

# The meaning of Left and Right in Serbia: Evidence from the 2012 Serbian Election Study

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# Left-right ideological dimension

- the meaning
  - capital vs. labor
  - social equality
  - nationalism, post-materialism, ...
- Functions
  - political communication
  - 'cognitive shortcut'
  - self-understanding, orientation
- Cross-cultural and temporal variations

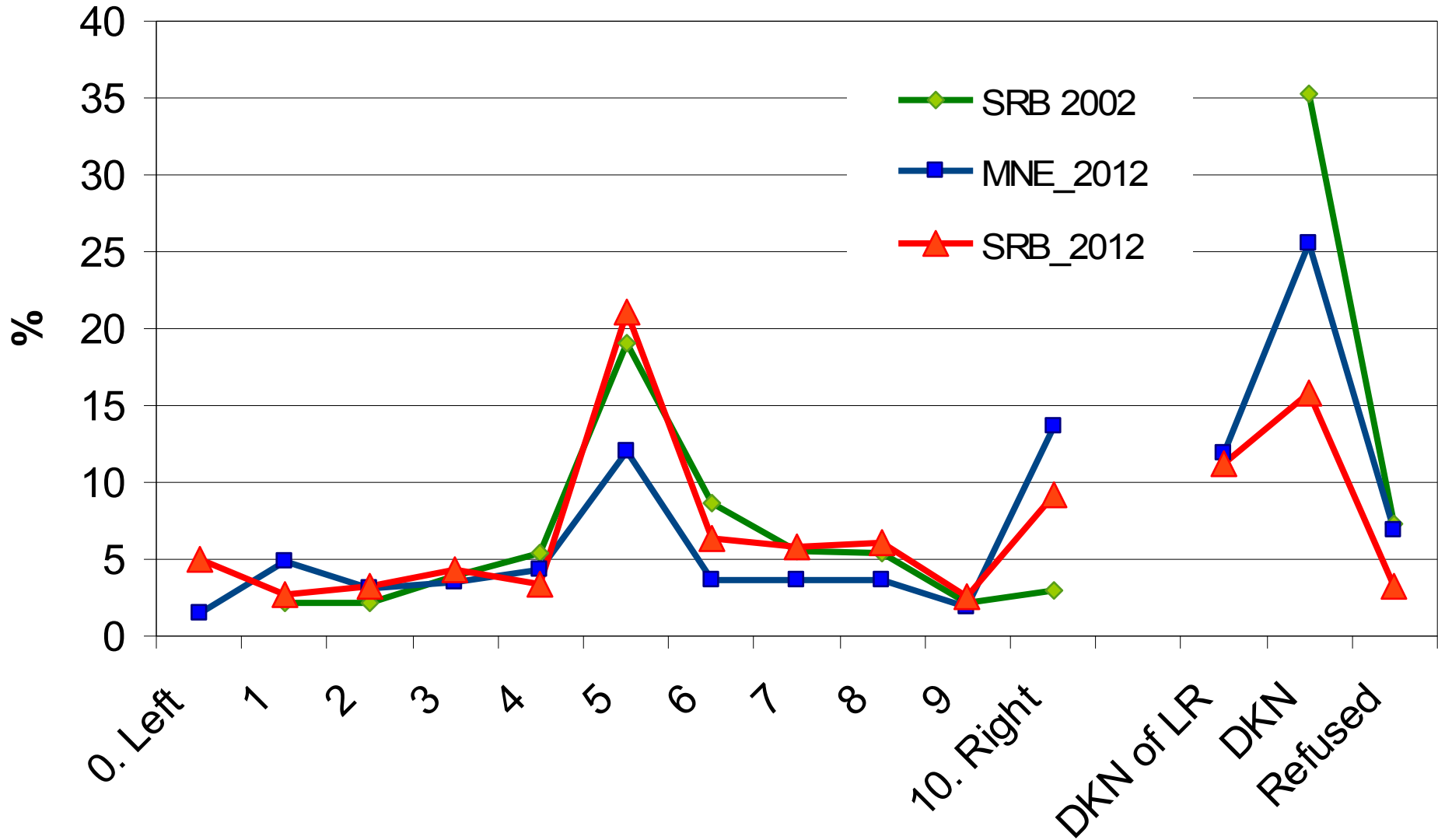
# Left-right in Serbia

- The meaning
  - distribution of LR
  - SES correlates of LR
- Function
  - Political relevance, i.e., correlation with party preferences
- Comparative perspective

