Editors:
Jaime Almansa Sánchez & Elena Papagiannopoulou

www.arqueologiapublica.es

AP:

Online Journal in Public Archaeology

AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology is edited by JAS Arqueología S.L.U.

INDEX

Of Pyramids and Dictators:
Memory, Work and the Significance of Communist Heritage in Post-Socialist Albania

Francesco IACONO
University of Cambridge, UK

Klejd L. KËLLIÇI
University of Tirana, Albania

Abstract

The communist regime that governed Albania between 1944 and 1991 has left considerable architectural remains. These however, are rapidly dissapearing, as a result of recent development. This paper explores the perception of the monumental heritage of the socialist regime in current day Albania. In our view, concepts of "unwanted" or "difficult" heritage used in the past to make sense of the heritage of socialist dictatorships, are not able to fully account for the specificities of the Albanian case as aspects other than trauma and pain need to be considered.

The perception of the heritage from Albania's communist past is investigated both through a theoretical discussion, which addresses the relationship between "unwanted heritage" and phenomena of nostalgia for certain aspects of life during communism, as well as through a questionnaire targeted at a sample of the population of the capital city Tirana. As far as this last aspect is concerned, our focus has been on the most iconic communist monument in Tirana, the Pyramid, the former museum dedicated to the dictator Enver Hoxha.

In the last part of the paper, we try to make sense of the trends that emerged through the analysis of quantitative data, addressing the

role of work and related forms of memory in forging the relationship between Albanians and the material remains of their recent past.

Keywords

Unwanted Heritage, Difficult Heritage, Communism, Dictatorship, Albania

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the public perception of the material heritage of the period of the communist dictatorship in Albania. Our starting point is that notions of unwanted or difficult heritage, which have sometimes been used as a broad umbrella to make sense of heritage emerging from situations of conflict, can be applied to the Albanian case only with difficulty, and that aspects other than trauma need to be taken into account. In this research, the heritage from Albania's communist past is investigated in both a theoretical and historical discussion as well as through a questionnaire targeted at a sample of the population of the capital city Tirana. Our focus has been, in particular, on the most iconic monument of the communist period in Tirana, the Pyramid shaped building in the center of the city, originally a museum dedicated to the dictator Enver Hoxha.

Unwanted heritage vs. (n)Ostalgia

The Stalin-inspired regime headed by Enver Hoxha that governed Albania between 1945 and 1991 has left a huge architectural legacy in the country. Despite the destruction of selected material symbols, the presence of the communist past in terms of its physical remains is still evident, cyclically sparking debate in the media over its conversion, transformation and elimination. Almost every city-center had been greatly transformed during communism, first by the removal of old Ottoman structures, such as bazaars or

religious monuments (which in other contexts in the Balkans were already perceived as pre-modern as early as in the 19th century; see Jovanović 2013), secondly by interpreting architecturally communist modernity and the canon of realist socialism (Bater 1980; Buchli 1999). After some 25 years from the fall of the iron curtain, however, the hectic rhythm of post-regime development (particularly in urban contexts) is rapidly erasing most of the traces of this recent past, jeopardising the survival of its memory (see Pojani 2010; Young and Kaczmarek 2008). Therefore, despite that it can be claimed that the socialist regimes of the former eastern bloc are too recent an experience to be considered through the categories of memory reserved to other examples of cultural heritage, the fast pace of urban sprawl in central and eastern Europe has created an emergency situation that cannot be ignored altogether. Additionally, addressing the communist past as too recent does not take into account the different perception of time (Fabian 1983; Gell 2001; Sharma 2014). While undoubtedly little time has passed from the fall of the former eastern bloc, it is not certain that this period is 'emically' perceived by current Albanians as something belonging to a recent past, as their lives have little in common with those formerly under the regime. As Ibañez-Tirado (2015, 194) suggests for former Soviet states of Central Asia, there are "divergences between chronological periodization and lived time", and this cannot be underestimated. So if it is indeed legitimate to consider through the lens of notions of cultural heritage the material remnants of the recent communist past, what is their perception in post-socialist countries?

In Albania, in the aftermath of the regime, buildings from the communist period were never put into question, especially in peripheral cities, as long as their function did not have any (previous) equivalent. This was the case of theatres, cinemas and city halls that were by and large absent in the pre-communist period. Leisure buildings, such as theatres or multifunctional structures (e.g. the so

called "palaces of cultures", in Albanian *Pallati i Kultures*), continued to perform, even though on a minor tone, the role they had in the past being the focus of cultural and (partially) public life of the cities. Monumental heritage, on the other hand, especially the one that does not easily fit into categories of nationalism and national pride (Kaneva 2014), was either systematically eliminated or abandoned both as part of a deliberate public policy and as a result of a semi-intentional strategy of neglect (for a similar point see Herscher 2006). As far as active destruction is concerned, a common strategy in the whole of the former eastern bloc was 'decomunistation', e.g. the defacing from public buildings and spaces of any symbol that could reconnect them to the past regime (Young and Kaczmarek 2008). This was implemented in particular at important memorial sites that could not be obliterated altogether, because they were part of the landscape and/or had memorialised qualities that were to be incorporated in the new social order. This is the case, for instance, of the monumental cemetery of the Martyrs of the Nation in the city of Vlorë, where stars and other symbols connected to communism have been removed. The same occurred at the Palace of Congresses in Tirana with the gigantic red star once located on the main entrance.

