Anomie and Honor in the Albanian Society

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Abstract: This paper aims at elaborating and understanding anomie and the code of honor in the Albanian family. During the last two decades, Albanians have experienced rapid changes, great turmoil and transitions from a communist, traditional ethnic-based society towards a new era of modern norms of a “western” society. Referring to Durkheim’s paradigm on anomie as the first leading cause to crime and deviance will go further by explaining that when people are living in anomic state due to rapid changes in transitional societies, a revival of old canonical, patriarchal norms is seen which controls and constructs human behavior. In the Albanian psycho-social system, the code of honor of Middle Ages is renewed, by influencing the level of crimes and homicides especially within the family members. We hypothesize that: “when ethnic-based family oriented societies face new rules and regulations, a deregulation of the social system and a disruption of family ties is displayed, hence a domain of anomie is created, a threat of collective conscience of the society, a state of being lost between past and future which influences people to be more prone to committing murder and crimes towards society, towards their families and towards themselves, committing suicide. The second hypotheses is that: the honor killings are nothing but a rudiment of the old patriarchal societies and an expression of the collision between the new imposed norms and old, well-established traditions.

Key words: anomie, culture of honor, deviance, blood feud.

1. Introduction

There is a rich domain of literature concerning anomie, conflict, deviance and crime. Since Durkheim (1897) and Merton (1957) wrote their well-known book “Suicide” and essay “The Social Structure and Anomie”, a good deal of work has been done in both elaborating the theories and trying to test them out (Rose, 1966). Most of the researchers have done so in a dichotomy point of view by portraying macro-sociological analyses such as: society and crime; culture and crime; anomie and crime; poverty and crime, honor and crime, etc. In this paper we will try to pinpoint at the Albanian family which in our view provides a specific case study to test Durkheim due to its historical past and present as a patriarchal and transitional society and its Balkans belongings. Hence we try to fill a gap between previous research and upcoming research in the Balkan family studies. Vandello and Cohen (2003) cited Antoun (1968), Campbell (1965), Peristiany (1965) et al. who studied different cultures in Mediterranean societies such as Italy, Greece, Spain and Arab cultures referring to the concept of ‘culture of honor’ and the concept of ‘culture of violence’ and its influence in domestic violence and gender roles.

After The Second World War, having a dilapidated infrastructure and poor economy, Albania embraced the totalitarian regime as most of the countries of Eastern Europe did, following in the steps of Russia, trying to build socialism and its ideological ideals. For almost half a century Albania was under one of the most rigid Stalinist regimes thus being the last one to resign from it in the ‘90-s. From that time on, it has been lagging behind other countries of Eastern Europe and experiencing a transitional period of rapid changes of political and economic instability, a wide range of cultural metamorphoses such as what is considered “family”, what is considered “deviance” and what is considered “law”, etc. All this turmoil has created a synergy of clash between old cultural traditional norms and new modern ones.

This co-existence with the past and the future, this clash of customary patriarchal laws and future inspirations of entering European Union, equipped the social arena with new rules, new regulations, new institutions, new lifestyles, new stratification of the society, new perception of what is good and what is bad, what is right and what is wrong, what is ugly and what is beautiful, what is legal and what illegal, what is old and what is new. As the majority of the people in the society experience a feeling of being lost, the only sphere to act and be present is the cell of the society, the family. As a result of this, during the last two decades there has been a growth in the number of homicides in the family, a revival of honor killings, crimes of passions, committing suicide, etc. The family is the only place when they feel safe, they are more prone to relinquish their stress and act against the feeling of being lost. Outside the family, everything is foreign and alienated.
2. What is Anomie?

Pescosolido & Georgianna (1989) stated that almost a century ago, Durkheim provided sociologists with a formidable conceptualization of anomie and crime. This view is also found in the work of Orru (1987) who thinks that the popularity of this concept is just a few decades old but its roots go back more than twenty five centuries ago. Although it is a very well known notion in sociology, criminology and psychology, anomie is easily defined etymologically but not semantically. Its origin is from Greek word anomia which means the absence of law. As stated in Orru(1987) such definition is so broad and when using instead its semantic definition, the meaning varies greatly throughout the literature reflecting specific concerns of different epochs and cultures. Anomie means Russellness in Euripides, anarchy in Plato, sin and wickedness in the Old Testament of the Bible, unrighteousness in Paul's letters and a human condition of instability in Durkheim(Orru,1987).

