

Outside the Walls of Albanian Patriarchy

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Abstract: The article “Outside the walls of Albanian patriarchy” is about women’s situation in Albania during and after the Second World War. The goal of this article is to share the Albanian experience as a former communist country, related with gender equality, and to give a short summary of the situation of Albanian women before the Second World War. This topic was selected because the author would like to share general information about the communism propaganda machine related with the re-evaluation of its position in the new revolutionary society. The structure of this article is designed to show you a ‘during and after’ WW II “panorama”. Its structure has two sections: 1. The women who fought against fascism and taboos; 2. The women who work and gave their contribution to rebuild the country after the war and live happily in the new socialist society, with the same rights as men, without prejudices. Concerning methodology, this is a historic perspective article and the comparative method was used. The facts that are mentioned were gathered from secondary sources: newspapers and books, photos and movie trailers’. This social phenomenon is very interesting because it explores the Albanian experience during communism era.

Keywords: taboo, patriarchy, convention, illiteracy, women’s rights.

Introduction

“Outside the walls of Albanian patriarchy” is an article inspired from the women's struggle throughout the path of freedom. It’s very difficult to be a woman in a country like Albania, a country in which being a man is a 24/7 job. Mixing the country’s history with the typical Balkan mentality, Albania became/is a harsh place for women. Wars, Ottoman Empire occupation, Kanun¹, bigotry, religions, the educational level, etc. are all part of this great mosaic that didn’t let the Albanian women get out of this ‘patriarchy box’. For more than 500 years Albania was under Ottoman Empire occupation. It inherited a lot of traditions from Ottoman culture including

¹ Kanun is a code of conduct used in different part of Albania.



religion, words, traditions, architecture, etc. There is no specific research regarding women's position in this period due to the difficulties in the translation of the documents from the old Ottoman language and to the long period of time that this invasion lasted. But anyway, the reality in which Albanian society was during that period did not leave much hope for a good development regarding this topic. The economic position of the Albanian women during the Ottoman invasion was difficult for a lot of reasons. I can mention here the participation of men in wars for a long time far away from home, domestic work as their main job, etc. Another negative phenomenon in relation to women, which has been evident since the end of the 20th century is the giving of infant girls as a maid to rich families for ridiculous amounts of money.²

Lord Byron described his impressions and experiences of his travel to the Near East in "The Pilgrimage of Child Harold" (1812). Among all the praiseworthy compliments for the beauty of Albanian women he described them as "tamed in their cave" - a figure that hardly suits with the soft feminine nature. Anyway, whatever the "cave" or "cage", "softened" or "learned" translation, it can't hide the great truth of the Albanian women's position at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which semantically transmits these two words. About 80 years later, Faik Konica argued in the pages of the newspaper "Albania" that Albanian society would not move forward if half of it - our wives, mothers and sisters continued to be illiterate.³

The Kanun was another reason. It is a set of traditional Albanian laws, a code of conduct used in different parts of Albania (the most famous one is the Kanun of Lek used in the Northern part of Albania). This unwritten 'Constitution' has some specific laws for family and especially for women and girls. According to it, women had no rights over their children. Women's relation with them was just a moral relation. The father was responsible for the children's future. Inheritance issues are also described in the marriage section and according to the Kanun, only the sons are recognized as heirs and not the daughters⁴. They didn't have the right to complain about domestic and sexual violence from their husbands. Even the brides' parents didn't have the right to complain about the domestic violence of their sons-in-law. The Kanun also states that a young woman cannot

² Gruaja shqiptare në trashëgiminë kulturore, "evolucioni i shoqërisë" .29 SHTATOR 2015, accessed at 02.01.2018 <http://www.botasot.info/kultura/459757/gruaja-shqiptare-ne-trashegimine-kulturore-evolucion-i-shoqerise>.

³ 'Roli dhe mënyra sesi trajtoheshin gratë shqiptare në kohën e sundimit osman' 15/05/2016, accessed 02.04.2018 <http://www.javanews.al/roli-dhe-menyra-sesi-trajtoheshin-grate-shqiptare-ne-kohen-e-sundimit-osman/>

⁴ 'Kanuni i Lek Dugagjinit' Article 20 .(Tirane, Falkon) 2013.34.

choose her own husband: “she must go to the man to whom she has been betrothed”, etc.⁵ The wife should be under the husband's rule.⁶

The Second World War, together with totalitarianism, brought with it the opportunity for the Albanian women to take their fate into their hands. They were not fighting only against fascism but even against taboos⁷. Their sacrifices and their engagement helped them to change and to consolidate their position in the Albanian society and to earn an important place in the history of the National Liberation War.

