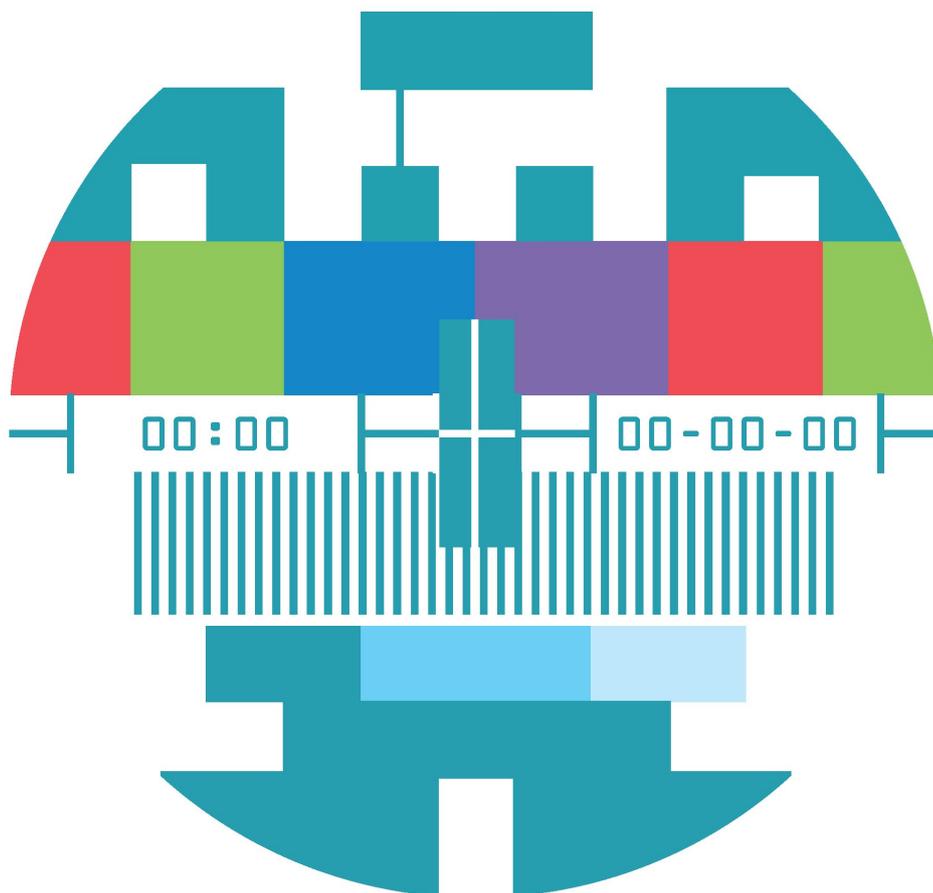


Results of the survey

Citizens understanding and perceptions of the Communist past in Albania and expectations for the future



The survey on “Citizens’ understanding and perceptions of the Communist past in Albania and expectations for the future,” conducted in September 2015 by the Institute for Development Research and Alternatives (IDRA), is part of the OSCE Presence in Albania’s project “Supporting a platform for national dialogue about the human rights violations of Albania’s former Communist regime”, implemented with support from the Federal Republic of Germany. The views expressed in this publication do not necessarily present those of the OSCE Presence in Albania.

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Institute
for Development
Research and
Alternatives – IDRA

IDRA is a non-profit, non-governmental and non-partisan independent think-tank established by a group of experienced researchers in 2000. It promotes the values of freedom and democracy, free market economy, and civil society, continuously serving the democratization of Albanian society and the process of integration into the European Union. The mission of IDRA is to serve as an expertise providing institute and an effectual bridge between the community and institutions, by being attentive to the problems faced by Albanian society and by enhancing the co-operation and dialogue in a nonpartisan, ethical, and professional way.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This survey was developed as part of the efforts of the OSCE Presence in Albania (the Presence) to support a depoliticized platform for discussion of Albania's Communist past, with the ultimate goal of ensuring that Albanian society is better informed and prepared to address the country's history under Communist dictatorship. More specifically, this survey was intended to provide new data about how Albanians see the Communist past of the country, what they actually know about the former regime, and what they expect or want from efforts to deal with the legacy of this past. The Presence was also particularly concerned with citizen perceptions and expectations regarding the opening of the files of the former state secret service (Sigurimi). The opening of the files was initiated in 2015 with the passing of a law to create a state body responsible for carrying out this process. At the time of publication, the law has yet to be fully implemented.

The study was undertaken with a nationally representative sample of 995 people, interviewed face-to-face. The results are disaggregated by age, gender, education, geographic location of residence, and status as a formerly persecuted or imprisoned person, for certain questions. The questions were determined jointly by the Presence and the Institute for Development Research and Alternatives (IDRA), with input from Cultural Heritage without Borders as regards sites of memory in particular.

The presentation of the main findings is divided into four sections. Firstly, the results regarding perceptions of the legacy of Communism as a contemporary problem are presented, followed in the next section by the findings about the expectations and concerns regarding different possible ways of dealing with the Communist past. Thirdly, results regarding knowledge of the former regime are presented, and fourthly, the data on perceptions of Albania's Communist regime and life during that era.

Finally, the Presence has highlighted some conclusions that can be drawn from the data. In general, people do not see the legacy of Albania's Communist past as a big

problem facing the country today, especially compared to issues such as the economy, corruption and bad governance. Nonetheless, the results show that there is support for opening the files of the former secret service, and the survey also revealed a strong interest in lustration on the part of citizens. As regards knowledge of the former regime, young people know less about the features of Albanian Communism than older groups. People in the North also seem less informed about the former regime, overall. However, in general, the main features of life under Communism are well understood. It was interesting to note the dominant role that television has in teaching people about the Communist past, while school seems to have an extremely limited role. Concerning perceptions, the data show that perception of the Communist regime is not uniform and it would be a mistake to assume that all Albanians see Communism negatively. Almost half of the people surveyed think that Communism in Albania was 'a good idea, poorly implemented,' but there are divergent opinions. The perception of life under Communist is also not uniform. The majority of people felt that at least some aspects of life were better under the regime, such as safety, education, and employment. The aspects of life that people felt were worse include economic development, the lack of freedom, and infringement of human rights. There is a remarkable divide among respondents regarding their perception of Enver Hoxha's role in the history of Albania, which is seen as positive by almost half of the population, and negative by the other half. Opinions were also quite divided about other prominent people from the Communist time such as Nexhmije Hoxha and Ramiz Alia.

The picture that emerges from the data is complex, and it is important to carefully examine the variations that exist within the population instead of merely relying on the aggregated findings. Indeed, there are some notable differences in knowledge, perception and expectations among people of different genders, age, education, place of residence, and history of persecution. This further underlines the need for a nuanced and inclusive approach to the work of dealing with Albania's Communist past.



A. Project background

The survey on “Citizens’ understanding and perceptions of the Communist past in Albania and expectations for the future,” conducted in September 2015 by IDRA, is part of the Presence’s project “Supporting a platform for national dialogue about the human rights violations of Albania’s former Communist regime”, implemented with support from

the Federal Republic of Germany. The focus of the project is on supporting a depoliticized platform for discussion of Albania’s Communist past, with the ultimate goal of ensuring that Albanian society is better informed and prepared to address the country’s history under Communist dictatorship.

B. Survey objectives

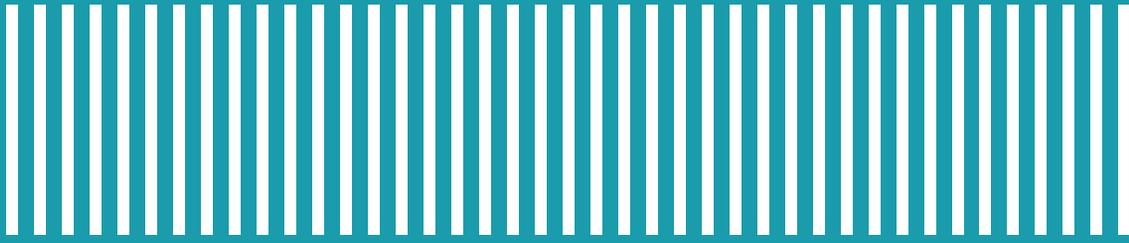
The survey focused on gathering novel information about:

- Citizens’ views of different ways that Albania could ‘deal with the past’, with a particular focus on the opening of the secret service files of the former regime;
- Citizens’ knowledge of the Communist period in Albania, disaggregated to see if there are variations;
- Perceptions of the Communist period, again disaggregated.

The Presence will use this data to inform its on-going work to support inclusive national dialogue about dealing with the

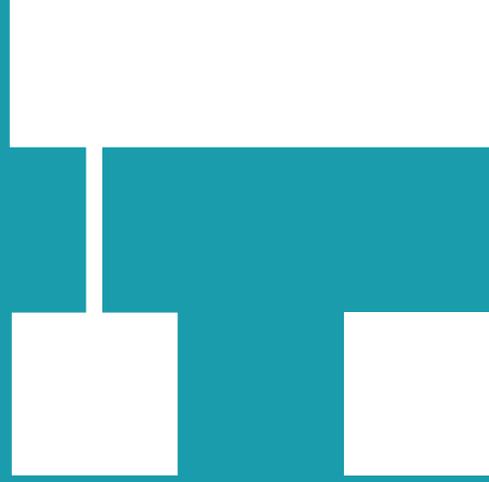
Albania’s Communist past. It is hoped that this data will also be useful to others working in this field: to policy makers, civil society organizations, and researchers in the academic field, among others.

However, this survey is necessarily limited in scope and much more information remains to be gathered in order to have a complete picture of this complex issue. Furthermore, this data is shared without additional analysis to leave it to all interested stakeholders to assess and consider the implications relevant to their particular areas of expertise. Additional research is required to explore the reasons behind the varying results presented in this report.



00:00





METHODOLOGY



METHODOLOGY

A. SAMPLING

A national survey of 995 people was conducted, with respondents over the age of 16. The selection of respondents was a multi-stage process. For sampling purposes, voting centres listed for the last general elections in 2013 served as primary sampling units, using a formula that generates random numbers, taking into account the number of voters for each voting centre and the urban versus rural dimension. Within the area determined by these units, respondents were randomly selected. Every third door

on the right was selected, and the person above 16 years old with the most recent birthday in that household was interviewed.

The error margin for the sample used in this survey is $\pm 3.1\%$ with a confidence range 95%. This means that if the survey were to be repeated with the same samples, 95% of them would reflect data from the selection whose inaccuracy would not exceed $\pm 3.1\%$.

B. ANALYSIS

During the data collection, various scales were used, and so answers could be given, for example, on a scale of 1 to 4, 1 to 5, or 1 to 10 for different questions. For easy comparison, during data processing, these scales were converted to a scale of 0 to 100 according to the following formula:

$$C = \frac{(E - 1)}{(n - 1)} \times 100$$

E – response/evaluation according to the original scale

C – converted value, and

n – number of scale levels

Additionally, the analysis allowed for data to be disaggregated based on the below factors.

1. Age

The sample is categorized in three age groups:

- 16 – 35 years old

Respondents in this category of the sample either were born during the democracy period, or had a short experience of the Communist period in Albania while they were very young.

- 36 – 55 years old

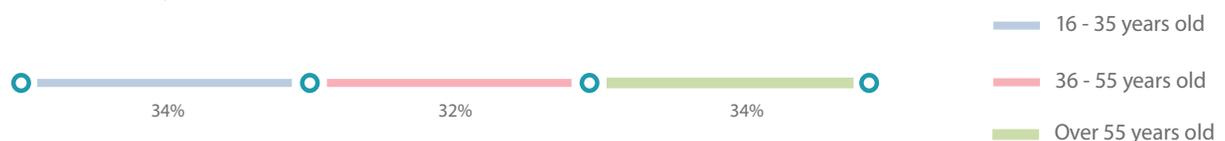
Respondents in this category of the sample have a longer experience of the Communist period in Albania, mainly in their earlier years.

- Over 55 years old

Respondents in this category have a comprehensive experience of the Communist period in Albania.

Respondents by age group

8



2. Gender

Women represented the majority of respondents, at 61%, whereas men represented only 39%.

In the aggregated analysis, women's responses were given less weight in order to reflect Albania's actual gender distribution (men=50% and women=50%).

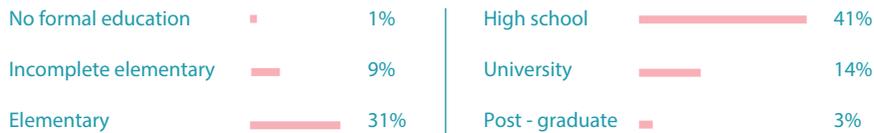
Respondents by gender



3. Education

Educational attainment is broken down into four categories: incomplete elementary education, elementary education, high school and university. The number of respondents with

no formal education and those with post-graduate education were too small to be representative and so were removed for the purposes of analysis.



4. Geographic location of residence

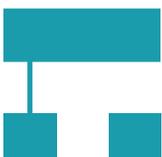
The regions of Albania were divided as follows:

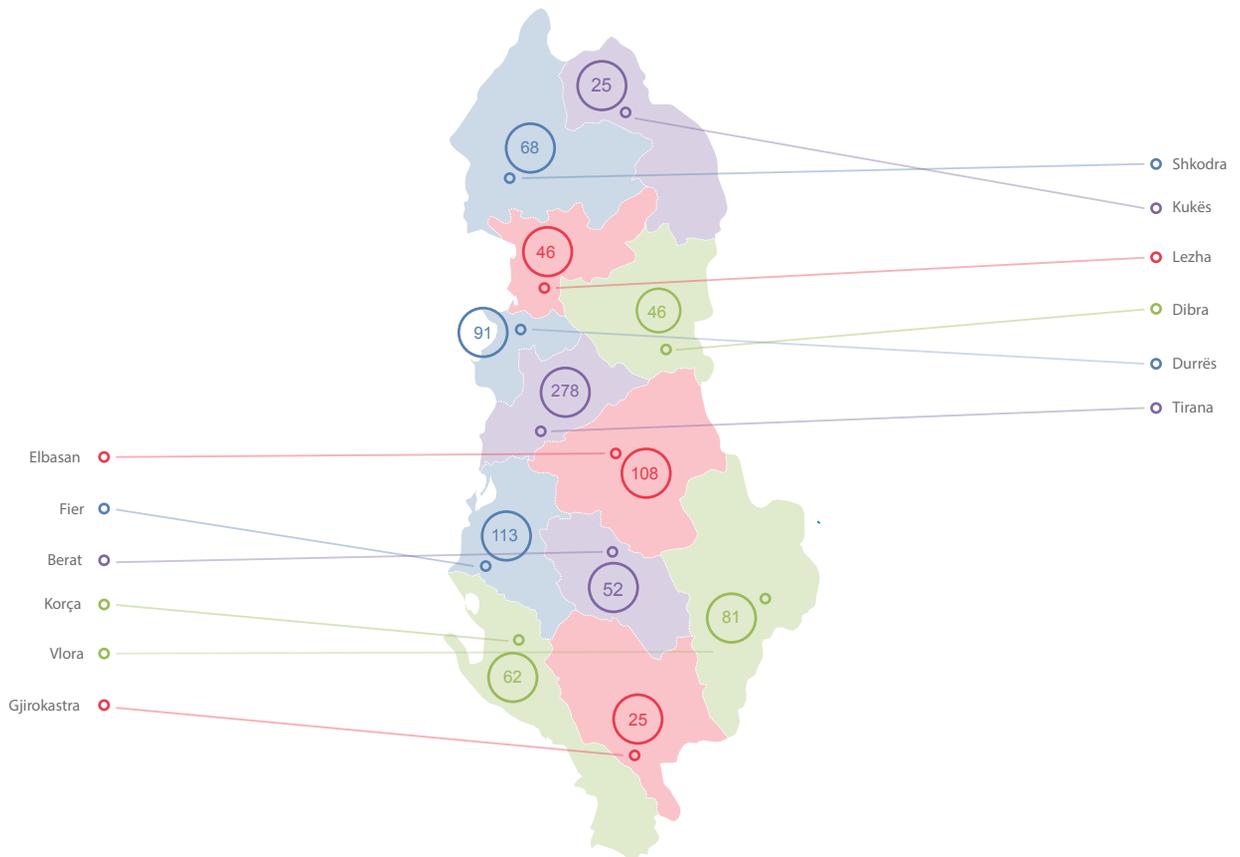
- South/South-western region (Berat, Fier, Gjirokastra & Vlora) representing 26% of interviews

- South-eastern region (Elbasan, Korça) - representing 19% of interviews

- Northern region (Dibra, Kukës, Lezha, Shkodra) representing 27% of interviews

- Central region (Durrës, Tirana) - representing 28% of interviews



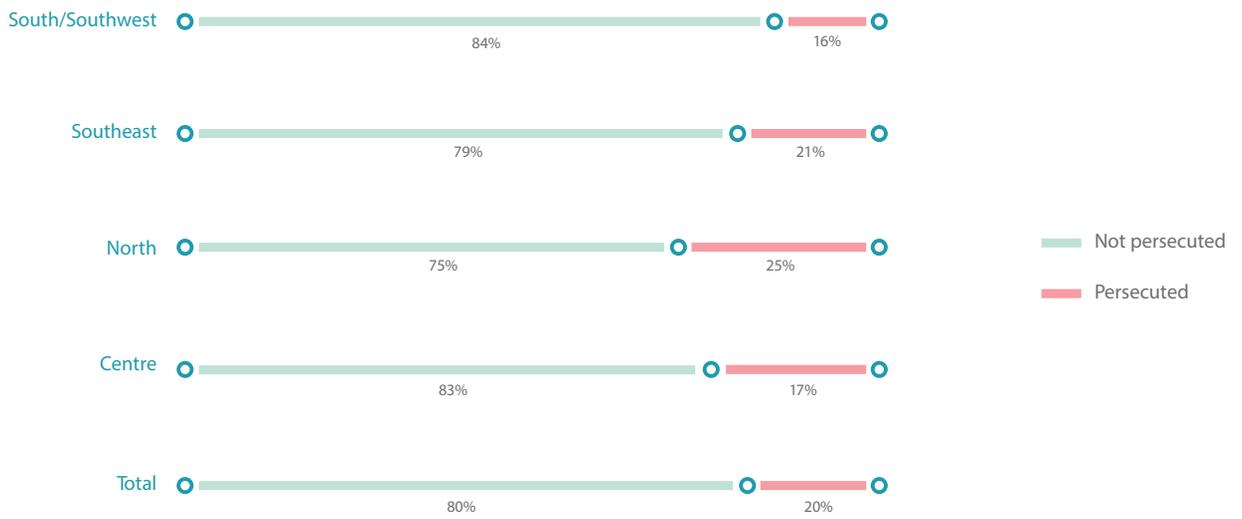


5. Whether the respondent was persecuted or imprisoned by the regime

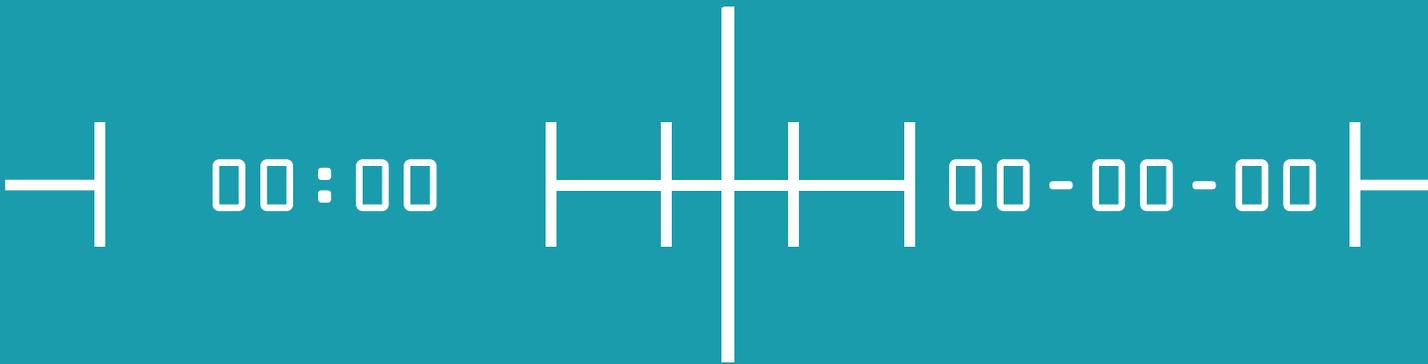
This was self-reported and the respondent's history of persecution or imprisonment was not verified or further assessed by the interviewer. It should be noted that imprisonment under the former regime was not necessarily always politically motivated, and the perception of what constitutes persecution may vary among respondents.

Among respondents for this survey, 197 out of 995 respondents reported having experienced persecution under Communism (either direct persecution or through their relatives), which represents 20% of all respondents. The Northern region had a greater percentage of persecuted people, compared to other regions.

People who experienced persecution under Communism

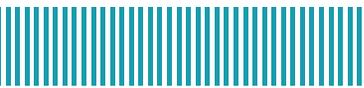






MAIN FINDINGS

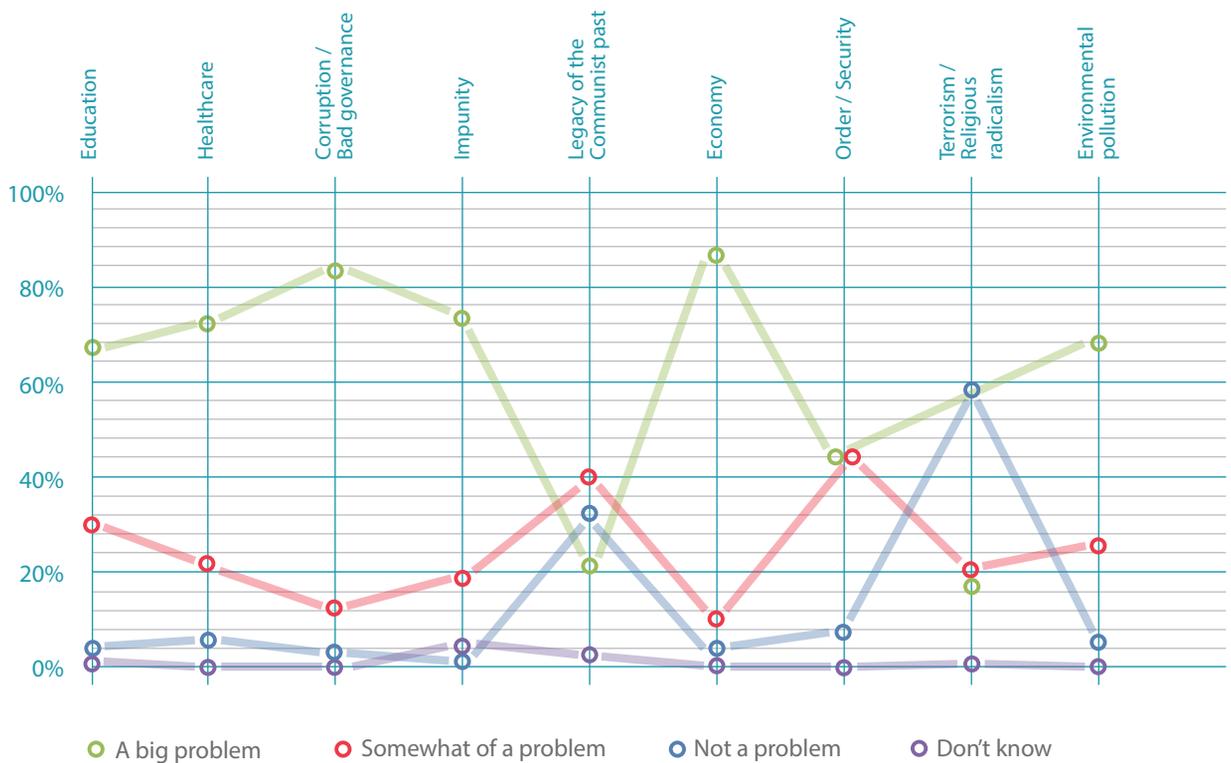




A. IS ALBANIA'S COMMUNIST PAST A PROBLEM?

Respondents were asked to rank different issues in terms of how big a problem they pose, to get a sense of the comparative importance of the Communist past among other problems facing Albanian citizens. A majority of respondents listed the following issues as a 'big problem': education, healthcare, corruption/bad governance, impunity, economy,

and environmental pollution. Order/security was seen as less problematic overall, but still more problematic than the legacy of the Communist past. The least problematic issue was terrorism/religious radicalism. Overall, this shows that the Communist past seems to rank far behind other concerns for Albanians.

