

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

**Work Package 9: Analysis of  
Comparability and Technical Report**

**Deliverable 16**

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## INTRODUCTION

EUYOUPART was conceived as a European research project with the objective to develop a standardised instrument to measure political participation of young people (aged 15 to 25 years) in many European countries. Specifically, it follows the objectives:

- to help standardize research on political behaviour of young people in Europe
- by creating a standardized measurement instrument which allows to compare political participation behaviour across cultures
- and thus to contribute to advance the methodology of cross-cultural research in the field of political participation.

The purpose of the present report which is based on work package 9 (“Statistical analysis of comparability”), is to evaluate the measurement instrument and to help finalize the new measurement instrument. The main objectives are to:

- sum up the methodological framework of EUYOUPART and its implications on the quality of the instrument and data
- identify cross-national comparability of the measurement instrument
- discuss possible reasons for lack of comparability
- make recommendations on the usage of data and
- serve as basis for the discussion about the final measurement instrument

As will be discussed in the following chapters it is especially the identification of cross-cultural comparability (more precisely: functional equivalence) of the measurement instrument which is of essential importance. At the same time it is a “methodological challenge” to test behavioural and attitudinal indicators of the project after data collection has been finished.

This report is structured as follows: First, the methodological framework of EUYOUPART – construction of the questionnaire, translation, sampling & weighting, data cleaning & merging – are briefly described and the implications on the measurement instrument and data are summed up.

Then the concept of equivalence and the process of quality assessment within work package 9 is deduced (chapter 2). The methods and processes for testing the instrument are established. This section also includes references to the theoretical framework of EUYOUPART and the definition of political participation which is highly relevant for this analysis and report. This definition is also important for the selection of foreground and background variables for analysis.

In chapter 3, the non-response and the analysis of missing values of the main survey are described. The focus lies on item-non-response. The analysis of missing values includes frequencies of selected variables, the number of missing values per person and systematic missing values (with regard to socio-demographic characteristics of respondents and attitudes of respondents).

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Chapter 4 deals with the variance of answer of questions which were asked in the main survey. Variables with no or little variance are listed (divided into ordinal and nominal variables) – this description is important for the final measurement instrument and for the following analysis.

Next, the influence of interviewer characteristics (like sex, age and interest in politics of interviewers) on the respondents' answers is analysed (chapter 5 "Interviewer Effects").

In chapter 6, we look at comparability of behavioural and attitudinal questions of EUYOUPART in detail. The analysis is split according to the priority of analysis (see also chapter 2) and type of questions (behaviour vs. attitude). In this section, possible reasons for the lack of cross-national comparability are also discussed.<sup>1</sup>

Socio-demographic questions of the EUYOUPART questionnaire are not included in the statistical analysis. Therefore, chapter 7 discusses problems of socio-demographic classification considering the development of these survey questions in the cross-national framework.

Based on the previous analyses, chapter 8 summarizes recommendations on the further usage of the data. Conclusions and implications for the new measurement instrument are also discussed.

Finally, in chapter 9 limits and problems of the analysis are emphasized and further need of research is noted.

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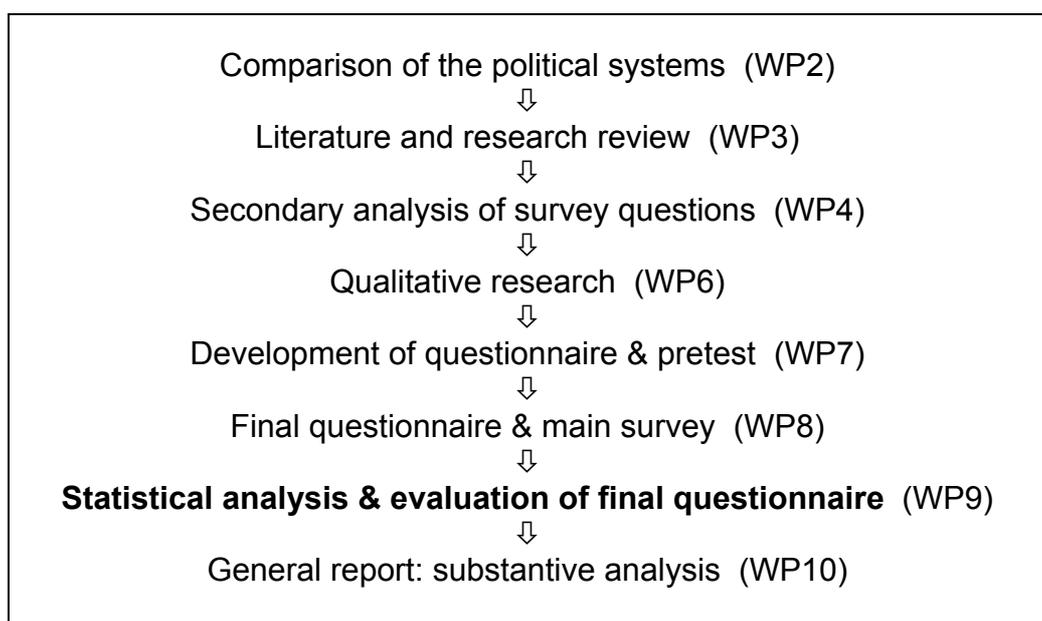
<sup>1</sup> The interpretation of possible reasons for the lack of comparability is mainly based on discussions within the consortium and on statements on the country-specific context. We want to thank national partners for their support.

## 1. THE FRAMEWORK OF EUYOUPART

This chapter includes a brief overview on the project, its different work steps and its specific objectives. A graphical presentation of the research process is given in Figure 1. The project consists of different work packages, including:

- A comparison of the political systems of European countries to outline opportunities, limitations and conditions for the political participation of young people in Europe ("structure of opportunity" for political participation).
- Literature and research review in the field of political participation resulting in a "state of the art" report.
- Secondary analysis of survey questions: e.g. national surveys and ESS
- Qualitative research providing insight into the youth's understanding of key concepts related to political participation. Cultural differences in the understanding of key-terms such as "democracy" and "participation" were explored and "biographies of participation" were analysed.
- The results of these work packages serving as a basis for the development of a questionnaire, which includes indicators for political participation of youth, their political beliefs and their understanding of democracy. The indicators were evaluated through a pretest (standardised survey).
- Then, the final questionnaire was developed. The field work for the main survey was conducted between November 2004 and January 2005.
- Statistical analysis of the survey which provides detailed information on reliability, validity and comparability of the identified indicators. This analysis was conducted within work package 9 – it is described and discussed in the present report named "Analysis of Comparability and Technical Report".
- The statistical analysis of the main survey which provides substantive results on political participation of young people in Europe is conducted within work package 10. It is succeeding the present report on cross-national comparability.

**Figure 1: Research process and different work steps of EUYOUPART**



## 2. QUALITY ASSESSMENT AND COMPARABILITY

The conceptual framework of EUYOUNGPART was presented in the first part of Deliverable 5 (“Report on the meta-analysis”). It included a working definition of “political participation” which should be the basis for designing and constructing the questionnaire. The focus of this research project lies on the behavioural aspects of political participation (i.e. activities). Attitudinal and socio-demographic aspects should supplement this focus and help to explain different forms of behaviour.

The measurement instrument (final questionnaire) is expected to be applicable in different European countries and to be capable of observing changes over time. To reach this goal, a definition of political participation is needed which includes all youth-relevant political activities (also in a cross-cultural context) on the one hand, and which is feasible in the framework of this study on the other hand. Therefore, the definition of what is political participation and what is not resulted in a list of activities and behaviours which is comprehensive and narrow at once.

The following definition of “political participation” was used for EUYOUNGPART (it was derived from a definition by Riepl & Wintersberger 1999: 226):

“Political participation is a taking voluntary action in an attempt to exert influence on political decision-making processes.”

The operationalisation of political participation was also prepared and discussed in the first part of Deliverable 5 (“Report on the meta-analysis”). The construction of the EUYOUNGPART questionnaire was based on a list of so called foreground and background variables. Foreground variables contain different forms of political participation (conventional and unconventional), e.g. voting behaviour, party work, work in elections, membership in organisations etc. Background variables should help to explain why political participation among youth may differ in different countries, e.g. political interest, values, political skills etc. Socio-demographic variables are also within the category of background variables.

### 2.1. Concepts of comparability and equivalence

The present report focuses on the methodical challenge to establish cross-national comparability. In this regard, the difficulty is caused by the differences of political cultures between the nations as well as by differences in traditions and opportunity structures for the political participation of young people (on legal as well as cultural level). All 25 EU-member states have different historical and cultural backgrounds. The legal environments and political traditions (with regard to minority rights, gender differences, national-regional variations) and levels of economic development vary significantly.

The general objective of EUYOUNGPART is to develop an instrument for measuring political participation of young people (aged 15-25 years) in Europe. This measurement instrument has to take all the differences which were mentioned above into account. In addition, there is also a number of methodical and procedural barriers which can affect cross-national comparability of the instrument (e.g. question

wording, sampling strategies etc.). This report sums up the analysis of comparability which was conducted in one of the last phases of the report (work package 9) – namely the analysis of comparability after data collection, its possible reasons and recommendations with regard to further analysis and the final measurement instrument.

In general, cross-national research requests high comparability of concepts and measures. Therefore, major efforts need to be made during the whole research process, including the development and selection of underlying concepts, the formulation of the research questions, method selection, data collection and data analysis.

High quality of the theoretical basis and the measurement instrument are required. Reliability and validity requirements in mono-cultural studies are generally known and became standard concepts. However, in cross-cultural and cross-national studies, researchers also need to pay attention to several dimensions of equivalence. Equivalence is a key concept and core-requirement in comparative research. In literature, many forms of equivalence are described.

Timothy P. Johnson (1998) found more than 50 different terms of equivalence and subsumed them into two different types – **interpretive** and **procedural equivalence**:

“Although equivalence has multiple dimensions, there seems to be a natural distinction between interpretive and procedural equivalence. While interpretive equivalence is primarily concerned with the subjective cross-cultural comparability of meaning, procedural equivalence, broadly speaking, refers to the objective development of comparable survey measures across cultural groups.” (Johnson 1998: 29f)

In the first part of Deliverable 5 (“Report on the meta-analysis”), the basic definitions and concepts of political participation used in EUYOUNG were developed and described. Here, in the report of work package 9, the focus lies on the comparability of the measurement instrument which was used for the main survey (conducted between November 2004 and January 2005). Thus procedural equivalence according to the definition of Johnson (1998) is the main focus, but also interconnections to the interpretative level are established.

As procedural equivalence includes all types of equivalence which refer to measurement, it is necessary to specify those forms of equivalence which can be tested in the phase of data analysis.

In literature, many forms of equivalence referring to the comparability of measures are described. One of these definitions was developed by Fons van de Vijver who distinguishes three forms on the level of measurement:

“Equivalence refers to the measurement level characteristics that apply to cross-cultural score comparisons; three types of equivalence are defined: **construct** (identity of construct across cultures), **measurement unit** (identity of measurement unit), and **scalar equivalence** (identity of measurement unit and scale origin).” (van de Vijver 1998: 41)

These three types constitute a hierarchical scheme with construct equivalence (also known and related to as functional or structural equivalence) is the basic form of comparability. It means that similar constructs are measured in each cultural group and describes the identity of constructs across cultures. It is possible to test this form of equivalence in the phase of data analysis. There is a variety of methods for testing construct equivalence. Statistical methods which rely on the structure of variables and dimensions can be applied. Most frequently exploratory factor analysis or multidimensional scaling is used for this purpose.

This concept of equivalence is well defined, but mainly suitable for attitudinal scales (especially for psychometric instruments). The central part of the measurement instrument of EUYOUNG PART consists of behavioural variables and activities. Therefore, another definition is needed for testing this instrument in the phase of data analysis. For this purpose, **functional equivalence** according to the definition of Jan van Deth (1998) is used within the framework of statistical analysis of the questionnaire for the main survey.

“Functional equivalence refers to the requirement that concepts should be related to other concepts in other settings more or less in the same way. It is based on the notion that comparability ‘cannot be conceived as an attribute of elements but as an attribute of the elements’ relationships to a more general point of reference’ (Nießen 1982: 86; emphasis original).”  
(van Deth 1998: 6)

Functional equivalence in cross-national surveys does not mean that the same methods and procedures must be used in all countries to achieve comparability. In many cases it is better to use different or slightly modified procedures to reach equivalence. E.g. by literal replication of questions functional equivalence is not necessarily achieved, wherefore conceptual replication should be preferred (Alwin et al. 1994).

This type of equivalence does not refer to identity, but to similarity with regard to certain criteria. In literature, one can find other definitions of functional equivalence – some of them are closer to interpretative, some closer to procedural equivalence according to typology of Johnson (1998).

To test functional equivalence in the context of EUYOUNG PART, the dimensionality and structural aspects of the indicators measuring political participation are tested. It is examined whether the structure of political involvement is comparable for the countries under investigation. In general, the idea is similar to testing construct equivalence in cross-national survey research. The basic idea of the testing procedure and the detailed procedure is described in the sections below (see chapter 2.3 and 2.4). Before, the distinction between different types of variables is explained and the according type of analysis is assigned.

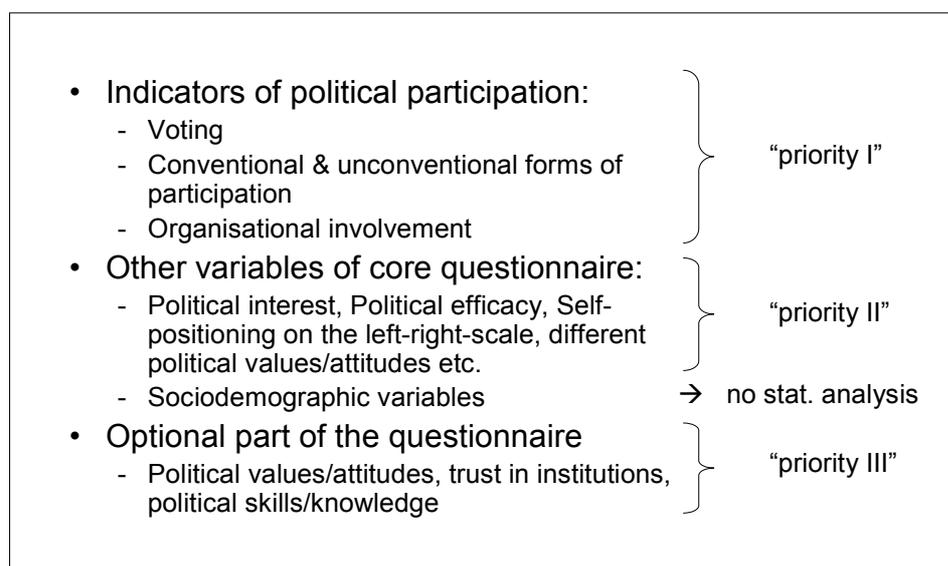
## 2.2. Types of variables and priorities of analysis

Choosing methods for evaluation of comparability it is important not only to distinguish between different forms of equivalence, but also to distinguish between different forms of variables. The measurement instrument which was developed in the EUYOUNGPART project covers behaviour as well as attitudes of young people in Europe. According to the conceptual framework and the definition of political participation, two types of variables are distinguished – namely foreground variables and background variables. The former are behavioural measures covering different conventional and unconventional forms of political participation. The latter are primarily attitudinal variables which should help to explain political participation among youth (including demographic and socioeconomic variables).

In addition, the final questionnaire was split into a core part and an optional part. The core part was administered in all countries of EUYOUNGPART. It contains various indicators of political participation as well as attitudinal variables and socio-demographic questions. The optional part included additional attitudes and values, questions trust in institutions and about political knowledge and skills. This part was not administered in Germany and partly also not in Finland.

It was not possible to pay the same attention to all parts of the questionnaire. Therefore, it was split into different “priorities” for an analysis of comparability. In Figure 2, the structure of the final questionnaire and priority of analysis is replicated. Highest priority of analysis is given to the behavioural variables of the core questionnaire measuring different conventional and unconventional forms of political participation of young people (“priority I”). Since the focus of EUYOUNGPART lies on the development of indicators measuring of political participation and not on attitudinal (and demographic/socio-economic) background variables, attitudinal variables (and a few behavioural variables interpreted as background variables) of the core questionnaire were classified as “priority II”. Finally, attitudinal variables of the optional part of the questionnaire have lowest priority of analysis (“priority III”), whereas less effort was dedicated to this kind of variables.

**Figure 2: Structure of the final questionnaire and priority of analysis**



On the one hand, this distinction is important for the priority of analysis and the effort dedicated to special parts of the questionnaire – as was stated above. On the other hand, it is also fundamental to decide about the strategy of analysis and applied methods. Behavioural variables demand for another strategy of analysis than attitudinal variables. Data screening, missing value analysis and non-response is conducted for all variables similarly. In contrast, the structural aspects of behavioural and attitudinal questions have to be examined through different kinds of methods. As will be described below (in chapter 2.3 and 2.4) behavioural variables are analysed by means of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis. In this context, the research question aims at functional equivalence in cross-national research and examines whether the structure of forms of political participation is comparable for the analysed countries. The method tries to identify similar groups of participation. Hierarchical Cluster Analysis seems to be the most adequate method to deal with behavioural questions.

