Political Behavior of Tirana Electorate
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Abstract

In this study, ideological confusion is focuses mainly on the interdependence created between the "deeply-social" factors of and political discourse. This analysis focuses on the empirical investigation regarding the perception of Tirana electorate for the relation between the political party structure and ideology, and between electorate and ideology. Based on the survey data, it results that very few people match the profile of a person who can make the distinction between principles of the Left and the Right. The majority of respondents fail to make this distinction or make this distinction but they vote pragmatically. Studies conducted in many countries with consolidated democracy show that both alternatives are possible. So there are several theories explaining the voting behavior, which can help us to understand the survey results and possible factors which affect this voting behavior.

Keywords: ideology, political parties, voting behavior, pragmatist, values.

1. Introduction

The central idea of this study is concern with the crisis of representation in Albania, which stems mainly from the fact that neither of the two main parties fails to build its and electorate ideological identity (substantive) who should represent. Thus, each of the political forces in their discourse time to time use the right and lefts element elements, as a result of internal and external factors.

Neoliberal reform spirit, especially at the first decade after the change of system and governments Euro-Atlantic integration processes in the second

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decade, have "alienated" citizen, making even more difficult for political parties the articulation and representation of different social grops. In this context, much less representative of special interest political parties become less identified social groups with political parties. On the other hand, much less reach groups to identify the harder it is to represent the needs and demands by political parties. This vicious circle, has created fluidity of party identities and social groups in years, therefore the relationship between them has been inconsistent and unclear.

Despite that a group of scholars belonging constructivist approach, defend the view that "common interest" of a social group does not exist aprior, but it can be constructed by discursive approach, therefore politically, this perspective is criticized and estimated as insufficient to explain the phenomenon, especally in the Albanian context. Representatives of structural - functionalist school who defend the view that if the dynamism of social structure does not create opportunities for the creation of sustainable social identities, as a result of the stage of development, then the parties are obliged to refer to "the demos" as an electoral category and not social groups that characterize it for the pragmatic reason. Precisely, this approach, which sees the problem in the structuring society way and not to political discourse, constitutes the main runway in this study.

This approach, link the different levels of social reality, such as: structural dynamics of social groups, economic reform progress, the recommendations of the international community, the mediatization of politics, lack of elites with a clear ideological structuring and the effects of globalization.

2. Literature Review

Many political scientists argue that dualism left/right is historical, logical and natural. Rene Remond (1967) highlights the permanent presence of these trends in the political life. Electoral sociology findings confirm the conclusions of the historical analysis of Frederic Bon (1943), who made the balance of electoral developments in France and as a result showed the dualistic structure deeply embedded in the voters' behavior.

In this perspective, dualism is considered as part of citizen attitudes. "This is confirmed by the numerous surveys where most of the respondents prefer to be identified politically in view of these criteria."(Seiler 2008:28). Actually, this encourages researchers to agree on according a certain existence to this duality (Meir 2004). However, semantic and historical analyses of dualism right/left do not hide its fundamental ambiguity.

Political science scholars agree with the content and nature of ideological competition. Further, they are of the opinion that some ideological frameworks serve organizing the political discourse. Typically, these orientations are often discussed and summarized in terms of philosophies: left/right or liberal/conservative (Fuchs & Klingemann 1989; Barnes 1997).

For Raymond Boudon (1988) this point needs to be clarified. Citizens might show left or right preferences, but this does not mean that they have a sophisticated conceptual framework or theoretical dogma. For many individuals, left / right positions taken by them are a summary of their positions on political issues of great interest. From the sociological point of view, some of the concepts are rooted during a long socialization process and over time acquire the status of a social fact. For the author in question, this social fact is illustrated in their attitudes and judgments.

Jean Blondel (1969), a well-known researcher in the field of political doctrines, includes these major political issues in six ideological families to be listed from left to right, as follows: At the extreme left, he puts simultaneously doctrines of egalitarian and authoritarian movements, out of which Jacobinism can be taken as the most important historical example since it has become an abstract category implemented in different historical periods and situations. The center-left specter contains doctrines, egalitarian and liberal movements, which are nowadays referred to as "liberal socialism". The latter includes all social-democratic parties, despite different practices pursued by them. Doctrines, movements of political actors, both libertarian and non-egalitarian ones - among which the conservative parties - are included in the center-right. And the extreme right includes doctrines and anti-liberal and anti-egalitarian movements such as Fascism and Nazism.

It is quite understandable that the reality is more diverse than this simple scheme (Huber & Inglehart 2000). However, this scheme is built based of two criteria. Although these two criteria are essential and combined between them, the scheme tries to maintain the difference between the right and the left. At the same time, it answer the objection according to which, in the left or in the right, non-uniform doctrines and movements, such as communism and social democracy on the left, fascism conservatism on the right, are treated together (Huber & Powell's 1994).

Other authors, such as Laner (1965), Beer (1978), Robertson (1984), Crew (1983) contradict this simplistic analysis, arguing that in a complex political universe, where the parties are numerous and have such convergences and divergences with each other, in order to enable the most varied combinations, there is no chance for the problem to appear in the form of opposites: "either right or left". Following this logic, "the new political realities dictate the need to replace the old duality." (Seiler 2008:44).

Another reason to consider the overcoming of the old dyad and therefore its negation, is related to the ascertainment that it has lost most of its descriptive value, because the ongoing transformation of society and the appearance of new political problems have led to the emergence of movements that are not included in the traditional scheme of confrontation between the right and Left. Recently, the most interesting case is the green movement (Norris & Inglehart 2004).

This observation, Bobbio (1994) explains, is accurate, but is not crucial. The difference between the right and the left does not exclude at all, even in ordinary language, the existence of an uninterrupted line on which between the initial left and the ending right - or what is the same thing – between the initial right and the ending left. In fact, they occupy intermediate positions which fill in the central spaces between the two extremes. This line is well known and is called the "center".

However, in '60 and '80, there is an increasing the number of skeptics who devalue designations "left" and "right". Daniel Bell (1960) was one of them. He supported the thesis that political ideas were not any longer existent. Increase of technical and economic complexity, expansion of the middle class and materialistic culture dictate that politicians demonstrate pragmatic behavior at the expense of old ideologies. Also, Francis Fukuyama (1992) in a more moderate form, reinforces the idea that the triumph of capitalism brings about exhaustion of ideological alternatives. Sociologist Anthony Giddens (1998) follows the same logic as he argues that the right and left specter become unnecessary in a society characterized by globalization.

Referring to developments of these years, it is noticed that old divisions are weakening, but on the other hand, other forms of political divisions come up. In this context, there is a shift of the contents of ideological competition, and not an elimination of divisions. Ronald Inglehart et al (1990) argue that new kinds of "post-materialist"issues re-polarize western society, fueling new conflicts on the environment quality, gender equality and choice of lifestyle. Increased number of Green Parties and other social movements inject new ideological debates in the politics of advanced industrial democracies. Recently, a new reaction on human rights has further polarized contemporary politics.