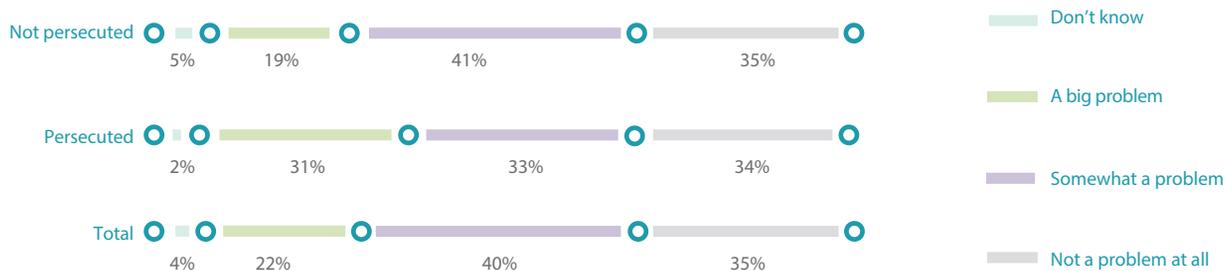


While 62% of respondents felt that the Communist past is at least somewhat problematic, 35% did not feel that the legacy of Communism in Albania is a problem at all. It should be noted that respondents were not given a definition of the "Communist legacy", and so the answers given are based on the perception of the respondents regarding the content

of this legacy. Persecuted people were more likely to see the Communist legacy as a 'big problem' (31%) compared to the general population (only 19%). However, roughly the same percentage of persecuted people and non-persecuted people felt that this past was not at all a problem.

MAIN FINDINGS

How much of a problem is the Communist legacy in Albania?



B. DEALING WITH THE COMMUNIST PAST

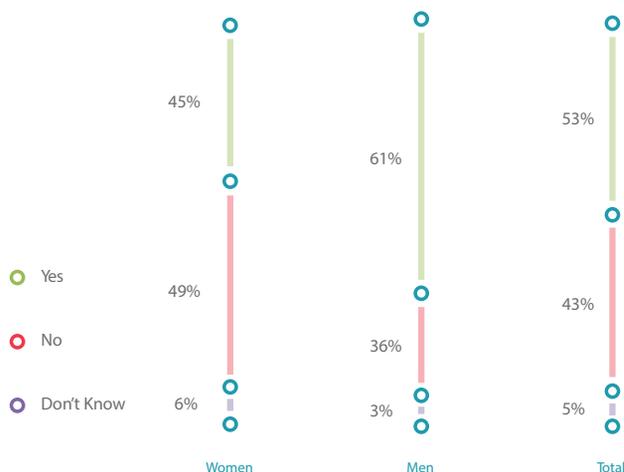
The survey touched on respondents' perception of a number of different options for what the Presence has broadly termed "dealing with the Communist past." This list is certainly not exhaustive and the different possibilities are not presented in any particular order. For the purposes of this survey, there was a greater focus on one particular aspect of dealing with the past: opening the files of the former secret service. A law on opening these files was approved in March 2015, only six months before the survey was carried out. The Presence was

particularly interested in citizen perceptions of this law and its potential impact on the country, as the approval of the law generated substantial debate. Among respondents for this survey, 20% reported having experienced persecution under Communism (either direct persecution or through their relatives). The Presence was particularly interested in gathering information about how persecuted people see the developments related to the opening of the files.

1. Opening the Communist secret service files

Knowledge of the law on opening the files

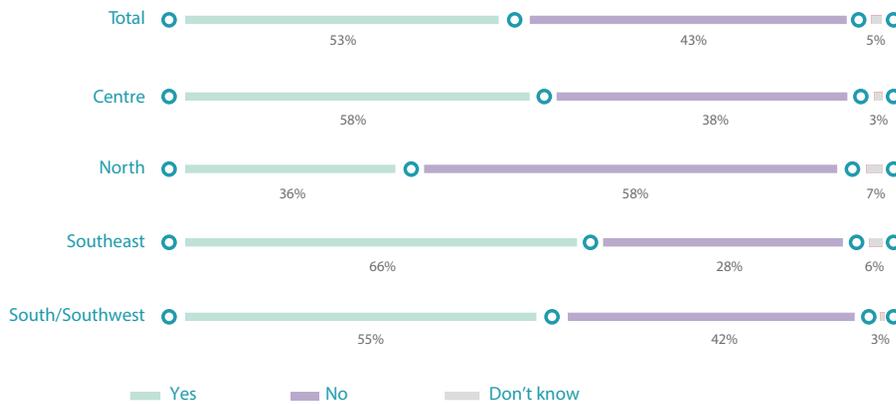
When asked whether they were aware of recently approved legislation on the right to information on the former security service files in Albania, a little more than half (53%) of respondents state that they are aware of this law. Men were more aware of the law (61%) than women (only 45%).



Respondents in the North were the least likely to know about the law (only 36%), whereas those in the Southeast had the

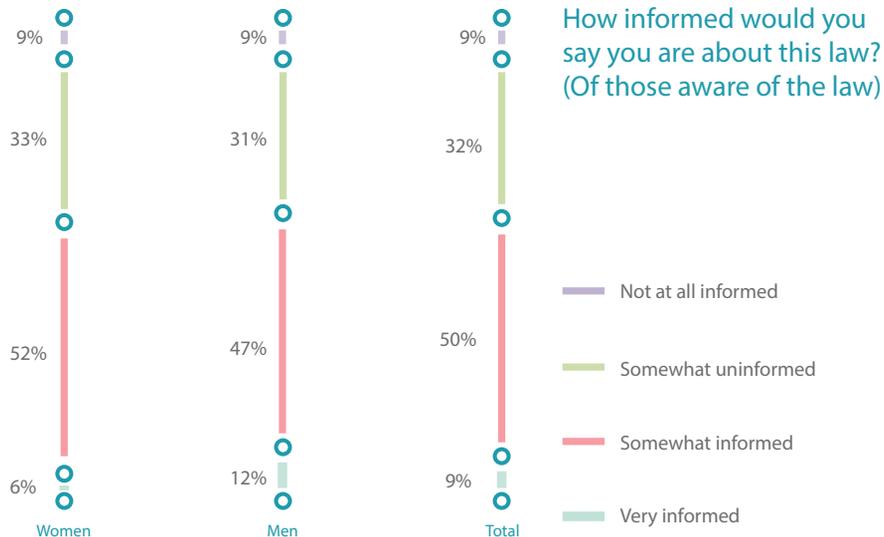
largest proportion of people aware of the law (66%).

Are you aware of a recently approved law on the right of the public to be informed about the files of the former secret service in Albania?

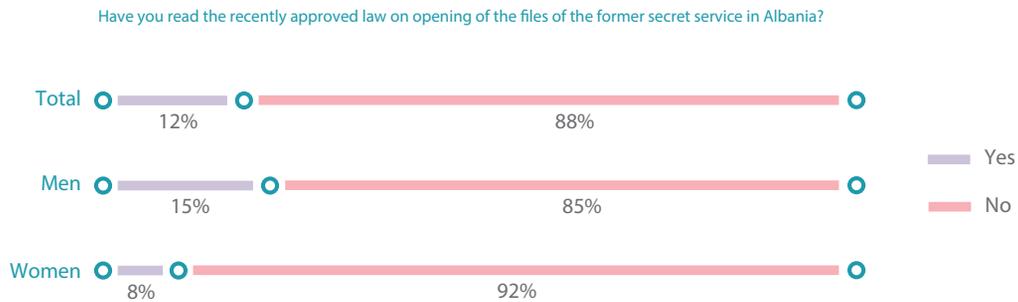


Among respondents that were aware of the law on the opening of the files, 59% said they were informed about the law. This means that, of respondents that had heard of

the law, 41% did not know about its content. Only 12% of respondents who were aware of the law had read it.



MAIN FINDINGS



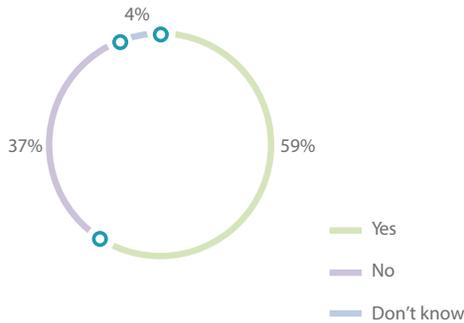
Overall, it appears that persecuted people are not significantly more informed about the law on opening the files, but they do appear to be substantially more interested in and affected by the law. Survey data show that 59% of respondents that experienced persecution are aware of the recently approved legislation on the right to information on the former secret service files in Albania. This is not a significantly higher level of awareness than among the general population, as 53% of all respondents were aware of the law. They were not substantially more informed about the contents of the law either,

as 68% of persecuted respondents who were aware of the law were informed about its contents, and 59% of people in the general population that were aware of the law considered themselves similarly informed.

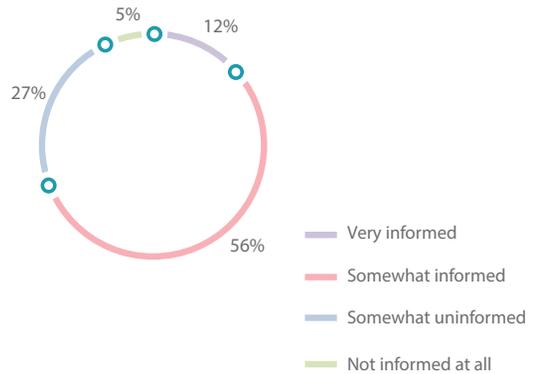
However, 27% of persecuted people that were aware of the law stated that they had read the law, which suggests greater interest or access to information about the law than among the general public, where only 12% of those who were aware of the law had read it.



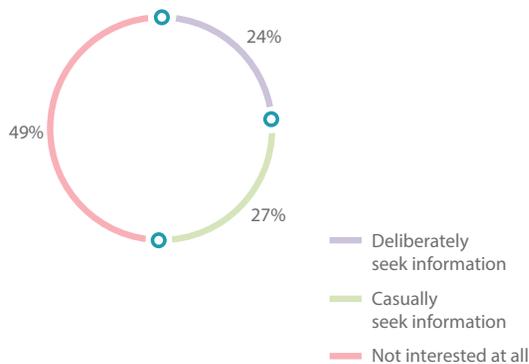
Are you aware of a recently approved law on the right of the public to be informed about the files of the former secret service in Albania?



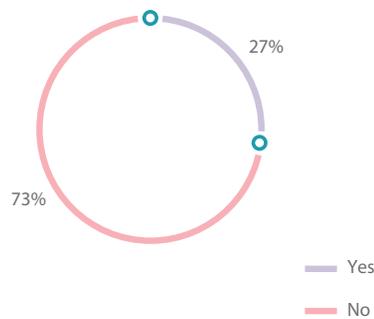
How informed would you say are about this law? (Of those who know about it)



Which of the following statements is true for you on issues related to the opening secret files in Albania?



Have you read the recently approved law on opening of the secret files of the former secret service in Albania? (Of those who know about it)



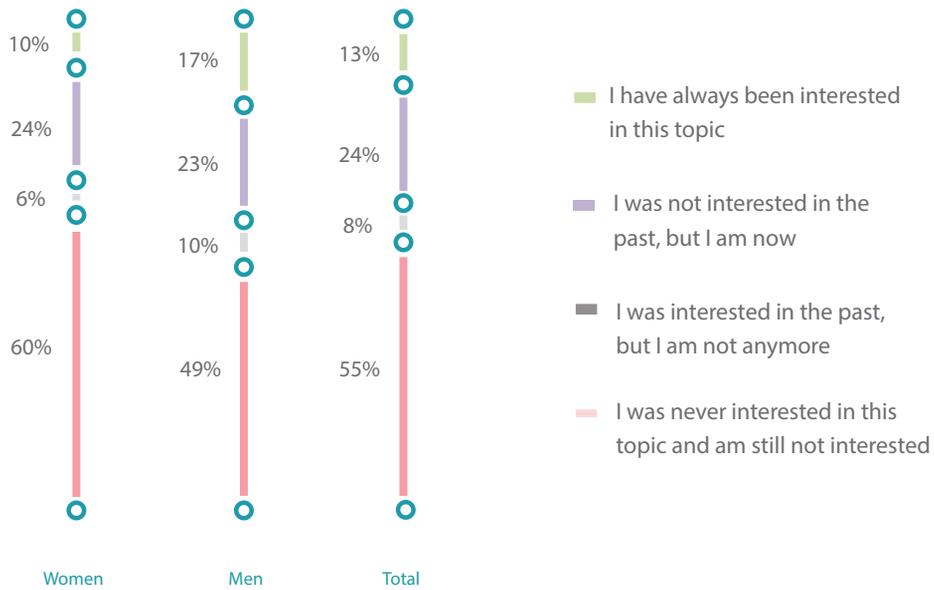
Interest in the opening of the files

The opening of the secret service files of the Communist regime in Albania appears not to stir the interest of the majority, as only 37% of respondents indicate that they are interested in this topic. Over half of respondents (55%) state that they have simply never been interested in the files, and are still not interested today, while 8% state that they were interested in the past, but no longer are. It is noteworthy that

nearly a quarter of respondents (24%) said that they were not interested before, but are interested now - this figure suggests that the recent approval of the law coincides with a modest uptick in interest on the topic. Women showed slightly less interest in the opening of the files than men – only 34% are interested, compared to 40% of men.

MAIN FINDINGS

Which of the following statements apply to you?



When the data are disaggregated by education, it appears that there is a slight increase in interest as the level of

education increases, however the differences are not substantial.

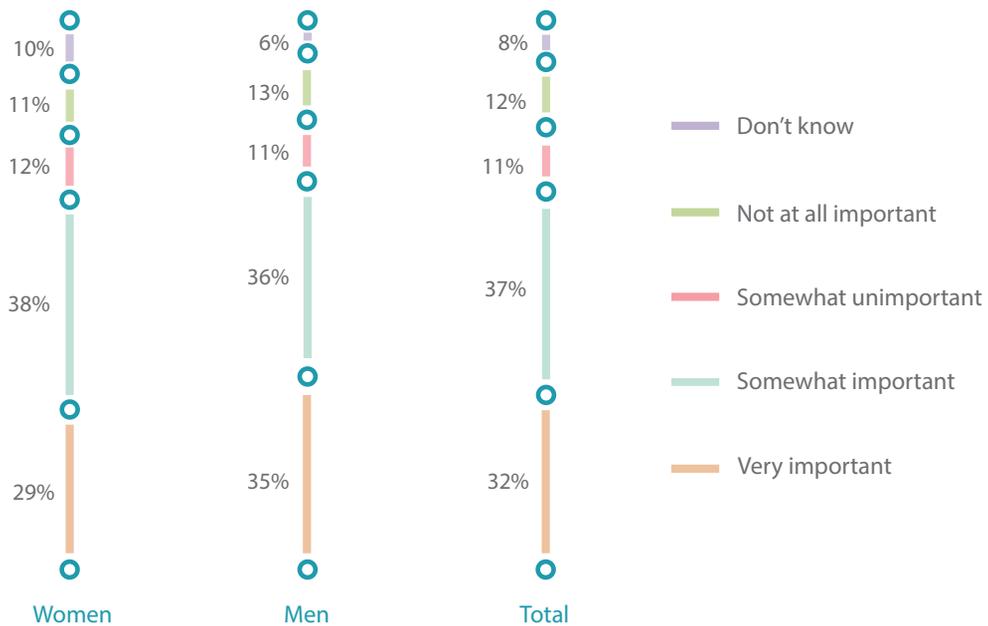
Which of the following statements apply to you?



Respondents were also asked about the importance of the law on the opening of the former secret service files, both for Albania in general and for them personally. It appears that people feel more strongly about the law's importance to the country than to themselves personally. Over two-thirds of respondents (69%) stated that the law on the opening of former secret service files is important for Albania - either "somewhat important" (37%) or "very important" (32%).

However, a significantly smaller proportion of people, about half of respondents, felt that the opening of the files was personally important to them. Additionally, the proportion of people who thought that this law was 'very important' for Albania (32%) was nearly double the proportion of people who found the law 'very important' for themselves personally (just 17%).

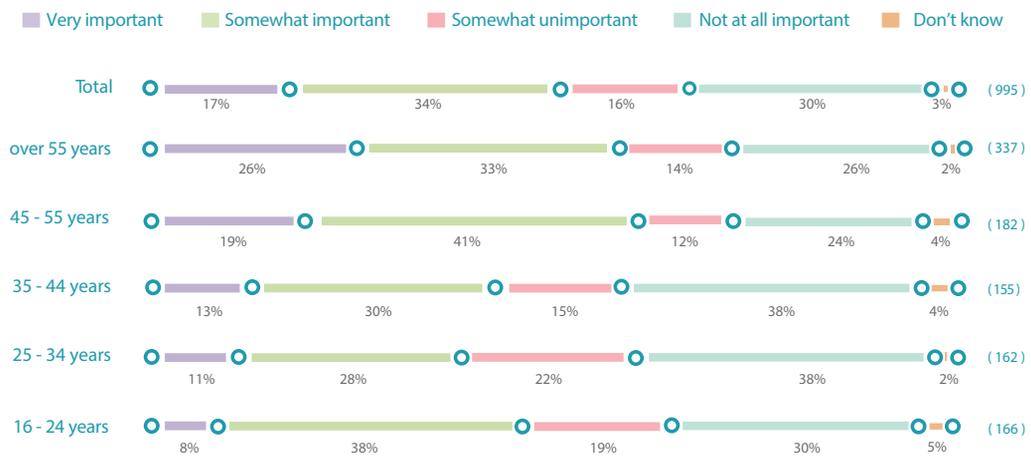
How important is the law on opening the secret service files for Albania? (by gender)



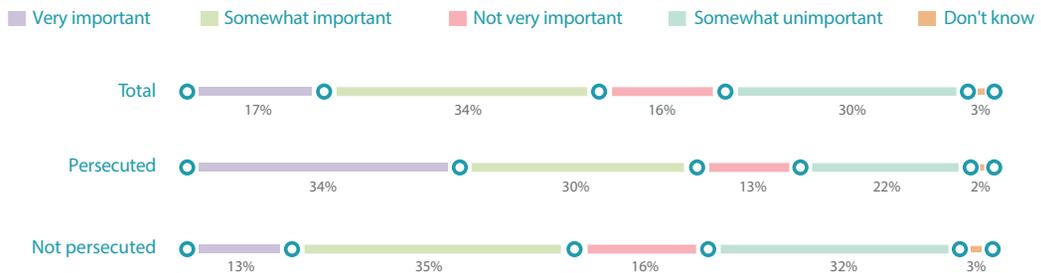
MAIN FINDINGS

By age group, the law was more personally important to older people than to younger people.

How important is the law on opening the secret service files in Albania to you personally? (By age)



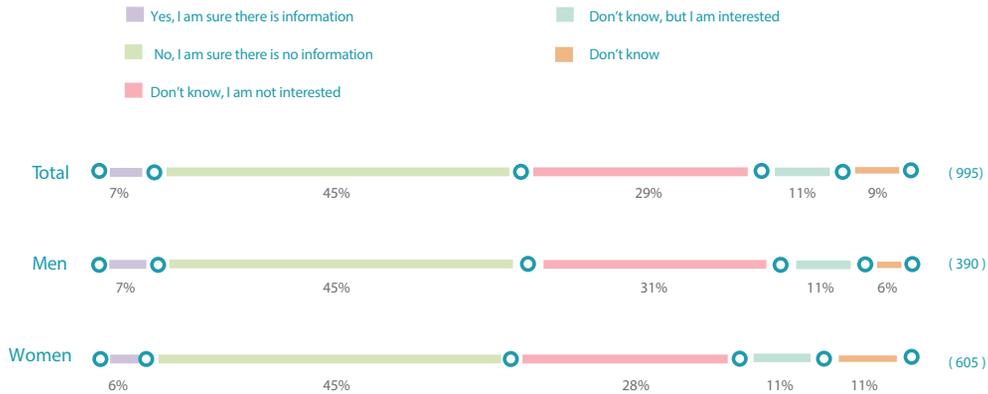
How important is the law on opening the secret service files in Albania to you personally?



Aside from self-reported level of interest, it is also interesting to consider whether people believe they might be affected by the law. However, when asked whether there is currently any material related to them or their close relatives in the former secret service files, almost half of respondents (45%) were certain that there is none, and only a small number (7%)

were certain that there is such material relevant to them in the files. A further 49% responded that they did not know, but most people who did not know were not interested in finding out. Only 11% of all respondents did not know but were interested in finding out.

Do you know if there are any materials related to you personally or your close family members in the secret service files? (By gender)



Regarding the existence of material about them or close family in the secret service files, a much higher proportion of persecuted people were sure that such material does exist – a full 27% are certain, compared to just 7% in the general population. While almost half of respondents in the general population (45%) were certain that there is no such

information, the figure was much lower for persecuted people, and 24% were similarly certain that there is no information relevant to them in the files. It should be noted that 28% of persecuted people did not know whether such material exists and did not care to find out (compared to 29% in the same situation among the general population).

