POLITICAL AND CIVIC PARTICIPATION

2\textsuperscript{nd} International Multidisciplinary Conference
organised by the PIDOP Consortium in collaboration with
the Centre for Research on Nationalism, Ethnicity and
Multiculturalism (CRONEM), University of Surrey

16 -17 April, 2012
University of Surrey, UK

ABSTRACTS
DOP is a multinational research project funded by the European Commission under FP7. It is running from May 2009 until April 2012. The project is investigating the processes which influence civic and political participation in eight European states – Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey and the UK.

PIDOP is investigating the role of macro-level contextual factors (including historical, political, electoral and policy factors), proximal social factors (including familial, educational and media factors) and psychological factors (including motivational, cognitive, attitudinal and identity factors) in facilitating and/or inhibiting civic and political participation.

A distinctive focus of the project is the psychology of the individual citizen and the psychological processes through which macro-level contextual factors and proximal social factors exert their effects upon citizens’ civic and political participation.

Young people, women, minorities and migrants are being examined as four specific groups at risk of political disengagement. The project is unique in studying citizen participation by members of 27 different ethnic groups living in 9 national locations across Europe.

The research teams in the PIDOP project are drawn from the following universities:

- University of Surrey, UK
- University of Liège, Belgium
- Masaryk University, Czech Republic
- University of Jena, Germany
- University of Bologna, Italy
- University of Porto, Portugal
- Örebro University, Sweden
- Ankara University, Turkey
- Queen’s University Belfast, UK

The project is formulating a series of evidence-based policy recommendations concerning the steps that may be taken by the European Commission and by national governments to enhance levels of civic and political participation by citizens.

For further information about the project, please visit the project website at:

http://www.fahs.surrey.ac.uk/pidop/


**A Welcome Message**

We would like to extend a very warm welcome to everyone who is participating in this second conference which has been organised by the PIDOP consortium. We hope that you have an extremely enjoyable time during the conference, and that you will find the conference presentations and discussions thought-provoking and stimulating.

The first conference which the PIDOP consortium organised took place at the University of Bologna last year. In the feedback which we received after that conference, we heard that participants felt they had derived great benefits from the conference because of its very close focus on the specific issue of political and civic participation and because of the opportunity which it had provided for learning about the PIDOP project and its findings.

This year’s conference has retained that close focus on political and civic participation. In addition, during the course of the past year, many more findings have begun to emerge from the PIDOP project. This year’s conference will therefore give participants the opportunity to hear in detail about these new findings.

The PIDOP project itself is a multidisciplinary endeavour. We have psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, educationalists, political scientists, political theorists and policy analysts all working together on the project. Similarly, the papers which will be presented by participants at this year’s conference come from an extremely diverse disciplinary spread, covering the entire spectrum of social science disciplines. We are also delighted that participants have come from so many different countries to present their work at this conference.

We would therefore like to thank all of you for bringing to this conference your own particular disciplinary and national orientations, and for enriching the meeting through your presence. We greatly look forward to hearing about your work during the conference.

*Martyn Barrett (University of Surrey, UK) and Bruna Zani (University of Bologna, Italy)*

*Conference Co-Chairs*

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**Organising Committee**

Prof Martyn Barrett, Prof Nick Emler, Dr Roberta Guerrina, Prof Rachel Brooks, Dr Tereza Capelos, Dr Ian Brunton-Smith, Rev Nicholas Walters, Dr Dimitra Pachi, Dr Christiano Bee, Dr David Garbin and Ms Mirela Dumin.

**Scientific Committee:**

Prof Erik Amna (Örebro, Sweden); Prof Martyn Barrett (Surrey, UK); Prof Michel Born (Liège, Belgium); Prof Rachel Brooks (Brunel, UK); Dr Tereza Capelos (Surrey, UK); Prof Yvonne Galligan (Belfast, UK); Dr Roberta Guerrina (Surrey, UK); Prof Evanthia Lyons (Belfast, UK); Prof Petr Macek (Brno, Czech Republic); Prof Isabel Menezes (Porto, Portugal); Prof Peter Noack (Jena, Germany); Dr Tulin Sener (Ankara, Turkey); Prof Bruna Zani (Bologna, Italy).
PLENARY SPEAKERS:

The PIDOP Project: Achievements and Recommendations
Martyn Barrett, PIDOP Project Coordinator, University of Surrey, UK

PIDOP is a multinational research project funded by the European Commission under FP7. It is examining the processes that influence civic and political participation in eight European states. The project is investigating the macro-level contextual factors (including historical, political, electoral, economic and policy factors), the proximal social factors (including family, educational and media factors) and the psychological factors (including motivational, cognitive, attitudinal and identity factors) which facilitate and/or inhibit civic and political participation. A distinctive focus of the project is the psychology of the individual citizen, and the psychological processes through which macro-level contextual factors and proximal social factors exert their effects upon citizens’ civic and political participation. Young people, women, minorities and migrants are being examined as four specific groups at risk of political disengagement.

This presentation will provide a broad overview of the PIDOP project and some of its achievements. These include an audit and analysis of existing policy on civic and political participation within Europe; the development of new theories of participation; the secondary analysis of data on participation from existing survey datasets; the collection and analysis of new data on participation by members of 27 ethnic majority, ethnic minority and migrant groups living in 9 different national locations across Europe; the development of a multi-level theoretical understanding of the processes responsible for civic and political participation; and the formulation of new evidence-based policy recommendations for stakeholders at regional, national and European levels, including politicians, political institutions, media organisations, educational professionals, educational institutions, youth workers, and youth and leisure centres.

European Young People’s Civic Engagement in Cross National Perspective: Developmental Roots and Futures
Judith Torney-Purta, University of Maryland at College Park, USA

Developmental psychology has a lot to offer to the study of civic or political attitudes and engagement among today’s young adults. Results from the IEA CIVED study, collected when this cohort was in adolescence, will be examined using the concept of the developmental niche for participatory citizenship. I will present average attitudes for about a dozen countries (including 7 from PIDOP); a person-centered analysis identifying clusters of adolescents; and differences by gender and by immigrant status in selected countries. I will also consider scenarios reducing civic exclusion.

Judith Torney-Purta is Professor of Human Development at the University of Maryland at College Park, USA. She has worked for many years on youth political socialization and civic engagement, and she led the highly influential IEA Civic Education Study in which data were collected from 90,000 14-year-old students in 28 countries, and 50,000 17- to 19-year-old students in 16 countries. She is the recipient of numerous honours and awards.

Contextualizing Contestation: Movements, Organizers, and the Internet
Bert Klandermans, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Social psychology has a lot to offer to the study of protest. The presentation will first give an overview of past contributions. It will then continue to develop a social psychology of protest elaborating on motivation and emotion, and the process of mobilization. I will present new directions we are taking. I will illustrate my argument with examples of research I and my team have conducted.

Bert Klandermans is Professor in Applied Social Psychology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, The Netherlands. The emphasis in his work is on the social psychological consequences of social, economic and political change. He has published extensively on the social psychology of participation in political protest, social movements and labour unions.
ABSTRACTS - PANELS

Erik Amnå, Örebro University, Sweden and Marta Miklikowska, Örebro University, Sweden
Youths’ Relations to Civic Engagement
Youths’ civic engagement is too often either equalized with political participation or regarded as something good per se. Consequently, political inactivity as well as disengagement in adolescence and early adulthood is treated as negative characteristics. In this study, analysing data from focus group interviews and questionnaire on young people of various national backgrounds, we apply different normative perspectives and we also take the content of the engagement into account, in order to develop the conceptual understanding of young people’s various stands on civic engagement and disengagement. It results into a discussion on what to expect and what to look for in studies of actual young civic lives.

Richard Antony, University of Surrey, UK
Minority Youth’s Engagement in Transnational Tamil Politics
Many South Asian studies in the UK have focused some attention on the political participation of minorities, particularly young British South Asians’ orientation towards their homeland’s politics. Although there have been a few studies on UK Tamil youth, none of them really focuses on young Tamils’ engagement with transnational Tamil politics. This study considers the extent to which young Tamil Londoners have been involved in Tamil politics and how this study is different from other South Asian studies in the UK. This paper aims to identify the determinant factors which motivate young people to participate in various Tamil political activities in the UK. It also develops a broader picture of young Tamils considering their political interests and how they become politically aware of the involvement in their homeland’s politics by comparing relevant studies on other minority youth groups. This study explores three emerging youth types in Tamil politics: the pro-LTTE activists, the politically moderate activists and the politically less-active. The findings show that the implication of the recent events in Sri Lanka seemed to have created greater political participation amongst young Tamils. This may have an impact on their future social and cultural orientation.

Nermin Aydemir, Bilkent University, Turkey
Migrant Voice in the Social Media: Messages of MPs of Migrant Origin in the Netherlands and the UK
The literature on migrant political participation shows the impact of citizenship regimes on the presence of MPs of migrant origin in representative mechanisms. The possible influences of the citizenship regime on other forms of political participation, such as posting political messages on social media, however, still remains a key theme to be researched. This paper analyzes to what extent, if any, the citizenship regime influences the presence and the claim-making abilities of MPs of migrant origin on the best known social media platforms, i.e. Twitter and Facebook, in the Netherlands and Britain. After investigating the presence of MPs with a migrant background, a qualitative analysis is conducted on the messages posted by them. The citizenship regimes of the Netherlands and Britain overlap in many respects. Both countries share a multicultural citizenship understanding, which opens space for different cultures within the society. Still, the literature indicates a shift towards a more monolithic understanding in the Netherlands. The time period of the study covers the year 2010, a year in which general elections were held in both countries.

Lee Bentley, University of Manchester, UK
Participation in Local Civic Organisations in The UK: Neighbourhood Effects and Civic Socialization
Over the past two decades there has been an increased focus on the importance of engagement in social and civic organisations as a means to improve a variety of community and individual level outcomes. Spurred primarily by research into social capital legislators and academics have become increasingly interested in why people become involved in local organizations and in the benefits that can be derived from such engagement. The majority of the quantitative research in this area has been undertaken using cross-sectional data which makes it difficult to examine causal relationships. Moreover, relatively few studies have taken into account the impact of effects over the course of an individuals’ life even though much research into political socialization suggests this might be an important reason for involvement. In this paper I examine these relationships utilizing the British Household Panel Survey, a secondary longitudinal study which includes a survey of respondents in youth. Working within a framework of multilevel structural equation modelling I examine how different
neighbourhood contexts, such as deprivation and stability, can have an impact on the likelihood of participating in both adulthood and youth.

Sylvie Bernard-Patel, Independent researcher, UK

Je m'appelle Khalid …. and I am a British Muslim: Claiming Cultural Identity in the Making of British and French Civic Society

Britain and France have a large immigrant population that emerged from the legacy of the Colonial Empire and whose ethnic origins and beliefs vary. A significant proportion of their population is of Islamic faith. While Britain centres its societal structures around multiculturalism and communitarianism, supporting the right to display religious symbols and accepting cultural differences, France rejects fundamentally communitarianism and grounds its societal structure around the Republican central principle and value of laïcité whereby ‘liberty, equality and fraternity’ are urged to be aspired. Over the past decade, numerous events have attracted a great amount of media attention onto the Muslim community (9/11, London bombings, Madrid terrorist attack). In both countries, Muslim communities have experienced open hostility, increasing their feeling of insecurity and anxieties to the rise of Islamophobia. A result of these tensions is the emergence of a stronger claim for cultural identity by Muslim youth to be recognised as a public engagement in the making of civic society. In Britain, young Muslim people request as much recognition of their Britishness as of their distinctive cultural character, while their counterparts in France vindicate for their Muslim identity and a long lost denial of justice and dignity that appear to remain unattainable by the Republican contract. This paper will present findings from a cross-national comparative study investigating how young Muslim adolescents in Britain and France identify the elements that foreground their identity, how they situate themselves with respect to national identity and self-identity. The aim will be to demonstrate the ways they articulate the notion of cultural identity in regards to that of integration, to discuss their perceptions of acceptance and belonging in British and French society respectively.

Marco Boffi, University of Milan, Italy

Good Politics: Enhancing the Quality of Participation

Enhancing political participation is a central issue for current institutions, as is reversing the rising distrust in politics recorded in many countries. Moreover several studies highlight the shift from traditional forms of participation to civil society. Such phenomena support the idea that we can observe two distinct constructs in action. First the effect of political cynicism (PCY), which is the degree of mistrust towards politics. In second place the search for involvement in social activities: when adequately satisfied it is a source of flow of consciousness (FC) for individuals, fostering their own wellbeing. The aim of this study is to develop a method to monitor the psychological quality of political participation. We administered to 224 political activists a questionnaire including scales for PCY and FC and eighteen items describing important features to be held by “good politicians” (as resulting from thirteen interviews with national politics experts). The factor analysis highlighted three main components: engagement, success and competence. On the basis of such factors we performed the cluster analysis that led us to describe four groups of activists: technicians, pragmatists, idealists and cynics. These groups clarify which characteristics are most desirable in political participation in order to keep the political system healthy.

Fouad Bou Zeineddine and Felicia Pratto, University of Connecticut, USA

Getting Engaged Instead of Getting Out: Restricting Migration, System Condemnation, and Political Engagement

Political participation ostensibly enables citizens to meet their needs and interests. But structural and material constraints can so disempower citizens that their participation seems futile. People may then come to see escape as an attractive, though often inaccessible, option. Experiments by Laurin et al. (2010) imply that if people cannot emigrate, they may choose self-pacification by justifying their political system. Alternatively, people unable to emigrate may choose to redouble their efforts at political engagement. In a survey of 1457 citizens from 14 nations, we found that citizens’ desire to emigrate is a function of perceptions of injustice in their political system, corruption, and the unlikelihood of upward mobility, as well as destitution and danger. Our results also indicated that it is the lack of political voice and efficacy, and the perception that other nations were unfairly advantaged, rather than the inability to emigrate, which predicted rejection of system justification. People desiring emigration reported more political engagement than others regardless of ability to emigrate, and were actually less acquiescent to dominant groups the less able to emigrate they thought they were. The importance of considering resistance to oppressive power structures in political engagement, and the
limitations of system justification, are discussed.

Sofia Boutsiouki, University of Macedonia, Greece
"Well Begun is Half Done: Preparing Citizens Who Care"
In recent years the phenomenon of younger generations being rather sceptical towards any form of political engagement seems to be spreading and can be attributed to the inter-relation of a number of factors. It can be argued that the more young people engage in socioeconomic activities, the greater sensitiveness to political issues they subconsciously develop; therefore, they are more likely to increase their future political or civic participation. This paper aims at presenting the educational practices through which Greek secondary education students are prepared to undertake their future social, economic or political roles as adults. First of all, the official school curriculum includes specific subjects which refer to socioeconomic issues ranging from the national institutional framework to basic social and economic principles and aspire to increase the civic awareness of the students. Secondly, students and their teachers are encouraged to participate in educational projects simulating the actions and the conditions of the real socioeconomic environment, thus becoming apprentices of situations they are very likely to come into in the future as adults. The paper comes to a conclusion by presenting the expected benefits of these experiences for students and a number of suggestions concerning the further development of these educational practices towards a more flexible, widespread and effective model.