Although nowadays, Durkheim is mostly famous for his use of anomie, it was from the writings on anomie of the 19th century philosopher and sociologist Jean Marie Guyau developed in the book L'Irreligion de l'avenir published in 1887 and reviewed by Durkheim in the Revue philosophique the same year. Although Guyau lived only 33 years, he is considered as one of the most prominent of French philosophical critics who had an influence on Durkheim's work.

In recent years, both empirical and theoretical studies have focused on Durkheim's specific ideas without seriously considering how historical changes might have affected his general propositions and how this propositions might be translated to consider new social contexts (ibid). Although his core propositions of his theory were presented in "Suicide" (1951 [1897]), there are some authors like Rose(1996) who thinks that the first Durkheim who wrote: "The division of labor in Society", is not quite the same as the one who wrote "Suicide".

In the first book he refers to anomie as a breakdown of the regulatory mechanisms to which the term ‘normlessness’ might well refer(Rose, 1996, p.30). In the second book he describes anomie as a condition where either the ends outstrip the means as in prosperity or the ends remain the same and the means are severely restricted as in depression(Rose, 2006, p.32). In 1902 Durkheim writes: "If anomie is an evil it is above all because society suffers from it, being unable to live without cohesion or regularity. A moral or juridical regulation essentially expresses, then, the social needs that society alone can feel"(Orru 1987, pp. 107).

There are other scholars like DiCristina (2006) who think that Durkheim’s theory of homicide exists in a somewhat fragmented and incomplete state. In the “Suicide” he implies that the rate of social change can influence homicidal dispositions with anomie being the key intervening variable. Anyway, a connection between the rate of social change and anomie is proposed in both of his two major works. In “Suicide” he directly addressed the relationship between anomie and homicide (DiCristina 2004). He described anomie as a state in which people are unable to achieve their goals or satisfy their desires due to a rapid change which reduces the amount of interaction between people or various groups, thus it leads into a breakdown of norms and values.

In fact in “Suicide”, Durkheim (1951[1897]), referred to different sorts of anomie, such as domestic anomie, matrimonial anomie, economic anomie and sexual anomie. A couple of years later, the economic anomie was further developed and tested by different sociologists like Krohn (1978), Messner (1982) et al. Building on Durkheim paradigm, Krohn implied a positive relation between societal development and homicide. According to him, population, urbanity, industrialization and the division of labor create anomie, a state where men’s desires exceed his means to accomplish or satisfy them. This inability to satisfy desires fosters unhappiness, disappointment, anger or rage than can drive a person to commit suicide or homicide (Durkheim 1897). As cited in DiCristina (2004), anomie begets a state of irritated weariness which may turn against the person himself or against other persons, according to circumstances. When turning against himself the person commits suicide, when turning against the others, he /she commits homicide. DiCristina (2006, pp 74-75) states that the notion of Durkheim’s anomie (1951 [1897]: 357-9) could cause both suicide and homicide.

Although currents of anomie may flow through all societies, abrupt and substantial changes in a social system can generate high levels of anomie(DiCristina 2004). Such changes although can be good, can make the rules obsolete, especially in the periods of rapid social changes which can also bring an increase in homicidal dispositions (Durkheim 1951[1897]: pp.369). For Durkheim anomie is a condition where goals and aspirations are unrestrained, or deregulated, when the end of actions become contradictory, insignificant or unassessible; a condition of anomie arises when there is a general loss of orientation, when there are feelings of emptiness and apathy, in this sense anomie is conceived as a state of meaningless. Thus, individuals are more prone to commit crimes and become delinquent.

As cited in Agnew(1992, p.50), the classic strain theories of Merton(1938), Cohen(1955), Cloward and Ohlin (1960), focus on the negative relationships which prevent the individual from achieving valued goals. Especially, the low-class individuals experience a goal blockage in trying to achieve monetary success. Later, Agnew(1985) that strain may result not only from the failure to achieve valued goals, but also from the inability to escape legally from painful situations. In
other words, the theorist of strain theory believe that people are strained, are under pressure, are living under anomie in Durkheim’s words, when they experience a disjunction between aspirations and actual achievements.

