

The question of the Mafia-style sub-culture role in female subordination.

Traditional culture, religion and gender role representation in both emigrated and non-emigrated Albanian women.

Ines Testoni, Lucia Ronconi, Daniela Boccher

Abstract This article considers a specific question about the relationship between culture, religion and psychology, in fact it studies the relationship among the religion, the Mafia sub-culture and the condition of women, in relation to current questions of international politics that witness strong connections between religion, mafia and terrorism, which are reciprocally involved in the dehumanizing traffic of women. It presents the first results of a field research study, which is still under way, by analysing one specific aspect, that inherent in emigrated and non-emigrated Albanian women's representations of the man and the idea of the family and female social roles. The subjects were 32 Albanian women: 16 were resident in Italy and 16 in Albania. The women underwent a semi-structured interview in their mother-tongue; their answers underwent qualitative-quantitative content analysis (Analysis of Lexical Correspondences [ALC], with Spad-T programme). Substantial differences emerge between the women living in cities and those living in rural areas: the former do not emigrate and are aware of their social duties, combining working life perspectives with needs for affective realisation through the creation of a family. The latter, more easily compelled to emigration, see in the creation of a family under a male guide their main universe of realisation, in observance of the Kanun (the traditional normative code, which has now been nominally superseded by the current Albanian social laws).

Key words: gender, mafia, feminism, social-constructionism, nihilism, female subordination

WCPRR Jul/Oct 2006: 164-181. © 2006 WACP
ISSN: 1932-6270

INTRODUCTION The need to determine the psychosocial factors that favour forced immigrant prostitution and labour originates from the 4th Women's World Conference, according to which some cultures, refractory to human rights, enslave women in roles of total personal and social subordination to male power (Lorber, 1994; Wijers, 1997; Young, 1990). This phenomenon has involved the whole of Europe over the last decades and in Italy it has been handled with some difficulty, although a political will to restore some kind of dignity to these women has been shown (Anthias and Lazaridis, 2000; Europol, 1999; EWL, 2001; IOM, 2000; OSCE, 2000). As the world of exploited strangers, labour and forced prostitution in Italy counts numerous Albanian women (Unicef, 1999, 2002), the present research study investigates – in accordance with the socio-cultural and constructivist approach – the universe of female role representations. We aim to better understand which representational phenomena can sustain, from a social viewpoint, the enslavement of Albanian immigrant women and if they seem unable to make use of the possibilities to break free from their condition (Qendra-e-Gruas, 1999b). It is then possible to suppose that some essential contradictions existing in western culture are determined by antinomies that persist in the ethics of gender role administration. The present research is articulated on two different basic conceptual levels: a) cultural and ethic contradictions inherent in the representation of the man-woman relationship and the functions of the representations of the family and female role in the Albanian society; b) representations of the family and its role in

Correspondence to: Prof Ines Testoni, Department of General Psychology, University of Padua.
Via Venezia 8, 35131 Padova, Italy.
E-mail to: ines.testoni@unipd.it

Received May 23, 2006. Accepted September 5, 2006.

personal and social identity from immigrant/non-immigrant Albanian women. An additional aim inevitably connected to the first is that related to self-representations of one's own identity, which unquestionably involves also the female identity aspect.

According to feminist epistemologies of postmodernism and poststructuralism (Benhabib, Butler, Cornell and Fraser, 1995; Derrida, 1967; Nicholson, 1990; Gergen M. and Davis, 1997), that open up new ways of working for feminist psychologist, the present research belongs to the realm of cultural social psychology which, following the social-constructionism and the rhetorical approach revolution, has witnessed increased dialogue among science, other forms of knowledge as history and philosophy (Billig, 1987; Bruner, 2002; Geertz, 1995; Gergen K., 1999; Stigler, Shweder and Herdt, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978), and gender studies (Gherardi, 1995; Reeves Sanday and Gallagher Goodenough, 1990). Cultural psychology recognizes the fundamental importance of the symbolic orders responsible for the dynamics of interpersonal and social relationships which make up and transform the environment, so much so as to affirm that none of the infinite number of subjects studied by psychology can be objectively considered neutral or independent from its cultural context (Cole, 1996; Dietz, 1992; Gergen K., 2001; Schweder, 1991; Suchman, 1987). Traditional values and religion are responsible of female subordination in the western culture; this condition in post modernism is sloping down, but the Mafia sub-culture is proof against this change and religious motivations are the fundamental reasons. Religion – from the latin *religare*, meaning “to bind together again” – is connected with a feeling of collectivity among followers, but is also structures the specific identity of a group of people. Different groups may share the same religion while each of them hold on to their specific characteristics as sub-cultural groups, which may supercede the religious bond. The Italian (and Albanian) Mafia is a criminal organization that structures its symbolic references as a sub-cultural system that respects traditional religious western values. Along the lines of Emanuele Severino's philosophy, we considers the Mafia-thinking as based on the traditional religious western thinking, on which the enslaved condition of women depends. It is indeed the religious values of western tradition that justify in a rational and non-mythological manner the ways in which women can become enslaved to men. The Mafia knows how to capitalise on that and make colossal fortunes. The relationship examined in this article, therefore, does not simply concern the connection between religion and culture, but, rather, focuses on how the tradition of the western thinking on which the monotheistic religions are founded can support the anti-cultural mafia processes, thus opening a contrast with the lay democratic culture of universal human rights.

In particular, the theme of female fasting and social discrimination is analysed, scrutinizing a limited sector of representation: the religious meaning attributed to the family and to the traditional roles of women (Baidrotti, 1991; Bell and Offen, 1983; Chodorow, 1978; Ferree, 1990; Hammerton, 1992; Irigaray, 1974). This dimension is determined not merely through field investigation, but is introduced by setting it against the theoretical background which highlights the stratification of contradictory social beliefs originated by a non-homogeneous development of the western thought (see: sub-cultural phenomenon and mafioso problem in anomic society). From this ensues a symbolic mapping which defines an outline of different beliefs in the Albanian socio-cultural reality.

