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Politics in the Balkan countryside: case study in Serbia

Abstract

Thanks to the field observations conducted on the territory of central Serbia, it was noticed that people in rural environment, beside the optional conversations about weather conditions, most often talk about the politics. The aim of this work was to find out how many people who live in the countryside have the contact with the politics. Hypothesis were made within the communication with several examinees, but they were verified by the poll in which more than 100 persons took part. Data were analyzed by descriptive statistics, using T-test, one-factor analysis of ANOVA variance, and also they were checked by Post-hoc Tukey test. The work task was to find out if gender, age, as well as, professional and regional differences exist in relation to the countryside inhabitants considerations about certain political issues they have been talking about. The importance of this work is to discover whether the distance from urban environments and, life in nature can make a man less interested in and indifferent to the politics.

Keywords: Balkan countryside, politics, Serbia

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Introduction

Old Greek philosopher, Aristotle, gave a definition of the essence of man, calling him a „zōon politikon” or a man as a social, political being. The territory of the Balkan Peninsula, shared; among others, between Serbia and Greece, had glorious and turbulent history. Numerous wars and other historical events forced the inhabitants, usually in rural territory, to be informed even in the time when the information was not exchanged at the light speed. Nowadays, in the time of modern technologies, which ensure undisturbed circulation of information in different ways, the inhabitant of rural environment theoretically may be well informed about everything, even about the politics, so he can have a formed opinion. The aim of this work was to find out how much is the man from here, a dweller of the rural settlements in Serbia, „zōon politikon“. It was understood as his knowledge about politics in general, having the opinion, attitude, and perception power about life changes in the countryside under influence of political changes, as well as, the general importance of the politics in his life.

Methods

The facts shown in this work are the result of consultation with literature and own investigation. The opinion about politics in the countryside was shown on the basis of the poll results. The examinees represented the random sample of inhabitants who live in the countryside. Some authors believe that the estimations from applied statistic methods will be good only if the sample contains minimum 51 units (Bagozzi 1981). Taking the above statement into consideration, it may be concluded that the sample used in this investigation (n=105) was representative. The poll of ten questions was correctly filled in by 105 examinees or 80.8% of the interviewed, mostly males (51.4%). More than a half (50.5%) lived on the hilly terrain or in the mountain. Three quarters of the examinees (76%) were not engaged in the politics. (Table 1) Almost the quarter of examinees (24.8%) represented the age group from 30 to 39 years, and almost one third were employed (32.4%). Hypothesis were measured on a five-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The interviewing was conducted during August 2013. Data were analyzed by descriptive statistics and using T-test, one-factor analysis of ANOVA

variance and Post-hoc Tukey HSD test. T-test was made with independent samples and compared by arithmetic mean of two groups. As it was not possible to assume the result of comparison, 2 tailed test was used. The results of T-test discovered significant statistic differences between average mean of the examinees gender, political engagement and the origin of the examinees according to the altitude they have settled at, at the importance level $p < 0.01$ ($t \geq 2.57$) (Pearson and Hartley 1966).

Table 1. Sample of respondents

Number of responses	105
Gender	
Male	51.4
Female	48.6
Membership of the political option	
Correct	23.8
Incorrect	76.2
Place of living	
River valley, plain, flat terrain	49.5
Mountain, hilly terrain	50.5
Age	
20–29	11.4
30–39	24.8
40–49	21.9
50–59	19.0
60+	22.9
Activity	
Farmer	31.4
Farmer with employed	11.4
Employed	32.4
Pensioner	9.5
Unemployed	9.5
Other	5.7

Source: Survey research.

In order to establish the existence of statistically important relations between dependant variables (attitudes about politics) and independent variables (socially-demographic characteristics of the examinees, which; in that case, were age and activity) one-factor analysis of ANOVA variance was applied. In both cases, significant statistical differences in evaluation of hypothesis on the important level $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$ were investigated. Hypotheses, where there were differences found, were tested by the post-hoc Tukey HSD test. In that way, the age groups and activities of the examinees that influenced existing difference in one-factor analysis were established.

Study area

Municipalities of Serbia; where the poll was conducted, were chosen according to the criteria that included settlements at higher and lower altitudes. Therefore, the examinees live in the municipalities of Raška (settlements: Rvati, Beoci, Brvenik, Biljanovac, Korlaće, Jošanička Banja, Semeteš, Gradac, Draganiće, Varevo i Gnjilica), Kraljevo (settlements: Konarevo, Progorelica, Samaila, Adrani, Mlanča, Studenica i Ušće na Ibru), Vrnjačka Banja (settlements: Vrnjci, Ruđinci, Vukušica, Otroci, Dragosinjci, Stanišinci), Vranjska Banja (settlement: Korbevac), Kruševac (settlement: Kupci), Novi Pazar (settlement: Deževa), Brus (settlement: Blaževo) (Figure I).

