The Impact of Political Socialization in Kosovo Political Culture

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Abstract

This paper analyses agents of political socialization and their impact on Kosovo's political culture. The importance of political socialization in defining Kosovo's political culture is considerable, because with a special attention to its factors such as: family, education, religious institutions, peer groups, social classes, interest groups, political parties and the media, it may represent the attitudes, developments and changes that are involved in shaping political culture. To analyse the problems of political culture and the functioning of the Kosovo political system, the analysis is based on empirical research realized in February 2016, extending across the territory with a representative sample of (n=1007) respondents, including majority Albanians, and minorities Serb, Turkish, Bosnian, Roma and Ashkali. We compare the results with the empirical analysis of the pattern of political culture of Almond, Powell, Dalton and Strom (2008), always referring to the methodological criteria. The applied methods in the development of the study are the comparison method and the deductive method.

Keywords: *political culture, political system, agents of political socialization;*

Kosovo's political history has gone through some different models that not every country can experience. Kosovo passed through some undemocratic political systems, ranging from the Ottoman Empire as a vilayet, then occupied by the Serbian kingdom, then into communism as a constitutive part of the Yugoslav federation until 1989 when its autonomy was abolished and placed in the totalitarianism of Slobodan Milosevic's regime from 1990 to 1999. From 1999 to 2008, Kosovo was a democracy supervised by the international community and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1244 (Haziri, 2017, p. 49). On February 17, 2008, Kosovo declared independence by being the newest state in Europe. The study of Kosovo's political culture is divided into two different periods. First, in the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter: SFRY) from 1945 to 1990, where three different political cultures dominated: a) the Yugoslav political culture, an attempt to create a Yugoslav multicultural identity (Flere, 1988, p. 439-453); b) the Serbian political culture, which dominated Kosovo since the Serbian annexation of 1912, and c) the Albanian political culture, which because of numerous efforts managed to survive external pressures. Between 1990 and 1999, Kosovo was part of a totalitarian system imposed by the Serbian state. Second, during the protectorate period under the international community from 1999 to 2008, three political cultures dominated: a) the political culture of the internationals, reflected through its administrators at the local and central level; b) the political culture of the Serbs represented by political parties and directly influenced by the Serbian state; c) the Albanian political culture represented through political parties (Haziri, 2017, p. 132-133).

The general research question in this study is: "*Do the political socialization agents influence in the political culture of the Republic of Kosovo*"?

Based on the statistical analysis we will try to argue or reject the hypothesis that the agents of political socialization are the main criteria in determining behaviours, beliefs, values and attitudes of political representatives within state institutions, but also active civic participation through voting and other forms effect the normal functioning of the political system.

The measurement of the confidence of the questionnaire was done through the coefficient Cronbach's Alpha (α) .708 for 24 variables, which is accepted by psychology and sociology researchers. In our case for 29 variables we have a value of 0.59 of the Cronbach's Alpha (α), which includes a larger number of categories versus the answers (I agree, disagree, abstain) and is accepted for research in political science, especially in cases when it comes to the sensitivity of the analysis of behaviour, beliefs, attitudes and decision-making within the political system, so we should be careful what categories to remove to increase the Cronbach's Alpha (α) (Pennings, Keman, Kleinnijenhuis, 2006, p. 75).

Political Culture

Political culture explains the ways of studying behaviour, attitude, values and beliefs in the political system (Almond, 1956, p. 393), deals with studying the relationship between the psychological and political characteristics of the nations (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 11), as well as deals with the explanation and impact of subculture and deviant forms that can be presented through language, religion, social classes as a form of reference for many people, and that provide significant breakdowns in political systems (Kanavagh, 1972, p. 20). Based