Do you know if there are any materials related to you personally or your close family members in the secret service files? (Persecuted respondents)



When asked whether they would like to see documents related to them in former secret service files, if they find that such files exist, respondents are divided. Half of respondents

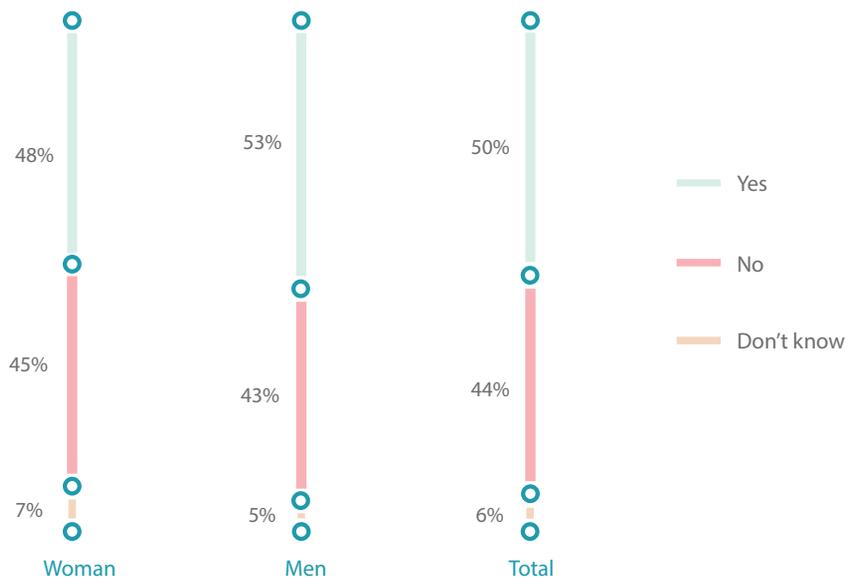
(50%) state that they would like to look at these documents, whereas 44% would not be interested, and 6% did not know. There were no significant differences between men and

MAIN FINDINGS

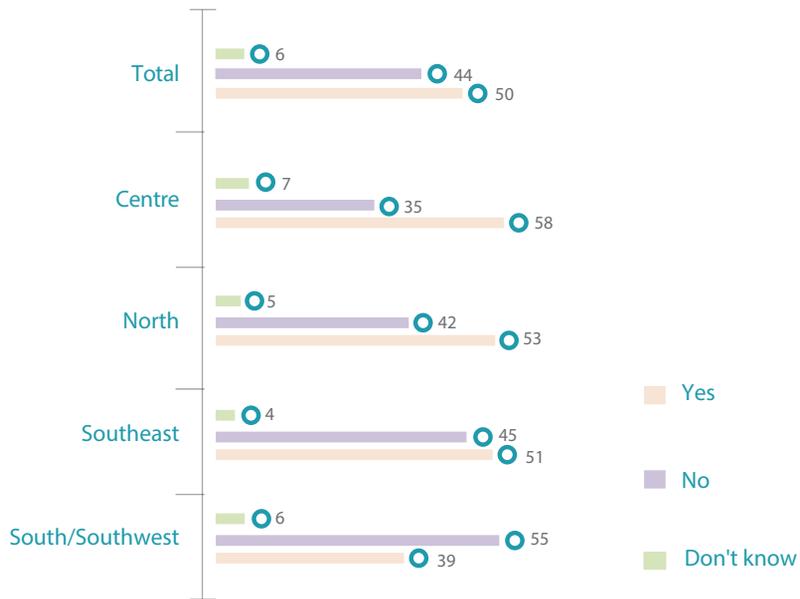
women's responses to this question. By region, the Centre had a slightly higher proportion of people that would like to see documents related to them, if any exist, compared to the average. In contrast, respondents in the South/Southwest region had a higher proportion of people that said they would not look at any such files, compared to the average. When the results were disaggregated by education level, it appeared

that those with university education were more likely to say that they would like to look at the files, if any exist, compared to those with lower levels of education. Additionally, a much higher proportion of persecuted people showed an interest in examining any files (65%) compared to people without a history of persecution (only 47%).

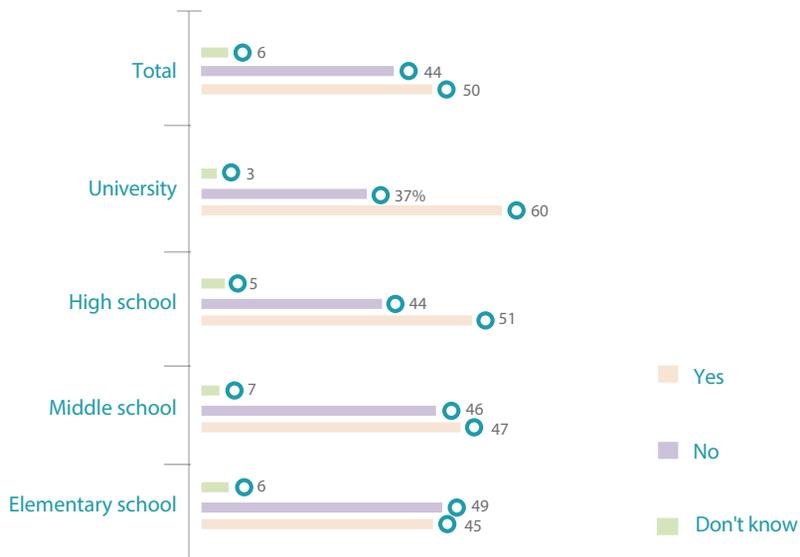
If you find out such documents exist, would you like to look at them? (by gender)



If you find out such documents exist, would you like to look at them?

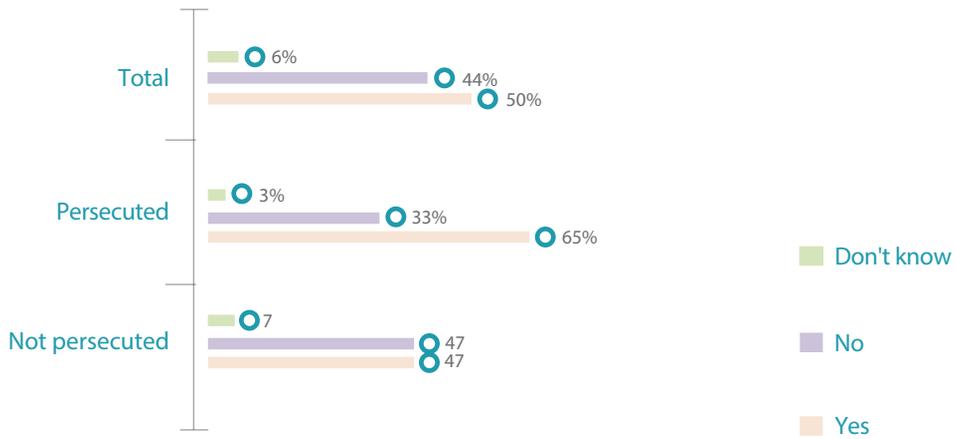


If you find out such documents exist, would you like to look at them?



MAIN FINDINGS

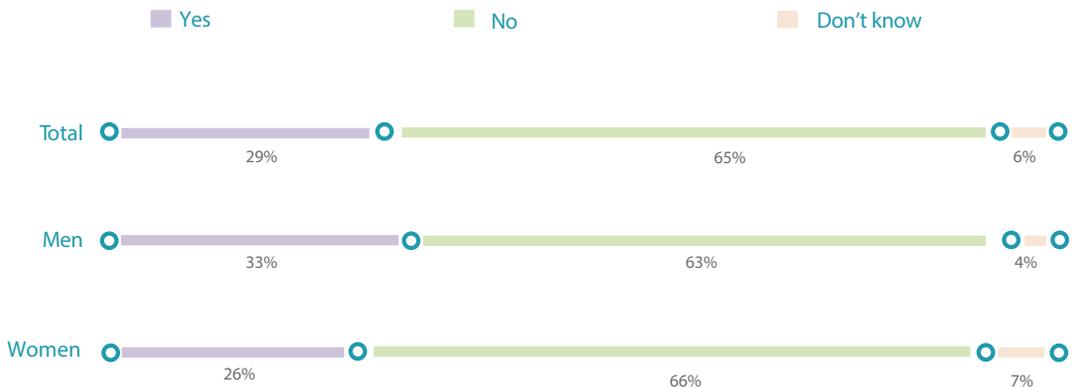
If you find out such documents exist, would you like to look at them?



When asked whether they would approach the authority to check whether there are any materials about themselves or

relatives, about a third of respondents stated that they would.

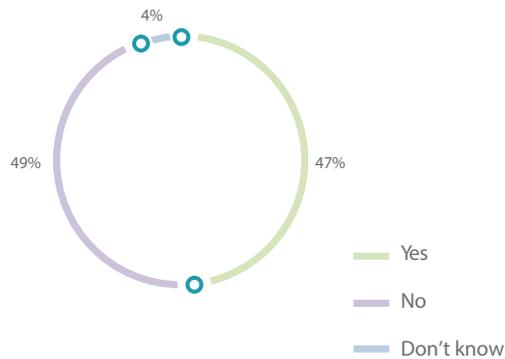
Would you approach the authority responsible for opening the secret files to check whether there are any documents on you or your family?



Survey results show that almost half (47%) of persecuted respondents stated that they would approach the authority responsible for opening the files to check whether there is any material about them or their relatives. This is significantly

higher than the percentage of people in the general population that said they would seek out such information, which was only 29%.

Would you approach the authority responsible for opening the secret files to check whether there are any documents about you or your family?
(Persecuted respondents)

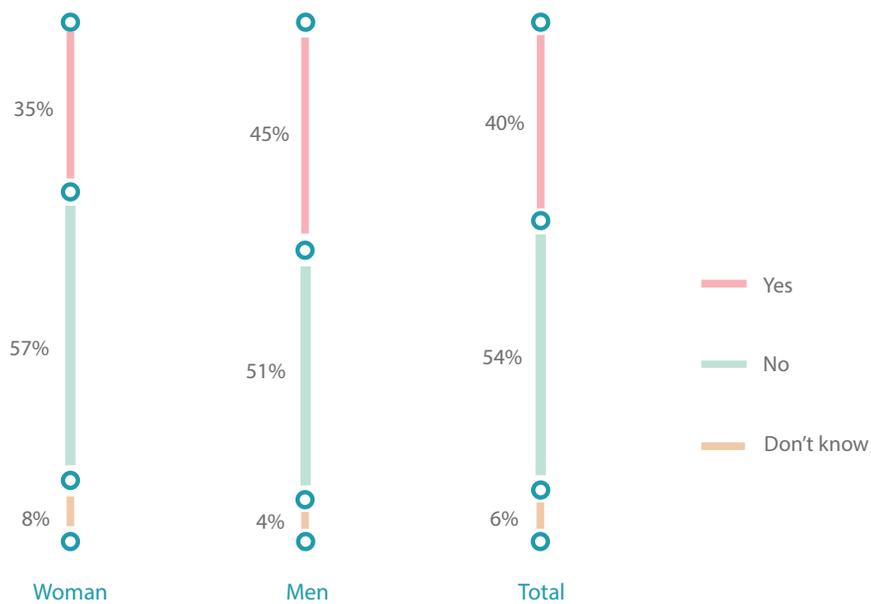


The above information suggests a lack of strong personal interest in the general population as regards obtaining information from the files, but it appears that persecuted people are substantially more interested in and affected by the law. However, a higher proportion showed an interest in being informed about the work of the authority responsible

for the opening of the files. More specifically, 40% of respondents overall stated that they would be interested to be informed on the work of the authority, and interest was higher among men (45% would like to be informed) than women (only 35% felt the same).

MAIN FINDINGS

Would you like to be informed on the work of the authority responsible for opening the secret service files in Albania? (By gender)

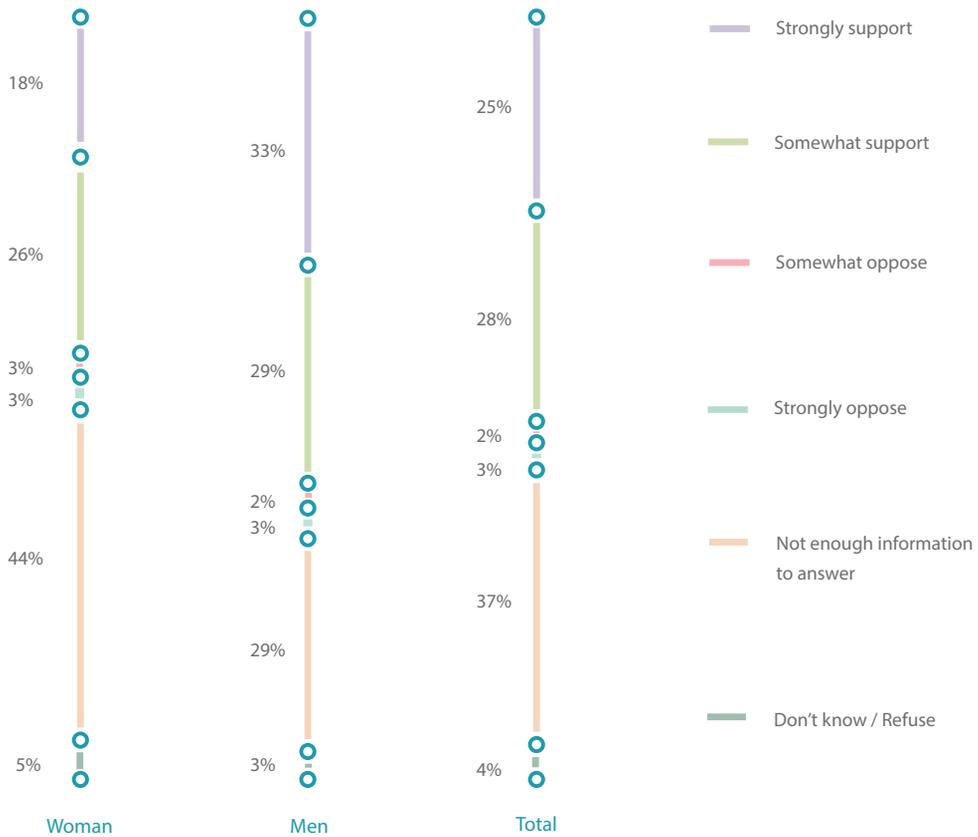


Support for the opening of the files

Overall, the law on the opening of former secret service files is supported by a little more than half of Albanian citizens, while only 5% of respondents opposed it. A considerable number of citizens (37%), however, stated that they do not have adequate information about the law to give an opinion. A larger percentage of women stated that they did not have

enough information about the law, compared to men. Overall, men supported the law on opening the files more strongly than women, with 33% of men expressing strong support, while only 18% of women felt the same.

To what extent do you support or oppose the law on opening the secret service files?

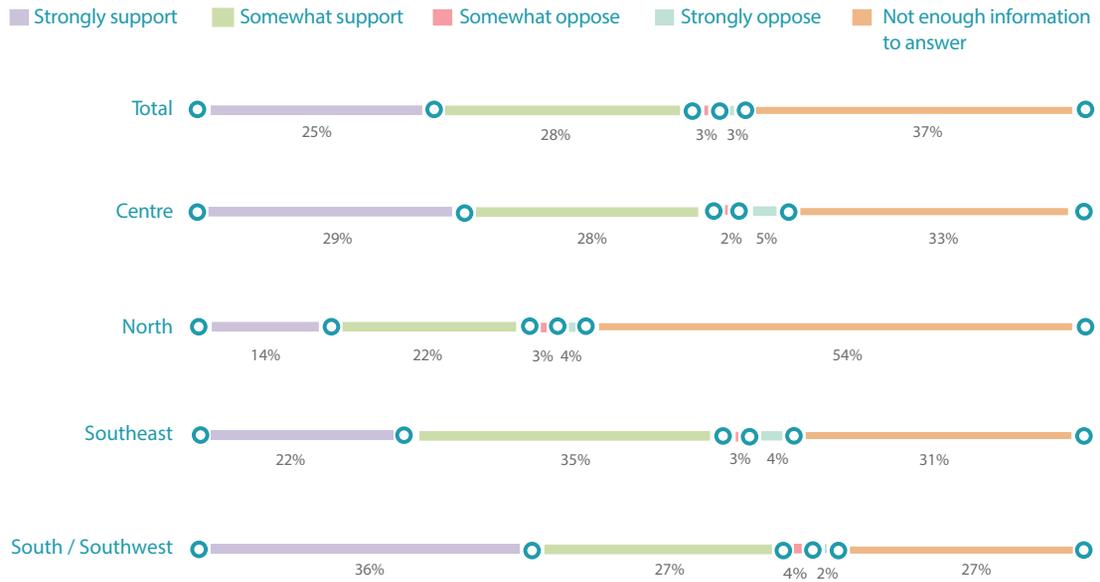


In looking at responses across different regions, opposition to the law is low and roughly the same across the country (around 5%). However, in the North there is a remarkably larger proportion of respondents that say that they lack

sufficient information about the law in order to be able to give an opinion. The highest proportion of respondents saying that they 'strongly support' the law was in the South/Southwest region.

MAIN FINDINGS

To what extent do you support or oppose the law on opening the secret service files? (By region)

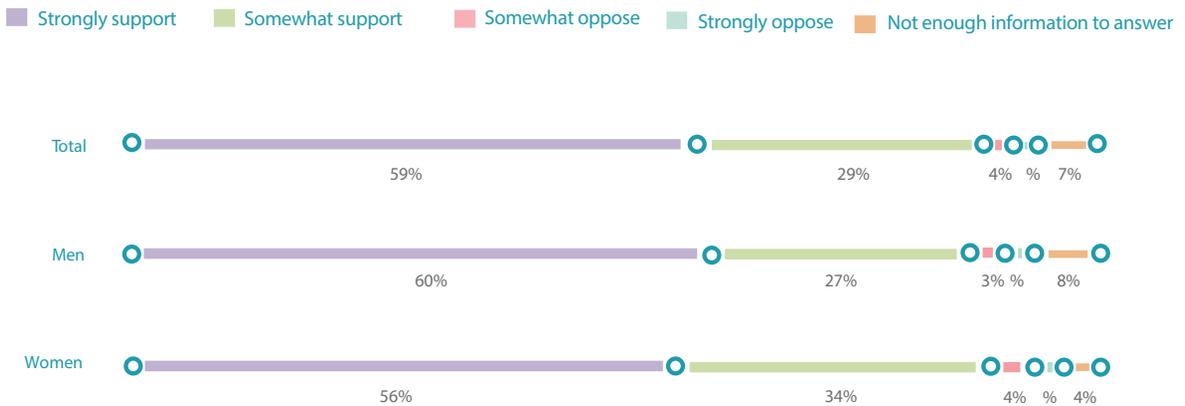


Nearly 90% of people that have actually read the law expressed support for it (either strong support or more mitigated support). There were not substantial variations between men

and women that had read the law, in terms of their support for it.



To what extent do you support or oppose the law on opening the secret service files? (Of those that have read the law, by gender)



Expectations and hopes as regards opening the files

Overall, citizens had positive hopes for the opening of the files, particularly as regards the potential lustration element for public officials. However, they also expressed strong reservations about whether the opening of the files will actually have this desired effect, or proceed unimpeded.

Most citizens think that the building of a consolidated archive of documents of the former secret service is important for Albania's history, and almost four out of five respondents think that the history of the country would benefit from the building of a consolidated archive of former state security service.

Citizens felt strongly about the potential lustration effect of the opening of the files. Almost 80% stated that public officials

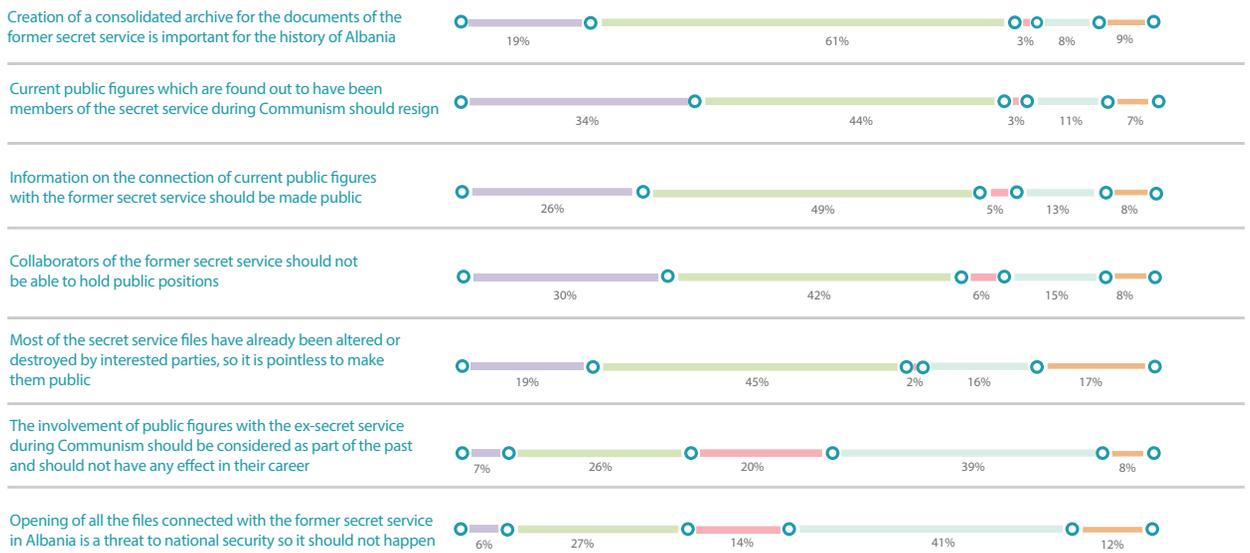
currently in office who are found to have been members of the Communist-era secret service should resign from public office. A similarly high percentage of respondents felt that the information about public officials' past connections to the secret service should be made public (75%). Furthermore, the majority of respondents (59%) did not agree with the statement, 'The involvement of public figures with the ex-secret service during Communism should be considered as part of the past and should not have any effect in their career.'

Results also show that a strong majority of respondents do not see the opening of the files as a threat to national security.

MAIN FINDINGS

To what extent do you agree with the following statements ?

■ Strongly agree
 ■ Agree
 ■ Disagree
 ■ Strongly disagree
 ■ Don't know

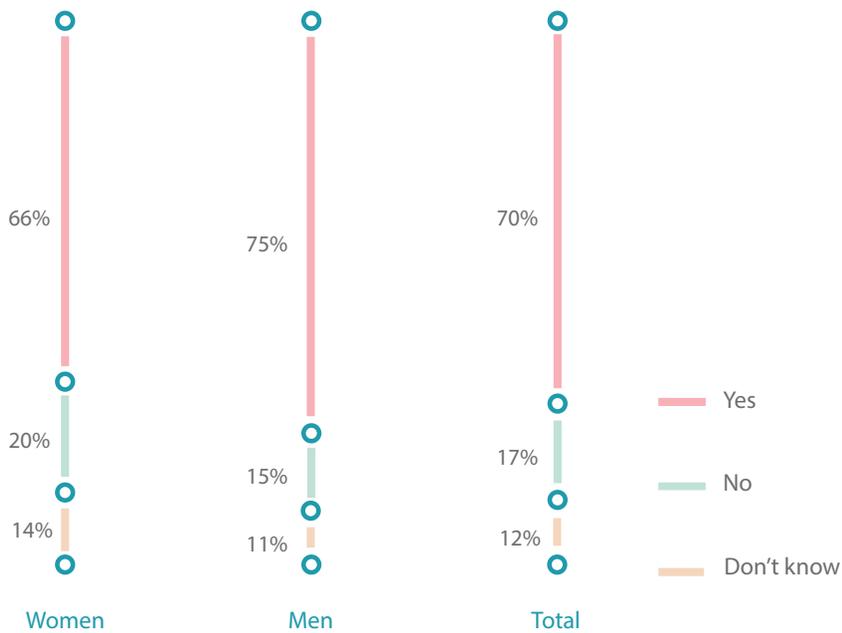


However, mistrust for the process was strong. A considerable number of respondents (64%) believe that most of the files of the former state secret service have already been changed or destroyed by interested persons, which renders futile the opening of files at this point.

Additionally, a strong majority of respondents think that there will be people or institutions that will try to impede the activities of the authority responsible for opening the files. Survey results show that around 70% of respondents think that this is likely to happen, with a slightly higher proportion of men stating that they expect this to happen.



Do you think there will be individuals or institutions who will become an obstacle to the activity of the responsible authority for opening the files ? (By gender)



In order to go more in depth as regards peoples' expectations and desires for the opening of the files, two scenarios were designed. For each scenario, respondents were asked to

describe either what they felt should happen, or what would actually happen, given the facts at hand and their understanding of the situation in Albania.

Scenario 1:

The authority responsible for opening the files in Albania finds out that a very important public official currently in office

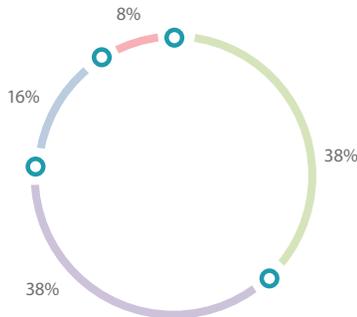
used to be a member of the Communist secret service.

