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Women's Position and the Environment - Case Study: Kosovo

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Women's Position and the Environment

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ABSTRACT

*Kosovo has gone through an unfortunate turn of events in its recent history. Wars, oppression years, and economic depression have had a staining influence in the society at large. However, women and the environment have been affected the most. The purpose of this study was to investigate the ecofeminist hypothesis that links the subordination of women to the degradation of the environment. The methods employed for the study are descriptive, where interviews, observations, conversations with woman were carried out, and laws, reports, press releases of the government were reviewed. With ecofeminism as the cupola of the study, one side of the analysis looks at women's position in the Kosovar society, through Schwartz's seven cultural value orientations theory, and the other investigates the discursive actions of the Kosovo government, through Dryzek's discourse analysis framework. The results obtained reveal a picture of women's subordination by the society, a subordination that is met with administrative measures for remediation but which fall short of tangible results. In the environmental dimension, a discourse of administrative rationalism is discovered, rationalism that deals superficially with EU's directives and *acquis communautaire*.*

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Abbreviations

EU	– European Union
EIA	– Environmental Impact Assessment
EULEX	– European Union Rule of Law Mission
KEPA	– Kosovo Environmental Protection Agency
MESP	– Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning
NGO	– Non-Governmental Organizations
SIDA	– Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SOE	– Socially Owned Enterprise
UN	– United Nations
UP	– University of Prishtina
UNMIK	– United Nations Mission Interim in Kosovo
UNDP	– United Nations Development Program

1. Introduction

Following the 1992 UN Rio Summit in Brazil, sustainable development came to be understood in terms of three interconnecting pillars, economical, social and environmental, respectively. While, social and economical pillars are perceived to have room for growth, the environment presents limits.¹ As such, with environmental limits in mind, sustainable development is defined as development that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."² Nevertheless, today many argue that it is not the environment that is the motivating factor in policy making and practice but rather the economy. Due to that precedence, it is often argued that economical growth is carried out at the expense of the degradation of the environment.³

Ecofeminists have linked environmental degradation and women's subordination in society.⁴ They have pointed towards the assertion that understanding women's position in society could lead to an understanding of environmental issues. Nevertheless, according to ecofeminism, in order to understand that contention one must look at various interconnections including historical, conceptual, socioeconomic, linguistic, symbolic and literary, spiritual and religious, epistemological, political, and ethical.⁵ As such, looking at the environmental situation and the women's position in the Kosovar society through a historical context is paramount in order to understand and analyze the present.

1.1 Historical Background

According to the historians that support the Albanian consensus, Kosovo is a territory belonging to the ancient Albanians, called Illyrians, whom occupied the land since the ancient times.⁶ After 500 years of Ottoman rule, in 1912 Kosovo found itself prey of the Serbian Kingdom and was forcefully incorporated as its territory.⁷ Consequently thereafter it was part of Yugoslavia, when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

¹ Blewitt J. 2008. Understanding Sustainable Development.

² Bruntland G. 1987. Our common future: The World Commission on Environment and Development. Pg. 24.

³ Blewitt J. 2008.

⁴ Warren J K. 1997. Ecofeminism: Women, Culture, Nature.

⁵ Warren J K. 2000. Ecofeminism Philosophy: A Western Perspective on What It Is and Why It Matters.

⁶ Ker-Lindsay J. 2009. Kosovo: The Path to Contested Statehood in the Balkans.

⁷ Clark H. 2000. Civil Resistance in Kosovo.

formed the Yugoslav federation after World War I.⁷ As Serbia, through the Yugoslav federation, strengthened its authority over Kosovo, the process of assimilation of the Albanian population began.⁸ A good example of the assimilation practice was the ban of the Albanian language secular schooling.⁸

After World War II, Kosovo's territory was demarcated to the current borders and as a province of Serbia the status of the Albanians continued to be subordinate.⁸ Due to the Serbian ban on Albanian language schooling the illiteracy reached alarming spread.⁹ The situation in regards to the education got better, merit to the student protests of 1968 and subsequently the establishment of the University of Prishtina (UP).⁸ However, the number of women attending school remained relatively low, particularly in the rural areas, due to suspicions of Serbianisation and a truncated number of schools available in the Albanian language.⁸

In order to continue studies in the Albanian language one had to travel to the capital city, i.e. Prishtina. This became a great struggle for woman living outside the capital, as it was considered unorthodox for a woman to live by herself in another city away from the family.⁹ Shahe Berisha is a testament of that struggle; she later became the first Albanian schoolteacher. However, she described the situation, when she left her hometown to go to Prishtina, as incredibly difficult for her family since the neighbors would not talk to her father on the grounds that he had let her daughter attend school far away from home.⁹

Intrinsically, it can be inferred that perhaps the most limiting factors in the social development of the Albanians in Kosovo, in particular women, was ethnicity. However, another limiting factor was religion. Albanians are converts to Islam. An interesting aspect of that conversion is that religion adopted itself to the traditions and not the other way around.⁹ As such, it became cemented in the traditions. A number of women interviewed suggested that Albanians used religion as a differentiating factor from the

⁸ Ker-Lindsay J. 2009.

⁹ Clark H. 2000.

Serbs, i.e. different traditions from the Serbs.¹⁰ Nonetheless, Serbian authorities used the Islamization of the Albanians to their advantage, giving rights to religious leaders and persecuting those that try to advance the educational system in the Albanian language.¹⁰

The unification of ethnicity with religion had a big toll for the Albanian women that suffered at the expense of national/religious ideals.¹¹ Imams under the payroll of the Yugoslav Secret Service advised Albanian men to uphold tight religious conservative values at home and make sure that women did not attend schools on the grounds that they would “lose their national identity.”¹² As such, the idea that a strong Islamic identity meant preserving Albanian ethnic identity was cemented in the minds of the uneducated population.¹² This situation dominated, especially in the rural areas, until late seventies early eighties, when the first generation of the university students from the UP took charge against the Serbian (Yugoslav) regime.¹³ The women for the first time joined the movement without being scrutinized by their families.¹³

Unfortunately, with Tito’s death (the Yugoslav communist leader) in 1980 and the ascendancy of Milosevic to power in 1987, the Albanians in Kosovo saw another downfall in their social development.^{13,14} The situation was particularly harsher for women.¹³ As the social development theory explains, a society that does not pursue social development falls short at utilizing human potential.¹⁵ The oppression years created a hostile habitat for women and hence they fell short in developing their potential abilities and more often than not ended up with housewife role.¹³

The environment had a similar fate to that of the women. Kosovo has had a long history of relying on economical activities such as agriculture, mining and heavy industries.¹⁶ These unconscious environmentally degrading undertakings were further intensified with the aforementioned social problems and high-density population.¹⁶ Furthermore, while it

¹⁰ Personal Communication. 2010.

¹¹ Ker-Lindsay J. 2009.

¹² Personal Communication. 2010.

¹³ Clark H. 2000.

¹⁴ Jansen G R. 2008. Albanians and Serbs in Kosovo: An Abbreviated History.

¹⁵ Garry J, Harlan C.1999. Social Development Theory.