Albania is of course not the only country from the former eastern bloc to experience this kind of situation. In Poland, for example, the Palace of Culture and Sciences has been subject to different attitudes ranging from oblivion or isolation to acceptance (Wiśniewski 2012). Bulgaria's George Dimitrov's Mausoleum offers another, even more blatant, case of eradication of unwanted memory with the site being blown up in 1999 without any public consent or debate (Todorova 2010a, 401). In other cases, decisions have not been as abrupt and despite the existence of plans for urban regeneration that would include renovation of a number of these monuments, procrastination in their realisation reveals the unease with which some of these structures were viewed. Berlin's

Alexanderplatz represents an interesting case of this trend; despite having plans for its renovation approved as early as in 1993, they were never implemented completely. This was due mostly to the gradual retreat of investors and the loss of momentum of what has been defined as the 'westernizing' impulse (Weszkalnys 2010). In other cases, the relics of the socialist past have been spatially reframed (Otto 2008), and decontextualized. This is the case of Szobor Park in Budapest where a number of celebrative statues have been collected and re-arranged in a space outside of the city (Harrison 2013). Likewise, the *Postbllok* monument in Tirana includes the original bunker placed at the entrance of the former communist residential area known as Bllok. It is composed of three elements: a prefabricated portion of the Berlin wall, the remnants of the reinforcing mine gallery frames from the political penitential camp of Spaç, and a bunker. Two out of three elements have been totally divorced from their social surroundings and placed in the new unconventional 'musealised' context, de facto reducing their potential evocative impact. So, there is a general attempt on the one hand to transform communist heritage and on the other to underplay and dilute its essence.

The existence in post-socialist states of attitudes like the ones described so far, have coincided with the initial use of monuments and buildings of the communist period as tourist attractions. This unusual concomitance has, over the last decade or so, attracted the attention of heritage specialists who adopted a number of concepts to describe the way the material heritage from the communist dictatorships was perceived and actively used (Ivanov 2009; Light 2000a; 2000b; Otto 2008). The complex processes of negotiation and related tensions between different stakeholders (e.g. local communities, international tourism and so on) have been seen by heritage scholars as a sign of an unavoidably conflictual situation. As a consequence, the material heritage of such experiences has been predominantly conceptualised through notions such as difficult,

dissonant and unwanted heritage (Henderson 2007; Macdonald 2008; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996). Similar heritage has been recognised in a variety of environments and historical situations, and post-socialist countries represent only a specific instance of a wider phenomenon (Logan and Reeves 2009; e.g. Macdonald 2006; 2008 on Nazi heritage; González Ruibal 2009; and Viejo-Rose 2014 on civil war Spain). As Herscher (2006, 26) puts it, the main feature of this kind of heritage resides in its not being recognised, as through its own destruction it contributes to "the materialization of some version of history".

All of these approaches define the heritage of the communist period in absolutely negative terms, and a common theme, to this extent, is the centrality of a traumatic experience in shaping memory. However, although undoubtedly crucial, pain is able to capture only certain aspects embodied in the material relics of socialism. Communist heritage is important not only because of the misdeeds of past regimes but also because the memory of the communist past still 'haunts' parts of Eastern Europe, and it is not coincidental, to this extent, that studies on unwanted heritage and communist nostalgia have both gone in parallel (Todorova 2010c; Todorova and Gille 2010). While talking about communist nostalgia, Todorova points out the enormous quantity of studies that have proliferated in Europe from 2003 on. According to her, post-communist nostalgia (for which in Germany the neologism 'Ostalgie' has been coined) is a widespread phenomenon, originating on the one hand from the broken promises/realisation of the new liberal order and on the other from the loss of specific forms of sociability (Todorova 2010b, 7). Weszkalnys (2010, 75) claims that it is somewhat misleading to characterise the attitude of former denizens of Eastern Germany as nostalgia and that many of the people interviewed by her would not describe in these terms their feelings toward the past. Indeed, it is all but an indefinite sense of affection what often characterises the memory of the communist

past (even when remembered in relatively positive terms). Later on we will explore this sentiment in more detail, addressing what in our view are the aspects of life under the regime that are crucial to explain this phenomenon.

