

VILNIUS UNIVERSITY  
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**A TERRITORIAL STRUCTURE OF LITHUANIA'S  
POLITICAL FIELD**  
**(On the basis of electoral method)**

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GEOLOGIJOS IR GEOGRAFIJOS INSTITUTAS

Valdas Petrulis

**LIETUVOS POLITINIO LAUKO TERITORINĖ  
STRUKTŪRA**

**(elektorinio metodo pagrindu)**

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## **INTRODUCTION**

### **Research problem**

Since 1990 when Lithuania regained its statehood, our country has been witnessing impetuous social processes characteristic to all countries of transitional type. During the latter incomplete twenty years Lithuania as well as the other post communistic countries was shaken by such hard and frequent social strikes that even representatives of social and humanitarian sciences did not manage to evaluate quite objectively and fast the newest history even if it is modest in a sense of time. Unfortunately, Central and Eastern Europe having experienced sociopolitical phenomena characteristic to only this areal (the phenomena of peripheries in Western space, an establishment of states after the First World War, the loss of independence during the Cold War, etc.), is still not evaluated and understood systematically. During the period starting with 1990 no broad and deep social theory for Central and Eastern Europe appeared, which could explain this areal's social regularities, their nature, course, links and possible alternatives of development. A mechanical adaptation of Western or other (e.g. Latin America's) realization of social processes to the post communistic part of Europe did not help to evaluate a social situation clearly and predictively. Thus, the space of separate social sphere segments' research is also not accomplished in Lithuania as well as in other Central and Eastern Europe countries.

Representatives of political geography should also signally contribute to the clearer evaluation of Lithuania's sociopolitical processes. However, the course of the development of human geography itself and its one of the main branches – political geography, caused a relatively poor geographers' contribution to the research of political phenomena. Human geography was eliminated from the research field of essential social processes for a long time (Agnew, 1996) and was mostly assessed as “a subject of distances” by representatives of other social sciences (Johnston, 2001). Political geography was late in the XX century's sixth-eighth decades according to the settlement of new conceptions of a territory in comparison with economic and social geography (Johnston, 2001; Kolosov, 2002: 248-257). Only since the eighties racing innovative works of political geography have increased the weight of this human geography's branch in political research.

Due to the poor research of the sociopolitical phenomena, a possibility of the country's political geographical organization's cognition becomes topical in Lithuania's case. Electoral geography (geography of elections) is one of the main branches of political geography. The results of elections become one of the most convenient mean while estimating a territorial (spatial) differentiation of political mode inside a country due to their nature, i.e. limited size and distribution of electoral territories (precincts, constituencies, etc.) across the whole country's territory. The understanding of inner territorial (spatial) differences of political mode is namely the main objective of political geography research. The territorial differentiation of political phenomena taking place inside Lithuania is topical in many aspects.

### **The relevance of the study**

The setting and evaluation of inner territorial differences and breaks of Lithuania's sociopolitical development is emphatically important for: 1) the deeper understanding of

the phenomena under research of Lithuania's political geography and more generally of human geography, 2) the clear and more complete cognition of social processes in Lithuania and 3) for the reasoned country's social and political organization.

Human geography in Lithuania started being developed more actively and positionally only after 1990. During the soviet period the geography research were clearly and notably directed to a disquisition of physical geography's topic. During the same period only separate problems of economical geography and demography (the so called "population geography") were studied more markedly in human geography's medium. The political-cultural unit of human geography was started being developed more seriously only after the reestablishment of Lithuania's statehood (also due to the fact that during the soviet time political-cultural research were not handy). It is natural that differences of citizens' political beliefs in separate country's areals have not been explored more explicitly yet. Thus, a possibility of the such exploration is notably useful for Lithuania's political geography. No thesis on the topic of clearly expressed political geography has appeared previous to this thesis paper in Lithuania, only single scientific articles. This paper investigates the territorial differences of Lithuania's citizens' political preferences, which is to the purpose to the deeper and more universal understanding of the country's social territorial structure. Respectively, the cognition of the country's political territorial structure complements the knowledge of human geography's branches (urban, rural, cultural, economic, social geography) and perhaps challenges a necessity and perspectives of other human geography research.

A territorial dispersion of citizens' political attitudes is topical not only to the cognition of human geography but, also, in the more general context of social sciences. Usually it is universally recognized that a section of society's territorial cognition (regional, urban-rural and the like) is one of the most topical sections for the general sociopolitical society's cognition. Considering a fact that more specified research of public political views in a sense of territorial section have not been published so far this work, it can be reasonably stated that such territorial cognition of people's political beliefs substantially complements and broadens a general perception of the country's sociopolitical development. The evaluation of territorial structure of political views alongside the usual for Lithuania sections of sociopolitical society's cognition (e.g. social stratification) allows avoiding a precarious formulation of general sociopolitical hypotheses. A better knowledge of the territorial structure of political nets and views allows for those who practically implement political decisions (in regional politics and the like fields) refer to clearly reasoned information. Due to the more detailed knowledge of Lithuania's society structure a real social, economic, urban politics can be reasoned more explicitly.

### **Research object**

The object of this research is the sociopolitical territorial structure of Lithuania *in a general sense* and a territorial behavior of Lithuania's electorate *in a narrow sense*.

### **The aim and objectives of the study**

A *strategic aim* of this paper is to form a steady scientific foundation for the cognition of the territorial structure of Lithuania's citizens' political preferences (electorate). Thus, when the paper's strategic aim is realized, the political geographical investigation of Lithuania is clearly increased. A *specific aim* of this paper is to reveal

territorial regularities of Lithuania's sociopolitical development. Such a formulation of the specific paper's work is possible understanding the chosen research object in a broad sense as a country's sociopolitical territorial structure. Considering the paper's research object in a narrower sense as the territorial behavior of Lithuania's electorate, the specific paper's aim can be constricted to the revelation of the territorial regularities of Lithuania's electorate's development (not the more general sociopolitical development).

In order to realize the raised aim of paper the following tasks were formulated:

- 1) to create a conception (methodology) which would allow an identification and interpretation of sociopolitical phenomena according to results of political elections,
- 2) to adjust a topical methodology of other countries' electoral geography research to the territorial classification and cartographing of Lithuania's electoral data,
- 3) to cartographize Lithuania's sociopolitical territorial structure according to the electoral data, which express various classified measurement indexes,
- 4) to determine the most important regional and urban-rural differences of the political processes under research in the state,
- 5) on the base of Lithuania's territorial expression's regularities to formulate theoretical foundations of the electorate's territorial features and to specify the understanding of a hierarchic structure of political processes,
- 6) to do a political regionalization of Lithuania on the base of the electorate's structure.

#### **Scientific novelty of the study**

A scientific innovation in the paper is mostly noticeable via these characteristics of the research technique, methodology and results:

- a conception of a political field has been created, which allows a systematical assessment of classified sociopolitical processes on a base of the electoral method (results of political elections);
- a data basis has been created for this political geographic research, which allows a classification of Lithuania's territory on the lowest Eurostat level's – NUTS-5 – territorial level (i.e. wards level). This research is the first work on political geography topic in the country where the territorial differentiation is presented on the level of such detailed territorial units. Thus, this paper is also one of the first of the whole Lithuania's human geography works distinguishing itself with such a great territorial particularity of the information which is being evaluated;
- the results of the main elections (the President's, the Parliament's and the Municipality's) have been cartographed for the first time in Lithuania. Only individual electoral data have been cartographed on a large-scale territorial level so far this work;
- a lot of attention has been paid to a cartographic comparison of elections' results of different political institutions and to a dynamic representation of electoral data in this paper. This work is the first one in Lithuania where the differences or relations of electoral results in the elections of various institutions are presented. Moreover, the dynamic of the electoral results, which are logically connected, in a certain period has not been represented cartographically so far this research;
- the available possibilities of a detailed basis of electoral results allows a representation of clear and exactly calculated differences of political forces' support in a urban-rural section for the first time in Lithuania;

▪ the first political regionalization of Lithuania has been formulated. According to the electorate's structure, Lithuania's territory, which is territorially hierarchically differentiated, refers in most cases to the electoral national areals which are of different nature and distinguished for the first time.

### **Defensive statements**

The following defensive statements reveal the essence of the defensive paper and the trends of results' interpretation best:

1) a political field is a hierarchical system whose separate groups of processes reveal themselves in unequal completeness according to electoral data. A group of political phenomena is identified best referring namely to the electoral method, and the electoral data are only of a subsidiary, secondary significance while revealing other political processes;

2) Lithuania's electoral territorial structure during the period starting with the statehood's reestablishment distinguishes for a stable regional expression. Several large territorial formations constantly distinguish for special electoral attitudes and a peculiar dynamic of the electorate's behavior and structure in a context of the surrounding environment;

3) a territorial core-periphery structure is usually characteristic to the large electoral regions of Lithuania. Lithuania's experience shows that a periphery forms as an ideologically intermediate areal between a core and a neighboring electoral region. Due to a relative instability of electoral formations' peripheries, the boundaries of electoral regions and their inner structure change;

4) a constant imbalance of separate regions as per a domination of political ideology and a constant imbalance of political forces' support in separate urban-rural units' types are characteristic to Lithuania. The large country's electoral areals ideologically can be distinguished as constantly special according to the expression of traditional-protest and left-right ideological axes. According to the support in a context of urban classification of localities, political forces can be named as forces of relatively cities, municipality centers or rural forces;

5) a development of Lithuania's electorate according to a territorial structure of separate political processes' expression and its intensity can be divided into two main periods – up to the year 2000 and after. Although the two main periods differ markedly in their political sense, certain stable territorial regularities of electorate's structure allows a reasonable interpretation of Lithuania referring to a part of theories which have been applied to long-lasting Western societies;

6) a political regionalization of Lithuania reflects the differences of a electorate's structure via the three main levels of a territorial hierarchy. The most topical results of national elections were used to distinguish these three levels. Units of different territorial rank are differentiated most properly on a base of different phenomena, which is not frequently practiced, and mostly on the base of a more varied separation step of the same processes and results.

### **Approbation of the results**

7 scientific articles have been published on the thesis topic. A detailed list of publications associated with the paper's topic is given below the conclusions of the paper.



### **Size and structure of the study**

This paper consists of the following recommended main parts referring to the Lithuania Science Council's resolution Nr. VI-4, 2003: introduction, research review, methodology, research results, conclusions and references. The paper includes 128 original pictures (cartoschemes and structural schemes), 1 table and 7 diagrams, 317 cited literature sources. The whole paper consists of 294 pages of the main text (with cartoschemes).

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The information (on a wards' base) on a part of the results of General population census 2001 provided by the Department of Statistics to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania to the author of this paper was topical for the research. The availability of the detailed information on election results on a Central Electoral Commission's site and individual publications was the most topical for the preparation of this paper undoubtedly.

## **1. RESEARCH REVIEW**

### **The worldwide experience of electoral geography's research**

The questions under investigation of current electoral geography can be divided into three main trends after a slight correction of the existing generalized structural schemes of electoral geography according to research grouping (Taylor, Flint, 2000: 239-243; Johnston, 2000; 2005): 1) spatial (territorial) organization and representation of elections, 2) spatial (territorial) variations in voting patterns and 3) influence of local/spatial factors on political attitudes. The experience starting with about 1990 of the two research trends – spatial variations in voting patterns and influence of local/spatial factors on political attitudes – is topical to the research of the territorial structure of the Lithuania's electorate.

*Spatial variations in voting patterns.* The electoral geography research according to their object are quite various in North America. Various possible features of the electorate's polarization are analyzed in the works dedicated to the USA general territorial regularities ((Shelley, Archer, 1994; Gimpel, Shuknecht, 2002; Heppen, 2003; Kim, Elliott, Wang, 2003; Elazar, 2004; Gimpel, Morris, Armstrong, 2004; Mellow, Trubowitz, 2005; Dermofal, 2006; Morrill, Knopp, Brown, 2007). Researchers of the USA electoral geography are especially fond of a statistically complicated analysis, however, they do not "hang" their research results on the base of more general sociologic-political theories. As outer assessors of the USA electoral geography have highlighted (Johnston, 2005), the geographers of the USA elections practically do not influence a general theoretical evaluation of the USA's sociopolitical processes and remain unnoticed by the scientists of sociology and political sciences field.

The two stronger traditions of electoral geography – the United Kingdom and France’s – have formed in Western Europe. The regularities of parties’ territorial support (Dorling, Rallings, Thrasher, 1998; Johnston, Pattie, 1998; 2006; MacAllister, Fieldhouse, Russell, 2002; Ward, 2002) and the features of run-up (Pattie, Johnston, 1997; 2003) are usually highlighted in general research of the UK’s electorate. Various regularities of separate regions’ polarization (Bussi, 1998; Pierre, 2005; Merchez, 2007) and the state’s electoral areals (Levy, 2003; Bussi et al., 2004) are studied in France’s electoral geography. The spectrum of sociological-political questions in the course of one research in Western Europe’s electoral geography is larger than in America’s case (i.e. there is no niggling over solving individual minor questions). It is to highlight that French cartographize the electoral processes far more variously, i.e. they do not avoid dynamic cartoschemes of comparing the results of different institutions’ elections.

Lithuania is situated in the post communistic areal of Central and Eastern Europe, that is why the electoral geography’s works of the other countries of this region are especially topical. The general regularities of the electoral territorial structure of Central and Eastern Europe countries after the year 1990 are reviewed in a special research (Zarycki, 1999) and its additional version with a cartographic material (Zarycki, 2003a). Among individual countries’ electoral regional research it is worth to mention Poland’s (Kowalski, Śleszyński, 2000; Zarycki, Nowak, 2000; Zarycki, 2002; 2007; Kowalski, 2003; Barwinski, 2006), Hungary’s (Martis et al., 1992; Kovacs, Dingsdale, 1998; Mészáros, Solymosi, Speiser, 2007), Bulgaria’s (Koulov, 1995; Jankov, 2005) and the Ukraine’s (Čerkašin, 2008a; 2008b) research. Russia, which is nearby these countries, also, carried out general electoral regional research (Petrov, Titkov, 2000; 2001; Turovskij, 2000a; 2000b; Kolossov, 2004; Belov, Sidorenko, Šipulina, 2007; Perepechko, Kolossov, ZumBrunnen, 2007). The research peculiarities characteristic to Central and Eastern Europe countries can be distinguished in the works dedicated to this region’s electoral geography. First, a great attention is paid to a historical-cultural nature of electoral regions here. No other large worldwide region has a research tradition with such a distinct cultural-historical shade. Second, the electorate’s polarization in an urban-rural section is exclusively markedly highlighted in the research of Central and Eastern Europe countries. Usually, an urban-suburban polarization is more highlighted in Western countries (Walks, 2004; 2005; 2006). Third, a relatively broad spectrum of sociological-political questions in a course of one research is characteristic to the electoral geography works of the world region under consideration (broader than in American or British research).

*Influence of local/spatial factors on political attitudes.* The two theories are clearer formulated and developed in current electoral geography, which explain the influence of local/spatial factors on political attitudes. These theories can be called as spatial context (contextual effect) and neighborhood effect’s terms. The spatial context theory emphasizes the influence of a larger scale territory on political attitudes while the theory of neighborhood effect highlights the local level’s – locality’s – significance to the electors’ preferences. According to both theories, it is considered that territory/locality is one of the factors that determine election results.

J. Agnew (1996) referring to the regularities of Italia’s electorate’s behavior formulated the theory of spatial context about the territory’s (region or smaller areal’s) impact on a citizens’ sociopolitical composition. According to J. Agnew, regional electoral differences mark individual dominating contexts in certain areals, due to which

the result of elections differ regionally. It can be presumptively noted that the theory of spatial context explains regional voting differences which occur due to regionally different electors' mentality, influenced historical-cultural heritage and different electors' polarization under the voting reasons and motives in separate regions. The theory of neighborhood effect mostly refers to the works initiated by R. Johnston and Ch. Pattie (Pattie, Johnston, 1999; 2000; 2001; Johnston et al., 2000; 2001; 2004; Tunstall et al., 2000; MacAllister et al., 2001; Johnston, Pattie, 2006) and dedicated to the reasoning of the existence and expression of neighborhood effect in Great Britain. According to the run-in of this researchers' group, the neighborhood effect can be considered as an influence of the opinion dominating in a locality and of the closest surrounding people's on an elector's decision and elections results. The neighborhood effect theory refers to the attitude reasoned on various research that a local social net or social environment (*milieux*) strongly affects electoral attitudes of residents.

