# Elections and electoral behavior

Who votes? → Who is undecided, and who abstains? → Weather and elections → Other forms of participation

Vote choice introduction

PP deadline 27.10.

Reading week 7.11.

Multi-level setting

Discussion seminar 21.11.

First possible examination date 19.12.

Natural disasters, sport, sharks → The role of context → The role of campaigns
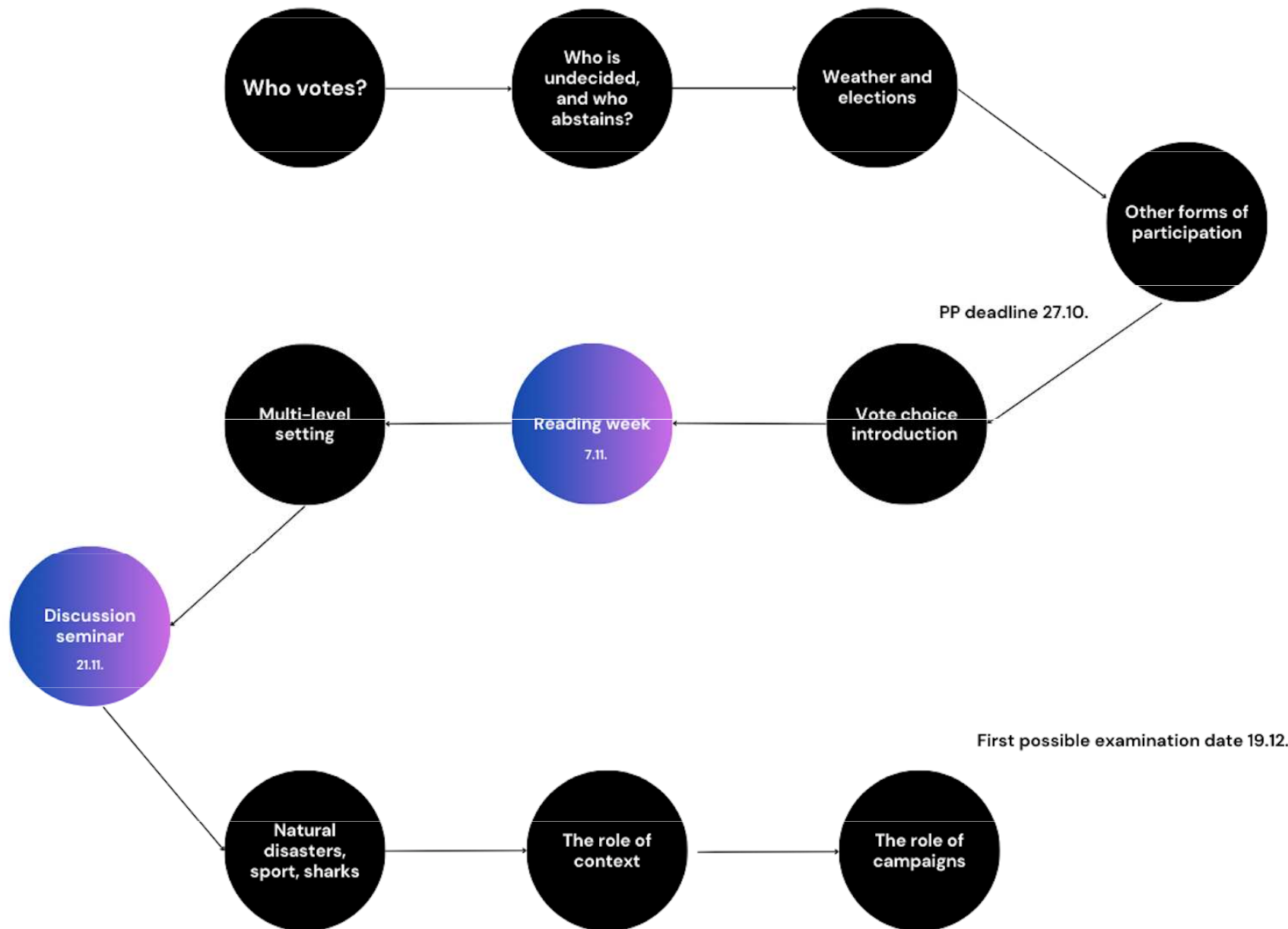
# Position paper deadline

**27.10.2024 23:59**

- 3 topics -> you choose one
- 5-6 pages -> 1800 signs=1 page
- Your argumentation as a core skill for the paper
- Secondary sources also needed
- 10 points

...also document for case study

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/120jDtv1CNVuucEm1CLkToAEbQoWfi OKQDTKrcn57J44/edit?usp=sharing

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# Other forms of political participation – referenda, protests, petitions

**Jakub Jusko**

# Political participation

"Activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies" (Verba et al. 1995, 38).