Results and Discussions

The values of arithmetic mean, and average evaluation of hypothesis were in range from 2.61 (the lowest value) to 4.51 (the highest value). The hypothesis 'The politicians are present the most in a countryside during the election campaign' had the highest average grade. According to the value of standard deviation ($\sigma = 0.76$) of this hypothesis, it may be concluded that it is the only hypothesis on which the examinees agreed ($\sigma < 1.00$) (Figure II). The other hypotheses on which the examinees mostly agreed, where the values of standard deviations were slightly above the limited value 1, were: 'The best policy is the one that 'leaves the most in the peasants pocket' ($\sigma = 1.02$) and 'If I were the politician, I would exactly know what should be changed' ($\sigma = 1.06$). With a half of ten put hypothesis the examinees

Figure 1. Geographic position of municipalities where the settlements in which the examinees live are located



Source: own research.

generally agreed (average value was from 3.56 to 4.51) while the second half were indecisive (average value was from 2.61 to 3.36). Hereinafter, there is the survey of reactions of particular groups of the examinees concerning certain hypothesis provided.

Hypothesis 1: "I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia"

Some people are more politically interested than others, but political scientists do not know how stable these differences are and why they occur (Prior 2010). The average value of this hypothesis (3.36) shows that some examinees regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia while others do not do that ($\sigma=1.38$). T-test showed significant differences between arithmetic means of male and female examinees. Actually, men agreed that they regularly follow 'political life in Serbia', while women were indecisive about this question. Statistically, there were significant differences between arithmetic means of the examinees who are politically engaged and those who are not. Politically engaged ones naturally agreed ($M=4.44$ and $\sigma=1.00$) that they regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia. Those who are not politically engaged were not able to say with certainty that they follow it regularly. On the basis of the value of their standard deviation ($\sigma=1.31$), the investigation was continued by applying one-factor analysis of ANOVA variance. At the importance level $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$, differences between acceptance of this hypothesis by the examinees of different age groups were not found. Hajdar and Schlapbach (2009) also found out that there were no differences in the age cohorts concerning the level of interests in the politics. However, the differences were established between the examinees of different activities. Post hoc Tukey test was helpful for identifying isolated examinees groups. According to this test, the biggest differences in opinion were between employed people and pensioners, employed people and those within the category of 'others'. It is obvious that employed people are more interested in the politics in relation to the mentioned categories of inhabitants (Table 8).

Hypothesis 2: 'I know who the Minister of Agriculture is'

At the time of polling, the Government of the Republic of Serbia was under the process of reconstruction. This question was asked as a kind of control question in relation to the first one. Only those who really follow 'the political life' in Serbia could confirm to know who the minister of agriculture is. According to the average value (3.70) the examinees in rural settlements of Serbia agreed to know who the minister of agriculture was.