To sum up, previous discussion on heritage of communism in former eastern bloc countries has highlighted its negative and traumatic nature. At the same time however, historians and specialists of cultural studies have recognised the existence of a sentiment of nostalgia for certain aspects of life under the regime. How can these two seemingly contradictory aspects be reconciled and, how does this intangible element relate to the perception of the material relics of this past?

The Albanian case study

In order to try to disentangle the various facets of this issue, we have decided to take a different route from that undertaken by the other approaches to communist heritage described so far. This route rests upon the study of a specific context, and the monument on which we will focus is one of the most iconic from the communist period, present in the capital city Tirana: the former personal museum celebrating the dictator (Figure 1), broadly known to Albanians as *Piramida* (the Pyramid, see also Myhrberg 2011) because of its shape, and inspired also the homonymous 1995 novel by the famous Albanian writer Ismail Kadare (2013). After a number of uncompleted plans for its restoration and transformation, in 2011 the monument became the bone of contention of a political dispute between the two main parties of Albania (Socialist and Democratic party), when the former prime minister (from the Democratic party) wanted to tear down the Piramida to build a new extravagant parliament building. This idea encountered fierce opposition, not only from political opponents but also from the part

of civil society and a great portion of his own party (Klosi and Lame 2011). Although the new government has abandoned any plan for its destruction and has started to re-use it after some preliminary intervention, the building still lays utterly neglected, vandalised and in a terrible state of preservation (Figure 2). Because of this contested political situation and this somewhat unexpected 'unitary' reaction of public opinion in this case, we decided to take on the study of this specific building.

Figure 1. The Pyramid (Pyramida), former museum of Enver Hoxha, during its inauguration (after Ylli November 1988: 6).

Figure 2. The Piramida in its current state of preservation. Photo by Ilir Gramo.

Our aim was to explore the public perception of the *Piramida* and, more broadly, of the tangible heritage of the dictatorship in current Albanian society, in an effort to see if any of the themes emerging from the theoretical discussion can be recognised in the opinion of *Tiransa* (denizens of Tirana). In order to accomplish this task, we have decided to adopt a quantitative methodology, i.e. a survey, able to highlight the most evident aspects of the opinion of the public in a robust way.

In order to explore these two hypotheses, we collected a relatively large number of responses (360 overall). We were specifically interested in generational differences between people that had spent a considerable amount of time under the regime (over 60 years old) and the young (those up to 30) who had little or no exposure to communism if not mediated through the memory of relatives and media representations. The implicit assumption was that the former would have been much more prone to develop forms of 'nostalgia' like those highlighted in the theoretical discussion, and thus a greater attachment to the monument. We conducted our survey both through various social media outlets (Facebook,

Twitter and blogs) and through face to face interviews, with this last method aimed in particular to those over 60 years old, potentially more prone to be put off by the use of an electronic form, at least in the specific context in which we operated (we explicitly targeted areas frequented by the elders). The questionnaire is reproduced in the Appendix of this article.

Discussion of results

Notwithstanding the contested political situation previously highlighted, as far as the results of the survey are concerned, when we asked about the plan to destroy the *Piramida* (question no.13), the overwhelming majority of respondents strongly disagreed on this. Generational differentiation, in relation to this specific issue, seemed not to have been significant (Figure 3) although people under 30 years of age were more numerous in disagreeing with the plan of destructing the Pyramid. The reasons justifying the need for preserving the structure were the most disparate and no immediately recognisable trends have been identified (no.14). It is likely that this apparently homogeneous response was due to the specificities of the monument discussed, which is relatively recent (it was completed in 1988) and thus did not allow older generations to grow a specific affection for it.

While from an 'external' perspective the building is undoubtedly associated with the communist regime, its use as museum of the dictator had lasted only four years and its use after the fall of the regime stretched over a much longer period. Such an aspect is mirrored in the fact that the majority of the sample associated the building with Tirana as a city (no.11) rather than with either Communism or specifically Enver Hoxha (Figure 6). Here, however, generational differences seem to be much more meaningful as with the increase of age the percentage of people associating the *Piramida*

