

Kinship Developments In Suburban Areas. The Case Of Albania

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Abstract

The development of the big cities is determined by the development of the suburbs and inevitably the confrontation of the new arrivals with the new social reality will produce an inevitable tension. The new inhabitants come mainly from rural areas. The way of life conceived in social memory keeps alive the cosmology of the previous ties based on kinship. City life dictates individuality and obscures the possibility of preserving tribal ties. The conflict becomes serious considering that the writing of the space with the new suburban housing corresponds to the creation of entire neighborhoods with residents who have blood ties to each other. This social morphology has created few opportunities to break kinship ties and their influence. Precisely this tension will be the subject of this article. From the decision to move to a new settlement, the imagination of the city, the selection of the settlement and the writing of the space, the meeting with the locals and the new way of life, the old connections and the new connections, the influence of the cosmology of kinship and the tendency to detach from it will be some of the issues that will be addressed. The Kamza area will be taken as an example, one of the most typical pre-urban areas of Albania and which mainly represents the main model of how the suburbs of large cities have developed after the fall of the 50-year dictatorship. Direct interviews, surveys will be used, and in particular the technique of the author's direct participation in the daily life of the inhabitants of this area. The ethnography of photography will serve to reflect processes, cases, rituals, events that testify to the way of developing the themes we have analyzed.

Keywords: kinship, neighborhood, marriage, memory, suburbs, Albania.

1. Introduction

Relativity is one of the main themes in the study of human life and has always received the attention of scholars, since there are few topics that can universally include society and at the same time almost all ways of creating social connections. On the other hand, life in the city is today a central theme since the mass of people living in the cities exceeds that of the countryside. Anthropologists engage in the conceptual debate about what is “urban” in anthropology and what is “traditional”. This debate took place in the 1980s and allowed anthropologists to settle in cities, leave the countryside and “wild and exotic” societies to study the phenomena of emigration, migration, ethnicity, poverty, work, etc., although not were defined only as urban problems, pertaining only to the city (Hanerzz, 1983). The academic debate continues. Some think that urban anthropology is simply a continuation of the classic work of anthropology in cities, while others define the city as a special "social institution" with

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the dynamics of social, political, economic relations and thus treat urban anthropology as anthropology city (Prato & Pardo, 2013).

Cities occupy only 2% of the earth's surface, but spend 75% of material and financial resources and produce 75% of its pollution (Aliaj, 2008). In the countries of southeastern Europe, cities designed according to the socialist model found it impossible to resist such a large influx of movement (Tsenkova, 2012) after the fall of the dictatorial system, but each country had its own specificities. In the case of Albania, the movement was immediate and uncontrolled. The trauma of closure was accompanied by the chaos of freedom. The reference “there has not been, there is no law” (De Vaal, 2009) has been heard everywhere. The movement of the population towards the main cities of the country not only created new social problems but the subcultural confrontation was a new challenge of the Albanian culture. Natural tension in the absence of laws and state order has brought the norms of tradition back into practice. The influence of the canon, the traditional Albanian law, in the city, has been so much discussed (Voell, 2012) that it was thought that it was already experienced in the past. There were also parallels that pitted society against the state as a marked lack of its role but interpreting that the atomization of the tribal world is undoubtedly one of the most effective means of hindering the integration of local groups into large social communities, political and, moreover, a means to prevent the birth of the state, which, by its nature, is unifying (Clastres, 2014). There has been an internal conflict and an interpretation of situations, events, aspirations, pains, desires, challenges and all behaviors and practices, meanings and meanings in the context and migration path of both the migrant and other actors of the his life. before, during and after the migratory act (Canolli, 2018). An accurate assessment of the effects of urban life on people must begin with the understanding that the urban environment is the product of a large set of causal factors (Flanagan, 2010).

The history of human development is characterized by the difference between the two poles: movement and settlement (Mumford, 1961). The social morphology of suburban areas, in the case of Albania, is dictated by kinship relations. The writing of the space is done by creating a network of links to protect the fact of movement without getting the approval of the state authorities. Meanwhile, "dead villages" or "Negro Villages" were created in the country, especially in remote mountainous areas. The new inhabitants of the suburbs of the big cities have attracted each other in order to legitimize this act which posed an extraordinary challenge both to the state and to the way they would build living in the new place of residence. Being "united" was the way to face it.

2. The case of Kamza, Albania.

Kamza before 1990 was one of the largest farms in the country and during the dictatorship it had a social life that responded to the needs of the political system that had changed the housing and use structure of this area (Onuzi, 1982), subjecting it to processes that have tried to eradicate the reality and the concept of private property in Albanian society (Lelaj, 2015). One of the residents who settled in Kamza after the fall of the dictatorship, now 68 years old from northeastern Albania, says: “It was a great courage, I took the children and I came into the open field. My family and I built a log cabin and covered it with plasma. Only I know how spiritually exhausted I am”.