The female condition and the Western culture

Some cultures are refractory to human rights, and in them women's roles are completely subordinated to male power (Fetherolf Loutfi, 2001; Gunderson, 1994; Nussbaum, 2000; Tinker, 1990; UNDP, 1995; Walby, 1997). After the Russian and Balkan political crisis, in Western European culture there is a new phenomenon, in which the male power over women's roles is organised by a mafia (Cviic, 1991; Das, 1997; Kempadoo and Doezema, 1998; Niesner and Jones-

Pauly, 2001), that is a criminal sub-culture. To understand the meaning to attribute to the relation between non-western and western cultures, including also the relevance of the Mafia organisation which determines the worst destiny of many Albanian immigrant women, and to understand the relationship existing between man's decision on what are women's roles and the use made of representation of the family, it is necessary to carry out an analysis which defines what we mean by 'the West' and what is its relationship with its sub-cultures (Qendra-e-Gruas, 1998a). The concept of sub-culture was introduced by Antonio Gramsci and then used in sociological ambit to indicate structures of value and social behaviour in human groups who organise their life in contrast with the ruling cultural system. In particular, the Mafia presents itself as a deviant modality of community organisation deriving from the crisis of the ruling conceptual structure of the past, in contrast with new instances of social change: the familism of marginality *versus* democratic networks of social relations (Banfield, 1958; Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 1993). As in this work we are studying Albanian women's representational elements related to the family, the following considerations are made not only on the basis of a sociological reflection (Qendra-e-Gruas, 1999a), but also on some fundamental symbolic aspects which have characterised the historical and cultural development of the West. Such reflection, mostly rooted in philosophical and psychosocial ground, aims to highlight the fact that to different levels of development correspond different symbolic orders, which are the outcome of a stratification shown by the continuing existence of some horizons tied to tradition. In some of their worst forms, such remains of the past integrate with contemporary reality in a deviant way, that is to say through the Mafia organisation. Indeed, in the specific case of the Albanian social crisis, the Mafia organisation continues to consider values that – albeit superseded in the greater part of the North – were offered by traditional culture until the last century. The keeping up of these backward symbolic referents enables the Albanian Mafia sub-culture to subdue women to the power of man in order to exploit them, by taking advantage of their beliefs and the value they attribute to the family.

The North is that part of the world in which the West has reached the highest degree of technological evolution. In fact, if we compare the levels of development between the diverse human groups of the world, we can observe remarkable differences between western and non-western populations, the most noteworthy in the northern part of the planet. If we intend to establish fixed parameters to this operation of comparison in order to understand the sense of these differences, we may find ourselves in difficulty, since the culture of each population guarantees with its very own peculiarity symbolic horizons which are specific and often incommensurable (Geertz, 1983). And yet, among the infinite opportunities which precisely for their multiplicity could render this goal inapplicable, the possibility of eliminating many misunderstandings exists: levels of freedom of self-determination and possibilities of subjective choice. Individuals of the western populations who reside in the northern part of the planet enjoy an infinitely greater number of opportunities to individually choose how to lead their lives (Siebert, 1992). In the West it is thanks to the development of scientific-technological knowledge that in recent years more and more serious difficulties have been resolved in shorter and shorter time. By the same token, if there is no doubt that in the northern half of the westernised planet living conditions are "better", it is just as evident that non-western cultures are moving towards the irresistible horizon of westernisation. What we have just described is the result of a long process, which had its origins in the development of ontological thought in the birthplace of western history. Making reference to the theories of Severino (1980, 1982, 1988), we consider fundamental a concept which is precise yet at the same time capable of representing the entire history of Western culture: "decline of absolute truth".

As Lacey (1968), Humphreys (1983) and Laqueur (1990) indicate, early Greece was the origin of the western attitude toward women; furthermore Severino (1988) considers the matrix of western thought to be totally inscribed in the Greek sense of *becoming* and of *things*. It was in ancient Greece that in the 5th century B.C. an event took place which shaped the destiny of the West and of the populations of the world, when for the first time and in a radical manner the sense of *being* and *absolute void* was contemplated. The first form of philosophy which western tradition offered was the epistemic and metaphysical thought, which underscored the sense of *absolute truth*. This knowledge – episteme – was presented as certain and incontrovertible, that is as the absolute truth which indicated in what sense the essence of man. From certain and irrefutable knowledge the social structures of the *absolute State* and of religion, from which the symbolic orders through which the shape of the contingent being is drawn, took form. Relationships among individuals, pre-eminently organised in a hierarchical sense, were coordinated by laws which were deduced from immutable and absolute principles; the epistemic social apparatus was built on this basic concept. In this perspective the role of thought and that of the management of spiritual and temporal power were attributed to men, while women were left with the meagre handling of secondary appurtenances relative to bodily survival, in which the domestic roles and the family life were enrolled. The appearance on the scene of *veritative knowledge* eclipsed the mythological tradition and with it the representations which united the female principle with the telluric divinity (Bachofen, 1861; Campbell, Eiseler, Gimbutas, Musés, 1991; Devereux, 1982; Neumann, 1956). With the Christian and Islamic cultures, imbued in the epistemic-metaphysical philosophical tradition, every dominion of the creative maternal divinity having been lost, and the absolute character of the transcendental dimension of the divine having been defined, the female function was transformed into a simple instrument of continuation of the original will of the Creator (Brown, 1988; Rodríguez, 1999). On this background were written the laws of women's subordination to men, defining the need to control and limit their functions on the basis of the principle of procreation and the care of family members. The organisation of the absolute moral, deriving from epistemic knowledge, set up the laws of social living together according to rigid hierarchical schemata which authorised the administrators of power to manage the life of their subordinates. And so women found in the family their own enclosure of existential realisation. Given that women have been historically excluded from the cultural commitment towards the construction of intellectual social-roles, they were relegated and tied to bodily functions, indispensable for life (Bordo, 1993). With Nietzsche, the western thought witnessed the irreversible process of the decline of absolute certainties and the incontrovertible character of *veritative knowledge* which instructed the immutable order of the world. The decline of the security offered by the immutable freed man from the rigid laws which governed individual and collective behaviour, opening the ethical horizon to the pluralism of democracy. As Max Weber (1904-5) affirms, in this slow process, which sees culture once again dealing with overcoming the tendency towards absolutisms, the predominant form of knowledge is more and more scientific-technological. The most democratic knowledge is scientific knowledge, as it is based upon majority rule. The scientific-technological apparatus, upon which the most advanced civil society is based, thus substitutes the epistemic apparatus in the non-absolute democratic State, mindful of opinions rather than transcendental truth.

