Challenges and obstacles that Roma mothers in the Bajram Curri area in Tirana, Albania face in their parenting during the children's early childhood period

By

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the challenges and obstacles faced by Roma mothers in their parenting of young children (aged 0-6) in the Bajram Curri neighborhood in Tirana, Albania, where Romani families are highly represented. After examining the four basic categories of parenting styles found in psychology scholarship (Baumrind 1967; Maccoby and Martin 1983), this paper will discuss the position of Roma mothers within these styles, through the lens of their non-fulfilled basic needs as well as their position as women in society. Mehrabani defines good parents as "parents who care for and provide for their children's basic needs such as physical, emotional, safety, and protection from harm and abuse." (Mehrabani 2021). I argue that social workers categorize parenting as good or bad based on the parenting style typology, which does not account for structural factors leading to Roma mothers' unmet basic needs. Based on qualitative data collected by interviews with Romani mothers in Bajram Curri, I contend that due to their economic situation and traditional gender roles within family and society, Roma mothers find it difficult to fulfill their responsibilities as a parent, a circumstance that can automatically place them in the category of "bad" parents. These qualitative data have emerged from the use of IDELA (The International Development and Early Learning Assessment), a tool used in questionnaires conducted with fifty mothers with children aged 0-6 years Save the Children in Albania (2018). In addition, I held six semi-structured interviews with Roma mothers who were part of the first research to find out what socio-economic factors push mothers to adopt negligent or authoritarian parenting styles. By shedding light on systemic factors which remain unaddressed in scholarly and policy work on parenting styles., I challenge practitioners' assumption that Romani mothers are failing parents.

KEYWORDS: parenting; parenting style; Roma; basic needs; early childhood; motherhood; gender roles

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Introduction

I am from a place where you can breathe fresh air in peace…

I am from romantic music which brings back memories of my life…

I refuse to keep my mouth shut because what I have inside may help the others…

I will build my dream and become a mother…

I wrote these lines when reflecting on my motivation for this research. As a Romani feminist woman who aims to become a mother in the future, I want to dismantle stereotypes about how Romani mothers live and bring a new perspective to analyses of motherhood. In general, the issue of parenting is a sensitive topic as it is impossible to set a pattern for all parents. Easily society can stereotype a mother or her partner as "bad" or "good" parents, but they do not know what the reasons behind this are. Being a "good" or "bad" parent does not have a common denominator that brings together all the parents of the world, as it depends on the circumstances that the parents are in. In my opinion, there are no bad parents or failed mothers.

Early childhood (children aged 0-6 years) is an exploratory period for all parents because during this period children develop their interpersonal attachments, learn about their external world, internalize parental standards, and gain the ability to control their emotions, impulses, and behaviors. These effects begin to appear naturally at a later age, but the basis is laid down in this period. The effects that the child begins to show during his life come from the attitude that parents choose to hold for their child. (Cummins, Carmel & McMaster 2006)

Moreover, the period of early childhood can be more difficult for mothers in particular. Seen as their offspring's first educators, women are viewed as being more predisposed to care for children. The social circle and the family environment put the woman in a difficult position in the care and well-being of the child. This paper will show that Roma mothers from the Bajram Curri, neighborhood face many difficulties not only as mothers but also as women. This area is located in a peripheral part of Tirana, Albania, and is known as a segregated area. Bajram Curri is known as a segregated area as more than 300 families living in this area are part of the Roma minority in Albania. The families are very poor, and their socioeconomic status is very low. (CENSUS in Albania, 2011)

These kinds of labels lead to parents being targeted by society as they have failed to parent based on norms set by society for every single person in the world. As an important role in the world is played by women and in this case by mothers, society does not consider the circumstances a mother is in but takes into account what the others consider a "good" mother. However, psychologists, part of the American Psychological Association define good parenting as "ensuring children's health and safety, preparing children for life as productive adults, transmitting cultural values, and stating that a high-quality parent-child relationship is critical for healthy development" (Kazdin 2000).