Colin Brown, Harvard University, USA
Maas Participation: Political Parties and Immigrant Outreach in Rotterdam
While not yet constituting a national majority in European nations, citizens with an immigration background are increasingly significant voting blocs in a large number of urban areas. While it is expected that outreach will increase over time, and it has been suggested that there is a serious potential tradeoff for left-wing parties between new immigrant votes and traditional working-class support, there is so far a lack of systematic comparison to determine the ways in which parties determine how and when to reach out to immigrant communities---or not to do so. This paper looks at Rotterdam (NL), using demographic and election data from the neighborhood level and a series of interviews with city- and neighborhood-level political actors to explore the validity of several existing theories of immigrant incorporation and campaign outreach, and it is the first in an eventual series comparing four cities in the Netherlands, Germany and the UK in a similar way.

Isidoropaolo Casteltrione, Queen Margaret University, UK
Political Participation Research: Contradictory Evidence and Conceptual Weaknesses
Over the last decade there has been a proliferation of academic studies addressing the relationship between the internet and politics, with an increasing number of publications focusing on the impact of this medium on citizens’ political participation. Within this specific sub-field research has produced contrasting evidence and generated an intense academic debate. Many scholars stress the positive influence of the internet on political participation, while others minimise its mobilising power and emphasise its tendency to reinforce existing participatory trends. This paper discusses how this mixed picture could be, in part, ascribed to two conceptual weaknesses. The first weakness results from the tendency of not considering political participation as a multi-dimensional phenomenon which prevented scholars to assess how the influence of the internet on political participation can vary accordingly to the type of participatory activity. Differently, the second flaw is related to the over-generalised conceptualisation of internet usage which, in turn, led researchers to concentrate only on the online/offline distinction and to overlook the impact of different internet practices. Taking into account these two conceptual weaknesses this paper presents a series of recommendations for the design of academic studies aiming to address some of the gaps emerged in political participation research.

Mehmet Cemal Collak, University of Vienna, Austria and Yusuf Sahin, Middle East Technical University, Turkey
Voting Behaviors’ of Turkish Migrants Living in Austria
There are 250,000 Turkish migrants in Austria, with 110,000 being Austrian citizens. Turkish migrants constitute the third biggest group of migrants after Germans and Former Yugoslavians. There are 10 Turkish newspapers and 5 magazines published in the Turkish language, with a total circulation of more than 100,000. Factors affecting the voting behaviours’ of Turkish citizens in Austria and their political participation are studied with an empirical study (n=175). Additionally, newspaper reading habits of Turkish migrants and the effect of newspapers on voting behaviour are analyzed. The effect
of these newspapers/magazines on the voting behaviours of Turkish migrants is studied while the relationships between voting behaviour, age, gender, education, duration of stay, feeling of belonging to Austria, and other variables are determined. There is a close relationship between political participation and the feeling of belonging to the country being lived in. Turkish migrants do not perceive having the right to vote as being the same as citizenship. Turkish migrants think that there is no difference between assimilation and integration policies in Austria. Thus, they believe that their expectations are not met by politics. Turkish migrants in Austria have a higher level of concern with politics and higher levels of voting than Austrians.

Sue Collard, Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, UK


This paper will disseminate the findings of a local case-study which constitutes a small part of a much wider research project that seeks to evaluate the participation of NNEUCs in local elections across the EU, based on a set of related research questions: how many NNEUCs actually take up their rights as EU Citizens to vote and stand in local elections? What factors determine why some vote and others not? What other forms of civic and political participation do NNEUC voters and non-voters engage in? This local study provides an original statistical evaluation of NNEUC participation in the local elections on May 2011 in Brighton & Hove, calculated by consulting the marked electoral register, and then makes a qualitative assessment of a sample of voters and non-voters based on an on-line survey, followed up by semi-structured interviews. Finally, it will conclude with some reflections on implications for local policy-makers and electoral services.

Mandeep K. Dhami, University of Surrey and Paula A. Cruise, University of Cambridge, UK

Prisoner and Public Views of Prisoner Disenfranchisement

The right to vote is denied to prisoners in over 50 nations. Over the past decade, the UK’s prisoner disenfranchisement policy has been challenged in the European court and considered in public consultations. Despite the global debate on prisoner disenfranchisement there have been few systematic studies on this issue. In the present paper, we report the findings of a survey of English prisoners’ and public’s views of prisoner disenfranchisement policy. We found that although the public was more likely than prisoners to consider voting as important, they were less likely to be aware of prisoner disenfranchisement policy. A similarly high proportion of prisoners and the public said they would vote if they had the right in prison, however, only around a third had voted in the past (outside prison). Prisoners and the public held different attitudes towards prisoner disenfranchisement, and the public were more likely than prisoners to view this policy as fair. Finally, prisoners were more likely than the public to believe that their vote could influence elections, and this best predicted their intentions to vote. These findings are further considered in relation to political party affiliation, prisoner populations, and offence types.

Tomas Dvorak, Institute of Sociological Studies, Charles University, Prague

Political Participation and Direct Democracy: The Case of European Union Enlargement Referendums in Central and Eastern Europe

The aim of this paper is to analyze the nature of political participation in the case of a series of EU enlargement referendums that took place in 2003 in five Central and Eastern European countries (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia). The paper is focused on two issues. First it investigates who (in terms of age, gender, educational etc.) was mobilized to participate in these referendums. It empirically tests and discusses the implications of theories of post materialist values and cognitive mobilization (proposed by Inglehart, Dalton and others) that it should be the young and educated people who would embrace the novel or/and more direct forms of political participation (including direct democracy). However, the results of the analysis are inconclusive and seem to vary from country to country significantly. Second, it investigates the role that political parties play in mobilizing their supporters to participate in direct democracy. The results of analyses suggest, that being a supporter of a political party brings about increased probability of voting in referenda compared to people without any political party affiliation.
Katharina Eckstein and Peter Noack, University of Jena, Germany
Political Participation in Adolescence and Young Adulthood: The Meaning of Individual and Social Influences

For the development of a political identity and a mature citizenship, adolescence and young adulthood are important periods in life. Within this process, an active participation within the political sphere is considered to be one important developmental task. Therefore, it was the objective of the present study to select predictors of political participation, while drawing on the broader assumptions of the theoretical framework of the theory of planned behaviour (e.g., Ajzen, 1991). Drawing on longitudinal data from two German samples (Study 1: adolescents; Study 2: young adults), young people’s willingness to participate in politics was predicted by their attitudes toward political engagement, their internal political efficacy (cf. perceived behavioural control), and significant others’ attitudes toward political engagement (cf. subjective norm). Overall, the results of both studies showed that particularly attitudes toward political engagement and internal political efficacy beliefs predicted changes in young people’s willingness to participate in politics. Moreover, the consideration of actual political activities revealed that both young people’s behavioural intentions as well as their internal efficacy beliefs were meaningful predictors. Finally, we will discuss in how far the results generalize across different age groups as well as different forms of political behaviours (i.e., conventional vs. unconventional political participation).

Floor Eelbode, Ghent University, Belgium
The Political Representation of Ethnic Minorities at the Local Level. The Role of Electoral Systems and Political Parties

Since the end of World War II, most Western countries face a growing number of ethnic minorities within their borders. Over the years, the migrant population diversified and turned into a permanent phenomenon. As a result, we nowadays live in very diverse societies. However, our political institutions are less diverse, as there remains an underrepresentation of specific groups and more specifically of ethnic minorities. The scholarly literature on ethnic minority representation points at the importance of the Political Opportunity Structure (POS) and more specifically of citizenship regimes, electoral systems, characteristics of the ethnic group and political parties to explain the political (under)representation of ethnic minorities. In this paper, I focus more specifically on the influence of electoral systems and political parties. I discuss which party characteristics and which elements of the electoral system are beneficial for the political representation of ethnic minorities. This comparative paper is based on a qualitative case study of one Belgian and one English city. In these cities, semi-structured interviews were conducted with ethnic representatives, ethnic candidates, representatives of the ethnic community and party representatives. Interviews were analyzed using the grounded theory approach (Glaser, 1992).

Behzad Fallahzadeh, University of Heidelberg, Germany
Associational Public Sphere

In political theory the public sphere is described as a discursive sphere, where people with different opinions get together with the goal of finding a public opinion through argumentation. Nowadays the discursive public sphere is disappearing. Instead an associational one is rising up, which is characterized by three qualities: First of all, as far as the associational public sphere is distinguished by its abdication of political power it has to bind the political power otherwise to itself: that is the generation of attention. The scarce resources which bind the political power to the public sphere is not the argument but the attention which a group is able to generate. Secondly, this in turn has the effect that the associational public sphere deals with concrete topics rather than abstract values or norms. It is extremely ephemeral. Thirdly, the distinction between public and private sphere disappears. It is not limited to the marketplace or town hall any more. It can take place anywhere at any time. Thus, it is an everyday public sphere. Nonetheless the associational public sphere is not less social or political than the discursive one. It is just a wholly different one. Examples are NGOs or the Internet.

Kai Fuerstenberg, South Asia Institute Heidelberg, Germany
Participation in India: The Case of NREGA

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) is one of the biggest poverty alleviation and infrastructure measures in the history of India. Initiated by the Indian government in 2005, it encompasses all federal bodies and an array of civil society groups. NREGA has therefore two aspects where citizens can participate. Within the formal structure, they are enabled to participate in project identification and planning via the Panchayati Raj Institutions, the local government bodies in India. Outside the formal government structures, they can participate via civil society groups to
monitor and innovate the implementation of NREGA schemes. Both ways are common in India concerning other, smaller projects, but a great challenge in a project this size. This paper reports an explanatory study, probing into both ways of participation in NREGA programmes. It will investigate the official structures of participation via the local government and the un-official via civil society groups. The second investigation will be a case study. The aim is to identify strengths and weaknesses of both ways of civic participation and the potential of mutual benefits.

Maria Luiza Aberceb Carvalho Gatto, University of Oxford, UK

**Behind Every Political Woman, There’s a Man: A Study of Female Presidential Candidates in Latin America**

In the last ten years there have been four female presidential candidates in Latin America: Dilma Rousseff, Laura Chinchilla, Cristina Kirchner, and Michelle Bachelet. While these four women are very different in many aspects, there is one word that unites them: continuity. Instead of being advocates for political change, the four women have represented the ideology of the president that preceded them in each of their respective countries. This paper will analyze the male-dominated sphere of Latin American politics, in an attempt to discover how some women managed to rise to the presidential office. My main interest resides in discovering what are the variables that positively influence the electability of female presidential candidates in the region. My initial hypothesis is that women in the region are more likely to get elected if perceived by voters as giving “continuity” to the previous government’s policies. In order to test for the variables that positively impact the electability of female presidential candidates in Latin America, I use a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods. Combining the two methods allows me to first systematically analyze the case studies qualitatively, mostly relying on secondary sources, and then, confirm (or disprove) my initial findings by applying the rigor of quantitative methodology.

Paul Gavin, Kings College London, UK

**True Participation: Prisoners at the Ballot Box**

This presentation will examine the topic of rights which prisoners retain while incarcerated. However, as the subject of prisoner rights is so expansive, I will focus on one area specifically: the right to vote. As recently as February of this year, the Prime Minister stated that he did not believe that prisoners should be allowed to vote. However, the ruling of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of Hirst v United Kingdom has rendered his opinion rather irrelevant. This presentation will examine the notion of disenfranchisement as punishment. It will begin by tracing the origins of disenfranchisement of prisoners while discussing the justifications for such a punishment. I will then examine the case of Hirst v United Kingdom and the implications of the ECtHR’s ruling. In order to gain an international perspective, I will examine the voting rights of prisoners in the US (Campbell: 2007, King: 2006), Canada (Suave v Canada 2002) and Ireland (Breathnach v Ireland 2001). Over the course of this presentation I will argue that to deny prisoners the right to vote results in a disproportionate punishment for offenders. I will also argue that such a policy is pointless as it has not effect on prisoners in terms of rehabilitation or future deterrence.

Sergiu Gherghina, GESIS Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences, Germany

**Explaining the Electoral Participation of Ethnic Minorities in Europe**

Existing research indicates that ethnic parties are among the most electorally stable political actors in Europe. Similarly, their electorates are seen as the most organized, disciplined, and involved. Whereas the discipline and voting preferences of ethnic groups have been intensively investigated, their involvement has not been studied. This paper seeks to address this gap in the literature by answering two research questions: how does electoral participation differ in the case of ethnic minorities (compared to the majority population) and what factors enhance it? Electoral participation is a composite index of voting (the most frequent form), campaign involvement and discussions to persuade other voters. The study is carried at individual level using data from the Candidate Study of Electoral Systems (CSES). It includes the European countries with relevant ethnic minorities (i.e. relevance according to several criteria) and provides a cross-national analysis. The empirical tests account for three types of determinants enhancing the electoral participation of citizens belonging to ethnic minorities: political (i.e. satisfaction with democracy, government performance, closeness to a party), economic (retrospective and prospective evaluations), and social (income, education, residence) variables.
Eunice Goes, Richmond University, UK

Lessons From Tahrir Square: The Public Sphere and Deliberative Institutions

The Arab Spring restored faith in the public sphere and in civil society. In 2010, thousands of citizens managed to overthrow oppressive and corrupt regimes in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, and many more are courageously demanding political change in Syria, but also in Morocco, in Algiers and in Jordan. However, roughly a year on, the discursive force of the “Arab Spring” has been thwarted by established forces, in particular in Egypt. This paper seeks to reflect on the ability of the public sphere to influence political decision-making. It is often assumed that the public sphere is very useful at provoking radical political change; however, the business of deciding which institutions should be put in place, under what rules, etc., should remain in the hands of established forces such as the military, the main economic actors and existing political parties. In this paper, I want to try to understand the rationale for this division of labour. The paper will argue that to be effective the process of deliberation in the public sphere requires more than just discourses or conversations. Indeed, in order to be more consequential, it will be argued, the public sphere requires deliberative institutions where binding decisions are taken.