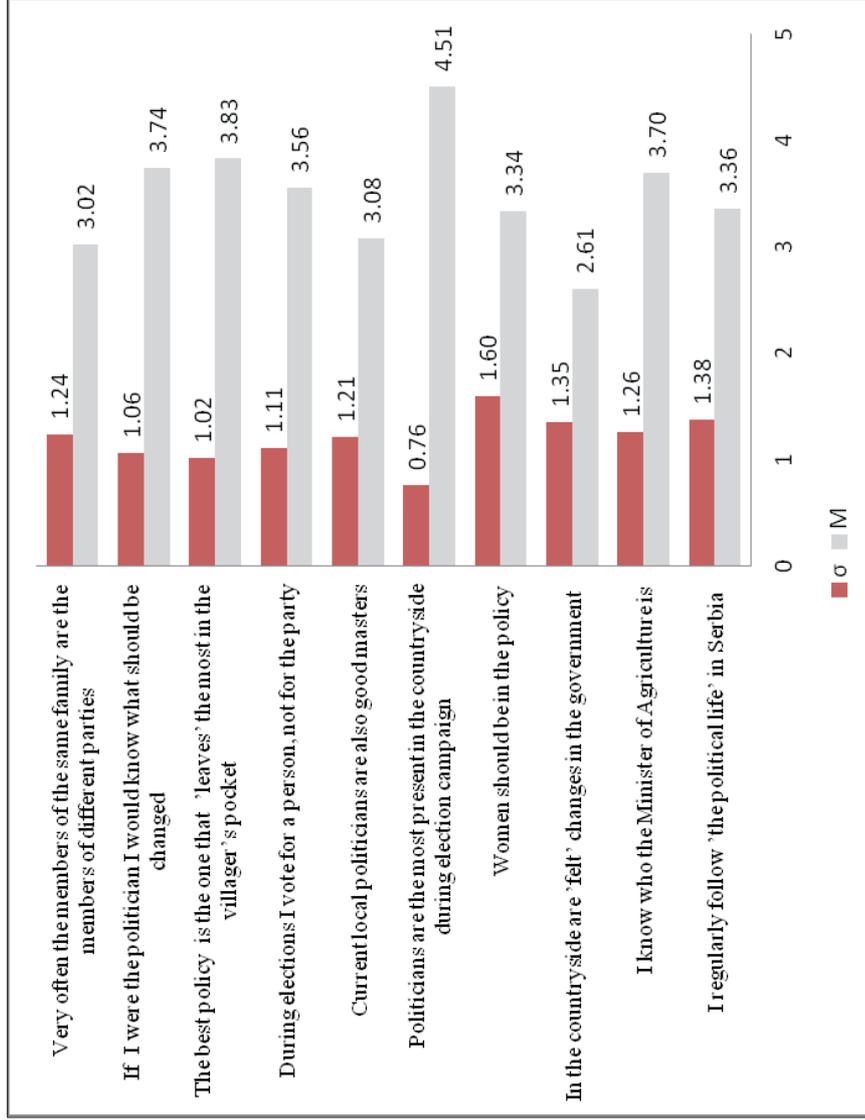


Figure 2. Descriptive statistics for individual hypothesis (M – average value, σ – standard deviation)

Source: Survey research.

T-test showed the difference between gender, where the men were sure about their answer (Table 2). Naturally, politically engaged examinees were informed about it – who the minister of agriculture was – and they all agreed on that question ($\sigma=1.07$) (Table 3). Still, t-test showed that differences exist between the examinees who live on the hilly terrain and mountainous settlements, and those in the settlements in river valleys. Namely, the examinees who live at higher altitudes were more sure about the question who the minister of agriculture was ($M=4.10$) (Table 4). One-factor analysis of ANOVA variance, at the importance level $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$ find differences neither between the examinees of different age groups, nor among examinees of different activities.

Table 2. Differences concerning the inhabitants of rural settlements on the basis of gender (M-average value, σ - standard deviation, t-value, p-importance level ($p < 0.01$))

Hypothesis	Gender	M	Σ	t (105)	P																																																												
I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	Male	3.833	1.299	3.870	0.000																																																												
	Female	2.863	1.296			I know who the Minister of Agriculture is	Male	4.148	1.219	3.623	0.000	Female	3.216	1.137	In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government	Male	2.907	1.496	2.060	0.042	Female	2.294	1.101	Women should be in the politics	Male	3.056	1.642	1.412	0.161	Female	3.647	1.508	Politicians are the most present in the countryside during election campaign	Male	4.500	0.927	0.352	0.726	Female	4.529	0.542	Current local politicians are also good masters	Male	3.093	1.404	0.169	0.866	Female	3.059	0.968	During elections, I vote for a person, not for the party	Male	3.278	1.106	2.643	0.009	Female	3.863	1.040	The best policy is the one that 'leaves' the most in the villager's pocket	Male	3.833	1.112	0.206	0.837
I know who the Minister of Agriculture is	Male	4.148	1.219	3.623	0.000																																																												
	Female	3.216	1.137			In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government	Male	2.907	1.496	2.060	0.042	Female	2.294	1.101	Women should be in the politics	Male	3.056	1.642	1.412	0.161	Female	3.647	1.508	Politicians are the most present in the countryside during election campaign	Male	4.500	0.927	0.352	0.726	Female	4.529	0.542	Current local politicians are also good masters	Male	3.093	1.404	0.169	0.866	Female	3.059	0.968	During elections, I vote for a person, not for the party	Male	3.278	1.106	2.643	0.009	Female	3.863	1.040	The best policy is the one that 'leaves' the most in the villager's pocket	Male	3.833	1.112	0.206	0.837	Female	3.824	0.932						
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Table 2. Differences concerning the inhabitants

Hypothesis	Gender	M	Σ	t (105)	P
If I were the politician I would know what should be changed	Male	4.111	0.839	3.966	0.000
	Female	3.353	1.128		
Very often, the members of the same family are the members of different parties	Male	3.130	1.401	0.920	0.360
	Female	2.902	1.044		

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 3: 'In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government'