### **A research experience of Lithuania's electorate**

The cognition of Lithuania's electoral territorial structure is especially fragmentary and sparse. Thus, this paper fills a space of the more complete cognition of Lithuania's electoral geography. The following items are topical for the current interpretation of Lithuania's electoral territorial structure: 1) the results of the previously published electoral geography's works and 2) the cognition of the structure of Lithuania's electorate that has been formulated by political and sociological research.

The first research on the electoral spatial structure of Lithuania appeared in 1993 (Kavaliauskas, Daugirdas, 1993) and was dedicated to the expression of the results of the Supreme Council's (the Reconstructive Parliament's) elections of 1990 and the Parliament's elections of 1992. The topic of the first more comprehensive work on Lithuania's electoral territorial structure was extended in 1995 (Kavaliauskas, 1995) supplementing the assessment of the Parliament elections' in 1990 and 1992 results with the data of the Municipality elections of 1995. The early regularities of Lithuania's electoral territorial expression are also discussed in the work (Zarycki, 1999: 20-24; 2003: 9-12) on the regularities of Central and Eastern Europe countries' electoral geography. A conception of a political field (Kavaliauskas, Daugirdas, 2002), formulated from geographical positions and developed on a base of election results' interpretation (Kavaliauskas, Petrulis, 2004; Petrulis, Kavaliauskas, 2008), is topical to the assessment of Lithuania's electoral territorial structure. The results of the 2nd round of the President elections in 1993, 1997 and 2002 were evaluated referring to the conception of the political field (Kavaliauskas, Valiūnaitė, 2003). On the ground of the political field conception, further territorial research of Lithuania President's election and geopolitical referendums have been carried out (Petrulis, 2007).

M. Degutis' works are the first to mention among Lithuania's political sociology research. The features of individual Lithuania parties' electorate are accented in the interpretation of the Parliament elections' results in 1992 and 1996 (Degutis, 1997). The later political sociology's work (Degutis, 2000), where the regularities manifested in the Parliament's elections of the year 2000 are discussed, is based on the citizens surveys' results, carried out in 1996 and 2000 and their dynamic evaluation. A quite comprehensive study of political sociology of Lithuania's electorate appeared also in 2007 (Ramonaitė, 2007) which refers to the results of several polls (2001, 2004, 2005, 2006) and other research.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

### **A conception of a political field**

A social field's conception so popular with social sciences and which was developed mostly by K. Lewin (2007) and P. Bourdieu (Bourdieu, Wacquant, 2003) can be interpreted from a geographic point of view. After the social field's conception had been extended (Kavaliauskas, 2001), two forms of the social field were distinguished: 1) gravitational social field and 2) balanced social field. The latter form of a field is topical to this paper, revealing Lithuania's electoral territorial structure. According to the geographers of Lithuania (Kavaliauskas, 2001; Kavaliauskas, Dumbliauskienė, 2006), a balanced social field is considered as a space of common dialectical coexistence and balance of the opposite trends of a social process. The following types of phenomena are distinguished in the balanced social field: 1) demographic, 2) cultural, 3) economic, 4) political and 5) legal. The political phenomena type can be called *a political field*. Respectively, processes taking place in the political field can be territorially interpreted according to the 5 standard indexes of a field: 1) intensity, 2) tension, 3) speed of deformation, 4) coherence and 5) pressure. Lithuania's political field in this paper is analyzed according the first 3 field's standard indexes.

Political field's intensity reflects a general level of antinomic antipode's show up, which is determined on a base of international, national or regional comparison. The political field and its intensity in this paper are territorially evaluated only referring to the elections results, i.e. on the base of electoral method. The following seven antinomies, forming the political field, are more or less measured up with an electoral section: 1) traditional geopolitical orientation – non-traditional geopolitical orientation, 2) unitarity – federalism, 3) support of authorities – hostility to authorities, 4) observance of political ideology – political populism, 5) left – right, 6) municipality – central authorities, and 7) harmony of political institutions – antipode of political institutions. The distinguished complex of the antinomies expresses these groups of political phenomena: 1) *geopolitical attitudes* (1-2), *assessment of authorities* (3), *political ideology* (4-5) and *assessment of authorities division* (6-7). Four groups of political phenomena and their antinomies emerge when the political field is being evaluated by an electoral section. Using another section of evaluation – statistical and sociological surveys – a perception of the political field's hierarchy can correct itself. The electoral method is supposed to be the main research method of the three groups of political phenomena: geopolitical attitudes, authority's assessment and a political ideology. The electoral method is supposed to be only an additional not the main research method of the political field in the assessment of division of power (with antinomies of municipality – central authorities and harmony of political institutions – antipode of political institutions).

### **Political field's tension on the basis of electoral method**

Tension reflects a disharmony of antinomic antipode, which is determined on a base of a relative deflection of antinomic parameters from average or optimal values. Four tension categories can be distinguished for the initial stages of the research – relative neutrality (absence of tension), little, medium and big tension.

**Geopolitical attitudes.** Usually the term of geopolitics is applied to the territorial research of the two ranks: 1) large world geopolitical blocks and 2) inner national regions. The antinomy of *traditional geopolitical orientation – non-traditional geopolitical orientation* corresponds with the first rank while the second rank matches with the antinomy of *unitarity – federalism*.

*Traditional geopolitical orientation – non-traditional geopolitical orientation.* The most purposeful way of measuring geopolitical tension's expression is to introduce the antinomic axis of traditional – non-traditional geopolitical orientation. The geopolitical tension is the most topical in the countries or their parts which are in the intersection of geopolitical mega derivatives. A country usually chooses or, due to its nature becomes naturally a part of a grand geopolitical mega derivative (e.g. West space). However, not all the state's residents support the chosen geopolitical line and only a bigger part of citizens' vote for the correspondent geopolitical orientation's parties or their representatives. The substitution of the geopolitical orientations is most often initiated by individual separatist regions, which seek for or have already reached the model of a federal state. Therefore, the antinomic axis of competitive geopolitical mega spaces is closely connected to the antinomic axis of unitarity – federalism. A local party or parties established in a certain region and expressing a clear hostility to a state's traditional geopolitical orientation are catalysts of geopolitical tension. Tension does not express in the axis of traditional geopolitical orientation – non-traditional geopolitical orientation when up to 5% of citizens vote for the parties of non-traditional geopolitical orientation; little tension occurs when such parties get 5-10% of votes, medium tension – 10-15%, and large tension expresses when parties hostile to traditional geopolitical orientation get more than 15% of votes.

The second and a quite illustrative way of measuring the antinomy of the contradicting geopolitical mega spaces is the analysis of referendums' results. The referendums dealing with the integration to the chosen geopolitical orientation's derivatives are especially important. The categories of political tension are set as an analogue to the categories of the voting for the political forces contradictory to the chosen geopolitical line. A part of up to 5% of votes against a joining mega units favorable to traditional geopolitical orientation or the same part of votes, which does not seek for a segregation from contradictory geopolitical mega derivatives express a relative neutrality. Little tension is shown by 5-10%, medium – 10-15% and big tension – more than 15% of a certain territory citizens' votes intended against a possibility of traditional geopolitical orientation's legitimation. Geopolitical tension in this axis can be specified by a degree of citizens' activity in referendums, too.

*Unitarity – federalism.* This antinomy is the most suitable for the unitary state model. The intensity of citizens' turn for federal structure of a state is expressed by (geo)political tension. The federal state model is the most attractive for those groups of citizens which have individual ethnic, linguistic, historical, socioeconomic, religious features, i.e. the main sociocultural factors which form a political identity (Carty, Eagles, 1998; Douglas, 1998; Crowley, 2001; Knutsen, 2004). Regional parties usually form themselves in the state areas which turn for federalism. Essentially, the antinomy of unitarity – federalism is close to one of the four political cleavages distinguished in Western Europe. According to a classical version (Lipset, Rokkan, 1967; Rokkan, 1970), the cleavage of dominating culture – subject (center – periphery) notifies a political conflict between an ethnic majority which compounds a state and an ethnic minority.

Considering the fact that it is difficult for regional parties to gain electors' favor on a national election scale, an attitude can be formulated that a strong political tension manifests in the axis of unitarity – federalism antinomy when a qualified majority of citizens vote for local regional parties in the Parliament's elections, i.e. more than 66% of all region's electors. A medium tension occurs if local people bestow a regional party a majority but not the qualified majority of votes – from 50% to 66%. The absence of tension is discernible when regional parties receive less than 15% of votes and little tension – 15% - 50% of votes. The same step of tension categories as in a case of the Parliament's elections should be applied to the results of possible referendums' due to a certain region's autonomy (less dependency).

**Assessment of authorities.** One of the most important questions of a political field's intensity is connected to citizens' (dis)favor to authorities. Therefore, it is purposeful to distinguish an axis of *support of authorities – hostility to authorities* among the most important political antinomies. The term of *authority* itself is signally abstract and can mean various conceptions.

*Support of authorities – hostility to authorities.* This antinomy is an especially generalized opposite with strong indicative characteristics. This antinomy reflects the political tension especially distinctly (Kavaliauskas, Valiūnaitė, 2003). The tension of the antinomic axis of the support – hostility to authorities is marked by two main indicators – the support of the (ex)government and the turnout in the elections.

The index of the ex-government support usually is associated with the theory of elitarial society (Dunleavy, O'Leary, 1999; Bergh, 2004). The citizens who are dissatisfied with the activity of the political elite, governing the main strategic trend of a state's development, usually support the political forces and individuals contradicting to the settled political elite. A big political tension expresses when the political government and elite's opposition receives the qualified majority (more than 66%) of votes during elections, the medium tension – when it receives 60-66% of votes and a little tension occurs when the mentioned opposition is supported by 50-60% of voters. Relative neutrality manifests when the forces of the political elite are supported by a majority of voters.

A passive participation in the elections shows citizens' disappointment in the governmental institutions and the impotence against the government's organization. The low turnout signifies not only the disappointment in government but is a certain form of citizens' protest too (Southwell, Everest, 1998; Blais et al., 2004; Geys, 2006; Lutz, Marsh, 2007). The activity of citizens in elections also depends on the number of political forces which contradict the current political authorities and the political elite. If only the political forces which belong to the country's political elite compete in elections, a lower activity of citizens is expected as a protest to the state's politics in hand. To sum up, the absence of political tension can be noticed when a qualified majority of electors participate in national political elections (not less than 66% of citizens who have a right to vote). Little tension according to citizens' belief in a possible political effect and a trust in a current system is identified when the electors' activity reaches 60-66% and medium tension – 50-60% values. Big political tension in a sphere of authorities support undoubtedly manifests when only less than a half of electors participate in the most important elections of national institutions.

**A political ideology.** A division of parties on an ideological base is one of the most important phenomena of democratic politics. Referring to a classical theory of

political cleavages (Lipset, Rokkan, 1967; Rokkan, 1970), two conflicts of cultural nature and two of economic nature allowed largely a formation of a usual antinomy of *left – right* parties. Nevertheless, the political ideology of the latter decades started to distinguish for not only a usual conflict of left – right but also for the conflict of an *observance of political ideology – political populism*. The latter conflict arises between traditional (left, right) parties and the new ones which do not define their ideology clearly. The new parties are often called populist due to a weakness of an ideological base and a negative reaction of the opponents. As the research of parties' genesis highlight (Abedi, 2002), populist parties are usually supported by the citizens who look negatively at usual left – right authorities (a political establishment).

*Observance of political ideology – political populism*. A very important thing in the axis of observance of the political ideology – political populism's antinomy is the number of populist (anti-establishment) parties and movements. The political tension exists on the condition that there are no populist parties in a country. However, even the quantity of the functioning populist parties does not signify in itself the hovering political tension. Marginal parties are the part of a healthy political organism which even may be sought for – they arise new ideas, search for original ways to express themselves. Thus they induce the traditional ideological parties to improve. While assessing the electoral data, the number of the votes received by the populist (not traditional) parties in the elections becomes the indicator of tension. If populist parties in the countries with unstable (young) democracy get up to 25% of all electors' votes, it is likely that political tension does not manifest. 25-33% of the votes accrued to anti-establishment indicate little tension, 33-40% - medium political tension and more than 40% of the votes, accrued to populists, express big political tension. Such a relatively big ground step of the tension categories is based on an assumption that an unstable electorate, which is not clearly attached to some party, "migrates" to an electoral support space of the new anti-establishment parties in the countries with new democracy. The antinomy of observance of political ideology – political populism not always easily submits to research because it is difficult to define precise criteria which characterize a political force as a populist one.

*Left - right*. The main antinomic axis of political ideology in democratic states consists of the left and the right. Various models identifying the left and the right mark left and right fields with different sections (Blais et al., 2001; Kim, Fording, 2001; Bartle, 2003; Sauders, 2003; Bobbio, 2004; Goren, 2005; Arzheimer, 2006; Marsh, 2006; Zechmeister, 2006; McDonald, Mendes, Kim, 2007). Usually the two biggest parties get the most votes in the countries with traditional democracy, i.e. Socialdemocrats (Socialists, Labourists and the like) which represent the political left and Conservatives (Christian democrats and the like) with Liberals which represent the political right.

An essential condition of a successful society's development, which is distinguished on a base of the left – right antinomy, is large parties' representation for both main ideologies. If left or right is represented weakly (there is no large party of a respective political wing), big political tension of the left – right antinomy can be detected. Generally, both left and right are represented in democratic countries. A dominating favor itself for the left or right parties in certain areals does not denote any tension per se. Referring to the experience of political geographers (Taylor, Flint, 2000: 251-279), states with a stable territorial differentiation of parties' support are valued positively from the point of view of strong democracy, and young (unstable, superficial)

democracies with a chaotic dynamics of electoral regions are evaluated negatively. The main parties in the latter countries do not even have a constant, territorially expressed basis of their own permanent electorate. A continual territorial chaos of political sympathies denotes a very distinct disharmony in the left – right antinomy. Also, it is difficult to determine steps of the political tensions' categories quantitatively due to the multiparty system which is characteristic to some countries. The ideologies of some parties are quite close, thus, electors can “migrate” among ideologically related parties.

A lasting experience of democratic Western countries shows that a bigger part of parties' electorate is permanent and a smaller part is a “migrating” one. For example, during the research carried out in Great Britain (Pattie, Johnston, 2000) it became clear that: in 1992 79.6% of the Labor party supporters voted for this party in the elections of 1987, too; respectively, 79.2% of the same electors as in 1987 voted for Conservatives in 1992 and 62.2% for Liberals democrats. So, it can be stated that a constant parties' electorate in mature democracies makes at least 60% of the electors and a “migrating” electorate – 40% of the electors. According to the examples of long lasting democracies, the tension categories in the left – right axis can be determined at least approximately. Firstly, it is purposeful to calculate a relation of large parties' (or groups of parties with similar ideologies) inter-support in different Parliament's elections. When this relation changes up to 0.5 time units from one to another election, political tension does not manifest yet (e.g. a relation of left-right changed from 0.7 to 1.2 – it can happen on a base of “migrating” electors alone). When the relation changes 0.5-1 time units, little tension manifests; when the relation shifts 1-1.5 times – medium tension and when the relation changes more than 1.5 times units – big tension manifests.

***The assessment of authorities division.*** The division of inter-influence of the authorities can only be partly determined on the base of electoral method. An accordance of separate institutions' influence with a development of harmoniously democratic politics should be identified more reasonably and precisely referring to non-electoral data. Only citizens' attitude towards a significance of separate institutions and this attitude's positive-negative characteristics can be assessed on the ground of electoral method.

***Municipality – central authorities.*** Most researchers of the political phenomena admit (Dunleavy, O'Leary, 1999) that the main initiative power in democratic society manifests “from below”, i.e. from the citizens who raise their basic political problems for the municipality as it is supposed to be the government “closest to common people”. The high turnout in municipality's elections shows a good status of a civil society. The municipality is provided with lots of rights both in unitary and federal democratic states. Single works on the division of influence of the municipality and central authorities (Bjørnå, Janssen, 2006) and a comparison of the turnout in local and other elections (Heath et al., 1999; Niven, 2004; Rallings, Thrasher, 2005) do not come to a solid conclusion about the assessment of the municipality elections' results. The municipality elections can be considered as secondary ones in regard to national elections of the Parliament, however, they should also distinguish for a numerous turnout. An attitude can be formulated tentatively that political tension does not manifest in the axis of municipality – central authorities antinomy when less or only up to 5% of points more citizens participate in the elections of the central authorities than in the municipality's elections. Little tension manifests if a difference of the turnout in the elections of the central authorities and municipality ranges from 5% to 7.5% of points, medium tension



manifests when the difference ranges from 7.5 to 10% of points and big tension is clear when the turnout's difference gets higher than 10% of points. The difference of the turnout in the municipality and central authorities (the Parliament) elections can sometimes be influenced by additional factors (the turnout is higher during a period of a protest "outlet" against the authorities and the like), therefore, such a (not)voting of electors should be evaluated in a broader context of political events.