Female roles between the decline of epistemic ideologies and the Mafia sub-culture

In this new outline, women's social functions have changed profoundly, as compared to past ideologies, in the most evolved areas of the North of the planet where women have conquered a freedom of self-determination equal to that recognised to men. In this sense, the representation of women's role within society has changed, opening up the horizons of the power which, through the world of culture and work, develops beyond the confines of the family. Such conquests have developed especially in the lay world, in response to a new democratic no longer absolutistic ethics

which is released from any religious moral. However, this is true especially in the most thriving cities, while the peripheral areas and the South of the Western world remain backwards. There, an extremely strong social value remains, together with all the practices which discipline individual conduct on the basis of specific values, promoted as non-modifiable. One may think in fact of how specific principles which increase the freedom of individuals have hardly taken hold in the south, whereas in the north they have been firmly consolidated. The strong affiliation guarantees the maintenance of the constituted social identity which in the South was built on principles which are not adapted to the freedoms offered by the scientific-technological culture. Western religiosity (Christianity and Islamism, which are the principal religions in Albania) is founded on episteme, and it has profoundly influenced the history of this State, not only in a moral sense, but most of all in the social and real. And if today we are witnessing the decline of its power to determine the destiny of society, this phenomenon is less evident in the peripheral country areas of Albania (mountain and rural suburbs). This influence was felt differently, and not as strongly, in the central towns, which absorbed not only the forms of religious dissent, but in particular the liberal law of European culture. It is from this influence that the development of scientific-technological knowledge began, and found fertile soil in an economic environment unbound from the chains of traditional ideology. As regards Albanian reality, it appears that for a long time it has remained “a hole in the map” (Resta, 1996). Long secluded in their country, the Albanians have created a series of western “myths”: the tribes who live in Albania are defined as “autonomous and barbarian”, but also as “very proud and noble”, almost a sort of semi-barbarian *homo balkanicus* (Kadarè, 1972; Prévélakis, 1994; Morozzo della Rocca, 1997), in particular, maintain that these cultural-psychological features are closely linked to terrain configuration: high mountains and isolated valleys (which make it difficult to move and to produce new ideas, but contribute to the creation of communities based on the male lines, self-ruled by a traditional code, the *Kanun*) very few pastures (which push towards to trans-human routes, which still today is a sort of predisposition to emigration and to the creation of *diaspora* networks) and very few towns (centres of commerce, but also the cradle of Albanian nationalism, of pride as a nation, of *Albanism*). The *Kanun* has ruled for centuries the everyday life of the individual, from childhood to engagement, to marriage, to community life, to death (Resta, 1996). It is strictly tied to the absolutistic moral vision of community life, closely connected to both Christian and Moslem instances. In this symbolic perspective, women are totally dependent on man as concerns community decisions. Therefore, their realisation can only take place within the domestic walls. In addition, women’s trust in man is totally unconditional. At the beginning of the 1900s and with the communist regime, women’s condition in Albanian towns changes considerably: they have free access to study and to the world of work, and family itself is organised on equality between partners (Mecaj, 1997). In rural areas, instead, the reference point continues to be the *Kanun* (Intersos and Qendra-e-Gruas - Women’s Center, 2000). However, the fall of real socialism and the sudden decline of the communist ideology (materialistic ideologies of the epistemic type) have determined a deep bewilderment in the Albanian people, who waver between a sense of terror-impotence vis-à-vis the change and uncontrolled euphoria for their sudden freedom (Resta, 1996). The traditional normative referents of the Albanian communities, then, had to deal with two great crises, the first involving the loss of traditional religious values, the second connected with the communist social model (Qendra-e-Gruas, 1998b). And so a condition of social anomy – according to the acceptation given to Emile Durkheim’s concept – was established. Within this anomy the power of organising community life follows the rules of sub-cultures which inevitably appear deviant as they are the outcome of a deep disintegration of the declining traditional symbolic orders. The Mafia is not only an organisation of delinquents; it is also the result of a specific form of organisation of the social fabric in which the identity of the various roles has been perpetuated and maintained throughout the centuries by means of the *oath* (in Albania: “besa”), that is the irreversible adhesion to specific values of affiliation. If we consider social identity as consisting of human