"Action by ordinary citizens directed
toward influencing some political outcomes" (Brady 1999, 737)

1) **Electoral participation**
2) **Consumer participation**
3) **Protest activity**
4) Party activity
5) Contact activity (Teorell et al. 2007)

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**Table 2.** Typology of different forms of disengagement, involvement, civic engagement and political participation

| | 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<br><br>Actively avoiding reading newspapers or watching TV when it comes to political issues<br><br>Avoid talking about politics<br><br>Perceiving politics as disgusting<br><br>Political disaffection | Non-voting<br><br>Perceiving politics as uninteresting and unimportant<br><br>Political passivity | Taking interest in politics and society<br><br>Perceiving politics as important | Writing to an editor<br><br>Giving money to charity<br><br>Discussing politics and societal issues, with friends or on the Internet<br><br>Reading newspapers and watching TV when it comes to political issues<br><br>Recycling | Voting in elections and referenda<br><br>Deliberate acts of non-voting or blank voting<br><br>Contacting political representatives or civil servants<br><br>Running for or holding public office<br><br>Donating money to political parties or organizations | Buycotting, boycotting and political consumption<br><br>Signing petitions<br><br>Handing out political leaflets | Civil disobedience<br><br>Politically motivated attacks on property |
| **Collective forms** | Deliberate non-political lifestyles, e.g. hedonism, consumerism<br><br>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<br><br>Identifying with a certain ideology and/or party<br><br>Life-style related involvement: music, group identity, clothes, et cetera<br><br>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<br><br>Charity work or faith-based community work<br><br>Activity within community based organizations | Being a member of a political party, an organization, or a trade union<br><br>Activity within a party, an organization or a trade union (voluntary work or attend meetings) | Involvement in new social movements or forums<br><br>Demonstrating, participating in strikes, protests and other actions (e.g. street festivals with a distinct political agenda) | Civil disobedience actions<br><br>Sabotaging or obstructing roads and railways<br><br>Squatting buildings<br><br>Participating in violent demonstrations or animal rights actions<br><br>Violence confrontations with political opponents or the police |

Ekman and Amna, 2012

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- **Referendums** as Direct Democratic Expressions of Electoral Behaviour

- **Demonstrations** as Expressions of Political Dissatisfaction and Mobilization

- **Petitions** as Low-Cost Political Engagement Complementing Elections

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# Political participation



Factors (X) → Referendums, Demonstrations, Petitions → Outcomes (Y)

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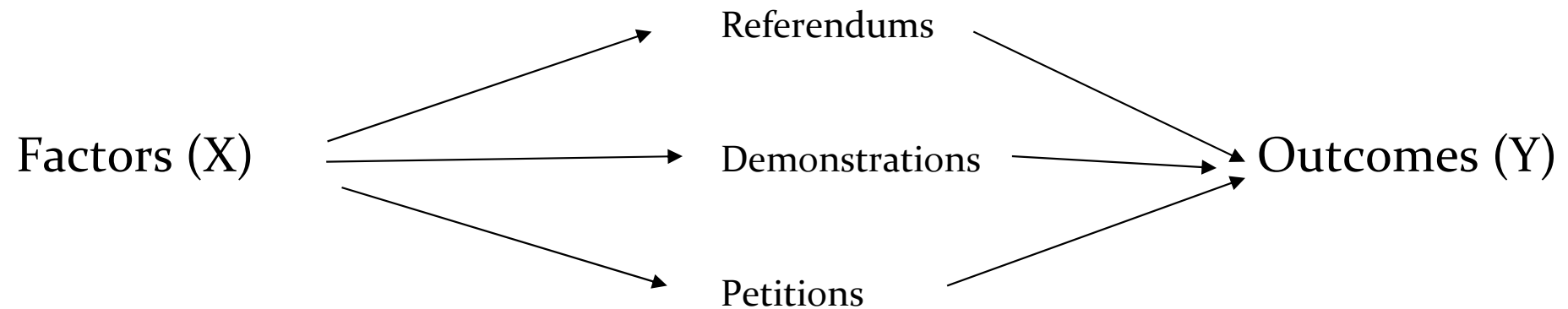
# Referendums

