The PIDOP Project: An Overview

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Executive summary

The PIDOP project investigated political and civic participation and engagement in nine European countries – Belgium, Czech Republic, England, Germany, Italy, Northern Ireland, Portugal, Sweden and Turkey. The research focused especially on participation by youth, women, minorities and migrants, four groups that have traditionally been viewed as being at risk of disengagement. The research involved: the analysis of EU, national, regional and NGO policies on political and civic participation by youth, women, minorities and migrants; the development of new political theories of participation; the development of new psychological theories of participation; the modelling of data from existing surveys on political and civic participation; the collection and analysis of new data on political and civic participation; the integration of political and psychological theories of participation; and the development of recommendations for policy, practice and intervention for enhancing levels of participation among youth, women, minorities and migrants.

The research revealed substantial differences in policies on participation both across countries and within countries, and a lack of open engagement with European policies at the national level despite a broad alignment with EU political priorities. The theoretical work identified a wide range of factors that impact on participation, including factors at the macro level (e.g., the design of political institutions, the rules and design of the electoral system, structural disadvantages and inequalities in society, etc.), demographic factors (e.g., socioeconomic status, gender, age, minority vs. majority status, etc.), social factors (e.g., the family, education, the peer group, the workplace, organisational membership, etc.) and psychological factors (e.g., political interest, political attentiveness, emotions and motivations, perceptions of barriers to participation, etc.). The modelling of existing survey data revealed that the factors which impact on participation vary depending on the specific form of participation which is involved (voting vs. other forms of conventional political participation vs. non-conventional forms of political participation vs. civic participation), and also vary across national contexts but in different ways in different demographic subgroups for different forms of participation. However, political interest and internal efficacy tend to be relatively robust predictors of participation across demographic groups and across national contexts. New data were collected from 16- to 26-year-olds drawn from 27 national and ethnic groups living across Europe, using qualitative focus groups and a quantitative survey. The focus groups revealed that these young people often did not participate because they felt they had no voice, were ignored by politicians, and believed that they did not have the resources, the competencies or the experience needed to participate. They also tended to think that participation was ineffective in bringing about change, although they did acknowledge that participation could sometimes achieve change at the local level. The quantitative survey further revealed that two predictors of participation that were relatively robust across national contexts were organisational membership and having had previous high quality participation experiences. However, in addition, the survey revealed considerable variability in the other predictors of participation as a function of age, gender, minority vs. majority status and national context. Integration between political and psychological theories of participation drew on the empirical findings of the project, and involved the development of a number of theoretical accounts synthesising macro, demographic, social and psychological factors.

Based in particular on the new findings which emerged from the modelling of existing survey data and from the analysis of the focus group data and the quantitative survey data, the project developed a set of recommendations for policy, practice and intervention which can be used to enhance levels of participation among youth, women, minorities and migrants.

These recommendations are aimed at a wide range of social and institutional actors, including politicians, political institutions, media producers, educational professionals, schools, youth workers, leaders of ethnic minority communities, and other civil society actors.

Project context and main objectives

The PIDOP project was a transnational research project funded by the European Commission under the Seventh Framework Programme. It investigated political and civic participation and engagement in nine European countries – Belgium, Czech Republic, England, Germany, Italy, Northern Ireland, Portugal, Sweden and Turkey.

The terms 'political participation' and 'civic participation' had specific meanings within the context of the project. 'Political participation' was used to refer to activity that has the intent or effect of influencing either regional, national or supranational governance, either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of individuals who make that policy (definition adapted from Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995). Political participation can take a number of different forms, including both conventional forms which involve electoral processes (e.g., voting, election campaigning, etc.) and non-conventional forms which occur outside electoral processes (e.g., signing petitions, participating in political demonstrations, etc.).

By contrast, the term 'civic participation' was used in the project to refer to activity which is focused on helping others, achieving a public good, solving a community problem, or participating in the life of a community, including work undertaken either alone or in cooperation with others in order to effect change (definition adapted from Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins and Delli Carpini, 2006). Civic participation can also take a number of different forms, including working collectively to solve a community problem, belonging to community organisations, attending meetings about issues of concern, and consumer activism (Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Brady, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Verba and Nie, 1972; Zukin et al., 2006).

Engagement may be differentiated from participation, and was defined for the purposes of the project as: having an interest in, paying attention to, having knowledge of or having opinions about either political or civic matters. As such, engagement is a psychological matter. Engagement can be indexed in many different ways, for example, via levels of political or civic knowledge, levels of attention to media sources such as newspapers, television news or news on the internet, and the extent to which an individual discusses politics or civic affairs with family or friends.

The PIDOP project examined both political and civic participation and engagement as defined in these ways. In many countries, conventional forms of political participation have declined in recent years, with growing levels of political apathy, disengagement from formal democratic processes and increasing distrust of, and lack of confidence in, political institutions (Blais and Dobrzynska, 1998; Curtice, 2005; Dalton, 2000; Franklin, 2002; International IDEA, 2004, 2008; MacFarlane, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Ostrom, 2000; Skocpol, 2003). However, there is evidence that a shift may currently be taking place among younger generations, with civic and non-conventional political forms of participation coming to be prioritised over conventional political forms (Forbrig, 2005; Marsh, O'Toole and Jones, 2007; Zukin et al., 2006). As a result, issues that might have mobilised individuals into voting for an elected representative in the past are now often tackled instead by young people either through voluntary, community or charitable activities, through consumer activism, or through protests and demonstrations. Thus, while traditional forms of political participation such as voting are currently in decline in many European countries, this trend may not be indicative

of public disengagement *per se* but of a shift to a qualitatively different kind of public activism.

Previous research has revealed that people's patterns of political and civic participation are related to a wide range of factors. These include macro level contextual factors (e.g., the historical longevity of democracy in a country, the structure of political institutions and the opportunities for participation which they make available, the rules and design of the electoral system, etc.), demographic factors (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, citizenship status, etc.), social factors (e.g., family discourses and practices, educational practices, workplace practices, membership of associations, etc.) and psychological factors (e.g., levels of trust, beliefs about good citizenship, perceptions of injustice, etc.) (see, for example, Geys, 2006; Inglehart and Norris, 2003; Kriesi, Koopmans and Duyvendak, 1995; Norris, 2002; Putnam, 1993, 2000; Rosenstone and Hansen, 2003; Stepick and Stepick, 2002; Uhlaner, Cain and Kiewiet, 1989; van Zomeren, Postmes and Spears, 2008; Verba et al., 1995; Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Zukin et al., 2006).

However, at the present time, the ways in which these various factors at the macro, demographic, social and psychological levels inter-relate, interact and impact on the participatory dispositions and behaviours of people are poorly understood. Thus, the PIDOP project examined the factors which influence political and civic participation and engagement, investigating, in particular, how macro, demographic, social and psychological factors inter-relate and interact in driving patterns of participation.

In addition, the project examined youth, women, ethnic minorities and migrants as four specific groups that are potentially at risk of political and civic disengagement. As far as youth are concerned, many observers have drawn attention to, and expressed concern about, the historically low levels at which youth have been voting in elections in recent years (e.g., International IDEA, 2008; MacFarlane, 2005; Putnam, 2000). However, as noted above, if the definition of participation is broadened to include activities within the civic and non-conventional political spheres, then the picture is very different. Indeed, when considered in these broader terms, levels of participation by young people appear to be relatively high, with many youth being actively involved in voluntary activities, community groups, ethical consumption and a wide range of single issue campaigns (Forbrig, 2005; Marsh et al., 2007; Zukin et al., 2006). However, the processes which are driving young people away from conventional political participation towards other forms of participation are poorly understood.

Concerns have also been expressed about the low levels of participation that are sometimes exhibited by women, and indeed previous research has identified a wide range of factors that are responsible for gender differences in political participation (Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001; Inglehart and Norris, 2003). These factors can be grouped into three broad categories: cultural and societal (e.g., the religion of a country, the level of economic development of a country, the longevity of democratic traditions within a country), social (e.g., level of education, labour force participation, marriage, motherhood) and civic (e.g., degree of participation in informal politics, membership of voluntary civic organisations). However, precisely how these various factors interact to generate the differences in patterns of participation between men and women is currently not well understood.

Ethnic minorities and migrants have also been found to exhibit lower levels of political participation than those displayed by members of national majority groups, a pattern which is not surprising given the restrictive criteria and practices and the racism and discrimination that often prevent minority and migrant individuals from participating fully in the political life of the country in which they live (Ahmad and Pinnock, 2007; Martiniello, 2005; Penninx, Martiniello and Vertovec, 2004; Phillips, 1998). Levels of participation among ethnic minorities and migrants have been found to be linked to a wide range of factors, including cultural and societal factors (e.g., the cultural heritage of the minority group, the political institutions and opportunities that are made available within the country of residence), demographic and social factors (e.g., migrant generational status, nationality, employment status, level of education, membership of community organisations, social capital) and individual and psychological factors (e.g., fluency in the language of the country of residence, political values, knowledge of civic and political institutions in the country of residence, sense of belonging). However, we currently have a poor understanding of how these various factors interact to generate patterns of participation by minority and migrant individuals.

The PIDOP project therefore investigated political and civic participation and engagement within Europe, with a particular focus on youth, women, minorities and migrants. The project also investigated the macro, demographic, social and psychological factors which influence political and civic participation, examining how the various factors at these four different levels inter-relate, interact and impact on participation. Finally, based on the derived understanding of the factors and processes influencing participation, the project developed a set of recommendations for policy, practice and intervention that can be used to enhance levels of political and civic participation, especially among youth, women, minorities and migrants.

The complexity of the issues addressed by the project required the adoption of a multidisciplinary and cross-national comparative perspective. For this reason, the project drew on a range of academic disciplines (Psychology, Politics, Sociology, Social Policy and Education) and collected data in nine national contexts across Europe (Belgium, Czech Republic, England, Germany, Italy, Northern Ireland, Portugal, Sweden and Turkey), with data being collected from both national majority and ethnic minority/migrant groups within each of these national contexts.

Methods and Findings

In order to achieve the goals of the project, the theoretical and empirical work was broken up into a series of six work packages (WPs). These were as follows:

- Collation and analysis of current policies on participation (WP2)
- Development of political theories of participation (WP3)
- Development of psychological theories of participation (WP4)
- Modelling existing survey data on political and civic participation (WP5)
- Collection and analysis of new data on political and civic participation (WP6)
- Theoretical integration and the development of recommendations for policy and practice (WP7)

In addition there were two project management work packages:

- Consortium management and coordination activities (WP1)
- Dissemination activities (WP8)

The research which was carried out under the six research WPs, and the principal findings that were obtained by each of these WPs, were as follows.

1. WP2: Collation and analysis of current policies on participation

The primary aim of WP2 was to identify and describe the dominant policy discourses at EU, national and regional levels that are relevant to political and civic participation, with a particular focus on youth, women, minorities and migrants. WP2 explored similarities and differences between the ways in which these groups are considered at EU, national and regional levels, and investigated the extent to which there is coherence or tension between relevant policies at these different levels. It also analysed the views of policymakers and members of relevant policy networks. Thus, WP2 aimed to provide an understanding of the relevant policy contexts within which the project would be collecting data on political and civic participation and within which the new policy recommendations would be formulated towards the end of the project.

1.1 Methods

WP2 used discourse analysis to analyse the official documents of public institutions and NGOs (e.g., white papers, green papers, policy briefs, reports, position papers, etc.) in order to identify the key concepts underlying policies on participation and the metanarratives which are used to justify these concepts. The time frame used for the selection of documents was 2004-2009.

In addition, semi-structured interviewing was used with policy makers and activists in all of the participating countries. These interviews examined the various stages of the policy cycle, with a focus on agenda setting by different institutional and non-institutional policy actors, exploring the importance of the power relations existing between the various policy actors, and their struggle to shape the meaning of specific policy concepts.

1.2 Findings

A set of core policy concepts, or Discursive Nodal Points (DNPs), was uncovered in the course of the analyses. As shown in Figure 1, DNPs are defined by a combination of factors,

including the context, the policy priorities and the metanarratives that are used to construct these priorities. WP2 identified four DNPs being used at the European level, and a wide range of DNPs being used in different countries. The analyses compared these between the European, national and regional levels, and between institutional and non-institutional actors.

It was found that, at the level of the EU, the four DNPs were shaped by specific policy actions (for example, by policy programmes such as Youth in Action or by legislative instruments such as Article 11 of the Lisbon Treaty). These DNPs concerned, respectively, the democratisation of EU institutions, the transnationalisation of citizens' activities, the need for greater levels of active citizenship and participation among citizens, and anti-discrimination. Overall, these four DNPs were established through various metanarratives (e.g., concerning European identity, the future of European integration, the Euro crisis, the boundaries of the EU) that had been shaped by the specific political context characterising European integration during the period 2004-2009 (i.e., by events such as the rejection of the Constitutional Treaty, the accession of new countries in 2004 and 2007, the ratification of the Lisbon Treaty, etc.). These metanarratives put forward specific political priorities such as the development of a more open and transparent EU based on the participation of civil society.

Analyses of policies relating to participation in the individual partner countries revealed differences in the DNPs from one country to another, and also differences within individual countries depending on whether youth, women or minorities/migrants formed the focus of those policies.

For example, in the case of the German policy documents, the dominant discourse on the civic and political participation of youth was found to be based on the values of participatory democracy and respect for human rights, with an emphasis on the active engagement of youth through non-formal education. An additional task of German institutions specified in the documents is to strengthen values such as tolerance and democracy among young people by developing prevention strategies against racism, hostility to foreigners and anti-Semitism. By contrast, German documents on the civic and political participation of women were found to be based on the DNP of equal opportunities and gender discrimination and their related legal requirements. In particular, the documents examine the possibilities of equal access to the labour market for women and the concrete measures that are needed to make this possible. They also focus on the need to guarantee equal wages for men and women, with NGOs concentrating on the discriminatory process regarding treatment over pay and lobbying for raising awareness about pay differentials. A second DNP that is also present in these documents concerns violence against women, and the need for dignity, freedom, security and justice. Finally, German policy documents on the participation of minorities and migrants were based on the concept of integration (rather than either participatory democracy or equal opportunities). The German approach to integration was found to involve the implementation of concrete instruments (e.g., programmatic plans, financial instruments, etc.), with integration being promoted through courses, education and professional life, sports, media and civil commitment.