Attitudinal variables of EUYOUNG are examined through Exploratory Factor Analysis. The research question aims at similarity of factor structures across countries.

To sum up, the strategy of analysis and priority of analysis differs according to type of variable and part of the final questionnaire. Socio-economic and demographic variables are not included in statistical analysis, they are discussed in chapter 7.

### **2.3. Testing by means of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA)**

In order to identify functional equivalence between the countries Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA) was chosen as an adequate multivariate statistical method for testing. This method is applied to behavioural variables to identify similar groups of organisational involvement and different forms of political participation.

Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA) is a method for finding relatively similar clusters of elements (subjects or variables) based on measured characteristics. It starts with each element (subject or variable) in a separate cluster and then combines the clusters sequentially, reducing the number of clusters at each step until only one cluster is left.

Hierarchical clustering techniques may be subdivided in two general approaches, depending on the type of model we look for fitting the data for representing the data structure. The agglomerative methods are characterised by a series of successive fusions of the  $n$  elements (subjects or variables) into groups, and the divide methods separate the  $n$  elements (subjects or variables) successively into finer groupings. An agglomerative hierarchical clustering procedure starts by working out how similar or how different two elements (subjects or variables) are, depending on the method which is used defining distance or similarity (e.g. single linkage clustering or nearest neighbour technique, complete linkage clustering or furthest neighbour clustering etc.) (Everitt, 1993, p. 55).

The hierarchical clustering process may be represented graphically by a two-dimensional diagram called dendrogram, which illustrates the fusions or divisions made at each successive stage of the analysis (Everitt, 1993, p. 55).

In the context of EUYOUNGPART, the testing of comparability of behavioural indicators with Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA) was carried out by Ward's agglomerative hierarchical clustering method and Euclidean distances on binary data. Ward's clustering procedure considers the heterogeneity within the groups of elements and as a fusion criterion the variance within the groups should be minimal. With reference to the topological characteristics the Ward's technique is space conserving (Wiedenbeck & Züll, 2001, p. 9).

The country-specific solutions (dendograms) were compared to the total solution (dendogram) of the full data set in order to identify structural differences of behavioural variables (e.g. organisational involvement and political participation). The objectives of each selected solution were to reveal the largest similarity between the data set of the considered country and the full data set, to try to get the nearly same number of clusters as in the solution of the full data set and to draw the cut-off line before the next remarkable step of connected clusters (because the groups should be homogenous). The different solutions (dendograms) of the full data set and of each country are illustrated in chapter 6.1 and 6.2.7. The created clusters before the cut-off line are coloured grey to give a better overview of the structure.<sup>2</sup>

#### **2.4. Testing by means of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)**

Contrary to Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA) which is adequate for behavioural variables, Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) is an appropriate method in order to identify functional equivalence between countries with variables on the attitudinal level. The political attitudes of young people were measured by variables concerning political interest, political efficacy, political identity, political values, political problems and future expectations.

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) is used to uncover the underlying structure of a set of variables. Variables in a subset that are correlated with one another but largely independent of other subsets of variables are combined into factors.

There are different methods of extracting the factors from a set of data and the chosen method depends on statistical as well as context orientated requirements. There are two main types of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA): Principal Components Analysis (PCA) and Principal Factor Analysis (PFA). Principal Components Analysis (PCA) determines the factors which can account for the total unique variance and for the total common variance in a set of variables. This is an advantage for creating a typology of variables or for reducing attribute space. Principal Factor Analysis (PFA) on the contrast, determines the least number of factors which can account for the common variance in a set of variables. This is

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<sup>2</sup> In the technical annex of the EUYOUNGPART research proposal it was outlined to use confirmatory factor analysis (LISREL) to test comparability of indicators. The strategy of data analysis to identify reliable and valid indicators in the cross-national data set was changed: Instead of applying confirmatory factor analysis a variety of different statistical methods (e.g. Missing Value Analysis, Exploratory Factor Analysis, Hierarchical Cluster Analysis etc.) will be applied. These methods are more adequate to deal with behavioural questions (which constitute the core questions measuring political participation).

important for determining the dimensionality of a set of variables (e.g. a set of items in a scale) (Garson, 2005).

The final solutions of the Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) are represented in so called factor, component, pattern and structure matrices, where the factor loadings are found. The factor loadings are correlation coefficients between variables and factors and they are the basis for imputing a label to the different factors (Garson, 2005).

With regard to EUYOUNG, the testing of functional equivalence between countries with variables on the attitudinal level was carried out by Principal Factor Analysis (PFA) with Direct Oblimin Rotation. This kind of rotation is the standard method when a non-orthogonal solution is expected, which means that the factors are allowed to correlate.

The country-specific solutions of the Exploratory Factor Analyses (factor loadings, pattern matrix) were compared to the total solution (factor loadings, pattern matrix) of the full data set in order to identify structural differences in the set of variables concerning political attitude. The results are described and interpreted in chapter 6.2 and 6.3 where attitudinal variables of the core and optional part of the EUYOUNG questionnaire were tested.

Strictly speaking, both methods – HCA as well as EFA – are used for two purposes. First, the measurement quality of the indicators is investigated nationally. And second, it is tested whether the structure of the variables reveals enough similarity between countries that functional equivalence can be assumed between countries.

### 3. NON-RESPONSE AND MISSING VALUES

In general, two types of non-response in surveys can be distinguished:

- Unit-non-response
- Item-non-response

Unit-non-response means that a person was not answering the whole questionnaire. The reason might be non-contact, refusing of taking part in the survey etc. In contrast, if item-non-response occurs the person has taken part in the survey and was asked the questionnaire, but information is missing on one or more variables for this person.

Unit-non-response is not described in this report. Information on sample design and fieldwork can be found in deliverable 13 “Collection of field reports on survey”.

In this section of the present report, the **item-non-response** and analysis of missing values is described. The whole questionnaire was analysed according to “priorities” which were introduced in chapter 2.2. Thus, it was distinguish between behavioural foreground variables of the core questionnaire, background variables of the core questionnaire, the optional part and socio-demographic questions. In general, all codes referring to missing values were included, i.e. code 66 (not applicable), code 77 (don’t know or don’t know/refused), code 88 (answer refused). The objectives of this analysis are

- to check the usage of missing codes in different countries
- to check the understandability of questions
- to check the relevance of questions in different countries and
- to detect systematic missing values or patterns of missing values.

First, number of missing values per person and countries are analysed. Then it will be tested, if systematic missing values occur, i.e. if number of missing values correlate with attitudes or socio-demographic characteristic of the respondent.

#### 3.1.1. Missing values per person

The goal of this chapter is to present and to discuss the number and the distribution of missing values in the core, the optional and the socio-demographic part of the questionnaire. As already mentioned above, different missing value codes were used for different purposes in the course of the study: code 66 (not applicable), code 77 (don’t know or don’t know/refused), and code 88 (answer refused).

Table 1 provides an overview of the missing value analysis and entails the list and the description of variables and the short terms for the combined variable list which will be used in describing graphs and tables. The following tables for the missing values *mis\_I*, *mis\_II* and *miscore* let the reader know about the combined number of all three different kinds of missing values. If relevant, additional information on the type of missing values will be presented. For the item blocks Q49 to Q52 only the

type 77 of missing values was applied. For missing socio-demographic variables four different kinds of missing values were used.

**Table 1: Description of the missing value analysis**

short term	description	list of variables	codes for missing values
mis_I	number of missing values within the behavioural variables in the core questionnaire measuring political participation (=“priority I”)	q7 q8 q10 q11 q13_1 to q13_25 q14_1 q14_2 q15_1 to q15_6 q17_1 to q17_5	66, 77, 88
mis_II	number of missing values within the attitudinal variables in the core questionnaire (=“priority II”)	q1 q2_1 q2_2 q2_3 q2_4 q3 q4 q5_1 q5_2 q5_3 q6 q19 q20_1 to q20_4 q21_1 to q21_3 q22_1 to q22_7 q23_1 to q23_3 q24_1 to q24_10 q25 q26_1 to q26_8 q27 q28_1 to q28_10 q30_1 to q30_5 q31_1 to q31_9 q32	66, 77, 88
miscore	number of missing values within the behavioural and attitudinal items in the core questionnaire (=“priority I” + “priority II”)	mis_I + mis_II	66, 77, 88
mis_4950	number of missing values within the items of the optional part measuring agreement to statements concerning political participation (=first part of “priority III”)	q49_1 to q49_11 q50_1 to q50_18	77
mis_5152	number of missing values within the attitudinal items of the optional part (=second part of “priority III”)	q51_1 to q51_9 q52_1 to q52_8	77
mis_soc	number of missing values within the sociodemographic part of the questionnaire	q33 q34a q34b q36 q37 q38 q39 q40_new q41 q42 q43 q44_rec q45 q46 q47 q48	77, 88, 7777, 8888

Only 8.3 percent of 8030 interviewed people answered all behavioural and attitudinal items belonging to the core questionnaire measuring political participation (*miscore*). For each country, means and standard deviations for all variables in the core part of the questionnaire are displayed separately in Table 2. On average, each respondent didn't answer approximately six questions of the core part of the questionnaire. The United Kingdom, Estonia, France and Austria score above the average. By far, Finnish interviewees answered the most questions.

Reasons for this differences are:

- different use of missing codes (66, 77, 88...) in the countries
- higher number of 66 „not applicable“ in some countries (e.g. in Estonia)
- understandability of questions.

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While 82.6 percent of 8030 interviewed people answered all items belonging to the item block of the behavioural items (mis\_I), 9.4 percent answered all items belonging to the item block of the attitudinal questions of the core questionnaire (mis\_II).

Not entailed in this table, but still interesting is, that one or more questions of the core questionnaire were not applicable to around three quarter of the interviewed people. On average, approximately two items per person of the core questionnaire could not be answered. 68.5 percent of the young people refused to answer one or more questions. On average, almost four questions were not answered by any person. The United Kingdom is showing the most and Germany the fewest missing values of this kind.

**Table 3: Means and standard deviation of missing values – variables mis\_I and mis\_II**

		A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK	TOTAL
mis_I	mean	,59	,59	,37	,35	,35	,79	,15	,19	,42
	st.dev.	1,95	2,49	1,47	1,61	1,10	2,39	,6	,71	1,69
mis_II	mean	5,79	6,96	3,57	6,25	4,01	4,17	4,82	8,05	5,45
	st.dev.	6,52	6,62	4,88	5,91	4,03	4,11	5,76	6,65	5,83

The following two tables and graphs deal with missing values belonging to the optional part of the questionnaire. It is important to mention that the optional part was not administered in Germany and the Finnish participants were not asked the questions number Q51 and Q52. Therefore Germany is not at all included in the subsequent two graphs and tables. Statistics from Finland can only be displayed for questions number Q49 and Q50.

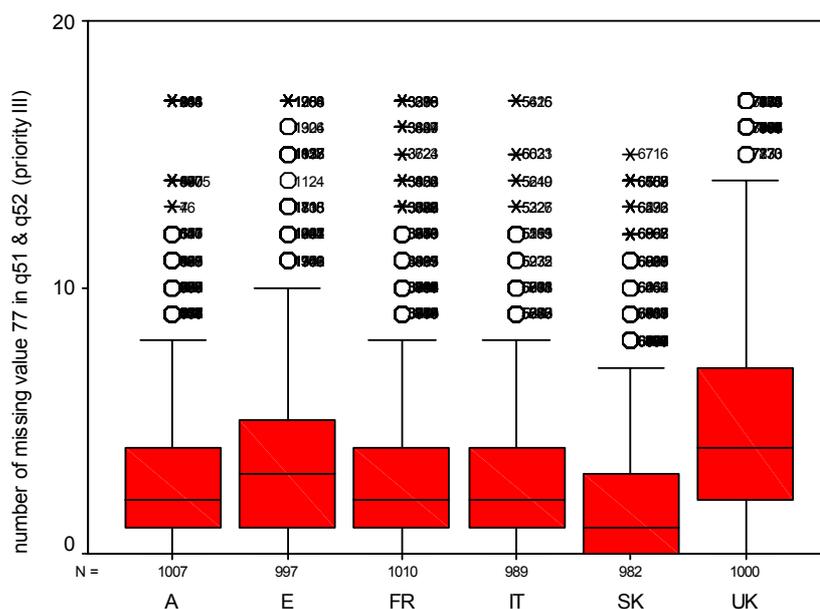
Overall, 70.2 percent of 6993 interviewees provided full information on the items number Q49 and Q50. On average, each person refused to answer 1.32 questions. On average, each respondent in the United Kingdom and Austria rejected to answer approximately two questions.

**Table 4: Means and standard deviation of missing values – variable mis\_4950**

	A	E	FI	FR	IT	SK	UK	TOTAL
mean	1,99	1,30	,52	1,25	,89	1,18	2,12	1,32
st.dev.	3,96	3,32	2,23	2,87	2,72	2,99	4,50	3,35

The next graph shows boxplots; this time they reveal the missing values of items number Q49 and Q50. These boxplots show that most of the Finnish and Italian young people answered all questions.



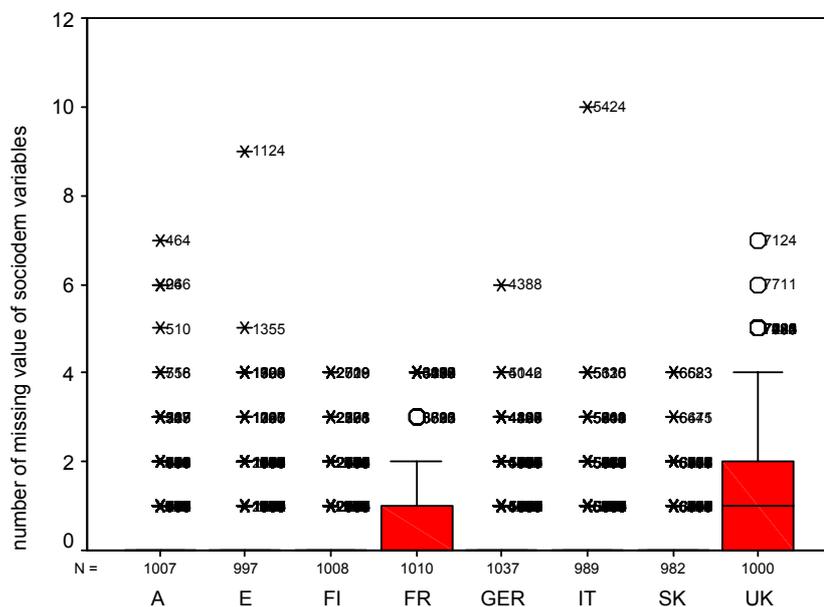
**Figure 5: Boxplot of the missing values – variable mis\_5152**

Full information on socio-demographic variables could be obtained from 76.4 percent of the respondents. Generally, this part of the questionnaire reveals the fewest missing values. On average, each respondent in the United Kingdom did not answer one question related to the socio-demographic variables.

**Table 6: Means and standard deviation of missing values – variable mis\_soc**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK	TOTAL
mean	,19	,31	,30	,44	,32	,26	,11	,96	,36
st.dev.	,64	,71	,64	,78	,65	,66	,42	1,14	0,77

**Figure 6: Boxplot of the missing values – socio demographic variables**



All in all, the highest proportion of missing values could be found in the attitudinal item block measuring political participation. If numbers of missing values are compared across countries, the United Kingdom reveals the highest proportion of missing values.

### 3.1.2. Systematic missing values

The following analysis aimed at investigating the correlations between missing values and selected variables (interest in politics, age, education). The goal was to discover if the number of missing values could be connected with some other variables and thus, if the number of missing values occurred systematically.

The first systematic analysis of missing values was conducted with the variable Q1 “interest in politics”. The hypothesis was that a lack of interest in politics would result in refusing and not answering questions.

As depicted in Table 7, interest in politics correlates with the number of missing values of the questions Q51 and Q52 ( $r=0.282$ ). Therefore, the less participants of the study are interested in politics, the more they refuse to or cannot answer these questions. The correlation can be explained by the fact that question Q52 is testing political knowledge of the respondents about the European Union and national issues. But still, this variable can only explain 8 percent of the variance in the number of missing values.

The correlation between the variable interest in politics and the number of missing values in the core part of the questionnaire is .233, which can almost be seen as a moderate empirical effect, but still only 5 percent of the variance are explained that way.

It is important to mention that the size of the sample influences the probability of receiving a significant result. Although the correlation between the variables interest in politics and *mis\_soc* is statistically significant it is almost irrelevant (because only 1,5 percent of the variance are explained).

**Table 7: Correlations between missing values and interest in politics**

	miscore	mis_soc	mis_4950	mis_5152
interest in politics	,233**	,125**	,185**	,282**

\*\* . Correlations are significant at the .01 level.

Note: Code 66 is included in number of missing values.

The following table provides an overview of the correlations between *miscore* and interest in politics separately for each country. A moderate correlation between these two variables in question seems to exist in the United Kingdom.