on this explanation for political culture, we can understand the way of the political system functions and the difficulties that arise in input and output control of the political system. Political culture is also the gathering of beliefs, attitudes and values that give meaning to a political process that provides rules on how governance behaves in the political system (Pye, 1968, p. 218). The empirical analysis of this study will attempt to identify and verify if beliefs, behaviours, attitudes, and values are based on state-building policy or self-satisfaction policy (Siemens & Roodt, 2008, p. 599), both of these elements which have had a direct impact on shaping Kosovo's political culture in relation to political institutions. It also aims at presenting implications as well as findings that may be reflected and resulting from the correlations of independent and dependent variables. In order to determine the political culture through the empirical analysis, we tested independent and dependent variables as well as their interrelations in order to find the most approximate model of Kosovo's political culture. In the analysis of political culture an extraordinary role is also attributed to agents of political socialization (Hyman, 1959; Almond et al., 2008; Dobratz et al., 2012; Gimpel et al., 2003), which directly affect the development of the political culture of the state of Kosovo. Kosovo's political system has been followed by numerous problems as a result of the constant change of agents of political socialization. This has come as a result of the many changes in the political system, which have caused a domino effect of problems even in other factors. However, these agents of political socialization, such as: family, education, religious institutions, peer groups, interest groups, political parties and media, have changed frequently because they have been influenced by ongoing processes that have taken place in Kosovo. In communism, these factors have been directly influenced by the communist party that presided the

state of the SFRY, of which Kosovo formed part as as a constitutive element of the federation since the 1974 Constitution. From 1990 to 1999 substantial efforts were made to change the political culture by means of elements of liberal democracy. During the 1990s, the political culture ensuing the interethnic tensions was a form of survival than exerted an influence on a new political culture, due to the parallel power organized by the Albanian political parties, which during the 1990s did not have the power of decision-making in the Serbian-dominated political system as it was placed under the total control of the Serbian government.In the period of the protectorate, the agents of political socialization began to take on another role because Kosovo, despite all the problems and major fractures of the political parties, was able to establish its political institutions and conduct the process of decision-making in the political system with international surveillance.

Kosovo's road towards the creation of a new political culture begins after independence on February 17, 2008. Despite the great expectations of Kosovo society that everything will change after independence, political culture remains at a low level because the agents of political socialization have been neglected and remain without any clear orientation from political representatives. The theory of political culture (Almond & Verba, 1963; Eckstein, 1966, 1997; Pye, 1968; Inglehart, 1971; Kavanagh, 1972; Elkins & Simeon, 1979; Ellis, 1993), and impact of political socialization (Hyman, 1959; Almond et al., 2008; Gimpel et al., 2003; Dobratz et al., 2012; Wasburn & Covert, 2017), is argued by providing sufficient evidence of the importance and impact of agents of political socialization in acquiring political knowledge, meaning of political symbols and recognition of the values of political representatives, a form of awareness of society that as its mission has the transmission of political culture in future

generations. This has been achieved by participating in various activities that may be formal meetings, discussions, and focusing on the nature of political learning, particularly in childhood and adolescence (Dobratz, Waldner, Buzzell, 2012, p. 82). The concept of political culture has been analysed to present the national character, model of personality, the political socialization of development or growth of the child and impact into his adult political roles and attitudes (Almond & Verba, 1989, p. 11). Political socialization refers to the way in which political values are formed and the political culture is transmitted from one generation to another (Almond et al., 2008, p. 67). Based on this explanation, we can say that the transfer of political experience and the culture of institutions is of great importance for the normal functioning of the state. Kosovo did not have a case such as, for example, Slovenia, which achieved state consolidation from the structures that were part of the SFRY system. This happened because after 1990, Kosovo underwent a considerable institutional disconnect that was forced into the creation of parallel institutions versus a totalitarian system represented by Serbia, causing major problems that the state of Kosovo suffers still today. Culture by Clifford Geertz (1957) is an organized knowledge system shared by all the individuals, enabling them to communicate and act toward a common goal, while social structure is a network of social relationships between actors in the social platform, which is in contrast to the followed scenario understood and shared with other social actors (cited in Keesing & Strathern, 2008, p. 377). Institutionalization according to Talcott Parsons (1961) involves not only the socialization of individual actors but also the accommodation of cultural values in the full range of demands for an organized social life. Parsons explains that in institutions there is a

hierarchy of control, which means physical access for concrete persons to concrete positions where they operate (p. 37-41).