For Merton(1997), anomie is an adequacy of means for the fulfillment of cultural goals or society’s sanctioned culturally goals. He conceived anomie not as much as an anomie of the individuals, but mostly as an anomie of the institutions. Anomie is a disjunction between goals and institutionalized means. That doesn’t mean that institutional norms or means don’t exist, they are present but they don’t guide the conduct of the people. Merton also conceived anomie as a state of normlessness of the means and the ends.

As cited in Cao et al., according to Merton anomie refers to ‘a lack of consensus on norms judged to be legitimate’(Merton, 1964). Merton (1938) argues that anomy is a unique characteristic of an open democratic society. In a closed society anomie is more rampant, because people know their place in the stratification system. A social democratic political system is thus the precondition for the growth of anomie. He also states that in every society and societal system there are two essential elements: cultural goals and institutional norms. Merton argued that anomie is socially induced. Latter research (Cao, Zhao, Ren, Solomon Zhao, 2009) demonstrated that people in societies with more social support should be less anomic because their fundamental needs are satisfied and they are not any under extreme pressure to achieve monetary success.

In other terms, in cultural level Merton emphasizes the lack of equilibrium between socially described means and ends of action. Anomy is caused by the imbalance that results when cultural goals are overemphasized at the expense of institutionalized means( Bernburg, 2002). Although Merton talked on anomie of the institutional level, it was Messner and Rosenfeld (1994, 1997) who established the Institutional-Anomie theory.

Edwin Sutherland (1939) argued that social disorganization is the basic cause of systematic criminal behaviors. Cultural conflict is a specific aspect of social disorganization. A cultural system can be disorganized in the sense that there are conflicts between values, norms and beliefs, within a widely shared, dominant culture (Jinger, 1960). Similarly in his paper Sellin (1938) argued that when we study a specific conduct it is important to think of culture conflict as a conflict of conduct norms, that such a conflict may arise as a process of group differentiation within a cultural system. There is a conjunction between cultural, social and legal norms during raped changes which may create a culture of conflict or in other words can create anomie.

3. Transition and Tradition

During the last two decades Albania faced tremendous political, socioeconomic and ideological changes. A culture of conflict or violence has developed in Albania because of the lack of the conjunction between legal, social and cultural norms and due to the rapid changes that happened in the legal, economic and social institutions. In such times of transitions, the institutions are not deeply rooted in “the collective conscience” of the individuals, and the social ties are weak. In this bipolar anomic system created by individual and institutional anomie, the social structure is very unstable and people try to find ways to survive or be successful by turning to delinquency. In some cases the legal norms of one group are extended over areas of the other groups by creating confusion and violating their legal, cultural norms (Sellin, 1938). Because of the changing of the political system and going from communism to democracy, Albanians were asked to embrace values and norms that were anathema for them just a few years ago. New economic and political norms and values trying to cope on the old, social ones, thus creating a wide array of challenges related to crime, law and justice (Pridemore & Kim 2007). As a result, a widespread corruption especially among the political elites has been growing, a growth of crime and homicide in the society in general and within the family in particular, a dramatic increase in interpersonal violence, a diminishing law and a growing “cult of the individual”, reflected in the revival of old Canon Medieval norms, which will refer below. In modern societies “the cult of the individual” characterizes the social relations and the moral values (Durkheim 1898).

4. Culture of honor

It is very important that when we study crime in a society we take into account the cultural system and the historical background. Culture is a crucial element in understanding a given society, especially the traditional ones where cultural goals (Durkheim, 1897) really matter. Attitudes, values and beliefs that are sometimes collectively referred as “culture” play an unquestioned role in human behavior and progress (Huntington and Harrison, 2000).

In most of western societies, crime or violence is seen as something illegal, illegitimate, as a law-breaking act, as an offence, as a corruptive act, as misconduct, as delinquency, as an offence against the law, as a violation of the law, etc. In a traditional society these conceptions are on the top of social structure but not rooted in the psycho-social mindsets of
the individuals. Their ethnic, religious and cultural identity bequeathed in their history, their folklore, their myths and traditions, is more important than other legal mechanism imposed externally on them.