**Table 8: Correlations between miscore and interest in politics, by country**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
interest in politics	,224**	,196**	,153**	,243**	,192**	,103**	,246**	,291**

\*\* . Correlations are significant at the .01 level.

Note: Code 66 is included in number of missing values.

The variable age seems to explain only a little variance in the variable *miscore* (see Table 9). It can be cautiously interpreted that the lower the age of the respondents, the more they tend not to answer questions (i.e. the higher the number of missing values).

Especially the socio-demographic variable education seems to have an effect on the amount of missing values in the variable *miscore*. It seems to exert a neglectable effect on the number of missing values in the socio-demographic part of the questionnaire.

**Table 9: Correlations between missing values and socio-demographic variables (age and education)**

	miscore	mis_soc	mis_4950	mis_5152
age	-,071**	-,052**	-,070**	-,072**
education	-,152**	-,082**	-,107**	-,126**

\*\* . Correlations are significant at the .01 level.

Note: Code 66 is included in number of missing values.

As drawn from table Table 10 missing values in the core part of the questionnaire in France seem to be partly systematically due to education and age. Younger respondents with a lower education tend to answer fewer questions. One should take into consideration that the achievement of a higher educational level goes along with the variable age. On the other side, the missing values in Italy do not seem to be systematical due to the variables age and education.

**Table 10: Correlations between miscore and socio-demographic variables (age and education), by country**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
age	-,012	-,073**	-,093**	-,167**	-,016**	-,011	-,091**	-,082**
education	-,095**	-,182**	-,101**	-,247**	-,162**	-,067*	-,165**	-,160**

\*. Correlations are significant at the .05 level

\*\* . Correlations are significant at the .01 level.

Note: Code 66 is included in number of missing values.

To sum up, low correlations between number of missing values and interest in politics of the respondent as well as his/her age and education can be found. Practically, these effects have very low relevance, because only very little variance is explained through this correlation. At least with regard to the few tested variables there seems to be no severe problem with systematic missing values in the data.

## 4. VARIANCE OF ANSWERS (BY FABIO COTTI / IARD)

### 4.1. Ordinal Variables

#### 4.1.1. Pooled analysis

Analyses show that:

1. There are no variables with **no variance**.

Analysis of **skewness and kurtosis** reveals that some questions have received answers that take place in an irregular way. These questions are the followings: q3 q4 q13\_b3 q13\_b7 q13\_b10 q13\_b11 q13\_b13 q13\_b18 q13\_b20 q13\_b21 q13\_b22 q13\_b23 q13\_b24 q13\_b2 q21\_1 q21\_2 q21\_3 q 23\_1 q23\_2 q23\_3 q24\_10 q26\_3 q26\_4 q26\_5 q26\_8 q28\_1 q28\_4 q28\_8 q29\_1 q29\_8 q31\_6 q31\_7 q31\_8 q50\_1.

As you can see, looking at the frequencies of these questions, it is possible to discover the following possibilities:

- a) q13\_b3 q13\_b7 q13\_b10 q13\_b11 q13\_b21 q13\_b22 q13\_b23 q13\_b24 q13\_b25 q3 q24\_10 q26\_3 q26\_4 q26\_5 q26\_8 q28\_1 q28\_4 q28\_8 q29\_8 q21\_1 q21\_2 q21\_3 q23\_1 q23\_2: the answers do not take place in normal distribution because there is a tendency to focus on one of the extremity of the likert scale.
- b) q13\_b13 q23\_3: the answers take place at both the extremity of the scale; in this way, the answer that obtains the major percentage are “always” and “never”.
- c) q13\_b18 q13\_b20 q4 q29\_1 q50\_1: the distribution of the answers is irregular.

#### 4.1.2. Analysis by countries

Analysis shows that:

1. The variables with **no variance** are the followings:
  - a. Estonia: q13\_b21
  - b. UK: q13\_b21 q13\_b22 q13\_b23
2. Analysis of **skewness and kurtosis** reveals that some questions have received answers that take place in an irregular way. These questions are the following:

Austria	Estonia	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Slovakia	UK
					13_b1		13_b1
13_b2		13_b2		13_b2			13_b2
13_b3	13_b3		13_b3	13_b3	13_b3	13_b3	13_b3
	13_b4					13_b4	13_b4
						13_b5	
					13_b6		13_b6
13_b7	13_b7	13_b7			13_b7		13_b7
13_b8		13_b8		13_b8	13_b8	13_b8	13_b8
13_b9	13_b9	13_b9		13_b9		13_b9	13_b9
13_b10			13_b10	13_b10			13_b10
	13_b11	13_b11			13_b11		
13_b12		13_b12	13_b12				
13_b13	13_b13	13_b13	13_b13	13_b13	13_b13		13_b13
	13_b14	13_b14		13_b14		13_b14	13_b14
13_b15	13_b15	13_b15					13_b15
13_b16				13_b16			13_b16
				13_b17	13_b17		
13_b18	13_b18	13_b18	13_b18		13_b18		13_b18
13_b19					13_b19		
13_b20	13_b20			13_b20	13_b20	13_b20	
13_b21		13_b21		13_b21		13_b21	
13_b22	13_b22			13_b22	13_b22	13_b22	
13_b23		13_b23		13_b23	13_b23	13_b23	
	13_b24	13_b24	13_b24	13_b24	13_b24	13_b24	
13_b25	13_b25	13_b25	13_b25		13_b25	13_b25	13_b25
			2_2				2_2
			2_4				
3		3	3			3	
	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	22_3					22_3	22_3
22_5				22_5	22_5		22_5
				22_6			22_6
24_3				24_3	24_3		
						24_5	
24_9				24_9			
24_10	24_10	24_10	24_10	24_10	24_10	24_10	
	20_1					20_1	20_1
	27	27					27
			26_1		26_1		26_1
			26_2				26_2
26_3	26_3	26_3	26_3		26_3	26_3	26_3
26_4	26_4					26_4	26_4
	26_5	26_5				26_5	
	26_6						
			26_7			26_7	
26_8	26_8	26_8	26_8	26_8	26_8	26_8	26_8
28_1		28_1	28_1		28_1		28_1
28_3		28_3		28_3	28_3		
28_4		28_4	28_4	28_4	28_4		28_4
28_8	28_8	28_8		28_8	28_8	28_8	28_8
			31_1		31_1	31_1	
	31_2		31_2		31_2	31_2	

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Austria	Estonia	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Slovakia	UK
					31_3		31_3
			31_4	31_4			
			31_5				
31_6	31_6		31_6	31_6	31_6	31_6	
	31_7		31_7		31_7	31_7	31_7
	31_8		31_8		31_8	31_8	31_8
31_9			31_9		31_9		31_9
					29_1		
					29_8		
	30_2						
	30_3						
	30_4						
						6	6
							5_1
							5_2
				20_3			20_3
	20_4	20_4				20_4	20_4
21_1	21_1	21_1	21_1	21_1	21_1	21_1	21_1
21_2	21_2	21_2	21_2	21_2	21_2	21_2	21_2
21_3	21_3	21_3	21_3	21_3	21_3	21_3	21_3
23_1	23_1	23_1	23_1	23_1	23_1	23_1	23_1
23_2	23_2	23_2	23_2	23_2	23_2	23_2	
	23_3	23_3	23_3	23_3	23_3	23_3	
							49_2
		49_3			49_3		
							49_4
		49_6					
49_10		49_10					
50_1	50_1		50_1		50_1		50_1
	50_2		50_2			50_2	50_2
50_4			50_4				
50_7							
			50_10				
							50_15
							50_16

## 4.2. Nominal Variables

### 4.2.1. Pooled analysis

Analysis of frequencies highlights that some answer's options have obtained few signs (less than 3%): q13\_a8 q13a21 q13a22 q13a23 q13a25 q17\_2 q17\_4 q17\_5 q18\_2\_1 q18\_2\_2 q18\_2\_3 q18\_4\_2 q18\_4\_3 q18\_5\_1 q18\_5\_2 q18\_5\_3 q18\_6\_1 q18\_6\_3 q18\_7\_1 q18\_7\_3 q18\_8\_1 q18\_8\_2 q18\_8\_3 q18\_9\_1 q18\_9\_3 q18\_10\_1 q18\_11\_1 q18\_11\_2 q18\_11\_3 q18\_11\_4 q18\_12\_1 q18\_12\_2 q18\_12\_3 q18\_12\_4 q18\_14\_1 q18\_14\_2 q18\_14\_3 q18\_14\_4 q18\_15\_1 q18\_15\_2 q18\_15\_3 q18\_15\_4 q18\_16\_1 q18\_16\_2 q18\_16\_3 q18\_16\_4 q52\_5.

#### 4.2.2. Analysis by countries

Here are the items that have obtained less than 3% in one answer's options.  
Note that analysis for question q52 has not been carried out in Finland and Germany, because these countries did not administer this question.

Austria	Estonia	Finland	France	Germany	Italy	Slovakia	UK
	13_a2	13_a2		13_a2		13_a2	13_a2
							13_a3
							13_a4
	13_a8		13_a8	13_a8		13_a8	13_a8
							13_a9
	13_a12			13_a12			13_a12
							13_a13
							13_a14
	13_a15	13_a15				13_a15	13_a15
							13_a16
							13_a17
							13_a18
							13_a19
						13_a20	13_a20
13_a21	13_a21	13_a21	13_a21	13_a21		13_a21	13_a21
13_a22	13_a22	13_a22				13_a22	13_a22
13_a23	13_a23	13_a23	13_a23	13_a23		13_a23	13_a23
13_a24	13_a24	13_a24		13_a24		13_a24	13_a24
13_a25	13_a25			13_a25		13_a25	13_a25
							14_1
						15_6	
	17_1						17_1
17_2	17_2	17_2	17_2	17_2	17_2	17_2	17_2
			17_4			17_4	17_4
			17_5				17_5
							18_1_3
			18_2_1	18_2_1		18_2_1	18_2_1
		18_2_2	18_2_2	18_2_2		18_2_2	18_2_2
	18_2_3	18_2_3	18_2_3	18_2_3	18_2_3	18_2_3	18_2_3
			18_2_4	18_2_4		18_2_4	18_2_4
			18_3_1				
			18_3_2				
	18_3_3		18_3_3				18_3_3
	18_4_1		18_4_1		18_4_1	18_4_1	18_4_1
18_4_2	18_4_2		18_4_2	18_4_2	18_4_2	18_4_2	18_4_2
18_4_3	18_4_3	18_4_3	18_4_3	18_4_3	18_4_3	18_4_3	18_4_3
	18_4_4		18_4_4				18_4_4
	18_5_1	18_5_1	18_5_1	18_5_1		18_5_1	18_5_1
	18_5_2	18_5_2	18_5_2			18_5_2	18_5_2
18_5_3	18_5_3	18_5_3	18_5_3	18_5_3	18_5_3	18_5_3	18_5_3
			18_5_4				18_5_4
	18_6_1	18_6_1	18_6_1			18_6_1	18_6_1
	18_6_2		18_6_2				18_6_2
18_6_3	18_6_3	18_6_3	18_6_3	18_6_3	18_6_3		18_6_3
			18_6_4				18_6_4
	18_7_1	18_7_1	18_7_1	18_7_1		18_7_1	18_7_1

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	18_7_2		18_7_2	18_7_2			18_7_2
	18_7_3	18_7_3	18_7_3	18_7_3	18_7_3		18_7_3
	18_7_4						
18_8_1	18_8_1	18_8_1	18_8_1	18_8_1	18_8_1	18_8_1	18_8_1
	18_8_2	18_8_2	18_8_2				18_8_2
18_8_3	18_8_3	18_8_3	18_8_3	18_8_3	18_8_3	18_8_3	18_8_3
	18_8_4	18_8_4	18_8_4			18_8_4	18_8_4
	18_9_1		18_9_1	18_9_1		18_9_1	18_9_1
	18_9_2						18_9_2
	18_9_3	18_9_3	18_9_3	18_9_3		18_9_3	18_9_3
	18_9_4						18_9_4
18_10_1	18_10_1			18_10_1		18_10_1	18_10_1
	18_10_2						
			18_10_3				18_10_3
18_11_1	18_11_1	18_11_1	18_11_1	18_11_1	18_11_1	18_11_1	18_11_1
18_11_2	18_11_2	18_11_2	18_11_2	18_11_2	18_11_2	18_11_2	18_11_2
18_11_3	18_11_3	18_11_3	18_11_3	18_11_3	18_11_3	18_11_3	18_11_3
	18_11_4	18_11_4	18_11_4	18_11_4	18_11_4	18_11_4	18_11_4
18_12_1	18_12_1	18_12_1	18_12_1	18_12_1	18_12_1	18_12_1	18_12_1
18_12_2	18_12_2	18_12_2	18_12_2	18_12_2	18_12_2	18_12_2	18_12_2
18_12_3	18_12_3	18_12_3	18_12_3	18_12_3	18_12_3	18_12_3	18_12_3
18_12_4	18_12_4	18_12_4	18_12_4	18_12_4	18_12_4	18_12_4	18_12_4
							18_13_3
18_14_1	18_14_1	18_14_1	18_14_1	18_14_1	18_14_1	18_14_1	18_14_1
18_14_2	18_14_2	18_14_2	18_14_2	18_14_2	18_14_2	18_14_2	18_14_2
18_14_3	18_14_3	18_14_3	18_14_3	18_14_3	18_14_3	18_14_3	18_14_3
18_14_4	18_14_4	18_14_4	18_14_4	18_14_4	18_14_4	18_14_4	18_14_4
18_15_1	18_15_1	18_15_1	18_15_1	18_15_1	18_15_1	18_15_1	18_15_1
18_15_2	18_15_2	18_15_2	18_15_2	18_15_2	18_15_2	18_15_2	18_15_2
18_15_3	18_15_3	18_15_3	18_15_3	18_15_3	18_15_3	18_15_3	18_15_3
18_15_4	18_15_4	18_15_4	18_15_4	18_15_4	18_15_4	18_15_4	18_15_4
18_16_1	18_16_1	18_16_1	18_16_1	18_16_1	18_16_1	18_16_1	18_16_1
18_16_2	18_16_2	18_16_2	18_16_2	18_16_2		18_16_2	18_16_2
18_16_3	18_16_3	18_16_3	18_16_3	18_16_3	18_16_3	18_16_3	18_16_3
18_16_4	18_16_4	18_16_4	18_16_4	18_16_4		18_16_4	18_16_4
							18_17_3
	52_5	-		-	52_5		52_5

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## 5. INTERVIEWER EFFECTS (BY FABIO COTTI / IARD)

The possible interviewer effects concern three variables:

1. Interviewer **sex** (q53).
2. Interviewer **age** (q54).

For this purpose the variable age has been recoded in four levels:

- a. From lowest to 30 = level 1
- b. From 31 to 45 = level 2
- c. From 46 to 55 = level 3
- d. From 56 to highest = level 4

This categorization has been created in order to have four levels with approximately the same frequencies.

3. Interviewer **interest in politics** (q55).

First of all, the analysis has been focused on variables dealing with **political participation** and **attitudinal variables**; in particular, the focus concerns those variables which, more than others, could generate problems in case of interviewer effects. Finally, we investigated the **missing values** (Is it possible that interviewers influence “don’t know” and “answer refused” answers?).

Before to start with analysis it is important to try to find out the source of interviewer effects.

### 5.1. The source of interviewer effects

Pooled analysis reveals that many variables seem to be influenced in some way by interviewer’s characteristics. If we repeat the same analysis country by country, it reveals that the associations pointed out previously are found only in some countries. Each time we have an interviewer effect in pooled analysis, analysis by countries reveals that this association is due to a specific (one, two or more) country.

Consequently, the supposed interviewer effects are principally caused by different distributions of interviewers concerning gender and age – and probably interest in politics – for each country and it is reflected in the analysis. In synthesis, we can assume that there is not a general interviewer effect but a country effect, because we have different sample compositions of interviewers in the different countries.

In order to show that interviewer effects are due to different interviewers’ stratification that each country has, in the following the distribution of the three variables concerning interviewers’ sex, age and interest in politics is reported country by country. In other words, supposed interviewer effects can be attributed to a country effect.