with Tirana decreases while the association with Enver Hoxha and communism increases. In other words, the younger age-group that did not take part in the efforts necessary for the construction of the monument saw the Piramida predominantly as something that had more or less always been there and hence part of their affective geography, or of "a contextual horizon of perceptions, providing both a foreground and a background in which people feel themselves to be living in their world" (Stewart and Strathern 2003, 4). Those over 60 years old, on the other hand, could not avoid taking into account, in their value judgments, the effort of an entire generation directed at its construction. The value of heritage of dictatorship in this last case was unavoidably connected to the memory of time spent during the regime. Even if the involvement was not direct, the process of identification of individuals with their generation was probably enough to stimulate similar answers. The fact that Enver Hoxha is identified as the main association is not surprising given the strong personalism characterising the Albanian regime.
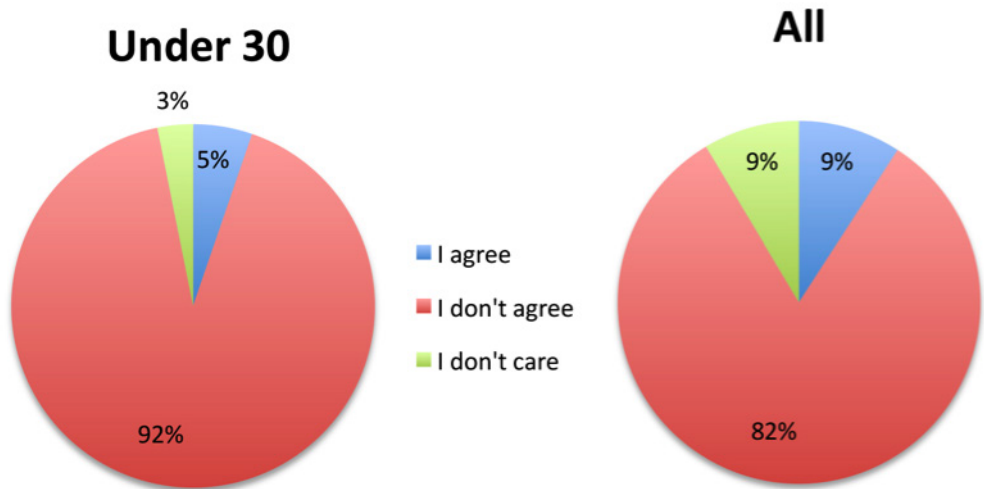

Figure 3. Answers of the sample to the question: Do you agree or disagree with the plan to demolish the Pyramid?
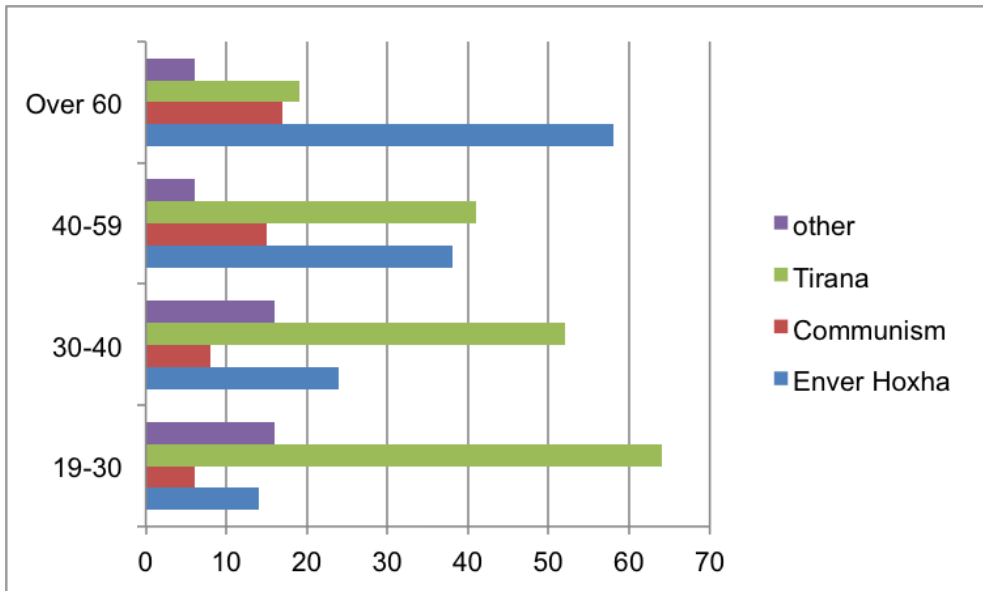
Figure 4. Answer of the sample to the question: What does the Pyramid make you think of? Percentage in different age groups.

Going back to the broad category of the monumental heritage of the dictatorship, one aspect upon which the consensus among the surveyed sample seemed to be almost unanimous, notwithstanding age categories, was the general necessity to preserve memory of the communist past (over 95% of the sample agreed; question no.2) and of its material remains (83%; no.4). Resorting to public funding for this heritage was also considered positively by the majority of the respondents (63%; no.10). Such material remains were most frequently associated with Communism (in 37% of cases) and with the specific place where they are located (28%) while the association with Enver Hoxha appears not to have been very frequent (14%, question no.6). The will to preserve the memory of the communist past might look obvious, but marks a definite change from the perceived will of post-socialist countries to simply condemn to oblivion their recent history reported by many (Light 2000). Moreover, such a unanimous response seems to clash with the supposed contested nature of this heritage as well as with the unease that was also recognised in the way the state dealt

with the material remains of this period. It is likely, however, that such a response is actually the result of a relatively recent change in the public perception, a change of which Albanians are note fully aware. A hint of this lays in the very fact that, despite having personal interest in the cultural heritage of the dictatorship, the vast majority of respondents saw the Albanian public as lacking interest in relation to this topic, with only a third (27%) of the sample suggesting a general interest in the material remains of the dictatorship (question no.8).