However, DNPs were found to vary not only within countries but also across countries. For example, in some countries, policies on youth participation focused predominantly on democracy and human rights (e.g., Germany), in others on active participation/active citizenship (e.g., Italy, Turkey), and in others on social inclusion and social justice (e.g., Belgium, UK). Similarly, policies on participation by minorities and migrants sometimes focused predominantly on integration (e.g., Germany), sometimes on human rights (e.g.

Turkey), sometimes on anti-discrimination (e.g., UK) and sometimes on issues concerning illegal immigration (e.g., Italy). Policies on women's participation tended to show more commonality across countries, often with a focus on gender discrimination and equal opportunities.

Interestingly, the analysis of national policy documents highlighted an absence of general references to debates at the EU level. Although the official documents produced by national governments and by civil society organisations were, on the whole, aligned with EU political priorities, there was little evidence of any open engagement with the European metanarratives. Rather than being linear, the Europeanisation process appears to be fragmented both vertically (EU to national states) and horizontally (from nation state to nation state).

The civil society organisations that were included in the sample recognised the values, policy objectives and political priorities identified by the European institutions, insofar as they recognised the validity of the four DNPs emerging at the European level. However, at the same time, there was little mention of European programmes or core principles relating to the European integration process, and rarely any references to core policy metanarratives at the supranational level (e.g., the constitutionalisation of the EU or the development of a European identity). Thus, there was little evidence of any coherent or consistent counter-discourse to current European policy discourses by civil society organisations.

However, the relationship between the Brussels-based NGOs and those operating at the national level was quite prominent both in the documents analysed and in the interviews that were conducted with civil society activists. Issues such as the accountability of the Brussels-based NGOs to national NGOs, and also their representativeness, were central points of discussion in relation to their legitimacy. The exclusion from strong European networks reduces the possibilities for weaker groups to influence public policies, and this is perceived as something that is in need of improvement. In terms of the development of practices of active citizenship, it was clear from the analyses that national NGOs had difficulty in finding coherent patterns of representation and taking part in agenda-setting at the EU level.

Thus, the analyses suggest that there is a need to increase the EU's visibility in key policy areas in relationship to the political and civic participation of youth, women, minorities and migrants, and to enhance measures of public communication in EU member states. At the same time, the engagement of national NGOs in the supranational setting also needs to be improved, as well as accessibility to the Brussels' arena. The findings also draw attention to the wide diversity of national policy contexts in which the PIDOP project was operating.

2. WP3: Development of political theories of participation
WP3 was responsible for auditing existing theory and research on civic and political participation and engagement, particularly in the disciplines of Politics, Sociology and Social Policy, and for developing political theories of political and civic participation based on macro-level contextual factors (i.e., political, electoral, historical, economic and societal factors). These theories were then used to generate theoretical inputs to and research questions for empirical investigation by WP5 and WP6.

Three themes which emerged from this body of work were the need for greater conceptual clarity, the nature of political passivity, and the role of the civic sphere.

2.1 The need for greater conceptual clarity

There are many definitions of participation, and although typologies of participation have become more sophisticated over recent years, this has been driven more by the emergence of new forms of participation or new measures than by theoretically grounded considerations. For this reason, as part of WP3, Ekman and Amnå (2012a) developed a new theoretically driven typology of forms of participation. This typology (see Table 1) aims to capture all forms of behaviour relevant to the study of civic and political participation. The typology considers participation on both the individual and collective levels, discriminates between latent and manifest forms of political behavior, and distinguishes between the civic and the political. The typology also incorporates a non-participation category, thereby capturing the full spectrum of participation, distinguishing between those who are apolitical and those who are antipolitical (which does not mean a lack of interest but extreme political dissatisfaction, active disengagement, and negative feelings about the political sphere). The apolitical category may be considered to be an unstable one. For example, some youth or some women may not participate or take an interest in politics, but this may change either over time or through new opportunities for participation as these become available. Ekman and Amnå's typology highlights that fact that attitudes as well as behaviours must form part of any explanation of political participation.

2.2 The nature of political passivity

For years, the focus of scholarly debate on political participation has been on declining levels of participation, engagement and trust, and this phenomenon has often been framed in a negative way. However, both Ekman and Amnå (2012b) and McBride (2012) contest the view that non-participation and non-participative citizens are a threat to democracy, and challenge the idea that good citizenship is synonymous with active participation.

Ekman and Amnå (2012b) argue that it is necessary to consider new forms of citizen participation in which citizens can be interested and engaged but without participating. They stress that non-participation by such citizens may not be due to barriers such as a lack of resources, knowledge or efficacy, and may not be based on dissatisfaction; rather, such citizens remain informed but do not participate, at least for the moment. In this way they can be considered to be 'standby citizens', that is, as a civic reserve that has 'the potential to act if there is a need' (Almond and Verba, 1963). This idea therefore rethinks the minimum level of participation that may be tolerated in a democracy.

McBride's (2012) theory of participation also highlights problems that are associated with the concept of the active citizen. This way of thinking about participation has moral implications: the good citizen is an active citizen, thereby censuring those who do not measure up to the required level of activity. On a collective or group level, those sections of society who through structural disadvantage lack the necessary resources or education to participate are thus marginalised or even condemned. McBride instead develops a new freedom-centred account which provides a more nuanced view of non-participation, where citizens may be content to accept the outcomes of decisions without participating, if they judge the processes of deliberation and decision-making to be non-dominating. He argues that deliberative procedures should permit all citizens to identify with political outcomes as their own whether or not they directly participate.

2.3 The role of the civic sphere

In his theoretical account, McBride (2012) also argues that the civic sphere should not be prioritised over the formal political sphere. His approach values most highly forms of political participation that increase accountability and safeguard citizens from domination. He suggests that civic renewal cannot replace a concern with formal political procedures and the quality of institutions, including the opportunities afforded by them. That said, McBride does not preclude the value of civic participation; he accepts that the educative and capacity-building aspects of civic engagement provide skills that facilitate participation in all types of formal and informal political activity.

It is this educative and capacity-building aspect of civic participation that Galligan (2012) and Montgomery (2012) elaborate further in relation to women and minorities respectively. Civic engagement and participation clearly have benefits for those involved. For example, belonging to organisations and associations develops skills, mediates the costs of participation, establishes networks that may lead to further participation, and increases the sense of efficacy and knowledge. Such capacity-building is essential for marginalised groups such as women and minorities to offset structural causes of inequality and disadvantage that may act as barriers to political participation. Indeed, both Galligan and Montgomery point out that female and ethnic minority politicians have often taken the route into formal politics from community-based participation. In addition, Montgomery highlights in her account the importance of the formal political sphere in according political rights to minorities and enabling them to benefit equally from decision-making processes.

2.4 Contextual influences on participation

At the core of its work, WP3 conducted a wide-ranging analysis of the macro contextual factors which influence political and civic participation. These influences on participation were analysed by WP3 according to level: institutional, country and supranational.

2.4.1 Institutional level factors

A large number of institutional level factors have been found to impact on levels of participation. These factors include the political opportunity structure, structural inequalities, mobilising channels and civic education.

Císar and Vráblíková (2012) examined the contextual determinants of participation and engagement for the PIDOP project using the concept of political opportunity structure (POS), that is, the features and characteristics of the political environment that provide incentives for political action by affecting people's expectations of success or failure (Tarrow, 1998). In particular, Císar and Vráblíková explored how levels and forms of political participation may be affected by the institutional design of the state. They found that states which have an open decentralised structure facilitate political participation by having more formal and informal mechanisms and procedures for the inclusion of non-state actors, which reduces the costs of participation by such actors and enhances their expectations of success. Conversely, states which have a closed centralised structure inhibit political participation by increasing the costs of participation for citizens and reducing their expectations of success.

In terms of conventional political participation, POS can also be operationalised in terms of the contextual factors that encourage or discourage voter turnout in elections. Such factors include the rules and design of the electoral system, the specific characteristics of a given election, and the characteristics of the population which is voting (Geys, 2006). In an analysis

of these factors for the PIDOP project, Garry (2012) argues that the following contextual factors are the most important determinants of voter turnout:

- Compulsory voting, easier registration procedures, concurrent elections, and proportional representation electoral systems, all of which enhance levels of turnout
- Electoral closeness and campaign spending, both of which also enhance turnout
- Smaller population size and population stability, both of which enhance turnout

There are also cultural aspects to POS in that POS can impact differentially across groups. Drawing on existing literatures on participation by ethnic minorities, Montgomery (2012) draws attention to the relationship which exists between integration and participation. Structural inequalities, which can take material, political and discursive forms, can impact on the collective political agency and participation of minorities. Thus, inclusive citizenship regimes and positive integration policies are of central importance to minority participation. However, Montgomery's work also highlights how discrimination can sometimes paradoxically occasion agency and participation by minority individuals. Misrecognition and institutional discrimination may sometimes mobilise minority individuals into participation.

Structural inequalities in society mean that different groups often have differential access and opportunities to participate, an issue which speaks directly to the place of marginalised and minority groups within society. Participation can help to facilitate integration by giving minorities a voice and having their interests heard, but there has to be a certain level of integration in the first place. Obviously this issue is linked to POS, the right to participate, and the rules for granting citizenship to migrants. However, the right to participate through full political rights does not automatically lead to participatory equality, which is also influenced by discrimination. Differential access due to restricted fluency in the language of the country of residence, and structural socioeconomic factors, can reduce levels of interaction and integration, which ultimately impacts on levels of participation.

The presence of mobilising channels is a further important factor influencing participation. Mobilisation and recruitment encourages access and participation, and as Verba (1978) points out, voluntary group affiliations mobilise political discussions and provide opportunities to be active. It is not just a question of formal associations; informal networks where political discussions take place are equally valuable in this respect. Indeed, participation in associations and political discussion are linked to higher levels of political interest and thus to a predisposition to participate in the political sphere. Other ways that people may be mobilised are through campaigning which, as Finkel and Geer (1998) point out, reduces information acquisition costs, thereby increasing participation. However as Verba (2003) notes, recruitment and mobilisation strategies can sometimes reinforce political inequality, since those with the most resources, education and skills, in other words the most advantaged and therefore already the most participative, are often the people at whom recruitment strategies are aimed.

As has been noted already, associational involvement or civic participation is not just important in terms of mobilisation; it also develops skills and builds capacities to participate. Social capital theory (Putnam 2000) argues that activities in civil society produce trust and reciprocity which are required in order to engage and participate politically. Putnam (1993, 2000) argues that associational participation in particular serves as socialisation for political participation by providing skills and resources which can be transferred into other forms of political activity. And indeed, in the PIDOP project, WP6 found that organisational membership was a major predictor of many forms of political participation for many groups.

Civic education is also an important tool in facilitating or providing opportunities for participation. Niemi and Junn (1998) point out that political knowledge can be increased through civic education and that, crucially, less civic education in schools corresponds to decreased knowledge or perception of knowledge and skills required to participate. Thus, civic education may be considered to be an early intervention for encouraging later political participation. However, some of the PIDOP findings from WP5 and WP6 suggest that while civic education is important, such education has to do more than simply increase knowledge; it also has to increase political interest and internal efficacy (i.e., the belief that one is able to understand politics and has the competence to participate in politics) and it has to provide high quality experiences of participation.

2.4.2 Country level factors

Contextual factors at the country level such as political history and economic development are often discussed in the research literature with reference to differences between old and new democracies. A frequent finding is that citizens in the new democracies of Eastern Europe participate less than in the West (Bernhagen and Marsh 2007), a gap which widened during the 1990s. However, Bernhagen and Marsh (2007) found that where popular action played an important role in bringing down communist regimes, participation levels remain higher. Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald and Schulz (2001) also found that the importance that young people attribute to conventional citizenship is higher in countries in which conventional political institutions have been strengthened in the last 30 years and lower where there are longstanding democratic traditions.

In considering country level determinants, the religion of a country can also impact on levels of participation, which Galligan's (2012) work for WP3 demonstrates most clearly in relation to women. Work by Banducci and Semetko (2002) shows that in predominantly Catholic countries women are less likely to exhibit political knowledge or interest. Protestant countries tend to have longer traditions of egalitarianism and support for women's rights with the result that women are more likely to be civically and politically engaged. This concurs with findings obtained in the PIDOP project in WP6 in Northern Ireland, which show that young Catholic women's perception of women's ability to bring about change was significantly lower than that of young Protestant women's. Similarly in societies where democracy is less well established, women's political knowledge tends to be lower than men's (Claibourn and Sapiro, 2002).

2.4.3 Supranational level factors

The supranational level lies beyond the country level, but POS can have an international dimension which may impact on national opportunity structures (Císar and Vráblíková, 2012). There is undoubtedly potential for greater engagement and participation through European initiatives. There would appear to be little political participation oriented towards the supranational level, although in the PIDOP project, the WP6 findings showed variations between and within countries. For example, in Belgium, while generally there were high levels of trust in the EU, this was not the case among minority Turkish youth, who were more suspicious of the EU (possibly due to Turkey's difficult dealings with Europe over accession). This is indicative of how the international POS can work differently for different groups within a single country, often in contradictory ways.

2.4.4 Social group and individual level factors

In addition to its work on macro contextual factors, WP3 also examined some social group and individual level factors. These included group norms, roles within the family, and socioeconomic status and the resources which are associated with this status (other social and individual factors were considered in more detail under WP4).

Group norms are sometimes linked to patterns of participation. For example, in the PIDOP project, WP5 found that ethnic minority individuals were less likely to be both civically and politically active than non-minority individuals. Cultural norms within certain minority groups explain these lower levels of participation. This is illustrated by some of the findings from WP6. For example, in Turkey, it was found that young people from the Roma community leave school, and Roma girls marry and have children, at a very early age. This was found to impact on lower levels of political knowledge and participation within the Roma community. Gendered patterns of participation were also found in WP6, and these patterns can be explained in terms of the prevailing patriarchial or cultural group norms. For example, in Belgium, girls from minority groups, particularly from the Turkish community, were found to use the web to talk and obtain information, since this is a more culturally appropriate form of participation for them. Gender was also found to be a predictor of internet participation among Portuguese young people. These findings underline Galligan's (2012) argument that women participate more in the private than in the public sphere.

