

**Political Participation of Young People in
Europe – Development of Indicators for
Comparative Research in the European
Union (EUYOUPART)**

**Deliverable 1: State of the Art of European
Research in the Field**

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1 Introduction

This report is part of the research project “Political Participation of Young People in Europe – Development of Indicators for Comparative Measurement in the European Union”, funded under the 5th framework programme of the European Union.

While the project eventually aims to develop a quantitative instrument for the comparative measurement of political participation in Europe, the “state of the art” report intends to give an overview about past and ongoing European research in the field, its approaches and methodologies in studying political participation of youth. In particular, the state of the art examines those countries that are participating in EUYOUNG (Austria, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Slovakia, United Kingdom).

The report presented here is a concise and analytical summary of comprehensive national reports that have been produced by the consortium partners. We decided to present this “essence” of reports rather than all national reports in full detail to accommodate those readers who aim to achieve an overview of European research on political participation of youth without getting too lost in the specifics of individual countries.

The comprehensive national reports - which were the basis for the succinct analysis presented here – will also be made available, with all their richness of information upon request of interested parties.

Marti Taru, who represented our lead partner in this work package, the Institute of International and Social Studies, deserves the credit for analysing national reports and integrating them into this state of the art report.

The report is structured as follows:

In Chapter 2, a brief introduction is given about main objectives, research design, consortium and duration of EUYOUNG.

Chapter 3 describes briefly the history of research regarding political participation. From a rather restricted definition of political participation such as ‘casting one’s vote’, the understanding broadened in the course of societal developments to include much less formal modes of political participation.

The analytical summary presented in Chapters 4 to 11 is based on national reports. Where possible, the summaries follow one structure (depending on the information consortium partners considered in their national reports). First, the context of research on political participation of youth is highlighted. The section “Theoretical framework” comprises definitions and theories of political participation of youth that are relevant in the respective country. Where a special focus of research was discussed in the national reports, it is reflected in the section “Problems addressed”. National research traditions and preferences are outlined in “Methodological approaches”. The summaries continue with “Main conclusions and

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evaluation” with regard to the actual level, extent and forms of political participation of youth in the participating countries (again, the depth and detail depends on national contributions and the studies reported therein). The report concludes with a brief assessment of “International cooperation and contribution” of European countries.

As translations and cultural context play a key role when discussing political participation in an international context, Chapter 12 presents the results of a workshop the research team organised. Expert Ismo Pohjantammi spoke about “Concepts of political representation” and inspired reflections on cultural dependency and bias. As part of that workshop, the consortium members collected definitions of key terms in reference to political participation as well as the connotative meaning of terms to provide a basis for future work steps and culture-comparative interpretation of data.

Chapter 13 presents references the national reports are based on and refer to (ordered by country).

The report concludes with a selection of research projects on political participation of youth (Chapter 14) to give an overview about the state of the art in the eight participating countries. These research projects have also been the basis for the chapters on the national state of the art.

We want to thank the EUYOUNG team members for their dedication and contributions to the project in general and to this first report.

Ruth Picker

Günther Ogris

Vienna, July 2003

2 Project Overview

2.1 Objectives of EUYOUNG

The main objective of EUYOUNG is to improve the quality of future comparative empirical studies measuring political participation of young people in Europe. Based on an analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of previous empirical research in this area, including a special focus on comparability, a “model questionnaire” will be developed. A survey in eight European countries with young people aged 15 to 25 will be conducted. A thorough analysis of the outcomes will result in the evaluation and improvement of the questionnaire’s first draft.

The interdisciplinary research consortium (including research institutes from Austria, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Slovakia and the United Kingdom) will identify relevant and methodologically valid indicators for young people’s involvement in politics. The indicators are expected to be applicable to measure the political participation of youth in a number of European political systems.

EUYOUNG started in January 2003 and will last until July 2005 (30 months). Work steps include the following:

1. Secondary data analysis and literature review
2. Comparison of the political systems within the participating countries and other European countries to outline opportunities, limitations and conditions for the political participation of youth in Europe (“opportunity structures for political participation”).
3. A qualitative research phase, aiming to capture youth’s understanding of key concepts related to political participation. Special focus will be given to cultural differences in the understanding of concepts.
4. The results of the secondary data analysis and the qualitative research will serve as the basis for the development of comparable indicators for the political participation of youth, their political beliefs and their understandings of democracy. These indicators will be evaluated through pre-testing and through quantitative surveys carried out in all participating countries.
5. Statistical analysis of the surveys will provide detailed information on reliability, validity and comparability of the identified indicators. In a final symposium in Vienna, conclusions will be presented regarding modes and levels of political participation of youth in Europe and the new instrument for measurement.

Expected results

Key results are expected to contribute to an improvement of the socio-economic knowledge base on two levels. First, the project will provide data to extensively describe, analyze and compare the extent and levels of political participation of young people in Europe.

Second, on a methodological level, EUYOUNG intends to identify valid indicators for political participation in Europe and to contribute to improving the measurement instruments for comparative research in the field.

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3 A Brief History of Political Participation Research

By Marti Taru/ Institute for International and Social Studies, Tallinn

The overview is based on paper by Jan van Deth¹. The study of political participation started in the 1940s and 1950s with a strong focus on voting and electoral participation. Nowadays the range of participation in politics includes - among other forms - such activities as signing petitions, blocking traffic, donating money, fighting with police, joining problem-oriented organisations. Some of these "unconventional" forms of political participation (as they are often referred to in the field) have really been a conventional means of expressing one's attitudes and of influencing political decisions for a long time. However, they have only recently started to find their way into the instruments designed by researchers to capture ways of political participation.

As the scope of government activities and responsibilities has expanded over the past few decades, the domain of political participation grew considerably. The combined increase in both the repertoire and the domain of political participation implies that these activities affect virtually all aspects of social life in advanced societies.

The study of political participation over the last 50 years is the study of a continuously expanding number of forms of political participation. This development reflects the growing relevance of government and politics for citizens in modern societies as well as a continuing blurring of the distinction between political and non-political activities; that is, between public and private spheres. According to Giddens², there are four areas where globalisation and institutional reflexivity have created new potentials for an expansion of democracy outside formal politics:

- Politics is increasingly about personal life problems, for instance sexual relations, marriage and issues in family life.
- Social movements and self-help groups open up new areas for public debate, for example about reproductive technologies.
- New possibilities to expand democracy to large corporations through decentralisation and more flexible management strategies.
- New potential channels for expansion of democracy to the global order and for creating new forms of trans-national political institutions both through formal and informal politics.

The study of political participation reflects these social developments and can be easily traced to the publication of a few landmark studies in political participation. Starting with the seminal voting studies of the 1940s and 1950s, political participation was mainly restricted to casting a vote and campaigning³. In empirical studies, item batteries measuring political participation included voting, working at

¹ Van Deth, Jan W. (2001) 'Studying Political Participation: Towards a Theory of Everything?' paper for delivery at the ECPR workshop 'Electronic Democracy: Mobilisation, Organisation and Participation via new ICTs' Grenoble, April 2001

² Giddens, Anthony (1994) 'Beyond Right and Left. The Future of Radical Politics' London: Polity Press

³ Lazarsfeld, Paul Felix, Bernhard Berelson, Hazel Gaudet (1948) 'The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up his Mind in a Presidential Campaign' NY: Columbia University Press;

Berelson, Bernhard, Paul Lazarsfeld and William McPhee (1954) 'Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign' Chicago: University of Chicago Press

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elections, fundraising, contacting public officials either face-to-face or by letter and participating in “formal” political groups like political parties or trade unions. By the early 1960s, political participation was broadly understood as activities concerned with traditional conceptualisations of politics such as campaigning by politicians and parties, and with well-accepted contacts between citizens and public officials. These forms of activities became later known as ‘conventional’ modes of participation. The late 1960s and early 1970s show remarkable extensions of the concept of political participation in two directions. The conventional modes of participation were expanded due to the growing relevance of community groups and direct contacts between citizens, public officials and politicians⁴. Empirical studies then included indicators measuring participation in informal groups, raising an issue in a group, attending meetings and persuading others how to vote. Societal developments in the era mentioned, however, made it clear that political participation is not restricted to broadly accepted forms or ‘proper’ activities. Protest and rejection are clear expressions of citizens’ interests and opinions, and therefore cannot and should not be excluded from the domain of political participation⁵. These last forms of participation have been labelled as ‘unconventional’ forms of participation because they were not in line with societal norms in the early 1970s. In empirical studies, new indicators of unconventional participation were added.

The most recent expansion of political participation took place in the 1990s. The fading border between political and non-political spheres of modern society and the revival of communitarian approaches led to an expansion of political participation with ‘civil activities’ such as volunteer work and social engagement⁶. Until that moment participation in ‘voluntary organisations’ or ‘social participation’ had been conceptualised as analytically and empirically distinct from political participation. Empirical studies included a list of tens of organisations and some 20 new forms of political participation (e.g. contacting public officials, signing a petition, attending lawful and illegal demonstrations, violent actions, boycotts and deliberate buying of certain products, abstaining from voting out of protest, and so on).

3.1 Definition and operationalisation of political participation

The authors of “Participation and Political Equality”⁷, which is one of the milestones in political participation research, state that their research of citizens’ political participation was narrowed to activities with the electoral process (p. xi, 313). *„By political participation we refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions they take /.../ We are interested in participation that involves attempts (successful or otherwise) to influence the government. /.../ And we limit ourselves*

⁴ Verba, Sidney and Norman Nie (1972) ‘Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality’ NY: Harper&Row

⁵ Barnes, Samuel, Max Kaase et al. (1979) ‘Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies’ London: Sage

⁶ Putnam, Robert (2000) ‘Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community’ NY: Simon and Schuster

Norris, Pippa (2001) ‘Count Every Voice: Democratic Participation Worldwide’ manuscript available from www.pippanorris.com (March 13, 2001)

⁷ Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie and Jae-On Kim (1978) ‘Participation and Political Equality. A Seven Nation Comparison’ Chicago: The University of Chicago Press

to the use of ,regular' legal political channels. /.../ The history of democracy is in large part the history of development of regular and legal channels through which citizens can express their preferences and apply pressure on the government to comply with those preferences." (p.1, 2). Analysis of data from seven countries gave good reasons for proposing four general dimensions of mass political participation.

- Voting (voting in municipal, provincial, national elections; cumulative index of voting).
- Campaign participation (persuading others to support a candidate, work for party, attending political rallies, donating money to campaigns, membership of political organisations, displaying posters/leaflets).
- Communal activities (being an active member of an organisation for community problems, working through a group on community problems, forming a local group for community problems, contacted local officials with others, contacting external officials with others, working through a group on an external problem, contacting local officials with social referent, contact extra-local officials with social referent).
- Particularized contact (contacting local officials, contacting external officials with particular referent).

However, participation context and patterns have significantly changed since then (refer to section 1).

3.2 Wider definition of political participation

Today researchers of political participation do not limit themselves to electoral processes. The role of government has changed in industrial democracies, governments' influence on social resources is decreasing and other significant actors are gaining importance as holders of significant resources. Therefore, the spectrum of 'targets' of political activity is widening and people are targeting their efforts on other institutions. In addition to electoral processes and institutions, **protest or elite-challenging actions** (from peaceful demonstrations to violent attacks) are commonplace as an expression of opinion and to exert pressure on politicians. According to some researchers, the content and intensity of political demonstrations may be considered valid indicators of citizens' opinions on political issues. **Grass-roots participation** and **lifestyle politics** denote initiation and participation in events and organisations, devoted to matters that citizens deem important at the moment.

Issues that cause protest actions, grassroots- and lifestyle-politics activities may be not directly related to government. But they are still relevant for political participation research since they influence many people.

In addition to participation in electoral processes, a comprehensive analysis of political participation includes the following forms:

- Protest and/or elite-challenging actions (abstaining from voting out of protest, protest meeting, organising and/or signing a petition, blocking traffic, (un)official strike, physical force and damaging property, occupying buildings, painting slogans, illegal protest activities).
- Grass-roots and lifestyle politics (deliberately buying or boycotting certain products, participation in demonstrations, volunteering for/helping campaigns, donating money, wearing campaign buttons, participating in organisations like

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sports clubs, outdoor/recreational clubs, youth associations, environmental associations, peace organisations, associations for animal protection/rights, humanitarian aid/human rights organisations, and so on).

- One characteristic of these new forms of participation is their comparatively loose organisational basis. This development is closely linked with the emergence and proliferation of different forms of electronic communication (e.g. e-mail, Internet, cell phones with text messaging), which are successfully used for mobilising and organising people.

The following sections summarise national reports on political participation research, trying to link the broader history of the field with the specific developments of research on political participation of youth in the participating countries.

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4 Austria

4.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

Over last 15 last years, Austria has gone through social and political changes, which influenced participation patterns as well as research practice.

Trend toward individualisation. In recent decades average living standards have risen, which makes individual life-styles available to more people. Social mobility and urbanization have increased, and society is characterized by the expansion of education and the increase in female participation in the work force. These changes have resulted in the pluralization and diversification of life-styles and circumstances. Class-specific cultures that were the basis of the two political “Lager” in Austria are disappearing.

Young people’s life-paths have moved towards de-standardization. The influence of the culture industry forces young people to behave individually and to participate in leisure activities, which leaves them little time for political participation.

Change in political system. Austrian political culture changed from a stable, consociational democracy to a more competitive type of democracy over recent decades. As a result of the change, less people trust political authorities and institutions. More people distanced themselves from the established political system and there has been a drop in conventional forms of participation (voting, party politics).

Research shows evidence of changes from a parochial style to a more participatory type of political culture in Austria. At the same time political trust has declined, which has also reduced participation in conventional forms of politics. The decrease in conventional modes is balanced by an increase in alternative modes of participation.

Attractiveness of new (individual) participation forms is increased by decreasing authoritarianism in Austrian society and individual forms of participation have gained in popularity. The decrease in authoritarianism might seem to contradict the success of the extreme, right-wing, populist party at national elections. However, J.Haider’s – a renowned representative of Austrian right-wing extremism; xenophobic and a populist, claiming to represent “the little people” – success in parliamentary elections can be understood as the people’s choice to vote against ‘champagne-drinking social democrats’, not to vote for J.Haider. His success was rather an outcome of a protest vote against social democratic party, which displayed elitist trends and had distanced itself from the public, rather than an outcome of genuine support for right-wing, extremist politics.

The two trends explain the relatively low political activism of population and declining involvement in traditional forms together with increasing involvement in new forms of political participation.

Participation depends on **social location**: research results repeatedly show that more educated, employed and well-to-do people are also more likely to be involved in political activities. The political attitudes of well-to-do people also favour increased political participation. Rising living standards favour both individual activism and readiness for participation.

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4.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

4.2.1 Definitions of political participation

In Austria, **participation in governmental decisions** has been a research focus. Much of participation research has concentrated on shifts from conventional, institutionalised participation to more individualised forms of participation and civic activism. Different research projects have used different terms to organise the research of 'old' and 'new' patterns of participation.

Conventional/institutionalised/traditional/formal modes of participation

Political interest and discussion: reading the politics section of newspapers, discussing politics, convincing other people to vote for a party or a candidate, mobilization of other persons for political purposes.

Voting and other electoral forms of participation: voting in local and national elections, referenda, plebiscite; joining a party, trade union membership, political campaigning.

Other institutionalised forms: letter writing to politicians and the media, contacting politicians and power elites, donations, participating in political events, attending meetings, demonstrations.

Unconventional/uninstitutionalized/informal modes of participation

Civic participation: participating in citizens' action committees, new social movements (women's liberation movement, anti-war movement, anti-nuclear-power movement, environmental organisations, etc.), voluntary work for a social movement, picketing.

Political consumerism: buying certain products and/or services, boycotts and boycotts, wearing badges and/or other items, which convey political messages.

Proactive or violent actions: strikes, occupation of buildings, graffiti, violence against property and/or persons.

Participation in organisations: institutions of youth work organized in the form of associations, institutions of open youth work, "advisory groups", Greenpeace, sports associations, youth clubs, political organisations, local organisations, voluntary organisations, citizen associations.

Use of new communication technologies like email and the Internet for the purposes of civic and political actions. Use of ICT is a relevant aspect of participation because only certain groups like educated and young people and higher occupational classes make use of modern technology and this tends to increase the inequality of participation.

Motivation: research on organisational involvement has been motivated by the aspiration to explore political socialisation through participation in organisations and to explore civic activism in the context of "active citizenship".

Research on conventional and unconventional modes of participation has been motivated by the aspiration to explore changes in Austrian political culture (as illustrated above). Political attitudes and citizens' involvement in politics are crucial aspects of the concept of political culture, and therefore the analysis of attitudes and activism helps us to understand changes in the political system. The increasing number of people participating in unconventional forms; participation in

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conventional forms is in decline. Figures for party membership have been historically low and the current percentage of party identification is decreasing.

4.2.2 Theories of political participation

Social system theory: patterns of participation are explained in the context of the changes in Austria's social structure. Since the 1980s the structure of Austrian society has undergone change that has influenced its political system, political culture and patterns of political participation.

Motivation: to analyse and explain the change in patterns of participation as a result of changes in the Austrian political system.

Resource theory: participation depends on resources being available to the individual. Education is the basic explanatory variable for evaluating variation of participation levels and patterns.

Motivation: because of the decline of conventional forms of participation there will be an ongoing exclusion of social groups from participation. This affects most strongly those people who do not possess socio-economic resources. This category is less likely to participate than in previous decades because they are now less integrated in political parties and associations. Modern technologies – Internet, mobile phones, other electronic media – are readily used by educated individuals, but this media plays an increasingly important role in political mobilisation and organisation of political activism. Education is a powerful explanatory variable since it influences organisational affiliation, employment status, political attitudes and interest, which in turn influence levels of activism.

Personal motivation: influence of attitudes on participation. Particularly important is interest in politics; also identification with parties, political trust and political efficacy have been found to be relevant.

Motivation: an attempt to explain participation patterns in terms of psychological predispositions: political predispositions influence individuals' political behaviour.

Mobilisation approach: people are involved in political actions as a result of mobilising efforts of (political) organisations. Nowadays, the importance of networks, informal movements and loose organisations as mobilising and organising agents is increasing and the importance of established political organisations is decreasing.

Motivation: nowadays more Austrians make an effort to influence political decisions through participation in informal civic associations and networks. Participation through institutionalised channels (political parties and electoral processes, power/political elite related channels) is declining. The Austrian political system is characterised as *corporatist*, where interests are organised and big interest organisations are represented in political decision-making ("Sozialpartnerschaft"). Compared to other countries, corporatist interest groups possess a great influence within the political system.