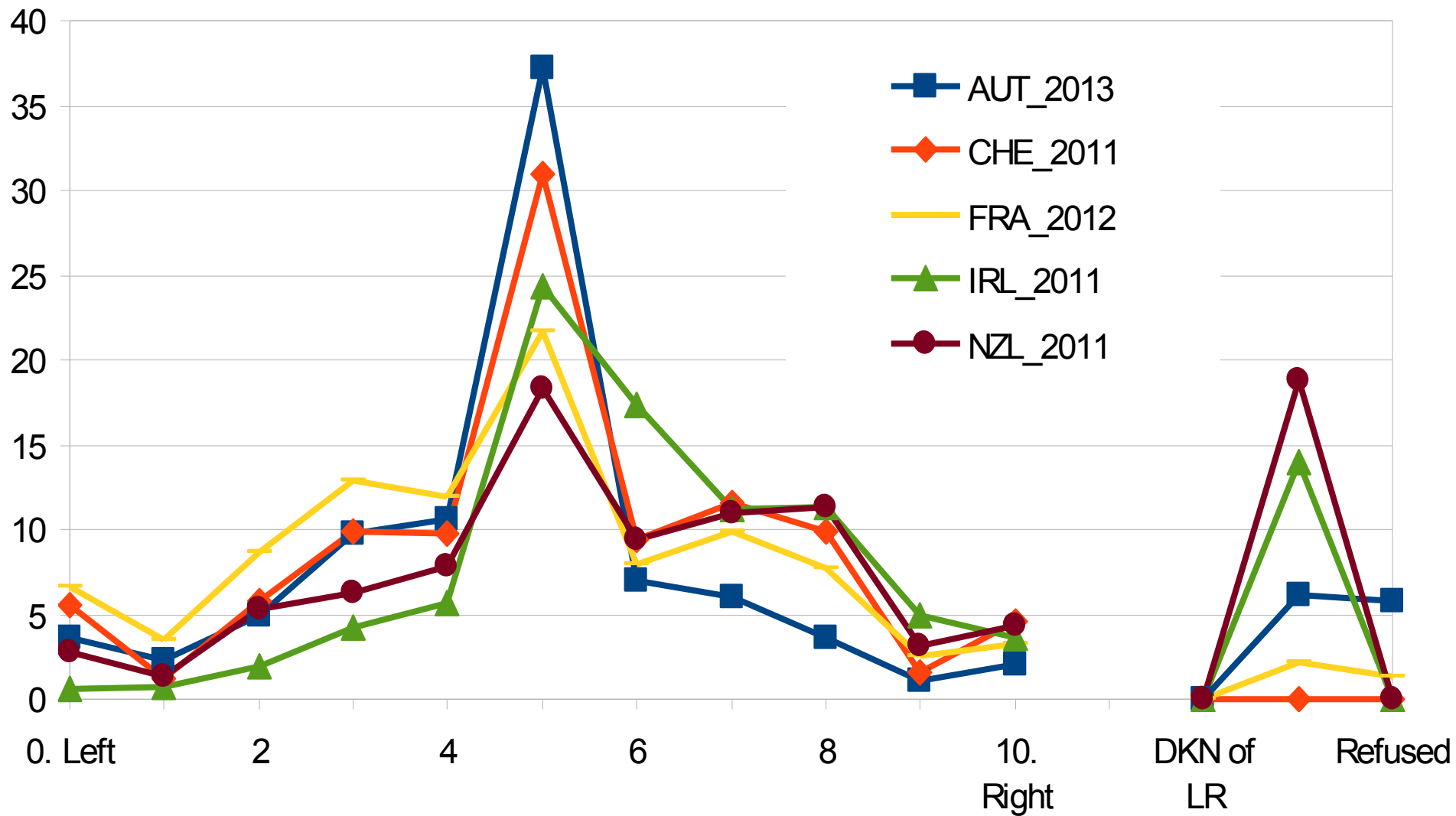
# Data

- Serbian Public Opinion Study 2012 (SPOS)
  - a post-election survey conducted after the May 2012 parliamentary and presidential elections in Serbia;
  - national probability sample, N=1568
- Serbia JMS 174 - 2002
  - national probability sample, N=2056
  - post-presidential elections December 2002
- CSES M4 AR1