Elena Grigorieva, National Research University, Russia

The Influence of the Institutional and Non-Institutional Aspects of Authoritarianism on the Political Processes in Russia Today

The problem of authoritarianism is now becoming ever more relevant. It is related to demands of the modern high-tech world, with its inherent risks, crises, shortages and restrictions. The comprehensive analysis of authoritarianism takes into account the dynamics of authoritarian attitudes and values at the individual level, the means of political control, and the prospects of institutional transformations in contemporary Russia. This research proposes a new approach to the analysis and measurement of authoritarianism in order to determine the nature and the influential effect of the authoritarian syndrome on political processes and, moreover, to find the reasons for the viability of authoritarianism in modern Russia. What contributes to the expression and reproduction of the authoritarian system – «personal difficulties» of the individual due to his sphere of life, social environment and personal experiences, or «social problems» caused by institutional and socio cultural organization macrostructure? What are the individual, societal and political prerequisites that contribute to increasing authoritarianism? The analysis of the political changes in Russia’s system over the past decade shows the dynamics of the political institutions of state power from pro-democratic to authoritarian. Institutional changes in the political system have responded to the requirements of the population for authoritarianism - the desire for strong leadership and the establishment of order. Today, however, there is growing discontent among the population regarding the functioning of political institutions and policies. Why does one part of the Russian people demonstrate authoritarian attitudes and behaviour, while another part of the Russian people demonstrate democratic attitudes? How does the implementation of state policies both enhance and benefit from widespread authoritarianism? This research represents an attempt, on the basis of systematic studies of authoritarianism, to identify effective ways to overcome the authoritarian syndrome and to determine the trajectory of the evolution of political institutions in Russia.

Denise Hewlett, University of Winchester, UK

Systems of Civic Participation and Disengagement: The Case of UK National Parks

The role and importance of civic and political participation in National Park settings has paralleled the increasing enquiries warranted in more general socio-political contexts. However, unlike these studies, research in protected areas and on specifically civic engagement has been limited, resulting primarily in prescriptive toolkits of engagement based on theoretical discourse. This is considered a serious weakness not least given the context-specific nature of engagement, the interdependence of eco and social systems, and a reliance on these habitats for addressing key global environmental concerns. To address this void, recent research has drawn on national studies of civic engagement and on the few studies available in the protected area context, resulting in case-specific enquiries into civic engagement and disengagement in UK National Parks. Analysis shows that there is a two-tiered system of engagement practiced. Moreover that the impetus created by these systems, engineers a third system of disengagement of the wider community who represent the ‘marginalised’ in these areas. These three systems extend Arnstein’s ladder of participation, emphasise Habermas’ reflection on Lifeworlds, and ultimately, whilst in theory, an interpretation of Godwin’s self-government is prescribed, the practice of participation in itself, represents the nemesis to achieving broad and inclusive forms of participation.
Theorising Frames of Femininity: Young Women's Gendered Experiences of Social Movement Activism

The participation of young people in highly visible contemporary protests – from the Occupy movement to university occupations – is beginning to challenge long-held notions of youth political apathy and disengagement. The presence of young women at the heart of these, and other, movements requires that social movement theory begins to address their specific gendered experiences of protest and collective action. However, studies of activism remain for the most part ‘gender-neutral’ and where gender has been addressed it is rarely integrated with an analysis of age or generation. As such this paper takes as its focus the gendered nature of young British women’s experiences of social movement participation and political socialisation. It examines how social movement theory has failed to identify the extent to which social movement organisations are structured by gender as much as more formal political institutions and considers how these gender regimes shape young women’s participation. Drawing on preliminary PhD research it also considers how individual movement cultures, histories and ideologies influence these young women’s sense of political subjectivity and performances of femininity.

Peaceable Neighbourhood: Results of Research

This Peaceable Neighbourhood (PN) presentation reports the results of ongoing research. The PN implemented in Dutch neighbourhoods follows the Peaceable School (PS) citizenship program, implemented in 60% of the primary schools in Utrecht. The PS constitutes a school community in which everyone is committed and interacts positively, and learns ‘democratic way of life skills’, among which ‘peer-mediation’ is characteristic. Utrecht has a large immigrant population, and therefore children experience large cultural differences between several life-domains: schools enhance emancipation; in leisure time the street culture reigns; while the home domain has its, mostly Islamic, traditions. The PN program ties these domains together through the common integral peaceable approach in which children are stimulated to behave in their leisure activities as they behave in school. The results of the research reveal that the PN achieves its main goals: a neighbourhood wide integral youth work program with large reach (mosque included); pro-social behaviour transfers from the school to leisure-time activities; enthusiasm among professionals; less problems in low structured child activities; increasing participation of parents. Unexpected was the finding that pro-social behaviour only exists when it is appealed to. Future challenges for the PN are: to include the home domain; to increase children’s participation; to have greater influence on street safety.

Measuring Young People’s Civic Competence across Europe in 2009

This paper will compare the levels of young people’s civic competence across Europe. For this purpose a composite indicator has been created, The Civic Competence Composite Indicator (CCCI-2). It is comprised of four dimensions: Attitudes Towards Participation, Citizenship Values, Social Justice Values, and Knowledge and Skills on Democracy. The data used is the IEA International Citizenship and Civic Education Study 2009 conducted in 24 European countries. The findings of this indicator show that wealth and democratic stability in a country do not guarantee democratically engaged youth. Young people’s positive attitudes towards participation and their citizenship values are often stronger in relatively poor countries with recent breaks in democracy in South and East Europe. Furthermore, democracies in North and West Europe appear to be fostering a non-participatory culture. However, the reverse is true for social justice attitudes and knowledge and skills on democracy, which are supported by more wealthy and democratically stable countries. These trends are consistent with the results of the original Civic Competence Composite Indicator, using data from 10 years ago, thus suggesting a consistency of civic cultures amongst the younger generations.

Citizenship Typology in Lithuania: Political Trust and Political Participation Modes

Democracy is rather fragile when it is based on formal democratic institutions. Support for governmental institutions and citizen participation in the process of political governance is an essential condition for the functioning of democracy and ensuring the stability of society. Citizens’ support legitimises the governmental institutions, and active participation in the process of democratic governance provides ordinary citizens with the possibility to voice their interests, preferences and needs. Citizens are free to choose a number of ways to influence the political process. However, not
all modes of political participation are equal with respect to the consolidation of a newly established
democratic system. Support for democracy, high levels of institutional trust and conventional modes
of participation constitute a precondition for a stable democratic system. On the other hand, other
authors argue that participation in legal protest actions may be considered as acts of self-expression
and is not dangerous for the stability of democracy. The focus of this paper is to investigate types of
citizenship in Lithuania. What groups of citizens in Lithuania may be distinguished in accordance with
their level of interest in politics, political efficacy, trust in political institutions and participation in
political acts? What are the factors that determine the differences between types of citizens? What
are the causes and explanations of different patterns of political trust and participation between types
of citizens? Based on a survey conducted in Lithuania in 2010 and 60 semi-structured interviews, the
paper draws conclusions that four types of citizens (trustful reserved, trustless reserved, trustless
active, trustless non-active) may be identified and they differ significantly by age, membership in
nongovernmental organizations, interpersonal trust, evaluations of their own economic situation
before Independence in comparison with their present one, satisfaction with life, and evaluations of
procedural justice in local government. From the theoretical perspectives of active traditional and
postmodern citizenship, the characteristics of identified groups are mixed, because of the
socioeconomic and cultural conditions in Lithuania.

Annika Joy, National Museums of Science and Industry, UK
Engaging Underrepresented Groups in the Development of Exhibitions at a National Museum
Examining the Science Museum's model for working sustainably with audiences who do not always
see their histories reflected in museums. Through an exploration of the levels of participation that can
be incorporated into museum practice, the session will include case studies and visitor research
methodologies used to capture the participation processes, impacts and outcomes on all involved.
Developing practice already used in local and regional museums with clear geographic and cultural
communities linked to the building and the collections, the museum aims to develop a model for
national museums to involve visitors in the display and interpretation of its collections. The aim is for
underrepresented audiences to have a genuine voice, for new stories, perspectives and content to be
uncovered and for the creation of a deeper relationship between the visitor and the museum that
enriches everyone’s experience. Case Studies include:
  • Making Modern Communication:
Ensuring diverse voices are heard on the gallery and providing visitors with deep insight into the
history of communication over the last two hundred years.
  • Alan Turing Exhibition:
Working with older LGBT adults to collect and investigate their stories and views of living and working
in the second half of the twentieth century.

Mervi Kaukko, University of Oulu, Finland
Participation of Young Asylum-Seekers in Finland
Previous studies show that social and political participation among immigrant youth all over Europe is
weak. Participation can be especially challenging in reception centres, where the activities of the
residents are highly restricted. Reception centres can legitimately be defined as “waiting-rooms” to
enter society or to be deported. There are no proper integration programs for asylum seekers; not all
of the children even attend school. However, during the long and frustrating waiting time, the
residents get their first view of the society of their future home-land, with its rights and responsibilities.
In this paper I discuss the possibilities of participation and social inclusion of young asylum seekers
living in a group home of a Finnish reception centre. The data are collected during a participatory
action research project with young female asylum-seekers. In the project we planned, organized and
analyzed a trip together. In the paper I explore how participation can be defined in a culturally
sensitive way, and what aspects may impede or improve the participation of the asylum-seeker youth.
Challenges in a multi-lingual, cross-cultural adult-child-dialogue, diverse views of desired levels of
participation, and the restrictions of reality are discussed.

Malte Kaeding, University of Surrey and Ms Heidi Ningkang Wang, London School of Economics and
Political Science
Youth Participation and the Media: Evidence from Hong Kong
Fifteen years after the transfer of sovereignty, Hong Kong has entered a crucial phase in its slow
democratisation process. Recently civic groups, social activists and political parties which employ
more confrontational means of participation have emerged. Youngsters form the main body of
supporters for these organisations. Their novels forms of organising participation, innovative forms of
communication and their creativity and enthusiasm have re-invigorated the democracy movement. This paper investigates the various modes of participation and dimensions in the perception of democracy of these young activists. The key variable identified is the complex relationship between youth activists and the diverse media environment. How make youngsters use of different media and how do media shape their attitudes and values towards democracy and participation? Some activists take advantage of mainstream media and represent themselves and their concept of democracy forcefully. Others are reluctant to let the mainstream media interfere with their political preference and their representation. Self-representation and the representation on mainstream media of youth activists will further highlight the relationship between media environment and the youth and allow insights into the concept of democracy among youngsters. Findings are based on qualitative interviews with leading young activists in Hong Kong.

Ozan Kuru, Koc University, Turkey

**Personality, Ideology and Incumbent Evaluation Effects on Different Types of Participation**

In recent years there has been an increase in the forms of non-conventional forms of participation. This change could be interpreted as the result of the transformation in which traditional forms of participation have been decreasing. Nevertheless, to better understand the scope of these new forms of participation, important factors that differentiate between the people who engage or not need to be investigated. In terms of personality dimensions, would people who score high on openness to experience and agreeableness be more likely to engage in non-conventional forms of participation? Are people who engage in non-conventional participation more likely to be liberals or conservatives? Finally, are people engaging in non-conventional participation more likely to have an overall positive or negative evaluation of the incumbent government (political status-quo)? All these questions pertaining to individual differences along the dimension of “change” (old and new, conventional and non-conventional) are measured on samples of students and adults (generational comparison) in Istanbul, Turkey. After data collection is complete, multiple regression analyses will be conducted to investigate the variation that could result from these individual differences in “the attitudes toward both forms of participation” and “the actual level of both types of participation”. The results will contribute to the understanding of the differences in the nature of both old and new forms of participation, with important political communication implications.

Yohann Le Moigne, University Paris 8, France

**Compton, a “Black City” With a Latino Majority: The Causes of Political “Apathy” among Latinos in a Los Angeles Suburb**

The city of Compton, California, has experienced dramatic demographic shifts in the last three decades. From 1980 to 2010, the share of African-Americans declined from 75% to 34% of the population, whereas the share of Hispanics rose from 21% to 65%. Although Hispanics have made up a significant part of the population since the 1980’s, no Latino has ever been elected to the city council. This paper will explain the reasons that lead to such an absence of political representation, among which the lack of participation plays a key role. This lack of participation can be explained by some direct causes such as age, immigration status or a culture of abstention originated in Mexico; but also by more indirect causes such as a lack of organization within the community, which doesn’t allow the emergence of viable candidates, a disadvantageous electoral system, and a black political elite reluctant to share the power. These indirect causes lead to a discouragement within the latino community and prevent them from considering their vote as useful. Finally, we will address the debated issue of political apathy among Latinos by focusing on two non-formal political events that could mark the wakening of the sleeping elephant.

Claudia Lenz, The European Wergeland Centre, Norway

**Fostering Civic Participation at Museums and Memorial Sites?**

This paper will investigate the attention which has recently been attributed to museums and memorial sites as places where intercultural competence can be acquired by young people and where Human Rights Cultures are built through education. Two publications seem to be emblematic for this trend: 1) The survey “Discover the Past for the Future: A study on the role of historical sites and museums in Holocaust education and human rights education in the EU”, 2)The Report of the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of Europe, “Living together. Combining diversity and freedom in 21st-century Europe”. The question will be asked whether these places of non-formal education are privileged spaces where young people can make formative participatory experiences regardless of their social and cultural background, and what educational practice at these places needs to look like in order to
foster civic participation.

Meira Levinson, Harvard University, USA

“At School I Talk Straight”: Race Talk and Civic Empowerment

This paper focuses on how schools can help students confront, address, and begin to overcome deeply inequitable ethnoracialized structures and outcomes within contemporary civic and political life. Although it draws upon the U.S. context for primary source data, the arguments are applicable to multiple national contexts with deep ethnoracial divides, and in which race and ethnicity both explicitly and covertly influence politics and public policy. The paper draws from scholarship in political theory, history, sociology, social and political psychology, and race studies to argue that schools should teach all students to assume a Du Bois-ian “double consciousness” that enables perspective-taking and power analysis. At the same time, it argues, students from historically marginalized communities should be taught codeswitching and solidarity collective action as means of exercising civic and political power both within and outside the system. On a practical as well as a conceptual level, this means that civic identity is not a “neutral,” shared space in which all can participate equally and in the same way. Even if we are all equally citizens as a theoretical matter, our ethnoracial and other identities intersect with our civic identity in such profound ways that they cannot be disentangled.

Finn Mackay, University of Bristol, UK

“Guys are Told They Can Create Change; But Women Aren’t” - Voices of Young Feminist Activists

According to several commentators, the UK is currently experiencing a resurgence of feminist activism. Remarkably, young women are widely reported to be at the forefront; a departure from previous discourses within feminism and outside, which have constructed young women as a problem for feminism. This problematising mirrors debates within policy and academia around the role of youth in politics and society generally, wherein at least since the Second World War, the conventional wisdom has been that young people are disengaged from politics. In this paper I shall use data from qualitative interviews with eight young female activists in the London Feminist Network, UK. I shall also draw on my ongoing PhD research with founding and contemporary activists from the ‘Reclaim the Night’ movement in the UK. I shall explore what motivates these young women to join feminist activist groups, and how they come to identify themselves as feminist activists. I shall also expose some of the barriers they identified to active involvement in other political spheres, including formal party politics and social movements. The activists identified three main barriers to political participation – sexual objectification of women in the media and culture, restrictive gender roles and sexism within social movements.