MAIN FINDINGS

What should happen:

38% of respondents think that the public official should resign, and the same proportion of people think that the institution where he/she works should sack the official if the official does not resign. Only 16% of the respondents think that the Communist background is of no relevance to the official's current role and nothing should happen.

Scenario1:
What should happen?

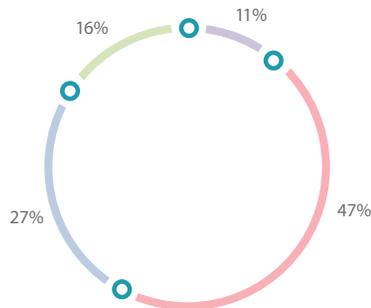


- Public official should resign
- The institution where the official is employed should fire him/her if he/she does not resign.
- Nothing should be done; his/her Communist past is not related to the actual job
- Don't know

What would happen if the media disclosed this information:

If the information were publicly disclosed by the media, almost half (47%) of the respondents think that the most likely outcome is that an investigation would be opened, but it would never reach a conclusion. Only 27% thought that the public official in question would actually be removed from his/her post.

Scenario1:
What would happen if the media disclosed this information?



- Information is completely ignored by the authorities
- An investigation commences but never reaches a conclusion
- The public official is fired from his/her post and is not allowed to be part of the public administration in the future
- Don't know



Scenario 2:

An influential senior official intervenes with the authority responsible for opening the secret service files, to prevent the

opening of files and disclosure of documents about him/her.

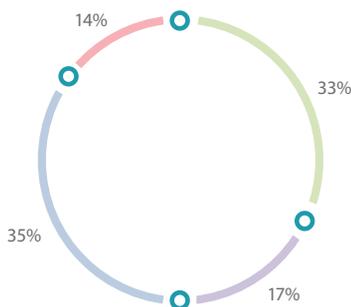
What would happen:

Most respondents thought that the authority would resist the pressure in some way; 35% thought that the most likely outcome was that the authority would report the attempted interference and that the official would be prosecuted; 17% thought that the authority would resist the pressure and continue processing the file. However, 33% thought that the authority was most likely to succumb to the pressure.

What would happen if the media disclosed this information:

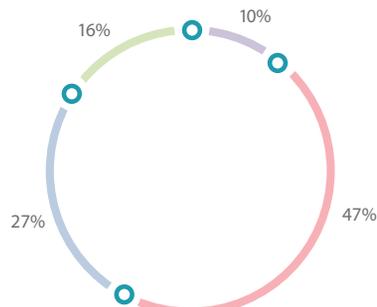
As with Scenario 1, a full 47% thought that the most likely outcome was that an investigation would be opened, but it would never reach a conclusion.

Scenario 2:
What would happen?



- The authority liable for the opening of the secret files withdraws after the pressure by the high official, keeping his/her identity a secret
- Liability authority resists the pressure of the official and continues processing his/her file
- Liability authority files a report over the official's interference in it's operation and the official is prosecuted
- Don't know

Scenario 2:
What would happen if the media disclosed this information?



- Information is completely ignored by the authorities
- An investigation commences but never reaches a conclusion
- Public official is fired from his/her post and is not allowed to be part of the public administration in the future
- Don't know

MAIN FINDINGS

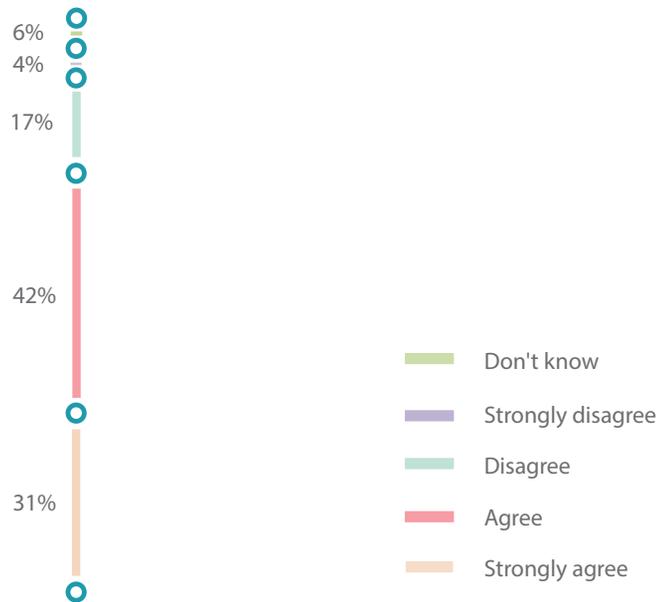
2. Lustration

A strong majority of respondents believes that many current politicians had important positions under the former regime, and a similarly clear majority supports a lustration law. Around 73% of respondents think that a considerable

number of the politicians in Albania today held important positions during the Communist period, and therefore should be barred from public office.

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

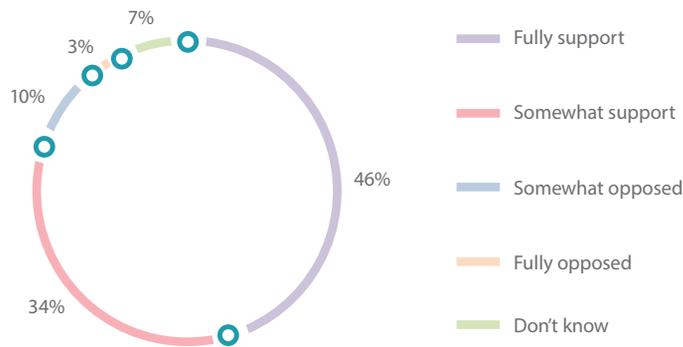
A considerable number of politicians in Albania today held important positions during the Communist era and should not be allowed to be MPs, politicians or officials of the public administration



80% of respondents support the drafting and implementation in the future of a lustration law to remove people currently

in office, who had leadership roles in the institutions of the Communist regime.

To what extent do you support the drafting and implementation of a law to remove public officials who had leadership roles in the institutions of the Communist regime?



3. Learning about the past

A majority of Albanian citizens, over 80% of respondents, think that there are some aspects of the Communist period worth teaching to younger generations. However, in a seeming contradiction, 36% of respondents agreed that this

part of history should not be taught to the next generations but rather be completely forgotten. 74% agreed that there were positive lessons about equality, volunteerism and community for youth to take from this part of Albania's past.

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

Strongly agree Agree Disagree Strongly disagree Don't know

There are some aspects of the Communist era that younger generations should know about



Albania's Communist past should serve as an example of the importance of equality, civil volunteering and responsibility for the community, for the younger generations



Albania's Communist past is a terrible era that should be completely forgotten and not taught to the next generations

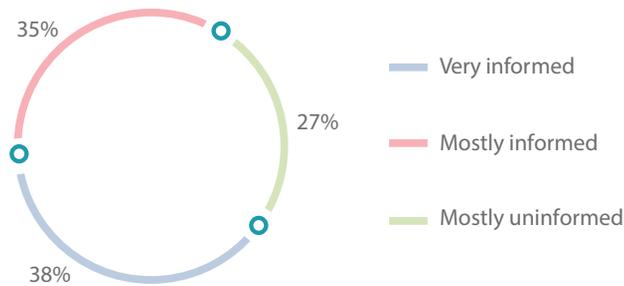


MAIN FINDINGS

As regarding their own interest in learning about the Communist past, the survey results showed that, of the 27% of respondents (a total of 274 people) who declared that they

were "mostly uninformed" about the Communist period, the majority were not interested in learning more about this part of Albania's history.

How informed would you say you are about the Communist period in Albania?

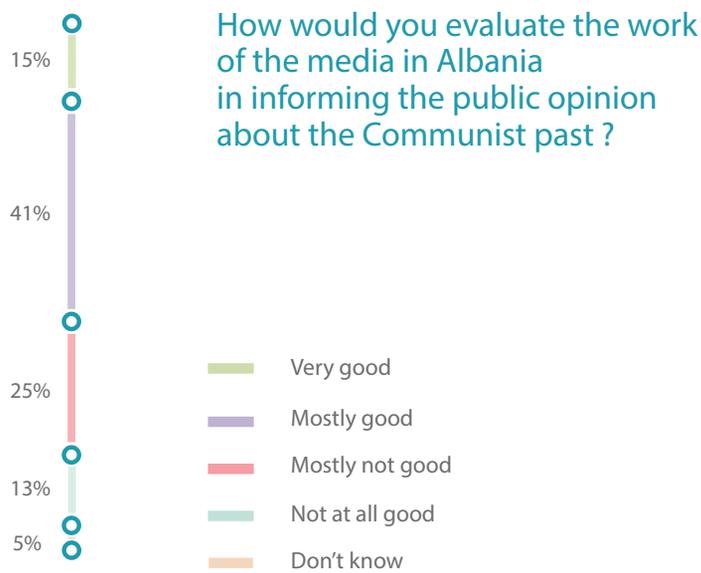


How interested are you in learning more about the Communist period in Albania ?



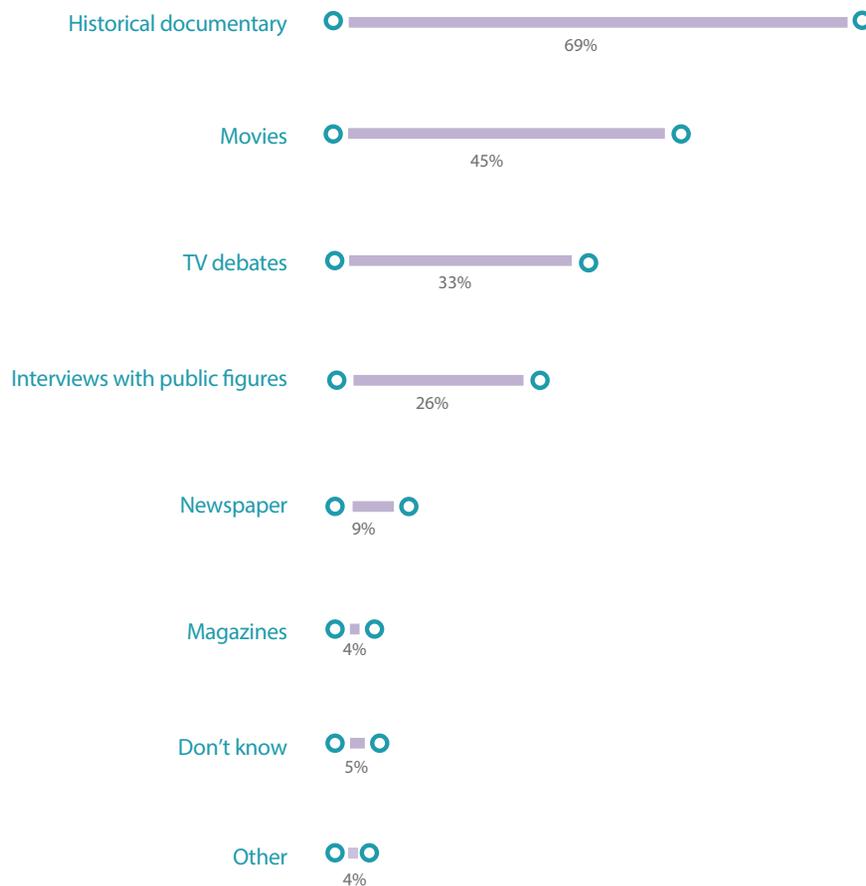
Media plays an important role in society and could potentially have an impact on learning about the past. The survey results indicate that the majority of Albanian citizens (56%) evaluate the role of the media in informing the general public about the Communist period as being positive overall.

However, a full 38% feel that the contribution of media in this regard is not positive. Survey results show that respondents see "historical documentaries" (69%) and "movies" (45%) as the most appropriate formats to stir the interest of the younger generations in this period.



MAIN FINDINGS

Which forms of media do you think are most appropriate to raise interest among the young generation about the Communist past in Albania?



4. Apology

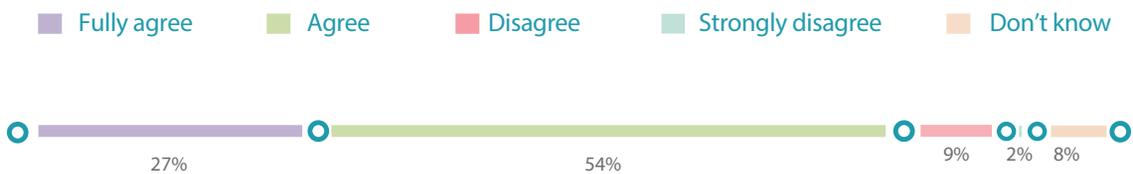
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The majority of Albanians, 81% of respondents, either 'agree' or 'fully agree' with the idea of a public apology to all Albanians for the injustice suffered under the Communist regime. It should be noted, however, that 11% of respondents

disagreed with this idea. The survey did not ask follow-up questions about who should provide such an apology or why the 11% who disagreed felt this way.

To what extent do you agree with the following statement?

Albanians deserve a public apology for the persecution and injustice experienced under the Communist regime, before they move forward

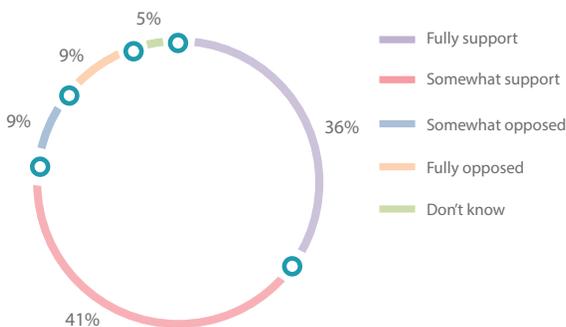


5. Places of memory

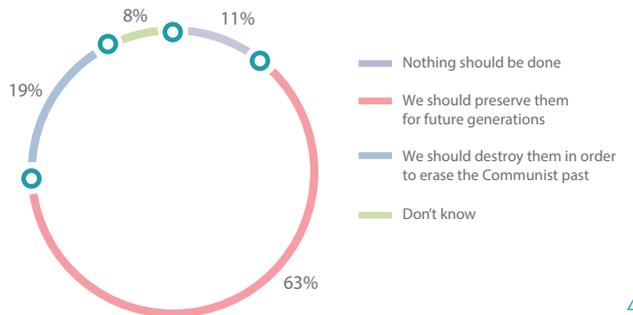
According to survey results, nearly 90% of respondents support the creation of a national museum about the Communist dictatorship. Additionally, 63% of respondents felt that sites of persecution (for example, prisons and internment camps) should be preserved. There were no substantial variations when data was disaggregated by gender and education, however by region there were noticeable

differences. The two southern regions had a higher proportion of people that felt that sites of persecution should be preserved (around 70%, compared to 58% in the Centre and only 54% in the North). The North was the region with the highest percentage of respondents saying that nothing should be done about these sites.

To what extent do you support the creation of a museum about the Communist dictatorship?



What do you think should be done in the future with former persecution sites in the country?

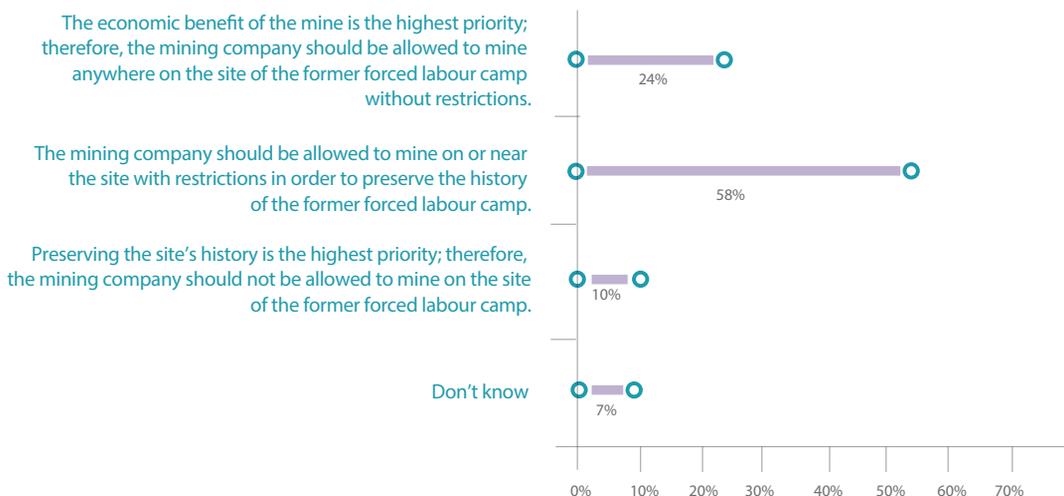


MAIN FINDINGS

When asked to respond to a scenario that presented a more concrete situation involving the preservation of a former forced labour camp as a site of memory, many respondents (58%) think that “the company should be allowed to mine

on the site, but with some restrictions in order to preserve the history of the site.” Only 10% of respondents felt that the history of the site should trump the economic considerations.

Scenario: A former labour camp from the Communist period is located next to a very valuable source of minerals. A private company wishes to reopen the mine in one of the sections of this camp. What do you think should happen in this case?



C. KNOWLEDGE OF ALBANIA'S COMMUNIST PAST

Albanian citizens declare that, overall, they are informed about the Communist past. People more likely to self-report as being “somewhat uninformed” include women, young people (16-35 years old) and respondents in the north. However, self-assessments have some limitations in terms of assessing knowledge, and so the survey also questioned people about facts of life under Communism, public and political figures, persecuted people, and key dates and events. The survey also included scenarios, to assess knowledge of more complex issues, beyond names and dates.

The general expectation was that older people would have better knowledge of the regime and of life under the regime, and this was confirmed by the data. Most people who declared that they were “very informed” mentioned personal experience as their main source of information, and of course the youngest age group in this survey does not have much, if any, personal experience of Communism. Certain gaps in knowledge are quite striking, and not just across age groups. For example, knowledge about Sabiha Kasimati, a woman intellectual executed by the regime, is quite poor compared to knowledge about numerous male intellectuals executed by the regime.

1. Self-assessed general level of knowledge

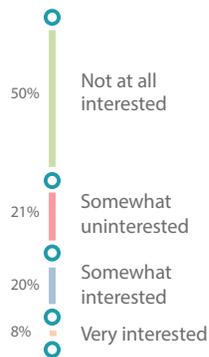
Asked about how informed they are about the Communist period in Albania, a strong majority respondents feel

informed, stating that they are either very informed (38%), or somewhat informed (35%).

How informed would you say you are about the Communist period in Albania?



How interested are you in learning more the Communist period in Albania?

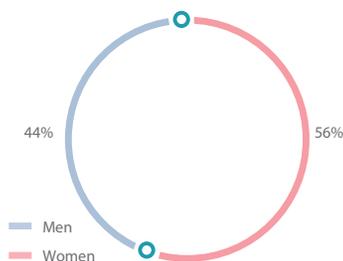


Among respondents that felt they were 'somewhat uninformed', survey results show a slightly higher proportion of women as compared to men. There was a striking difference among age groups, and the majority of people

who said they were 'somewhat uninformed' were between the ages of 16 and 35. Geographically, respondents who said they were uninformed tended to be in the northern and central regions.

How informed would you say you are about the Communist period in Albania?

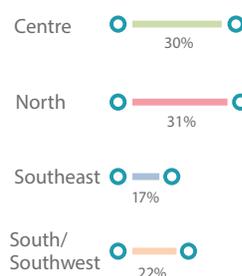
Citizens who are mostly uninformed, by gender



Citizens who are mostly uninformed, by age group



Citizens who are mostly uninformed, by region



MAIN FINDINGS

Looking at respondents who felt they were 'very informed,' survey results showed that this group included slightly more men than women, a strong majority of people over 55 years

old, and a somewhat higher proportion of residents in the south/southwest region.

How informed would you say you are about the Communist period in Albania?



When asked about their main sources of information on the Communist period in Albania, most respondents (over 80%) who have stated they are 'very informed' mention personal experience as the source of their information. Television is the second most important source of information for 'very

informed' people and the most important source for the other two groups, underlining its clearly major role in informing Albanians about the Communist past. It is interesting to note how low the importance of school seems to be in terms of informing people about the Communist era.



Which sources do you use in order to get information on Albania's Communist past?

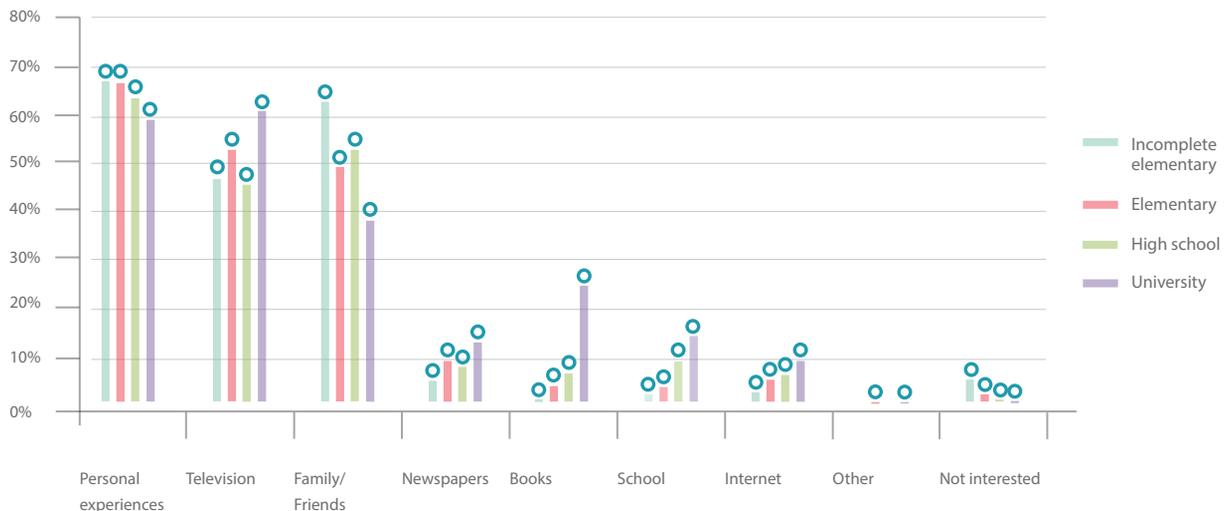


MAIN FINDINGS

When the data are disaggregated by education, it is clear that school is a more important source of information for more highly educated people. However, its importance compared to other sources of information is still remarkably low. Indeed, only 17% of university-educated respondents listed school as a source of information about the Communist time for them.

Therefore, while the results suggest that the longer people are in school, the more likely they are to count school among their sources of information about this part of Albania's past, overall the education system seems to have little impact in informing people about the Communist era.

Which sources do you use in order to get information on Albania's Communist past?



2. Knowledge of certain features of life under Communism

Respondents were given nine statements about some of the main features of life during Communism in Albania, regarding free movement, purchase of goods, health care, employment, military service, etc. Of the nine statements, four were true and five were false. Survey results showed that around 95% of respondents gave at least five accurate answers, suggesting that overall Albanians have a reasonable level of knowledge of the main characteristics of life during the Communist regime. However, some of the questions with large numbers of incorrect answers suggested interesting gaps in knowledge.

