

**ISOCRATIC QUEST: PATTERNS OF  
PARTICIPATORY INEQUALITY IN NEW AND OLD  
EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES**

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## Abstract

The present thesis attempts to develop further tools for critical assessment of the quality of existing democratic regimes. As the countries with longer democratic tradition are regarded as having a higher quality than the neo democracies, the main goal of this thesis will be to assess the QoD in the countries with different length of democratic experience, that is Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Slovenia. The assessment is conducted by describing their differences according to the inequalities in political participation. More precisely, this is done by using participatory distortion, the measure of political inequality developed by Verba, Brady and Schlozman (1995). Empirical analysis is conducted on the European Social Survey Module III dataset. The model is developed to test the input of participatory process by relating the types of political participation to the politically relevant characteristics (age, gender, education and income). Results of the analysis reveal following patterns of participatory distortion: women are found to be under-represented across most of the types of participation in all of the countries analyzed; age is found to be the category with significantly more distortions than gender and significant distortions were found for two age groups: young and old. Furthermore, it has been found that the low educated individuals are the most under-represented category of all of the categories analyzed.

Second part of the empirical analysis introduces overall measure of participatory distortion calculated for every country from Logged Representation Scale. Ireland was found to be the country with least disproportionate participatory public and therefore the one that has achieved the highest level of political equality among the countries analyzed.

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# 1. PARTICIPATION BIAS IN OLD AND NEW EUROPEAN DEMOCRACIES

*Such being our foundation and such the principle from which we start, the characteristics of democracy are as follows: the election of officers by all out of all; and that all should rule over each, and each in his turn over all; that the appointment to all offices, or to all but those which require experience and skill, should be made by lot; that no property qualification should be required for offices, or only a very low one; that a man should not hold the same office twice, or not often...*

Aristotle, Politics, Book Six (350 B.C.E)

The present thesis attempts to develop further tools for critical assessment of the quality of existing democratic regimes. Democracy is not just a contemporary invention and our reality. It is also an ideal. An ideal that will never be fully reached in practice. Countries with longer democratic tradition and nascent European democracies now have to struggle with different problems but with the same goal – to maintain the functioning of democratic process and to reform their democracies so that they could endure the pressures of societal change. These problems were acknowledged in the Future of Democracy Report published by Council of Europe in 2004. Their concern is the best summary of ‘democratic present’ in Europe: ‘more Europeans than ever before live in democratic systems and subscribe to democratic values. At the same time there is a sense that democracy has lost its vibrancy as a political system and is lacking in its capacity to mobilize citizens and hold representatives to account.’ Representation, participation, accountability, control are only a small piece of the quality of democracy puzzle. Solutions to these problems and future recommendations are the driving forces behind the Quality of Democracy research project.

The emerging literature on the Quality of Democracy (in further text QoD) contains the conceptualizations and measurement suggestions which will be used to investigate a particular dimension of this multidimensional concept. Given the complexity of the QoD, ongoing debates concerning its scope and substance, and the conviction of this author that

the emphasis on just one dimension (Morlino 2004 and Andreev 2005) can make more useful contribution to the scientific research than the overwhelming task of assessing each dimension in a single scientific venture; this paper will analyze political equality (Morlino 2004, Bühlmann et.al. 2007, Dahl 2006, Beitz 1990, Verba (1987) 2001), as a dimension of democracy which many deem the most important one and that deserves our full attention in the times of ‘rising inequalities’.

Furthermore, conceptualization and measurement of QoD, and within it political equality, becomes not only purely scientific problem but also a practical one. It is impossible to offer policy recommendations and initiate reforms, if problem sources have not been detected and if the debate on what the ‘quality of democracy’ is, prevents political scientists from giving advice on what urging problems of ‘established’ democracies are and how the quality of new democracies can further be improved.

As it will be emphasized throughout this paper, the question whether or not all the citizens have equal rights to participate is not the only relevant one. Rather, the question is whether they do participate. As the instrumental feature of political equality, a detailed analysis of the status of equality in political participation in selected European democracies will be conducted. Research question of this paper can be stated as follows: **Do new and old democracies differ in their patterns of participatory distortion?**

As the countries with longer democratic experience are regarded as having a higher quality than the neo democracies, the main goal of this thesis will be to assess the QoD in the countries with different length of democratic experience. For this purpose Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Slovenia have been selected. With this text the author does not attempt to propose a unique mono-causal explanation of the determinants of differences in political participation between selected countries. The goal is to investigate participatory distortions found in these countries. Preliminary results of the analysis will shape the



recommendations for future research design and methodological strategy on determining causes and consequences of different inequality patterns found in the selected countries.

The assessment will be conducted by describing the differences among these countries according to the inequalities in political participation. More precisely, this shall be conducted by using participatory distortion, the measure of political inequality developed by Brady, Lehman-Schlozman and Verba (1995). Their model is developed to test the input of participatory process and it will be applied to check distortions in nine types of political participation (political activity) across the most relevant political attributes (age, gender, education and income).

The first chapter will provide a short summary of the most relevant works on the Quality of Democracy and criticism that has been directed towards the methodology, assumptions and the motives of the QoD research project. Furthermore, since political equality is the dimension of the QoD this paper will focus on, the literature review on the topic will also be provided. As it will be visible from this chapter, contemporary research projects are dedicated to the broader concept and problems of equality/inequality than political equality as the bedrock of democratic principles. Moreover, the intention of this paper is to see the differences between old and new European democracies in fulfilling the ideal of political equality.

The second chapter will focus on the more extensive review of the theoretical background for this research. After the critical assessment of the different approaches to the QoD appropriate definition of the QoD will be introduced. Since the definition of the QoD would have to include political equality as its constitutive attribute and political participation, as the component of political equality, the meaning of these concepts will also be specified.

The third part of the thesis will be dedicated to the explanations on research design and detailed overview of the work employed in the empirical analysis. Concepts of descriptive representation, participatory distortion and measures used for empirical investigation of political equality will be presented in this part of the paper.

Detailed interpretation of the results will be provided in the fourth chapter. Since the analysis will include two differing measures of participatory distortion, results will be separately presented and then compared with the findings in recent literature on political participation. Furthermore, final section will be dedicated to the comparison of selected countries and the question whether old and new democracies differ in their patterns of participatory distortion will be answered.

## 2. STATE OF THE FIELD

### 2.1 *Quality of Democracy*

The emergence of 'self-proclaimed' (Andreev 2005, 1) liberal democracies in the last thirty years has created the need for defining the minimal requirements of democracy in order to differentiate non-democracies from democracies in the myriad of regime types existing today. Most importantly, the literature follows the direction of measurement and comparability of the liberal democracies. As a response to the 'crisis of democracy' (Crozier, Huntington and Watanuki 1975 and O'Donnell 2007) predictions and the declining confidence (Pharr, Putnam and Dalton 2000) in current democratic practices a new research agenda has emerged. Specification of standards for imperfections assessing, theoretical and systematic comparative analysis, and the development of the 'sense of proportion' (Linz 2007, 150) in critical analysis of the existing democracies are just some of the tasks waiting for the students of the QoD.

The research agenda dedicated to the QoD has emerged from the broader field of democratization and democratic theory, as a reasonable follow-up of the democratization primary research concern. Gerardo L. Munck (2007) discusses the main agendas, findings and challenges in democracy studies and identifies QoD as the third concept, after the democratic transition and democratic stability, that has emerged in the 1990. He finds that, contrary to the developments in the 'transitology' and consolidation studies, when it comes to the QoD there 'is not much in terms of research and findings to report' (Munck 2007, 65).

However, two objections can be made to the Munck's argument. Firstly, although the QoD agenda has not been specifically formulated by the researchers before 1990's one can argue that the topic has been present in the literature ever since the beginning of political thought. As the concern of normative politics, the question of the perfect

conditions for democracy and criteria for democratic ideal can be found in the writings of more than a few political philosophers and theorists. Many scholars have tackled the topic whenever they wanted to critically assess the quality of the existing democratic regimes while comparing them to the ideals formulated in the normative democratic theories (e.g. Przeworski 1991, Powell 1982, Arendt 1958, Lijphart 1993 Dahl 1971, Rustow 1970, Huntington 1968, Linz and Stepan 1996 and Sartori 1987). As an example, in *The Social Contract* Rousseau poses a question on what a good government is. Although his discussion is dedicated to various forms of government, and having in mind historical context of his writings it is understandable that democracy is not the only form available for discussion, his work also describes the ideal type of political community (Rousseau (1761) 1988, Book III, Chapter IX). Secondly, the accomplishments of the authors who follow the QoD line of inquiry, cannot be reduced. As it will be demonstrated in the following sections many have attempted to clarify the QoD project, to define the main concepts and operationalize this multidimensional phenomenon so it can be applied in future qualitative and quantitative research (among many see: O'Donnell et al 2004, Altman and Perez-Linan 2001, Schmitter and Karl 1993, Buhlman et. al. 2008, Morlino 2004, Diamond and Morlino 2005),

As an addition, it has to be noted that some authors argue that the research on the QoD is interdisciplinary in its nature. As Andreev (2005) states 'from the long list of social science theories related to the QoD, one can distinguish between different kinds of 'modernization theories" and '.. political culture, civil society, social welfare, market regulation, institution building and the media' (2). Moreover, the increase in number of democracies has enabled social scientist to apply more advanced empirical techniques and develop concepts based on larger number of cases (Andreev 2005).

Nevertheless, if we concentrate only on the recent developments it is possible to identify several streams of research: 1) some scholars are concerned with the theoretical development of the concept (e.g. O'Donnell et al 2004; Altman and Perez-Linan 2001; Schmitter and Karl 1993); 2) others have decided to analyze the specific dimensions or one of the 'partial regimes' of the QoD conceptual amalgam (among many see: Berg-Schlosser 2004, , Rose-Ackerman 1999, Einstadt and Lemarchand 1981); 3) and some have assessed the state of democracy in a particular country (Della Porta et. al. (Italy) 2001, Putnam (Italy) 1994, Fishman (Spain) 2004, The Future of Democracy in Europe Report (2004), Costa Rica and UK National Audit, European Union Democracy Observatory, O'Donnell, Cullell and Iazzeta 2004).

As it was stated at the beginning of this text, the development of the literature in the QoD is a natural addendum to the broader studies in democratization that emerged in the 1970's. Since Southern European and Central and Eastern European countries have been considered as 'consolidated' and began to build their own democratic traditions, concepts and measures developed for the analysis of countries on different levels of democratic development were not useful any more.

However, although some would argue that the 'democratic threshold' has not been unanimously accepted, it is fair to say that the authors dedicated to the QoD do not differ in their recognitions of minimum conditions each country has to satisfy in order to be considered democratic. Most of them follow the tradition of Dahlian minimal conditions.

However, as it will be demonstrated in more detail in the following chapter, although these authors agree that the QoD concept is of a multidimensional nature, their position on which the most relevant or core dimensions are do differ considerably.

Regardless of the importance of the future findings and the concerns with the future of democracies, some authors have been skeptical of the ‘QoD meta-level project’ (Armbruster 2008, 1; Plattner 2004). In the article *Quality of Democracy in Europe: Soviet Illegitimacy and Negotiated Revolutions of 1989*, Chris Armbruster (2008), attacks the QoD research project for its ‘insufficiently comparative both conceptually and historically’ nature. In his article he mainly refers to the works of Amartya Sen from 1999, O’Donnell, Cullell and Iazzetta from 2004 and to the collection of essays edited by Diamond and Morlino in 2005. Furthermore, he seems to be agitated by the *Future of Democracy in Europe* report published by the Council of Europe in 2004. His main concern is the ‘superiority, ingrained prejudice and cultural stratification’ (4) discourse embedded in these works. ‘West is the Best’ approach, according to the author, is not sufficiently sensitive to the historical differences which can only be assessed by meticulous case-by-case analysis. His recipe is ‘conceptual variety’ and exploration of ‘historical variation’ that will not fall into the ‘context-of-the-day’ (7) narrative.

Although some of the concerns raised by the author seem reasonable, he has not offered a more systematical approach and has not conducted an alternative assessment of the QoD. Moreover, the intention of authors mentioned in the Armbruster’s article was not to develop a universal scheme that will deteriorate the importance of progress and contextual specificities of the new democracies in Eastern Europe. As it was noted in the introduction to *The Quality of Democracy*, edited by Diamond and Morlino (2005), motives of their project were following: ‘first, that deepening democracy is a moral good, if not an imperative; second, that reforms to improve democratic quality are essential if democracy is to achieve the broad and durable legitimacy that marks consolidation; and third, that long-established democracies must also reform if they are to attend to their own gathering problems of public dissatisfaction and even disillusionment.’ (1)

Moreover, even Philippe Schmitter (2003) warns that the inferiority of new democracies is a fallacy that has to be avoided in the QoD discussions. In his own words: '(1) most (but not all) neo-democracies are performing much better than anyone had the right to expect and, in fact, many of them are doing astonishingly well; and (2) most archeo-democracies are not performing as well as is implied by this judgment and, in fact, many are doing much less well than they used to.' (12)

This section discusses the main streams of the QoD studies. Detailed analysis of the QoD conceptual amalgam will be presented in the first section of the second chapter. Since the concepts that will be employed in this research have been studied within different branches of political science, and rarely within the QoD project, second section of this chapter will introduce main approaches to the research on political equality and political participation.

## **2.2 Political Equality and Political Participation**

The connection between equality in political participation as a necessary condition for the achieving ideals of political equality, and QoD has not been sufficiently researched in literature. Although political equality has been identified as one of the core dimensions of QoD, and as the democratic ideal noted by many theorists of modern democracy (in Bühlman et. al. 2008), thorough conceptualization of this notion has been neglected.

As Amartya Sen states 'every normative theory of social arrangement that has at all stood the test of time seems to demand equality of something - something that is regarded as particularly important in that theory' (1980, 1). Sen provides us with the list of authors who analyzed equality within their broader theories. He differentiates *pro-equality*

*theorists*, like John Rawls (equal liberty and equality in the distribution of "primary goods"), Ronald Dworkin ("treatment as equals," "equality of resources"), Thomas Nagel ("economic equality"), Thomas Scanlon ("equality") and those like Robert Nozick who argued *against* the pursuit of equality. In addition to the list compiled by Sen few more authors must to mentioned: Kai Nielsen in 1986, Peter Unger in 1996, Peter Singer in 1993, Richard Arneson in 1989, Martha Nussbaum in 2000 and Anne Gutmann in 1980.

Moreover, we can trace the debate on equality in the writings of classical political philosophers. For instance, Petr Lom (1999) analyzes the debate on liberty versus equality emerged within the writings of Tocqueville and which are still existing in any normative theory concerned with liberal democracy. As it will be demonstrated in the presentation on the trade-offs between different dimensions of the QoD this debate is still very much present in political theory.

However, the main concern of this paper is neither the general notion of equality that Sen was writing about, nor social and economic equality. Although Sen's 'capabilities approach' as a critique of egalitarian notion of equality as *equality of resources* and *equality of welfare* is a notable theory and may as well be the solution to the problems of egalitarian justice ( for more information see Kaufman, 2006) this text a more specified notion of equality is required.

As it will become clearer in the next chapter, most important component of political equality and 'the point of departure' (Verkuilen 2009) for the measurement of political equality is political participation. Studies of political participation have been a prominent topic in political science since the 1970s (Verba, Nie and Kim 1978, Verba Schlozman, Brady, 1995; Verba 1996; Verba and Orren 1985; Verba, Schlozman, and Burns 2001; Milbrath and Goel 1977; Parry, Moyser and Day 1992, Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). How and when do people participate were the first questions asked by social scientists. The



volume of participation, identification of the types of participation and the raising concerns on the decline of voting turnout were analyzed by the pioneers of participation research (Verba, Lehman Schlozman and Brady 1995, Franklin 2004, McDonald and Popkin 2001).

These topics were followed by the work on importance of participation, representation and inequalities in participation. (Lijphart 1997, Citrin, Schickler and Sides 2003, Griffin and Newman 2005, Verba 2003). The influence of the rational choice theory has lead some scientists to assess the assumption of rational voters (among many see Riker and Ordeshook 1968, Meehl 1977). For instance Meehl argues that political and economic decisions cannot be assessed by the same standards. Each one of them involves different traits.

In search of explanations on why do some people get involved in politics more than other, political scientists turned to the socioeconomic attributes of participants and non-participants and developed a model of resource based explanations. (Brady et al, 1995, Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). However, social attributes were not offered as the only explanations on why and who participates in politics. For example, the institutional framework has emerged as one of the determinants of political action that has great explanatory power (Bingham-Powell 1986, Jackman 1987, Franklin 2004, Van der Eijk and Oppenhuis 1996).

However, recent attention has been directed towards new forms and typologies of political participation (Li and Marsh 2007 and Norris 2003) (e.g. 'cause-oriented participation' opposed to 'citizen oriented participation' (Dekker and Uslander 2001) and new explanations of the sources of participation. Classical explanations based on socio-economic indicators have been replaced or expanded with emphasis on the influence of spatial structure (Tam Cho and Rudolph 2008), social context (McClurg 2003 and Kenny 1992); interest groups (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995 and Khatib 2004), social

exclusion (Fahmy 2003), protest politics (Norris, Walgrave, and Van Aelst. 2005., Benson and Rochon. 2004., Booth and Seligson. 2005.), social movements (Skocpol 1999, Wright, Taylor and Moghaddam 1990, Chong 1991) and participation within context of social capital (Putnam 2000, Norris 2002, Fiorina 1999).