Various types of the political changes in the government have also reflected the changes of agriculture in Europe; therefore, in rural area, it also happened at the end of the 20th century (Potter 1986; Robinson 1990; Champion & Watkins 1991) and at the beginning of the 21st century. For that reason, the answer to this question given by the examinees was expected to be 'fully agreed'. However, the examinees were not able to estimate (2.61) if the changes in the government were 'felt' in the countryside, although this value gives the impression that they do not agree with it. T-test, carried out according to the gender criteria, showed that disagreement concerned women to the greatest extent. It showed significant statistic differences between the examinees, who were dealing with the politics and agreed, saying that, changes in the government were 'felt' in the countryside, in relation to those, who were not politically engaged and did not agree – they did not 'feel' changes in the government (Table 3). Such a difference was expected. If politically engaged ones did not agree with this hypothesis, it would mean that their political activity had no effect at all. T-test showed the significant statistic differences between the answers of those, who live in the valley and do not agree that changes in the government are not 'felt' in the countryside, and those, who are indecisive about the same question (Table 4). On the basis of the obtained results, we must admit that such a question could be understood in two different ways. Some of the examinees identified the changes in government with the changes of the system at the beginning of the last decade of the last century, and; according to them, they naturally 'feel' the changes in the government. While the other examinees thought about changes in the government which happened in the time when democratic society was established.

Table 3. Differences concerning the inhabitants of rural settlements according to the political engagement (M – average value, σ – standard deviation, T-value, p-importance level ($p < 0.01$)).

Hypothesis	Political engagement	M	Σ	t (105)	P
I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	Correct	4.440	1.003	4.322	0.000
	Incorrect	3.025	1.312		
I know who the Minister of Agriculture is	Correct	4.360	1.075	2.566	0.012
	Incorrect	3.488	1.253		
In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government	Correct	3.680	1.435	2.696	0.008
	Incorrect	2.275	1.136		
Women should be in the politics	Correct	4.080	1.352	0.521	0.603
	Incorrect	3.112	1.607		
Politicians are the most present in the countryside during election campaign	Correct	4.160	1.179	1.410	0.161
	Incorrect	4.625	0.537		
Current local politicians are also good masters	Correct	3.720	1.429	2.573	0.012
	Incorrect	2.875	1.060		
During elections I vote for a person, not for the party	Correct	2.880	1.166	2.598	0.011
	Incorrect	3.775	1.006		
The best policy is the one that 'leaves' the most in the villager's pocket	Correct	4.040	0.935	2.050	0.043
	Incorrect	3.763	1.046		
If I were the politician I would know what should be changed	Correct	4.160	0.898	1.834	0.070
	Incorrect	3.613	1.073		
Very often the members of the same family are the members of different parties	Correct	2.960	1.399	1.202	0.232
	Incorrect	3.038	1.195		

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 4: Women should deal with the politics

The biggest mutual disagreement was shown among the examinees concerning this hypothesis ($\sigma=1.60$). As it was expected, politically engaged examinees and female respondents agreed with it. One-factor analysis of ANOVA variance, at importance level $p<0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$ found the differences between the examinees of different age groups (Table 5). Post hoc Tukey test showed that the examinees of the oldest age groups do not agree with this hypothesis (Table 7). The examinees, who did not agree with this hypothesis, shared patriarchal opinion that a woman should stay at home and look after the kids, and should not be in 'the political scene'. The societies of post-socialist countries of Europe originally were agrarian and then the socialists. Under pressure of tradition or socialist ideology, the women resources were engaged to the maximum extent (Blagojević 2007). During the eighties of the 20th century, as a part of the socialist inheritance, about 27.0% of women were elected into the parliaments which was much more than 12.5% of women in the national parliament of the European Economic Community (today the part of European Union). After the changes in 1989, share of women in the whole region; that is, almost the whole Balkan Peninsula, drastically declined and they became invisible in the managing and deciding sphere. In former Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, between 1979 and 1989, 17.0% of women participated in the work of parliament, but during the elections in 1990, the participation of women was reduced to 13.0% in Slovenia, 4.5% in Croatia, 3.3% in Montenegro, 2.9% in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Serbia it was only 1.6% (Čičkarić 2009). During the nineties, because of stronger national policy, war, sanctions, isolation and economic collapse of the country, number of women in the politics was drastically reduced. After elections in 1992, in the Parliament of Serbia, only 4.0% of women were elected (UGS Nezavisnost 2001). The same phenomenon was noticed in the former Soviet Republics, East European countries, Caucasus region and Central Asia. This period is described in the feminist literature as 'masculinized democracy' (Einhorn 1993; Kligman 1996; Čičkarić 2009). Nowadays, women make one fifth (21.2%) of board members in municipalities and cities (Republic of Serbia 2011) and one third (33.2%) of the Parliament of the Republic of Serbia which puts Serbia in the 24th place in the world. At the tail of the table, there are the countries of Africa and Asia, populous

India (10.0%) (Beaman et al. 2010) and also Ukraine (9.4%) and Hungary (8.8%). In small Andorra (within its area and number of inhabitants) there is a half of women (50.0%) engaged. Countries, which could be praised for the presence of women in the national parliaments, are; for example, Finland (42.5%) and other North European countries, but also the countries which are not the most developed (<http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm>). Therefore, the examinees who live in the countryside of Serbia are not sure if women should be involved in the politics ($M= 3.34$).