All the nation-states of Balkans, which are basically all ethnic-based societies characterized by a strong nationalistic spirit form a perfect model of this framework. Looking back in history, these nation-states always fought for a bigger Albania, a bigger Serbia, a bigger Rumania, a bigger Macedon, etc. All the wars and the fights through the centuries create a colorful history, while ethnicity being a benchmark of it. These are ethnic based societies where the use of violence is usually seen as an archetype of social control. In all these societies, culture is a big issue, more than politics, more than economy, because through their culture they identify who they are. Their culture identity is strong, because they are all ethnic-based societies and when faced with new political norms or laws, the old well-established laws usually prevail, thus influencing some individuals to get lost between the past and the future, or to experience anomie, a prerequisite for crime and homicide.

Not just in the Balkans but in Middle East as well, and in other geographical entities where culture matters, where religious identity is strong and nationalism is in high levels, there have always been wars and acts of violence. Some sub-cultural groups are more prone to violence than others. Usually in these cultures, the rule of law is weak and norms that regulate behavior run deeper in the old traditional norms. This is true especially for ethnic based societies, where the clan, the family, the kinship is much more important than other social mechanisms. Further more, a code of honor is established which regulates and controls most of the spheres of social life.

When Nisbett (1993), referred to the South of the American society he stated that South is heir to a culture deriving ultimately form economic determinants in which violence is a natural and integral part. Herding predisposes people to a violent stance towards their fellows (Lowie, 1954; Peristiany, 1965). For this reason Southern society were to have retained aspects of culture of honor even in this century. Moritz (2008, pp.100-101) states that many varieties of the cultural complex of honor can be identified but thy have one element in common: the man should protect his honor. Honor usually refers to an individual's honesty or integrity. However, in honor cultures it mostly refers to a man's social status and is always related with the sexual relations or purity of his wife, his sister(s) or his female cousins. This is true, especially in some people of Mediterranean, Middle East, Arab and Turkish cultures where honor is the binary opposite of shame (Wikan, 1984). In such societies there are higher levels of honor killings, honor crimes or as they are known in some other cultures, crimes of passion.

What I argue about the culture of violence and code of honor, prevailing the culture of law, is totally different from what Nisbett calls “Culture of honor” of the Southern people in America. Honor in Albania, Turkey, Sudan, Arab, Brazil, Jordan, India, Pakistan, Egypt, Morocco, does not derive from herding societies or economic constructions. In these societies, honor is linked with women’s sexual purity and modesty, is linked with the family. For that reason, thousands of women are killed for family “honor” each year. In order for someone to put in place the honor, he has to kill, to revenge. Only blood can cleanse the shame (Durham, 1908). And the circle of violence and conflict includes not just tow people, but two families or two kinships. As a result, blood feuds by killing and taking blood in the name of “honor” can go on for generations. Such is the case of “honor killings” in Northern Albania, known as “Gege” culture.

The essential part of the cultural norms in Albania is promoted by its traditional customary laws. Almost four centuries ago, during Middle Ages, society was governed by a codex of six customary laws, also known as Canons: Canon of Skenderbeg, Canon of Leke Dukagjini, Canon of Luma, Canon of Puka, Canon of Laberia and Canon of Kruja. In the Medieval times these canons played a significant role in regulating all spheres of life, legal and social issues, such as marriage, the conflicts and the relation between men and women, etc. Although five of these canons diminished and are not existent any more, the Canon of Leke Dukagjini is still vivid and influential especially in the interrelations between men ad women, by posing their rights and their duties, by accessing of what is crime and what is family, by promoting the old patriarchal values in new family arrangements. Although it is easy to claim that societies in transitions have higher crime rates, no study so forth has focused on this triple framework: the rapid changes, the family crime and the role of patriarchal, cultural background. Albanian society provides a perfect example of these three paradigms.