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# Referendum

- The main tool of direct democracy in presence (increase in recent decades)
- Origin in Switzerland in 13th century
- Mechanism which allows citizens to express their attitude on a specific question mostly by either a „**yes**" or a „**no**" vote

- Similar attributes as elections – universal suffrage, secret vote, equal weight of votes etc.
- Different characteristics to elections – quorum rules, turnout fluctuation, contextuality

- Different **motivations** of the actors involved

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# Example - Slovak referendums

| | Year | Topic | Turnout | Result |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1994 | Privatization | 19,96 | Not valid |
| 2 | 1997 | NATO / President | 9,53 | Not valid / marred |
| 3 | 1998 | Strategic companies | 44,25 | Not valid |
| 4 | 2000 | Early elections | 20,03 | Not valid |
| **5** | **2003** | **EU** | **52,15** | **Valid – yes** |
| 6 | 2004 | Early elections | 35,86 | Not valid |
| 7 | 2010 | Various | 22,84 | Not valid |
| 8 | 2015 | Family | 21,41 | Not valid |
| 9 | 2023 | Early elections | 27,25 | Not valid |

# Who participates in referendums?

- Switzerland (Geneva canton): (Goldberg and Sciarini, 2023)
- Individual-level (age + past participation)
- Contextual factors: importance of the issue, complexity

- Netherlands: (van Egmond et al. 1998)
- Individual characteristics (education, interest) are dependent upon contextual factors (importance of the issue)

**Similar turnout behaviour than in regular elections**
**BUT**
**Crucial role of referendum importance and political (government) parties in determining the referendum behaviour**

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Friggin EU!



THE DIVISIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CAPE
WHITE AREA
BY ORDER SECRETARY
DIE AFDELINGSRAAD VAN DIE KAAP
BLANKE GEBIED
OP LAS SEKRETARIS

**Vote choice in referendums:**
**1) personal attitudes**
**2) role of political parties and mobilisation**
**3) role of question framing**

*Condition 1*

Consider the following ballot proposition and tell how you would vote if it were on your ballot: Measure 12: Eliminates the Right of Same-Sex Couples to Marry
  Description – Amends state law to recognize marriage as a union between one man and one woman.

  <1> Vote Yes
  <2> Vote No
  <3> I would skip voting on this question

*Condition 2*

Consider the following ballot proposition and tell how you would vote if it were on your ballot: Measure 12: The Protect Marriage Act

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12

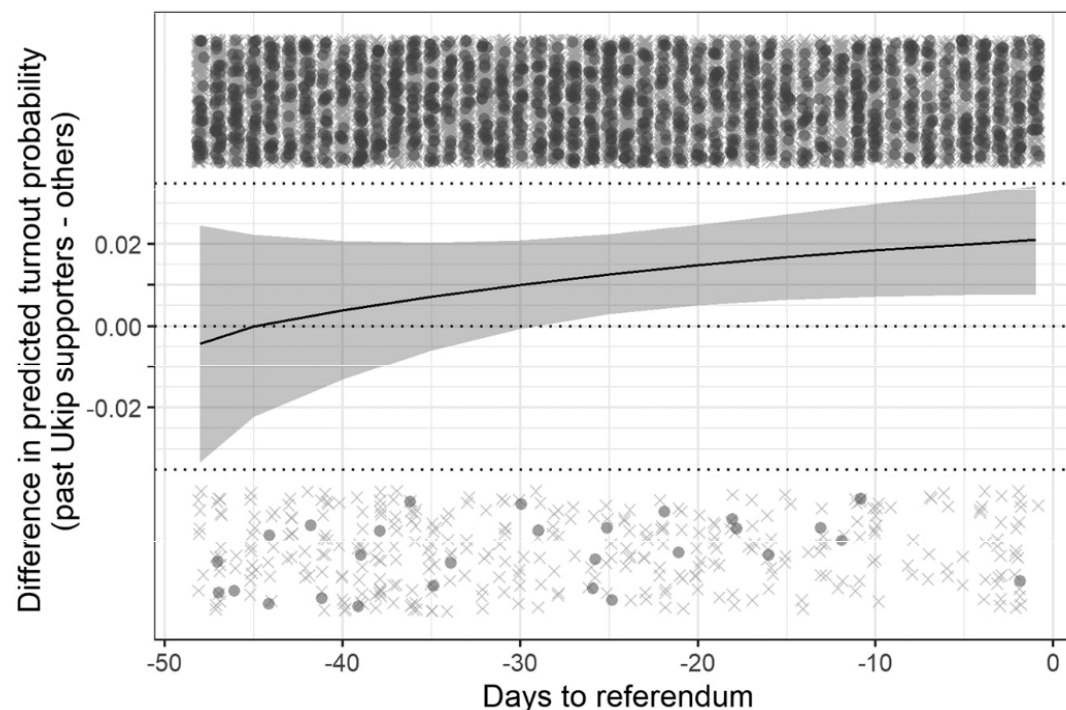# Rudolph 2020 and occasional voters in Brexit