¹⁶ Halili *et al.* 2009. National Background Report On Environmental Research For Kosovo.

was part of Yugoslavia, Kosovo had no environmental regulations, except the forestry protection law therefore the period prior to 1999, as far as the environment is concerned, is devastating.¹⁷ Therefore, using the historical context as support, this study will analyze women's position in society and the environmental discourse after the war, i.e. 1999.

1.2 Purpose of the study

Taking Kosovo as a case study, the purpose of this study is to investigate the hypothesis that regards the subordination of women and the degradation of the environment as interconnected.

1.3 Objective of the study

The study will employ both top down and bottom up approach. The bottom up approach is based upon interviews and conversations with women, while the top down approach is based upon the discursive actions of the government of Kosovo.

Through the bottom up approach, the aim is to investigate how women, through interviews, observations and preexisting reports, apprehend their position in the Kosovar society and their perception of the future. Furthermore, using ecofeminist perspectives and Schwartz's theory of values, their position will be analyzed.

The top down approach is carried out using various governmental reports, laws, official documents and the field research data. The inkling is to analyze the environmental discourse of the government.

The meeting ground for both of these approaches, i.e. top down and bottom up, is in a thorough analytical discussion where the link between degradation of environment and subordination of women will be discussed.

1.4 Limitations of the study

There are several limitations to this study: territorial coverage, time, resources, previous

¹⁷ MESP. 2006. Kosovo Environmental Action Plan 2006-2010.

research, and gender. The study is based in two municipalities in Kosovo, Gjilan and Prishtina region respectively. Even though, the country is small, there is variety in customs and traditions among various regions of Kosovo. As such the variability of the data obtained is limited to two regions. There was only a month's time available for all the research process; therefore, time has dictated the amount of the interviews that could be carried out. Resources have limited the amount of trips I could make to surrounding villages and to the capital city where most of the government offices are located. A great limitation is the fact that I was unable to find previous empirical evidence research on the same or similar topic. Due to the conservative nature of the country, I being a man and interviewing women is also another great limitation.

1.5 Empirical Evidence

The data has been collected through interviews, conversations, observation, the Kosovo government portal (web page), and various reports produced by the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning and other domestic/international organizations and actors, i.e. UNDP, UNMIK etc., active in Kosovo.

1.6 Source Criticism

The research is based upon the interviews and the existing knowledge acquired from literature and various articles. The framework could be different based on what type of theories and methods are used for outlining the research.

The research is braced with interviews, observation, documents, laws and regulations from the field. This type of information could be accurate, i.e. laws and regulations, or bolded, i.e. reports which could potentially be biased. Thus, it could have skewed identifying the actual environmental discourse or the real prevailing cultural values.

There are also articles that support the build up of the project, be they scholarly or newspaper. However, both type of articles can have their flaws and sometimes be a strayed due to the motives and intentions of the author. Throughout the research, the focus was to stay closer to books, scholarly articles and official document.

2. Method

As it is mentioned in the objective of the study, the study employs two approaches for carrying out the research, which are based on qualitative research methods. For the top down approach, an environmental discourse analysis is carried out to understand the Kosovo's government position on environmental issues. While the bottom up approach is based upon interviews, conversation, and observation obtained in the field in furtherance of analyzing the women's position in the Kosovar society. Figure 1.0 below is a conceptual representation of all the steps in the procedure of the study. The red boxes represent the problem formulation, the green boxes represent the data obtained from the field (through methods), and the blue boxes represent the analysis of the research.

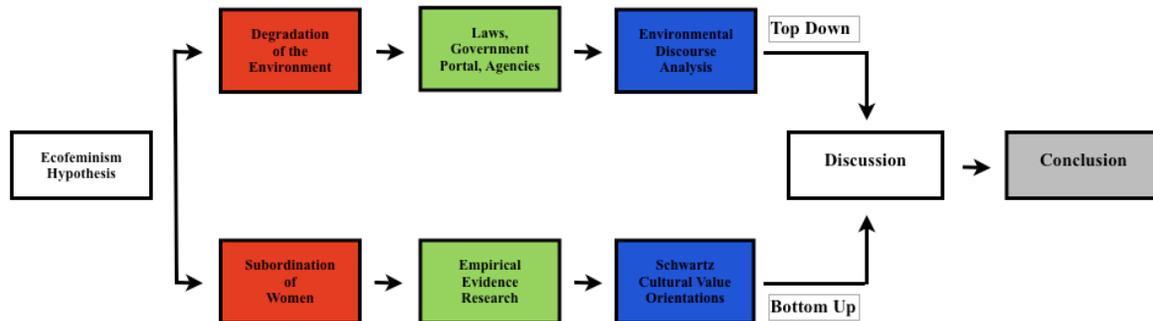


Figure 1.0 Conceptual Representation of the study.

2.1 Top Down Approach

The actions of the Kosovo government towards the environment or environmental issues are analyzed in order to identify its environmental discourse. According to John S. Dryzek, a prominent professor and a great contributor to environmental discourse analysis, a discourse is a common way of perceiving the world.¹⁸ It is embedded in language and rests on assumptions, contentions and judgments.¹⁸ Furthermore, language is a pivotal factor in environmental discourse. Hence, analyzing the laws, government rhetoric, and action plans, as part of the discourse analysis, will show the way the government constructs, interprets, discusses and analyzes environmental issues.¹⁸

¹⁸ Dryzek J S. 1997. The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses.

However, Dryzek proclaims that in the analysis of environmental discourse one can still engage in rational, critical, comparative judgment, and apply evidence and argument.¹⁹ Therefore, in the analysis, I will further look at various actors whom are engaged through their interest and power. As Dryzek points out, the actor's involvement reveals their efforts to supersede development at the level of discourse.¹⁹

Dryzek states:

Environmental discourse begins in industrial society, and so has to position itself in the context of the long-dominant discourse of industrial society, which we call industrialism.²⁰

As such, although industrial societies differ in their ideologies, i.e. liberalism, conservatism, socialism etc., from the environmental perspective they are still dedicated to industrialism. Which translates to environmental issues getting very little attention due to the environment being conserved merely to serve the industrial economy.¹⁹

CATEGORIZING ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSES		
	Reformist	Radical
Prosaic	Problem Solving	Survivalism
Imaginative	Sustainability	Green Radicalism

Figure 1.1 Environmental Discourses

However, environmental discourse departs from the terms of industrialism. This departure can either be radical or reformist.¹⁹ The second departure from industrialism can be imaginative or prosaic.¹⁹ Imaginative departures look at the environmental problems as opportunities. In this type of a departure, economic factor can be considered to work harmoniously with environmental problems. While for the prosaic departure, environmental issues are difficulties for the political economic platform set by

¹⁹ Dryzek J S. 1997.

²⁰ Dryzek J S. 1997. Pg. 12.

industrialism.²¹ Relating these two dimensions, i.e. radical or reformist and imaginative or prosaic, one gets four types of environmental discourses, which Dryzek calls Problem Solving, Survivalism, Sustainability, and Green Radicalism (Figure 1.1).