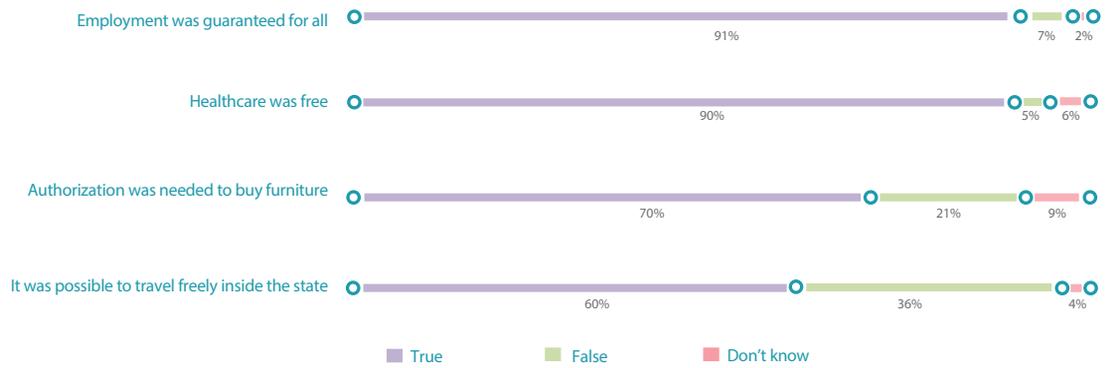
Albania, and the same share correctly stated that free health-care was another feature of Communist times. However, 36% of respondents incorrectly believed that Albanians could travel freely within the country, although the majority of respondents did know that there were limitations on domestic travel.

Nearly all respondents (95%) knew that Albanians could not freely travel abroad. However, only around 65% of respondents accurately stated that university education was not possible for all. Also, 76% correctly stated that, during the Communist period in Albania, one could not freely change their residence from one city or village to another.

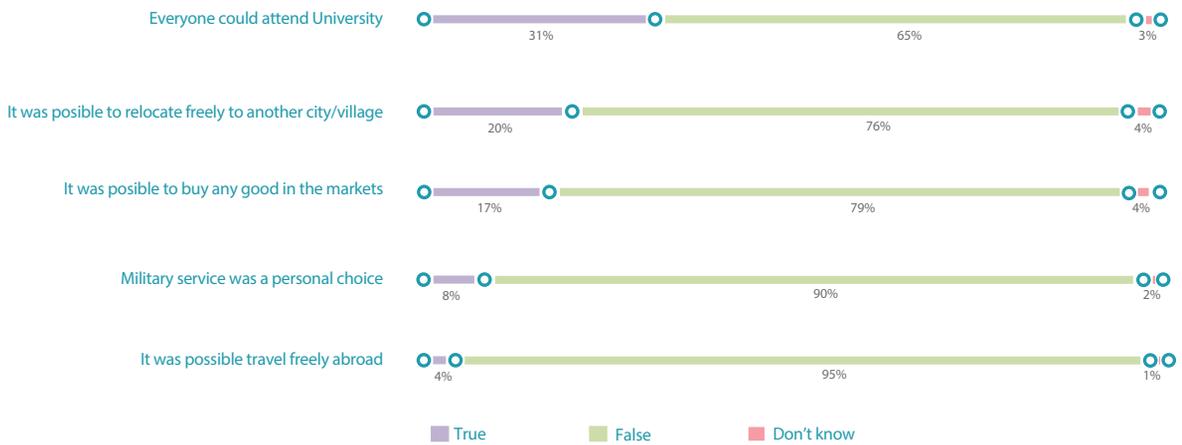
Over 90% of respondents correctly stated that "the state guaranteed employment for all" during the Communist period in

Please state whether the following statements on the Communist period in Albania are true or false

*True statements



*False statements



MAIN FINDINGS

In order to explore knowledge of features of life under Communism in more depth, respondents were also presented with some scenarios describing hypothetical situations.

They were then asked to give their opinion on the most likely outcome, given the facts set out in the scenario.

Scenario 1:

A regular working class citizen in Communist Albania wants to purchase a new television set. In order to be able to do that, what does s/he have to do?

A citizen in Communist Albania wants to buy a new TV. To do so he/she:



Results from Scenario 1 show that most respondents (86%) were aware that an authorization was needed to purchase a new television set. More than half of respondents (59%) answered accurately, noting that the person would need permission from the authority at their work place. However, 27% answered that this person would need permission from the Labour Party, which is incorrect. A lower proportion of people in the group of 16-35 year olds answered this

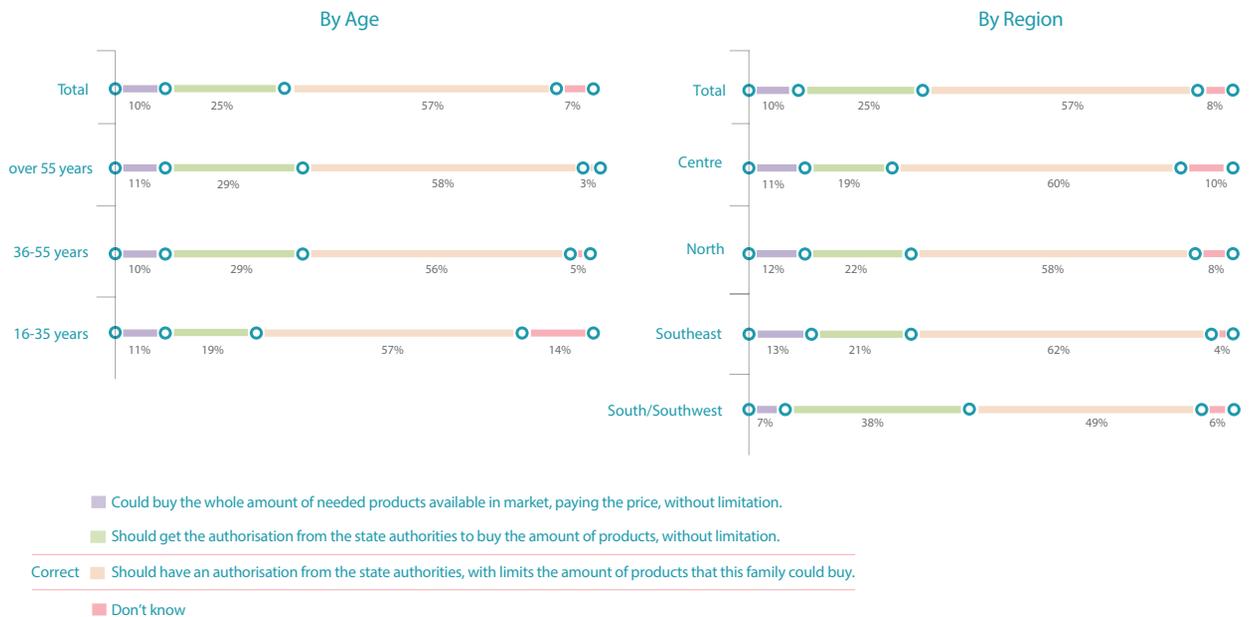
question correctly (only 50% correct, as opposed to 64% correct for older people). However, a fair number of older respondents also answered incorrectly (36% of respondents over 55 years old). There was also a slight regional variation, as only 49% of respondents from the north selected the right answer, while in other regions over 60% of respondents answered correctly.

Scenario 2:

A typical household in Communist Albania during the 1980s plans to buy food in the market. Assuming that the family has

the financial resources to buy all of the food it needs, how does this family proceed?

A typical family in the 1980s plans to buy food in the market. In this case, this family:



Survey results from Scenario 2 show that the concept of the voucher is overall known to the respondents but that many people do not know whether the quantity of food was rationed. More specifically, a little more than half (57%) of respondents answered correctly that a family in this situation would have to obtain an authorisation, which would limit the quantity of products the family could purchase. A quarter of respondents stated that the family would need an authorisation, but incorrectly believed that there would be no

limitation on the amount of food that could be purchased. 14% of respondents aged 16-35 years old were not able to give an answer to this scenario at all, compared to only 3% of respondents over 55 years old who said they did not know. There was a slight regional variation in responses to this question, as only 49% of respondents from the south/south-western region (Berat, Fier, Vlora, and Gjirokastra) answered correctly, whereas other regions had a higher percentage of correct answers (around 60%).

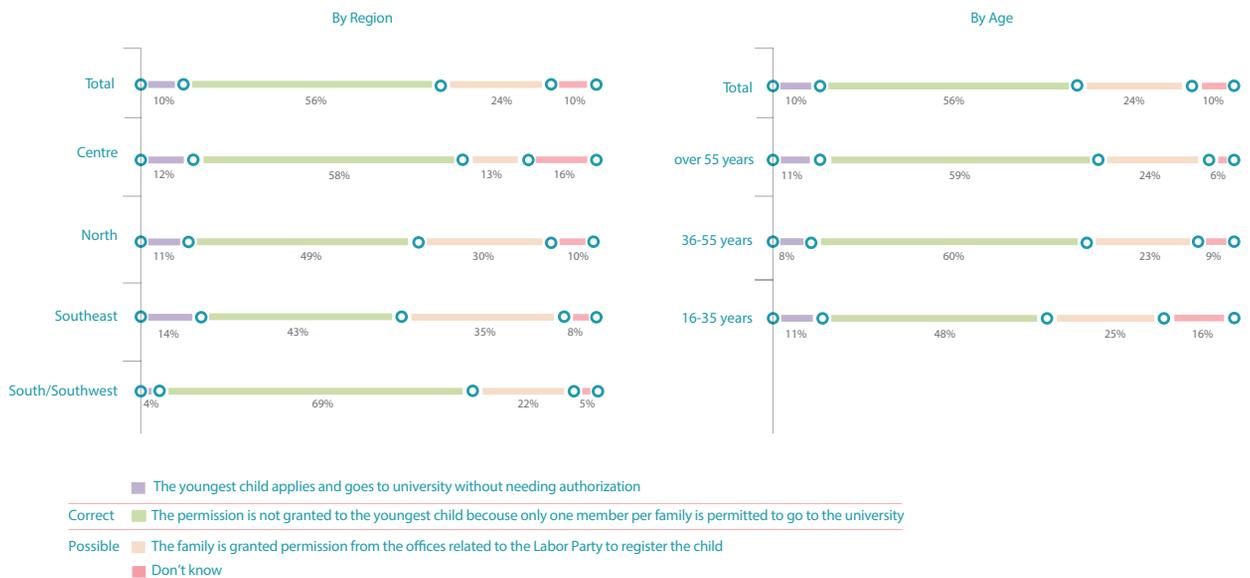
MAIN FINDINGS

Scenario 3:

In a typical four-member household in Communist Albania, the younger child has just graduated from high school where the older one continues university studies. In the event the

younger one wants to continue his/her studies and register at the university, what is most likely to happen?

In a typical family in communist Albania, the youngest child wishes to attend University along with the older child. What is most likely to happen?



For Scenario 3, survey results show that the majority of respondents (80%) are aware of limitations on attending higher education. This figure was even higher in the south/southwest region, where 91% of respondents knew about these limitations. This Scenario had two answers that could be correct, but one was more correct in terms of being the most likely outcome. Overall, 56% of citizens selected the most correct alternative, indicating that in general only one child per household could attend university. The alternative indicating that the family could apply for an authorization to

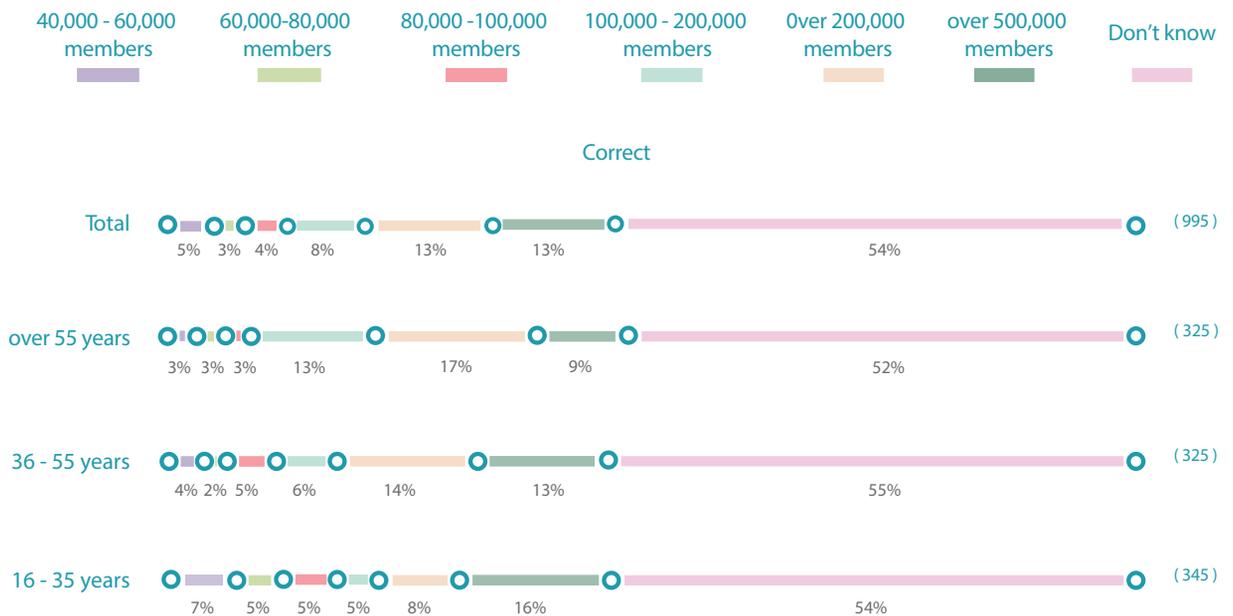
have a second child attend university was selected by 24% of respondents, showing that they knew of the limitation, but they were unaware that this was not the most likely outcome. Furthermore, 10% of people were not able to answer at all, and the same proportion was not aware of restrictions on pursuing higher education. Again, we see that the group of 16-35 year olds has a lower percentage of correct answers compared to older groups. Regionally, there is a slight variation as residents of the south/southwest region had a higher proportion of correct answers.

3. Knowledge of certain aspects of political life during Communism

When asked about the number of Labour Party members in 1990, at the end of the regime, survey results show that most respondents (over 90%) either do not know or gave an incorrect answer. Only 8% of respondents gave an accurate answer (100,000-200,000 members) and, while 26% of

respondents overestimated Labour Party membership, the majority simply did not know (54%). There were not substantial differences across age groups, although 13% of those over 55 years old answered correctly, compared to only 5% of those aged 16-35 years old.

Based on the information you have, how many members did the Labor Party in Albania have during Communist time?

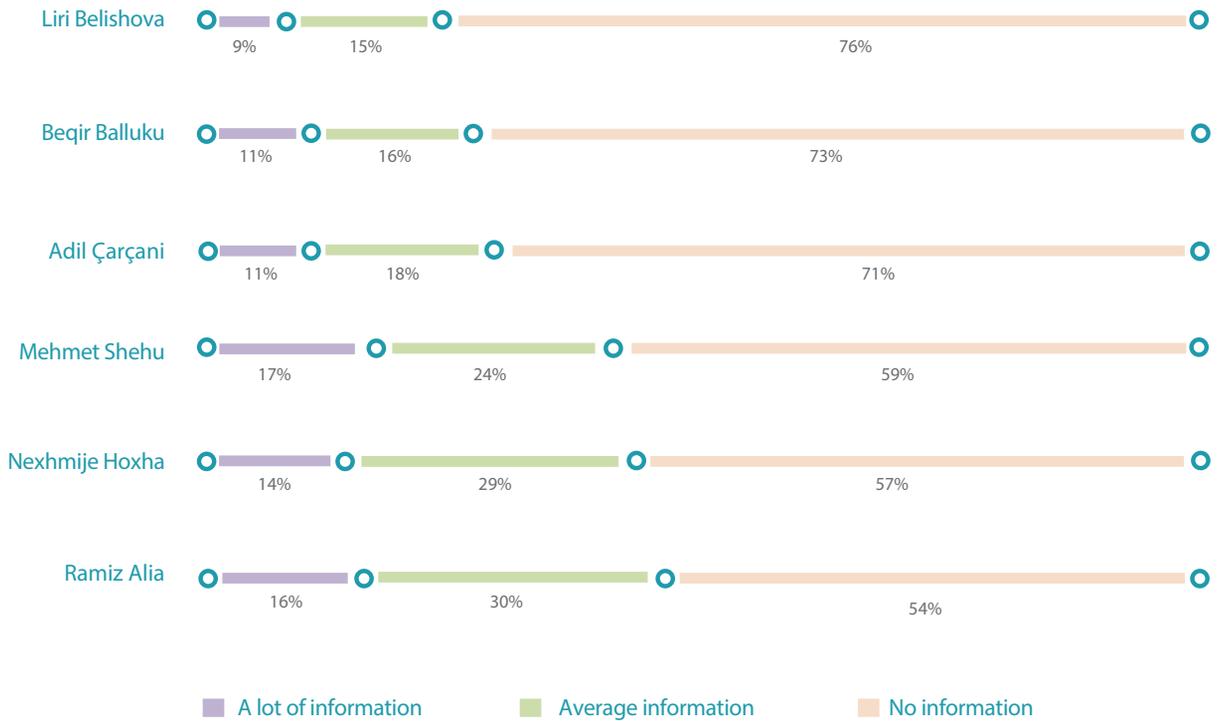


In order to explore knowledge of key political figures, respondents were given a list of six public figures from the Communist period in Albania and asked to rate how much information they have regarding each person. Data show that Ramiz Alia was overall the best known person, as 46% of

respondents said they “know a lot” (16%) or “have average knowledge” (30%) about Ramiz Alia. On the other hand, Liri Belishova was the least well known person, with only 24% of respondents saying they have “a lot” or “average” information about her.

MAIN FINDINGS

How much information do you have on the following public figures of the Communist period?

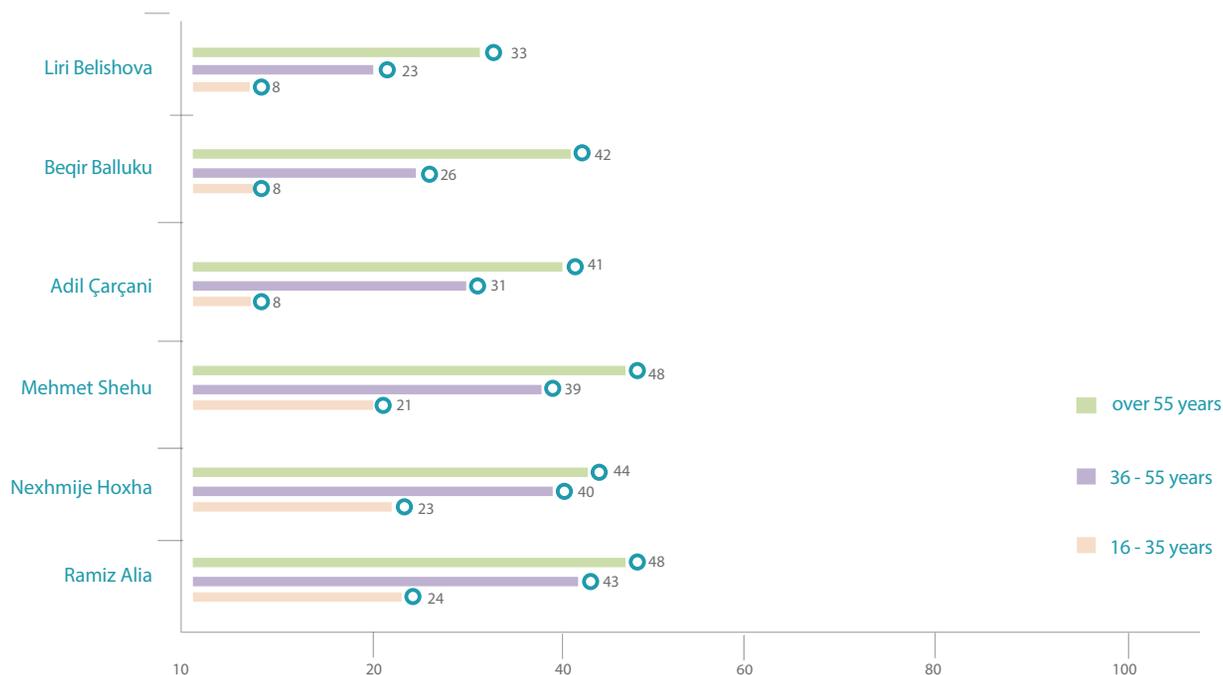


In general, respondents over 55 years old stated that they were more informed about these public figures. Conversely,

the 16-35 year olds are the age group that states they have less information about these public figures.



How much information do you have on the following public figures of the communist period?

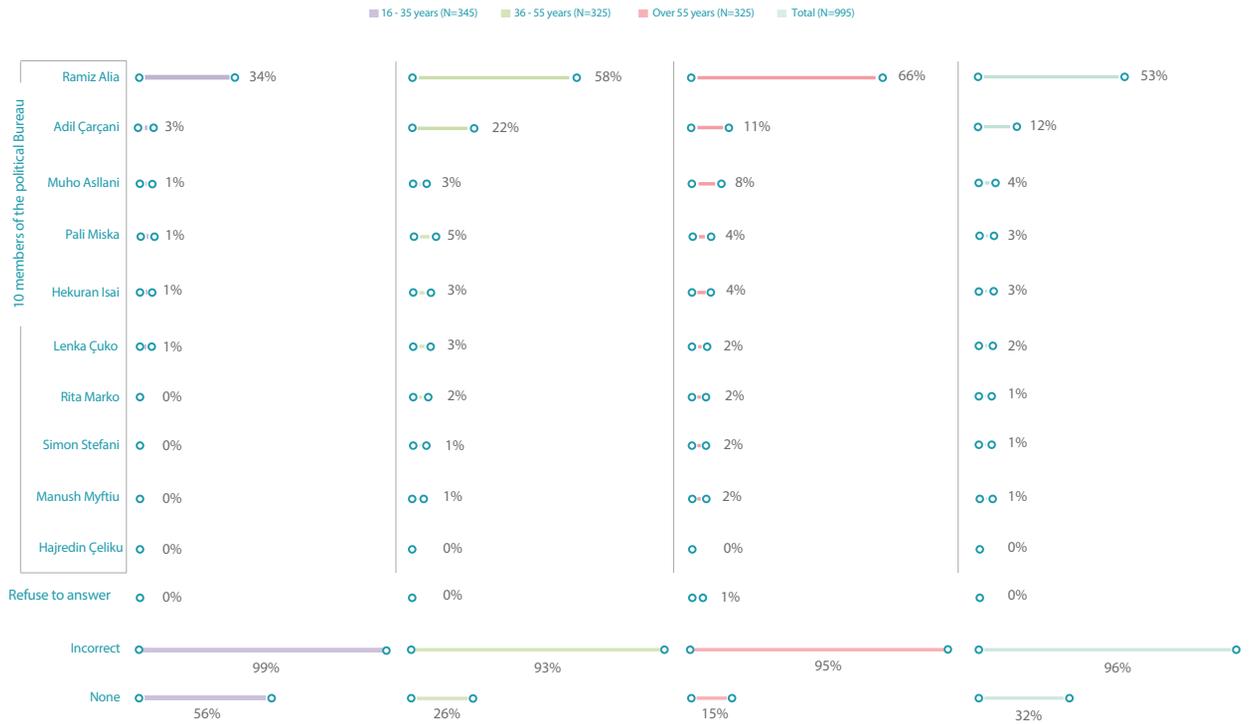


Respondents were also asked to mention three names of the Labour Party politburo members who were still active during the change of systems, i.e. in 1990. Survey data show that the name of Ramiz Alia was mentioned most, by a little more than half (53%) of respondents. Overall, the youngest age

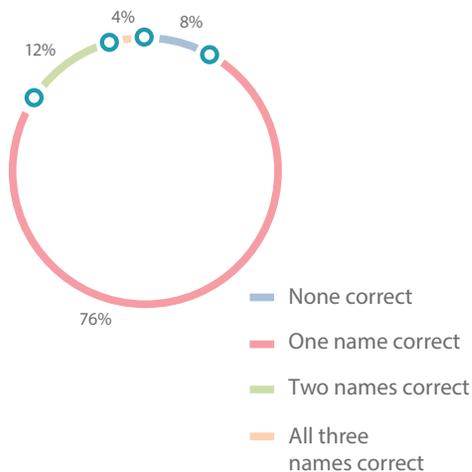
group were least able to identify politburo members. However, there was not a significant distinction between age groups and knowledge about these political figures seems overall very low, with the exception of Ramiz Alia.

