that had already begun they decided to take things into their own hands. They communicated and organized themselves through Facebook and Twitter and shared videos via Youtube: Tunisia's 3.6 million internet users - a third of the population, one of the highest penetration rates

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United States Institute for Peace. July 2012.

12 O'Donnell Catherine, New Study Quantifies use of Social Media in Arab Spring, University of Washington, September 12th 2011:
http://www.washington.edu/news/2011/09/12/new-study-quantifies-use-of-social-media-in-arab-spring/
13 Ibid.

on the African continent, according to Internet World Stats - were able to organize thanks to social media. Further, Twitter tells the tale of how the uprising went from being a local organizing force to international in scope. Despite Tunisia having 10, 800 active Twitter users, all in all, tweets mentioning Tunisia showed up in Twitter streams as many as 329 million times and reached 26 million Twitter users.14

Thus, while social media was initially simply a means for the Tunisian youth to organize, it soon also became a major tactic to ensure local and international support. The Tunisian government's response to the protests attracted international criticism when dozens of protesters were killed in clashes with police. Immediately, Ben Ali appeared on national television and made broader concessions to the opposition, promising not to seek another term as president when his term ended in 2014. He expressed regret over the deaths of protesters and vowed to order police to stop using live fire except in self-defense. Addressing some of the protesters' grievances, he said he would reduce food prices and loosen restrictions on Internet use (Gana, pg. 157).15 This transitions us to the third part of this paper.

The Regimes Response

One of the hallmarks of the Tunisian uprising that led to Ben Ali's resignation in 2011 was its broad base of support, glued together and facilitated by social media. As argued by Anita Breuer: "To the surprise of many Middle East experts who had previously regarded co-opted and quiescent middle classes as the bedrock of stability for authoritarian regimes in the region, the Tunisian revolution rode on the back of a broad coalition of social forces that united an alienated intellectual elite with the rural poor and urban

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14 Tsotsis, Alexia, A Twitter Snapshot of the Tunisian Revolution: http://techcrunch.com/2011/01/16/tunisia-2/
15 Gana, Nouri; *The Making of the Tunisian Revolution: Contexts, Architects, Prospects*, October 2013, Edinburgh University Press.

middle classes in opposition to the regime. It is a widely shared assumption that this joining of disparate forces would not have been possible without modern communication technologies and social media."

   The author draws on evidence from the popular protests in Tunisia between December 2010 and January 2011, expert interviews with Tunisian bloggers, and a web survey conducted among Tunisian Facebook users and concludes that social media allowed a "digital elite" to form and bypass the restrictions imposed by Ben Ali by brokering information for outside mainstream media and "facilitated the formation of a national collective identity which was supportive of protest action and transcended geographical and socio-economic disparities by providing a shared, mobilizing element of emotional grievance"16. The complex web of interactions between individual aggrieved protesters, strategic digital activists, and international broadcasters assured that the information about the death of Bouazizi and the ensuing protests were able to reach a larger portion of Tunisian society as well as to transcend national borders. The regime responded with increased repression on the one hand, and an almost complete breakdown in public communication on the other hand (Breuer, 18). Ben Ali addressed the nation promising to respond to the protesters' demands, vowing to create jobs and condemning the initial protests as "terrorist acts orchestrated by foreign interests (Breuer, 18)". However, the reality was far from his promises with the only result being not new jobs, but rather increased police violence. The International Crisis Group reported the death of 21 of the protesters gathered on January 8th in Thala, one of the major Tunisian cities. These delayed and disconnected reactions on the part of the regime, in harsh contrast

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[16] Breuer Anita, The Role of Social Media in Mobilizing Political Protest – Evidence from the Tunisian Revolution, German Development Institute, November 2012:
https://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/DP_10.2012.pdf

with a reality that had become visible for all to see thanks to social media, contributed significantly to the transformation of a spontaneous and locally rooted movement into a determined national revolution (Breuer, 18). Ben Ali's response was often incohesive and disconnected because of how quickly things were moving.

In the digital age, the power of social media to, nearly instantaneously, spread word of atrocities, inflame public opinion, and to embolden people to take action can no longer be underestimated, and neither can what that means for traditional diplomatic efforts. The acceleration of media has steadily meant changes to diplomatic channels. President Kennedy, for example, had plenty of time to formulate a response to the Soviet Union's Berlin Wall crackdown (Browning, 64). Ben Ali did not have this luxury. Both the use of social media platforms by citizens to organize protests and the governmental response of attempting to control, limit, or completely shut down such technologies will continue to pose important questions for international law scholars for years to come, as democracies ponder limits on Internet access (Browning, 64).

In the second part of this paper, from local to global, we discussed how social media was instrumental in garnering the attention of the citizens of the world who were savvy enough to be paying attention. President Sarkozy said he stood side-by-side with the citizens of Tunisia, his country's former protectorate, stating that: "Only dialogue can bring a democratic and lasting solution to the current crisis". Many world leaders came together in voicing their concerns and the United Nations made several calls to the government of Tunisia to avoid violence and respect human rights. Following these claims and civil unrest at home, Ben Ali promised to step down in 2014. Although he was forced to flee the country to neighbouring Saudi Arabia much before 2014, it is difficult to not wonder if he would have made such appeasing promises had he not faced pressure from the international community? It is also fair to

wonder why Ben Ali did not "crackdown" harder on social media usage?

In Iran, for instance, the Iranian Cyber Police, a unit of the Revolutionary Guards acts under the orders of Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei and has the sole job of making sure that social media is not used as a platform to share grievances and organize in civil disobedience. The fact that such a unit has been founded in Iran in 2011 goes to show the increasing power of social media, which in return, in an authoritarian regime needs an increased alertness and response to be countered. They have arrested several Facebook users and as stated by the Iranian freelance journalist Omid Memarian, the Revolutionary Guards "see the social media environment as a new battle ground with its Western counterparts". The fact that the regime in Iran remains intact while as Ben Ali was forced to declare a state of emergency and flee his own country is not to be attributed to more limits on social media usage in Iran as opposed to Tunisia. However, there is a correlation between the centralization and state organization required to maintain such high degrees of control on social media and the longevity of the regime. The fact that Iran was able to achieve it while as Ben Ali's attempt to halt Facebook and Twitter usage was not successful shows that Iran has a regime that is much more centralized and in control. Thus, social media in itself is not enough to neither cause a revolution nor stop it from occurring, however, it is a powerful weapon that can change the pace and the scope of how people organize to show their discontent and grievances.

Tunisia in perspective: How it set a precedent

Social media can turn every citizen into a journalist (Browning, 67). Amongst the many lessons to be drawn from the Tunisian revolution, one is that it is proof of how the advance of social media has changed the face of activism. In the words of Saleem Kaseem: "We used Facebook to schedule the protests, we

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used Twitter to coordinate, and YouTube to tell the world".17   The
role that technology has taken in allowing the distribution of
information is essential in establishing the democratic movement
that has helped guide abused civilians to overthrow their
oppressor. Social networks have broken the psychological barrier of
fear by providing a safe platform for many to share, discuss, and
mobilize.

The case of Tunisia is particularly important as it shows how
in the age of globalization and mass media, no conflict or issue can
remain local. The Tunisian Revolution, commonly referred to as
"The Twitter Revolution", demonstrates that social media has
significantly reduced the costs and complexities of organizing mass
numbers of people into a single, cohesive force. Although this was
not the first time that social media shaped the course of civil unrest,
and although it is difficult and perhaps even naïve to state that had
social media not existed the Tunisian protests would not have
happened, it is fair to ascertain that in previous protests there was
never as wide a variety of information and as much raw material
available.

In previous protests, such as during the Eastern European
uprisings "these flows (of information) were carefully curated and
designed to craft particular narratives (Lynch, 5)". However, as
Denis Campbell observed, the use of social networking platforms
lent an air of honesty and transparency to coverage of the revolution,
highlighting the use of candid, unguarded moments of children
protesting and spontaneous groups singing, virally across the globe
countering biased coverage that painted the revolution as not
meaningful or only representative of a small group of protestors
(Campbell, 224). Certain parallels can be drawn between the

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[17] Kassim, Saleem; *Twitter Revolution: How the Arab Spring was helped by Social Media*, July 3rd, 2012, Policy. Mic,
http://mic.com/articles/10642/twitter-revolution-how-the-arab-spring-was-helped-by-social-media

countries of Eastern Europe that transition from communism in the late 1980's and those that underwent the "Arab Spring". Although in both cases people protested in attempts to transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, the transition experience itself is quite different in terms of pace and scope. When it comes to causes, the socio-economic grievances such as rampant corruption in government institutions, unemployment and failure to provide adequate public services were very much prevalent in both cases. Unlike the communist regimes, high unemployment especially among the youth, internal and regional social inequalities were also catalysts for the Arab uprisings.18 Comparing the Arab Spring with the revolts in the Eastern Europe in 1989, the domino or snowball effect also immediately comes to mind. Snowballing is possible among countries that are not only geographically close, but also culturally similar. This effect was heightened, made easier and faster through social media. Snowballing was even more obvious with the widespread use of social media. Dalacoura argues that an explanation of how grievances were channeled into collective action in 2011 emphasizes the role of the media that allowed the revolts to spread across borders and brought people onto the streets.19 The Qatar-based Al-Jazeera broadcasted the protests in Egypt and Tunisia while social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter were commonly used to organize the revolts in addition to connecting protesters to one other and the outside world. Therefore, media and especially social media were an inseparable component of the Arab uprisings that heightened the power of the domino effect. In Eastern Europe as well people understood the power of the media and violent protests in Romania, Albania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere were even internationally broadcast,

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18 Erdogan Afyer, *From the Collapse of Communism to the Arab Spring*, Turkish Journal of International Relations, Volume 12 Number 3, 2013: http://alternativesjournal.net/article/view/5000150719
19 Ibid.

yet people did not have cameras on their phones to take instant pictures and nor did they have platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Youtube to share them and rally both domestic and international support. Although it is difficult to quantify how much faster the Tunisian revolution was because of the existence of these new means of communication, it is undeniable that the pace and scope of how many people were able to share and how many people were able to see was unprecedented.

Tunisians overcame the challenge of toppling a dictator, now they face a perhaps even more difficult challenge of how to establish a democracy. Huntington stresses the importance of individual agents in the transition to democracy by stating 'democracies are created not by causes but by causers'. In 1989, Albania, swept by the domino effect that had spread throughout Eastern Europe, experienced the fall of communism. This particular moment in history is associated with the figure of Sali Berisha, who was to become the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Democratic Party for the next two decades. He rallied students to gather outside of the main universities and became the leader of the protests, speaking at every rally. However, in the case of Tunisia, it is difficult to relate the revolution to one single person because of the power social media gave different individuals. The Tunisian revolution is not a "Sali Berisha", individual type of revolution, but rather a "Twitter" revolution, one involving many individuals who led the organization of protests and rallies.

Often, the contribution of social networks to the Arab uprisings has been as important as it also has been complex, contradictory and misunderstood, states Peter Beaumont in his article on The Truth about Twitter and the Uprisings in the Middle East. Taking a position at either spectrum of the debate: social media was crucial on the one side and social media would have not changed the course of events on the other side, is both inaccurate, limiting and can only remain in the realm of hypothesis. The fact of the matter

remains that social media did change the pace and scope of the events in Tunisia as argued and evidenced in this paper, based on research from numerous scholars, journalists and academics. It has given more power to individuals in sharing their grievances and finding solidarity and it has also given causes more credibility when shared with netizens around the world.

Finally, despite the new means people have to mobilize quicker and more effectively and despite the power that the Internet and specifically social media has given the individuals who have access to it the means to portray their opinions and find others who feel similarly, this is only the first part of the challenge. In the words of Alexis de Tocqueville: "In a revolution, as in a novel, the most difficult part is to invent the end". Can socially media be just as effectively used not only to bring down regimes, but also to set up the societies that are left in transition afterwards?

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Doc. Dr. Agron TUFA
Trajtimi i grave në burgjet dhe kampet e
internimit komunist

Instalimi i regjimit komunist përmbysi, ndër shumë norma e përfytyrime, dhe sjelljen ndaj gruas. Përkundër propagandës për gjoja çlirimin e saj, në praktikë, ajo çfarë vijoi më pas, deri në rënien e sistemit, qe një skllavërim i programuar i saj dhe, në thelb, shfytyrimi gjinor i "femilitetit". Nën parrullën "gruaj - forcë e madhe shoqërore e transformuese", femrës shqiptare iu imponuan përfytyrime të përçudshme mbi gjininë e saj, duke ia përshtatur ato frymës revolucionare të pllakateve të tipit "gruaja-burrë vetullangrysur", me llërë, kallo e muskuj mashkullorë, sipas imazhologjisë viziale standarde të pllakateve e grafikave, ndërsa habitati i saj natyral, nuk janë më mjediset familjare, universitetet apo aspekte të edukimit, por fushat, kodrat e malet, ku ajo si një Herkul modern konkuron stalinjecët që shkulin kërcuna, fabrikave e repartet e tornerive, me përparëse dhe një libër të kuq apo dekret. Mjafton të shihni së paku pllakatin e mozaikut në fasadën e Muzeut Historik Kombëtar. Sigurisht parfumi i saj është djersa në fushatat e korrje-shirjeve, tarracave apo furrnaltave të shkrirjes së çelikut. Ka mjaft tablo me idile epike punëtorësh, kolektiva punë, ku femra ngrihet mes reparteve të punës në mbledheje duke kritikuar burra, drejtues e shfaqje të huaja, me gishtin kërcënues, si një amazonë e rreptë.