According to Baumrind, the attitudes of parents will be known as "parenting styles", which are categorized into four styles. Parenting styles are divided into authoritarian, authoritative, negligent, and permissive All four have their advantages and disadvantages, each of which affects the child's behavior and their physical, mental, and emotional well-being. (Diana, Baumdrin 1991,746-758) Based on the literature review, readers can explore in Chapter One what characteristics each parenting style has and their effects on children. Chapter One will describe how these parenting styles are adapted to the basic needs created by the upbringing of children and specifically how they refer to Roma families in Albania, mainly in the area of Bajram Curri in Tirana.

To be as close as possible to the reality of this research, I will first give a brief overview of the Roma minority in Albania. the Romani group has been concentrated in Albania for several centuries, but other Romani groups are spread in all countries of the world. The Roma minority is one of the most vulnerable minorities in Albania. The community faces various economic problems, including lack of housing, civil registration, child desertion, and health problems. The Roma minority is known as a linguistic minority and has its own culture and traditions as well (Holocaust Encyclopedia, 2021).

Unmet basic needs make parenting styles more complex as hardship affects them more than parents in the rest of society. The Doughnut Economic Scheme, which Kate Raworth defines as "a visual framework for sustainable development – shaped like a doughnut or lifebelt – combining the concept of planetary boundaries with the complementary concept of social boundaries." (Raworth 2012; 4) helps analyze Roma parents' basic needs. In this paper, I do not focus on why these basic needs are unmet, but I argue how this situation affects Romani mothers' parenting styles.

According to the Doughnut Economic Scheme, as shown in Figure 1, the shortfall aspect includes basic needs such as water, food, health, energy, networks, housing, education, income/work, peace, political voice, and social equality, and gender equality. This scheme will help us to understand what the basic human needs are, brought by the author (Rawouth 2012), and understand that, ultimately, economic prosperity depends on human and natural well-being.
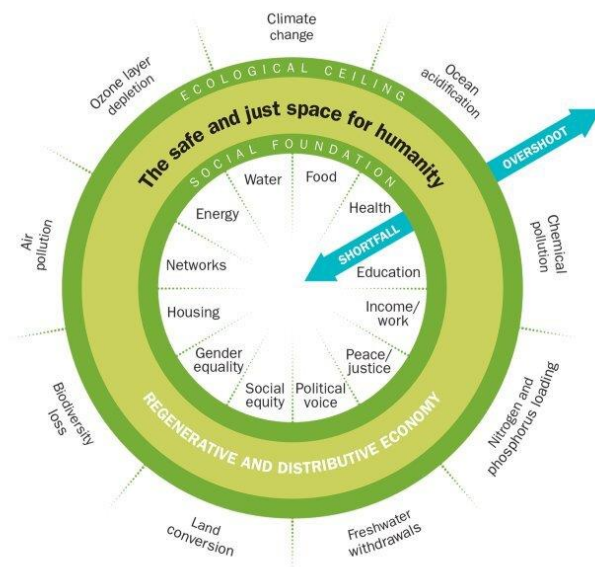
Figure 2. Doughnut Economic Structure (Created by Kate Raworth)

An important place in this chapter will be occupied by the scholarly interpretation of the position of women in the role of mother. In this way, readers might understand whether economic barriers, the social circle or the family environment influences the parenting style of mothers. Moreover, gender equality will be given special importance to understanding if women have the same parenting style as their partners.

Chapter Two will explain the methodology used for this research. I first use data from a study I conducted in this area. This study is called IDELA, which is provided by Save the Children

in Albania and supported by the Roma Education Fund and Medicor.[1] It aims to reveal more about the relationship between children aged 0-6 with their mothers. Drawing from these fifty interviews and six additional interviews I conducted with original research participants, I revisit the original research question on parenting and child welfare from the perspective of gender. Interviews were conducted with open questions to provide a clear picture of the mother's position in the family, how the society looks at her, and government assistance in this position, as well as the position of their partner in childcare.