Gender related explanations: participation of women.

Motivation: to explore female participation. Currently, the Austrian political system produces inhibitions and excludes women systematically from decision-making processes. Through the rise of unconventional forms of political participation, women in particular became more interested in participation.

(Post)modernisation: value shift, individualization, increase of social mobility.

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Motivation: young people are increasingly motivated and mobilised by new values and do not possess a strong sense of attachment to the established political system.

4.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

With regard to youth political participation, research focuses on characteristics and reasons for **decreasing conventional participation** and **increasing unconventional participation**.

Young people tend to prefer new modes of participation – loosely organised movements, networks – to institutionalised channels and modes of participation – voting, electoral processes, political parties.

The phenomenon is associated with low levels of trust in political institutions and a weak sense of identification with parties. Young people do not possess a strong sense of attachment to the political system, which holds back participation within the system. Conventional participation is positively associated with an interest in politics, but young people are generally little interested in politics. Therefore relatively few young people participate in conventional forms of participation.

4.4 Methodological approaches

All of the reported research projects were empirical, based on surveys with samples between 950 and 8000. Apart from one survey, all were face-to-face interviews. The exception was a mailed interview.

Research projects have had practical aims (mainly national and local projects) as well as theoretical aims (international projects).

4.5 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

Among young people, there are relatively few who are politically active. This does not mean that young people are disengaged from society and from politics. On the contrary, they are likely to engage in new, alternative forms of influencing political decisions. Among young people, the trend towards unconventional forms, especially towards expressive forms of participation, is stronger than it is among the average population.

An important finding is that political participation is associated with an interest in politics: if there is no interest, there will be no participation. Young people do not feel attached to political institutions, are not content with decision-making processes, do not admire political leaders; young Austrians display low levels of political trust. Furthermore, compared to the average population young people show a low level of party identification.

Regarding the role friends and family as socialising agents, research has led to contradictory results. According to some results, the relationship is present and positive while other research shows the link is virtually non-existent.

Proponents of social structural analysis have established the link between social location and political participation – certain categories are more likely to participate. Young people are more likely to participate if they are male, more highly educated, of a higher social class, and urban. There are two exceptions: women are more engaged in “new politics” than men, and anti-democrats are likely to be from a

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lower class, less educated, and unemployed. On nearly every indicator, young people in Eastern Europe were more disengaged than those in Western Europe. In the countries where there was the most conventional political engagement, there was also the most direct action. Mature democracies encourage critical and active young people.

To solve the problem of the lack of participation in politics, many different arrangements are necessary. On the one hand there are many potentially active young people. On the other hand young people resign and dissociate themselves from political parties and the political system. This all means that there is a need for alternative, unconventional forms of participation. Non-party and non-institutionalised associations should have more power in decision making processes in order to increase youth participation. There is also a need for a discourse concerning the establishment of solidarity. Finally, there is a need for showing young people what impact political decision making has on their lives.

4.6 International cooperation and contribution

The Austrian contribution to the international stock of knowledge has occurred to a large part through participation in international research projects. International cooperation increased during the nineties. Large international surveys like Eurobarometer, ISSP, the World Value Survey, the European Value Survey enabled several projects on the basis of a secondary analysis. Combined with a theoretical background, they allowed the development of new hypotheses and results on the political participation of young people.

Four projects are good examples of international cooperation:

“Young People as Social and Political Actors in Different Regions of Europe”

“Orientations of Young Men and Women to Citizenship and European Identity”

“Political Participation of Youth below Voting Age” in Austria, Finland, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom,

“Youth and Democracy” in Tyrol, The Netherlands and Sachsen-Anhalt.

With respect to publications, the situation is asymmetrical: though most of the reported publications by Austrian researchers are in German (only one in English), Austrian researchers themselves draw heavily on English language sources.

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5 Estonia

5.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

Estonia regained independence in 1992. The late 1980s and early 1990s were characterised by mass demonstrations, which expressed support for the idea of restoring independence. The level of political support for state institutions was high as was turnout in national and local elections. Participation in third sector organisations was very low because civil society was largely destroyed and virtually non-existent during the Soviet era. Major social changes occurred: young political leaders initiated the 'installation' of (ultra)liberal democracy, a market economy as well as integration into the international community. Estonia experienced deep economic recession. As a result, trust in political leaders and institutions declined, as did mass participation. In the second half of the 1990s, the public turned away from its leaders – turnout in elections dropped from nearly 80% to below 50%. At the same time voluntary organisations and civil society gained momentum - participation in tertiary sector organisations started to increase. The state encourages participation in NGOs since the elite holds the opinion that Estonia should follow the model of society of a small state and strong business and tertiary sectors.

Though empirical social research started in 1960s, research on political aspects of society started later, in the turn of the 1990s. Sociological research started in the 1960s with studies in the mass media (radio and TV broadcasts, newspapers) and in sociology of the education. For ideological reasons analysis of political phenomena was not tolerated.

Not one research report has been published that truly centres on the political participation of youth.

Youth political participation has been given attention within research projects on political attitudes and political behaviour to the extent that attitudinal and/or behavioural variations can be explained by differences in age. Those projects treat age as one explanatory variable among a number of socio-demographic characteristics.

Youth political participation has also been analysed in projects focusing on aspects of youth life in Estonia. In those research projects, social and political activism is treated as one aspect of a young person's life.

5.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

5.2.1 Definitions of political participation

Political interest: frequency of following newspapers, journals, TV and radio broadcasts on social and political themes, news about government and parliamentary activity.

Voting and party preferences have merited attention in political discourse.

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Organisational involvement. Membership and actual partaking in several types of organisations, organisational types involved political parties (including the Communist Party and Youth Organisation of Communist Party), trade unions, professional organisations, sports and outdoor activities, recreation clubs, cultural organisations, student organisations, local and residential organisations, elitist organisations, religious organisations. In connection with organisational involvement also the readiness to join and normative opinion about need to join a particular kind of organisation has been recorded.

Contact: writing to a newspaper about a problem, contacting elected representatives and/or governmental officials (call, send letter, meet face-to-face)

Civic activism: collect money for public event, volunteer work, forming a workgroup, activism, working together with others to solve some local problem.

Protest and proactive activism: participating in protest demonstrations, writing protest graffiti, blocking traffic, occupying public buildings, signing a petition, demonstrating, picketing, striking.

Democracy at school: participation in all-school decision-making, classroom discussions.

5.2.2 Theories of political participation

Social psychological approach: according to the model with participation as the dependent variable, political choices – decisions to participate and political preferences – are predominantly an outcome of knowledge of the state of social and political affairs, political attitudes and reasoning. Social location is important to the extent that it influences perceptions of one's position in society (rights and duties, opportunities to influence decisions) and political knowledge. Variations in political participation are thus to a larger extent explained by subjective feelings and thoughts.

Social structural view: different social categories have distinct interests, they are characterised by specific patterns of participation. Education, employment status, age, type of residence and region are key indicators.

Socio-political activism as an aspect of the social system: according to the models that have participation as an independent variable, activism is an aspect of civic participation. Open society can exist and develop through vibrant civil society, where people take part in voluntary organisations and organise collective action to accomplish goals they deem important. Participation in various forms constitutes the basis for functioning of civil society.

Pedagogical theory: patterns and level of political activism can be influenced by conveying relevant information at school.

Communication theory: attitudes and behaviour is influenced by communication within peer groups, family and mass media.

5.3 Methodological approaches

Studies are mostly exploratory or descriptive.

Analysis has been conducted on an individual level, macro-level analysis has not been performed.

Research projects rely mostly on quantitative analysis. Both cross-sectional and longitudinal designs have been used. Cross-sectional studies are more common.

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To collect data, mainly face-to-face and paper-and-pencil-interviews have been employed. In some cases self-administered questionnaires have been used and in some cases telephone interviews.

Sample characteristics. Sample sizes vary between 900 and 4000. Samples of youth research projects are representative of certain social categories, most frequently of some age cohort (for instance, high school graduates aged 17-19 yrs.) or of some locality. Samples of public opinion polls conducted at Tartu (University Department of Political Science) are representative of Estonian citizens; public opinion polls conducted by polling companies are representative of the entire population, including non-citizens.

Data analysis techniques. Most commonly, conclusions are based on an examination of frequency distributions, categorizations, cumulative indices (usually no reliability analysis), 2-way cross-tables. Less frequently correlation analysis is used. On rare occasions, more sophisticated methods – regression analysis, factor analysis, cluster analysis – are used.

5.4 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

Political activism of Estonian youth at age 18 at roughly the same level as The European average.

A large percentage of young people plan to engage in various types of political participation when these become available to them (at the time of the survey, participation not possible because of low age). Several times, larger percentages have expressed the desire to influence decisions at school than actually can and do influence them. Readiness to engage in political activism can be interpreted as promising for the growth of political participation in the future.

Youth participation in political parties is roughly at the same level as in other age groups. Membership in trade unions is lower.

Youth participation in sports clubs, cultural and educational organisations, environmental organisations, hobby groups is higher than among other age groups. Participation in professional societies is lower.

Young people's motivations to participate and political attitudes differ from the motivations and attitudes of age groups above 35.

Participation levels and patterns differ notably between the two main ethnic groups – Estonians and non-Estonians.

5.5 International cooperation and contribution

Estonia's contribution to the international stock of knowledge occurs through involvement in international projects (for example "Civic Education Study" and EUYOUNGPART).

Data collected in Estonia is available to researchers from other countries.

The publications of Estonian researchers are in English, and a lot social science research is internationalised.

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6 Finland

6.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

In general, Finland is going through a process of modernisation: globalisation of its economy, shrinking of state and decreasing social security. These processes have been accompanied by increasing individualism in Finnish society.

Economic recession: During the first years of the 1990s, Finland has undergone a deep economic recession, caused by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which was Finland's major trading partner. Finland had to increase its trade with the 'western world' to increase economic development and general living standards. Economic recession caused massive unemployment, which hit young people severely. The recession caused problems with finding a livelihood, which - in turn - hindered young people's chances of having an autonomous life.

"Modernization winners" emerged – people, who are competent in the present period of increased competition: "One must be a competitive, market and portfolio-oriented individual". Also a balancing social category emerged – **"modernization losers"**, who have not been able to adapt to social and economic change. They experienced hard mobility tendencies and portfolio claims. The dynamic part of the Finnish social policy is constructing the reflective and tailoring body of the networking public sector for managing these new problems of individualized and guilty feelings of marginal people.

Other social changes include **EU membership, a cut in public spending, the idea of profit planning, neo-liberalism, and new balances of power.** The role of the state is decreasing, and the independence of the individual and responsibilities of non-public institutions are increasing. Although these developments decrease the level of social insecurity in Finland, the current social security system is in full health and guarantees social stability in the case of social crises.

Emergence of **political consumerism.** Political activity has moved to the marketplace in the form of choices in purchases and consumption; the politics of professions and education plans of schools is here again.

Declining voter turnout and political support in Finland. Between 1983 and 2003, turnout in parliamentary elections fell notably. The decrease in turnout was found to be due, in particular, to the increasing electoral passivity of young voters, the working class and the lower white-collar voters. Voter turnout among young people declined from approximately 80% to 53%.

Party loyalty had weakened remarkably in all of the groups with decreasing turnout during the period of study. The image- and charisma-based loyalties are actualising.

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6.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

6.2.1 Definitions of political participation

Conventional participation: voting and electoral processes.

Motivation: historically these forms of participation occupy a central position; participation in these forms is the most popular. Researchers have paid attention to those forms also because of declining turnout and party membership figures.

Interest in politics: discussion of politics, reading newspapers, membership of organisations, from sports clubs to trade unions (and political parties).

Motivation: to study political organisations in Finland. The Finnish political system had its legal and centralised state features even in the period of the 'active peoples movement' when Finland was part of the Russian Empire. In Finland there are not many syndicalist, autonomous and anarchist movements. Informal but on the other hand official membership cultures and networks would have not been possible without the large body of collectives and associations – from the trade unions and sport clubs to the institutional culture of participation.

Unconventional forms of participation: from boycotts and Greenpeace-activities to graffiti and illegal acts.

Motivation: to compare unconventional participation in Finland with participation in similar forms in other countries; to compare Finland's political culture with political culture in other countries. Comparison can be based the results of recognized authors in international political science like Almond, Verba, Lipset, Inglehart etc.

Grass-roots activities and new social movements: participation in citizen-initiated organizations and movements is often not formalized. Networks and communities have become popular among children and young people.

Motivation: people are socially and politically active in new ways – mostly in informal, individually motivated networks in civil society. New terms describe new phenomena: new social movements, new moral movements, cultures of 'care', provisional movements, new politics and reflexivity, civic networks, new communitarianism, sub-politics, political consumerism, life-politics and new models of community life. In addition to traditional parliamentarian, administrative or public-sector based collective forms of participation, people wish to present open, dialogue- and project-oriented initiatives and messages in the era of the risk-society and paradigms of governance.

6.2.2 Theories of political participation

Social and political resource theory: political involvement and participation are to a large degree determined by resources, which facilitate participation in actions aimed at influencing political and public decisions.

Motivation: empirical studies have demonstrated that the resource argument holds even when the influence of attitudes is eliminated. Education and social class are central variables of the resources at individual's disposal.

(Post)modernization, individualization, risk society, sub-politics, globalisation.

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Social integration/exclusion thesis plus the employment experiences of young people. Disintegration of family traditions and **de-standardisation of life courses** accompanied with the limited social visibility of young generations.

Motivation: contemporary society is increasingly individualistic and lacks national, collective and traditionally shared cultural codes. Ethical and political choices are matters decided within and between individuals - life decisions are based on consumption, education and employment. Non-institutional and individualistic activities and rhetoric are on the rise, as is the distancing process from the traditional political system.

Mobilization theories.

Motivation: historically, Finland is the country of a “thousand associations” or the “product of people’s movements”. Therefore, organisations as mobilising agents can be expected to possess remarkable explanatory power in Finland. However, nowadays collectivity and common generational experiences fade away; researchers speak about styles, sceptical motivations, individualistic generations and charisma-bound political choices or elastic and risk-conscious political subjects.

Social network theory.

Motivation: shift in academic sphere – a major group of social scientists are constructing a complete picture of social contradictions and dialectic in terms of inclusion/exclusion instead of the old class theory.

Citizenship education.

Motivation: school is an integral part of society.

Gender-specific theories. Gender-specific theories are extremely popular in Finland.

Motivation: the female modern competences like reflexivity, empathy, flexibility and literary activity are irreplaceable elements of modern cultural and social life.

Scandinavian women have a long history of work and social-political independence. Some feminists have claimed that women are better in modern political forums because of their need, for a successful career, to be clearly better than men.

Rational choice theories.

Motivation: the theory influences studies on political or social participation mostly through statistics. It helps drawing conclusions from the individual data. The premise of the empirical research is the rational and well-informed individual.

6.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

In the following table, weights are assigned to different topics according to their importance in Finnish youth research (from 0 to 10).

Importance of topics in Finnish youth research	
(Un)employment/entrepreneurship, social security	10
Women’s rights	8
Anti-racism/racism, xenophobia, immigration policies, multiculturalism	5
European Union integration/regional diversity	4
Education, including economic issues directly related to studies	3
Democracy in the workplace/school/university, at local/national levels	3
Animal rights	3

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Globalisation, global inequalities, Third World issues	3
Peace, regional stability, disarmament	2
Human rights, gay/lesbian rights	2
Environmental issues	2
Economic development, equality and policy; state interventionism	1

Motivation for Participation

A survey from April 2003 (organised by FYRN/Finland's Gallup/Committee for Youth affairs) illustrates the motivational basis and political concepts behind the political participation of young people (15-30 years old, 1000 interviews).

Motivation the participation of young people: **What does the term 'politics' mean to participants?** (percentage of positive responses on an agree/not agree scale)

Getting information, debating and participating in political systems	81%
Trying to solve international and global problems	81%
Unavoidable way to manage common matters	70%
Struggle between social classes and groups	55%
Building a better and ecologically sustainable world	51%
Unavoidable way to solve problems and conflicts	50%
Dishonesty and empty promises	35%
'Monastic Latin'	31%
Action of self, group or network	25%
'Arena for old fogies'	20%
Repulsive, dirty game of politicians	17%
'Personal and life solutions are political'	12%

Another project analysed voters' motivation for turning out. For the voters, the factor analysis of eight variables suggested two general reasons for voting. The first was labelled "instrumental" because the reasons for voting were related to the interests of one's own class, and one's own financial interests had a high loading. The second was labelled "expressive" – voting out of civic duty and as a custom had a high loading on the second factor.

The third project brought out solidarity and altruism as reasons for participation in voluntary organisations. People, including youth, participate because they derive satisfaction from helping others. Another important reason to learn something useful. Social reasons – having a good time in pleasant company – was important for very few people.

6.4 Special related concepts

National and international participation.

Motivation: globalisation of the Finnish economy plus shrinkage of the public sector and an increase in state debt have lead to a decrease in social security. This needs an adequate response from individuals, but individuals lag behind and have not adapted to the changes.

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6.5 Methodological approaches

All empirical contributions have traditional or correct and reflected theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

The empirical data is quantitative in many analyses.

Also qualitative analysis has been employed. Qualitative data means texts (programs, school essays, texts of informants) or 'written' (deep or thematic) interviews.

Researchers have used mixed and historical, qualitative and quantitative data in many cases.

This culture of multidimensional analyses and mixed empirical data and bodies of text have been extremely popular in Finland after the 1980s when the constructivist wave (linguistic or rhetorical turn) in social sciences arrived in Finland. We are generally speaking (e.g. in FYRN) about the triangulation of empirical materials (quantitative/qualitative), methodologies, theoretical frameworks and research.

Type of study

Most studies cannot be classified under single type. Studies contain elements of different types. Moreover, the methodological discussion is part of the reflection between the frame/tradition and empirical data/faced practical problems

6.6 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

It is impossible to speak of 'the youth' as a collective singular in the sense of a subject adopting more or less identical positions; rather, the internal divisions among young people are at least equally strong as among older people, both in their attitudes towards politics and in the figurative language they use for the phenomenon of politics. As a trend, however, we can detect a more or less clear generation-bound shift from one paradigm to another. This shift appears explicitly negative: it is a rejection of the collective and institutional paradigm of established forms of politics.