## Distribution of LR self-placement scores



### Distribution of LR self-placement scores - WE & AS



*Socio-demographic correlates of the LR dimension 1*

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	SRB 2012	SRB 2002	MNE 2012
Gender	ns	ns	ns
Age	-.08**	-.16**	-.09
Urbanization	-.02	.04	-.15**
Material possessions	-.05		.08
Education	-.01	-.01	-.08
Religiosity	.12**	.12**	.14**
Church attendance	.07	.10**	.06
Income	-.06	.01	-.12*

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\*p<.05, \*\*p<.01

*Socio-demographic correlates of the LR dimension 2*

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	AUT 2013	CHE 2011	FRA 2012	IRL 2011	NZL 2011
Gender	ns	Female > LW**	ns	ns	ns
Age	.13**	.08**	.07**	.11**	.13**
Urbanization	-.02	-.12**	-.08**	-.06*	-.03
Material possessions	.05	.15**	.11**	.11**	.18**
Education	-.11**	-.11**	-.06**	-.06*	-.13**
Religiosity	.19**		.18**		.13**
Church attendance	.16**	.02	.18**		.08*
Income	-.07	-.01	.07**	.06*	.10**

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\*p<.05, \*\*p<.01



*LR & party sympathies (correlation coefficients)*

	Party	SRB 2012	SRB 2002		MNE 2012
PARTY A	SNS	.07 *		DPS	.27 **
PARTY B	DS	.06	.09 **	Democratic Front	-.26 **
PARTY C	SPS	-.08 **	-.27 **	SNP	-.18 **
PARTY D	DSS	.08 **	.02	Positive MNE	-.15 **
PARTY E	LDP	.02			
PARTY F	URS/G17 in 2002	.03	.08 **		
PARTY G	SRS	.09 **	-.08 **		
	SPO		.13 **		

\*p<.05; \*\*p<.01

*LR & party sympathies (correlation coefficients) - 'West'*

	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D
<b>AUT 2013</b>	-.14 **	.28 **	.27 **	-.27 **
	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	Grüne
<b>CHE 2011</b>	.59 **	-.60 **	.41 **	.11 **
	SVP	SP	FDP	CVP
<b>FRA 2012</b>	-.61**	.66**	.47**	-.64**
	PS	UMP	FN	Left Front
<b>IRL 2011</b>	.28**	-.07**	.18**	-.28**
	Fine Gael	Labour	Fianna Fail	Sinn Fein
<b>MEX 2012</b>	.36**	.22**	-.29**	.22**
	PRI	PAN	PRD	PVEM
<b>NZL 2011</b>	.60**	-.51**	-.42**	-.15**
	National Party	Labour Party	Green Party	New Zealand First

# Alternative ideological labels

Q35. People use different terms to describe their political views. ...

How well does the word conservative describe your views?

00. Does not describe my views at all

...

10. Describes my views perfectly

*Ideological labels and party sympathies, Serbia 2012*

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	Party A	Party B	Party C	Party D	Party E
Ideological label	SNS	DS	SPS	DSS	LDP
Communist	.10**	-.07*	.16**	.01	-.11**
Socialist	.27**	-.04	.46**	.16**	-.10**
Social democrat	.07*	.24**	.15**	.12**	.13**
Liberal	-.11**	.23**	-.06*	-.06*	.34**
Patriot	.22**	-.03	.17**	.18**	-.13**
Nationalist	.09*	-.09**	.04	.11**	-.14**
Traditionalist	.18**	-.10**	.11**	.13**	-.14**
Conservative	.10**	-.02	.03	.08*	-.02

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\*p<.05; \*\*p<.001

# Conclusions

- Serbian Rs express LR positions
  - frequently neutral or DKN responses
- LR weakly associated with SES variables
  - mostly in expected direction
    - except for age
- LR weakly associated with party preferences
  - not completely politically irrelevant
- Specific ideological labels provide better ideological self-description