Foto 1. Image of Bathore (Kamëz-Tirana), year 1994. Photo taken from the Facebook page of the Albanian scholar Besnik Aliaj.

A new settlement was emerging from this perspective, which in a few years will transform itself into the appearance of figure 2. There was no urban plan on which to build apartments but based on their cosmology they built houses. Under the conditions of this movement, Albanian citizens, starting from the cultural construct on space, the city and human relations, placed the apartments according to their formation of the world. In conditions of freedom and without rules, the implementation of urban planning or aesthetic canons certainly cannot be expected. At this point it is worth remembering the Albanian settlement culture, which is reactivated and helps citizens to set important goals of common life such as roads, drinking water, sewers, territorial borders, etc.



Foto 2. View of Bathore, in the same place today.

The patriarchal family model is dominant. Only a great force, as it happened, could change one of the main characteristics of the social organism, the “exogamous village”, the way in which the inhabitants settled. The husband and wife family will now live in the same place. There is no more fundamental problem for a company than defining the legacy line. In the case of suburban areas, great attention is needed, the same as crossing a bridge with a commuter rope, because together with the movement of the settlement, these relationships change considerably, not to mention that in some cases they are even overturned. In one of the stories of our

informants, when he talked about the possibility of bringing people with blood ties to Tirana, we realized that one of the families that would join this movement would be his sister's family. At this point the difference is very significant. In the past it was not even thought that friend and friend were in a village. On the other hand, in general, friendship hardly grows in the distance. It can connect neighboring neighbors, those who can be invited to parties, to whom you can return the invitation and visit. But with distant groups, such a relationship is impossible (Clastres, 2014). In the case of Albanian society this explanation is not an axiom as different friendships are built in different circumstances. They were done at a distance and were linked by mutual respect for strict ethical rules. The villages have preserved their exogamous nature and friendships have respected a kind of distance with the village. Distance was a moral factor, but also an economic and political one. It is therefore worth noting that the change of residence by the inhabitants has placed them in a new sociological situation and forced them to undergo new upheavals to the regulations that lead from the country of origin. For this we are helped by a story by M. H, a native of Kukës, 77 years old, which shows how in his village, during the communist period, a boy inside the village kidnapped a girl. No one in the village spoke to him on the street and his family was ashamed of him. It was difficult to react, because the system did not allow the application of the previous traditional rules, such as eviction from the village, but the whole village despised it. In the early days of democracy, he was among the first to take the children and leave.

Cases where the nephew could live in the uncle's house were also rare. Only when there was a certain situation, such as giving a "spirit child" to a nephew, when the uncle or grandfather had no sons, could he live in his uncle's house as a legitimate heir of the family. The niece is not discussed nor is there any option for her to live in her uncle's house. While the sister except when she decided to become a "burrneshë", assuming the attributes of a man after the men of the family became extinct, with the mission to take revenge on the family and to keep the door open, but with strict rules that accompany him for the rest of her life, or the case when her sister was not lucky enough to get married, in no other case could she live in her father's or brother's house. The phenomenon of exogamy, in places where weddings were forbidden not only within the village, but also within a province, due to fictitious and not real blood ties, that is, because they belonged to a brotherhood, or simply as "brotherhood of lands" (proximity to the settlements), was linked to moral reasons, of faith, but there were also rather severe legal sanctions with punishments such as the burning of the house and the expulsion from the province, or even the crushing (shooting) of who broke the rules of exogamy. This mechanism (of three functions of the phenomena of tradition), juridical, moral and religious, has made these rules of self-government applied with force and correctness, but it has become a reason for preserving these archaic phenomena in these rural communities (Tirta, 2003).

But what happened in the case we have in the studio? The brother asks the groom, the sister's husband, to take the children and go home together to Tirana. A radical change. Nor can this call be thought of in terms of first residence. But the invitation was accepted and the truth is that today they live side by side as "next friends", as they say. The flow of these relationships goes into new paths. The exogamous marital relationship was a rule that could rarely be broken and accompanied by sanctions that made it impossible to live in the same village. So, to clarify this point, we must suggest that we are talking about a rule, a very important link for exogamous, patriarchal marriage, such as the spatial distance between the couple's families. The relationships between family members do not remain the same, intensifying the comparisons between spouses, parents with children, the elderly with young people, recalling the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law (wives) in other conditions, as well as contextualizing the patriarchal family relationship with the model of the nuclear family closed. Within the kinship relationships, the patriarchal family resided as natural derivatives.