Generational difference seems to profoundly affect the level of attachment to material heritage from the dictatorship period of citizens of Tirana, and predictably the percentage of people feeling "very attached" instead of just "attached" to the material remains of communism is considerably larger among over 60 year-olds (Figure 5). We did not identify any predilection for the different functional categories of "monuments from the dictatorship" (e.g. institutional buildings, bunkers, statues-lapidaries, prison camps, war memorials). Among over 60 year-olds, however, there was a quite clear-cut tendency to attribute a particular importance to bunkers and prison camps which are more frequently quoted as the most important category of monuments from the period of the dictatorship (Eaton and Roshi 2014; Galaty et al. 2000; Glass 2008; Stefa and Mydyti 2009). While the case of the prison camps can be easily understood through the notion of traumatic heritage highlighted by much of the previous scholarship (see above), this is not the case with respect to the bunkers. Bunkers (Figure 6), probably the most universally known feature of the landscape of the communist period in Albania, were the product of one of the worst periods of the regime. Between 1977 and 1981, Hoxha's paranoia (motivated principally by the possibility to suffer attacks from the part of Tito's Yugoslavia) led to the realisation of some 400,000 concrete bunkers of various shapes and sizes (Glass 2008; Stefa and Mydity 2009). As remarked by many, beyond the titanic economic effort (quantifiable in about 2% of the overall

material production) the most enduring effect of the 'bunkerisation' of Albania was the creation of what has been defined as a 'siege mentality' (Glass 2008, 41–42; O'Donnell 1999, 137). The broad Albanian population was kept in constant fear of foreign invasions, resulting in a diffused militarisation.

The consequences of these processes are far-fetched and cannot be discussed here in full. As for the influence on the perception of the built environment, it is necessary to highlight that the construction and maintenance of bunkers was the outcome of the collective effort of army members and civilians alike. In her in-depth examination of the role of bunkers in Albanian rural society, Glass (2008, 31–35) emphasizes the critical role families and individuals played in both their construction and maintenance, through voluntary work: "Bunkers are personified by people and people are personified by bunkers. Their biographies are intertwined; from the population involvement in their creation to military use under Communism and to later re-use phases" (Glass 2008, 44). This is extremely interesting as it confirms the importance of work and physical engagement in shaping the relationship between Albanians and the material inheritance of the communist period.
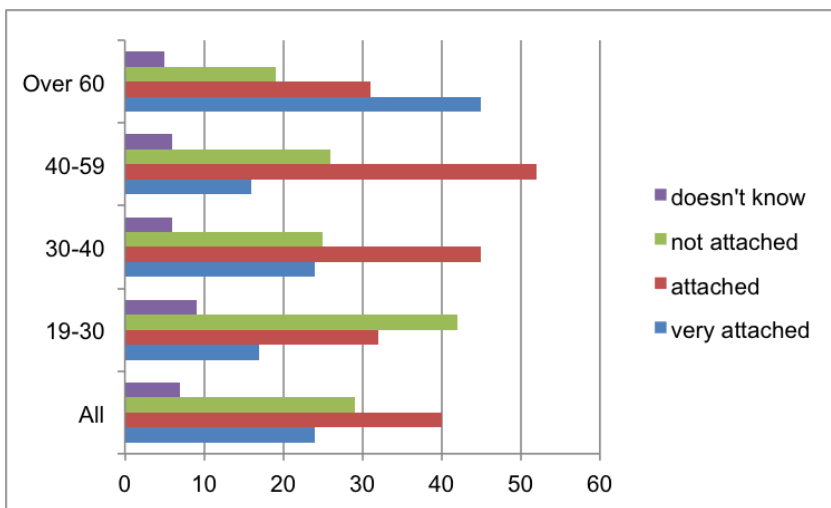

Figure 5. Answer of the sample to the question: Do you feel attached to the monuments of the communist period? Percentage in different age groups.