Francesco Marini, Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, Italy

Participating Here for Helping There: Ghanaian Associations Transnational Activities in Italy and in the UK

Migrants and their formations are seen as crucial actors of the transnational process (Faist, 2010). Through the lens of transnationalism, the paper will try to understand why migrants associations involve themselves in development activities in the areas they come from and the impact that this kind of actions has on migrants integration into the host countries. The paper will answer the following question: what are the main factors in the host societies that push migrants associations to engage in transnational development activities? It will answer the question exposing the results of a comparative research about Ghanaian associations in Italy and in the UK. The paper will analyse the activities of these associations in the host countries for sustaining development projects and will concentrate in analysing whether these activities are a chance to create bridging contacts with local authorities, civil society actors and the other stakeholders. Through a comparative approach, the paper will highlight how the different migration backgrounds and migration policies of the two receiving countries play a fundamental role in shaping the way in which migrants engage themselves in the civic participation in the places they live in, in order to help people in the home country.
Agostino Massa, University of Genova, Italy

Women and Political Participation in District Councils: A Research on the Municipalities of the Commune of Genova (Italy)

In Italy, as in most European countries, women are less represented than men in political institutions such as Parliament, regional or local government. This paper aims to see the situation when it comes to political institutions at a basic level in local government, wielding in practice very little power in comparison with others. It is the case of the Consigli di Circoscrizione (CdC, District Councils), organizations of the Decentralization system within Italian major cities, that are provided with little financial resources and mainly with consultative functions. Drawing from the results of a quantitative study carried out in 2010 on the City of Genoa, where a special type of CdC called Municipi (Municipalities) have been set up, the paper aims to verify the level of representation of women elected in these institutions and their socio-graphic and political profiles. The main results suggest that in Genoese Municipi:

- there are more women elected than in the City council (of Genoa and of other cities), where power is much greater;
- their socio-demographic characteristics as well as their political background and experience differ from those of men (elected to the same institutions);
- even here, women do seem able to obtain the most powerful positions.

Davide Mazzoni, University of Bologna, Italy

Defending the Right to Water in Italy

In the last decades, Italian citizens were called to vote at several referenda, but only in 2011 they reached the necessary quorum for being considered valid. If the previous trend can be traced to a general decline in voter turnout, the reasons for the recent success in the referendum about "public water" appear less clear. Taking advantage of the recent situation in Italy, we integrate previous literature about moral convictions and collective action, investigating a specific form of commitment which derives from the perceived violation of an important human right (i.e. the right to water). Results from a group of studies, adopting qualitative and quantitative methods, and participants with different degrees of activism, show that this perceived moral injustice can elicit anger, and that anger can predict identification with the Water Movement, the intention to vote, and activism. Further findings demonstrate that the perceived rights violation depends on internal values (e.g. universalism) but can be elicited also by a mobilization campaign. The integration of this rights violation with "classical" predictors of collective action provides a theoretical contribution for developing models of collective action which take into account individuals' moral convictions. Finally, practical implications for mobilization campaigns are discussed.

Tracey McIntosh, The University of Auckland, New Zealand

Submerged Citizenship: Maori Youth, Prison and Participation

Histories of confinement are not just histories of incarceration. Māori and other indigenous peoples over-representation of incarceration speaks to lives of oppression and constraint characterised by living under conditions of scarcity and ongoing marginalisation. Young Māori women in prison are a socially submerged population both in the literature and public consciousness by virtue of their age, their ethnicity, their gender and by their incarcerated status. This paper looks at the implications of blocked participation particularly as it relates to the inter-generational transfer of social inequalities. It draws on young prisoners experience of both inclusion and exclusion to map the (im)possibilities of full participation. Normalisation of activities and experience that are detrimental to Māori and other indigenous peoples is a critical area to address. As researchers we need to seek better ways to not only understand and explain the marginal experience but to inform the ways we can transform that experience. In doing this we need to confront the limits and opportunities of this type of research.

Chris McInerney, Univesity of Limerick, Ireland

Civic Engagement and the Role of Public Administration

In recent years a series of interconnected challenges have resulted in greater scrutiny of and interaction with the public sector at local and national level. Prominent amongst these are the emergence of the concept and practice of ‘governance’ as an evolution from an arguably more exclusive and elitist ‘government’ ideal; the location of the public sector on the front line of more intensive citizen engagement and a growing emphasis, cosmetic or otherwise, on social inclusion as a policy objective, influenced by both national and EU initiatives. As a result, discussion on state capacity is challenged to move from more conventional, instrumental and technocratic models of
public administration towards relational or deliberative capacity, transformative and entrepreneurial capacity; infrastructural capacity and distributive capacity. This paper focuses on the capacity and disposition of public administration to support processes of deeper citizen participation, where participation is seen as encompassing actions ranging from information provision all the way through to co-governance and shared decision making. The paper will demonstrate the extent to which increased emphasis on public participation has placed significant additional responsibilities on public officials without a commensurate emphasis on capacity building within state institutions.

Patrizia Milesi, and Augusta Isabella Alberici, Catholic University of Milan
Psychological Obstacles to Women’s Political Activism
Although in recent years some women have reached powerful positions in politics, women who want to participate in political activities are often faced with a “labyrinth” (Eagly & Carli, 2007), and female political activists and politicians still remain a minority. The present research aims at investigating the barriers to female political activism that are perceived as internal to the women themselves, not only as individuals but also as a social category. Through a qualitative analysis of semi-structured interviews to male and female political activists, we examined some individual and collective psychological obstacles that are perceived to make political activity more difficult for women than for men. At the individual level, results highlighted that an ambivalent meaning was given to traits that are usually associated to successful political leaders (e.g., competence) when those traits are applied to female politicians. At the collective level, it emerged that women have an extreme difficulty in developing a gender politicized identity and in combining their ideological or party identity with such a more inclusive categorization (see Azzi et al., 2011). Discussion will focus on individual and collective strategies that may be helpful to overcome such psychological obstacles and to support women’s active political engagement.

Yuri Misnikov, University of Leeds, UK
Online Public Debates in Russia as a Form of Civic and Political Activism Among Ordinary Citizens: A Discursive Model of Dialogical Interaction
The paper will present empirical findings that were obtained through the analysis of public discussions on the Internet in Russia. It will specifically focus on discussing real-life evidence to reveal the dialogical character of online deliberations among ordinary citizens. The paper will argue that the rejection of online public discussions as a form of viable political participation often stems from ignoring the collectively discursive and distributed character of digital interaction among many participants with disparate worldviews. It will also attempt to prove that the prime analytical emphasis should be shifted from the centrality of argumentative rationality to consensual practices centred on issue-based agreements and disagreements. It is the latter that determine the former and are used to justify the formation of Habermasian intersubjective solidarities among the dialogically interacting discussants whose activism is motivated by the need to validate claims made by other participants and make their own ones in response. A dialogical model of discursive validation will be constructed to show how online deliberations can be tested dialogically. It can be used as a universal analytical tool of assessing the deliberative quality of online public discourses in connection to social practices and public knowledge diffusion.

Maria Luz Morán, Universidad Complutense De Madrid, Spain and Jorge Benedicto, Universidad Nacional De Educación A Distancia, Spain
The Politicization of Spanish Disadvantaged Young People: Social Frustration and Civil Practices
The impact of young people's life experiences on the development of their processes of politicization assumes a special relevance in the case of disadvantaged youth. The uncertainty and pessimism caused by the difficulties they face in their transitions to adulthood, and the limited opportunities provided by their environment, promote social frustration and civic helplessness. The aim of this paper is to analyse the impact of social frustration and civic helplessness discourses on the politicization of disadvantaged young people. On the basis of two research projects on Spanish young people with precarious and failed transitions to adulthood, we will examine some of the central features of their citizenship conceptions: their understanding of collective life, their shared civic identities, and their evaluation of participatory experiences. We will also take into consideration some experiences of civic involvement, intimately related with their everyday life, that, among some of these young people, turn into the only way of breaking the vicious circle of civic helplessness.
Jurijs Nikisins, University of Latvia, Latvia

Differences in Political Participation and Attitudes between Linguistic Communities in Latvia and Estonia

Since the breakup of the USSR and restoration of independence of the Baltic States, Latvia and Estonia have retained a large proportion of people speaking primarily other languages (mostly Russian) than the official ones (Latvian and Estonian, spoken by the majority). This has been due to large-scale immigration into both Latvia and Estonia at the time when both were constituent republics of the Soviet Union. Ever since concern and critique has been expressed from time to time both within the countries and on the international arena regarding the alleged political and linguistic discrimination of people based on their background and/or the languages spoken (e.g. Galbreath 2003, Gelazis 2004). This study attempts an overview of political participation and political attitudes of people belonging to linguistic minorities in Latvia and Estonia as compared to those of the linguistic majorities.

Emmanuel Okigbo, University College Dublin, Ireland

African Immigrant Political Participation in Ireland: Activism or Apathy

Immigrant political participation is often accelerated by both civic and political integration into the host society and the role of institutions and institutional gatekeepers in 'shaping' their incorporation. The policies and ‘incentives’ for integration ‘condition’ both the capacities and skills available for immigrant political action. As the number of African immigrants in Ireland has increased, so have they begun to manifest in various forms of political engagement. This is evident in the increasing number of African voters in the 2006 local elections, the rise in number of African candidates in Irish local elections, the appointment of an African Mayor in the town of Portlaoise in 2007 and emergence of four African candidates in the 2010 Irish parliamentary elections. Drawing strongly on the findings of a study I conducted in 2010 with 351 African immigrants in Ireland (1% of the total African immigrant population in Ireland), I argue in my paper that most Africans in Ireland are generally apathetic to political and civic integration due to structural and institutional factors within the host society. The study is the quantitative elements of my doctoral dissertation which investigates African immigrant political activism in Ireland. It critically analyzes the institutional and structural factors that provide opportunities, incentives, set parameters, mediate, restrain and even limit the political integration of this minority group in Ireland.

Stefano Passini, University of Bologna, Italy and Daive Morselli, University of Lausanne

Support for Protest Movements: The Legitimacy Triadic Model

Almost every day, the media talk about the rise of some new movement of protest. These protests become relevant or disappear due to the support that they receive from the population. But why do people support a protest in some cases and not in others? By integrating the tripolar model proposed by Mugny (1982) with Kelman and Hamilton’s (1989) theory on legitimacy, in this study we consider the issue of legitimacy concerning disobedient groups. Indeed, two forms of legitimacy can be identified: (1) the legitimacy of the group – i.e., disobedient groups may be perceived as victims or as threats and this exerts a different influence on the population’s support; (2) the legitimacy of disobedient groups’ requests – i.e., their requests may support a social change enacted for the sake of every social group or to achieve specific and restricted rights. Results show that in general participants support more the protest of victimized than of threatening groups, while no difference emerges based on the request’s legitimacy. However, value-oriented citizens (i.e., people attaching importance to the universal values of justice and equality) tend to accept more the requests of inclusive than exclusive groups.

Maria Pavlova and Rainer Silbereisen, University of Jena, Germany

Supportive Family and Community Contribute to East Germans’ Willingness to Be Civically and Politically Engaged

Given that psychological factors, such as scepticism about the effectiveness of collective action, are among the major obstacles for civic and political engagement in the former East Germany, it is important to address its cognitive antecedents. In the present study, we drew on the developmental systems theory and the theory of planned behaviour to investigate the role of supportive social contexts for East Germans’ intentions to be engaged. Participants were 1390 East Germans aged 20–40 surveyed by telephone in winter 2010–2011. We conducted multiple regression analyses to predict cognitive antecedents of civic and political engagement from self-report indicators of supportive family, friends and acquaintances, local authorities, and neighbourhood, controlling for
sociodemographic variables, social capital, and past experience of civic and political engagement. Supportive family, supportive local authorities, and perceived good neighbourhood, but not supportive friends and acquaintances, were positively associated with intentions via attitudes, subjective norms, and perceived control concerning civic and political engagement. As our participants reported high support from their families but low support from local authorities and neighbourhoods on average, policy makers may be advised to focus on community asset building to foster civic and political engagement in the former East Germany.

Roova Li Juan Phoon, National University of Malaysia and Samsuddin A. Rahim, Malaysia

Media Literacy, Citizenship Rights and Responsibility: Online and Offline Civic and Political Participation among Malaysian Youth

The internet has become the new platform for citizens’ participation in the process of democracy. Engagement with new media has the potential to help strengthen young people’s participation in civic and political life. This study looks into the level of media literacy and also the level of understanding among youth towards their rights and responsibilities as a citizen. It also investigates how youth engage themselves in civic and political participation through online and offline activities. This study is based on survey data collected from total of 210 Malaysian youth aged 17 to 40 from around Petaling Jaya, Malaysia. Findings revealed all 210 respondents have access to the internet and about 50 percent used the internet more than 12 hours per week. Pearson correlation tests finds knowledge of internet usage has a strong correlation with the internet usage while the understandings of rights and responsibility have a strong correlation with each other. Yet no combination of media literacy or the understanding of rights and responsibility has strong correlation with the online or offline civic and political participation. Findings of the study also indicate that citizenship participation among youth inclined towards civic activities compared to politics.

Klara Plecita and Marketa Sedlackova, Institute of Sociology of Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic

Geography of Political Participation and Trust

The average level of overall non-electoral political participation varies considerably across Europe. Comparative studies show that political participation has its geographic patterns - Scandinavian, West European, Mediterranean, Central European, etc. Our analyses based on the data from ESS Round 1 (2002/3) and Round 5 (2010/11) confirm the geographical aspect of political participation as well as the existence of two types of participation – conventional and unconventional – in six European countries that are participating in the PIDOP project (Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, and the United Kingdom). Our paper examines diverse patterns of participation activities in different countries from the perspective of trust. We question the simple relation between level of trust and level of participation in a given country and we suggest examining more complex relationships between various types of participation (conventional, unconventional) and different forms of trust (general social trust, trust in institutions). Our analysis shows that in the countries with higher level of trust participation pattern relates to the level of institutional as well as general social trust, whereas in countries with low level of trust the relation between trust and participation can’t be confirmed.