The general voting activity of young people is declining and it is easy to observe this as an alarming message for the Western democracy. In the light of voting data from the elections in 1987 and 1999 it is possible to claim that non-voter generation of the 1987 has a stable negative attitude to the elections (verified in 1999).

The young have not only abandoned political parties; their interest in organizational activities in general has fallen over the past forty years. This is clearly shown by a substantial **fall in membership in various types of youth organizations**. Young people's weakened ties to political parties are not indicative of political protest or a lack of interest in politics, but rather a more generalized fall in the popularity of ritualized means of participation. The regional review of voter turnout in the 2000 municipal elections in Helsinki showed that the non-voting trend is spreading to ever older age groups – though in comparison with voter turnout in previous elections, the largest decrease was found in the youngest age groups. Non-voting is, in fact, no longer a specifically youth-oriented problem that disappears over time; once adopted, this behaviour remains unchanged in spite of changes in other life circumstances.

Another central finding with respect to non-voting is related to an increasingly strong dislocation between political activity and social background. Voter turnout

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developments in the 1990s in the Helsinki municipal elections show that voter turnout among the young has also fallen drastically in the so-called elite areas where non-voting due to misfortune and poor social standing should be largely unknown. This disappearance of the social attributes of non-voting is a partial indication that various types of ritualistic political activity are losing their attractiveness in the eyes of the citizenry. In fact, it is only natural to assume that the desire to influence decision-making in a more multifaceted manner than merely through parties and elections would indeed increase as the cognitive capacities and political skills of citizens improve.

The young appear to construct their political identity and to communicate their political convictions also through their consumer habits. The role of the market is emphasized in this kind of consumerism or lifestyle-politicking that takes place outside the traditional machinery of political parties and elections and representative political institutions. **Political activity has moved to the marketplace in the form of choices of purchases and consumption.**

Consumerist politics would seem to be closely linked to the rise of the post-industrial information society and its rapid tempo. In a quickly changing information milieu, where actions taken are expected to show immediate results, voting may seem an inefficient means of influence whose effects only come far in the future. The rapid tempo and short attention span particularly typical to the activities of the young do not, however, signify an inability on the part of the young to comprehend long-term political goals, or to act on behalf of such goals. Environmental issues, for instance, in which the young are often interested, are genuine long-term social issues. Any activities on behalf of the environment through the electoral process, however, are probably perceived as frustrating, taking into account – for example – the acute nature of many environmental problems. In other words, environmental issues are perceived to be of a nature that justifies resorting to unconventional and extra-parliamentary - even illegal - activities in order to attract public attention and thus attempt to influence popular opinion and finally to change popular consumer habits by casting a spotlight on perceived evils.

The breaking of traditional ties and the weakening of traditions also signify increasing social insecurity. This type of insecurity, reflected in toughening attitudes, has created a basis for the growth of a neo-authoritarian atmosphere, which in turn has provided a source of support for right-wing populist parties in Central Europe. Signs of such an atmosphere increasing among young people in metropolitan areas were already visible in the 1996 - one third of young people could be classified as supporters of right-wing conservatism. The conclusion may be made that a support base susceptible to mobilization by right-wing populist parties exists in Finland should there be room for such a party in light of political structures.

New dimensions and basic political contradictions being articulated via the traditional political body could be an explanation for the increasing cynicism or 'new-right-populism' (during the last parliamentary election we could observe the march of the new-right-populist, Tony Halme, in the district of Helsinki!). All the desires, acts and ethical answers of active groups are not articulated through institutional democracy; markets, life-style and global arenas are politically open.

The transition to a post-industrialist society has resulted in a **breaking of the ties that traditionally have bound citizens to politics.** Education, increased

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information, urbanization and individualization have rendered possible a new type of identity construction without the limitations set by traditional groupings. The breaking of class alignments and party identification based thereon have simultaneously led to a decreased attractiveness of traditional political activities for citizens. On the one hand, this manifests itself as changes in the field of politics, such as lower voter turnout rates, increased volatility in political preferences and electoral mobility, and as decreases in party membership. On the other hand, the entire political field may be considered to have expanded to include not only collective activities but also personal ones: in recent years, personal choices, consumer habits and even lifestyles have become political messages.

6.7 International cooperation and contribution

Finnish researchers contribute to the international stock of knowledge through participation in cross-national research projects and through the dissemination research findings in English. The research reports of Finnish scientists are often prepared in or translated into English and disseminated to colleagues and partner institutions. Complete articles are available in English.

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7 France

7.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

Over past 15 years, France has gone through social and political changes, which have influenced patterns of participation as well as research practice.

Large-scale modernisation of French society:

- change from an industrial society to a post-industrial society,
- growth of the tertiary sector,
- declining importance of blue-collar workers.

Economic crisis and the increasing of unemployment. The situation facing French youth today can be characterized as follows: few jobs, a high rate of school enrolment and high unemployment among those with little education. The French youth unemployment rate is one of the highest in the European Union: more than 20% of French young people aged between 16 and 25 years are unemployed, whereas the unemployment rate for the whole population is only 9,3%.

Education crisis: the French education and training system faces some difficulties. If school is still a vector of social and economical integration, it is to a lesser extent than before. Even with some diplomas and qualifications, young people have real difficulties in finding a job. For the less privileged sections of society (immigrants or working class children, for example), school is no longer a way to social mobility.

The left-right cleavage: the French political space is divided in two main parts: left and right. This bipartition is not purely conventional, it refers to separate opinion and value systems, to opposite visions of world and society. This cleavage structures the way of thinking politics, the system of representation, and the beliefs and the sense of belonging of French citizens. For some years, new cleavages have been emerging, such as attitudes towards Europe, immigration and economic issues, but these cleavages have not replaced the old left-right cleavage. They add to it and contribute to the complexity of French political space. Most recently the growth of the extreme-right in France, with the emergence of the National Front, has redefined the political space. Now in France, within the right, we must distinguish between the extreme-right and other parts of the right. Accordingly, researchers in France have shown a tripartition of political space, which can be divided as following: the left, the right and the extreme-right.

Immigration, EU integration and rise of right-wing extremism. With the emergence of Jean-Marie LE PEN and the National Front on the political arena in the 1980s, another cleavage within right-wing politics has appeared. New issues have emerged: immigration and European integration. The National Front and its supporters disassociate themselves from the other political parties on these issues: the extreme-right-wingers are more xenophobic and less pro-European, they are also more authoritarian. The new cleavage opposes, on the one hand, the left and the right (clearly differentiated but sharing a corpus of universal and democratic values), and on the other hand, the extreme-right.

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Since 1981, French political life had been characterized by **governmental alternation**. According to the results of the presidential and general elections, left and right wings alternately exercise power. It is no longer possible for a political wing to keep power for a long period, as was the case in the 1960s and the 1970s. Linked to these political alternations, a new phenomenon, very specific to France, occurred in 1986 – **cohabitation**. The institutions of the Fifth French Republic, created by the Constitution of 1958, are characterized by the existence of two heads of the executive branch with real power, the President of the Republic (Head of the State) and the Prime Minister (Head of Government and chief of the Parliamentary majority). The authors of the Constitution intended that the President and Parliamentary majority belonged to the same political camp. However, by creating a presidential term of seven years and Parliamentary terms of only five years, they gave voters the chance to have second thoughts. Since 1986, there have been three cases of a President having to appoint a Prime Minister from the opposition due to the results of Parliamentary elections.

Hiatus between the diversification of the political appeals and less differentiation of the issue in the political parties' programmes.

Disassociation between citizens and representatives, decrease of political support, lack of the accountability: the main consequence of this disassociation is the increasing **abstention** from voting among French citizens and the growing involvement in new forms of political participation.

The emergence of **new social movements as a political actor**. These social movements question the social organization and try to transform it. They mobilize new actors such as minorities (immigrants, homeless people...), women, young people and give them an opportunity to express their opinions and their claims. In France, for some years, they have been gaining real influence in the political arena. Young people, especially the better educated are very involved in these social movements and they are particularly involved in **anti-globalisation movements**. French youth is very concerned with the question of economic globalisation and it is increasingly involved in action against liberal globalisation.

7.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

7.2.1 Definitions of political participation

Political interest and discussion of politics

Motivation: participation rate and interest level are associated positively, and the level of interest partly explains variations in participation; interest reveals link between youth and politics. Within the framework of the 'citizenship crises' concept, the level of youth political interest is compared to the level of interest among older categories. Another reason is to explore the variations in levels of interest among various social categories of youth.

Traditional or institutional political participation. Voting is one of the central themes in French research into youth political participation. Both turnout and choice of a party/candidate have merited researchers' attention.

Motivation: voting and other institutional forms of participation are increasingly unpopular among youth. This is perceived as a potential source of instability for society – one group tends to remain outside the functioning political system.

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New or uninstitutionalised participation: peaceful social protest, individualised social-political activity, political consumerism, demonstrations, grass-roots participation and involvement in ad-hoc organisations, student unions, assemblies of student representation, violent and proactive action.

Motivation: these forms of participation are increasingly popular among young people. Researchers explore the relationship between involvement and social location. **Proactive or violent political protests** are studied less frequently.

7.2.2 Theories of political participation

A characteristic of French youth research is that youth is conceptualised as a distinctive social category and its peculiarities are analysed in the framework of social class and social mobility theory.

Left-right cleavage. Since the number of parties in France is large, people cannot identify themselves easily with party platforms. Therefore, the left-right continuum (or left-centre-right classification) is an important organising concept.

Social location. Models of sociological man maintain that each social category is characterised by certain opportunities, resources and predispositions, which determine to a notable extent people's political preferences and behaviour.

Rationality of participation. According to this approach, a decision to participate politically is an outcome of the evaluation of a situation: if estimated gain is larger than estimated cost, then it is reasonable to participate, otherwise it is reasonable to abstain.

The deprivation approach to protest activities. This model implies that political dissatisfaction and alienation should be major predictors of protest. This theory suggests that unconventional political activity should be more common among lower-status individuals, minorities, and other groups who have reasons to feel deprived or dissatisfied. But surveys show that if political dissatisfaction has a stronger impact on the willingness to engage in protest behaviour than on most forms of conventional participation, dissatisfied citizens are only slightly more willing to protest than citizens who are satisfied with government policy performance. Analysis tends to undermine the dissatisfaction model.

Resource model of participation. The model implies that protest should be viewed as simply another mode of participation. Consequently, protest activity should be higher among the better educated and politically involved, who have the political skills and resources to engage in these demanding forms of activity. Conventional political participation increases with age, as family and social responsibilities heighten the relevance of politics. In contrast, protest is the domain of the young. Age is among the strongest predictors of unconventional activity.

The cultural model. Economic development, the socio-political changes of the post-war period deeply transformed the cultures of advanced western societies. These transformations gave birth to new values known as post-materialist values. This change of values would mainly explain the emergence of new political issues - quality of life, the defence of the environment, equality of the sexes, political autonomy - and the birth of new social movements - student mobilization, the fight for the civic rights, feminist movements, pacifist movements. The cultural changes make it possible for the population to take an active part in the development of policy and to have activities, which challenge the elites rather than are controlled by the elites. The elites no longer mobilize popular support by means of traditional

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institutions (parties, trade unions, religious institutions). Citizens are more and more directly involved in the decision-making process. The post-materialist generations – more educated, better informed – would be more politically involved, less dependent of the traditional parties and more inclined to unconventional forms of political action such as boycotts, strikes, demonstrations, etc.

Political socialization. Exposure to political messages, speeches and specific political behaviours during childhood have an enduring affect on the political behaviour in the adulthood. We can distinguish three main driving forces of political socialization during childhood: family, school and the media.

Political Interest and level of participation. The level of interest reveals the links between young people, society and politics as a whole. The degree of political interest conditions political attitudes and behaviours. There is a relationship between less interest in politics and a lower voter turnout. In the same way, the possibility to locate oneself between left and right is less frequent when there is no political interest.

7.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

The main task of French researchers has been to explore the relationship between social class and participation: How do **location in society and individual's resources** influence participation? Regarding youth political participation, the same logic is used: Youth is a distinctive social category. When youth political participation is explored, the research question should be conceptualised as follows: How does young people's social location explain the peculiarities of youth political participation?

Another theme in French research has been **socialisation** – how do people become politically active, where and how do they obtain political attitudes and opinions as well as behavioural patterns?

7.4 Methodological approaches

French sociological research practice gives strong preference to quantitative sociology. Nearly all reported research projects are based on quantitative analysis. 3 out of 11 reported projects contained a qualitative part and not one was a predominantly qualitative analysis.

Most of the projects used a cross-sectional design. Two of the projects were longitudinal, with between 3 and 7 interview waves.

Data was gathered mostly using standardized face-to-face and self-administered mail interviews. Telephone interviewing (CATI) has also been employed.

10 out of 11 reported research projects had a practical aim. Methodological goals were set out by 4 projects.

4 out of 11 research projects focused on a particular locality, others were representative nationally. One project was a comparative study of Italy, Spain and France.

Samples of the reported research projects were predominantly representative of some youth category (6 out of 11); 4 were representative at the national level and 2 at the local level.

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7.5 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

Youth **abstention from voting** and from other conventional forms of participation is above average. However, this is not necessarily a sign of apathy or indifference. Recent works have shown that the growing political abstention from voting is a form of political protest among young educated people. If French youth is less involved in traditional forms of political participation, it develops **new forms of political activity**. There is real socialization in social **protest**. Young citizens are more disposed to choose unconventional forms of participation, like **demonstrations** or involvement in some **associations** or **new social movement organizations**.

The young people, like the majority of French citizens, agree to position themselves on the left-right continuum and there is relative stability in their positioning (only 10% of people passed from left to right or from right to left). The left-right cleavage makes sense for them even if the differences are less important today than 20 years ago. There is no longer any specificity of the electoral behaviour among young people. They vote, more or less, as did their elders. Today young French citizens have a less conformist relationship with politics. They are more critical and more disposed to express their political protest through concrete action such as spontaneous demonstrations.

Moreover, the study of the relationship between French young people and politics underlines the fact that **the education level is the most discriminating factor**, which explains the differences in political attitudes and behaviour. The gap between highly educated people and minimally educated ones is revealing of the contrasting views of democracy within French youth.

The highly educated new generations are critical towards politics and distrustful towards political men, but they are still attached to the wheels of representative democracy. This **democratic paradox** can be explained by the increase of universalist and libertarian values within these populations, which compensates for the political mistrust.

On the contrary, among less educated young people, we can note both a deficit in the link to politics and a deficit in the link to democracy. This new, less educated generations is more distant to any form of participation (voting or demonstrations), they are more disenchanting. It is within this population that a **democratic deficit** appears and may increase.

7.6 International cooperation and contribution

Publications presented in the report are written exclusively in French. This means that they probably circulate within the French community of social researchers and do not enter into the global community of sociologists.

Among the 11 reported research projects, there is one international project involving 3 European countries, but this is changing. If the research on youth political participation are mainly national or local, other political studies are more European and international. Some French researchers are involved in international surveys programmes: European Values Surveys (EVS), Eurobarometer, International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and social science data archive international network (Council of European Social Sciences Data Archives

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(CESSDA) and the inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR).

8 Germany

8.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

The most significant change in Germany has been the **unification of Eastern and Western Germany**. In political participation research, **differences between new (East German) and old (Western German) federal states** were a focus. Young people in the former East Germany grew up with very few possibilities for and experiences of participation in unconventional forms; voting was the most common participatory act in the East.

Western Germany had experienced a rise in unconventional participation already before reunification. When the 'two Germanys' became one state, the nation experienced common trends in youth political participation. Youth does not rate politics very highly among other activities and life-spheres. Participation takes time and money – youth prefers to allocate these resources to family, friends and leisure activities, school, earning in everyday living and taking care of one's career. Institutionalised participation – voting and activities related to political parties – of German youth decreases and participation in non-institutionalised forms increases.

8.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

8.2.1 Definitions of political participation

Voting. Voting is still considered a main form of participation by the overwhelming majority of young people. In other words over 90% regard participating in elections as a form of political participation which they would use to exert political influence in a specific matter.

However, there are definitely large minorities who could imagine going to vote (or not going to vote) as a way of expressing protest or criticism of the established political parties. About 30% would deliberately not vote; about 20% would vote for an extremist party.

Organisational participation. Membership and participation in organisations: environmental groups, citizens' action groups, groups for human rights, peace, or for animal rights, neighbourhood, local district and self-help groups. About 20% would partake in political party work.

Legal uninstitutionalised / problem-oriented participation. Sign petitions, approved demonstrations, strike organised by a trade union, taking part in a citizens' action group

Proactive, illegal participation. Non-approved demonstrations, squatting, wildcat strikes, political violence.

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8.2.2 Theories of political participation

Interest in politics. Interest in politics is an essential precondition for political participation. In recent years, research has provided evidence of a current trend showing that young people are turning their backs on politics and involving themselves less in it. Therefore research concentrates on the questions to what extent young people display interest in politics and what developments have taken place in recent years.

The stronger that interest is, the more likely interviewees are to consider unconventional forms of participation.

Post-materialism. Young people who emphasise post-materialist values are, on average, far more willing to consider unconventional options of participation than those with a materialist orientation.

Lack of confidence in political institutions. Young people who lack confidence in political institutions are, on average, far more willing to consider unconventional form of participation than those content with the established political system.

New and old federal states. Youth in the former East Germany experienced no participation opportunities except for voting and participating in party activities. Youth in Western Germany had different participation environment and they preferred participation in unconventional modes. Therefore researchers focused on the differences between the parts of the nation. Participation trends were also focused upon, with an aim of establishing whether participation patterns diverge or converge.

In general, youth in the former West Germany is more ready to engage in unconventional participation.

When comparing the Eastern and Western parts of Germany, it is evident that the fact that associations and organisations are not as common in the new federal states and the fact that the new social movements are not as established in the Eastern part is the reason for lower participation in organisations and movements.

Social location. The most important determinants of political interest and participation are gender, age, educational attainment and living in either a new or old federal state.

Gender. Girls and women have significantly less interest in politics than boys and men.

Age Political interest increases with age.

Educational attainment. The higher the formal educational standard, the higher the percentage of persons interviewed having a strong political interest. Also, higher education facilitates participation in unconventional forms.

8.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

Decline of interest in politics, distrust of political institutions and the political system.

Differences between **new and old federal states.**

Decreasing participation in conventional and increasing participation in unconventional forms.

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8.4 Methodological approaches

German youth political participation research is predominantly based on quantitative methodology. The report listed 6 research projects. All were surveys with a sample size ranging from 2,000 to 14,992. Data was collected in face-to-face or telephone interviews.