Figure 6. Bunker around Vlorë. Photo by the authors

Memory and its incorporation

In order to make sense of the trends grasped though the brief overview of the survey data offered so far, it is necessary to start from the basic point that much of the sociability during the communist regime centred on the ideology of work that permeated social life in Albania. This is not unlike what we saw in other former eastern bloc contexts and the "special form of sociability" to which Todorova (2010b, 7) referred was arguably connected to this. From a young age, work was not only performed in factories and other workplaces but also embedded in public life and this has important implications in the perception particularly of public buildings. While party structures compressed the private life of citizens, they were often involved in a number of, theoretically voluntary but in practice coerced or semi-coerced, social and work activities undertaken through a variety of clubs and associations related with the most disparate spheres, from professional to leisure (Djilas

1985). Public spaces (both buildings and open areas) were the locus of such activities which often, and despite the façade-nature of many activities here undertaken (Voicu and Voicu 2003, 2 define them as the space "of lying, of the official fake reality"), acquired a considerable memory-value for those taking part in them. This habitual (*sensu* Bourdieu 1977) attachment was neither intrinsically negative nor positive but accompanied a large portion of the lifetime of many people in all its aspects and daily routines. It was simply activity more than any attempt to make sense of it and adjust it to an internalised moral and political narrative that shaped the way people related to the places in which they spent their lives. Such activity, continued through various generations over the course of some 40 years, created an entanglement that represents an important element in value judgements over the built environment (Huyssen 2003). Thus, historical buildings, even recent ones such as those here discussed, collect fragments of personal histories that cannot be pigeonholed into an all-encompassing category of traumatic memory.

In his seminal book *How Societies Remember*, Connerton (1989) suggested the existence of two main domains of memory: one that operated through various types of texts and verbal codification of experience (named inscribed memory), and another one whose main characteristic is non-verbalised repetitive activity, which sets the body as the main fulcrum (named incorporated memory). Despite that in many cases pseudo-voluntary work performed during the communist regime was codified in and justified through the official ideology of the regime and thus 'inscribed' in some way, it is undoubted that incorporation was also pivotal. Reiterated incorporated activity was what created the bond that persists to this day between people and buildings/ monuments. Connerton (1989, 94) suggests that "predisposition formed through the frequent repetition of a number of specific acts is an intimate and fundamental part of ourselves" and that "such habits have

power because they are so intimately a part of ourselves". It is this material engagement that transcended the rhetoric of party propaganda and created a realm of shared practice that was of critical importance in the social life of Albanians during the regime.

Figure 7. Voluntary work in the Aksione in 1965 (see text). Photo courtesy of Fatos Çuçi.

To this extent, the "affection" of citizens of Tirana for the Piramida can be also understood in terms of incorporated memory. In the aftermath of the death of the leader, the construction of the museum called for the mobilisation of extraordinary energies. These were channelled through a model of voluntary work well established in Albanian society in which the regime resorted regularly. Particularly important is the involvement of young Albanians that were dragged from all over the country for about two months after the end of school/ university year in what was called then Aksioni (short for *Aksionet e rinisë me punë vullnetare*; that is Youth Action through Voluntary Work; Figure 2) to work on projects as different as designing/building

ferries, land reclamation and many others (Mero 2013). Documents in the National Albanian Archive record the considerable effort performed by Albanians in completing the *Piramida*, with materials and workforce gathered from every corner of the country. Many people, now in their fifties and sixties in Albania, have fond memories of taking part in some way in its construction. An experience of this kind is the basis of the affection of people of this generation for this building, which does not easily fit in an overall narrative of unwanted or difficult heritage. In spite of being 'hijacked' by party propaganda and being made subservient to the paranoid agenda of the regime (i.e. in the case of bunkers), voluntary work encapsulated (among many negative) also positive aspects of cooperation and service for the public good. It is this universe of values incorporated in daily practices (that has by and large disappeared from the landscape of socialisation in modern day Albania), that is missed by many. Undoubtedly, this has evaporated because its social coordinates did not resonate with western modernity, the new accepted orthodoxy in Albania. To this extent, the lesser attachment of young Albanians towards the material remains of their recent past, can perhaps also mirror the final incorporation of the country in western modernity and the related cultural amnesia towards its recent past, emerging as a side effect of this general process (Connerton 2009). However, the interest demonstrated, also by the young, in preserving its material inheritance seems to represent a strong counter-argument against this and, therefore, we can assert that, at least for now, the influence of modernity in these affective dynamics seems to be relatively small.

Conclusions

In this paper we have tried to investigate the public perception of cultural heritage from the recent dictatorial past in contemporary Albania, comparing this specific case study with similar situations

occurring in other former eastern bloc countries. We have highlighted the apparent contradiction between heritage theorists' conceptualisation of communist heritage as dissonant, difficult and overall traumatic, and the existence, noted by cultural theorists, of a sense of nostalgia for certain aspects of life during socialism.