Felicia Pratto and Fouad Bou Zeineddine, University of Connecticut, USA

Sympathetic Collective Action: Ambivalent Emotions and Support for the Arab Uprisings of 2010-2011 in Developing and Developed Nations

When political participation is suppressed domestically and/or internationally, external popular activism may facilitate political change. We therefore examined sympathetic collective action—willingness to participate in domestic demonstrations supporting popular Arab uprisings— in 5 developing and 5 developed nations. A straightforward model of sympathetic political action suggests that people in developing nations, who experienced more political suppression and injustice, would express more sympathetic collective action due to greater solidarity with the Arab people and emotional sympathy with Arab protesters, than people in developed nations. However, we found that people in developed nations expressed more sympathetic collective action, more solidarity with Arabs, and less ambivalent emotions about Arab protesters – stronger positive and weaker negative emotions— than people in developing nations. Further analyses showed that developing nations’ participants’ lower willingness to engage in sympathetic action was attributable to those who believed Americans were behind the Arab popular protests – they had less positive and more negative emotions about the protesters. Belief that the U.S. was behind the uprisings accounted for differences between developing and developed nations in sympathetic collective action. Models of collective action should consider the multi-layered political power structure in which popular uprisings occur, as
is done by people in developing nations.

Other co-authors:
Felicia Pratto, Fouad Bou Zeineddine, Andrew L. Stewart, Rob Foels, (previous four affiliations University of Connecticut)
Antonio Aiello (University of Pisa), Atilla Cidam (University of Connecticut), Veronique Eicher (University of Lausanne), Laurent Licata (University of Bruxelles), Liu Li (Beijing Normal University), Davide Morcelli (University of Lausanne), Nebojsa Petrovic (University of Belgrade), Francesca Prati (University of Bologna), Reem Saab (Cardiff University), Joe Sweetman (Cardiff University).

Jan Willem van Prooijen, VU University Amsterdam and Eric van Dijk, Leiden University, the Netherlands
The Big Cause Effect: Perspective Taking and Consequence Size Predict Belief in Conspiracy Theories
An important threat to constructive political participation is people’s tendency to believe in political conspiracy theories following threatening societal events. In four studies we test a big cause effect, stipulating that conspiracy beliefs are a result of people’s tendency to assume a big cause for events that had big and harmful consequences. Moreover, this effect is expected to be most pronounced among people who take the perspective of others that are directly or indirectly victimized. In the first two studies, participants read a bogus newspaper article about how an African opposition leader was victimized in a car crash. Results revealed stronger conspiracy beliefs if the opposition leader died in, as opposed to survived, the crash, but only among participants who took the perspective of the opposition leader (Study 1) or of the citizens of the African country (Study 2). Studies 3 and 4 revealed similar results for participants with dispositionally high as opposed to low perspective-taking ability, in the contexts of an assassination attempt on the opposition leader (Study 3) and the 9-11 terrorist attacks (Study 4). It is concluded that political conspiracy beliefs originate from sense-making processes in which perspective-takers assume a big cause for a harmful consequence.

Luca Raffini and Ettore Recchi, University G.d’Annunzio - Chieti e Pescara, Italy
Are EU Free Movers Active European Citizens? An Empirical Assessment of the Role of Expat Associations in Southern European Civil Societies
In the global population of migrants, European citizens living abroad within the EU enjoy an exceptional legal status, as they are entitled to the same rights as nationals of the receiving state (with the only exception of voting at general elections). Existing empirical research shows that EU movers, despite their high interest in politics have a low level of political participation. However, little is known about movers’ involvement in national civil societies – either on a personal basis or through expat NGOs. Drawing on a recent survey of the associations of Poles, Rumanians, Britons and Germans in Italy, France, Spain and Greece (see www.moveact.eu), the paper will map out their activities and impact. Preliminary findings of this survey reveal diverging demands and strategies of active citizenship for Eastern and Western European movers. Immigrants associations are very relevant for Poles and Rumanians, while in the case of British and Germans we observe more individualised forms of social and political involvement.

Henry Rammelt, TRIANGLE/ Université Lyon 2, France
Aspects of Globalization and Resistance. Local Sphere, Individuals and the Anti-Globalization Movement
Our presentation deals with the effects of Globalization on social movements. Based on a large literature dedicated to Globalization, Anti-Globalization movements and their transnational dimensions, we want to explore how movements react to or resist against Globalization. We will focus on aspects of Globalization concerning transcendence, international institutionalization and transformation in the local sphere. Inspired by the AGIL scheme, we distinguish four driving forces of Globalization: market forces (Economy); interdependence (Politics); compression of communication (Social); diffusion (Cultural). The following aspects of the transformation of the local spheres appear to be influential on the mobilization of the Anti-Globalization movement(s): informationalization (Economy); decentralization (Politics); colonization of the Lebenswelt by systemic imperatives in the sense of Habermas (Social) and demystification in the sense of Weber (Culture). On an individual level, these transformations in the local sphere lead to changes concerning life opportunities (Economy), elevated demands (Politics), weakening of social ties (Social) and the quest for meaning (Cultural). International institutionalization impacts on mobilization especially by providing occasions of protest (events) and mobilization targets (agents). For the purpose of this conference we propose a debate on the relationship between these influences of Globalization on individuals and the process of
getting them involved by Anti-Globalization movements.

Sarah Riley, Aberystwyth University and Christine Griffin, University of Bath, UK
The Rise the ‘Pleasure Citizen’: How Leisure Can Be a Site for New Forms of Political Participation
We explore the potential for leisure as a site for new forms of political participation. Using electronic dance music culture (EDMC) as an example, we locate our analysis within theories of neo-tribalism and neo-liberalism, both which suggests that political participation may be occurring at an informal level through consumption. The data we draw on comes from a study on EDMC that used ethnographic observations, interviews and focus groups with 31 participants in two case studies (attendees of ‘drum and bass’ and ‘free party’ events). These events were characterised by hyper-sociality and hedonistic intoxication. Participants made sense of their participation in EDMC through collectivist discourses of sociality and belonging, and with individualist discourses that constructed their partying as an exercise of personal freedom, individual responsibility and consumer choice. Combined, these somewhat contradictory discourses produced a new subject position, the ‘pleasure citizen’, a person with rights and responsibilities to no one but themselves, but who gained a sense of value and belonging by being part of extended networks of EDMC communities.
We conclude that leisure should not be dismissed as ‘merely’ entertainment; instead analysis of young people’s leisure practices can inform our understanding of contemporary notions of citizenship and political participation.

Veronica Riniolo, ISMU Foundation, Italy and Francesco Marcaletti, Catholic University of Milan
Active Participation of Roma Minorities: An Experience of Participatory Planning in a Local Italian Context
In Italy the Roma ethnic minorities live in a context of economic, social, cultural and political marginalization. Many factors, like inadequate policies, discrimination, repeated evictions of camps, hinder the civic and political participation of ethnic groups. The Valore Lavoro (Work Value) project, which took place in the Lombardy region between 2008 and 2010, pursued the active involvement of Roma people as promoters of their paths toward work inclusion through a bottom-up approach. The experimentation was articulated in different but integrated actions, like vocational training, encouragement of self-employment, improvement of Roma’s autonomy in accessing public services and so forth. The project also tried to face the absence of reliable data on Roma through the realization of a qualitative survey on Roma’s attitudes (especially of women and young people) toward work, carried out by collecting in depth interviews. In line with the Common Basic Principles on Roma Inclusion, the above mentioned project activated a close cooperation among national and regional authorities (the Labour Ministry and the Lombardy Region Authority), society and Roma (individuals and their associations). The project and the research demonstrate that public policies can play a relevant role in affecting the lack of participation of Roma people. Autonomy, responsibility and active involvement of community leaders expressed by the minority groups themselves are the new relevant elements to be taken into account in the planning of social interventions.

Joshua Roose, University of Melbourne, Australia
Factors Influencing Civic Participation in Muslim Men: The Australian Multicultural Example
In the past decade a vast body of research has addressed aspects of Muslim identity and existence in Western multicultural liberal democracies, including Britain, Canada and Australia. Relatively few studies have sought to understand how different social influences intersect and are internalised by individuals to shape different forms of civic and political participation. This paper compares and contrasts case studies of Australian born Muslim men in Melbourne to identify the social and religio-cultural influences promoting civic participation and social inclusion. Muslim hip-hop group The Brothahood and public intellectual Waleed Aly serve as excellent examples of innovative and highly active civic participation whilst Australia’s first convicted terrorist group, the Benbrika Ja’mah, provides valuable insights into contributors to civic disengagement and social exclusion. This paper is based on extensive fieldwork and unprecedented access to over 4000 pages of Australian Security Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) listening surveillance device transcripts. A Bourdieuan analytical frame is employed to reveal contributors to civic participation and civic disengagement, including the significance of the form of Islam practiced, the vital role of family, female influences and role models, non-Muslim interaction, cultural and educational capital, quality of employment experiences, interactions with the multicultural state and wider western cultural influences.
Sergey Ryazantsev and Elena Pismennaya, Institute Social-Politic Research of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia

**Forms Of Self-Organizing of Migrants from the Countries of the Central Asia in Russia and their Socio-Political Role**

The countries of the Central Asia are and will remain, most likely, throughout the next decades, the largest migratory donors on the Eurasian continent. This is connected with features of their demographic development, geographical position, and cultural-historical factors. According to official figures in 2010, in Russia, 512 thousand Uzbeks, 269 thousand Tajiks, 118 thousand Kirghiz, 8 thousand Kazakhs, 2 thousand Turkmens worked. Informal estimations are even higher. In Russia, there are sharp questions of legalization of position of labour migrants, conditions of their life and work, protection of their rights, adaptation and integration into the Russian society. In this situation in Russia, there are many people and organizations which help migrants from Central Asia to solve their problems. The organizations are very different, despite an overall aim – to help migrants. This paper considers forms and a typology of these organizations based on their activity purposes, work directions, organization principles, and influence on social and political life. Some of the organizations have considerable authority among migrants, making an essential impact on their consolidation, and actively work with Federal migratory service of Russia and other state structures. Often these organizations are arranged by an ethnic principle, consolidating representatives of ethnic groups. Many labour migrants from the Central Asia become citizens of Russia taking part in elections and directly influencing political life in the country. Also in Russia there are some examples of protest actions of migrants against working conditions, and relations with the authorities. In this paper, forms of self-organizing of migrants, and the role of organizations on the formation of political views and the social activity of migrants from Central Asia, are considered.

Michael Sadovsky, Institute of Computational Modelling of SB RAS and Ekaterina Loginova, Siberian Federal University, Russia

**Russia Consists of at Least Eleven Clusters Differing in Electoral Behaviour of the Residents**

Russia is a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-cultural country, of huge size and extremely diverse geography. These factors may not be neglected in a study of electoral behaviour of Russian voters. We studied the cluster pattern of Russia, from the point of view of a proximity of the electoral behaviour of the residents of various territories. The data of three State Duma election campaigns were analyzed; 2717 constituencies (abbreviated to TIK in Russian) were clustered. Unsupervised classification yields highly stable TIKs separated into three classes. Elastic map technique yields at least eleven clusters gathering TIKs into groups. The composition of the clusters from the point of view of geography and economic environment of TIKs gathered in a cluster shows very high correlation between geography and social and economic environment (expressed in a set of indices). The impact of an instability of a political landscape at Russia on the clusterization is also discussed: indeed, for the last two decades, Russia enters each electoral cycle with a new list of parties. Some of them are old ones, others are newly born. The effect of such instability of political actors on the electoral behaviour of voters at Russia is also studied and discussed.

Moataz Said, The American University in Cairo, Egypt

**Political Parties: New Stream**

Egyptian youth played a crucial role in sparking the 25th revolution. Those youth were the main actors in the Egyptian revolution scene till Mubarak stepped down on the 11th of February. Most of the Egyptian youth who participated in the revolution were totally independent. However, some were members of political parties. Being engaged in political parties is one of the main aspects of political participation. The importance of being actively involved in Egyptian political life is one way of building a strong democratic state that comes directly from having rigorous political parties. Political participation can be identified into two main categories. The first one is the civic indicator which is the active membership of the individual inside a political organization. The second one is the electoral indicator, such as contributions inside the political parties or assisting with political parties campaigns. In this paper, I will investigate how Egyptian youth perceive political parties through conducting in-depth interviews with youth who have already studied political science. Political parties are the cornerstone institution in affecting the democratic process. This is because in most democratic countries they are the ones who determine the candidates that are nominated either in the parliament or presidential election. The role of the Egyptian youth in political parties is as important as participating in the 25th revolution. This is because political parties are an avenue for Egyptians to influence the decision-making process and they responsible for the structure of the machinery of
government. The level of Egyptian youth political participation especially in terms of participating in political parties can be attributed to several reasons. The main purpose of this research paper is to investigate how Egyptian youth perceive political participation after the 25th revolution.

Christine Schmid, University of Salzburg, Austria

**Adolescents’ Readiness for Participation in Illegal Political Actions: Civil Disobedience or Deviant Behaviour?**

Participation in illegal political actions can be motivated by democratic values, as suggested by the concept of civil disobedience, but it can also be an expression of adolescents’ deviant behaviour that has become legitimized by a political concern. Based on a sample of 16-year-old adolescents (N = 2,633) from all school tracks in Brandenburg, one of the federal states of Germany, a set of correlates was compared across adolescents’ readiness for participation in different types of political actions. The types of actions reached from the conventional form of voting over legal and illegal protest forms to violent behaviours. Results showed that adolescents ready to participate in illegal political protest actions have more conflicts with their parents, are less committed to their parents’ expectations and join more often informal peer-groups. About that, they hold up more often hedonistic and less often social responsibility values. Illegal protest actions, in contrast to legal protest actions, were not linked to political interest or the support of the idea of democracy, but adolescents ready to participate in illegal protest actions located themselves more often on both of the extremes of a political left-to-right scale. Although there may exist a small subgroup of adolescents conceptualizing illegal political protest actions as civil disobedience, the great majority of the adolescents in our study did obviously not.

Jared Sonnicksen, University of Bonn, Germany

**Democracy with Dementia - Reflecting on Theoretical and Practical Implications**

According to the German Alzheimer Society, there are currently 1.1 million people in Germany alone with dementia or related conditions. Considering relatives, carers among others, this translates into several million people affected. By 2050, the number is predicted to rise to 2.6 million. According to WHO figures, incidence and especially prevalence will increase significantly in both developed and developing countries. Simultaneously, considering general demographic trends, societies are “aging” as a whole in the industrialized nations, not only because ever more people are living increasingly longer, but also because senior citizens will constitute an ever larger percentage of societies. While a great deal of research exists with regard to the impact on the welfare and healthcare systems, and even sociological aspects such as seniors’ role in changing societies, the question of dementia from the perspective of democracy has been surprisingly neglected thus far. However, already the current situation and the projected developments invite, if not demand us to reflect on how participation and inclusion are fundamentally challenged by citizens with Alzheimer’s and other dementia-related conditions. Thus in my paper, I will explore the pressing theoretical implications and the emerging democratic deficit for societies where, constrained by conventional forms of participation, a rapidly increasing number of individuals are and will be de facto excluded from political processes. Beyond problematization, I will further discuss and exchange ideas on possible avenues to enhancing representation and inclusion, ensuring “vote and voice” to an ever growing group of citizens.