MAIN FINDINGS

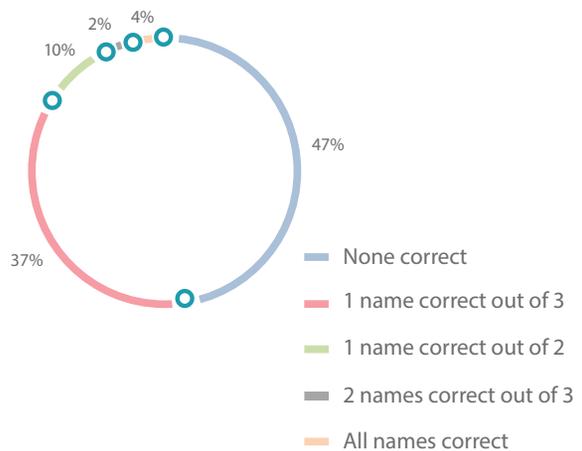
Could you list three members of the political bureau which were still active after the changes in 1990, in Albania?
(More than one answer possible, maximum of three)



Number of correct names out of three mentioned



Excluding Ramiz Alia, number of correct names out of three mentioned



Respondents were also asked whether Albania was ever a member of the Warsaw Treaty. Results show that almost 30% of respondents did not know. However, the majority of respondents (58%) provided an accurate answer, stating that Albania was a member of the Warsaw Treaty for a certain

period in its history. The younger generation appears less informed than other groups, with only 51% answering this question correctly.

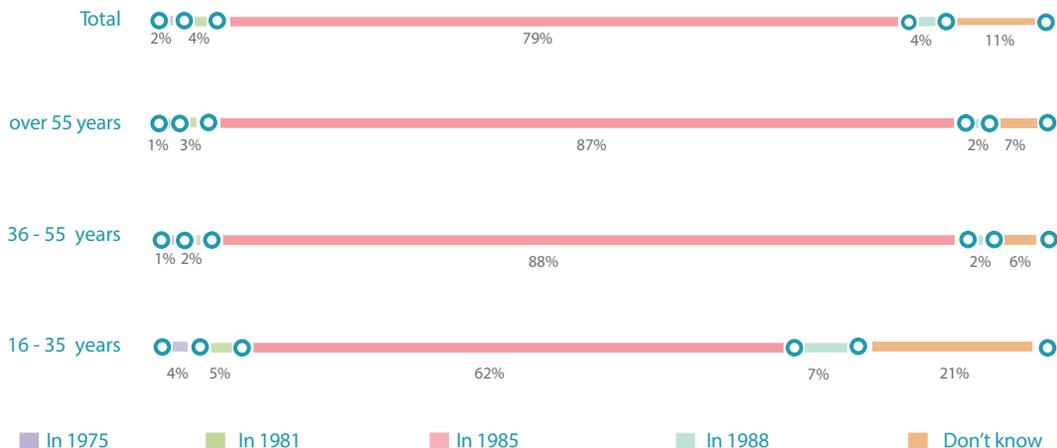
Based on your knowledge, was Albania ever part of the Warsaw Pact?



Most respondents (79% overall) answered accurately when asked about the year of death of Enver Hoxha, which was 1985. However, among respondents aged 16-35 years old,

only 62% were able to identify this date, with a fairly high percentage (21%) saying they simply did not know.

When did Enver Hoxha die?



MAIN FINDINGS

4. Knowledge of persecuted people

Respondents were given a list of seven people and asked which of those were persecuted by the regime. Two of the people listed were not persecuted, while the rest were. Overall, knowledge of persecuted people seems low, and for most of the people listed a substantial proportion of respondents simply did not know.

A strong majority of respondents (73%) were able to accurately identify Pjetër Arbnori as a persecuted figure.

The majority of respondents (54%) also knew that Father Zef Pllumi was persecuted. However, knowledge of other persecuted figures was rather low, and only 19% of respondents knew that Sabihe Kasimati, the only woman on this list, was persecuted.

Approximately half of all respondents correctly stated that Pali Miska and Manush Myftiu were not persecuted. However, the other half either did not know or were misinformed.

Were the following people persecuted by the Communist regime?



* Not persecuted by the Communist regime

■ Yes ■ No ■ Don't know

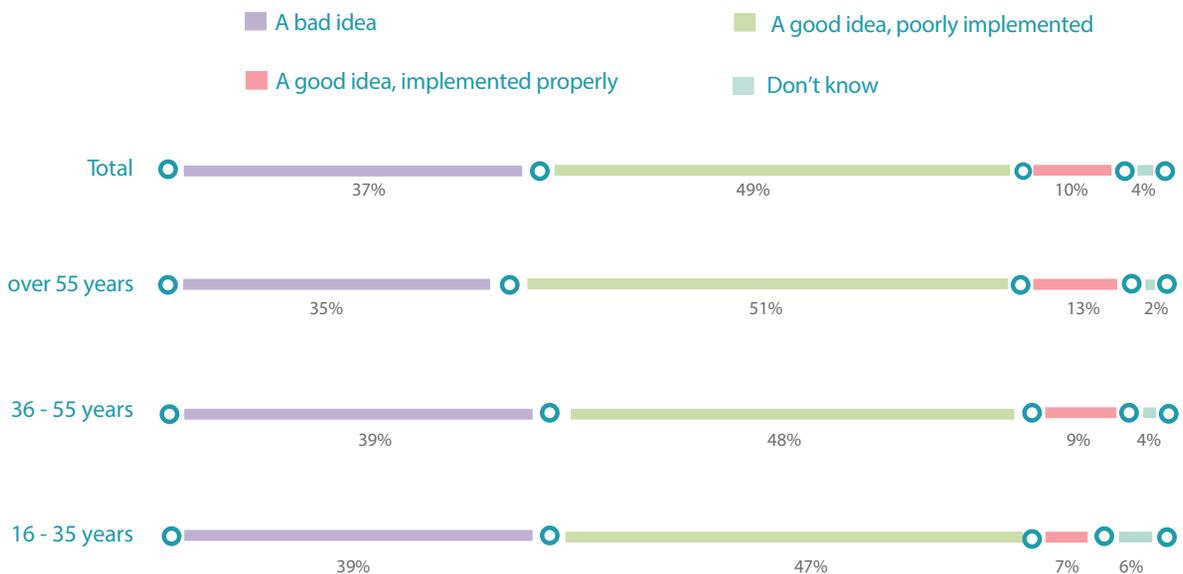
D. PERCEPTIONS OF ALBANIA'S COMMUNIST REGIME

1. Perceptions of Albanian Communism

Albanian citizens appear divided over their general perception of the Communist period, but the most common response was that Communism in the country was 'a good idea, poorly implemented'. Almost half of the people surveyed think that Communism in Albania was 'a good idea, poorly implemented', and there is no significant variation among age groups on this point. While 37% of respondents think that communism was simply 'a bad idea', again with very little variation across age groups. Only 10% of respondents stated that Communism in Albania was a 'good idea, implemented properly' but there is a difference between people over 55 years old, where twice as many people shared this positive opinion (13%) compared to those aged 16-35 years old (only 7% agreeing).

By region, results show that in the central region (Tirana and Durrës), the proportion of respondents thinking that Communism in Albania was simply 'a bad idea' is nearly equal to the proportion that thought it was 'a good idea, poorly implemented'. In other regions, however, the proportion of those that said it was 'a bad idea' was lower, and the most common response was that it was 'a good idea, poorly implemented'. The highest percentage of people saying Communism in Albania was 'a good idea, properly implemented' was in the southeast region.

According to your opinion, Communism in Albania was: (by age)



MAIN FINDINGS

According to your opinion, Communism was: (by region)

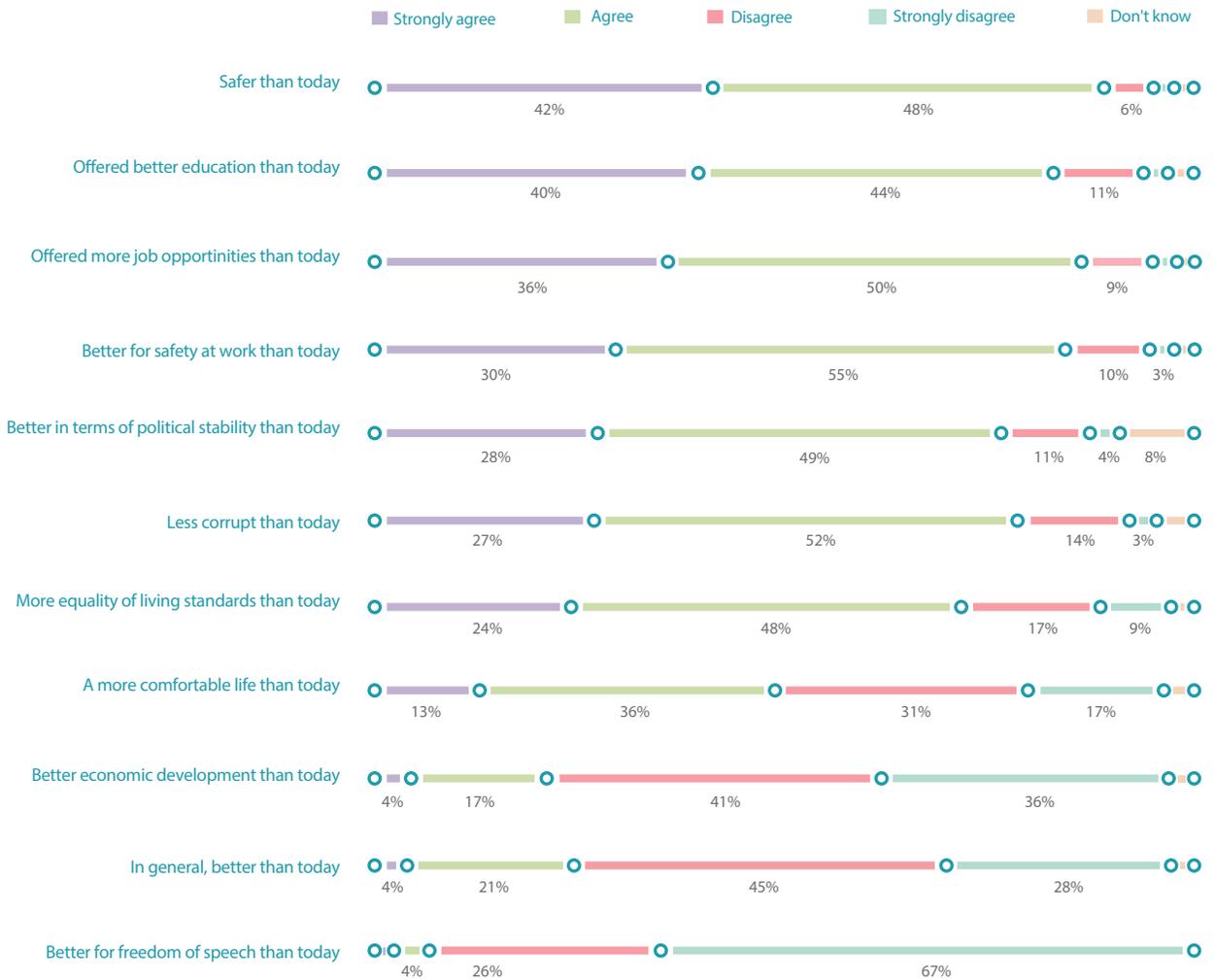


Respondents were also asked about their agreement with a series of statements comparing life during Communism to life today. Overall, respondents felt that during Communism, the country was safer, had better education, more jobs, better work safety, and better political stability, less corruption and more equality in terms of living standards. Respondents were almost equally divided about whether life was more

comfortable under Communism (49%) or whether it was less comfortable during that period (48%). The majority of respondents felt that economic development was poorer during Communism, that overall the Communist time was worse than today, and that freedom of speech was worse under Communism.



Which of the following statements do you agree with?
Compared to today, Communist Albania was:

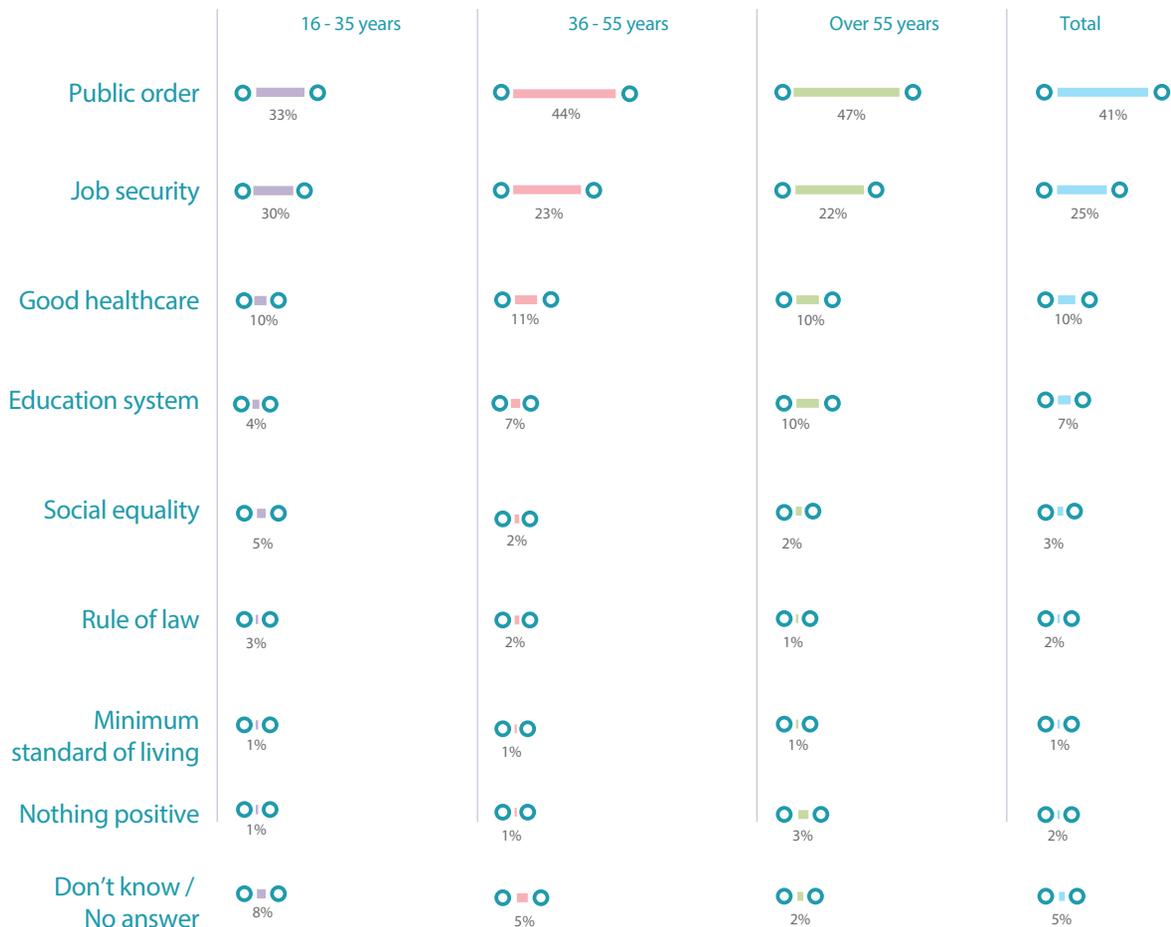


MAIN FINDINGS

In addition to responding to the set list of statements comparing the Communist period to current conditions, respondents were asked to name three positive aspects and three negative aspects of the Communist period in Albania according to them. Public order, job security and good healthcare were the three most positive aspects of the Communist period in Albania according to respondents. Respondents identified lack of freedom, class war and infringement of human and civil rights as the most negative aspects of this period.

Public order was the most frequently named positive aspect of the Communist period, with job security as the second and good healthcare as third. People over 55 years old focused heavily on public order as the most positive aspect, whereas for younger people between 16 and 35 years of age, public order and job security were almost of equal importance as positive aspects of Communism. For people over 55 years of age, education was seen as positively as healthcare, whereas younger people mentioned education less frequently as a positive aspect of Communism.

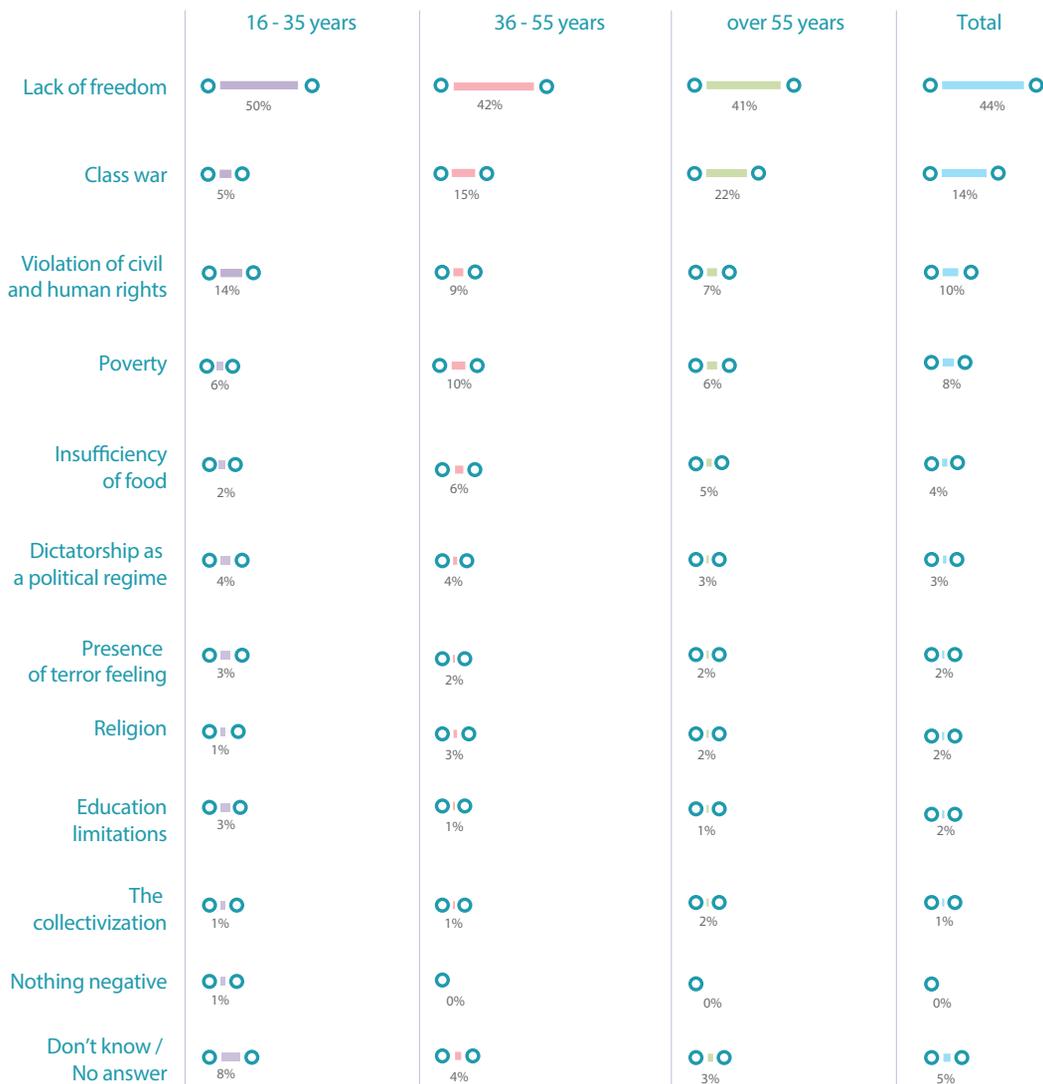
What were 3 positive aspects of the Communist period in Albania, in your opinion?



As regards negative aspects, lack of freedom was by far the most commonly cited negative part of Communism in Albania, while class war was the second, and infringement of human and civil rights came in third. Poverty was also cited as a negative aspect by many respondents. There were noticeable differences across age groups, however. While the

lack of freedom was the most mentioned negative aspect by all groups, class war was mentioned by 22% of those over 55 years old but only 15% of those aged 36-55 and 5% of those aged 16-35. Nearly twice as many younger people (16-35 years old) felt that infringement of human and civil rights was a negative aspect, compared to people over 55 years of age.

What were 3 negative aspects of the Communist period in Albania, in your opinion?



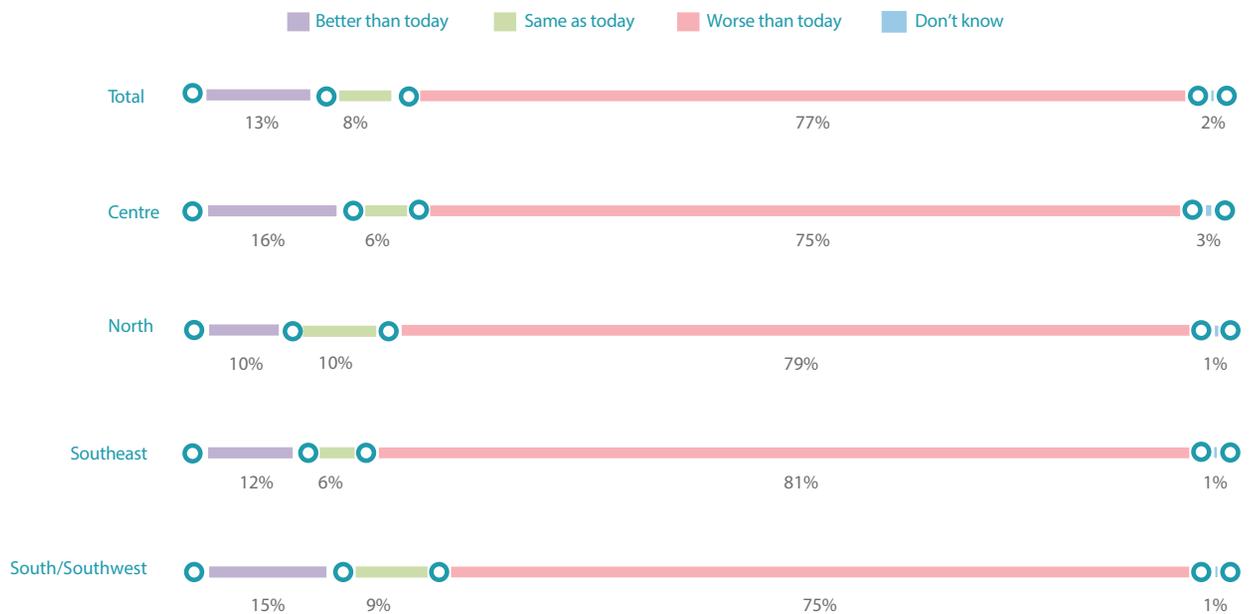
MAIN FINDINGS

2. Standards of living

Respondents were asked to evaluate the living conditions during the Communist period compared to current conditions, with no definition provided for 'living conditions' by the interviewer. Results show that 77% of respondents said that living conditions in Communist Albania were worse than today and only 13% of respondents said that living conditions were better than today. By age group, gender, and regions, there are no substantial differences in results. Results show

that respondents of the southeastern region have the highest share of those thinking that during the Communist period in Albania living conditions were worse than today, which is interestingly also the region with the highest proportion of respondents thinking that Communism was a good idea implemented properly. The region with the highest proportion of respondents stating that conditions were better was the centre. However, the differences were slight.