Dryzek has developed a guideline to identify a country's environmental discourse, according to which one must ask questions to identify the elements that are part of the discourse. Dryzek's systematic checklist of elements for the analysis of discourses is composed of:

1. Basic entities recognized or constructed: the basic entities recognized or constructed are built on how the government sees things in terms of the environment. For instance there are those that recognize the existence of ecosystems, while others have no idea of natural system. They recognize nature only in terms of basic matter.²¹ Examples of recognized entities are resources, ecosystems, etc. while constructed entities are liberal capitalism, experts, managers, etc.²¹
2. Assumptions about natural relationships: it refers to identifying what is natural in the relationship between entities. Assumptions such as hierarchy, control, anthropocentrism, nature being subordinate to humans, etc. should be identified.²¹
3. Agents and their motives: they can be individuals or collectives. Therefore, their motives can be individuals and collective. Examples include public expert administrators, selfish bureaucrats, enlightened elites, rational consumers, etc.²¹
4. Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices: language tactics employed in environmental discourse to convince listeners, readers or viewers by portraying a position in a certain way. ²¹

The analysis of the environmental discourse in Kosovo will be tailored in accordance with the above-mentioned list. Moreover, using Dryzek's list of items for assessing the effect of discourses, i.e. politics associated with the discourse, effects on policies of government, effect on institutions, arguments of critics and flaws revealed by evidence

²¹ Dryzek J S.1997.

and argument²², one will have to analyze the information obtained from government portals, laws, press releases, reports, campaign slogans, and interviews.

2.2 Bottom Up Approach

Due to being unable to find a thorough empirical feminist study in Kosovo, a bottom up approach was used. This approach involved obtaining empirical evidence through a systematic technique of gathering information from interviews, conversations, and observations. This type of research is also known as descriptive research, where a sample is examined to describe the characteristics of the population.²³

The idea was to interview, observe and enter into dialogue (with informed consent) with women in urban and rural areas. The reason for looking into both urban and rural areas has to do with getting a more trustworthy research sample. Several interview techniques were employed and the total number of interviews is 20. Most of the interviews were unstructured or focused interviews. In addition there were two group interviews, one in the urban and one in the rural area, and four semi-structured interviews.

I decided to use unstructured interviews because of their open-ended character, which enables the interviewee to answer from their own perspective of concern.²⁴ Additionally, the interviewee can provide information that otherwise with a structured interview would have been overlooked.²⁴ Those are the reason why I chose not to use as much semi-structured or structured interviews. These types of interviews were carried out with random women who agreed, i.e. with informed consent, to be interviewed in regards to the topic. Using unstructured interviews provided a causal setting, which was important due to the conservative nature of the country and I as a man interviewing women.²⁵

The semi-structured interviews were carried out with female and male politicians. The reason for using semi-structured interviews was a set of specific questions that needed to

²² Dryzek J S. 1997.

²³ Glatthorn A A, Joyner L R. 2005.

²⁴ May T. 2001.

²⁵ World Trade Press. 2010. Kosovo Society and Culture Complete Report.

be asked to get direct answers to them. Additionally, even though this method is semi-structured, I could pursue explanation and elaboration for the answers given by the interviewee, meaning if they said or revealed something in their answer I could still ask for further details.²⁶ With that freedom, I was able to engage in dialogue with the interviewee.²⁶

In order to explore group norms in regards to women's position in the Kosovar society I decided to do two unstructured group interviews with women. The number of women in each group interview was 4 and 6 respectively. Since, we spent most of our time interacting with others, the idea behind the group interviews was to see the social institutions, created by women in the Kosovar society, at work, which relate to their actions and opinions.²⁶

Finally, the participant observation method was used to gain data passively while spending a lot of time in various unfamiliar surroundings²⁶, i.e. peoples homes, jobs, etc. This method involves a lot of note taking and later analyzing of the data.

In conclusion, all the data obtained, whether through unstructured interviews, semi-structured interviews, or participant observation, was analyzed. One could argue that it is harder to analyze unstructured and semi-structured interviews, but I could not give up those methods for the sake of easier analysis of data obtained with structured interviews.²⁶

3. Theory

Theoretical perspectives below are the basis for the contentions presented in the analysis part of the paper. Ecofeminism theory is the cupola of the study in general. It is also the source of the problem formulation for this study. While, Schartz's theory of cultural value orientation and Dryzek's environmental discourse analysis serve as the mechanisms to analyze the two premises of concern that ecofeminism links, i.e. the subordination of women and the degradation of the environment, respectively.

²⁶ May T. 2001.

3.1 Ecofeminism

The term ecofeminism was coined by the French feminist Françoise d'Eaubonne in 1974²⁷, in an attempt to allude that women's potential could be used to convey out an ecological revolution. Ecofeminism is a philosophical and activist movement, which focuses on empirical women-nature connections.²⁸ The idea behind ecofeminism theory is that the subordination of women and the anthropocentric view of the societies over the environment have real connections.²⁸

The unique aspect of ecofeminism is that it extends its umbrella to regard issues such as racism, classism, heterosexism and such to be feminist issues. According to Karen Warren, a prominent ecofeminist, an issue becomes a feminist issue when understanding it will help one understand the subordination of woman.²⁹ Some critics have argued against ecofeminism, questioning the emphasis on gender oppression and not other forms of oppression, such as racism, classism and so on. There are many explanations to that, nonetheless, Karen Warren in her book *Ecofeminist Philosophy*, explains that having an emphasis on women one can expose features of interlinked systems of human domination.²⁹

Although, all ecofeminists agree that there is a connection between domination of women and nature, there exist differences on the nature of these connections and their influence.²⁹ As one of the pioneers of ecofeminism, Karen Warren has classified the different approaches/positions of ecofeminism in nine types: historical, conceptual, socioeconomic, linguistic, symbolic and literary, spiritual and religious, epistemological, political, and ethical interconnections.²⁹ Not all these positions will be used as theoretical basis for my analysis but nevertheless I find it relevant to give an explanation of each of the positions for a comprehensive understanding of the broader meaning that ecofeminism entails.

Historical interconnections emphasize historical evidence/data pointing to men's

²⁷ d'Eaubonne, F. 1974. *Le Féminisme ou La Mort*.

²⁸ Warren K. J. 1997.

²⁹ Warren K. J. 2000.

domination over women.²⁹ Another famous ecofeminist, Plumwood, argues in regard to historical evidence on the idea that there has been a merging of anthropocentrism³⁰ and androcentrism³¹ to mean the same thing. She suggests that there has been a move, from humankind being the most important or the central element of existence (anthropocentrism) to men being the center of existence (androcentrism).³² In that same token, Karen Warren is more specific and points to precise events in the history, such as the invasion of Indo-European societies by nomadic Eurasia to the Industrial Revolution, as turning points towards men's domination over women.³³ In fact, she acknowledges that at first these movements might have appeared to be anthropocentric in nature but with time they turned into androcentric. The shift, from the notion mother nature to a notion that treated nature objectively is claimed as another androcentric move. This shift, according to renowned ecofeminist, Carolyn Merchant, is due to the rise of mercantile capitalism and the Scientific Revolution of the 17th century.³⁴ These paradigms are also evident at a smaller scale with various historical events playing a great role in the subordination of women.³³

The conceptual interconnection circles around, as Plumwood describes, the rationalism, which plays a role in domination of women and nonhumans.³² The conceptual interconnections are based on structures of domination in hierarchically organized value dualism, i.e. reason/emotion, mind/body, culture/nature, human/nature, and man/woman. Others see the conceptual connections in sex/gender differences, i.e. childbearing, childrearing etc.³³

Empirical interconnections are based on the indication that data linking women, the underclass, people of color and children with environmental destruction exist.³³

Socioeconomic interconnections, according to famous ecofeminist Vandana Shiva, hang around the capitalist patriarchy, i.e. a combination of capitalism and patriarchy. Where

³⁰ Anthropocentrism: regards humankind as the central or the most important element of existence

³¹ Androcentric: is centered or focused on men, taking their values or practices as the norm

³² Plumwood V. 1996. *Nature, Self, and Gender: Feminism, Environmental Philosophy, and Critique of Rationalism*.