Marriage and motherhood are also important individual level factors. Sapiro (1984) found that where marriage is related to political interest, the relationship is positive. However, she also found that motherhood has the opposite effect by reducing internal efficacy, leading to less interest or involvement in politics. Within the PIDOP project, Galligan (2012) explored how women have been involved in more individualised types of participation such as consumer activities and signing petitions, which can be analysed from the perspective of their roles as mothers and home-makers, with their implicit time and resource pressures. And indeed, within the PIDOP project, WP5 found that while there are no significant differences between women and men in voting, men are more likely to be involved than women in other forms of conventional participation. Voting is the least costly form of conventional participation, whereas other conventional activities such as being a member of or working for a political party may be beyond the time and economic resources that are available to many women.

The possession of the resources and skills which facilitate participation are clearly of key importance. Rosenstone and Hansen (2003) argue that people with money, time and skills devote more resources to politics as it is easier for them to do so (as noted above in relationship to gender). The economy affects participation as it preoccupies the disadvantaged and reduces their financial capacity to participate (Rosenstone 1982). Studies by Brody and Sniderman (1977) and Wolfinger and Rosenstone (1980) confirm that the poor and unemployed are less likely to vote. Since voting tends to be the least costly participative activity, it may be surmised that other forms of participation will be even more prohibitive for those with low socioeconomic status.

3. WP4: Development of psychological theories of participation

Complementing the work of WP3, WP4 was responsible for auditing previous research on political and civic participation and engagement in the disciplines of Psychology, Political Science and Education. WP4 was also responsible for developing psychological theories of

participation which could be used to generate theoretical inputs to and research questions for empirical investigation by WP5 and WP6.

3.1 Psychological influences on participation
Audits of existing research were carried out by Cicognani, Zani, Albanesi, Bertocchi and Villano (2010), Emler (2012a), Serek, Petrovicová and Macek (2012), Barrett (2012a) and Zani, Cicognani and Albanesi (2012a). A wide range of psychological factors that influence political and civic participation was identified.

These factors include cognitive factors such as knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, opinions and social and cultural values, all of which have been found to be linked to patterns of participation and engagement (e.g., Amnå and Zetterberg, 2009; Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione and Barbaranelli, 2006; Torney-Purta and Amadeo, 2003; Zukin et al., 2006). Three specific cognitions that have been found to be of particular importance are political interest, political attentiveness, and internal efficacy (Craig, Niemi and Silver, 1990; Klandermans, 1997; Pasek, Feldman, Romer and Jamieson, 2008; van Zomeren et al., 2008).

Emotions also predict levels of civic and political participation and engagement. This includes both negative emotions (e.g., anger towards a perceived social injustice, feelings of discrimination, dissatisfaction with the status quo and the desire to contribute to social change, anxiety or fear about the consequences of action) and positive emotions (e.g. happiness, satisfaction with the consequences of past participation, institutional pride) (Flanagan, Bowes, Jonsson, Csapo and Sheblanova, 1998; Leach, Iyer and Pedersen, 2006; van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer and Leach, 2004).

Social identifications, which involve experiencing a sense of belonging to a social group (such as a community, a social or political movement, an ethnic group, a national group, etc.) are also linked to levels of participation (Deaux, Reid, Martin and Bikmen, 2006; Simon et al., 1998; van Zomeren, Spears and Leach, 2008). Social identifications entail adopting group norms concerning participation and they can also provide ingroup models for participatory behaviours, as well as a sense of social support for one's opinions and actions.

Existing research has also revealed that social trust, political trust (i.e., in politicians, political institutions and the political system as a whole) and external efficacy (i.e., the belief that politicians and political institutions are responsive to citizens' views) are related to various aspects of participation and engagement (Craig et al., 1990; Newton, 2007; Putnam, 2000; Stolle, 2007; Torney-Purta, Barber, and Richardson, 2004).

Personal motivations and goals (e.g., egoistic vs. prosocial/altruistic motivations and goals) are also important. Motivations have been investigated most extensively in relationship to volunteering and civic participation (Omoto and Snyder, 1995, 2002), where they have been found to play a central role in determining behaviour.

Finally, people's perceptions of opportunities for, and barriers to, participation are also linked to their patterns of participation. Opportunities are provided by structures for participation such as associations and social networks, which need to be perceived as being open and accessible (Evans, 2007; Putnam, 2000), while people can perceive barriers for a number of reasons, including their own limited economic resources, lack of time and poor education (Rosenstone and Hansen, 2003; Verba et al., 1995).

Previous research suggests that these various psychological factors interact with one another in complex ways. Individual factors sometimes moderate or amplify the effects of other factors, and sometimes their effects on participation are mediated by other psychological factors rather than being direct (Nie, Junn and Stehlik-Barry, 1996; van Zomeren et al., 2004). And indeed, WP5 confirmed that political attentiveness, political interest, internal efficacy, external efficacy, institutional trust, social trust, opinionation and ideological identity are all significant predictors of both political and civic participation. WP5 also found that, in addition to being direct predictors of participation, opinionation and ideological identity sometimes mediate the effects of the other factors on participation.

3.2 Social influences on participation
WP4 also identified numerous proximal social factors that can influence political and civic engagement and participation (Barrett, 2012a; Serek, Petrovicová and Macek, 2012). These factors may be classified as stemming from seven main sources: the family, education, the peer group, the workplace, the mass media, non-political organisations and political institutions.

3.2.1 The family
Family practices and discourses are a major influence on political and civic engagement and participation. For example, literacy and educational resources in the family home predict levels of civic knowledge (Torney-Purta et al., 2001); adolescents whose parents are interested in political and social issues have higher levels of interest in these issues themselves, as well as higher levels of civic knowledge (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr and Losito, 2010); a family ethic of social responsibility predicts individuals' levels of civic commitment (Flanagan et al., 1998); individuals whose parents engage in civic volunteering have higher levels of civic and political participation, are more attentive to news about politics and government, and are more likely to engage in consumer activism (Zukin et al., 2006); and parents who engage in protests are more likely to have offspring who also engage in protests (Jennings, 2002).

In addition, political and civic engagement and participation vary according to *family SES*. Individuals from families with higher SES have more political and civic knowledge (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Niemi and Junn, 1998; Schulz et al., 2010) and have higher levels of engagement and participation (Bynner, Romney and Emler, 2003; Lopez and Marcelo, 2008; Zukin et al., 2006). The impact of SES is probably mediated by educational attainment and the skills that are exercised in organisations and in jobs, with these other factors being the direct influences on patterns of engagement and participation (Wolfinger and Rosenstone, 1980; Verba et al.,1995).

Family ethnicity is also related to participation (Jensen, 2010). For example, ethnic minorities and majorities participate in different kinds of volunteer activities, with the former participating more in activities relating to their own ethnic community and to other minorities (Stepick, Stepick and Labissiere, 2008). The relationships between ethnicity and participation are complex, involving multiple interactions between the specific ethnicity of the individual, gender, education and levels of community participation (Bogard and Sherrod, 2008). Furthermore, it is arguable that many of the existing findings involving ethnicity are due to the reduced opportunities for participation that are linked to lower SES, lower educational attainment and differential religious affiliations, rather than to ethnicity per se (Hart and Atkins, 2002; Verba et al., 1995).

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3.2.2 Education

A further major factor influencing political and civic engagement and participation is education (Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Emler and Frazer, 1999; Nie et al., 1996; Verba et al., 1995). Some of the links here stem from the enhancement of the specific knowledge, skills or motivations which are targeted by the school curriculum. However, the relationship between education and participation is more wide-ranging than just the specific knowledge, skills or motivations targeted by the curriculum; educational effects generalise to a wide range of participatory behaviours and aspects of engagement. For example, Zukin et al. (2006) found that students who attend schools which provide civic training in skills (e.g., in letter writing and debating) are more likely to be involved in organisations outside school, to sign petitions, to participate in boycotts, to follow political news, to engage in charitable fund-raising and to attend community meetings. Having an open classroom climate at school (i.e., the opportunity to discuss controversial social issues and to express and listen to differing opinions in the classroom) is also a major influence, predicting young people's levels of civic knowledge, interest in politics, internal efficacy, and dispositions for future political activity (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Hahn, 1998).

As noted already, education may actually have its most profound effects not through the enhancement of the individual's personal capacities, but through the effects which education has upon an individual's employment opportunities, social networks and positions of influence in later life (Nie et al., 1996).

3.2.3 The peer group

Links have also been found between participation and the peer group. For example, civic participation is related to having positive relationships with peers (Wentzel and McNamara, 1999; Yates and Youniss, 1998), and there is evidence that when youth feel a sense of solidarity with peers at school and believe that most students in their school display institutional pride in the school, they are more likely to commit to civic and political goals and values (Flanagan et al., 1998).

3.2.4 The workplace

Workplace practices also impact on participation, especially workplace arrangements that encourage democratic decision-making and the taking of responsibility at work (e.g., Almond and Verba, 1963; Greenberg, Grunberg and Daniel, 1996; Kohn and Schooler, 1983; Mason, 1982). For example, having the authority to tell others what to do in the workplace, and involvement in workplace decision-making, predict the likelihood of voting, being involved in campaigning for a political party or candidate, and being involved in the affairs of one's local community (Guowei and Jeffres, 2008; Smith, 1996; Sobel, 1993).

3.2.5 The mass media

The extent to which individuals attend to news reports on the television and in newspapers is related to levels of political and civic knowledge (Hahn, 1998; Torney-Purta et al., 2001) and to the likelihood of voting in the future (Torney-Purta et al., 2001). In addition, people make decisions about whether to engage in consumer activism in response to information received from the news media and the Internet (Zukin et al., 2006).

3.2.6 Non-political organisations and associations

As has been noted already, links exist between membership of non-political organisations and civic and political participation. For example, involvement in formal groups (e.g., religious groups, sports groups, etc.) in which the individual is able to take on active and specific roles

is related to prosocial-oriented civic participation (Albanesi, Cicognani and Zani, 2007), young people who belong to a club or team are much more likely to be involved in community service two years later (Hart, Atkins and Ford, 1998), and young people who participate in community-based organisations and in extra-curricular activities are more likely to be both civically engaged and politically active in later life (Glanville, 1999; Verba et al., 1995; Youniss, McClellan and Yates, 1997; Zaff, Malanchuk and Eccles, 2008). However, organisations vary in terms of how much opportunity they provide for their members to develop and exercise civic skills, the extent to which they provide exposure to political messages, and the extent to which they make requests of their members for political activity, all of which are related to levels of political activity amongst their members (Verba et al., 1995).

3.2.7 Political institutions
Finally, the activities of political institutions themselves are related to levels of political activity. For example, being contacted and asked personally to participate in a civic or political process is a powerful predictor of later civic and political participation (Green and Gerber, 2004; Zukin et al., 2006).

There are numerous points to note about these various social factors (Barrett, 2012a). First, existing research suggests that: (i) there are many different causal pathways through which these social factors can either promote or inhibit political and civic participation and engagement; (ii) there are complex interactions between the different factors; and (iii) there is considerable variability both across and within populations in the specific sets of social factors which actually operate in driving patterns of participation. Second, individuals are not passive recipients of social influences. They are active social agents who select the information to which they attend based on their own motivations, preferences and goals, who ignore or resist information which is irrelevant to their needs, and who actively draw their own inferences from the information which is available in their environments. Third, individuals have effects on how other people in their environment behave towards them. For example, young people may initiate political discussions with their parents and in doing so may influence their parents' political orientations, which in turn may then influence their own attitudes (Kiousis, McDevitt and Wu 2005; McDevitt, 2006). In other words, individuals actively construct their own representations, beliefs, attitudes and practices through interactions which take place within a variety of different contexts, and the causality which takes place within these contexts is often inherently bidirectional (Schaffer, 1996).

3.3 Theoretical models developed by WP4
In addition to this audit of previous research, WP4 developed four new theoretical models of how some of the psychological factors might be related to one another and of how the social factors might be related to psychological factors (Barrett, 2012a; Emler, 2012; Zani et al., 2012a).

The first theoretical model, developed by Emler (2012a) (see Figure 2), postulates that the foundational psychological driver of political engagement is paying attention to politics, either through having an interest in politics and/or having a sense of civic duty. Attentiveness to what is happening in the political arena, either through active information search in the media or through discussions with others, determines the extent to which individuals become politically informed. Political information then provides the basis on which opinions are formed and judgments are made. Opinions in their turn may then become organised into the more integrated, overarching structures of an ideological or political identity. Finally such

ideological identity provides the foundation for sustained and coherent civic and/or political participation. These six psychological factors are themselves influenced by a range of individual and social characteristics of the individual concerned, and by a range of social-environmental factors.

The second theoretical model, developed by Barrett (2012a), concerns the patterns of social influence which impact on the individual (see Figure 3). This model postulates that all of the following factors are potentially available as influences on civic and political participation: family discourses and practices; educational curricula and textbooks; teachers' discourses and practices; workplace discourses and practices; discourses and practices of social networks beyond the family and the workplace; other social experiences beyond the family, the school, the workplace and social networks; personal contact and involvement with political and non-political organisations and institutions; the representational content of the mass media and other media resources. However, this model also postulates that these are all only potential sources of influence. The proximal social influences which actually exert effects on any given individual are at least partially determined by intra-individual psychological factors, including perceptual, attentional and cognitive-representational processes, and affective and motivational processes. Furthermore, the balance of influence between the different social factors is likely to vary from one societal setting to another. In other words, different factors may be the primary drivers of civic and political engagement and participation in different populations and in different settings, with the relative weightings assigned to the various arrows in Figure 3 varying from one setting to another and from one population to another. This model predicts that there will be considerable variability both across and within populations in the social factors which are operative, depending on the particular population involved and the specific social settings within which they live.

The third theoretical model, also developed by Barrett (2012a), covers the psychological factors that influence three specific forms of civic and political participation, namely collective action, voting and volunteering (see Figure 4). This third model attempts to unpack the causal relationships which exist between a wide range of psychological factors which lead to these three participatory outcomes. These factors include: perceived social opinion support, perceived social action support, identification with a group or community, identity threat, internalisation of group norms and values, perceived injustice, group-based anger, motivational need fulfilment, cost-benefit calculations, perceived collective efficacy, internal individual efficacy, external efficacy, institutional trust, and beliefs about good citizenship. This model is an integration of several more limited psychological models that have been motivated by previous research findings. It should be noted that there is good existing empirical evidence for every single causal pathway which is included in Figure 4.