After the War, they played an important role in the reconstruction of the country, state-building and political structures and took an important role in the Albanian society. The communist regime built an amazing propaganda machine and put it to the service of its regime. Gender equality and women’s rights became an important issue of state policy, communist ideology, and the foundation of the new socialist society.

1. The effort for the emancipation of the Albanian women and their participation in the national-liberation war against fascism.

In 1943, the head of the British military mission, General Edmond Davis, felt surprised by this sudden women’s engagement in the War: the partisan women who ruled and commanded, the women who fought in the same way as men and fell on the front line, who suffered in the fascist prisons and did not escape from torture and death. All this was a sign that the Albanian society and the old mentality would change. He said this was a miracle that happened for the first time in Albania⁸.

But prior to talking about that, efforts to change the Albanian society and mentality had started. Since this period is not the focus of this article and since the author is aware of the fact that this period needs to be treated in another research project, I will include here only some facts to create a simple framework of the efforts taken before the Italian military occupation in April 7th, 1939.

Urani Rumbo, a teacher and a female activist, founded ‘The league of Women’ on November 23, 1920, in Gjirokaster (a city in south part of Albania). In the period of the democratic movement

⁵ Idem, Article 31,.47.

⁶ Idem, Article 13...26.

⁷ Author's note.

⁸ Xhufi, Pellumb. “Gruaja në luftë, një mrekulli shqiptare”! 2.11. 2014. Accessed 21.10.2017, <http://gazeta-shqip.com/lajme/2014/11/02/gruaja-ne-lufte-nje-mrekulli-shqiptare>.

in Albania from 1921 to 1924, Rumbo published articles on problems faced by Albanian women, especially in the educational preparation in local newspapers Demokratia (Democracy) and Drita (The light). In the same period, she developed training courses for women in tailoring, embroidering, agriculture, music and gardening. She also wrote and directed theater plays and organized schools for theater performances to encourage girls to participate in public life. On July 25, 1924 she founded another feminist organization called 'Improvement'. The main goal of this organization was to educate women of different social status in domestic professions.⁹

Even the Albanian government tried to follow a European model of governance based on Western European countries, especially the Italian and British examples. Ahmet Zogu after returning to power in 1925 and after transforming the Albanian governance system into a kingdom in 1928¹⁰ (Zog 1st, King of the Albanians) tried to follow the European model, although large parts of Albania still maintained a social structure unchanged from the days of Ottoman's rule, and most villages were run by the Beys¹¹. Part of his reforms of democratization, modernization and separation from Ottoman orientalism was abolishing the Islamic law and adopting the Civil Code in 1929. The Adoption of The Civil Code was one of the most important achievement during the reign of Zog 1st because for the first time, the family relations were settled on a legal basis. The marriage contract was approved and the regulation of property relations between spouses and other family relationships were made on a legal basis rather than by the custom or the religion of spouses.

In practice it was very difficult to implement it, especially when the influence of the canonical rules and religious norms was too powerful and long. Anyway, taking into consideration the social position of women, marriage according to state law and not according to religion was a huge step for Albanian government and society¹². In 1929 a women's organization called 'Albanian Women' was founded in Tirana and supported by her highness, the Queen Mother. This organization was directed by Princes Sanije Zogu, who was at the same time the director of the Red Cross of Albania.¹³ Despite the adoption of the civil code, King Zog 1st didn't stop with his efforts to modernize the country. In 1937 the Albanian Parliament approved a law for all those women who

⁹ 'Urani Rumbo, Fighter for women's emancipation'. July 31,2016. Accessed 19.10.2017. <http://www.gentlewomen.al/2016/07/31/urani-rumbo-fighter-for-womens-emancipation/>

¹⁰ Fisher J. Bernd. 'King Zog and the struggle for stability in Albania' (Tirane. Cabej), 2004.25.

¹¹ Bey: the governor of a district or province in the Ottoman Empire formerly used in Turkey and Egypt as a courtesy title.

¹² 'Kodi Civil' 31.09.2009. Accessed 12.10.2017.