³³ Warren J K. 2000.

³⁴ Merchant C. 1996. *Earthcare: Women and the Environment*.

capitalism bequeaths men power over resources not given to women. Furthermore, under capitalist patriarchy, women and nature stand as exploited resources and thus contribute to the wealth created by men.³⁵

Linguistic interconnections rely on everyday language rhetoric, which is used in various social settings to degrade women.³⁵ Epithets like cats, catty, pussycat, pussies, pets, bunnies etc. are part of the degrading language used by societies to address women. Karen Warren asserts that the exploitation of nature and animals is justified by feminizing them, while the exploitation of women is justified by naturalizing or animalizing them.³⁵

Symbolic and literary interconnections look at the image of nature as perceived by society. The older notions saw nature as a caring female and nurturing mother while the newer image of nature, i.e. modern, sees it as an apparatus that is passive or even dead. This new image has made it possible for the moral barriers towards nature to be removed, as nature is not seen anymore as alive.³⁵ Merchant states:

One does not readily slay a mother, dig into her entrails for gold or mutilate her body, although commercial mining would soon require that. As long as the earth was considered alive and sensitive, it could be considered a breach of human ethical behavior to carry out such destructive acts against it.³⁶

Spiritual and religious interconnections look at the religious and spiritual implications on societies. The philosophy is derived from religious accounts and books that are part of the everyday life. It also draws on the hierarchy that religions create. Examples include accounts in the bible where a hierarchy male female is created at the beginning. The female according to the bible is created on the image of the male and not as a separate entity. Furthermore, she comes after the man. First the man is created and then the

³⁵ Warren J K. 2000.

³⁶ Merchant C. 1989. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution*. Pg. 3.

woman from the man's rib. These paradigms according to spiritual and religious interconnections have further cemented women subordinate role in the society.³⁷

Ecofeminists addressing *epistemological interconnections* work towards challenging Western views of knowledge. As Karen Warren points out, examples such as “that knowledge is objective” and “the “knower” as an objective, detached, independent, and rational observer” are challenges that epistemology tackles. The Western treatment of nature as objective and passive is an issue that ecofeminist epistemologies often critique. That kind of conduct is hand in hand with Western patriarchal ideologies of domination and control. Donna Haraway proposes an alternate approach based on context depended view of knowledge, which she calls “situated knowledge”. She asserts that:

Situated knowledge require that the object of knowledge be pictured as an actor and agent, not as a screen or a ground or a resource, never finally as slave to the master that closes off the dialectic in his unique agency and his authorship of “objective knowledge...”³⁸

Then according to this view nature is an active subject, which contributes to what humans know about nature.

Political interconnections are grounded on the links between ecofeminist theory and political activism. As such ecofeminism can be considered itself a political movement. While others, such as Noel Sturgeon, considers ecofeminism as a social movement, involved in both deployment of and theorizing about nature, women, race and so on.³⁹

Ethical interconnections lie on the argument that the interconnections between the conceptualizations and treatment of women, non-humans, and the environment in general requires a feminist ethical analysis and answer. ³⁷

³⁷ Warren, J. K., 2000

³⁸ Haraway D. 1998. Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and Privilege of Partial Perspective. Pg. 592-93.

³⁹ Warren J K. 2000.

Thus, the aforementioned approaches of ecofeminism provide enough bases for the analysis, which relies on Schwartz's seven cultural value orientations and Dryzek's environmental discourse analysis. Furthermore, beside the supportive role and the pivotal function that it plays in the thesis problem formulation, ecofeminism also ties these two approaches, i.e. seven cultural value orientations and environmental discourse analysis, together.

3.2 Schwartz: Seven Cultural Value Orientations

In order to have a good synthetic analysis of the research data obtained in the field, I decided to use a theory that relies on empirical evidence to describe a society. Schwartz's theory of seven cultural value orientations provides the foundation to explore the women's role in the Kosovar society and the cultural values created by the society that directly influences women. In addition, it also offers a basis to investigate the relations of culture to important societal phenomena.⁴⁰

The cultural value orientations, according to Schwartz, set the expectations on the way social institutions are organized, their policies and everyday practices. Through these institutions, individuals are exposed on daily basis to stimuli that emphasizes the prevailing ideals. However, it does not mean that these ideals are coherent, for there are subgroups, such as ethnic minorities or remote regions of the country, that promote other cultural values. As such, through exposure the prevailing cultural value orientations can change gradually with time.⁴⁰

Schwartz uses societal problems to create these dimensions on which to compare cultures. The first of which is the relation and boundaries between the person and the group. The question that he raises is to what degree individuals are embedded or autonomous in their group. Schwartz creates two positions on this cultural dimension that he calls *autonomy* versus *embeddedness*. He further divides the *autonomy* position in *Intellectual Autonomy*, where people pursue their own ideas and intellectuality

⁴⁰ Schwartz H Sh. 2008. Cultural Value Orientations: Nature & Implications of National Differences.

independently, and *Affective Autonomy*, where people follow emotionally positive practices for themselves. Whereas cultures that accentuate *embeddedness* preserve the notion that the individual is part of the group and such their lives are based on the commonality defined by values such as social order, respect for customs, security, obedience and knowledge.⁴¹

The second societal problem is related to the people’s behaviors towards maintaining a good societal order and thus refuting destructive actions that might endanger that order. The solution to that problem is identified by two polar positions, *egalitarianism*, where through values such as equality, social justice, responsibility, help and honesty, individuals are expected to commit to create a healthy welfare for everyone, versus *hierarchy*, where the pyramid of accountable and fecund behavior is defined by values that are embedded in unequal distribution of power, wealth, superiority and sub ordinance.⁴¹

The third societal problem rises on people’s treatment of human and natural resources. To this societal problem, according to the theory, exist two responses: *harmony*, where individuals are inclined to fit rather than challenge or change their social and natural domain, and *mastery*, where values such as ambition, success, self-sufficiency, and competence are vital in order to dominate, alter, or direct social and natural environments.⁴¹