The fourth theoretical model, developed by Zani et al. (2012a), provides a classification of all the different dimensions which have been implicated by previous research into civic and political participation (see Figure 5). The model proposes that there are eight such dimensions. Individual difference variables and sociodemographic characteristics (such as gender, age, status as immigrant, education, language, socio-economic situation, religiosity) are included (Box 1), as are individual and shared cognitions about the social world and participation (Box 2). Traditional models of political participation have also emphasised the role of motives and goals for participation (Box 3) and the role of emotions and affective factors (Box 4). The model also proposes that social identity and a sense of belonging have a central role to play (Box 5). Perceived control, efficacy and competences are also crucial determinants of participation (Box 6), as are the individual's perceptions of opportunities and

barriers to participation (Box 7). Actual participation experiences (Box 8) provide an important learning experience and their effects feed back dynamically into the precursors of participation. This model therefore proposes that participation needs to be analysed as a dynamic, circular process, where the consequences of participation can impact on the precursors of participation by modifying initial conditions.

4. WP5: Modelling existing survey data on political and civic participation

While WP3 and WP4 were concerned with generating theoretical ideas for empirical investigation, WP5 was responsible for analysing existing survey data. The aim here was to identify empirically the factors which are driving civic and political participation within Europe. There were two main sub-goals here: (i) to describe patterns of civic and political participation across EU member states over time and across key demographic groupings; and (ii) to identify the factors which are related to the variations in these patterns of civic and political participation across EU member states.

4.1 Methods

In order to achieve these goals, WP5 drew together data from a number of international surveys that contain questions relating to participation: the European Social Survey, Eurobarometer, International Social Survey Programme, Comparative Study of Electoral Systems, and World Values Survey. In addition, indices of macro contextual factors for different countries were taken from two sources, the Country Indicators for Foreign Policy (CIFP, 2011) and the Economist Intelligence Unit (Kekic, 2007).

A range of analyses were conducted on these datasets. They included: basic descriptive statistics; structural equation models examining the psychological and demographic drivers of participation (guided by the theoretical models developed in WP4); multilevel models linking these micro processes to broader macro contextual factors (guided by the thinking developed in WP3); and latent class analysis to identify distinct 'classes' of political participation.

Four distinct types of participation were examined by WP5 in these analyses: voting; other forms of conventional political participation (e.g., belonging to a political party, running for political election, working on political election campaigns for candidates or parties, giving donations to political parties, trying to persuade others to vote); non-conventional political participation (e.g., participating in protests, demonstrations and marches, signing petitions, writing letters or emails to politicians or public officials, writing articles or blogs with a political content for the media, participating in fundraising events for a political cause); and civic participation (e.g., belonging to community organisations and other non-political organisations such as religious institutions, sports clubs, etc.).

4.2 Findings

The descriptive analyses revealed that there was a great deal of variability in all four forms of participation, both within and across countries. However, some clear consistencies across countries were also uncovered. For example:
- Younger people aged under 25 and ethnic minority individuals are less likely to vote in all countries
- Younger people are also less likely to be involved in conventional activities in all countries
- Males are more likely to be involved in conventional forms of participation in all countries

In addition, in some but not all countries:

- Younger people and ethnic minority individuals are more likely to be involved in non-conventional forms of political activity

As far as civic engagement is concerned, there are differences between countries, but there is comparatively less variability within countries.

Analysis of data collected since 1973 revealed consistently high *intentions* to vote each year (always above 90% of the sample). This is noticeably higher than the self-reported voting *behaviour* of individuals. It is also considerably higher than the actual levels of voter turnout in each country. This demonstrates a disconnection between voting intentions and actual behaviour.

WP5 also examined a range of the psychological factors identified in the WP4 audit, including:
- Interest in politics
- Attentiveness to political issues and affairs, for example, on television, in newspapers, on the internet, etc.
- Internal efficacy – the belief that one is able to understand politics and has the competence to participate in politics
- External efficacy – the belief that politicians and political institutions are responsive to citizens' views
- Opinionation – holding opinions about civic and political matters
- Ideological identity – whether one holds an extreme position on either the right or the left of the political spectrum or whether one holds a more moderate centrist position
- Social trust – how much one trusts other people in general
- Institutional trust – how much one trusts institutions such as the police, the legal system, politicians, parliament, etc.
- Perceived discrimination – the perception that one is discriminated against because of the group to which one belongs

A high degree of variability was found both within and between countries in these psychological factors. For example, levels of political interest and attentiveness vary widely across countries, from 20% of the population through to 65% depending on the country. However, overlaid on this variability are some consistent patterns. For example, attention to political broadcasts on television is always higher than attention to politics via other media sources, and there are lower levels of trust in politicians than in any other institution across all countries.

WP5 further found consistent and strong evidence that people who have high levels of interest in politics and high levels of internal efficacy show high levels of all four types of participation (i.e., voting, other forms of conventional political participation, non-conventional political participation, civic participation). Such people are also more likely to hold opinions (with this high level of opinionation further increasing both their involvement in non-conventional political activities and their level of civic engagement). In addition to being robust predictors of participation, WP5 discovered that political interest and internal efficacy are highly correlated with each other, so much so that in the statistical analyses it was impossible to separate out their effects.

For each of the four types of participation, WP5 also found a moderate influence of institutional trust. However, this influence varies according to the type of participation

involved. For example, individuals who have high levels of trust in institutions are more likely to vote, but are less likely to participate in other ways.

Similarly, perceived discrimination has different effects on different forms of participation. For example, individuals who feel that they are discriminated against because of the group to which they belong are less likely to vote, but are more likely to participate in other ways

Other differences in the drivers of each form of participation were also evident. For example, there is a greater tendency to vote and to be civically engaged among those who are more attentive to politics, but higher levels of attentiveness result in lower levels of non-conventional participation.

Perceptions of the responsiveness of government and political institutions to citizens' views (i.e., levels of external efficacy) are also variably linked with forms of participation. For example, high perceived responsiveness increases the tendency to be involved in conventional and non-conventional activities, but shows no direct influence on voting behaviour.

In the analyses of macro contextual factors, WP5 found that, with the exception of voting, differences between countries in average levels of participation are indeed linked to differences in the political and legal institutions of those countries (i.e., in their macro contextual characteristics). In particular, the extent to which the government within a country is accountable, how well government functions, the extent to which the institutional structures within a country are democratic, and a country's record in relation to the rule of law, were all found to be important macro factors. Participation levels are higher in countries which have high scores on all of these institutional macro features.

In addition, WP5 found that institutional features also play a role in moderating the individual drivers of political participation. For example, the magnitude of differences in participation between males and females, and the magnitude of differences in levels of political interest and internal efficacy, are dependent on the institutional context in which individuals are situated, and vary significantly from country to country.

Finally, WP5 found that citizens can be grouped into four distinct classes of people based on their overall pattern of participation:

- *Those who are both politically and civically active* – These individuals participate in all four ways to a high extent, and are more likely to be older, male, and not from an ethnic minority group.
- *Those who are inactive both politically and civically* – These individuals have a very low tendency to participate in all four ways, and are more likely to be younger, from ethnic minority groups, and are less likely to be male than those in the politically active group.
- *Those who have high levels of both non-conventional and civic activity* – These individuals are involved in non-conventional political activity and are civically engaged, but are less likely to vote or to be involved in conventional political activities. Compared to the politically and civically active group, this group is more likely to be young. Ethnic minority individuals are more likely to be in this third category than in the first category, but they are even more likely to be in the second, inactive, category above.

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- *Voting-only* – These individuals are similar in demographic makeup to the politically and civically active group, but members are more likely to be female.

In summary, the WP5 analyses (reported in full by Brunton-Smith, 2011) revealed that participation is affected by macro institutional factors, by demographic factors, and by psychological factors (relatively little data on social factors is included within the datasets). There are significant variations between countries in the magnitude of some of the psychological drivers of participation, as well as differences within countries based on demographics. Importantly, WP5 revealed that there is very considerable variability in the psychological factors that predict participation:
- The predictive paths that are significant vary depending on the specific form of participation which is being predicted (voting vs. conventional vs. non-conventional vs. civic participation)
- The predictive paths that are significant vary depending on demographics (age, gender, majority vs. minority status) but in different ways for different forms of participation
- The paths that are significant vary across countries, but different macro factors are influential for different psychological factors in different demographic groups for different forms of participation

The existence of these complex patterns demonstrates the need for theoretical explanations to encompass not only macro level drivers of political and civic participation but also demographic and psychological level drivers. These findings also demonstrate the need for such theories to address the specificities of particular forms of participation among particular demographic subgroups living within particular national contexts. Thus, the outcomes of WP5 underline the need for integrative multi-level theories of participation, rather than theories that focus on only a single level, theories that can explain the variability in the macro, demographic and psychological factors that drive different forms of participatory behaviour.

5. WP6: Collection and analysis of new data on political and civic participation
While WP5 was responsible for the analysis of data from existing survey datasets, WP6 was responsible for collecting new data. WP6 was specifically designed to target variables which were not always present in the WP5 survey datasets but which WP3 and WP4 had revealed to be of theoretical importance. The overall aim of WP6 was to examine civic and political participation and engagement among members of different age, gender, minority and migrant groups within each participating country, and to examine differences in the factors and processes which drive participation and engagement in these different demographic groups in the different national contexts.

5.1 Methods
For WP6, each team in the consortium collected data from both their own local national group and from two ethnic minority or migrant groups living in their country. The national and ethnic groups which were studied in each country were as follows:
- *Belgium:* Belgians, Turks, Moroccans
- *Czech Republic:* Czechs, Roma, Ukrainians
- *England:* English, Congolese, Bangladeshis
- *Germany:* Germans, German resettlers from Russia, Turks
- *Italy:* Italians, Albanians, Moroccans

- ***Northern Ireland:*** Northern Irish Catholics, Northern Irish Protestants, Chinese, Polish
- ***Portugal:*** Portuguese, Brazilians, Angolans
- ***Sweden:*** Swedes, Kurds of Turkish background, Iraqis
- ***Turkey:*** Turks, Roma, Turkish resettlers from Bulgaria

In all of these groups, data were collected from two age groups, 16- to 17-year-olds and 18- to 26-year-olds. Comparisons between these two age groups allowed WP6 to examine differences in political and civic participation and engagement before vs. after achieving voting age. Both genders were represented in the samples, and the analyses explored how gender interacts with national, ethnic and/or migrant status in driving participation and engagement.

WP6 took place in three phases. In phase 1, *focus groups* were conducted with women and men in both age ranges from all 27 national and ethnic groups. In total, 117 focus groups involving 740 participants were conducted. The focus groups explored these individuals' perceptions of citizenship and participation as they viewed them across a wide range of different life contexts. Issues that were examined included their understandings of citizenship, their perceptions of young people's participation, their personal and group experiences of participation, their motivations for participating, their perceptions of barriers to participation, their perceptions of the effectiveness of different forms of participation, and their perceptions of young people's information sources and influences.

In phase 2 of WP6, *interviews* were conducted with some of the individuals who had been identified during the focus groups as important sources of influence on the focus group participants. These interviews primarily involved parents, teachers and youth workers, as these were the most frequently cited sources of influence. The interviews examined the conceptions of citizenship which were held by these influential individuals, their perceptions of young people's patterns of participation, their perceptions of young people's motivations for participating, their perceptions of the barriers to young people's participation, the practical measures which they themselves take to try to enhance young people's participation, and their suggestions for promoting young people's inclusion and civic and political participation. A total number of 96 individual interviews were conducted.

In phase 3, a *quantitative survey* was conducted. On the basis of the theoretical models developed by WP3 and WP4, and the findings which had emerged from the focus groups and the interviews, a quantitative questionnaire was designed. This questionnaire was administered to 16- to 17-year-olds and 18- to 26-year-olds in all of the participating countries, with data being collected from both males and females from all 27 national and ethnic groups. In total, data were collected from 8,197 participants. The variables that were measured in the survey included the respondents' levels of civic and political participation and the perceived quality of their participation experiences, political interest, political attentiveness, political knowledge, internal and external efficacy, trust in institutions and in government, motivations and emotions regarding participation, perceived barriers to participation, perceived social norms, social well-being and interpersonal trust, sense of community, strength of national, ethnic and religious identifications, religiosity, and support for minority rights. In addition, detailed demographic information about each participant was collected.

5.2 Findings of the focus groups

The focus groups yielded a large amount of very rich data. Here, there is only space to comment on some of the most prominent themes that emerged. It was readily apparent that many of the young people felt that they had no voice because they were not taken seriously by adults and because politicians were not genuinely interested in their issues. Although they did consider politics to be important, most youth had other interests, and were aware of their limited influence in politics. When asked whether they saw themselves as full-rights citizens, they often said that they did not have this status because of their age and also because they often did not have the competencies, the power and access to information, resources and opportunities. These last factors were especially prominent among minority and migrant youth. The most common conception of citizenship was a combination of legal, communitarian and moral visions of citizenship, including rights, responsibilities, belonging to a community, working, behaving decently and participating, with voting being viewed as the primary form of participation.

Many of the young people in various countries recognized problems related to racism and discrimination, including from the police and the justice system, which affected minority and migrant youth in particular. Minority and migrant youth also often held an ambivalent or dual orientation towards their country of origin and their host country, which generated a tension between their legal citizenship and their identity. Being a migrant also appeared to influence perceptions of democracy, with migrants tending to compare the political systems of their host country and country of origin, leading to a more critical vision of democracy and participation in both contexts.

Low levels of participation were explained in terms of distrust in politicians and ambivalent perceptions of the effectiveness of civic and political participation. Youth were sceptical even about the effectiveness of voting for achieving change, despite attributing importance to it. However, while they tended to think that most forms of participation were not effective, stressing the importance of making effective action more visible, they did nevertheless recognise that changes could sometimes be achieved through action at the local level.

Family, school, youth workers, peers and the media were commonly cited as the main sources of influence and information about civic and political participation. The family was mentioned as a context for learning and discussing political issues, developing values but also for negotiating rights and identities. The school's influence was related to both formal subjects and extra-curricular activities. Youth workers and peers were also mentioned, highlighting the less formal opportunities to influence, to discuss and to be influenced. Finally, concerning the media as a source of influence and information, participants talked mostly about the Internet, considering themselves mainly as consumers, sometimes critical, sometimes as producers.

Concerning levels and kinds of participation, in several countries, discussions revealed the diversity of participation experiences, including participation in environmental groups, undertaking voluntary work, signing petitions, demonstrating and recycling. Trade unions and political parties were mentioned less frequently and participation here tended to be more common among the older participants. Sometimes there was a belief that the state creates participation opportunities only for insignificant micro level changes, in order to manufacture political quiescence among citizens who are deceived into believing that their efforts are meaningful and effectual at bringing about 'real' change. Although there were some

complaints of tokenism, there was recognition of the personal benefits and sometimes the effectiveness of participation, especially at the local level.