**Figure 2.** Difference in the predicted probability of turnout between past Ukip and 'other party' supporters in the 12 pre-referendum weeks.

Note: Average marginal effects from a binary logistic regression of Ukip support at the 2015 general election, response date (1–48 days before referendum) and their interaction term on self-reported turnout intention ('fairly'/'very likely'). BES survey weights for Great Britain used. Ninety-five per cent confidence intervals shown. Weighted $N = 12,551$. Controls for socio-demographics are included. Strips indicate distribution of turnout intention variable (upper strip: ones; lower strip: zeros). Crosses represent 'other party' supporters ($N = 10,798/N = 329$), circles Ukip supporters ($N = 1397/N = 27$). The full model is displayed in Appendix Table A.13, model 2.

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# Positives and negatives of referendum?

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# Positives and negatives of referendum?

- **Anderson and Goodyear-Grant (2010)**
- **Why are highly informed citizens sceptical of referenda? (Canada)**
- the incompetent public explanation
- the confidence in government explanation (ethics, competence, responsiveness)
- the concern for minority rights explanation

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# Demonstrations

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# Demonstrations

- Unconventional political participation -> aiming to influence politics through non-institutionalised means (not electoral arena)

- More open act of political engagement that involves a relatively high amount of time commitment (compared to petitions)

- More of political reasons (boycotts more ethical)

- More impactful for protesters when protesting **locally** (vs. large-scale) (Wallace et al. 2014) – immigration rights in the US

- More impactful for overall support when done **non-violently** (Shuman et al. 2024)

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# Demonstrations effects



**Key figure**

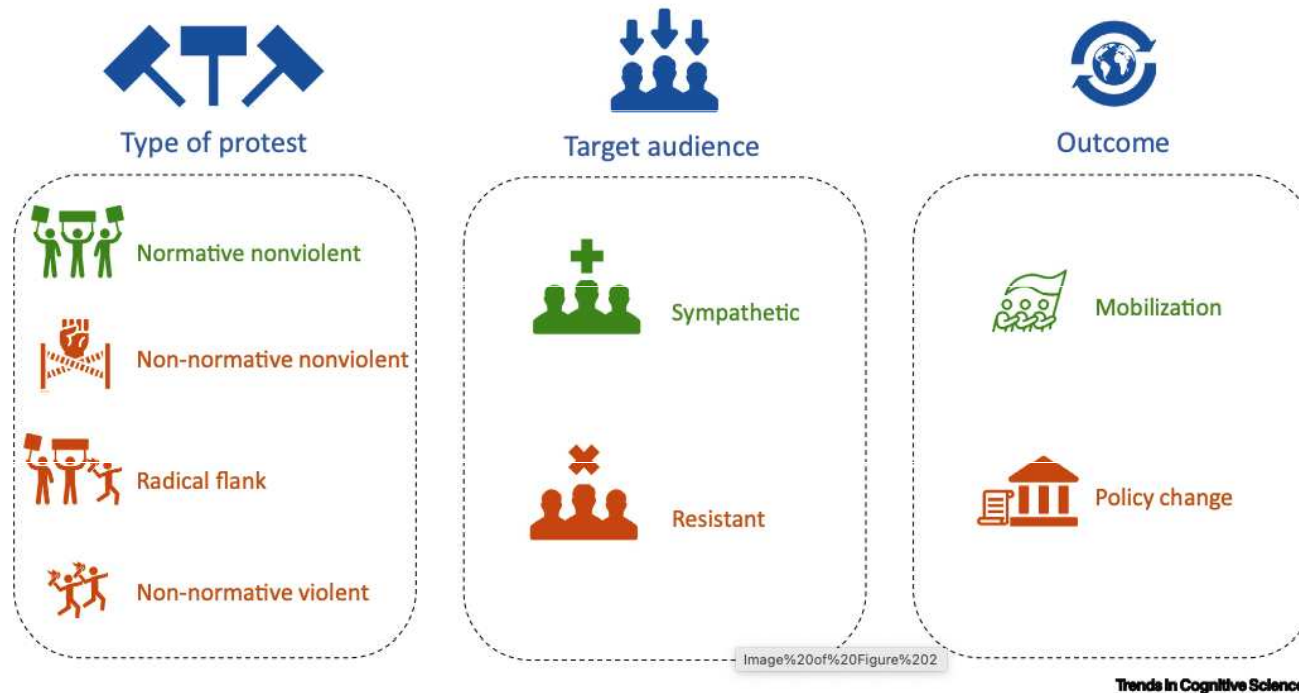Summary of tailored approach and conclusions drawn from organization of the literature