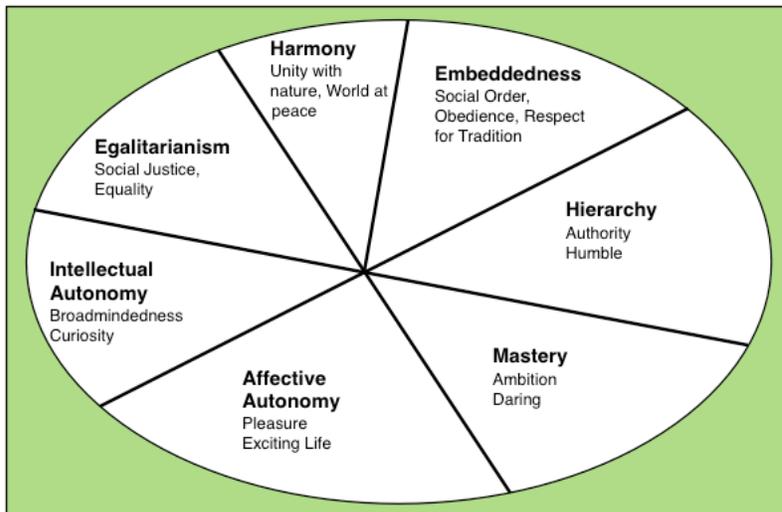


Figure 1.2 Seven cultural value orientations

⁴¹ Schwartz H Sh. 2008.

Ultimately, these seven cultural value dimensions, figure 1.2, exemplify responses or solutions to the three problems that all societies encounter. Furthermore, they share assumption and expectations with one another. As such there is an interrelation between them. Based on where the society lays within these orientations, then orientations manifest themselves in the government's policies and practices. Furthermore, the polarity of dimensions is not discrete but rather continuous. Thus, a society can practice embeddedness more than autonomy but it doesn't mean that it is one or the other.⁴²

4. Identifying the Environmental Discourse in Kosovo

The analysis of the Kosovo environmental discourse is conducted by using Dryzek's framework for discourse analysis explained in the method part of the thesis. The systematic steps of the environmental discourse analysis are framed according to the following: basic entities recognized or constructed, assumptions about natural relationships, agents and their motives, key metaphors and other rhetorical devices.

4.1 Basic entities recognized or constructed

When analyzing the Kosovo government environmental discourse one can easily identify a number of basic entities acknowledged over and over again in laws, reports, action plans etc. Such entities include capitalist liberalism, markets, government, biodiversity, property, experts, and managers.

Environmental issues in Kosovo are understood as problems that the government through various environmental agencies can deal with, i.e. through experts and managers.⁴³ The Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning (MESP) has worked towards drafting laws and regulations as a response to the environmental issues of the past and the present. The environmental strategy tailored by the Kosovo Environmental Protection Agency (KEAP) includes: integration of environmental policies on sectional policies, partnership and dividing of responsibilities, changing of manners in production and consume,

⁴² Schwartz H Sh. 2008.

⁴³ MESP, 2006.

increasing of number of the instruments for the implementation of activities, especially economical one, implementation, pragmatism, integration, and globalization.⁴⁴

According to Dryzek, this type of a set up relies on administrative rationalism, precisely on problem solving environmental discourse, where the structural status quo of liberal capitalism is taken as given.⁴⁵ In fact, the government proclaims itself in charge of rational management with well-informed expertise and managers to serve the public interest.⁴⁵ But, the public has often, through news articles and protests, challenged the government on its decision-making. The public considers government decision to be solely based on capitalist liberalism, where the privatization of the public sector is perceived as an opportunity for GDP growth, and not on the interest of the people and the environment.⁴⁶ Even, the UNDP has reacted to ways of the privatization considering:

It will result in the under-utilization of resource potential (such as agricultural development and eco-tourism), and risks devastating the local environment through illegal deforestation, mismanagement of pasture lands, pollution of water resources, and extinction of flora and fauna species distinct to the region.”⁴⁷

The basic entities of the Kosovo environmental discourse, i.e. capitalist liberalism, markets, experts, managers, and so on, resemble that of the developed European countries, where the economy and the environment are treated as separate entities towards sustainability.⁴⁸ This type of discourse has been criticized due to the fact that the economical measures always supersede the environmental laws and regulations.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the relationship between the people and basic entities is rather unnatural.

4.2 Assumptions about natural relationships

It is a common belief among Kosovars that the country’s natural resources should be

⁴⁴ MESP, 2006.

⁴⁵ Dryzek J S. 1997.

⁴⁶ Kosovo Press. 2010. Ferronikeli ”Kanceri” i Drenasit.

⁴⁷ UNDP. 2010. Democratic Governance and Environment.

⁴⁸ Gouldson A, Roberts P. 1999. Integrating Environment and Economy: Strategies for Local and Regional Government.

exploited to advance the economical progress.⁴⁹ In a personal interview with a politician running for parliament, he exclaimed, “the exploitation of natural resources is not a bad thing as long as it serves the public good.”⁵⁰

But, in the past, according to a report produced by the MESP, it is the public that has suffered and continues suffering at the expense of third party’s exploitation of natural resources and the pollution consequences thereafter.⁵¹ In an article published by the UNMIK Focus webpage, the director of the environment in the ministry of the environment and spatial planning was quoted saying:

In other countries norms and standards are regulated by law. Ministers of Environment warn polluters who go over the limit and they make the public better aware. In Kosovo there was never any instrument for that.⁵²

Kosovo government plans are to mitigate the pollution through environmental agencies that will enforce environmental protection laws and regulations.⁵³ Thus, this type of action emphasizes the role of the expert rather than that of the population.⁵⁴ Especially, since the realization of the implemented methods for teaching students environmental awareness and engagement remains relatively low.⁵⁵

With the privatization process in the proceeding the Kosovo government has further distanced itself from the people’s opinions and wishes, claiming the experts decide what’s better for the country in terms of privatization of resources.⁵⁶ As such, people are treated subordinate to the state’s expertise.⁵⁴ A good example of such subservience is the privatization process of a number of socially owned enterprises (SOE), where, amid

⁴⁹ Personal Communication. 2010.

⁵⁰ Personal communication. 2010.

⁵¹ MESP. 2006.

⁵² UNMIK. 2003. Ministry Aims for the Big Clean-up.

⁵³ MESP. 2006.

⁵⁴ Dryzek J S. 1997.

⁵⁵ Hjortberg A, Wingqvist G. 2008. Kosovo Environment and Climate Analysis.

⁵⁶ PAK. 2010. Privatization.

public objection to privatization, the government went through with its plans maintaining it will serve the public good in the long run.⁵⁷

Therefore, in order to understand these natural relationships, e.g. market liberalism, experts, it is imperative to further look into all the actors involved in Kosovo, especially taking into account Kosovo's protectorate status, under the UN's umbrella.

4.3 Agents and are their motives

There are several domestic and international agents that are directly involved with environmental matters in Kosovo. Domestic agents are mainly the government of Kosovo and ordinary citizens. International agents include various UN departments, EU missions and offices, and various NGO's.