First, a flood of foreign values, imposed by western socio-economic systems (Pridemore and Kim 2007), have eroded traditional norms leaving many Albanians culturally disoriented and socially disorganized and psychologically lost between past and future. As Polanyi (1947) and Pridemore and Kim (2007) state it, in such transitional conditions individuals co-exist with a pressing need for money as they try to cope with the rules of the new political economy and capitalist market. This occurs in a society where the individual aspirations and liberties are limited from above and where group oriented values run deeper then the beginning of the Third Millennium.

According to Messner and Rosenfeld (1997), there is an anomic cultural ethos in the nature of capitalist economy, and this is in the relation of the economic and non-economic context. Messner and Rosenfeld (ibid.) referred to the American society to describe this relationship. Nevertheless his is not the case in Albania. Because of its transitional and
traditional society, the economic system is not embedded or regulated by other social institutions. During half a century of the common market, being all similarly rich or similarly poor, showed that the social ties were strong and that there were no alienations of the individuals. People are under anomic state when they feel alienated, when they don't know where they belong. Because of the rapid changes and the free market economy laws have invaded all other spheres, the social, the public and the private ones. Thus the society fails to guide or regulate the behavior of its members by means of social norms (Bergenburg 2002). This condition where goals are deregulated or unrestrained was described by Durkheim as anomy. In a society where culture matters, where tradition, kinship ties are tight and canon norms are strong, a clash between them and western capitalist norms of market modernity is usually creating the anomic. This clash fosters homicide and murder not such in the society but within the family members as well.

5. The role of the Kanun of Leke Dukagjini

It is very interesting to realize some conception of how the others viewed Albania, especially the classic scholars. Here it is what Barnes (1918, p.13) was writing almost a century ago:

“The Albanians are descendants of the original inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula. Here they have succeeded through the centuries in maintaining their ancient language, their national customs and their virtual independence. No people of Europe have proved themselves more resistant to efforts of assimilation; and if in many ways they are still barbarians, it is because they have suffered the double disadvantage of forming part of a corrupt and stagnant Empire, cut off during the past five hundred years from all contact with progressive Europe and was never strong enough to subdue them”. Being part of the Ottoman Empire for five hundred years, being part of the First and the Second World War, being under one of the most rigid communist regimes for half a century and the last one to resign form it in the ’90-ies, it is a syntheses of how the past has defined the present, and how the lack of a real state is in a positive relation with the rebirth of anomie.

The practice of the codex of Lek Dukagjini goes back from 2000-3000 years ago, possibly to the Illyrian origin (Durham, 1908). The etymology of the word “Kanun” derives from the Sumerian word “gi rohr”, to the Hebrew word “kane rohr”, and then to the Greek word “kanna rohr”, meaning: principle, standard, or rule. The kanun of Lek Dukagjini was a bunch of oral laws, orally generated from one generation to the other and formalized by Lek Dukagjini in the 15th century. Dukagjini(1410-1481) was one of the princes of Northern Albania and best friend of Skanderbeg, Albanian biggest national hero who fought against Turkish empire for 25 years and restricted them from crossing into the western part of Europe. The book was not published until 1933, when a catholic priest from Kosovo, Shtjefen Gjecovi put it together. This canon law is derived in 1263 paragraphs and of 12 sections like: family, church, honor, marriage, etc.

Right after being destroyed from the Second World War, Albania embraced one of the most rigid regime of communism for 50 years, during which the role of the Kanun was attacked form the communist party and the dictator. After the communism fell in the ’90-ies, during these two decades of a hybrid and transitory democracy, there has been a revival of the Kanun especially for those who live in the Northern part of Albania, also known as ‘Gëqe’ culture. This kanun has prevailed many times one the contemporary, constitutional, national and European laws by displaying itself as a threat towards the collective sentiments creating an anomic state, because people get lost in the clash between old traditional canonical rules and the new, modern ones. There are two main influences that can better show the impact of this canon in the anomy and the murder within the Albanian families: honor killings and blood feud.