groups and individuals (Tajfel, 1981) and we trace the matrix on which the codes, through which one recognises the sense of belonging, are based to the idea of *identity*, then we must agree with Markus and Kitayama (1991), according to whom the categories of desirability take form through the culture of one's origins. The scholar traces within the Albanian anthropological condition the currents of a culture in which individuals need institutional certainty, to which a social code incapable of tolerating contradictions and differences is linked. This view, *being a Mafia member* is based on the need for reassuring certainties; i.e. *remedies* for the problems that result from social inefficiency. The organisation of the Mafia – which we use as a general example, without considering the differences which exist between it and the other southern organisations – is developed as an extension to the whole of society of the characteristics of the structure of a traditional family. It is thus a form of association in which the singling out of an individual from the natural family ties is denied, and has strong implications from an emotional and affective point of view. The history of the family in the West has undergone an unstoppable transformation, passing from a highly hierarchical structure of patriarchy – in which different generations co-existed and each component was guaranteed specific *roles and status* – to reach a state where, after the industrial and post-industrial age and the nuclear age, the new generations were allowed to separate from their groups of origin and freely take part in a fuller social context taking on roles different from those pre-ordained by their parents or by ancestors. In the peripheral country areas of Albania this process is slowed down, precisely because the same Mafia-style social organisation and the *family* transcend the simple relationship between related persons (Qendra-e-Gruas and Hapa-te-Lehte, 2002). The Mafia is in fact a form of family association, whose bonds are not based on common blood, but on the oath of loyalty which guarantees the sense to be attributed to social ties, surpassing the biological family, and mediating all relationships between consumption-production and citizen-state. It is only by re-rendering its historical nature to the Mafia that we can understand it without confusing it with organised crime; the problem of the Mafia cannot therefore be analysed out of its historical context because the Mafia is a *cultural*, as well as a historical and social issue. Within this perspective one must accept the theory of Lo Verso (1998), according to whom the order of the Mafia is the result of an adaptation to the social development brought about by modern society. From the cultural-juridical point of view it appears as a new equilibrium between the different forces and the economic-cultural models imposed by different normative systems, but from the social point of view it extends the relationships of production to the affective ones; relational dynamics are based on the model of the family. In that sense, work is not seen as an instrument of individuation, but as a strengthening of the family assembly and a continuance of the interdependence among those affiliated. Nowadays, the Albanian Mafia in particular takes a fundamental interest in the management of the drug market, prostitution, gambling, clandestine trade, illegal construction. That which at the beginning was a form of social identity today has been transformed into a negative structure, absolutely anti-social. The affiliate social fabric of the peripheral country areas of Albania has profoundly rooted in its history the need for collaboration between individuals belonging to a disadvantaged human group. Moreover, the affiliation which counter-distinguishes those areas is not just tied to the division of work and thus to social roles so that solidarity is created particularly within a specific group of people who share the same work, but it integrates internally all levels of *status*, since the relationships between individuals remain of the family type. We can therefore say that the traditional identity that the *Kanun* offers to the people of peripheral country areas of Albania remains tied to a fabric of awareness closer to the epistemic thought than to that of science and technology.

Therefore, women, the weakest part of Albanian society, are living a difficult moment of transition: they are hit the most by unemployment, they depend more greatly on their husbands, they are not ready to cope with the crisis of the family, as divorces increase, births decrease, the

generation gap gets wider and wider (Mecaj, 1997). Their difficulty moves from the double bond they have with the family and in which they feel trapped: the traditional value attributed to it by the *Kanun* and the sub-cultural meaning it has taken on as the model of Mafia affiliation. In both cases women are considered as individuals to whom no freedom of self-determination nor social power is recognised. This crisis is much stronger in the peripheral areas of Albania than in the towns, as they are used by the Mafia sub-cultural fringes as zones of prey. This research aims to be an exploratory investigation on the representational universe in which both emigrated and non-emigrated Albanian women are placed, compared to their condition and way of representing the family.

MATERIALS AND METHODS According to constructionism and the rhetorical approach methodologies, this research study has investigated the way in which Albanian women represent their role in society to themselves, exploring their representations of family, man and work. In particular, the differences have been analysed of non-emigrated women and women emigrated to Italy. The participants were 32 Albanian women: 16 were resident in Italy and 16 in Albania. Their age ranges from 18 to 40; 12 are students and 20 working women. They come mainly from Northern and Central Albania. The women underwent a semi-structured interview in their mother-tongue. While presenting the interview, the aim of the investigation was explained to each participant and anonymity was guaranteed. The thematic areas taken into consideration concern; a) relation between tradition and mother's teaching; b) the roles women have in the community where they belong; c) the wish/need for emigration and reasons for it; the dimensions have been differentiated according to representation of current reality and of the future. The answers underwent qualitative-quantitative content analysis (Analysis of Lexical Correspondences [ALC], with Spad-T programme). The ACL is used in order to establish constant factors in systems of meaning, extrapolating them from symbolic data belonging to a specific linguistic context, respecting the criteria of credibility and validity, i.e. the possibility of replication, and the effective quantification of the object under consideration. From a statistical point of view, ACL is a type of factorial analysis; as textual analysis it is both a form of analysis of content and a semantic quantitative analysis which utilizes the word as a unit of classification, applying analysis of correspondence (AC) for textual data (Lasswell and Leites, 1949; Krippendorff, 1980). Data were processed using the SPAD-T computer program (*Système Portable pour l'Analyse des Données Textuelles* by Lebart-Morineau). Each word of the text has undergone disambiguation, through lemmatisation, and this helps to make information simple and transform it in its canonical form. In the lemmatisation phase particular graphic signs have been used to write out the key words of the various answers, so that to each *word token* corresponds the original meaning. As regards the frequencies of the lexical forms considered, threshold "2" has been chosen.

RESULTS In the answers analysed from both emigrated and non-emigrated Albanian women clear references appear to self-representation, that is to say how these women considered themselves. In fact, the representation of their relationship with traditional representation of the family did not result free from the idea of their identity and position in the world. Participants' answers were analysed through the Aspar procedure in trying to identify the thematic areas considered and positioning the variables as Illustrative Variables. The modalities of the variable *word* are distributed along either the positive or the negative axis of a same factor, so that modalities which are placed differently are read as opposed to one another (*versus*). The factors to be taken into consideration are decided according to their contribution; they are then crossed two by two thus obtaining different factorial planes. Within each plane associated points are determined and the *semantic areas* that unify them in meaning are established. The points with

high co-ordinates are the ones which contribute to determine the meaning of the polarity for each factor. In the present research the first three factors of the analysis about the “Present” and the first three of the analysis about the “Future” have been examined. Also the values with explained low inertia can be considered as useful, as the latter can be taken as valid anyway due the high variability of the variable *word*.

Explanation of the inertia of the different factors referred to the representation of the “Present”

Graphic 1 - The factors of the “Present”				
<i>Factors self-value</i>				
N	Self Val	Perc	Cum Perc	
1	3392	10.47	10.47	*****
2	2882	8.89	19.36	*****
3	2595	8.01	27.37	*****
4	2256	6.96	34.33	*****
5	1981	6.11	40.45	*****
6	1794	5.54	45.98	*****
7	1671	5.16	51.14	*****

First factor: Couple equality and women’s submission

The first factor (see Table 1) on the positive semi-axis highlights the importance of the mother’s role, who turns out to be the heart of the extended family and the one who transmits family values even when she goes out to work. She alone has the role of managing loving relationships. In this dimension an important value is however recognised to men, too. On the negative semi-axis the man’s role takes on a further valence, as he is considered the one who holds authority. He works outside the home to keep his family, while the woman’s main tasks concern only housework .