The most significant agents within the government, in regards to the environment, are MESP, which is in charge of environmental policy and strategy formulation, and KEPA, which is responsible for pollution control and monitoring, EIA's, environmental information management and research.⁵⁸ Since the officials of these governmental agencies are elected in free democratic elections, it can be said that they are driven by the public interest.⁵⁹ While the ordinary citizen, motivated by self-interest, is responsible for keeping and demanding a clean and safe environment to live in.⁵⁹ However, citizen's involvement is active only when environmental issues directly affect them. A perfect example of that is people's reaction to the pollution caused by Ferronikeli, a nickel production plant.⁶⁰

A narrow list of the most influential international actors includes: UNMIK, UNDP, and EU. With Kosovo's independence, UNMIK's mandate has come towards an end and therefore they are in the process of transferring all the responsibilities to the Kosovo government. However, their established institutional framework continues to be the bases

⁵⁷ Cohu. 2011. Privatizimi i korrupsuar i PTK-së.

⁵⁸ Hjortberg A, Wingqvist G. 2008.

⁵⁹ Dryzek J S. 1997.

⁶⁰ Kosovo Press. 2010.

for the new Kosovo government and as such their influence for drafting environmental legislation has been paramount.⁶¹ On the other hand, UNDP will still be in Kosovo, but their role remains to provide guidance and support for environmental issues and environmental awareness.⁶² EU's involvement is to give directives and counsel, among many things, on environmental legislation.⁶¹ In order for Kosovo to be part of the liberalization and integration process into EU, it must implement the *Acquis Communautaire*⁶³ on environment.

There are other international governmental agencies that are involved with environmental matters in Kosovo. One such agency is SIDA, where its role has been to support Kosovo on drafting its environmental strategy. **Error! Bookmark not defined.** Indeed, because of their involvement the international body has had a lot of influence on the environmental rhetoric used by the Kosovo government.

4.4 Key metaphors and other rhetorical devices

It can be implied that the Kosovo state is in the process of transition from closed market economy to an open market economy and fulfilling the EU standards for future accession, i.e. *Acquis Communautaire* implementation. As such, the government rhetoric for defending its actions and contentions is often within market economy circles and *acquis* implementation chapters.

But, when analyzing state documents in regards to the environment, such as the Kosovo Environmental Strategy and Kosovo State of the Environment, one finds relevant environmental rhetoric. On one hand, the environmental degradation and pollution is seen as a great cause of concern where words including critical, immediate, suffering are common, while on the other hand these concerns meet government resolutions that rely on environmental legislation and regulation, where rhetoric employs terms like mitigation, pollution control, environmental protection and biodiversity protection.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Hjortberg A, Wingqvist G. 2008.

⁶² UNDP Kosovo. 2010.

⁶³ Body of Community legislation by which binds all EU Member States; Countries joining the EU must have implemented the existing *acquis communautaire* by the time of accession. (Definition from oecd.org)

⁶⁴ MESP. 2003. Kosovo State of the Environment Report.

Nevertheless, during the last election campaign (2010), environmental issues were omitted from the discussion agenda.⁶⁵ Instead, discussions mainly hung around free market economy rhetoric where economical growth, progress, investments and other key phrases were used over and over again.⁶⁶ It should not be misunderstood that the economy of the country is not important but the pollution from old plants and newly renovated working plants are affecting the population a lot more than what the rhetoric of those running for government reflects.

4.5 Kosovar Environmental Discourse

Due to Kosovo's political status, where international actors, i.e. UNMIK, EULEX, still have authoritative power over the Kosovo government⁶⁷, it is hard to know whether it is the government that is part of a particular discourse or if it is the international actors influence that the government follows certain discursive actions. Nevertheless, based on Dryzek's framework for discourse analysis certain basic entities, assumptions about relationships, agents and their motives, and key rhetorical devices, have been identified. Therefore, it is sound to say that, taking into account the outside influence, the Kosovo government discursive formation is mainly problem solving, prosaic and reformist environmental discourse, in particular administrative rationalism.

The government of Kosovo has already established environmental protections laws. Furthermore, the future project plans include establishment of pollution control agencies, regulatory policy instruments, environmental impact assessment, and other expertise measures or policy techniques.⁶⁸ Dryzek advocates that administrative rationalism, which relies on bureaucratic measures, manifests itself in all the above-mentioned institutions and practices.⁶⁹

The great German sociologist Max Weber, although disapproved of it, proclaimed that

⁶⁵ Personal Communication. 2010.

⁶⁶ Personal Communication. 2010.

⁶⁷ Hjortberg A, Wingqvist G. 2008.

⁶⁸ MESP. 2006.

⁶⁹ Dryzek J S.1997.

bureaucracy was the supreme rational form of social organization.⁷⁰ Administrative rationalism environmental discourse advocates that type of bureaucracy, where it is believed that complex environmental issues can be solved through breaking them down to appropriate departments in order to deal with them individually.⁷¹

However, critics consider administrative rationalism ineffective, as there is a great gap between legislation and policies and actual tangible results at the street level.⁶⁹ In fact, going through Kosovo's state of the environment report, it is easy to identify the gap between the legislation and street level results. The administrative state has had no return to effort, meaning twelve years after the war pollution from small and large-scale industries continues to be a serious issue for people's health regardless of the strategies and action plans created by government environmental agencies.⁷²

5. Women's Position in Society

Understanding the way a society treats women is an important step for understanding how that society fairs with the environment. In order to examine this premise of ecofeminism, I will analyze the empirical evidence gathered in Kosovo through Schwartz's seven cultural value orientations framework. As it is already mentioned, Schwartz's framework circles around three societal problems that every society encounters, namely relation and boundaries between the person and the group, people's behaviors towards maintaining a good societal order and people's treatment of human and natural resources. The analysis, however, will be framed according Schwartz's responds to the societal problems, which include three bipolar dimensions⁷³: autonomy vs. embeddedness, egalitarianism vs. hierarchy and harmony vs. mastery.

5.1 Autonomy vs. Embeddedness

One of the first inquests of this research was to know how a working or non-workingwoman in Kosovo spends her day. The results obtained vary with age, profession,

⁷⁰ Gerth H, Mills C. 1948. From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.

⁷¹ Dryzek J S. 1997.

⁷² Hjortberg A, Wingqvist G. 2008.

⁷³ Explanation: bipolar dimensions are not discrete entities at opposite ends but rather a continuum scale. A society can practice embeddedness more than autonomy, but it is not one or the other.

marital status and location. But there are also commonalities and recurring themes. It doesn't matter if a woman is working or unemployed, a good chunk of her day she spends doing house chores, i.e. cooking, cleaning, looking after the children, etc. In fact, regardless of the profession, most of the married women do house chores and cooking. This role bequeathed to them by the patriarchal society is an ideology rooted in decades of history, religion and culture and carried to modern days by, what Schwartz calls, social institutions.⁷⁴ According to the experience and feelings of the interviewed woman this role is not a choice but rather a duty towards the family.⁷⁵

Furthermore, drawing from the interviews, it is clear that Kosovar women fall under the embeddedness dimension, where respect for tradition, self-discipline, obedience, devoutness are of paramount importance. In addition, the expectations are that she must obey first religious standards, culture and then her own intellectual facility. One of the interviewees who was soon about to finish college stated:

It is hard to follow a career in anything because once you get married you suddenly get all these responsibilities at home. Everyone and including your own family expects that you will step up to the challenge and be the wife that is culturally accepted.⁷⁵

Evaluating the interviews from the ecofeminist perspective, it is precisely the religious hierarchy that sees women in the shadow of men.⁷⁶ Moreover, drawing implications from the spiritual and religious ecofeminist perspective, it is patriarchal religious ideals that diminish women's freedoms, curiosity, and equality.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, most of the women interviewed in Kosovo are hesitant to criticize religion when confronted about it being a limiting factor. They all tend to point to the past for their current position or criticize the current political structure of the country. "Women just haven't had much room to develop their own abilities really because of all the wars and oppression years that we have gone through as a nation. I don't think religion has had much authority," articulates a schoolteacher.