Table 4. Differences concerning the inhabitants of rural settlements of Balkan Peninsula, based on the places of residence (M – average value, σ – standard deviation. T-value, p-importance level ($p < 0.01$)).

Hypothesis	Places of residence	M	Σ	t (105)	P
I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	Valley	3.264	1.332	0.850	0.397
	Hill	3.462	1.434		
I know who the Minister of Agriculture is	Valley	3.302	1.218	3.220	0.002
	Hill	4.096	1.192		
In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government	Valley	2.264	1.227	2.597	0.011
	Hill	2.962	1.386		
Women should be in the politics	Valley	3.113	1.589	1.202	0.232
	Hill	3.577	1.589		
Politicians are the most present in the countryside during election campaign	Valley	4.472	0.749	0.480	0.632
	Hill	4.558	0.777		
Current local politicians are also good masters	Valley	2.830	1.252	2.323	0.022
	Hill	3.327	1.115		
During elections I vote for a person, not for the party	Valley	3.585	1.167	0.150	0.881
	Hill	3.538	1.056		
The best policy is the one that 'leaves' the most in the villager's pocket	Valley	4.019	0.909	1.972	0.051
	Hill	3.635	1.103		

Table 4. Differences concerning the inhabitants

Hypothesis	Places of residence	M	Σ	t (105)	P
If I were the politician I would know what should be changed	Valley	3.679	1.015	0.508	0.613
	Hill	3.808	1.103		
Very often the members of the same family are the members of different parties	Valley	2.962	1.240	0.491	0.624
	Hill	3.077	1.250		

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 5: Politicians are the most present in the countryside during the election campaign

This hypothesis distinguished itself as the only one about which everybody 'fully agreed' taking the average value, as well as, the value of standard deviation ($\sigma=0.76$) into consideration. Less disapproval was shown during informal communication with the examinees who were politically engaged. All tests, conducted additionally, did not find any significant statistic differences among certain categories of the examinees. In the time of polling campaign, they mostly rely on public rallies, direct mailing, TV appearance (but no ads), phone banks and door-to-door canvassing (Kendall et al. 2013). More examinees based their comments on the idea that it would be useful if the governing parties would visit the rural settlements when it was not time for campaign, in order to improve the quality of life in the countryside. As one of the examinees said: 'During the campaign they can only give promises that something will be done. If during their mandate they had been reminded about our problems, they would have been able to help us.'

Table 5. One-factor analysis of differences between the inhabitants of rural settlements of Balkan based on the age of examinees (M-average value, σ -standard deviation, for F (4,100), critic values according to Snedecor & Cochran table (1980), $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$; $p < 0.05$; $F \geq 2.44$).

Hypothesis	Age	M	σ	F	p
I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	20-29	3.250	1.485	2.640	0.0382
	30-39	2.885	1.479		
	40-49	3.043	1.224		
	50-59	3.950	1.050		
	60+	3.750	1.422		
I know who the Minister of Agriculture is	20-29	3.583	1.311	1.455	0.2218
	30-39	3.538	1.392		
	40-49	3.391	1.305		
	50-59	4.250	1.020		
	60+	3.750	1.189		
In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government	20-29	2.667	1.231	1.430	0.2295
	30-39	2.385	1.235		
	40-49	2.261	1.054		
	50-59	3.150	1.309		
	60+	2.708	1.706		
Women should be in the politics	20-29	3.000	1.477	6.033	0.0002
	30-39	4.000	1.233		
	40-49	2.739	1.602		
	50-59	2.450	1.669		
	60+	4.125	1.361		
Politicians are the most present in the countryside during election campaign	20-29	4.500	0.905	0.3408	0.8498
	30-39	4.423	0.945		
	40-49	4.478	0.511		
	50-59	4.500	0.946		
	60+	4.667	0.482		

Table 5. One-factor analysis of differences between the inhabitants

Hypothesis	Age	M	σ	F	p
Current local politicians are also good masters	20–29	2.917	1.621	2.2302	0.0711
	30–39	2.731	1.079		
	40–49	2.913	1.041		
	50–59	3.100	1.071		
	60+	3.667	1.239		
During elections I vote for a person, not for the party	20–29	3.417	0.996	3.9016	0.0055
	30–39	3.615	1.267		
	40–49	4.261	0.810		
	50–59	3.250	1.070		
	60+	3.167	1.007		
The best policy is the one that 'leaves' the most in the villager's pocket	20–29	4.083	0.793	1.0155	0.4031
	30–39	3.654	1.198		
	40–49	3.609	1.196		
	50–59	3.850	0.875		
	60+	4.083	0.830		
If I were the politician I would know what should be changed	20–29	3.917	0.515	0.3379	0.8518
	30–39	3.731	1.116		
	40–49	3.565	1.080		
	50–59	3.700	0.923		
	60+	3.875	1.296		
Very often, the members of the same family are the members of different parties	20–29	3.667	1.073	2.2325	0.0708
	30–39	3.385	1.267		
	40–49	2.696	0.926		
	50–59	2.800	1.322		
	60+	2.792	1.351		