Por kjo qasje e defeminilizimit të femrës, ka origjinë të hershme, që nga çetat partizane, ku shkon krahas propaganda për "çlirimin e forcës së gruas", dhe qasja perfide e skartimit kriminal të

saj pa asnjë etikë drejtësie. Një ndër shembujt demonstrativë, se si do të veprohet me femrat e suksesshme e me personalitet të fortë, na shërbën gjyqi tragjik i partizanës së bukur, të kultururar e me kurajë - Ramize Gjebrea. Sipas dokumentave, ditarëve e shënimeve të shumë ish-partizanëve, asaj iu montua një akuzë, për gjoja prishje të moralit partizan, për gjoja një flagrancë dashurie me një nga vartësit e saj komandantë, partizanin Zaho Koka. Por procesi hetimor partizan që zgjati nga 24 shkurti deri më - 7mars 1944 mori vetëm përgjigjen proverbiale të Ramize Gjerbresë, dhe atë, në latinisht: "Nega totum" (asgjë e vërtetë). Studiuesit e shumtë të jetës së saj, dëshmojnë se dënimi me pushkatim i Ramizesë që urdhëruar nga Dushan Mugosha, për shkak të një polemike të egër të Gjerbresë me të, për shkak të Kosovës dhe fatit të saj pas luftës. Komandantja e re 19 vjeçare u ekzekutua jo për akuzën-shpifje, por për shkak të ndjenjave të saj nacionaliste. Na tërheq vëmendjen fakti, eleminimi i Ramize Gjebresë do të përbëjë një shabllon, që do të përsëritet më vonë me dënimin e femrave të "forta" e të suksesshme si Musine Kokalari, Sabiha Kasimati, Marie Shllaku, Nexhmije Duma, Liri Gega, Liri Belishova etj.

Po t'u referohemi statistikave (të paplota), drejtësia e regjimit komunist burgosi e dënoi politikisht me vite të gjata burgu 7367 gra. U ekzegutuan me dënim me vdekje 450 të tjera; 7 vdiqën në qelitë e paraburgimit; 308 vdiqën në spitalet psikiatrike (të çmendura nga torturat), që në total bëjnë 10.792 gra.

Një bilanc i hidhur ky që na krijon një tablo të përçudshme të sjelljes së diktaturës me gruan, krejt në të kundërt të propagandës komuniste, i cila proklamonte se po e çlironte gruan nga zgjedha shekullore e Kanunit apo normat shtypëse patriarkale. Se sa qëndron kjo në raport me propagandën, do të na duhet t'i hedhim një sy të shpejtë etikës së Kanunit (të Lekë Dukagjinit) mbi gruan.

Për hir të së vërtetës, "gjinia e bukur" është trajtuar jo gjithmonë mirë dhe me dashamirësi në "Kanun", por në aspektin e dhunimit fizik të saj nga dikush tjetër, jashtë dorës së burrit, te

prekja, lëndimi dhe kompromitimi, ajo është ruajtur dhe është mbrojtur me xhelozi dhe fanatizëm.

Po qëlloi gjaksi me gruan, hasmi, që do të duhej të merrte hak, për nder të gruas nuk e bën gjakmarrjen sepse gjaksi ka qëlluar bashkë me gruan dhe burrëria kanunore nuk lejon që në sytë e gruas të çnderohet a të vritet edhe burri i saj. Po qëllove me gruan, ke qëlluar me dorëzanin më të fortë; po qëllove me gruan ke me me vete një besë tepër madhe, me një n'(d)ore të fortë. Në të tilla rrethana, pra gruaja është e shenjtë. I huaji prandaj nuk guxon të vë dorë mbi gruan e huaj, edhe atëherë kur burri i saj është në gjak me hasmin. Pse mund të thuhet kështu?

Kanuni i Maleve e ka peshuar mirë këtë punë dhe në fund ka konstatuar se " Grueja s'bjen në gjak" (19). Madje edhe po ndodhi që gruaja vrau dikë ajo përsëri nuk ka tagër të bjerë në gjak. "Grueja s' bjen në gjak" edhe "me qillue se vret kend"(19). Po nëse hakmarrësi vë dorë mbi gruan e burrit, duke dashur që të hakmerret ndaj burrit, përmes goditjes që i bën gruas së tij, duke e quajtur marrje haku, apo marrje borxhi, hakmarrësi apo dorasi sërish ka bërë gabimin fatal e të madh , të cilin gabim kanuni nuk ia fal. Madje këtë ia ndalon edhe burrit. "Me e gjetë gja gruen për faj të burrit, prindja e saj i lypin arsye me kanu".(19). "Me rrahë, me plyrë a me vra gruen e burrit dora e huej, nderen ia kërkon burri, varren e gjakun prindja."(22). Kundruar prej të gjitha anëve, kanuni nuk lejon të vihet dorë e huaj mbi gruan.

Se çfarë ka ndodhur në burgjet, hetuesitë apo kampet e përqendrimit komunist me vajzat e gratë shqiptare ka një material shumë të pasur e të pafundëm memuaristik, filmik e gjyqësor. Duke anashkaluar rastet e mëdha me skena të mjerimit masiv në kampet e vedekjes si Tepelena, Kruja, apo Kodër Kamza, ne do të kufizohemi me një prej teknologjive tipike të "demaskimit popullor komunist" mbi një femër, siç na

paraqitet në ditarin e internimit, në një prej qindra ditëve të artij realiteti.

18 Tetor '79

Tefta nuk është më me ne; e arrestuan dje. Në datën 15 i bënë "demaskimin" në sallën e kinemasë; pastaj, dy ditë me rradhë na hodhën gurë në shtëpi dhe dje erdhi gazi e mori.

Oborri është plot me gurë, copa tullash, xhama të thyera. i lamë pa fshirë që t'i shihte ndonjë hetues se ç'u punua në kurriz tonë. I bëmë telegram Ministrisë, po të gjitha dolën kot. Ky institucion vendosi kundra nesh.

Me rradhë ndodhi kështu: të mërkurën mbasdite kishim dalë në apel me çunat për dore. Pritëm mjaft se s'po vinte njeri të na numuronte si përherë. Ora kaloi, po errej, kur në shesh të sektorit ndaloi një Gaz dhe zbriti Guri. Na hodhi një shikim si grup, i ngutur dhe menjëherë na urdhëroi të futemi në sallë për mbledhje. Deshëm t'i çonim fëmijët në shtëpi, meqë ishte vonë, por ai s'na la. I morëm në sallë por pastaj i çoi Danaj dhe u kthye. (S'di ç'do të kish ndodhur po t'i kishim aty).

Populli po mblidhej me shumicë, të sinjalizuar si duket që mbledhja ishte me rëndësi. U ngucëm në mes të gjindjes, dhe Guri na çoi në rreshtin e tretë, tamam përballë tryezës me beze të kuqe të përgatitur për presidiumin.

Atmosfera ishte e keqe. Para disa javësh, mund të ketë dy muaj, kanë demaskuar Dumet, para pak ditësh kemi bërë fjalë me Gurin por sidomos fjala e kryetarit të Degës na ndillte për keq. Salla u mbush dhe turma vazhdonte të hynte duke plotësuar edhe hapësirën para të dyja portave. Zuri vend presidiumi, partia e Grabjanit plus Petraq Nushi, sekretar i partisë së ndërmarrjes. Turma gumëzhinte po kur u ngrit Filipi, sekretar i partisë, kureshtja e mundi zhurmën.

"Jemi mbledhur sot tha gati i buzëqeshur, që të bëjmë demaskimin politik të Tefta Tasit. Ku është Tefta?" pyeti pastaj. Dëgjova time motër që u përgjegj: "Ketu jam".

"Ngrehu këtu para popullit. Atje te muri, të të shohë populli".

Tefta u ngrit dhe vajti qëndroi tre metra larg presidiumit.

Ia dhanë fjalën Petraqit   (zeshkan, faqekuq, arrogant). Filloi të lexonte akuzën e tij, të mbushur me fjalë fyese si e "poshtër, reaksionare, amorale, bushtër, kërmë".

Ç'mund të bënim? Të ngriheshim? Ishte vonë, dyert ishin të bllokuara. Ai vazhdoi me ton të lartë dhe vazhdimisht e shtonte zemërimin, nga fundi edhe me shkumë në cepat e gojës ... "I ati ka qënë ministër i Zogut, i dënuar nga partia si armik i popullit, po ashtu edhe xhaxhai i saj, po ashtu dhe daja, dhe i vellai... janë familje reaksionare. Nuk del në punë, vjell vrer, shan mallin e dyqanit. Duan përmbysjen e pushtetit, duan që të vijë imperializmi. Por populli u ka thyer kokën gjithmonë!" etj, etj.

Populli duartrokiste, brohoriste. Shpesh ia ndërprisnin fjalimin, dhe sa herë bëheshin këto ndërprerje, zëri i hollë i një skraparlliu flokëbardhë delte përmbi zhurmën me një klithmë Rroftë shoku Enver!!. Salla ngrihej në këmbë dhe shpërthente në urra të gjata. Një i rinisë m'u afrua mu në fytyrë duke më zbardhur dhëmbët me zgërdhi.

Vendosëm të mos çohemi nga vendi dhe kështu ne të tre këtu dhe Tefta atje ishin të vetmit që nuk rrihnim duart dhe e mbanim gojën mbyllur.

...Zhurma u ul. Presidiumi u vështruan me njëri – tjetrin dhe natyrisht nuk ngulën këmbë që ajo të fliste. (për ta nuk ka asnjë shkelje që i akuzuari edhe të mos flasë fare.)

Ia dhanë fjalën popullit, por për ne kishte mbaruar çdo gjë; në menyrë demostrative u ngulëm në një qëndrim të heshtur, Tefta atje dhe ne të tre këtu.

Të gjithë sa folën, patjeter ishin të porositur, por mënyra se si u zhvillua mbledhja dhe sidomos fakti që ne nuk pranuam ndonjë faj, por reaguam, u dha dorë organizatorëve: Fjalimet e atyre që kishin porositur dolën tamam të zemëruar. Ata shprehën indinjatën sikur ne të kishim shkelur të drejtën! Më i buti prej tyre, më i maturi të themi,

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një agronom me të cilin Tefta as ka këmbyer ndonjëherë një fjalë, tha: "Unë nuk e njoh personalisht Teftën, por ç'është ai të ecur në rrugë?! Sikur ka çliruar Shqipërinë!!" (ai në fakt me këto fjalë përmblidhte qortimin e rajasë që i bën sjelljes më normale qytetare, dhe në këtë identifikohen shumë nga ata që e kanë ulur kokën përfundimisht në mjedisin tonë mbytës). Pas tij u ngrit vetë Nuria dhe tha: "Kjo këtu merr një fëmijë për dore dhe shkon serbes në postë" (Nënteksti: si guxon të më kalojë para?! Ajo vetë, Nuria, ka një frikë patologjike nga ata të sigurimit, megjithëqë u bën gjithë këto shërbime). Pastaj dy pleq dhe një i ri kërkuan i pari arrestimin e menjehershëm të Teftës, dy të tjerët jo vetëm të sajën por edhe tonin, meqë nuk duartrokitëm. (I dyti kishte një habi të thellë të vizatuar në fytyrë kur pyeste: Të mos duartrokasësh për shokun Enver! Si u bëka!?).

...Dritat ishin të dobëta në sallë, tymi i duhanit i mjegullonte edhe fytyrat, konturet. Isha shumë i tronditur që të mund t'i kujtoj të gjitha sa thanë. Mbas këtyre të parëve folën një sërë hipokritësh pa rëndësi dhe grash që janë me gisht në Sektor.

Njëra prej këtyre, një e shëndoshë me krahë të shkurtër, (për të cilën qarkullon fjala se e ka përpjekur me jaranin majë një mani) tha: "Kjo vë një kapele në kokë (siç duket e ka parë në rastet kur lante kokën), merr një trastë të jashtme dhe na shet mend në dyqan". Një tjetër (antare partie, më e shëndoshë se tjetra dhe fare e shthurur nga goja, e famshme për grindjet e gjata me lëmin ku lëshon për të kullotur 100 pulat e dy plepave të saj-kotece) u ngrit mes rromuzeve të çunave, e rëndë si një vozë dhe tha me zë burri: "Kësaj nuk i pëlqejnë zarzavatet e shtetit! Ca do qo? Apo do kohën e bejlerëve?" Të njëjtën gjë në thelb, por me një fije të hollë zëri, e emocionuar në kulm e përsëriti shitësja e zarzavateve, ajo që kaq herë nuk i jepte Teftës edhe kur kishte radhën...

Pastaj Lika, brigadier dhe sekretar partie u ngrit nga rreshti i parë dhe më tregoi mua me gisht: "Ky këtu nuk paraqitet në punë, ikën

*nëpër malësira me bletë, rri me javë..'' (në malsi unë?... që duhet të
dal dy herë ditën në apel...)*

*Me këto e ca të tjera mbaroi mbledhja. Populli u ngrit dhe u mblodh
tek porta kryesore. Daljen tjetër e mbanin mbyllur që të mos ndahej
masa më dysh dhe i binim shkurt neve për në shtëpi. Duhej të
ndodhte në shesh të Sektorit ajo që kishin përgatitur.*

*U futëm dhe ne në turmën që grumbullohej, kur Teftës i erdhi një
shtytje e fortë nga mbrapa. Unë që isha përpara ktheva kokën dhe
pashë djalin që këto ditë më merrte biçikletën për xhiro. S'desha ta
besoj. E pyeta me sy por ai më bëri një shenjë mohuese por në formë
tallëse. Kishte përreth shokët e organizatës që e nxisnin dhe ky
bëhej trim. Në koridor të gjithë na vështronin ftohtë siç na kishin në
mes. Shumë prej tyre duhet t'i kishin gurët në xhepa. Futëm Teftën
në mes dhe vazhduam mes të shtyrave. Nga hapësira e portës se
jashtme pashë gazin e Degës që s'kishte lëvizur nga vendi[20].*

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[20] Lekë Tasi "Grabiani rrëzë kodrave", ditar internimi, fq. 242, botimet ISKK,
2018

PhD Candidat Irma Gjana

**Women leadership challenging Albanian
national culture: Case of AMERICAN Hospital**

Abstract

Leadership has been one of the most intriguing and elaborated research topics throughout the human history for scholars of different fields of science. Women leadership on the other hand, is a newer topic of research. Today's women leadership situation is in a very different standpoint from what has been seen so far. Women are challenging the old customs and breaking taboos, especially in specific rigid, masculine national cultures, although their position in leadership is still not comparable to that of men.