Timothy Stacey, Goldsmiths College, UK

**Sacred Action: What We Can Learn from Religious Groups about Political Engagement**

The last fifteen years has not been a great time for liberal democracy. Despite the mitigated realignment of politics around the centre-left we have simultaneously seen amongst the most disadvantaged a radical disengagement with mainstream politics. The loss of meaning on the part of mainstream politics, and the consequent disconnect with real people as they live their lives has been relatively unexplored by academics, although it has been widely observed by think-tanks, politicians and journalists. It is clear from an historical look at voter turnout records and party membership records. But the answer from mainstream parties too quickly becomes to seek new and more efficient ways to engage people with the same politics. Increasingly it borrows from the market techniques for

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http://www.guardian.co.uk/politics/voterapathy

2 See especially Phillip Gould’s *The Unfinished Revolution* (1999) in which focus groups are shown to align policy towards the opinion of the most influential voters; Mark Penn’s *Microtrends* (2008) which details the
doing this. There is a failure to see anything inherent to the system that undermines engagement. On
the other hand religious groups have never stopped in their sole purpose of making meaning happen
for people as they live their lives. This paper explores religious groups in the hope of finding pathways
to a new politics. It explores how religious groups engage their core membership, the extent to which
that membership is politically engaged, and which political bodies have best engaged religious groups
until now.

Paweł Starosta, University of Lodz  and Kamil Brzeziński, Institute of Sociology, Poland

Civic Participation across Europe
Civic participation is strongly related to social capital. The main goal of our presentation is to make an
attempt at answering three main problem questions:
1. What is the general level of civic participation in Europe?
2. What different types of civic participation might be distinguished in Europe?
3. What are the main determinants of civic participation?
In other words, which of the models explaining the differentiation of civic participation (Socio
Economic Model; Social Capital Model; Attachment Model, Rational Choice Theory Model; Civic
Voluntarism Model; Socialisation Model) is best fitted to explaining the changeability of European
societies’ civic participation? Civic participation is understood similarly to a behavioural approach
(Pattie, Seid, Whiteley, 2003) as an activity that is executed by the actions of citizens in the public,
political and associative spheres. The presentation will be based on the European Social Survey
results carried out in the years 2002-2010.

Martin Stefek, Charles University in Prague, The Czech Republic

Political Culture in the Czech Republic: Participatory or Subject?
This paper discusses aspects of contemporary political culture of the Czech Republic. Theoretically
and terminologically, it is based on the concept of Almond and Verba’s behavioural civic culture. Civic
culture (defined as a participatory culture and “something additional”) is a necessary condition for
stable democracy. This presentation deals with the following questions: firstly, how to classify Czech
political culture; secondly, what idea of democracy is connected with the concept of the civic culture;
and finally, how to explain political apathy, alienation and low public participation in politics. The
hypothesis is that relatively weak civic society and low activity of citizens is not in contradiction with
the prevailing paradigm of so called elite-democracy. The author analyses causes of the above
phenomena and targets to illustrate that deep structural changes after 1989 have not necessarily led
to changes in the cultural sphere in terms of quality citizen development.

Andranik Tangian, Hans-Boeckler-Foundation and Karlsruhe Institute of Technology, Germany

Representativeness of German Parties with Regard to Public Opinion Polls on Policy Issues
Five German leading parties and their coalitions are evaluated from the viewpoint of direct
democracy. For this purpose, the positions of the parties on over 30 topical issues are compared with
the results of polls of public opinion. The outcomes are summarized in popularity index (the average
percentage of population represented) and universality index (frequency of representing the majority).
It is shown that the Bundestag election winner 2009 — the conservative CDU/CSU with 33.8% votes —
has quite a low representative capacity (fourth among the five parties), whereas the most
representative is the left party die Linke which received only 11.9% votes. As for possible coalitions,
the most representative would consist of the Linke and the ecologists Grünen, which together
received 22.6% votes and could not form a government. The analysis of Bundestag elections 2009
shows that the voters are inconsistent with their own political profiles, disregard party manifestos, and
are probably driven by political traditions, even if outdated, or by personal images of politicians.
Taking into account the results of the study, some modifications to the election procedure are
proposed to bridge the approaches of representative and direct democracy.
Social Capital and Political Participation Patterns and Linkages. Portuguese Case in Longitudinal and Comparative Perspective

The attraction of the concept of social capital is due to a fundamental "insight" that is very straightforward: social relations of cooperation, translated into associations, groups and social networks, are largely responsible for the enhanced of political participation and for the quality of democracy. That is, not strictly "economic" or strictly "political" aspects are at the base of the success of political participation and democratic processes. This "insight", with ancient roots – dating back, in the field of political thought, the Alexis de Tocqueville and his analysis of American democracy in the early 19th century – has been formulated by James Coleman in the late 1980s and developed by Robert Putnam, through studies on Italy and United States. The approach proposed by Coleman and Putnam made a successful school of thought. However, authors are bound to the neo-institutionalism, as Peter Evans and Jonathan Fox, present an alternative formulation, in which the State is seen as a significant player for the mobilization and empowerment of social capital. First, this paper examines the formation and evolution of social capital in Portugal, which is an example of low levels of interpersonal trust and social and civic associativism, which seems to be due to a certain cultural legacy transmitted through the processes of political socialization. Second, this paper seeks to show the impact of the structure of institutional constraints and opportunities in social capital formation and, consequently, its influence in civic and political participation patterns in Portugal. In this paper, we will develop a comparative and longitudinal perspective to better situate the hypothetical "Portuguese exceptionalism" on this matter.

Protesting in the Squares: A New Form of Political Protest?

In the 1960s, it became apparent that new forms of political protest could not fit easily within the Marxist paradigm. Similarly, the 'identity' and 'strategy' strands of new social movements theory, which developed since then, fail to capture the multiplicity, complexity and instability of the movements that have appeared across Europe as a response to the financial crisis over the last year. Although they do seem to develop some form of organizational patterns and common identity, these movements constantly put this into question. The 15-M movement in Spain and the subsequent movements organized in countries like Greece seem to represent something new, and not only with regard to their rejection of traditional forms of politics. In order to understand their demands, we turn to Jacques Rancière's critique of representative democracy. Rancière identifies politics with the disruption of the existing order through a demand to be heard by those whose voice is not registered in the present democratic institutions. This is precisely the demand of these movements: not the demand to be a new political agent, but the affirmation of their equality vis-à-vis the existing socio-political elites. In this paper, we analyse the self-representations of these movements in Spain and Greece via their critique of existing democratic institutions and their statements about their own organizational structure or the lack of it. Doing so, we have analysed their webpages and material posted on social network sites.

Language Policies and Linguistic Participation in Early Childhood Education

Current research on migration or racism in the field of education shows that educational staffs' implicit and explicit ideas of ethno-cultural and linguistic differences or norms contrary to the intention to produce equality of opportunity can contribute to reinforce structures of social disadvantage, particularly of children with migratory background (Gomolla/Radtke 2007). Consequently, ethnic or racial differences are used in asymmetrically structured Othering processes as a means to legitimize power relations and regulate resources. The research presented in this paper is part of an international research project Children Crossing Borders which compared early childhood education and care systems in five countries (UK, US, Italy, Germany, France) in order to illuminate the beliefs and values of parents who migrated recently, White parents and staff members. This research based on video-ethnography used a video cue of 20 minutes showing a typical day of four-year old children to stimulate a conversation with focus groups (Tobin et al. 1989). The focus in this paper will be on hidden agendas in language policies and practices (Shohamy 2006) in Germany and France. The question is how language policies can hinder linguistic and civic participation of 'Othered' multilingual children and on possibilities of contestation of such positions from the 'Othered'.
Katerina Vrablikova, Masaryk University, The Czech Republic

Does Cultural Context Matter? Individual Political Participation and Political Culture in Western Democracies

Studying how national context influences individual participation, scholars have examined the effect of economic development and various conceptualizations of political institutions, such as consensualism and political opportunity structure. However, according to political culture paradigm, it is not primarily institutions but mainly political/civic culture of a particular nation, that affects a number of political outcomes. Contextual cultural factors have been so far overlooked in the multi-level studies of individual political participation. The main question is: How does the national political culture influence individual political participation in Western democracies? The study tests the self-expressive value syndrome as developed by Inglehart and his colleagues and social capital theory to answer this question. The self-expressive culture should facilitate particularly non-electoral participation. Similarly, countries rich on social capital should display higher level of citizens activity in politics, particularly of voting and other conventional activities. The results show that the national level of self-expressive value syndrome affects only boycotting and signing a petition. Other activities, such as voting, participation at a rally, contacting officials and media, money donation etc. are not influenced by political culture (neither self-expressive civic culture, nor social capital). However, they are determined by the openness of the national political opportunity structure.

Tova Wang, DEMOS, USA

From Vote Suppression to Voter Participation: The Role of the Parties

Throughout American history, both major political parties in the United States have manipulated election laws and procedures to suppress the votes of those groups likely to vote for the opposing party. In the last fifty years, however, it is the Republican Party and its affiliates that have sought to limit the voting rights of African Americans, Latinos, young voters, and low income Americans through gaming of the system and enacting disenfranchising laws. This is likely to continue into the 2012 presidential election. Political abuses of election reform such as these are a continuous – if admittedly ignoble – feature of American history, yet it also possible to pursue reforms that can enhance democracy. In this paper I will propose a number of legitimate and positive reforms that ought to be pursued as a major part of each party’s agenda. Legitimate election reform will increase the number of voters who come out to vote in a party’s favor: a more democratic and beneficial way to win elections – and at the same time increase voter participation among all segments of society overall.

Shay Welch, Spelman College, USA

How Collective Reasoning Strengthens Social Freedom

A key problem of a general will concerns the conflict between individuals’ public and private interests. I argue that the processes of collective reasoning mitigate this conflict in individuals’ judgments in participatory societies. This is because “the collective judgment of a social integrate may be discontinuous with the individual judgments made by members of the collectivity”. This means that an individual can have one judgment in her role as a community member and another judgment as herself, even if these two judgments contradict one another. If members of society view themselves as a collective, which is a hallmark of a participatory society, it is possible to maintain- and make sense of- the claim that dissenters would be strengthened rather than forced as free interrelated community members when complying with the constructed common good. This conflict in wills simply is the conflict in the two aspects of individual freedom- atomistic and social- that individuals can exercise simultaneously. By conceiving of a general will as an expression of individual social freedom we can refurbish a distinctively utopian aspect of community based theories- freedom for the individual that evolves from membership in a free and equal community- that are otherwise barred by the authoritarian undercurrents of the traditional, Rousseauian conception.
The main aim of this symposium is to understand the political processes that shape current discourses on active citizenship in Europe. Of particular interest to this symposium are debates about the nature and level of political participation and engagement of traditionally marginal groups (women, youths, migrants and minorities). The papers will explore perspectives and approaches of institutional and civil society actors seeking to increase the political activation of the target groups. The papers will therefore focus on the following: 1. Nature and ideological context of institutional drivers; 2. Influence of agenda setting mechanisms on the articulation of policy objectives; 3. Policy outcomes and responses to social and public problems. This analysis will ultimately produce a detailed assessment of hegemonic norms, values and orientations that shape current discourse on European citizenship.

The literature on political participation and engagement highlights the failure of traditional policy approaches to active citizenship in relation to our target groups. Both Fraser and Mouffe have called for a revaluation of the relationship between public and private spheres in order to understand the mechanisms and nature of civic/political participation of both women and migrants. From this perspective, traditional conceptualisations of public sphere have served to curtail our understanding of ownership and participation. This theoretical framework informs the way our project understands the role of political discourse in shaping policy outcomes and associated responses.

Arising from this theoretical background is an understanding of the importance of civil society organisations and associated narratives in shaping the emergence of counter-discourses. The papers will compare institutional and civil-society’s approaches to active citizenship in order to understand convergence, fragmentation, and hierarchies of power in the construction of political identities amongst traditionally marginal groups. Ultimately, this symposium produces a detailed critique of hegemonic discourses about participation and engagement.

Paper 1: The Current Context of Policy and Engagement on Active Citizenship in Europe
Bryony Hoskins, University of Southampton, David Kerr Citizenship Foundation and Rebecca Ridley
University of Southampton, Monica Threlfall, London Met

The paper will present findings from the Active Citizenship and the EU project funded by the European Commission. The project has analysed qualitative and quantitative data on policy, practice and engagement from the 27 European Union. In this paper we will focus on presenting the state of play concerning engagement and the findings on a range of contextual factors that influence participation in particular democratic traditions and the economic crises. We will begin the paper by mapping the rate and trends of engagement across Europe. The distinctions between countries are most apparent for the adult population when comparing countries in Europe with long histories of democracy such as the Nordic countries compared to the younger and more fragile democracies of Eastern Europe. From the statistical data, we could see a democratic gap for volunteering in environmental organisations, protesting and signing petitions between Northern and Western European countries in comparison to Southern, Central and Eastern Europe. This gap appears to be increasing across time rather than receding. Contrasts with the data on youth engagement will be drawn. In the second step of the paper we will examine one of the current and major influences in Europe on policy and practice for facilitating engagement, the economic crisis. One of the first areas to be cut by national policies has been support for community projects. The countries with the highest debts are those in most need of a strong civil society to support democracy in the current context of economic and political upheavals. However, these countries have the greatest threats to continued funding of projects. In addition, recent elections across Europe have in the last 3 years created a shift in power towards right of centre right governments. The philosophy of the new centre right governments has tended to focus on the community and volunteering projects over political
participation and focusing inwards on national issues rather than the European dimension. The implications of these policy changes will be discussed.

**Paper 2:** Active Citizenship in Europe: Strategies for Participation, Dialogue and Civic Engagement  
*Cristiano Bee, Roberta Guerrina, University of Surrey, UK*

This paper draws on the research work of the PIDOP project’s Work Package 2, which focused on current policies concerning the civic and political participation of youth, women, migrants and minorities in different countries. The presentation of the methodological background will offer an opportunity to reflect upon the most recent attempts of the EU to reinvigorate the basis of the participatory democracy at every level of European governance. This strategy, prevalent in the wider European institutional discourse and recently shaped by the establishment of Article 11 of the Lisbon Treaty, seeks to establish a wider basis for the participation and engagement of networks of stakeholders, non state organisations and the activists that form the background of European civil society. Issues such as active citizenship, the representativity of local policy actors at the supranational level, and strategies to ensure civic engagement and empowerment of civil society are the leading principles for evaluating the impact on the process of Europeanisation at the national and local levels. Some of the key questions addressed by our research are the following: What are the strategies that are employed, both by the institutional and non institutional actors, to enhance participation and reciprocal communication? How can these strategies be enhanced? What do practices such as active engagement and civil dialogue represent? What are the limits of these practices?