Table 1 – First factor

Pos. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates	Neg. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates
my mother is a model to imitate	2,3	0,84	it is up to the man to keep the family	7,3	-1,30
children’s upbringing is up to both parents	3,4	1,20	my mother has taught me the values a woman must have	3,0	-1,14
my mother has always worked	3,3	1,27	the man is the head of the household and the head of the family	2,1	-1,13
my mother has always supported us	3,2	1,27	the man is authoritarian in the family	3,0	-0,87
there is no task sharing	10,1	1,29	the man only worries about work	4,1	-0,67
the presence of family members in a help for the woman	5,0	1,36	the woman’s task is looking after the house	2,7	-0,62
husband and wife are working	2,9	1,46	housework is the woman’s task	5,6	-0,61
there are no task differences between man and woman	9,6	1,69	a woman’s life must lean on a man	1,9	-0,26
my mother is a very important figure for me	3,8	0,82			
all jobs are equally shared between husband and wife	4,2	0,81			
the woman must cope with life’s difficulties - vita	1,5	0,75			
the woman resolves the problems of the home	2,0	0,73			
all I am I owe to my mother	2,7	0,37			

Second factor: Mother and tradition. The woman's strength

The second factor (see Table 2) on the positive semi-axis highlights the role separation between the woman, who is concerned only with housework and transmission of traditional values, and the man, who pursues his own objectives and who must keep the family. In the negative semi-axis, notwithstanding her submission, the woman must have the ability to keep the balance, which allows her to look to the future optimistically, while the man is described as inconsiderate, not involved with housework, authoritarian and the head of the household.

Table 2 – Second factor

Pos. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates	Neg. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates
the man has his own aims, different from the woman's	5,0	1,46	the man is the head of the household and the head of the family	4,9	-1,57
the woman must take care of the housework within the home	6,1	0,58	the woman must be subdued to her husband	7,0	-1,88
the man's task is to keep his family	25,1	2,21	the man has the power in the family	17,4	-1,92
my mother has conveyed to me the right values for a woman	7,1	1,61	the woman is always optimistic, because more balanced than the man	2,4	-1,24
			the man is totally occupied in his work	2,4	-1,24
			the woman must be more balanced than the man	2,8	-1,08
			the man does not have any duties as regards housework	3,3	-1,09

Third factor: The woman as a good mother; the woman as a good wife

In the third factor (see Table 3), the positive semi-axis highlights the woman's main dimension: motherhood. The woman finds her realisation in looking after her children, to whom she appears as loving and thoughtful: the woman-mother respects others and can ask for respects from them. The negative semi-axis confirms the same description of the male role already described in the previous factors.

Table 3 – Third factor

Pos. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates	Neg. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates
the woman must respect her man, but also be respected by him	2,3	0,51	the man's task is to financially support his family	16,7	-1,71
my husband often helps me with the housework	1,7	0,70	the woman is the main figure within the home, for the care of the house and the children's upbringing	2,9	-1,06
the woman must be a good and loving mother for her children	1,5	0,82	the man has his own aims which are different from the woman's	2,7	-1,00
the woman must find respect as a person	3,3	0,86	the man is the head of the household and the head of the family	2,1	-0,99
always keep a correct and respectful behaviour	1,8	0,90	the woman is more open-minded, tolerant and patient than the man	1,6	-0,95
the man's only worry is to have a job to keep his family	11,1	0,97	my mother has taught me a lot and she continues to do it	1,8	-0,90
the woman has to look after the home	9,2	1,00	the man will never help with the housework	2,4	-0,89
a woman's main aim is to have children	11,8	1,02	the man is very authoritarian in the family	3,8	-0,85
			the man and the woman have very different aims	2,0	-0,55

Factorial planes and semantic areas of the "Present"

By crossing the factors analysed, lexical areas are obtained within which it is possible to recognise polarisations of meaning and areas of semantic prevalence.

F1-F2: Couple modality versus tradition-innovation

The association between the cultural rules handed down by the mother and the woman's determination can create a new, more balanced and stable couple typology. There are three areas of semantic prevalence:

F1-F2a: Albanian tradition and the mother teach the woman that she must fulfil herself as a loving partner, as a mother, as a housewife. The man's task is to provide for the family; for the rest his objectives are fulfilment in his work or in any case outside the home. Through the projection of the illustrative variables it is evinced that such area is linked to the poor schooling of women who are often forced to emigrate (woman emigrated to Italy) in an attempt to better carry out their mother role and guarantee their children a better future.

F1-F2b: although living in a still patriarchal society, women feel they want to change reality within their family, in particular within the couple. The man is authoritarian, but the woman's personal determination, her optimism, her intelligence and her respectful behaviour can help the man change his relationship with his wife and give greater balance to the couple. Through the projection of the illustrative variables it is evinced that this semantic area includes younger women, the students who live in Albanian towns (non-emigrated women), who are perhaps still hovering between tradition and hazy hopes for a family of their own, which is not yet a reality. F1-F2c: the goal non-emigrated women are dreaming about is that of sharing, of equality, of family harmony: women too work outside the home and, in the home, housework as well as dealing with life's difficulties must be done on an equal share. The mother is seen as an exemplary figure, who has been able to guide her children and teach them the values necessary for a happy life. Through the projection of the illustrative variables it is evinced that these objectives are especially linked to some variables: high educational qualification, place of origin in Northern Albanian cities, mean age (non-emigrated women, 36-41 years of age).