This research paper aims to discuss the case of women leadership and its challenging situation toward Albanian national culture. The paper will contain an elaboration of qualitative research related to the field and a quantitative observation of women leadership situation in Albania's biggest hospital, American Hospital Joint-Stock Company. Hofstede's 6-dimentional national culture model will be used as a referential point of national culture measurement.

Keywords: Leadership, Women leadership, National culture, Hofstede's 6-dimensional national culture model, American Hospital, Albania.

Introduction

A vast number of scientific researches throughout human history have studied the topic of leadership from different perspectives. The scholars of different fields have deepened their researches in the internal and external dimensions of leadership and the issues that influence these dimensions. The evolution and globalization of the world brings with it the need for change and adaptation of leadership formats. The evolving metamorphosis of leadership and leadership theories are still ongoing (Daft 2008).

In managerial sciences leadership is the most crucial part on the puzzle of the development of an organization. The researchers have classified leadership as an influential driving force that runs the masses toward common goals. For that reason effective leadership is very important in increasing the employees' performance, which directly affects the organization's outcome.

Women leadership on the other hand is a newer topic of study, as throughout the human history leadership has been attributed only to the figure of men. This attribution was supported by the belief that in the leadership role men are more qualified than women. This kind of discrimination, even though studies show that women are capable to lead masses toward aspirational goals as well as men, are still present, depriving women from top executive positions (Yulk 2008, Robbins&Judge 2013,Northouse 2013.) Though it seems unbelievable that we are still discussing this fact in the 21st century, it is a reality which we have to face.

On the other hand the habits, traditions of society and its culture are important elements which affect the shaping of

leadership and management system of any company. National culture including all the six dimension components, have an essential influence on the formatting of perceptions, beliefs, expectations and thus actions taken by people of a given nation. Leadership style and gender perceptional selection can show a direct relation with the cultural dimensions within one country.

In national culture studies elaborated by Hofstede (2010), Albania shows high scores in masculinity index. Masculine societies according to this study show clear distinction between genders. In workplace such societies see career optional for women and obligatory for men. Given this fact, in Albania, female leadership is expected to be truncated. This paper will give an overview of women leadership in the biggest private hospital in Albania, the American Hospital. The research is developed in two parts; the qualitative overview of studies in the field of culture, leadership and women leadership elaborated in the literature review part and a quantitative study of the percentage of representation of women in top management positions in American Hospital Tirana. The consistency of the data collected will be the discussion issue of this study.

Methodology

The methodology used in this paper is a combination of the overviewing of qualitative research related to the topic discussed, and a quantitative elaboration of the percentages of women representation of women in leadership level in American Hospital Albania. The comparison of the theoretical situation explained in the literature part and the quantitative

data collected within the hospital, showing the representation percentages of women in leadership positions will be our topic of discussion.

Literature Review

Culture and leadership terms have been shaped in different forms with different definitions, according to researcher's methodological preferences (Yulk 2010). Although the broad number of studies about these topics, a lot need to be understood in terms of their impact mechanisms in different field and processes. (Stogdill 1974; Chhokar et al.2009).

What is culture? Kilman et al. (1985) introduces the concept of culture as a reflection of the ideologies, shared philosophies, values, beliefs, assumptions, attitudes, expectations and organizational norms. In this regard, Banutu-Gomez (2002) mentions culture as the roots of every different foundation we belong to, as family, community or society. Also, according to Hofstede et al. (2010), culture is explained as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others".

Various studies have been focusing on the cultural dimensions. They have used the elaboration of all of the dimensions at once or some of them for different purpose of research. (Tkeshelashvili 2009; Bosson et al.2016; Pfajfar et al. 2016). Generally cultural dimensions are used as metering and distinctive unit of leadership styles within the environment the research has been conducted.

In order to give a profile of national culture, Hofstede et al. (2010) uses a 6- dimensions measurement, firstly

developed as a four dimensions' study and which later was enlarged by adding to the study two other dimensions. These 6-dimensions are as following, 1) Power distance 2) collectivism vs. individualism, 3) femininity vs. masculinity, 4) uncertainty avoidance, 5) long-term orientation and 6) indulgence.

Hofstede et al. (2010) adds that, Albania shows different scores of national cultural dimensions in comparison to other region countries, such as Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria and Croatia. A clear greater score in power distance and masculinity, and a lower one in individualism, uncertainty avoidance and indulgence are seen. According to this study, the big scores of power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity and long term orientation show that Albania is a pragmatic, hierarchical, masculine society that tends to avoid uncertainty. Centralization is popular, people expect from benevolent autocratic leader to be told what to do, codes of belief and behavior are present and people are intolerant of unorthodox behavior and ideas.

However, the low scores in individualism and indulgence show a collectivistic society with tendency to cynicism and pessimism.

The studies show that every leader is influenced and modeled by the cultural values, and the leadership style he or she bare has an impact on the organizational culture of the organization leaded (Peterlin 2014).

Leadership is seen as a leader-follower multidirectional relationship influence, a source of inspiration and a driving force, which carries the purpose of accomplishing real change (Rost 1991; House 1996; Yulk 2010; Hickman 2010; Williams 2012; Northouse 2013).

Leadership has shown clear evolution through time (Tannenbaum & Schmidt 1973; Daft 2008). Koestenbaum (1991) concludes that the experienced changes need to be supported by the changing of thinking, acting and even the intending to do something of leaders. According to him there are five issues leaders need to face in order to be able to achieve the transformation needed for the next generation: technology, globalization, the acceleration of change, cooperation, and freedom.

All this kind of transformation has also affected the position of women in the leadership area. Women leadership has shown a recent increasing trending in organization management (Yulk 2010, Northouse 2013, Robbins & Judge 2013). Despite women rising aspirations for leadership positions, there is a marked lack of women representation in the organizations top managerial level (Northouse 2013, Li et al 2013, Holst & Friedrich 2016, Haile et al. 2016, and Kuhlmann et al. 2017). Some of the reasons mentioned in the literature that explain the significant underrepresentation of women in leadership positions are; cultural and social norms, inaccessibility to education and training, greater domestic responsibility and discrimination.

Large amounts of research show that there is no empirical support for the argument that men are better leaders than women. There is no consistent difference in analytical skills, motivation, and job productivity. On the contrary a recent work presented in Harvard Business Review (Zenger & Folkman 2019), women are ranked better than men on capabilities as leaders, showing greater scores in taking initiatives, resilience, motivation, relationship building,

communication, innovation etc. Anyhow, there is a slight disadvantage for women in high masculine societies which favor the male figure in leadership stage and promote the value of sacrifice of women for the wellbeing of the family (Hofstede 2010, Haile 2016).

Analyses and Results

American hospital has a centralized organizational structure, with a clear accordance with Albania's high power distance index measured by Hofstede's cultural dimensions studies. On the other hand mangers of the hospital deal with daily operations in the organization, showing compatibility with uncertainty avoidance of cultural measurements. The Albanian high score in masculinity index implies that in countries like Albania, women career is seen as optional. Even though this fact, the results of representation of women in leadership level in American Hospital is high. When American Hospital structure is observed and data is collected, a large participation of women in top level leadership is observed. 7 out of 9, representing nearly the 77.78% of the departments of the hospital are directed by women. Even though the CEO of the American Hospital is a man, other crucial positions such as Chief Operational Officer (COO), Chief Finance Officer (CFO) and Chief Nursing Officer (CNO) are successfully represented and directed by women. Regarding the most important middle level leadership we see a representation of women managers at about 87.5 % in the finance department, 50% in the operational department, 37.5 % in the hospital managing department and 60% of women representation in nursing department. The data obtained from the hospital show

a clear advantage of representation of women over man. Main work values given for countries with high long-term orientation scores, such as honesty, self-discipline, adaptiveness, honesty and accountability, match with the qualities represented by the women figure in the literature review part (Zenger & Folkman 2019). Given that Albanian national culture requires perfection and full commitment of the female figure in the family, nearly 57.14% of the women managers of the American hospital have chosen to have small or no family engagements in order to be efficient in their work and pursuit their career, in accordance with high collectivistic and the low indulgence score of Albanian 6 dimensions of culture measurement in workplace.

Conclusion

The outcomes of this study suggest the following managerial implications. Firstly, the challenge of the current leadership is the need to eradicate existing taboos and to open the door to greater involvement of women as an added value in organizational management. Women leadership in the American Hospital Tirana is a great example of women evolvement in organizational management. Secondly, the high percentage of women in top and middle level leadership and the success of this institution of private health care sector of Albania, give suggestions and supports previous studies that encourage women participation in management. Finally, even though some cultural dimension of Albania in the workplace area, show a slight pallor in American Hospital, the overall picture is compatible with Hoftede's 6 dimensional cultural scores.

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Msc. Ermira Bushi
Shkaqet e perjashtimit nga pergjegjesia penale

Abstrakt

Shkaqet e përgjithshme të përjashtimit nga përgjegjësia penale kanë një rëndësi të veçantë në të drejtën penale, për arsyen se ato përjashtojnë nga përgjegjësia penale çdo person i cili ka vepruar në mënyrë të drejtë ose pa faj, megjithëse ka konsumuar elemente të veprave penale. Ky punim synon dhënien e një kontributi në rivlerësimin e shkaqeve të përjashtimit nga përgjegjësia penale dhe shqyrtimin e mundësisë për të bërë ndërhyrje në Kod, të cilat do të sillnin pasurimin e normave juridiko-penale me parashikime gjithëpërfshirëse.

Fjalë kyçe: vepër penale, përgjegjësia penale, shkaqet e përjashtimit nga përgjegjësia penale, shkaqe justifikimi, shkaqe shfajësimi, Kodi Penal Shqiptar.

Kuptimi dhe rëndësia e përgjegjësisë penale

Ligji penal përcakton veprat penale, dënimet dhe masat e tjera që merren ndaj autorëve të tyre.[21]Me baza të përgjegjësisë penale kuptohet kryerja e veprës që përmban elementët përbërës të figurës së veprës penale, të parashikuara në ligjin penal. Vepra penale është një, ndërsa figurat e saj shfaqen në shumë forma. Përgjegjësia penale e subjektit lind si rezultat i kryerjes së veprës penale prej tij. Me vepër penale kuptohet çdo veprim ose mosveprim shoqërisht i rrezikshëm, i kryer me faj dhe i parashikuar nga ligji.[22]

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[21] Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë,miratuar me ligjin nr.7895, datë 27.1.1995, neni 1

[22] Kodi Penal i Republikës Popullore të Shqipërisë, miratuar me ligjin nr.1470, datë 23.5.1952, neni 3

Vepra penale përbëhet nga katër elemente (objekti, ana objektive, subjekti dhe ana subjektive), pa të cilat nuk ka vepër penale.[23]

Me objekt të veprës penale kuptohen marrëdhënie shoqërore, vlera apo interesa të rëndësishme, të mbrojtura posaçërisht nga normat penale juridike.[24] Si objekt konkret, duke marrë për bazë kuptimin material të veprës penale jane në vrasje- jeta e njeriut, në plagosje- shëndeti, në vjedhje- pasuria etj. Si rregull,çdo vepër penale drejtohet kundër një objekti konkret të caktuar. Nga rëndësia e objektit që cënohet ose vihet në rrezik nga vepra penale, bëhet dallimi i veprave penale të rënda apo më pak të rënda, i krimeve dhe i kundërvajtjeve penale.[25]

Ana objektive përbëhet nga tërësia e elementeve që lidhen me rrethanat e jashtme të kryerjes së veprës penale, të tilla si lidhja shkakësore,pasoja, mënyra e kryerjes së veprës penale, vendi dhe koha e kryerjes së veprës penale.Vepra penale mund të kryhet me veprime aktive të kundërligjshme, por edhe me mosveprime.[26] Lidhja shkakësore është element i anës objektive dhe në të njëjtën kohë element i domosdoshëm i përgjegjësisë penale. Ajo përfaqëson lidhjen që ekziston mes veprimit ose mosveprimit të personit me pasojat e ardhura ose mundësisë së ardhjes së tyre.[27]Me pasoja të veprës penale kuptohen ndryshimet që ndodhin nga veprimi ose mosveprimi i paligjshëm i personit dhe që prekin ose cënojnë

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[23] Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 106-107.

[24] Shefqet Muçi, *E Drejta Penale, Pjesa e Përgjithshme*, (Tiranë: Dudaj, 2012), 79.

[25] Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 108.

[26] Ismet Elezi, *E Drejta Penale, Pjesa e Përgjithshme,* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2008), 81.