Looking at the following table it is possible to realize that each country has a different distribution of interviewers (in terms of sex, age and interest in politics).

country	Int.: sex	Interviewer: interest in politics	Interviewer: age				Total
			lowest to 30	31 to 45	46 to 55	56 to highest	
Austria	male	very interested	6	4	1	1	12
		fairly interested	9	7	2	1	19
		not very interested	0	2	0	1	3
	female	very interested	5	5	2	1	13
		fairly interested	29	13	5	3	50
		not very interested	13	7	3	2	25
		not at all interested	1	0	0	0	1
Estonia	male	very interested	0	0	0	2	2
		fairly interested	0	0	2	4	6
		not very interested	0	0	2	0	2
		not at all interested	0	0	0	1	1
	female	very interested	1	0	0	4	5
		fairly interested	0	14	7	13	34
		not very interested	2	7	8	2	19
		not at all interested	0	1	0	0	1
		don't know	0	0	0	1	1
Finland	male	very interested	1	3	1	4	9
		fairly interested	2	3	1	2	8
		not very interested	1	0	1	0	2
	female	very interested	3	2	1	1	7
		fairly interested	4	4	7	9	24
		not very interested	1	1	2	18	22
			refused	0	0	0	8
France	male	very interested	2	0	3	0	5
		fairly interested	1	2	1	3	7
		not very interested	0	1	1	0	2
		don't know	2	3	3	0	8
	female	very interested	0	4	3	2	9
		fairly interested	1	13	13	3	30
		not very interested	2	4	5	2	13
		not at all interested	0	0	3	0	3
		don't know	1	11	13	5	30
Germany	male	very interested	1	8	13	9	31
		fairly interested	1	3	6	3	13
		not very interested	0	1	1	0	2
		don't know	0	1	0	0	1
	female	very interested	1	2	6	5	14
		fairly interested	1	10	10	5	26
		not very interested	3	1	2	0	6
Italy	male	very interested	6	0	0	0	6
		fairly interested	3	2	0	0	5
		not very interested	2	3	0	0	5
	female	fairly interested	14	7	0	0	21
		not very interested	9	1	0	0	10
		not at all interested	1	0	0	0	1
		refused	0	0	0	1	1
Slovakia	male	very interested	4	4	3	0	11
		fairly interested	15	19	10	9	53
		not very interested	9	1	3	2	15
		not at all interested	1	0	0	0	1
	female	very interested	1	4	1	0	6
		fairly interested	15	24	18	6	63
		not very interested	16	4	6	0	26
		not at all interested	2	0	0	0	2
		refused	0	0	0	3	3
UK	male	very interested	0	0	0	4	4
		fairly interested	0	0	6	2	8
		not very interested	0	0	2	2	4
		don't know	0	1	0	0	1
		refused	1	0	1	0	2
	female	very interested	0	2	3	2	7
		fairly interested	1	7	10	12	30
		not very interested	0	6	7	7	20
		not at all interested	2	3	6	3	14
		refused	0	1	2	0	3

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In the tables below, the distributions of all variables concerning interviewers are reported country by country.

Country	Q53 Interviewer: gender		Total
	1 male	2 female	
Austria	34	89	123
Estonia	11	60	71
Finland	19	53	72
France	22	85	107
Germany	47	46	93
Italy	11	38	49
Slovakia	80	97	177
UK	19	74	93
Total	243	542	785

\* Missing values are excluded

\*\*  $\chi^2$  (df = 7) = 54,65 ( $p < .001$ )

Country	Q54 Interviewer: age				Total
	lowest to 30	31 to 45	46 to 55	56 to highest	
Austria	63	38	13	9	123
Estonia	3	22	19	27	71
Finland	12	13	13	42	80
France	9	38	45	15	107
Germany	7	26	38	22	93
Italy	35	13	0	1	49
Slovakia	63	56	41	20	180
UK	4	20	37	32	93
Total	196	226	206	168	796

\* Missing values are excluded

\*\*  $\chi^2$  (df = 21) = 287,33 ( $p < .001$ )

Country	Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics				Total
	very interested	fairly interested	not very interested	not at all interested	
Austria	25	69	28	1	123
Estonia	7	40	21	2	70
Finland	16	32	24	0	72
France	14	37	15	3	69
Germany	45	39	8	0	92
Italy	11	26	10	1	48
Slovakia	17	116	41	3	177
UK	11	38	24	14	87
Total	146	397	171	24	738

\* Missing values are excluded

\*\*  $\chi^2$  (df = 21) = 132,05 ( $p < .001$ )

## Interviewers' sex

### Behavioural variables

Many significant interactions between sex of interviewers and political participation variables have been pointed out.

The country by country analysis shows there are some specific countries that influence the association of variables.

From these statements we can hypothesize that most of the interactions can be attributed to a country effect.

Behavioural variables under some kind of country effects in pooled analysis (significance at .05) are: q13a1 q13a3 q13a5 q13a6 q13a10 q13a11 q13a14 q13a16 q13a20 q13a23 q14\_2 q15\_1 q15\_2 q17\_3 q17\_5 q18\_1\_3 q18\_2\_1 q18\_4\_1 q18\_4\_4 q18\_5\_2 q18\_5\_4 q18\_6\_2 q18\_6\_4 q18\_8\_2 q18\_8\_3 q18\_8\_4 q18\_9\_1 q18\_9\_2 q18\_9\_3 q18\_9\_4 q18\_10\_1 q18\_10\_2 q18\_10\_3 q18\_10\_4 q18\_12\_3 q18\_12\_4 q18\_13\_2 q18\_13\_3 q18\_13\_4 q18\_17\_2 q18\_17\_3.

Analysis by countries reveals that the following variables are associated with interviewer's sex:

Austria	q13a3 q13a6 q13a10 q13a23 q17_5 q18_1_3 q18_4_1 q18_4_4 q18_5_2 q18_5_4 q18_8_3 q18_13_2
Estonia	q13a16 q18_8_3 q18_8_4 q18_12_4
Finland	q13a5 q17_5 q18_10_2 q18_10_4 q18_13_2 q18_13_3 q18_13_4 q18_17_2
France	q13a6 q13a14 q14_2 q18_4_4
Germany	q15_1 q17_3 q18_17_2
Italy	q13a6 q13a10 q13a14 q13a20 q18_1_3 q18_8_2 q18_8_4 q18_9_2 q18_9_3 q18_9_4 q18_10_1 q18_10_2 q18_10_3 q18_10_4 q18_13_3 q18_13_4
Slovakia	q13a10 q13a16 q17_3 q18_4_1 q18_4_4 q18_8_4 q18_9_4
UK	q15_1 q18_13_3

### Attitudinal variables

In order to investigate the influence of interviewers' sex, a *t*-test has been carried out. People interviewed by males show more interest in politics (Q1) than people interviewed by females.

	Interviewers' Sex	Mean	SD	<i>t</i>	df	Sig.
Q1 Interest in politics	Males	2,71	0,84	-4,99	7933	<i>p</i> < .001
	Females	2,82	0,82			

This effect is due to the following countries: Italy, Slovakia and UK.

People interviewed by females show a self-placement on the left-right scale (Q27) more on right position than people interviewed by males.

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		Interviewers' Sex	Mean	SD	t	df	Sig.
Q27 Left-right self-placement	Males		4,65	1,94	-2,93	6408	p < .01
	Females		4,81	2,07			

This association is due just to different interviewers' distribution of UK.

### Missing values

About missing values analysis related to interviewers' sex, it has been possible to discover the following tendency. Female interviewers obtain more "don't know" and "answer refused" than male interviewers. Here is the result of cross-tab:  $\chi^2$  (df = 1) = 42,71 ( $p < .001$ ).

			Q27 Left-right self-placement: missing values		
			Value from 0 to 10	"don't know" or "answer refused"	Total
Q53 Interviewer: gender	1 male	Count	2052	373	2425
		Expected Count	1945,0	480,0	2425,0
		% within Q53 Interviewer: gender	84,6%	15,4%	100,0%
	2 female	Count	4358	1209	5567
		Expected Count	4465,0	1102,0	5567,0
		% within Q53 Interviewer: gender	78,3%	21,7%	100,0%
Total	Count	6410	1582	7992	
	Expected Count	6410,0	1582,0	7992,0	
	% within Q53 Interviewer: gender	80,2%	19,8%	100,0%	

The associations of variables is due to Austria, France and UK.

## 5.2. Interviewers' age

### Behavioural variables

Many significant interactions have been discovered, but the reason of this significance is to attribute to country effect. In fact, if we repeat analysis country by country, each time there are some specific countries that influence the association of variables.

Behavioural variables under some kind of country effects in pooled analysis (significance at .01) are: q13a1 q13a2 q13a3 q13a4 q13a5 q13a7 q13a8 q13a9 q13a10 q13a11 q13a12 q13a13 q13a14 q13a15 q13a16 q13a17 q13a18 q13a19 q13a20 q13a21 q13a22 q13a23 q13a24 q13a25 q14\_1 q14\_2 q15\_1 q15\_2 q15\_3 q15\_4 q15\_5 q15\_6 q17\_3 q18\_1\_1 q18\_1\_2 q18\_1\_4 q18\_2\_1 q18\_2\_3 q18\_2\_4 q18\_3\_1 q18\_3\_2 q18\_3\_3 q18\_3\_4 q18\_5\_4 q18\_6\_1 q18\_6\_2 q18\_6\_4 q18\_7\_1 q18\_7\_2 q18\_7\_3 q18\_7\_4 q18\_8\_2 q18\_8\_3 q18\_8\_4 q18\_9\_2 q18\_9\_3 q18\_9\_4 q18\_10\_1 q18\_10\_2 q18\_10\_3 q18\_10\_4 q18\_11\_2 q18\_12\_2 q18\_12\_4 q18\_13\_2 q18\_13\_4 q18\_14\_2 q18\_14\_3 q18\_14\_4 q18\_15\_2 q18\_15\_4 q18\_16\_2 q18\_16\_4 q18\_17\_1 q18\_17\_2 q18\_17\_3 q18\_17\_4.

Analysis by countries reveals that the following variables are associated with interviewer's age:

Austria	q18_10_4, q18_17_4
Estonia	q13a1, q13a3, q13a5, q15_1, q15_3, q18_16_2, q18_17_1, q18_17_2
Finland	q13a1, q13a5, q13a10, q13a12, q13a14, q13a15, q13a18, q13a21, q13a22, q13a23, q13a24, q13a25, q17_3, q18_7_1, q18_10_2, q18_10_4, q18_14_4
France	q13a3, q13a4, q13a7, q13a16, q13a24, q15_3, q15_6, q18_1_4, q18_14_2, q18_17_2
Germany	Q13a14, q17_3, q18_6_2, q18_9_4, q18_10_2, q18_14_2, q18_14_3, q18_14_4
Italy	q13a5, q13a14, q13a16, q18_10_3
Slovakia	q18_3_4, q18_7_2, q18_7_4, q18_8_4
UK	q13a1, q13a16, q15_5, q17_3, q18_10_4, q18_13_2, q18_13_4, q18_17_1, q18_17_2, q18_17_3, q18_17_4

For example, the association between interviewers' age and Q13b\_5 (attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues) is significant because younger interviewers obtain more "yes" answers than the older [ $\chi^2$  (df = 3) = 126,43 ( $p < .001$ )]. But, if we repeat analysis by countries, this effect is just due to interviewers' stratification (age and gender) of Austria.

### Attitudinal variables

The relation between age of interviewers and interest in politics (Q1) has been investigated through cross-tab. Here is the result of cross-tab [ $\chi^2$  (df = 9) = 89,8 ( $p < .001$ )].

			Q1 Interest in politics				Total
			1 very interested	2 fairly interested	3 not very interested	4 not at all inter.	
Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	Lowest to 30	Count	164	610	819	294	1887
		Expected Count	109,3	561,4	842,1	374,2	1887,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	8,7%	32,3%	43,4%	15,6%	100,0%
	From 31 to 45	Count	113	652	961	481	2207
		Expected Count	127,9	656,6	984,9	437,6	2207,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	5,1%	29,5%	43,5%	21,8%	100,0%
	From 46 to 55	Count	110	592	934	497	2133
		Expected Count	123,6	634,6	951,9	423,0	2133,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	5,2%	27,8%	43,8%	23,3%	100,0%
	From 56 to highest	Count	75	518	844	309	1746
		Expected Count	101,2	519,4	779,2	346,2	1746,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	4,3%	29,7%	48,3%	17,7%	100,0%
Total	Count	462	2372	3558	1581	7973	
	Expected Count	462,0	2372,0	3558,0	1581,0	7973,0	
	% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	5,8%	29,8%	44,6%	19,8%	100,0%	

As can be seen, among young interviewers there are more people interested in politics. Nevertheless, in reality it is a country effect, because this association is significant just for Estonia and France.

The relation between age of interviewers and left-right self-placement (Q27) has been investigated through ANOVA. Here is the result:  $F(3, 6436) = 14,25$  ( $p < .001$ ). Below there is post-hoc (Tukey) which shows this tendency: increasing of interviewers' age progressively increases a placement on right.

	Q27 Left-right self-placement		Post-hoc (Tukey)
	Mean	SD	
Q54r Interviewer: age recoded			
1 Lowest to 30	4,52	2,36	1-2 $p < .001$ 1-3 $p < .05$
2 From 31 to 45	4,85	2,04	1-4 $p < .001$ 2-3 $p = .17$
3 From 46 to 55	4,71	1,85	2-4 $p = .34$
4 From 56 to highest	4,97	1,81	

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If we carry out the same analysis by countries, we can discover that this positive association is due to the following countries: Austria, France and UK.

### Missing values

About the missing values analysis related to interviewers' age, the results are the following. Interviewers aged from 31 to 55 obtain more "don't know" and "answer refused" than other age clusters.

Here is the result of cross-tab [ $\chi^2$  (df = 3) = 13,03 ( $p < .05$ )].

			Q27 Left-right self-placement: missing values		Total
			Value from 0 to 10	"don't know" or "answer refused"	
Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	Lowest to 30	Count	1571	334	1905
		Expected Count	1527,8	377,2	1905,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	82,5%	17,5%	100,0%
	From 31 to 45	Count	1762	458	2220
		Expected Count	1780,4	439,6	2220,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	79,4%	20,6%	100,0%
	From 46 to 55	Count	1684	467	2151
		Expected Count	1725,1	425,9	2151,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	78,3%	21,7%	100,0%
	From 56 to highest	Count	1423	331	1754
		Expected Count	1406,7	347,3	1754,0
		% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	81,1%	18,9%	100,0%
Total	Count	6440	1590	8030	
	Expected Count	6440,0	1590,0	8030,0	
	% within Q54r Interviewer: age recodified	80,2%	19,8%	100,0%	

This association is due to the following countries: Estonia, Finland, Slovakia and UK.

### 5.3. Interviewers' interest in politics

#### Behavioural variables

Many significant interactions have been discovered, but the reason of this significance is to attribute to country effect. In fact, if we repeat analysis country by country, each time there are some specific countries that influence the association of variables.

Behavioural variables under some kind of country effects in pooled analysis (significance at .01) are: q13a1 q13a4 q13a5 q13a6 q13a8 q13a9 q13a10 q13a11 q13a13 q13a14 q13a18 q13a20 q13a21 q13a22 q13a25 q14\_1 q14\_2 q15\_1 q15\_2 q15\_3 q15\_4 q15\_5 q17\_3 q18\_1\_1 q18\_1\_3 q18\_3\_2 q18\_3\_3 q18\_3\_4 q18\_6\_1 q18\_7\_4 q18\_8\_2 q18\_8\_4 q18\_9\_1 q18\_9\_2 q18\_9\_4 q18\_10\_1 q18\_10\_2 q18\_10\_4 q18\_13\_1 q18\_13\_2 q18\_13\_3 q18\_13\_4 q18\_17\_1 q18\_17\_2 q18\_17\_3 q18\_17\_4.

Analysis by countries reveals that the following variables are associated with interviewer's interest in politics:

Austria	q15_5
Estonia	q14_2, q15_4, q18_13_3
Finland	q13a10, q15_2, q18_1_3, q18_10_2, q18_13_1, q18_13_2, q18_13_4, q18_17_1, q18_17_2, q18_17_3, q18_17_4
France	q13a6, q13a14, q14_2, q15_3, q18_10_1, q18_17_2, q18_17_3, q18_17_4
Germany	q18_8_4, q18_17_4
Italy	q13a4, q13a6, q13a9, q13a14, q14_2, q18_10_1, q18_10_2, q18_10_4
Slovakia	q13a22, q15_3
UK	q13a14, q18_13_2, q18_13_3, q18_13_4

For example, the association between interviewers' interest in politics and Q13b\_14 (participated in a legal demonstration) is significant because the increasing of the interviewers interest determinate more "yes" answer [ $\chi^2$  (df = 3) = 71,01 ( $p < .001$ )]. But, if we repeat analysis by countries, this effect is just due to interviewers' stratification (age and gender) of Germany.

### Attitudinal variables

The relation between interest in politics of interviewer and interest in politics of interviewee (Q1) has been investigated through cross-tabulations. Here is the result of cross-tab [ $\chi^2$  (df = 9) = 145,28 ( $p < .001$ )].

			Q1 Interest in politics				Total
			1 very interested	2 fairly interested	3 not very interested	4 not at all inter.	
Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	1 very interested	Count	126	550	654	246	1576
		Expected Count	92,0	467,2	712,2	304,6	1576,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	8,0%	34,9%	41,5%	15,6%	100,0%
	2 fairly interested	Count	223	1148	1846	791	4008
		Expected Count	234,0	1188,1	1811,3	774,7	4008,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	5,6%	28,6%	46,1%	19,7%	100,0%
	3 not very interested	Count	81	479	809	311	1680
		Expected Count	98,1	498,0	759,2	324,7	1680,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	4,8%	28,5%	48,2%	18,5%	100,0%
	4 not at all interested	Count	7	42	74	99	222
		Expected Count	13,0	65,8	100,3	42,9	222,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	3,2%	18,9%	33,3%	44,6%	100,0%
Total		Count	437	2219	3383	1447	7486
		Expected Count	437,0	2219,0	3383,0	1447,0	7486,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	5,8%	29,6%	45,2%	19,3%	100,0%

The table shows this tendency: when the interest in politics of interviewer increases, also the interest in politics of interviewee increases. If we repeat analysis country by country, we discover that this effect is a country effect, due to France, Slovakia and UK.