⁷⁴ World Trade Press. 2010.

⁷⁵ Personal Communication. 2010.

⁷⁶ Warren J K. 2000.

However, there exists a great difference in opportunity and intellectual autonomy seeking between women from rural and urban areas. Based on the empirical research women in rural areas are far less likely to seek intellectual autonomy than men. This is not as much the case in urban areas. It can be deduced that it is not solely the political structure of the country but also the social institutions that limit her from reaching the autonomy. Social institutions, i.e. the family, in rural areas are far more conservative and tradition driven than in urban areas. Nevertheless, it is imperative to look at the authoritative structures of the country to get a better grasp of equality in the government and as well as the opportunities provided.

According to Schwartz, the culture of a society that practices autonomy versus embeddedness, will pave the way for women to be independent and follow their own preferences in life. This autonomy in turn increases women's influence on the policies of the country. Therefore, the contention arises that even though superficial administrative equality exists in paper, it is the culture of the society that does not support it. Hence, women do not occupy decision-making positions.

5.2 Egalitarianism vs. Hierarchy

The Kosovo law requires that one third of the party election lists contain women.⁷⁷ In an interview with Lirije Kajtazi, head of the Women's forum for the Democratic League of Kosovo, she alludes that there is plenty of room for women who want to go into politics.⁷⁸ When challenged on the degree of equality in the government, she cannot help but pronounce their almost superficial roles in the government.

In a parliamentary debate, while responding to a woman parliament member, deputy Prime Minister Hajredin Kuci said: "in my culture, it is not a principle to argue with women, but men."⁷⁹ Although, his remarks were met with great criticism from many, it is a good example of a kind of subordination that women endure in the Kosovar society. Moreover, all of the women interviewed agreed that the government is a territory of an unequal battle. An elementary school teacher explains: "after the war, women are more

⁷⁷ KIPRED. 2005. Reforming the Electoral System of Kosova.

⁷⁸ Lirije Kajtazi. Personal Communication. 2010.

⁷⁹ Kosovo Press. 2010. Hajredin Kuqi i irriton gratë.

active in politics but they usually don't occupy decision making position.”⁸⁰ It is implicit that the superficiality of women's engagement in the government is a product of the administrative egalitarianism and western politically correct bureaucracy brought to Kosovo by the international supervising organization, i.e. UNMIK. Many have criticized the one-third rule indicating that it will not solve the gender equality race.⁸¹ The women interviewed felt the same way, considering their engagement in the government was not merit based but rather founded on a requirement.

Therefore, it can be said that the values that prevail in Kosovo fall between egalitarianism in one sphere and hierarchy on the other. Egalitarianism is entrenched in the governing documents of the country but hierarchy is part of the social institutions. In conjecture with religion, which at first glance does not seem as a ruling factor in the society, the situation is in favor of subordinating women as professionals and wives. As one of the woman interviewed describes: “women are equal as long as there is no decision making involved, but as soon as there is a decision to make that equality vanishes.”⁸²

5.3 Harmony vs. Mastery

As it was motioned in the discourse analysis part of the paper, Kosovo government follows a tactic, which is mainly directed towards economic growth, development, and investment. Inferring from the interviews, it is exactly the societies expectations for the aforementioned discourse. Schwartz stresses on the point that it is the cultural societal expectations that manifest themselves in the countries policies.⁸³ However, Schwartz also says that a cultural emphasis on harmony means that people are viewed as part of the system, where the individual being unemployed is a concern for the system.

Nevertheless, taking into account the high unemployment among women, at 69%⁸⁴, the cultural emphasis is on mastery and hence women are not a concern for the system. An emphasis in mastery means that the system helps those that strive and are successful. Taking into account that women have little space to seek intellectual autonomy, it can be

⁸⁰ Personal Communication. 2010.

⁸¹ BBC. 2001. Kosovo Leads Europe in Woman Power.

⁸² Personal Communication. 2010.

⁸³ Schwartz H Sh. 2008.

⁸⁴ World Trade Press. 2010.

deduced that their motives to strive and be successful are overshadowed by the social institutions, i.e. the family, the government, city etc.

In conclusion and based on the empirical data presented above, women's position in the Kosovar society is shunned by a patriarchal society that influences the social institutions and thus cultural value expectations. International organizations that are present in Kosovo have taken steps towards mitigating this situation. One such example is UNDP's involvement with MDG implementation, where the goals are considered a starting platform for emancipation of women and thus their position in society. These goals stress the importance of sectors like education and economic growth to be liberating factors for women.⁸⁵

6. Discussion

Ecofeminism relies on three different premises, namely, on the connection between subordination of women and degradation of the environment, patriarchal dualism perceiving women and nature in the same manner, and understanding the processes to overcome the subordination of women as processes that could lead to ecological awareness. In accordance to these three premises ecofeminists point to various perspectives, specifically historical, conceptual, socioeconomic, linguistic, symbolic and literary, spiritual and religious, epistemological, political, and ethical interconnections.

As it is mentioned in the introduction, the objective of the study was to investigate whether these ecofeminist premises, namely the subordination of women and degradation of the environment, had any concrete connections in practice. Through Dryzek's discourse analysis framework, the Kosovo government environmental discourse was analyzed. While, through Schwartz's seven cultural value orientations the women's position in the Kosovar society was investigated. Schwartz proclaims that the underlying values are a product of the social institutions, which in turn create expectations that manifest itself in the policies of the government. While, according to Dryzek, the discourse analysis reveals the actions of the government towards the policies that it creates. Therefore, there is a red thread that links the expectations, from the underlying

⁸⁵ UNKT. 2008. The MDG's are for Everyone.

values that social institutions create, to the discursive actions of the government based on those expectations.

Based on the results obtained and the analysis, the environment in Kosovo is in acute condition. Even the report produced by the MESP acknowledges that the environmental pollution/degradation is immense and that it is directly affecting the health of the population.⁸⁶ But, considering no governmental agencies for monitoring the environment exist and the data are taken from third party reports, the actual state of the environment could be a lot worse. Indeed, having visited various sites in Kosovo, it is an understatement to say that the environment is in critical condition.⁸⁷

Drawing from the presentation of the results in the discourse analysis section, most of the necessary legislation for environmental protection and monitoring exists. However, little is done to actualize that legislation into plans that would mitigate the damage done and prevent future pollution from the small and large-scale industries. In fact, the government should have adopted the evidence-based policy for drafting environmental regulations and laws, which relies on researched evidence to make the policies.⁸⁸ Although there exists other methods, this way the legislation to deal with existing environmental pollution problems at the critical level would have been implemented right away. Also, evidence based policy is primarily concerned with implementing policy that is in the interest of the people.⁸⁸ This construal likewise challenges the work of the government who seemed to have assumed that implementing policies according to *acquis communautaire* to fulfill the requirements for accession to EU would one day solve all the environmental problems.