According to your opinion, living conditions during the Communist period in Albania were:



Respondents were also asked about their family income, compared to standards at the time. Albanian citizens overall claim that their household income during the Communist period were either low or average, compared to standards at the time. However, respondents with higher levels of

education were more likely to report that their family income during Communism was either 'high' or 'very high', with 31% of university-educated respondents reporting either high or very high income, and only 8% of elementary-educated respondents saying the same.

How would you evaluate your family income during the Communist period in Albania, compared to standards at the time? (by education)



3. Gender equality

The majority of citizens think that women in Albanian society during the Communist period had a weaker role compared to the present. However, Albanian citizens are divided on whether during the Communist period in Albania men and women had equal rights in education, employment, and other areas. According to survey data, when asked about the role of women in Albanian society during the Communist period, about half of respondents (53%) think that women had a weaker role than at present. There was not a substantial difference in perception between men and women, but women respondents were slightly more likely to

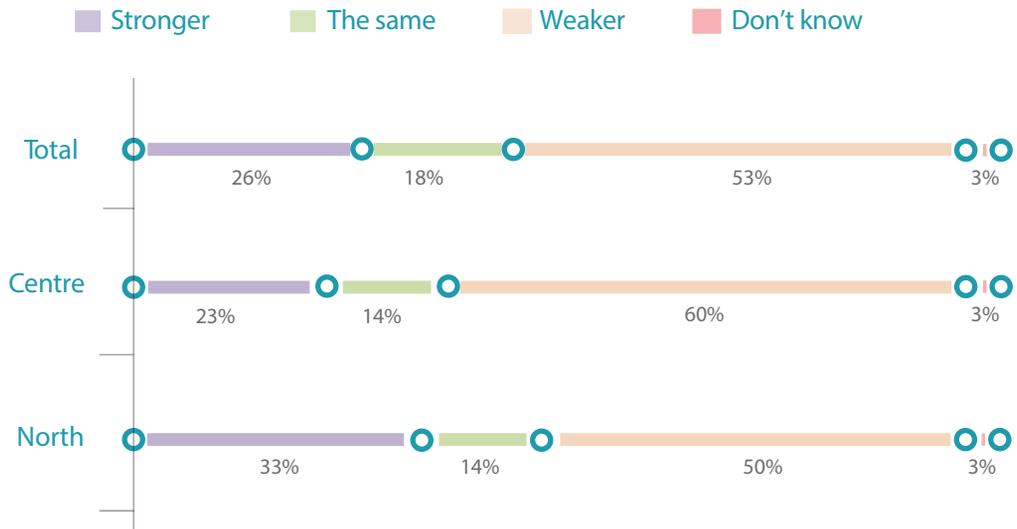
view women's role under Communism as weaker, compared to men. By region, results show that 34% of respondents from the northern region think that women had a stronger role than today, while only 17% of respondents from the southeastern region share the same opinion, making for a noticeable discrepancy. By age group, those over 55 years old were more likely to report that women's role was stronger under Communism (37%), as compared to the younger generations, with only around 20% saying that women's role was stronger.

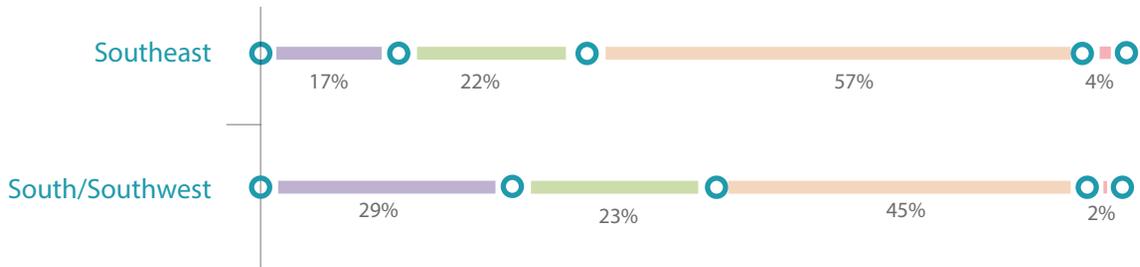
MAIN FINDINGS

In your opinion, compared to today, women's role in Albanian society during the Communist period was: (by gender)

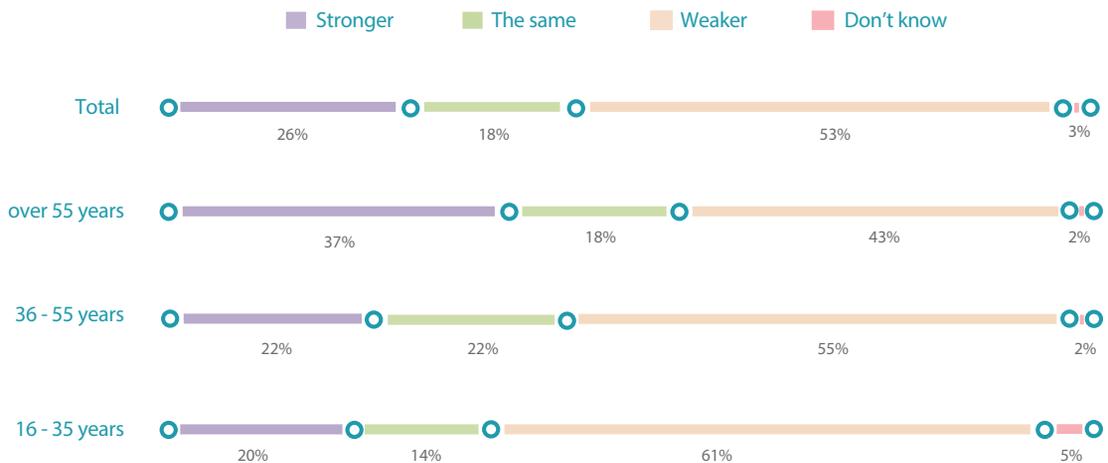


In your opinion, compared to today, women's role in Albanian society during the Communist period was: (by region)





In your opinion, compared to today, women’s role in Albanian society during the Communist period was: (by age)

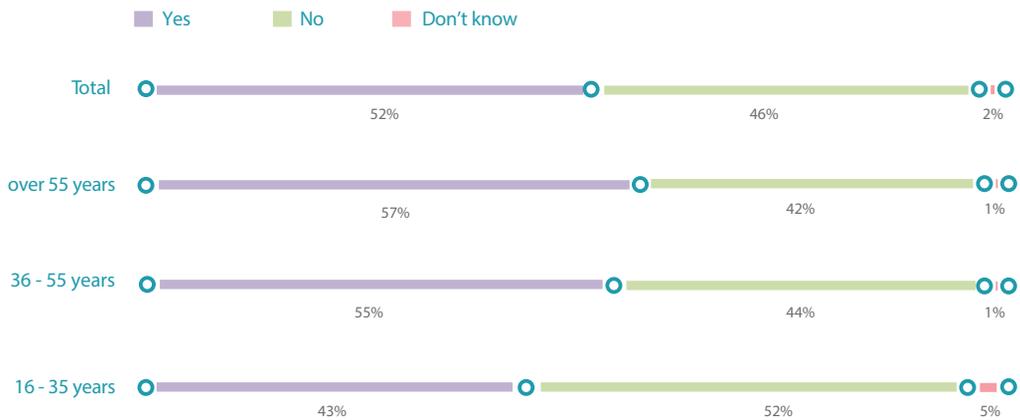


When asked whether men and women had equal rights (e.g. in education and employment), respondents were divided: approximately half said ‘yes’ and half said ‘no’. Older respondents were more likely to say that women and men in the Communist period had equal rights (58% of those over 55 years of age felt this way), compared to younger

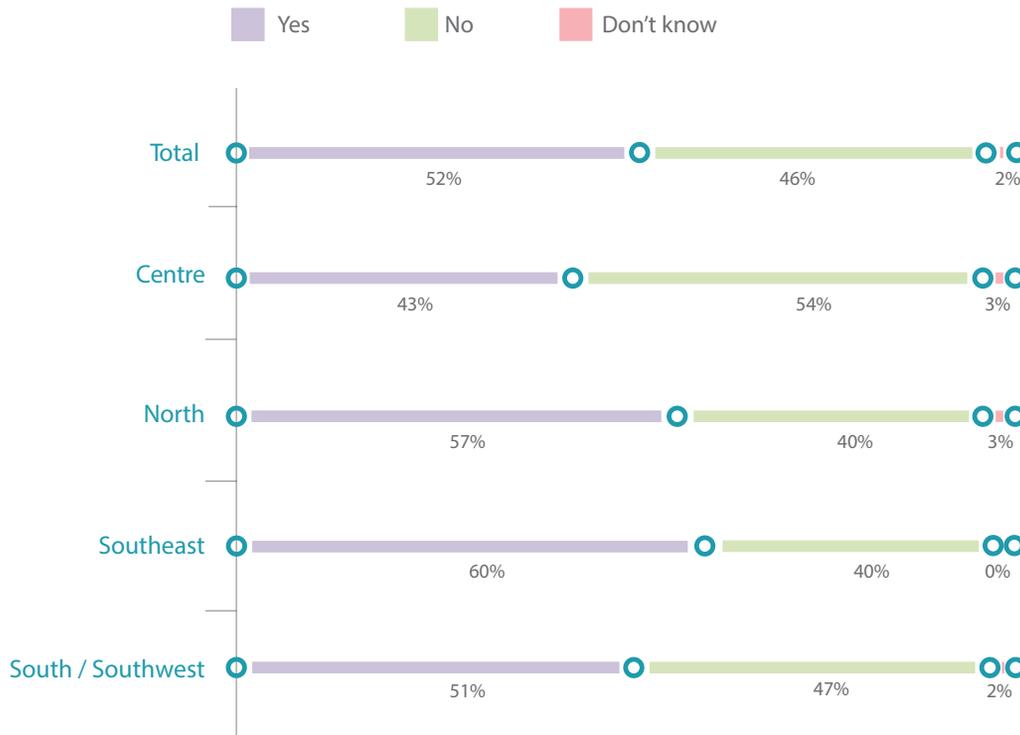
groups (only 44% of 16-35 year olds). Notably, the central region had a lower percentage of people saying that women and men had equal rights under Communism (only 43% of respondents). By comparison, the southeast had the highest percentage of people who felt that women had equal rights, with 60% affirming this to be true.

MAIN FINDINGS

Based on your knowledge, during the Communist period in Albania, did men and women have equal rights in education, employment, etc.? (by age)



Based in your knowledge, during the Communist period in Albania, did men and women have equal rights in education, employment, etc.? (by region)



4. Perceptions of certain public figures from the Communist era

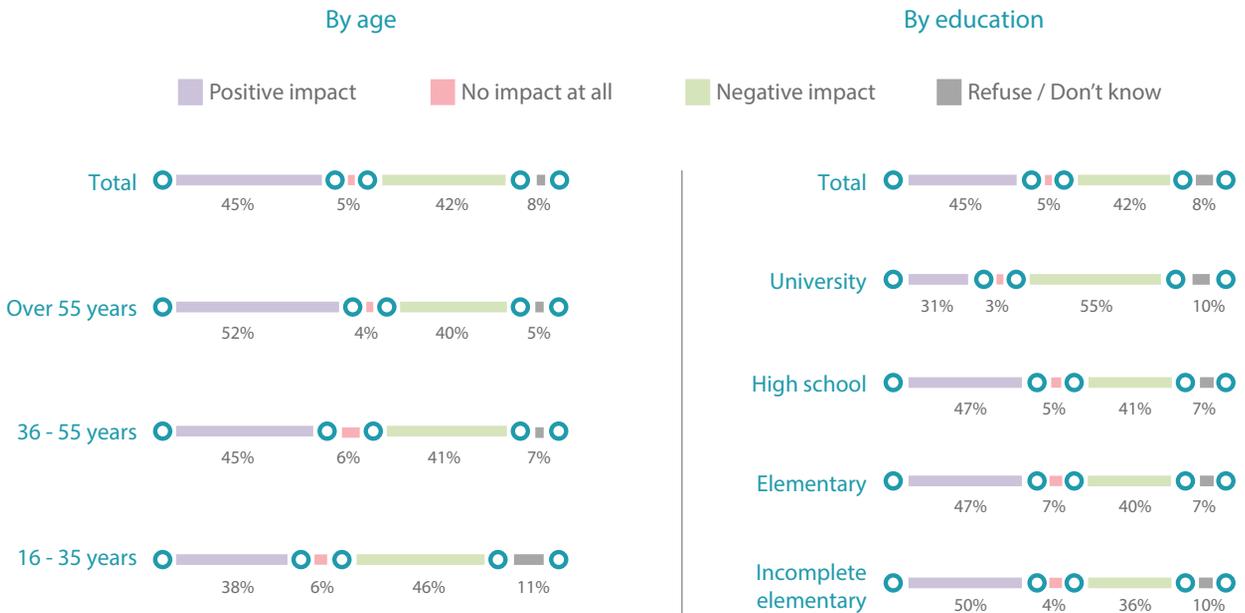
Respondents were asked to evaluate the contribution of certain public figures of the Communist period in Albania, with no definition provided regarding the nature of those contributions. Respondents were asked to give an evaluation on the impact of Enver Hoxha, Nexhmije Hoxha, and Ramiz Alia on the history of Albania.

Survey results reveal that respondents are divided over the evaluation of Enver Hoxha's contributions. Around 45% of respondents think that Enver Hoxha had a negative impact, whereas around 42% think that his impact was positive. By age, the group of 16-35 year olds seem to have a more strongly negative view of Enver Hoxha's contributions

compared to the other age groups. Respondents that are university graduates also have a noticeably more negative view of Enver Hoxha.

Furthermore, survey results show that respondents from the central region, compared to other regions, have a more negative perspective on the contribution of Enver Hoxha (only 33% responding that he had a positive impact), yet at the same time this region has the largest number of those that did not answer the question. Respondents from the southern/southwestern region had the most positive view of Enver Hoxha, as over half of respondents (55%) in that region stated that he had a positive impact on the country's history.

What is your opinion on the role of Enver Hoxha in the history of the country?



MAIN FINDINGS

What is your opinion on the role of Enver Hoxha in the history of the country? (by region)

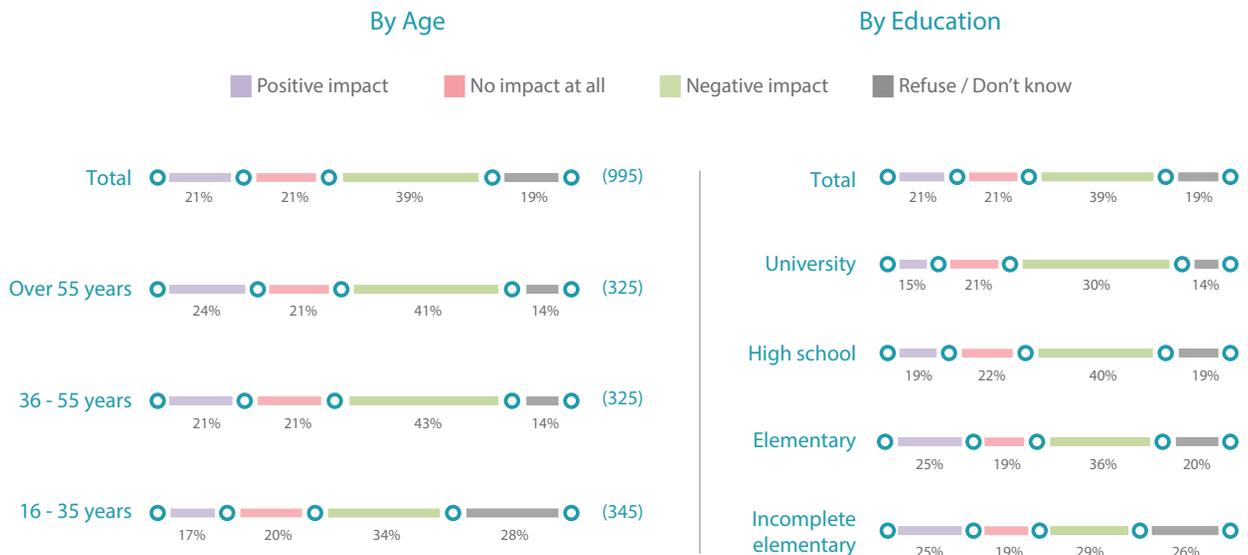


When asked about their evaluation of Nexhmije Hoxha's impact, respondents had diverse opinions, with the largest proportion assessing her impact as negative (39%). However, 21% of respondents felt that she had a positive impact; the same percentage thought that she had no impact on Albania's history at all. More educated people tended to evaluate her impact more negatively. Overall, though, for Nexhmije Hoxha, the share of respondents that did not answer was significantly higher, compared to Enver Hoxha.

Nearly 20% of respondents simply said they did not know, and the percentage of young people (16-35 years old) who said they did not know was twice as high as the percentage of older people who said the same. Therefore it appears that a fair proportion of people do not have any opinion of Nexhmije Hoxha, young people in particular. Of all the regions, respondents from the south/southwestern region gave the most positive evaluation of Nexhmije Hoxha's impact.



What is your opinion on the role of Nexhmije Hoxha in the history of the country?

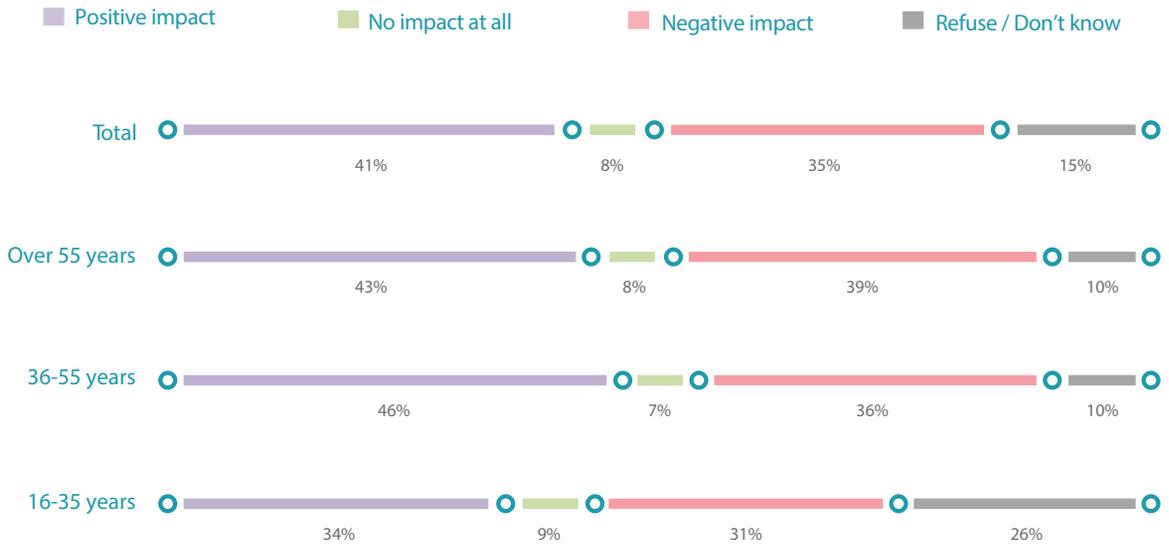


Concerning Ramiz Alia, the number of respondents stating he had a positive impact is higher than of those stating he had a negative impact (41% and 35%, respectively). Around 26% of the younger generation did not answer the question regarding Ramiz Alia at all, compared to only 10% of older respondents. The more educated respondents were, the more negatively they evaluated Alia's impact – a trend that was the same for Enver Hoxha and Nexhmije Hoxha as well.

There is a remarkable variation by region, as Ramiz Alia is seen to have had a positive impact on the history of Albania by around 50% of respondents in all regions except for the central region, where only 24% of respondents assessed his contribution as positive. At the same time, the central region also had the largest proportion of people who said they did not know – 24%, which is nearly twice as high as in other regions.

MAIN FINDINGS

What is your opinion on the role of Ramiz Alia in the history of the country? (by age)

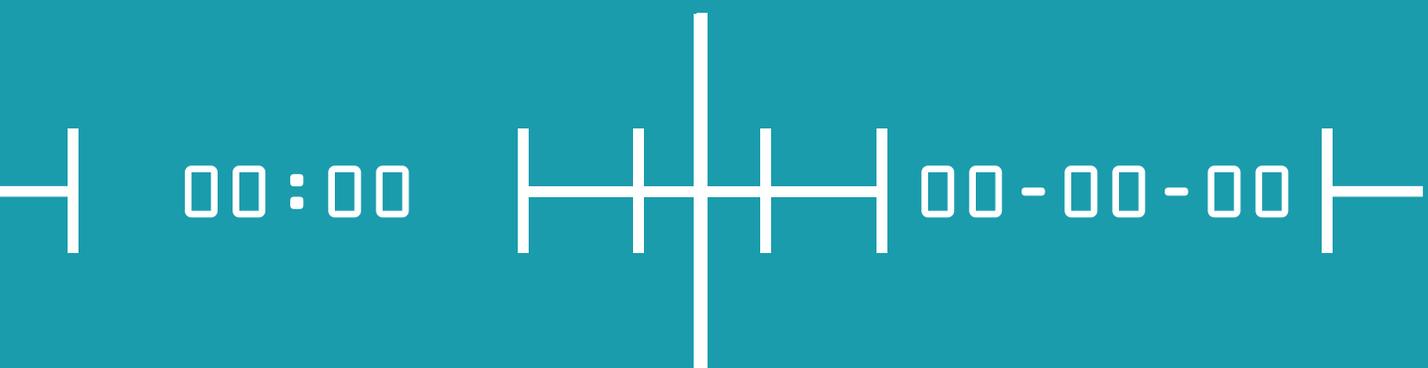


What is your opinion on the role of Ramiz Alia in the history of the country? (by education)





Conclusions





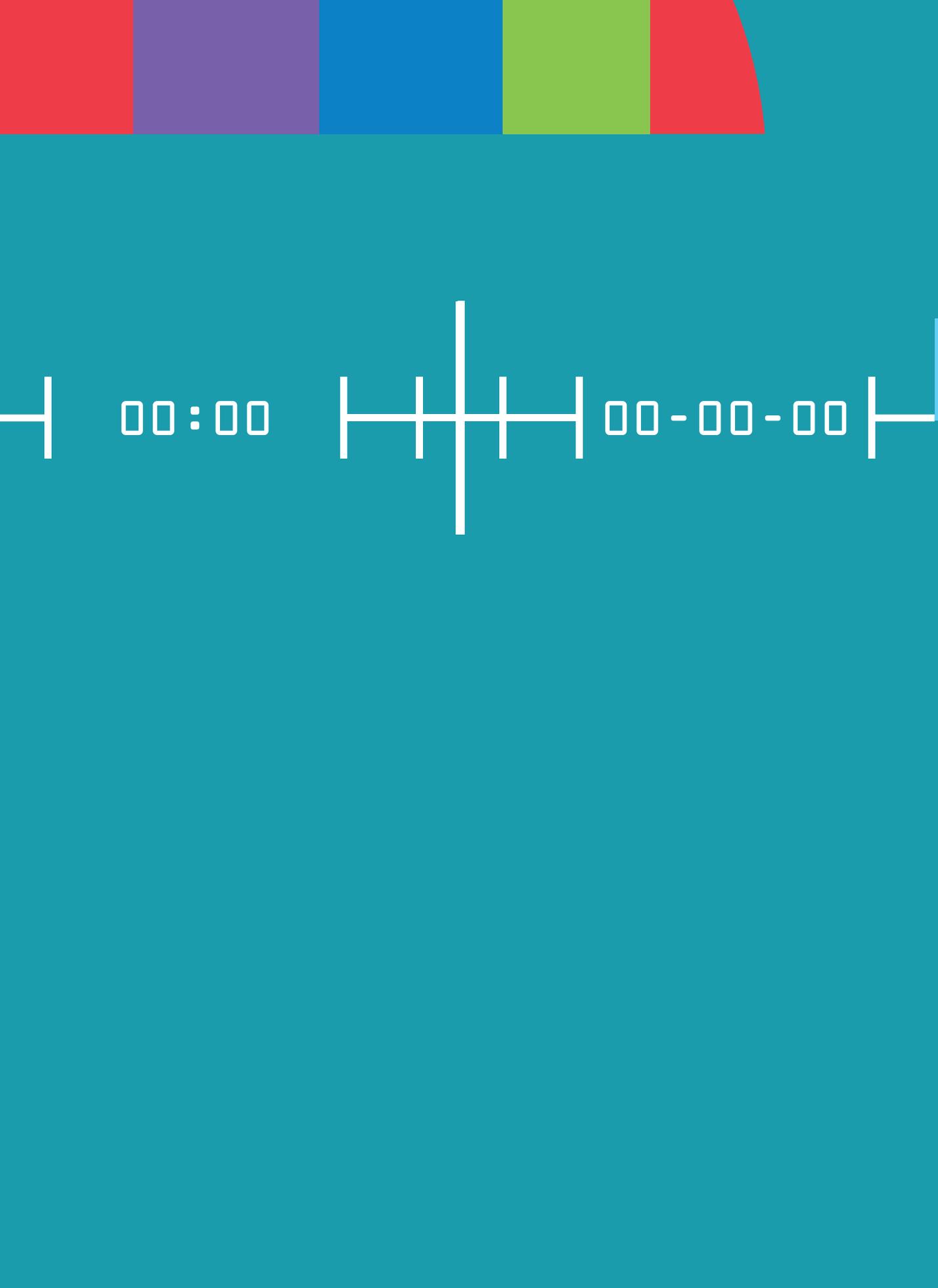
CONCLUSIONS

The data has been presented without analysis, so that interested parties may assess the figures and consider the implications relevant to their particular areas of expertise. However, some conclusions of particular interest for the Presence are listed below, in no particular order.