Agents of Political Socialization

Political socialization is the form by which members of the social group acquire the means, abilities and beliefs for political action and the exercise of power (Dobratz et al., 2012, p. 82), which shows the way in which values are formed and that political culture is transmitted from generation to generation (Almond et al., 2008, p. 67). Kosovar society after 1999 found it difficult to establish a model of high-level political culture that would be the main factor for a sustainable political system. First, there was the lack of political experience, which was the cause of major fractures of the left and right political parties, culminating in the rejection of the transfer of values from generation to generation. This created major political crises, which in no way were solved without the mediation of the international factor that had been deployed in Kosovo as UNMIK by Resolution 1244. Secondly, there was the major detachment from all institutions at the central and local level, which made it harder for Kosovo's normal functioning. Another ,third problem, was the attempt of citizens to overcome the socio-economic problems that had further hampered the lives of citizens after the 1998-1999 Kosovo War. Finally, the rejection of the new reality created after 1999 by the Serbian minority facilitated in placing Kosovo in the model of centrifugal democracy with constant problems that it faces today. Gimpel, Lay, Schuknecht (2003) argue that citizens socialize politically from the information they receive. This information certainly changes over time as communities and their constituent parts structure the content and flow of relevant political messages in particular ways (p. 7). The political values in Kosovo have been

deformed because of the continued pressure of the Serbian state to the level of apartheid, in violation of all civil, political, social and economic rights. To understand the importance of the agents of political socialization and their influence on shaping political culture, we will analyse all the factors separately.

Family is the first and most important factor for society and the state. The basic state building unit is the family. The role of the family is enormous, as it is where the building of knowledge on parental authority and decision-making begins as a functional agreement between parents and children. The family has its significance in political socialization, because it defines the child's social position in his ethnic, linguistic, class, and religiously-oriented approach (Almond et al., 2008, p. 69). One of the main factors negatively impacting Kosovo's political culture was the inability to disconnect from the monocracy model in which the decision of a single individual dominates known in the Albanian patriarchal culture as "bajraktarizëm" (Haziri, 2017, p. 186). In the traditional German family, it is known as the "*fatherland*", which is considered a model of monocracy (Eckstein, 1997, p. 5). Describing the importance of defining responsibilities within the family, Talcott Parsons (1951) puts the key focus on the importance of categorizing family status in a more open meaning, between the role of age and gender as they affect the internal structure of the family. Particular emphasis is placed on the responsibility of women, due to the importance of participation in political-professional structures and the importance of emotional needs, it seems clear that this type of society has a strong emphasis on women as love objects but not as women that can provide intellectual capacity of a high order (Parsons, 2005, p. 133). According to Hegel in Philosophy of Right (2001 [1820]), state development is characterized by three stages. First, it's the family. In the family, parents are altruistic about the children they love them for love

and not for interest. Secondis society and interest. In society, children come together out of need and interest, not for unconditional, altruistic love. Thirdly is state, which is altruistic to its citizens, just as the parents are to their children (Hegel, 2001, p. 146-159). This powerful relationship between family, society and state shows how important it is to invest and preserve the family's healthy features for building a political culture.

Education is the second significant factor for building a stable political system, where political culture should be of a high level. Education of children's (students) for political institutions and processes helps shaping political culture. The school helps in strengthening parts of the political system including common symbols, such as flags, emblems, hymns, institutions, and contributes to raising awareness within the political system. Kosovo's political culture consists of: a) educated politicians in the education system of SFRY, in the spirit of socialism, communism and where access to the Western values was not missing; b) educated politicians during totalitarianism from 1990 to 1999, who were in fact more oriented to popular movements to help the Kosovo issue rise internationally; c) educated politicians after June 1999, who managed to be educated in prestigious world universities through scholarships (Haziri, 2017, p. 178-179). However, Kosovo's political culture is a mix of education and values of different periods. David Easton and Jack Deniss (1969) in their study of children's views on political authority analysed by means of a sample (n = 12,000 that children first understand the political community, the social group local gathering together with political influences. First is politicization that refers to the fact that young children learn to distinguish between family authority and outside superior power to the family. Second comes personalization, which means that children become

aware of political authority easier through contacts with individuals. Third, there is idealization, which implies that the idealization of authority takes place at the beginning of life, as political figures are seen as extremely good. Fourth is institutionalization, which refers to the process of shifting attention and love from individuals to political institutions (p. 391-392). EACH of these features of early socialization were discussed in detail in Easton and Dennis (1969) by analysing all implications for the political system.