<http://www.arkivalajmeve.com/Kodi-Civil-i-Mbreterise-ja-si-u-hartua-mbi-Kodin-Civil-te-Napolonit.185113/>

¹³ Statusi i Shoqnis' Gruaja Shqiptare'. (Tirane:Dielli).1929, 1.

used burka and all those who encouraged and forced them to use it had to pay a fine of 500 gold francs.¹⁴

A campaign started with the initiative of his Sisters, The Princesses, in Shkodra, to raise awareness in the community and to tell the community of Shkodra that the new law would not damage their women's honour. Three princesses were dressed in tight skirts, furry coats, escorted by a military army and pursued at every step by photographers. This one-week visit paralyzed almost every activity in Shkodra. They went in a demonstrative way in the schools, hospitals and markets, visited the church and the mosque and participated in events organized in their honor.¹⁵(photo)



On April 7th, 1939 according to Mussolini's plans to control the Mediterranean, the Italian army started an invasion against the Albanian territory. This act caused a huge reaction among Albanians and especially among the young generation. The Albanian students started to organize in groups of activists against Fascism. They participated in rallies, actions, demonstrations, etc. After the creation of the Albanian Communist Party in 1941, it was decided that women should

¹⁴ "Ligji I parlamentit Shqiptare me mars 1937".07.07.2017. Accessed October 19, 2017. <https://www.barazia.com/2017/07/07/ligji-zogut-qe-u-miratua-ne-parlament-ne-mars-1937-denonte-cdo-grua-qe-mbulonte-fytyren/>

¹⁵ Idem.

actively involve in the Antifascist National Liberation War. The communists knew that Albanian women were a great power and this power and their energy should be used for the common cause. At the beginning, it was very difficult to work with them due to their educational level and their experience in political issues. But step by step and with patience, the organization of Albanian women began to consolidate. After a lot of actions organized by activist women, high school female students (I can mention here the demonstration of the students of the women's institute in Tirana against fascist culture)¹⁶, small groups of communist women, participation in rallies, demonstrations, it was time to create a new level of their organization. At the first anti-fascist national liberation conference, held in Peza (near Tirana, on September 12, 1942) a delegation of women was invited to participate. Since then, women have become an important part of conferences and participated in decision-making processes. In 1943, Councils of anti-fascist women were created in Tirana. Shkodra, Durrresi, Gjerokaster, Elbasan, Fier.¹⁷ Part of these councils were women from different professional, economic and educational level, coming from cities or villages. Even other political organizations tried to create something similar to this (for example, the "Nationalist" created an organization called "The organization of Albanian women", but the difference was that the members of this organization were only women of the chairmen of this organization).

A women's delegation participated at the II national-liberation conference, organized in Labinot (near Elbasan, September 4, 1943). One of the main decisions, among others, was the creation of The Union of the Albanian Anti-Fascist Woman (alb: Bashkimi I gruas antifashiste shqiptare, BGASH).¹⁸

At the Permet Congress, organized in May 24, 1944, for the first time in their lives Albanian women had the chance to vote and to be selected while at the second meeting of the National Liberation Council organized in Berat (October 22-23,1944) the position of women and men became equal at all levels of political participation. ('Rights of citizens '. This declaration proclaimed political and social equality between men and women.). This led to the main event of their political organization 'The 1st Congress of anti-fascist women' organized in December 4th,

¹⁶ 'Albanian women, in national liberation war'. (Tirane:8 Nentori). 1975 , 75-79.

¹⁷ Albanian women, in national liberation war'...49.

¹⁸ 'The first congress of the Albanian antifascist women''. (Tirane: 8Nentori). 1945.3 49.

1944, when 311 women from all the country participated in this Congress¹⁹. (The regime dedicated a movie for this event, produced in 1982. ‘Rruga e Lirise’, trans: ‘The way of freedom’).

Women’s involvement in the front line of the war had a lot of difficulties and obstacles. As I mentioned before, the Albanian women didn’t fight only against fascism but even against taboos and prejudices. Their participation in the war brought a lot of confusion among male activists and soldiers. At the beginning, women weren’t allowed to participate directly in first hand actions. Their main duties were just to support logistically the actions and the other member of the groups. In the army there were a lot of soldiers who didn’t want to ‘put their lives in women’s hands’ and to put them in the first line of warfare²⁰. They thought that women weren’t able to stand long marches, to carry ammunition with them, or to shot on target. Some of these skeptics believed that probably solders were going to die, not form the enemies’ bullets but from women’s guns. Also, conservative members thought that women were not able to support enemies’ tortures in prisons and the war conspiracy would be in great danger because of them.