After explaining in Chapter Two the instruments and how they have been used, in Chapter Three, I will interpret the findings of what parenting styles the Roma mothers belong to in the target area. Beyond the challenges they face to be good mothers, how Roma children are affected by these parenting styles, and how they cope with the socio-economic challenges of the family will be included but again the main point of Chapter Three will concentrate on the position of Roma women in the Bajram Curri area as mothers. Whereas Romani mothers are stereotyped as "bad mothers", I aim to show the resistance strategies they deploy to protect their children despite being emotionally affected by socio-economic difficulties.

Chapter Four will contain conclusions regarding Roma mothers being categorized as failed mothers because the structural factors that affect their living conditions push them to become negligent or foster parents. Despite being affected by this, they still use resistance strategies to protect their children. These strategies may be misunderstood as bad parenting due to failure in scientific and political work to see structural inequality.

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[1] https://albania.savethechildren.net/news/early-childhood-care-and-development-for-roma-children-albania

Chapter I- Literature Review

Each parenting style uses a different approach to raising children and can be identified by several different characteristics. the literature used for this research is the work of Baumrind, a developmental psychologist who identified parenting styles in the 1960s. She researched parenting behaviors and the reactions that children showed to this behavior.

Baumrind lists Authoritarian Parenting as the first, but not the most appropriate style for children's well-being. This is a very strict parenting style that does not allow children to make decisions for themselves. When the rules are broken, the punishment is unquestionable, immediate, and harsh. Besides this, another therapist from Toronto, Alyson Schafer, said that "In the authoritarian style of parenting, the parent says, 'I do not believe you can manage things yourself, and I do not do things for you, but I force you to do things the way they should be done," (Schafer 2015). Parents make the law, and this law is not discussed. Usually, these parents are admirers of patriarchy. The punishments they give go beyond the level of love and do not discuss or share any opinion with their child. From this style of parenting, after the period of early childhood, children begin to show problems in behavior. They are not themselves in their actions or thoughts.

Baumrind categorizes the authoritative style as "the golden style" - a style that should be practiced by all parents, as the child is successful if guided by this style. Parents stand between authority and permissive, which means that they create space for their children by allowing but also monitoring at the same time. Authoritative parents explain everything that happens to the child and about the child and give convincing arguments. They show respect for their decisions. They do not implement but moderate them. Children raised by authoritative parents are happy and confident children in the actions they take. They are loving children who share their objects and socialize with others. They are brave children in the steps they take and the way they think. (Baumrind 1966)

Another unrecommended style is the permissive parenting style, which translates into parents fulfilling everything the child requires and not setting any limits on them. These parents tend to raise rebellious children. These children do not dare to fight for anything because they expect others to do it for them. Parental care, in this case, consider a minimalist level. (Maccoby 1983).

Negligent parents are described as emotionally detached and uninvolved in their children's lives, both physically and emotionally. These parents do not have many conversations or much

interaction with their children and are absent from the children's life activities. Without boundaries and guidance, children of neglectful parents learn inappropriate behavior. Children who are raised by negligent parents reportedly face depression. They struggle to forge close relationships with people and fail in interpersonal relationships. These children tend to express hostility through delinquent behavior and are isolated from society. One of the techniques that mothers use and from my critical point of view can be incorporated into this parenting style is the "cry it out" method, also known as the disappearance method, which is a sleep training technique that involves leaving the baby in the crib, fully awake, and letting her worry or cry until she falls asleep, without help (Frecher 2006).