Description of inertia explained by the factors referred to the representations of the "Future"

Graphic 2 - The factors of the "Future"				
<i>Factors self-value</i>				
N	Self Val	Perc	Cum Perc	
1	3631	10.53	10.53	*****
2	3032	8.79	19.32	*****
3	2640	7.65	26.97	*****
4	2302	6.67	33.64	*****
5	1990	5.77	39.41	*****
6	1903	5.52	44.93	*****
7	1731	5.02	49.95	*****

First factor: Emigrate to fulfil oneself and emigrate for the family

On the negative semi-axis the first factor (see Table 4) illustrates how the migration experience may represent the means to get high education: some Albanian women come to Italy to study and keep up with the times or to get a professional specialisation. All this is connected with the need for personal fulfilment. On the positive semi-axis, instead, we can find emigration seen as a way of providing for one's family, to enable one's children to study and have a better future. In the latter case, the woman emigrates with her man.

Table 4 – First factor

Pos.Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates	Neg. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib	Co-ordinates
the woman must look after the home	7,7	1,83	I wish to make my family happy	2,6	-1,25
one comes to Italy to fulfil a dream	5,0	1,59	I have come to Italy to study	1,6	-1,11
my greatest wish is to find a man	4,1	1,57	the woman must fight to obtain her aims in society	1,9	-0,91
the extended family is a help for the woman	4,7	1,44	the woman must keep up with the times and study	1,9	-0,85
my dream is to be allowed to study	4,7	1,42	the woman must find her personal fulfilment	3,4	-0,72
my aim is to be a good housewife	6,2	1,38	the woman must struggle to find a social position	2,5	-0,71
the woman never emigrates alone, but follows her man	2,2	1,07	I would like to find a good job and have a successful career	2,2	-0,69
my greatest wish is to get married	5,2	0,85	one emigrates especially because of financial problems	1,8	-0,60
my greatest wish is for my children to have the opportunity to study	1,8	0,77	I would like to study, go to University	4,5	-0,57
my desires are in my children's happiness	2,7	0,75	the woman has many goals, which are different from the man's	1,8	-0,42
for my children I can make any sacrifice	3,2	0,63			
I hope to find a good job	2,2	0,43			

Second factor: I fulfil myself for my family and my family fulfils me

In the second factor (table 5) the positive semi-axis highlights how the family is seen as one of the possible fulfilments of the woman who sees in motherhood a fundamental task, but who also wishes to be fulfilled as a person and study to achieve her many objectives. On the negative semi-axis the family and child care are, instead, seen as *the* personal fulfilment. The main objective is to have children, be a good mother, enable children to study, to learn to cope with life and have a happy future.

Table 5 – Second factor

Pos. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates	Neg.Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates
the woman must always fight with all her might	1,5	0,65	my greatest wish is for my children to be always happy	11,2	-2,39
the woman has an important role in the family and in society	2,8	0,58	I would like my children to cope with life always in a brave way	11,9	-2,08
the woman must always struggle to fulfil herself	2,3	0,54	the mother must be a figure always present in her children's life	9,8	-2,04
my wishes are in my children's happiness	1,7	0,53	for my children I would like a future better than mine	8,0	-1,51
the woman has objectives which are different from the man's	3,2	0,51	my dream is to have a happy and secure family	4,1	-1,21
I would like to study	1,6	0,31	my wish is to cope with life with courage and dignity	3,4	-1,20
the woman must fight to change her situation in Albania	1,7	0,31	my greatest wish is for my children to become educated	4,7	-1,16
			the woman must keep her dignity also in male chauvinistic Albanian society	6,8	-1,07
			the woman must find her proper place also in society	2,3	-0,98
			I would like to have a peaceful and serene future	1,6	-0,90
			I would like to become a good mother for my children	2,1	-0,73
			I would like to have children	2,1	-0,46

Third factor: to fight for the happiness of the family; to fight for one's own welfare

On the positive semi-axis of the third factor (table 6) the Albanian woman presents all her strength and determination never to surrender to life's difficulties: it is very often a call to combat, commitment, courage for one's actions. Such determination can unfold in two contexts: on the one hand, the woman, at the same time wife and mother, fights to keep her family, her children, the relationship with her husband through study, work, respect for tradition. On the negative semi-axis, commitment is especially turned towards achieving a position recognised within society: the woman looks for financial benefit, she is ambitious, believes in a professional career and proudly tries to achieve her personal wishes, while family values take on a secondary importance.

Table 6 – Third factor

Pos. Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates	Neg.Semi-axis	Absol.Contrib.	Co-ordinates
I wish to keep my family united and happy	11,5	2,25	I would like to be financially independent	2,8	-1,24
the woman must study and keep up with the times	10,8	1,73	the woman must be ambitious, fight for her own happiness	6,5	-1,02
the woman must fight to fulfil her goals in society	9,3	1,72	women must fight for their own wishes	4,5	-0,99
I wish to study and specialise in my job	3,8	1,45	many women emigrate to find the independence they can't find in Albania	1,4	-0,89
for my children I would like a future better than mine	3,5	0,92	the Albanian woman must be proud and not let herself be subdued	2,5	-0,83
I would like to be as my mother and Albanian tradition have taught me	1,7	0,87	the woman must find her place also in society	1,5	-0,73
I have come to Italy to find a husband	1,5	0,82	I wish for a happy peaceful life with few worries	2,6	-0,66
I would like to have a good working position	1,5	0,73	I wish to reach a good couple understanding	3,6	-0,64
I would like to go to University	2,4	0,35	I would like to find my position in society	1,9	-0,53
I hope to find a good job	1,9	0,34	I wish to find a good job and have a successful career	1,6	-0,51
			I would like to fulfil myself as a loving wife and mother	2,0	-0,35

Factorial planes and semantic areas of the Future

By crossing the factors analysed, factorial planes are obtained within which it is possible to recognise polarisations of meaning and areas of semantic prevalence.

F1-F2: "To emigrate for/with the family" versus "fulfil oneself for/in the family"

By crossing the first and the second factor different conceptions of emigration emerge: women emigrate for themselves, for their family, but also for Albania. In many women, in fact, the idea of emigrating to study and then return home to change the traditionalistic and chauvinistic society is

very strong. On these factorial planes the projection of the illustrative variables shows that these representations are inherent in emigrated women.