**Paper 3:** The Gap Between ‘Rhetoric’ and ‘Reality’: The Portuguese Immigration Policies and the Visions of Associations’ Leaders and Young Angolans under Analysis  
*Norberto Ribeiro, Carla Malafaia, Maria Fernandes-Jesus, Tiago Neves, Joaquim Coimbra, Isabel Menezes (University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, CIIE)*

Portuguese immigration policies have been very positively evaluated by various international organisations. Reports of the United Nations Development Programme (2009) and the International Organization for Migrations (2010), as well the analysis of MIPEX (2011), highlight the policies adopted by Portugal for the reception and integration of immigrants. However some empirical findings suggest a different evaluation. In order to put in evidence that contradiction, we analyse the immigration policies in Portugal, contrasting the legal framework with the public discourses of associations’ leaders and young Angolans. The policies’ analysis suggests that there is a clear predominance of the market over the immigration policies. Associations’ leaders criticize the ‘assentialistic’ approach of the policies as well the cynicism of the politicians and policies (realpolitik) on behalf of demographic and economic reasons. Young Angolans, in turn, emphasized the excessive bureaucracy and complain the ‘legal paradox’ that constrains their legality and, therefore, their access of civic and political rights and services. In sum, this paper argues that there is a gap between the ‘rhetoric’ of the international organisations regarding the Portuguese immigration policies and the ‘reality’ suggested by the policies’ analysis and the visions expressed by associations’ leaders and young Angolans.

**Paper 4:** Mapping the Varieties of Perspectives on Civic and Political Participation of Youth, Women and Minorities/Immigrants in Turkey  
*Figen Cok, Sümercan Bozkurt S, Tulin Sener, Ankara University, Turkey*

The aim of this paper is to map discourses on civic and political participation in Turkey in relation to women, youth and minority/immigrant groups, the ways in which the dominant paradigms are embodied in the perspectives of public authorities and NGOs, and the counter arguments directed against them. More specifically, the distinctiveness of the Turkish context and the differences this context implies in terms of the civic and political participation of the above mentioned groups when compared to many of the members of the EU will be focused on. The analyses portrayed will be based on a qualitative study on governmental and civil societal perspectives about civic and political participation and engagement of these three disadvantaged groups. Particularly, the examination of policy documents published by related public authorities and NGOs between 2004 and 2011, which was realized within the scope of the research, will be dwelt upon. The results will also be handled
together with the previous studies on the issue and a general map of perceptions and perspectives will be attempted to be portrayed.
**PIDOP SYMPOSIUM 2**

**Participation through the Lens Of Gender Across Nationality And Ethnicity**

**Convenor:** Cinzia Albanesi, University of Bologna, Italy  
**Discussant:** Isabel Menezes, University of Porto, Portugal  

This symposium, which brings together members of PIDOP teams in different countries (Belgium, Italy, Portugal and Turkey), will examine the process of participation, analysing the data collected for the WP6 survey, in order to define which are the critical variables that hinder/promote girls’ and young women’s participation. The role of the social context at micro (family, peers) and macro levels will be discussed and examined, referring in particular to support for private and public citizenship, societal trust and community belonging.

The leading questions that the symposium will try to answer will be the following:
- To what extent do the results of the PIDOP research confirm (or not) gender gap/differences in the political and civic engagement of younger generations?
- Are levels of parental, social and peers’ support for political and civic engagement different according to youth gender and ethnicity?
- Is there any evidence that political and civic attitude and behaviours of girls and boys are the result of differences in their socialization processes?

**Paper 1: Explaining Women’s Civic and Political Participation: The Role of Political, Social and Psychological Factors**  
*Maria Fernandes-Jesus*, *Norberto Ribeiro*, *Carla Malafaia*, *Joaquim Coimbra*, *Elvira Cicognani*  
*University of Porto, Portugal, **University of Bologna, Italy*  

This paper aims to understand the issue of gendered patterns of civic and political participation of young women. Considering several studies that pointed to major differences in terms of the civic and political participation of men and women (Andersen, 1997; Burns 2007; Paxton, Kunhovich & Hughes, 2007), in this paper the focus will be on women’s participation. Furthermore, this study arose in a context of a lack of studies on young migrants’ participation, and also from the recognition that voices and concerns of women from different cultures and background need to be included in public and private arenas (Lister et.al, 2007). The recognition of the feminisation of migration (Castles & Miller, 2003) has also highlighted the need to consider the participation specificities of migrant women. Thus, to develop explanatory models of women participation, we used a questionnaire with a sample of 1068 participants, 600 immigrants (Angolans and Brazilians) and 468 Portuguese, aged 15 to 28. Results will be discussed in terms of relationships between political, social and psychological factors, social and psychological processes, and women’s levels of civic and political participation.

**Paper 2: Civic and Political Participation through the Lens of Gender: The Italian Case**  
*Cinzia Albanesi, Bruna Zani, Elvira Cicognani,* University of Bologna, Italy  

According to the results of the World Economic Forum, Italy is one of the European countries with the highest levels of gender inequalities, ranking at the 74 position on the Global Gender Gap Index (out of 135 countries). Italian girls are expected to earn less, to have less important positions in the job market and to be less represented in politics compared to their male peers (Istat, 2010). Italy is also one of the fastest-ageing societies in the world, with an economy and a political system hardly accessible to its young people: recent statistics have shown that half of the country’s top business leaders and political officials are 60 or older. The aims of this paper are to understand to what extent this general scenario affects disposition and political and civic action of younger generations, and to what extent the process of participation assumes specific features according to gender differences, in order to identify the critical variables that hinder/promote young people’s participation. 1242 participants (835 Italians, 202 Albanian and 205 Moroccan immigrants) completed the questionnaire developed for the PIDOP survey. Preliminary analysis confirms general trends (voting at the election is the most performed political action among Italian citizens; see Eurobarometer 2011) and a limited gender gap (a major orientation of young women toward civic compared to political action) on political action, showing however significant gender and age differences on some psychological predictors of participation (perceived barriers, perceived effectiveness of political actions and internal efficacy).
Paper 3: Non-Conventional Political Participation as an Outcome of Discrimination Feeling
Claire Gavray, Michel Born, University of Liège, Belgium

Non-conventional political participation includes the production of graffiti and other acts of incivility. Belgian PIDOP data show that non-conventional participation is not an alternative but a complement to conventional participation. Both behaviours are linked. The level of this kind of incivility significantly depends on adolescents’ previous experiences of discrimination and on their feeling of a lack of opportunities in their everyday life, not of abstract ideas and values relating to citizenship. These results confirm the theories of societal vulnerability and of lack of recognition. The gender perspective is necessary to understand the differences we find in the results when we test the model for boys and girls separately.

Paper 4: Does Gender Matter for Youth Participation?
Naciye Gizem Danisan, Tulin Sener, Figen Cok, University of Ankara, Turkey

The continual, enduring and equal participation of youth into decision making processes, as for other stakeholders, is included in almost all youth policy principles in the world. Equal access to participation resources by all segments of societies is important. Whether gender appears as a gap in the types and level of civic/political participation, especially in developing countries, is crucial. The aim of this paper is to focus on the gender differences among different types of civic/political participation and the possible explanatory factors for the association between gender and the level of civic/political participation. Whether being from an ethnic minority or being young matters for the distribution of civic/political participation in a gendered manner is another point which will be analyzed and discussed. 732 young participants aged between 16 and 26 and having diverse ethnic backgrounds (from Bulgarian resettlers, Roma and Turkish origin) took part in the study. The results show that gender is not a significant factor for the level of civic/political participation. This finding will be discussed in the light of the sample being characteristically low in levels of participation in general.
Old and New Civic and Political Participation and Generating Social Capital
Convenor: Isabel Menezes, University of Porto, Portugal

In this symposium, we will discuss the concept of "quality of participation" and illustrate its relevance using data from the PIDOP project. Conceptually, the concept rests on classical contributions from psychology, education and political science to consider the elements of lived experience that might account for developmental change. Using both correlational and longitudinal designs, previous research has shown that these elements are relevant predictors of the impact of civic and political experiences. We will now consider the construct in samples from PIDOP, including both national and migrant samples, and explore how quality of participation varies across contexts and forms of participation. Results will be discussed in terms of the implications for designing and evaluating educational and community interventions in this domain.

Paper 1: Different Experiences, Different Quality? The Impact of Quality of Participation Experiences of Portuguese, Brazilians and Angolans Young People
Carla Malafaia Almeida, University of Porto, Portugal

Research shows that conventional forms of civic and political participation have declined in recent years (Curtice, 2005), particularly among young people and migrants, who are pointed out as being disengaged from participation in public sphere. On the other hand, some scholars stress that participation has been acquiring new forms, which are taking place in different contexts (Norris, 2002). The potentially disadvantaged place of these groups may encourage other civic behaviours, providing particular motivations for engagement (Levine, 2008). The qualitative part of this study suggests that we need to take into consideration several aspects: both individual and structural factors may promote or hamper the participation of these groups; but also the diasporic ties or the need to claim their rights could trigger the engagement. In this matter it is crucial to acknowledge not only the advantages of participation, but also its personal and social risks, once it could promote stereotypes or social fragmentation (Ferreira, Azevedo & Menezes, 2011). This presentation does not assume participation as being intrinsically good; it rests on the importance of the quality of participation experiences. Therefore, through a quantitative methodology, we sought to analyze what (quality) experiences are adopted by migrant and national young people, and if these experiences could lead to political attitudes.

Paper 2: Online Civic Participation among Youth: An Extension of Traditional Participation, or a New Quality?
Jan Serek, Masaryk University, The Czech Republic

The internet provides young people with new opportunities for civic participation. Compared to traditional forms of participation (e.g., demonstrations, petitions, money donations), online participation is characterized by a number of distinctive features, such as easier accessibility, greater “user-friendliness”, and (sometimes) disinhibited behaviour associated with participants’ sense of anonymity. Taking into account these features, we ask whether young people perceive online civic participation as an effective instrument for social change, especially when compared to traditional forms. This question is explored in two ways: we scrutinize young people’ explicit assessments of the effectiveness of various online civic activities; moreover, we study whether online participation has correlates similar to those that have been identified for traditional participation (e.g., internal political efficacy, political trust, perceived social norms). Finally, we ask whether online participation can be an acceptable opportunity for participation for those young people who feel alienated from the majority society. In order to answer our questions, we employ the PIDOP survey data of more than 1,100 adolescents and young adults (aged 15-28) from the Czech Republic. Respondents come from the majority group and the two most important ethnic minorities.

disciplinary_orientation: Psychology
Several studies have shown that adolescents and young people in general are not interested in politics and do not want to be involved in political parties. On the contrary, they largely seem to favour participation in organisations campaigning for the defence of human rights or the environment (civic participation). However, in terms of concrete involvement, only a minority of young people still participate in this kind of organisations. In this context, can we measure real differences between these participants in terms of trajectories (Where do these two groups of participants come from?), in terms of values (Do they contest our present social and economic system or do they share their core values? Are civic participants so opposed to “traditional” politics and how?), in terms of future involvements (Do political and civic participation offer the same kind of socialisation?). In sum, what are the differences between these groups in terms of experiences? Perhaps a close examination will show more resemblances than dissimilarities. The large survey realised among young Belgians (16 to 25 years old) for the PIDOP research by the Liège team, as well as other Belgian data, will help us to answer these questions.

Discussant: Michel Born, Université de Liège, Belgium
Do Young People from Ethnic Minorities Participate Less or Just Differently? Modern Patterns of Civic and Political Participation amongst Youth

Convenor and Chair: Dimitra Pachi, University of Surrey
Discussant: Petr Macek, Masary University

Understanding civic and political participation amongst youth has been a challenge for social sciences both in Europe and around the world in the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Changes in both the intensity/frequency and the forms of participation of young people are a result of macro (historical and political), social and micro (psychological) factors, against a background of large-scale financial changes, population movements and technological advances. The PIDOP project explored these issues amongst youth across Europe using both qualitative and quantitative methods, taking into consideration ethnicity, ethnic minority/majority status and age (pre-voting/post-voting age). The present symposium presents some of the findings from the third and final phase of the project in the UK (England), Germany, Portugal, the Czech Republic and Turkey. This consisted of a quantitative study which looked at processes of civic and political participation amongst majority and ethnic minority young people aged between 16 and 26 years old. Different ethnic minority groups were investigated in each national setting, according to national circumstances. The findings differed considerably across the different countries, revealing the complexity of the processes involved. Patterns of engagement and participation at the civic and political levels, and the effects of and interplay between the various causal factors, appear to be culturally, ethnically and nationally specific.

Paper 1. Patterns of Civic and Political Participation Amongst Young People in London: Differences Between English, Bangladeshi and Congolese Young People
Dimitra Pachi, Martyn Barrett, University of Surrey

Declining youth participation at a political level as well as increasing youth political apathy have been repeatedly described in the social sciences literature of the last two decades. However, recent research has shown a shift from traditional forms of participation to less conventional, less institutionalised and more individual forms of participation (Forbrig, 2005; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins & Delli Carpini, 2006). In the light of these findings, and the results of an initial qualitative study with young people in London which revealed the importance of ethnicity and minority status, the present study used quantitative methods to explore the relationship of social, psychological and demographic factors to different forms of civic and political participation. The participants were 820 English, Bangladeshi and Congolese young people aged between 16 and 26 years old from the Greater London area. Different forms of participation were considered, ranging in terms of conventionality, institutionalisation and individual/group character. They included voting, boycotting and buycotting, protesting, internet and social media participation and volunteering. The results revealed the differential role of demographic, cognitive and motivational factors for the different forms of participation across the three ethnic groups, the consistent importance and significance of organisational membership and social norms, and the lack of significance of trust and emotions.

Paper 2. Political Participation and Civic Engagement among Native German, Ethnic German Diaspora, and Turkish Migrant Youth: Findings from a Cross-Sectional Survey
Philipp Jugert, University of Leipzig, Peter Noack & Alexandra Kuhn, University of Jena

We present data from a survey of 754 young people (native German, ethnic German Diaspora, and Turkish migrants) from two age groups (16-18 and 20-26). Results showed that while overall participation levels were low there was no apparent shift from traditional forms of participation to more civic or online forms of engagement. In fact, voting was the most common participation behaviour together with boycotting and was followed by civic engagement and online participation, which were significantly less common. Ethnic group membership and age moderated frequency of participation behaviour, with Turkish migrants participating more than native German, who were followed by ethnic German Diaspora migrants. Voting and boycotting were more common among young adults than among adolescents. Interestingly, there were no gender effects. Structural equation analyses based on Ajzen’s (1991) theory of planned behavior showed good fit for a model predicting intention for civic
and internet engagement from motivation to participate, peer and parental norms, and collective efficacy. Again, ethnic and age group moderated these findings. Moreover, socioeconomic status influenced all three predictors positively among German participants. Further analyses showed that migration-specific factors predicted intentions to engage politically and civically among Turkish and ethnic German Diaspora migrants.