Based on all these stereotypes, the first duties of the women at the organized armed formations were to serve in hospitals as nurses, to teach and to educate, do the laundry, cook, etc. Even enemies’ propaganda, religions reactions, people’s mentality, their parents also, stated to work against women’s cause. It was very strange for that period that a girl who until a day before couldn't get out of her home without her parents’ permission or even to talk with unknown men, today she fights by their side and away from her home and parental control. These things gave to old mentality people the chance to define as immoral their staying in mountains.

But despite all this, with a great determination and strong will, women started to win this battle against taboos. They proved that they deserved to be treated in the same way and with the same respect as men. Step by step women started to participate directly in important actions with guerilla units, and to organize important meetings in illegality and full conspiracy. They were able to protect secret bases in cities and to deal with enemies’ secret services. Women with an impressive educational level and a good political knowledge started to work in hot spot regions, to lead groups and to give orders. As we mentioned before, some of them were selected as delegates in councils and played an important role in decision making. About 6,000 women and girls participated in the

¹⁹ ‘The first congress of the Albanian antifascist women’ 3.

²⁰ Albanian women, in national liberation war’...80.

National Liberation Army in the first line of the warfare and more than 500 women became martyrs for their and Albanian freedom.^{21, 22}

"If women don't understand the Party's philosophy regarding their participation in the war, this will not be a real liberation war. We gave great importance to this issue because without the resolution of this issue, women would become a major obstacle to the development of the war, because they would have nothing else to say to their husbands or their children, but only "Where are you going", "Why do you leave us alone?", "They'll kill you," "Don't go to war," "Look your own business ," "What benefits will this war bring for us ?!" "Etc. ".²³

2. Albania after liberation, a test for women and Albanian society

The war caused a lot of infrastructural damage and the economy collapsed. Moreover, Albania was the only country in Europe without a university, a railway system and without electricity. So, the main duties of the new government were to rebuild the country after the war and to lay the foundations for the New Socialist Albania. At the same time, the creation of a new man was also required. "No one can say to himself that he is free, without fighting for the freedom of others and first of all for the freedom of the Albanian woman" said Enver Hoxha.²⁴

The period after the war required another type of heroine. Women had to prove that their role and their position was fundamental for the society. In public there appeared the image of the woman who participated in the reconstruction of the country, the image of women who take initiative for new entrepreneurships (not private entrepreneurships), the image of women that work together with men, etc.

For the first time in their life, women had the right to vote in the general elections in December 1945. They had the right to elect and to be elected in institutional positions of the new government. Three women were selected to be part of The National Assembly, which gathered in January 10,

²¹ Tirana observer . 'Gratë dëshmore/Lista e 596 partizaneve që morën pjesë në luftë'.08.12.2013. accessed 20.10.2017.<http://www.tiranaobserver.al/grate-deshmorelista-e-596-partizaneve-qe-moren-pjese-ne-lufte/>

²² Author's note: The number of martyrs in WW II in Albania is still unknown due to the manipulation of the history of the communist government. Officially Albania has 28,000 martyrs, 1 for each km².

²³ Hoxha , Enver . "Grate komuniste nderkombetare ." July 19, 2017. Accessed October 20, 2017. http://ciml.250x.com/cwish/cwish_albanian.html.

²⁴ "Gruaja shqiptare dhe socializmi fitimtare (trans: eng. Albanian woman and victorious socialism)." Ylli, 1984, 1-3.

1946. “Yugoslavia”, (Yugoslavia was the first strategic ally of Albania after the war) newspaper mentioned this historical event for democracy and for women in one of its articles in 1945.²⁵

*Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.*²⁶ This is a weapon that unfortunately women didn’t have in those days. More than 90% of the women coming from cities and more than 94% of the women and girls coming from rural parts of Albania were illiterate. They didn’t even know how to write their own names. 0% had attended a professional school and in Albania there were only 2-3 women doctors and nurses and very few teachers. No one worked as an engineer or in the legal sector.