Qualitative methods were not mentioned.

8.5 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

A high potential for participation may be found in young women and men. The empirical data currently available from various youth surveys has demonstrated that we cannot speak either of a general disenchantment with politics or of a dramatic lessening of young people's willingness to participate in politics. Nevertheless, various positive qualifications and desires to become involved are crushed by the rather negative and patriarchal image of politics. That is the reason why young men tend to participate in associations and organisations and young women in the new social movements. At the same time, **young people in the Eastern part of Germany seem to be more detached from the political system that is new to them.**

The relatively slight subjective importance of politics compared to other fields of life does not distinguish them at all significantly from the adult population, even if **young people are less interested in politics.** Also it must not be forgotten that the reunification of Germany and the problems and strains caused by the process of transformation led temporarily to a strong political mobilisation among young people as well. The lessening of interest in politics which can now be seen can therefore certainly be interpreted as a "normalisation" and should not necessarily be over-dramatised. Many of the hopes associated with reunification had been disappointed, and in some areas of life serious setbacks had to be accepted, so that the approval ratings for political protest actions increased considerably (refusal to pay rent or taxes, wildcat strikes).

Willingness to participate involves a high degree of acceptance in the East as well as in the West of both conventional forms of participation (for example, voting) and unconventional ones (for example, demonstrations and petitions), even though the subjective importance of politics for young people is relatively small. This indicates, on the one hand, that a relatively slight interest in politics when one is young need not automatically lead to apathy and political inactivity; on the other hand, it shows that **political involvement evidently depends on a wide range of contextual conditions**, which are difficult to determine within the framework of research surveys.

It may well be relevant in this context that the younger generations have developed tendencies towards a **new concept of politics**, especially against the background of ecological questions and in view of their changed perspectives on life, as evidenced by the changes in their values.

8.6 International cooperation and contribution

German social scientists participate in cross-national research projects, like the World Value Survey. German researchers cooperate with researchers from other

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countries and are members of international social science networks. German social science centres are internationally renowned, and they host visiting scholars.

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9 Italy

9.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

Tangentopoli. The term was created initially by newspapers in Milan in the beginning of 1990s and referred to corruption and collusion among the (political) elite. Tangentopoli caused a complete breakdown of Democrazia Cristiana and effected the reorganization of the leftwing parties: the shift from a three-party system to a two-party system. Tangentopoli - the bribe-scandal in the Italian politics and the big inquiry on hundreds of political and affair men. This event created a strong hiatus in the Italian political system determining different conditions in political life.

The analysis of the selected studies makes clear that the crisis of the Italian political system, which was generated by Tangentopoli, strongly influenced the opinion people have of politics and the degree of their political participation.

All authors seem to agree on the loss of persuasive power traditional parties have on young people. Unlike what happened in the 60s and the 70s in which political parties may count on the support of an entire generation of activists, today young people seem to be as far as possible from traditional politics, exploring new forms of political participation like civic associationism or activism and protests. The solution seems to be as many as young people are and it looks extremely difficult to define a generation identity.

Adoption of a new electoral system. In 1993, Italy adopted a new electoral system - a hybrid system in which 75% of the seats in both chambers of Parliament are distributed on the basis of the single-member, simple plurality system and 25% proportionally. The legislative change did contribute to a 'political earthquake', for it encouraged the formation of electoral alliances competing for an absolute majority of seats at the national level. Indeed, from 1994 onwards, the Italian party system shed its old tri-polar format, based on the permanence in office of a large party of the centre and the exclusion of left and right extremes, and instead assumed an essentially bi-polar format based on competing coalitions of centre left and centre-right. Moreover, in order to increase the impression of coherence, in 1996 each coalition made clear, prior to the vote, who its leader and prime-ministerial candidate would be (in 1994, the first time the new electoral system was used, only the coalition of the centre right had done so). This turned general elections into a personalised dual between the two main prime-ministerial candidates and this pattern was followed again in 2001.

The electorate was called upon to make a choice between the personalities of the two prime-ministerial candidates rather than between two clearly contrasting packages of policies - between a former mayor and journalist on the one hand, and a successful and wealthy tycoon on the other. Indeed, the election was widely perceived as a referendum for or against Berlusconi. The choice facing voters thus seemed very simple. And yet, because of the complexity of the electoral system, it would not have been surprising had ordinary citizens actually found it very difficult to vote. If this was the case, then in the bigger cities voting would have been all the more confusing owing to the simultaneous holding of the local elections: this meant that there were no fewer than four ballot papers to be marked.

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Politics and individualism. After Tangentopoli, politics did not reflect the needs of society any more. The main aspects of this kind of change can be found in the disappearance of ideology, in the importance of the role of specialists (such as people coming from various professional environments, whose experience could be employed in governmental issues) and in the loss of social identification with parties.

The consequences of this transformation appears to be the strain to set rules for social needs and the economy by traditional parties. Today, politics deals also with the private life and the impact of the community on individuals, defining policies (such as protection of personal data, disability and technology) that regulate many aspects of life and influence political participation.

Large differences between the Northern and the Southern part of the country.

The level of economic wealth is much higher in the Northern part than in the Southern part of the country. The two 'ends' of Italy are also very different culturally, starting from family patterns and ending with business and work ethics. The North is more rationally minded while the South gives more importance to relatives and kin.

9.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

Political-active citizens are people that move in a cross-communicative social environment which influences them, actually foreseeing one of the relevant aspect of late '90s in Italy in which communication has a very relevant political role. According to the role of political-active citizens, different possible socio-political environments can be defined, stating the relationship between institutional affiliation, economic resources and participation.

In the applicative model of the relationship between institutional and individual forces, five possible applications can be defined:

Weak⁸: Institutional affiliation does not have an impact on political activity. The relationship between economic resources and political participation is not relevant.

Additional: Institutional affiliation influences political activity with the help of economic resources. Such resources can be converted to political participation at any level of political life.

Dominant: Institutional affiliation is a necessary condition for political activity. Political activity might be not related to economic resources.

Limitation: There is a difference between those who are inside the political structure and those who are not. Only those who belong can convert economical resources inside political participation.

Institutional and promoting: Institutional Affiliation offers political activity not related personal economic resources, yet those resources might be converted inside political participation.

9.2.1 Definition of youth political participation

Political interest: talk about politics, attend debates.

⁸ The definitions are translations from Italian and they might not correspond to those in the English version of the book I had not at my disposal.

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Gelöscht:

Conventional participation: participation in demonstrations and political meetings, work for a party, donating money to a party, participation in political parties and their youth organisations.

Voting: electoral processes and institutions, political parties.

Motivation: voting and electoral processes have been chosen to analyse the decreasing popularity of traditional, institutionalised participation among young people.

Interest in politics, in the context of the European Union and European unification

Organisational involvement: participating in charitable associations, environmental associations, culturally oriented associations, trade unions, civic organisations.

Voluntary service, voluntary work for organisations: work for various civic organisations as well as for political parties.

Political participation can be defined as a net of individual and collective forces coming from involvement of people and groups in the public life they belong to.

Motivation: intention to explain trends of youth political participation in Italy from the 1960s to the 1990s. The younger generation has been searching for a new social environment to express themselves and their political involvement and has found it in the social pro-activity of associationism. Political participation and social activism can be represented both as an individual behaviour and as a group item, with a high sociological impact. The individual participation of a single person becomes "social" when it is observed and understood by other people.

Protest against globalisation.

Motivation: intention to explain lack of interest in politics and lack of activism.

Involvement in protest ('new' participation) builds on different bases than to involvement in a political party ('traditional' participation). Protest movement is an aggregation that revolves around a particular topic ("NO" to globalisation). It contains forms of different collective activities taking place adjacent to one another, stating a new identity for young people, which has common root in individualism, different values and the different perceptions of groups.

9.2.2 Theories of political participation

'Social (in)visibility' of youth – absence of youth in traditional forms of participation, poor participation in organisations.

Individualization of society: declining identification with collectives – in the context of political participation, declining identification with political parties. (Political) organisations are perceived as a limit to individual freedom and choice.

Rationality of individual and group political activity. "Free-rider" model explaining unequal distribution of the benefits of collective action and "shared faith" model explaining conflict and agreement.

Social relationships and participation: political participation is related to the degree of satisfaction in social relationships with parents, closest friends, classmates or colleagues and adults encountered in schools and workplaces.

Uncertainty of modern life and its impact on political participation. The higher cultural level of young people and the accessibility of information combined with changes in the social fabric about essential issues such as work and healthcare. This social environment drives young people to refuse the traditional system that,

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according to the author, seems unable to give an adequate response and to try an "experimental" approach that merges cultural, social and political experience. Political participation and **the role of youth organizations** related to parties. Three relevant reasons for the lack of political participation:

- Establishment of associations and movements that progressively take the place of institutional youth movements.
- Lack of participation of political parties in the new forms of civic and social care.
- Political youth associations exist independently from political parties.

Socio-economic argument. Backward socio-economic condition in some areas of Southern Italy can have serious repercussions on the opportunities for education, training and employment.

Psychological maturing and participation; transition to adulthood, which may include intentions of realizing ideas of freedom and humanitarianism. Attempts of achieving those ideas may lead to accomplishing individual political (protest) acts as well as to participation in collective political (protest) activity.

Concepts of democracy. Grown-ups tend to possess a clear conception of democracy as well as freedom. Some young people prefer to define democracy as a uni-dimensional while others perceive democracy as a multidimensional phenomenon. The former category tends to be politically more active; the latter category tends to possess non-materialist values.

Democracy is an all-embracing concept, going beyond the borders of state and political institutions; democracy need not be associated with a positive evaluation of the government.

9.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

Lack of participation in conventional forms and through conventional channels (voting, political parties).

The lack of conventional political participation among young people seems to be the result of different elements that concur to generate a sense of distance between institutions and the new generation. While institutions seem unable to give a response to the needs of young people, young people express themselves in new forms of participation that range from protest to social voluntary service.

Unlike what happened in the 60s and the 70s in which political parties could count on the support of an entire generation of activists, today young people seem to be as far as possible from traditional politics, exploring new forms of political participation like civic associations or protest and other proactive ways of expressing interests.

9.4 Methodological approaches

It is difficult to state the superiority of a method or if a choice of a sample is more relevant than another. There has been a great amount of research that dealt with small, local samples as well as cross-national studies that cannot be easily compared and offers very different results and not easily detectable points of contact. The only common ground through which it seems possible to allocate and build a comparative environment is the ISTAT⁹ Surveys. The result of ISTAT

⁹ Italian Statistical Office

research offers a valid background against which the results of the thematic research and methodology can be evaluated.

Both in terms of quantitative and qualitative research, "traditional" interviews and questionnaires, did not reflect the juvenile approach to politics and the political participation of young people very successfully. They seem only to define the general trend but not to represent efficaciously the reasons of choices and the reasons behind those choices.

9.5 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

Percentage of those who do not talk about politics is increasing.

People between 14 and 24 years seem more interested in political participation that involves group activities. The involvement of women is still growing. Regarding political information, television and newspapers maintain a primary role. At the same time percentage of those who get information from friends and relatives; two out of three students think that politics is not interesting and too difficult to understand.

In about 20 years the **participation of young people in associations has doubled**. Since the 80s when social participation was mostly religious, the 90s faced the rise of a "secularization" of civic voluntary associationism. The rise of associationism is both a consequence and a cause of a loss of faith in political institutions.

In terms of political preferences **young people seem to prefer new parties** that do not fit in the three traditional currents of Italian politics (Marxism, fascism and Catholicism). New parties and political entities represent the new approach of politics, dealing with concrete problems, such as the environment, the economy, taxation.

The fall of communist Russia and the turmoil in the Italian left-wing generated also **a right-wing tendency in young people**.

9.6 International cooperation and contribution

Italian researchers participate in cross-national research projects involving European countries – among the most significant research projects was a cross-national project. Italian researchers participate in cross-national research networks and their research products are significant in the context of the European political science discipline. Italian researchers get input from internationally renowned authors – well-recognised milestones of political science literature are translated into Italian. However, Italians' most significant research products are published in Italian.

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10 Slovakia

10.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

The main social developments that have conditioned research on political participation of youth and in general, are:

Restoration and the development of civil society and civic activism at the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s. This process was accompanied by the segmentation of Slovak society into two: political society that was formed from an earlier dissident movement and non-political or civil society that was constituted of 'ordinary people'.

The development of civil society meant increasing participation in voluntary organisations. NGO sector organisations were initiated and lead mostly by intellectuals, who had rejected the opportunity to participate in governance through positions in the state apparatus.

Individualisation of life-courses and diminishing distinctiveness of social classes. This process largely resembled developments in Western Europe:

- later marriage, partnership instead of marriage, rising number of 'singles'
- diversification and prolongation of the educational phase of life
- unemployment and informal economics, new linkages between education and job, life-long learning, employment in private sector
- consumption-dominated life and rise of hedonistic values, behavioural patterns, communication; strengthened by mass media
- declining numbers of people active in conventional forms of political participation

Rise of national populism

10.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

10.2.1 Definitions of political participation

Political interest: following news in mass-media, youth opinions on political events, developments and issues

Voting: probability of turning out and formation of electoral choice

Organisational affiliation, participation in youth organisations, participation in social and political life

Organisational affiliation: participation in youth organisations, participation in social and political life

Campaigning, volunteering in (political) campaigns organised by NGOs

10.2.2 Theories of political participation

Post adolescence: postponed start of family and working life, prolonged education

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Mobilisation theory: NGOs organise and mobilise people to participate in political and social decisions

Social location: educational attainment, employment status, age significantly differentiates between potential for participation and participation patterns.

10.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

Rise of unemployment, lack of participation in politics

10.4 Methodological approaches

Quantitative analysis, data collected mainly using standardized interviews in mass surveys

10.5 Main conclusions

The association potential of children and young people is estimated at 15-20% of the age group from 15 to 26 years, which could be a strong motivation for all old and newly –established child and youth civic associations about 6-8% of young people of the given age.

Among the members of the child and youth civic associations, activists are mostly engaged in the civic and societal life of Slovak towns and villages.

There is a significant positive relation between the successful political participation of youth through their impact upon legislative processes, the creation of living-conditions for the young at a national level and civic participation at the local level. Therefore the conditions must be created for the stabilisation and efficiency of new forms of civic and political participation of young people (e.g. Parliament Day of Youth, parliaments of children and youth) from the view of the resulting legislative process.

Attention must be oriented to the co-ordination of the activities of individual civic associations of children and youth with other entities in the tertiary sector active in the field of youth work (activities at the local level are influenced by one another). We cannot ignore the cognitive and analytical-conceptual attention to post-modern forms of children and youth, such as the internet and contact through email, or creation of cybernetic communities of young people of various orientations, that are capable of connecting youth in a new way. This has ultimately helped create the organisational and ideological framework for their sometimes shocking action performed in the squares of our cities.

It is the right time for the co-operation of children and youth associations with various institutions functioning on the educational preparation of young people for work with children and youth.

Similarly, the procedures for acquiring statistical data on membership and the activities of the civic associations of children and youth must be examined and the demands for their statistical processing and presentation must be specified.

10.6 International contribution and cooperation

The reported research was initially published in Slovak; Slovak researchers rely significantly on texts in English.

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Out of 8 reported research projects, 1 was cross-national; the project centred on civic education in schools.

11 United Kingdom

11.1 Social settings of youth political participation research

Increasing individualisation of UK society. Individualisation of young people has led to a weakening of political socialisation and attachment to conventional forms of politics.

The notion of citizenship becomes more ambiguous in connection with increasing individualisation. Active citizenship means increased involvement in (local) politics and civil society.

Trends toward **federalism** and strengthening national identities.

Value shift: the values of modern society can no longer be explained by reference to the Left-Right axis (more or less regulation). New issues of concern include education, employment, finance, the environment, Europe, militarism, crime, discrimination, drugs.

Social exclusion: young people's position in relation to the labour market and the welfare state has been significantly weakened in recent years. A variety of social changes have led to what several authors refer to as the postponement of adulthood or 'delayed adult statuses' due to the withdrawal of state support and the impact of other issues that increase the trauma of youth transitions e.g. drug abuse and crime.

11.2 Theoretical framework of youth political participation research

11.2.1 Definitions of political participation

Interest in politics

Institutional participation, membership in political organizations, involvement in youth projects and community/local projects.

Alternative institutional participation: involvement in alternative politics and alternative organizations (environment, cultural, religious, women's,...)

Conventional forms of participation

All types of **voluntary activities**

Non-institutional participation: participation in networks and defining 'self' through participation in network organized activities.

Civic engagement through modes of participation as diverse as buying or refusing to buy a product for ethical reasons

Consumer engagement activities, such as donating money to an organisation, signing a petition, ethical consumerism, while very few had attended a political meeting.

Contacting public officials and/or those in authority

Protest activities

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11.2.2 Theories of political participation

Political culture and individuals' political attitudes determine patterns of participation. Social psychological concepts help to understand the behaviour of young people. Identity and citizenship are the concepts, which play significant role in building young peoples' notion of a 'good member of society' and behaving in accordance with the model.

Socio-economic conditions: wealth and social class influences interest in politics, political trust and other political attitudes, which in turn notably determine level and modes of participation.

Political system explanation: participation levels and patterns depend on possibilities of involvement in policy processes. The state can increase participation by establishing various councils, which serve as arenas where young people can discuss policies and develop their own proposals.

Alternative values: 'new values' mean caring about the environment, human rights and equality, justice, and so on. Young people are mobilised by those values and participate in alternative forms of political activity (demonstrations, campaigns, political consumerism, ...).

Generational approach: maintains that youth experiences unique social structural changes (individualisation of society, rise of unemployment, etc.), which do hinder participation in politics. This argument rejects life-cycle explanation.

11.3 Problems addressed in youth political participation research

The issue of youth participation in democracy has come to the fore in Britain in recent years, both in academia and in the world of public policy. This has been a result of young people's apparent lack of interest and participation in the British political system (particularly in run-down inner-city areas). It has been common to hear in the media and from the lips of politicians of increasing 'political apathy' among the population at large, and young people in particular. Socio-economic change led to the realisation, in the 1980s, that young people had become detached or 'excluded' from society. Political participation, interest in politics and knowledge of politics, when evaluated through reference to the institutions of conventional political activity, has experienced dramatic decline among young people.