Religious institutions are the third important factor in building a high-level political culture, greatly influencing the ethical values of especially complex societies with separating characteristics among its people (Almond et al., 2008, p. 70) such as the Kosovo society. Indeed, the mission of religious teachers is teaching, and preaching through various religious services. Religion is considered an injection of morality. Most of the research shows that parents are the most important factor in the religious education of children. On the other hand, religion is important to public life, because it is another important teacher of moral virtues (Gimpel et al., 2003, p. 122-123). The meaning of religion teaches us a truth about how the individual and society are connected to the wider social group in the common sense and in the importance of understanding the major issues about how the society functions itself (Mcguire, 2007, p. 63). In Kosovo society, many religious communities co-exist as the result of the historical, cultural and social heritage of the country including the Islamic Community of Kosovo, the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church, the Jewish Community and the Protestant Evangelical Church of Kosovo. Each of these religious communities has its impact on the citizens belonging to one of the main beliefs in Kosovo: 96% Muslim, 2,20% Catholic, 1,48% Orthodox, 0,69% Others (Kosovo Agency of Statistics [KAS], 2011). The way in which

religious institutions are influenced has been analysed by many scholars, who have empirically analysed their impact on the normal functioning of the political system, starting with the cleavage and formation of political parties and organizing elections (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Brooks & Manza, 1997; Wilcox, Wald, Jelen, 2008). In Wilcox, Wald and Jelen (2008), religious institutions are described as religious communities that help individuals to experience and understand the religious ecstasy. Religious elites offer theological interpretations, and religious communities offer a kind of living theology. Then religious and political elites help turn this meaning into political preferences, choices, identities and values (p. 875). From the view of political analysis, rather than understanding the nature of religious experience, we are interesting in the ways in which this experience affects political thought and behaviour. Regardless of whether identities and values are critical to religious significance, they are the language that people use to describe their political experiences (Wilcox et al., 2008, p. 875). Distinguishing Kosovo from other states is the vast religious tolerance within the Albanian society towards the co-existence of various religious adherences.

Peer groups are the fourth factor of importance to the impact they have on political culture. These are various groups that are formed in schools, colleges, and universities. These groups have a great influence on motivating and changing the attitudes or behaviours of political representatives. There are different cases in the world, as as for instance the role of these groups in raising socialist personality in the ideals of Marx and Lenin, in which different movements have rejected certain classes of society (Almond et al., 2008, p. 71). In Kosovo the importance of these groups in the communist era was great. School groups were part of the Albanian demonstrations organized in 1981 and 1989. During the period of Serbian

totalitarianism between 1990 and 1999, these groups had a great impact. Their participation was extended through the peaceful resistance of the Democratic League of Kosovo, and the involvement in the resistance organized by the Kosovo Liberation Army in 1998 and 1999. After the end of Kosovo War (1999), peer groups were mostly manipulated by all parties in Kosovo, making the most of their use for electoral elections. After the Declaration of Kosovo's Independence (2008), these groups have failed coalescing into an independent organization, and having rather been subjected to the controlling mechanisms of the existing political parties. These groups have their organization mainly in universities, due to the large participation of students at the university level. The most popular organizations are: The Pro-European Student Union, the Independent Journalist Union, the Independent Student Opinion, the New Student Spirit, the SEA-Study-Critique-Action, Reform and Student Peace, etc.

Social classes are the fifth important factor that helps in the accurate presentation of political culture. Presentation and categorization of classes began from Aristotle continuing with Thomas Hobbes, John Lock, Immanuel Kant, Hegel, and Karl Marx, who, unlike other philosophers, for the first time, distinguished the class between economic and political interest (Polyanthas, 1978, p. 58). A society is developed when it has all the classes like: a) low class, b) the middle class divided into three groups: low, middle and high and c) high class. Categorizing classes is important because it gives every citizen the opportunity to have an education and a life independent of interest groups and political elites, which have a tremendous impact on determining the political culture of a state (Haziri, 2017, p. 27). The concentration of the high class in a common space affects the development of various forms of speeches, dress, recreation and entertainment, such as social clubs, trade

unions and political parties (Almond et al., 2008, p. 71). In Kosovo society, social classes have undergone a rapid change from which the perception is created that this rapid change has greatly influenced the placement of low-level Kosovo's political culture. A radical change of classes after 1999 is a consequence of the impossibility of normal development of Kosovo society especially in the period from 1990 to 1999. Social classes are sometimes referred to as structures of social inequality (Keesing & Strathern, 2008, p. 292).