Ronald Inglehart (1977, 1984, 1990) agrees with the findings of Bell (1973) that the traditional bases of social stratification as well as the domination of economic values have fragmented the foundation of former classic divisions: "left / right". However, recent political controversies over issues of lifestyle, quality of life, have dictated the need for a new content of the "left" and the "right" in these societies (Inglehart & Klingemann 1976; Inglehart 1984; Fuchs & Klingemann 1989; Knutsen 1995; Evans et al. 1996).

More specifically, previously, the left lay emphasis on the necessity of social programs, protection of the poor stratum as well as the increasing role of trade unions, while the right supported the ideas of limited government, protection of business interests, development of middle class, etc. Current context offers other matters that do not affect the traditional ideological basis, but simply enrich it. Today, the left is in opposition to nuclear energy, support for gender equality, globalist orientation, multicultural coexistence etc, while on the other side the right implies a preference for traditional lifestyle, moral values, the importance of protecting national identity, etc. Public opinion polls conducted in many countries demonstrate the existence of these two dimensions (Evans & Anthony 1996:93-112). In summary, post-materialist hypothesis that divisions between left and right no longer exist, becomes invalid, as the sociological data "confirm the opposite i.e. ideologies have not come to an end, but their content has changed along with the modernization of the society." (Dalton 2005:3).

A good part of political discussions of these past years among political scientists and politicians themselves, not without reason, are focused on the questions: "Where is the left?" or "Where is the right?" Terms such as "parliamentary right-wing", "parliamentary left-wing", "right-wing government" or "left-wing government" have not at all lost their expressive force. In addition, different currents (or fractions) within the party, which become competitive within them, with the intention to take over the leadership of the party, under specific time and historical circumstances, usually call themselves liberal, conservative, social- democrats, etc. Norberto Bobbio (1997) also shares the same opinion. He says that ideologies are not extinct, but – in the contrary - they are more dynamic than ever. Despite that ideologies are not the same as those of previous periods when these differences arose and despite that from one decade to another they have changed so much as nowadays for some scholars they might appear anachronistic and inappropriate, this does not mean that ideologies have lost their significance in practice. An evident paradox cannot escape one's analytical eye. On the one hand, there is an increasing number of works, which for different reasons, as viewed in the preceding paragraphs, demonstrate that ideologies are put into discussion, are rejected or are often

ironized, and on the other hand, analyzes for political behaviors and programs are further developed referring to elements bearing above-mentioned ideologies.

This entire general framework has certainly implications in the Albanian context, particularly in the analysis of political parties programs. Despite this fact, the social, economic and political Albanian reality brings the debate on policy issues of the left and right in a very specific theoretical and practical perspective. Political scientists find themselves in a historic reality that presents considerable specific characteristics. As discussed later, it appears that rapid social change, transformation of ideological orientation points, political turbulent events, urgent nature of social transformation, restructuring of social groups, lack of experience in the political life of an open society, etc., have enabled that liberal tendencies are often associated with measures that minimize social inequality. This tendency is found in the self-styled left and rights parties. Adaptation with the historical circumstances of the time has made it difficult to outline the political and ideological identity. Often, the need to resolve the demands of the moment has prevailed over the interest to respect certain principles that give long-term solution to the social and economic situation.

Highlighting this trend does not mean identifying the responsibility to this factor, character or political elite group, because, as Fuga states, ". . . historical event exceeds the power of the individual or group of individuals. It is a combination of casual circumstances and necessary tendencies, local dynamics and global tendencies, subjective psychological characters and objective situations imposed by time and place." (2003:35).

In this book, it is undertaken the study initiatives not just to demonstrate the ideological evolution of the left and the right in recent years, but rather to explain the factors that have enabled this evolution and, most importantly, the impact of these factors on non-consolidation of a particular ideology around the axis of the "left" and the "right".

2. Method

Defining the problem: In general, there is a perception that the Tirana electorate, mainly does not have a clear ideological structuring and in those cases where manifests ideological obedience, tends toward pragmatic behavior.

The research questions in the study are:

Is there a line between Tirana electorate understanding and classic theoretical understanding on "left" and "right" concepts?

Manifests ideological trends the electorate of Tirana when asked to take a stand on issues that belong to the "left" and "right"?

The question tends to "photograph" the ideological structure of the Tirana electorate focusing on specific issues with ideological load. The question concerned to the question that begins with "How" [describing reports] and has as answer a statement : basic assumption type. In our case, this assumption try to "capture" the ideological structuring of Tirana electorate. The presentation of the basic assumption, his implications deduced that should to be tested empirically is as follows.

Basic assumption: In general, the electorate of Tirana does not have a clear ideological structure about "left", "right" ideological axes.

Since such an assumption is built in the form of a judgment, or fact or finding, remains to be followed an indirect empirical testing through empirical testing of its deduce implications. Therefore, from this assumption are derived logically a range implications of conditional judgment type, in order to allow direct empirical testing. Depending on the outcome, is judging the acceptability or not of basic assumption, which will practically conclude (but not logically!) the empirical testing process of the presumption.

In this context, are deduced the implications as follows.

Implication 1: If the right electorate supports government initiatives that contradict with the right doctrine, then he / she does not have a clear ideological structuring.

Implication 2: If the left electorate supports government initiatives that contradict with the left doctrine, than he / she does not have a clear ideological structuring.

In accordance with the implications defined relevant indicators that oriented for the type of information that should be collected in order to empirically test these implications. If this information will be collected through surveys, as is the case of this study, then these indicators allow to formulate sets of questions that help to collect the empirical information requested for testing these implications.

The indicators of implication 1.1 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the right, then should not agree to the state intervention in the economy.

The indicators of implication 1.2 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the right , then should not agree that the government should guarantee its citizens' basic needs and to create a safety net for the sick, the unemployed or pensioners.

The indicators of implication 1.3 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the right, then must defend the position that who does not pay health insurance should not benefit assistance from public health services.

The indicators of implication 1.4 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the right, then must oppose the position that progressive taxation of personal income is the right solution.

The indicators of implication 1.5 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the right, then must reject the idea that the state should maintain the leading role in directly managing of the natural resources.

Implication 2. If left electorate supports government initiatives that contradict the left doctrine, then he / she does not have a clear ideological structuring but a pragmatic one.

Indicators of implication 2.1 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the left, then must reject the idea that unemployment can low by giving more space to the market.

Indicators of implications 2.2 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the left, than he / she must oppose the government's position that the industry should be developed despite some damage that can cause the environment.

Indicators of implications 2.3 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the left, that he/she must defend the position that the state should legalize gey marriages.