3. Forms of social memory display in suburban areas

Tribal ties and social memory are the foundations on which new relationships are built, in a new conjuncture, which brings with it the most dynamic complexity that human relationships can go through. The new reality was the constant challenge. During this period they had to adapt, change, however the line of preserving the memory of the homeland, preserving tribal ties, was present. Placement of houses based on kinship relationships, the causes of which are more complicated, the main activities of life such as: marriage, death, birth, etc., repeat these relationships on the part of the inhabitants. Preserving social memory serves as a shield for preserving identity. Memory in every activity of life. Memory is not simply individual, but collective, in the sense that people individually remember things based on cultural structures. In society, people usually acquire their memories (Halbwachs, 1980). In this regard, kinship, despite the complexity of the relationships it imposes, plays a fundamental role in the way in which relationships develop in the new place of residence.

The rules that derive from social memory may not necessarily be applied as they should because they are rules that are transmitted by word of mouth, unwritten, which have undergone internal changes over time, but are also adapted, negotiated, followed by their own users. Confronting residents with the complexity of society places them in front of a selective choice. Explain modern society in terms of its complexity, where the world is present in every moment as the difference between the actualized sense and the acceptable possibilities starting from this sense. The world is always present at the same time, while the form in which this thing happens is oriented towards a sequential, continuous process. Both in general differences and in the context of the difference that produces meaning, in the difference of actuality and power, the repetition of an operation has a double effect. On the one hand it produces and condenses identity: repetition is called repetition of the same. On the other hand, this occurs in a somewhat different context, at least later in the temporal plane (Luhmann, de Giorgi, 2016).

Also in our case it is clear that the preservation of social memory is not the main concern for the implementation of the rules themselves, but the preservation of the identity of the residents in the face of the complexity they have to face, therefore it remains the primary objective. Spaces filled with liquids are allowed, which when analyzed in detail are also contrary to the inherited rules, but apparently even the residents have had enough of this initial implication and are satisfied after the goal has been achieved. In our opinion they are selective, as they remain bound by the rules of the past in matters of ownership and inheritance, but they do not want these rules to extend to all the activity of life. The first who attracted the inhabitants to move to Kamza, wants to play the role of "father", or guardian of the memory of the common origin. With this he realized the *ius sangioniss* principle, creating the image of a common father and this belonging creates the community of brothers and sisters with blood ties (Bardhoshi, 2013). The application of the rules therefore links them to the past and automatically endows them with a certain identity, even in the new urban conditions in which they will live.

This identity assumes a special value in the face of individuality, impersonality, interests, civil life that this new urban reality offers. Memory also provides them with a shared vision of the future, a guide with pre-established rules for building it. Nathalie Clayer analyzes the structure of the tribal network in northern Albania: "In the north (and in some southern provinces, such as Labëri, southeast of Vlora), the house was only the first step in a segmental structure since the houses were linked to each other. Thus many houses of the previous divisions formed a neighborhood, that is, they lived in a village neighborhood and always respected exogamy and solidarity in case of revenge." (Clayer, 2012) In the camp it is understood that this type of settlement in the new settlement was attempted to be relocated, but not with the same hierarchy and geography of the country of birth. We see that the "minimal" were formed by several different siblings or relatives who attracted each other. Their life together is based on the precondition of even deeper social ties, of kinship or blood ties. The great patriarchal families, the tribes who have chosen to reunite in the new settlement, or the settlement according to the

neighborhoods we have talked about, are criticized. But in reality these movements are also realized as a reaction to the harsh economic, political and social reality of these years.

The patriarchal family has joined forces to face the economic challenge and the new settlement so, together with people with blood ties, it provides the social environment in which they can fulfill themselves and be protected by others, as they were no longer in their place of origin. Residents have often attracted each other to widen the network of famous people as much as possible. Having first called people with blood ties, they moved to the village, province or area level to expand this network as much as possible and this is reflected today in the connections that are created between the residents. He tends to get married between people from the same area. The strongest bonds between neighbors are those of families from the same areas. Cases of disasters which activate almost all residents in solidarity are an exception. This expansion of connections takes place in order to have relationships that are as secure as possible, so as not to risk coming into contact with people from other areas because they do not know their traditions, rules or lifestyle. I prefer not to have any surprises in the future. In the suburban areas, in almost all cases the father, or the head of the family who had taken the initiative to move the settlement, had in his preconceived notion how children, siblings or relatives would be placed within the purchased land. In the event that the father has three children, it is always calculated how they will be placed within that purchased good and it is always calculated that it will be divided into three parts. There are different cases, for example when there is not enough land, then the house would be built with three floors where each of the boys had a floor, designing the entrances on each floor to be as separate as possible from each other or in case there was enough land, each to have their own space to build the home in the future. The system of division of property by brother comes to mind, according to which brothers receive the assets equally, while sisters and other daughters in the family have no property rights over real estate, especially land and home (Clayer, 2012). The same logic was followed when two brothers separated from each other, but who decided to join in the new place of residence, equally share the land that their father has bought, respecting one of the very principles of importance of Albanian culture. customary law, but not limited to, the principle of equality. The preservation of blood ties continues even after the move. These relationships have changed in nature, giving individuals plenty of room to determine their own behaviors. The impact continues in more moderate ways. Identifying the links between them is easily distinguishable. There are the same elements in the construction, such as the same house models, the same colors used to paint the houses, the same courtyard gates, the same steam, identically designed gardens and so on.