The detailed overview of the development of the new empirical research and new theoretical models in this field would require more space than is available in this text. However, some notable problems have to be mentioned. First, most research conducted in this field is based on Anglo-American models and cannot be fully applied to the Western and Central and Eastern Europe (different traditions of participation could be the cause of these differences). And second, the research on this topic has been conducted from different research traditions which disabled the possibility of 'systematized and comprehensive research on all types of participation' and has resulted in analysis that is 'fragmented withing different research camps'. (Norris 2002, 1)

The existing measurements of political participation used as indicators either for the democracy, quality of democracy, individual freedom or good governance all have underlying assumptions that political participation can be measured by the extent of universal suffrage, number of nongovernmental organizations, the scope of their membership, voting turnout, or participation as the determinant for party competition (e.g. Vanhanen 2000, Cingranelli and Richards 2004, Bollen 1980, Bertelsmann Transformation Index 2006-2008, Freedom House). Although these measurements are useful and can tell us something about the occurrence and importance of certain type of participation, the importance of the equality of participation among different social groups has not been stressed enough. As this is the case with the existing measures of democracies (Freedom House, Polity, Bertelsmann Transformation Indey, and the index of Vanhanen (Coppedge and Reinicke 1991; Gastil 1991; Vanhanen 1997, 2000, 2003), which are 'too unsubtle to

measure the fine but obviously existing differences in the quality of democracy between countries' (Buhlman et al. 2008, 4), the relationship between political equality and political participation cannot be detected with measures indicated above.

This chapter has described main approaches to the research on QoD, political equality and political participation. As this overview does not enable us to make any conclusions about the relationship between these concepts, second chapter will focus on normative and empirical background that emphasizes their linkage.

### 3. PARTICIPATORY EQUALITY WITHIN THE QUALITY OF DEMOCRACY

*Were there people of gods, their government would be democratic.  
So perfect a government is not for men.*

J. J. Rousseau

#### 3.1 Quality of Democracy conceptualization and measurement

Although this text will research a particular component of the Quality of Democracy it is important to start with the existing definitions of democracy and ‘quality of democracy’. In a detailed overview of the QoD conceptualization history Andreev (2004) notes that many authors have used the concept without any attempts to define it. The result have been minimalist definitions first introduced by Dahl and taken over by Altman and Perez-Linan in 2001, Coppedge in 1996 and Putnam in 1993 (Andreev 2004). Andreev also states that QoD was not understood as a measurable ‘discrete phenomenon’, but as a ‘continuous development’ dependent on many other processes (2).

New research on QoD has moved from the understanding of the notion as non-measurable phenomenon and has directed its efforts towards detailed definitions and operationalizations of possible QoD dimensions. However, before providing an overview of the development of QoD concept, one digression has to be made. Any analysis and measurement of the quality of democracy in a certain country cannot be attempted before determining that the country in question is indeed a political democracy. Dahl’s definition (1971, 1-7) which included secret balloting, universal adult suffrage, regular elections, partisan competition, associational freedom and executive accountability could be a starting point in determining the minimum requirements before continuing with the ‘quality’ analysis.

However, the list of the definitional elements of democracy has become longer over time. Universal, adult suffrage; recurring, free, competitive and fair elections; more than one political party; and more than one source of information, for example, are the conditions that Morlino (1998) is referencing to. Moreover, he says that further analysis is necessary to assess the degree to which a country has achieved the freedom, equality and control as the main pillars of democracy. As these modifications of Dahl's definitions are useful in eliminating the electoral democracies (Diamond 1999) or defective democracies (Merkel 1999) from the QoD analysis, they will be used to determine the existence of political democracy and preliminary case selection. They are best summarized by Diamond and Morlino in 2004: 'At a minimum, democracy requires: 1) **universal, adult suffrage**; 2) **recurring, free, competitive and fair elections**; 3) **more than one serious political party**; and 4) **alternative sources of information**. If elections are to be truly meaningful, free and fair, there must be **some degree of civil and political freedom** beyond the electoral arena, permitting citizens to articulate and organize around their political beliefs and interests. In addition, **formal democratic institutions should be sovereign in fact**, that is they should not be constrained by elites or external powers that are not directly or indirectly accountable to the people.'(3).

Definitions of QoD differ in dimensions that are considered to be the core of the concept. Bühlmann et. al. (2008) have provided us with the most comprehensive operationalization of QoD. These authors develop a comprehensive list of indicators of components and subcomponents of the Quality in Democracy. However, since the first step in any conceptualization is to specify the meaning of the concept and then identify what 'attributes are deemed to be constitutive of a concept'(Verkuilen 2009, 20), it is unclear why do they do not provide a clear definition of QoD.

For them, the democratic system is a combination, or an equilibrium between the normative values of freedom, equality and the control. However, they do not emphasize the best solution; the reader is left to determine which equilibrium can be regarded as of higher relevance. These principles are achieved through the interrelationship of five partial regimes constructing 'embedded democracy'. These five regimes represent the 'root concept' of democracy barometer. In this case the type of democracy depends upon the relationship between these regimes. High quality democracy is not the one that has all of the requirements fully satisfied, but the one that keeps the balance between liberty, equality and control.

However, as Andreev (2005, 5) notes 'much more lies ahead...especially the production of comparative qualitative and quantitative indicators to evaluate the QoD in various settings'. Since many of the subcomponents in their text contain indicators which overlap and that the organization of these indicators on the level of abstraction is not clearly formulated, application of these indicators for the assessment of the particular country has to be conducted carefully. In a recently published book, *Measuring Democracy*, edited by Gerardo L. Munck (2009), Verkuilen emphasizes the danger of conflation and redundancy commonly found in many existing indicators of democracy. Any task of conceptualization has to take into consideration two basic rules of conceptual logic: a) 'less abstract attributes' have to be 'placed on the proper branch of the conceptual tree' and b) 'attributes at the same level of abstraction should tap into mutually exclusive aspects of the attribute at the immediately superior level of abstraction' (22)

Morlino (2004) has stated the most plausible differentiation between the elements of quality in the QoD definition. For Morlino (2004) QoD is composed of three different dimensions of quality: 1) quality in terms of procedure, 2) quality in terms of contents and 3) quality in terms of results. Here we can also see the multidimensionality

of the QoD concept. From this differentiation he extracts the following definition of ‘good democracy’: ‘I consider a quality or good democracy to be one presenting a stable institutional structure that realizes the liberty and equality of citizens through the legitimate and correct functioning of its institutions and mechanisms.’(12).

As it was stated before, the complexity of the QoD conceptual puzzle is recognized by all of the authors working on this topic. Bühlmann et. al. tail their indicators from the most general democratic principles. Equality, freedom and control are the core principles they derive from the works of Locke, Montesquieu, Hobbes and Rousseau. As it was said before, Morlino’s definition of a ‘good democracy’ also assumes the same principles. If we follow the literature, we can see that the similar conclusions were reached by Diamond and Morlino (2005) who identified five conceptual dimensions—freedom, rule of law, vertical accountability, responsiveness, and equality<sup>1</sup> which ‘fully constitute the quality of democracy’ (2). Even though the framework outlined by Diamond and Morlino does not include only three core concepts, it does overlap with the ones indicated by Bühlmann et. al and Morlino in his previous writings.

The tradeoff between dimensions emphasized by Bühlmann et. al. is also indicated by Diamond and Morlino (2005). Although slightly distinct dimensions, these are also interconnected: ‘In identifying these different linkages, we suggest that democratic quality can be thought of as a system, in which improvement in one dimension can have diffuse benefits for others (and vice versa). At the same time however, there are sometimes trade-offs between the different dimensions of democratic quality, and it is impossible to achieve each of them to the maximum degree.’(2).

However, there are some authors who offer a different approach to the conceptualization of the QoD. Baker and Koesel (2001) following the advice of Coppege

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<sup>1</sup> Participation, competition and horizontal accountability also included in the later analysis.

and Reinicke, introduce the Poliarchy Plus Scale. They ‘precise’ and ‘widen’ the scope of Dahl’s polyarchy with the same intention as the authors who are working on the QoD have. ‘By widening the scope of the scale, we mean that a third set of attributes must be added to complement the core defining attributes of polyarchy. These added features will facilitate better measures and understanding of polyarchy.’ – these features are distinguished within three main attributes: contestation, inclusiveness, and quality of governance (5). However, this approach neglects the importance of normative principles. If we only expand the range of attributes from two very unspecific concepts of inclusion and contestation the chance of omitting important attributes is higher. Moreover, even if Baker’s and Koesel’s approach is valid, the reasons for the inclusion of the quality of governance as the third core dimension of the QoD and its relationship to the other two dimensions have not been clearly argued.

Surely, the dimensions mentioned above and the approaches to the conceptualization of the QoD are not the only ones. Since the intention of this paper is to analyze only one dimension, the next section will focus only on political equality. As it was promised before the definition of the QoD which is appropriate for the purposes of this research will now be presented: **Quality or good democracy is the one that provides its citizens with a high degree of freedom, political equality, and popular control over public policies and policy makers through the legitimate and lawful functioning of stable institutions.** (Diamond and Morlino 2005, 4)

This definition is slightly different from the definition provided by Morlino earlier. It moves down the ladder of abstraction and emphasizes the importance of political equality -contrary to the general notion of equality from the earlier definition and high degree of freedom - not just ‘freedom’ which seems like an unattainable goal even normatively. However, at the same time it includes more than equality. Furthermore, as the third



requirement for the QoD popular control will not be analyzed in this text. As it was emphasized earlier political equality is understood as a precondition for all other conditions of QoD. Political equality is in the heart of as Diamond and Morlino argue ‘quality in terms of content’ and political control is understood as a defining feature of democracy.

### **3.2 What is Political Equality?**

*Political equality is an important ideal. While it is true that we will not achieve it soon, this is no reason not to continue trying.*

Sidney Verba (2003)

From the definitions used in the literature it is evident that each one of them presumes the principle of political equality. Equality is the main democratic principle in Merkel’s, Morlino’s, and even Dahl’s definitions. However, what is the relationship between political equality in particular and quality of democracy? Is political equality the underlying principle of democracy? If so, why is it mentioned so often but never properly conceptualized?

As Rueshemeyer (2004) states in the beginning of his seminal article ‘Quality of Democracy: Addressing Inequality’: ‘Equality points to one of the critical dimensions along which the quality of democracy varies. What is at stake is political equality, not the equality in all the areas of social life.’(1) Political equality is the core concept and normative ideal that this text will analyze. There has not been a sufficient empirical or normative concern with the problem of political equality. The concept is acknowledged as a part of democratic theory and as a moral good, but little research has been conducted in order to see if political equality is an ideal that is set too high and what are the differences among countries in the levels of the achievement of that ideal.

Moreover, simplistic understanding of political equality, political equality being equal voting rights, would not be useful for the purposes of this research. If equal voting rights were the only requirement for political equality, than each country that is being analyzed would easily satisfy this criterion since it would have to be had to be a political democracy. No comparative analysis would be possible and the QoD concept would lose substance. The analysis of effective political equality will have to go beyond normative ideals and offer a definition that will be useful for empirical analysis.

In the *Democracy Barometer*, although talking about ‘equality’ and not only political equality, Bühlmann and others define equality as following: ‘Therefore, equality means formally equal treatment of all citizens by the state (legal egalitarianism), equal rights to participate in politics and having all preferences equally weighted.’ (9) This definition is clearly a definition of ‘political equality’ since it does not include social and economic equality, however it is still not precise enough for our purposes.

In the ‘A concept of political equality: A Post-Dahl analysis’ Alan Ware analyses common understandings of the political equality notions and defends Dahl’s theory of political equality. As the detailed description of the mentioned work is not relevant for this paper only some general conclusions will be presented. The concept has to be clearly divided into political equality in certain political resources and political equality in the ‘distribution of those benefits over which government is claimed to have responsibility’ (Ware 2006, 393). Resource based equality is usually connected with the ‘equal opportunity’ ideal and is regarded as the second-best solution. However, the resource equality can be understood differently. As Ware clearly shows, it is difficult to determine what the boundaries of politically relevant resources are. For libertarians and conservatives, ‘one person one vote’ means political equality and this interpretation ‘narrows’ the political field.

Resource, not outcome based political equality, is the concept which comes closer to the proper definition of political equality necessary for this research. However, the concept of the quality of democracy has not developed independently of the concepts of Quality of Regime, Quality of Society and the Quality of Life (Andreev 2004). The relationship between these concepts, especially between the QoD and the Quality of Society requires a broader understanding of the political equality, as essential sub-dimension, in terms of resources. The political field is not, and cannot be restricted to the 'one person-one vote' model the same as the types of political activities cannot be restricted to voting rights. Social structure of a community is not outside of the political field, and following the ideas of Peter Bachrach (1969) and Rueshemeyer (2004), social and economic inequalities are thereby linked to political inequalities.

Third definition of political equality was provided by Robert Dahl in 2006, in a short book dedicated to filling in the gap in political equality studies. He states that under-achievements of full political equality are characteristics of a fundamental law that governs human nature and society. (51). Moreover, he argues that 'political resources, knowledge, skills and incentives are always and everywhere distributed unequally' (51). Among political resources he includes the variety of means that 'a person can use to influence the behavior of other persons'. Some of them are money, time, understanding, jobs and social standing. It is wise to adopt his realist approach to political equality. He states that no political system will satisfy the criteria of a perfect – ideal democracy. The same logic applies to political equality. It is an ideal, or as Dahl defines it: 'a desirable goal, one probably not perfectly achievable in practice, but a standard to which we ought to aspire, and against which we can measure the good or value of what has been achieved, what actually exists'(8).

However, Dahl also states that the increase in political equality during the last decades has resulted in the substantial reduction of political inequalities. Although his assessment applies to the United States only, his logic can be applied to Europe. And even though some would consider this argument as tautological, we have to have in mind that the extension of the right to vote has caused political equality to come closer to the ideal model in many countries.

Furthermore, as with other authors previously mentioned, Dahl also does not offer a definition of political equality that would enable us with measurement standards. He emphasizes the importance of full participation, associational autonomy, political and civil rights but does not solve the problem that he himself finds disturbing: 'we now face a further troublesome deficiency: we have no generally accepted names for political systems that fall between two ends of the scale.' (81). The lack in cardinal measures of political equality, and the inability to compare two countries precisely, according to Dahl, leaves us with only one solution, to rely on ordinal measures based on subjective judgments.

In order to begin the research on political equality it is important to summarize the elements of political participation found in literature and to offer a systematic definition of this important concept. The ideal of political equality would have to include procedural guarantees of civil and political rights, meaning not only 'written' constitutional frameworks that enable full participation of all citizens either through electoral mechanisms or non-electoral participation (channels of intermediate associations), but also an effective use of these rights. The requirement of effective use of political and civil rights goes beyond the minimal conditions of democratic political process. It can be applied in the assessment of the quality of democracy in a certain country. And as an instrumental feature of political equality, full participation has to be enabled.

Since the existence of civil and political rights is a minimum of conditions that every country has to fulfill in order to be considered democratic this dimension of political equality will not be separately assessed in the empirical analysis which will be conducted on four selected countries. However, the ideal of full participation, which will be elaborated in the next section, has not been regarded as a ‘democratic minimum’ and will be thoroughly analyzed in this paper.

To sum up, this chapter has critically assessed several approaches in the QoD conceptualization. QoD definition introduced by Diamond and Morlino in 2005 has been adopted as the ‘background concept’ (Adcock and Collier 2001, 530). Furthermore, the section on political equality has assessed different definitional explanations of this relevant principle and the relationship between political equality and QoD has been clarified. Since political equality can be understood as ‘latent variable’ and therefore unobservable if we do not clarify its content and main attributes, next chapter will introduce political participation as ‘observable variable’ (Verkuilen 2009, 23) and single most important attribute of political equality.

## 4. MEASURING INEQUALITY IN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

*I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred to ride, and millions ready saddled and bridled to be ridden.*

Richard Rumbold<sup>2</sup>

### 4.1 Participatory Representation

Questions of representation, as Brady et al. emphasize are ‘long central to democratic theory’ and cannot be neglected in research on the QoD. As it is said in the introduction, representativeness of participatory public is the focus of this text. If the ideal of higher political equality is to be achieved, ‘participatory input has to accurately reflect the politically relevant characteristics of the public’ (Brady et. al. 1995, 161).

In the introduction of *The Quality of Democracy* (2005), Diamond and Morlino investigate the relationship between QoD and other relevant concepts and confirm the importance of this normative principle: ‘With regard to participation, democratic quality is high when we in fact observe extensive citizen participation not only through voting but in the life of political parties and civil society organizations, in the discussion of public policy issues, in communicating with and demanding accountability from elected representatives, in monitoring the conduct of public office-holders, and in direct engagement with public issues at the local community level. Participation in these respects is intimately related to political equality, because, even if formal rights of participation are upheld for all, inequalities in political resources can make it much more difficult for lower-status individuals to exercise their democratic rights of participation.’ (p.10)

Any analysis that wants to assess the state of political participation cannot ignore other relevant channels of influence that are found outside electoral participation. Although many researchers dedicate their work to the inquiry of the patterns and causes of changes in the voting behavior this paper, following the standards in participation research set by Rosenstone

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<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Macaulay's History of England, Chapter I, 2007

and Hansen in 1993 and Brady et. al. in 1995, is concerned not only with electoral activism but also with the array of participatory activities present in Europe,.