F1-F2a: in the first semantic area the wish is apparent to study, to specialise, to confront with other cultures and mentalities and then return to Albania with greater awareness of one's role. Through emigration the Albanian woman tries to find her own identity, to acquire the means (especially the cultural ones) that will allow her to fight to find her place in her small country too.

F1-F2b: as many women feel fulfilled as mothers and since it is not always easy to secure a happy life for one's children, emigration is seen as a way to give more to them. It is indeed married women with children who look to emigration for a certain level of welfare, realisation of a dream which involves all the family: a woman will give to her children everything she earns through her work.

F1-F2c: the third semantic area covers a number of motivations which are at the base of emigration; one emigrates to learn and then return to Albania; to find a husband or make a family; to find work and financial help; or simply to follow the husband or a brother in his moves. Emigration is seen as an opportunity to fulfil oneself in and for the family, reconciling tradition, work and emancipation.

CONCLUSION From the elaboration of data, several dimensions emerge. First of all, the presence of a very strong tradition which establishes the man's and woman's roles within the family and society: tradition which is seen as a burden in some cases, but in some others as a launching pad from which to leap to one's own independence and future. To this dimension belong all the Albanian women, both emigrated and non-emigrated, but especially those who live in rural areas, where these are fundamental and unique reference values. Secondly, it is apparent that education has taken on a very important role in helping women reach a position not only within the family, but above all within the couple and Albanian society. Education is not only of great use in getting a better and more financially rewarding job, but also allows to come into contact with other realities and open the mind to novelty and diversity. This dimension is particularly felt by town women and women emigrated to Italy. As concerns the man's role, it is clear that women are living a moment of transition in this regard and are trying to give a new meaning to their life within the couple and the family. If rural women, however, are not prepared to challenge his authority, emigrated Albanian women and those living in towns are inclined to question his supremacy within the family. Alongside this representation we can find a strong commitment aimed at female social fulfilment in order to change not only the woman's role, but also that of the Albanian society. In this respect emigration to Italy is not lived by emigrated women as a final moment, but rather as a training phase in view of a future return to the motherland with the competence and the financial strength necessary to improve the social situation of their country of origin. From these indications we can conclude that women living in rural areas, where the code of the normative and traditional *Kanun* is still prevailing, are most likely to fall prey to the exploiting Mafia logic, as they seem unable to achieve autonomy for themselves and emancipation from male power, both of which are necessary to bargain for a role within the family and within society. Equally, we cannot neglect the illusory aspects which may influence even the most independence-seeking women (those who live in Albanian towns) and from which the wish to emigrate may come from in order to improve their cultural and professional condition. However, it is indeed only a wish which can turn into illusion, since Italy does not always seem able to guarantee its fulfilment.

REFERENCES

- Anthias F, Lazaridis G. *Gender and migration in Southern Europe*. Oxford, Berg, 2000
- Bachofen JJ. Das Mutterrecht (The matriarchate), 1861 In: *Gesammelte Werke*, 1948, vol 3, Basel: Klatt
- Baidrotti R. *Patterns of dissonance*. Cambridge, Polity Press, 1991
- Banfield EC. *The moral basis of a backward society*. New York, Free Press, 1958
- Bell S, Offen KM. Women, the family and freedom. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1983
- Benhabib S, Butler J, Cornell D, Fraser N. (Eds) *Feminist contentions. A philosophical exchange*. London-New York, Routledge, 1995
- Billig M. *Thinking and arguing: A rhetorical approach to social psychology*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1987
- Bordo S. *Unbearable weight: Feminism, western culture, and the body*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993
- Brown P. *The body and society. Men, women and sexual renunciation in early Christianity*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1988
- Bruner J. *Making stories. Law, literature, life*. Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, New York, 2002
- Campbell J, Eisler R, Gimbutas M, and Musès C. *In all her names. Explorations of the feminine in divinity*. San Francisco, Harper, 1991
- Chodorow N. *The reproduction of mothering*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978
- Cole M. *Cultural psychology*. Boston MA, Harvard University Press, 1996
- Cviic C. *Remaking the Balkans*. London, Pinter Publisher, 1991
- Das DK. Organized crime: A world perspective, *Transnational Organized Crime* 3, 126-45, 1997
- Derrida J. *De la grammatologie*. Paris, Les Éditions de Minuit, 1967
- Devereux G. *Femme et mythe*. Paris, Flammarion, 1982
- Dietz M. *Context is all: Feminism and theories of citizenship*. In Mouffe C (Ed) *Dimensions of radical democracy: Pluralism citizenship and community*. London, Verso, 1992, pp 63-89
- Europol *European Union situation report on trafficking in human beings*. Luxemburg, Europol, 1999
- EWL. *Migration, trafficking and social development: What is at stake for women*. Bruxelles, European Women's Lobby, 2001
- Ferree MM. Beyond separate spheres: Feminism and family research, *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 52, 866-884, 1990
- Fetherolf Loufti M. (Ed) *Women, gender and work. What is equality and how do we get there?* Geneva, ILO, 2001
- Fukuyama F. *Trust. The social virtues of the creation of prosperity*. New York, The free Press, 1995
- Geertz C. *Local knowledge. Further essays in interpretative anthropology*. New York, Basic Books, 1983
- Geertz C. *After the facts*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1995
- Gergen K. *An invitation to social construction*. Thousand Oaks CA, Sage, 1999
- Gergen K. *Social construction in context*. London, Sage, 2001
- Gergen M, Davis SN. (Eds) *Toward a new psychology of gender*. New York, Routledge, 1997
- Gherardi S. *Gender, symbolism and organizational cultures*. London, Sage, 1995
- Gunderson M. *Comparable worth and gender discrimination. An international perspective*. Geneva, ILO, 1994
- Hammerton AJ. *Cruelty and companionship: Conflict in nineteenth-century married life*. London, Routledge, 1992
- Humphreys S. *The family, women and death. Comparative studies*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983
- Intersos, Qendra-e-Gruas (Women's Center) *Vëzhgim mbi dhunën dhe trafikimin e grave në rrethin e Lezhës (Survey on violence against women and trafficking in rural areas of Lezha district)*. Tiranë, Intersos, 2000