Foto 3. The same house models. Year 2015

This way of arranging the houses is more evident to those who are brothers. This way of arranging the houses is more evident to those who are brothers. The application of one of the cardinal principles of Albanian canon law is thus easily distinguished: the principle of equality. It should be noted that in all the respondents who became Kamza residents after the 1990s,

there was no idea of moving to the city, in the truest sense of the word. They asked for land” to buy it, not to enter the villas. Another informant M. L, 67, from Puka explains: “I came here, because I have three children, I wanted to have land so when we built the house we would have a small courtyard in front. I have five brothers. Where I was born, in Gziq di Puka, there was only 900m of land left. “We had the house all up high and we were very close”.



Foto 4. Same gate models. Year 2015.

When our informant was asked what the relationships are between his siblings (children), he says that the boys get along very well with each other. They worked and everyone built their own house. They brought the money while the father took the lead role until they were separated. They also brought in the house project from England. The main gates are the same. It is impressive that in addition to the main doors leading to the street, they also have small communication doors between their houses. “Well, time flies, even if they are brothers, everyone has their own way, while my wife and I spend a night with the baby, because that’s how tradition likes it”. The family remains the guiding compass of the new inhabitants. They want to keep him strong and always find mechanisms that help his unity. This goal will presumably be very important in shaping new relationships both inside and outside the family.

Another important point is the overcoming that the residents make regarding the preservation of the paternal line in the new settlement. As discussed above, the cases in which the brother calls his sister to go together to Tirana, to live close together, testify to a strong rupture. The cases in which the groom could go to the woman’s village were more or less clear and concern specific situations, such as when the woman’s family did not have a child. This case too was treated with caution according to the preliminary negotiations between the parties as fundamental issues of succession and paternal identity or patrimonial issues remained. In our case it is neither a question of ownership nor a change in the patriarchal identity of the paternal line, but it is a completely new situation. An appeal that has a projection of coexistence between them, placing us in front of a situation that in the past could rarely be found in Albania.

Another way of viewing memory is by speaking in dialect. Language is born through the reuse of sounds, in the course of reuse it produces, on the one hand, the identity of words, thus condensing its own language identities; on the other hand, with the same operations it accepts these condensations in ever new states, generalizing them. This process of language formation leads to the differentiation of a self-attitude of the communication system and, furthermore, to a sequence of perceptions of the particular language-dependent consciousness. Language arises in a kind of self-fulfillment of prophecy, but implying here not the concept in the classical sense of Merton which does not refer to a simple problem of method of empirical social research, but

precisely to the constituents of society (Luhmann, De Giorgi, 2016). In almost all societies, people spontaneously acquire most of the elements, even the rules of non-verbal symbolic communication. This acquisition is generally slow and is associated with repetitive errors, especially in the early stages of people's socialization (Dervishi, 2008).

The use of jargon, of different dialects or of non-verbal communication, especially when the languages are completely different from each other, constitutes the hallmark of the subcultures between them and from society. They can therefore be used as a criterion for belonging to the group they belong to or to the territory from which they come. It is known that the dialects of the dialectal variants communicate with each other depending on the geographical distance and the possibility of contacts and communication. Therefore, areas such as Kukes, Dibra, Tropoja, Has, etc. and residents from these areas find it easier to identify with each other. But it is also known that the distance and the impossibility of communication create difficulties in understanding dialects, especially in the past, so much so that one can often create the idea that they are not the same language. The distance between houses and villages was an important factor influencing this process. There is often a misunderstanding about the standard language and its use. It can stabilize the national language as part of a state project, but it is not the mother tongue. The latter is the language learned by the mother, as the child is born using this dialect during daily communication. While mass education, through standard language, has managed to unite people and in a sense has become "popular". The elite, on the other hand, differentiate themselves by always learning a foreign language, which may be recognized internationally, but a language unknown to the people.