Parties and their groups in the course of the municipality elections can be evaluated a little bit in another way than during the Parliament's elections (Leach, Copus, 2004). Such a difference of evaluation in some countries can happen due to a popularity of nonparty lists during the local elections (Aars, Ringkjøb, 2005). The support of the same parties during the elections of the municipality and central authorities should not differ severely when a party system reflects a citizens' polarization properly. Respectively, political tension in the antinomy of municipality – central authorities can be also assessed referring to a proportion of the same parties' support in the municipality and central authorities' (the Parliament) elections. If a support of one party during a single electoral cycle differ up to 1.5 times between the elections of the municipality and the central authorities, political tension does not manifest yet (a part of electorate can be attracted/repulsed by different personalities of the same parties, the influence is also done by a difference of dates of election's organization and the like). If a proportion of a party's support between the municipality and central authorities' election is 1.5-1.75 times, little tension manifests; if the proportion is 1.75-2 times, medium tension manifests. If the party's support in the municipality and central authorities' elections differs more than 2 times, big tension can be identified. All these quantitative categories of tension should be applied to the countries where nonparty lists are not allowed or are not widely supported during local elections (otherwise, a larger proportion would notify particular tension categories).

*Harmony of political institutions – antipode of political institutions.* Each country has its individual hierarchy of political institutions, so it is difficult to give a generalized picture of a certain political institutions' harmony. According to the settled traditions and the government's structure, provided by the Constitution, an individual hierarchy of political institutions' power and links functions in each country. A unitary state is chosen to be a theoretical example, where the hierarchy (regarding "closeness" to citizens) consists of the municipality, the parliament, the president, having few powers and super national government going in turn. Considering the experience of democratic West countries, a small part of citizens participate in the elections of super national institutions (e.g. the European Parliament) because they are considered to be far from people and of little significance (Blondel, Sinnott, Svensson, 1997; Marsh, 1998; Heath et al., 1999; Mattila, 2003; Eijk, Egmond, 2007; Orford et al., 2009). It is regular that in respect of "closeness" to people the elections of municipality (a), the parliament (b), the president, (c) and super national institutions (d) have different significance. In case of political sustainability a turnout in different institutions' elections would follow the sequence:  $a > b > c > d$ . This sequence is still assessed positively if a deflection of the activity in this set between two adjacent institutions reaches a significance of up to 5% of points. 5-7.5 % of points would express little tension between two comparable elections' turnout, 7.5-10% - medium tension and a deflection of the turnout which is higher than 10% of points would mean big tension.

### **An estimation of a political field's distortion speed**

The available quantitative data, which express a certain tension's category when estimating a distortion speed (speed of deformation), are compared between different time points. Mainly the distortion speed of separate antinomies can be considered as dynamics of corresponding tensions. The distortion speed is not precisely divided into categories at this stage of the political field's research when only hypothetically measured categories of tension are present. Referring to a positive-negative connotation of tensions' categories, the distortion speed can also be estimated as *positive* or *negative*. A positive distortion speed is estimated when tension reduces in a certain period and a negative distortion speed distinguishes for an increase of tension (disharmony). The estimation of a political field's distortion speed results directly from the established quantitative parameters of tensions, although it is not always easy to estimate the distortion speed on the base of tensions under the circumstances of Lithuania.

### **The methodology of the paper's data base organization and application**

Corresponding quantitative data is necessary when estimating political tension and a distortion speed in separate antinomies. Lithuania's political field researched on a basis of electoral method requires the results of various elections and referendums. Correspondingly, the results of geopolitical significance of the plebiscite due to Lithuania's independence in 1991 and the referendum due to Lithuania's membership in the EU in 2003 are being estimated in this paper. The results of these referendums (the plebiscite of the day corresponds a term of a referendum by its nature) are being estimated at a relatively large territorial level – a net of municipalities. Such estimation is caused by the data of the plebiscite in 1991, which is presented only at a municipality level (Ar jūs..., 1991) and not at a more particular territorial level.

In addition to referendums of geopolitical mode, the results of all the elections of the president, parliament and municipalities run from 1996 to 2007 are being analyzed in this paper. Such a period of the research is determined by the elections results presented at a precincts level in a website of the Central Electoral Commission ([www.vrk.lt](http://www.vrk.lt)) only since 1995-1996. The previous results of the elections of the Parliament in 1992 and the President in 1993 are published (Lietuvos..., 1992; Oficialūs..., 1992; Preliminarūs Lietuvos..., 1993; Preliminarūs Prezidento..., 1993) only at a large level of municipalities (the President's elections) and constituencies (the Parliament's elections) which are hard to compare. It is necessary to use the most detailed territorially data – of precincts – for the research of the distinguished antinomies of a political field. Only at a such detailed level (not at a level of municipalities or constituencies' net) it is possible to compare results of different elections (e.g. the president or the parliament's).

The official results of the 1996-2007 elections of the president, the parliament (in a multi-member const.) and municipalities in precincts have been set into a specially made data base in this paper. The wards net (there are about 550 wards in Lithuania) is the most appropriate to use for a territorial expression of Lithuania's political field. A process of cartographing of elections' results in precincts (there are over 2000 of them in Lithuania) is not purposeful due to both an absence of a cartographic precincts net and a too detailed territorial rank. Therefore, all the precincts of Lithuania have been attributed to corresponding wards in this paper's data base. Under such principle all the precincts of Lithuania to the comprised addresses in 2004 (Žin., 2004, Nr. 99-3690) were collated with the settlements' addresses which compound wards in 2001 (according the census

data) (Statistikos..., 2002-2003). All the results of the elections analyzed in this paper are cartographed in a former wards net of 2004. The cities of Vilnius and Kaunas are not cartographed in wards net due to difficult visibility (too detailed loading) in this paper's cartoschemes. The paper's cartoschemes were prepared using a French *Philcarto* cartographic program and a graphic *CorelDraw* program was used for shaping (for drawing borders of areals and the like).

### 3. RESEARCH RESULTS

#### **Territorial regularities of Lithuania's geopolitical tensions**

It is purposeful to determine tension in an axis of traditional geopolitical orientation – non-traditional geopolitical orientation according to the referendums' results in Lithuania. The results of the 1991 plebiscite due to Lithuania's independence from the Soviet Union and the 2003 referendum due to the entrance to the European Union are supposed to be estimated in Lithuania. The tension which is manifesting in the axis of unitarity – federalism is most purposefully determined referring to the support of one regional party, which distinguishes more clearly – LLRA (in engl. *Lithuanian Poles' Electoral Action*) – in the Parliament's elections in 1996, 2000 and 2004.

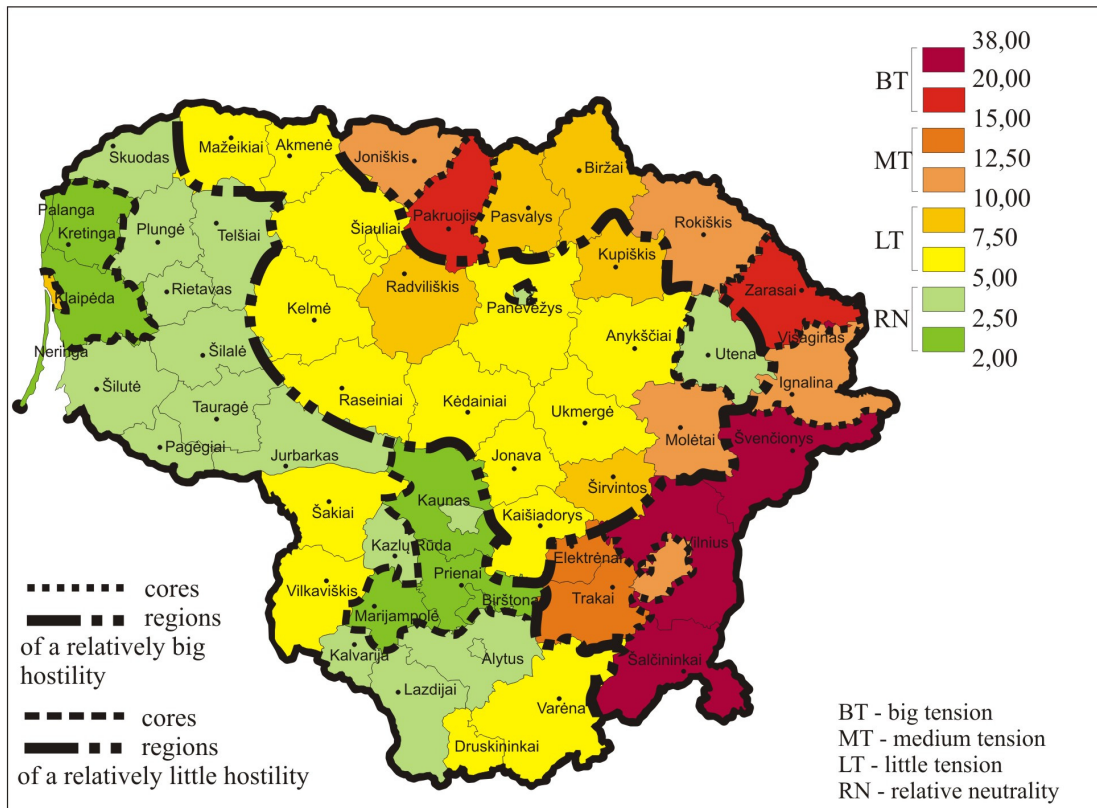
***Territorial characteristics of traditional and non-traditional geopolitical orientation.*** The antinomy of traditional geopolitical orientation – non-traditional geopolitical orientation distinguishes for its fundamentality. Thus, territorial differences of the categories of geopolitical tension are especially significant in this antinomy. Lithuania with its geopolitical orientation as well as other countries of Central and Eastern Europe is between large bordering geopolitical blocks – West and Russia's. An attitude of Lithuania's citizens to be a politically independent state and/or to belong to Western political formations can be considered as a traditional geopolitical orientation. Non-traditional geopolitical orientation manifests when Lithuania's people seek for belonging to Russia's (the Soviet Union) geopolitical formation.

Two referendums during the last twenty years were especially significant from a geopolitical point of view, i.e. a plebiscite due to Lithuania's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and a referendum due to Lithuania's entrance to the European Union in 2003. These referendums revealed a polarization of Lithuania's people between two large bordering geopolitical blocks – Western and Russia's. The people who did not agree with Lithuania's independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 plebiscite can be essentially considered as the people with non-traditional geopolitical orientation. It is more difficult to identify the people with non-traditional geopolitical orientation in the referendum due to the membership in the EU in 2003. Although an entrance to the EU limits oddly Lithuania's independence, however, the speaking for Lithuania's independency signified largely gravitation towards Western geopolitical space. Such a statement is based on a public opinion, which dominated in Lithuania in 2003, that a disapproval of a membership in the EU shows a geopolitical favor for Russia. Respectively, according to the results of the 2003 referendum, a geopolitical step of relative neutrality is higher than in the 1991 plebiscite because a part of citizens could vote against a joining the EU due to a restriction of the state's independence. The steps of the other categories of geopolitical tension are a little bit narrower than in 1991 because a part of the voters could vote for the entrance to the EU for economical interests not for geopolitical reasons.

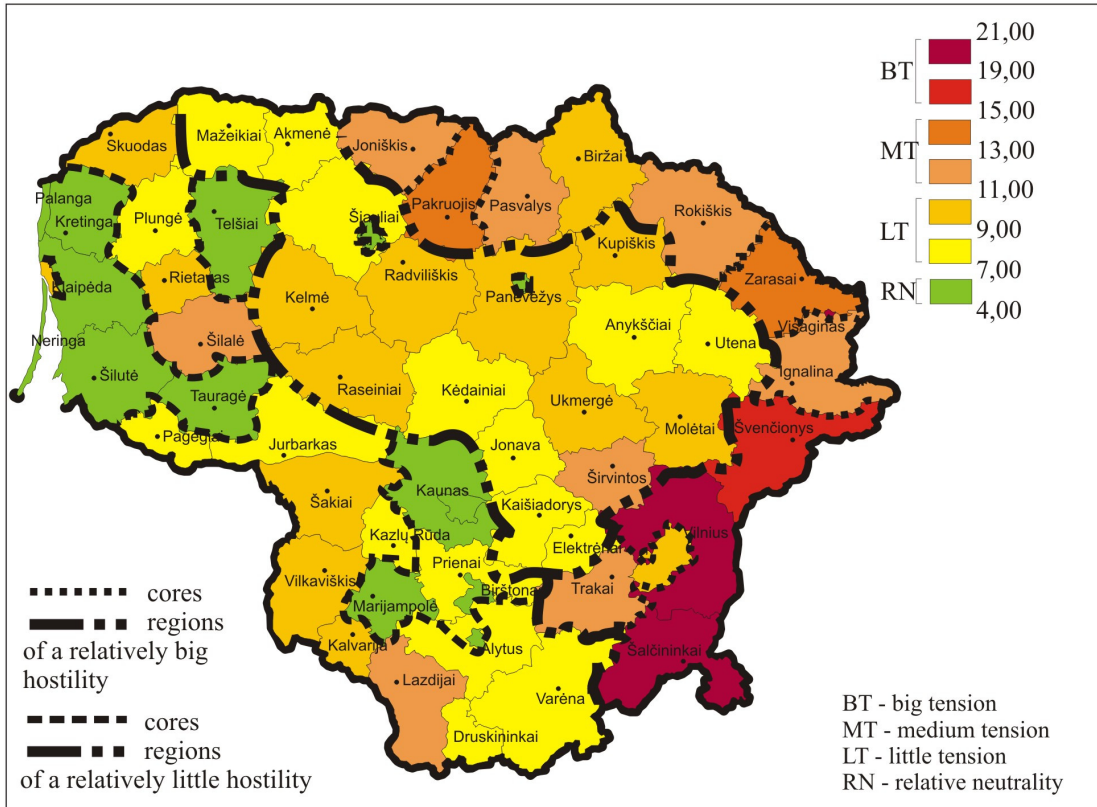
As a territorial distribution of citizens' disapproval of the independence from the Soviet Union in 1991 and of the membership in the EU in 2003 shows, a clear and stable regional structure of geopolitical orientation is characteristic to Lithuania. Three large regions were obviously distinct during both referendums: 1) Southwestern Lithuania, 2) Central Lithuania and 3) Northern and eastern Lithuania. As it has been emphasized while describing these regions of geopolitical orientation (Petruolis, 2006c; 2007), Southwestern Lithuania distinguishes for the strongest traditional geopolitical orientation on a country scale and Northern and eastern Lithuania distinguishes for the least favor for traditional geopolitical trend (Figs. 1 and 2).

The results of the 1991 plebiscite show that the biggest part of the voters who wanted to separate from the Soviet Union was in the region of Southwestern Lithuania. This region of geopolitical orientation, which reaches Skuodas in the north and Varėna in the south, comprises a bigger part of the area of ethno-cultural Samogitia, Suvalkija and Dzūkija. More than 95% of the participants of the referendum in Southwestern Lithuania gave their voice for Lithuania's separation from the Soviet Union. A compact territory of a special hostility to the Soviet Union had two cores: 1) a seashore (districts of Klaipėda, Kretinga, municipalities of Palanga, Neringa) and 2) an axis of Kaunas-Marijampolė. Also, Southwestern Lithuania's region distinguished for the biggest favor for Lithuania's membership in the European Union in 2003. This time the region distinguishing for traditional geopolitical orientation was not so clearly solid but managed to keep its cores – the seashore (which expanded to Šilutė and Tauragė) and the axis of Kaunas-Marijampolė. Lithuania's region the most distinguishing for traditional geopolitical orientation both in 1991 and 2003 with constant cores which “pull” it has also stable external borders.