- In general, people do not see the legacy of Albania's Communist past as a big problem facing the country today, especially compared to other issues considered more problematic, such as the economy, corruption, bad governance, impunity and healthcare. Persecuted people are more likely to see the Communist legacy as a substantial problem compared to the general population. At the same time, over a third of persecuted people felt that this legacy is not a problem at all, which underlines the fact that perception is not uniform among formerly persecuted people.
- In general, there is support for opening the files of the former secret service, although a considerable number of people lacked enough information about the law to give an opinion. It seems that the support for opening the files is at least in part related to its potential as a lustration mechanism. Indeed, the survey results showed a strong interest in lustration. As the law on opening the files does not provide for lustration, even the full implementation of this law may therefore not fulfil public hopes or expectations.
- As regards the law on opening the files of the former secret service, there is a gendered pattern that appears: women tend to be less informed about the various aspects of the law and also less interested about the law and its implications.
- Survey results suggest that there is a lack of strong personal interest in the general population as regards obtaining information from the former secret service files. However, a larger proportion of respondents felt that the process is important for the country (despite a lack of direct relevance to them personally), and a fair proportion of people showed an interest in being informed about the work of the authority responsible for the opening of the files.
- As regards knowledge of the former regime, young people know less about the features of Albanian Communism than older groups, which is as expected, since personal experience of the former regime is an important source of information. People in the North also seem less informed about the former regime, overall. In general, the main features of life under Communism are well understood. People that were persecuted by the regime do not appear to be well known to the general public, and knowledge of public figures from Communist times also seems limited.
- Television has a very important role in teaching people about the past, while school seems to have an extremely limited role. As schools are responsible for teaching youth about history, there seems to be ample opportunity to strengthen the role of schools in teaching about the Communist era. The clearly dominant role of television in this regard should be taken into consideration in work related to the Communist past.
- The perception of the Communist regime is not uniform and it would be a mistake to assume that all Albanians see Communism the same way. Almost half of the people surveyed think that Communism in Albania was 'a good idea, poorly implemented' (across all age groups). Over a third of respondents think that Communism was simply 'a bad idea', again with very little variation across age groups. Only 10% of respondents stated that Communism in Albania was a 'good idea, implemented properly, but twice as many older people shared this positive opinion compared to the youngest age group. By region, results show that the central region (Tirana and Durrës) had the highest proportion of respondents thinking that Communism in Albania was 'a bad idea'. The highest percentage of people saying Communism in Albania was 'a good idea, properly implemented' was in the Southeast region.

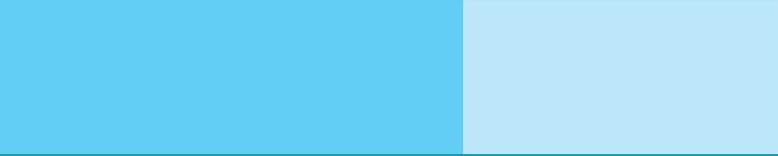
- The perception of life under Communist is also not uniform, and the majority of people felt that at least some aspects of life were better under the regime, such as safety, education, and employment (both the availability of work and working conditions). The aspects of life that people felt were worse include lack of freedom, class war, and infringement of human rights. Respondents also felt that economic development was worse under Communism.
- The majority of citizens think that women in Albanian society during the Communist period had a weaker role compared to the present, however Albanian citizens are divided on whether during the Communist period in Albania men and women had equal rights in education, employment, and other areas.
- Enver Hoxha's role in the history of Albania is seen as positive by almost half of the population – but a full half of respondents saw his role as negative. By age, the group of 16-35 year olds had a more strongly negative view of Enver Hoxha's contributions compared to the other age groups. Respondents from the southern/south-western region had the most positive view of Enver Hoxha.
- There was no clear majority opinion on the role of Nexhmije Hoxha and opinions were also fairly divided about the role of Ramiz Alia in Albania's history. One pattern that emerged, however, was that more educated people tended to have more negative views of the role of Enver Hoxha, Nexhmije Hoxha and Ramiz Alia.

Overall, the picture that emerges from the data is complex, and the disaggregated results are very important, as they highlight some notable differences in knowledge, perception and expectations among the population. The variations shown in the results further underline the need for a nuanced and inclusive approach to the work of dealing with Albania's Communist past.



00:00

00-00-00



Annex



INTERVIEWER: READ THE FOLLOWING INTRODUCTION:

Good morning/good evening.

My name is _____ and I work for IDRA. We are currently undertaking a survey on citizens' opinions about different economic/social topics.

Your household was randomly selected. I would like to assure you that the information you share with us, will remain confidential. Your names will not appear in any documents related to this survey. Your answers will be used for analytical purposes only.

First, I would like to gather some information about the composition of your household. By "household" we mean individuals who usually reside together, share the same living premises and budget. To start, I will need to write down the name of the head of the household, his/her wife/husband, their children and other household members. Could you provide me the following information?

Interviewer: Please fill in the table below with information required for all household members. Do not include visitors.

INT. SPECIAL ATTENTION SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO INFORMATION GATHERED FOR THIS SECTION. THEY REPRESENT THE BASIS FOR THE SURVEY SAMPLE

Fill in:

R2. How many persons reside here, in this household? TOTAL	
R3 How many members above 16 years of age does your household include?	

GENERAL INFORMATION

A1 How interested would you say you are on the following developments, on a scale from 1-5 where 1="Not interested at all", and 5="Very interested"

		Not interested at all				Very interested
A	Political developments	1	2	3	4	5
B	Economic developments	1	2	3	4	5
C	Social developments	1	2	3	4	5

Code	Gender 1. Male 2. Femal	Day	Month	Year
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ANNEX

	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	Age
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA							
RESPCODE Code of Respondent							

GENERAL INFORMATION

A1 How interested would you say you are on the following developments, on a scale from 1-5 where 1="Not interested at all", and 5="Very interested"

		Not interested at all				Very interested
A	Political developments	1	2	3	4	5
B	Economic developments	1	2	3	4	5
C	Social developments	1	2	3	4	5

A2 Do you think the following issues are a problem today in Albania? [READ FROM LIST]

		Not at all a problem	Somewhat a problem	Big problem	Don't know	
A	Education	1	2	3	4	5
B	Healthcare	1	2	3	4	5
C	Corruption/Bad governance	1	2	3	4	5
A	Impunity	1	2	3	4	5
B	Legacy of communist past	1	2	3	4	5
C	Economy	1	2	3	4	5
B	Order/Security	1	2	3	4	5
C	Terrorism/Religious radicalism	1	2	3	4	5
A	Environmental pollution	1	2	3	4	5

ANNEX

B1	How informed would you say you are about the communist period in Albania?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Very informed 2. Mostly informed 3. Mostly uninformed Don't know
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B2	How interested are you in learning more about the communist period in Albania?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not at all interested 2. Somewhat uninterested 3. Somewhat interested Very interested
----	--	---

B1	Which sources do you use in order to get information on Albania's communist past?	Chose the source	Mention 3 of the most important sources		
		a. Used sources	B1. First	B2. Second	B3. Third
A	Personal Experiences	A	1	1	1
B	TV	B	2	2	2
C	Books	C	3	3	3
D	Newspapers	D	4	4	4
E	School	E	5	5	5
F	Internet	F	6	6	6
G	Conversations with family, friends, or neighbours to learn about the country's communist past	G	7	7	7
H	Other source of information(specify_____)	H	8	8	8
I	I take no interest in the topic at all	I	9	9	9

B4	How would you evaluate the work of the media in Albania in informing the public opinion about the communist past in Albania?	1.Very good 2.Mostly good 3.Mostly not good 4.Not at all good Don't know		
B5	Which forms of media do you think are most appropriate to raise interest among the young generation about the communist past in Albania?	1.Movies 2.Historical documentaries 3.Magazines 4.News Paper 5.Tv Debates 6.Interviews with public figures 7.Other Don't know		
B6	Please state whether the following statements on the communist period in Albania are true or false:	True	False	Don't know
A	Employment was guaranteed for all citizens by the state in the communist Albania	1	2	9
B	It was possible to relocate freely to another city, village without any restraint from state authorities	1	2	9
D	Albanian citizens needed an authorization from their workplace before they could purchase furniture, or household appliances	1	2	9
E	Free healthcare was provided to all citizens by the state under communist Albania	1	2	9
F	Albanian citizens in the communist period could freely travel abroad whenever they wished, without any restrains from the government	1	2	9
G	Albanian citizens in the communist period could purchase any goods available in the market without any restraints from the state	1	2	9
H	During the communist period in Albania, education at the university level was available to anyone willing to enrol	1	2	9
I	Military service in communist Albania was based on personal choice, and was not required by the state	1	2	9

B7

Which structures/institutions were responsible for deciding about youth attending university?

1. Political Bureau
2. Pedagogical Council of the University
3. Executive Committee
4. Ministry of Education
5. The Labor Part
- Don't know

B8

Could you mention 3 members of the political bureau in Albania which were still active after the changes in 1990 in Albania?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

B9

On a scale from 1 to 5 where 1="I don't know anything about him/her", and 5="I know a lot about him/her", could you please tell us how much information do you have on the following public figures of the communist period?

B6

Ramiz Alia

No information

Very informed

A

Nexhmije Hoxha

1

2

3

4

5

B

Mehmet Shehu

1

2

3

4

5

D

Adil Carcani

1

2

3

4

5

E

Beqir Balluku

1

2

3

4

5

F

Liri Belishova

1

2

3

4

5

B10

Could you tell which among the following figures was the last prime minister of the communist government in Albania?

1. Ramiz Alia
2. Mehmet Shehu
3. Adil Carcani
4. Beqir Balluku
5. Nuk e di

B11

Based on your information, were the following people persecuted by the communist regime?

B6

Yes

No

Don't know

A

At Zef Pllumbi

1

2

3

B

Manush Myftiu

1

2

3

C

Pjeter Arbnori

1

2

3

D

Sabihe Kasimati

1

2

3

E

Pali Miska

1

2

3

F

Petro Marko

1

2

3

G

Jusuf Vrioni

1

2

3

B12	When did Enver Hoxha die?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. In 1975 2. In 1981 3. In 1985 4. In 1988 Don't know
B13	Based on your knowledge was Albania ever part of the Warsaw Pact?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No Don't know
B14	In which year was Albania expelled from the Warsaw Pact? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 1952 2. 1961 3. 1968 4. 1974 5. 1980 Don't know
B15	Based on the information you have, how many members did the Labor Party in Albania have in 1990?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Between 40.000-60.000 members 2. Between 60.000- 80.000 members 3. Between 80.000- 100.000 members 4. Between 100.000- 200.000 members 5. Over 200.000 members 6. Over 500.000 members Don't Know
B16 Scenario 1	A working class regular citizen in communist Albania wants to buy a new TV set. To do so he/she:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Needed to get permission from the supervising authorities at his/her work place 2. Needed to get a permission from the Labor Party 3. Could freely buy a tv if he/she could afford it Don't know
B17 Scenario 2	A typical family in communist Albania during the '80s, plans to buy the needed amount of food in the market. Let's assume that this family has the financial means to buy the whole amount of food needed for consumption, based in the number of family members. In this case, this family:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Could buy the whole amount of needed products available in market, paying the prices without limitation by the authorities 2. Should get the authorisation from the state authorities to buy the amount of products without limitation 3. Should have an authorization from the state authorities, which limits the amount of products that this family could pay. 4. Don't know

C1	According to your opinion communism in Albania was:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It was a bad idea 2. It was a good idea, but implemented improperly 3. It was a good idea, well implemented Don't know
C2	<p>Could you tell us the 3 most positive aspects of the communist period in Albania, according to you opinion?</p> <p>[Write the answers of the respondent and then code it, based on the listed alternatives]</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Safety at work 2. Guarantee of everyday life 3. Rule of law 4. Good health service 5. Education system 6. Social equality 7. Public order 8. Nothing positive 9. Don't know
C3	<p>Could you tell me the 3 most negative aspects of the communist period in Albania?</p> <p>[Write the answers of the respondent and then code it, based on the listed alternatives]</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lack of freedom 2. Class war 3. Violation of civil and human rights 4. Poverty 5. Insufficiency of food 6. Dictatorship as a political regime 7. Presence of terror feeling 8. Religion 9. Education limitations 10. The collectivization 11. Nothing negative 12. Don't know
C4	In your opinion, in general, living conditions during the communist period in Albania were:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Better than today 2. The same 3. Worse than today 4. Don't know
C5	According to your opinion, compared to today, women's role in Albanian society during the communist period of the country was:	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stronger 2. Same 3. Weaker 4. Don't know
C6	Based on your knowledge, during the communist period in Albania, did men and women have equal rights in education, employment, etc?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know

C7	Which of the following statements do you agree with? Communist Albania compared to current days:	Completely disagree	Disagree	Completely Agree	Agree	DK
A	Safer than today	1	2	3	4	9
B	Better education than today	1	2	3	4	9
C	Offered more job opportunities than today	1	2	3	4	9
D	It was better for safety at work than today	1	2	3	4	9
E	Better in terms of political stability than today	1	2	3	4	9
F	Less corrupt than today	1	2	3	4	9
G	More equality of living standards than today	1	2	3	4	9
H	A more comfortable life than today	1	2	3	4	9
I	Better economic development than today	1	2	3	4	9
J	In general, better than today	1	2	3	4	9
K	Better for freedom speech than today	1	2	3	4	9

C8	What is your opinion on the role of Enver Hoxha in the history of the country?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Enver Hoxha had a positive impact in the history of Albania 2. Not impact at all 3. Negative impact 4. Refuse to answer 5. Don't know
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C9	What is your opinion on the role of Nexhmije Hoxha in the history of the country?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nexhmije Hoxha had a positive impact in the history of Albania 2. Not impact at all 3. Negative impact 4. Refuse to answer 5. Don't know
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C10	What is your opinion on the role of Ramiz Alia in the history of the country?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ramiz Alia had a positive impact in the history of Albania 2. Not impact at all 3. Negative impact 4. Refuse to answer 5. Don't know
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D1	<p>During the communist period in Albania, were you personally:</p> <p>[For those over 50 years old] [Read the alternatives, more than one answer is accepted]</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imprisoned 2. Internees 3. Politically persecuted 4. None of these 5. Refuse to answer
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D2	<p>During the communist period in Albania, were any members of from your close family circle (parents, sisters, brothers):</p> <p>[Read the alternatives, more than one answer is accepted]</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imprisoned 2. Internees 3. Politically persecuted 4. None of these 5. Refuse to answer
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D3	<p>During the communist period in Albania, were members from your extended family circle (uncle/aunt, grandmother/grandfather, first cousins)</p> <p>[Read the alternatives, more than one answer is accepted]</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Imprisoned 2. Interned 3. Executed 4. Asnjëra prej këtyre 5. Don't Know
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D4	<p>ASK IF Respondents AGE= or > 50 yr.old</p> <p>During the communist period in Albania, were you personally:</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A member of the Labor Party 2. A member of the Central Committee 3. Asnjëra prej këtyre 4. Refuse
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D5	<p>ASK IF Respondents AGE< 50 yr.old</p> <p>During the communist period in Albania, were any of your parents</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A member of the Labor Party 2. A member of the Cenrtal Committee 3. Asnjëra prej këtyre 4. Refuse
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D5	<p>Family income during the communist period in Albania, based on the standards of time</p>
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On a scale from 1 to 10 where 1= "Very Low", and 10="Very high", how would you evaluate your family income under communist Albania compared to economic standards at the time?

Very low



Very high

E1	Are you aware of a recently approved law on the right of the public to be informed about the files of the former secret service in Albania?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No 3. Don't know
E2	How informed would you say you are on this law? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Not at all informed 2. Somewhat uninformed 3. Somewhat informed 4. Very informed 5. Don't know
E3	Which of the following applies to you? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I search for information connected to the secret files intentionally 2. I search for information connected to the secret files randomly 3. I am not interested at all with developments related to the secret files 4. Refuse to answer
E4	Have you read the recently approved law on opening of the secret files of the former secret service in Albania? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yes 2. No
E5	To what extent do you support or oppose the law on opening secret service files? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strongly support 2. Somewhat support 3. Somewhat oppose 4. Strongly oppose 5. Not enough information in regards to the law, to give an answer 6. Don't know/refuse
E6	What do you think is the main purpose of the law on opening files of the former secret service in Albania? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The public is informed on the secret files of the former state security service 2. The setup of a proper historical archive with documents from the communist period in Albania 3. Provide victims of the former security service to collect information on informants 4. Don't know

E7	Where do you usually get information on the law on opening of the secret service files? [Read the alternatives]	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. TV 2. Newspapers 3. Internet 4. Magazines 5. Conversations with friends/family 6. Social media 7. I have not been faced with information regarding this law
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E8	Which of the following statements applies to you?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I was never interested in regards to secret files (neither before, nor now) 2. I have been interested in the past, but I am not anymore 3. I have not been interested in the past, but I am now 4. I was always interested in the topic, even before
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E16	Do you agree with the following statements?	Do not agree at all	Do not agree	Agree	Fully agree	Don't know
A	Creation of a consolidated archive for the documents of the former secret service is important for the history of Albania	1	2	3	4	9
B	Actual public figures that have emerged as members of the ex-secret agency during communism, should resign from their position	1	2	3	4	9
C	Information over the connection of between public figures with the ex-secret service of state should be made public	1	2	3	4	9
D	Accomplices of ex-secret agency of state should not be able to hold public positions	1	2	3	4	9
E	Most of ex-secret agency files have already been altered or destroyed from interested parties, so it is now pointless to make them public	1	2	3	4	9
F	The involvement of public figures with the ex-secret service during communism should be considered as part of the past and should not have any effect in their career	1	2	3	4	9
G	Opening of all the files connected with ex-secret service in Albania is a threat to national security so it should not happen	1	2	3	4	9

ANNEX

		Do not trust at all										Completely trust									
A	Local government	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	Political Parties	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	High State Control	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	Judiciary	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	People's Advocate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	General Prosecutor Office	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	Prime Minister	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	Police	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	CEC (Central Election Committee)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	President	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	HIDAA (High Inspectorate for Auditing of Assets)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	Religious Leaders	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

F2		Do not agree at all		Do not agree		Agree		Fully agree		Don't know	
A	To what extent do you agree with the following statement:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
A	There are some aspects of the communist era, younger generations should know about	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B	Albanians deserve a public apology for the persecution and injustice experienced under the Communist regime, before they move forward	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C	Albania's communist past should serve as an example over the importance of equality among people, civil volunteering and an enhancement of responsibility over the community, for the younger generations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D	A considerable number of politicians in Albania today, held important positions during the Communist era and should not be allowed to be MPs, politicians or officials of the public administration	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E	Albania's communist past is a terrible era that should be completely forgotten and not taught to the next generations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

		Fully support	Somewhat support	Somewhat Opposed	Fully Opposed	Don't know
F3	To what extent do you support the following initiatives?					
A	Creation of a Museum for the communist dictatorship	1	2	3	4	9
B	Drafting and implementation of a law to remove public officials who had leadership roles in the institutions of the communist regime	1	2	3	4	9
F4	What do you think should be done in the future with former persecution sites in the country?	1. Nothing should be done 2. We should preserve them for future generations 3. We should destroy them in order to erase the communist past 4. Don't know				

SCENARIOS

Scenario 1

F5	<p>The Authority responsible for opening the former secret service files in Albania finds out a very important public official has been part of the secret service.</p> <p>What do you think should happen?</p>	1. Public officer should resign 2. The institution where the official is employed should fire him/her if he/she does not resign 3. Nothing should be done. His/her communist past is not related to the actual job 4. Don't know
F5_1	<p>If this information is made public by the media, what would happen?</p>	1. Information is completely ignored by the authorities 2. An investigation commences but never reaches a conclusion 3. The public official is fired from his post and is not allowed to be part of the public administration in the future 4. Don't know

Scenario 2

F6	<p>A high public official with considerable influence gets in the way of the Authority responsible for opening the secret files, in order to not allow the opening and publication of files involving him/her.</p> <p>What do you think will happen?</p>	1. The Authority liable for the opening of the secret files withdraws after the pressure by the high official, keeping his identity a secret. 2. Liable authority resists the pressure of the official and continues processing his/her file. 3. Liable Authority files a report over the official's interference in their operation and the official is prosecuted. 4. Don't know
F6_1	<p>If this information is made public, what do you think will happen?</p>	1. The information is completely ignored by authorities 2. An investigation commences but never reaches a conclusion 3. Public official is fired from his post and is not allowed to be part of the public administration in the future. 4. Don't know

Scenario 3

F7	A former labor camp from the communist period is located next to a very valuable source of minerals. A private company wishes to reopen the mines in one of the sections of this labor camp. What do you think should happen in this case?	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Preservation of the site's history is top priority, so the company should not be allowed to operate on this site.2. Economic profit from the mine is top priority; so the company should be allowed to operate anywhere in that zone3. The company should be allowed to operate in the zone but with certain restrictions in order to preserve the history of the former forced labor camp.4. Don't know
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