At the beginning of his arrival in Kamza, there was a certain linguistic inferiority on the part of the newcomers, especially among school students. It was not uncommon for them to be ridiculed and mistreated for this reason, but over time this has faded. It is noted that it is not a concern to change the dialect in terms of the standard literary language. On the streets of Kamza you can hear all the color of the dialects of the Albanian language. In primary and 9-year-old schools, during the long break it was observed that children speak in dialect. In high school some high school students we contacted see the dialect as a way to show the country where it comes from. One of them says, "I want to tell you that I am from Kuksi, and this is the only way to find out". The dialect is also widespread in the family. The dialects are believed to influence the psycho-cultural memory of the inhabitants.

Another way of showing the conservation of social memory among these inhabitants is also material culture, especially in its mobile form. This logic explains the connection with the place of birth, with tradition, the spiritual connection with the origin and blood of the ancestors, their influence in the present life and in their daily life. From the conversations and interviews in the field it is clear that, when people are ready to move towards the new settlement, they have had mobile objects of symbolic, historical or patrimonial value for the family. In the multitude of materials that were brought with them, those that were preserved with particular care were: the ancient folk costumes of the province or area; objects or objects used by grandparents; books such as: Kanuni, Bible or Koran; musical instruments, photographs, educational qualifications or decorations; coffee utensils, tobacco pipes, watches, safes or antique coins; handicrafts such as: carpets, tapestries; handicrafts such as: curtains, centerpieces, cushions, various ornaments, vases; various ornaments such as: rings, chains, necklaces, waist belts, etc. Only the extraordinary appreciation for them makes them shift their attention to these objects. In the conditions of extraordinary tension that the residents went through when it was time to prepare and lift the bags from the house where they previously lived, they were very careful to take these items. This testifies to the great spiritual value, the profound imprint, even a sort of trust that these objects give them for the future that awaits them. Bringing them with you meant bringing with you the identity, the faith, the given word, the pieces of the past, but also of the

future. One of the informants tells of having brought with him the tools of his grandfather's virility: the coffee grinder, the snuffbox, the pipe, the couplet. He did it out of respect, but also to preserve his good name, as well as to prove that he was a worthy heir.



Foto 5. Pipe, coffee grinder, brandy bottles, pair used in the areas of northern Albania. Year 2014.

The depth of experience if a “man” or “family” does not have them is very high. Through their possession, status and wisdom come to life, as drinking coffee and smoking give them the opportunity for long conversations, which should always have value and express the ingenuity of the interlocutors. They serve to realize symbolic and non-verbal communication in the socialization process. For example, sweet, medium or sugar-free coffee were at the same time signs of problem solving. In almost all societies, people spontaneously acquire most of the elements, the rules of non-verbal symbolic communication. This acquisition is generally slow and is associated with repetitive errors, especially in the early stages of people's socialization (Dervishi, 2008). The residents in the new place of residence have carefully preserved them, precisely to preserve their identity, dignity, knowledge, family status and origin.

“Guest room”, where the friend of the house is welcomed (Riza, 1983), the lit fireplace, the cup of coffee, the tobacco box, the bottle of brandy, are some elements that are considered in traditional Albanian culture signs of the state that he had a family. Even in the suburban area of Kamza these elements are important for the way the house will be composed. In almost all the houses visited as a result of this work, it was noticed that the “waiting room”, or “guest room” is particular, furnished in such a way as to adapt to the reception of friends, as the most beautiful and cared for the house. Thus, they also moved him here, perhaps leaving other rooms unfinished, sacrificing even more functional rooms, to traditionally offer comfort, respect, intimacy to his friend (because he will sleep there!), But in the meantime also a sort of separation from the rest of the family, both of children but also of women in cases where the friend is distant.

The traditional costumes, of the areas from which they come, are another way through which the identity, the origin, the origin of the inhabitants is preserved. He finds in Kamza families such clothes that are carefully guarded and worn by them during the holidays, mainly on the occasion of weddings and engagements, but also on other occasions of joy. In weddings that take place in Kamza, after the observations made it is almost common for the bride and groom to dress in traditional clothes, mainly women and girls, but it is noted that the bride and groom have transformed it into an important element of their wedding. Folk costumes become a symbol of identification and conservation of identity as they can define local identities, but also national ones and beyond. But unlike the nineteenth century, the national dress is not for

everyday use, but has a mainly festive and fun function (Thiesse, 2004), which is easily verifiable by the activities in which they are used.