11.4 Methodological approaches

Research before the mid 1990s was a loose collection of quantitative surveys. The mid to late 1990s saw the launch of a number of qualitative or both quantitative and qualitative projects. Studies conducted on youth political participation have a strong emphasis on practical value. The studies also have a strong theoretical background.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are widely used, most research projects combine quantitative (mass survey data) and qualitative (in-depth or focus group interviews) approaches. Longitudinal design is utilized infrequently.

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11.5 Main conclusions and evaluation of the situation

The phenomenon of disengagement has been analysed with the aid of four theoretical approaches.

Civic culture and the individual: the democratic state requires a participant 'political culture', and political culture is defined by the qualities of the individual. The focus on the individual actors as opposed to political and socio-economic structures leads on to questions of *identity* and *citizenship* of the individual (the young person). Consistent with this approach, youth work and civic education at school are the key to active and responsible citizens.

Structural conditions in which the individual operates: 'politics-focused' explanations evaluate political participation through reference to the institutions of conventional political activity, and in this way have tried to explain dramatic decline in young people's knowledge of, interest in and participation in politics. Studies have looked at the current state of youth participation in the political system and sought to evaluate the causes of non-participation in the political process. Low political interest, gendered images of politics, discontent with the core political institutions, a culture of non-participation and the relatively few opportunities to be involved in decision-making are the main reasons behind non-participation. According to this approach, changes in the voting system or in the political system in general would aid the situation. Another possibility would be specific attempts to involve young people political decision-making ('consultation', 'joint management', 'youth control' and 'youth council' types of participation). Those measures would develop social skills and political attitudes and stimulate devotion of greater resources to participation.

Alternative values explanations stem from 'post-materialist' values theory, arguing that the values of young people (and even modern society in general) across the Western world can no longer be explained simply by reference to the traditional Left-Right axis. This value change has been accompanied by a movement away from the membership of and engagement in political parties, towards single issues politics and 'new social movements'. Definitions of political participation must begin to relate to broader notions of politics and 'the political'. A number of recent studies have therefore investigated new interpretations of participation and *the political* from the perspective of young people themselves. What are these alternative values? The top issues for young people are 'AIDS, jobs and above all animals', 'education', 'employment', 'finance', 'discrimination', 'drug abuse' 'crime', 'Europe', 'education', 'militarism' and 'the environment'. Young people now care about different issues than in the past. These values are not adequately represented by mainstream political parties. This has led to a lack of interest in and participation in conventional forms of politics.

These broad notions of the political and participation have demanded to the development of alternative modes of participation that can fit in with these new value systems and political patterns in reference to public policy. By far the most popular types of civic engagement are low-risk 'consumer engagement' activities such as donating money to an organisation, signing a petition, ethical consumerism, while very few had attended a political meeting. Smaller yet significant figures were found for dimensions covering 'contacting those in authority' and 'protest activity'.

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'**Generational explanation**' for the political participation or non-participation of young people in British politics argues that the current generation is facing new (unique) challenges from changing socio-economic structures. It rejects the 'life-cycle' approach, and concentrates on the experiences people have when they are becoming politically aware ('citizenship transitions').

The changing socio-economic climate has been judged to have impact on young people's participation in politics in a number of ways. Social change has led to youth transitions that are more complex and less paternated with a 'corresponding increase in the individual's capacity for self-determination' or the 'increasing individualization' of society. Personal experiences and 'the self' are important in the formation of issues of political concern for young people today. With this greater freedom come new problems in connecting people with politics – of 'how to create a sense of common purpose and ownership in the political system'.

In terms of *social exclusion*, young people's position in relation to the labour market and the welfare state has been significantly weakened in recent years. A variety of social changes have led to what several authors refer to as the postponement of adulthood or 'delayed adult statuses' due to the withdrawal of state support and the impact of other issues that increase the trauma of youth transitions e.g. drug abuse and crime. Recent reductions and qualifications to the social rights of citizenship are undermining young people's sense of independence and adulthood. The danger is that eroding young people's social rights of citizenship will also corrode their sense of responsibility as citizens of the future. The development of new values among young people has, therefore, not only led to the new forms of political interest and political engagement looked at in the previous section, but also to disillusionment with society and the state.

11.6 International cooperation and contribution

Significant international contribution occurs through publishing research in scholarly journals of international circulation.

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12 The Influence of Culture on the Conceptualisation of Political Participation – “Each Translation Is a Political Act”

This chapter is based on two elements: Firstly, it comprises a lecture that Ismo Pohjantammi gave to the EUYOUNGPART consortium in May 2003. The main aim of the lecture was to stimulate discussion and reflection about the cultural context of key terms relating to political participation. Terms like “democracy”, “participation”, “civil society” and “citizenship” are products of the culture within which they were developed or within which they are applied. They are used in reference to specific social and political contexts and histories.

Secondly, the EUYOUNGPART consortium consists of researchers from eight different European countries with different languages, histories and political structures. Thus it will be a key challenge to the consortium to develop awareness and an understanding of connotations attached to key terms in the area of political participation, even if they may be directly translatable.

To lay a foundation for this process, the consortium members were asked to provide translations of key terms, together with information on connotations were needed. In combination with Ismo Pohjantammi’s input on “concepts of political representation”, the comparative translations are thought to provide the basis for subsequent interpretation of data and results (see section 12.2).

12.1 Ismo Pohjantammi: Concepts of political representation

12.1.1 Conceptual history

There are several ways to do history of concepts. Reinhart Koselleck’s *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexicon zur politisch sozialen Sprache in Deutschland* (1972- 1997, 8 Vol) (= GG) studies the concepts as part of historical changes or movement, „als Leitbegriffe der geschichtlichen Bewegung“ (1972, XIII).

Thus, it is not a history of ideas, but of how concepts such as **Bildung** (education) or **Liberalismus** (liberalism) have been used in various historical contexts.

The project has used as the source for the study of concepts the following:

- The main constitutional concepts (**Verfassungsbegriffe**)
- Keywords (**Schlüsselworte**) in the organisations of politics, economics and society.
- Names in the establishment of university disciplines (**Selbstbenennungen**)
- Key concepts (**Leitbegriffe**) of new political movements and their slogans (or 'catch-words') (**Schlagworte**).
- Names of occupations and social strata.
- Basic concepts (**Kernbegriffe**) in theories and ideologies that divide and present the space of action (**Handlungsraum**) and the professional world. (Koselleck 1972, GG I, Einleitung)

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If understood as a whole, these define the documents of modernity. They are a source to understand the "Grundbegriffe" (basic/fundamental terms) of our recent history or histories. Concepts are, according to Koselleck, factors of histories. They are means to an experience or for a horizon of expectation in a culture:

"Ein Begriff ist nicht nur Indikator der von ihm erfassten Zusammenhänge, er ist auch deren Faktor. Mit jedem Begriff werden bestimmte Horizonte, aber auch Grenzen möglicher Erfahrung und denkbarer Theorie gesetzt." (Koselleck 1979, p.120)

[A term is not only an indicator for the relations he captures but also their factor. With each term, particular horizons as well as limits of potential experience and conceivable theory are set¹⁰.]

Each conceptual "ground" structures the interpretation and the use of other words and concepts. Therefore, one may study general vocabularies and concepts as a context for the expressions. Pocock has compared the vocabularies and conceptions of republicanism in different contexts. Koselleck has studied the semantic fields or structures that have made the concepts a factor in history. Interpretation will illustrate a space of action (**Handlungsspielraum**). Koselleck has mentioned two methodological means for studying the space as "semasiology" and "onomasiology": Semasiology means studying the meanings a concept has in different contexts. Onomasiology means studying what alternative words and expressions have been used instead of the main concept. "Participation" and "protest" or "recession" and "disengagement" are conceptual names for the events or aims, and action or commentaries. Also attitudes are conceptual, especially the public expressions of the attitudes. One of Koselleck's main points has been the focus on the temporal structures of the concept in each central case and context. Thus he proposed that the period from the 1750s to the 1850s form a special **Sattelzeit** or **Schwellenzeit**, a period of accelerated change and extension of meanings. Koselleck has characterized the main transformations through the ways of using the concepts:

1. **Verzeitlichung** (temporalization): Capability to recognize alternatives in the past, in the present and in the future, discontinuities in conceiving issues as part of history.

Aspects of temporalization: histories are narratives, language and history do not develop in full synchronicity, language is a means to act, to temporalize the experiences, events and the future.

2. **Demokratisierung** (democratization): Non-elites began to use the language that had belonged to the ancient regimes or civil societies, and new contexts and meanings, for example for the 'Volk' (the people) as elements of the nation emerged (instead of the former sense in the two-sided concept "the king - and the people").

¹⁰ Translation by Ruth Picker

3. Ideologisierung: Concepts are used in ideologies, of temporalization, the future is understood in terms of great expectations, '-isms'; single concepts gather concrete features, i.e. liberties into one liberty, or ways of stabilising the order to 'conservatism'.

4. Politisierung (politicization): Concepts were used as political weapons - the invention of meanings served specific purposes, actors invent asymmetric meanings and counter-concepts for the main concept to promote their issues, disassociate certain alternatives of activity or certain actors from the action in nation.

Conflicts in attempts to classify issues occur: Actors give from their own perspective different meanings to the concepts. A typical example might be the concept of "political party government" which may be given a pejorative name such as "political system" or simply "the system". Who would like to belong to "the system"? De-politicization may begin as a passive move or as an active temporalization of new issues among those that belong to the expectations and to a special *durée* of the future where one identifies oneself as an acting self.

These four conceptual aspects may be used in characterising transformations in history and especially in our recent history. Thus it is not merely the **Sattelzeit** one may study with these means. They give general means to understand how language and conceptualisations push us to think along certain lines or act in new and open situations. Acceleration of the recent histories characterises how we live in the modern age. The singular concept of modernity has become *passeé* as the name for projects. Thus we may use the single word, 'post-modernity'. This kind of conceptual turn is a part of everyday politics and political participation. Old actors and systems may continue to 'operate' on the basis of old terms, and one may refer to them in a different perspective that builds another kind of modernity or contemporary community. This is an obvious state of affairs. Within a country one may find political perspectives that differ in basic terms, besides there being differences between countries in characterising stability (or stabilities) and change.

What are the crucial temporal aspects in understanding recent politics? How does one recognise the crucial ones? Does research operate in an old or in a very special political language? What does it recognise as factors of politics in the country X?

Citizenship and Nation

Bürger, medborgare, citizen (city), polis: active members of a polis i.e. *polites*; *populus*.

Concepts of membership are partly local, and partly inform of status or ethnic roots. Classical terms refer to the natural social context, i.e. city or *polis* or Empire. Political rights belonged to those who were included in real membership.

Aristotle said that no-one was a citizen because of their common place of birth: "We must not give the name citizen (*polites*) to all persons whose presence is necessary for the existence of the state." (III, 5)

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Polites is the one who is allowed to give public judgements in an office or assembly (**ekklesia**). One who was a **polites** in a democracy did not necessarily carry the role of “citizenship” in an oligarchy. According to some politeias, or constitutions, there is no body comprising the people. (Politics, III.1.)

The Athenian politics in **demos** or rather **politikos koinonia** (“as a community”) had the Latin translation ‘societas civilis’. It meant a sphere of action that was different from **Sacerdotum**. The **societas civilis** included both the state or institutions and the active people. The active members or **populus** referred immediately to the institutions where the civil life of the **populus**, i.e. politics was possible. One could not separate institutions from active people, or let’s say – in modern terms – that it was impossible to separate state and society (**Staat** and **bürgerliche Gesellschaft**).

During the modern era, democratisation of **Reich**, realm, monarchies, or **Länder** meant that the relation between the few and the many, governing and the governed, required a new shape. The governed were given a special political role – not as governors, but as the source of sovereign power. Differences between governors and governed achieved a new shape in the nation, where the governing did not anymore belong to a static circle, but meant a kind of self-government of the people or of the active participants in the nation and society. During the period of the **Sattelzeit** democratisation happened through various ideas that made common issues for the members of the nation. Nation was used as a concept that temporalised the understanding of the rights of the citizens. One could speak of a common future, of the wider citizenship.

In France, representative politics was understood by the conservatives (Constantin, Guizot) to be the basic means of incorporating the people into the nation, and the way of avoiding revolutions. The institutions of aristocratic government and people were fused and changed. One found new means to grasp both separation and amalgamation of the governors and the governed – the modern state and society or people/ citizens of the nation.

In Germany and Sweden, these steps were followed, but the histories begin from special understandings of the role of the people. The German **Landtag** and especially the Swedish **Riksdagar** had incorporated the peasants and the people into the Riket. In Sweden, the people referred already before the 19th century to the political people, i.e. **folk**, or **allmoge** including common land-owning people, who elected the representatives of the estates. In Sweden, the estates simply represented the people. Even Gustav III, who abolished the special powers of the Four Estates, governed in the name of the sovereign and the free folk.

When the propertied individuals, as opposed to members of estates, were enfranchised, a new common modern **populus** or **folk** was created, composed of propertied individuals. They represented the nation and worked as a part of society and the state.

In German one could, and this is still possible, speak of **Volk** as the nation, but **Volk** is a collective noun. The German concept **Volk** included, from the middle ages, the Roman meaning of **populus**. (VolkNation in GG, s 189) The new Holy Roman/German empire operated on Roman categories. Thus the concepts *Reichsvolk* and *Staatsvolk* follow the Roman tradition as well in separating

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themselves from the other nations or **Volk**, the *gentes*, the *gens*. They were not allowed to be active in the empire (**Reich** or **Staat**). In a sense, this concept has not changed much, though due to democratisation the sphere of the *Volk* is wider. During the late 18th and early 19th century, **Staatsvolk** became a part of the nation and the idea of the cultural, linguistic and historical nation and national economy were used to combine new projects and aspects of 'being active' as a *Volk* or nation. Herder wrote in the late 18th century on the concept of *Volk* new histories of the nation, but in a cosmopolitan - or we could say global - perspective. But what does it mean that *Volk* is a collective noun? It refers to one entity, capable of realising its own national history. The single actor is **das Volk** and not the individual as in the republican tradition. Instead of self-government, Germans conceptualised the contexts for collective self-government. Thus *Staat*, *Landstag*, *Genossenschaften* expressed arenas that offered new possibilities to act and to give expression to what the nation would come or was becoming.

Lars Trägårdh has noted that it is common to translate **das Volk** as **the nation**. The American notion "we, the people" refers to individuals, who form the constitution and the people or individuals who follow it. Whereas, according to Trägårdh, both German and Swedish culture and society were interpreted in terms of an organic community (**Gemeinschaft**) instead of **Gesellschaft** (society) of **citizens** (Trägårdh 1990, 26-30). Still both expressions characterise an active community. The "**völkisch**" romanticism and the new republicanism in Germany presented the "**völkisch**" idea in the context of collective self-government. They differ completely from the *völkisch ideology* of Hitler. In Sweden, social democrats used **folklig** to express that all the people belonged to the new nation, and this was also observable in Finland. Still it was in Sweden that the party leader, Hanson, stated that the "workers' party" is not merely a party of workers but a **folkparti**, a people's party, which will build the **folkhem**, a home for the people, as a political democracy (Trägårdh 1990, 26). Thus state and society were immediately combined just as they were separated. The people were active in both. The combination was strong in the German tradition to which the Swedish tradition belongs.

In the countries of the Latin tradition such as France, **société** refers to active individuals and associations. Society is thus, in a sense, a notion underlining individual liberties, as it is also in English, whereas in Swedish **samhälle** refers to a collective community. Nevertheless, due to the political history of active associations, **samhälle** has been understood as the common ground for active individuals and associations, and thus in the 1940s Gunnar Heckscher began to use the expression **organisationssamhälle** to describe the active role of the associations in the construction of society and the state. That is the nature of civil society, or the modern populus. One is part of the state while acting in organisations.

Identities

After the French revolution, nations became the new basis for real principles of equality among members. Corporate and class-based criteria were abolished. The new borders for active citizenship became national or ethnic.

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Ethnic differences may be spoken of in terms of *jus soli*, i.e. the right of those born in the land, and *jus sanguinis*, i.e. the claim of citizenship by descent.

In France, children born to foreigners on French soil may become citizens when they reach the age of eighteen, provided they have lived in France for five years and have committed no crime. In Germany, instead of the soil, descent is the only criteria. The ethnic roles in “le monde francophone” are, after all, different than in the nation state.

French belongs to the family of Latin languages and the Roman tradition shows in the concept of native people. The active political **populus** can be seen in the double meaning of **populus** contra **gentes** or active full membership contra nations that belong to the common **imperium** or commonwealth. In nation states the **gentes** have no possibility to claim true national citizenship and political rights, unless one may detect descent or kindred nations. Also this tells the story of collective membership instead of an individual one. The borders between the identities are different. New political cultures in the former Eastern Europe have been based in national imperialism. The means for dealing with this issue may continue to be this imperial way in conceptualising political identities instead of using the nation state as a model.

One aspect of contemporary language is that we have common classical or semi-classical words such as **citizen** and **Bürger**, but we also find more civilized, democratic, ethnic, patriotic, militant or racist words that characterise membership. There are different conceptual and rhetorical ways (styles) to either form borders or simply to recognise the differences, or the existence of communities.

Instead of general and abstract words such as citizen, Volk or the nation, in common language one uses national or ethnic names to designate groups such as “Estonian”, “Finnish”, “French”. Within each culture the name invokes to some extent different connotations.

Within nations common language shows the different roles for different parts of the nation. Koselleck has stated that these may be understood as typical asymmetric counter-concepts: One group speaks of itself and other groups in the nation by using different words than other groups. Each participatory group has a different relationship to the nation they define, according to their concepts, or they understand themselves as parts of other localities.

The inclusive connotation may be obvious and it may be easy to avoid mistakes in research. One confronts more difficult cases in the semantic field – cases that express differences in attitudes and in the language of inclusion.

The governors and the governed are conceptualised within one country in several ways, besides obvious differences between countries. It does not mean the same thing to ask about political attitudes towards the government of a **medborgare**, who is a part of the active society or **samhälle** that makes the politics of the state, compared to asking an individual in the UK who believes that it is a government of the elites that takes care of issues and policy.

Political representation

After the general franchise was established, no special skills were required of voters. However, the general skill of “acting as a citizen” was included as a new condition in considering to whom political rights should be given. Non-citizens do

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have some basic political rights such as expression of opinion and organizing action, and in some cases participation in local representative politics is allowed (e.g., Sweden).