Analogous to the environment, with the one-third rule⁸⁹, where women's participation in politics is based on requirements rather than merit, the government pretends to solve gender equality in opportunity. In fact, all the women interviewed, even those with career in politics, share the same understanding and experience that the one-third rule in fact

⁸⁶ MESP, 2006.

⁸⁷ Personal Communication. 2010.

⁸⁸ Solesbury W. 2001. Evidence Based Policy: Whence it Came and Where it's Going.

⁸⁹ Kosovo law on elections requires that one third of the candidates listed by the political parties in the election ballot be women.

could damage the country due to unqualified candidates making it into the parliament. The shift on gender inequality that was created from decades of oppression and ethnic ideals is “being mended” with policies.

However, when talking to women in Kosovo one finds that they are not even aware of all the rights that the constitution guarantees. This is due to, government’s engagement in superficial solutions to major problems. Nevertheless, one cannot assume that all the problems in Kosovo are the responsibility of the government, especially the women’s position in society, which predates the government of Kosovo. It is rather embedded in history, tradition and religion, all of which, ecofeminist perspectives use to draw conclusion in regards to women’s subordination in society.

Then, to what degree is each of the ecofeminist perspectives relevant to this case study? Well, ecofeminists that deal with historical interconnections point to specific periods in history where the shift to gender inequality or environmental degradation turns. Based on the availability of the data, Kosovar society has experienced quite a few of these periods, especially in the 20th century. After World War I, the women in the Kosovar society instinctively indulged to be part of the Albanian ideology for independence. However, the oppression years and the Albanian resistance to the Serbian educational schooling stagnated women’s social development. The environment experienced similar fate, where over exploitation of the natural resources for the sake of supporting the heavy industries in former Yugoslavia led to the environmental degradation during the late 20th century.

Another ecofeminist perspective, i.e. spiritual and religious interconnections, points to patriarchal dualism, e.g. man/woman, created by religious affiliation. Religion although not practiced to the fullest extend, dictates the boundaries of the women’s autonomy in Kosovo. In fact, this is more the case with the married woman rather than those with other marital status, which implies that the dominant male figure in the family dictates the boundaries of the woman’s autonomy. In similar fashion, the male dominated government takes decision in favor, of what is called, “economic development” and thus neglects the critical condition that the state of the natural environment is in. This type of

capitalist patriarchy, according to ecofeminist socioeconomic interconnections, will drive the country to a state where women and nature stand as exploited resources.

As such, in the public administration settings, one must question the way the government tries to handle gender inequality and environmental issues. Especially, analyzing with indicators of the Schwartz's dimensions, i.e. embeddedness vs. autonomy, egalitarianism vs. hierarchy, and harmony vs. mastery, there are plenty of things that the government can undertake but it doesn't. First and foremost, there must be room and freedom for women to seek for their intellectual autonomy. There should be opportunity for women to take leadership and decision making positions. From the perspective of egalitarianism vs. hierarchy, the public administration ought to be a place of equal treatment; it is not enough to draw on Western knowledge for tailoring gender equality policy. As the ecofeminists that address epistemological interconnections exclaim, women and the environment cannot be treated as a passive object. That type of treatment leads to the conceptual interconnections that are based on structures of domination in hierarchy organized value dualism, i.e. human/nature, man/woman.

Furthermore, comments like that of the deputy Prime Minister Hajredin Kuci ("In my culture, it is not a principle to argue with women, but men") should not be tolerated in the government, as it sets precedence and makes such behavior a common norm. Especially, since such behavior has been documented outside the parliament as well, precisely in the journalism field. Where, a well-known journalist in Kosovo, Milaim Zeka, irritated by the questions of a female journalist directed towards the president of the parliament, in the presence of the cameras from all local televisions, calls her a "Danish Cow". An egalitarian society does not allow such behavior and hence fellow journalists and various NGO's should have taken such comments seriously. Ecofeminists argue that language matters (linguistic interconnections) and epithets and remarks such as the ones mentioned above lead to the subordination of women. In similar fashion, adopting language that positively portrays economic development at the expense of the environment leads to environmental degradation.

Thus, in order for Kosovo to reach the status of an egalitarian country with a clear sustainable development vision, women and the environment should receive equal status to men and the economy, i.e. women must partake in the decision-making processes and the environment must receive the same attention that as the economy.

Whereas, there are several research questions that this study could continue with. One is to use quantitative methods to find out real statistics on environmental degradation and women's autonomy, using Schwartz's method for quantitative data. But, it could also continue on the avenue of understanding the role and influence of government in social institutions. Lastly, another direction could be a critical study to see how the subordination of women could be mitigated within social institutions of the society.

7. Conclusion

The subordination of women and degradation of the environment receive the same treatment, by the government and society at large. The existing ecofeminist premises in Kosovo are believed to be remediated with policy, which in fact is tailored for another purpose, that of accession into the EU. Both of these problems, i.e. subordination of women and degradation of the environment, are cavities for the Kosovar society. First, because most women employed do not occupy decision-making positions, and second the environment receives administrative rationalism and thus is second to economical progress. Kosovo will not reach the pedestal of an egalitarian country as long as women and the environment do not receive equal status to men and the economy, i.e. women do not partake in the decision-making processes and the environment does not receive the same attention that as the economy.

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9. Appendix

Table 1.0 Keying of SVS for Seven Cultural Level Value Orientations ⁹⁰

Cultural Level	Attributes
Embeddedness	Social Order, Politeness, National Security, Reciprocation of favors, Respect for tradition, Self-discipline, Unity with nature, Moderate, Honoring of parents and elders, Preserving my public image, Obedient, Devout, Forgiving and Clean.
Hierarchy	Social Power, Wealth, Authority, Humble, and Influential.
Mastery	Social Recognition, Independent, Ambitious, Daring, Influential, Choosing own goals, Capable, and Successful.
Affective Autonomy	Pleasure, An exciting life, A varied life, Enjoying life, and self-indulgent.
Intellectual Autonomy	Freedom, Creativity, Broadminded, and Curious.
Egalitarianism	Equality, Social Justice, Loyal, Honest, Helpful, and Responsible.
Harmony	A world at peace, Unity with nature, A world of beauty and Protecting the environment.

⁹⁰ Schwartz H. Sh. 2008, "Draft Manual: Proper Use of Schwartz Value Survey"

Country profile – Kosovo⁹¹

Area: 10,887 sq. km

Population: 2m (estimated)

Capital City: Pristina (capital population: 600,000)

People: Albanians (88%), Serbs (6%), Bosniaks (3%), Roma (2%), Turks (1%)

Languages: Albanian, Serbian, Bosniak and Turkish

Religions: Islam, Roman Catholicism, Serbian Orthodoxy

Currency: Euro



Reference: www.cia.gov (2011-05-16)

⁹¹ <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/country-profile/europe/kosovo> (2011-05-16)