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 6: Current local politicians are also good masters

The examinees did not know whether the current politicians are also good masters ($M=3.08$) and; simultaneously, they do not agree with

this question ($\sigma=1.21$). T-test, made according to the criteria of political engagement, showed significant statistic differences between the examinees who are dealing with the politics and agree with hypothesis that 'the current politicians are good masters', and those who are neither politically engaged, nor sure to know if the current local politicians are also good masters (Table 5). In relation to the others, the agriculturalists agreed with this hypothesis ($M=3.63$, $\sigma=1.03$) (Table 6). It is obvious that politically engaged people from 'their orders' are really good masters. Politically engaged ones claimed that they prefer to give functions to the capable 'good master' because, as he has got the reputation based on well 'running' of his own estate, he would behave conscientiously toward entrusted functions. Those who are not politically engaged will prove their attitude by the fact that 'the politicians are good masters also, the results of their work would be visible and people would be more satisfied'. It is interesting that links between reputations of organizations and their leaders have been claimed but never demonstrated empirically (Davies & Main 2010).

Table 6. One-factor analysis of differences between the inhabitants of rural settlements of Balkan based on their activity (M-average value, σ -standard deviation, for F (5,100), critic values according to Snedecor & Cochran table (1980), $p<0.01$; $F\geq 3.47$; $p<0.05$; $F\geq 2.44$)

Hypothesis	Activity	M	σ	F	p
I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	Employed	3.441	1.440	4.4529	0.0011
	Farmer, but employed	2.667	1.435		
	Farmer	4.000	2.667		
	Retired	2.600	1.265		
	Unemployed	3.400	0.966		
	Other	2.000	1.549		
I know who the Minister of Agriculture is	Employed	3.735	1.463	0.4983	0.7768
	Farmer, but employed	3.500	1.087		
	Farmer	3.879	1.269		
	Retired	3.300	1.160		
	Unemployed	3.800	1.033		
	Other	3.333	1.033		

Table 6. One-factor analysis of differences between the inhabitants

Hypothesis	Activity	M	σ	F	p
In the countryside are 'felt' changes in the government	Employed	2.647	1.228	1.0422	0.3973
	Farmer, but employed	2.500	1.382		
	Farmer	2.848	1.603		
	Retired	2.200	1.135		
	Unemployed	2.800	1.229		
	Other	1.667	0.516		
Women should be in the politics	Employed	3.618	1.371	1.1696	0.3296
	Farmer, but employed	3.250	1.765		
	Farmer	2.909	1.739		
	Retired	3.300	1.829		
	Unemployed	3.400	1.506		
	Other	4.333	1.211		
Politicians are the most present in the countryside during election campaign	Employed	4.441	0.927	1.3941	0.2330
	Farmer, but employed	4.417	0.900		
	Farmer	4.727	0.452		
	Retired	4.700	0.483		
	Unemployed	4.100	0.994		
	Other	4.667	0.516		
Current local politicians are also good masters	Employed	2.853	1.209	2.4863	0.0364
	Farmer, but employed	3.000	1.414		
	Farmer	3.636	1.025		
	Retired	2.500	0.972		
	Unemployed	2.700	1.337		
	Other	3.000	1.095		
During elections, I vote for a person, not for the party	Employed	3.588	1.131	2.0891	0.0730
	Farmer, but employed	4.083	1.084		
	Farmer	3.758	1.146		
	Retired	3.000	0.943		
	Unemployed	3.200	0.919		
	Other	2.833	0.753		

Table 6. One-factor analysis of differences between the inhabitants

Hypothesis	Activity	M	σ	F	p
The best policy is the one that 'leaves' the most in the villager's pocket	Employed	3.588	1.158	1.4789	0.2035
	Farmer, but employed	4.333	1.231		
	Farmer	3.727	0.839		
	Retired	4.200	0.789		
	Unemployed	4.100	0.738		
	Other	4.000	1.265		
If I were the politician I would know what should be changed	Employed	3.618	0.922	3.2585	0.0091
	Farmer, but employed	4.000	1.477		
	Farmer	4.091	0.914		
	Retired	2.900	0.994		
	Unemployed	4.000	0.667		
	Other	3.000	1.265		
Very often, the members of the same family are the members of different parties	Employed	3.147	1.306	2.9863	0.0149
	Farmer, but employed	3.167	1.403		
	Farmer	3.333	1.051		
	Retired	1.900	0.876		
	Unemployed	3.000	1.155		
	Other	2.167	1.169		