Thus non-citizens may be active in formulating public opinion. In general, modern political representation was a means of creating political institutions for the new public and democratic considerations. Political meetings, platforms and public opinion became the anchors of political responsibility in representative politics. Participation in the formation of public opinion is a political action in a much deeper sense than voting: The person and identities are involved in this act. Thus non-citizens are not allowed to vote, they can participate and act in the arena of politics in a much deeper sense than just voting for a candidate.

We may speculate on two reasons why the right to vote still takes on a crucial significance: Elections are still the very expression of national membership. Rosanvallon has studied the right to vote as a principle of inclusion and exclusion and stated that the national elections were the *sacral* of the new democratic idea of citizenship (i.e. 1848 in France, Rosanvallon 1992, 1998). This is still very much true of modern elections. They are considered as a national practice, and the right of the citizens of the nation. Yet the right to control the politicians does not belong to non-citizens. Representative politics, and especially representative politics or government, are viewed within their national system.

The second reason is that this symbolic, national system has the right to pass laws and make political decisions for the nation on the basis of the majority of citizens. Making national political decisions has been separated from expressing opinions in a similar manner as governance was separated from representation during the period of the rule of monarchy. The representatives were advocates, mediating *letters of doleance* that were dealt within the diet or parliament.

In the present situation, non-citizens are not part of *the representative relations*. But they can be active in representing issues politically and thus take part in *representative politics*.

Here we meet the two basic ways that political representation has been conceptualised since the early modern era. Both Hannah Pitkin (1967, 1991) and Adalbert Podlech (in *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*, Bd 5, 1984) identify these two senses of representation in political representation:

- a) **representative relationships**: the right to speak on behalf of another subject (be it people, district, group, political force) and
- b) **the action, "repraesentare"**, "to make manifest or present again" (Pitkin 1967, 8-9 and Appendix; Pitkin 1991, 133; Podlech in GG, Bd 5, 1984).

Both conceptualisations of the concept lead to a different understanding of the roles of representatives and those who are represented. The representatives have the authority to act politically, but there is no essential or legal relationship between the elites and the people/ governors and the governed. Electors and the elected aristocracy are two separate categories.

Personal reflection on EUYOUNG PART

Representation is to be understood as a political and thus interpreted concept. Representation of the people, parties, areas, life-style or values, and interests are interpreted and given a meaning by the primary actors (i.e. voters, politicians, commentators in the press and research). If understood properly, this is a solid

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ground to begin a study of political cultures by any means one is most interested in. Those who are questioned will be as such understood as actors with different points of view and horizons for acting.

It is absurd to consider political representation or political relations as a matter of political communication as US political science presented the issue during the 1950s and 1960s (cf. e.g. works of Easton, Almond and Wahlke during that period). A questionnaire could merely inform about one point in the hypothetical process of communication or about the individual political psyche or attitudes in the national process.

Citizens do understand the representative relations either on the basis of rights to participate or as a means to control politics. And they do have opinions of how the politicians in the government or in the **samhälle** or our **stat** do manage to represent the people or relevant issues. But we do not need to present these as bits of information about the process, but as parts of the culture in which one acts. Thus it is not necessary to generalize opinions in terms of common process, but to generalize the opportunity structures in a culture. And this is what the application of the project EUYOUNGART says that the project claims to do.

Thus we may find out that the representatives do not represent the ordinary people in their political decisions, but this is not an issue of political representation but tells something of the political culture, i.e. what is expected and in which language one expects issues to happen. It is up to other studies to consider whether there is any point in agreeing with these kinds of quasi-democratic views on political representation. Harold Gosnell (1940) trusted that a populist democracy that would be created in and by these new techniques of inquiry.

Thus, citizens do have different conceptions of what is important in representation and political participation. They may think mainly of the representative relationship, or they may think of representative politics or governance. Or they may deem themselves as active political citizens and accordingly value either conventional participation or participation in issues as politics. However, the notion of public opinion makes it obvious that representative political action may be found also outside of "institutions". This type of political action may be more intense or more restrained than the participation in conventional party politics.

We may construct a figure in order to clarify the dimensions – however, there is no explanatory purpose in this presentation, it is merely descriptive.

Activity, where representation is interpreted
by the primary actors

Concept of representation	participation in representative politics	politics as participation
Relation	right to vote and voting	membership or acceptance of a political movement
Action	active participation in party politics or in public opinion or party politics	attaining as a member of movement or association, acting in and through public opinion in political issues

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Participation may be different in its connotations according to electoral laws. In a majority system, elections are used to choose, e.g., the prime minister, whereas in countries with proportional representation, emphasis is given to the representation of the opinions or voting possibilities of different parties. Electoral laws partly characterize the structure of opportunities where one participates politically and presents and represents opinions.

Suggestions for EUYOUNG PART

One who participates is not acting without a special political and civil identity. In different cultures (nations, subcultures), different actions are considered participative.

The cultural domains of participation and action do have their base on an individual level of understanding and, on the other hand, on conceptual language that concentrates the different points of view. How can we recognize in research the differences within a culture and between cultures?

Qualitative research is one means to deal with the issue, and it should be used as a source for a wider questionnaire. Still, this is just a mechanic device in a more or less anthropological field study of political culture. The alternatives in the questionnaire should be open for expression of different kinds of political activity. Conceptions of representative politics and participation are informative of one dimension. It is possible to let the respondents express whether they thought that it might be political or not political to participate in party politics.

It is easier for the respondent to answer to the questions concerning participation if one is already an equal member in the system. The questionnaire should not, from the beginning, differentiate and distance those who are outside the main membership of the political system, or those who understand their position in terms of indifference or as counter-politics or through attitudes against "the power system". It would turn out to be defective to code anti-systemic attitudes as simply 'against politics', or simply as intense political ways of acting. Now that the researcher obviously knows the situation, it remains up to her and him to articulate the issue in questionnaires.

How should we deal with the issue of different languages? Each translation is a political act, thus one should count on each research group in finding the proper formula, rather than setting too rigid guidelines.

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12.2 National Concepts: A brief comparison of relevant key terms

As basis for Ismo Pohjantammi's lecture, a brief questionnaire was used to gather comparative information on terms relevant to the study and discussion of political participation. The questionnaire aimed at capturing meanings for the following concepts:

Democracy; Citizenship; Participation; Demonstration; Representation; Civil Society and Community; State-Government; Welfare State; Polity, policy, politics; Politicizing, a-political

The answers that consortium members provided are listed below. Since the Finnish partner took the initiative to develop and mail out the questionnaire, answers regarding Finland are combined at times with further explanations and examples. Translations and interpretations for Austria and Germany often are the same or supplement each other because these countries share the same language (however, there are differences in dialects, specific expressions, thus connotations and also terms relating to different historical-political facts).

The Slovakian contribution has been modelled after the Austrian one, as the author discovered many similarities in meanings and usage of terms.

1. Democracy

"Do you have any word that would express the political equality of citizens, action on the basis of majorities and will of the majorities or a modern form of the sovereignty of the people?"

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1) Finland

In Finnish one can translate democracy as “kansanvalta”, literally “power of the people” or of the majorities (sovereignty of the people), and in expressions demanding the proper understanding of what is truly according to the will of the people. The word “kansanvalta” has been used by recent populist movements, rightist movements in 1920s, parties in general and in academic research. (Cf. the tradition originating from the real existing socialism or from the Western parties following the socialistic tradition attributing “people’s democratic....” have they been replaced by the attributes like “national/patriotic democratic”...)

2) Austria

Democracy = Demokratie

Sovereignty of the people = Volkssouveränität (not a commonly used term in Austria; the entire concept is almost never an issue in public debate)

rule by the people = Herrschaft des Volkes

3) Germany

Democracy = Demokratie

Meaning: Activities of the state („Staatsgewalt“) are based in principle on the people („das Volk“), although not in a direct way, but in a form of representation.

4) France

In French, we translate democracy as **démocratie**. The word "démocratie" is used by politicians in general, citizens and in academic researches. It is a very common word, the French political system is a "démocratie".

In French we do not have any word that expresses the political equality of the citizens, action on the basis of majorities and the will of majorities. We can translate the expressions as follows:

Political equality of the citizens = égalité politique des citoyens

Action on the basis of majorities = action fondée sur la majorité

Will of the majorities = volonté de la majorité

Sovereignty of the people = souveraineté du peuple or peuple souverain

In France, for some years, scholars and politicians have developed the notion of "democratisation". This word is used to express the will of citizens and politicians to lead towards a more political, economic and social equality between citizens. It also expresses the idea of a greater involvement of citizens in the political and economic decision-making process.

5) United Kingdom:

The concept ‘democracy’ describes a system in which political power resides with the people who live in and make up a particular state or community. In the UK, ‘democracy’ commonly refers to a set of values and a political system. ‘Democratic’ values often refer to the country’s political process of representative government. The term is, conversely, used in a negative context to criticise abuses of political power. Democracy is closely associated with the concept of ‘sovereignty’ – one of the central theoretical aspects of democracy is the sovereignty of the people.

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6) Estonia

Democracy = **Rahvavõim** = “power of the people”.

Ordinary people should (be given opportunity and provided channels to) participate in political decisions. However, democracy is not an endless debate. Democracy is one form of steering a social system – a form of making and implementing important social decisions. The power of the people means that people (citizens) are involved in crafting those decisions; they participate in politics. The importance of participation is increasing because the role of government is shrinking: the state sells enterprises to private entrepreneurs (except some infrastructure enterprises) and gives its functions to entrepreneurs and NGOs (for instance, pension schemes, private medical services and even private jails). New owners do not provide public goods on their own initiative, equally for everybody as the state. Individuals have to organise and collectively ensure that they are included among those entitled to receive social benefits; single individuals rarely are as powerful as organised people.

“Do you have any word that would express political equality of the citizens, action on the basis of majorities and will of the majority or a modern form of sovereignty of the people?”

Ühiskond – communal or collectivity, having connotations of sharing a common core; an usual word/term in everyday usage. Denotes a group of people living and operating under common infrastructure and recognising common rules of conduct. **Ühiskond** is associated with a rather numerous collective, but not necessarily with a nation-state.

Kooskond – togetherness; a rather uncommon term that is used infrequently. The meaning is basically the same.

7) Italy

In Italy we translate „democracy“ as „democrazia“. The term “democrazia” is a very common word that expresses three different **common meanings**. The first is connected with the etymological meaning in Greek language: **Democracy as people’s power**.

The second definition is based on the observation of real forms of democracy: **democracy as system of governance** where through free elections the people elects its representatives, who defend, in official seat of power, interests and needs of their electorate.

The third meaning is connected with the concept of **equality before the law**: Democracy as a system of governance where the entire citizen has individual rights, such as “movement, speaking, thinking liberty”.

These three definitions differ in regard to levels of generality and to operative dimensions.

The first definition - “Democracy as the people’s power” - is the most general one, although it does not specify anything about the form although the people exercises this power (direct or indirect form, representative form, etc.).

The second definition refers to a specific operative form: the “free elections”. This is a fundamental characteristic: The absence of “free elections” means that we are not in a democratic system of governance.

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The last definition underlines a legal principle: A precondition of a democratic system is the recognition of citizen equity before the law and the recognition of basic rights independently of the socio-economic situation in which the individuals are born and live.

In Italy, the word “democrazia” is often used like an adjective in the political parties’ names (e.g. “Democrazia Cristiana”, “Democratici di Sinistra”..).

8) Slovakia

Democracy = **Demokracia**

In Slovak language one can translate democracy-**demokracia** as **vláda ľudu**, literary “power of the people” or “power of the majorities”. The word “demokracia” is used by politicians, citizens and scientists.

2. Citizen, Citizenship

“What word is used in your native language in Gallup research for the people whose opinions the survey should re-present? Do other actors use different words that characterize the people that have been represented by to the survey? Is the connotation positive or negative? “

1) Finland

Mitbürger, active engagement in common public sphere, not merely politics. In Swedish “medborgare”.

The German term „Volk“ refers to the nation, common Gemeinschaft, and not to active individuals in the society. In its present form it is not purely an ethnic concept but refers to the cultural nation. A similar meaning may be found in the Swedish „folk“ and the Finnish „kanssa“. Though national states may become weak in international politics, in domestic politics “nation”, “Volk” and similar expressions flourish in a genre or several genres of political discourse, attitude groups or special horizons for action.

2) Austria

Bürger, Bürgerin: the same connotation like those listed above. It means being actively involved of public life, not only in politics. Nonetheless it is restricted to a sphere in public life that deals with a common good or with group issues presented to political actors and administrations.

Voter = Wähler, Wählerin: clearly restricted to formal political participation via elections

Staatsbürger, Staatsbürgerin: person living in Austria with Austrian citizenship (passport); would correctly be translated as “citizen”.

Mitbürger, Mitbürgerin: there would be no problem in calling migrants without Austrian citizenship “Mitbürger”. The term refers to the reality of living together in an area/society and connotes some (moral) appeal to “stick together” or to being part of one community.

Bevölkerung: population (neutral connotation)

Volk: the people.

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Yet in Austrian context, “Volk” connotes at times the concept of a community based on (blood) heritage – the concept of the Volk is thus rooted in German & Austrian in a biological understanding, heavily coined and abused during the national socialist era (tendency to be linked with racist concepts/ understanding of community).

Left-wing people & intellectuals would avoid using the term “Volk” for its connotations. In mainstream conversations and also in the (yellow) press, “Volk” is used in a positive sense, alluding to “rule by the people”, claiming the population’s rightful representation of interest (that may have been abused by politicians). This use of the word & discourse often occurs in the context of criticizing politicians (or specific political decisions) who should act in the interest of the population but fail to do so. Thus they fail to fulfil their roles as representatives of the true interest of the “Volk”.

Terms used in survey research to denote the sample:

If the sample is restricted to Austrian citizens: Österreicher or ÖsterreicherInnen

If the sample includes foreign nationals: “survey among persons in Austria”

If the sample is among people who are entitled to vote actively: Wahlberechtigte (for national elections, persons over 18 with Austrian citizenship).

3) Germany

Volk: This German term for “people” is used in a very limited, specialised way. It is the ONLY word that should be used when speaking of people as a nation, a community, a regional group, or “we, the people.” In some situations, “das Volk” is translated as “nation,” as in “der Völkerbund” (League of Nations).

Volk is usually a collective singular noun, but it can also be used in the formal plural sense of “peoples,” as in the famous quotation: “Ihr Völker der Welt...” (“Peoples of the Nations”). The inscription above the entrance to the German Reichstag (parliament) reads: “DEM DEUTSCHEN VOLKE” = “To the German People.” (The -e ending on Volk is a traditional dative ending, still seen in common expressions such as “zu Hause” = “at home”, but no longer required in modern German.)

Leute: This is a common informal term for “people” in general. It is a word that only exists in the plural. The singular of “Leute” is **die Person**. You use it to speak of people in an informal, general sense: “Leute von heute” (people of today), “die Leute, die ich kenne” (the people I know).

In everyday speech, “Leute” is sometimes used in place of **Menschen**: “die Leute/Menschen in meiner Stadt” (the people in my town). But NEVER use **Leute** or **Menschen** after an adjective of nationality! A German-speaker would never say “die deutschen Leute” for “the German people”! In such cases, you should just say “die Deutschen” or “das deutsche Volk” (see Volk below). It is wise to think twice before using Leute in a sentence, since it tends to be overused and misused by German-learners.

Menschen: This is a more formal term for “people.” It is a word that refers to people as individual human beings. **Ein Mensch** is a human being; der Mensch is “man” or “mankind.” (think of the Yiddish expression “He’s a mensch,” i.e., a real person, a genuine human being, a good guy.)

In the plural, **Menschen** are human beings or people. You use **Menschen** when you are talking about people or personnel in a company (“die Menschen von IBM” =

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the people of IBM) or people in a particular place (“In Zentralamerika hungern die Menschen”= “people in Central America are going hungry”).

4) France

Citizen = **citoyen**

citizenship = **citoyenneté**.

The **citoyen** is defined by the exercise of public liberties and by equality in the eyes of the law. In France, the citizenship is normally linked with one's nationality. A French citizen is a woman or a man who has the French nationality. But for some years, there is in France a reflection on the notion of citizenship, which would be less restrictive: People who do not have the French nationality, but who live in France, work, pay taxes and whose children go to school there would also be citizens because they take part in the social and public life of France.

Whereas in Austria there is a distinction between **Bürger** and **Staatsbürger**, in France we use the same word “citoyen”, that may introduce some difficulties to define the concept.

There is a restrictive meaning: The **citoyen** is the man or the woman who has the French nationality and who can vote and take part in the political life. Another meaning, more extensive, is to consider that the “citoyen” is a man or a woman who is actually involved in the public life of the country.

Voter = **électeur, électrice**: Clearly restricted to formal political participation via elections.

Population = **population** (neutral)

People = **le people**

The word “people” corresponds to the word **Volk** in German, but it has not the same strong connotation. It is a neutral word that refers to the women and men who live in a country.

The word people can also be translated by the word **les gens, les personnes**, which refers to the individuals in general. It is a very informal term.

5) United Kingdom

The concept of ‘citizenship’ is a relatively new one in the UK. People refer less commonly to ‘UK citizens’ of the UK or even the ‘British people’ than to the ‘British public’. The idea of citizenship was introduced by politicians in the early 1990s to provide a synthesis between ‘rights’ and ‘duties’, to promote individuals’ rights vis-à-vis the state and promote their participation in civil society. This was a response to the social dislocation caused by the withdrawal of the state in the 1980s and increasing individualism in society.

6) Estonia

Kodakondsus literally means ‘membership in a household’, not a member of a household; the fist denotes status – rights and duties – while the latter is associated with a person. **Kodakondsus** in this sense refers to several people living together under the same roof, sharing the same everyday commodities and the same budget.

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However, **kodakondsus** in its usual usage is clearly associated with the concept of nation-state. When people talk about somebody's **kodakondsus**, they most likely mean having a certain relationship to a nation-state. Only rarely, in some special contexts the word is used to denote membership in a family or in a kin.

Kodakondsus has a connotation of belonging to the same cultural community, sharing similar values about statehood and future. At present time geographical connotation of citizenship is not so important as earlier.

7) Italy

"Citizenship" translates as "cittadinanza", but there are different words for characterising polled populations.

Cittadinanza: The individual belongs to a society organized as a state (positive connotation).

Cittadino = citizen: Belongs to the community of a State in whose name she/he has rights and duties established by the law (positive connotation).

Elettorato = electorate. The group of persons who have rights to elect and to be elected (active and passive electorate). (positive connotation)

Popolazione = population. The people part of a specific geographic area (Italy, Europe) (neutral connotation).