Finally, it is important to note the absence of Europe from the young people's discourses. The European level of participation and citizenship was almost completely absent from the focus group discussions. Even the national level of engagement and participation seldom emerged, with only the local level appearing to be relevant to the participants.

5.3 Findings of the interviews
The WP6 phase 2 interviews with influential others revealed some commonalities but also variations in accounts across the different categories of interviewees (mainly parents, teachers and youth workers). Almost unanimously, the individuals interviewed saw youth participation as an essential activity that young people ought to pursue because of the important consequences for society that can stem from their civic and political involvement. However, most of the interviewees believed that a distinguishing characteristic of young people was the tendency to neglect the fulfillment of the duties and responsibilities of 'good citizenship'.

The accounts of youth workers differed from those provided by the other interviewees in that their conception of citizenship emphasized another central benefit of youth participation, namely the positive effects that civic and political involvement can have on the social and intellectual development of young people. Youth workers across the different national contexts posited that civic and political participation constitutes an important factor in facilitating young people's growth into reflective, discerning adults with a more communal vision rather than an individualistic self-centred ideology.

The levels and kinds of political and civic involvement that the interviewees expected from young people tended to vary depending on whether they related to the majority group or a minority or migrant group. Majority group members were expected to participate in all areas and levels of society. In contrast, the interviewees varied in the involvement they expected from minority and migrant youth, with some interviewees arguing that these youth should instead concentrate their efforts on forms of involvement aimed at achieving integration into the host society. In their discussions of the key obstacles affecting minorities and migrants, youth workers tended to emphasize the conflict that these individuals often experienced between the desire to integrate on the one hand and the fear of losing too much of their heritage culture on the other hand. Neither minority nor majority parents expressed this view.

Interviewees across contexts converged on the position that human rights issues should take priority for youth action over other social problems, especially human rights abuses in the form of discrimination grounded in religious, ethnic, or socio-economic prejudice. In those limited cases where environmental issues were also prioritized, human rights and environmental issues were viewed as being linked via people's self-centred focus on only their own personal needs and goals.

Interviewees across national contexts varied on whether the participation levels of minority and migrant youth were low because of self-exclusion from political processes or because of societal systems excluding them. Those interviewees who subscribed to the former view stressed the tendency of many minority groups towards self-segregation into separate communities based on heritage culture, whereas those who

subscribed to the latter view emphasized the exclusionary role of social inequality, prejudice and institutional discrimination.

A further perceived obstacle was the lack of interest and motivation among young people to become engaged and involved in politics. Youth workers across national contexts observed that young people would often only become involved when they themselves were affected by an issue. This was the reason given for the narrow focus on issues affecting their own communities displayed by minority and migrant youth in their participation efforts because of the relevance that these issues had to themselves and their families. More privileged youth, on the other hand, were viewed as largely carefree and unaffected by social and political developments and so were unmotivated to commit themselves to activities to change the social and political status quo. In addition, in some national contexts, young people's lack of engagement was also attributed to their perception that they lived in a gerontocracy in which they were marginalized, denigrated, and suppressed by the dominant older generation elites. Finally, the lack of participation by some minority and migrant youth was also sometimes attributed to the lack of resources which they had at their disposal (e.g., lack of financial means required to succeed in education and to learn).

Interviewees were also asked about the steps that are necessary to amplify participation levels. Many believed that a less gerontocratic society would significantly increase young people's participation by enhancing their sense of self-efficacy and reducing their fears that their participatory efforts would be met by denigrating or condescending responses from adults. In addition, some interviewees suggested that publicising the often under-valued commitments and contributions that young people can make to tackle deep-seated social problems and to bring about positive social change would also enhance youth participation.

Many interviewees also stressed the lack of attention that was devoted by national school curricula to civic education, with the teaching that did occur being insufficient and perfunctory. A greater prioritization of conveying civic virtues and obligations in educational institutions was endorsed by the interviewees across national contexts. Minority and migrant parents in particular advocated the implementation of increased support by social institutions and ethnic minority NGOs for civic education for minority and migrant youth. A further strategy that was emphasized as important was the facilitation of positive participation learning experiences for young people. Youth workers in particular highlighted their efforts to initiate projects integrating young people into community work that aimed to reveal to them their capacity to make a difference to the status quo.

5.4 Findings of the survey
Turning finally to the findings of the quantitative survey, this revealed that the respondents engaged in a wide range of different forms of participation, including all of the following:
- Conventional political participation such as voting
- Non-conventional political participation such as demonstrations, distributing leaflets with political content, wearing symbols in support of a political cause
- Civic participation such as fundraising and volunteering
- Economic participation such as making purchasing decisions based on political, ethical or environmental reasons, and donating money to a social or political cause
- Participation through acts of civil disobedience such as writing political messages or graffiti on walls, and participating in political actions that might be considered illegal (e.g., burning flags, throwing stones, etc.)

- Participation through the Internet such as discussing social or political issues on the internet, connecting to political or social groups on social networking sites, and participating in online boycotts or protests

Although the respondents did engage in a wide range of different forms of participation, it was nevertheless found that, apart from voting in elections, the respondents tended to exhibit relatively low levels of political and civic participation overall. That said, they did not display a lack of either political interest or attentiveness to political issues, with moderate levels of both psychological factors being displayed.

The measures of the different forms of participation did not always statistically load together in the same way across countries or indeed across the three ethnic groups within any one country. For example, in the data from England, the measures of illegal forms of participation always loaded together (i.e., a person who was high on one form of illegal behaviour also tended to be high on other forms of illegal behaviour) and the measures of different forms of Internet participation also always loaded together. However, the remaining measures assessing other forms of conventional, non-conventional and civic participation showed different patterns and structures for each of the three ethnic groups. Caution therefore needs to be exercised in claiming that political and civic activity always falls into a few basic clear-cut categories such as conventional, non-conventional and civic participation. Instead, the survey revealed that there is variability in how patterns of political and civic participation are structured across different national and ethnic groups.

Perhaps the single most important finding to emerge from the survey was the very considerable cross-group variability which occurred, not only in the patterns of political and civic participation which were displayed, but also in the social and psychological factors which predicted the different forms of participation. This variability in both patterns of participation and the predictors of participation occurred across countries, across ethnic groups within countries, and across forms of participation. It was also clear that this variability within the data could not be reduced to broad majority vs. minority differences even within individual countries, as there were also significant differences between the two minority/migrant groups within each country, and indeed within each individual national or minority/migrant group as a function of both age and gender. In other words, the participatory behaviour of young people was often specific to particular subgroups defined in terms of the intersection between gender, age and nationality/ethnicity (e.g., in Portugal, specific to younger females from an Angolan background, or to older males from a Brazilian background). Furthermore, minority and migrant groups did not always participate civically and politically to a lesser extent than the majority group within individual countries. Thus, the experience of being a 'minority' does not always imply a disadvantage in terms of civic and political attitudes, dispositions and behaviours. These findings therefore confirm that both participation and the predictors of participation vary significantly depending on demographics (age, gender, national/ethnic group), and vary in different ways for different forms of participation. These findings are similar to those that emerged from WP5, reinforcing the conclusion that a primary task for theoretical models is to explain this variability.

In addition, however, there were some general differences between demographic groups which did show a degree of consistency across the various national contexts. For example, those who were born in the country of residence tended to display higher levels of political and civic participation than those who had not been born in the country of residence. This

was also true for many of the psychological factors that were measured, with levels of political interest, political attentiveness, motivations for participation, and trust in government and leaders all being higher among those who had been born in the country. Those born in another country also displayed lower levels of support for minority rights.

A second consistency in the data was that, compared to majority group individuals, minority and migrant individuals tended to show higher levels of political attentiveness, as well as higher levels of civil disobedience, economic participation and political participation on the Internet. By contrast, majority individuals tended to show higher levels of voting and reported personal enhancement as a motivation for participating in politics more frequently than minority or migrant individuals.

As far as gender differences were concerned, men typically displayed higher levels of political interest and attentiveness than women. They were also more likely to engage in acts of civil disobedience than women. However, women were more likely to engage in economic forms of participation (i.e., basing purchasing decisions on political, ethical or environmental considerations, and giving money to good causes).

Consistent with the existing literature on the effects of education on participation (e.g., Delli Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Emler and Frazer, 1999; Nie et al., 1996; Verba et al., 1995), it was also found that respondents who had higher levels of education displayed higher levels of both civic and political participation. In addition, cultural capital (as indexed by, for example, the number of books in the family home at an early age) was related to levels of both political interest and political attentiveness, as well as to levels of political participation.

Despite the widespread variability that was uncovered, there were two social predictors of participation that appeared to be relatively robust across national contexts and across ethnic groups within individual countries. First, organisational membership was a typically robust predictor of both civic and political participation for many groups in many countries. This finding is consistent with the wide range of previous research demonstrating the positive benefits of belonging to organisations and associations for civic and political participation (Albanesi et al., 2007; Putnam, 1993, 2000; Verba et al., 1995; Youniss et al., 1997).

Second, the quality of past participation experiences was also found to be a strong predictor of participation in the future. It is often assumed that any form of participation is automatically beneficial for individuals' future levels of participation. However, it is possible that low quality participation experiences reduce levels of participation activities in the future, with only high quality participation experiences having a beneficial effect. For this reason, the WP6 survey measured not only types of and frequency of participation but also the quality of the participants' past participation experiences. Here, high quality participation was defined in terms of a wide range of characteristics, including the ability to influence group decisions, the perception that a variety of viewpoints have been discussed and appreciated, and the feeling that the participation experience was important to the individual personally. Using this measure, it was found that those respondents who reported that they had had high quality participation experiences in the past displayed higher levels of all forms of civic and political participation. In addition, those respondents who had had low level quality participation experiences in the past did not display higher levels of civic or political participation than those who had had no prior history of participation. These findings indicate that the crucial factor here is the quality of people's participation experiences, not the experience of participation per se.

5.5 Highlights of the findings obtained in individual countries
This section reports some of the more specific findings obtained within each individual country.

5.5.1 Belgium
In Belgium, data were collected from Belgian, Turkish and Moroccan youth. Analyses comparing the three groups underlined the importance of taking into account the specificities of each individual ethnic group. For example, the Turkish and Moroccan youth displayed very different orientations towards Belgian culture and the culture of their own ethnic group. The Turkish youth exhibited a strong sense of solidarity with their own ethnic group. Education and formal qualifications were not so important for these youth because their intentions were to seek employment in the enterprises or businesses of a member of their family or their own community. They valued Turkish culture and traditions, and alliances between Turkish families, more than their religion. By contrast, the Moroccan youth aimed for a greater level of social and economic inclusion in Belgium. They tended to value their religion more than their country of origin. They also tended to invest more in education than the Turks, and had similar employment aspirations to the Belgian youth. They displayed bicultural identifications as both Belgian and Moroccan, and often already held Belgian nationality. However, when they were unable to build on their qualifications and remained unemployed, they exhibited a marked sense of injustice stemming from perceptions of discrimination. They were more heavily invested in the political field than the Turks, in particular in defence of their own community.

Moroccan girls were allowed to participate in the public sphere and in politics to a greater extent than Turkish girls. However, across all three ethnic groups, there were clear gender differences, with different expectations being placed on young women vs. young men in terms of their activity within the public sphere, and, possibly as a result, the females exhibited lower levels of interest in politics than the males. However, it is important to stress that most of the young women were not passive, even when they were not allowed to participate in politics, as many of them used the Internet to obtain information and to express their opinion.

Those youth who had already had some involvement with politics reported that the reason why they had become involved was because they had been directly approached by other people who were already members of political parties, associations or organisations, and that without this contact they would not have become involved. The data also revealed that those youth who engaged in acts of civil disobedience or illegal actions did so because they believed it was the only way for one's voice to be heard; however, those who engaged in such actions did also engage in legal forms of participation.

5.5.2 Czech Republic
In the Czech Republic, data were collected from Czech, Roma and Ukrainian youth. The survey data suggested that general evaluations of society (in terms of social cohesion and integration) stemmed from different sources in the different ethnic groups. For example, more positive evaluations of society were associated with a better personal economic position, a higher sense of community and a more positive ethnic identity in the Roma group. However, in majority Czech youth, more positive evaluations of society were instead related to greater institutional trust. Thus, youth from different ethnic backgrounds appeared to be using different criteria to evaluate society, criteria which probably stemmed from cultural differences (e.g., a greater emphasis on family and close personal ties in Roma culture) as

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well as differences in the everyday experiences of the group (e.g., the problematic status of Roma in Czech society).

The survey also revealed the importance of online civic participation for ethnic minority and migrant youth in particular. Online participation was a popular form of civic participation for all youth in the Czech Republic, regardless of ethnicity, but this form of participation was particularly attractive for minority and migrant youth for two main reasons: it helped to reduce the negative impact of the language barrier on immigrant youth participation, and it provided a 'safer' forum for civic participation for those who felt frustrated and disempowered in real-world civic activities due to the prejudice and discrimination which they frequently encountered in such contexts. This latter consideration applied particularly to Roma youth. It is noteworthy that those young Roma who participated in real-world activities were more sceptical about Czech society (and the chances of reducing ethnically-based discrimination) than those young Roma who only participated online.

Indeed, the focus group discussions with the minority individuals suggested that their civic participation was closely connected to their status in society. These individuals explained that the inequality of opportunities and discrimination which they faced in everyday situations made them feel excluded from the majority society. This sense of exclusion constituted a psychological barrier that undermined their sense of efficacy and inhibited their civic participation. It was suggested by these minority participants that the civic participation of minority youth can be increased only when their status in the society is improved and they are accepted by the social majority.

5.5.3 England
In England, data were collected from English, Congolese and Bangladeshi youth. Many of the participants, from all ethnic backgrounds, believed that young people did not participate because they did not want to participate and were not interested in participating. The English youth tended to be more satisfied than the minority youth with the existing political system, and also tended to be more critical/sceptical than minority youth of non-conventional forms of participation. Some youth across all three ethnic groups reported that American hip hop music had been a source of influence on their attitudes towards participation, and for this reason, the lyrics of some of the cited artists (e.g., Jay-Z and Tupac) were analysed. It was found that these lyrics endorsed and encouraged a passive attitude towards the perceived inequalities of rights and opportunities in regard to race, social class and gender. The discouraging role of the mass media was also cited by many youth, due to their excessive focus on entertainment and their generally negative portrayal of both young people and ethnic minority individuals. In the case of minority youth, the mass media were perceived as discouraging young people from engaging in action not only in relationship to the UK but also in relationship to their country of origin. Finally, conspiracy theories (involving the Freemasons, Illuminati, etc.), which are currently prevalent in both Islamic and Christian fundamentalism, were found to further encourage distrust and disengagement from official political and social actors and to create a sense of helplessness among young people.