Interest groups are the sixth factor in the importance of creating a stable political system and have a significant impact on political attitudes and mainly on their influence on the creation of political parties. The trade union as an interest group does not have a strong role in decision-making because organizational structures of trade unions have often been part of the influence and controls of the ruling party (Haziri, 2007, p. 179). Interest groups in the political system act in two forms: direct participation through political parties, and pressure from the outside environment. According to David Easton (1965), the source of stress in the political system comes from the fractures between the executive and the legislature, and stem from political parties and interest groups that come into conflict during the policy-control competition at all levels of government (p. 234). Interest groups have often been out of control and have the primary responsibility for the low-level of political culture. In democracies with polarized political culture, with a split and uncertainty accumulated, we can see that interest groups pay a high price to control the citizens (Almond et al., 2008, p. 29). James Madison at *Federalist Paper* on interest groups writes that "interest groups are the worst essentials and it is better to control them than to destroy them" (Hamilton, Madison, Jay, 2007, p. 40-46).

Political parties are the seventh factor with direct impact on Kosovo's political culture because their behaviour in the political system is analysed through forms of behaviours, beliefs, values and attitudes in the political system. Political parties are defined as an institutionalized interest groups (Della Porta, 2006, p. 102), which have a strong structure of organization and are distinguished by the articulation of their interests and their role in the political system. At the organizational level, parties recruit and train future political leaders and candidates for political positions, associate them with the norms and values of democratic governance, contributing to long-term political stability (Dalton, Farell, McAllister, 2011, p. 6). Political representatives in the party represent their education and ethics, so it is easy to understand if the political culture is of low or high level. Political culture in Kosovo remains low for two reasons. First, it is decision-making in the political system, which is mainly related to the personal interests of representative groups. Secondly, it is the dualism that comes from the Serbian minority to the state institutions of Kosovo, where they represent the interest of the Serbian state (Haziri, 2017, p. 216). This leaves to understand that many political parties in Kosovo's political system are primarily concerned with the ongoing functionalization of their political actions and their interests to the detriment of the state-building approach according to the principles of liberal democracy.

Media are the eighth and the last factor in the importance of building a high-level political culture. The media play a strong role in the information, attitude, and values of a nation (Almond et al., 2008, p. 73), as they have the ability to prepare voters to transform their limited electoral preferences with significant political influencein election results (Della Porta, 2006, p. 94). Explaining the importance of the media in democratic societies, Brian McNair (2011) noted some functions

that serve to communicate with society. First, it is informing the citizen. Second, education regarding the meaning and understanding of the facts. Third, the media provide a platform for public, political discussion in order to facilitate the creation of public opinion. Fourth, it acts as a platform for the publicity of governmental and political institutions. Fifth, the media in democratic societies serve as a path to the advocacy of political views (p. 18-20). Therefore, the power of the media is great. If misused for the benefit of certain interest groups, then through propaganda, they can ruin the political system. In the 21st century, the main problem that appears as a negative phenomenon is the issue of "fake news", which is causing problems also in states with liberal democracies and stable political systems. In Kosovo, the media are placed at a higher level than other factors, and this implies that political culture is often disproportionate from the way that media reflect it.

Discussion

The analysis of empirical data enables us to ascertain if the agents of political socialization affect the political culture of Kosovo. Kosovo's political culture from the realized measurement is low compared to the model of political culture representation resulting the empirical research of Almond, Powell, Dalton, Kaare (2000, 2008). Political culture is not the same in all countries, and it is greatly influenced by the determination of internal regulations of society, which can be democratic or undemocratic. Socialization agents have an enormous impact on how political culture is presented, so it is difficult to transfer political culture from one country to another. In Kosovo, there are efforts to take education models from societies that have made progress in this area. This is impossible, because raising the level of education in the stable

political systems with liberal democracy has been a tough part of the transition begun in the 18th century. All the agents of socialization have had a separate impact, ranging from family education to the influence of the media.