Indicators of implications 2.4 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the left, than he / she must defend the position that unions protect better the workers' interests than lobbying organizations

Indicators of implications 2.5 If the electorate confirms that has obedience to the left, then he / she must defend the position that the flat tax on personal income is not the right solution

Regarding the survey method, in the absence of a comparative analysis for measuring the perception of voters of Albania about ideological structuring of the main political parties and the electorate, it was decided to conduct one survey at local level. This survey wanted to know the perception of the electorate for ideological structuring of the main Albanian parties, while the other measures the degree of concordance between the understanding or the electorate for concepts "left" / "right" and theoretical understanding of these concepts. City of Tirana was selected as a case study since almost a third of the electorate of the Republic of Albania lives in the capital, and Tirana represents almost all subcultures of the country.

The limitation of this method is that it does not allow us to make very accurate generalizations about the entire electorate of Albania, regardless of Tirana being a good sample of the type of clusters, where there is a subcultural diversity. Also, measurements performed in the field provide the perception of the electorate at a given moment in 2012 and 2014, not being able to know how might have changed this perception regarding ideological profile of the main political parties and the perception of the electorate regarding concepts "left" and "right" in these transition years.

To achieve the last one, was attended the following methodology:

Determination of sampling: From 11 constituencies of Tirana City that correspond to 11 mini-municipalities, were selected by grapes and casual sampling methods, 4 constituencies. More specifically, at random were selected 2 areas (106 respondents), 3 (84 respondents), 6 (88 respondents) and 7 (103 respondents). Further as a combination of grapes and casual sampling were chosen from 4 road for each precinct. In these routes was implemented a quota sampling (based on age and gender), since the questionnaire used included delicate question concerning the parties, their programmes, political ideology of parties respondents etc. During two day a total of 381 respondents were interviewed from 5 different age groups (18-25 years, 26-35 years, 36-45 years, 46-55 years and over 55 years), of whom, about 49% were female and about 51% male.

Further, the study created a database and organized entry of data. The study unified database and prepares it in order to call out from a programme SPSS.16. Then was conducted statistical transformations, including frequency tables, different graphs and crosstabs, to determine statistical possible associations of defined variables to test empirically predetermined implications.

Definition of Operational Terms

Different studies show that the voting behavior of an individual's orientation toward values "left" and "right" contributes to political behavior perception of him / her and in particular to the decision of him / her in the voting stage (Markowski 1997; Gunther & Montero 2001). However, this applies in cases where people have a common understanding of "the left" and "right" values. If they do not share the same meaning, as confirmed by several empirical studies (Jacoby 1995; Hunter 2007; 2008; Samuels 2004; Abramowitz and Saunders 1998; Hetherington 2001) then their perceptions may not serve to assist in people orientation or to facilitate the political communication. It is precisely for this reason that many researchers are intrigued by what people have in mind when they declare that they are left, center or right (Inglehart & Klingemann 1976; Freire 2008).

Usually, researchers that do field measurement for methodology reasons select some issues that theoretically may relate to the values of the left and right aiming to test in reality in order to see if the respondent has a clear understanding of "the left" and "the right " values (Inglehart 1990; Myers & Diener 1995). The question is: If there is a line between political attitudes and political behavior. In our study case the question is: People who consider themselves democrats and have right views on political issues, vote for PD candidates? The same question applies to those who consider themselves socialists and have left views.

Operationalisation is an inevitable component of empirical scientific research process. In general, "operationalization provides those rules that should be followed in order to translate theoretical concepts, with the help of data, in measurable and observable concepts." Of course, in the process, we were faced with two risks in the form of questions: Is process of operationalization appropriate for the terms in question? Are we measuring what we are aiming? (Quivy & Cmpanhoudt 2003). To avoid this trap, we referred to similar studies by well-known authors such as Inglehart and Klingemann (1976), Lijphart (1999), Laponce (1998), Dalton (2000), Hubert (1989) who have translated concepts theoretical, with the help of data, in measurable and observable concepts.

The following are some of the indicators that will be used in our empirical observation.

1. Economic governance: This dimension contains two questions about preferred ownership patterns in industry and provision of services and a third question regarding price controls. We posit that this ideological dimension correlates with opinions on the optimal focus of economic activity. More than signaling a legislators' opinion about public vs. private ownership, this dimension conveys the faith that a legislator places on the self-regulating market either as a means to achieve economic growth or as a desirable outcome that requires no further justification.

2. Social protection: A related aspect of government intervention in economic activity is the provision of safety nets, state-sponsored institutions aimed at ameliorating the risk that market participants bear in case of an adverse economic outcome. We have no strong expectations regarding the relationship between economic governance and social protection. On the one hand, proponents of "market socialism" might find market governance palatable only when accompanied by state-sponsored protection mechanisms. On the other hand, believers in the market mechanism might prefer little state intervention in economic governance, and in the provision of safety nets. When the latter happens, i.e., when privatization and social protection variables appear in the same factor, we find it simpler to refer to them as state/market. We interpret the state/market dimension as the traditional economic distributive divide.

3. Financial openness/closure: We interpret this dimension as one relating to the optimal degree of national financial openness. Yet, our label is not beyond dispute. These variables really ask legislators about their tolerance to foreign ownership of privatized firms. Thus, these variables conflate two issues: the desirability of foreign direct investment, on the one hand, and the possibility of foreign control of strategic industries, on the other. An alternative name for this dimension would thus be "economic nationalism".

4. Tradition/secular: This dimension reflects differences of opinion on the importance of upholding traditional values versus adopting more secular or liberal views on morality. A more daring interpretation would see this factor as a reflection of nineteenth century struggles on the proper place of the Catholic church in the body politic, perhaps even as the ideological remnant of a structural Church-State cleavage (Lipset & Rokkan 1967).

5. Postmodernism: We interpret this dimension as akin to Inglehart's "postmodernism". Notice, however, that our previous tradition/secular dimension might already capture some of the traits that belong in this "value-based cleavage" (Knutsen 1989). In addition, these variables do not code legislators' stances on human rights or environmental issues; rather, they ask legislators how salient these issues are. Wording confounds two separate issues, namely, human rights and minority rights.

These indicators are included in the questions formulated in the two surveys, aiming to recognize the degree of perception of the Tirana electorate on ideological structuring of the main political parties and the degree of knowledge of electorate about concepts "left" and "right".

4. Results and discussion

To better understand the importance of responses that speak for ideological or pragmatic voting behavior, the study brings the data by the charts below. At first the study was referring to the respondents who stated that have right obedience.