Moreover, as Charles Lindbloom wrote: 'Control over governmental decisions is shared so that the preferences of no one citizen are weighted more heavily than the preferences of any other citizen'. (1953, 41) Verba clearly follows this idea in 2004 when he argues that citizen participation is 'thus, at the heart of political equality. Through their activity citizens in a democracy seek to control who will hold public office and to influence what the government does.' (663)

The effective participation is the additional criterion to the narrowly understood concept of political equality. Moreover, 'the effective use of the political right to take part in politics is stratified in a way that closely corresponds to lines of social stratification such as gender, income, or education' (Gallego 2001, 1) and it is possible that the systematic inequalities (large degree of participatory distortion) will skew active population towards specific groups and systemic inequalities in social stratification will be reflected in the political process, creating a vicious circle (Verba 2004).

Although there are many definitions of political participation<sup>3</sup>, for the purposes of this research we will accept the narrow definition provided by Brady et.al. in 1995, where **'Participation is a mechanism for representation,'** and **'a means by which governing officials are informed of the preferences and the needs of the public and are induced to respond to those preferences and needs.'**(1)

It is evident that each type of political activity has different power of influence on decision makers, however as Brady et al. emphasize: 'The ability of participatory input to turn up the political heat depends upon many factors, including the position, security, resources, and

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<sup>3</sup> In the paper 'Political participation and three theories of democracy' Jan Teorell distinguishes three types of political participation. 1) Responsive model participation – an attempt to influence those who have say in government; 2) Participatory democrats model - participation is to have a say in government oneself; and 3) deliberative model - defines participation as a way of finding out what to say.

psychological makeup of the public official at whom it is aimed.’ (45). It is still impossible to measure the volume of pressure on policy makers that each type of activity or even one act of an individual carries. One of the partial solutions to this conundrum is offered in *Voice and Equality*. Measuring the extent of each activity should get us closer to the amount of pressure each activity has on policymakers. Volume is measured as the multiplication of participatory input. Since the metrics are different in each type of participation Brady et. al. emphasize that the comparison across activities is difficult but that does not stop them in calculating the volume of activity in different types of participation. For instance, they measure the frequency of contacts, the time or money invested in political campaigns or the number of people who demonstrated.

In the above mentioned work, Verba, Lehman-Schlozman and Brady, distinguish several acts of political participation. The main distinction is made between voluntary and non-voluntary participation. Voluntary participation is part of a broader ideal of political equality and can be affected by the background inequalities. For example, it seems meaningless to measure voting turnout in the countries where voting is obligatory. However the debate on the consequences of strict procedural guarantees and obligations in electoral participation has been thoroughly analyzed by others. The authors divide voluntary participation<sup>4</sup> into political and non-political. Any activity that can ‘directly or indirectly’ have influence on government’s actions is considered to be political. Furthermore, the authors distinguish several acts/modes of participation<sup>5</sup>:

1. Voting

- Regular voting in presidential elections

- Always vote in local elections

2. Campaign

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<sup>5</sup> First used in: Verba and Nie, *Participation in America* (1967)



Persuade others how to vote

Actively work for a party or a candidate

Attend political meetings or rallies

Contribute money to a party or a candidate

Member of political club

3. Contact

Contact local official: issue-based

Contact state or national official: issue-based

Contact local official: particularized

Contact state or national official: particularized

4. Community

Work with others on local problem

Active membership in community problem solving organization

Form a group to help solve local problem

As it will be described in detail in the following chapter, nine types of political participations, will be included in the empirical analysis. However, some of the types indicated by Verba et. al. are not meaningful when applied to the European experience as they are distinctively American civic traditions (e.g. bumper-stickers supporting a party during the campaign, for more details see Norris 2001). Moreover, participation in demonstrations as one type of political participation for which the interest has increased in the last few decades (Norris et.al. 2003), has not been given enough attention in the work of Brady and others, and the importance of this type of activity in Europe today has lead to the inclusion of this type in the analysis.

### 4.1.1 Descriptive representation

Full political participation is an ideal that no country will ever be able to fulfill. There are many theorists who think that this ideal would be a 'democratic nightmare' if achieved (e.g. Verba 2004). However, unless we agree upon the level of equality in political participation which has to be reached by every high-quality democracy, comparing the situation in each country with an ideal of full participatory equality, is the best choice. Otherwise it is impossible to inquire about the trade-offs between participatory equality and other core democratic principles. Ideal types are the best way to start finding the appropriate measures.

To make a descriptive demographic representation, as concluded by many researchers (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980 and Bartels 2002), is not a realistic goal. There is no such consensus in democratic theory that would require the elected representatives to reflect the structure of the population. The resemblance of the representatives, or elected officials, to the public is impossible for several reasons: 'elected assemblies – even big, unwieldy ones – are finite in size and unchanging in composition for a fixed term, so that they are inevitably limited in how closely the members can resemble the public – if that were deemed desirable.' (Brady et. al., 1995, 168)

Rosenstone and Hansen follow similar arguments from the literature (Collins and Swabey, 1937 and Fenichel and Pitkin 1967, quoted in Rosenstone and Hansen 1993) to justify the assumption that the participatory public should reflect the population: 'Understanding whether participants are representative of the population is a different task from assessing whether a legislator represents its constituency. In the case of a legislator, part of the task of understanding representation would surely include an examination of what the agent has done with the grant of authority from her constituents. In the case of political participation, the population does not select the participants; the participants are not agents for the rest of the population; there are no mechanisms of accountability' (292).

### 4.1.2 New application of participatory distortion

The measure of participatory inequality – participatory distortion – will be adapted from the work of Brady et. al. They define participatory distortion as ‘the circumstance in which political activists do not reflect accurately the larger population from which they come with respect to some politically relevant characteristic’. (178). The consequences of distortion are disproportionate ‘voices’ of groups that are more or less active.

According to the same authors there are two important circumstances that change the effect of distortion in a group. First, ‘the degree of participatory distortion depends on how far it is from the mean of the population on whatever shared politically relevant characteristic defines it.’(178). And secondly, the size of the group has implications on the degree of distortion. If the size of the group constitutes of small portions of the population, the impact of the distortion will not have a large influence on the overall distortion. However, as the large group will be closer to the mean of the population anyways, the distortions in small groups have to be taken with careful consideration. However, one thing has to be added to the Brady et. al. conclusion the smaller the group the harder it will be to detect the distortion patterns. More on this in the next section, when the empirical examples will be presented. And at the end, the distortion can go both ways, it can be negative (underrepresentation) and positive (overrepresentation).

Participatory distortion is a concept that relates to the inequalities found in participant public according to their specific socio-demographic or economic attributes. First measure of participatory distortion is developed by Rosenstone and Hansen in the study published in 1993, already mentioned before. They developed two measures to assess the bias in representation. First measure, ‘representation ratio’ is conducted by comparing ‘the group’s share of the participants to its share of the population as a whole:  $RATIO_i = PART_i / POP_i$ ’ (291). The representation ratio was calculated for the groups according the highest level of education,

income and age. However, this research also partitioned the population into ‘mutually exhaustive and exclusive groups’ in order to assess the ‘partial effect of each determinant on the individual probability of taking part, again holding the other causes constant’ (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, 291). These groups, potential causes of participation were divided into three subgroups of dependent variables: a) resources, which included education, external efficacy, internal efficacy, age, gender, race; b) social involvement which included unemployed, employed, income, joining with others to work on national and/or local problems; c) mobilization by political leaders which included being contacted by a party or a candidate, a new senator and a new representative and d) mobilization around issues which included the share of the individuals from the survey who had school-age children.

Representation ratio can tell us only which groups are over or under represented, and cannot reveal the amount of inequality, so other measure of inequality was introduced by Rosenstone and Hansen (1993)– index of equality (EQ). In order to assess the inequalities across groups the representation ratio is first calculated for two separate subgroups within the group that is the object of measurement. Since the simplest way to assess the EQ is to compare the two subgroups which are at the ends of distribution (e.g. low income and high income), the formula for EQ is as follows:  $EQ = \text{RATIO}_b (\text{group at the bottom of the distribution}) / \text{RATIO}_t (\text{group at the top of the distribution})$ . The interpretation of the EQ is simple. ‘When the groups at the bottom and the top are represented among the participants in proportion to their share of the population in the population, EQ is 1.0. When EQ falls below 1.0, the coefficient shows the amount by which the group at the bottom of the continuum is underrepresented compared to the group at the top’ (294).

In 1995, Brady et. al. introduce several measures of distortion. The simplest measure introduced by them is measure of difference. Difference measure of participatory distortion ( $D_c = E(C|a) - E(C)$ ) for any characteristic ‘is very appealing because it directly compares the

average characteristics communicated to the decision makers by activists [E(CIa)] with the average characteristic in the population [E(C)].’ (573.) However, as the authors themselves mention this measure depends upon the lower and upper bounds of the population characteristics.

Second measure applied by Brady et. al. in *Voice and Equality* is a measure of variations in the level or the amount of activity for different types of participation that can be graphically compared on several demographic or socio-economic characteristics. Although this measure may suggest inequality patterns, it cannot be used for comparison of one attribute across different types of activity.

However, the representation ratio, first developed by Rosenstone and Hansen, mentioned above, was adopted by Brady et al and somewhat modified. As the measure that enables comparisons across types of participation and characteristics (attributes) at the same time representation ratio will be used in the second part of the empirical analysis. To summarize the benefits of the representation ratio it is best to provide a clear example. Table 4.1.1 will illustrate a possible situation:

**Table 4.1.1 Example data for the calculation of representation ration**

	<b>Population</b>	<b>Demonstrators</b>
<b>Population</b>	100	30
<b>Young people</b>	20	3

*Source: compiled by the author*

We can use representation ratio to see whether demonstrators are representative of the whole population according to their age, or whether young people demonstrate as much as all activists in the population. In the first situation the representation ratio R would be equal to the average activity level for the characteristic we are interested in divided by the percentage of the activists in the population. In the second situation the representation ratio of the young people

would be equal to the average characteristic level for the activity we are interested in divided by the share of young people in the population. However, the ratios calculated from the first or the second method would be the same. The ratio of young people who demonstrate (0,1) divided by the ratio of the young people in the population (0,2) equals 0,5. The ratio of demonstrators among young people (0,15) divided by the ratio of demonstrators in the population (0,3) also equals 0,5. If the number of young demonstrators would be 6 than the representation ratio would be equal to 1, it would mean that young people are equally represented in the participant public.

Furthermore, Brady et. al. emphasize that ‘the only problem with the representation ratio is that it ranges asymmetrically going from zero to infinity with equality of representation when  $R(AC)=1$ .’(575). They suggest that the Logged Representation Scale would be a more suitable measure since it ‘ranges symmetrically from minus infinity to plus infinity with equality of representation at zero’ (pp 576). The LRS is calculated by taking the logarithm value of representation ratio result ( $LRS=\log[R]$ ), the negative number shows under-representation and the positive over-representation. However, since it is reasonable to expect that the LRS values will be quite different from zero, it is important to decide on the threshold value that would indicate significant under- and overrepresentation. More on this topic in the analysis section.

This section has provided an overview of the theoretical justifications of participatory representation and several measures of participatory distortion from the literature were presented. Representation ratio applied by Brady et.al. in *Voice and Equality* is described in details since the results in the next chapter will be presented as Logged Representation Scale. Next section will discuss main criteria for case selection and the selection of variables for the analysis.

## **4.2 Case selection and variables**

As the main intention of this paper is to see the differences in patterns of political participation among countries with different lengths of democratic experience, four countries have been selected. Two with a longer democratic experience, Netherlands and Ireland and two new democracies that emerged in the 1989/90 wave of democratization in CEE, Poland and Slovenia. As the intention of this proposal, as mentioned in the introduction, is not to provide any causal explanations, countries have been chosen only on the basis of the longevity of their democratic regimes and they had to fulfill the minimum requirements for a political democracy.

As noted in the introduction, the representation of the participants will be conducted regarding several politically relevant characteristics. As the range of politically relevant characteristics is quite large, the characteristics chosen for this analysis will include the basic variables used by Brady et. al. The reason for this decision is the possibility of a later comparison of the study conducted in the USA and the findings on our four European countries. Furthermore, these socio-demographic attributes are also selected according to their usage in the baseline literature on political participation in Europe (Norris 2001, Dekker 2001, Deth 1997, Fahmy 2003, Jackman 1987, Kostadinova 2003, LeDuc et al 1996, McClurg 2003, Milbrath 1966, Putnam 1991 and 2001, Verba et. al. 1995).

The variables which are most usually connected to the types of participation, and recognized as 'pertinent to political conflict' (Brady et. al. 171) are gender, age, education and income. Although reasons for inclusion of these characteristics could have been applied to other relevant attributes like occupation, religiousness or ethnicity, it is impossible to include them all. As this study will cover four countries and nine types of participation, other socio-demographic variables although all potentially relevant had to be excluded.

As for the types of participation, as it was stated before, the act of voting is not ‘the only means of citizen input’ (Dalton 1988, 35). Therefore several acts of participation were selected for the analysis. As Dalton argues, many cross-national studies explored several types of conventional participation. It was mentioned before that the most thorough analysis was conducted by Brady and others, although the modes of activity were theoretically developed by Verba in 1978. Since Brady et. al.’s civic participation study was tailed for the purposes of their research proposal; it was possible to formulate questions concerning different types of participation. However, from the Module III of the European Social Survey<sup>6</sup>, it was possible to select only these participatory variables:

B11 *VOTE* voted last national election

B13 *CONTPLT* contacted politician or government official last 12 months

B14 *WRKPRTY* worked in political party or action group last 12 months

B15 *WRKORG* worked in another organization or association last 12 months

B16 *BADGE* worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months

B17 *SGNPTIT* signed petition last 12 months

B18 *PBLDMN* taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months

B21 *MMBPRTY* member of political party

F30 *MBTRU* member of trade union or similar organization

and these socio-demographic and economic attributes:

*GNDR* gender

*AGE* age of respondent, calculated

F6 *EDULVL* highest level of education

F32 *HINCTNT* household's total net income, all sources

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<sup>6</sup> R Jowell and the Central Co-ordinating Team, European Social Survey 2006/2007: Technical Report, London: Centre for Comparative Social Surveys, City University (2007)



As it was briefly mentioned above, these variables will be used to measure inequality in different forms of participation by different individual characteristics. Table 4.2.1 below will illustrate the intention of the empirical analysis.

**Table 4.2.1 Illustration of the measurement process**

Country		Types of participation								
Attributes		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male									
	Female									
Age	Young									
	Lower middle age									
	Upper middle age									
	Old									
Education	Low									
	Medium									
	High									
Income	Low									
	Lower middle									
	Upper middle									
	High									

*Source: compiled by the author*

### 4.3 Analysis

Empirical analysis is conducted on the European Social Survey, Module III dataset from 2006. As the primary goal of this paper is to assess the state of political equality – by measuring participatory distortion, in every country and compare the results found among the countries selected the harmonization of the variables was crucial. ESS database was chosen because creators of the database made a lot of effort on the harmonization of socio-economic and demographic variables (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik 2004 and Rydland, Arnesen and Østensen 2008). The application of standardized questions on income and education, according to the ISO recommendations has made any cross-country analysis much easier.

Separate databases were extracted from the ESS website for Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Slovenia. Since the topic of this paper is political participation individuals who did not reach the voting age threshold were excluded from each of the databases. Age span of cases

ranges from 18 to 65 + years, since the voting age legal threshold for each country included is 18 years.

Moreover, since sample designs applied in countries that participated in the ESS were not precise and could not 'give all individuals in the population aged 15+ precisely the same chance of selection', ESS recommend the weighting of data before the analysis. As design weight corrects these slightly different probabilities of selection, thereby making the sample more representative of a 'true' sample of individuals aged 15+ in each country' data was weighted with *dweight*<sup>7</sup> variable (design weight). (ESS3 - 2006 Documentation Report).

The ESS structured questionnaires were conducted in Netherlands from 16<sup>th</sup> of September 2006 till 18<sup>th</sup> of March 2007, in Ireland from 14<sup>th</sup> of September 2006 till 31<sup>st</sup> of August 2007, in Slovenia from 18<sup>th</sup> of October 2006 till 4<sup>th</sup> of December 2006 and in Poland from 2<sup>nd</sup> of October 2006 till 13<sup>th</sup> of December 2006. The questions and the variables from the ESS database are summarized in the *Appendix A*.

In order to determine the existence of participatory distortion (over-representation or under-representation), the variables had to be recoded. The population was partitioned according to the nine types of participation and four politically relevant characteristics. Nine types of participation: voting, contacting a politician, work for a political party, work for a union or other organization, wearing a badge or a campaign button, taking part in a lawful demonstrations, signing a petition, membership in a political party and membership in a union or other organization, were recoded into participants (1) and non-participants (0). System or user missing cases were listwise excluded from the analysis.