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 7: At the elections, I vote for a person, not for the party

The reputations of leader and party are highly correlated (Davies and Mian 2010). In recent years, there has been a general trend towards granting party members greater influence in the choice of their leader (Cross and Blais 2012). The analysis of hypothesis 7, showed how important is the choice of candidate in the rural settlements of the Balkan Peninsula. Almost all examinees agreed with this hypothesis ($M=3.56$). T-test showed significant statistic differences between male and female examinees and the examinees who are and are not engaged in the party. While the men were indecisive, female examinees agreed with this hypothesis ($M=3.86$) and agreed mostly unanimously because the value of standard deviation was slightly above the limited value 1 ($\sigma=1.04$). The examinees who are not engaged in the party, agreed with the fact that; at the elections, they

vote for a man, not for the party (M=3.76, σ=1.01), while the examinees engaged in the party were not sure about this fact. Naturally, it was expected from them to vote for the party where they belong. Therefore, the values which pointed out disagreement were expected. Having confidence in a man, a leader, is very important for stability of some government (Li 2011). One-factor analysis of ANOVA variance was at importance level $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$ and established differences between the examinees of different age groups. Post-hoc Tukey test helped to identify the groups of examinees which distinguished themselves. Accordingly, the biggest differences in opinion existed between the age group from 40 to 49 years old and the oldest age groups (50–59, 60+). Members of this age group (40–49) agreed (M=4.26) with this hypothesis (Table 5) which, shows that there are minimum politically engaged examinees in their orders (Table 7).

Table 7. Post-hoc Tukey HSD test for hypothesis where the one-factor analysis ANOVA established the differences in opinions of the examinees in different age groups (MSE – mean square error, q–relevant critical value of the studentized range statistic, n–number of scores used in calculating the group means of interest, according to the table from <http://www.stat.duke.edu/courses/Spring98/sta110c/qtable.html>, $\alpha > 0.05$, sign not important)

Tukey HSD	$HSD = q * \sqrt{\frac{MSE}{n}}$	Women should be in the politics	During elections I vote for a person, not for the party
q (from the table)			3.92 $\alpha 0.05$
MSE		2.140	1.106
N			21.0
HSD		1.2513	0.8996
Differences in mean values			
20–29	30–39	-1.000	-0.198
20–29	40–49	0.261	-0.844
20–29	50–59	0.550	0.167
20–29	60+	-1.125	0.250
30–39	40–49	1.261	-0.646
30–39	50–59	1.550	0.365

Table 7. Post-hoc Tukey HSD test

Tukey HSD	$HSD = q * \sqrt{\frac{MSE}{n}}$	Women should be in the politics	During elections I vote for a person, not for the party
q (from the table)			3.92 α 0.05
MSE		2.140	1.106
N			21.0
HSD		1.2513	0.8996
Differences in mean values			
30–39	60+	-0.125	0.448
40–49	50–59	0.289	1.011
40–49	60+	-1.386	1.094
50–59	60+	-1.675	0.083

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 8: The best policy is the one which 'leaves' the most in the pocket of the peasants

The examinees agreed ($M=3.83$, $\sigma=1.02$) with this hypothesis (Figure 2) that was confirmed by t-test, because no significant statistic differences were seen between any group of examinees, as well as, one-factor analysis of ANOVA variant on the importance level $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$. Perhaps, this hypothesis is the best example of how little the politics, its ideology, program mean to the inhabitants of the Balkan rural settlements, and which one is the best according to them. However, a similar situation was established all over the world, also. For example, in populous, agrarian India, the voting behavior has undergone change over time, as voters have become more and more conscious of the potential for a better life offered by economic reforms leading to faster growth and improved economic fortunes (Gupta and Panagrya 2012).

Hypothesis 9: If I were the politician, I would know exactly what should be changed.

The examinees quite agree about this hypothesis ($M=3.74$, $\sigma=1.06$). T-test showed significant statistic differences between arithmetic means of

male and female examinees. Therefore, men were more sure ($M=4.11$) and mutually more agree ($\sigma=0.84$) in relation to indecisive women ($M=3.35$, $\sigma=1.13$). One-factor analysis of ANOVA variance was at importance level $p < 0.01$; $F \geq 3.47$ and established significant statistic differences in perception of this hypothesis with the examinees of different activities. By Post-hoc Tukey test deviations with the employed, the unemployed and agriculturalists were found (Table 8). They were more decisive in agreeing with this hypothesis in relation to the others. Although there were some attempts to engage people, who were not in the politics, in the process of deciding, the investigations have shown that this was not appropriate (Clarke 2011).