**Do you agree with the state intervention in economy by right side?**
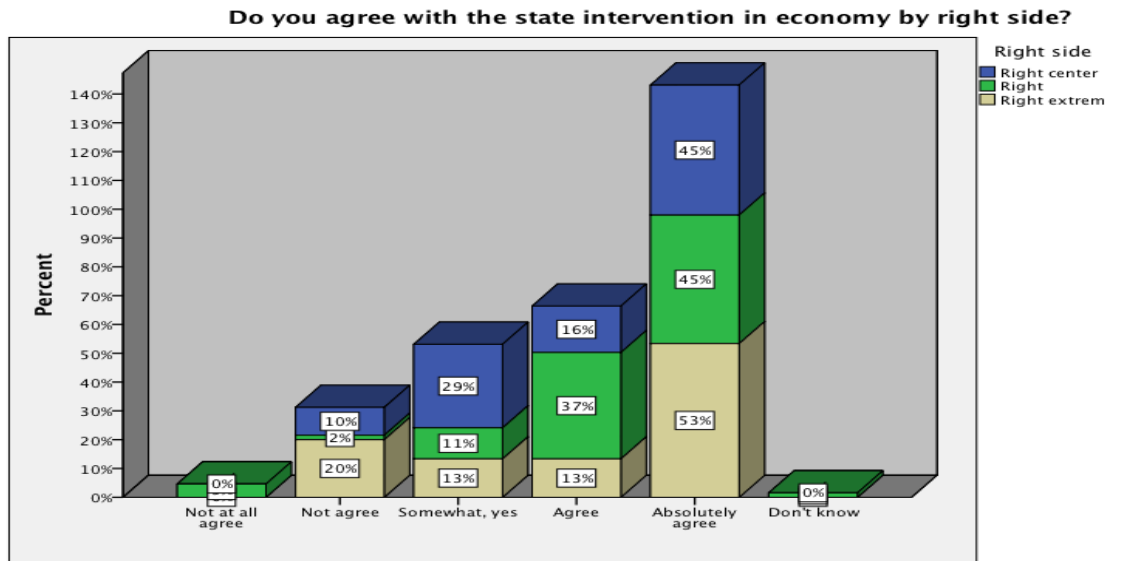
Respondents positioned in the center-right, support state intervention in the economy to 61 %; those to the right support intervention to 82 %; while those of the right extreme right to the extent of 66 %. From these data can be

claimed the confusion of right electorate regarding the doctrinal viewpoint that claiming. Graph shows ***negative result from empirical testing of implication 1.1:***
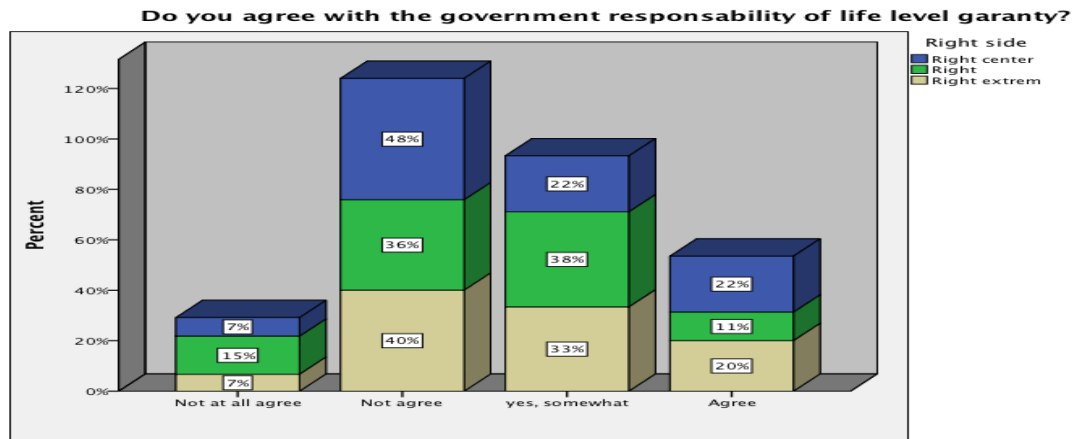

The same ambiguity is shown in the responses of the question: Should the government guarantee the basic needs for its citizens and create a safety net for the sick, unemployed or retired? The center-right supports the position that the state would guaranteeing the basic needs at 44%; the right support at 49%; while the right extreme at 53%. The data show that respondents who position themselves to the right and center right, manifest a kind of left ideological trend compared with the right extreme, which is more positioned left in this case. The graph shows ***a kind of positive result from empirical testing of implication 1.2:***

Do you agree with government responsability of sanity care by right side?
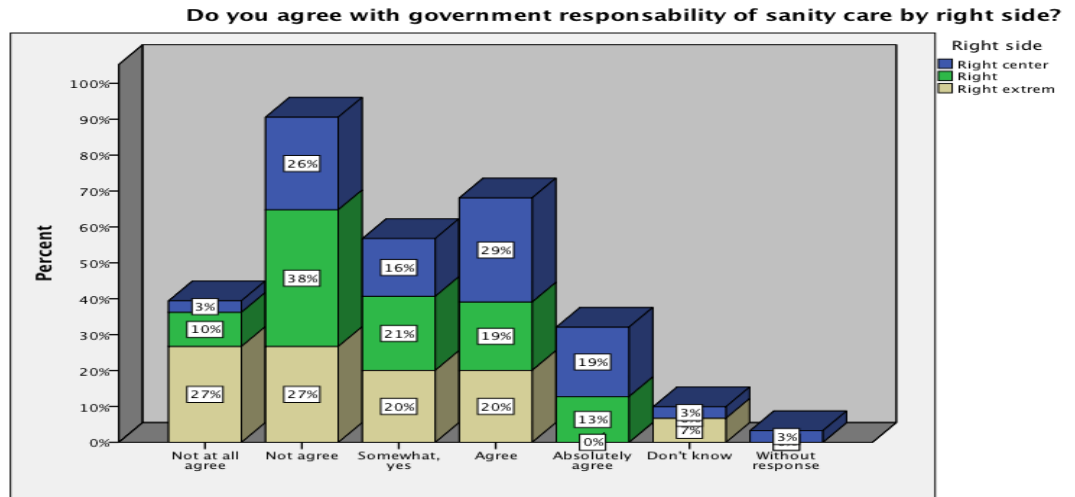
Regarding the question: According to you, should the government make possible the health care coverage or subsidize health insurance for broader coverage for all citizens? Respondents give the following answers: The center-right 48 % are agrees; the right approach 32 % and 20 % the right extreme. The data show that respondents who position themselves to the extreme right manifest a kind of left ideological trend compared with right and center right. The graph shows **_a kind of positive result from empirical testing of implication 1.3:_**