[27] Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë,miratuar me ligjin nr.7895, datë 27.1.1995, neni 13

marrëdhëniet juridike të mbrojtura posaçërisht nga legjislacioni penal. Pasojat mund të jenë në formën e dëmit material, p.sh. dëmi që vjen nga shkatërrimi i pronës, ose mund të jenë në formën e dëmit formal si p.sh. dëmi që vjen nga shkelja e fshehtësisë së korrespondencës.[28]

Me mënyrë të kryerjes së veprës penale kuptohet renditja e veprimeve, metoda dhe mjetet e përdorura, karakteri kronologjik dhe veçoritë e lëvizjeve që bën personi për kryerjen e veprës penale.[29] Mënyra e kryerjes së veprës penale ndikon në përcaktimin e shkallës së rrezikshmërisë shoqërore të veprës së kryer.

Vendi i kryerjes së veprës penale lidhet me ambientin se ku është kryer vepra penale dhe ka rëndësi, sidomos në rastet kur vepra penale kryhet në një vend, ndërsa pasoja vjen në një vend tjetër. Përcaktimi i vendit të kryerjes së veprës penale ka rëndësi në përcaktimin e ligjit penal të zbatueshëm, duke aplikuar parimin e territorialitetit.[30]

Koha e kryerjes së veprës penale ka karakter objektiv dhe të pavarur nga karakteri i njeriut, pavarësisht se autori i veprës ka përzgjedhur kohën më të përshtatshme për kryerjen e veprës penale. Përcaktimi i kohës së kryerjes së veprës penale ka rëndësi për të përcaktuar ligjin që do të zbatohet, ligjin që ka qënë në fuqi në kohën e kryerjes së veprës penale apo ligjin aktual,si dhe për të përcaktuar nëse personi kishte mbushur moshën për përgjegjësi penale në kohën e kryerjes së veprës penale.[31]

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[28] Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 121-122.

[29] Shefqet Muçi, *E Drejta Penale, Pjesa e Përgjithshme*, (Tiranë: Dudaj, 2012), 88.

[30] Ismet Elezi, *E Drejta Penale, Pjesa e Përgjithshme*, (Tiranë: Kumi, 2008), 101.

[31] Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 126.

Subjekti i veprës penale është njeriu, personi fizik i cili ka mbushur moshën e caktuar me ligj për përgjegjësi penale dhe është i përgjegjshëm. Mosha minimale për përgjegjësi penale sipas legjislacionit shqiptar është katërmbëdhjetë vjeç për krime dhe gjashtëmbëdhjetë vjeç për kundërvajtje penale.[32] Mosha e autorit është një nga elementët thelbësorë që duhen verifikuar në çdo rast, pasi pasja e një moshe nën minimumin e parashikuar në ligj passjell përjashtimin e personit nga përgjegjësia penale. Kriteri i moshës është përcaktuar në ligj si kusht për pasjen e vetëdijes dhe aftësisë për të gjykuar, si dhe për të bërë dallimin midis të mirës dhe të keqes në raport me veprimin e kryer. Verifikimi i moshës për përgjegjësi penale i referohet kohës kur subjekti kreu vepren penale dhe jo moshës së fillimit të procedimit penal.

Subjekti mund të jetë i përgjithshëm ose i posaçëm. Subjektet e përgjithshëm janë ata që kanë mbushur moshën për përgjegjësi penale dhe janë të përgjegjshëm. Me subjekt të posaçëm të veprës penale kuptohet personi që ka disa cilësi konkrete, të veçanta dhe i përdor ato për kryerjen e veprës penale, si dhe vepra penale që kryhet, të kërkojë përdorimin e këtyre cilësive.[33] Vepra te tilla janë: mjekimi i pakujdesshëm i të sëmurëve nga ana e mjekut ose e personelit mjekësor, kontrabanda nga punonjësit e doganave, fillimi i paligjshëm i ndjekjes penale nga prokurori etj.

Ana subjektive lidhet me qëndrimin psikik që mban personi ndaj veprimit ose mosveprimit të paligjshëm dhe pasojave të dëmshme(faji). Neni 14 i Kodit Penal parashikon që askush nuk mund të dënohet për një veprim ose mosveprim të parashikuar nga ligji si vepër penale, nëqoftëse vepra nuk është kryer me faj. Quhet

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[32] Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë,miratuar me ligjin nr.7895, datë 27.1.1995, neni 12

[33] Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 112-113.

me faj personi që kryen veprën me dashje ose me pakujdesi. Dashja është një nga format e fajit dhe mund të jetë dashje direkte ose dashje indirekte.[34] Dashja direkte karakterizohet nga fakti që personi është i vetëdijshëm se me veprimin ose mosveprimin e tij kryen vepër penale, parashikon dhe dëshiron ardhjen e pasojave të dëmshme. Dashja direkte paraqet shkallën më të lartë të fajësisë së personit. Dashja indirekte karakterizohet nga fakti se personi është i vetëdijshëm për karakterin e paligjshëm të veprimeve ose mosveprimeve të tij dhe parashikon ardhjen e pasojave të dëmshme; nuk dëshiron, por me ndërgjegje lejon ardhjen e tyre.[35] Dashja, në të dyja format e saj, përbëhet nga momenti intelektual dhe momenti volitiv. Momenti intelektual i referohet aftësisë për të kuptuar natyrën dhe rëndësinë e veprimeve të personit, njohjes së paligjshmërisë së veprës dhe mundësisë së ardhjes së pasojave. Momenti volitiv i referohet lejimit me ndërgjegje të ardhjes së pasojave të dëmshme.

Pakujdesia, si formë e fajit, ekziston në formën e vetëbesimit të tepruar ose neglizhencës. Vetëbesimi i tepruar është ajo formë e pakujdesisë, në të cilën personi e parashikon mundësinë e ardhjes së pasojave për shkak të veprimeve apo mosveprimeve të tij, nuk e dëshiron ardhjen e tyre dhe me mendjelehtësi shpreson t`i shmangë ato. Neglizhenca është ajo formë e pakujdesisë, në të cilën personi nuk e parashikon ardhjen e pasojave të dëmshme nga veprimet ose mosveprimet e tij, por në kushtet ku ndodhej, mundej dhe ishte i detyruar t`i parashikonte ato.[36]

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34 Ismet Elezi, *E Drejta Penale, Pjesa e Përgjithshme*, (Tiranë: Kumi, 2008), 130.
35 Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 128-129.
36 Ismet Elezi, Skënder Kaçupi dhe Maksim R. Haxhia, *Komentari i Kodit Penal të Republikës së Shqipërisë,Pjesa e Përgjithshme* (Tiranë: Kumi, 2014), 135-137.

Nga përkufizimet e lartpërmendura rezulton se baza e përgjegjësisë penale përbëhet nga tërësia e elementëve objektivë dhe subjektivë të parashikuar në legjislacionin penal, të mjaftueshëm për marrjen e personit në përgjegjësi penale. Në rradhë të parë, përgjegjësia penale rrjedh nga ekzistenca e veprës penale, sepse problemi i përcaktimit të përgjegjësisë penale paraqitet pasi është kryer vepra penale.Mungesa e ekzistencës së veprës penale përjashton mundësinë e shqyrtimit të përgjegjësisë penale.Konsumimi i elementeve të anës objektive të veprës penale nuk mjafton për ngarkimin e autorit me përgjegjësi penale. Element i nevojshëm është që autori i veprës të jetë përgjegjës për veprën e kryer, dmth të ketë një raport të caktuar psikik me veprën e kryer si autor i saj.

Actus non facit reus nisi mens sit rea(kryerja e një veprimi ose mosveprimi të paligjshëm nuk e bën një person përgjegjës nëse ai nuk ka vepruar me faj) përbën një nga parimet bazë mbi të cilin vepron dhe kufizohet aplikimi i normave juridiko-penale.[37] Ky parim përbën thelbin e funksionimit të së drejtës penale dhe realizimin e drejtësisë. Përgjegjësia penale lind nga çasti i kryerjes së veprës penale dhe përfundon ose pushon atëherë kur pushojnë dhe marrëdhëniet juridike midis subjekteve, shtetit dhe të pandehurit. Përgjegjësia penale merr fund kur kalon afati i caktuar i vuajtjes së dënimit, duke zbatuar masat edukuese, për shkak të ndryshimit të rrethanave, me parashkrimin e veprës penale, amnistinë dhe faljen.[38] Në kuptim të përgjegjësisë penale është shumë i rëndësishëm fakti se ajo është vetëm individuale.

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[37]Eugene J. Chesney, "The Concept of Mens Rea in the Criminal Law", Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology 627 (1999): 341.
[38] Kreshnik Myftari, "Papërgjegjshmëria për Shkak të Gjendjes Mendore, Kriteri Juridik në të Drejtën Penale" (PhD dis, Universiteti i Tiranës, 2014).

Kuptimi i shkaqeve të përgjithshme të përjashtimit në të drejtën penale

Qëllimi parësor i legjislacionit penal është të ndalojë sjellje, të cilat kërcënojnë ose shkaktojnë dëm serioz ndaj individit ose vlerave thelbësore të shoqërisë. Kodi penal parashikon se askush nuk mund të dënohet penalisht për një vepër që më parë nuk është e parashikuar shprehimisht në ligj si krim ose kundërvajtje penale, as edhe të dënohet me një lloj dhe masë dënimi të paparashikuar në ligj[39]. Pra, individi mban përgjegjësi në rast se konsumon elementët e veprës penale të parashikuar nga legjislacioni penal.

E drejta penale nuk përcakton vetëm bazat për përgjegjësi penale, por gjithashtu edhe rastet kur autori përjashtohet nga përgjegjësia penale. Legjislacioni penal parashikon se disa veprime të caktuara nuk duhet ti nënshtrohen procedurave kriminale ose të paktën nuk duhet të çojnë në dënimin e personit, për shkak të ekzistencës së një faktori apo rrethane specifike si psh e drejta e ligjshme për tu mbrojtur në kushtet e përballjes me ushtrimin e forcës së paligjshme[40]. Këto rrethana ose faktorë specifikë, të cilët çojnë në përjashtimin e personit nga përgjegjësia penale, njihen si shkaqe të përgjithshme të përjashtimit. Shkaqet e përjashtimit në trajtimin e tyre nga doktrina cilësohen se nuk i përkasin tërësisë së kushteve objektive apo subjektive, mbi bazën e të cilave përcaktohet përgjegjësia penale[41], por përbëjnë një element të veçantë,i cili mbron personin nga vendimi i pamerituar i fajësisë dhe dënimi i gabuar.

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[39] Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë,miratuar me ligjin nr.7895, datë 27.1.1995, neni 2
[40] Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë,miratuar me ligjin nr.7895, datë 27.1.1995, neni 19
[41] Michael Jefferson, *Criminal Law* (London: Pearson,2009), 244.

Një arsye thelbësore se pse ligji parashikon një numër të caktuar të shkaqeve përjashtuese është se ai nuk është një mjet për hakmarrje, por një nga mjetet që synojnë të arrijnë bashkëjetesën paqësore në komunitet[42]. Shkaqet e përjashtimit janë gjithashtu një reflektim i parimit të humanizmit të sanksionuar në nenin 1/c të Kodit Penal, si p.sh. në rastet e moshës nën minimumin ligjor për përgjegjësi penale, mosnjohja objektivisht e paevitueshme e ligjitetj.

Çdo shkak përjashtimit ka kushtet e tij specifike për tu marrë në konsideratë, të cilat dallojnë nga shkaqet e tjera. Një person nuk mban përgjegjësi penale për një veprim, i cili, megjithëse fizikisht i kryer prej tij,është kryer në një moment kur mendja e tij ishte në një gjendje aq anormale, saqë nuk mund të cilësohet fare si akt i tij, p.sh. nëse vuante nga sonambulizmi, ose kishte një moshë aq të vogël, saqë i mungonte aftësia për të kuptuar natyrën dhe rëndësinë e veprimeve të tij.

Doktrina bashkëkohore për qëllime studimore bën klasifikime të ndryshme të shkaqeve përjashtuese, në bazë të kritereve të veçanta. Klasifikimi më i pranuar është ai që i ndan shkaqet e përgjithshme të përjashtimit në shkaqe justifikimi dhe shkaqe shfajësimi.[43]

Shkaqe justifikimi dhe shkaqe shfajësimi si shkaqe tëpërjashtimit nga përgjegjësia penale

Kodi Penal në pjesën e përgjithshme të tij përmban një sërë parashikimesh që përcaktojnë shkaqet e përjashtimit nga përgjegjësia penale. Karakteristikë e Kodit tonë Penal është se ato nuk janë të grupuara në një kre të veçantë, të posaçëm për to. Megjithatë, duke pasur parasysh lidhjen e ngushtë që kanë me përgjegjësinë penale, shumica e tyre, me përjashtim të mosnjohjes objektivisht të paevitueshme të ligjit që parashikohet në kreun e parë, janë

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[42] Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë,miratuar me ligjin nr.7895, datë 27.1.1995, neni 2

[43] Michael Jefferson, *Criminal Law* (London: Pearson,2009), 245.

parashikuar në dispozita të vecanta të Kreut të Dytë të Pjesës së Përgjithshme nën titullin "Përgjegjësia Penale".

Justifikimet dhe shfajësimet shërbejnë si shkaqe që përjashtojnë autorin nga përgjegjësia penale, edhe pse vërtetohet konsumimi i elementeve të veprës penale.

Kodi Penal i Republikës së Shqipërisë nuk e bën dallimin mes shkaqeve justifikuese dhe atyre shfajësuese. Megjithatë, në të dyja rastet, sipas Kodit, autori nuk mban përgjegjësi penale. Dallimi mes justifikimit dhe shfajësimit sidoqoftë bëhet nga teoria e së drejtës penale.