6. Honor killings and blood feuds

Hundreds if not thousands of women are murdered by their families each year in the name of “family honor”. In countries where Islam is practiced, they are called “honor killings” like in Pakistan, Turkey, Jordan, Uganda, Egypt, Bangladesh, Iran, etc. But the practice goes across cultures and beyond religions. In Albania, honor killings and blood feud form a very complex situation. According to the Kanun of Lek, the woman has not the same rights as the man; “The man has the right to kill his wife, beat her up or cut her hair and drive her with a whip through the village (Gjecovi, 1933)”. A woman is known as a “sack, made to endure as long as she lives in her husband’s home. If she is caught in adultery, she is killed with the bullet given by her father when she gets married (Gjecovi, 1933)”. One of the most basic sections of the kanun is the one that talks about the code of honor. One can not understand crime or honor killings if he can't understand the importance of “honor” in that culture. Anthropologists tell us that culture really matters, and if we study the high-context cultures, it is true that honor matters also. In order to understand a custom, one has to see it through native eyes(Durham 1908). In some cultures like in Middle East, Japan and Albania as well, honor is
Above everything, above law and above state, honor is better than life. For this reason its moral importance surpasses generations and borders. Blood feud also known as Vendetta, is still alive in Albanian families, especially in Northern part of it and in Kosovo. It is a fight between two families, two clans and can go on for many generations. It is also important to realize that Albania is not the only country who had/has this canon still going on. It is usually an element of weak states and strong ethnic-societies. This Canon is most widely known for the predominance of blood feud and vendetta as its intrinsic principles. As it will be demonstrated in this paper, the rules on blood feud form only a very small part of the Cannon and not its core, as is often erroneously believed. The Kanun also allows for the possibility of the blood being redeemed. Until early modern period (1500 -1800), feuds were considered legitimate legal instruments. In Japan's feudal past, the Samurai class upheld the honor of their family, clan, or their lord by revenge killings. During the Middle Ages, it flourished in many cultures and countries like in: Chinese culture, Scotland, Ireland, Caucasian and other traditional societies (Lamanna, 2008). Nowadays, blood feud is still strong in Montenegro knows as “krvna Osveta”, meaning blood revenge. In southern Sicily, Calabria, Sardinia, Kurdish clans in Iraq and Turkey, among Pashtuns in Afghanistan, in Southern Ethiopia, in areas of Georgia and Azerbaijan, in Isles of Crete and Mani in Greece, among Arab Bedouins, in Philippines, etc.

Blood feud is existent in societies with weak rule of law, and mostly where family and kinship ties are the main rule of authority. The concept of family and kinship ties is essential in Durkheim’s work. He characterized family as a social institution and he in a way or another rejected the biological and the psychological explanation of the family in vogue among his contemporaries (Lamanna, 2002). He pointed out that the family is a moral, not simply a biological association. Durkheim also insisted in the nature of marriage as a social, not biological based institution. Kinship is a social bond or is nothing(Durkheim 1989, p.318). For Durkheim (1898) “the clan is the family par excellence”.

Durkheim saw the clan as an abstract type. Clans were organized around totems or around mystical principles that also symbolized society and its origins (Lamanna, 2002). There were certain rights and duties of clan members such as the right to share in clan patrimony, the right to share in religion, the right to share in the mourning process, the right and duty of vengeance and diverse other obligations (ibid). Clan members were both kinsmen and fellow citizens and society was communal and egalitarian. Kinship was reckoned collectively although blood kin might recognize each-other in de facto social relations.

What Durkheim was talking about clan family is exactly of what family system developed in Albania in Middle Ages and even latter. This clan type family or tribal system has been rewarded a century ago in the writings of the well known British anthropologist Edit Durham who lived for a couple of months in the northern mountains and villages of Albanian and asserted that: “Albania is the only spot in Europe in which the tribal system has been reserved up to date(Durham 1908)”. As Durham (1908) points “The ancient Illyrian tribes and the nowadays Albanians believe that they were the oldest thing in the Balkan Peninsula, there was no Slav, Greek, Turk or Roman before him”. What Durham saw in the villages of Northern Albania by describing them as “aborigine inhabitants” is what Durkheim saw when he studied the religious beliefs and practices of the aboriginal populations of Australia.

Durkheim also referred to Chinese patriarchal family as well as Jewish and Roman patriarchal families (Lamanna, 2008). There is an interesting parallel between the 15th century Albanian legal code and the 17th century code of the Chinese Hung Mun known as Triad Society. If we have a closer look at these families we can see parallels between Albanian patriarchal family and the Chinese patriarchal family, between the Kanun of leke Dukagjini and the Chinese triads, especially referring to blood feud and revenge.