The Albanian government mobilized to change this situation. National courses against illiteracy started with government support. These courses were created on a voluntary basis and free of charge. According to ‘Bashkimi’ magazine in February 1946, more than 1925 women were doing courses against illiteracy. 376 of them were from Vlora and 28 were from Kurvelesh. Even women from Shkodra became part of these courses and gave a strong response to their community prejudices.²⁷ The next phase of the government plan was establishing vocational schools. 100 women were part of a nursing school organized in Tirana and another school organized in Kavaja gathered women coming from Vlora, Elbasani, Korca, Gjerokastrë, Durrës, Berat, Tirana districts, and trained them in bee-keeping, hygiene, economics, silk processing etc.²⁸ By 1955, illiteracy had been eradicated among all women (and men) under the age of 40 and, in the 1980s, half of Albania’s university students were female.²⁹ The communist party’s message was that women should be educated and prepared for the new homeland assignments. Only by being educated, they could free themselves from the ‘old mentality chain’ and give a huge contribution to the construction of the new socialist society. *Socialism would not exist without revolutionary women.*³⁰

In an interview for Radio Tirana, Liri Gega presented the achievements of the Albanian women against their “new war”. Among other things, she underlined their contribution to strengthening domestic economy (wool processing, shrimp in agriculture, implementing agrarian

²⁵ ‘Mbi gruan Shqiptare’. Bashkimi, Tirane , e diele Nentor 9 1945, 293 , 1.

²⁶ Nelson Mandela.

²⁷ ‘Gruaja Shqiptare’. Bashkimi, Tirane Mars , 3, 1946, 293, 6.

²⁸ ‘Artikull mbi gruan shqiptare’ .Bashkimi, Tirane ,5.3.1946, 2.

²⁹ Ulf Brunnbauer. “From equality without democracy to democracy without equality? Women and transition in southeast Europe. From equality without democracy to democracy without equality? Women and transition in southeast Europe. 2018. pp152.

³⁰ Hoxha, Enver. taken from conversation with a group of women, October 16, 1973.

reform), their contribution as volunteers (reconstruction of bridges, schools, roads, homes), their initiative in small entrepreneurship, their help in social canteens and - the most important thing - their contribution to education and aid given to war orphans.

The political participation of women also increased, as communist governments pursued policies aimed at raising the number of women deputies at the local and national levels. Women's organisations in the framework of the communist political system also emerged and started being concerned with women's issues. 471 women became part of the People's Councils and 707 became part of the Front's councils. Since the first months of governance, 1,157 women became part of the administrative structure and worked as civil servants. They took the initiative to organize rallies and raised their voice to denounce war crimes. The communist party always declared that the energy of women coming from the rural part of Albania should be used as a unique source for the new democracy. Their political education should be a priority of every organized structure of women's organizations.³¹ Albanian women became part of international conferences and started to create strong relations with similar organization coming from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Italy. In the international conference of Women, held in Italy, the Albanian delegate declared that Albanian women were determined to fight for peace and emphasized their will to help with all their force and energy women's issues around the world.³²

With the adoption of the Fundamental Status of the democratic government, the position of women in Albanian society gained an important place. Article 13 proclaimed the equality in front of Law of every Albanian citizen, regardless of their religious belief, social status, gender and race. Article 14: the right to elect and to be elected for every Albanian citizen over the age of 18. Article 15, stated that in Albanian society, women were equal to men in every aspect of life (in the political, private and social aspects). Women had the right to be equally rewarded for equal work and to get social insurance.³³

The female figure in the theater was like a 'forbidden apple'. The author or the Albanian writer, before creating a draft, had to find a subject where the presence of the female was limited. In the Albanian theater it was easier to see a boy interpreting the role of a woman, dressed as a woman, than to see a woman acting on stage. The Albanian woman took the initiative to become a part of

³¹ Hoxha, Enver. 'Vepra' (Tirane: 8 Nentori) 1985. 28.

³² 'Mbi emancipimin e gruas Shqiptare'. Bashkimi. Tirane: 16.12.1945, 300, 1.

³³ Bashkimi. Tirane: 11.3.1946, 375, 3.