Northern and eastern Lithuania's region of geopolitical orientation distinguishes for dominating significances of medium and big geopolitical tension in 1991 and 2003. A belt starting from Joniškis along a northern Lithuania's frontier, which formed in the very 1991, extended up to a southeastern corner of Lithuania – Šalčininkai. This region of the Lithuania's frontier, distinguishing for the largest hostility to traditional geopolitical orientation, consists of 3 clear cores, which distinguish for the highest geopolitical tension in the frame of their region. The first core of the largest tension has formed in Slavic (Polish) Southeastern Lithuania comprising a territory of Šalčininkai, Vilnius and Švenčionys districts. More than 20% of this areal's voters were against Lithuania's separation from the Soviet Union. The second core of Northern and eastern Lithuania's region has emerged in a Slavic (Russian) axis of Visaginas-Zarasai, distinguishing for big geopolitical tension in the frame of the municipalities of the surrounding regions. The third core in the region of Northern and eastern Lithuania has manifested in the municipality of Pakruojis district. This municipality is the only one in this part of Lithuania distinguishing for big geopolitical tension. The whole belt of the Northern and eastern Lithuania's frontier, which distinguishes for the intensity of non-traditional geopolitical orientation, can be divided into Polish (Southeastern Lithuania), Russian (Visaginas with neighboring precincts) and Lithuanian (northern Lithuania) sectors according to a domination of a respective ethnic group. The same region of Northern and eastern Lithuania was also most against joining the EU in 2003, and the same three cores distinguishing for big and average tension – southeastern Lithuania, the axis of Visaginas-Zarasai and the municipality of Pakruojis district – made this region exclusive.



**Fig 1.** Tension in the axis of traditional - non-traditional geopolitical orientation depending on the voting against Lithuania's independence in the plebiscite in 1991 (%)



**Fig 2.** Tension in the axis of traditional - non-traditional geopolitical orientation depending on the disapproval of Lithuania's membership in EU in the referendum in 2003 (%)

*Territorial imbalances of the unitarity - federalism antinomy. Lithuania's Poles Electoral Action (LLRA)* – a strong party representing Polish of Lithuania was formed after the reestablishment of Lithuania's statehood. Also, two political forces paying most attention to ethnic Russians – the Union of Lithuania's Russians and the Alliance of Lithuania's citizens – were established before the Parliament's elections in 1996 and the municipality elections in 1997. The latter forces received the most support in Klaipėda and Vilnius cities. Nevertheless, the regional Polish party (LLRA), which is predominant in Lithuania, receives a noticeable support only in a historical region of Vilnius land (Southeastern Lithuania). Strong political tension in a dichotomic axis of unitarity-federalism is characteristic precisely to this only region in Lithuania.

The dominant Lithuania's regional party – LLRA – was supported unevenly in the national Parliament's elections in 1996, 2000 and 2004. The party experienced a period of its electorate's loss in 2000. The support of LLRA was decreasing from 1996 to 2000, and the regional Polish party's electorate started increasing again in the Parliament's elections in 2004 and later ones. Clearer tension in the axis of unitarity - federalism according to LLRA support is characteristic to Šalčininkai and Vilnius districts' municipalities where ethnic Polish dominate. Vilnius, which is next to these municipalities, a part of Trakai district (especially Paluknys and Senieji Trakai wards), Širvintos district (Jauniūnai ward) and a part of Švenčionys district (Pabradė with vicinities and Magūnai ward) distinguish for at least little geopolitical tension, too. The surroundings of Visaginas also joined the region of Southeastern Lithuania in 1996 and 2004 when LLRA received a better support. Such a pulsation of the Southeastern Lithuania's region, which supports LLRA more noticeably, is regular – when there is high general support of LLRA, the Southeastern Lithuania's region also expands a little, and when a general electorate of LLRA decreases, this region shrinks a little.

Two clear cores distinguishing for big political tension were seen in the Southeastern region of Lithuania in the very 1996: 1) an eastern borderland, starting with Magūnai and Buivydyžiai wards in the north and ending beside Akmenynė ward in the south, and 2) a southern part of Šalčininkai district's municipality (including Eišiškės and surrounding wards). These two cores of the Southeastern Lithuania's region containing big geopolitical tension in 1996 (over 2/3 of votes for LLRA) also remained in 2004 when a qualified majority of voters (over 2/3) supported LLRA in most wards of the cores.

### **Territorial differences of the authorities assessment's tensions and their dynamics in Lithuania**

It is purposeful to determine tension in an axis of support of authorities – hostility to authorities referring to the results of the second round of the President's elections in Lithuania. The results of the President's elections in 1997, 2002 and 2004 should be assessed in Lithuania. The elections of the President and the parliament took place in turn in the period of the year 2004 I Lithuania. Respectively, a comparison of these elections' results allows a more specific assessment of an inner territorial structure of the supporters of authorities and the electors disappointed in authorities, i.e. those who are against the political establishment. Due to the features of Lithuania's party system in 2004 it is possible to take a particular picture of the inner structure of traditional and protest electorates. Political tension in the antinomy of support of authorities – hostility

to authorities can be also estimated according to the turnout in separate elections of the President and the Parliament which took place in 1996-2004.

***Territorial characteristics of the support of authorities during the President's elections.*** A tradition was set to contest for two candidates representing different society's groups during the second round of the President's elections in 1993-2004 in Lithuania (the second round was unnecessary because just of the two pretenders in 1993). As it was noticed in the first territorial assessment of the President's elections (Kavaliauskas, Valiūnaitė, 2003), one candidate usually represented the governing stratum while the second candidate contradicted the governing political class. Thus, the electors' voting for one or another candidate in the President's elections can be considered as a support of authorities or hostility to the governors. Two Lithuanians of the USA represented Lithuania's political establishment and the chosen sociopolitical trend of Lithuania during the President's elections in the period of 1993-2004 – S. Lozoraitis in 1993 and V. Adamkus in 1997-2004 period. A. Brazauskas was an opponent for S. Lozoraitis in 1993, and the opponents for V. Adamkus were A. Paulauskas (1997), R. Paksas (2002) and K. Prunskienė (2004). It is common in Lithuania's public space to call the satisfied with the chosen Lithuania's sociopolitical development as a traditional electorate and the disappointed ones – a protest electorate. It is purposeful to follow these conceptions while assessing the results of the President's elections.

A territorial division of traditional and protest electorates, which showed up in the period of 1997-2004, had stable and unstable characteristics (Figs. 3-5). According to the manifestation of electoral regions and cores (small areas) in Lithuania, two periods can be obviously distinguished: 1) up to 2000 and 2) after 2000.

***A territorial electorate's structure up to 2000.*** To sum up the characteristics of the electoral areals with a protest electorate predominant, which showed up in 1997, two large regions – Southeastern Lithuania and Northern Lithuania's – and one little separate core of Suvalkija can be clearly distinguished. Some wards which border with these regions and cores can be attributed to the zones of corresponding electoral areals' influences. Three clear electoral areals can be distinguished in 1997, which distinguish for a traditional electorate's dominance over a protest electorate and an absence of clearer political tension as a result. V. Adamkus' overbalance against A. Paulauskas in the second round of the President's elections in 1997 was clearly seen in electoral regions of Southwestern Lithuania and Aukštaitija as well as in a smaller separate core of Šiauliai.

Several quite clear electoral regions and separate cores, which emerged in the second round of the President's elections in 1997, preceded an electoral territorial structure, which showed up in 1993. The assessment of the President's election's results carried out at a municipalities' level in 1993 (Kavaliauskas, Valiūnaitė, 1993) clearly shows that the regions of Southeastern and Northern Lithuania together with the then district of Marijampolė (A. Brazauskas soundly overtook S. Lozoraitis) distinguished for the relatively biggest political tension, and the regions of Southwestern Lithuania and Aukštaitija together with Vilnius city (S. Lozoraitis was slightly behind A. Brazauskas) distinguished for the relatively least tension. No doubt a general level of political tension was higher in 1993; however, the borders and inter-differences of the electoral regions and cores were especially similar as in 1997. Thus, the territorial structure in the axis of

support of authorities – hostility to authorities, which emerged in the President's elections in 1993 and 1997, can be considered as stable.

*A territorial electorate's structure after 2000.* R. Paksas, who clearly expressed his hostility to the governing establishment, and V. Adamkus, who highlighted a succession of the sociopolitical trend, competed in the second round of the President's elections in 2002. A general background of political tension increased again after the period of an economic crisis in 1999-2000; therefore, a protest electorate quite clearly overbalanced a traditional electorate in Lithuania. The newly emerged electoral territorial formations as well as the ones which manifested in 1993-1997 showed up in the second round of the President's elections in 2002.

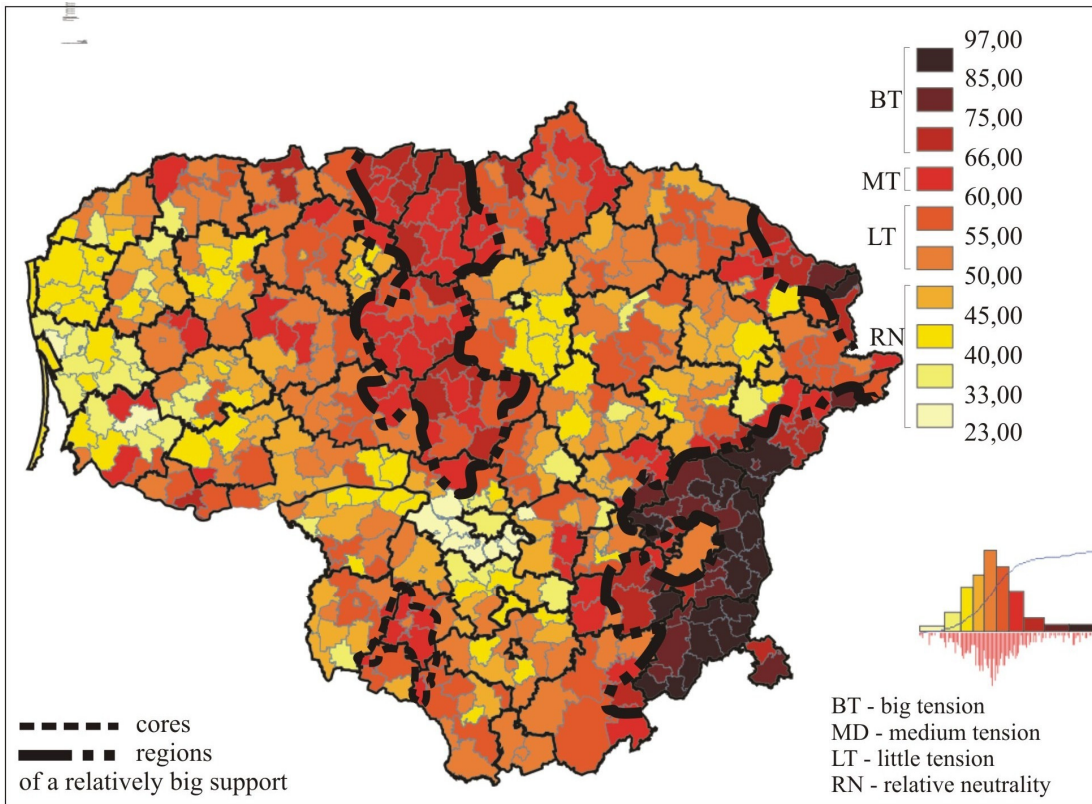
Two formerly emerged relatively strong protest areals – a region of Southeastern Lithuania and a core of Suvalkija – remained in 2002. The borders of the electoral region of Southeastern Lithuania, which distinguishes for big tension, have not changed clearly, and the borderland's wards situated in the districts of Vilnius and Šalčininkai remained as the most protestant. The borders of Suvalkija's core distinguishing for big political tension have slightly changed and differentiated. Aukštaitija's electoral region distinguishing for a relatively big traditional electorate has also remained since 1993-1997. The traditional electorate just slightly yielded to the protest electorate in Aukštaitija region in the elections of 2002. A separate electoral core of Vilnius city distinguished very clearly for the higher support of V. Adamkus rather than R. Paksas in 2002.

The biggest change of the electoral territorial structure between 1997 and 2002 took place in the intersection of the former electoral regions of Southwestern and Northern Lithuania. Southwestern Lithuania remained a relatively traditional region where an inter-relation of a traditional and protest electorates was quite equal in 2002 (with a general slight overbalance of the protest electorate). Nevertheless, the electoral region of Southwestern Lithuania lost Western Samogitia (Skuodas, Plungė, Telšiai) from 1997 to 2002 which changed from a relatively traditional to strongly protestant territory. A new electoral region of Samogitia formed in the intersection of Western Samogitia (which belonged to the electoral region of Southwestern Lithuania as far back as in 1997) and the former region of Northern Lithuania with the zone of influence in 2002. Two inner cores – the belts of the seaside and Kaunas – distinguished clearly for an especially numerous traditional electorate in Southwestern Lithuania as far back as in 1997. Only the core of Kaunas has remained clearly traditional since 2002 and the other core of in the seaside has disappeared. It is likely that a neighborhood with the new protestant electoral region of Samogitia has destroyed the seaside core in the electoral region of Southwestern Lithuania.

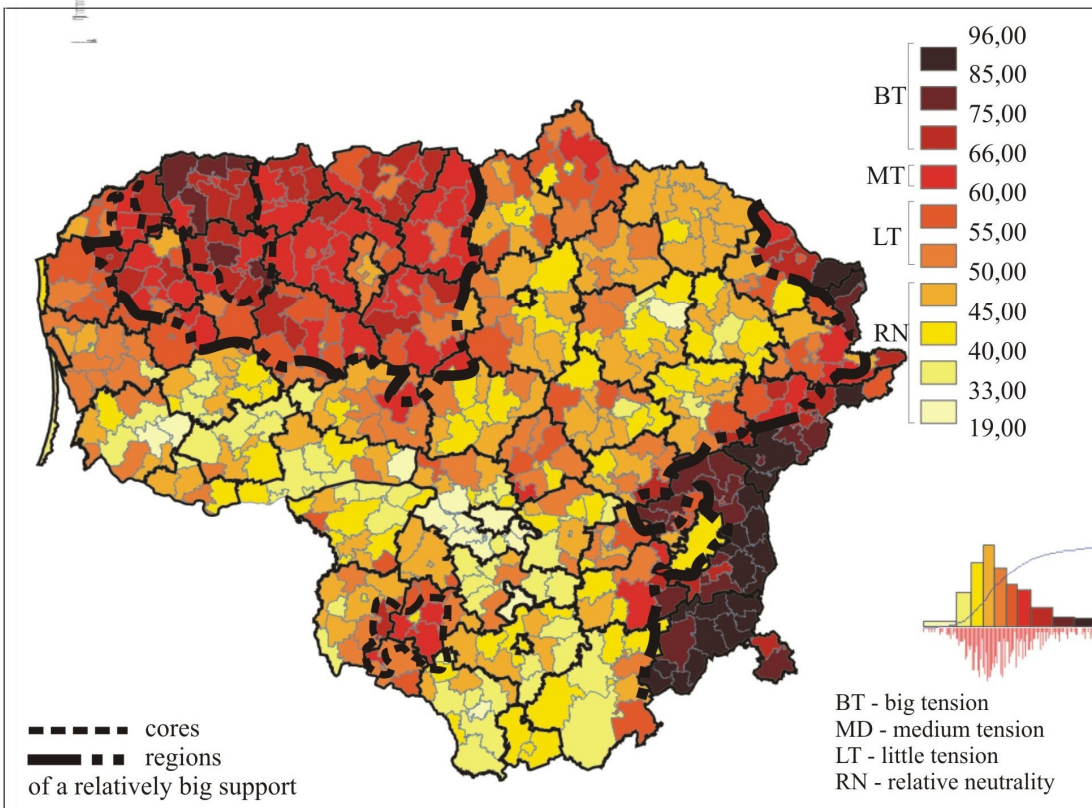
V. Adamkus competed with K. Prunskienė in the second round of the untimely President's elections in 2004. A general level of political tension in the state was slightly less than in 2002; however, the electoral territorial structure of Lithuania has remained stable since 2002.

*An interpretation of the electoral territorial structure's change.* Lithuania's electoral territorial structure experienced the biggest changes in about 2000 between 1997 and 2002's President's elections. While comparing these two periods – up to 2000 and after – it is worth to pay attention to a marked conjunction of Lithuania's electoral regions (according to support of authorities) with the regions of geopolitical orientation up to 2000 and the decrement of this conjunction since 2000. The marked coincidence of





**Fig. 3.** Tension in the axis of the support of authorities - hostility to authorities according to the support of A. Paulauskas in the President's elections (2nd round) in 1997 (%)



**Fig. 4.** Tension in the axis of the support of authorities - hostility to authorities according to the support of K. Prunskienė in the President's elections (2nd round) in 2004 (%)

the regions of geopolitical orientation (noticed already at the municipalities level) with the regions manifested in the elections of the President in 1997 (Petruolis, 2007) can be exemplified concretely. The electoral region of Southwestern Lithuania with the biggest core of V. Adamkus support in the belts of the seaside and Kaunas was the mostly traditional in Lithuania in 1997. Precisely the same region of Southwestern Lithuania with the analogical borders and cores in the seaside and around Kaunas distinguishes for the most traditional geopolitical orientation. The regions of Southeastern and Northern Lithuania with the zones of their influence, which distinguished for an especially protestant behavior in the President's elections in 1997, approximately accords with the region of Northern and eastern Lithuania which distinguishes for non-traditional geopolitical orientation. The electoral region of Samogitia, which formed after the year 2000, has already disrupted the exact repetition of the borders and structure of the region of the mostly traditional geopolitical orientation in the course of the President's elections.