The survey revealed differences in the predictors of participation across the ethnic groups. However, social norms predicted different types of participation for all the groups. The importance of mobilisation by others was also very salient, but mobilisation was found to operate in different ways for different groups and for different forms of participation. Only in the case of the English youth, a lack of mobilisation was related to higher levels of online participation.

For religious youth, mobilisation by their church was an especially important influence, particularly among the Congolese youth. Those who were religious were found to be more conservative in their political attitudes, more inclined to use conventional forms of political participation, and more inclined to use forms of civic participation such as volunteering, donating money, etc. It was also found that religion played an important role both through religious practices, such as attending a church regularly, listening to religious sermons and participating in youth groups organised by the church, and through the spiritual values of the religion itself. For example, religious leaders in the Congolese churches were described as giving professional, personal and social/political direction to their congregation in relation to their life in the country of residence and in relation to the country of origin, which young people recognised and appreciated.

5.5.4 Germany

In Germany, data were collected from German and Turkish youth and from young German resettlers from Russia. There was considerable variation in participation levels depending on the intersection of ethnic group, gender and age, but the Turkish respondents were the most active overall. The predictors of participation also varied between the different ethnic groups. For example, social norms were only a powerful predictor among Turkish participants. This is probably due to the cultural specificities of Turkish youth: Turkish migrants in Germany are more collectivistic than other groups, and so they may be affected to a greater extent by those in their close social networks such as parents and friends than young Germans.

The relatively high rates of participation among Turkish youth could potentially be double-edged. This is because if these high levels of participation are a result of involvement in minority-specific activities or organizations, such involvement might result in the avoidance of mainstream culture and lead to lower levels of integration and participation in the national civic culture. However, the analyses suggested a more encouraging picture. The high levels of participation exhibited by Turkish youth were indeed associated with high levels of participation in minority-specific activities and groups: for example, Turkish youths' engagement with religious groups was higher than their engagement with any other kinds of groups, and was also higher than German youths' involvement with religious groups. However, those Turks who were more strongly engaged with religious groups were also more strongly engaged with other groups including those that were clearly not Turk-specific such as unions and political parties. Hence, religious group involvement could be providing the kind of training in civic and political issues and actions that leads to higher levels of knowledge, interest and internal efficacy and to higher levels of participation more generally. Moreover, the Turkish youth showed a tendency towards bicultural integration, that is, they were positively oriented towards both German and Turkish culture.

5.5.5 Italy

In Italy, data were collected from Italian, Albanian and Moroccan youth. Voting in elections was the preferred method of participation among the Italian youth and was considered effective, while minority youth (who are excluded from voting under current laws in Italy) would do so if the opportunity was provided. Albanian and Moroccan youth expressed a willingness to participate, and participation was considered by them as an indicator of social integration; they selected those means that Italian society allows them, but avoided those forms (e.g., demonstrations) that might be perceived as illegal and jeopardise their chances of being integrated. The most typical forms of participation that were used instead were online participation and non-conventional forms such as consumerism and boycotting. Citizenship

was construed as a multidimensional construct with three independent dimensions, namely belonging, identity and rights. Among the Albanian and Moroccan youth, *belonging* was multiple and flexible, especially among the second generation, and *identity* was not necessarily related to the legal dimension of citizenship. However 'formal' citizenship was viewed as crucial as it bestows legal *rights* and increases opportunities to participate in the public sphere from which many minority individuals are excluded and institutionally subordinated.

A small gender gap in participation was found, with a major orientation of young women toward civic action while young men were more orientated towards political participation. For females, more than for their male peers, political participation appeared to be a matter of family support and of family models, with females requiring more encouragement from their families to act in the public domain. The findings suggest that family support for participation and family cultural capital are responsible for the gender gap in political participation.

The data also revealed the importance for youth of having significant and structured opportunities for participation in the community, and being involved in a large network. These opportunities allowed them to learn and to share with other people (peers, adults) actual experiences and norms of participation, to develop a sense of belonging to the community and a positive relationship with the wider society. It was also found that the quality of experiences in participatory contexts increased the social well-being of young people.

5.5.6 Northern Ireland
In Northern Ireland, data were collected from Northern Irish Catholic, Northern Irish Protestant, Chinese and Polish youth. Although the levels of political activity that were reported by all groups were low, young people were interested in societal issues and were aware of the importance of their involvement in civic and political life in principle. However a number of factors acted as barriers to translating this interest into action, with the main ones being: (i) a lack of perceived efficacy – there was a predominant belief that there was a low probability that any action they would take would bring about change; (ii) the negative stereotypes held by others about the participants' ethnic groups, especially by politicians and older adults and people from other ethnic or political groups; and (iii) the history of intergroup conflict in Northern Ireland, which also impacted on the willingness to engage in particular forms of action.

There were common predictors of acts of civil disobedience and illegal participation amongst the members of all groups. Not observing social norms, and trust in the media, predicted illegal participation, while engagement with a place of worship was associated with a reluctance to engage in illegal participation activities. Males engaged more in these forms of participation than females, and lower socio-economic status was also related to the use of civil disobedience and illegal forms of participation.

However, there were also differences in the predictors of participation among the different groups. For example, trust in political and social institutions as well as genealogical identification appeared to be particularly and consistently important for the Protestant respondents. Political interest was consistently important for the Polish subgroup, and being satisfied with government was a consistent predictor of participation for the Chinese subgroup.

5.5.7 Portugal
In Portugal, data were collected from Portuguese, Brazilian and Angolan youth. Although the participants emphasised disinterest in and apathy towards participation, they also mentioned that they had insufficient knowledge to engage, and showed a predisposition to be more concerned with non-conventional forms of participation. They criticised the excessive bureaucracy which was involved in the legalisation of immigrants and the lack of means and mechanisms that could get young people closer to the political sphere, and they emphasised the lack of responsiveness of the state to the needs of youth and criticised tokenism which simply created a false appearance of inclusion. The image of politicians was very negative, with the participants believing that politicians were untrustworthy and never kept their promises. The participants tended to emphasise constraints over opportunities. In other words, they had a negative vision about their real opportunities for civic and political participation, preferring to put the emphasis on their lack of knowledge about how to engage, the weakness of immigration policies, the excessive bureaucracy involved in the legalisation of immigrants, the lack of available information, the discrimination and prejudice which they encountered, etc.

Cultural heritage appeared to play an important role in encouraging civic and political engagement and participation, especially that of young migrants. For example, Angolan youth were more motivated to participate when they considered the lack of meaningful opportunities for democratic participation in their country of origin. However, the cultural background of young migrants and their families may have interfered negatively with their opportunities to be involved in schools, thus generating the impression that they were less committed and interested. Additionally, some migrant parents expressed doubts regarding the actual interest of schools in their home culture, reinforcing the idea that opportunities for a real intercultural education might be scarce. However, here, cultural capital played a positive role, fostering a particular interest and enabling these young migrants to position themselves in relationship to the political conditions of their country of residence and opportunities to participate in it.

5.5.8 Sweden
In Sweden, data were collected from Swedish, Kurdish (of Turkish background) and Iraqi youth. Over half the participants had never performed any of the civic or political activities which were explored, while the most popular activities were those that do not required much effort. Voting was the most frequent, followed by online participation. Political consumerism was also a fairly common activity, with illegal activities being the least frequent. In general, costs in terms of time appeared to be a strong predictor. A striking finding was that there were virtually no gender differences. However, younger individuals were less active. There were differences between majority and minority/migrant youth, particularly in terms of how they were affected by their varied socioeconomic backgrounds. Minority and migrant youth did not have access to the same basic resources to enable them to equalise their chances to develop their citizenship to its full capacity.

While the manifested actions were generally low, latent forms of civic involvement and political interest as well as the declared intentions to get involved, if needed, were substantially more frequent. Few individuals were genuinely passive.

A feeling of duty was the most common reason given for participating during the preceding twelve months. This was closely followed by a feeling of concern and a chance to have an influence, which seems to suggest that the participants were willing to get engaged when they

felt that there were reasons to do so. The most active individuals tended to believe that their parents were more likely to approve political involvement, had parents who were politically active and had parents who believed that engagement is necessary to achieve change in society.

5.5.9 Turkey
In Turkey, data were collected from Turkish and Roma youth and from Turkish youth who were resettlers from Bulgaria. Political interest, political attentiveness and online participation were the main forms of engagement and participation reported. However, the Roma participants in general and the older female Turkish resettlers from Bulgaria were exceptions in this regard; although these groups generally spent high amounts of time watching TV, they did not for the most part follow news or TV programmes on civic and political issues, and these participants also had no or restricted access to the Internet.

For the Roma, unemployment and poverty emerged as the most prominent impediments to civic and political participation. In particular, low levels of schooling, of parental education and of household income, and getting married at a young age, having more children and involvement in low paid jobs, prevented participation. For young female minority individuals in particular, early marriage and poverty were the main impediments to participation. By contrast, the main impediments for majority individuals were the university entrance exam, lack of economic independence, parents' prohibitive attitudes, and the existence of hostile police interventions against those who engage in demonstrations.

Older individuals were more cautious than younger individuals over participation in that they tended to condemn forms of protest such as marches, demonstrations and graffiti. They typically regarded these as deviant behaviours and they also emphasised their ineffectiveness and inconvenience. For almost all participants, regardless of ethnic group, the most important sources of influence were family members (especially the father) and friends. Family elders were also frequently mentioned. The media (particularly the visual media rather than printed) and the Internet were reported as influential sources of information.

5.5.10 Conclusion
Overall, the findings obtained within each individual country confirmed the existence of substantial variability in patterns of political and civic participation, and in the predictors of the different forms of participation. This variability was found across countries, across ethnic groups within countries, and across forms of participation. The variability reveals that members of different ethnic groups do not perceive the structure of the society in which they live, and opportunities for participation, in the same ways. Varying cultural, institutional, legal, socio-economic and social factors all impact on how they make sense of their experiences of society and on how they behave. In addition, the particularities of the conditions under which they live lead them to perceive the legitimacy and the effectiveness of different forms of participation in differing ways, which in turn has an impact on their relative willingness to engage in specific forms of political and civic action. In short, the principal findings which were found in the analysis of the existing large-scale datasets (see section 4) were confirmed by the findings from the collection and analysis of new data in the project. Participation, and the predictors of participation, vary according to a wide range of macro, demographic, social and psychological factors. These findings serve to further reinforce the conclusion that theoretical explanations in this area need to encompass simultaneously all four levels of factors, and need to address the specificities of particular

forms of participation among particular demographic subgroups living within particular national contexts.

6. WP7: Theoretical integration and the development of recommendations for policy and practice

The final research work package, WP7, had two main goals. The first was to produce a theoretical integration of the outputs from the preceding theoretical and empirical WPs. The second goal was to use the research findings from the project to formulate evidence-based recommendations for policy, practice and intervention for enhancing civic and political engagement and participation, especially among youth, women, minorities and migrants.

6.1 Theoretical integration

The task of theoretical integration required a synthesis of the theoretical work conducted by WP3 and WP4 on macro, social and psychological factors. This integration also needed to take into account the findings from WP5 and WP6, which revealed that different configurations of macro, social, demographic and psychological factors produce different patterns of participation among different subgroups of citizens (as defined in terms of age, gender, ethnicity and migration status) living within different national contexts. Under WP7, four theoretical papers were produced addressing these issues.

In their paper, Zani, Cicognani and Albanesi (2012b) argue for the fundamental importance of psychosocial factors. Acknowledging the importance of institutional and contextual factors (e.g., the design of the electoral system, the presence or absence of mobilising channels, the provision of civic education, and the political history and economic development of a country), they discuss the findings from WP5 and WP6 which show that: (i) within a particular demographic subgroup, the factors that drive participation vary according to the specific form of participation that is involved; (ii) different predictors are operative in different demographic subgroups; (iii) different predictors are operative in countries that are characterised by different macro factors, with the contribution of macro factors varying according to the particular form of participation that is involved; and (iv) macro factors, demographic factors and individual level factors interact in complex ways to drive patterns of participation. Thus, Zani et al. attribute considerable importance and significance to macro contextual factors. Nevertheless, they argue that psychological processes at the intra-individual level and psychosocial processes at the interpersonal level are core to the ways in which participatory behaviours occur within particular institutional settings. Their theoretical account incorporates the eight different categories of psychosocial factors outlined in the WP4 paper by Zani et al. (2012a) (see Figure 5), and attributes a central role to a person's sense of community in particular.

Amnå and Ekman (2012) instead return to the concept of the standby citizen originally developed in the theoretical work of WP3. Amnå and Ekman make the important point that standby citizens need to be distinguished from disengaged citizens. Although both standby and disengaged citizens appear to be passive, standby citizens may in fact be an asset to democracy because of their political interest, trust and inclination to participate. In exploring the characteristics of standby citizens, Amnå and Ekman argue that such citizens are characterised best in terms of their psychological characteristics, especially their levels of political interest and trust in politicians and/or political institutions. However, this configuration of psychological characteristics is specific to particular kinds of macro political contexts which serve to sustain high levels of institutional trust. Whether or not standby citizens continue to remain outside the participatory arena or whether they choose to step in

and actively participate depends on the extent to which politicians and political institutions remain trustworthy. In contexts where their trustworthiness declines, this change in the macro institutional characteristics of a country may be sufficient to lead standby citizens to become active participants. Thus, participation (or non-participation) is a product of the interaction between psychological and macro contextual factors.