### Missing values

About missing values analysis related to interviewers' interest in politics, the results reveal that interviewers which are "not at all interested" obtain more "don't know" and "answer refused" than others.

Here is the result of cross-tab [ $\chi^2$  (df = 3) = 124,67 ( $p < .001$ )].

			Q27 Left-right self-placement: missing values		Total
			Value from 0 to 10	"don't know" or "answer refused"	
Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	1 very interested	Count	1353	245	1598
		Expected Count	1280,0	318,0	1598,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	84,7%	15,3%	100,0%
	2 fairly interested	Count	3279	747	4026
		Expected Count	3224,9	801,1	4026,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	81,4%	18,6%	100,0%
	3 not very interested	Count	1281	410	1691
		Expected Count	1354,5	336,5	1691,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	75,8%	24,2%	100,0%
	4 not at all interested	Count	129	99	228
		Expected Count	182,6	45,4	228,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	56,6%	43,4%	100,0%
Total		Count	6042	1501	7543
		Expected Count	6042,0	1501,0	7543,0
		% within Q55 Interviewer: interest in politics	80,1%	19,9%	100,0%

This association (really a country effect) is due to Austria and Finland.

#### 5.4. Study in depth: binary logistic regression

In this chapter the purpose is to investigate more in detail the hypothesis: the supposed interviewer effect is principally caused by different distributions of interviewers concerning gender and age in each country; there is not a general interviewer effect but a country effect, because we have different compositions of interviewers in different countries.

In order to investigate this hypothesis, a binary logistic regression has been carried out. In detail, we have investigated the relationship between interviewees' interest in politics (dependent variable) and sex, age and interest in politics of interviewer (independent variables). In particular, we have studied if these independent variables affect the probability that interviewees were "not very interested" or "not at all interested" in politics.

If we carried out a pooled analysis, all three independent variables seem to be statistically significant:

- persons who are interviewed by an interviewer being "not very interested" or "not at all interested" in politics, are more often "not very interested" or "not at all interested" in politics;
- persons who are interviewed by a female interviewer are more often non interested in politics;
- the increasing interviewer's age increase the probability that interviewee is not interested in politics.

##### All countries

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	0,1424	0,0584	5,9398	0,015	1,153
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,2412	0,0529	20,8157	0,000	1,273
Age	0,0070	0,0017	16,5046	0,000	1,007
Constant	0,2440	0,0801	9,2765	0,002	1,276

Nevertheless, all these associations disappear when we conduct analysis by countries. All associations remain significant just in Finland (but the effect of interviewer interest in politics is inverted); in Slovakia are significant interviewer's interest in politics and interviewer's sex; in UK variable sex is significant and in Estonia variable age (but the effect is inverted respect all countries).

##### Austria

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	-0,048	0,160	0,089	0,765	0,953
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,270	0,147	3,385	0,066	1,310
Age	0,006	0,005	1,427	0,232	1,006
Constant	0,059	0,190	0,095	0,758	1,060

## Estonia

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	0,136	0,169	0,651	0,420	1,146
Sex: female (reference to: male)	-0,213	0,204	1,087	0,297	0,808
Age	-0,014	0,007	4,080	0,043	0,987
Constant	1,700	0,372	20,905	0,000	5,475

## Finland

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	-0,414	0,171	5,840	0,016	0,661
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,363	0,156	5,409	0,020	1,438
Age	0,015	0,005	7,986	0,005	1,015
Constant	-0,212	0,271	0,614	0,433	0,809

## France

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	-0,302	0,187	2,618	0,106	0,739
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,251	0,206	1,480	0,224	1,286
Age	0,013	0,008	2,643	0,104	1,013
Constant	-0,054	0,361	0,023	0,880	0,947

## Germany

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	-0,369	0,277	1,764	0,184	0,692
Sex: female (reference to: male)	-0,117	0,128	0,832	0,362	0,889
Age	-0,004	0,007	0,320	0,571	0,996
Constant	0,004	0,337	0,000	0,991	1,004

## Italy

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	0,156	0,162	0,935	0,334	1,169
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,190	0,162	1,373	0,241	1,210
Age	0,025	0,019	1,694	0,193	1,025
Constant	-0,457	0,551	0,689	0,407	0,633

## Slovakia

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	0,398	0,183	4,704	0,030	1,488
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,430	0,145	8,854	0,003	1,538
Age	0,009	0,006	2,119	0,145	1,009
Constant	0,714	0,239	8,910	0,003	2,042

## UK

Variables in the Equation	B	S.E.	Wald	Sig.	Exp(B)
Interest interviewer in politics: not very interested, not at all interested (reference to: very interested or fairly interested)	0,070	0,162	0,187	0,665	1,073
Sex: female (reference to: male)	0,413	0,170	5,907	0,015	1,511
Age	-0,008	0,008	1,043	0,307	0,992
Constant	1,224	0,429	8,157	0,004	3,401

## 6. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIOURAL AND ATTITUDINAL QUESTIONS

The present chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of comparability of behavioural and attitudinal questions of EUYOUPART in detail. The analysis is split according to the priority of analysis (see chapter 2) and type of questions (behaviour vs. attitude). The purpose is not only to detect lack of functional equivalence, but also to discuss possible reasons for the lack of cross-national comparability.

Table 11 gives an overview on the statistical analysis which will be conducted in this section. The blocks are divided according to priorities, a pattern which is adhered to also in the organisation of the present report.

First, behavioural variables of the core questionnaire measuring different conventional and unconventional forms of political participation of young people ("priority I") are analysed (chapter 6.1). Question blocks Q13a, Q14, Q8, Q11, Q13a1, Q15, Q17 and Q18 are included in this chapter. They are analysed by Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA) which seems more adequate to deal with behavioural questions than factor analysis.

Then attitudinal variables (and a few behavioural variables interpreted as background variables) of the core questionnaire are analysed. The attitudinal questions are analysed by means of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). The few behavioural variables of this priority are again analysed by HCA.

Finally, EFA is used for the analysis of the attitudinal variables of the optional part of the questionnaire.

**Table 11: Overview on statistical analysis of comparability**

Content & priority	Item blocks & variables	Method
<i>Political participation ("priority I")</i>		
Forms of participation – activities	Q13a & Q14	HCA
Forms of participation – voting	Q8, Q11, Q13a1	crosstab
Forms of participation at school	Q15	HCA
Forms of participation at work place	Q17	HCA
Organisational involvement	Q18	HCA
<i>Attitudinal and behavioural background variables in core questionnaire ("priority II")</i>		
Political Interest	Q1, Q2, Q5, Q20, Q27	EFA
Political efficacy	Q24	EFA
Identity	Q26	EFA
Political values	Q28	EFA
Future expectations	Q30	EFA
Problems	Q31	EFA
Political activity of parents and political interest	Q21, Q22, Q23	HCA
<i>Attitudinal variables in optional part of questionnaire ("priority III")</i>		
Understanding of politics	Q49	EFA
List of statements/attitudes	Q50	EFA
Trust in institutions	Q51	EFA

## **6.1. Political participation (“priority I”)**

Now, behavioural variables of the core questionnaire measuring different conventional and unconventional forms of political participation of young people are analysed in detail. Few question blocks are summed up in analysis. The procedure of HCA was already explained in chapter 2.3, additional information is given in the according chapters.

### **6.1.1. Forms of participation (Q13a & Q14)**

The analysis of behavioural foreground variables starts with two important item blocks concerning different ways of being politically active. These two blocks were put together in analysis: Block q13 contains 25 items and block q14 only 2 items (Table 12). For a better identification, the items were renamed. E.g. in the following figures Q13a4 (“contacted a politician”) is referred to as *contpol*. All abbreviations are given in Table 12, page 45.

In structural analysis it was only distinguished between respondents who **have ever** and those who **have never taken part in one or the other activity**. It was not taken into account, if and how often respondents were active during the last twelve months. E.g. all items of q13a and q14 were recoded into **1 “activity” and 0 “no activity”**. Also missing code 77 was recoded into 0 “no activity” to include all respondents into analysis.

A few items of block Q13a which are not relevant for all respondents because of age and eligibility were not included in structural analysis. Q13a1 “voted in elections”, Q13a2 “cast an invalid vote” and Q13a3 “not voted out of protest” are not represented in the following figures. They are considered in chapter 6.1.2.

**Table 12: Description of abbreviated items Q13 & Q14**

<b>name</b>	<b>abbreviation</b>	<b>items according to the questionnaire</b>
Q13a4	CONTPOL	contacted a politician
Q13a5	PUBMEET	attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues
Q13a6	PETIT	signed a petition
Q13a7	SIGN	collected signatures
Q13a8	SPEECH	held a political speech
Q13a9	LEAFLET	distributed leaflets with a political content
Q13a10	BOYCOTT	boycotted certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons
Q13a11	BOUGHT	bought certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons
Q13a12	GRAFFIT	written political messages or graffiti on walls
Q13a13	BADGE	worn a badge with a political message
Q13a14	LEGDEM	participated in a legal demonstration
Q13a15	ILEGDEM	participated in an illegal demonstration
Q13a16	STRIKE	participated in a strike
Q13a17	MONEY	donated money to support the work of a political group or organisation
Q13a18	WWWDISC	contributed to a political discussion on the internet
Q13a19	ARTICLE	written an article
Q13a20	LETTER	written or forwarded a letter / an email with a political content
Q13a21	DAMAGED	participated in a political event where property was damaged
Q13a22	VIOLPOL	participated in a political event where there was a violent confrontation with the police
Q13a23	VIOLOPP	participated in a political event where there was a violent confrontation with political opponents
Q13a24	OCCUPY	occupied houses, school/university buildings, factories or government offices
Q13a25	BLOCKED	blocked streets or railways
Q14_1	CAMPAI	supported an election campaign
Q14_2	CONVINC	tried to convince others to vote for a candidate or a party

The Hierarchical Cluster Analysis based on the full data set from all participating countries (pooled analysis) resulted in a five-cluster solution with two remaining items, as illustrated in Figure 7 (page 46). The strength of the chosen solution is that there are neither few clusters with many items nor many remaining single items.

Cluster 1 contains two items: “supported in election campaign” (*campai*) and “tried to convince others to vote for a candidate or a party” (*convinc*). The distances between these two items can be considered as remarkable short. This cluster may result partly from a method effect and partly from real similarity of underlying behaviour. A method effect should be considered because both items are asked in item block Q14 (“...have you ever done any of the following for a political party?”). According to the conceptual framework of EUYOUPART, this cluster can be labelled as “work for elections” (as part of conventional political participation).

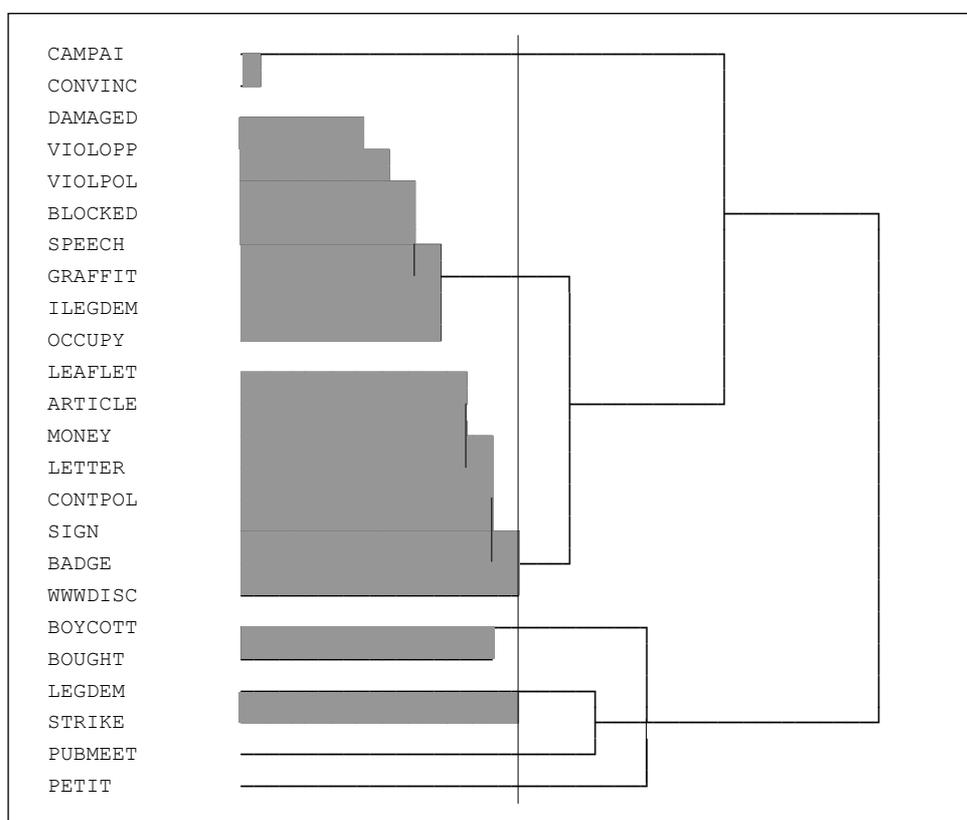
Cluster 2 is composed of items with outdoor activities as well as more offensive forms of political participations such as illegal demonstrations, political events where there was a violent confrontation or occupations of houses, school/university buildings, factories or government offices. The cluster is specified as “illegal and violent political participation” of young people.

Whereas Cluster 3 is characterised by mainly indoor activities and intellectual forms of participations, e.g. writing an article, contributing to a political discussion on the internet or contacting a politician – it can be labelled as “information work”.

Cluster 4 is established by boycotting or buying certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons. This cluster refers to political consumerism according to the conceptual framework of EUYOUPART.

Finally, Cluster 5 contains participation in a legal demonstration and in a strike. The remaining two items of forms of political participations are attending a public meeting dealing with political or social issues and signing a petition.

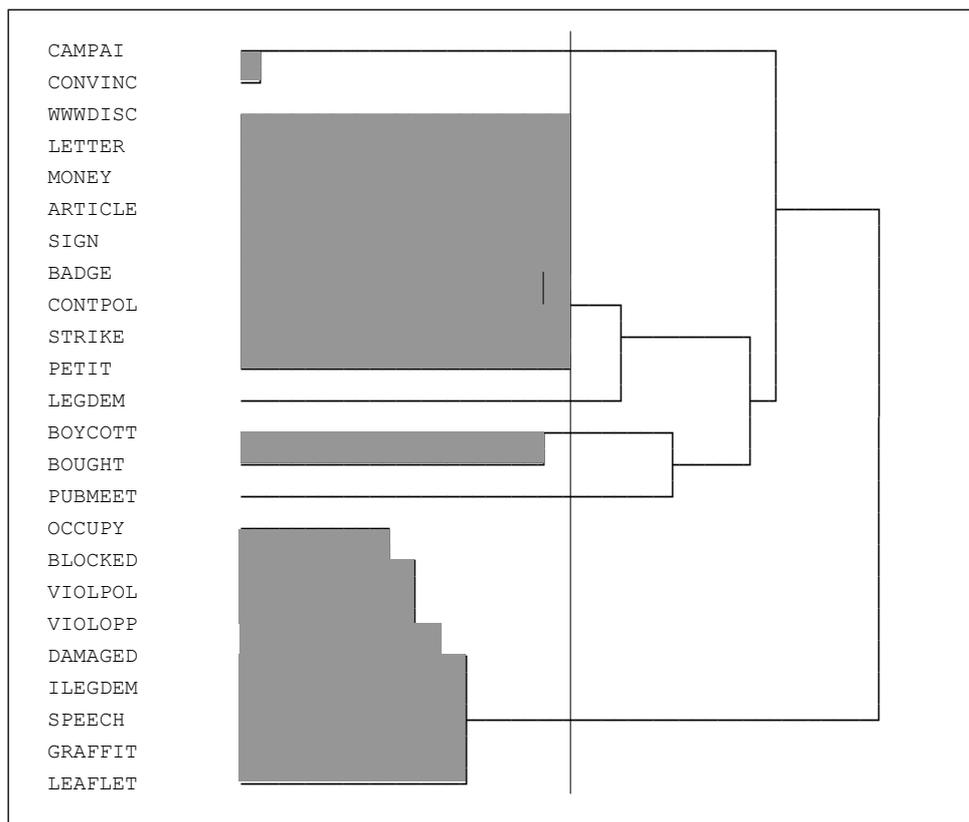
**Figure 7: Cluster analysis „political activity” – all countries**



In the following, the results of the Hierarchical Cluster Analysis will be described for each country separately. The aims of each selected solution were to reveal the largest similarity between the data set of the considered country and the full data set, in order to get nearly the same number of clusters as in the solution of the full data set and to draw the cut off line before the next remarkable step of connected clusters.

Figure 8 illustrates the result of the cluster analysis based on the Austrian sub sample which shows few differences. The solution of the Austrian data set contains four clusters and two remaining items. Only two clusters are exactly the same as in the solution of the full data set. The other two larger clusters are almost the same: single items are integrated within other clusters as in the solution of the full data set.