Table 8. Post-hoc Tukey HSD test for hypothesis where the one-factor analysis ANOVA established differences in opinions of examinees of different activities (MSE – mean square error, q–relevant critical value of the studentized range statistic, n–number of scores used in calculating the group means of interest, according to the table from <http://www.stat.duke.edu/courses/Spring98/sta110c/qtable.html>, $\alpha > 0.05$, sign not important)

Tukey HSD		$HSD = q * \sqrt{\frac{MSE}{n}}$	I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	If I were the politician I would know what should be changed
q (from the table)			4.10	$\alpha 0.05$
MSE			1.635	1.007
N				21.0
HSD			1.1440	0.8978
Differences in mean values				
Employed	Farmer, but employed		-1.400	-1.000
Employed	Farmer		0.600	0.100
Employed	Retired		-2.000	-1.091
Employed	Unemployed		-0.667	-1.000
Employed	Other		-1.441	-0.618
Farmer, but employed	Farmer		0.800	1.100

Table 8. Post-hoc Tukey HSD test

Tukey HSD	$HSD = q * \sqrt{\frac{MSE}{n}}$	I regularly follow 'the political life' in Serbia	If I were the politician I would know what should be changed
q (from the table)			4.10 α 0.05
MSE		1.635	1.007
N			21.0
HSD		1.1440	0.8978
Differences in mean values			
Farmer, but employed	Retired	-0.600	-0.091
Farmer, but employed	Unemployed	0.733	0.000
Farmer, but employed	Other	0.041	0.382
Farmer	Retired	-1.400	-1.191
Farmer	Unemployed	-0.067	-1.100
Farmer	Other	-0.841	0.718
Retired	Unemployed	1.333	0.091
Retired	Other	0.559	0.473
Unemployed	Other	-0.774	0.382

Source: Survey research.

Hypothesis 10: The members of the same family are very often the members of different parties

The purpose of this hypothesis was to illustrate how the inhabitants from rural settlements of Serbia use the politics for fulfilling the needs of personal and professional lives, or some of 'third nature'. The parties are not infrequently perceived as a shortcut for accomplishing of personal goals (Andersen and Tobiasen 2011; Hopkin 2012). The examinees replied that they were not sure about this hypothesis. The theme of some new work could refer to the sincerity of the examinees and their willingness to admit something and believe that investigation was anonymous, so data would be used only for the scientific purpose. One-factor analysis

of ANOVA variance at importance value $p < 0.05$; $F \geq 2.44$ established differences between the examinees of different activities (Table 5). Namely, the pensioners and examinees classified within the 'others' category, did not agree with this hypothesis. The pensioners from here spent a greater part of their working experience in one-party society, where it was not possible to apply such way of behavior. The examinees within the 'others' category were, for example, women who have spent their life working only for their family as housewives. In the countryside of Serbia, such women were not socially active persons, so their confusion was really justified when they were asked this question.

Conclusions

Exactly 105 examinees from the area of Serbia evaluated the hypothesis formed on the basis of the opinion of a small number of politically inactive agriculturalists. They agreed the most about hypothesis that 'the politicians were present the most in the countryside during election campaign'. They did not agree with hypothesis that "changes in government were 'felt' in the countryside". T-test identified disagreement among different gender concerning regular following of political life in Serbia, knowledge about who the minister of agriculture was and regarding knowledge about what should be changed if the examinee was in the place of the politician. In all three cases, men were more sure about their activities, knowledge and readiness. Women agreed only about the statement that at the elections they voted for a person, not for the party. T-test established disagreement of the examinees who were engaged in the politics in relation to those who were not. Politically engaged examinees agreed that they regularly followed the political life in Serbia, they knew who the ministry of agriculture was, that in the countryside were 'felt' changes in the government, that the actual politicians were good masters but at the elections they voted for the party, not for a person. The minimum differences were found between the examinees who lived in the valley in relation to the examinees from the hills and mountainous areas. The examinees who lived in the valley were less sure about who the minister of agriculture was and did not agree that in the countryside they 'felt' changes in government. One-factor analysis of ANOVA variance, at importance value $p < 0.05$; $F \geq 2.44$, has established differences between the examinees of different age with hypothesis 'women

should be engaged in the politics' and 'at elections I vote for a person, not the party'. The differences of the examinees according to their activities were noticed with hypothesis 'I regularly follow the political life in Serbia' and 'If I were the politician I would know exactly what should be changed'.

The presence of the examinees of different activities in random sample illustrated that the countryside is not a place where only the agriculturalists live. Most of rural settlements of Serbia are quite urbanized and younger inhabitants use all available technical possibilities of providing information. However, from all inhabitants in rural settlements, the agriculturalists follow the political life the most and they are well informed about it. The politics is often a topic of their conversations and they have their own opinion, as well as, they know exactly what they would change if they were in the place of a politician. The agriculturalists were distinguished as the lowest number of those believing that women should be engaged in the politics but they were not sure that the best policy is the one which 'leaves the most in their pocket'.

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