Politically relevant characteristics: gender, age, education and income were also recoded. Since the intention of this analysis was to see the difference between politically

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<sup>7</sup> The *Design* weights are computed: In general design weights were computed for each country as follows: a)  $w = 1/(\text{PROB1} \dots \text{PROBk})$  is a  $n \times 1$  vector of weights ;  $k$  depends on the number of stages of the sampling design and b) All weights were rescaled in a way that the sum of the final weights equals  $n$ , i.e. Rescaled weights =  $n \cdot w / \text{sum}(w)$ . (ESS3 Documentation Report, pp. 9)

relevant characteristics population had to be partitioned differently than in ESS Module 3 database. Larger groups were created so that the difference could be more visible. Moreover, the literature generally indicates that significant differences could be found between anchoring groups within categories (e.g. young and old, low levels and high levels of education and low and high income groups). *Gender* was recoded into two separate variables, *Male* (male 1 and others 0) and *Female* (female 1 and others 0). *Age* was recoded into larger portions of the population (for original coding see Table 2. in the Appendix). Age groups are: *young* (from 18 to 29,99 years), *lower middle age* (from 30 to 49,99 years), *upper middle age* (from 50 to 64,99 years) and *old* (65 years and higher). Each of the subgroups of age was then recoded into dummy variables.

Highest level of education<sup>8</sup> was recoded into three separate groups: *lower education* (not completed primary education and primary or first stage of basic education), *middle level of education* (lower secondary or second stage of basic, upper secondary and post secondary, non-tertiary education) and *high level of education* (first stage of tertiary and second stage of tertiary). Each of the subgroups of education was then recoded into dummy variables.

*Household's total net income* was also recoded. Since the ESS Module documentation provides the field workers with three different calculations of income (weekly, monthly and annual income) one of them had to be selected. The interpretation of the results will be given in annual income figures in Euros. The income variable was recoded as following (Table 4.3.1):

**Table 4.3.1 Income variable coding scheme**

New variable	ESS variable
Low income	Less than 1800
	1800 - 3600
	3600 - 6000

<sup>8</sup> In the ESS 3, 2006, highest level of education was standardized according to the slightly modified ISCED-97.

Lower middle income	6000 -12000
	12000 -18000
	18000 - 24000
Upper middle income	24000 - 30000
	30000 - 36000
	36000 - 60000
High income	60000 - 90000
	90000 -120000
	120000 +

*Source: compiled by the author*

In order to determine the existence of participatory distortion in each country and group, confidence intervals around the mean were calculated in the SPSS for each of the characteristics (attributes) separately within the population and for each of the characteristics on every type of participation. For example, the mean of the young people in the population and confidence intervals around that mean were compared with the confidence intervals around the mean of the young people who participate. If the confidence intervals do not overlap, there is a significant distortion. If the lower bound value of the confidence interval of the mean of young people in the population is higher than the upper bound of the confidence interval around the mean of young people who participate, we can conclude that the young people who participate are ‘under-represented’ in the population. On the other side, if the upper bound value of the confidence interval of the mean of young people in the population is smaller than the lower bound value of the confidence interval around the mean of young people who participate, we can conclude that the young people who participate are ‘over-represented’ in the population.

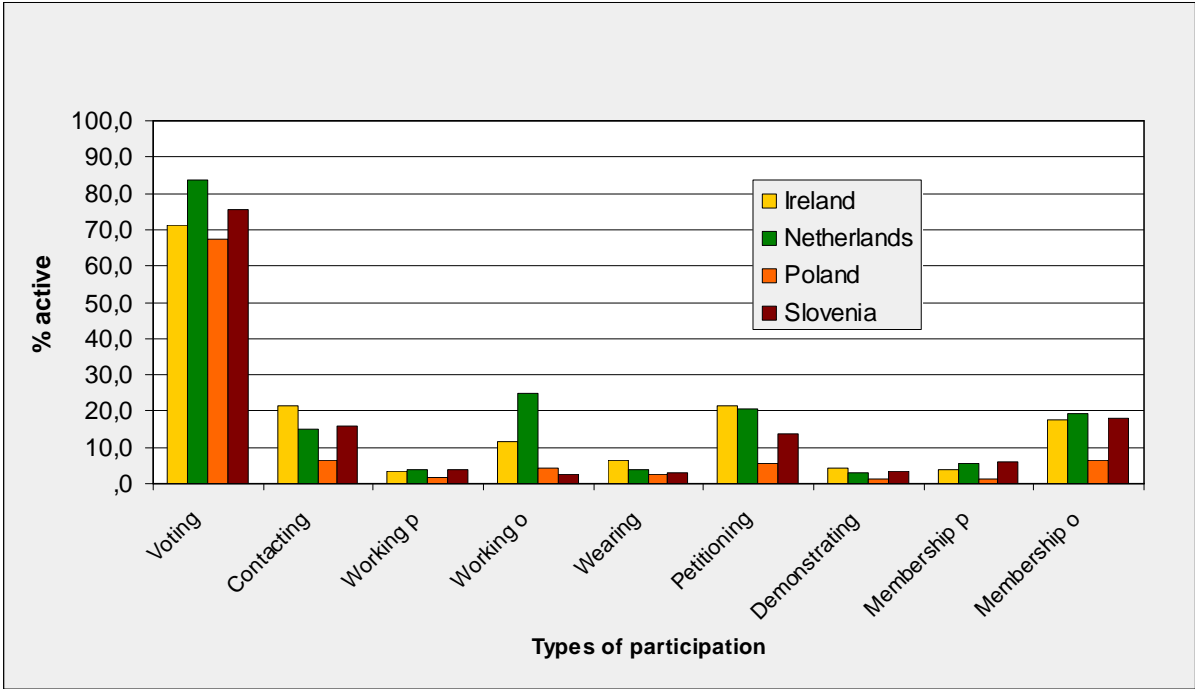
This procedure described above is the first step in finding the patterns of participatory distortion. Since the comparison of confidence intervals enables us to find statistically significant participatory distortions this measure was first applied. Second step was to calculate the representation ratios and LRS for each country. LRS calculations will be used to compare the level of inequality in participation *among* countries selected and the confidence intervals will be used to interpret general patterns of participatory distortion in each of the countries *separately*.

# 5. Participatory bias in Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Slovenia

## 5.1 Volume of political participation

Before presenting the findings on the patterns of participatory distortion found in Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Slovenia it is important to analyze the volume of each type of political participation in these countries. As it was mentioned before, the size of the participatory group affects the findings on participatory distortion. As the number of cases in the group reduces, confidence intervals around the mean become larger. If the confidence intervals are too large no conclusions can be made on the difference between the mean of the population and the mean of that particular group. In the Figure 5.1. we can see the volume of nine types of participation calculated from the ESS database.

**Figure 5.1 Politically active individuals across types of participation in Ireland, Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia**



Source: compiled by the author from the ESS 3 Database

As it was expected voting is the most spread type of political activity. Furthermore, turnout rates found in ESS do not match the rates found on IDEA website (see Table 5.1.1 bellow). The differences between rates calculated by IDEA and those found in the ESS database just confirm the thesis on over-reporting in the case of surveys in relevant literature (Belli et. al. 2001; Belli et. al. 1999, Belli et. al. 2006, Bernstein et. al. 2001; Brian et. al. 1986). However, as there is no independent measure available for each type of participatory activity employed in this analysis it is impossible to validate the numbers that are found in the ESS 3 survey. Moreover, as Brady et. al. also note: 'Because other forms of activity are both less frequent than voting and less firmly attaches to notions of civic duty, it is possible that the problem is less severe for other activities than it is for voting'. (50)

**Table 5.1.1 Turnout rates for Ireland, Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia in the years prior to ESS3**

		IDEA		
	ESS	Turnout	VAP	Year
Ireland	71,3	67.0%	68.9%	2006
Netherlands	83,7	80.4%	77.5%	2006
Poland	67,2	40.6%	40.9%	2005
Slovenia	75,5	60.6%	61.1%	2004

*Source: compiled by the author from the ESS 3 Database and IDEA Turnout database*

Figure 5.1 shows that the work for a political party, wearing a badge or a campaign sticker, demonstrating and membership in political parties are all activities that are not widely spread across population of Netherlands, Ireland, Slovenia and Poland. Moreover, it is evident that higher percentage of individuals from Netherlands participates in most types of participation, following Ireland and Slovenia. Poland can be seen as the country in which non-

electoral channels of political participation are not spread. In each of the non-electoral type of participation there is no more than 7% of population who answered that they participate.

Furthermore, if we compare the findings of Brady et al in 1995 with the data presented here several conclusions can be made. Firstly, much more Americans (48 %<sup>9</sup>) are affiliated with political organizations than individuals taken from ESS the sample. As it can be seen from the Figure 5.1. membership in political parties does not come close to the 10% of population. However, having in mind the noted trend on the decrease in party membership and party alignment in literature these results are not surprising. Furthermore, in the *Voice and Equality* authors compare the volume of activity in the States with the data extracted from the Political Action Survey in 1979 in Netherlands, United Kingdom, West Germany and Austria. Since only Netherlands is being analyzed in this paper, it is interesting to observe that the share of population that reported to have contacted a politician increased from 11% in 1979 to 14,8 % in 2006. This increase however should be carefully interpreted since the data collection methods are very different. Furthermore, contacting a politician as an important and ‘information rich’ activity that requires much personal initiative and effort is much more present among American public (34%<sup>10</sup>) than in these four countries.

## **5.2 Over-representation and under-representation**

This section will summarize the results of the analysis conducted on nine types of participation across four socio-demographic and economic attributes for four countries. The results will first be presented for each attribute separately and the LRS calculations, as dimensionless measure of distortion will be applied to compare the differences found among countries. Subsection *Analysis* described the method applied to calculate participatory distortion. Comparison of confidence

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<sup>9</sup> These percentages are taken from *Voice and Equality*, Figure 3.1, page 51.

<sup>10</sup> Note 8, *ibid.*



intervals around the mean for the group share in the population and in the participants for every country is presented in the Appendix C. Tables below this section (Table 5.2.1 – Table 5.2.4) present the distortions found in summarized form. 1 marks the group that is overrepresented and -1 the group that is under-represented in the population. Key can be found under the tables.

### 5.2.1 Gender Gap

Measure of participatory distortion was used to see whether the proportion of people with the same attribute within nine types of participation is same as the proportion of people within the population. The interpretation will be conducted by describing the differences found within each category selected for the analysis and for each country.

Gender differences in political participation have been emphasized and analyzed by many authors. For instance, *The private roots of public action* book, written by Burns, Lehman Schlozman and Verba in 2001 focuses only on gender gap in political participation. Since gender is recognized as relevant political category and it is composed of two groups that have clear identity and different standpoints not only in the United States but also in Europe, it is important to see whether members of these groups are equally represented across nine types of political participation in selected countries.

As it can be seen in the summarized tables on under- and overrepresentation presented at the end of this section, Ireland is the only country where women are underrepresented only in one type of political participation – membership in organizations or trade unions. Furthermore, women are underrepresented within party members and those who contact the government officials in Poland. In Slovenia women are underrepresented in three types of participation.

Furthermore, more participatory distortions were found among female and male participants in Netherlands than in other countries. Male are over-represented among those who contacted the politician, worked for a party, demonstrated, were members of a party and

members of a organization or a union. Sequently women were under-represented in all of those activities.

This is rather surprising. In 2004, Ingelhart, Norris and Welzel have analyzed the relationship between gender equality, cultural change and democracy. Since they measured gender equality with the percentage of women in parliament their results cannot be directly generalized to this specific situation. However, several conclusion from that text can be used to identify Poland and Slovenia, neo-democracies and furthermore Catholic countries, as unlikely to achieve the levels of gender equality that are substantially closer to the ideal than in Netherlands.

It has been previously noted that literature on political participation has emphasized the importance of socio-demographic and economic characteristic of participant groups. In the 2007 Aina Gallego, using the logistic regression, found that the age and education emerge as the most important causes of distortion in 22 European countries. Moreover, she found that gender is less clearly related to participation. However, as it can be seen in the tables below gender is found to be significant attribute when it comes to determining the presence of inequality in participation.

Similar conclusions were reached by Brady et. al. in 'Voice and Equality'. Gender gap in political participation was recognized as existent in the United States even before Brady et.al.(1995). However, several critics pointed that these studies overstated the differences among man and women and that the conceptualization of political activity was biased toward these conclusions. Women specialized in different types of activities than man and those types of activities were excluded from prior research. Acknowledging the criticism, Brady et. al. expanded the types of activities analyzed, applied more advanced statistical techniques and have also found that women are less likely to participate even when the analysis is conducted on more types of political participation.

To sum up, women are under-represented in Ireland (membership in the organization or unions), Netherlands (contacting, working for a party, demonstrating, membership in parties and organizations), Slovenia (contacting, working for a party and organization) and in Poland (membership in parties and contacting).

### **5.2.2 Age and Political Participation**

Gallego's results from 2007, where age and education 'appear as the most widespread structural determinants of political participation'(13), only confirm the same conclusions reached by many other researchers on political participation (e.g. Parry et al. 1992; Norris, Walgrave, and Van Aelst 2005). These conclusions, although aimed at explaining the patterns of participation, indicate that age is a category that cannot be neglected.

If we observe the patterns of distortion found in Ireland, Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia it is evident that equal participation across age groups is not fulfilled in any of the countries. Furthermore, age is the category with significantly more distortions than gender. Significant distortions were found for two age groups: young and old. Furthermore, old people are more disadvantaged than the young people in all of the types of participation.

If we check the patterns of distortion in neo-democracies, Poland and Slovenia, we can see that old people are under-represented in more types of participation in Slovenia than in Poland, moreover there are three types of participatory activity where this groups are under-represented in both countries: petitioning, wearing a badge and membership in organizations or trade unions.

Young people are unequally represented within membership of the organizations or trade unions in Poland and within voters and members of the organizations in Slovenia. However, overrepresentation of young people is present only in Slovenia. Young people are more likely than all other age groups, to demonstrate and sign a petition. From the two countries with longer democratic tradition, Ireland again shows better prospects. Old people are under-represented

only among petitioners and young people among voters and organization or union members. Netherlands is the only country where lower middle age group (from 30 to 49,99 years) is under-represented. This group unequally participates among party members.

Since all of the distortions can be seen from the tables below it is now more important to compare this results with the results found in other similar studies. The underrepresentation of young people was expected since many authors have detected this trend earlier (for detailed overview of this topic see Forbrig 2005). However, it has to be noted that the underrepresentation of young people in certain types of activities does not necessarily imply the disillusionment argument. Channels of participation that attract youth are often quite different than types of participation that attract other age groups. As it can be seen from the data in the tables below, youth are equally represented in several types of activities across all countries analyzed: working for a party, wearing a badge, petitioning, demonstrating and party membership. However, it has to be noted that distortion of old people in the participant public is more common in neo than in older democracies.

### **5.2.3 Highest level of education and political participation**

As one of the most studied determinants of political participation, education has been considered as the most relevant factor in explanations why do some people participate more than others (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba and Nie 1972; Verba, Scholzman, and Brady 1995; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980). As Pippa Norris (2002) summarizes: 'Education is widely believed to facilitate the acquisition of civic skills, competences, and knowledge that lead towards political participation. Education is thought to furnish citizens with a wide variety of assets that may be useful in politics, as in life, such as the cognitive skills to make sense of current events in the mass media, the verbal and written skills essential to political communication, and the basic understanding of civics and public affairs that facilitates further campaign learning.'(Chapter V, 4)

However, in the article *Reconsidering the Effects of Education on Political Participation*, Ken and Palmer (2008) argue that education is a ‘proxy for preadult experiences and influences, not a cause of political participation’(612). Whether this is the right conclusion or not, it is not relevant for this text. These works all indicate that education is a politically relevant characteristic and it is still relevant to investigate participatory distortions among groups with different level of education.

By comparing the confidence intervals around the means for three categories within the variable of education (low, medium and high level of education) it has been found that the low educated individuals are the most under-represented category of all of the categories analysed. Poland and Netherlands show disturbing patterns of participatory distortion for groups with low education. In Poland these groups are under-represented in almost all types of political participation (exception are members of political party). Furthermore, in these two countries those with high education are overrepresented in more than three types of participation.

Groups with medium level of education are under-represented in countries with longer democratic tradition while data from Slovenia and Poland does not reveal similar patterns. Furthermore, distortions found in Slovenia and Ireland, although not positive are not so spread across all types of participation as in Netherlands and Poland.

Interesting, petitioning is found to be the type of activity where people with low education are the least likely to participate in all of the countries. Since this is the type of activity that requires small amount of resources (time, money, skills) and has a potential of exerting high amount of pressure on decision makers it is alarming that this particular group is under-represented.

As it was mentioned several times, Gallego has found that education is one of the (along with age) most spread explanatory factors of political participation. She states that even though education has been regarded as not relevant for European experiences, her findings show

different patterns. It seems that educational biases are not only ‘American problem’ as it was considered by Norris (2002). Norris states that although Brady et. al. have found severe distortions connected with educational attainment, studies conducted in European countries do not lead to same conclusions for Europe. However, most of these studies was conducted only on electoral behavior (e.g. voting turnout), where distortions are the least expected compared to other types of participation.

To conclude, from the data found in the ESS3 and calculated for Netherlands, Ireland, Poland and Slovenia educational bias is still present in Europe, and not only in countries with shorter but also with longer democratic experience.

#### **5.2.4 Participation gap among income groups**

The implications of unequal participatory distortion of income groups cannot be stressed enough. As Brady et. al. emphasize ‘myriad of government policies – ranging from taxes to welfare to labor relations to the minimum wage-affect income groups differently’(187). If any of income groups is under-represented the information communicated to the decision makers through different channels of participation will be skewed towards those groups who are overrepresented.