In his account, Emler (2012b) focuses more directly on macro factors themselves. He explores how institutional systems can raise the costs of participating so that they inhibit participatory actions by citizens (e.g., in the case of election systems, having cumbersome voter registration procedures, or making the casting of votes difficult and time-consuming). An appropriate way to think about psychological factors such as political interest and attentiveness to political matters, and even internal efficacy, is in terms of the extent to which these responses are more or less encouraged by the political environment in which citizens live. Furthermore, the extent of such encouragement varies according to national political context and the opportunity structure which that context creates. One of the reasons why participation has declined in recent decades may be because politicians have increasingly centralised their own power during this period, while at the same time withdrawing from the direct mobilization of citizens (which is known to be a powerful predictor of participation), relying on less effective indirect media advertising campaigns instead. A second reason why participation has declined in recent decades may be because of changes to people's work and recreation patterns which have progressively eroded the time available for political participation. Furthermore, these same changes have also eroded the time available for organisational membership (one of the most consistent predictors of participation), thereby reducing opportunities for social ties and political discussion. This loss of opportunities for political discussion is particularly significant, because such discussion fosters political interest, political sophistication and personal political efficacy. In other words, today, citizens have far fewer opportunities to acquire many of the psychological factors which drive participation.

The final paper, by Barrett (2012b), provides two interconnecting theoretical models. The first model renders explicit the relationships between the different causal pathways operating at the *macro* and *social* levels (see Figure 6). This is a direct extension of the model of proximal social factors developed for WP4 (Figure 3). Macro contextual factors may be subdivided into two main categories: (i) the specific characteristics of the institutions and civic and political processes in the country in which an individual lives, which create the political opportunity structures for the people who live within that country; and (ii) the broader characteristics of the country, including the historical, economic, cultural and population characteristics of the country concerned. These two sets of macro factors themselves causally impact on the social factors, which mediate the effects of macro factors on the individual. The second model is the model of the *psychological* factors which impact on civic and political participation that was developed for WP4 (see Figure 4). This model describes the relationships between the cognitive, affective and motivational drivers of three specific forms of participation, namely a conventional form of political participation (voting), a non-conventional form of political participation (collective action) and a form of civic participation (volunteering). The two models (Figures 6 and 4) are inter-connected in that the second model provides a detailed unpacking of two of the elements (i.e., the intra-individual cognitive factors and the intra-individual affective and motivational factors) that are included in the first model and therefore locks directly onto the first model. When linked together in this way, these two models provide a full integrative account of the numerous pathways that can enhance or hinder these three forms of participation. However, the factors and causal

pathways which are included in this integrative model only denote *possible* factors and pathways. In practice, different subsets of factors and pathways can be the primary drivers of different participatory behaviours, among different demographic subgroups and in different macro settings. For this reason, this model predicts considerable variability both across and within populations in the specific macro, social and psychological factors and pathways which are actually operative, depending on the particular participatory behaviour, the particular demographic subgroup, and the particular macro-societal setting in which that subgroup is living.

6.2 Recommendations for policy, practice and intervention
Across WPs 3 to 6, the PIDOP project identified a large range of factors which can promote political and civic participation as well as a large range of factors which can inhibit or hamper participation. In the light of the findings which emerged from WP5 and WP6 in particular, WP7 developed a series of detailed policy recommendations concerning the actions which may be taken by many different social and political actors and institutions to enhance political and civic participation among youth, women, migrants and minorities. These policy recommendations were broken down under the following four main headings:
1. Recommendations for politicians and political institutions
2. Recommendations for media producers and media organisations
3. Recommendations for ministries of education, educational professionals and schools
4. Recommendations for civil society actors, including youth workers, youth and leisure centres, youth and education NGOs, and leaders of ethnic minority communities

Examples of the recommendations that were made under each of these headings are as follows.

6.2.1 Examples of the recommendations for politicians and political institutions

- Young people should be treated more attentively and with greater respect by politicians and other adults. Politicians need to show young people that they do listen and pay attention to their views on civic and political matters, individually and as a group.

- Politicians and policymakers should view civic and non-conventional forms of participation as equally important as conventional forms of participation, and should address, and provide feedback on, issues which have been raised through these alternative forms of activism.

- National, regional and local governments should ensure that all youth have access to membership of a range of organisations, including youth and leisure centres, sports clubs, cultural centres, local community centres, etc., and should encourage youth to take up membership of these organisations.

- There should be a more systematic and consistent implementation of EU anti-discrimination laws, which would help to counter the development of feelings of exclusion and alienation among ethnic minority and migrant communities as a consequence of the prejudice and inequity which they experience.

- Political and civic institutions and policymakers need to be more aware of the internal diversity which exists within all national and ethnic groups, and alert to the fact that

different policies may be required to meet the needs of different subgroups, including those of girls and young women as well as those of boys and young men. This should occur at all levels in the political and civic systems, but it is especially important that institutions and policymakers at the local level are aware of this variability and internal diversity.

6.2.2 Examples of the recommendations for media producers and media organisations

- The news media should represent the participatory actions of young people – such as participation in protests and demonstrations – with greater fairness, respect and seriousness, so that young people can feel that their arguments and positions are being accurately and impartially represented by the news media.

- The news media should not focus exclusively on the negative, disruptive or anti-social incidents that occur at young people's participation events such as demonstrations, but should instead give equal attention to the positive and well-intentioned character of demonstrations and other social and political participatory efforts by youth.

- Media organisations should set up and effectively publicise communication channels to enable youth, women, ethnic minorities and migrants to have the opportunity to provide feedback on how they have been represented in the media.

6.2.3 Examples of the recommendations for ministries of education, schools and educational professionals

- Ministries of education should ensure that more effective education and information is provided by schools about political and civic issues, and about how to become involved in politics and other voluntary spheres of activity.

- Schools should provide a greater range of opportunities for young people to obtain practical experience of active civic and political participation, and should facilitate positive high quality participation experiences through school projects and volunteering activities that are embedded in the local community in particular.

- Because the development of the skills which are required for active citizenship depends not only on the acquisition of knowledge but also on the accumulation of practical experience, students should be given more responsibility in schools through participation in democratic decision-making with teaching staff, so that they learn democracy and participation through their daily practical experience (and not only through formal civic/citizenship education classes).

- Schools should take steps to ensure that their students have sufficient time to undertake civic and political activities, and should consider the attainment of high quality participatory activity as a formal educational objective.

- Educationalists who are developing interventions aimed at enhancing levels of political and civic participation should be mindful that different forms of intervention may be required to enhance different types of participation.

- Educationalists who are developing interventions aimed at enhancing levels of political and civic participation should be mindful that different forms of intervention may be required for younger vs. older individuals, women vs. men, and minority vs. majority individuals.

- Educationalists who are developing interventions aimed at enhancing levels of political and civic participation should focus on amplifying the political interest and internal efficacy of young people in particular. Thus, educational programmes in civic/citizenship education should be aimed primarily at:
  - ➢ enabling young people to acquire an interest in political and civic affairs
  - ➢ fostering their knowledge and understanding of political and civic matters
  - ➢ supporting the development of the skills which they require to participate effectively in the political and civic life of their community and country

- Schools should recognise the fact that minority and migrant youth may have a fluid sense of their own identities which combines the culture of their parents' homeland, the culture of the country in which they are living, and other cultures specific to youth.

6.2.4 Examples of the recommendations for civil society actors, including youth workers, youth and leisure centres, youth and education NGOs, and leaders of ethnic minority communities

- Youth workers, youth and leisure centres, and youth and education NGOs should strengthen activities requiring shared decision-making between youth and adults in different community contexts, for instance in leisure, sports and volunteering activities. In particular, they should involve young people in decisions concerning the orientation of activities, their organisation, and the procedures which will be followed in their pursuit.

- Youth and leisure centres, and youth and education NGOs, should also improve social inclusion processes and guarantee equal opportunities for women, minorities and migrants in order to increase civic engagement and political participation among these subgroups.

- Civil society organisations should make greater efforts to attract young people, particularly disengaged youth who are not members of any organisations. Such youth should be offered a wide range of organisational opportunities for participation and the opportunity to obtain high quality participation experiences within organisations.

- Women's organisations should also make greater efforts to reach out to girls and young women, and to offer them a wide range of organisational opportunities for participation and the opportunity to obtain high quality participation experiences.

- Ethnic community leaders and youth agencies and NGOs should encourage young people from ethnic minority and migrant groups to take part as volunteers in projects involving their own ethnic community. Such projects might, for example, focus on heritage and cultural issues, promote the role of their own community in a multicultural environment, challenge ethnic stereotypes, or promote inclusion.

A copy of the full set of recommendations that was developed by the PIDOP project can be downloaded from http://www.fahs.surrey.ac.uk/pidop/Recommendations.htm.

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Table 1: The new typology of different forms of participation developed by Ekman and Amnå (2012).

	Non-participation (*disengagement*)		Civil participation (latent–political)		Political participation (manifest)		
	Active forms (antipolitical)	**Passive forms (apolitical)**	**Social involvement (*attention*)**	**Civic engagement (*action*)**	**Formal political participation**	**Activism (extra-parliamentary political participation)**	
						Legal/ extra-parliamentary protests or actions	**Illegal protests or actions**
Individual forms	Non-voting Actively avoiding reading newspapers or watching TV when it comes to political issues Avoid talking about politics Perceiving politics as disgusting Political disaffection	Non-voting Perceiving politics as uninteresting and unimportant Political passivity	Taking interest in politics and society Perceiving politics as important	Writing to an editor Giving money to charity Discussing politics and societal issues, with friends or on the Internet Reading newspapers and watching TV when it comes to political issues Recycling	Voting in elections and referenda Deliberate acts of non-voting or blank voting Contacting political representatives or civil servants Running for or holding public office Donating money to political parties or organizations	Buycotting, boycotting and political consumption Signing petitions Handing out political leaflets	Civil disobedience Politically motivated attacks on property
Collective forms	Deliberate non-political lifestyles, e.g. hedonism, consumerism In extreme cases: random acts of non-political violence (riots), reflecting frustration, alienation or social exclusion	"Non-reflected" non-political lifestyles	Belonging to a group with societal focus Identifying with a certain ideology and/or party Life-style related involvement: music, group identity, clothes, et cetera For example: veganism, right-wing Skinhead scene, or left-wing anarcho-punk scene	Volunteering in social work, e.g. to support women's shelter or to help homeless people Charity work or faith-based community work Activity within community based organizations	Being a member of a political party, an organization, or a trade union Activity within a party, an organization or a trade union (voluntary work or attend meetings)	Involvement in new social movements or forums Demonstrating, participating in strikes, protests and other actions (e.g. street festivals with a distinct political agenda)	Civil disobedience actions Sabotaging or obstructing roads and railways Squatting buildings Participating in violent demonstrations or animal rights actions Violence confrontations with political opponents or the police