Paper 3. Civic Participation Among Minorities: Role of Political Efficacy, Trust and Responsibility in Competing Models of Participation

*Petrovičová, Zuzana, Šerek, Jan, Macek, Petr, University of Brno

The importance of civic and political engagement and participation among youth has been claimed as a vital component of democratic societies for the past couple of decades. Current research suggests that minority youth are involved; however there is a difference in the nature of civic participation among minority youth compared to their majority counterparts. This paper argues that instead of one model of participation fitting everybody, there might be different processes enhancing or hindering the civic engagement and participation among minority youth (Roma and Ukrainian migrants). We ask whether: a) it is solely one’s sociocultural background and resources (minority/migrant status, SES) that have an impact on the level and nature of the participation (civic, direct, online); or b) the perceptions of society and oneself mediate or moderate the effect of background and resources on participation. These perceptions include political efficacy (external, collective, and internal), political trust, and perceived responsibility for solving current societal issues (e.g. racism, environmental issues). The analysis is conducted on the PIDOP survey data from the Czech Republic and includes 200 Roma participants and 170 Ukrainian participants (both aged 16-26 years). The results are discussed with respect to changing processes in minority civic participation.

Paper 4: Predictors of Civic and Political Participation of Young Angolans, Brazilians and Portuguese: Are There Differences?

*Norberto Ribeiro, Carla Malafaia, Maria Fernandes-Jesus, Tiago Neves, Joaquim Coimbra, Isabel Menezes, University of Porto, Faculty of Psychology and Education Sciences, CIIE

This paper aims to understand the forms and levels of civic and political participation of young Angolans, Brazilians and Portuguese. Previous research suggests that exposure to the host country’s system could influence the levels of involvement of immigrants (White, Nevite, Blais, Gindengil & Fournier, 2008). This can help to explain why a previous qualitative study shows different results for Angolans and Brazilians in terms of their political socialization (Ribeiro, Almeida, Fernandes-Jesus, Neves, Ferreira & Menezes, in press). Furthermore, it highlighted that the political regime of the country of origin plays a mediating role in the civic and political engagement of young migrants, with Angolans becoming more motivated to participate as they look at the lack of meaningful opportunities for democratic participation that exist in their country of origin. These findings will be compared and discussed with the results of survey data including 1068 non-migrant (Portuguese) and migrant (Angolans and Brazilians) participants, aged 15 to 28, in order to build a better and deeper understanding of the factors that explain the civic and political participation of youth in general and migrants in particular.

Paper 5: Types of Civic/political Participation of Youth across Ethnicity

Tulin Sener Kirinc, University of Ankara, Figen Cok, Baskent University, Naciye Gizem Danisan, University of Ankara

Equal opportunity of access to various forms of civic/political participation for each sub-group of society can be assumed to be a barometer for democracy in the future. Representation of each sub-group, especially of young people and of those from different ethnic groups, comprises the basis of democracy. Hence their equal participation in decision-making processes is very important. This paper aims to explore whether being from an ethnic minority group or being young are related to involvement in different types of political/civic participation. Levels of direct participation, civic engagement and participation on the net were explored across ethnicity in terms of having a Bulgarian re-settler, Roma or Turkish ethnic origin, and across age in terms of being aged either between 16 to 19 years old or 20 to 26 years old. Whether there is an association between the level of participation in civic/political organizations and self-reported assessment of involvement, as well as quality of participation, is another question answered in this paper. The data were drawn from 732 young participants, and were collected through high schools, universities and some associations’
contacts in Turkey. The results concerning ethnicity and age will be discussed in the light of the participants’ cultural context.

**PIDOP SESSION 5**

**Work Package 5 (Modelling Existing Survey Data)**

**The Extent and Nature of Political and Civic Participation across Europe: Exploring within and between Country Variations**  
*Ian Brunton-Smith, University of Surrey, UK*

This presentation will outline the findings from work package 5 of the PIDOP project. This research analysed data from existing surveys across different EU member states to identify variations in the extent of political and civic participation which occurs within and between countries, and to explore possible causes of these variations.

Using a series of multilevel and structural equation models applied to data from the European Social Survey, International Social Survey Programme, and the World Values Survey, we demonstrate a varied set of processes contributing to participation across countries, as well as key differences in these processes amongst particular population subgroups within each country. Having outlined the key differences within and between countries, the implications of these findings for country specific strategies designed to enhance participation amongst vulnerable subgroups will be discussed.
SYMPOSIUM 6

Identity Structure Analysis as a Conceptual and Methodological Tool for Investigating Identity Processes Underpinning Civic Participation

Convenor: Peter Weinreich, Ulster University, UK
Discussant: Raja Miah, Rise CIC

The papers in this symposium present conceptual and empirical investigations of national and ethnic identity processes as they relate to propensities towards participation in the civil institutions of democratic society. They illustrate the application of the conceptual and methodological tools of Identity Structure Analysis and its facilitating Ipseus software for delineating underlying identity processes of the individual which obstruct or underpin civic participation. Issues of national and ethnic identity and associated ideologies are demonstrated to strongly relate to adherence to civic participation. The three (four) symposium papers indicate that primordialist sentiments have strong ramifications for undermining civic participation, these sentiments having primacy in terms of childhood developmental psychological processes.

Paper 1: ISA Assessment of Radical Islamist Propensities and Civil Participation
Peter Weinreich, Ulster University

ISA is used as a screening tool for identifying disaffected Muslim youth in Manchester for their propensities towards radical Islamist activities, an aspect of which is a negation of participation in the institutions of democratic civil society such as the media for public debate and the judiciary for demonstration and protest. The ISA assessment of the underlying identity processes of radical Islamist provide guidelines for enhancing the effective mentoring of the youth concerned towards adopting civil orientations that constrain the expression of radical Islamist ideology within a civil framework. The results of the ISA case-study approach with Manchester Muslim youth demonstrate the nature of the identity processes involved in the re-orientation of active radical Islamism towards civil participation.

Paper 2: Propensities to Civic Participation among Estonians and Russians in Estonia
Tarmo Tuisk, Tallinn University, Estonia

In multicultural societies as in contemporary Estonia (Estonians 69%, Russians 26% of population) different possibilities for civic participation have been seen as possible obstacles in the formation of a common national identity. There have been several attempts in governmental policies to integrate the population of Estonia as a whole. The linguistic integration through Estonian as the state language has been seen as a key to successful integration. However, language as a tool cannot be acquired by all groups of the non-Estonian population due their different socio-economic position, which makes their participation in society less effective. Despite this and many other differences due to 20th century European history, post-soviet change and macro-level contemporary policies, more in-depth micro-level explication is necessary of the identity processes in relation to civic participation of these two largest groups in Estonia. Identity Structure Analysis, facilitated by the Ipseus software, provides the conceptual and methodological tools for assessing civic participation imbued with predominantly primordialist sentiments about ethnic identity as contrasted with more progressive situationalist perspectives. Findings from an ISA study among Estonian and Russian university students demonstrate the consequences of primordialism contrasted with situationalism among Estonian and Russian youth in Estonia for potential civic participation.
By their very nature, civil values cannot be declared property of a single nation. In an increasingly mobile world, adherence to and high regard for democratic principles should also foster the acceptance of culturally heterogeneous identities. The current paper aims to make a contribution to understanding the individual national identity construal processes which facilitate such openness. Luxembourg with a foreign population of over 43% (and in some parts much higher), can be viewed as a “natural laboratory” for a multinational environment. In the present study, different resident groups, differentiated by their length of stay in Luxembourg, are analysed regarding their construal of national identity along the primordialist – situationalist spectrum, their bicultural identity orientation, demographic and dispositional factors. Key questions are whether national identity is a core concept of identity for individuals in a multinational society and for whom and why. What does national identity actually mean for an individual? Identity Structure Analysis provides the theoretical framework and the methodological application IPSEUS is used as a tool for analysis. The assumption is that those individuals who endorse situationalism and consider it possible to have a bicultural orientation will also accept cultural heterogeneous identities – a key component of civil values.
POSTERS:

1. Natasha Cowan, Flinders University, Australia
Governmentality and Civil Activism in Singapore
The Singaporean government had crafted a form of governance since independence that has largely depoliticised the population, and litigation and arrests against civil activists and political opposition has induced a climate of fear or hesitation to be active in opposition party or civil society causes. Additionally, public speaking and public events are required to be licensed by the police, or granted permission, even within the free speech sphere of Speakers’ Corner. In this paper, five civil society/activist events will be analysed, two that were carried off without incident (SlutWalk and Pink Dot), two were civil society forums (TOC Gazetted and ISA forum) that were required to register with the police or were investigated post-facto by the police, and one event (Occupy Raffles Place) where the organisers hesitated to reveal themselves to the media for fear of repercussions. Where sceptics would assert that in Singapore civil activity is overall dampened by fear, this paper argues that three of these events represent the successes to be gained by working within the regulations laid down by the state. However, these three also represent the reinforcement of Singapore’s governmentality which requires contributions to the public sphere to be ‘constructive’ and non-adversarial.

2. Daniela Koller, Universität Bern, Switzerland
How, Why, and to What Extent Do Young Swiss Citizens Participate Politically? Political Participation of Young Adults in Switzerland: A Comparative Study
The proposed research will investigate the contextual and individual determinants of political participation of young people in Switzerland. The low turnout rate in elections and ballot measures in Switzerland is a highly discussed issue. Based on the idea that the crucial democratic principles, freedom and equality, are fulfilled only through equal and accessible political participation and presentation of all social groups, politicians as well as experts are particularly concerned about the political indifference among young citizens. Therefore, the project aims to analyse a set of factors that are thought to influence political behaviour of young people in Switzerland, and asks how, why and to what extent young adults take part in political activities. The extant literature has so far mainly focussed on individual factors while contextual factors have largely been neglected. The latter are, however, assumed to be important as individuals always grow up and act in a social, cultural, political, and economic environment. Hence, the project simultaneously integrates contextual as well as individual factors into the analysis. Given the complexity of the Swiss direct democratic system, the political education of adolescents seems to be more important than other contexts, being a prerequisite for future political participation. The project therefore particularly focuses on the influence of political education in school by comparing the varying cantonal education policies and the curricula, in addition to other contextual factors, such as the degree of direct democracy, the electoral system, access to participation and the media. On the individual level, the project analyses the influences of socialization agents, different kind of resources as well as sociodemographic factors (e.g., gender). Conceptually, the study adopts a multilevel approach, since political activities are individual activities in the first place, taking place in a particular political, economic and social environment.

3. Francesca Prati¹, Felicia Pratto² and Monica Rubini¹ ¹University of Bologna, Italy, ²University of Connecticut, USA
The Role of Social Identity Complexity in Humanization and Political Engagement
Our societies are becoming increasingly multicultural, with examples of people with high motivation to cooperate among different social groups. However, intergroup prejudice and discrimination are still overt and very widespread. It is also true that people belong to a number of different social categories and groups and the higher overlap ascribed to their different memberships the lower the complexity of their social identity. In the present study we controlled for social identity complexity, political engagement and orientation to social dominance and we assessed the extent to whether Arabs, considered by many Western countries as a threatening outgroup, is regarded as a part of the human group. Results showed that the higher the complexity of social identity and political engagement, the lower the orientation to social dominance an individual possesses, the more he/she tends to humanize Arab people and supports human policies towards them. Moreover, evidence showed that the more complex subjective representation of the interrelations among different self-definitions an individual has, the higher the motivation to engage in support of human policies in his/her own as well as in other countries. Thus, this evidence suggests that one’s own belongingness to multiple not overlapping social groups can be a potential strategy for improving people involvement not only in their country but in favor of the human community.
4. Tatiana Riazanova, St-Tikhon Humanitarian University, Russia and Evanthia Lyons, Queen’s University Belfast (tbc)

**Civic Participation in Moscow Adolescents with Different Subjective Hierarchies of Social Identities**

A questionnaire on civic participation was conducted in a sample of 106 adolescents from Moscow governmental schools. The respondents were aged 15-16 years. Here the data on the task of rating the subjective importance of different kinds of identity (Citizen (=State), Ethnic, Religious) are compared with answers on civic participation. The results show that, in general, civic participation in the studied adolescents is rather low. Nevertheless, the comparison of groups of respondents who positioned different kinds of identity in different places showed some tendencies. A higher tendency towards civic participation was present in adolescents who put their ethnic identity in the first and in the last places. Also the adolescents who put their religious identity in the second place also tended towards higher civic participation than others. The lowest civic participation was present in those adolescents who posed their national identity in first place. These results imply that different subjective hierarchies of social identities may have different effects on civic engagement in Moscow youth.

5. Luba Khokhlova, Institute of Psychology and Pedagogy, Moscow and Valentina Shatalina, Research Centre of Social System

**The Types of Establishment of Political Culture of Russian Youth**

Recent political events in Russia have revealed different types of political culture and political activity among Russian youth. We can compare the prognosis of political participation depending on data about education, political culture of the family, ethnicity, etc. This poster will include characteristics of different groups of Russian youth based on multiple identities on one hand and global lack of organised systems for youth people in Russia on the other. The study found systems in which young people can develop their space of political culture without special memberships or can participate in communication with different social groups differing in age, gender, ethnicity, eission and attitudes to consumer society. In this poster, we will also try to mark dangerous borders which provoke adolescents to participate in conflict or lead to destructive processes such as youth depression, addiction and indifference to social life. This research will show how the political culture and forms of political and civic participation of youth develop in modern Russia.

**PIDOP PROJECT POSTERS**

The PIDOP project, which is funded by the European Commission under FP7, is running from 2009-2012. The project is examining the processes which influence civic and political participation in eight European states. It is drawing on the disciplines of Psychology, Politics, Sociology, Anthropology, Social Policy and Education to examine macro-level contextual factors (including historical, political, electoral, economic and policy factors), proximal social factors (including family, educational and media factors) and psychological factors (including motivational, cognitive, attitudinal and identity factors) which facilitate and/or inhibit civic and political engagement and participation. Young people, women, minorities and migrants are being examined as four specific groups at risk of political disengagement. The project has involved policy analysis, the development of new theories of engagement and participation, the secondary analysis of data from existing survey datasets, the collection of new data from 27 ethnic minority and majority groups living in 9 different national contexts across Europe, and the formulation of policy recommendations for the European Commission and national governments in Europe. This poster will present a broad overview of the project, describing the various work packages and some of their principal achievements.