*A territorial structure of a distortion speed.* A change of political tension between separate elections of the President had a very strong territorial differentiation. The biggest differentiation of the significance of traditional and protest electorates' dynamics in 1997-2004 distinguishes for the dimension of: 1) electoral regions and 2) ethno-cultural regions. Undoubtedly, the electoral regions themselves approximately coincide with the ethno-cultural regions in certain cases (e.g. in the case of Southeastern Lithuania, Aukštaitija or Samogitia). A frequent congruence of the regions of electoral dynamics (distortion speed) with the constant relatively traditional and protestant electoral regions shows deep electoral territorial differences in Lithuania. The structure and its dynamics of the electorate of the separate Lithuania's electoral regions strongly differ from the electoral processes which take place in the neighboring electoral regions.

Two electoral-ethnic regions (Southeastern Lithuania and Samogitia) distinguished for a negative distortion speed of political tension (i.e. increase of tension) in a general period in 1997-2004. The electoral region of Samogitia emerged between the President's elections of 1997 and 2002 due to the electoral dynamics which clearly matches the borders of ethno-cultural Samogitia. Political tension increased most in the electoral areal of Western Samogitia (with Plunge, Skuodas, Telšiai, Kretinga) in 1997-2002 (2004) period. According to the territorial structure of the region of Samogitia's ethnic self-consciousness (Petruolis, 2005), exactly this electoral areal almost perfectly matches the core of the region of Samogitian ethnic self-consciousness. A part of the protest electorate has also increased in the peripheral parts of the region of Samogitia's ethnic self-consciousness (in the northern corner of Klaipėda district, areal around Šiauliai), however, it increased slighter than in the core of the ethnic self-consciousness' region. Looking from the electoral point of view, it is more purposeful to call the core of the Samogitian ethnic self-consciousness' region as Western Samogitia because this is how the areal locates itself in a general electoral region of Samogitia.

*An inner territorial structure of the traditional and protest electorates.* Several parties (especially the new ones) represented the protest electorate most distinctively during the Parliament's elections in 2004. The results of sociological surveys show (Ramonaitė, 2007: 74-101) that the *Darbo* (in engl. *Labour*) party (*DP*), the *Coalition of R. Paksas* and the party of *Valstiečiai ir naujoji demokratija* (in engl. *Farmers' and New Democracy*) (*VNDS*) were the most acceptable for disappointed electors (the poorest and the least educated) in 2004. The *Tėvynės Sąjunga* (in engl. *Homeland Union*;

*conservatives*) (TS), the *Lietuvos krikščionys demokratai* (in engl. *Lithuanian Christian Democrats*) (LKD), the *Krikščionių konservatorių socialinė sąjunga* (in engl. *Christian Conservative Social Union*) (KKSS) with the leader G. Vagnorius, the *Liberalų ir centro sąjunga* (in engl. *Liberal and Centre Union*) (LiCS) and the *Coalition of A. Brazauskas and A. Paulauskas* were the parties and coalitions which represented a traditional electorate and showed themselves more distinctively during the Parliament's elections in 2004. The coalition of A. Brazauskas and A. Paulauskas can be considered as a traditional left political force due to the declared ideology and the other parties together (TS, LKD, KKSS ir LiCS) make a block of traditional right.

The same territorial system of the traditional-protest electorate's structure emerged during the elections of the President and the Parliament which took place in turn in 2004. The protest electorate prevailed in the electoral regions of Samogitia and Southeastern Lithuania as well as in a separate electoral core of Suvalkija during both elections. During the elections of the President and the Parliament in 2004 the traditional electorate overbalanced the protest one in the electoral regions of Aukštaitija and Southwestern Lithuania as well as in the core of Vilnius which is soundly distinct in the context of the surrounding environment. The single electoral core of Kėdainiai markedly distinguished for its ratio of the traditional-protest electorates in the period from the President's elections till the Parliament's in 2004. A distinct instability of the traditional-protest electorates ratio in the Kėdainiai electoral core can be explained by a numerous part of the "controlled" electorate of this areal. The Darbo party with its leader V. Uspaskich, who lives in Kėdainiai, is distinctively predominant among the protest parties in the core of Kėdainiai. A great part of the electorate voted for V. Adamkus during the second round of the President's elections in 2004 because the leader of the Darbo party supported him; and if V. Uspaskich had supported K. Prunskienė, it could have been that a part of the "controlled" electorate would have voted for this candidate. It is worth to remind that there was not such a leap in the other electoral areals in Lithuania.

Separate parties of anti-establishment share their influence differently in the areals of the predominant protest electorate. The party of an inner geopolitical protest – LLRA – dominates distinctively in the region of Southeastern Lithuania; this national party receives more than 50% of the protest votes in most wards of the region. Respectively, other protest parties were supported relatively weakly in Southeastern Lithuania in 2004. The coalition of R. Paksas had very strong positions among protest parties in the electoral region of Samogitia. According to the party support in the protest core of Kėdainiai, the DP electorate put other protest parties into the shade very clearly. The distribution of the relatively stronger areals of the VNDS did not coincide with the main electoral regions and cores of Lithuania in 2004.

The electoral regions prevailed by the traditional electorate differ soundly by their inner structure of the rights and lefts. The rights dominate among the traditional forces in a bigger central part of Aukštaitija electoral region; and the rights are cast into the shadow by the electorate of the lefts in the periphery. The areals of the lefts and rights' domination change each other in the traditional region of Southwestern Lithuania. The rights were clearly predominant among traditional political forces in a traditional electoral core of Vilnius (city) in 2004.

***Territorial characteristics of the authorities' assessment according the turnout.***  
The turnout in the President and Parliament's elections has been relatively high up to 2000 and since 2000 only about 1/2 on the average of the state's electors have

participated in the elections of the central authorities. Respectively, general political tension according to the turnout up to 2000 was markedly less than after the year of 2000. While assessing the turnout in the elections of the central authorities, it is worth to pay attention to the second general regularity of electors' behavior – a bigger turnout in the elections of the President than of the Parliament. Therefore, the activity in the elections of these different institutions, which took place in a similar period, shows the categories of political tension which differ a bit. These features of a territorial differentiation are characteristic to the turnout in the elections of the central authorities in 1996-2004: 1) the areals of the biggest and the smallest turnout coincide with the traditional and protest electoral areals in most cases during the President's elections (distinguished due to the support level of separate candidates), 2) the areals of the turnout's dynamics also often coincide with the electoral regions prevailed by a traditional or protest electorates. Such territorial regularities of the turnout allow even a better reasoning of the fundamentality of the distinguished traditional and protest electoral areals. Essentially, all possible palings and dynamic sections of the support of authorities – hostility to authorities reveal the existence of the same electoral regions and cores. The regions of the biggest turnout have coincided with the most traditional electoral regions up to the year of 2000. The electoral regions remained according to the ratio of traditional-protest electorates and the turnout after 2000, however, the tension degree distinguished according to the both criteria started to differ in certain regions.

#### **A territorial differentiation of political ideology's tensions and their dynamics in Lithuania**

It is purposeful to define tension in the axes of *left – right* and *observance of political ideology – political populism* referring to the results of the Parliament elections in Lithuania. The results of the Parliament's elections of 1996, 2000 and 2004 should be assessed in Lithuania. Since the independency was reestablished in the country most of the parties have been in the spectrum of the political right; thus, the greatest attention is paid to the support of the parties of this ideological group. Respectively, an inner stability of the right electorate can be estimated on the base of the main blocks which manifested inside the political right. According to the stability of electorate's ratio, political tension is estimated not only inside the right but, also, in a more general section of the left-right. Territorial characteristics of the support of populist and neutral parties are also topical together with the regularities of the traditional left and right parties' support.

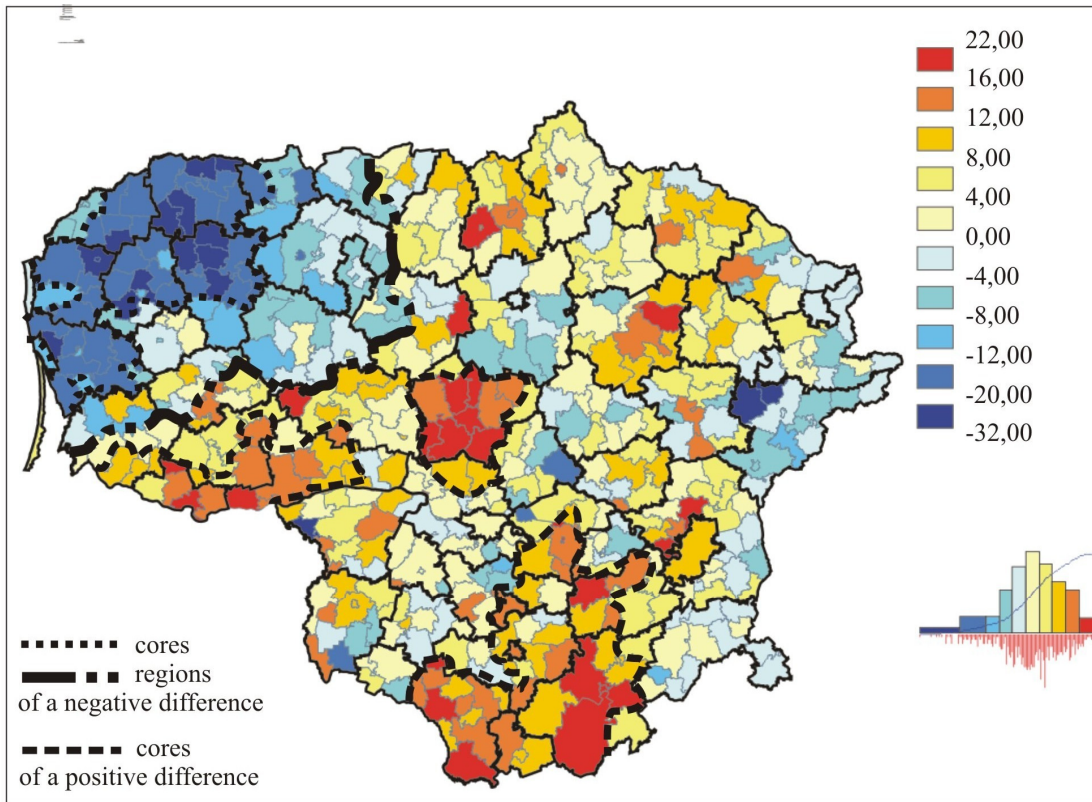
***A territorial distribution of the support of the right parties.*** The *Tėvynės sąjunga (TS)* has had strong positions among the rights during the whole period. The second distinct right political force is the Christian democrats, whom the *Lietuvos krikščionių demokratų partija (LKDP)* represented in all three elections under consideration; moreover, the *Krikščionių demokratų sąjunga (KDS)* also joined them in the elections in 1996 and 2000. The third right political party emerged before the Parliament's elections in 2000 when a group of the ex-premier G. Vagnorius supporters split off the TS. A small party led by G. Vagnorius was called the *Nuosaičių konservatorių sąjunga (NKS)* in 2000 and the *Krikščionių konservatorių socialinė sąjunga (KKSS)* in 2004. The fourth party of the political right – the Liberals – became a political force soundly supported by electors since the Parliament's elections in 2000. The *Lietuvos liberalų*

*sąjunga* (LLS) represented liberals in 2000 and *the Liberalų ir centro sąjunga* (LiCS) in 2004.

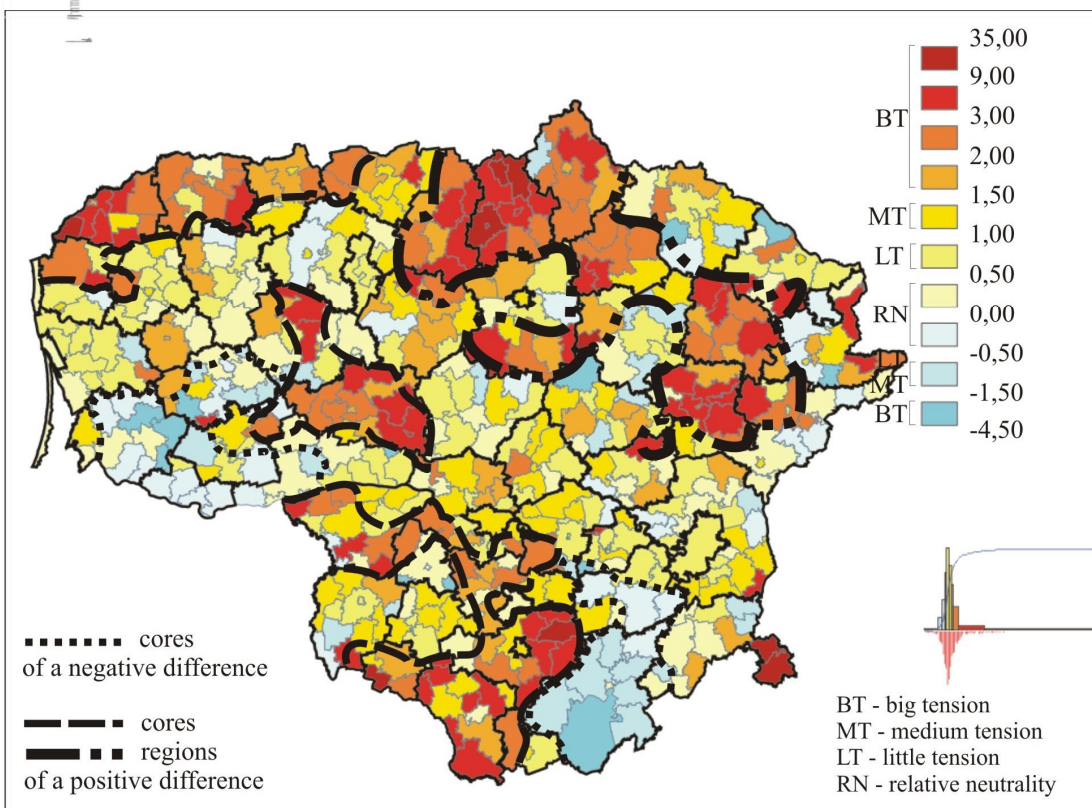
*The areals of the highest support of the right parties.* The *Tėvynės sąjunga* and *Lietuvos krikščionių demokratų* parties, which consolidated in 2008, have had both common and different features since the beginning. The cultural rightness of both political forces (and the right self-consciousness which followed as a consequence) is worth to distinguish among the basic general features of the TS and Christian democrats' ideology. Both the conservatives and Christian democrats stood clearly on the cultural right which forms succession of a tradition. The main differences between the parties are the TS's economical rightness and a more left economical ideology of the Christian democrats. A grouping of the areals of the highest support of the *Tėvynės Sąjunga* and Christian democrats confirms the relation of both parties' (parties groups') electors. Two very clear areals of the TS's highest support manifested in 1996-2004 – an electoral region of Southwestern Lithuania and an electoral core of Aukštaitija. The borders of the Southwestern Lithuania's region, which distinguishes for a relatively high support of the TS, repeated the borders of the region which emerged in the axis of support of authorities – hostility to authorities. The second areal of the TS's highest support showed up in Aukštaitija core which comprises an area between the cities of Panėvėžys and Utena with the districts of Anykščiai and Kupiškis. In 2004 the third electoral areal starts to distinguish for a relatively high support of the *Tėvynės Sąjunga*, i.e. a detached electoral core of Vilnius city.

Three areals of the highest support of the Christian democrats located around the territories of the TS's high support during the Parliament's elections in 1996-2004. A belt of a relatively high support of the Christian democrats surrounded a core of the TS's high support in Aukštaitija. The belt of the Christian democrats' high support comprised the wards going through the towns of Pasvalys, Ramygala and Molėtai which are situated around the conservative core of Panėvėžys-Kupiškis-Anykščiai-Utena in 1996-2004. The parties of the Christian democrats distinguished for an especially sound support in the peripheries of Southwestern Lithuania's electoral region (in the zones of an intersection) where the TS had not too strong positions. One of the cores of the Christian democrats' support comprised mostly the areal of Western Samogitia. The third core of the high support of the Christian democrats comprised the wards of south Lithuania (mostly in an electoral core of Suvalkija).