In order to explore this dichotomy, we decided to take on the exploration of the perception of the most iconic communist monument in Tirana, the Piramida, the former personal museum of the dictator Enver Hoxha. We did this through a survey aimed at a large sample of the population of the Albanian capital city Tirana. Our results evidenced first the important role played by the Pyramid and other monuments of the same period in the life of citizens of Tirana. At the same time, results highlighted that, although traumatic aspects are undoubtedly part of the memory of the communist period, they are not enough to explain the relationship of Albanians with the material relics of this period. In our opinion, a critical aspect in order to understand this relationship resides in the way work, despite ideological aspects, was able to create a bond between people, different communities, and the built environment primarily through the incorporation of collective practices and their non-verbalised memorialisation.

The acknowledgement of the importance of these often neglected aspects neither implies that trauma should not be taken into account nor that we should embrace a less critical stance toward misdeeds perpetrated through some fifty years of communist regimes in the Eastern bloc. Rather, these features contribute to producing a well-rounded image of life under the regime(s) in all its facets, and to a better comprehension of post-socialist societies.

Needless to say, the article reflects only the view of the authors and they are the only responsible for any error and/or inaccuracy.

APPENDIX

1) Can you list the 5 most important monuments/landmarks of Tirana you can think of?

   (open answer)

2) Do you think it is useful to preserve the memory of the communist period?

   a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

3) Do you feel attached to the monuments of the communist period?

   a) very attached, b) attached, C) not attached, d) doesn't know.

4) Do you think it is useful to preserve the physical remains of the communist past?

   a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

5) Why do you think the physical remains of the communist period should be protected?

   a) because they remind us all the wrongs made by the regime, b) because they represent part of the history of this country, c) because they are part of people's lives, d) other …….., e) doesn't know.

6) What do monuments of the communist period in general make you think of?

   a) Enver Hoxha, b) Communism, c) the specific place in which they are located, d) other ......

7) Can you put the following examples of communist buildings in order from the most important to be preserved to the least so?

   a) Institutional buildings, b) bunkers, c) statues and other monuments, d) prison camps & related cemeteries.

8) Do you think the public in Albania is interested in its communist heritage?

   a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

9) If your answer to the previous question was no, why do you think the public is not interested in the heritage of the communist period?

   a) it reminds of a bad period, b) paying too much attention to that period does not help the process of modernisation of Albania, c) digging too much in the inheritance of the communist period may threaten some people still holding important positions within the Albanian state, d) other ......

10) Do you think the Albanian state should devote resources to the preservation of monuments of the communist period?

   a) yes, b) no, c) doesn't know.

11) What does the Pyramid makes you think of?

   a) Enver Hoxha, b) communism, c) Tirana, d) other ......

12) Do you think the Pyramid is important as a landscape mark for the city of Tirana?

   a) yes, b) no.

13) Do you agree or disagree with the plan to demolish the Pyramid?

a) Agree, b) disagree, c) doesn't care.

14) If you disagree, why do you think the Pyramid should be preserved?

(open answer)

References

Bater, J.H. 1980. *The Soviet City: Ideal and Reality*. Edward Arnold London.

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Buchli, V. 1999. *An Archaeology of Socialism*. Materializing Culture. Oxford ; New York: Berg.

Connerton, P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Connerton, P. 2009. *How Modernity Forgets*. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Djilas, M. 1985. *Rise and Fall*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Eaton, J., and E. Roshi. 2014. Chiseling Away at a Concrete Legacy: Engaging with Communist-Era Heritage and Memory in Albania. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 39 (3): 312–19.

Fabian, J. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Galaty, M., S.R. Stocker, and C. Watkinson. 2000. Beyond Bunkers: Dominance, Resistance and Change in an Albanian Regional Landscape. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12 (2): 197–214.

Gell, A. 2001. *The Anthropology of Time: Cultural Constructions of Temporal Maps and Images*. Oxford ; Providence: Bloomsbury Academic.

Glass, E.J. 2008. *A Very Concrete Legacy: An Investigation into the Materiality and Mentality of Communist Bunkers in Albania*. MA, University of Bristol.

González Ruibal, A. 2009. Topography of Terror or Cultural Heritage? The Monuments of Franco´s Spain. In *Europe's Deadly Century: Perspectives on 20th-Century Conflict Heritage*, edited by Neil Forbes, Robin Page, and Guillermo Pérez, 65–72. Swindon: English Heritage.

Harrison, R. 2013. Forgetting to Remember, Remembering to Forget: Late Modern Heritage Practices, Sustainability and the 'crisis' of Accumulation of the Past. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19 (6): 579–95.

Henderson, J.C. 2007. Communism, Heritage and Tourism in East Asia. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 13 (3): 240–54.

Herscher, A. 2006. Counter Heritage and Violence. *Future Anterior* 3 (2): 24–33.

Huyssen, A. 2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. 1 edition. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Ibañez-Tirado, D. 2015. "How Can I Be Post-Soviet If I Was Never Soviet?" Rethinking Categories of Time and Social Change – a Perspective from Kulob, Southern Tajikistan. *Central Asian Survey* 34 (2): 190–203.