Type of protest — Normative nonviolent, Non-normative nonviolent, Radical flank, Non-normative violent

Target audience — Sympathetic, Resistant

Outcome — Mobilization, Policy change

Image%20of%20Figure%202

Trends in Cognitive Sciences

Figure 2. Characteristics displayed in the same color reflect the pattern of conclusions drawn from our review of the literature (see 'Using a tailored approach to organize and integrate previous findings' section).

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# Who participates in demonstrations?

- **Stockemer (2014) -> World Values Survey (2009) – 39 countries**

- Education

- Membership in civil society organisations

- Voting

- *Dissatisfaction with the government*

- *Age!*

- *Men (also boycotts)*

- ~~Income~~

- ~~Democratic experience (of a country)~~

- ~~Economic development (of a country)~~

- **Chang et al. (2021)**

- higher levels of agreeableness, emotional stability are significantly associated with a decreased likelihood of protest participation (+ low extroversion in democracies)

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# Petitions

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# Petitions

- Unconventional political participation -> aiming to influence politics through non-institutionalised means (not electoral arena)

- **Low-risk** form of political engagement that involves a relatively low amount of time commitment (Low-cost activity)

- **Signalling** of issues to parties -> campaigning (before elections), policy outcomes

- Highlight limitations of electoral participation (but scepticism of MPs -> UK)

- **Educative effect** -> increase turnout in irregular US (compared to habitual) voters (Parry et al. 2012, Harper and Parry, 2023)

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# Who participates in petitions?

- **Stockemer (2014) -> World Values Survey (2009) – 39 countries**
- Education
- Membership in civil society organisations
- Voting
- *Dissatisfaction with the government*
- *Age!*
- *Women (opposite to demonstrations)*
- Income
- Democratic experience (of a country) (also boycott)
- Economic development (of a country)

**Couture and Breux (2017)**
- Poor mental health associated with higher online petitions signing

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# Who participates in petitions?

- **Merita Ulo et al. (2019) (E-petitions)**

- High altruism, positive attitude towards e-petitions, credible e-petition initiators increase probability of signing e-petition

- **Freyemayer and Johnson (2010) – environmental actions**

- Respondents living in wealthier countries, no matter the environmental quality, more frequently join environmental groups, sign petitions concerning the environment, and give money for environmental causes

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# Petition Simulation: Craft Your Cause

- **Objective:** Illustrate the process and impact of petitions.

- **Instructions:** 3-5 minutes to think of a political or social issue you are passionate about. <u>Create a short petition statement (1-2 sentences)</u> that they would use to gather support for their cause -> try to make it effective

- **Wrap-up:** How petitions—especially online petitions—mobilize people and keep issues on the political agenda?

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# How to write an effective petition?

- **Setyoko et al. (2022)**

1) the way of communication in which there is a **linguistic approach** is an important factor that influences how information from the petition is conveyed to the public and leads to the publicity of the petition.