Foto 6. Decorative details used in folk costumes from different provinces. 2014 year.

In Albanian culture the great variety of clothes in villages, cities or areas is known such as: fustanella, white plisi, dress with jhublet, etc., which have become a means of ethnic and national identification. From clothing you can understand where the wearer comes from. Even through clothing it is easy to distinguish the social status, the profession carried out, the religious or class affiliation of the person (Onuzi, 2008). The headdress is like an identity card for men and for women it is also worn when other parts of the traditional dress are changed. Wearing the veil and traditional clothing is almost common among older women, despite the pressures of the younger generations to get rid of it, creating clichés such as “take off your veil because we came to Tirana”, or in the case of older women who hold the key accompanied by the request “remove the key because we are in the field”. However, this generation has unequivocally resisted this pressure, making it clear that they don’t give up on tradition wherever they go. While in the second generation, which also coincides with the generation of 50-65-year-olds today who generally took care of the relocation initiative, there is an interesting development with regard to the conservation of these garments or the symbols that transmit them. This generation has experienced a constant dichotomy. They lived intensely both the period of communism and the rapid developments of democracy and being under the constant influence of both tradition which is mainly dictated by the previous generation, and modern developments. This pressure comes on the one hand from the “elderly” or from the “opinion” that judges them for not having preserved the tradition in clothing, on the other it comes from the new context of life. The influence of children who see wearing a veil or a scarf as a sign of backwardness. Like the workplace or the bazaar, public appearances impose a new fit on the dress.

This dichotomy is also reflected in the way they have adapted and simplified some of the folk costumes they use at certain times of the day and which are not typical of the tradition, but a symbolic element of those costumes. For example, HH 65, from Kukës, with a teaching profession and who practiced this profession in his hometown but also in Kamza, tells us that he dressed according to the rules of the time he went to work or for any other outside the house, but when he entered the house, he put his white handkerchief around his head, wore a long skirt with a simple apron in front, “may my father be happy”. This adaptation out of respect for the elderly creates a new tradition of preserving these elements, as it continues today to perform the same ritual even if the father-in-law (father) has been dead for 20 years, but at the same

time the time appears in a dignified way in his public life outside the home. All this vision, on the other hand, keeps the new generation in constant contact with the tradition, the dress, the way of using, the respect for this tradition and the elders who represent it, since the models of their parents influence the instillation of the spirit of appreciation. , as well as occasionally arousing the desire to use such clothes in case of joys, weddings, etc.

4. Neighbors and cousins

Between neighbors it is assumed in principle that there is no blood connection and practically this node takes the relationship to a completely different level. Neighborhood relations do not have mutually binding norms imposed by the network of tribal relations. Human relations should be selected on several levels according to the special binding ties that the communities of people in the family, tribe, village, etc. have (Bardhoshi, “Gurtë e Kufinit”, cited work, 2011). The perception that these areas are unique is wrong and the generalization of the problems fails to explain the reality. Therefore, field observation is necessary to obtain a clearer situation.

From the beginning, from the first one who settled in Kamza, it was thought about the possibility that even his brother, cousins or relatives with blood ties could be placed next to him. In one of the cases we took into analysis, the brother, uncle's three sons and sister with her family settled. Thus a neighborhood was created in which they were placed in a row one after the other. They agreed to leave the common road to get out on the main road. What stands out during the conversation with our informant IV, 67 years old, is that everyone, but mostly our informant who was the oldest in age and the initiator of this movement, had paid attention to decision-making on common things such as separation. clear of rights and obligations, because as he says: “It should not happen to us as in the village where we fought for a water line, for a path, for the border and things like that. “We are here in Tirana and things should not be left unclear to me”. Defining the common road with a width of 4-5 m, this to enable an easy passage of vehicles since houses would be built there so large cars would have easy access to the ground. It was decided that it would be laid together and with the completion of their plot there would be no further roads, so the road ends with the last house of the “neighborhood”, now their neighborhood. The reasons for this decision were clear: “We do not want anyone else to enter our homes”. It was decided to jointly invest in drinking water, electricity, paving the road, sewage, etc. Such neighborhoods where the road is closed only to residents with blood ties (as a closed border), in the area of Kamza are frequent.



Foto 7. Neighborhoods that close with the completion of the road. Bathore, year 2016.

New social spaces were created where blood relatives of the tribe physically shared the space, set the rules that would be followed to manage it, and this paved the way for completely

different behavior for everyone. They already had not only blood ties, but were also neighbors in a new place of residence and as such they had to behave by applying the new social norms. “Everyone in their home knows what he is doing, but we are together and we must all be responsible for what we have in common” - is the vision that should go on. This is how the future is conceived according to our informant. There were problems with the mentality being moved from the village to the city. Our informant I.V. 67 says, “The trap we fell into was that as we were, we came here. That we were the same people. Man does not change in a day, nor in a year, it takes time. As they say, we remove the farmer from the village, but we cannot take the village away from the farmer”.