Ivanov, S. 2009. Opportunities for Developing Communist Heritage Tourism in Bulgaria. *Tourism Review* 57 (2): 177–92.

Jovanović, M. 2013. "The City in Our Hands": Urban Management and Contested Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Belgrade. *Urban History* 40 (01): 32–50.

Kadare, I. 2013. *The Pyramid*. Translated by David Bellos. New Delhi: Vintage Classics.

Kaneva, N., ed. 2014. *Branding Post-Communist Nations: Marketizing National Identities in the "New" Europe*. Reprint edition. Routledge.

Klosi, A., and A. Lame. 2011. *Piramida e Tiranës: e hijshme, e braktisur, e rrezikuar*. Tiranë: Dudaj.

Light, D. 2000a. An Unwanted Past: Contemporary Tourism and the Heritage of Communism in Romania. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 6 (2): 145–60.

Light, D. 2000b. Gazing on Communism: Heritage Tourism and Post-Communist Identities in Germany, Hungary and Romania. *Tourism Geographies* 2 (2): 157–76.

Logan, W., and K. Reeves. 2009. *Places of Pain and Shame: Dealing with "Difficult Heritage."* 1 edition. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Macdonald, S. 2006. Undesirable Heritage: Fascist Material Culture and Historical Consciousness in Nuremberg. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12 (1): 9–28.

Macdonald, S. 2008. *Difficult Heritage: Negotiating the Nazi Past in Nuremberg and Beyond*. 1 edition. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge.

Mero, A. 2013. *Rinia E Aksioneve*. Fan Noli. Tiranë.

Myhrberg, K. 2011. Heritage from the Communist Period in Albania - An Unwanted Heritage Today? Gothenburg: University of Gothenburg.

O'Donnell, J. 1999. *A Coming of Age: Albania under Enver Hoxha*. East European Monographs, no. 517. Boulder : New York: East European Monographs ; Distributed by Columbia University Press.

Otto, J.E. 2008. Representing Communism: Discourses of Heritage Tourism and Economic Regeneration in Nowa Huta, Poland. PhD, University of Minnesota.

Pojani, D. 2010. Tirana. *Cities* 27 (6): 483–95.

Sharma, S. 2014. *In the Meantime: Temporality and Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press Books.

Stefa, E., and G. Mydyti. 2009. *Concrete Mushrooms: Bunkers in Albania*. Milano: Politecnico di Milano.

Stewart, P.J., and A. Strathern, eds. 2003. *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*. Anthropology, Culture, and Society. London ; Sterling, Va: Pluto.

Todorova, M.N. 2010a. Blowing up the Past: The Mausoleum of Georgi Dimitrov as Lieu de Mémoire. In *Remembering Communism: Genres of Representation*, edited by M.N. Todorova, 391–444. New York: Social Science Research Council.

Todorova, M.N. 2010b. From Utopia to Propaganda and Back. In *Post-Communist Nostalgia*, edited by M.N. Todorova and Z. Gille, 1–13. New York: Berghahn Books.

Todorova, M.N. (ed.) 2010c. *Remembering Communism: Genres of Representation*. New York: Social Science Research Council.

Todorova, M.N., and Z. Gille, eds. 2010. *Post-Communist Nostalgia*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Tunbridge, J.E., and G.J. Ashworth. 1996. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict*. 1 edition. Chichester ; New York: Belhaven Press.

Viejo-Rose, D. 2014. *Reconstructing Spain: Cultural Heritage and Memory After Civil War*. Sussex Academic Press.

Voicu, B., and M. Voicu. 2003. Volunteering in Eastern Europe: One of the Missing Links? Round Table paper presented at the Globalization, Integration and Social Development in Central and Eastern Europe. http://www.bogdanvoicu.home.ro.

Weszkalnys, Gisa. 2010. *Berlin, Alexanderplatz: Transforming Place in a Unifed Germany*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Wiśniewski, M. 2012. A Belated Pardon. Some Remarks on the Nostalgia for the Unwanted Heritage of Communist Poland. *Herito* 7: 80–97.

Young, C., and S. Kaczmarek. 2008. The Socialist Past and Postsocialist Urban Identity in Central and Eastern Europe The Case of Łódź, Poland. *European Urban and Regional Studies* 15 (1): 53–70.

AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology

AP Journal is a peer-reviewed journal devoted exclusively to Public Archaeology. It is freely distributed online on the Website:

www.arqueologiapublica.es

You can also follow us on:

Blogger:

http://arqueologiapublica.blogspot.com/

Twitter:

http://twitter.com/APjournal

Facebook:

http://www.facebook.com/APJournal