Aktualisht mendimi mbizotërues është se justifikimi ka të bëjë me mungesën e kundërligjshmërisë së aktit, ndërsa shfajësimi lidhet me mungesën e fajësisë së personit.[44] Në rast se ekzistojnë shkaqet e justifikimit,shkelja e ligjit nuk përbën vepër penale. Në rast se ekzistojnë shkaqet e shfajësimit, shkelja e ligjit përbën vepër penale, por në rastin konkret autori nuk mund të fajësohet për kryerjen e saj.

Ekzistenca e shkaqeve të përgjithshme të përjashtimit mund të pretendohet për çdo vepër penale, asnjë prej tyre nuk përjashtohet. Shkaqet e justifikimit të parashikuara në Kodin Penal janë:

a) Mbrojtja e nevojshme(neni 19 i Kodit Penal);
b) Nevoja ekstreme(neni 20 i Kodit Penal);
c) Ushtrimi i një të drejte apo përmbushja e detyrës(neni 21 i Kodit Penal).

Shkaqet justifikuese përbëjnë një argument më bindës për të përjashtuar personin nga përgjegjësia penale sesa shkaqet shfajësuese, sepse ato përcaktojnë se veprimi i kryer ishte i duhuri. Harti e ka përshkruar justifikimin si "rrethanë të cilën ligji nuk e

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[44]Andrew P. Simester and Robert Sullivan, *Criminal Law: Theory and Doctrine* (Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2007), 581.

dënon, madje e përkrah".[45] Nëse sjellja justifikohet, padrejtësia e aktit mohohet; pra, megjithëse autori mund të cënojë interesat e një personi tjetër, veprimi i tij përjashtohet nga inkriminimi,sepse shkelja nuk është e padrejtë. Në doktrinë përcaktohet se në kontekstin e justifikimeve, shkaku i përjashtimit pranohet, sepse rrethanat e veçanta në të cilat veprimi(në të kundërt kriminal) kryhet, e bëjnë atë të pëlqyeshëm ose minimalisht të lejueshëm nga një pikëpamje sociale e morale.[46] Veprimi nuk është i gabuar, është i parashikuar në ligj dhe synon të parandalojë ardhjen e pasojave më të rënda ose mbrojtjen e interesave të caktuara individuale apo sociale. Justifikimi vlerëson në tërësi veprimin e individit si të pranueshëm për situatën konkrete.

Rasti tipik për justifikimin është mbrojtja e nevojshme. I pandehuri e pranon se ai me dashje e vrau viktimën në rrethanat kur në mënyrë të arsyeshme, ai besonte se viktima paraqiste një kërcënim të menjëhershëm për jetën ose dëmtim të rëndë fizik. Në situatën konkrete (duke prezumuar se pretendimet e të pandehurit vërtetohen), vlerësohet që veprimi i tij është i justifikuar dhe ishte veprimi i duhur për tu kryer në rrethanat e paraqitura. Argumenti i cili mbështet shkakun e justifikimit është se personi nuk duhet të ndëshkohet kur akti i tij, në shkelje të ligjit, parandaloi ardhjen e një dëmi më të madh sesa ai që shkaktoi. Shkaqet e përjashtimit të fajit janë:

a) Mosha (neni 12 i KP)
b) Papërgjegjshmëria për shkak të gjendjes mendore (neni 17 i KP)
c) Mosnjohja objektivisht e paevitueshme e ligjit (neni 4 i KP).

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[45] Michael Jefferson, *Criminal Law* (London: Pearson,2009), 248.
[46] J.C.Smith, *Justification and Excuse in the Criminal Law* (London: Stevens & Sons,1989), 8-9.

Shkaqet e shfajësimit fokusohen në fajësinë morale të të pandehurit apo në aftësinë e tij për të përmbushur elementet e kërkuara të anës subjektive (mens rea). Ky shkak pranon që i pandehuri me veprimet e tij ka shkaktuar ardhjen e pasojave të dëmshme, por ai nuk duhet fajësuar ose dënuar për to, për shkak të mungesës së vullnetit të plotë të lirë për kryerjen e veprës. Teoria e së drejtës penale prezumon vullnetin e lirë në kryerjen e veprimeve.[47] Personi i cili nuk mund të bëjë zgjedhje të vullnetshme, përsa i përket zbatimit ose jo të ligjit, nuk është subjekt i përshatshëm për t`ju nënshtruar ndëshkimit penal. Për rrjedhojë, shkaqet e shfajësimit aplikohen vetëm kur kryerja e veprimeve të dënueshme i atribuohet influencave detyruese dhe jo vullnetit të lirë. Duke qënë se akti nuk ishte i vullnetshëm, kryerja e tij nuk është përcaktuese e fajësisë morale të personit. Për këtë arsye, personi nuk mund të dënohet vetëm në bazë të kryerjes së aktit. Disponueshmëria e shfajësimit për sjelljen kriminale nënkupton se veprimi është moralisht dhe shoqërisht i ndaluar edhe në rrethanat e veçanta të çështjes, por për shkak të një karakteristike të veçantë të autorit, ose të rrethanave të veçanta ku autori ndodhej, ai nuk është moralisht i fajshëm për sjelljen e paligjshme.[48] Pra, prania e një shkaku shfajësimi pranon se veprimi përbën një cënim të paligjshëm të të drejtave, por vlerëson se autori nuk është fajtor për disa arsye që lidhen me të si individ.

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[47]Ormond D, Smith and Hogan, *Criminal Law* (London: Oxford Press, 2005), 86.
[48] Anne Lodge, "Criminal responsibility for intrusions on the rights of innocent persons: the limits of
self-defence, necessity and duress," (Phd Dis, Universiteti i Durhamit, 2009).

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Ph.D Cand. Albana Çekrezi & Ph.D Cand. Hysni Skura

Gender Equality and Justice in Albania

Abstract

Gender inequality and injustice remain areas of great concern in t Albanian context. Direct and indirect discrimination based on gender is found both in families and society, workplace and governmental institutions. Inequalities vary from misconception of duties within families to underrepresentation of genders in other structures. Not only discrimination is persistent, but forms of oppression like violence and abuse towards the least powerful gender are commonly bad news. Statistics of the recent years point out that even though the legal aspect has been covered, cases of women underrepresented and violated remain still focus of great concern. In 2017, approximately 3000 women were reported to be violated and in the years to come the phenomenon is found to be present in the Albanian society. This paper explores gender equality in the legal and social context by providing briefly a picture of the situation during the communist ruling, the transition period and the recent years. Firstly, it provides an understanding of the legal aspect regarding the topic; touches the problem in different political systems and gives insight to the situation in the recent years. Inequalities based on gender should be overcome within the society`s perception of genders and be reflected with justice in other spheres of life.

Keywords: gender equality, justice, Albania, women, inequality.

Introduction

Nowadays, equality and justice have been topics of debates among societies, especially in the western countries. Equal liberties are emphasized as a must of liberal democracies. Freedom of movement and expression, the right to maintain a private life and the right to be given equal opportunities for a successful career or at least to have a decent life are among the rights requested to be fulfilled in liberal democratic states. Words like equality, liberty and fraternity became famous from the French revolution but in nowadays` reality the terms gain a variety of explanations. One might regard equality as equality of opportunity, equality of resources, equality before law or equality of outcome.

Alongside with equality, justice stands at the highest rank of political life aiming the achievement of social justice. Fairness and impartiality are regarded to be the key in establishing it. Thus, equality among citizens and the liberties provided should offer safe grounds for the formation of a just society. Additionally, economic and social inequalities need to be adjusted in order to let the disadvantaged also benefit.

As Europe and the European Union are promoting worldwide European norms and values like: rule of law and justice, institutionalism, human rights and equality; in the most western corner of the Balkans, in Albania many groups are considered to be target of inequality and injustice. Women are one of the least advantaged ones and are said to be suffering not only from discrimination established by social norms, but they are also being target of violence and are underrepresented.

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to examine the situation regarding gender equality and justice in Albania. The methodology was based on qualitative analysis of laws , strategic plans, data taken from the institute of statistics, information acquired by the European

Commission Report on Albania ,articles and newspapers written on gender equality and justice. The legal context has been portrayed considering the Albanian Family Code, the Code of Labor, the Criminal Code and the Albanian Constitution. Three national strategic plans have been used to explore more the measures undertaken by the responsible ministry. Furthermore, the EU Commission report, the national institute, articles and newspapers have enriched the report with the necessary data and information related to the situation of gender equality in Albania.

The Legal Aspect

Until 2017, Albania has adopted a series of laws and strategies on gender equality and justice. The law on gender equality, the Albanian Constitution, the Family Code, the Criminal Code and the Code of Labor address equality between genders and justice in various forms. Firstly, the Albanian Law on gender equality defines clearly gender equality as equal participation of men and women in fields of life, attainment of equal positions, enjoyment of opportunities, rights and equal representation of genders in political parties and institutions (The Assembly of the Republic of Albania, 2008). In this context, there is no legal prohibition that would prevent women from being active in various sectors of the workplace. The law enhances equal opportunities for genders in the political area as well as the social and professional life. The Albanian Constitution also reaffirms that no one is to be discriminated because of their gender (Constitution of the Republic of Albania, 2008).

According to the Family Code adopted in 2003, each spouse is given the right to be equally responsible towards their family and children, maintain their residence, possess wealth, continue and terminate their marriage, develop themselves professionally and in case of violence he/she is given the right to gain a court order and the spouse who is the initiator of violence can be removed out of the

common residence (Chemonics International Inc., 2003). Spouses are given equal and nondiscriminatory rights within the family institution regarding the responsibilities they have and the right of protection from violence. The problem starts with the non-implementation of these measures. In this case, the perpetrator (the husband) not only is residing again in the same house with the victim, but he is given the opportunity to be the actor of a crime within the family by abusing both the wife and the children. For this the Criminal Code article 130/a punishes the perpetrator who violates the psycho-social, physical integrity of the spouse and can be imprisoned up to two years, for death threat is condemned up to three years, injury resulting in disability up to 5 years and the same applies to repeated offence in the presence of children (Criminal Code of the Republic of Albania , 1995).

Additionally, discrimination in the workplace based on gender, age and any kind of characteristic of the employer has been prohibited by the Code of Labor (The People`s Assembly of the Republic of Albania, 1995). Certain amendments were made later to the code like: the nondiscrimination of employers, the guarantee of individual parental leave and the reduction of the maximum working hours were emphasized along with a permission of 30 minutes break given every 3 hours to pregnant women (Ascoli & Scamoni, 2016) . The amendments provide more relief for parents to be and women who are pregnant, thus supporting both genders in duties related to the family.

Similarly, three more national strategies have been adopted respectively in 2006-2010, 2011-2015 and 2016-2020. Their main focus was gender equality and the reduction of domestic violence. Although strategies were adopted, the analysis of the legal framework of the first one revealed that: in Albania, many conventions on human rights have been ratified and even though these are legally binding to the domestic area, prosecutors and judges have still little knowledge on conventions; domestic violence is not

punished by specific laws; no free legal help is given to victims according to the law "On Attorneys" and the Family Code does not completely specify protection measures for victims of domestic violence (Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities , 2006) . Obviously, there exists a gap between the written laws and their implementation by the judiciary personnel in order to offer full protection to the abused gender. No specific law or protection measure serves to assist the victims. As a consequence, the vulnerable group is trapped between violence and economic powerlessness, thus legally being given the right of protection but missing the economic capacity to enjoy it. Legally they have been given the right to be protected, but lack of information by the judiciary members creates a gap in the execution of such measures.

Equally, the 2016-2020 strategy had in its main focus gender equality, the reduction of domestic violence, the increase of awareness and intensification of the services for victims (Ministria e Mireqenies Sociale dhe Rinise, 2016). Measures against violence and discrimination have been taken through state machinery that starts from the parliament and ends to the municipality level. This process has been associated with the national strategies on gender equality in order to empower both genders, to reduce violence and to increase participation in decision making (Sheshi, 2017).

All in all, the legal aspect regarding gender equality is achieved through laws and supported by national strategies adopted by the responsible ministry. They address fields where inequality may be present like the family, workplace and political institutions. Equality between genders is acknowledged but the authorities responsible to make necessary implementations are not completely informed. Furthermore, violated woman are given the right to be protected, but they lack economic incomes.

Gender equality in two political systems

During communism, women in Albania were living under a strict patriarchal society combined with the communist ruling (Lerch, 2013). In this context, it can be noted that women were seen as a working force by the regime; were made to obey their fathers and spouses; were prohibited from inheritance; experienced motherhood at a young age and were the servants of their large families. Socially, gender discrimination started at birth when boys were preferred to girls and as a result women underwent unsafe procedures to have more male heirs, thus endangering their lives. As a result, the combination of the political system with the patriarchal social mindset built a mining field where women had to maintain balances between family and society, poverty and survival in order to ensure the ongoing of the Albanian family and society at the same time. This group was discriminated by the same individuals and groups that once used to nourish and sacrifice for.

After the fall of communism and during the transition period, women had to bear the costs of unemployment as most of them were made redundant because of the economic and political situation in the country. Institutional change happened and the doors opened to a modern world producing both political and economic transition. Fear of the social transition, made many parents prevent their daughters from attending school and continue their education. Thus, females were prevented from economic empowerment and were left to the fate of their husbands. The consequences of the political state systems and transition, circumstances and decisions made by families suppressed women and were reflected to the current situation.