Essentially, the areals characterizing the parties' support can be called the same as in the axis of support of authorities – hostility to authorities. Respectively, the most traditional electoral regions can be considered as such due to a relatively numerous right electorate. A dislocation of the areals of the parties' highest support confirms this statement. The areals of the highest support of the TS both culturally and economically right are situated in the inner parts of the regions of Aukštaitija and Southwestern Lithuania (in the regions' cores), and the highest support areals of the Christian democrats, who are culturally right but economically left, are in outer parts of these electoral regions (in the peripheries). Thus, the areals of the Christian democrats' highest support perform a particular role of an electoral buffer, i.e. separate the cores of the TS's support from the areals prevailed by the left or protest parties. As it has been highlighted, the economical leftness and cultural rightness of the Christian democrats allow a performance of such an intermediate role.



**Fig. 5.** A distortion speed in the axis of the support - hostility to authorities according to the difference of Adamkus' support between the President's elections in 2004 and 1997 (% p.)



**Fig. 6.** The difference of the support ratio of the patriotic right and liberal right between the Parliament's elections in 2004 and 2000 (times' units)

The party led by G. Vagnorius had the clearly biggest support in Samogitia both in 2000 and in 2004. A region of the highest support of the NKS and the KKSS comprised a part of an electoral region of Western Samogitia (Telšiai, Plungė) and neighboring municipalities of Southwestern Lithuania's electoral region (districts of Šilutė, Šilalė, Tauragė and Jurbarkas) in 2000 and 2004.

Electors of the biggest cities of Lithuania and their neighboring wards distinguish for the greatest support of the Liberals party. The liberals distinguish among all Lithuania parties for the most "islandish" distribution of the highest support areals. A distribution in "islands" of the LLS's highest support areals beside Lithuania's cities showed up in 2000 when the liberals became a significant party. Only Vilnius and Kaunas among all the cities of Lithuania joined into a solid clearer areal of the LLS's high support in 2000. The cities of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda, distinguishing for the highest support of the liberals consolidated into one quite solid region favorable to the liberals in 2004. This region of the liberals' high support reminded partly of a configuration of Southwestern Lithuania's electoral region. Other cities of Lithuania – Šiauliai, Panėvėžys, Alytus – remained as "islandish" cores relatively favorable for the liberals in 2004.

*A territorial structure of the dynamics of the right parties' support.* Territorial dynamics of the right parties' support in 1996-2004 is explained: 1) on a scale of electoral regions and 2) with a neighborhood effect. A frequent congruence of the regions of parties' electoral dynamics with the constant relatively traditional and protestant electoral regions confirms again deep electoral territorial differences in Lithuania. These deep electoral territorial differences are seen via an assessment of the results of various President and Parliament's elections. The neighborhood effect uncloses more clearly only according to the territorial changes of parties' support.

One of the basic statements of the neighborhood effect's theory says that the people who have not made a decision yet or are not firmly self-determined vote similarly as most of the local people. This basic statement is obviously seen in the dynamics of the right parties' support in Lithuania. The right parties experienced the waves of their highest support during separate elections: the *Tėvynės sąjunga* and parties the Christian democrats in 1996, the liberals in 2000. It can be stated that in such times of uprising corresponding parties received a relatively big part of votes from the electors who were not firmly self-determined in the areals favorable to the parties (cores). After a party's popularity decreases, no clear domination of the party is left, even in the areal which is usually favorable to it, during next elections. Due to this fact, indecisive and hesitant electors no longer vote for the same political party in the second elections running as they did in the previous elections. The neighborhood effect is very clearly seen in an example of the TS support's dynamics in 1996-2000. The TS won the elections obviously in 1996 (29.8%), and in 2000 it received the least part of votes throughout its history (8.62%). Respectively, since 1996 to 2000 the *Tėvynės Sąjunga* lost the biggest part of votes in those places where it used to be supported most in 1996 (in three inner cores of Southwestern Lithuania).

*Territorial characteristics of a ratio of the right blocks.* The right electorate soundly changed according to its main inner fracture in Lithuania in about 2000. Two patriotic right forces – the *Tėvynės sąjunga* and the Christian democrats – used to dominate inside the right electorate up to 2000. The right electors could choose between these two parties (parties' groups), those who prefer the right (TS) or left (the Christian

democrats) economical policy. An internal structure of the political right has changed essentially since 2000. The liberals party, which has formed a numerous electorate, started to represent the economical but not cultural right. Both the TS and the Christian democrats started to represent positions of the cultural (patriotic) right against the liberals who do not emphasize such positions. Thus, the main antinomy inside the right can be seen between the patriotic right and the liberal right since 2000.

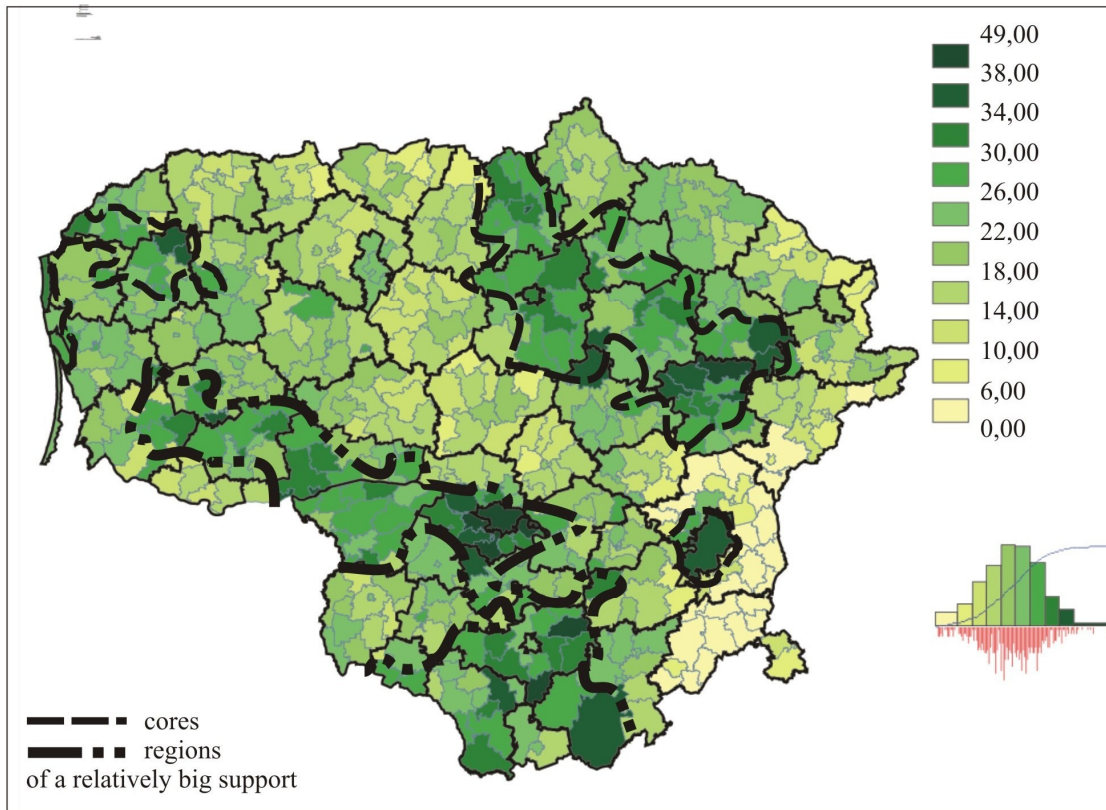
Certain territorial imbalances of the interrelation of the TS and Christian democrats' support repeated in the Parliament's elections in 1996 and 2000. The *Tėvynės Sąjunga* overtook the Christian democrats most in an inner part of the then conservative electoral region of Southwestern Lithuania. One more areal of a clear TS domination over the Christian democrats emerged in Vilnius and neighboring wards of Southeastern Lithuania's electoral region in 1996. The smallest interrelation of the TS and Christian democrats' support was in the areals of the highest support of the Christian democrats. Political tension inside the right electorate can be estimated referring to the dynamics of the interrelation of the TS and Christian democrats' support in 1996-2000. The areals of the biggest TS's domination over the Christian democrats in 1996 distinguished for big political tension inside the right electorate from 1996 to 2000.

The electorate of the patriotic right prevailed over the liberals' electors in broad electoral regions of Southwestern Lithuania (with Western Samogitia and a core of Suvalkija) and Aukštaitija in 2000. The weakest positions of the patriotic right over the liberals were characteristic to an electoral region of Southeastern Lithuania and Vilnius. The extremities of the relation of the patriotic right and liberal right stayed more or less the same in 2004. Political tension according to a change of the patriotic right – liberal right's relation (Fig. 6) was the biggest in the areals that are usually favorable for the patriotic right – an electoral region of Aukštaitija, separate belts of Southwestern Lithuania's region and a northern part of Samogitia's electoral region in 2000-2004.

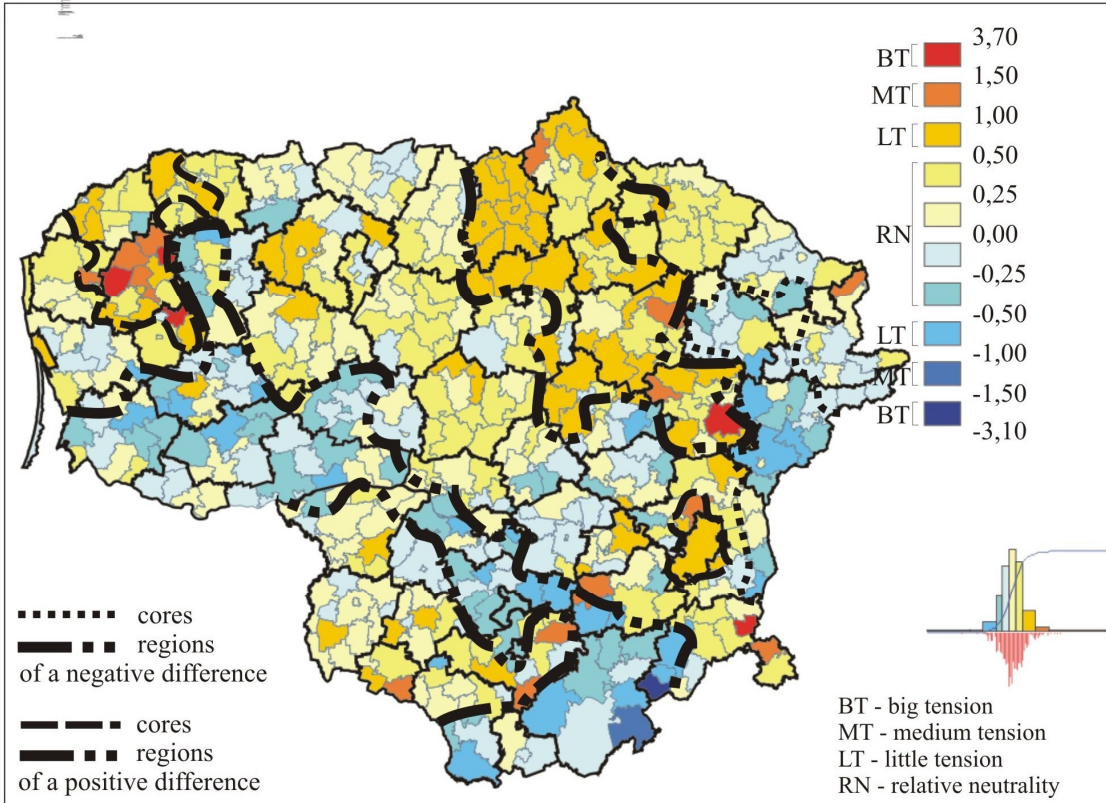
***Territorial characteristics of a ratio of the political right and left electors.*** The political right used to receive the biggest support in the electoral regions of Aukštaitija and Southwestern Lithuania (Fig. 7) in 1996-2004. A separate electoral core of Vilnius city joined the two main areals supporting most the right in 2000. The areals of the lefts' biggest support were not so stable in 1996-2004. Two left parties together distinguished for the relatively biggest support in a core of Suvalkija and a large areal in north Lithuania in 1996. In 2000 four areals of the lefts' highest support emerged – two remained since 1996 and two small new cores (in south Samogitia and in a belt of Jonava-Kaišiadorys). A left coalition of A. Brazauskas and A. Paulauskas received the biggest support in the areals where a traditional electorate dominates in the Parliament's elections in 2004. The bigger part of the traditional electoral region in Southwestern Lithuania (2 cores) distinguished for a relatively high support of the left in 2004. Another two cores favorable to the left stayed in the frame of the former large areal of northern Lithuania (in a belt of Pakruojis-Pasvalys and in an eastern part of Aukštaitija electoral region) in 2004.

The features characteristic to a relation of the right and left support during the Parliament's elections in 1996-2004 allow distinguishing two periods which differ soundly: 1) up to 2000 and 2) since 2000. A fluctuation of a ratio of the right-left support was very strong in 1996-2000 (big political tension dominated in Lithuania), and in 2000-2004 the ratio of the left-right support was quite stable (a relative neutrality and little political tension dominated in a bigger part of the country). In spite of a big





**Fig. 7.** The support of the political right (TS, KKSS, LKD and LiCS - together) during the Parliament elections in 2004 (%)



**Fig. 8.** Tension in the axis of left - right according to the difference of the support ratio of the right and left between the Parliament's elections in 2004 and 2000 (times' units)

fluctuation of a general left-right ratio, the areals relatively favorable to the political right stayed the same. A domination of the political right over the left was especially distinct in a bigger part of Southwestern Lithuania's region (in Western Samogitia and southern Lithuania). A southern part of Aukštaitija electoral region also distinguished for the rights' supremacy over the lefts on a country scale in 1996-2004. An electoral core of Vilnius started to distinguish for a relatively big supremacy of the right over the left in 2000.

A ratio of the right-left support increased in Aukštaitija electoral region during a more stable period in 2000-2004 (Fig. 8). Respectively, due to such dynamics an areal of the rights' domination over the lefts increased inside the electoral region of Aukštaitija. The ratio of the right-left decreased in Southwestern Lithuania's region in 2000-2004 (i.e. position of the left relatively strengthened); therefore, the cores of the right domination over the left shrank inside the region. As it can be seen from an assessment of this cores' expansion/decrease, such a change of cores' area is associated with predominant dynamics of the right-left ratio's change in individual electoral regions. The third areal of a distinct overbalance of the right over the left in Vilnius distinguished for a strengthening of the rights' position in 2000-2004 (as well as in Aukštaitija region). Protest electoral regions of Lithuania distinguished for a relatively small change of the right-left ratio during a general period of 1996-2004 and in its separate streaks (1996-2000 and 2000-2004).

***A territorial distribution of a support of populist parties.*** A system of traditional Lithuania's parties was strongly affected by a popularity of new parties of anti-establishment in the Parliament's elections in 2000 and 2004. As the research of parties genesis highlight (Abedi, 2002), populist parties are usually supported by the people who assess negatively an ordinary government of the lefts and rights (political establishment). Populist parties usually distinguish for not only hostility to traditional parties but for giving reasonless electoral promises, too. Despite a difficulty deciding which promises are reasoned or not, at least the *Naujoji Sąjunga* (in engl. *New Union*) (NS) (2000) and *Darbo* party (2004) can be surely considered as populist parties in Lithuania.

A distinct coincidence of the NS electorate in 2000 with the DP electorate in 2004 (or more moderately – relation) is confirmed by a repetition of these parties' areals of the highest and lowest support. An electoral core of Kėdainiai distinguished for the highest support of both the NS and the DP and big political tension in the axis of observance of political ideology – political populism. It is likely that such a show up of Kėdainiai core is connected with especially strong positions of a local businessman V. Uspaskich who headed the *Darbo party*, founded by his own initiatives, in 2004, and supported financially the *Naujoji sąjunga*, led by A. Paulauskas. In addition to Kėdainiai electoral core, two more areals were especially favorable to the main populist parties in 2000 and 2004: 1) in southeastern Lithuania and 2) in northern Lithuania.

### **A territorial expression of authorities division tensions and their dynamics**

It is most purposeful to determine tension in the axes of municipality – central authorities and harmony of political institutions – antipode of political institutions according to difference of the turnout among the elections of different institutions. The turnout's difference between the elections of the municipality and Parliament shows political tension in the axis of *municipality – central authorities*. A specification of tension in this antinomic axis is possible referring to a determination of a party support's

fluctuation between local and central elections (comparing a support of the list which won in municipality's local elections). It is purposeful to measure tension in the axis of *harmony of political institutions – antipode of political institutions* referring to the turnout's difference between elections of the President and the Parliament.