There are neighborhoods in the area that have tribal ties and common origins and this is also reflected in the neighborhood names, such as: “Tropojans neighborhood”, “Kuksiani neighborhood”, “Gramshalinj neighborhood”, etc. This logic was followed in the suburbs of the main Albanian cities. This does not mean that settlement is such everywhere, but such definitions are a consequence of the initial settlement of the inhabitants, where the number of those with the same origin is emphasized and the people themselves took the determination effortlessly, taking the neighborhood as a reference. , based on the number of inhabitants of the same origin. It is worth noting that blood ties also overlap with provincial ones. However, within these neighborhoods there are many residents who have different origins and the fact that they are referred to as residents of a certain neighborhood does not bother them. For example, in the “Frutikultura” area there is a neighborhood that is called by the people as “Gramshalinj neighborhood”, because there is a group of houses with residents who come from this area. But around the neighborhood there are many houses that come from Dibra, Kukes, Burrel and yet this definition came naturally and was accepted by everyone.

The actualization of behaviors based on new conditions, dictated by circumstances and needs, breaking traditions and modifying norms and rules, takes place constantly with a frequent dynamism that changes the social situation of the moment very rapidly. In the context of the neighborhood, within the blood ties, a path has opened that young people are managing to break, so much so that a sort of isolation from them often takes place, removing all ties. Young people are no longer as close as they once were in the village, where apart from their cousins and the tribe there were no other alternatives to make friends. They love each other today, but the new opportunities that time brings them mean that they do not have primary relationships with relatives with blood ties. Television, internet, telephone and social networks where they spend a lot of time increase the possibility of new connections. The school on the other hand offers opportunities for acquaintance and friendship with other peers beyond blood ties.

5. Transition from neighborhood ties to blood ties (friendship)

Residents of peripheral areas do not constitute homogeneous social groups, neither from a cultural point of view, nor from a provincial or economic point of view (Fuga, 2004). Trying to investigate as much blood and kinship ties as possible, especially marriages that exclude exogamy outside the village, in case suburban areas meet it well enough, new friendships have been established that have been established between neighbors . They have no blood ties between them and nothing has prevented young people from having loving relationships with each other. In the new conditions, tradition reinvents itself (Hobsbawn & Ranger, 2014) according to the new social reality. The transition from the village to the city brings significant cultural changes. Urban society is based on contemporary culture, which occupies the main place in its life. The new elements of culture are numerous and assimilated relatively quickly by urban society (Muçaj, 2013).

“Making friends with a neighbor” is probably the most difficult experience that L. O. of Puka, 65, has experienced when she talks about the bond that her daughter had with the son of Kukës's neighbor. “I had nothing to do because they had done their part and I could not make any decisions, even if I did not want such a friendship. I anticipate the consequences that could derive and not the benefits that could derive from this friendship”. I’m not the one. behind the friend at the door, “he said. The story of the two already married is full of emotion when they show the sleepless nights spent for fear of being caught by family members, dancing on their respective balconies, passionate love between them. part of the company owned by the girl’s father, or friend-neighbor. Cases of this kind are frequent in Kamza, which seems a logical conclusion because, as has been argued, neighbors are not always blood-bound and relationships love affairs between young people can occur quite normally, but also due to the fact that the boundaries of the neighborhood are somewhat indefinite, they move according to the connections that are created, they can be up to At the end of the street, there may be two or three houses away, etc. Marriages that have a distance between new friends are a little more acceptable, and this is an expression of the general cosmology”.

These connections were initially rejected by the families because it was something far from their vision of the world but over time, faced with the happiness of the children, they accepted the connection, becoming aware of the fact that marriage could no longer be practiced in the new place of patrol residence. However, this does not mean that there were no areas within the village where marriage was practiced. The reasons for the initial refusal are also linked to the progress of neighborhood relations, conflicts or possible disagreements between the parties during the years of coexistence in a common neighborhood. Informant E. I, about 50 years old from Dibra, tells the moment when the boy had told her about the love he had for his neighbor, whose mother the lady in question did not like at all, even without knowing the boy's relationship. with the neighbor's daughter, they too had a verbal conflict, she confesses that in front of the fact she felt bad, she reacted harshly with the words: “No, it can’t happen to me, I can’t stand his mother when he crosses the street, so as not to come home to us every day. But, over time, he was forced to accept this connection. Today her son brought the bride home and the lady was forced to swallow everything that happened to the bride at the beginning when they were only neighbors, to welcome and respect her already as a friend of hers. It can be safely said that the overcoming of the ties of neighborhood to that of friendship is not well received by the family members of both sides. The refusal of such connections is conditioned by various factors, such as the origin, the relationship between families, the level of education, the trend of the new neighborhood, the geographical boundaries of the neighborhoods, but more important seems to be the fact that mixing the neighborhood with friendship can lead to conflicts in the future.