At this point, I also want to emphasize the choices of parents in terms of parenting style with the basic needs that life offers. In this case, I want to see critically the idea that the only good parenting approach is the authoritative style. The other three styles of parenting, even though they have negative effects on children at first glance, do not necessarily imply that parents are bad, but rather, the circumstances may force them to be authoritarian, negligent, or permissive parents. I want to focus on Roma mothers firstly in terms of the impact of basic needs on parenting styles. Basic needs are very important for the well-being of the child and many Roma parents must work hard to ensure that these needs are met. Excessive time at work prevents parents from staying with the child and from observing them at school or in other aspects. Maccoby could rightly call them negligent parents but the balance of time between work and family is impossible in this case. Economic hardship or unbalanced task divisions imposed by traditional gender roles excludes the possibility for Roma mothers to be authoritative parents. (Maccoby 1983) Indeed, their level of education and socioeconomic life does not allow them to meet or set rules in the life of the child. I can not say that this situation happens with all Roma parents, especially with Roma mothers who are in Albania because the diversity of lifestyles and parenting styles is different.

Chapter II: Methodology

This chapter will explain the methodologies used for this research. In this case, firstly, I will use data from a study which is conducted in the Bajram Curri area. Called IDELA, the instrument which is used was provided by Save the Children in Albania and supported by Roma Education Fund. This study was used as an internal document of the project which was completed in 2019. The data were used for designed further interventions during its implementation. This study aimed to analyze the relationship between children aged 0-6 and their mothers. In addition, I conducted six semi-structured interviews with Roma mothers of the Bajram Curri area, who had already taken part in the IDELA study.

Both research projects are valuable to me. The first one gave me as a new Roma women researcher the motivation to bring a new perspective and add a new critical opinion related to the challenges of Roma mothers behind their position and the second one pushed me to go more deeply because as an interviewer and as an employee for the implementation of the project, I saw fit that the study should go deeper to find the reasons and consequences of the lack of care for the child. Both kinds of research do not represent the reality of all Roma mothers that are living in Albania but increase the interest to have another research out they are passing on the same path as Roma mothers under this study.

In the first study participated as data collectors five persons, each of them realized ten interviews. Mothers were invited to the Romani Baxt Centre, a Roma organization established in the Bajram Curri area in 1992. Interviews lasted around 40 minutes, and all took place within two days. The IDELA instrument was implemented with Roma mothers with at least one child aged 0-6 and whose children were registered at kindergarten. Bajram Curri has three kindergartens with Roma and non-Roma children. The interview grid consisted of closed-ended questions.

The second research has a low number of mothers interviewed but has another kind of method used as an interview designed with 16 open questions. Questions are divided into three categories as below:

a) Sharing of duties and time of the Roma mother and her partner towards the child.

b) Position of Roma woman as a mother in front of her family-in-law, concerning other community members, and her participation in social activities provided by NGOs.

c) Time management for self-care and children-care.

Six Roma mothers with at least one child aged 3-6 accepted to be part of this research. the Romani Baxt Centre assisted in the implementation of my research by providing their facilities as the location for the interviews, to ensure a private and friendly environment for all interview participants. The duration of each interview was around 90 minutes. I did not record the interviews upon request of the interviewees who were concerned about confidentiality, but I took handwritten notes. All interviews were anonymized.

Exactly one of the points that pushed me to write this paper is the silence of Roma mothers. They have a lot to say but they keep silent because the oppressors of their fate and life are more powerful than they:

"Don't record my voice, my husband doesn't know that I am here for the interview. I lied to him and said that I will ask if the organization has food aid. This is the only way he would let me out of the house. I was excited when "our community leader," said you are here for an interview"- (25-year-old Roma mother of two children)

This kind of fear and frustration makes a mother hide in a black box and be out of reality. This exclusion does not allow them to integrate into society to learn good practices for mothering. The second research, on the one hand, was exhausting for me to implement but, on the other hand, gave me the ability to go against the standardizing of parenting styles made by Diana Baumrind (1991).

Chapter III- Discussion of findings

This chapter will interpret data and assess the hypothesis that Roma mothers in the Bajram Curri area are permissive and negligent parents. This dataset relies on questionnaires with closed-ended questions conducted with fifty Roma mothers – as explained in the tables below (see Tables 1 to 11) – as well as additional semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions with six of the initial research participants. These sources, based on real facts from their lives, show the position of the Roma woman as a mother. There is also additional data that proves that in addition to the lack of basic needs that we find in the first study, there are other reasons beyond them that Roma mothers face motherhood.