**Figure 8: Cluster analysis „political activity” – Austria**



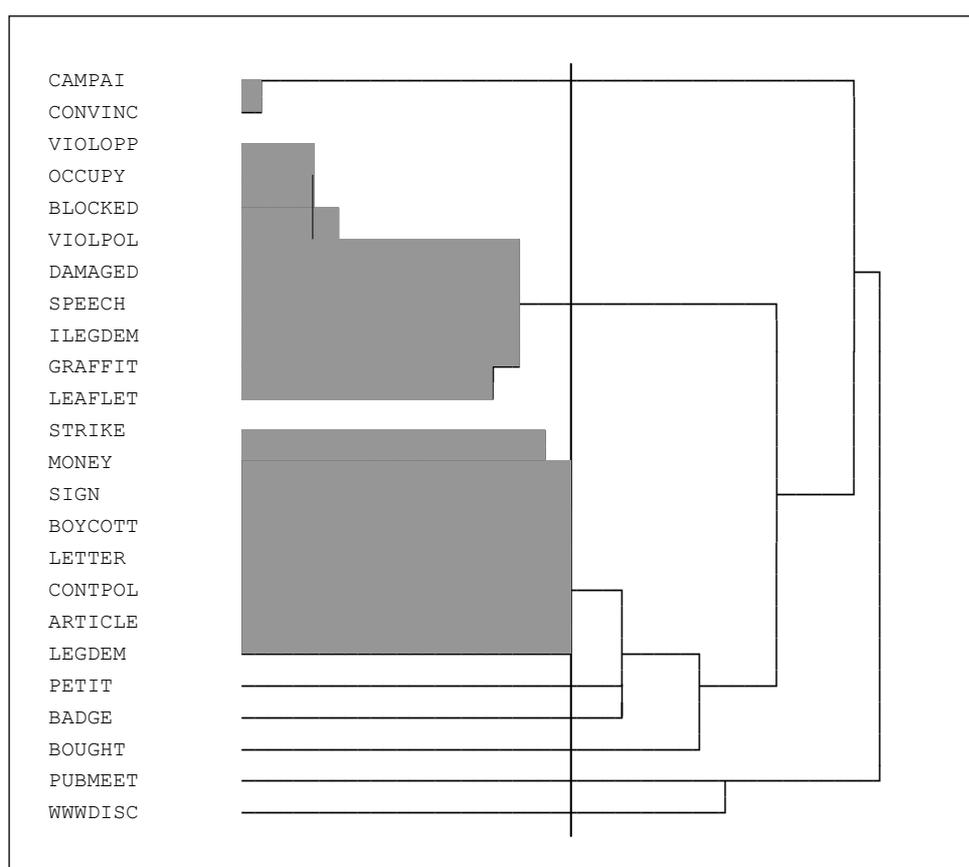
The cluster analysis based on the Estonian data set reveals another structure with three clusters and five remaining items. Cluster 1 is exactly the same but Cluster 2 and Cluster 3 are almost the same compared to the solution of the data set of all participating countries.

In almost all analysed countries one cluster is established by boycotting (*boycott*) or buying (*bought*) certain products for political, ethical or environmental issues, but not in Estonia. The explanation for this difference is that there are no boycotting but only buying campaigns in Estonia.

Another interesting detail is *wwwdisc* (contributed to a political discussion on the internet) which is not joining other activities, but stands apart – unlike all other countries.

The two activities “participated in a legal demonstration” (*legdem*) and “participated in a strike” (*strike*) join the cluster which was labelled as “information work”. In pooled analysis these activities form an own cluster.

**Figure 9: Cluster analysis „political activity” – Estonia**



As the following figure shows, the Finnish sub-sample results in a different structure: five clusters and one remaining item. Two clusters are identically, two clusters are nearly the same and one cluster is completely different compared with the solution of the full data set.

**Figure 10: Cluster analysis „political activity” – Finland**

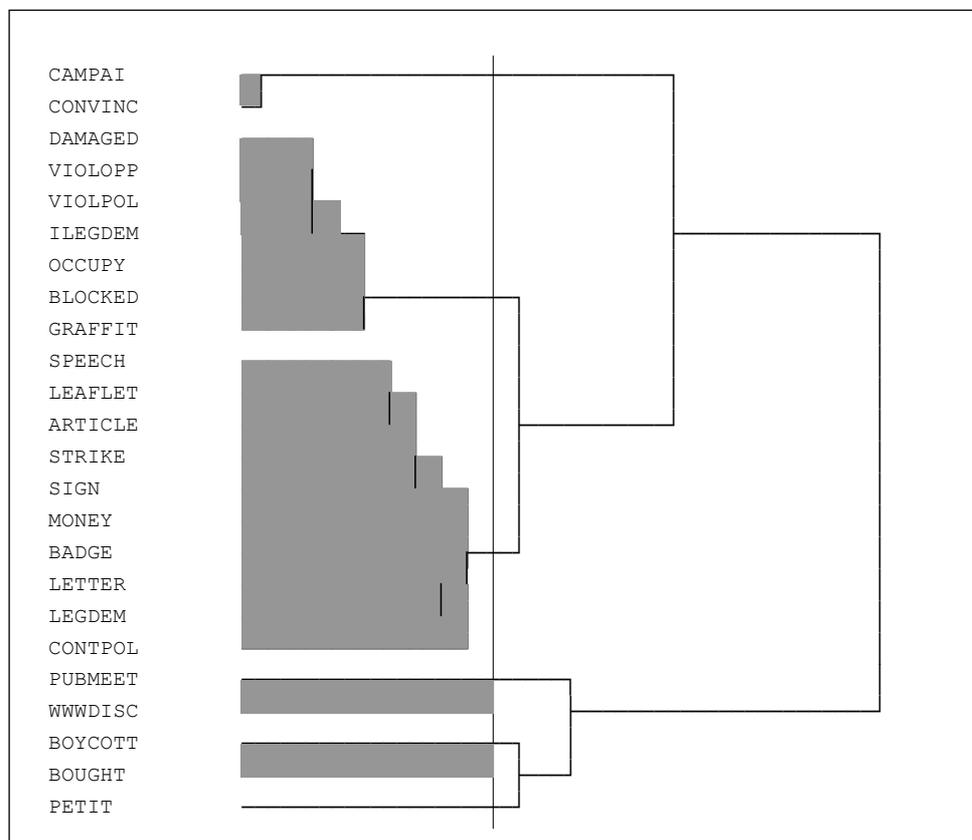
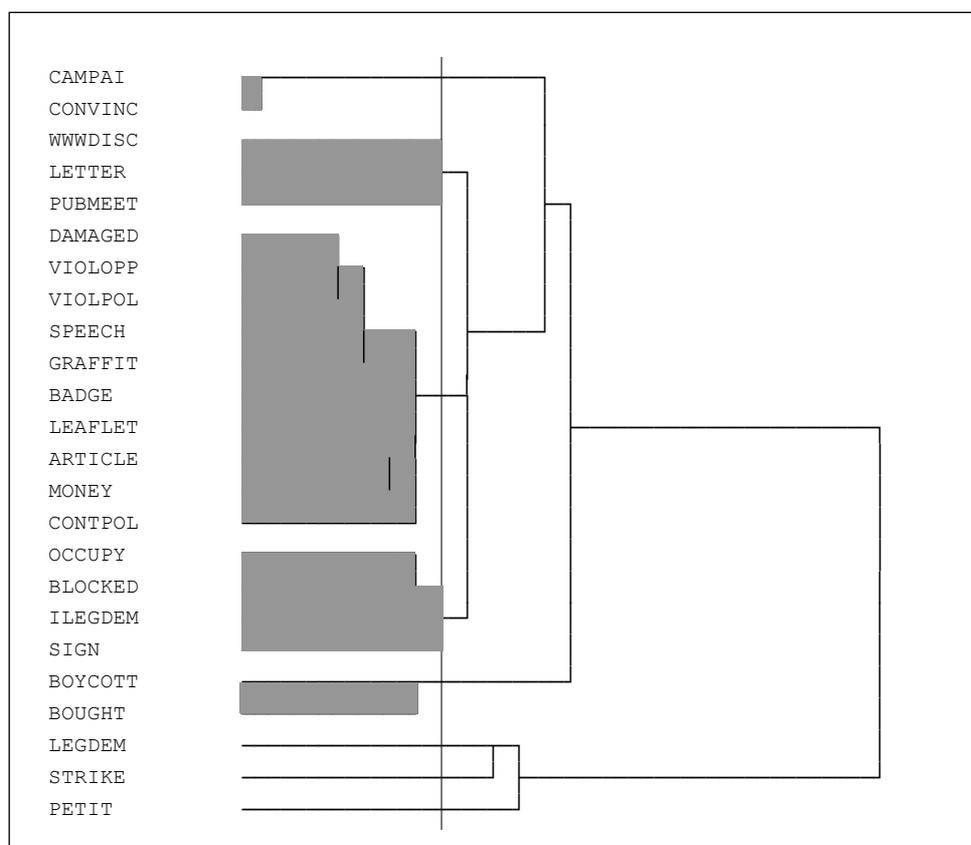


Figure 11 depicts that the cluster analysis based on the data set from France results in a diverse structure. Although the French solution contains five clusters and only three remaining items, three of them are classified differently compared with the solutions of the full dataset or other countries.

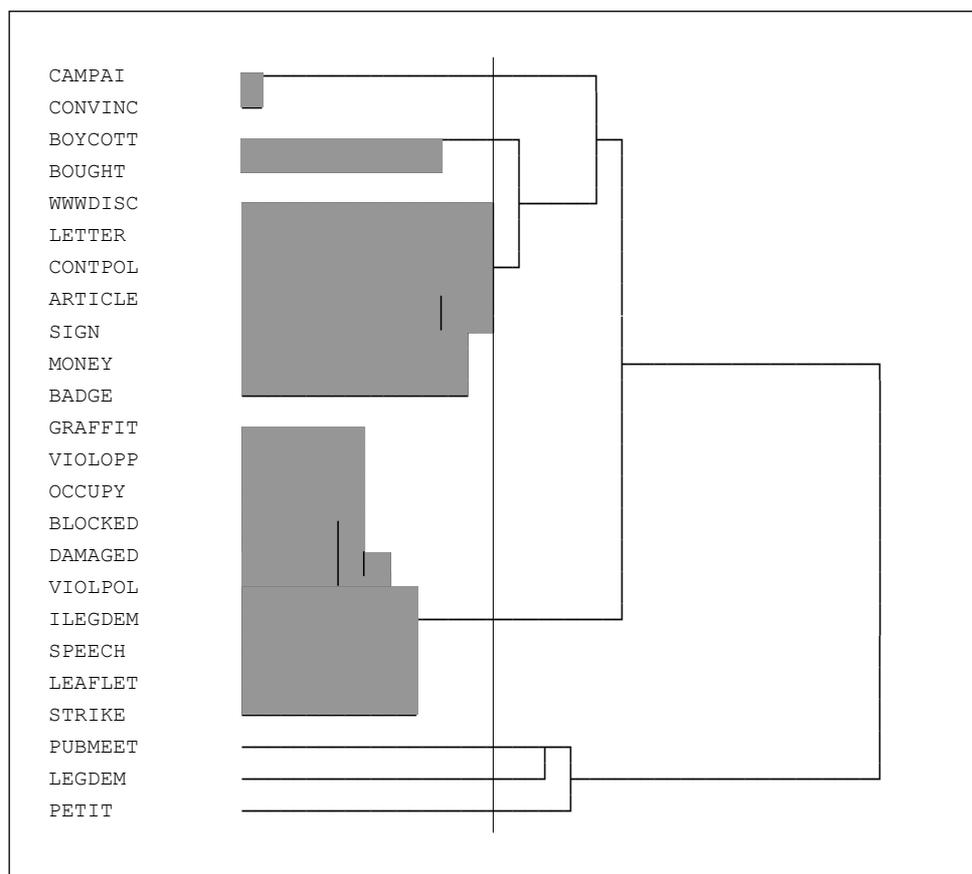
In France the item “strike” does not belong to any cluster in contrast to the other solutions of the participating countries. This protest action is very common in France, especially with people working in public services or in public offices and also with pupils or student movements. Strikes are also a common form of protest against a specific law or against the government policy.

**Figure 11: Cluster analysis „political activity” – France**



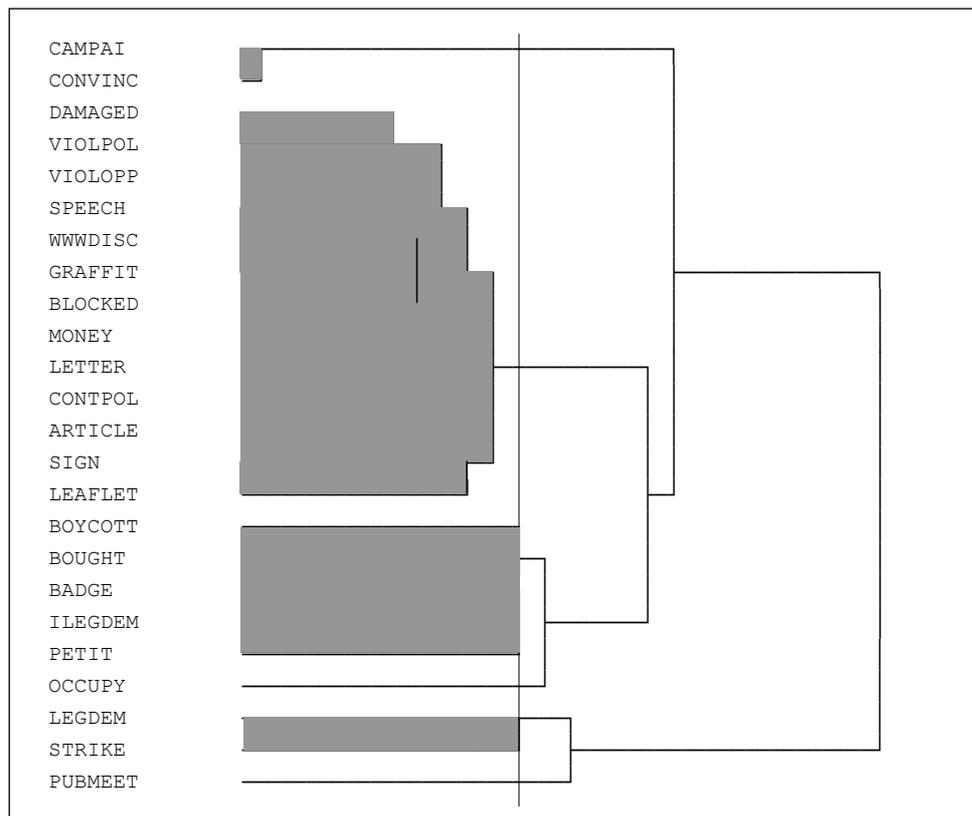
As Figure 12 illustrates, the cluster analysis of the German data set is characterised by four clusters and three remaining items. Two clusters are identical with clusters in the solution of the full data set. The other two larger clusters are nearly the same: single items are integrated into other clusters compared with the solution of the full data set or with the Austrian sub-sample.

**Figure 12: Cluster analysis „political activity” – Germany**



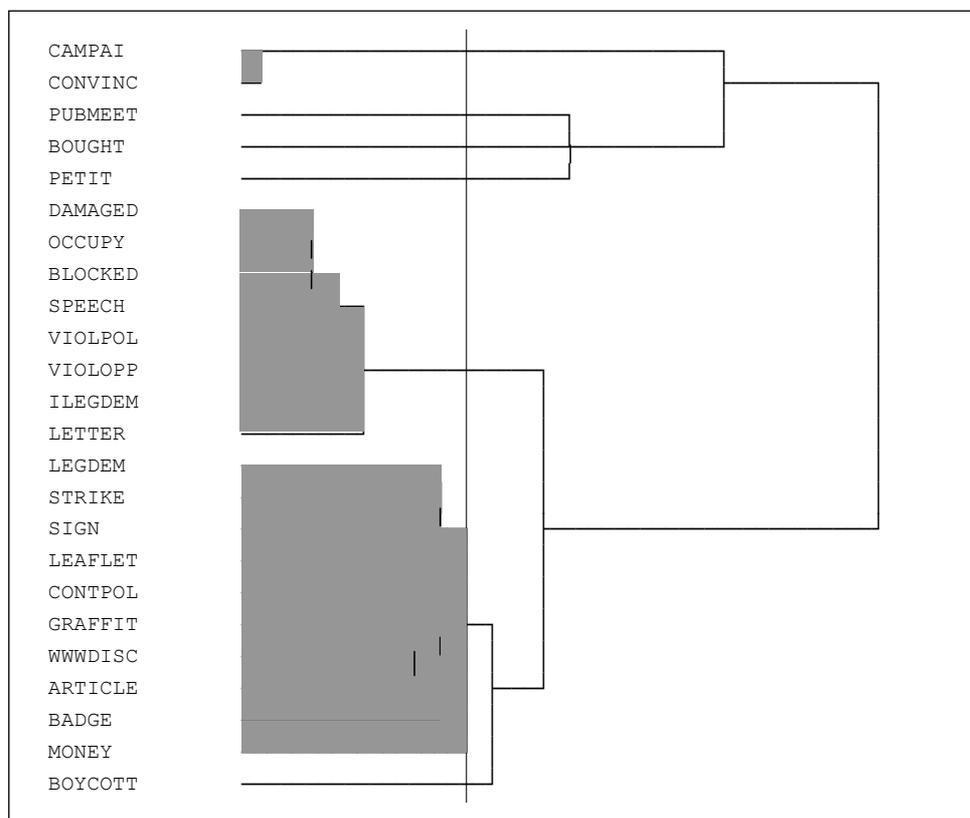
The cluster analysis based on the Italian data set shows a structure with four clusters and two remaining items. Again two Clusters are exactly the same as in the solution of the full data set. Cluster 2 is remarkable large and contains items from outdoor as well as indoor forms of political participation. In another cluster consuming behaviour is connected with three diverse items.