2) the way of delivery is the basis for how the voice of the community is conveyed to policymakers, which is influenced by the **political will** of a region.

3) **media attention** is a factor between the two scopes, which have dual roles as a "toa" to the public, and a messenger of policy.

- Trending petitions are gaining support more rapidly (UK)
- More positive emotions (Change.org petitions study)
- Credible e-petition initiators (Merita Ulo et al. 2019)

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# How to write an effective petition?

Kim et al. 2024

| Type | Category | Definition |
|---|---|---|
| Moral Emotions | Other-condemning | Emotions that condemn others (e.g., anger, contempt, disgust). |
| | Other-praising | Emotions that praise others (e.g., admiration, gratitude, awe). |
| | Other-suffering | Emotions of empathy for the suffering of others (e.g., compassion, sympathy). |
| | Self-conscious | Emotions that negatively evaluate oneself (e.g., shame, guilt, embarrassment). |
| Non-moral | Neutral | A neutral category with no or few emotions. |
| | Non-moral emotion | Emotional but not one of the moral emotions (e.g., fear, surprise, joy, etc). |

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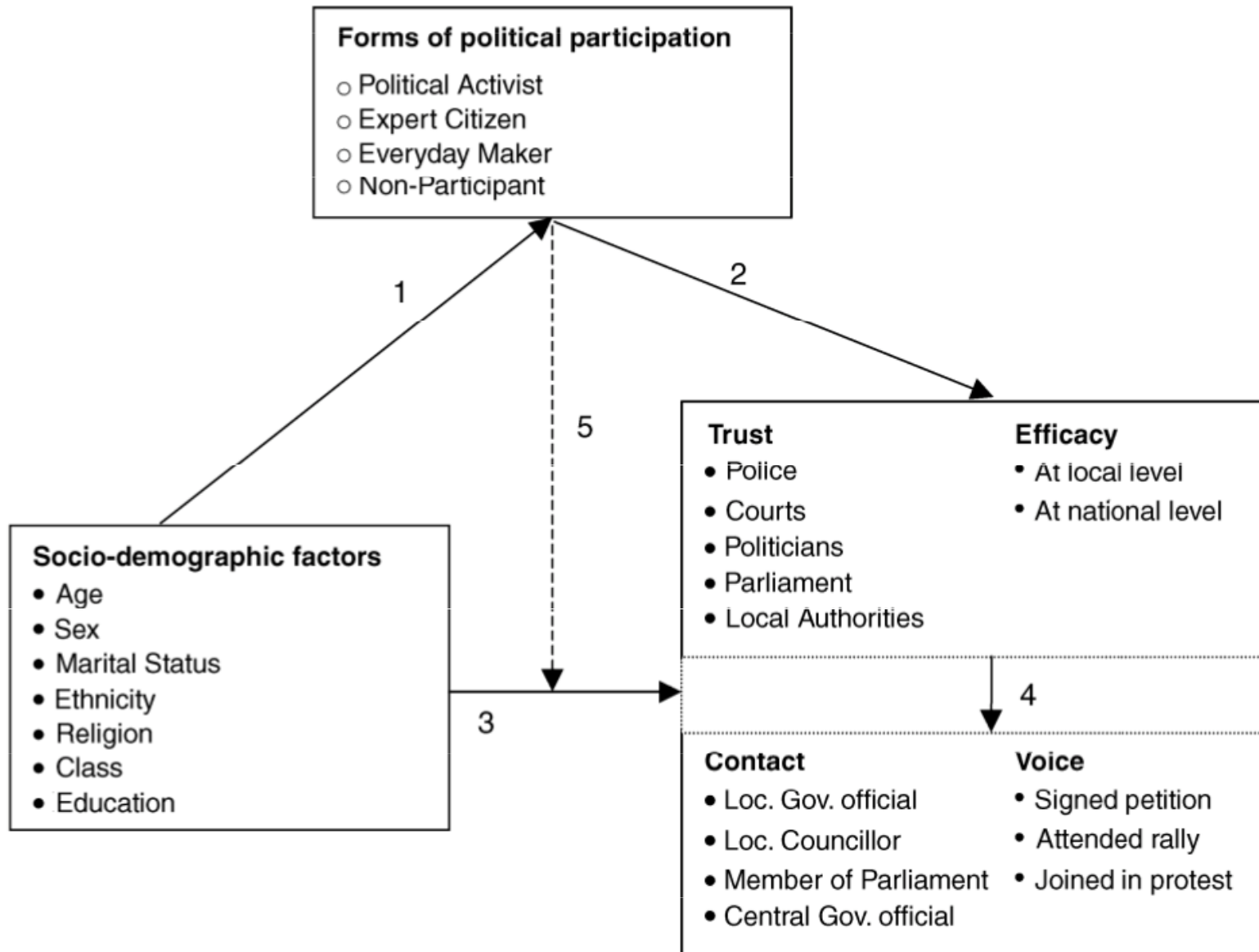
Fig. 1. Forms of political participation, their socio-cultural determinants and impacts on political trust/efficacy and on political contact/voice