In *Voice and Equality*, Brady et. al. found that the differences between income groups are less distinctive in voting and more in other types of activities. ‘There is a participation gap among income groups with respect to contacting...’, ‘...the poor are less likely to attend protest’ and the overrepresentation is ‘most pronounced when it comes to campaign contributions’ (191). If we check the summary tables of participatory distortion in Ireland, Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia we can see that most distortions are found belong to those with low income. Furthermore, those with low income are more disadvantaged in neo-democracies than in Netherlands and Ireland.

Furthermore, patterns of distortion among those who contact the government official are not the same in all of the countries analyzed. In Ireland and Slovenia, participatory distortion on

this type of participation exists for those with low income, in Netherlands for those with lower middle level of household income and in Poland these distortions are not found. Moreover, no differences are found among those who demonstrate. In all of the countries analyzed income gap among demonstrators is not so evident.

However, due to the specific problems with income reporting in the surveys these conclusions have to be carefully assessed. For instance if we look at the summary table for Poland we can see that several cells are marked with blue color. Since none of the individuals with upper middle or high income reported to work in a party and being a member of political party, and no one with high income has demonstrated among the respondents, these cells were left blank.<sup>11</sup> One way to interpret these findings is to say that members of these groups are highly under-represented within these types of participation. However, as the sample of the ESS 3 is not without its problems and the recoding of the variables may have caused the bias in certain groups, the results in this cells can be interpreted differently. If we check the frequencies of the income variable in Poland it is evident that only 0.9% of the respondents have high income and only 2% have upper middle income (frequencies are available in Appendix). Moreover, answers of 17% of respondents are missing.

To sum up, it is evident that patterns of participatory distortion exist in every country analyzed. Ireland has the least pronounced inequality patterns. Since each of the countries analyzed has quite different patterns of distortion, for instance they are more commonly found on one attribute in one country than in another, it is hard to evaluate the overall status of participatory representation in these countries. Comparison of the confidence intervals around the means has revealed significant distortions but cannot tell us nothing about their size. In the next section another measure of participatory distortion, Logged Representation Scale will be calculated for the same cases.

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<sup>11</sup> Same problem will appear in the LRS calculations. In the Tables in Apendices D and E cells that are marked red are left blank because of this issue.

**Table 5.2.1 Under and over-representation in Ireland**

Ireland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Female	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
Age	Young	-1	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0
	Lower middle age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Upper middle age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Old	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0
Education	Low	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	0	0	0
	Medium	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	0	0	0
	High	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Income	Low	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Lower middle	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	0	0	0
	Upper middle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	High	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0

	Under-represented
	Over-represented
	None participated
	Everybody participated

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS3 database

**Table 5.2.2 Under and over-representation in Netherlands**

Netherlands		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
	Female	0	-1	-1	0	0	0	-1	-1	-1
Age	Young	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
	Lower middle age	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0
	Upper middle age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Old	0	-1	0	0	0	-1	0	1	-1
Education	Low	0	-1	-1	-1	0	-1	0	0	0
	Medium	0	-1	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	0
	High	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Income	Low	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	**	0
	Lower middle	0	-1	-1	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Upper middle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	High	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS3 database



**Table 5.2.3 Under and over-representation in Poland**

Poland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Female	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0
Age	Young	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1
	Lower middle age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Upper middle age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Old	0	0	0	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1
Education	Low	0	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	-1	0	-1
	Medium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	High	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	1
Income	Low	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	0	0	-1
	Lower middle	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1
	Upper middle	0	0	**	0	0	0	0	**	0
	High	0	0	**	0	0	0	**	**	0

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS3 database

**Table 5.2.4 Under and over-representation in Slovenia**

Slovenia		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Female	0	-1	-1	-1	0	0	0	0	0
Age	Young	-1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	-1
	Lower middle age	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Upper middle age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Old	0	-1	0	0	-1	-1	-1	0	-1
Education	Low	0	-1	0	0	0	-1	-1	0	0
	Medium	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	High	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Income	Low	0	-1	0	0	0	-1	-1	0	-1
	Lower middle	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Upper middle	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
	High	**	0	**	**	**	0	0	**	0

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS3 database

CEI/ID Collection

### 5.2.5 Logged Representation Scale

As it was discussed before in this paper, representation ratio was developed by Rosenstone and Hansen and later modified by Brady et. al. Since it was recommended by Brady et.al. to use LRS and not just representation ratio, this measure was also calculated as a second step in this analysis. The benefits of the LRS can best be summarized by the authors themselves: 'Because the LRS is dimensionless number like correlation coefficient or beta weight, one value can be compared with another.' (Brady et al., pp 184).

As mentioned before, the LRS is calculated by taking the logarithm value out of representation ratio result ( $LRS = \log[R]$ ). The negative number shows under-representation and the positive over-representation. Representation ratio was determined for each of the groups partitioned according to the attributes and types of participation. For example, the share of the highly educated demonstrators was divided with the share of highly educated respondents in the whole population. The logarithm of that ratio was then calculated.

Since the LRS score of 0.30 indicates that the activists are twice as likely to have a characteristics as members of a population as a whole, and LRS score of -0.30 indicates the opposite, 0.3 and -0.3 were taken as thresholds of under- or over-representation because of the easier interpretation.

It is important to note that as different measure is applied, LRS results show different patterns of distortion than the measure applied in the previous section. However, the LRS results can be used to compare the levels of distortion among countries. LRS results for each country are presented in the *Appendix D*.

Furthermore, LRS results for each country will not be separately interpreted. Since the intention of this analysis was to compare the levels of participatory distortion in older and new European democracies certain modifications have been made to the LRS calculations so that the appropriate data aggregation can be applied. Because participatory distortion exists in

both directions simply summing them up would cause the results of the LRS to cancel each other. In order to avoid this LRS values were transformed into absolute values. After that, absolute LRS values of subgroups were multiplied by the of each subgroups share in the population. This was done so the size of the group would be taken into consideration in the final calculation. For example, if the LRS value of the people with low income among those who signed the petition was 0,54 this number was multiplied by the share of the same subgroup in the population. Furthermore, overall participatory distortion for every type of participation was calculated by summing up all of the results on each type of participation. Detailed results can be seen in the Appendix E. Summary of the results can be seen in the Table 5.2.5.

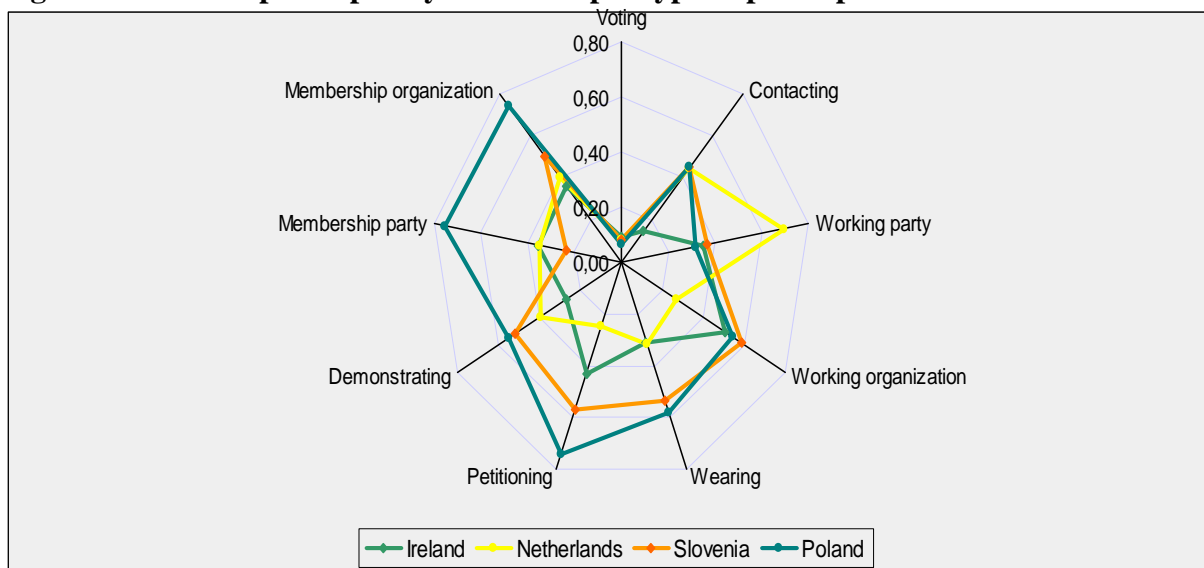
**Table 5.2.5 Overall participatory distortion for each type of participation**

	Ireland	Netherlands	Slovenia	Poland
<b>Voting</b>	0,09	0,08	0,08	0,07
<b>Contacting</b>	0,15	0,45	0,45	0,45
<b>Working party</b>	0,35	0,70	0,37	0,32
<b>Working organization</b>	0,51	0,27	0,58	0,54
<b>Wearing</b>	0,31	0,32	0,53	0,58
<b>Petitioning</b>	0,43	0,25	0,57	0,74
<b>Demonstrating</b>	0,27	0,40	0,52	0,55
<b>Membership party</b>	0,36	0,35	0,24	0,76
<b>Membership organization</b>	0,36	0,41	0,50	0,74

*Source: calculated by the author from ESS 3 Database*

It is evident that distortion is *least* pronounced in voting. However, it is hard to determine which type of activity has the *most unequal* patterns of participatory distortion. It can also be seen that Ireland and Netherlands, as old democracies, have lower levels of distortion in most of the types of activities. In Figure 5.2, presented below, these patterns can be detected more clearly.

**Figure 5.2 Overall participatory distortion per type of participation**



Moreover, if we calculate the sum of the overall participatory distortion that was first calculated for each type of participation, these countries can be aligned as follows:

1. Ireland 2,83
2. Netherlands 3,21
3. Slovenia 3,85
4. Poland 4,75

However, the question remains whether these data are eligible for aggregation and what can a number like 3,85 reveal about political equality in Slovenia. Ireland can be regarded as the country with least disproportionate participatory public and therefore the one that has achieved the highest level of political equality among the countries analyzed. On the other side, with the score of 4,75, situation in Poland is far from ideal. We could say that this score is ‘pointing to the matters of serious concern’ (Munck 2009).

Furthermore, these numbers can only be used to rank the countries according to the results of distortion measure. Since the scores go from 0 to infinity it is impossible to provide an exact interpretation. For example, we cannot say that Poland is twice as unequal compared

to Ireland. Still, as it is said before, participatory distortion increases with the increase of the aggregate measure.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This text has focused on the question *Do new and old democracies differ in their patterns of participatory distortion?* in order to shed some light on the common assumption that older democracies are better than neo-democracies. Furthermore, the general need for the development of measures that would escape pitfalls of minimalist definitions, has been identified as the leading force of this research. Quality of Democracy project has provided a conceptual framework and the motivation for the research on political equality.

In order to answer the research question and to contribute to the efforts in the QoD studies this thesis has been organized into five chapters. After the introductory chapter, second chapter has provided an overview of the state of the field in the studies on Quality of Democracy. Furthermore, it has introduced main research agendas on political equality and political participation and identified the research gap in these fields. Since these concepts were studied within different theoretical and empirical ‘families’ second chapter has discussed the relationship among these findings.

Third chapter discussed the meaning of political equality within QoD project and has identified political participation, as constituent attribute of political equality. Since the ideal of political equality assumes equality in political participation, participatory representation was chosen as the primary and instrumental measure of political equality.

Theoretical justifications of participatory representation were presented in the introductory part of the fourth chapter. It was concluded that equal participatory representation fits the broader ideals of the Quality of Democracy. ‘Voice and Equality’, as the most important study on participatory representation by Brady, Lechman Schlozman and Verba from 1995 was also presented in this chapter. Furthermore, since the same authors have introduced several measures on participatory distortions these tools were described in details.

Comparison of the confidence intervals around the means and Logged Representation Scale were introduced as measurement tools.

Results of the comparison of confidence intervals in the fifth chapter have revealed several interesting patterns of participatory distortion: women are found to be under-represented in Ireland (membership in the organization or unions), Netherlands (contacting, working for a party, demonstrating, membership in parties and organizations), Slovenia (contacting, working for a party and organization) and in Poland (membership in parties and contacting). Age is found to be the category with significantly more distortions than gender. Significant distortions were found for two age groups: young and old. Moreover, old people are more disadvantaged than the young people in all of the types of participation; by comparing the confidence intervals around the means for three categories within the variable of education (low, medium and high level of education) it has been found that the low educated individuals are the most under-represented category of all of the categories analyzed. Poland and Netherlands show pronounced patterns of participatory distortion for groups with low education; Low income groups have been found as the most disadvantaged among most of the types of participation. Furthermore, those with low income are more disadvantaged in neo-democracies than in Netherlands and Ireland.

Final section of the fifth chapter was dedicated to the comparison of the countries selected. Since the comparison of the confidence intervals around the means could not tell us anything about the size of distortions found, Logged Representation Scale was calculated. Certain modifications have been made to the LRS calculations so that the appropriate data aggregation can be applied. In addition, overall participatory distortion for every type of participation was calculated by summing up all of the results on each type of participation. Ireland was found to be the country with least disproportionate participatory public and therefore the one that has achieved the highest level of political equality among the countries

analyzed. On the other side, with the score of 4,75, the level of distortion in Poland has to be taken with serious concern.

Since the intention of this text was not to provide any explanations on the sources of the patterns found but only to assess the state of political equality in these countries only several future recommendations will be made. First of all, this analysis was based on only four cases and any stronger conclusions on the state of political equality in Europe cannot be made unless we expand the number of cases analyzed on all European countries. Secondly, the selection of politically relevant characteristics was focused only on socio-demographic and economic attributes, since there are many relevant groups that fit into Brady et. al's criterion for 'politically relevant' it is also necessary to expand the analysis on other potentially disadvantageous identifiers as occupation, language, ethnicity.

Moreover, even if the intention of this paper was purely descriptive, any other work directed towards investigation on political participation has to focus on potential sources of these distortions. Many possible explanations have already been analyzed in the literature. However, few of them were dedicated to specific European experiences and even more to the experiences of neo-democracies. From the results presented above it is evident that the patterns of distortion are not same in these four countries and it can be concluded that older democracies do show better results.

Underlining attempt behind this text was to show that democratic ideals can be investigated empirically. Moreover, not only empirical research but also further research on Quality of Democracy has to broaden its field of interest and include other important principles that have filled the lines of political theory. This text has been written with the ambition to contribute further to the QoD literature. It has been shown that the status of political equality can be measured through participatory representation. Hopefully these results reveal more



information on the differences between Ireland, Netherlands, Poland and Slovenia in the fulfillment of the ideal of equal political participation.

## 7. Appendices

### 7.1 Appendix A – Descriptive statistics for the variables included in the analysis

#### Ireland

**TABLE 7.1.1 Voted last national election**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1283	71,3	77,0	77,0
	No	384	21,3	23,0	100,0
	Total	1667	92,6	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	8	,5		
	No answer	6	,3		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	133	7,4		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.2 Contacted politician or government official last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	389	21,6	23,4	23,4
	No	1277	70,9	76,6	100,0
	Total	1666	92,6	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	6	,3		
	No answer	10	,5		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	134	7,4		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.3 Worked in political party or action group last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	65	3,6	3,9	3,9
	No	1600	88,9	96,1	100,0
	Total	1665	92,5	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	7	,4		
	No answer	10	,6		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	135	7,5		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.4 Worked in another organisation or association last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	212	11,8	12,8	12,8
	No	1445	80,3	87,2	100,0
	Total	1656	92,0	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	9	,5		
	No answer	16	,9		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	144	8,0		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.5 Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	114	6,3	6,9	6,9
	No	1546	85,9	93,1	100,0
	Total	1660	92,2	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	6	,3		
	No answer	15	,8		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	140	7,8		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.6 Signed petition last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	388	21,5	23,4	23,4
	No	1268	70,4	76,6	100,0
	Total	1655	92,0	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	12	,7		
	No answer	14	,8		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	145	8,0		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.7 Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	76	4,2	4,6	4,6
	No	1582	87,9	95,4	100,0
	Total	1659	92,1	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	5	,3		
	No answer	18	1,0		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	141	7,9		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.8 Member of political party**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	72	4,0	4,3	4,3
	No	1596	88,7	95,7	100,0
	Total	1668	92,7	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	6	,3		
	No answer	8	,4		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	132	7,3		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.9 Gender**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	757	42,0	46,6	46,6
	Female	866	48,1	53,4	100,0
	Total	1623	90,2	100,0	
Missing	No answer	59	3,3		
	System	118	6,6		
	Total	177	9,8		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.10 Age**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,00	268	14,9	15,9	15,9
	2,00	638	35,5	38,0	53,9
	3,00	354	19,7	21,1	75,0
	4,00	421	23,4	25,0	100,0
	Total	1682	93,4	100,0	
Missing	System	118	6,6		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.11 Education**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,0	320	17,8	19,4	19,4
	2,0	668	37,1	40,4	59,8
	3,0	664	36,9	40,2	100,0
	Total	1652	91,8	100,0	
Missing	System	148	8,2		
Total		1800	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.12 Income**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent

Valid	1,00	64	3,5	5,0	5,0
	2,00	406	22,6	31,9	36,9
	3,00	544	30,2	42,7	79,6
	4,00	259	14,4	20,4	100,0
	Total	1273	70,7	100,0	
Missing	System	527	29,3		
Total		1800	100,0		

## Netherlands

**TABLE 7.1.13 Voted last national election**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1463	83,7	84,4	84,4
	No	271	15,5	15,6	100,0
	Total	1734	99,2	100,0	
Missing	Refusal	1	,0		
	Don't know	13	,7		
	Total	13	,8		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.14 Contacted politician or government official last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	259	14,8	14,8	14,8
	No	1487	85,1	85,2	100,0
	Total	1746	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	2	,1		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.15 Worked in political party or action group last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	70	4,0	4,0	4,0
	No	1674	95,8	96,0	100,0