**Figure 13: Cluster analysis „political activity” – Italy**



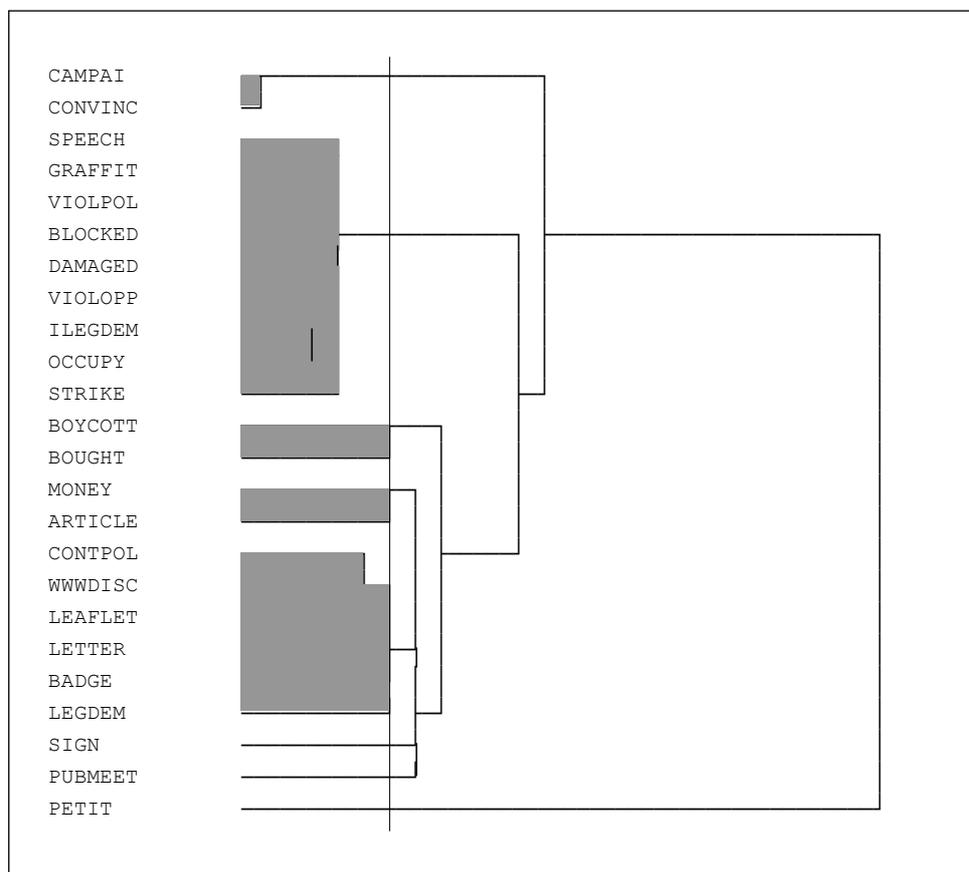
The solution of the cluster analysis of the Slovakian data set is illustrated in Figure 14. Similar to the example of the Estonian data set, the Slovakian structure is established by three clusters and five remaining items. But the clusters are classified in slightly different way.

**Figure 14: Cluster analysis „political activity” – Slovakia**



Finally, Figure 15 shows the solution of the cluster analysis based on the sub sample from the UK, which resulted in a five-cluster structure with three remaining items. Two clusters are identical with clusters in the solution of the full data set. One Cluster is completely different and the other two are more than less comparable.

**Figure 15: Cluster analysis „political activity” – UK**



To sum up country-specific results, it should be pointed out, that Cluster 1 (labelled as “work for elections”) is identical in all participating countries and has the shortest distances between its items. The clusters concerning boycotting and buying certain products for political, ethical or environmental reasons is found in almost every solution of the analysed countries. The hierarchical cluster analyses based on the Estonian and Slovakian data set resulted in three-cluster solutions. The Austrian, German and Italian cluster analyses have a four-cluster structure. In the sub samples of the UK and Finland are five-cluster solutions found but they are not necessarily comparable with the five-cluster structure of the full data set of all participating countries.

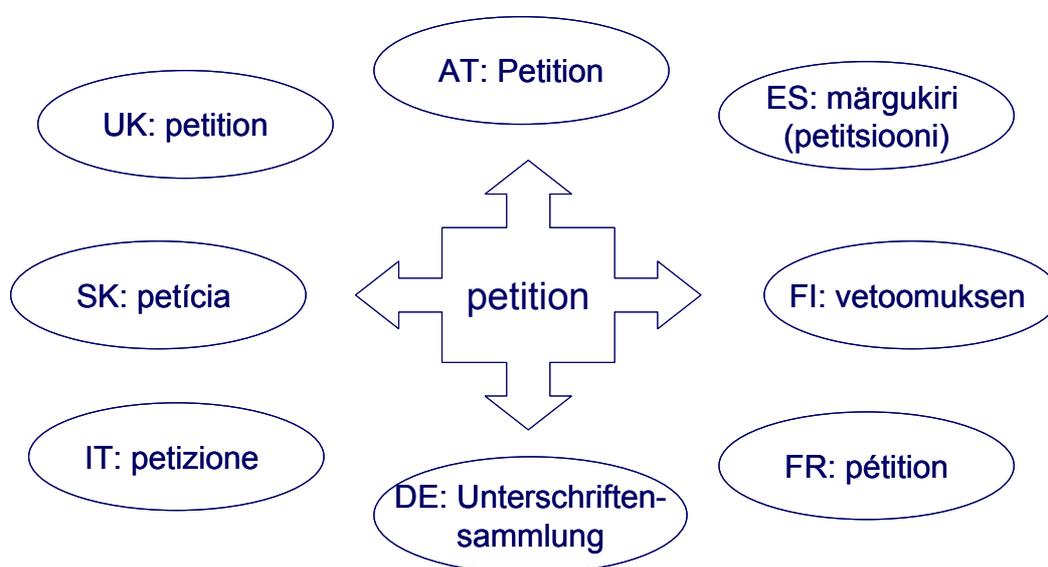
For comparing and interpreting the cluster solutions of the full data set and each country, it is important to make a distinction of items which stay within one cluster (e.g. Cluster 1), items which change clusters (e.g. “distribute a leaflet with a political content”) and items which do not belong to any cluster (e.g. “attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues”).

Primarily, caution is necessary with the items “signed a petition” (*petit*), “attending a public meeting dealing with political or social issues” (*pubmeet*) and “distributed leaflets with a political content” (*leaflet*) because of their different meanings in translation and opportunities in behaviour. These items are briefly discussed here.

Firstly, the meaning and use of the term “**petition**” differs between countries and depends strongly on the context. It was shown that the item containing this term belongs to different clusters in the analysed countries.

In Figure 16 the translation and the meaning of the term “petition” in each considered country are illustrated.

**Figure 16: Translation of the term “petition”**



In the Austrian questionnaire, the term “petition” (translated as “Petition”) is not specified: on the one hand it could be that young people didn’t understand this term and on the other hand it may have different meanings referring to procedures with different political impact.

The Estonian explanation for different meanings of “märgukiri” or “petitsiooni” is that these words do not appear explicitly when signatures are collected for a certain reason. People are asked to support some project, person etc. by giving their signature, not to sign a “märgukiri” or “petitsiooni”. So a young person might not have mentioned it in the questionnaire, even if she or he signed a petition.

Finland has two possibilities for translating “petition”, either “vetoamus” which means appeal or “adressi” which means address. In the current questionnaire of EUYOUNGPART “vetoamus” (appeal) is used and this term has a limited meaning.

In France the meaning of the phrase “signing a petition” (“Signé une pétition”) is that you give your signature in order to support a specific social or political issue.

In the German translation for this study the term “Unterschriftensammlung” (“collection of signatures”) is used which has a broader sense of meanings in themes and target groups. On the contrary “petition” (“Petition”) is used in a political and juridical context.

In the Italian questionnaire the term petition (“petizione”) is used which is associated with formal and juridical matters. So probably the meaning of the item “signed a petition” could have a stronger unconventional and stronger meaning of forms of political participation than the phrase “collection of signatures for a petition”.

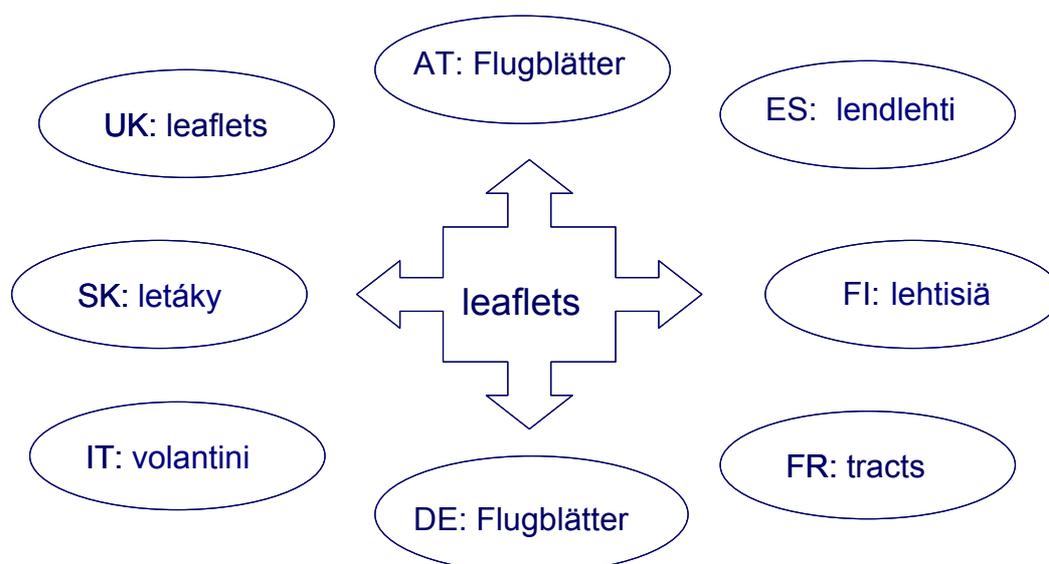
Slovakian citizens are used to signing petitions because it is a frequent political activity. It is necessary to collect 300.000 signatures in order to have a possibility for a referendum concerning the specific topic.

In the UK “petitions” are common and hold a particular appeal amongst the younger generations who are often seen collecting signatures. Petitioning and the active collection of signatures would appear as a strong alternative for engaging politically, especially for those who have not been able to cast a vote in a general election.

Secondly, the item “distributed leaflets with a political content” (*leaflet*) and here especially the term “**leaflet**” has different meanings in the analysed countries. In the different cluster solutions of the participating countries this item sometimes belongs to the cluster with illegal/violent forms of political participation and sometimes to the political communication cluster.

The following figure shows the translation of the term “leaflet” in each country.

**Figure 15: Translation of the term “leaflets”**



In Austria the wording “Flugblätter” was used for leaflets. Maybe it would be more understandable and closer to the language of young people to talk about “Flyers”.

In Estonia, lower political participation by distributing “leaflets with a political content” can be explained by relatively low organisational involvement in general. Distributing leaflets is normally a part of a political campaign, especially during election campaigns.

Today, the political culture in Finland is not based on the face-to-face situation in the street and therefore “distributing leaflets with a political content” is not common there.

In France, people usually do not distribute leaflets with a political content, except they are a member of a party or a trade union and there is an electoral campaign.

German young people may have a radical association with the translation for leaflets, namely “Flugblätter”.

Distributing leaflets on the job is quite common in Italy and young people do not distribute them just for political motivation. Another possibility is that young people could distribute leaflets during demonstration.

In Slovakia the distribution of leaflets with a political content loses its impact, because people are overflowed by other kinds of leaflets, advertising material, magazines etc. Often leaflets and other material are thrown away without having been looked at.

In the UK, leafleting is not generally a popular means of attracting attention to political issues. Leaflets tend to be associated among young people with advertising, particularly for local clubs and bars.

Finally, different meanings of the item “**attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues**” (*pubmeet*) are caused by too general interpretations and lacks of concrete references. In addition, this item measures two dimensions: social and political.

Moreover in Estonia “public meetings” do not take place and this question could have caused confusion among young people. If there is a meeting where social and political issues are discussed, it is organised by a political organisation (e.g. political party) which is clearly associated with this event.

### 6.1.2. Forms of participation – voting (Q8, Q11, Q13a1)

A few questions which are core items of political participation and which are related to voting behaviour of the respondents have not been dealt with in the previous chapter. These questions were not relevant for all respondents as they are dependent on age and eligibility. Therefore they are considered in the following: Q8 (Voted in the last general elections), Q11 (Voted in the EP elections in June 2004) and Q13a1 (voted in elections).

Table 13 and Table 14 show a cross tabulation of different variables related to voting (over all countries). In the first case the question whether the respondent had voted in the last general elections is tabulated with the question whether the respondent had ever voted. 90 out of 2726 persons declare to have voted in the last general elections and have NEVER voted. Possible reasons for this inconsistency can be faked interviews, wrong coding, or misunderstandings regarding any of the questions.

In the second case, question Q13a1 (ever voted) was tabulated with a question asking the respondent about his/her voting behaviour in the EP elections which have taken place in June 2004. Out of 3466 valid answers, 33 are inconsistent.

**Table 13: Crosstabulation of Q8 and Q13a1**

Q8 Voted in the last general elections?	Q13a1 Ever voted	
	no	yes
no	651	425
yes	<b>90</b>	2301
Total	741	2726

**Table 14: Crosstabulation of Q11 and Q13a1**

Q11 Voted in the EP elections in June 2004?	Q13a1 Ever voted	
	no	yes
no	1166	1143
yes	<b>33</b>	2323
Total	1199	3466

To examine whether these inconsistencies have occurred only in some countries, this cross tabulations are display by countries (see Table 15 and Table 16). Although there are differences, the wrong coding appears in all countries and the mistakes seem marginal.

**Table 15: Crosstabulation of Q8 and Q13a1, by country**

Country	Q8 Voted in the last general elections?	Q13a1 Ever voted		
		0 no	1 yes	77 dont know/ refused
Austria	0 no	42	37	0
	1 yes	17	295	1
	77 dont know	0	3	0
	88 refused	2	4	3
Estonia	0 no	98	53	
	1 yes	14	212	
	77 dont know	1	0	
	88 refused	1	0	
Finland	0 no	136	103	1
	1 yes	3	325	3
	77 dont know	1	3	0
France	0 no	104	78	1
	1 yes	10	283	0
	77 dont know	0	2	0
	88 refused	0	2	0
Germany	0 no	48	23	
	1 yes	22	301	
	77 dont know	0	2	
	88 refused	0	2	
Italy	0 no	6	14	1
	1 yes	5	378	0
	77 dont know	0	2	0
	88 refused	2	13	0
Slovakia	0 no	87	60	
	1 yes	11	377	
	77 dont know	1	3	
	88 refused	0	4	
UK	0 no	130	57	
	1 yes	8	130	

**Table 16: Crosstabulation of Q11 and Q13a1, by country**

Country	Q11 Voted in the EP elections in June 2004?	Q13a1 Ever voted		
		0 no	1 yes	77 dont know/ refused
Austria	0 no	71	156	0
	1 yes	8	313	0
	77 dont know	0	4	0
	88 refused	3	7	3
Estonia	0 no	149	131	1
	1 yes	2	165	0
	77 dont know	3	1	0
	88 refused	0	1	0
Finland	0 no	166	220	1
	1 yes	0	244	3
	77 dont know	4	1	0
France	0 no	181	126	
	1 yes	6	321	
	77 dont know	0	1	
	88 refused	0	2	
Germany	0 no	124	128	
	1 yes	5	308	
	77 dont know	0	4	
	88 refused	0	4	
Italy	0 no	38	65	0
	1 yes	2	557	1
	77 dont know	0	5	0
	88 refused	5	18	0
Slovakia	0 no	132	205	
	1 yes	6	304	
	77 dont know	1	3	
	88 refused	0	4	
UK	0 no	305	112	
	1 yes	4	111	
	77 dont know	0	6	
	88 refused	0	2	

### 6.1.3. Forms of participation (Q15)

This chapter is concerned with the discussion to what extent the structures of political participation at school appear to be similar across different countries. Due to different numbers of respondents, question block Q15 was analysed separately. It contains six items, which were recoded into 1 “activity” and 0 “no activity”. Missing code 77 was recoded into 0 “no activity” to include all respondents into analysis – similar to Q13a and Q14. Table 17 lists the items’ abbreviations used in the following figures.