Table 1[2]. Age data of the Roma parents under study.

Age of mothers	Total for each period	Age of fathers	Total for each period
15-18 years old	7	15-18 years old	3
19-25 years old	16	19-25 years old	18
26-30 years old	11	26-30 years old	17
31-40 years old	16	31-40 years old	12

Table 2. Level of education of the Roma parents under study.

Level of education	Mothers	Fathers
None=0	13	16
Preschool=1	24	22
Primary=2	13	12
Secondary=3	0	0
Higher ed=4	0	0

Table 1 and Table 2 demonstrate that Roma parents are included in early marriage and most of them became parents at a yonger age. Participation in an early marriage affected their education level. Education is a basic need for people, as referred to in the Doughnut Scheme by Kate

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[2] All tables are created by the thesis author.

Raworth (2012) A lack thereof prevents people from training for a certain profession and accessing a secure income to provide for their families.

Table 3. Utilization of Romani language

Albanian Language	Romani language	Both
17	23	10

This table shows the utilization of the Romani language in their families. Seventeen Roma mothers answered that the Albanian language is the primary one among the members of the family because Albanian is the official language in educational education. Its utilization helps children face obstacles at school that is connected to integration and knowledge. This situation is the opposite of families who only use the Romani language in their homes. Their children might face difficulties in the learning process due to the language. Roma mothers might tend to transmit the norms and culture of their ethnicity to their children but avoid passing on the norms of the mainstream culture found in the country where their children are growing up.

Table 4. Status of Employment of Roma mothers

Roma mothers' full-time employment	Roma mothers' seasonal workers	Roma mothers' unemployment
13	10	27

Table 5. Status of Employment by Roma fathers.

Roma fathers' full-time employment	Roma fathers are seasonal workers	Roma fathers' unemployment
5	23	22

Employment can create a social life and income for both parents. From the data, we see that only twenty-three Roma mothers are in formal employment, whereas twenty-seven of these mothers are not. On the one hand, the income contribution creates a respectable position for family members in law. but on the other hand, the time that they spent with their children is limited as we can see the Table 11. Time spent with their children is very important for their well-being, but when Roma mothers try to access income for their children, they may be "punished" by society as being permissive mothers. As I mentioned above, parents categorized as permissive may want to fulfill their children's needs, but do not have time for them.

Two mothers out of six that were interviewed in the second research phase announced that their jobs have led to being discriminated against by relatives and other members of society. When I asked them if they were judged sometimes for their role as a mother, their answers put me in

a position of weighing the sacrifice that a Roma mother is making for children's survival while simultaneously facing prejudice.

"People judge me for working during the night. I was forced to choose this path only so my children would not go without it. They said to me that I do not deserve my children"- (33-year-old sex worker, mother of two girls)

Even though this interviewee is trying to find income for her children's well-being, the majority do not see beyond the fact that she is a sex worker and does not take into account the reasons why she chose this job They also do not take into account the risk she takes to make money for her children's survival.

"We view our care work and mothering, specifically "mother work" as an interwoven political act that responds to multiple forms of oppression experienced by Mothers of Color in the United States" (Collins 1994). Although the time and place are far from the area and time where we found the data, the reality of the women of color and the oppression that is done to them is the same. In my opinion, based on the knowledge I have about this community in this area, families, society, and male figures are the three oppressors who do not allow a Roma mother to act, work and educate her children following the knowledge she has and the parental instinct that she bears. The consequence of this produces negligent mothers who divert the focus of childcare, leaving it to the second or third parties of the family and focusing on income-generating work or other elements that bring about community norms.

Table 6. Life conditions of Roma families under study.