Gente = people. A group of individuals (negative connotation). Originally, in Latin language "gens" had a positive connotation as "descent", "nation, people".

Persone = person. A group of human beings, but right's subject too (positive connotation).

Popolo = people. Similar with the meaning of "nation". Defines a person's group affiliation of a civil order, of a state, of a city, and with common values, ideals and history (positive connotation).

8) Slovakia

Občan=Citizen (Bürger, Bürgerin and also Staatsbürger, Staatsbürgerin): The person living in Slovakia with the Slovak citizenship (passport); would correctly be translated as "citizen". It connotes being actively involved in public life also.

Volič=Voter (Wähler, Wählerin): clearly restricted to formal political participation via elections.

Spoluobčan (Mitbürger, Mitbürgerin): The term refers to the fact of living together in an area/society and connotes some (moral) appeal to "stick together" or to being part of one community

Obyvateľstvo = Population: (Bevölkerung) neutral connotation

Ľud (Volk): the people. In Slovak context, "Ľud" connotes at times also the concept of **ľudové masy** = mass, people heavily coined and abused during socialism.

(tendency to be linked with communism as classless society).

3. Participation

"Do we need some words for describing the informal (everyday) activities in "life-political" spheres (Giddens, Bauman) or in the case of "Sub-Politik" (risk-societal term of Beck)?"

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1) Finland

There are several cultural traditions and aspects for the participatory act.

2) Austria

While participation can be easily translated as “Partizipation” using a foreign word based on Latin, a translation into German is more difficult. Genuine German terms display a wider range of differences in meanings.

Partizipation	Participation
Beteiligung	participation
Mitbestimmung	participation; co-determination

The terms “Mitbestimmung” and “Beteiligung” are both translated as participation. This may cause confusion in the research project: “Mitbestimmung” has a connotation of actually co-deciding. Thus when referring to political participation, one would think only of electoral processes or participation where one actually votes for something.

“Beteiligung” means any way of contributing in German, which is thus a wider concept. The English term participation blurs this difference in connotation.

Additional terms:

“Unkonventionelle Formen der Partizipation”: non-conventional forms of participation (an import and translation from Anglo-Saxon social sciences)

“Bürgerinitiative”: citizen initiative, has the connotation of adults’ participation

“Bewegung”: movement. Probably there is a weak connotation for mainly young people participating in it (see also “Soziale Bewegung”).

3) Germany

Same conditions apply as in Austria.

Additional remark on „Mitbestimmung“ as “co-determination”: Also used in the sense of worker participation (more generally): Mitbestimmung (nach deutschem Muster).

Co-determination (Federal Republic of Germany) is an expression used to describe one or other, or both, of the sets of rights given to workers under

1) the Workplace Labour Relations Acts 1952 and 1971

(Betriebsverfassungsgesetz), and

2) the Co-Determination Act, 1951 (Mitbestimmungsgesetz), to participate in managerial decision-making; the term "Mitbestimmung" may sometimes be used more loosely to describe all forms of worker participation. In Britain, co-determination is used almost exclusively to describe the West German form of industrial democracy.

4) France

In France, we translate the word participation with **participation**, but we distinguish two forms of participation:

a) The traditional political participation: **Participation politique conventionnelle** which covers voting turnout (“le vote” or “la participation électorale”) and all related activities and party activities (“activités partisans”)

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b) Unconventional political participation: **Participation politique non conventionnelle** or **participation protestataire** which covers protest activities (activités protestataires) such as petitioning (“signer une petition”), demonstrating (“manifestester”), occupation of buildings (“occupations de bâtiments”)...

In France, we speak of **mouvement social** which is a specific political actor. It refers to the new social mobilizations (anti-globalisation movements, anti-racism movements...). It is a real actor in the French political arena and it constitutes a new form of political participation which is valued by a large part of French citizens.

5) United Kingdom

The term ‘participation’ can refer to an individual or a group having a share, or taking part in, some activity. In other words, political participation can be both passive and active: passive in the sense of having a stake in the political process, and active in the sense of taking part. In British politics, political participation most frequently refers to taking active part in the political process through conventional means (e.g. membership of a political party) when ‘co-determination’ is implied.

6) Estonia

osalemine, poliitiline osalemine.

Osalemine directly translates as “participating”. It has a connotation of being associated with some more or less formal organisation; it would be unusual to say that one **osalema** in family affairs, or in kinship events. **Osalemine** is not necessarily associated with politics, with attempts to understand or influence political decisions. It is rather associated with individual activism in organisations, be it participating in professional societies, in a club for recreational activities, or in a political party.

7) Italy

Participation is translated as **partecipazione**. We interpret participation - beyond the organized form that it may take on - as a socio-cultural process where some subjects (directly or indirectly implicated in a specific framework) qualify and define the concrete mode to exercise the public power.

Some modes of participation are: assemblies, councils, committees, petitions, collective movements.

“Collective movements” deal with political subjects created about specific arguments with advocacy or awareness objectives (“pacifist movement”, “green movement”, “feminist movement” etc.).

We can analyse the movements either as great trend of political and cultural change or as specific organizations oriented to tutelage collective subjects’ interests.

Objectives of collective movement include the mobilization of resources to promote interests and values that –for different reasons- are not adequately represented by traditional actors in **poliarchic** systems.

Collective movements can come into the process of policy constitution when there is a process of legitimization for organized forms of movements: In this case the collective movements are included as relevant subjects in specific policy areas, endowed with consultative and decisional power.

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Some words define the expression of opinion and acting against or for promoting an issue:

Manifestazione = manifestation (demonstration in a public space)

petizione= petition

protesta = protest (protests such as acts of boycott, sabotage)

contestazione = protest (especially in space of political arena)

sciopero = strike (abstention from working to claim class rights but as generalized form of protest (e.g. hunger-strike against the war)

occupazione = occupation (occupy public or private spaces).

8) Slovakia

Participation=participácia, účasť

While participation can be easily translated as **participácia** using a foreign word based on Latin, a translation into Slovak is more difficult (**účasť= Beteiligung**).

Genuine German terms display a wider range of differences in meanings.

Participácia (Latin)

participation

Účasť (Slovak)

participation

Spolurozhodovanie

participation as decision making

The terms **Spolurozhodovanie** and **účasť** are both translated as participation.

This may cause confusion in the research project: "Spolurozhodovanie" has a connotation of actually co-deciding. Thus when referring to political participation, one would think that "decision making" is "substance" or "core" of participation.

Additional terms:

Nekonvenčné formy participácie= non-conventional forms of participation (an import and translation from Anglo-Saxon social sciences)

Občianska iniciatíva = citizen initiative, has the connotation of short time participation.

Občianske hnutie: citizen's movement.

Mládežnícke hnutie: youth movement .Probably there is a weak connotation of mainly young people participation during socialism.

4. Demonstration:

"How is the expression of opinion and acting against or for an issue show in the use of words?"

1) Finland

missing

2) Austria

Demonstration = demonstration.

In the context of political action, it is the same word in German with a clear meaning: People who express themselves in a rally (American-English) on the street/ in the public space.

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The term itself probably goes back to the Latin term “demonstrare” which means to show something (physically), to make it clearer. Thus people show themselves in the public sphere with a common motto (plus banners, noise, etc.) to express their opposition or support for an issue. The idea is to make the population & their opinions visible, even if there are no elections.

3) Germany

Comparable to Austria.

Additional remark: In the context of political participation, the difference between an „authorized“ demonstration and a „non-authorized“ demonstration is important, marking the important difference between „legal“ and „illegal“ forms of political participation or protest, and the possibility of violence in the course of such illegal demonstrations.

4) France

Demonstration: Manifestation, protestation, mouvement protestaire, contestation.

Demonstration = **manifestation**.

It refers to the people who express their opinions or their claims in the street. It is not always a neutral term: Behind the word “manifestation”, French people hear the word protest (**protestation, contestation**). A demonstration in France is often (but not always...) a demonstration against something.

5) United Kingdom

‘Demonstration’ simply means the action of a group in expressing its opinions publicly.

6) Estonia

Meeleavaldus, which literally translates as ‘disclosure of one’s mind’. It is used to denote an event where a group of people expresses their thoughts/intentions on some social or political issue. **Meeleavaldus** usually refers to the activities of a group, not to the activities of one or two people. The group need not be huge. Members of the group might know each other and/or be in informal relationships. **Demonstratsioon** is also very common in Estonian.

Rongkäik is a word which is associated with a group of people moving (walking) along street with posters and placards in their hands. The last two terms are not associated with informal relationships among participants.

7) Italy

see remarks under “participation”

8) Slovakia

Demonštrácia = demonstration.

Manifestácia = manifestation as support movement.

Protest = Job action

Protestné hnutie = protest movement

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5. Representation:

1) Finland

English	German	Swedish
Representation (of values, ideas)	Repräsentation	representation
representation (of interests)	Vertretung	bevakning

In English and Finnish one can use a single concept for both cases, and in French “représentation des interest”.

2) Austria

“Vertretung”: is used instead of representation in the political context. The German term “Repräsentation” can be applied in various situations (e.g. in the sense of diplomatic representation) and has several connotations, but is not commonly used in political discourse or everyday language.

“Interessenvertretung”: representation of interests, has a more restricted meaning. It is used to describe the function of interest groups with their limited range of interests in comparison to political parties. Also, people vote to have their interests properly represented.

3) Germany

see Austria

4) France

In French, the word “representation” is related to three notions:

a) Representation of values and ideas = **représentation de valeurs, d'idées**:

It is a social notion.

b) Representation of interests = **représentation des intérêts**

c) Political representation = **representation**: It is a political notion which expresses the idea that citizens are represented by the politicians they have voted for. The parliament is the representation of French citizens. For some years, French scholars spoke of a crisis of representation (“crise de la représentation”) in France: It means that there is a crisis of the political offer, of the political parties; citizens believe that politicians do no longer really represent them.

5) United Kingdom

‘Representation’ can refer to the representation of values, ideas and interests by an agent or spokesman, but can also allude to the ‘embodiment’ of an idea or state of affairs. In this second sense, we could say that Parliament is not representative of ethnic minorities (as the proportion of these minorities in Parliament is much lower than in the general public).

6) Estonia

Esindamine has some connotation of being the first among others, being the best among rest. The word is used in many contexts in addition to political representation. Any group may choose a representative among themselves -

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workers may select a representative to a company board, classmates may select a representative to a school board, a country may choose a representative to an international organisation.

7) Italy

“Representation” is translated as “**rappresentanza**” and means to represent another person or an organization, behaving on her or his account.

The representation is created through direct election of own representatives. In Italy, we have a parliamentary form of representation which is constituted through direct proxies of the represented.

8) Slovakia

Reprezentácia = representation.

Similar as in France: Representation of values and ideas, or interest.

The political representation: **Zastúpitel'ská demokracia** (Vertretung): It is a political notion which expresses the idea that citizens are represented by the politicians they have voted for. The city councils, regional or national parliament are the representation of Slovak citizens.

Crisis of representation = **kríza zastupiteľskej or parlamentnej demokracie**.

6. Civil Society and community

1) Finland

Words and concepts like “society” are related to the state (public sphere). But there are different intellectual and historical terms illustrating the nature/aspect of the “social”: e.g. Gemeinschaft (versus Gesellschaft via Tönnies), Lebenswelt.

2) Austria:

Both terms – “Zivilgesellschaft” and “Bürgergesellschaft” - describe the same behaviour: People are forming voluntary associations to deal with each other and with the state. Zivilgesellschaft is probably the better known term and better established in usage. People with right-leaning views tend to prefer the term Bürgergesellschaft.

Community = Gemeinschaft. A very broad term that can be used in several contexts.

3) Germany

Addition to Austria:

In Germany, the discussion on the terms „Zivilgesellschaft“ and „Bürgergesellschaft“ has been broadened in the context of the Study Commission „Towards a Civil Society with the Future“. This Study Commission intended to help promote civic activities and further develop civil society overall and was initiated by the German Parliament („Deutscher Bundestag“). It presented a comprehensive report in 2002 in which the meaning of „zivilgesellschaftliches Engagement“ (“engagement in civil society”) has been described as follows:

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„For the Commission, the term „civic“ is linked with emphasising certain motives and consequences such as responsibility for others, learning to be community-spirited or becoming active as a member of the community. Civic activities are not solely confined to working in political parties and associations and participating in organisations pursuing social and political goals. They can develop just as much in the context of recreation, sport and social life ... The Study Commission has chosen as its overriding frame of reference the model of the civil society – a polity in which citizens can organize themselves according to democratic rules and influence the manner in which the community evolves. Giving the competing claims of market place, state and family, civil society manifests itself wherever voluntary associations are formed, opportunities to contribute and help mould society are seized, and citizens assume responsibility for the common good.“

(Enquete –Kommission „Zukunft des bürgerschaftlichen Engagements“ des Deutschen Bundestages, Bericht, Opladen 2002, Leske+Budrich, p.29).

4) France

In French, society and civil society are translated by “société” and “société civile”. We distinguish the political actors from the common citizens, who make up the civil society.

The word community can be translated by “communauté”.

5) United Kingdom

The term ‘civil society’ has only come into common usage in recent years (as an imported concept) to describe the public sphere beyond the state and the market.

In UK politics, civil society groups are usually labelled more specifically as ‘charities’, ‘interests groups’, ‘pressure groups’ etc.

‘Community’ can allude to a group of people living in a defined area but can also to a body of people sharing common interests or origins. It is most often mentioned in politics with respect to ‘local communities’. After the social dislocation that occurred in the 1980s, politicians from successive Conservative and Labour Governments sought to promote ‘civil society’ and ‘community spirit’.

6) Estonia

In Estonia, **tsiviilühiskond** = civil society denotes an organised way of leading community life and also a nation’s life. It is associated with social and political activism and organisational engagement. People are members of various organisations, ranging from hobby groups to professional societies to political parties. Those organisations aggregate peoples’ wishes, hopes, opinions and forward them to government as well as to other NGOs.

Community translates as **ühiskond**. It is commonly associated with nation-state but it might be also some local group, which has the means and the power to take its own course. Community (**ühiskond**) may be internally organised – may contain civil society – but this is not obligatory.

7) Italy

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“Society” and “civil society” are translated as **società** and **società civile**. The word “community” can be translated by **comunità**.

In Italy “comunità” means:

- A social group with a good level of cohesion founded on common origin, interest and ideas (e.g. the Christian community),
- A social unit with local base where the different components cooperate to satisfy economic, social and cultural needs (interest community),
- A plurality of persons living in strong relationship so that they represent a single subject (local community)

The term “comunità” has a specific meaning in canon law that regulates Vatican State and the “religious community”. The term “civil society” is an antithesis to the term “religious” and “military”: In its origins, the term defined persons that were non-subjected to canon or military law.

8) Slovakia

Občianska spoločnosť = civil society

In Slovak, **občianska spoločnosť** describes society after 1989 (“society of all citizens”).

Občianska spoločnosť is probably the better known term and better established in usage: The public sphere, non-governmental sector, voluntary associations, third sector, non-profit sector.

7. Welfare state/Society, Polity and Government, Sozialstaat, Etat Providence, politique publique, gouvernement

“Political system and its publicity (=polity), where people have their relations with government is a complex system of relations. Is it easy to describe the differences between the phenomena called state, polity, political system and government? Do you speak about welfare state or welfare society?”

1) Finland

missing

2) Austria

Welfare state = Wohlfahrtsstaat: the state has the duty to care for the well-being of its citizens, at least strong aspirations with respect to that by the latter, synonymous with social state (“Sozialstaat”).

Welfare society = Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft. Almost never used in Austria.

The terms “Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft” and “Wohlfahrtsstaat” are not common in Austrian German. Even Wohlfahrtsstaat is less used than the term Sozialstaat.

The English term “government” has two meanings:

- a) the system of governing
- b) and the actual cabinet of ministers

Regierung: This term which refers to the cabinet only.

“Regierungsform” or “Regierungsweise” (roughly translated as “sort/ way of government” respectively “way of governing”) would translate the first mentioned meaning of “government”.

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3) Germany

The term "welfare state" describes a social system in which the government is responsible for looking after the welfare of the people, especially in matters of social security, education, health and housing. A welfare state is established when government provides certain standards in respect of education, health, housing, pensions and other social benefits with little or no cost borne directly by the immediate recipient.

However, in Germany the term „Sozialstaat“ (“social state”) is more common, emphasizing the role of the state in the context of the „soziale Marktwirtschaft“ (“social market economy”), where this role has to balance the negative consequences of a pure capitalistic economy.

4) France

State = **etat**

Policy = **politique publique**

Political system = **système politique**

Government = **gouvernement**.

Describing the differences between these phenomena is not easy.

In France, we do not speak of welfare society. We can translate “welfare state” with **Etat Providence**.

5) United Kingdom

The ‘welfare state’ is a concept that is commonly used in the UK, but has often employed a narrower meaning than, for instance, the German term ‘Sozialstaat’. It is often conflated with the term ‘welfare’ (meaning the welfare system of public pensions, unemployment benefits etc.). The term ‘public services’ is used more frequently for state-funded services. The term ‘welfare state’ – as it implies – ends with the state and does not refer to civil society as does the French term ‘l’état providence’.

6) Estonia

One can speak about the welfare society or the welfare state, and s/he might be quite sure that other people understand the same thing: high level of social security and social guarantees, high level of living standards, guaranteed rights. Perhaps such associations have a historical background.

Until relatively recently the state had a very significant role in Estonia. Nearly every aspect of society was regulated by the state. People’s welfare and social guarantees were exclusively the state’s responsibility. Also, nowadays, the state provides social guarantees because other structures are still underdeveloped to provide comparable services. Therefore people do not distinguish between welfare state and welfare society: state is principally the entity, which is responsible for welfare in society.

7) Italy

“State” = “**Stato**”.

The state defines the relationship between who governs and who is governed. It’s the mode to solve the question between “authority” and “society”.

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The “forms” of state were different in different historical periods: In Italy, the current state is designed as “social state”, and its objective include to spread welfare.

“Government” is translated as “**Governo**”.

The “Government” is:

- the relationship between the different constitutional organs that govern the country
- the form to distribute the power among the chief organs of state.

The current Italian form of government is the Parliament Republic.

The terms “welfare society” and “welfare state” are often not translated in Italy.

We translate “welfare state” as “**stato del benessere**”, or “**stato sociale**” or “**stato assistenziale**”.

The “stato sociale” guarantees the maximal welfare supplying direct and indirect public services.

8) Slovakia

Welfare society = **spoločnosť blahobytu**. Almost never used in Slovakia.