Total		1744	99,8	100,0
Missing	Don't know	4	,2	
Total		1748	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.16 Worked in another organization or association last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	434	24,8	24,9	24,9
	No	1310	74,9	75,1	100,0
	Total	1744	99,8	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	4	,2		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.17 Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	66	3,8	3,8	3,8
	No	1678	96,0	96,2	100,0
	Total	1744	99,8	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	4	,2		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.18 Signed petition last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	361	20,6	20,7	20,7
	No	1379	78,9	79,3	100,0
	Total	1740	99,6	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	8	,4		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.19 Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	53	3,0	3,0	3,0

	No	1691	96,7	97,0	100,0
	Total	1743	99,8	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	4	,2		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.20 Member of trade union or similar organization**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, currently	338	19,3	19,4	19,4
	Yes, previously	201	11,5	11,5	30,9
	No	1203	68,8	69,1	100,0
	Total	1742	99,7	100,0	
Missing	Refusal	1	,0		
	Don't know	5	,3		
	Total	6	,3		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.21 Member of political party**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	100	5,7	5,7	5,7
	No	1643	94,0	94,3	100,0
	Total	1743	99,7	100,0	
Missing	Refusal	2	,1		
	Don't know	3	,2		
	Total	5	,3		
Total		1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.22 Gender**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	837	47,9	47,9	47,9
	Female	910	52,1	52,1	100,0
	Total	1748	100,0	100,0	



**TABLE 7.1.23 Age**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,00	219	12,5	12,5	12,5
	2,00	731	41,8	41,8	54,4
	3,00	487	27,9	27,9	82,2
	4,00	311	17,8	17,8	100,0
	Total	1748	100,0	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.24 Education**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,00	160	9,1	9,1	9,1
	2,00	1148	65,7	65,8	74,9
	3,00	438	25,1	25,1	100,0
	Total	1746	99,9	100,0	
Missing	System	2	,1		
	Total	1748	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.25 Income**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,00	54	3,1	3,5	3,5
	2,00	516	29,5	33,5	37,0
	3,00	820	46,9	53,2	90,2
	4,00	152	8,7	9,8	100,0
	Total	1541	88,2	100,0	
Missing	System	207	11,8		
	Total	1748	100,0		

**Poland****TABLE 7.1.26 Voted last national election**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
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Valid	Yes	1061	67,2	67,6	67,6
	No	509	32,3	32,4	100,0
	Total	1570	99,5	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	7	,4		
	No answer	1	,1		
	Total	8	,5		
Total		1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.27 Contacted politician or government official last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	103	6,5	6,6	6,6
	No	1472	93,3	93,4	100,0
	Total	1576	99,8	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	3	,2		
Total		1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.28 Worked in political party or action group last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	1,8	1,8	1,8
	No	1549	98,1	98,2	100,0
	Total	1577	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	1	,1		
	No answer	1	,1		
	Total	2	,1		
Total		1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.29 Worked in another organization or association last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	70	4,4	4,4	4,4
	No	1507	95,5	95,6	100,0
	Total	1577	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	1	,1		
	No answer	1	,1		

Total	2	,1	
Total	1579	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.30 Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	38	2,4	2,4	2,4
No	1538	97,5	97,6	100,0
Total	1577	99,9	100,0	
Missing Don't know	1	,1		
No answer	1	,1		
Total	2	,1		
Total	1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.31 Signed petition last 12 months**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	86	5,5	5,5	5,5
No	1487	94,2	94,5	100,0
Total	1573	99,7	100,0	
Missing Don't know	2	,1		
No answer	3	,2		
Total	5	,3		
Total	1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.32 Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	20	1,3	1,3	1,3
No	1555	98,5	98,7	100,0
Total	1575	99,8	100,0	
Missing Don't know	1	,1		
No answer	2	,1		
Total	3	,2		

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	20	1,3	1,3	1,3
	No	1555	98,5	98,7	100,0
	Total	1575	99,8	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	1	,1		
	No answer	2	,1		
	Total	3	,2		
Total		1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.33 Member of trade union or similar organization**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, currently	99	6,3	6,3	6,3
	Yes, previously	357	22,6	22,7	29,0
	No	1115	70,7	71,0	100,0
	Total	1572	99,6	100,0	
Missing	Refusal	2	,1		
	Don't know	5	,3		
	Total	7	,4		
Total		1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.34 Member of political party**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	18	1,2	1,2	1,2
	No	1560	98,8	98,8	100,0
	Total	1579	100,0	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.35 Gender**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	745	47,2	47,2	47,2
	Female	833	52,8	52,8	100,0

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	745	47,2	47,2	47,2
Female	833	52,8	52,8	100,0
Total	1579	100,0	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.36 Age**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1,00	353	22,4	22,4	22,4
2,00	549	34,8	34,8	57,2
3,00	399	25,3	25,3	82,4
4,00	278	17,6	17,6	100,0
Total	1579	100,0	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.37 Education**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1,00	368	23,3	23,4	23,4
2,00	1015	64,3	64,6	88,0
3,00	188	11,9	12,0	100,0
Total	1572	99,6	100,0	
Missing System	7	,4		
Total	1579	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.38 Income**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid 1,00	728	46,1	55,5	55,5
2,00	537	34,0	41,0	96,5
3,00	31	2,0	2,4	98,9
4,00	14	,9	1,1	100,0
Total	1310	83,0	100,0	
Missing System	269	17,0		
Total	1579	100,0		

**Slovenia**

**TABLE 7.1.39 Voted last national election**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	1024	75,5	78,0	78,0
	No	288	21,2	22,0	100,0
	Total	1312	96,8	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	44	3,2		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.40 Contacted politician or government official last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	214	15,8	15,8	15,8
	No	1141	84,1	84,2	100,0
	Total	1355	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	1	,1		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.41 Worked in political party or action group last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	52	3,8	3,8	3,8
	No	1303	96,1	96,2	100,0
	Total	1355	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	1	,1		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.42 Worked in another organization or association last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	34	2,5	2,5	2,5
	No	1319	97,3	97,5	100,0
	Total	1353	99,8	100,0	

Missing	Don't know	3	,2	
Total		1356	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.43 Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	43	3,2	3,2	3,2
	No	1311	96,7	96,8	100,0
	Total	1354	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	2	,1		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.44 Signed petition last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	189	13,9	14,0	14,0
	No	1161	85,6	86,0	100,0
	Total	1350	99,6	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	6	,4		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.45 Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	47	3,5	3,5	3,5
	No	1307	96,4	96,5	100,0
	Total	1354	99,9	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	2	,1		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.46 Member of trade union or similar organization**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes, currently	247	18,2	18,4	18,4
	Yes, previously	505	37,2	37,6	56,0

	No	592	43,7	44,0	100,0
	Total	1344	99,1	100,0	
Missing	Don't know	8	,6		
	No answer	4	,3		
	Total	12	,9		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.47 Member of political party**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	79	5,8	5,8	5,8
	No	1274	94,0	94,2	100,0
	Total	1353	99,8	100,0	
Missing	No answer	3	,2		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.48 Gender**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	605	44,6	44,6	44,6
	Female	751	55,4	55,4	100,0
	Total	1356	100,0	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.49 Age**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,00	234	17,3	17,3	17,3
	2,00	463	34,1	34,1	51,4
	3,00	366	27,0	27,0	78,4
	4,00	293	21,6	21,6	100,0
	Total	1356	100,0	100,0	

**TABLE 7.1.50 Education**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
--	--	-----------	---------	---------------	--------------------



Valid	1,00	316	23,3	23,3	23,3
	2,00	834	61,5	61,6	84,9
	3,00	204	15,0	15,1	100,0
	Total	1354	99,9	100,0	
Missing	System	2	,1		
Total		1356	100,0		

**TABLE 7.1.51 Income**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1,00	156	11,5	14,4	14,4
	2,00	724	53,4	66,6	81,0
	3,00	200	14,7	18,4	99,4
	4,00	7	,5	,6	100,0
	Total	1087	80,2	100,0	
Missing	System	269	19,8		
Total		1356	100,0		

## 7.2 Appendix B – List of original ESS 3 2006 variables and coding

TABLE 7.2.1 Original ESS 3 2006 variables and coding

### Question B 11

Some people don't vote nowadays for one reason or another. Did you vote in the last [country] national election in [month/year]?

Variable name and label: VOTE Voted last national election

Values and categories

1 Yes

2 No

3 Not eligible to vote

7 Refusal

8 Don't know

9 No answer

### Question B 13 -19

There are different ways of trying to improve things in [country] or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?

Have you ...

Instruction(s): Pre: ASK ALL Post: READ OUT...

Values and categories

1 Yes

2 No

7 Refusal

8 Don't know

9 No answer

### B13 contacted a politician, government or local government official?

Variable name and label: CONTPLT Contacted politician or government official last 12 months

### B14 worked in a political party or action group?

Variable name and label: WRKPRTY Worked in political party or action group last 12 months

### B15 worked in another organisation or association?

Variable name and label: WRKORG Worked in another organisation or association last 12 months

### B16 worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?

Variable name and label: BADGE Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker last 12 months

### B17 signed a petition?

Variable name and label: SGNPTIT Signed petition last 12 months

### B18 taken part in a lawful public demonstration?

Variable name and label: PBLDMN Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months

### Question B 21

Are you a member of any political party?

Instruction(s): Pre: ASK ALL

Variable name and label: MMBPRTY Member of political party

Values and categories

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 7 Refusal
- 8 Don't know
- 9 No answer

**Question F 30**

Are you or have you ever been a member of a trade union or similar organisation? IF YES, is that currently or previously?

Instruction(s): Pre: ASK ALL

Variable name and label: MBTRU Member of trade union or similar organisation

Values and categories

- 1 Yes, currently
- 2 Yes, previously
- 3 No
- 7 Refusal
- 8 Don't know
- 9 No answer

**Question F 2 1**

CODE SEX, respondent

Variable name and label: GNDR Gender

Values and categories

- 1 Male
- 2 Female
- 9 No answer

**Question F 3 1b**

Age of respondent, calculated

Variable name and label: AGE Age of respondent, calculated

**Question F 6**

What is the highest level of education you have achieved?

Instruction(s): Pre: CARD 48 Post: Please use this card

Variable name and label: EDULVL Highest level of education

Values and categories

- 0 Not completed primary education
- 1 Primary or first stage of basic
- 2 Lower secondary or second stage of basic
- 3 Upper secondary
- 4 Post secondary, non-tertiary
- 5 First stage of tertiary

6 Second stage of tertiary

7 Refusal

8 Don't know

9 No answer

**Question F 32**

If you add up the income from all sources, which letter describes your household's total net income?

Instruction(s): Pre: CARD 53

Variable name and label: HINCTNT Household's total net income, all sources

Values and categories

01 J

02 R

03 C

04 M

05 F

06 S

07 K

08 P

09 D

10 H

11 U

12 N

77 Refusal

88 Don't know

99 No answer

### 7.3 Appendix C – Confidence intervals around the means for Ireland, Netherlands, Slovenia and Poland

**TABLE 7.3.1 Confidence intervals around the means for Ireland**

Ireland		Population			Voting		Contacting		Working party		Working organization		Wearing		Petitioning		Demonstrating		Membership party		Memb
		Mean	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI
Sex	Male	47,5%	44,7%	50,3%	44,6%	51,1%	44,3%	56,1%	44,7%	73,7%	47,8%	63,7%	31,6%	54,7%	36,3%	48,2%	42,9%	68,1%	42,9%	68,1%	54,9%
	Female	52,5%	49,7%	55,3%	48,9%	55,4%	43,9%	55,7%	26,3%	55,3%	36,3%	52,2%	45,3%	68,4%	51,8%	63,7%	31,9%	57,1%	31,9%	57,1%	18,5%
Age	Young	15,1%	13,1%	17,1%	7,6%	11,5%	7,5%	14,9%	2,8%	22,4%	2,0%	9,4%	3,0%	17,0%	11,6%	20,4%	2,1%	16,9%	2,1%	16,9%	3,2%
	Lower middle age	41,6%	38,8%	44,3%	37,6%	43,9%	39,9%	51,6%	20,0%	48,0%	37,6%	43,6%	25,6%	48,2%	44,0%	56,0%	31,2%	56,4%	31,2%	56,4%	13,8%
	Upper middle age	21,1%	18,9%	23,4%	21,9%	27,5%	18,2%	28,2%	17,4%	44,7%	19,7%	33,9%	16,5%	37,2%	16,4%	26,2%	21,6%	45,6%	21,6%	45,6%	23,5%
	Old	22,2%	19,9%	24,5%	22,2%	27,8%	15,2%	24,6%	10,0%	34,6%	15,4%	28,6%	16,0%	36,5%	8,7%	16,7%	4,6%	21,7%	4,6%	21,7%	11,5%
Education	Low	18,0%	15,9%	20,2%	16,6%	21,7%	15,3%	24,8%	2,8%	22,4%	4,9%	14,4%	10,1%	28,6%	5,4%	12,2%	4,6%	21,7%	4,6%	21,7%	7,9%
	Medium	40,6%	37,8%	43,3%	36,7%	43,0%	25,3%	36,2%	23,5%	52,2%	21,4%	35,9%	21,6%	43,4%	25,5%	36,7%	33,3%	58,6%	33,3%	58,6%	24,3%
	High	41,4%	38,7%	44,2%	37,8%	44,2%	43,3%	55,1%	34,8%	64,3%	54,0%	69,5%	36,4%	59,8%	54,2%	66,0%	28,4%	53,3%	28,4%	53,3%	28,6%
Income	Low	5,2%	3,9%	6,4%	3,1%	5,7%	0,2%	3,4%	-2,1%	7,9%	0,6%	6,8%	-0,4%	9,2%	0,7%	4,5%	-1,1%	8,4%	-1,1%	8,4%	-0,6%
	Lower middle	31,6%	29,0%	34,2%	29,0%	35,0%	26,6%	37,6%	20,9%	49,0%	10,9%	22,9%	21,0%	42,8%	15,4%	25,1%	17,7%	40,7%	17,7%	40,7%	19,4%
	Upper middle	42,6%	39,8%	45,4%	39,3%	45,7%	38,6%	50,3%	16,6%	43,6%	35,7%	51,6%	26,8%	49,5%	39,7%	51,7%	31,2%	56,4%	31,2%	56,4%	32,2%
	High	20,6%	18,3%	22,8%	18,4%	23,7%	16,9%	26,6%	18,3%	45,8%	28,2%	43,5%	15,4%	35,8%	25,9%	37,0%	12,6%	34,1%	12,6%	34,1%	4,5%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.3.2 Confidence intervals around the means for Netherlands**

Netherlands		Population			Voting		Contacting		Working party		Working		Wearing		Petitioning		Demonstrating		Membership		Memb
		Mean	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI
Sex	Male	49,3%	46,8%	51,8%	47,5%	52,9%	53,4%	66,2%	67,6%	89,1%	51,6%	61,4%	40,6%	66,7%	42,5%	53,4%	61,3%	86,6%	52,5%	73,3%	60,8%
	Female	50,7%	48,2%	53,2%	47,1%	52,5%	33,8%	46,6%	10,9%	32,4%	38,6%	48,4%	33,3%	59,4%	46,6%	57,5%	13,4%	38,7%	26,7%	47,5%	28,4%
Age	Young	11,6%	10,0%	13,2%	8,4%	11,7%	3,1%	9,5%	-2,1%	17,7%	7,7%	13,8%	0,0%	12,8%	7,4%	14,2%	1,9%	19,8%	2,7%	14,9%	3,9%
	Lower middle age	43,3%	40,8%	45,8%	39,5%	44,9%	46,1%	59,1%	20,2%	44,6%	39,7%	49,5%	28,9%	54,7%	41,8%	52,7%	22,0%	49,7%	18,0%	37,3%	38,2%
	Upper middle age	27,5%	25,3%	29,8%	26,7%	31,6%	24,2%	36,1%	27,7%	53,3%	24,8%	33,8%	20,4%	45,0%	26,3%	36,4%	26,1%	54,4%	22,0%	42,2%	31,9%
	Old	17,6%	15,7%	19,5%	16,5%	20,7%	6,9%	15,0%	7,3%	26,9%	11,7%	18,8%	8,8%	29,4%	7,2%	14,0%	3,3%	22,8%	21,4%	41,5%	8,3%
Education	Low	8,4%	7,0%	9,8%	5,5%	8,2%	0,4%	4,3%	6,9%	1,1%	4,3%	-1,3%	8,5%	1,8%	6,1%	1,2%	18,3%	1,8%	13,3%	2,8%	
	Medium	65,6%	63,2%	68,0%	62,3%	67,5%	49,9%	62,8%	31,2%	57,1%	54,8%	64,5%	34,2%	60,4%	50,6%	61,5%	41,1%	69,8%	52,5%	73,3%	55,8%
	High	25,1%	23,9%	28,2%	25,9%	30,8%	35,0%	47,8%	40,1%	66,2%	32,9%	42,5%	36,0%	62,2%	34,6%	45,3%	21,1%	48,5%	19,7%	39,4%	27,9%
Income	Low	3,5%	2,6%	4,4%	1,9%	3,7%	0,7%	4,9%	-1,6%	3,4%	0,6%	3,4%	-0,9%	10,0%	0,8%	4,2%	-1,9%	4,1%	*	*	0,4%
	Lower middle	33,5%	31,1%	35,8%	28,6%	33,6%	18,9%	30,1%	9,4%	30,2%	24,0%	33,0%	12,5%	34,8%	25,3%	35,4%	20,1%	47,3%	18,6%	38,0%	21,6%
	Upper middle	53,2%	50,7%	55,7%	52,8%	58,2%	54,2%	66,9%	53,4%	78,1%	53,9%	63,7%	48,1%	73,7%	51,5%	62,3%	42,2%	70,8%	53,8%	74,5%	55,1%
	High	19,8%	18,3%	22,8%	18,4%	23,7%	16,9%	26,6%	18,3%	45,8%	28,2%	43,5%	15,4%	35,8%	25,9%	37,0%	12,6%	34,1%	12,6%	34,1%	4,5%