There are times when the logic of ancestry has been used individually by residents to name private properties, to bring a piece of homeland back to their new reality, such as the names of bars, restaurants or businesses as a whole. There are also instances where names are made in the context of the fraternity or tribe presentation to prove that they are a family business, but mostly to prove their family ties. Cases show that the bond of these inhabitants with the origin, with the place of birth, with relatives, with the surname is strong and this is done to glorify their origin. The name of the area is raised to elevate the country from which it comes (generally the name that best represents this area is chosen), and the name of the brotherhood or tribe to which it belongs and at the same time they undertake to preserve and represent it with dignity.



Foto 8. Name of a complex in Kamza. “Bar Kafe KANUNI” . Year 2018

It is worth dwelling on the contrast and contrast created by the name of this complex compared to the rest of the bars and streets of the city. It comes as a counterweight, in an unstoppable effort to keep identity alive. The tendency of these inhabitants to bring elements from the origin is a clear indication of the maintenance of ties with the place of birth, the origin, the tradition and the cosmology of kinship.

Leaving aside all these developments, the Albanian government has classified suburban areas built after 1990 as “informal”, drafting specific laws based on the legalization process inspired by Hernando de Soto. Referring to other countries, in response to poverty (De Soto, 2000) he proposed the legalization and certification of the properties of suburban residents, although these “shocking” claims of poverty reduction of urban residents are baseless (Payne, 2004) . However, this process officially started in 2006 and 2021 continues to be “in itinere”, without concretely verifying what the effect is, other than the well-known fact of political utility. There have also been libertarian approaches that seek a just and moral solution for landowners to benefit from the land and families they built to recognize building ownership (Kaprata, 2017). It should be noted that while these processes are vegetating, the city needs to be developed, the identity of the city (Lerner, 2016), its landmarks, its old and new history should not be neglected, in order to maintain a profile that makes one space of harmony and diversity. In any case, every project must put man at the center.

5. Conclusions

Today more than 50% of people in the world live in cities and urban studies, and especially studies on city life, are a must. Anthropology which has as its object "man" makes its contribution to urban studies even if it "entered the city late". After the fall of the eastern dictatorships, which had kept the population rigidly restricted by not allowing the settlement to move, a sudden demographic movement took place, orienting itself towards the big cities and their suburbs. The case of Albania is exemplified by the Kamza area which is only seven kilometers from the center of Tirana. The chaotic movement has been accompanied not only by problems of poverty, lack of more basic conditions and services, but also by cultural changes that travel with man.

In the new social context, kinship and blood relations are found in the constant pressure of a new model of life, qualitatively different from the country of origin. Cousins are neighbors and other neighbors are unknown. The patriarchal family maintains the axis of its functioning in structure and content. This family model and the solidarity within it have strongly influenced the challenge of the change of residence. Whole neighborhoods were created with residents having kinship ties to each other, as the settlement mechanism was precisely pulling each other

to their new place of residence. An important point is the preservation of identity by the arriving residents. This identity manifests itself in the vital activities they carry out. The social memory that the residents retain helps them to show this identity. The dialect spoken by the inhabitants as a sign of identity, but also as a field in which to express themselves more fully. The movable material culture, special objects that were important to the family and individuals were taken away, although the tension of preparing to leave the place of birth was high. Objects such as: traditional clothes of the area or province of origin, various musical instruments, inherited family objects, photographs, ancient books (religious or otherwise), etc. were brought with them and carefully preserved. Preserving them fanatically testifies to the link with the past and the preservation of their identity.

There has been a significant break in exogamous and patrilocal relationships as there are times when brother and sister already reside close to each other. On the other hand we have a break in friendly relations and there are cases of friendships created between neighbors which is a new manifestation of these relations, always bearing in mind the fact that among the Albanians the “exogamous village” dominates. We emphasize that most of these residents come from rural areas. Despite the fact that residents have lived on the outskirts of cities for three decades, they are treated as “illegal”, testifying to the tension in which they live. The legalization process that began in 2006 has not yet finished and the approaches, both for the treatment of the property and for the development of these areas, have not produced sustainable solutions.

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