Even though improvements have been made in the legal aspect, the statistics of the recent years show dramatic cases of women being victims of violence. During 2014, there were reported 17 examples of domestic homicides, in which 22 women were

victims (GREVIO, 2017). In the years to come there is no significant change regarding gender related discrimination and abuse.

According to the 2017 report of the European Commission for Albania, the gap in employment between women and men has decreased to 12%; Albania has ranked 3rd on wage equality but in rural areas 42 % of the employed in agriculture were women compared to 35 % male and more than 3000 cases of women were reported to have been victim of abuse (European Commission, 2018). Additionally, it should be taken under consideration the fact that there is still lack of data regarding the informal labor where women are employed. Gender inequality seems to exist in the working place where wages are not distributed fairly, being this a formal or informal labor. Albania ranked 3rd in wage equality, but this is due to the low wages and salaries that both genders are constrained to work. It should not be underestimated the fact that the number of the women who are victim of abuse is still high, although the attention of officials to protect this vulnerable gender has increased. Only in the first days of 2019 two major cases of violence towards women were registered: a woman was brutally killed by her husband in Vlora (Koha Jone, 2019a) and a 14 year old minor was physically abused (Koha Jone, 2019b) .

INSTAT reported that for 2017 the situation in Albania was as follows: more boys than girls completed compulsory education (51.6%-48.4%); as the degree in universities increases, the man dominated academic staff increases and only 23.5% women compared to 76% men are represented in the parliament (INSTAT, 2017). In the field of education, women seem to be underrepresented, too. It is only the pre-university level which is dominated by female personnel. However, this dominance changes in the university level where males have progressed in the academic field. Additionally, the underrepresentation in the decision making area like the political activism remains still unchanged.

In their daily lives, women are faced with long and improper working hours, gender related stereotypes and a patriarchal mindset. In the male dominated society, the role of women regarding the household is crucial. In a study conducted in 2016, women were found to be more involved in house chores compared to men such as cleaning the house, doing the laundry and ironing; whereas shopping was almost shared equally and house maintenance was with a 77% of men (Dauti & Zhllima, 2016). Women are found to be responsible not only of domestic chores, but they share obligations with men concerning the maintenance of their house.

The EU promotes the equality between genders in economy as it is against the discrimination in payment; it supports the equality in decision making in the fields of business and politics and it has a general strategy for gender equality (European Commission, 2019) .The mechanisms and the legal framework is existent in Albania, but the challenge remains the empowerment of women regarding the economic status, protection from violence and the adoption of a national mechanism and authority which would ease the implementation of the legal framework (Qirjako, 2016).

One of the ways in which justice and fairness may regulate inequalities is provision of the basic liberties and equality of opportunity through the regulation of social and economic inequalities (Rawls, 1971). Economically, women need to be given opportunities in order to overcome inequalities. This will not only fulfill their personal aspirations and benefit their families, but will also stimulate the improvement of the economic situation in Albania. There exists a positive connection between the participation of women in the labor market and the economic development which will lead to less gender inequalities in society (Z. Shehi & Imeraj, 2014). When women are empowered economically, inequalities will be reduced.

Conclusion

In Albania gender discrimination and injustice remain issues of concern .The legal aspect has been covered by amendments of laws and adoption of national strategies. Inequalities between genders have been adjusted through the law on gender equality, family code, code of labor and the Albanian Constitution. The Criminal Code offers protection to women, who are subject to violence, most commonly in family relations. However, inequalities have accompanied women through years, being the result of the society`s approach through which men were given more opportunities and women were suppressed. In families daughters are raised up as servants and sons as powerful. State`s policies recognize the rights of women through laws and national strategies. However, it is families and society`s duty to educate its members in order to internalize these norms.

Other forms of discrimination have been reflected indirectly through payment differences and underrepresentation. Albania has to face its challenges by valuing the potential that women have and for this, gender discrimination and violence should be overcome; institutional structure and legislation need to be strengthened (United Nations in Albania, 2017). Cultural perceptions of gender roles should start changing within families, awareness should increase to tackle problems related to discrimination, and socioeconomic inequalities should be reduced as well (García-Pereiro, 2016) . Women should fully enjoy their rights and be given equal opportunities to use their capacities in order to contribute to the development of the society. The empowerment of women ought to stand in line with the education of generations who should respect and show dignity to members of the society despite their gender.

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Msc. Armanda Xhani Baça
Roli i medias shqiptare në trajtimin e stereotipave gjinore

Abstrakt

Mediat masive luajnë një rol të rëndësishëm në një botë moderne, duke transmetuar informacione me ritme të shpejta dhe duke u dhënë argëtim audiencave të gjera. Ato përbëhen nga shtypi, televizioni, radioja, librat dhe interneti. Ky i fundit tani është media më e zhvilluar, megjithatë, televizioni gjithashtu ka një fushë të gjerë të ndikimit. Duke krijuar një lloj të caktuar mesazhi, mediat mund të manipulojnë qëndrimin dhe mendimet e njerëzve. Me qëllim që të krijohet një medium i cili është universal, i kuptueshëm dhe i pranueshëm për marrësit e shumtë dhe të ndryshëm, dërguesit shpesh përdorin stereotipa, të cilat mbushin jetën shoqërore dhe krijojnë shoqata të caktuara.

Në ditët e sotme dallimet midis roleve meshkuj dhe femra janë më të vogla, megjithatë mediat masive ende vazhdojnë stereotipet tradicionale gjinore. Për më tepër, për shkak të ndikimit të tyre të madh në qëndrimet e njerëzve, ato mund të përshkruajnë grupe të caktuara shoqërore në mënyrë negative dhe jorealiste. Si rezultat, pasqyrimi i një bote të vërtetë nuk është i plotë dhe i shtrembëruar. Megjithëse njerëzit janë të vetëdijshëm për përfaqësimin e pabarabartë të grupeve të caktuara shoqërore në mediat masive, është e vështirë të mbetet objektive dhe e pandjeshme ndaj ndikimit të saj. Studime të shumta tregojnë se media shqiptare është e orientuar drejt përforcimit të steriotipave gjinorë duke promovuar modelin e pabarazisë gjinore.

Pyetja qëndrore që shtrohet në këtë punim dhe të cilës synohet ti jepet përgjigje në përfundim të tij është: në cfarë niveli është steriotipizmi në mediat shqiptare në krahasim me ato europiane? Cilat janë problematikat që dalin dhe propozimet për zgjidhjen e tyre?

Metodologjia e përdorur në këtë studim është sasiore. Në procesin e anketimit morën pjesë 200 persona banorë të qytetit të Durrësit.

Studimi nxorri në pah se mediat shqiptare ndihmojnë në përforcimin e roleve gjinore duke transmetuar mesazhe që përmbajnë diferencime gjinore dhe shfaqjen qartazi të steriotipave gjinorë duke ndikuar drejtpërdrejtë në mëndësinë e shoqërisë shqiptare.

Fjalët kyçe*: media, stereotipet gjinore, roli gjinor, ndikimet e televizionit, reklamat televizive dhe stereotipat, barazia gjinore, modeli i burrit dhe gruas ideale ne TV, manipulimi i ndërgjegjes, polarizimi i roleve gjinore*

HYRJE

Tema që kam përzgjedhur ka në fokus mënyrën se si media shqiptare i trajton steriotipat gjinorë qoftë në raportimin e lajmeve, qoftë në transmetimin e reklamave. Studime tëshumta të kryera për median shqiptare tregojnë se media shqiptare është e orientuar drejt përforcimit të streiotipave gjinorë. Ndërkohë që në shoqëritë e sotme barazia gjinore është parakusht për të drejtat e njeriut, demokracinë dhe drejtësinë sociale. Ai përfiton shoqërinë në tërësi. Media dhe liria editoriale, pluralizmi i medias dhe barazia gjinore mund të përparojnë njëri-tjetrin. Konventa Evropiane për të Drejtat e Njeriut ndalon të gjitha llojet e diskriminimit, duke përfshirë edhe baza gjinore. Jo vetëm gratë, por edhe burrat mund të vuajnë nga standardet e vendosura nga stereotipet gjinore dhe reklamat seksiste në media. Për këto arsye, ekziston nevoja për të krijuar qasje të barabartë në punën e medias dhe postet e menaxhimit për të dy gjinitë dhe paraqitja e burrave dhe grave në media nuk duhet të minojë barazinë gjinore.

QËLLIMI

Qëllimi i këtij punimi është tëvërtetojë se media shqiptare në rolin e saj tenton t'i përforcojë steriotipat gjinorë. Për të arritur në këtë konkludim janë analizuar karakteristikat e medias shqiptare në rolin e saj në pasqyrimin e barazisë gjinore dhe trajtimit të steriotipave gjinorë,*(ii)* analiza krahasuese mbi pasqyrimin e steriotipave gjinorë në sfondin rajonal dhe evropian, *(iii)* nxjerrja e konkluzioneve dhe rekomandimeve për politikat më efektive që do shërbejnë në promovimin e çështjeve të barazisë gjinore dhe duke inkurajuar masat vetë-rregulluese siç janë kodet e etikës dhe mbikëqyrja e brendshme.

OBJEKTIVAT

Në një kohë kur mbizotërojnë mjetet vizuale të komunikimit, imazhet stereotipike të grave dhe burrave të qarkulluara nga mediat mund të dëmtojnë progresin e arritur në barazinë gjinore. Në të njëjtën kohë, mediat janë burim i fuqisë dhe ndikimit në promovimin e vlerave shoqërore dhe në formësimin e mendimeve, prandaj pse të mos e përdorni atë për të çuar përpara çështjen e barazisë gjinore?

- Pasqyrimi i rolit të medias shqiptare në trajtimin e steriotipave gjinorë;
- Promovimi i imazhit pozitiv dhe jo stereotipik të grave dhe burrave në media;
- Nxjerrja në pah emekanizmave vetë-rregulluese dhe kodet e sjelljes për të nxitur mediat të ndjekin politika për të nxitur barazinë mes grave dhe burrave dhe për të luftuar stereotipat gjinorë;
- Pasqyrimi i rolit të medias evropiane në trajtimin e steriotipave gjinorë;
- Adresimii efektevetë stereotipeve gjinorë duke edukuar dhe rritur ndërgjegjësimin në shoqëri.

METODOLOGJIA

Metodologjia e përdorur në këtë studim është sasiore. Janë përdorur teknika të ndryshme kërkimore për realizimin e këtij studimi të cilat janë ndërthurur me njëra tjetrën. Janë përdorur burimet e të dhënave primare dhe ato sekondare. Si burime të dhënave sekondare janë shfrytëzuar të gjitha burimet e mundshme të literaturës bashkëkohore teorike të autorëve shqiptarë e të huaj, artikuj në shtypin e shkruar, dokumente nga interneti. Për të siguruar cilësinë e hipotezave u përdoren studime shkencore të kryera nga Institute te ndryshme. Përveç përmbledhjes së të dhënave ka qënë e domosdoshme edhe krijimi i tyre. Ndaj si burim i të dhënave primare është përdorur anketimi i zhvilluar në kuadër të këtij punimi. Hulumtimi është realizuar me pyetësor të standardizuar. Pyetësori përmban 10 pyetje. Për ndërtimin e pyetjeve u mbështeta në anketime online nga website "Survey Monkey".

Në pyetësor janë alternuar mënyrat e strukturimit të përgjigjeve me shkallëzim. Një pyetje është lënë me shkallëzim klasik numerik të tipit: 0 1 2 3 4 5 7 8 9 10. Tek të tjera përgjigjet e sugjeruara u strukturuan me një shkallëzim në rritje të cilësimit të aprovimit të pyetur(plotesisht, mjaftueshem, pak,aspak). Dhe pyetje me pergjigje të mbyllura (po, jo).

U morën në intervistë 200 individë të moshave të ndryshme banorë të qytetit të Durrësit. Kampioni i përdorur është ai me kuotë duke u bazuar nga numri total i popullsisë së Durrësit dhe sa përqind e tyre janë femra e meshkuj.

Hulumtimi në terren ka filluar më 29 Maj 2018dhe ka përfunduar më 23 Qershor 2018.
Të dhënat primare të grumbulluara nëpërmjet anketimit, janë përpunuar nëpërmjet programit statistikor SPSS 16.

KUADRI LIGJOR KOMBËTAR DHE NDËRKOMBËTARPËR BARAZINË GJINORE NËMEDIA

Pavarësisht se media përbën sot për sot një pushtet më vete dhe gati-gati një ligj në vetvete, ajo është pjesë përbërëse e sistemeve demokratike të shoqërive ku jetojmë. Ka disa konventa ndërkombëtare dhe deklarata që sigurojnë një kuadër bazuar në të drejtat e njeriut për avokatinë e medias dhe barazisë si dhe një bazë për rolin që medias duhet dhe mund të luajë në nxitjen e të drejtave të njeriut dhe barazisë gjinore. Shqipëria ka ratifikuar dhe është pjesë e tyre. Këto instrumenta përfshijnë:

1. Konventa e Kombeve Të Bashkuara "Mbi Eliminimin e të Gjitha Formave të Diskriminimit ndaj Gruas" -1979 (CEDAW)[49]*,*

Neni 1 "Diskriminimi i gruas" nënkupton çdo dallim, përjashtim ose kufizim në bazë gjinie, që ka për pasojë ose qëllim të dëmtojë ose zhvlerësojë njohjen, gëzimin ose ushtrimin nga gruaja të të drejtave të saj, si pjesë e të drejtave të njeriut në fushat politike, ekonomike, shoqërore, kulturore, civile etj.