The Albanian patriarchal family we talk about today is the later form that emerged from the clan family. The family existed by that time as a communal entity made of sixty or seventy people, all living under the same roof. By that time, a tribe consisted of one or more “bajrake”, a group of men who fight under the same standard. In this tribal and clan family the norms and kinship ties are very strong. As she saw and lived with those bajraks, Durham believed that she visited the land of the living past.

The Kanun is also often known as the Law of the Mountains. In the Northern part of Albania and Kosovo, known as Gege culture is more fanatic and serious, while more subtle in the Southern Albania. The Kanun being 500 years old, has prevailed many times on the contemporary constitutional and European laws. It is stronger than any other law.

Blood feud is prone to any conflict that can happen between two persons. If one of them is killed, than the other one has to “pay back” his blood. In most of the cases, not just the life of the aggressor is risking but the life of his family as well, his brothers, his male relatives and so on. That means that the circle of violence becomes bigger and wider. In the Kanun of Leke Dukagjini, it is sanctioned how to revenge and behave if someone kills someone else. Originally it was meant to stop people from killing each-other and solve their conflict, but the history shows that unfortunately it serves with an opposite effect.
Women, however, according to these ancient rules, are considered to be of a lower social status: they do not share either the rights and privileges or the responsibilities of men. The role of women in the Kanun is very shadowed and weak. This is also impacted in the mentality of men and how they behave towards women. This perception of the women has totally influenced the way men view their mates, as objects, as beings that should submit to their husbands in everything and anytime. This old mentality, is in clash with new lifestyles, new patterns of behavior, new norms. An anomic situation is created and therefore an increase in the violence and crime against women. The numbers given by the police are higher every day as crime within the family and due to honor killing and blood feuds also increase. To illustrate this lets look at the results of National Reconciliation committee and Freedom House report of 2011;

- From 1990-2009 = 5603 murders recorded by the police
- From 1990-2009 = 1072 family reconciled (murder cases)
- From 1990-2009 = 9788 families in enmity (murders, property)
- From 1990-2009 = 3653 families reconciled for property conflicts.
- There are about 2000 children are self-isolated, not going to school or being educated because of the fear of being killed.
- There are an estimated 2,800 Albanian families living in self-imposed isolation, trying to avoid becoming victims of blood vengeance.

The transition from communism to democracy in Albania has proved challenging as governments have had to deal with high unemployment, widespread corruption, a dilapidated physical infrastructure, powerful organized crime networks and combative political opponents. There has been a weakening of the state power and the law authority, which leaves space for the old canon norms to be applied. The transition from totalitarian rule to democracy has been associated with rapid changes in social, economic and political arenas by threatened by the transition and the growth of corruption and the increase of crimes within the family.

7. Conclusion

The state of anomie happens when people go through social, economic and political turmoil, basically through transitional periods of society. Many of the researchers have tried to understand what is anomie by studying it in a dichotomy point of view by portraying macro-sociological analyses such as: society and crime; culture and crime; anomie and crime; poverty and crime; honor and crime; etc. In such social structures, people face new ways of live, new values and new norms which usually create a clash of synergy between the past, well established norms and the new, modern ones. Although it was a century ago when Durkheim provided sociologists with a formidable conceptualization of anomie and crime, other thinkers such as Orru(1987) think that its roots go back more than twenty five centuries ago.

Many studies of criminologists and sociologists (Rose 1966; Merton 1997; Harris 2002; Konty 2005 et al.) show that whenever there is social disruption or social deregulation in a society, the level of homicide and delinquency tends to grow. A feeling of being lost, of being apart or alienated from the rest of the society is conceived as a state of anomic behavior which further enables the delinquent individual to commit crime or suicide. When we study the anomie and crime in Albanian families, we see that some sub-cultural groups are more prone to violence than others. Usually in such cultures, the rule of law is weak and norms that regulate behavior run deeper in the old traditional norms. In the case of Albania we argue that as a result, there is a revival of old Medieval canonical norms, that controls the social behavior. It is above any other law, it is what men live and die for.

References