Figure 1: The nature of Discursive Nodal Points (DNPs)
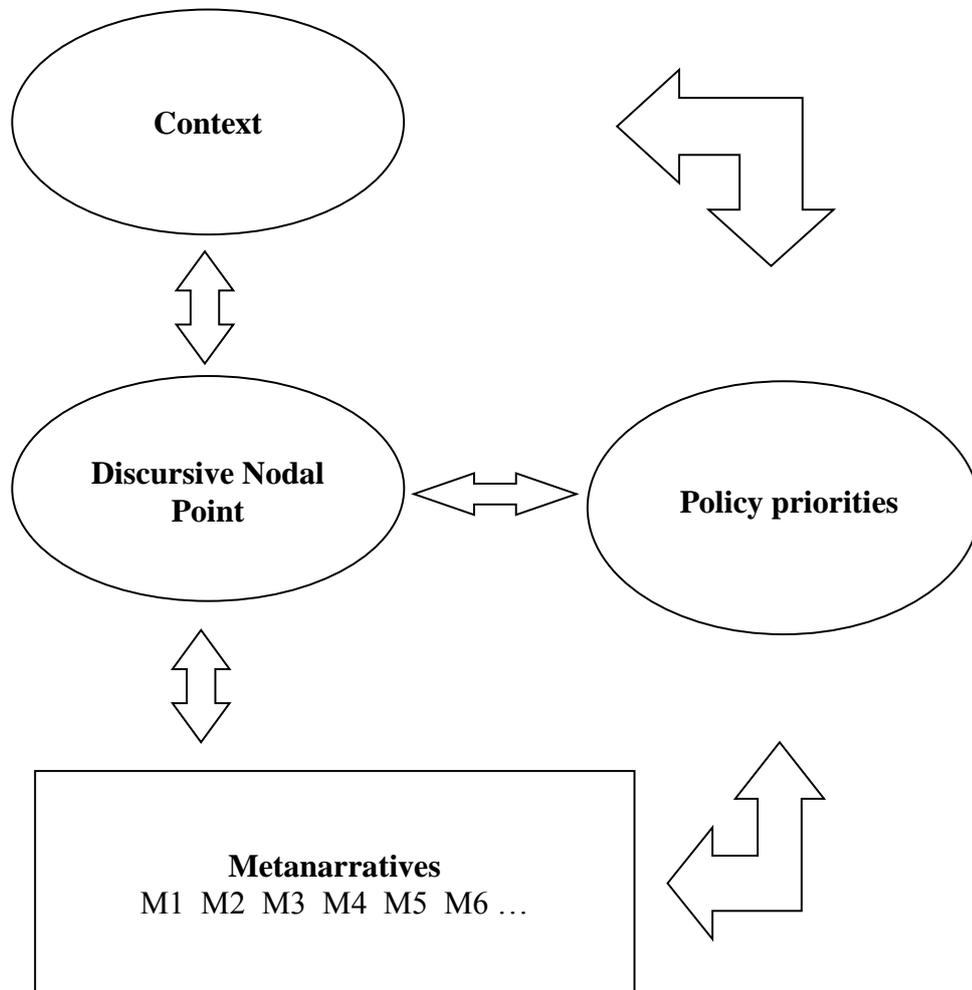
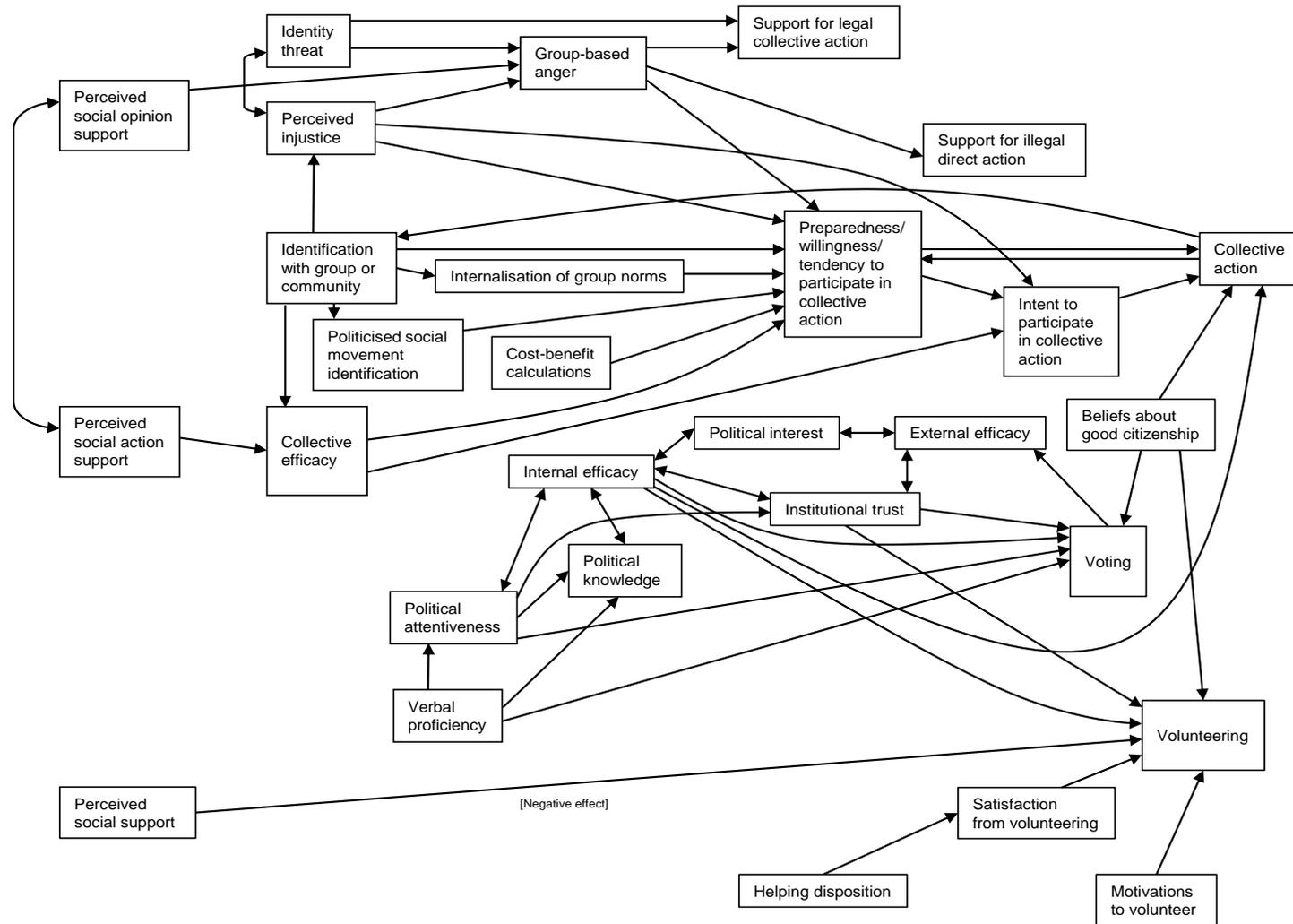**Figure 2:** Theoretical model of the psychological factors underlying political participation developed by Emler (2012)
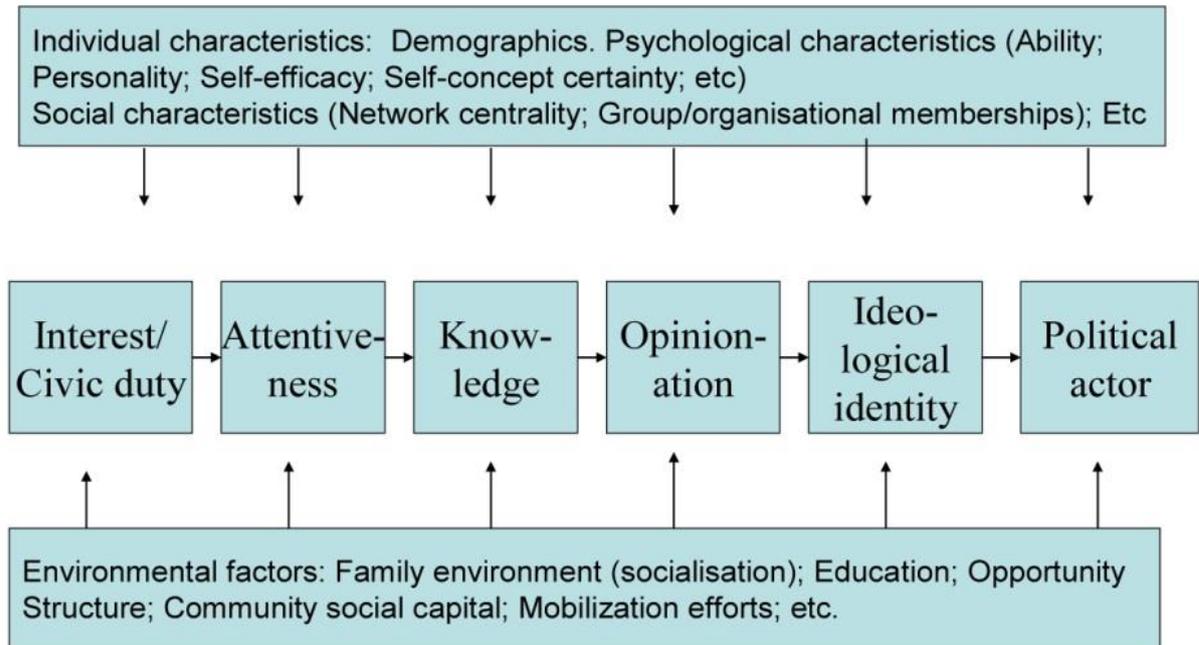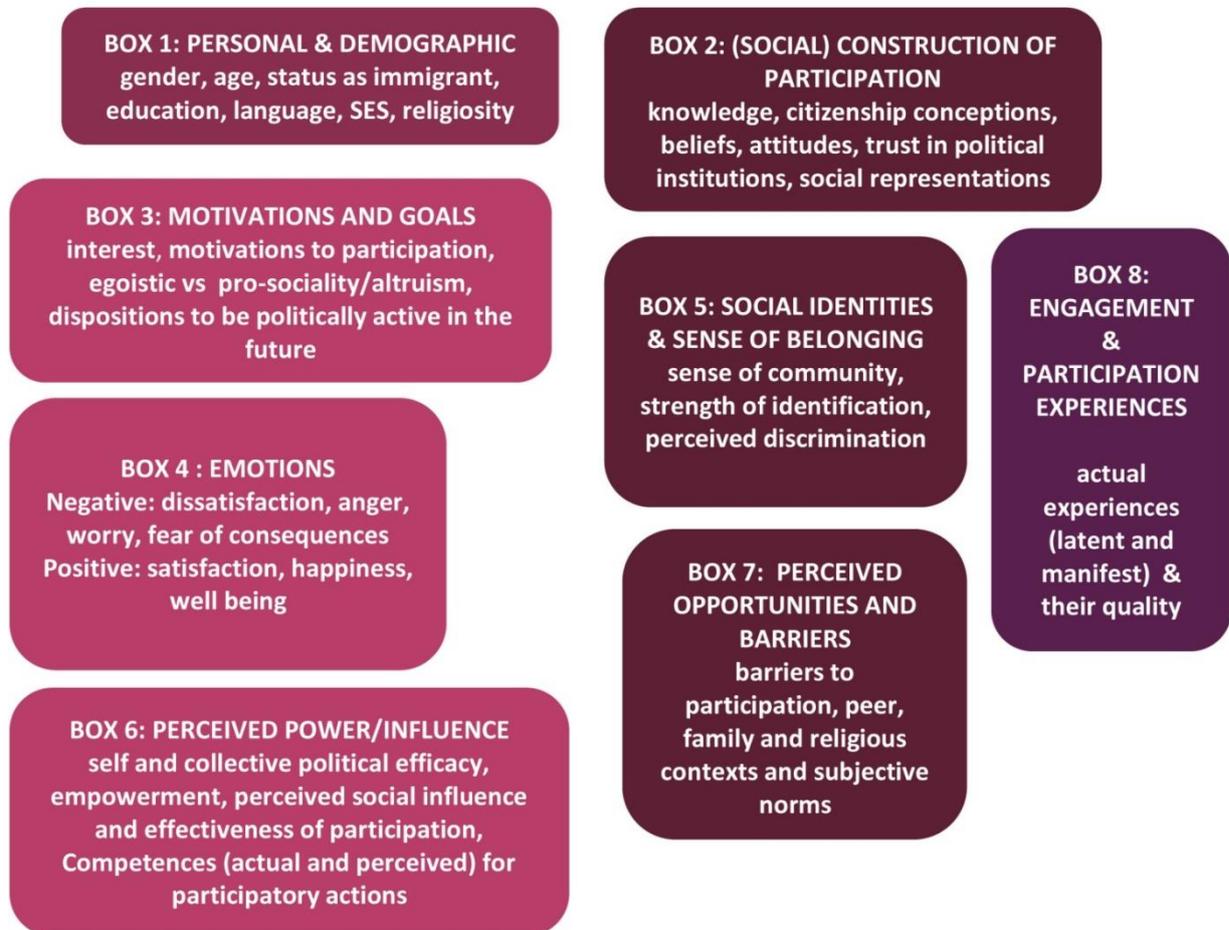
Figure 3: Theoretical model of the proximal social factors driving civic and political participation developed by Barrett (2012a)
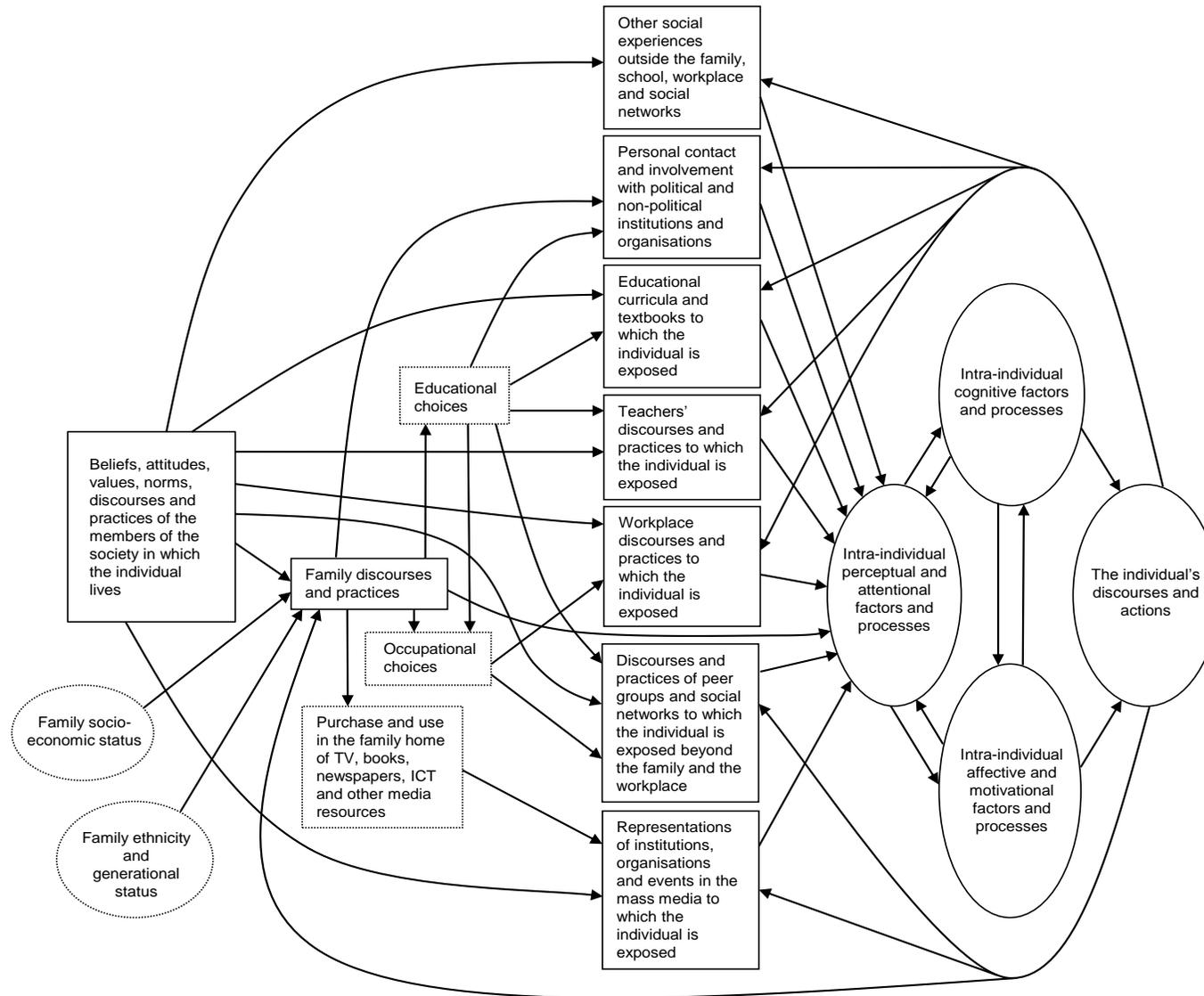
Figure 4: Theoretical model of the psychological factors influencing collective action, voting and volunteering developed by Barrett (2012a)

Figure 5: Theoretical model of the psychosocial dimensions underlying civic and political participation developed by Zani, Cicognani and Albanesi (2012a)

BOX 1: PERSONAL & DEMOGRAPHIC
gender, age, status as immigrant, education, language, SES, religiosity

BOX 2: (SOCIAL) CONSTRUCTION OF PARTICIPATION
knowledge, citizenship conceptions, beliefs, attitudes, trust in political institutions, social representations

BOX 3: MOTIVATIONS AND GOALS
interest, motivations to participation, egoistic vs pro-sociality/altruism, dispositions to be politically active in the future

BOX 5: SOCIAL IDENTITIES & SENSE OF BELONGING
sense of community, strength of identification, perceived discrimination

BOX 8: ENGAGEMENT & PARTICIPATION EXPERIENCES

actual experiences (latent and manifest) & their quality

BOX 4 : EMOTIONS
Negative: dissatisfaction, anger, worry, fear of consequences
Positive: satisfaction, happiness, well being

BOX 7: PERCEIVED OPPORTUNITIES AND BARRIERS
barriers to participation, peer, family and religious contexts and subjective norms

BOX 6: PERCEIVED POWER/INFLUENCE
self and collective political efficacy, empowerment, perceived social influence and effectiveness of participation, Competences (actual and perceived) for participatory actions

Figure 6: Theoretical model of the macro and social factors driving civic and political participation developed by Barrett (2012b)