the theatre stage at the national liberation army. The partisan army was the launch of many Albanian women's initiatives. Theater scenes, and later cinematography, were used by the communist system as an important tool of public propaganda. Visual art was used to give strong messages and to make comparisons between the past and the present, between the fanatic and the new man. It was also used to combat the old mentality that existed in Albanian families. Communist-era movies are the most common forms of

communist propaganda. The department of propaganda at the central PPSH created the strategy since they started to put on stage the first drama. With the creation of the Kino-Studio in 1952, the communist propaganda passed to a new level. The diversity of the characters consisted of woman who wanted to be educated, who wanted to be a volunteer and to build the country, of the woman who broke the custom of the canon to the woman who wanted to become a tractor driver. The government spent a lot of money in movie production. Movies like “Rruga e lirise”³⁴, (The Way of Freedom), “Brazdat”³⁵(Furrows) , “Per ke bie kjo daulle”³⁶(For whom these drums are played), “Bregu I ashper”³⁷ (The rough coast), etc. have one thing in common, the Woman and her fight against stereotypes and taboos. After the 1960’s when Albania reached a certain level of urbanization and industrialization, images of women were always smiling optimistically to the future and with a strong message. Postcards, numismatic, flyers, documentaries, etc. became an image expressing the happiness of women in the new socialist Albania. Emancipation of a woman

³⁴ The film "The Way of Freedom" produced in 1982. Director: Esat Musliu, Screenwriter: Lavdie Leka, Natasha Lako, Producer: New Albania, Music: Limoz Disdari.

A group of girls and partisan women travel to the liberated city of Berat to attend the first Congress of the Anti-fascist Women. They need to pass on a difficult path, to cross between the enemy lines and overcome patriarchal and conservative concepts.

³⁵ “Brazdat” is a 1973 Albanian drama film directed by Kristaq Dhamo and written by Dhimitër Xhuvani.

³⁶ The film is based on Ismail Kadare's novel "Wedding". Katrina and Xhaviti, two young volunteers, fall in love during the construction of a railroad and decide to marry. But Katrina's father, a highlander who fianced the girl without her consent, could not accept this marriage. He goes to the wedding ceremony to kill the daughter. Produced in 1969.

³⁷ At the end of World War II “Luljeta” is set to be a party activist in remote mountainous areas. Criminals force a woman to remain locked inside the four walls according to Kanun, and this prevents Luljeta to complete her mission. Produced in 1988. Directed by: Drita Koçi, Screenwriter: Diana Çuli, Producer: New Albania, Music: Thoma Simaku.

means not only a free woman, but also a free society from foreign prejudices.³⁸ The image is from “Ylli” magazine. (*According to the author’s description, the reader is not watching the images of seven happy women but only the Image of the Albanian woman involved in every part of life. Now she can be a worker, she protects her country, she can study and work as an engineer, working in cooperatives and everywhere when her country needed her*).

3. Conclusions

Women’s participation in World War II was the bridge to their freedom, emancipation and a better future, out from the ‘Walls’ of ignorance, illiteracy, domestic work, and which is more important out of the walls of patriarchy. More than 500 women became martyrs, which indicate that it was not a second-hand participation behind the lines. The participation of Albanian women in the war against fascism will mark a new stage in their attempts to obtain their rights and consolidate their position in the Albanian society. Maybe in this period, their attempts at change and freedom were mixed with the needs of the Communist Party to create a larger front against fascism and to consolidate their path to governance after the general election after WWII. The communists considered their participation as one of the most important things regarding victory against fascism.

During the communist governance in Albania, civil rights of both women and men were symbolic, due to the authoritarian nature of the government. Despite that, women’s situation was better than before liberation. According to the communist ideology, the family was the foundation of the socialist society, where women had an important and an equal role with men.

“The family is the foundation of our society. A healthy and a strong family should be built on completely new bases. This is equality between women and men.”³⁹

The author is open for suggestions and thinks that a research with a social basis would be the perfect research into the position of women in Albania society during the Communist regime. Since the best part of the materials used to write this article were part of the communist propaganda system, the author is aware that some facts are manipulated purposely. The author suggests that a good follow-up research project should be focused on:

³⁸ Hoxha , Enver . *Vepra (eng : Acts) Vol. 47.* (Tirane: 8 Nentori). 1985, 2.

³⁹ Hoxha, Enver. *Per Gruan, permbledhje veprash (eng: For Woman, summary acts).* (Tirane: 8 Nentori). 1986, 54

1. state-owned enterprises, to study gender equality in the payroll system for the same job position.
2. archives of the courts to see the decisions of the panel on civil matters for divorces, the right of parental custody, etc.
3. the court archive, to investigate the criminal offenses of the same crime committed and Secret Service Files to view reporting, prosecution, persecution, and punishment of ‘agents’ based on their gender.

Maybe due to the communist plan to isolate the country and to create a totalitarian state, the communists needed women’s power to ‘push the motors’ of their centralized economy system. So, the suggested topics could clarify if there really was a gender issue policy or the regime simply needed women as labor force.

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