\*Party member is constant when Low Income = 1, it has been omitted

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.3.3 Confidence intervals around the means for Poland**

Poland		Population			Voting		Contacting		Working party		Working		Wearing		Petitioning		Demonstrating		Membership		Memb
		Mean	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI
Sex	Male	47,1%	44,4%	49,9%	43,4%	50,0%	51,8%	72,3%	28,9%	72,3%	46,9%	72,5%	34,1%	70,6%	46,7%	68,8%	49,5%	96,6%	63,6%	106,3%	45,4%
	Female	52,9%	50,1%	55,6%	50,0%	56,6%	27,7%	48,2%	27,7%	71,1%	27,5%	53,1%	29,4%	65,9%	31,2%	53,3%	3,4%	50,5%	-6,3%	36,4%	33,7%
Age	Young	21,3%	19,1%	23,5%	16,2%	21,4%	6,7%	21,5%	0,0%	31,7%	5,3%	23,7%	12,8%	46,1%	23,1%	44,2%	15,1%	67,4%	-4,3%	42,6%	1,3%
	Lower middle age	34,5%	32,0%	37,1%	31,5%	37,8%	33,9%	54,9%	11,4%	51,8%	34,6%	60,7%	27,4%	63,8%	26,3%	47,9%	5,9%	54,7%	5,3%	61,6%	53,3%
	Upper middle age	26,5%	24,1%	28,9%	26,0%	32,0%	20,5%	39,9%	15,2%	56,9%	10,6%	31,9%	5,3%	34,3%	14,8%	34,0%	-1,9%	39,5%	2,1%	56,3%	17,2%
	Old	17,7%	15,6%	19,7%	15,0%	20,1%	4,6%	18,0%	0,4%	32,6%	6,9%	26,3%	-2,9%	13,1%	0,1%	9,7%	-6,0%	25,3%	-4,8%	41,2%	-0,3%
Education	Low	23,8%	21,5%	26,1%	18,9%	24,4%	3,2%	15,6%	-3,6%	20,5%	3,3%	20,1%	-2,4%	16,0%	1,9%	13,9%	-6,5%	16,1%	-5,5%	39,0%	1,2%
	Medium	64,4%	61,8%	67,0%	61,4%	67,7%	61,0%	80,2%	41,4%	83,4%	45,2%	70,9%	39,8%	75,8%	46,1%	68,2%	41,5%	91,6%	52,6%	102,4%	60,6%
	High	11,8%	10,1%	13,6%	11,5%	16,1%	11,5%	28,4%	9,5%	48,9%	18,3%	42,3%	17,9%	52,8%	24,3%	45,7%	4,7%	52,7%	-8,1%	19,7%	14,5%
Income	Low	55,6%	52,9%	58,3%	49,6%	56,2%	38,6%	59,8%	42,5%	84,3%	25,6%	51,0%	22,8%	58,7%	16,3%	35,9%	24,0%	77,1%	38,2%	94,6%	29,5%
	Lower middle	41,0%	38,3%	43,6%	40,0%	46,5%	36,9%	58,0%	15,7%	57,5%	44,1%	69,9%	36,0%	72,4%	58,9%	79,5%	18,6%	71,5%	5,4%	61,8%	45,8%
	Upper middle	2,4%	1,6%	3,2%	1,6%	3,8%	-0,7%	6,1%	*	*	-1,5%	7,0%	-3,2%	8,2%	-0,5%	7,9%	-6,5%	15,2%	*	*	-1,0%
	High	1,1%	0,5%	1,6%	0,5%	1,9%	-1,1%	2,4%	*	*	-1,7%	5,6%	-3,2%	8,3%	-1,2%	3,3%	*	*	*	*	-0,9%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.3.4 Confidence intervals around the means for Slovenia**

Slovenia		Population			Voting		Contacting		Working party		Working		Wearing		Petitioning		Demonstrating		Membership		Memb
		Mean	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI	Up CI	Lo CI
Sex	Male	44,3%	41,3%	47,2%	40,4%	47,2%	53,3%	67,9%	55,5%	84,1%	55,4%	88,3%	32,8%	67,2%	35,3%	51,1%	29,8%	62,5%	41,3%	66,6%	34,2%
	Female	55,7%	52,8%	58,7%	52,8%	59,6%	32,1%	46,7%	15,9%	44,5%	11,7%	44,6%	32,8%	67,2%	48,9%	64,7%	37,5%	70,2%	33,4%	58,7%	52,2%
Age	Young	16,1%	13,9%	18,3%	9,4%	13,7%	10,0%	20,8%	1,6%	21,6%	9,1%	40,9%	10,1%	39,9%	21,8%	36,3%	24,9%	57,2%	3,1%	19,1%	3,3%
	Lower middle age	36,0%	33,1%	38,9%	33,4%	39,9%	42,2%	57,2%	31,0%	62,0%	19,8%	55,2%	27,4%	61,5%	37,2%	53,1%	20,1%	51,7%	18,5%	41,8%	63,9%
	Upper middle age	27,7%	25,1%	30,4%	26,2%	32,4%	17,6%	30,4%	10,1%	36,4%	2,3%	28,9%	10,1%	39,9%	13,1%	25,6%	5,3%	30,6%	21,4%	45,3%	14,5%
	Old	20,2%	17,8%	22,6%	19,7%	25,3%	6,2%	15,5%	6,5%	30,7%	6,7%	37,0%	-2,3%	13,4%	2,5%	10,4%	-2,1%	12,4%	14,3%	36,4%	0,6%
Education	Low	22,7%	20,2%	25,2%	19,0%	24,6%	7,1%	16,9%	6,5%	30,7%	2,3%	28,9%	3,9%	29,5%	2,5%	10,4%	0,3%	20,2%	7,8%	27,1%	14,0%
	Medium	61,1%	58,2%	64,0%	57,5%	64,1%	53,3%	67,9%	60,8%	88,0%	59,1%	90,9%	50,5%	82,8%	52,9%	68,4%	45,6%	77,5%	56,4%	80,1%	50,7%
	High	16,1%	13,9%	18,3%	14,8%	19,9%	20,8%	34,1%	-1,0%	14,9%	-1,3%	20,1%	3,9%	29,5%	25,4%	40,4%	13,4%	43,0%	6,4%	24,4%	17,1%
Income	Low	14,3%	12,2%	16,4%	10,7%	15,3%	3,1%	10,6%	3,2%	24,7%	-2,6%	15,1%	-2,3%	13,4%	1,2%	7,8%	-2,6%	7,8%	5,2%	22,4%	4,5%
	Lower middle	66,7%	63,9%	69,5%	64,6%	70,9%	59,2%	73,4%	52,9%	82,0%	55,4%	88,3%	35,6%	69,9%	50,2%	65,9%	51,2%	82,1%	58,2%	81,5%	67,1%
	Upper middle	18,4%	16,1%	20,7%	15,8%	21,1%	19,7%	32,9%	6,5%	30,7%	6,7%	37,0%	24,7%	58,6%	28,5%	43,8%	13,4%	43,0%	6,6%	25,2%	12,7%
	High	0,6%	0,2%	1,1%	*	*	-0,6%	1,7%	*	*	*	*	*	*	-0,5%	3,1%	-2,6%	7,8%	*	*	-0,5%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

## 7.4 Appendix D – Logged Representation Scale Results for Ireland, Netherlands, Slovenia and Poland

**TABLE 7.4.1** Logged Representation Scale for Ireland

Ireland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,01	0,01	0,05	0,05	-0,07	-0,06	0,03	0,11	0,11
	Female	-0,01	-0,01	-0,05	-0,05	0,05	0,05	-0,03	-0,12	-0,12
Age	Young	-0,25	-0,10	-0,06	-0,38	-0,05	0,01	-0,19	-0,22	-0,22
	Lower middle age	0,00	0,03	-0,09	0,04	-0,12	0,08	0,05	-0,16	-0,16
	Upper middle age	0,07	0,05	0,19	0,12	0,10	0,00	0,17	0,28	0,28
	Old	0,06	-0,03	-0,04	-0,02	0,09	-0,17	-0,21	-0,03	-0,02
Education	Low	0,02	0,02	-0,25	-0,36	-0,04	-0,32	-0,13	0,03	0,03
	Medium	-0,01	-0,10	0,00	-0,12	-0,11	-0,10	0,03	0,00	0,00
	High	0,00	0,07	0,08	0,18	0,10	0,16	0,03	-0,02	-0,02
Income	Low	-0,05	-0,23	-0,38	-0,13	-0,10	-0,32	-0,20	0,05	0,05
	Lower middle	0,00	0,01	0,04	-0,30	-0,01	-0,22	-0,06	0,02	0,02
	Upper middle	0,00	0,00	-0,13	0,01	-0,05	0,04	0,03	0,05	0,05
	High	0,01	0,02	0,19	0,25	0,13	0,19	0,05	-0,19	-0,19

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.2** Subgroups share in the participant public for Ireland

Ireland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	47,6%	47,7%	52,4%	52,2%	39,6%	40,6%	50,0%	59,4%	59,4%
	Female	52,4%	52,3%	47,6%	47,8%	60,4%	59,4%	50,0%	40,6%	40,6%
Age	Young	9,0%	12,6%	13,8%	6,6%	14,0%	16,5%	10,4%	9,7%	9,7%
	Lower middle age	37,6%	40,6%	30,8%	42,0%	28,9%	45,2%	42,9%	26,4%	26,4%
	Upper middle age	24,8%	23,4%	32,3%	27,4%	26,3%	21,2%	31,2%	40,3%	40,3%
	Old	28,7%	23,4%	23,1%	24,1%	30,7%	17,1%	15,6%	23,6%	23,6%
Education	Low	20,4%	20,6%	10,9%	8,5%	17,9%	9,3%	14,3%	21,1%	21,1%
	Medium	39,4%	32,0%	40,6%	30,3%	31,3%	32,1%	42,9%	40,8%	40,8%
	High	40,2%	47,4%	48,4%	61,1%	50,9%	58,6%	42,9%	38,0%	38,0%
Income	Low	4,5%	3,0%	2,1%	3,7%	3,9%	2,4%	3,1%	5,6%	5,6%
	Lower middle	31,6%	32,9%	35,4%	16,1%	31,2%	19,6%	27,7%	33,3%	33,3%
	Upper middle	43,0%	42,9%	31,3%	44,1%	37,7%	46,0%	46,2%	48,1%	48,1%
	High	20,9%	21,3%	31,3%	36,0%	27,3%	32,0%	23,1%	13,0%	13,0%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.3 Subgroups share in the population for Ireland**

Ireland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	46,8%	46,7%	46,7%	46,6%	46,5%	46,6%	46,4%	46,4%	46,4%
	Female	53,2%	53,3%	53,3%	53,4%	53,5%	53,4%	53,6%	53,6%	53,6%
Age	Young	15,9%	15,8%	15,8%	15,9%	15,9%	16,0%	16,0%	16,0%	16,0%
	Lower middle age	37,9%	38,2%	38,1%	38,2%	38,1%	38,0%	38,0%	37,9%	37,9%
	Upper middle age	21,2%	20,8%	21,0%	20,8%	21,0%	21,0%	21,0%	21,2%	21,2%
	Old	25,0%	25,2%	25,1%	25,1%	25,1%	25,0%	25,0%	25,0%	25,0%
Education	Low	19,6%	19,4%	19,4%	19,4%	19,4%	19,4%	19,4%	19,6%	19,6%
	Medium	40,2%	40,4%	40,2%	40,4%	40,2%	40,2%	40,4%	40,5%	40,5%
	High	40,2%	40,1%	40,4%	40,2%	40,4%	40,3%	40,2%	40,0%	40,0%
Income	Low	5,1%	5,0%	5,0%	5,1%	4,9%	5,0%	4,8%	5,0%	5,0%
	Lower middle	31,9%	31,9%	32,0%	32,1%	32,1%	32,2%	32,1%	32,0%	32,0%
	Upper middle	42,6%	42,7%	42,6%	42,6%	42,6%	42,2%	42,7%	42,8%	42,8%
	High	20,5%	20,3%	20,3%	20,2%	20,3%	20,5%	20,4%	20,2%	20,2%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.4 Logged Representation Scale for Netherlands**

LRS		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,01	0,10	0,18	0,07	0,02	-0,02	0,16	0,07	0,14
	Female	-0,01	-0,12	-0,28	-0,08	-0,02	0,01	-0,24	-0,08	-0,18
Age	Young	-0,07	-0,23	0,10	0,00	-0,07	-0,03	-0,05	-0,05	-0,24
	Lower middle age	-0,01	0,09	-0,13	0,03	-0,03	0,05	-0,05	-0,20	0,02
	Upper middle age	0,03	0,05	0,13	0,01	0,06	0,04	0,13	0,07	0,13
	Old	0,03	-0,25	-0,05	-0,07	0,01	-0,23	-0,13	0,23	-0,21
Education	Low	-0,08	-0,42	-0,20	-0,52	-0,08	-0,37	0,01	0,12	-0,23
	Medium	-0,01	-0,06	-0,17	-0,03	-0,16	-0,06	-0,06	-0,03	-0,01
	High	0,04	0,20	0,29	0,16	0,27	0,19	0,13	0,02	0,09
Income	Low	-0,11	-0,13	-0,34	-0,24	0,15	-0,16	-0,25		-0,26
	Lower middle	-0,03	-0,12	-0,23	-0,07	-0,13	-0,04	0,01	-0,09	-0,10
	Upper middle	0,02	0,05	0,09	0,04	0,05	0,03	0,02	0,07	0,06
	High	0,03	0,09	0,13	0,04	0,01	0,01	-0,09	-0,16	0,03

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

CEU eIT Collection



**TABLE 7.4.5 Subgroups share in the participant public for Netherlands**

		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	48,7%	60,2%	72,9%	56,2%	50,0%	46,0%	69,8%	57,0%	65,7%
	Female	51,3%	39,8%	27,1%	43,8%	50,0%	54,0%	30,2%	43,0%	34,3%
Age	Young	10,7%	7,4%	15,7%	12,4%	10,6%	11,6%	11,3%	11,1%	7,1%
	Lower middle age	40,6%	51,2%	31,4%	44,5%	39,4%	47,4%	37,7%	26,3%	44,1%
	Upper middle age	29,5%	31,4%	37,1%	28,1%	31,8%	30,5%	37,7%	32,3%	37,9%
	Old	19,1%	10,1%	15,7%	15,0%	18,2%	10,5%	13,2%	30,3%	10,9%
Education	Low	7,5%	3,5%	5,8%	2,8%	7,6%	3,9%	9,4%	12,1%	5,3%
	Medium	65,0%	56,8%	44,9%	60,8%	45,5%	57,1%	56,6%	61,6%	63,5%
	High	27,5%	39,8%	49,3%	36,4%	47,0%	39,1%	34,0%	26,3%	31,2%
Income	Low	2,7%	2,6%	1,6%	2,0%	5,0%	2,4%	2,0%	0,0%	2,0%
	Lower middle	31,1%	25,3%	19,7%	28,3%	25,0%	30,6%	34,0%	28,2%	26,5%
	Upper middle	55,4%	60,1%	65,6%	59,0%	60,0%	56,9%	56,0%	64,7%	60,9%
	High	10,7%	12,0%	13,1%	10,8%	10,0%	10,1%	8,0%	7,1%	10,6%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.6 Subgroups share in the population for Netherlands**

		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,480392157	47,9%	47,8%	47,8%	47,8%	47,7%	47,8%	48,0%	47,8%
	Female		52,0%	52,2%	52,2%	52,2%	52,3%	52,2%	52,0%	52,2%
Age	Young		12,5%	12,6%	12,6%	12,6%	12,5%	12,6%	12,5%	12,5%
	Lower middle age		41,9%	41,9%	42,0%	41,9%	42,0%	41,9%	42,0%	41,9%
	Upper middle age		27,7%	27,8%	27,7%	27,7%	27,8%	27,8%	27,8%	27,9%
	Old		17,8%	17,8%	17,8%	17,8%	17,7%	17,8%	17,7%	17,7%
Education	Low		9,1%	9,1%	9,1%	9,1%	9,1%	9,1%	9,1%	9,1%
	Medium		65,8%	65,7%	65,7%	65,7%	65,7%	65,7%	65,8%	65,7%
	High		25,1%	25,1%	25,1%	25,1%	25,2%	25,1%	25,1%	25,2%
Income	Low		3,5%	3,6%	3,5%	3,6%	3,5%	3,6%	0,0%	3,6%
	Lower middle		33,4%	33,5%	33,4%	33,5%	33,4%	33,5%	34,6%	33,5%
	Upper middle		53,1%	53,2%	53,2%	53,2%	53,4%	53,1%	55,2%	53,1%
	High		9,9%	9,8%	9,8%	9,8%	9,8%	9,8%	10,2%	9,8%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.7 Logged Representation Scale for Poland**