Sociálny štát = Welfare state (Wohlfahrtsstaat): The state has the duty to care for the well-being of its citizens, at least strong aspirations with respect to that by the latter, synonymous with social state (**sociálny štát**).

8. Politics, Policy, Polity:

1) Finland

2) Austria

These terms do not translate very well into German. There is no term for polity and only one term to denote both Politics and Policy: “Politik”.

If the meaning of policy is implied, this is usually indicated by adding the policy area: Sozialpolitik (social policy), Landwirtschaftspolitik (agricultural policy)

Politicize:

The English term and the German term “politisieren” don’t correspond well.

Whereas the English term means to transform an issue into a political issue, transfer it from the private sphere into the public sphere, the German term is applied to aimless political discussions and has a negative connotation.

Apolitical = unpolitisch: negative connotation, “not interested in politics”.

3) Germany

Addition to Austria:

Whereas there are no distinct words for these three different forms of referring to political topics, it is important to differentiate between them when doing empirical research and to give them an empirical meaning.

“Policy” comprises „inhaltliche Handlungsprogramme“ (= action programs for specific issues) which the actors in the political system are presenting.

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„Politics“ can be translated as the „Willensbildungs- und Entscheidungsprozeß“ (as process of making up one’s mind and decision-making), in which the actors of the political system are positioning themselves. People are referring to „Politik“ mostly in this way.

„Polity“ can be understood as the „Handlungsrahmen, unter dem politische Prozesse stattfinden“ (= framework of possible actions and conditions that shape political processes). Most importantly, this is the „Verfassung“ (= the Constitution). The difference between polity and politics is important in the study of political attitudes, especially the difference between attitudes towards political parties or politicians and towards the political system/democracy.

4) France

politics : la politique or le politique, it refers to politics in general.

Policy : une politique, une politique publique.

Political: politique (adjective)

Politicize: politiser

Apolitical: apolitique, negative connotation, “not interested in politics”.

Impolitical (?): dépolitisé (???)

5) United Kingdom

‘Politics’ refers to the political system and the policies and activities relating to it, but is also used in a broader sense to denote the controversial nature of other issues outside the public sphere e.g. domestic politics. ‘Policies’ refers to the issues that are raised within the public sphere of politics, whereas ‘polity’ refers to the system of government/ governance. The concept of ‘Politics’ therefore contains these two terms.

‘Politics’ is seen in the UK as a process mainly used to describe system of governance of the state. It is also utilised as a broad-based concept in political science. Seen as ‘the peaceful resolution of conflict’, it can refer to areas as divergent as democratic politics and sexual politics. ‘Polity’, on the other hand, has a much narrower concept, simply pertaining to issues that relate to the idea of ‘governance’. ‘Policy’ refers to a specific agenda or programme of a particular agent of political action

6) Estonia

Politics versus policy

These two words do not have separate counterparts in Estonian... We may talk about **välispoliitika** (foreign policy), which might be somewhat closer to politics and about **sisepoliitika** (internal affairs), which might be closer to policy.

The term ‘project’ has become very popular in Estonia, it denotes an undertaking with a determined outcome, fixed deadlines, limited personnel and other resources. Like business sectors, the state also carries out numerous projects. If the state initiates and carries out some undertaking aimed at achieving some concrete social-political goal, it could be labelled ‘**riiklik projekt**’ or ‘**riiklik programm**’ (national/state project or national/state program). The goals and contents of those projects/programs come close to what is usually termed as a policy decisions.

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Strateegiline eesmärk, rahvuslik kokkulepe, riiklik arenguplaan (strategic goal, national consensus, national development plan). Strategic goals are associated with long term planning. These are decisions, which require consent of political parties and other significant interest groups (business, NGOs in certain sectors) in society. They may involve many projects carried out in subsequent and/or parallel manner. This aspect of steering a society might be associated with politics.

Political (politisch); politicize (politisieren); non-political (unpolitisch); apolitical (apolitisch):

Political or not? In my mind, the question is directly related to decision-making and solving some problem, choosing an end-goal and/or selecting means to realize the goal.

Poliitiline = political: To give something a political meaning, one has to bring it into an arena where elected representatives discuss and decide matters (for instance, the Estonian parliament, the Riigikogu). An issue is definitely political if it has to be discussed and decided by parliamentary parties. However, things outside parliament may also be political, if parties are involved in discussing or determining the outcome of the problem. In general, an issue might become political if elected, equal representatives discuss and decide the issue among themselves.

Mittepoliitiline = apolitical/non-political: is associated with decisions that involve expert knowledge or judgement, or some (other) higher authority, which is not questioned. It has the right to take the decision, to make the judgement, be its rights based on (attributed) knowledge or some other (attributed) property.

Politiseerimine = politicise: means taking an administrative issue to the political arena. Then political bargaining (**poliitiline lehmakauplemine**) starts on issues which principally could be decided on lower administrative or on a local level. In general, to politicise something means to take the issue to political authorities for evaluation and decision-making. In some cases such a decision is justified but not always.

7) Italy

There are no specific terms to translate “policy” and “politics”.

The term “**politica**” includes the two different words.

“Politica” defines:

- the activity connected with the power and the struggle for power (power as authority in the state)
- the rules and process that regulate the “public thing”.

Politics: e.g. the “politica” of the Government,

Policy: e.g. the “politica” environment,

Political: e.g. an affirmation “politica” (adjective)

Politicizing = **Politicizzare**: To create a favourable climate of opinion in regard to the policy, to give awareness and consciousness of political aspects and their implication in different questions.

Apolitical= **apolitico**: A person not belonging to the politic or who is not interested in politics.

Apartitico: independent from political parties but also without interest for the parties.

8) Slovakia

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This trias does not translate very well into Slovak language. There is no term for polity and only one term to denote both Politics and Policy: **Politika**. If the meaning of policy is implied, this is usually indicated by adding the policy area: **Sociálna politika** (social policy) or **mládežnícka politika** (youth policy).

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14 Selected Research Projects on Youth and Political Participation

14.1 Austria

Stocktaking of participatory projects in Austria. A research project, concerning the analysis of the situation of young people below the voting age was carried out by an international research team, consisting of five countries: Austria, Finland, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The reports of Austria, Finland and Italy are based on a survey. In May 1998, 3,000 questionnaires were sent and 240 were returned; 185 questionnaires were fit for describing projects/groups at a municipal level.

Youth and Politics 1980 – 2000. Relationships between Austrian youth and traditional politics. The basis of the analysis are several youth-studies of the Fessel-GfK Institute between 1980 and 2000; data from young people between 14 and 24 years were collected with several representative field-surveys.

Austrian Youth-Value Study 1990–2000. In general, the study analyses the concepts and values of boys and girls. The significance of family and peers, religion and political attitudes were assessed ten years ago. New questions about role and function, new religious forms like esoterism and the meaning of school and education were integrated into the project.

Post-modernisation and post-materialist values as well as the individualisation of life-courses dominate the theoretical background of this study. These values were named “new politics” or “new political movement” and suggest an independence from existing political structures.

The basis of the analysis are two youth studies (1990 and 2000). The data was collected from 1,000 Austrian young people between 14 and 24 years.

Between Engagement and Emigration. Main focus of this study is the relationship of young people to Austrian politics; their opinion on political institutions, and attitudes to political action.

The quantitative part of the study was carried out in 1993; about 950 boys and girls in Austria between 14 and 24 years were interviewed. A qualitative questionnaire was developed and 130 young people between 15 and 25 years were interviewed in spring, 1993.

Young People in different Regions of Europe. Given the anxiety about the decline of “social capital” (in the sense of civic and political participation) and the consequences that are alleged to follow in terms of poor educational results, anomie and economic disadvantage, the authors considered whether this was also the case in Europe, especially for young people.

The World Value Survey’s wave 3 was carried out in 1995 – 1998. The data provided information about 9 kinds of organisations in 32 European countries (Eastern and Western Europe) with a total number of more than 8,000 respondents.

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Citizenship and European Identity – State of the Art: Austria. This project integrates two studies into a secondary analysis about the socio-demographic background of young people in Austria. One part of the analysis concentrates on attitudes toward the European Union and about national identity and pride in Austria.

In 1995 a survey was carried out as part of the ISSP-Project. The sample size was 1.000 and the age group 14+. In spring 1997 the standard EUROBAROMETER was carried out. The sample covers the population of the respective nationalities of the European Union member states, aged 15 – 24 years; the basic sample is a multi-stage random one. The sample size was 605.

Youth and Politics in Western Austria. The main focus of this study is the question, of how young people perceive politics. The main topics for political engagement are unemployment, general support of young people, protection of the environment and programs which support disabled people (D 1,10).

In spring 1997, 1,906 young employees in Western Austria were interviewed.

Youth and Democracy in Tyrol. This project is part of a field-survey in three regions: The Netherlands, Sachsen-Anhalt and the Tyrol. The main focus of this study was the political orientations of young people and their understanding of a democratic organised society with increasing complexity. On the basis of this data, a comparison of young people and their relationship to extremism in Europe took place. A specific part of this study analyses the political positions and behaviour of young people.

In November and December 1999, 2,500 standardized interviews with young people between 14 and 19 years in Tyrol were conducted in schools. Additionally, 71 experts in youth work, institutions and associations were interviewed.

Democratic theories and understanding in Austria. This project analyses the understanding of democracy in Austria in an interdisciplinary way.

Surveys took place in November and December 1997; the target group of the survey was the Austrian population. Because of the sample size (n=1.891) it was possible to separate young people between 15 and 25 years for a specific analysis.

14.2 Estonia

Civic Education Study, part II. The study looks at high school pupils' (18 years old) political attitudes, attitudes toward participation in local society, in voluntary associations, in various modes of political participation.

Data collected with paper-and-pencil-interviews in classrooms. Sample includes 3,979 high-school graduates in 2000 (nearly ¼ of all graduates) and is representative of high-school graduates for that year.

Eesti noorsoourimus 1996-98 (Estonian Youth Survey 1996-98)

The general objective of the study was to collect data on school-leavers of basic, secondary and vocational schools from all counties, about their living conditions, leisure time, future plans, value orientations and attitudes. The practical objective

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of the study was to use the collected data in planning Estonian youth politics and improving youth work. The scientific objective of the study was to analyse social change in Estonian youth by comparing the collected data with results of earlier studies conducted by the Department of Sociology, University of Tartu, and in other research institutions.

Koolinoor 1992: kooliõpilased turumajandusele suunduvad Eestis (Secondary School Students in the Conditions of the Transition to a Market Economy, 1992). The study aimed at attaining information for the elaboration of youth policy. Main information blocs: microclimate and material conditions at home school, studies, life plans; youths and work; leisure; politics and opinions about youth problems; opinions about crucial problems in Estonian society; value judgements.

Põlvkondade eluteed 1983, 1987, 1993, 1997/1998 (Paths of generations 1983, 1987, 1993, 1997/1998). The principal research tasks of the longitudinal research project were to specify the cohort members' (18 year old high school graduates in 1983) social position over time; to trace the life course to a given social status; to reveal the mental characteristics of the cohort; to carry out comparative analysis of life course, social status and mentality of cohorts in various countries and regions participating in the project.

Data collected with face-to-face and self-administered mail questionnaires; number of repeatedly interviewed persons: 1983 $n \approx 3,400$ (~25% of high-school graduates), 1987 $n \approx 2,200$, 1993 $n \approx 2,100$, 1997/8 $n \approx 2,100$.

Public opinion polls ordered by the Chancellery of Riigikogu; available at Riigikogu homepage, www.riigikogu.ee. These datasets take a look at political opinions (trust, satisfaction, overall evaluation of economic and political performance), opinions on social and political issues, political behaviour and behavioural intentions. They also contain a comprehensive set of socio-demographic indicators.

Samples are representative of the Estonian population in most cases. In some cases only citizens have been surveyed; $n_{\text{approx}} = 1,000$; data collected through face-to-face paper-and-pencil-interviews.

Research Reports based on secondary analysis of public opinion polls, available at Riigikogu homepage, www.riigikogu.ee.

The rule of Law I (1989) and II (1990). Main topics included problems related to Estonia's political and socio-economic development, the first perestroika-period steps toward the rule of law, political preferences and most topical economic problems, attitudes toward military service in the Soviet army. A survey conducted in Tallinn considers the enforcement of civil liberties, attitudes toward politics and religion; the identity option: Estonia versus the Soviet Union. Attitudes toward Presidential elections, unemployment, the freedom of press in Estonia. Survey sample contained approximately 30% of people under 30.

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14.3 Finland

Finns going forth at a different pace. Spectrum of Finnish Opinion. A report on Finnish attitudes 1999. Centre for Business and Policy Studies (EVA)

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14.4 France

Longitudinal Survey on Youth Political Participation. Socio-economic status as argument to explain political participation, youth is studied as a particular social class with its specificities; the project also analyses the differences within French youth: levels of integration, poverty, unemployment, gender, levels of education. Surveys have been conducted in 1986, 1988, 1989, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997; self-administered questionnaires sent by mail plus in-depth interviews.

Young European and Politics, 1997/8. Focus is on differences in socio-economic status (education level, social integration or exclusion, unemployment, gender), which may explain the differences in young people's political activities. Also, analysis of political socialization process (influence of family, school, friends...) and different forms of organisational involvement. Covers France, Italy and Spain. Face-to-face interviews in 1997 and 1998.

European Values Studies of 1981, 1990, 1999. Surveys on the value systems of French citizens. The first one concerns youth values and the second one the values of the whole of French society. In this research we can find indications of youth political participation, explained through their system of values and opinions. Face-to-face interviews by trained investigators, $n_{1981} \approx 1,000$, $n_{1990} \approx 1,000$, $n_{1999} \approx 1,600$.

French Students, 1992. Students' relationships with politics and with education, family, friends, and their ways of life; social definition of French youth as a social class.

The surveys took place in three French universities, a self-administrated questionnaire was used; 2,096 interviews were obtained.

French Students and Citizenship, 1994. How students consider citizenship? How citizenship takes place and is expressed? Participation and mobilization are mainly analysed through the resource theory of participation, socio-economic status argument and social integration (which is considered to be the essential explicative factor of participation).

A self-administrated questionnaire was distributed in the University of Rennes; 1,028 interviews were obtained.

French Young Rural People, 1993. Study of rural youth: political participation of young rural people plus their ways of life, social insertion, relationships with religion. Explanatory factors include changes in international social, political economic, cultural environment and in natural conditions that determine the everyday life of country people in industrial societies, socio-economic status argument, social integration/exclusion, poverty, unemployment, education level and gender.

Sample properties: 1,450 young people (19-25 yrs.) living in small towns.

Young People of the Less Favoured Social Classes and Citizenship, 2002.

Effects of social exclusion on political participation, on citizenship, on confidence in French democracy and institutions.

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Sample: 300 young people.

Political Psychology and Youth Political Participation. This research studies the practice of citizenship with a psychological inquiry. Traditionally, electoral studies analyse voter turnout in a socio-political way. This study analyses it as a discursive custom linked to social representation.

Sample: 385 young people, 18-25 yrs, interviewed in 1995.

CEVIPOF Electoral Surveys, 2000. Age effects on the attitudes towards democracy and politics. Generations theory explains the differences between French young people and their elders: age is an efficient variable to explain differences in political behaviour and attitudes.
2,184 interviews obtained in CATI interviews, representative of French population.

Young People Living in Less Favoured Districts and Politics, 2000. Effects of social exclusion on political behaviour and attitudes; resource theory (socio-economic characteristics, social exclusion, poverty, unemployment, etc.) and the social capital theory explain political participation, the mistrust of young people toward politics and their aspiration for more citizen mobilization.
Methodology: 139 in-depth interviews in towns.

14.5 Germany

Youth and Politics/Adolescents and Young Adults in Germany. Political orientation, participation, value orientation, assessment of situation, gender role orientation, attitudes towards migrants, national identity, social equality.
Surveys in 1992 (n=7,090, 16-29 yrs.), 1997 (n=6,919, 16-29 yrs.), preparation for 2003.

Foreigner Survey. Parts regarding "Jugendsurvey" (youth survey) as well Familiensurvey (family survey).
Survey in 1996/97, n=2,504, 18-25 yrs.

Youth '96, Youth '99, Youth 2002. Circumstances, outlook for the future, values, religion, modern life, German and foreign youth, youth and politics, Europe; different focus in each study.
Surveys in 1996 (n=2,102, 12-24yrs.), 1999 (n=4,546, 15-24yrs.), 2002 (n=2,515, 12-25 yrs.).

Adolescents and Young Adults. Circumstance, free-time activities, attitudes towards foreigners, violence, political attitudes, changes since reunification.
Telephone and face-to-face interviews in 1993, 1995, 1999, 2002; n≈2,000, 14-27 yrs.

Voluntary Commitments in Germany. Voluntary commitments.
Telephone survey in 1999, n=14,922, 14+ yrs.

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Childhood, Youth and Coming of Age, '91-'97. Youth as a phase in life, politics, values, religion, developmental process and risks, styles and cultures, family. Face-to-face interviews in 1996, n=3,275, 13-29 yrs.

14.6 Italy

Multi-goal surveys conducted by Italian Office of Statistics. These surveys are conducted regularly; political participation has been monitored since early 1990s, approximately twice a year.

IARD: Young People's Conditions in Italy. These surveys have been repeated every four years; so far, surveys have been conducted in 1992, 1996 and 2000.

14.7 Slovakia

Trust in the social institutions and the election of president

Election Poll: primary voters and secondary voters in 2002

Value orientations of young people in the process of transformation of society, 1997

Social-political youth problems in the Slovak republic, 1999

Sociological aspects of civil participation and the association of youth in Slovak republic

The youth's approach to problems of intolerance in the Slovak Republic

Youth and Democracy, 1995

Citizens of Slovakia and Nuclear Power Energy

14.8 United Kingdom

Youth, Citizenship and Social Change Research Programme: 1997-2003

Negotiating Transitions to Citizenship: 1998-2001

Youth Perceptions of Security and Citizenship in Russia, Germany, UK: 1998-2001

A Longitudinal Study of Young People as Social Actors: 1998-2001

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Emergent Citizens? African-Caribbean Young People in Birmingham and Bradford: 1999-2001

Democracy and Participation Programme: 1998-2003

A Citizen Audit for Britain: 1998-2002

Explaining Non-Participation: Towards a Fuller Understanding of the 'Political': 1999-2002

Democratic Governance and Ethnic Minority Political Participation in Contemporary Britain: 2000-1

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