***Territorial differences of an assessment of local and central authorities.*** A periodicity of local municipality's elections changed soundly in Lithuania. The results of municipality elections (a turnout and support of the strongest local parties) can be compared to the significances of the Parliament's elections in the following electoral cycles: 1) 1996-1997, 2) 2000, 3) 2002-2004 ir 4) 2004-2007.

*A territorial characteristic of a turnout's difference between elections of the municipality and the Parliament.* A general national difference of the turnout between elections of the municipality and Parliament has always been negative in Lithuania. The turnout's difference between elections of the municipality and Parliament in 1996-2007 had a relatively stable territorial structure. The main electoral areals of Lithuania and the areals of big cities, which manifest with various electoral sections, distinguished for the most distinct extremities of the turnout's difference. The oneness of the biggest Lithuania cities according to the turnout's difference between elections of the municipality and Parliament emerged due to very poor cities' turnout during local elections. A distortion speed in the axis of municipality – central authority between separate electoral cycles also distinguishes for a distinct territorial differentiation. In addition to smaller areals' distortion speed, usual traditional-protest electoral areals (regions and cores) show up in the territorial structure. In spite of a general negative national difference of the turnout between municipality and Parliament's elections, a protestant electoral region of Southeastern Lithuania has distinguished for a bigger turnout in the local more than in the central authorities' elections during all the electoral cycles.

*An imbalance of parties' support between the municipality and Parliament's elections.* The biggest ratio of the most popular local parties' support between elections of the municipality and Parliament in 1996-1997 manifested in a protest electoral region of Northern Lithuania and in a northern periphery of a protest region of Southeastern Lithuania (in the districts of Švenčionys and Ignalina). Big and average tension manifested in these areals in 1996-1997, i.e. the party (coalition), which won the local election, received twice or several times more votes than in the Parliament elections. The electoral territorial structure of Lithuania according to the ratio of the most popular local parties' support between the municipality and Parliament's elections has soundly changed since 2000. The distinct changes since 2000 are: 1) a big territorial diversity of the parties winning local elections during single elections, 2) an increased general ratio of the most popular local parties' support between the municipality and Parliament's elections and 3) a territorial differentiation of this party support's ratio not only in usual electoral regions but in areals, which connect the intersection zones of traditional-protest electoral areals.

*A territorial differentiation of an interrelation of the authorities.* The interrelation of the Parliament and President's institutions can be partly revealed according to a comparison of the turnout in Lithuania. A constitutionally firmed division of governance influence should correspond to the bigger (or slightly less) turnout in the elections of the Parliament more than in elections of the President. A difference of the turnout between the Parliament and President's elections in the electoral cycles of 1996-

1997, 2000-2002 and 2004 should be compared in Lithuania. Usual traditional-protest electoral areals show up according to both a difference of the turnout in different institutions' elections during a single electoral cycle and to dynamics of the turnout's difference between separate cycles.

The extremities of a negative turnout's difference between the elections of the Parliament and President formed in all the three then protest areals in 1996-1997. Areas of an especially negative turnout comprised a bigger part of the electoral regions of Southeastern and Northern Lithuania together with an electoral core of Suvalkija. The whole western part of the country distinguished for the most negative turnout's difference between the Parliament and President's elections in 2004. An areal of average political tension predominant comprised a protest region of Samogitia, a protest core of Suvalkija and a traditional region of Southwestern Lithuania. A self-dependant electoral core of Vilnius distinguished for a markedly negative difference of the turnout, which expresses average political tension, in an eastern part of Lithuania. Two protest electoral areals – Southeastern Lithuania's region and a core of Kėdainiai – distinguished for a positive difference of the turnout between the Parliament and President's elections in 2004. Respectively, these two protest electoral areals distinguished soundly for a positive distortion speed in a general period of 1996/97-2004.

#### **A polarization of Lithuania's electors in an urban-rural section**

It is purposeful to divide wards of Lithuania into four categories according a degree of urbanity-rurality: 1) autonomous cities, 2) wards with municipalities' centers, 3) wards with other places which have city rights and 4) rural wards. Thus, the differences of separate political results in the urban-rural section can be assessed. The municipalities of big Lithuania's cities – Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šiauliai, Panevėžys and Alytus - can be attributed to autonomous cities. In addition to big cities, Birštonas, Neringa, Palanga and Visaginas' municipalities are also attributed the category of autonomous cities. All the wards of Lithuania with the municipalities' centers are attributed to the second category of urban-rural living places. The wards with other settlements which have city rights belong to the third category of living places. Such settlements with cities rights, which do not perform any functions nor of autonomous cities nor of municipalities' centers, are in most of Lithuania's municipalities. All the rest Lithuania's wards, where only villagers live, are attributed to the fourth category of living places.

Electoral preferences of Lithuania's electors can differ in several ways in a urban-rural section. As the schemes of the country's political forces' support and turnout show, three types of electoral results' imbalance between city and village distinguish. Corresponding relatively the highest significances are characteristic to these types of electoral results' imbalance: 1) in autonomous cities, 2) in villages and 3) in municipalities' centers. Due to this fact, corresponding political forces can be called relatively the forces of cities, villages and municipalities' centers according to the highest electoral significances. Big cities distinguish for the higher support of V. Adamkus during the President's elections and the *Tėvynės sąjunga* as well as the liberals during the Parliament's elections more than in the living places of other categories. The Christian democrats, the *Valstiečių* and *Darbo* parties during the Parliament's elections and the protest candidates-opponents to V. Adamkus during the 2nd round of the President's elections receive more support in rural settlements than in living places of the

other three categories. The traditional lefts and Coalition of R. Paksas of 2004 receive more support in the municipalities' centers than in the living places of other categories. In some cases the turnout during the elections of different institutions can also be bigger in one of the four categories of living places.

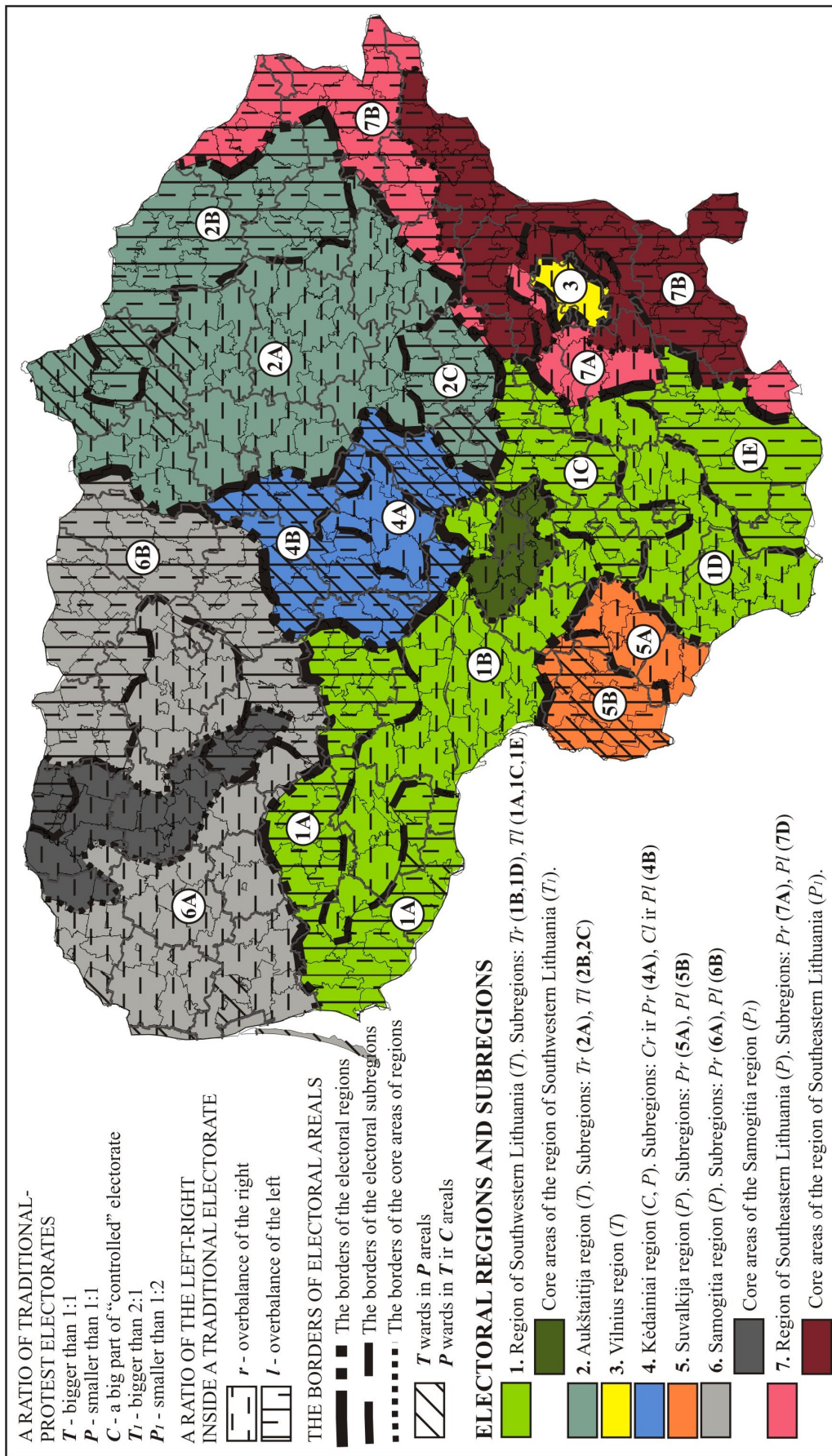
### **A political regionalization of Lithuania**

Usually a complex regionalization is used to generalize the research results of more specific Lithuania's geographic works. Respectively, Lithuania's political regionalization can be carried out according to the distinguished main characteristics of an electorate's structure. As an interpretation of various electoral data shows, the electors of Lithuania polarize the most clearly between a traditional-protest and left-right electorates. Respectively, a political regionalization of Lithuania has to combine one electoral cycle's elections of the President (a ratio of traditional-protest electorates) and the Parliament (a ratio of the left-right electors). It is most purposeful to do a political (electoral) regionalization in the course of the electoral cycle of 2004 in the period after Lithuania's independency reestablishment under consideration. This cycle involves the last significant national elections (the Parliament and the President's) of the period up to 2007 under consideration and distinguishes for the more steadied electorate's structure. Lithuania's political regionalization carried out in the course of the electoral cycle of 2004 (Fig. 9) requires a distinction of the electoral areals of 3 ranks.

The electoral areals of the first rank involve the electoral regions (the electoral regions distinguished previous to the systemic regionalization and autonomous electoral cores which cover a smaller area). The main electoral areals' borders of 2004 can be quite precisely determined attributing a more traditional or more protest electorate to the corresponding electoral regions. The areals which gave more than a half of valid votes for V. Adamkus during the second round of the President elections in 2004 can be called traditional; and those which gave less than a half – protest regions. Thus, most of the bordering main electoral regions have clearly determined borders in 2004. 7 main electoral regions are distinguished in Lithuania in 2004: 1) Southwestern-Southern Lithuania (having specified a dislocation of Southwestern Lithuania's region in a general scheme), 2) Aukštaitija, 3) Vilnius, 4) Kėdainiai, 5) Suvalkija, 6) Samogitia and 7) Southeastern Lithuania. The first three regions distinguish for a traditional electorate's overbalance over a protest electorate in 2004, and the protest electorate dominates in the rest four regions.

The distinguished electoral regions of the first rank split into electoral subregions of the second hierarchic rank. An internal division of electoral regions into subregions is determined according to the left or right's domination inside a traditional electorate. Five regions dominated by the lefts and rights are situated alternately in a traditional region of Southwestern-Southern Lithuania in 2004. A traditional region of Aukštaitija splits into only three internal electoral subregions (one right and two left). A traditional and right core of Vilnius is not divided into smaller subregions. More or less "controlled" electorate of a protest nature of Kėdainiai region splits into 2 electoral subregions according an interrelation of the left-right. A small protest electoral region of Suvalkija also consists of two electoral subregions. Two electoral subregions (left and right) manifested in protest regions of Samogitia and Southeastern Lithuania in 2004.

The electoral areals of the third rank are distinguished when a ratio of traditional-protest electorates is bigger than 2:1 or smaller than 1:2. In other words, the third rank's



**Fig. 9.** A scheme of Lithuania's political regionalization in 2004 (on the basis of the President and Parliament's elections)

electoral areals comprise areas where the traditional or protest electorate makes a qualified majority (over 2/3) of active electors. The electoral areals of the third rank, which distinguish for double and bigger overbalance of one electorate's part over another part, perform the functions of an internal core areas of separate electoral regions. The characteristics of electoral subregions inside regions can be find out referring to the core areas distinguishing for a qualified majority. A core area of a region can be located in an intersection of two subregions or in an inner part of a single subregion. A core area of Southeastern Lithuania's region comprises most probably the biggest areal of the third rank, where the protest electorate overbalances the traditional one more than twice. More than 2/3 of all electors' votes went to a protest candidate in the core areas of Samogitia region, too. The belt of Kaunas in a traditional region of Southwestern-Southern Lithuania forms one more electoral areal of the third rank. A traditional electorate in the belt of Kaunas overbalances a protest electorate by a bigger ratio than 2:1, therefore, this belt is considered as the only inner core areas of the traditional region of Southwestern-Southern Lithuania.

## CONCLUSIONS

1. On a base of Lithuania's example it can be stated that the electoral method helps to reveal essential political territorial differences in the groups of citizens' geopolitical attitudes, authorities' assessment and political ideology's phenomena. An employment of a sociological survey, statistical and other methods in the other stages of a political field's research can allow a rearrangement of the field's structure or a supplement of the distinguished groups of political phenomena with the groups of other political antinomies.

2. 6-7 main electoral areals, which constantly distinguish for both 1) the support and turnout and 2) the dynamics of the electors' support and activity, allows considering the country's electoral territorial structure stable since the reestablishment of Lithuania's independency. Due to the stability of the main electoral areals, Lithuania can be attributed to the areal which is under the influence of the world liberal democracy's core. Lithuania differs most from the countries of Western Europe in the main polarization of an electorate not on the left-right but on the traditional-protest electorates' base.

3. An overlap of some main electoral areals of the country with the cores of ethno-cultural regions confirms a possible interrelation of electoral and ethno-cultural significances. Therefore, it is purposeful to determine dependence of electoral significances on ethno-cultural and social-economical significances during the other stages of a political field's research, which would allow a formulation of a reasoned theory of Lithuania's sociopolitical development.

4. A territorial assessment of Lithuania's electoral structure allows a confirmation of the following statements about the country's political development in a course of one research for the first time: 1) the most distinct change of the electorate's structure in about 2000, 2) the main division of Lithuania's electorate on the ground of geopolitical orientation up to 2000, 3) a close interrelation of the main right parties' electorate and 4) a prevalence of protest parties due to the fact that the traditional lefts underrepresent socially the most vulnerable (protest) electorate.

5. The regularities of the electorate's territorial behavior in Lithuania confirm a topicality of the two theories of electoral geography – a neighborhood effect and a

spatial context. Therefore, more specified research of the territorial structure of Lithuania's electorate can complement the principal attitudes of topical geographical theories on a world scale.

6. Constant differences of political forces' support, which distinguish during elections of the President and the Parliament, allows a confirmation of a hypothetic fundamentality of the structure of Lithuania's electorate both at a regional level and in an urban-rural section. The oneness of the country's main electoral regions can be detailed in the differences of their inner structure according to the imbalance of separate political forces' support between rural electors and electors of municipalities' centers.

7. Cognition of the territorial differences of political tension can be used for a practical realization of regional politics. Big political tension constantly manifesting in the border zones requires a deeper integration of the borderlands into the country's core. An inequality of the 7 electoral regions' development supposes a reduction of political tension by different social-economical means in the country's main electoral areals.

8. After the distinction of regions and subregions, a political regionalization of Lithuania can be developed in two main trends in further stages of the research – by renewing the regionalization according to the newest elections' results and by distinguishing smaller electoral areals which comprise several wards. A comparison of Lithuania's political regions with cultural and social-economical regions would be useful for the deeper cognition of the society's territorial structure.