Life conditions	Yes	No
All home appliances/facilities	16	34
Three Rooms	11	
Two Rooms	24	
One Room	15	
Children space	0	50
Electricity	46	4
Water	47	5
Internet	14	36

The living conditions that include all items listed in Table 6 are part of basic needs. One could presume that poor living conditions are one of the factors that push Roma mothers to be negligent parents. Their negligence does not come from their desire to be, as Diana Baumdrin

interprets in her standard interpretation for all parents, but from lack of their needs. Roma mothers may be called by the majority negligent mothers due to the lack of hygiene of their children but behind this stereotype is hidden the lack of water, lack of electricity, or home furniture which is missing.

Another point we should take into consideration, as the challenge to categorizing these mothers as negligent is the space of living at home. Fifty Roma mothers do not have any private space for their children which means that all children are growing up and sleeping in the parents' room. The most concerning fact is that fifteen of them live in the same environment as their family-in-law's members. The question of how this factor determines the psychology of mothers and the psychology and behavior of their children in the future must be raised.

When I asked mothers if they ever felt powerless when mothering their children and how they acted if it happened, one of them said:

"I felt ashamed once when the preschool teacher complained about my 5-year-old son. We all sleep in the same room and supposedly he saw and did the same act with a small girl from his kindergarten as his father does with me when in intimacy. I felt powerless at this moment and intimidated in front of the teacher and the white mother of the little girl. For sure they thought that I am a bad mother" (27-year-old housewife, mother of a son aged 9 years)

In my point of view, this situation was caused by the circumstances of living in this tiny space. The preschool teacher and the white mother likely considered this mother irresponsible for her actions, but they may not know the reasons for this incident.

Table 7. Education plan, number of mothers with male children.

Primary Education	Secondary Education	High School	University
15	15	12	11

Table 8. Education plan, number of mothers with female children

Primary Education	Secondary Education	High School	University
23	23	18	5

Table 9. Education plan, number of mothers with male and female children.

Primary Education	Secondary Education	High School	University
12	12	12	10

Roma mothers were then asked about the importance of education to their children. To be clear, these mothers had their children enrolled in kindergarten but when they asked for other levels of education, mothers showed frustration in their answers. None of the mothers were sure about the education of their children, especially regarding their girls. Moreover, they claimed that this decision would be made with their partner and other family members. When the mothers were re-interviewed in the second research phase, they were asked if their parenting decisions were made alone or with other relatives. Five of them did not hesitate to respond that the decision related to children was in the hand of their partner.

"I am part of these discussions but sometimes I can't say anything because in my family there are the others, older than me and we should respect them even though I am the mother of my children. My son may continue the school, depending on the results but my daughter, I am sure that when she starts menstruating, my partner will stop her education" (,25- years- housewife, Roma mother of two children)

Most of the society sees the mother as a parent that plays an important role in children's education but the reality of Roma families in the Bajram Curri area is different. It is harmful that Roma's mother's opinions are not taken into consideration and here we see again the power of the oppressor that decides everything and prevents the progress of their daughters only to accomplish the norms of society, in this case, based on the mother above said "menstruation" forced the parents to keep the daughter at home.

In this aspect, the mother's silence in decision-making toward her children depends on gender roles. Roma mothers in this area are more predisposed to give priority to boys in education than girls, again quietly acknowledging the oppression of girls and women by social norms that surrounds them affect their position in the family and society.

Mothers who were asked this question could also be divided according to the child they had, as twenty-three of them had only one girl with the target age, fifteen,of them had only one son aged 0-6 years and twelve of them had children of both genders.

Table 10 . Engagement of Roma mothers with children in activities.

Read books with child?	Tell stories to the child?	Sing songs to the child?	Take the child outside the home?	Play simple games?	Name objects or draw things?	Show or teach your child something new?	Teach alphabet or encourage to learn letters	Play a counting game or teach numbers	Hug or show affection to the child
17/50	21/50	34/50	50/50	43/50	19/50	22/50	16/50	16/50	50/50

Table 11. Expressions of anger towards the child

Spank child	Hit child	Yell at child
23/50	25/50	47/50

Table 12. Time spent with Children

Hours	Mother time with the child	Father Time with the child	Child care of the child	Child alone
1-5	2	14	2	43
6-15	13	25	13	3
16-24	35	11	35	4

Tables 10;11;12 show data on the commitment and time that both Roma parents have with their children. In Table 10 the findings belong to the activities that parents are doing in general with their children. These activities increase the knowledge of children and help their development during the childhood period. Clearly, findings show the low number of Roma mothers helping children in the learning process. This result become from the low level of education that they have, and the lack of the right tools that offer the learning process as children's books or school equipment.