**Do you agree with the progresive taxe is all that needed by right side**
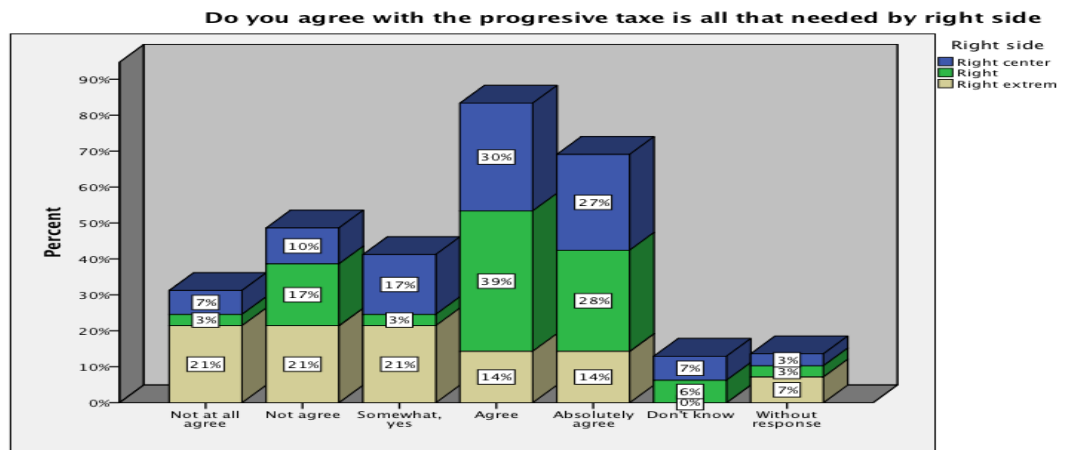
Also, regarding the question: In your opinion, a progressive system of tax on income, where the rich people contribute proportionately more than those with lower incomes, is one of the cornerstones of modern society. The answers are: right-center supports progressive tax at the rate of 57 %, the right 67 % , while the right extreme to 28 %. These data show again an unstructured electorate in doctrinal terms. It should be noted that the tax issue in Albanian context is debated from political parties and discussion period has coincided with the time of the survey. So that voters have had one more reason to connect their attitude to political parties positioned on the "left" and "right" side. The data show that respondents who position themselves to the right and center right, manifest a kind of left ideological trend compared with the right extreme, which is more positioned right in this case. The graph shows ***negative result from empirical testing of implication 1.4:***

Do you agree with government responsability of natural resources managment by right side?
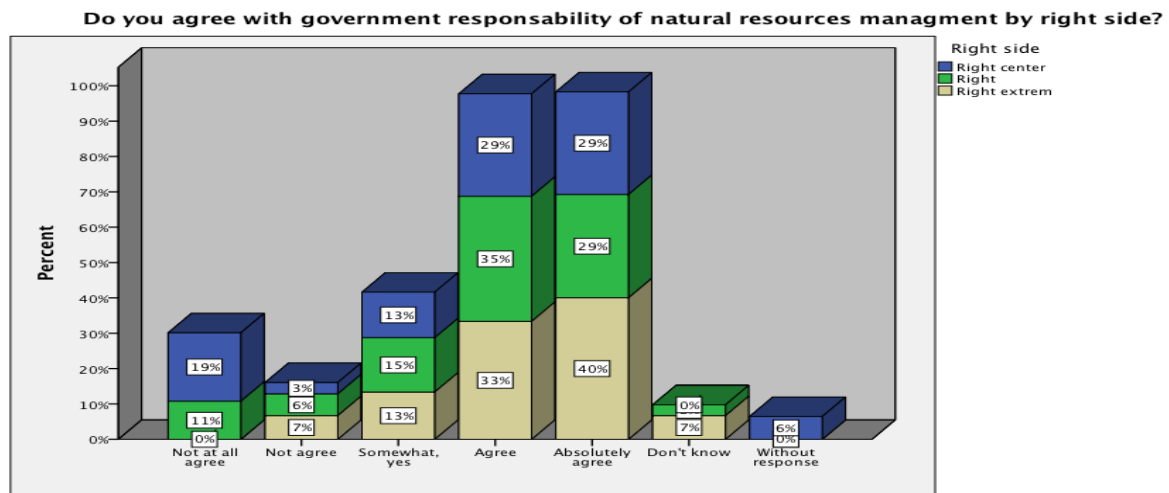
The confusion emerges even to the question: Do you think that state should retain the main role in directly managing of natural resources? Specifically, the center-right supports natural resource management from the state to the extent of 58 %, the right 64 %, while 73 % right extreme. Even in this case, the entire right manifests confusion in doctrinal terms. Contrary to what is expected from the right, the view that the state should manage the natural resources and not the private is dominant. Especially, this conviction is more pronounced on the right with 64% and 73% the right extreme,

compared to the center-right. The graph shows **_negative result from empirical testing of implication 1.5:_**

The same ambiguity is seen in general even to the electorate who claims to have obedience to the left regarding the question: Should unemployment be reduced by giving more space free market? Respondents give the following answers: left extreme supports the reduce of the unemployment through free market to the extent of 73 %, the left 41 %, while 56 % left-center. What should be highlighted is that respondents who position themselves on the left approach clearly manifest obedience to right. Contrary to expectations, this trend is more pronounced in the extrem left group and less pronounced in the center -left. The graph shows **_negative result from empirical testing of implication 2.1:_**

Do you agree with the decrese of unemployment by free market by left side
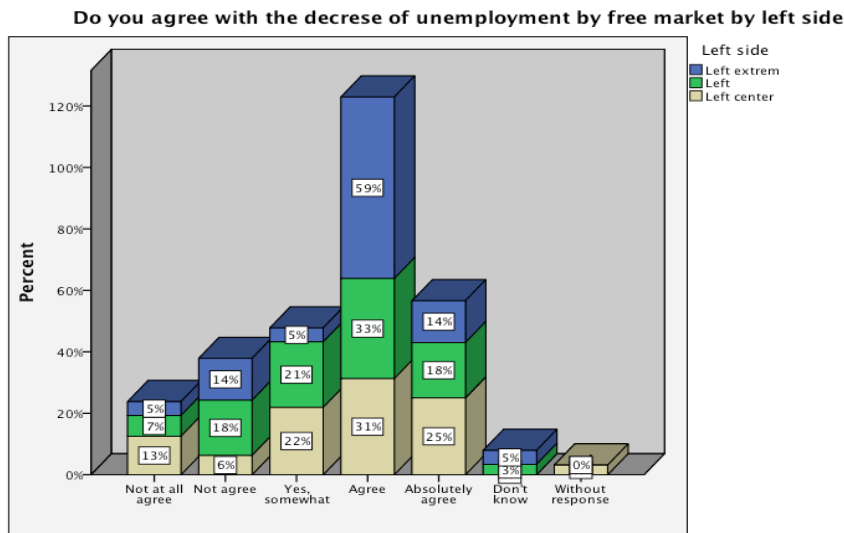
Also, regarding the question: Should Albania be developed despite some damage that can be caused to the environment? The answers are as follows:

Do you agree with the development of country despite the damage of enviroment by left side?
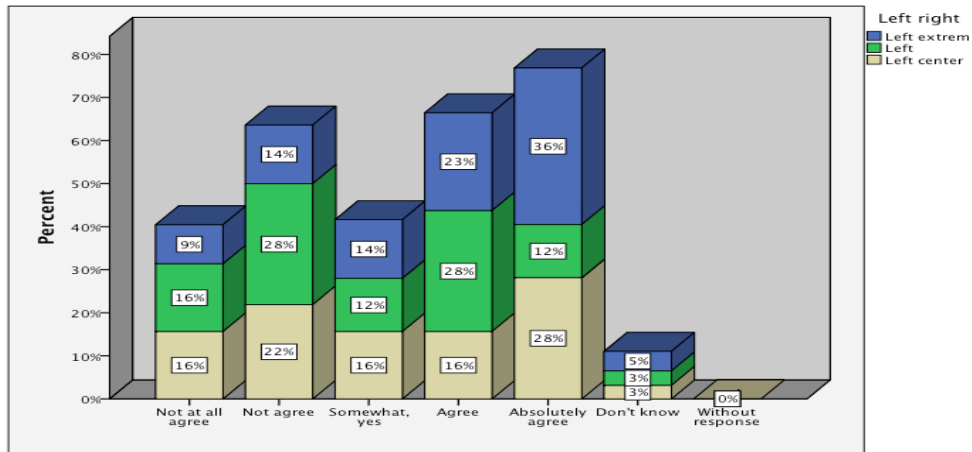

Left extreme supports development to the detriment of the environment to the extent of 59 %, left 40 %, while the center-left in the extent of 44 %. The data show that respondents who position themselves to the left and center left, manifest a kind of left ideological trend compared with the left of extreme, which is more positioned right in this case. The graph shows a kind of positive result from empirical testing of implication 2.2:

Regarding the question: Do you think that state should legalize same-sex marriage? Left extreme does not support gey marriage at 82%, the left is expressed also at 82%, while the center left of 72%. From the standpoint of political behavior, the attitude towards this issue manifests uncertainties on ideological regardless of where respondetns are positioned within the left. The graph shows **_a negative result from empirical testing of implication 2.3:_**

Do you agree with the acceptance of gey mariage by left side?

Do you prefer syndicates or lobbing organizations by left side?
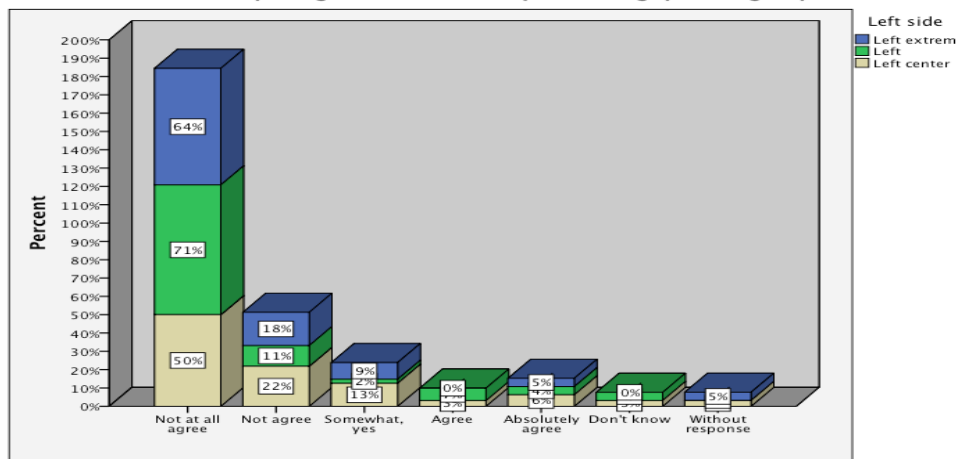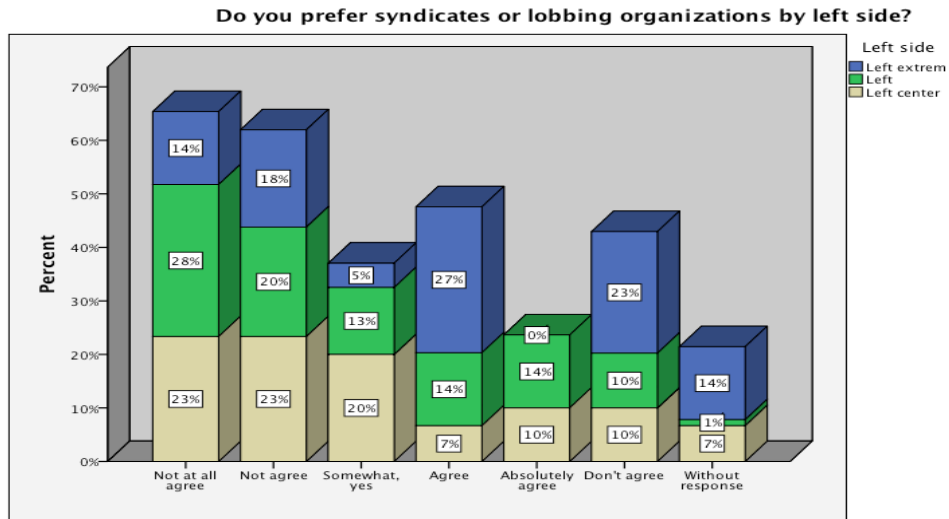
Respondents were asked about the role of unions and give the following answers: left extreme does not support unions against lobbying at 32%, left 48%, while the center left 46%. Contrary to expectations, groups positioned within the left, center-left, left and left-extreme manifest ideological ambiguities. The graph shows **_a negative result from empirical testing of implication 2.4:_**

The same ambiguity is seen even in the question regarding the right to vote for 16 year olds. Left extreme does not support the idea that the 16-year-olds have the right to vote at 86%, the left does not support at 69%, while the center left at 76%. Even in this case the groups within the left manifest ideological ambiguity. The graph shows **_a negative result from empirical testing of implication 2.5:_**

Do you agree with the voting of 16 years old persons by right side?
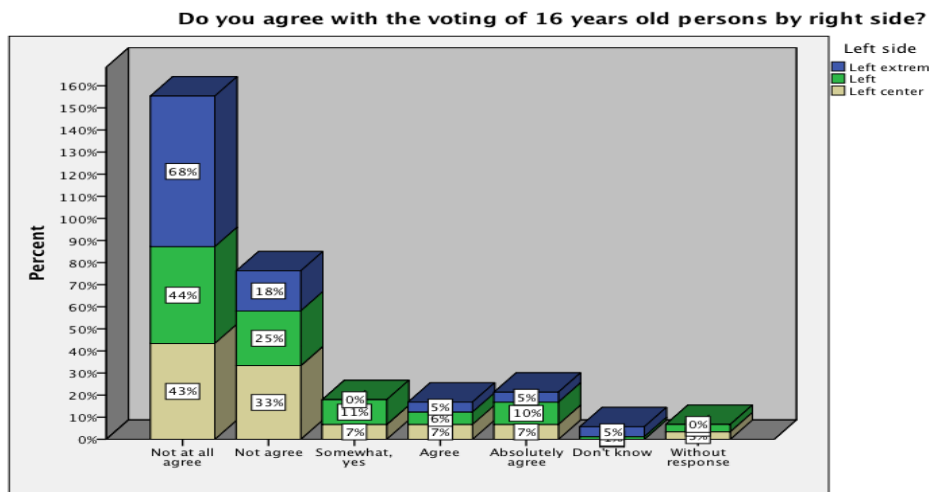
5. Results of empirical testing

Regarding the implication 1 the study has empirical test results arising from the indicators included in the right values. Specifically, are the following result.