Neni 5 të kësaj Konventethuhet se shtetet palë marrin të gjitha masat me synimin që:

a) Të ndryshojnë skemat dhe modelet e sjelles shoqërore dhe kulturore të burrit dhe të gruas, në mënyrë që të arrijnë të zhdukin paragjykimet dhe praktikat zakonore, ose të çdo lloji tjetër, që mbështeten në idenë e inferioritetit ose të epërsisë të njërit apo të tjetrit seks, apo në rolin stereotip të burrit dhe të gruas;

b) Të sigurojnë që edukimi i familjes të përfshijë kuptimin e duhur të amësisë si një funksion shoqëror dhe njohjen e përgjegjësisë së përbashkët të burrit dhe gruas në edukimin dhe zhvillimin e fëmijëve të tyre, duke bërë të qartë se interesi i fëmijëve është kushti parësor në të gjitha rastet.

2. Platforma për Veprim e Pekinit[50]*,* e nënshkruar nga vendet e Kombeve të Bashkuara në vitin 1995, në seksionin J të saj,

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[49]*The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW),* marrë nga: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/
[50]*Deklarata E Pekinit Dhe Platforma Për Veprim, Konferenca E Katërt Botërore Për Gratë: Aksion Për Barazinë, Zhvillimin Dhe Paqen* (1995),

rëndësi të veçantë i jepet integrimit të perspektives gjinore në media, si edhe strategjive dhe veprimeve për ta arritur atë. Rekomandimet e kësaj Platforme, të cilat i drejtohen qeverive, OJF-ve dhe institucionit (organizatave) të medias, kanë si objektiva kryesore:

• Rritjen e pjesëmarrjes dhe aksesit të grave për t'u shprehur dhe për të marrë vendime përmes medias dhe teknologjive të reja të komunikimit.

• Promovimin e imazheve të balancuara dhe jo stereotipeve për gratë në media.

Platforma e Pekinit thekson:

• Rëndësinë e   përfshirjes së perspektivës gjinore në politikat dhe programet mediatike;

 • Integrimin e perspectives gjinore në media duke u bazuar në monitorimin e vazhdueshëm të saj;

• Rolin e medias si agjente ndryshimi drejt barazisë gjinore.

3. Në *Rekomandimet mbi Barazinë mes Grave dhe Burrave në Media të Këshillit të Europës*[51]theksohet se: "Media luan një rol të rëndësishëm në formimin e qëndrimeve dhe vlerave të individëve si dhe shërben si një instrument i dobishëm për të realizuar ndryshime sociale". Lufta ndaj stereotipeve gjinore dhe seksizmit është objektivi numër 1 në strategjinë e 2014-2017 për Barazinë Gjinore të Këshillit të Europës

4. Standartet e BE-së lidhur me trajtimin e barabartë të grave dhe burrave[52]janë pjesë e legjislacionit, të siguruara përmes disa neneve të Traktatit të Amsterdamit në vitin 1997. Neni 2 i këtij traktati thekson se barazia mes grave dhe burrave është një nga përgjegjësitë kryesore të shteteve pale të Komunitetit Europian. Neni 3 (pika 2)

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marrë nga: http://awenetwork.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Deklarata-dhe-Platforma-per-Veprim-e-Pekinit.pdf

[51]*Strategjia për barazinë mes grave dhe burrave 2010 – 2015* - Komisioni Europian, Shtator 2010, marrë nga:
http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=6568&langId=en

[52] Po aty

nënvizon se "Në të gjitha aktivitetet që lidhen me këtë nen, shtetet palë të BE-së duhet të synojnë eliminimin e pabarazive dhe të promovojnë barazinë mes grave dhe burrave".

5. Përfshirja e perspektivës gjinore në media[53] është një nga hapat drejt përmbushjes së objektivit të tretë të mijëvjeçarit 'Promovimi i Barazisë Gjinore dhe Fuqizimi i Rolit të Gruas' që shteti shqiptar ka marrë përsipër të përmbushë deri në vitin 2015. Ligji shqiptar mbi barazinë gjinore përcakton rastet e diskriminimit gjinor, kur mund të ankohesh, evidenton organet kompetente, të cilat duhet të shqyrtojnë ankimet, si dhe masat që duhet të ndërmerren në raste diskriminimi.

6. Ligjin "Për barazinë gjinore në shoqëri"[54]. Neni 20 Barazia gjinore në media:

Media ndihmon në rritjen e vetëdijes së përgjithshme për barazinë e femrave dhe të meshkujve:

a) Përmes raportimit jodiskriminues mbi baza gjinore

b) Përmes përdorimit të terminologjisë neutral në aspektin gjinor

c) Përmes shmangies së sterotipeve gjinore në veprimtarinë e vet.

Ndalohet transmetimi, botimi dhe publikimi i materialeve i materialeve dhe informacioneve që përmbajnë apo nënkuptojnë dallime poshtëruese apo kufizime të njës prej gjinive, në bazë të diskriminimit për shkak të gjinisë.

SI DEPËRTOJNË STERIOTIPAT GJINORË NË MEDIA

Po të bënim një përmbledhje të pasqyrimit të burrave dhe grave në media do të kishim këtë pamje:

Tabela 1: Pasqyrimi burrave dhe grave në media

Gratë në media	Burrat në media
Të nënpërfaqësuara	Të mbipërfaqësuar

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[53]*Raporti Kombëtar Për Zbatimin e Platformës Për Veprim*, marrë nga: http://www.sociale.gov.al/files/documents_files/Raporti_Final_Pekin+20_d t_30.04.2014.pdf

[54]Po aty.

Kontekst familjar	Kontekst profesional
Punë me status të ulët	Pozicione me status të lartë
Pa autoritet Autoritet	Pa pushtet Pushtet
E lidhur me të tjerët	Individual
Pasive	Aktiv
Emocionale	Racional
E varur	I pavarur
E nënshtruar	Rezistent

Burimi: Barazia fillon në media, marrë nga:
http://www.platformagjinore.al/eng/wp-
content/uploads/2015/07/Ku-jane-grate-ne-Media.pdf

GAZETARIA ME PRESPEKTIVË GJINORE

Lajmi është zgjedhje

Çfarë përbën lajm? Çfarë nuk përbën lajm? Kush do të flasë? Kush jo? Si do të portretizohet një individ apo grup individësh në media? Të gjitha këto janë çështje zgjedhjeje. Përveç kësaj, ka edhe pyetje të tjera që mund të bëhen: për kë është i rëndësishëm ky lajm? A do të ndryshojë rëndësia nëse lexuesi është femër, mbi 65 vjeç apo një femër me prejardhje të caktuar etnike?
Këtu është vendi të bëjmë një shpjegim të rëndësishëm:

- *Të raportosh me perspektivë gjinore nuk do të thotë të raportosh vetëm për gratë, por të raportosh për ngjarjet duke patur parasysh perspektivat e ndryshme.[55]*

Madje, ta shikosh raportimin me perspektivë gjinore si një raportim që përqëndrohet vetëm te gratë është gabim. Sepse në këtë mënyrë ne e thellojmë ndarjen, krijojmë klishe të reja, përforcojmë ato të

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[55]*Barazia fillon në media*, marrë nga:
http://www.platformagjinore.al/eng/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Ku-jane-grate-ne-Media.pdf

vjetrat dhe i lëmë burrat dhe gratë në dy kampe të ndara siç ka qenë gjithmonë: gratë në një dhomë flasin për modën, burrat në dhomën tjetër për futbollin dhe makinat.

- *Të raportosh me perspektivë gjinore nuk do të thotë të fshish dallimet, që ekzistojnë mes burrave dhe grave, përkundrazi duhet t'i marrësh parasysh këto dallime për të ofruar një informacion, që u vlen si burrave ashtu edhe grave.*[56]

Gjinia nuk është sinonim i grave: gjini kanë edhe burrat.

Për shembull, marrim reformën e pensioneve: çfarë do të thotë reforma për burrat dhe për gratë? Po në ekonomitë fshatare, cili është roli i shërbimeve lokale për burrat dhe për gratë?

Media mund të bëjë shumë në arritjen e barazisë gjinore dhe mund ta fillojë nga një trajtim i kujdesshëm i lajmeve me në qendër gratë duke iu afruar problemit dhe jo grave. Të japë këndvështrimin e të gjitha palëve, t'i kushtojë më shumë kohë investigimit, të përpiqet t'i futet në lëkurë personazheve, që po tregojnë historitë e tyre. Ngjarje si përdhunimet, ngacmimet seksuale, braktisjet e fëmijëve, shfrytëzimi, prostitucioni, vrasjet, duan kujdes në paraqitjen e tyre publikut. *"Portretizimi i ndershëm gjinor është një aspiratë etike dhe profesionale, e ngjashme me respektin për saktësinë, ndershmërinë dhe drejtësinë"*[57]

PORTRETIZIMI I FEMRAVE DHE MESHKUJVE NË MEDIA

Eshtë e rëndësishme të kuptojmë si ndikon televizioni tek steriotipat gjinorë. Media është burimi mëi madh i steriotipave gjinorë. Programacionet e televizioneve hedhin në publik apo në tregun e ideve, shumë mesazhe diskriminuese.

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[56] Po aty.
[57] White, Aidan, Sekretari i Përgjithshëm i Federatës Ndërkombëtare të Gazetarëve, 2009

Figura 1: Stereotipet dhe çështjet gjinore në Media

Televizioni akoma përjetëson stereotipat tradicionalë gjinorë, sepse ky medium reflekton vlerat dhe karakteristikat mbizotëruese të shoqërisë. Duke i reflektuar, televizioni gjithashtu i përforcon ato, duke i prezantuar si dicka të natyrshme. Sic mund të pritet nga një shoqëri që zotërohet nga meshkujt, burrat jane ata që drejtojnë produksionin televiziv dhe, të ndikuar nga stereotipat gjinorë, në mënyrë të pavetëdijshme, riprodhojnë një prespektive tradicionale "mashkullore", duke ngulitur stereotipa gjinore mbizotërues. Figurat kryesore në television; drejtuesit e lajmeve, kryeradaktorët, prezantuesit më popullorë janë meshkuj. Shikuesit shpesh nxiten që të identifikohen me modele mashkullore suksesi. Edhe pse paragjykimet gjinore janë reduktuar me kalimin e viteve, portretizimi i burrave dhe grave në television vazhdon të jetë tradicional dhe i stereotipizuar. Kjo shërben për promovimin e polarizimit të roleve gjinore. Feminiliteti shoqërohet me tipare të tilla si; emocionaliteti, ndjeshmëria, kujdesi, bashkëpunimi, sensi komunitar, bindja etj; kurse meshkujve i bashkëngjiten tipare si racionaliteti, efikasiteti, konkurenca, individualizmi etj. Në television, shpesh vajzat "e mira" prezantohen si të bindura, të ndjeshme dhe të dhëna pas punëve shtëpiake; vajzat "e këqija" janë rebele, të pavarura dhe egoiste. Stereotipi i vajzës ideale është e sjellshme, modeste, e ndjeshme, e bindur, jo konkuruese, me natyrë tëëmbël dhe e varur. Heroi mashkullor zakonisht është i fortë fizikisht, agresiv dhe fitues në konkurencën e egër të kohës. Pra, burrat paraqiten si më zotëues, më të forte dhe më të aftë sesa gratë. Burrat sipas televizionit i japin makinës, pijnë alkol dhe duhan më shumë sesa gratë, bëjnë më shumë sporte dhe më shumë plane. Zakonisht modeli mashkullor

është nje burrë i bardhë, heteroseksual, i klasës së mesme shoqërore. Gratë në television preferohen më të reja sesa burrat, zakonisht nën moshën 30 vjece.[58]

SINTEZA E REZULTATEVE TË ANKETIMIT

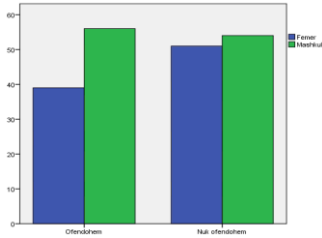| Grafiku 1. Gjinia e personave të anketuar	2. Grupmosha e personave të anketuar
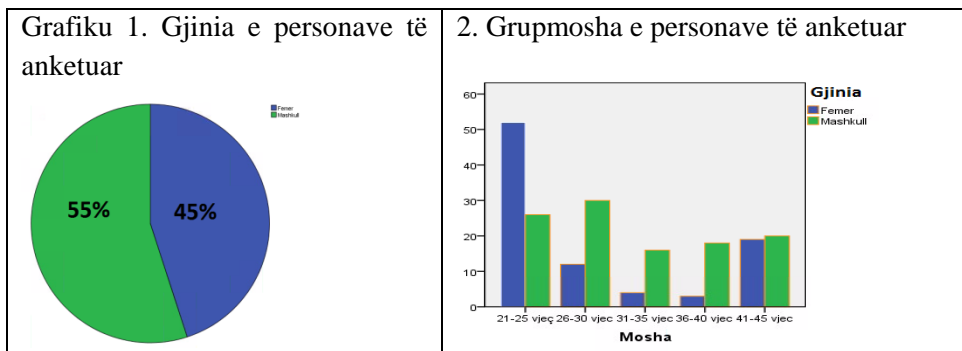
Besoni në barazinë mes meshkujve dhe femrave. Respondentët u pyetën se në cfarë mase besonin në barazinë mes meshkujve dhe femrave. Nga përpunimi i të dhënave rezultoi se femrat besojnë*plotësisht* me 25% ndërsa meshkujt me 30%. Alternativës *mjaftueshëm* femrat i janë përgjigjur me 30% ndërsa meshkujt 38%. Alternativa *pak* ka një diferencë të vogël, femrat 26% dhe meshkujt 29%, ndërsa alternativa *aspak* rezulton me 9% për femrat dhe 12% për meshkujt. Pra tendeca e besimit në barazinë mes meshkujve dhe femrave është më e lartë tek meshkujt sesa tek femrat, por kjo nuk është absolute sepse pjesmarrja e meshkujve ishte me 10% më e lartë sesa e femrave.