- IOM. *Measures to prevent and combat trafficking in women and minors for sexual exploitation, Final Report to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, June 2000*. Tiranë, International Organization of Migration, 2000
- Irigaray L. *Speculum*. Paris, Minuit, 1974
- Kadaré I. *Les tambours de la pluie (The drums of the rain)*. Paris, Hachette, 1972
- Kempadoo K, Doezema J. *Global sex workers*. London, Routledge, 1998
- Krippendorff K. *Content analysis. An introduction to its methodology*. Beverly Hills-London, Sage Publications, 1980
- Lacey WK. *The family in classical Greece*. Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 1968
- Laqueur T. *Making sex. Body and gender from Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1990
- Lasswell HD, Leites N. (Eds) *The language of politics*. New York, Etewart, 1949
- Lebart L, Morineau A, Bécue M, Haeusler L. *Système portable pour l'analyse des données textuelles*. Paris, CISIA, 1993
- Lorber J. *Paradoxes of gender*. Yale, Yale University Press, 1994
- Lo Verso G. (Ed) *La mafia dentro (Mafia inside)*. Milan, Franco Angeli, 1998
- Markus H, Kitayama S. Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion and motivation. *Psychological Review* 98, 224-253, 1991
- Mecaj V. *Te drejtat ligjore te grave dhe mbrojtja e tyre ne marredheniet e punesimit (Women's right in Albania. Situation analysis)*. Tiranë, Dora d'Istria, 1997
- Morozzo della Rocca R. *Albania*. Milan, Guerini Associati, 1997
- Neumann E. *Die grosse Mutter*. Zürich, Rhein-Verlag, 1956
- Nicholson L. (Ed) *Feminism/postmodernism*. London-New York, Routledge, 1990
- Niesner E, Jones-Pauly C. *Trafficking in women in Europe. Prosecution and victims protection in an European context*. Bielefeld, Kleine Verlag, 2001
- Nussbaum MC. *Women and human development*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000
- OSCE. *Review of Albanian Legislation on Trafficking*. Tiranë, Osce, 2000
- Prévélakis G. *Les Balkans*. Paris, Nathan, 1994
- Putnam R. *Making democracy work*. Princeton NJ, Princeton University Press, 1993
- Qendra-e-Gruas. *Raporti Vjetor (Annual Report)*. Tiranë, Qendra-e-Gruas, 1997
- Qendra-e-Gruas. *Diskriminimi i sekseve; procesi i emancipimit te sekseve; gjenda shqiptare (Discrimination of women in Albania)*. Tiranë, Qendra-e-Gruas, 1998a
- Qendra-e-Gruas. *Gruja veriore dhe polita e saj ne mes Kanunit dhe ligjt (Women and Kanun)*. Tiranë, Qendra-e-Gruas, 1998b
- Qendra-e-Gruas. *Gjendja e familjes, tregu i punes dhe programet publike ne Shqiperi (Family situation, economy market and public programs in Albania)*. Tiranë, Banka Ed, 1999a
- Qendra-e-Gruas. *Mekanizmi institucional dhe statusi i gruas në Shqipëri (The institutional mechanism and the status of women)*. Tiranë, Lilo Ed, 1999b
- Qendra-e-Gruas and Hapa-te-Lehte – Shkoder (Women Center Light Steps). *Kerkim Veprim mbi kushtet e jetes se grave ne gytetin e shkodes (Action-Research on the women condition in Shkoder)*. Tiranë, Qendra-e-Gruas, 2002
- Reeves Sanday P, Gallagher Goodenough R. (Eds) *Beyond the second sex: New direction in the anthropology of gender*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990
- Resta P. (Ed) *Il Kanun (Kanun)*. Lecce, Besa, 1996
- Rodríguez P. *Dios nació mujer (God was born woman)*. Barcelona, BSA, 1999
- Severino E. *Legge e caso (Law and chance)*. Milan, Adelphi, 1980 (Fr. trans. *La loi et le hasard*. Paris, Petite Bibliotheque Rivages, 1990)
- Severino E. *Essenza del nichilismo (The essence of nihilism)*. Milan, Adelphi, 1982 (Ger. trans. *Vom Wesen des Nihilismus*. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1983).

TRADITIONAL CULTURE, RELIGION AND GENDER ROLE IN ALBANIAN WOMEN

- Severino E. *The earth and the essence of man*. In: AA.VV. *Recoding metaphysics*. Evanston, Northwestern University Press, 1988, pp 177-197
- Shweder RA. *Thinking through cultures. Expeditions in cultural psychology*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1991
- Siebert R. *Don't forget: Fragments of a negative tradition*. In: Passerini L. (Ed) *Memory and totalitarianism*, International Yearbook of Oral History and Life Story, vol 1. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992
- Stigler JW, Shweder RA, Herdt G. (Eds) *Cultural psychology: Essay on comparative human development*. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990
- Suchman LA. *Plans and situated actions*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987
- Tajfel H. *Human groups and social categories: studies in social psychology*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1981
- Tinker I. (Ed) *Persistent inequalities. Women and world development*. New York-Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990
- UNDP. *Human Development Report 1995*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995
- Unicef. *Trafficking in human beings in Southeastern Europe*. Unicef, Unhchr, Oece/odhr, 2002. Undp: www.un.org/womenwatch.
- Vygotsky LS. *Mind in society. The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge MA, Harvard University Press, 1978 (Originally published 1930).
- Walby S. *Gender transformation*. London, Routledge, 1997
- Weber M. *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*. In: *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Religionssoziologie*. Tübingen, Mohr, 1904-5
- Wijers M-C. *Traffic in women forced labour and slavery-like practices in marriage and prostitution*. Utrecht, SPV GAAPW, 1997
- Young IM. *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1990