• The implication 1 has to report 3: 2 support (positive result) from empirical test;

Regarding the implication 2 the study has empirical test results arising from the indicators included in the lefts values. Specifically, are the following result.

• The implication 2 has to report 4: 1 support (positive result) from empirical test;

In total the study confirms empirical support for the basic implications, which gives us the right to propose the consideration that our basic assumption has been supported by indirect empirical testing.

6. Interpretation of the behavior of the Tirana electorate

Based on the survey data, it results that very few people match the profile of a person who can make the distinction between principles of the Left and the Right. The majority of respondents fail to make this distinction or make this distinction but they vote pragmatically. Studies conducted in many countries with consolidated democracy show that both alternatives are possible. So there are several theories explaining the voting behavior, which can help us to understand the survey results and possible factors which affect this voting behavior.

Michigan School representatives such as Campbell, Converse, Miller, Stokes (1964) who are considered as minimalists, have offered a model of explanation called model of causality channel. This model distinguishes between long-term attitudes affecting the voter (party affiliation, party identification and interest groups) and short-term attitudes (important current issues and personal characteristics of candidates). Regarding the former, the representatives of this school argue that party identification is acquired through socialization and other life experiences, and it is unlikely that this identification will change during the whole life.

This tendency is reinforced if people know little about political issues and are not structured at the level of interest group. In the Albanian context, due to historical, social, economic and political reasons, social groups, as explained in Chapter III, are unconsolidated. Also, in recent years, the political discourse has been focused more on the personalization of the leader than on programs, projects or issues with ideological burden. In those few cases when the discourse has had more ideological burden than personalized labels, the articulated issues have been somewhat the same. In this way, we can explain the tendency to be identified more with the party or leader than with issues. As a result, the contradiction between what is declared as political conviction and as attitude towards certain issues becomes obvious.

This theory helps us to explain the contradiction; ideological conviction and voter behavior on the part of first voters who get political orientation, behavior and attitudes from structures such as family, school, media and peers during the process of socialization. In our context, also referring to a study carried out for this purpose in Tirana in 2014, it results that over 40% of the first voters (18 years old) vote for the same party or candidate as their parents do. Thus, the doctrinal confusion of parents or the pragmatic approach to political parties is also reflected to their children up to a certain age.

This theory also helps us to understand the political behavior of a considerable number of women. Researchers like: Merelman (1986), Niemi (1973), Sears (1975), Siegel (1995) agree that political attitudes and opinions are formed through social interaction, political discussion and personal reflection, and these processes have higher quality when people face different perspectives. However, some of the women in Tirana find themselves in a condition where the possibility of go outdoors is very limited and therefore the exercise of influence by the husband is bigger. The fact that they have little chance of having their individual experiences, such as traveling on their own, getting educated and employed outside the home, affect their awareness of political attitudes. So, it is logical that in such a position they tend to manifest their husbands' attitudes and beliefs.

However, this school partly explains the contradiction: ideological conviction and voters' behavior for a part of the Tirana electorate. Later representatives of this school, such as Lane (1962), Brody & Tetlock (1991) otherwise known as the maximalists, have the view that a significant part of the voters are able to organize their attitudes in a different way from what was assumed by the previous authors of this school. For Lane (1962), Brody & Tetlock (1991) voters are structured through reasoning regarding the choices they have to make in the voting process. To view this structure, it is necessary to find out how people manage their alternatives, i.e. issues to consider and their relative importance. According to the perspective of these authors, it is

difficult for the voter to connect two different issues, for instance taxes and environmental protection, referring to an ideological, liberal or conservative construct. In general, voters tend to pay attention to those issues that are of interest to them. Thus, analysis of voting behavior begins from the individual behavior whose decision-making is based on the principle of rationality and not to a conceptual mindset. Under this approach, which is also known as the Rational Choice Theory, the conception of social and political relations is interpreted as an exchange of material and non-material goods.

In the Albanian context, and specifically based on the data obtained from the survey, this theory can be explained referring to the voting behavior. For a large number of respondents reporting that they have the beliefs of the right wing, but from income levels they belong to low and low middle classes, it is logical to refer to this theory, because they support policies of the left wing such as the progressive tax, providing basic services, health care coverage by the state, state intervention in the economy; in these areas they see benefit in their lives. The same logic applies to a part of respondents reporting that they have beliefs of the left wing. As some of them belong to upper middle or upper class, despite declaration as leftists, it is expected that they support some neoliberal policies such as further expansion of the market, more investments despite environmental impact, flat tax, and support for lobbying organizations. However, this theory partly explains the contradiction - ideological conviction and voting behavior, because, if the voter is oriented by his / her personal interest and not by the political party or political doctrine, it would be expected that a part of the far-left supporters, belonging to low and low middle classes, would oppose the neo-liberal policies and would support the social-democrat ones. By the same logic, for the far-right supporters, it would be expected that they would support social-democrat policies such the progressive taxes. But the above graphs show the contrary.

Another aspect that makes this theory partially valuable is the condition that the selection of issues in order to maximize the benefit requires a high degree of information and certain level of processing the information. However, given the low educational level of voters, rare articulation of such issues by political actors in the media, degree of information and ability for processing information, fulfillment of this condition is almost impossible. In such a reality, the theory of dependence from the past can help us to understand this part contradiction manifested in this category of voters.

The essence of this theory is that experiences of the past are decisive in it comes to the interpretation of the present (Kitschelt, Mansfeldova, Markowski, Land, 1999). According to this theory, indicators such as experience with different regimes (authoritarian, totalitarian, liberal democracy) in the country, combined with the social body and the political

culture, are very significant for the interpretation of events. In this study, the extreme left wing and the extreme right wing, from the standpoint of age, belong to the age group of 65 years and above. This means that this age group has a political image and an emotional connection with the past, which is also manifested in their vote. Traditionally, former political prisoners have voted for the right and former war veterans have voted for the left, despite the party leader or program introduced during the campaigns (Ceka 2013: 37).

Another theory that can help us understand more about this contradiction (ideological conviction and political behavior of the Tirana electorate, is the Cultural Modernization Theory. According to this theory, the political behavior of politicians and citizens is shaped by a number of factors, which are closely related to the dominant values, norms and attitudes in a society. For author such as Rokeach (1968), Krosnick (1991) Inglehart and Klingemann (1976), the values system is considered as a reference point that helps the social actor to make evaluations of the events during the decision-making stage. Values are evaluated as a references for attitudes and behaviors commonly observed in individuals' preferential issue and, for this reason, many researchers use preferential issues to draw conclusions about the basic values of a group or society as a whole.