After a series of results and careful analysis, we can conclude that Kosovo's political culture model as based on sustainable empirical measurements and the analysed results between the .001 and .005, is between the authoritarian transitional model due to high level participation of political culture of subjects, a middle level of parochial and a low level of participants and democratic preindustrial model due to the high level of the parochial, a middle level of the subjects and a low level of participants political culture. Table 1 presents the bivariate analysis, which explains the democratic criterion, the loss of credibility and accountability of political representatives.

Correlations[a]

Table 1. Bivariate analysis of dependent variables

		Voting in local/national elections	Institutional Independence	Democracy	Cognitive Attitudes	Politicians' viewpoint	Individual credibility
Spearman's rho	Voting in local/national elections	Correlation Coefficient	1.000	.101**	.099**	-.104**	.097**	.104**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.	.001	.002	.001	.002	.001
	Institutional Independence	Correlation Coefficient	.101**	1.000	.238**	-.011	.055	.111**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.	.000	.739	.078	.000
	Democracy	Correlation Coefficient	.099**	.238**	1.000	-.055	.077**	.123**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.000	.	.084	.015	.000
	Cognitive Attitudes	Correlation Coefficient	-.104**	-.011	-.055	1.000	-.011	-.131**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.739	.084	.	.729	.000
	Politicians' viewpoint	Correlation Coefficient	.097**	.055	.077**	-.011	1.000	.049
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.078	.015	.729	.	.121
	Individual credibility	Correlation Coefficient	.104**	.111**	.123**	-.131**	.049	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.000	.000	.000	.121	.

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

a. Listwise N = 1007

Source: Author's Research

The statistical findings confirm the hypothesis about political culture. Using the reciprocal links of the variables, we conclude that the effect of education in Kosovo society, settlement and mutual connection with the political system and especially nationality (Albanians, Serbs...etc.), are the main elements that determine the political culture while taking into account the different beliefs, attitudes, values and behaviours of the citizen has in relation to the political system and the state itself (Haziri, 2017, p. 224). Cultural fragmentation is a continuing obstacle to achieving a sustained political system for an indefinite period. Differences ascertained through hypothesis analysis confirm the position that Kosovo's political system faces problems that are difficult to manage because there will always be interference from a third party. Therefore, in order to overcome all difficulties, there is a need for a transformation of political culture and an adaptation with Western values based on the values and traditions of Kosovo, with a single purpose, namely changing the political culture of Kosovo in relation to the political system. Table 2 presents the behaviour of the elite in the political system and lack of accountability in decision-making.

Table. 2. Presentation of the variable (nationality) expressed through variable (institutional decision-making)

Nationality * Institutional decision-making Crosstabulation

			Institutional decision-making			
			I agree	I do not agree	Abstain	Total
Nationality	Albanian	Count	601	196	125	922
		% within Institutional decision-making	92.2%	92.0%	88.0%	91.6%
	Serb	Count	40	8	10	58
		% within Institutional decision-making	6.1%	3.8%	7.0%	5.8%
	Turkish	Count	6	2	2	10
		% within Institutional decision-making	.9%	.9%	1.4%	1.0%
	Bosnian	Count	1	4	4	9
		% within Institutional decision-making	.2%	1.9%	2.8%	.9%
	Roma	Count	3	1	0	4
		% within Institutional decision-making	.5%	.5%	.0%	.4%
	Ashkali	Count	1	2	1	4
		% within Institutional decision-making	.2%	.9%	.7%	.4%
Total		Count	652	213	142	1007
		% within Institutional decision-making	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Author's Research

Another measurement is that of family preference for candidates in electoral elections. This measurement shows that agents of political socialization strongly affect and should therefore be invested in liberal democracies' level. All agents of political socialization have influence in elections organized by the Kosovo institutions from 2001 to 2017. Figure 1 shows the measurement of the independent variable (education) and dependent variables (preference) that explains the influence of someone else in your choice with the question "Do you agree that everyone in your family voted on the basis of preferences?" with response categories: 1) I agree 2) disagree 3) abstain.
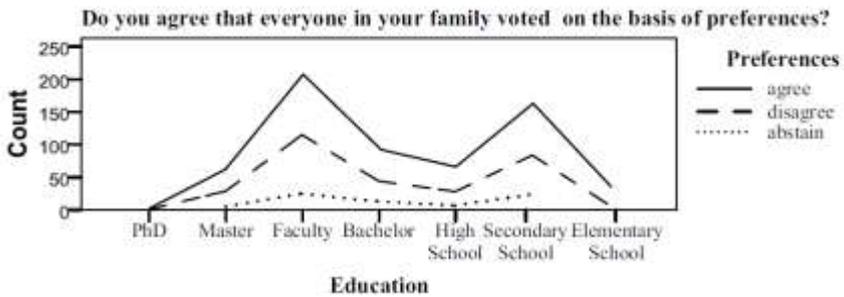