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### In peer-reviewed editions of international databases recognized by Science Council of Lithuania:

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

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<b>Education</b>	
1999	Secondary education, Salantai secondary school (Kretinga district)
2003	Bachelor of Geography studies, Vilnius University
2005	Master of General Geography and Land Management studies, Vilnius University
2005-2009	Doctoral studies of geographical trend, Vilnius University
<b>Scientific interests</b>	Political geography, cultural geography, territorial governance

## SANTRAUKA

### IVADAS

#### **Temos aktualumas**

Lietuvos sociopolitinės raidos vidinių teritorinių skirtumų ir lūžių nustatymas bei vertinimas yra pabrėžtinai svarbus: 1) Lietuvos politinės geografijos ir, bendriau – visuomeninės geografijos, – tiriamų reiškinių gilesniam supratimui, 2) aiškiam ir pilnesniam socialinių procesų Lietuvoje pažinimui bei 3) argumentuotam šalies socialiniam ir politiniam organizavimui.

Lietuvoje visuomeninė geografija aktyviau ir pozicijuota imta vystyti tik po 1990 m. Sovietiniu laikmečiu geografijos tyrimai aiškiai buvo itin nukreipti į gamtinės geografijos problematikos gvildenimą. Visuomeninės geografijos tarpe tarybiniu laikotarpiu pastebimiau tirti tik atskiri ekonominės geografijos ir demografijos (vadinamosios „gyventojų geografijos“) klausimai. Politinis-kultūrinis visuomeninės geografijos blokas rimčiau pradėtas vystyti tik po Lietuvos valstybingumo atkūrimo (ir dėl to, kad sovietmečiu politiniai-kultūriniai tyrimai nebuvo patogūs). Natūralu, kad politinių gyventojų įsitikinimų skirtumai atskiruose šalies arealuose dar yra detaliau nepažinti, todėl tokio pažinimo galimybė Lietuvos politinei geografijai yra itin naudinga. Iki šio disertacinio darbo aiškiai išreikšta politinės geografijos tematika Lietuvoje dar nėra parengta nė viena disertacija, o yra pasirodę tik pavieniai moksliniai straipsniai. Šiame darbe tiriami politinių Lietuvos gyventojų įsitikinimų teritoriniai skirtumai yra pravartūs gilesniam ir labiau visapusiškam šalies visuomenės teritorinės struktūros supratimui. Atitinkamai politinės teritorinės šalies struktūros pažinimas papildo visuomeninės geografijos šakų (miesto, kaimo, kultūros, ekonominės, socialinės geografijų) žinias bei galbūt iššaukia kitų visuomeninės geografijos tyrimų būtinumą ir perspektyvas.

Gyventojų politinių pažiūrų teritorinis pasiskirstymas aktualus ne tik visuomeninės geografijos pažinime, tačiau ir bendresniame socialinių mokslų kontekste. Įprastai visuotinai pripažįstama, kad teritorinis visuomenės pažinimo pjūvis (regioninis, miesto-kaimo ir pan.) bendram sociopolitiniam visuomenės pažinimui yra vienas iš kelių aktualiausių pjūvių. Kadangi Lietuvoje detalesnių viešų politinių pažiūrų tyrimų teritoriniu pjūviu iki šio darbo nėra skelbta, galima pagrįstai teigti, kad toks teritorinis žmonių politinių įsitikinimų žinojimas stipriai papildo ir išplečia bendrą šalies sociopolitinės raidos suvokimą. Teritorinės politinių pažiūrų struktūros vertinimas greta įprastų Lietuvoje socialinio-politinio visuomenės pažinimo pjūvių (pavyzdžiui, socialinės stratifikacijos) leidžia išvengti ir nepagrįsto bendrų sociopolitinių hipotezių formulavimo. Geresnis politinių tinklų ir pažiūrų teritorinės struktūros žinojimas leidžia ir praktikoje įgyvendinantiems politinius sprendimus (regioninės politikos ir pan. srityse) remtis aiškiai argumentuota informacija. Dėl detalesnio Lietuvos visuomenės struktūros žinojimo reali socialinė, ekonominė, urbanistinė politika gali būti aiškiau pagrįsta.

#### **Tyrimo objektas**

*Plačiąja prasme* šio tyrimo objektas yra sociopolitinė Lietuvos teritorinė struktūra. *Siurąja prasme* darbo tyrimo objektas yra Lietuvos rinkėjų teritorinis elgesys.

### **Darbo tikslas ir uždaviniai**

*Strateginis* šio darbo tikslas – suformuoti tvirtą mokslinį pagrindą Lietuvos gyventojų politinių įsitikinimų (elektorato) teritorinės struktūros pažinimui. Tokiu būdu įgyvendinus strateginį darbo tikslą aiškiai sustiprėja Lietuvos politinis geografinis iširtumas. *Konkretus darbo tikslas* – atskleisti Lietuvos sociopolitinės raidos teritorinius dėsningumus. Tokia konkreta darbo tikslo formuluotė galima pasirinktą tyrimo objektą suprantant plačiąją prasme – kaip sociopolitinę šalies teritorinę struktūrą. Darbo tyrimo objektą vertinant siauriau – kaip Lietuvos rinkėjų teritorinį elgesį – konkretų darbo tikslą galima susiaurinti iki Lietuvos elektorato raidos (o ne – bendresnės – sociopolitinės raidos) teritorinių dėsningumų atskleidimo.

Siekiant įgyvendinti iškeltą darbo tikslą, suformuluoti šie *darbo uždaviniai*:

- 1) sukurti koncepciją (metodiką), kuri leistų sociopolitinius reiškinius identifikuoti ir interpretuoti pagal politinių rinkimų rezultatus,
- 2) pritaikyti kitų valstybių elektorinės geografijos tyrimų aktualią metodologiją Lietuvos teritoriniam rinkiminių duomenų klasifikavimui ir kartografavimui,
- 3) kartografuoti Lietuvos sociopolitinę teritorinę struktūrą pagal elektorinius duomenis, išreiškiančius įvairius klasifikacinius matavimo rodiklius,
- 4) nustatyti tiriamų politinių procesų valstybėje svarbiausius regioninius ir miesto-kaimo skirtumus,
- 5) remiantis Lietuvos teritorinės raiškos dėsniais, suformuluoti teorinius elektorato teritorinių savybių pagrindus bei patikslinti politinių procesų hierarchinės struktūros supratimą,
- 6) elektorato struktūros pagrindu atlikti Lietuvos politinį rajonavimą.

### **Darbo naujumas ir reikšmė**

Mokslinis novatoriškumas darbe labiausiai pastebimas per šias tyrimo metodikos, metodologijos ir rezultatų savybes:

- sukurta politinio lauko koncepcija, leidžianti klasifikuojamus sociopolitinius procesus metodiškai vertinti elektorinio metodo (politinių rinkimų rezultatų) pagrindu;
- šiam politiniam geografiniam tyrimui sukurta duomenų bazė, kuri Lietuvos teritoriją leidžia klasifikuoti žemiausiu Eurostato lygmeniu – NUTS-5 – teritoriniu (t.y. seniūnijų) lygmeniu. Šis tyrimas yra pirmas šalyje politinės geografijos tematikos darbas, kuriame teritorinė diferenciacija pateikiama tokiu detaliu teritorinių vienetų lygmeniu. Atitinkamai šis pristatomas darbas yra ir vienas iš pirmųjų visos Lietuvos visuomeninės geografijos darbų, pasižymintis tokiu dideliu vertinamos informacijos teritoriniu detalumu;
- pirmą kartą Lietuvoje kartografuoti visų pagrindinių – Prezidento, Seimo ir Savivaldos rinkimų – rezultatai. Iki šio darbo stambiu teritoriniu lygmeniu buvo kartografuojami tik pavieniai elektoriniai duomenys;
- darbe daug dėmesio skirta kartografiniam skirtingų politinių institucijų rinkimų rezultatų palyginimui bei dinaminiam elektorinių duomenų vaizdavimui. Šis darbas yra pirmasis Lietuvoje, kuriame pateikiami elektorinių rezultatų skirtingų institucijų rinkimuose skirtumai ar santykiai. Taip pat iki šio tyrimo šalyje nėra kartografiškai vaizduota loginių ryšių turinčių rinkiminių rezultatų dinamika tam tikru laikotarpiu;

- turimos detalios rinkiminių rezultatų bazės galimybės leidžia pirmą kartą Lietuvoje pateikti aiškius ir tiksliai apskaičiuotus politinių jėgų palaikymo skirtumus miesto-kaimo pjūvyje;
- parengtas pirmasis Lietuvos politinis rajonavimas. Pagal elektorato struktūrą teritoriškai hierarchiškai diferencijuota Lietuvos teritorija remiasi daugeliu atvejų pirmąkart išskirtais skirtingo pobūdžio elektoriniais nacionaliniais arealais.

### **Ginami teiginiai**

Ginamo darbo esmę, rezultatų interpretavimo kryptis labiausiai atskleidžia šie *ginami teiginiai*:

1) politinis laukas yra hierarchizuota sistema, kurios atskiros procesų grupės pagal elektorinius duomenis atsiskleidžia nevienodu pilnumu. Grupė politinių reiškinių geriausiai identifikuojama remiantis būtent elektoriniu metodu, o kitiems politiniams procesams atskleisti elektoriniai duomenys yra tik pagalbinės, antraeilės, reikšmės;

2) Lietuvos elektorinė teritorinė struktūra per laikotarpį nuo valstybingumo atkūrimo pasižymi stabilia regionine raiška. Keli stambūs teritoriniai dariniai supančios aplinkos fone nuolat išsiskiria ypatingomis rinkiminėmis nuostatomis bei savita elektorato elgesio ir struktūros dinamika;

3) stambiems Lietuvos elektoriniams regionams dažniausiai yra būdinga teritorinė branduolio-periferijos struktūra. Lietuvos patirtis rodo, kad periferija susiformuoja kaip ideologiškai tarpinis arealas tarp branduolio ir kaimyninio elektorinio regiono. Būtent per elektorinių darinių periferijų santykinę nepastovumą kinta rinkiminių regionų ribos ir jų vidinė struktūra;

4) Lietuvai būdingas nuolatinis atskirų regionų netolygumas pagal politinės ideologijos vyravimą bei nuolatinis politinių jėgų paramos netolygumas atskiruose miesto-kaimo vienetų tipuose. Stambius šalies rinkiminius arealus ideologiškai galima išskirti kaip nuolat ypatingus remiantis tradicinės-protestinės ir kairės-dešinės ideologinių ašių raiška. Politines jėgas pagal palaikymą urbanistinio vietovių klasifikavimo kontekste galima įvardinti kaip santykinai didmiesčių, savivaldybių centrų ar kaimiškas jėgas;

5) pagal teritorinę atskirų politinių procesų raiškos struktūrą ir jos intensyvumą Lietuvos elektorato raidą galima skirstyti į du pagrindinius laikotarpius – iki ir po 2000-ųjų. Nors savo politine prasme du pagrindiniai laikotarpiai stipriai skiriasi, tačiau tam tikri stabilūs teritoriniai elektorato struktūros dėsniai leidžia Lietuvą pagrįstai interpretuoti pagal dalį ilgalaikėms vakarietiškomis visuomenėms taikomų teorijų;

6) Lietuvos politinis rajonavimas atspindi elektorato struktūros skirtumus pagal tris pagrindinius teritorinės hierarchijos lygmenis, kurių išskyrimui panaudoti aktualiausi nacionalinių rinkimų rezultatai. Skirtingo teritorinio rango vienetai tinkamiausiai diferencijuojami ne dažnai praktikuojamu skirtingų reiškinių pagrindu, o daugiausiai tų pačių procesų ir rezultatų įvairesniu suskaidymo laiptu.

### **Rezultatų aprobacija**

Darbo tema paskelbti ir publikuoti 7 moksliniai straipsniai. Detalus su darbo tema susijusių publikacijų sąrašas pateikiamas po darbo išvadų (anglų kalba).

## **Darbo apimtis ir struktūra**

Pagal Lietuvos mokslo tarybos 2003 m. nutarimą Nr. VI-4, šis darbas sudarytas iš šių rekomenduojamų pagrindinių dalių: įvado, tyrimų apžvalgos, darbo metodologijos, tyrimų rezultatų, išvadų ir naudotos literatūros sąrašo. Darbe yra 128 originalūs paveikslai (kartoschemos ir struktūrinės schemos), 1 lentelė ir 7 diagramos, 317 cituotos literatūros šaltinių. Visą darbą sudaro 294 puslapiai pagrindinio teksto (su kartoschemomis).

## **IŠVADOS**

1. Lietuvos pavyzdžiu galima teigti, kad elektorinis metodas padeda atskleisti esminius politinius teritorinius skirtumus geopolitinių gyventojų nuostatų, valdžios vertinimo ir politinės ideologijos reiškinių grupėse. Statistinio, sociologinės apklausos ir kt. metodų panaudojimas kituose politinio lauko tyrimo etapuose gali leisti perklasifikuoti lauko struktūrą ar papildyti išskirtas politinių reiškinių grupes kitų politinių antinomijų grupėmis.

2. Lietuvoje po Nepriklausomybės atkūrimo tiek pagal rinkėjų aktyvumą, tiek pagal rinkėjų paramos ir aktyvumo dinamiką nuolat išsiskiriantys 6-7 pagrindiniai elektoriniai arealai leidžia šalies elektorinę teritorinę struktūrą laikyti stabilia. Dėl pagrindinių elektorinių arealų stabilumo Lietuvą galima priskirti pasaulio liberaliosios demokratijos branduolio įtakoje esančiam arealui. Labiausiai nuo Vakarų Europos valstybių Lietuvą skiria elektorato pagrindinė poliarizacija ne kairės-dešinės, bet tradicinio-protesto elektoratų pagrindu.

3. Dalies pagrindinių šalies elektorinių arealų persidengimas su etnokultūrinių regionų branduoliais patvirtina galimą elektorinių ir etnokultūrinių reikšmių tarpusavio ryšį. Dėl to kituose politinio lauko tyrimo etapuose tikslingas elektorinių reikšmių priklausomybės nuo etnokultūrinių ir socialinių-ekonominių reikšmių nustatymas, kuris leistų suformuluoti argumentuotą Lietuvos sociopolitinės raidos teoriją.

4. Lietuvos elektorato struktūros teritorinis vertinimas leidžia pirmą kartą vieno tyrimo metu patvirtinti šiuos teiginius apie šalies politinę raidą: 1) ryškiausią elektorato struktūros pokytį maždaug 2000 metais, 2) Lietuvos elektorato pagrindinį pasidalinimą geopolitinės orientacijos pagrindu iki 2000 m., 3) glaudų pagrindinių dešiniųjų partijų elektorato tarpusavio ryšį bei 4) protesto partijų įsigalėjimą dėl to, jog tradiciniai kairieji nepakankamai atstovauja socialiai pažeidžiamiausiam (protesto) elektoratui.

5. Elektorato teritorinio elgesio dėsningumai Lietuvoje patvirtina dviejų elektorinės geografijos teorijų – kaimynystės efekto ir teritorinio konteksto – aktualumą. Dėl to detalesni Lietuvos elektorato teritorinės struktūros tyrimai gali papildyti pasauliniu mastu aktualių geografinių teorijų principines nuostatas.

6. Per Prezidento ir Seimo rinkimus išsiskiriantys nuolatiniai politinių jėgų palaikymo skirtumai tiek regioniniu lygmeniu, tiek miesto-kaimo pjūvyje leidžia patvirtinti hipotetinį Lietuvos elektorato struktūros fundamentalumą. Savo ruožtu pagrindinių šalies elektorinių regionų išskirtinumas gali būti detalizuojamas savo vidinės struktūros skirtumais pagal atskirų politinių jėgų palaikymo netolygumą tarp savivaldybių centrų ir kaimo rinkėjų.

7. Politinės įtampos teritorinių skirtumų žinojimas gali būti panaudojamas praktiniam regioninės politikos įgyvendinimui. Nuolat pasireiškianti didelė politinė įtampa pasienio zonose reikalauja gilesnio pasienio ruožų integravimo į šalies branduolį.

7 elektorinių rajonų raidos nevienodumas suponuoja politinės įtampos mažinimą skirtingomis socialinėmis-ekonominėmis priemonėmis pagrindiniuose šalies elektoriniuose arealuose.

8. Po rajonų ir porajonių išskyrimo Lietuvos politinį rajonavimą tolimesniuose tyrimo etapuose galima plėtoti dviem pagrindinėmis kryptimis – atnaujinant rajonavimą pagal naujausius rinkimų rezultatus bei išskiriant smulkesnius, kelias seniūnijas apimančius, elektorinius arealus. Visuomenės teritorinės struktūros gilesniam supratimui naudingas būtų Lietuvos politinių rajonų gretinimas su kultūriniais ir socialiniais-ekonominiais rajonais.

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