Table 10 shows findings related to the behavior of mothers towards their children. Spanking and hitting are features of negligent parents otherwise known as emotional negligence which means "exposing a child to domestic violence or substance abuse by not giving love or

emotional support"[3](Roldan 2014). When combined with yelling, these are the three actions that are caused by a heavy mental load and emotional distress caused by hardship

Table 11 shows the time Roma mothers spend with their children compared to their partners. The findings show that mothers are more engaged than their fathers but still some mothers spend a few hours with their children. This factor is since they work double shifts or are more engaged with housework and do not find time for children's care. When mothers were asked how they divide the time between the child and the housework or the time for themselves they were confused in their answers. Housework and the care for all members of the family increase the risk of children's negligence. In this case, two types of mothering emerge. The reason is the presence of members of the family-in-law and their expectation that the bride should arrange all housework pushed Roma mothers to be attending more to this part than their children:

"Firstly, we don't have time for ourselves. Once in six months if I decide to dye my hair, I will take the children with me. During the day the children are always playing outside because I don't have time to care for them and do the housework at the same time" (29-year-old housewife, mother of three children)

"I try to arrange all the things. I have time for my children, housework and of course, I need to maintain myself. I live alone with my children so if I let something go, it's still ok because who will tell me otherwise?" (33-year-old sex worker, mother of two girls.)

In the second case, the presence of members of the family-in-law is missing and the mother is more convinced to manage the time between her children and other duties at home. Both mothers are part of the Roma minority in the Bajram Curri area. The difference according to the management of things or children's care is not the time in these cases but the presence of other members of the family that are part of the patriarchal thoughts that the women should be more attention to the children-care, and housework than men in the family.

During the second research, I found mothers who show negligence in the care and upbringing of children by surrendering more to cultural norms than the care and commitment that the child needs in his early childhood period. Carelessly puts the child exposed to sexuality, not caring about privacy or giving priority to household chores just to avoid criticism from the family-in-law.

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[3] https://madreshoy.com/en/senales-de-negligencia-infantil/

Conclusion

Analysing the situation of Roma mothers in Bajram Curri areas in Tirana, Albania, the fourth category of parenting style does not consider the parents' socioeconomic circumstances in general.
Besides this, early marriage and lack of education pushed interviewed Roma mothers to follow the permissive and negligent parenting style. In this position, they do not have the opportunity to interact with other mothers to gain practices of good and efficient parenting.

Another factor that categorizes Roma mothers into these parenting styles is the utilization of the Romani language and the lack of official language because they allowed children to follow only the cultural norms that other members of the family have and due to this fact, children are left behind with their education.

Based on the information I got from the research participants, came to the conclusion that Roma mothers from this area are not able to manage time between job, housework, and their children. The care of their children is not their first attention.

Another standpoint of mine is that research participants try to collect income to fulfill their children's basic needs. Most of them have to work double shifts or work two jobs. This decision is punished by society and put these mothers in a permissive parenting style as a figure that tries to complete all their needs but allowed them to be out of their control.

Socio-economic circumstances charge their psycho-emotional state. This load affects children through their attitudes.
Their unheard voice and thoughts on family-in-law cause the decision toward children. In appearance, they look like a negligent mother but in reality, happens that these members, including their partners, don't allow them to undertake decisions for their children.

The last point is about a suggestion for the future related to some extent research with the aim to include other Roma neighborhoods for further analysing if the family norms and culture of other Romani groups in Albania prevent Roma women to be good Roma mothers.

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