3. Besoni në barazinë mes meshkujve dhe femrave	**Nga numri një deri në dhjetë sa e k** **feminist.**Respondenteve iu kërkua një shifër mesatare ng mbështesnin ata lëvizjen feministe dhe a ndjeheshin të t rezultateve të kësaj pyetje numrat janë koduar me altern

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[58]Kosho, Joana, *Gazetaria televizive*, Qendra Hapësirë, Tiranë, 2010, fq 46.

aspak, *5,6,7- mjaftueshëm* dhe *8,9,10- plotësisht*. Nga për[...] rezultoi se femrat e konsiderojnë veten *shumë* feminis[...] meshkujt, të cilët e konsiderojnë veten *mjaftueshëm* ose *as[...]*

4. Sa e konsideroni veten feminist

Çfarë mendoni kur shikoni një femër të portretiz[...] media. Respondentëve iu kërkua mendimi nëse ofendohe[...] një femër të portretizuar seksualisht në media. Nga për[...] rezultoi se meshkujt janë të prirur të*mos ofendohen* kur s[...] portretizuar seksualisht në media me 80% në dallim [...] ndjehen *të ofenduara* me 58%.

5, Çfarë mendoni kur shikoni një femër të portretizuar seksualisht në media

Çfarë mendoni kur shikoni një mashkull të portretiz[...] media. Respondentëve iu kërkua mendimi nëse ofendohe[...] një mashkull të portretizuar seksualisht në media. Nga për[...] rezultoise meshkujt janë të prirur *të ofendohen* kur shik[...] portretizuar seksualisht në media me 55% në dallim nga [...] *ndjehen të ofenduara me 50%.*
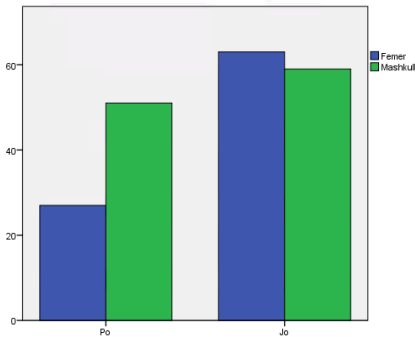
|	
Çfarë mendoni kur shikoni një mashkull të portretizuar seksualisht në media	**A kanë efekt të menjëhershëm portretizimi i femrës [...] media në mënyrën se si ju i konsumoni produktet.** Pjes[...] iu kerkua të identifikonin nëse ndikoheshin nga përzgjed[...] media kur përdoret portrezimi seksual i femrës dhe mashk[...] çfarë u faktua nga përpunimi i të dhënave ishtese shumi[...] femrave*nuk ndikohen* në konsumimin e produkteve kur [...] dhe femër tëportretizuar seksualisht në media me një [...] vogël, 62% për femrat dhe 60% për meshkujt. Ndërl[...] alternativës*po*, meshkujt rezultojnë më të lartë në numër [...] me femrat 23%.
A kanë efekt të menjëhershëm portretizimi i femrës dhe mashkullit në media në mënyrën se si ju i konsumoni produktet	**A mendoni që shoqëria jonë e ka problem steriotipzm[...]** se të dyja gjinitëjanë gati në të njëjtën masë dakort se sho[...] e shqetësuar nga steriotipizmi, pasi diferencat në përgj[...] papërfillshme, 81% femrat dhe 83% meshkujt.
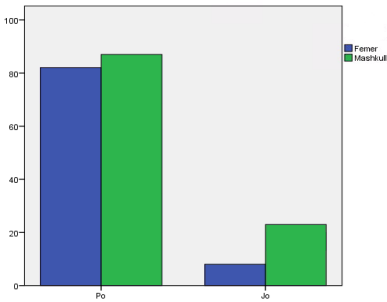
A mendoni që shoqëria jonë e ka problem steriotipzmin	**A mendoni që media shqiptare i përforcon steriotipa**
	pyetje iështë kushtuar rëndësi jo përgjigjeve sipas gjin grupmoshave të të gjithë individëve pjesmarrës në anke përgjigjes *po*është dhënë nga grupmosha 21-25 vjeç, grupmoshat 26-30 vjeç në barazim me grupmoshën 41-4 vogël kanë dhe grupmoshat 31-35 vjeç e pasuar nga gru Ndërkohë me përgjigjen *jo* rezultatet tregojnë se grupm numrin më të lartë, pasuar nga grupmosha 26-30 vjeç. Gru dhe 41-45 vjeç janë thuajse barazim me njëra tjetrën d grupmosha 31-35 vjeç me numrin më të ulet të përgj përpunuara konfirmuan hipotezën tonë se ka të ngjarë përforcon steriotipat gjinorë.
A mendoni që media shqiptare i përforcon steriotipat gjinorë	
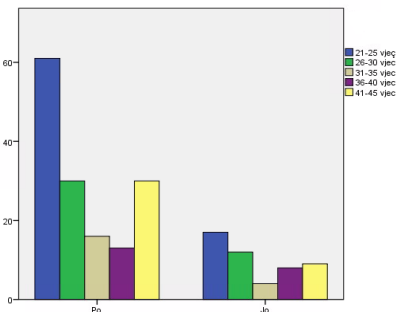
PËRFUNDIME

Media është kthyer në një nga mjetet më të fuqishme të komunikimit në mbarë botën. Normat dhe vlerat, strukturat institucionale, preferencat e audiencës dhe rregullat e ekonomisë së tregut ndikojnë në produktin final të medias. Imazhet dhe mesazhet që transmetohen përmes medias pasqyrojnë realitetin ekonomik, social dhe kulturor të një shoqërie. Në këtë aspekt, media mund të

konsiderohet si një nga instrumentet që mund të luajë rolin kryesor në integrimin e perspektivës gjinore. Studime të ndryshme sugjerojnë se prezenca e më shumë grave, eksperte në fushën e medias, do të krijonte 'modele pozitive' për gratë e tjera, do të stimulonte interesin e publikut femëror, dhe do të ndikonte në ngritjen e zërit mbi çështjet e përkatësisë gjinore në media. Stereotipet bëjnë që konsumatorët ta 'gëlltisin' shpejt lajmin pa u menduar mirë për të, duke konsideruar kështu informacionin e servirur nga producentët si një të vërtetë të mirëqenë. I printuar në biliona kopje, i prezantuar në 1000 kanale një bilion herë, i kënduar apo përsëritur në radio të panumërta, padashur, në mënyrë të përgjegjshme apo të papërgjegjshme, mesazhi fillon të bëhet mënyra jonë e të menduarit dhe të parit të botës. Si burrat dhe gratë janë mësuar, ose më saktë trainuar, që nga dita e lindjes së tyre të bien dakord me rolet gjinore që shoqëria u ka paracaktuar. Duke vendosur se cilat ngjyra i përshtaten vajzave dhe cilat djemve, duke përzgjedhur lodrat dhe librat me figura, duke cilësuar se kush duhet të qajë, kush duhet të ketë shpirt luftarak, çdo shoqëri i atribuon të dy sekseve vlera dhe role të ndryshme. Sistemi i edukimit siguron që këto mësime të përvetësohen më së miri dhe vetëm individë me kurajo guxojnë të vënë në pikëpyetje dhe kundërshtojnë skemat e sjelljeve të pranuara nga mbarë shoqëria.[59]

Teleshikuesit, përmes ekranit shohin shpesh një botë ku meshkujt dominojnë. Televizioni është një burim i fuqishem ndikimi në pershtatjen dhe sjelljen e teleshikuesve. Ky ndikim është i madh vecanërisht tek femijët, të cilët nuk janë aq të aftë sa të rriturit, për të dalluar fantazinë nga realiteti. Ata besojnë verberisht tek ajo cka transmetohet dhe shpesh kujtojne se ajo cka ndodh në ekran është tërësisht e vërtetë.

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[59]Commonwealth Secretariat, *Gender Management Series. Gender Mainstreaming in Information and Communications. A Reference Manual for Government and other Stakeholders.* 2000 (43 – 70).

Në një studim të kryer, u krahasuan dy komunitete; njëri që shihte TV, me një komunitet që nuk shihte TV. U vu re se femijët në komunitetet pa television ishin më pak të stereotipizuar në mendimet e tyre. (BASOW: 2003) Pra mënyrë specifike kontakti me televizionin mund të ndikojë në formimin e roleve seksuale. Nëse reklamat të cilat kanë konotacione negative, ose që mbartin shumë stereotipa, iu shfaqen fëmijëve të vegjël, në ndërgjegjen e këtyre të fundit do të formohet zanafilla e gjykimeve gjinore.

Mediat kanë një lloj përgjegjësie për promovimin e barazisë gjinore, dhe jo thjesht për pasqyrimin e saj. Roli i medias nuk është thjesht të përcjellë mesazhin, por ajo duhet të ndikojë, të nxjerrë në pah shkaqet e ngjarjes me qëllim ndryshimin e gjendjes sociale, ekonomike dhe politike, ku gazetari apo gazetarja nuk mund të jetë thjesht spektator/-e. Roli i medias nuk është thjesht pasqyrimi i realitetit, media duhet të synojë ndryshim, pasi ajo është PUSHTET.

Me këtë ndryshim dhe pushtet duhet kuptuar edhe pasqyrimi i një realiteti tjetër, i një roli tjetër, që aktorë të ndryshëm luajnë në shoqëri. Në shoqëritë në zhvillim, por jo vetëm në to, edhe elementi pozitiv duhet të përbëjë lajm. Në këtë aspekt, lajmi nuk duhet të shihet i shkëputur nga konteksti social nga lidhjet që gëzon me pjesë të tjera të shoqërisë, ku çdo grup social ka pjesën e vet të përgjegjësisë. Gazetarët dhe gazetaret duhet të jenë jo vetëm burim transmetimi të informacionit, por njëkohësisht duhet të ushtrojnë një rol të rëndësishëm në pasqyrimin e vërtetë të marrëdhënieve gjinore, të cilat duhet të hedhin dritë në raportet ndërmjet gjinive në të gjitha sferat e shoqërisë. Kjo do të thotë se gazetarët duhet të kuptojnë që barazia gjinore nuk imponon mohimin e identitetit femëror a mashkullor, por inkurajon vendosjen e marrëdhënieve të ndërsjellta, të ndërvarura e jo diskriminuese në shoqëri. Në një shoqëri, burrat dhe gratë duhen konsideruar aktorë komplementarë, si individë të implikuar reciprokisht në raportet shoqërore, të përcaktuara nga gjinia, statusi, burimet e jetesës dhe strategjitë e gjithësecilit apo gjithësecilës.

REKOMANDIME

Për të lehtësuar komunikimin e parimeve të barazisë gjinore gazetari duhet që:

- Në media të mos riprodhohen eksperienca sociale seksiste dhe përjashtuese.
- Të mos lejohen praktika diskriminuese që përcjellin raporte hierarkike mbi bazën e dominimit mashkullor.
- Të mos pranohen norma që mbështesin inferioritetin femëror dhe legjitimojnë dominimin mashkullor.
- Media të marrë pjesë në krijimin e një vizioni të ri për ndarjen e roleve ndërmjet gjinive.
- Ajo nuk duhet të paraqitet si seks i «dobët», siç përmendet rëndom, por si një individ që duhet të gëzojë të drejta të barabarta në të gjitha shkallët e përfaqësimit të shoqërisë.
- Duhet të kuptohet se mbështetja e femrës në shoqëri nuk përbën një politikë «seksiste» por një domosdoshmëri.
- Një pasqyrimi real, i drejtë dhe i vërtetë i shoqërisë do të ndihmonte gazetarin apo gazetaren të kapte më lehtë thelbin e ngjarjes si dhe shkaqet t'ja përcillte lexuesve me besueshmëri.
- Të promovohet një portretizim i ekuilibruar dhe me dinjitet i grave, si persona që sjellin eksperienca të ndryshme jetësore – si politikane, profesioniste, menaxhere, sipërmarrëse dhe nëna – duke siguruar kështu modele pozitive.

Duhet kuptuar drejt që për gazetarët nuk bëhet fjalë të favorizojnë në raportimet e tyre femrat, pasi një gjë e tillë mund të ndikojë më shumë në margjinalizimin e tyre shoqëror dhe injorimin e rolit që meshkujt luajnë në shoqëri. Një preokupim i tillë duhet të përfshijë gjithë procesin e përmbajtjes mediatike, që nga marrja e informacionit, trajtimi e më pas shpërndarja e tij. Është e rëndësishme që realiteti social të përshkruhet duke dhënë situatat e tij më të vështira, por pa paragjykuar askënd, për shkak të gjinisë.

Ndryshime në nivel politikash. Çfarë hapash duhet të ndërmerren per përmirësimin e imazhit dhe portretizmit të grave dhe burrave në media?

- Të promovohet përdorimi i një gjuhe jo seksiste.
- Të shmangen stereotipet dhe materialet e dhunshme dhe/ose pornografike që diskriminojnë gratë ose shkelin të drejtat e grave dhe fëmijëve.
- Të rritet numri i programeve për, nga dhe rreth grave.
- Të rritet pjesëmarrja e grave, veçanërisht portretizimi i tyre në fusha të dominuara tradicionalisht nga burrat, të cilat janë të lidhura me pushtetin dhe influencën politike.
- Të krijohen dhe/ose përmirësohen njësitë e monitorimit të medias

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