Note: Solid lines denote direct effects and dotted lines denote moderator effects. Solid circles refer to variables and empty circles refer to categories.

# Activity
## Your activity in other forms of participation

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# How to increase participation?

- We cannot dictate the person to be involved in the politics
- We (often) cannot change peoples SES and personality traits

- Education programmes for increasing political sophistication:
-**The Political Engagement Project (USA)** – boost of many dimensions of democratic participation and identity (mostly with lower interest) + increase in political knowledge and skills (mostly with higher interest) (Beaumont et al. 2006)
-**Civic education (Norway)** – importance of enhancing self-efficacy in the political field (compared to civic competence)
⇒Political knowledge as a good predictor of civic competence (less on motivation)
⇒Self-efficacy as a predictor for motivation which increases participation ------→

Self-referent thought activates cognitive, motivational, and affective processes that govern the translation of knowledge and abilities into proficient action …Efficacy beliefs operate as a key function in a generative system of human competence. (Bandura, 1997, pp. 36-37)

From these statements we learn that beliefs about self-efficacy activate and organize knowledge, and are therefore crucial to any action. Through the self-referent thoughts and beliefs about one's

# Summary of the first lecture block

- Increase in the number of other participation activities in recent decades
- Different techniques for different occasions
- Different types of socio-economic groups participating in offline-online activities
- The role of (not)sophisticated undecideds and non-voters in political outcomes
- Seemingly unrelated factors and mechanisms hidden behind them (rain, sleep, long-lines,…)

**Table 1**
Unconventional political engagement throughout time.

| | Demonstrations | Petitions | Boycotts |
|---|---|---|---|
| Argentina | +8.8 (22.6–31.4) | −6.5 (34.2 – 27.7) | +.4 (2.6–3) |
| Australia | +7.9 (12.2–20.1) | +9.5 (69.7–79.2) | +10.5 (4.9–15.4) |
| Brazil | −.2 (18.5–18.3) | +5.9 (49.8–55.7) | −1.8 (9.8–8) |
| Chile | −12.6 (29.5–16.9) | −5.1 (22.1–17) | −1.2 (3.9–2.7) |
| Finland | −4.2 (14.5–10.3) | +20.7 (29.8–50.5) | 7.5 (8.5–16) |
| India | +4.1 (15.3–19.4) | +6.6 (22.4–29) | −.1 (15.2–15.1) |
| Japan | +17.6 (8.7–26.3) | +52.2 (8.7–59.9) | +3.9 (3.1–7.0) |
| Mexico | −5.1 (8.9–3.8) | +7.5 (9.6 – 17.1) | +.7 (1.3–2.0) |
| Poland | +.1 (10.1–10.2) | +12.1 (11.5–23.5) | +.2 (4.7–4.9) |
| Russia | +14.7 (30.6–15.9) | −18.3 (26.5–8.3) | −1.2 (3.6–2.8) |
| South Africa | + 5.1 (7.7–12.8) | −8.4 (20.1–11.7) | +.6 (9.4–10) |
| South Korea | + 4.3 (7.1–11.4) | +14.1 (19.9–34) | +3.7 (2.3–6) |
| Spain | +13.0 (22.9–35.9) | + 7.9 (15.5–23.4) | +1.5 (5.5–7) |
| Switzerland | +12.9 (15.2–28.1) | +16.1 (61.5–77.6) | +8.6 (10.6–19.2) |
| Turkey | +.6 (5.3–5.9) | −.9 (12.8–11.9) | +.2 (5.2–5.4) |
| Average increase | 4.5 | 7.6 | 2.2 |

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# Next…

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