Fig. 1. Graphic presentation of the independent variable (education) and dependent variables (preference) Source: Author's Research

In Fig. 2 measurements from independent variable (gender) and dependent variable (information) are presented. Respondents were submitted to the question: "Through which information sources is your attitude as a citizen towards Kosovo institutions ? ", with response categories: 1) Newspapers; 2) Television; 3) Radio; 4) Internet; 5) Professional literature; 6) Friends in the cafe; 7) Comparison with other countries; 8) Abstain. Most respondents are oriented to obtain

information from television, creating the effect of 'videocracy' (Haziri, 2017, p. 182).
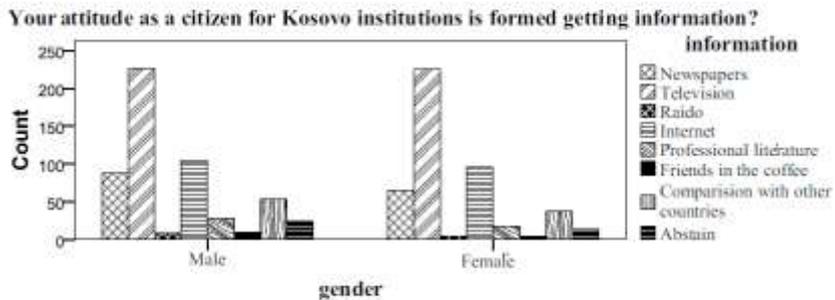

Fig 2. Graphical presentation of the independent variable (gender) and dependent variables (information) Source: Author's Research

The biggest impact in informing citizens continues to be the television to keep up with information from the Internet, daily newspapers, etc. Worrying remains that very few Kosovar citizens use the professional literature, to create a different opinion about how to increase the pressure for a stable political system, different from what they see and hear on a daily basis by the media.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can say that agents of political socialization are the main factors in building political culture. This finding can be easily verified in practice. If we take the criterion of education then we can say that education is the basis for creating a stable political system. This means that the radical change in political culture lasts for a period of one-man's education, from pre-school to doctoral level, to approximately 20-25 years. Even the influence of religious institutions can be

easily verified in practice. If the power of faith is oriented in support of the state and its political institutions, then political culture takes its form by expediting the way of behaviour, attitude, and values of political representatives in the political system. All factors can be easily verified by daily experience. Political parties have the main role that through government they provide constant communication with the citizen. Media should also take care of the primary mission of information, education and entertainment of citizens.

Empirical methods in political science explains that empirical analysis is just a point of light at the end of the tunnel. But if the researcher fails to permeate deep at that point, then it expands so much the point that the analysis reveals that at the beginning of the study has set as a hypothetical question (Almond & Verba, 1989). This shows that empirical analysis offers a great opportunity to analyse the problem, which in our case, has to do with the importance of agents of political socialization. The study of these factors should be longitudinal studies, to convey eventual changes and to ensure if any of the factors have changed. Great importance is attached to the factors of political socialization in societies with sustainable political systems because the future of society and the state depends on these factors. Therefore, the role and importance of these factors, whether social or economic, should not be neglected at any moment. Scientific research needs to be backed up constantly because there is no other alternative to measuring variables (cause-effect). The transitional phase from the communist model to the model of liberal democracy in which Kosovo has passed has been very difficult, especially in the case of Kosovo from 1990 to 1999 when most of the factors of political socialization were dysfunctional. Now in the state of Kosovo, the possibility to change the political culture exists, only the civic willpower and the setting of priorities between

the factors such as family, education, and religious institutions before personal interests conveyed through media as is the current case in Kosovo is required.

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