The difficulty to empirically measure the values has forced researchers to identify some issues, in order to obtain a thorough understanding on the division: the values of the left, values of the right, or to reveal whether the values in question continue to exist in the mindwst of the individual. Knutsen (1995) is one of the researchers who worked on this aspect and ascertained that the issues which affect the materialist / post-materialist orientation explain the orientation toward the values of the left / right. In this line, Ronald Inglehart focused his studies. Based on the data processing collected from studies on values systems, conducted in many countries of the world (in total, three phases of surveys in 65 countries totaling 75% of the world's population), he built a test model for the values system by based on two main dimensions. One dimension contains materialist / postmaterialist categories. The second dimension contains traditional and secular and rational categories. According to the authors of this book, the second dimension addresses the values systems that serve more the studies in the field of sociology, ethnology and anthropology than the political science. The first dimension contains values that serve as indicators to make the measurements (or operationalizations) of qualitative concepts in the field of political science and could serve to explain political behavior.

Surveys conducted in Albania for the values profile of social actors, by Alexander Kocani (1998, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2010, 2011 and 2012) aimed precisely to test hypotheses about the nature of this values profile and its

changing dynamics based on models of Ronald Inglehart regarding the materialist values (otherwise, the survival) or postmaterialist values (otherwise, self-affirmation). In interpreting the data, we were focused only on some of the most significant indicators of values profile, because the questionnaires used in some surveys in 1998, 2003, 2004, 2008, 2010 and 2011 were not identical (although many questions were similar), as they did not have the same research objectives. Thus, for methodological reasons, similar indicators were selected initially and then the interpretation of their data was performed.

Based on the data of these surveys, it results that social actors in Albania mainly tend more toward a values system of survival such as economic security, physical security, welfare, order - than freedom of expression, quality of life, participation in political decision making, and respect for rights of marginalized groups, which are features of a postmaterialist society. Let's see some data to better understand the values profile of Albanian society in these years. First, let's compare the data related to the preference for free time or busy time.

Survey in:	Free time	Neither	Busy time
1998	8,1 %	21,5 %	65,2 %
2003	9,0 %	28,6 %	60,2 %
2004	6,5 %	22,3 %	65,8 %
2008	17 %	27,6 %	53,9 %
2010	8,1 %	18,3 %	67,2 %
2011	7,1 %	12,7 %	53,4 %

Based on these data, it is clear that there is a tendency toward a materialist values system. The same thing is reinforced by the data of the following table where we refer to the preference of a working place with high salary regardless of the degree of danger of unfavorable social environment.

Survey in	High salary	Work with no dangers	Work in a friendly environment	Important job
1998	60,5 %	22,1 %	10,4 %	2,9 %
2003	34,3 %	35,8 %	10,2 %	19,3 %
2004	54,9 %	21,2 %	6 %	16,3 %
2008	51,6 %	25,6 %	10,6 %	11,8 %
2010	51,6 %	25,6 %	6,3 %	7,8 %
2011	60,5 %	19,9 %	7,5 %	8,4 %

Regarding lack of preference to individuals or marginalized groups we have the following answers.

I do not accept as neighbors	1998	2003	2004	2008	2010	2011
People of other race	50 %	25,3 %	37,5 %	31,1 %	32 %	30,5 %
Political extremists	44,8%	64,2 %	62,9 %	77,2 %	76,8 %	80,5 %
People with mental health problems	41,8 %	64,5 %	64,1 %	33,3 %	76,8 %	77,8 %
Alcoholics	47,9 %	83,1 %	92,4 %	89,4 %	89,4 %	91,6 %
People infected with AIDS	36,1 %	68,7 %	74,5 %	72 %	73,2 %	74,6 %
Drug addicts	44,7 %	81 %	83,6 %	90,2 %	85,9 %	90,6 %
Homosexuals	44,1 %	77,1 %	78, 8 %	84,1 %	78,9 %	80,3 %
Prostitutes	51,2 %	75,3 %	84,2 %	74 %	83,1 %	86,8 %

Other indicators related to economic and physical security versus self-affirmation and quality of life are the ones related to the selection as the most important and the least important of what would be preferred to happen.

Priority in selection	1998	2003	2004	2010	2011
Economic growth	73,6 %	82,8 %	71,6 %	68,7 %	87 %
Maintaining the public order	61,6 %	54,8 %	46,3 %	53,9 %	53,4 %
Against rising the prices	24,4 %	21,4 %	19,6 %	16, 2 %	20,1 %
Guarantee for freedom of expression	7,5 %	9,9 %	6 %	8,1 %	8,7 %
Participation of citizens in political decision-making	7,5 %	13 %	11,9 %	18 %	15,8 %
People have their say	44,7 %	7,2 %	7,3 %	1,8 %	5 %

Regarding the responsibility of government, the most important points of the respondents are as follows:

Priority in responsibility of government	1998	2010	2011
Maintaining the public order	46,9 %	54,3 %	53,4 %
Guarantee for freedom of expression	14,7 %	4,6 %	8,7 %

The above data create the impression that the values profile of the Tirana electorate and very likely of the country in general, falls largely into the materialistic type or survival. Given this premise, it can be said that these values determine the behavior of a significant number of voters in Tirana. However, these data, despite a small change in the period 1998 - 2011, should be taken with caution since the surveys conducted in recent years indicate that there is not a single values system.

"The presence of these values that 'spoil' the homogeneity of the values system can be explained with different social, cultural, customary contexts etc that characterize each country in a given period of development." (Kocani 2013: 8). This explanation is related to the time period for ensuring the results obtained from the studies in question. It is known that the state of public opinion is very inconstant and it cannot be claimed that this change is measured properly in several surveys. Therefore, we cannot pretend that the findings demonstrate what public opinion - in our case Tirana voters - has manifested during the post-communist transition period. So, basically all surveys can cover only the public opinion of Tirana was in a particular moment. In our case we have a period lasting from 1998 - 2011. Also, not all the issues serve as indicators for the values in general.

Empirical researches show that in many cases we note that the data on preferential issues are reactions to a political debate at the moment. And it cannot be said that they reflect a fundamental value which is internalized within the individual (Converse 1964; Zaller 1992). Thus, the theory in question should be taken with caution while interpreting the situation.

7. Conclusion

In the study a special attention was give survey to investigate the ideological structure of Tirana electorate asking for issues related to doctrine "left" and "right", to point out if the schemas and positions are the same. In general it was observed that the majority of respondents do not have a clear ideological structuring. This provided a negative impact on how political parties ideologically structure their programmes and their political activities,

because they know that the majority of the electorate considers more the results obtained than the ideological content of the reforms.

At the end of this book in the form of conclusion the study can confirm that the crisis of representation in Albania stems from the fact that neither of the two main parties has failed to build an identity of its electorate., for the simple fact because the politics is conditioned by inside and outside factors. These dynamic structures implicate certain political behavior. Given what was explained above, we can say that this study provides a modest contribution to understanding the complexity of the problem regarding the report electorate - political party - ideology.

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