LRS		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	-0,01	0,09	0,05	0,08	0,00	0,08	0,10	0,27	0,05
	Female	0,01	-0,10	-0,06	-0,08	0,00	-0,09	-0,12	-0,68	-0,06
Age	Young	-0,05	-0,19	-0,10	-0,15	0,18	0,22	0,25	-0,03	-0,50
	Lower middle age	0,00	0,12	0,01	0,15	0,11	0,01	0,00	-0,04	0,25
	Upper middle age	0,03	0,06	0,11	-0,10	-0,20	-0,04	-0,23	0,10	0,03
Education	Old	0,00	-0,22	-0,09	-0,08	-0,52	-0,58	-0,25	-0,05	-0,76
	Low	-0,04	-0,42	-0,50	-0,37	-0,64	-0,53	-0,65	-0,32	-0,58
	Medium	0,00	0,03	-0,01	-0,05	-0,04	-0,05	-0,01	0,11	0,04
Income	High	0,07	0,27	0,39	0,44	0,47	0,47	0,42	-0,33	0,29
	Low	-0,02	-0,06	0,02	-0,17	-0,14	-0,33	-0,07	0,05	-0,16
	Lower middle	0,03	0,07	-0,03	0,15	0,11	0,23	0,06	-0,08	0,14
	Upper middle	0,06	-0,03		0,12	0,12	0,19	0,34		-0,06
	High	0,02	-0,02		0,18	0,46	0,06			0,30

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.8 Subgroups share in the participant public for Poland**

		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	46,6%	58,3%	53,6%	56,5%	47,4%	57,0%	60,0%	88,9%	53,5%
	Female	53,4%	41,7%	46,4%	43,5%	52,6%	43,0%	40,0%	11,1%	46,5%
Age	Young	20,1%	14,4%	17,9%	15,9%	34,2%	36,8%	40,0%	21,1%	7,1%
	Lower middle age	34,9%	46,2%	35,7%	49,3%	44,7%	35,6%	35,0%	31,6%	62,6%
	Upper middle age	27,3%	28,8%	32,1%	20,3%	15,8%	23,0%	15,0%	31,6%	27,3%
Education	Old	17,7%	10,6%	14,3%	14,5%	5,3%	4,6%	10,0%	15,8%	3,0%
	Low	21,6%	8,8%	7,4%	10,0%	5,4%	7,0%	5,3%	11,1%	6,1%
	Medium	64,4%	68,6%	63,0%	57,1%	59,5%	58,1%	63,2%	83,3%	70,4%
Income	High	14,0%	22,5%	29,6%	32,9%	35,1%	34,9%	31,6%	5,6%	23,5%
	Low	52,6%	48,4%	60,0%	37,1%	40,6%	25,9%	47,4%	64,3%	38,7%
	Lower middle	43,6%	48,4%	40,0%	58,1%	53,1%	69,1%	47,4%	35,7%	57,0%
	Upper middle	2,7%	2,2%	0,0%	3,2%	3,1%	3,7%	5,3%	0,0%	2,2%
	High	1,1%	1,1%	0,0%	1,6%	3,1%	1,2%	0,0%	0,0%	2,2%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.9 Subgroups share in the population for Poland**

		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	47,2%	47,2%	47,2%	47,2%	47,2%	47,3%	47,2%	47,2%	47,2%
	Female	52,8%	52,8%	52,8%	52,8%	52,8%	52,7%	52,8%	52,8%	52,8%
Age	Young	22,3%	22,4%	22,4%	22,3%	22,4%	22,4%	22,3%	22,4%	22,5%
	Lower middle age	34,8%	34,8%	34,8%	34,8%	34,8%	34,8%	34,7%	34,8%	34,9%
	Upper middle age	25,4%	25,2%	25,2%	25,3%	25,2%	25,3%	25,3%	25,3%	25,3%
Education	Old	17,6%	17,5%	17,6%	17,6%	17,6%	17,6%	17,6%	17,6%	17,3%
	Low	23,4%	23,3%	23,4%	23,4%	23,4%	23,4%	23,4%	23,4%	23,3%
	Medium	64,6%	64,7%	64,6%	64,6%	64,6%	64,6%	64,7%	64,6%	64,7%
Income	High	12,0%	12,0%	12,0%	12,0%	12,0%	11,9%	11,9%	12,0%	12,0%
	Low	55,6%	55,5%	57,5%	55,5%	55,5%	55,6%	56,2%	57,5%	55,4%
	Lower middle	41,0%	41,0%	42,5%	41,0%	41,0%	40,9%	41,4%	42,5%	41,1%
	Upper middle	2,4%	2,4%		2,4%	2,4%	2,4%	2,4%		2,4%
	High	1,1%	1,1%		1,1%	1,1%	1,1%			1,1%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.10 Logged Representation Scale for Slovenia**

LRS		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	-0,01	0,13	0,17	0,22	0,08	-0,02	0,00	0,08	-0,03
	Female	0,01	-0,14	-0,20	-0,32	-0,08	0,01	0,00	-0,07	0,02
Age	Young	-0,15	-0,04	-0,25	0,14	0,17	0,23	0,35	-0,18	-0,37
	Lower middle	0,00	0,14	0,09	0,01	0,11	0,10	0,05	-0,11	0,29
	Upper middle	0,03	-0,01	0,00	-0,18	-0,02	-0,13	-0,15	0,10	-0,07
Education	Old	0,05	-0,28	-0,01	0,04	-0,67	-0,46	-0,70	0,11	-0,77
	Low	-0,01	-0,34	0,03	-0,20	-0,16	-0,53	-0,20	-0,01	-0,10
	Medium	0,01	0,01	0,05	0,09	0,02	0,01	-0,03	0,02	-0,02
Income	High	0,05	0,25	-0,42	-0,23	0,09	0,31	0,26	-0,08	0,18
	Low	0,03	-0,34	-0,02	-0,36	-0,25	-0,52	-0,75	-0,01	-0,25
	Lower middle	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,03	-0,11	-0,06	0,00	0,01	0,04
	Upper middle	0,00	0,16	0,00	0,07	0,34	0,30	0,19	-0,04	-0,01
	High	0,09	-0,07			0,19	0,28	0,60		-0,14

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.11 Subgroups share in the participant public for Slovenia**

		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	43,9%	59,8%	65,4%	73,5%	53,5%	42,9%	44,7%	53,2%	42,1%
	Female	56,1%	40,2%	34,6%	26,5%	46,5%	57,1%	55,3%	46,8%	57,9%
Age	Young	12,1%	15,9%	9,6%	23,5%	25,6%	29,1%	38,3%	11,4%	7,3%
	Lower mid	34,8%	46,7%	42,3%	35,3%	44,2%	43,4%	38,3%	26,6%	66,0%
	Upper mid	29,1%	26,2%	26,9%	17,6%	25,6%	20,1%	19,1%	34,2%	23,1%
	Old	24,0%	11,2%	21,2%	23,5%	4,7%	7,4%	4,3%	27,8%	3,6%
Education	Low	22,5%	10,7%	25,0%	14,7%	16,3%	6,9%	14,9%	22,8%	18,6%
	Medium	60,8%	62,6%	69,2%	76,5%	65,1%	62,4%	57,4%	64,6%	58,7%
	High	16,7%	26,6%	5,8%	8,8%	18,6%	30,7%	27,7%	12,7%	22,7%
Income	Low	13,3%	6,6%	14,0%	6,3%	8,1%	4,3%	2,6%	13,8%	8,1%
	Lower mid	67,4%	66,3%	67,4%	71,9%	51,4%	58,0%	66,7%	69,2%	73,5%
	Upper mid	18,4%	26,5%	18,6%	21,9%	40,5%	36,4%	28,2%	16,9%	18,0%
	High	0,8%	0,6%	0,0%	0,0%	1,0%	1,2%	2,6%	0,0%	0,5%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.4.12 Subgroups share in the population for Slovenia**

		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	45,0%	44,6%	44,6%	44,6%	44,7%	44,6%	44,6%	44,7%	44,7%
	Female	55,0%	55,4%	55,4%	55,4%	55,3%	55,4%	55,4%	55,3%	55,3%
Age	Young	17,3%	17,3%	17,3%	17,2%	17,3%	17,3%	17,3%	17,3%	17,3%
	Lower mid	34,4%	34,2%	34,2%	34,2%	34,2%	34,3%	34,1%	34,2%	34,2%
	Upper mid	26,9%	27,0%	27,0%	27,0%	27,0%	27,0%	27,0%	26,9%	27,1%
	Old	21,4%	21,5%	21,5%	21,6%	21,6%	21,4%	21,6%	21,6%	21,5%
Education	Low	23,2%	23,3%	23,3%	23,3%	23,4%	23,3%	23,4%	23,3%	23,4%
	Medium	62,0%	61,6%	61,6%	61,6%	61,6%	61,6%	61,6%	61,6%	61,7%
	High	14,8%	15,1%	15,1%	15,1%	15,1%	15,1%	15,1%	15,1%	14,9%
Income	Low	14,4%	14,4%	14,4%	14,4%	14,4%	14,3%	14,4%	14,3%	14,4%
	Lower mid	66,7%	66,6%	67,0%	67,2%	66,6%	66,6%	66,6%	67,2%	66,5%
	Upper mid	18,2%	18,4%	18,5%	18,5%	18,4%	18,5%	18,4%	18,6%	18,4%
	High	0,7%	0,6%			0,6%	0,6%	0,6%		0,6%

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

## 7.5 Appendix E – Summary measure of participatory distortion

**TABLE 7.5.1 Summary measure of participatory distortion for Ireland**

Ireland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,00	0,00	0,02	0,02	0,03	0,03	0,02	0,05	0,05
	Female	0,00	0,00	0,03	0,03	0,03	0,02	0,02	0,06	0,06
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,11</b>
Age	Young	0,04	0,02	0,01	0,06	0,01	0,00	0,03	0,03	0,03
	Lower middle age	0,00	0,01	0,04	0,02	0,05	0,03	0,02	0,06	0,06
	Upper middle age	0,01	0,01	0,04	0,02	0,02	0,00	0,04	0,06	0,06
	Old	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,00	0,02	0,04	0,05	0,01	0,01
		<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,04</b>	<b>0,09</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,14</b>	<b>0,16</b>	<b>0,16</b>
Education	Low	0,00	0,00	0,05	0,07	0,01	0,06	0,03	0,01	0,01
	Medium	0,00	0,04	0,00	0,05	0,04	0,04	0,01	0,00	0,00
	High	0,00	0,03	0,03	0,07	0,04	0,07	0,01	0,01	0,01
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,19</b>	<b>0,09</b>	<b>0,17</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,02</b>
Income	Low	0,00	0,01	0,02	0,01	0,00	0,02	0,01	0,00	0,00
	Lower middle	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,10	0,00	0,07	0,02	0,01	0,01
	Upper middle	0,00	0,00	0,06	0,01	0,02	0,02	0,01	0,02	0,02
	High	0,00	0,00	0,04	0,05	0,03	0,04	0,01	0,04	0,04
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,13</b>	<b>0,16</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,14</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,07</b>
Sum of pondered values		<b>0,09</b>	<b>0,15</b>	<b>0,35</b>	<b>0,51</b>	<b>0,31</b>	<b>0,43</b>	<b>0,27</b>	<b>0,36</b>	<b>0,36</b>

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.5.2 Summary measure of participatory distortion for Netherlands**

Netherlands		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,00	0,05	0,09	0,03	0,01	0,01	0,08	0,04	0,07
	Female	0,00	0,06	0,15	0,04	0,01	0,01	0,12	0,04	0,09
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,24</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,20</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,16</b>
Age	Young	0,01	0,03	0,01	0,00	0,01	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,03
	Lower middle age	0,01	0,04	0,05	0,01	0,01	0,02	0,02	0,09	0,01
	Upper middle age	0,01	0,01	0,04	0,00	0,02	0,01	0,04	0,02	0,04
	Old	0,01	0,04	0,01	0,01	0,00	0,04	0,02	0,04	0,04
		<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,12</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,04</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,15</b>	<b>0,11</b>
Education	Low	0,00	0,04	0,02	0,05	0,01	0,03	0,00	0,01	0,02
	Medium	0,00	0,04	0,11	0,02	0,11	0,04	0,04	0,02	0,01
	High	0,01	0,05	0,07	0,04	0,07	0,05	0,03	0,00	0,02
		<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,13</b>	<b>0,20</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,18</b>	<b>0,12</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,05</b>
Income	Low	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,01	0,00	0,01
	Lower middle	0,01	0,04	0,08	0,02	0,04	0,01	0,00	0,03	0,03
	Upper middle	0,01	0,03	0,05	0,02	0,03	0,01	0,01	0,04	0,03
	High	0,00	0,01	0,01	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,02	0,00
		<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,15</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,08</b>
Sum of pondered values		<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,45</b>	<b>0,70</b>	<b>0,27</b>	<b>0,32</b>	<b>0,25</b>	<b>0,40</b>	<b>0,35</b>	<b>0,41</b>

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.5.3 Summary measure of participatory distortion for Slovenia**

Slovenia		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,00	0,06	0,07	0,10	0,03	0,01	0,00	0,03	0,01
	Female	0,00	0,08	0,11	0,18	0,04	0,01	0,00	0,04	0,01
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,13</b>	<b>0,19</b>	<b>0,27</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,00</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,02</b>
Age	Young	0,03	0,01	0,04	0,02	0,03	0,04	0,06	0,03	0,06
	Lower middle age	0,00	0,05	0,03	0,00	0,04	0,04	0,02	0,04	0,10
	Upper middle age	0,01	0,00	0,00	0,05	0,01	0,03	0,04	0,03	0,02
	Old	0,01	0,06	0,00	0,01	0,14	0,10	0,15	0,02	0,17
		<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,12</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,09</b>	<b>0,22</b>	<b>0,21</b>	<b>0,27</b>	<b>0,12</b>	<b>0,35</b>
Education	Low	0,00	0,08	0,01	0,05	0,04	0,12	0,05	0,00	0,02
	Medium	0,01	0,00	0,03	0,06	0,01	0,00	0,02	0,01	0,01
	High	0,01	0,04	0,06	0,04	0,01	0,05	0,04	0,01	0,03
		<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,12</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>0,14</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,17</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,06</b>
Income	Low	0,00	0,05	0,00	0,05	0,04	0,07	0,11	0,00	0,04
	Lower middle	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,02	0,08	0,04	0,00	0,01	0,03
	Upper middle	0,00	0,03	0,00	0,01	0,06	0,05	0,03	0,01	0,00
	High	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,00</b>	<b>0,09</b>	<b>0,18</b>	<b>0,17</b>	<b>0,15</b>	<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,07</b>
Sum of pondered values		<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,45</b>	<b>0,37</b>	<b>0,58</b>	<b>0,53</b>	<b>0,57</b>	<b>0,52</b>	<b>0,24</b>	<b>0,50</b>

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

**TABLE 7.5.4 Summary measure of participatory distortion for Poland**

Poland		Voting	Contacting	Working party	Working organization	Wearing	Petitioning	Demonstrating	Membership party	Membership organization
Sex	Male	0,00	0,04	0,03	0,04	0,00	0,04	0,05	0,13	0,03
	Female	0,00	0,05	0,03	0,04	0,00	0,05	0,06	0,36	0,03
		<b>0,01</b>	<b>0,10</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,00</b>	<b>0,08</b>	<b>0,11</b>	<b>0,49</b>	<b>0,06</b>
Age	Young	0,01	0,04	0,02	0,03	0,04	0,05	0,06	0,01	0,11
	Lower middle age	0,00	0,04	0,00	0,05	0,04	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,09
	Upper middle age	0,01	0,01	0,03	0,02	0,05	0,01	0,06	0,02	0,01
	Old	0,00	0,04	0,02	0,01	0,09	0,10	0,04	0,01	0,13
		<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,14</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,12</b>	<b>0,22</b>	<b>0,17</b>	<b>0,16</b>	<b>0,05</b>	<b>0,34</b>
Education	Low	0,01	0,10	0,12	0,09	0,15	0,12	0,15	0,08	0,14
	Medium	0,00	0,02	0,01	0,03	0,02	0,03	0,01	0,07	0,02
	High	0,01	0,03	0,05	0,05	0,06	0,06	0,05	0,04	0,03
		<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,15</b>	<b>0,17</b>	<b>0,17</b>	<b>0,23</b>	<b>0,21</b>	<b>0,21</b>	<b>0,19</b>	<b>0,19</b>
Income	Low	0,01	0,03	0,01	0,10	0,08	0,18	0,04	0,00	0,09
	Lower middle	0,01	0,03	0,01	0,06	0,05	0,09	0,02	0,03	0,06
	Upper middle	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,01	0,00	0,00
	High	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
		<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,06</b>	<b>0,02</b>	<b>0,16</b>	<b>0,13</b>	<b>0,28</b>	<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,03</b>	<b>0,15</b>
Sum of pondered values		<b>0,07</b>	<b>0,45</b>	<b>0,32</b>	<b>0,54</b>	<b>0,58</b>	<b>0,74</b>	<b>0,55</b>	<b>0,76</b>	<b>0,74</b>

Source: calculated by the author from the ESS 3 database

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