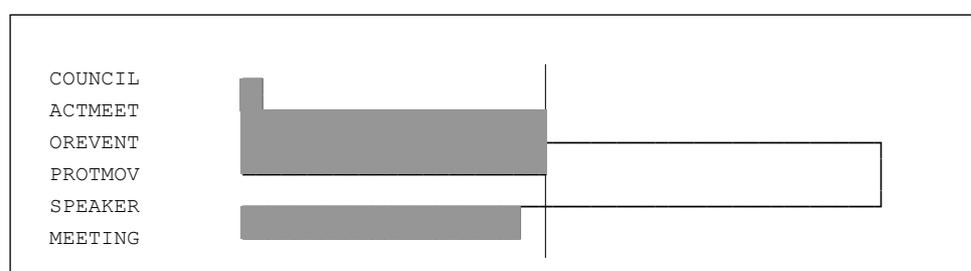
**Table 17: Description of abbreviated items Q15**

name	abbreviation	items according to the questionnaire
q15_1	council	been a member of a student council
q15_2	speaker	had a function as a speaker for the class
q15_3	meeting	attended a students’ meeting
q15_4	actmeet	taken an active role in such a meeting
q15_5	protmov	participated in a protest movement at school
q15_6	orevent	organised a political event at school

Figure 17 reveals the results of cluster analysis concerning the variables political participation at school based on the full data set. The cut-off-point marks a two-cluster solution. According to the solution of pooled analysis the variables “been a member of a student council” (*council*), “taken an active role in a students’ meeting” (*actmeet*) and “organised a political event at school” (*orevent*) expose the smallest differences. The item “participated in a protest movement at school” (*protmov*) shows larger distances towards the three former mentioned items, but nevertheless adds up to Cluster 1. This cluster can be labelled “intense political participation at school”. In the opposite, Cluster 2 can be termed “less intense political participation at school” and is established by the two variables “had a function as a speaker for the class” (*speaker*) and “attended a students’ meeting” (*meeting*). The distances between these two clusters can be considered as remarkable.

In general, the cut-off points in the following nine cluster analyses were chosen as to establish two clusters, i.e. the cut-off-points were selected to result in two-cluster solutions.

**Figure 17: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – all countries**

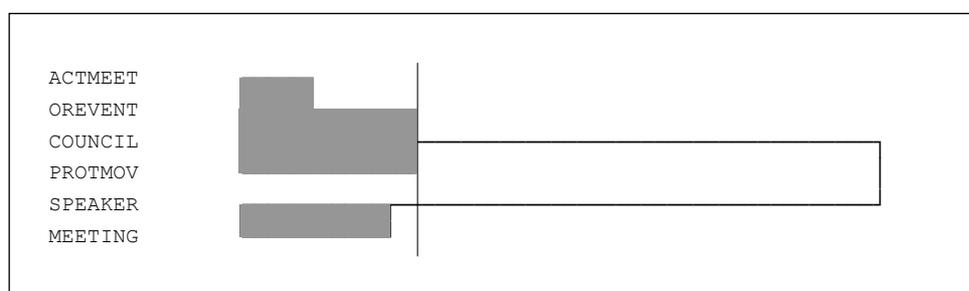


To sum up country-specific results it can be said that the cluster analyses based on the Austrian, the German and the full data set match best. Although the other analyses (see the Estonian, Finnish, Italian, Slovakian and the UK cluster analyses) also reveal a two-cluster solution, these clusters are composed of different elements. On regard to the result of the French cluster analysis, only minor variations compared to the cluster analysis based on all countries can be detected. Especially, the associations of the variables “taken an active role in a students’ meeting” and “been a member of a students’ council” to Cluster 1 tend to be rather loose. Only slight variations appear in the following variables: “participated in a protest movement at school”, “had a function as a speaker for the class” and “attended a students’ meeting”. It is also important to notice that the cluster analysis from Finland and the UK reveal approximately the same results. Also the Estonian results can be seen as closer to the two former mentioned countries than to the results based on the full sample.

In the following, the results of the cluster analyses are presented separately for each country to enable an evaluation of comparability. As the items’ abbreviations will be used in discussing the results, the reader should refer to Table 17 (page 61).

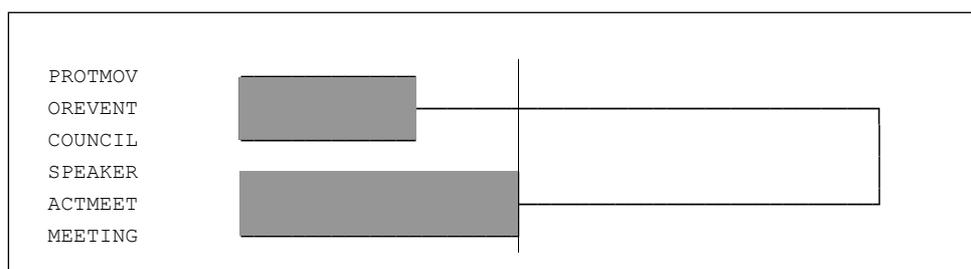
The cluster analysis based on the Austrian data set results in an almost similar structure (see Figure 18) compared to Figure 17. The only difference seems to be that in comparison with the result of the cluster analysis based on the full data set, the two clusters exhibit a greater homogeneity.

**Figure 18: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – Austria**



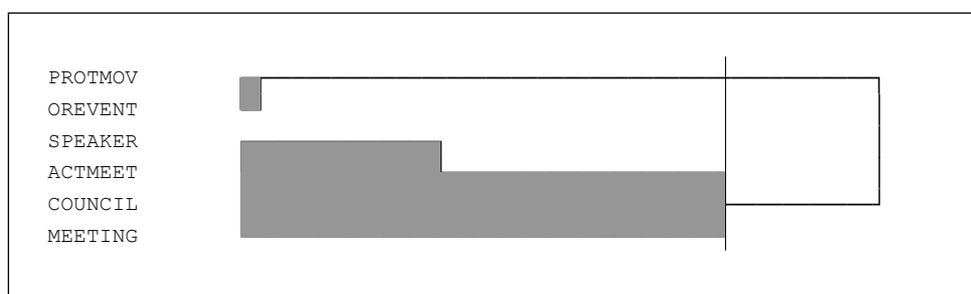
The result of the cluster analysis based on the Estonian data set is illustrated in a slightly different structure (see Figure 19). The variable *actmeet* now belongs to Cluster 2. Furthermore the relations between the variables *orevent* and *council* seem to be less close. On the other side, between the item *protmov* and the other variables belonging to Cluster 1, there are smaller distances. The attention of the reader shall also be drawn on the fact that the result of this cluster analysis shows a major similarity to results of the cluster analysis from Finland and the UK.

**Figure 19: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – Estonia**



The cluster analysis based on the Finnish data set shows a remarkably different structure. Cluster 1 now seems to be much more homogenous and Cluster 2 now contains four instead of only two items in comparison to Figure 17. The variables *speaker*, *actmeet*, *council* and *meeting* add now up to Cluster 2. Especially, the item *meeting* reveals suddenly greater distances towards the other items.

**Figure 20: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – Finland**



Similar to the result of the cluster analysis based on all countries, the variables *council*, *actmeet* and *orevent* are characterised by high levels of proximity in France (see Figure 21). The variable *protmov* now seems to fit better into Cluster 2, therefore indicating that participating in a protest movement at school probably serves a different function in France than in other countries across Europe.

**Figure 21: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – France**

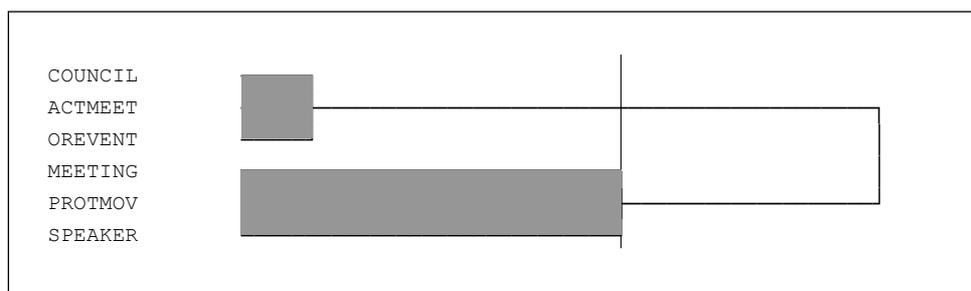
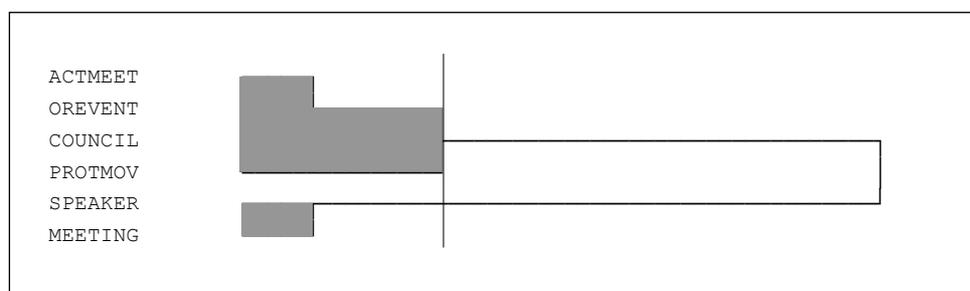


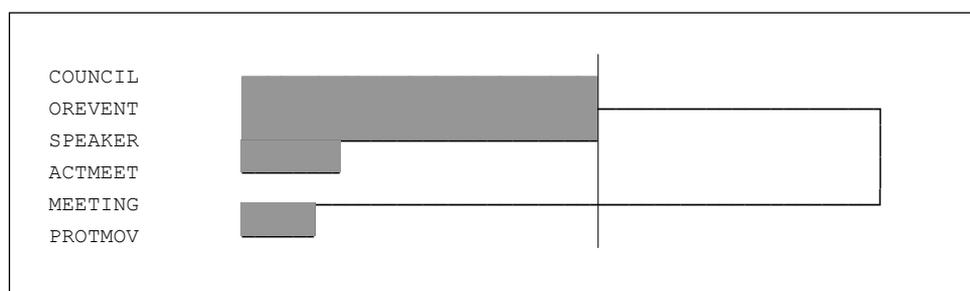
Figure 22 depicts the results of the cluster analysis based on the German data subset. One difference in comparison to the result of the cluster analysis based on the full sample seems to be that the item *council* does not seem to be as similar as the items *orevent* and *actmeet*. Striking is the homogeneity within the two clusters.

**Figure 22: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – Germany**



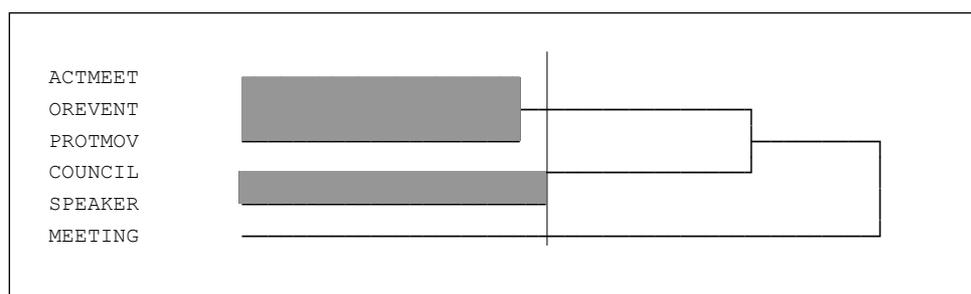
In Italy, in the first step the items *council* and *orevent* build a pretty homogenous cluster. Later on the variables *speaker* and *actmeet* join the cluster. Before these two clusters emerge into Cluster 1, they are characterised by moderate distances. It is important to notice that the variable *speaker* usually tends to belong to Cluster 2 whereas the item *protmov* usually rather adds up to Cluster 1. Similar to France the item *protmov* may play quite a different role in political participation at school.

**Figure 23: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – Italy**



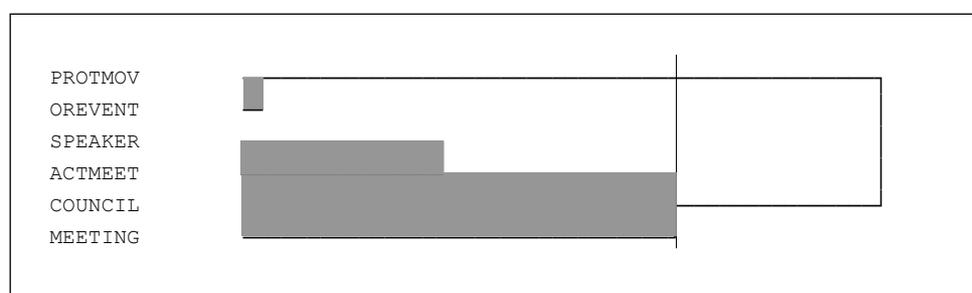
Also the cluster analysis based on the Slovakian sample reveals a moderately different structure (see Figure 24). Whereas Cluster 1 has undergone only slight differences – the item *council* belongs now to Cluster 2 – Cluster 2 seems to be quite heterogeneous and is only made up of item *council* and *speaker*. It is remarkable that the item “attended a students’ meeting” seems to have a different significance in Slovakia in comparison to other countries. In the latest step this item adds up to the other two clusters.

**Figure 24: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – Slovakia**



As already mentioned the cluster analysis on the basis of the British subset reveals the same result as the analysis based on the Finnish data set (see Figure 25).

**Figure 25: Cluster analysis „political participation at school” – UK**



The structure of political participation in school is not comparable across countries. The **structures are not equivalent**, because of differences in the educational systems and opportunity structure within these systems. The historical, cultural and political background which is important in the context of political participation in school is the reason why these variables are **for national use only**. It is not possible to compare these variables across countries, e.g. frequencies of Germany should not be compared to Finnish results.

To give an idea of the difference of opportunity structure and meaning of items in the single countries, now a short overview on political participation in school is given for each country. The following explanations are based on discussions within the consortium and contributions of our national partners.

Before opportunity structure of the single countries are discussed a general important remark on the **term “school”** should be made. “School” could have a different meaning in the partner countries and therefore its use for comparative analysis is restricted. In Germany, “in school” means exclusively that you are a pupil; this term only encompasses first and secondary education. Whereas in the French, Italian and English translation this term also includes university studies/students.

### **Austria:**

The forms of participation at school we asked for in our questionnaire are based on the Austrian and German system of interest representation at school. For this reason the Austrian (and German as well) cluster structure is the same like the one of the pooled analysis. In Austria a formal participation structure at school exists, which is called “Schülervertretung” (Austrian translation for student council). This term refers to representative bodies for pupils only – students at university level have other possibilities of political involvement. At the beginning of each year of school the pupils elect a speaker (and a deputy) for their class who represents the interests of the class to the teachers and the direction. All speakers of the classes elect one “school speaker”, who in turn represents the interests of the whole school.

In each federal state (“Bundesland”) there is a representation for school issues (called “Landesschülervertretung”) which is elected by “school speakers” of the region. In each “Landesschülervertretung” members of different types of schools are included.

### **Estonia:**

The structuring of items can be interpreted as referring to two general types of activities. First, activities of higher intensity and of degree of leadership: organising events, participation in a protest movement, and being member of a student council. Second, events requiring relatively smaller amount of leadership and less investment of time and effort: being speaker for a class, participation in a meeting and being active in such a meeting. It can well be that a smaller group of pupils possess higher degree of organisational capacities, and they constitute the first cluster. The second cluster is manned by 'normal' pupils who do not want to take on very special commitments at school but still partake in common events. In contrast to the other countries, participating in a students' meeting in Estonia coincides with being active in such a meeting.

### **Finland:**

In Finnish schools, there is not an institution of pure student council. But there are different kinds of youth's influencing. Representative groups at local level and schools are important actors in those organisations. The council is rarely active at a single school level. At some schools pupils'/students' organisations and associations are active (student's or pupils' union), but they are more co-operative, free-time and interest organisations – not councils. In the seventies there was a the tradition of school council but they became ‘over-politicized’ and they died as an institution. Nowadays the middle-aged generations and teachers have prejudices against political councils.

Furthermore, there is no official role or institution of the ‘speaker for the class’. Sometimes there are specific situations, happenings or school problems where they (class/group of the pupils/students) will elect a speaker or representative. Only on informal level someone can act as an active representative of the interests and feelings of the school group or of the class.

Because of the absence of formal participation structure in Finnish schools, the term ‘meeting’ in question Q15\_3 will have very heterogeneous meaning. Respondents

could understand the meaning of the meeting as an official meeting organising some conventional happenings like celebrations after the baccalaureate, a demonstration or a free-time-activity.

The roles at the different meetings are heterogeneous, too. The pupils' and students' cultures are very different. The membership of student union are compulsory and some student organisation active at the level of university departments are very powerful ones.

The term of 'protest' has a pejorative aspect. Real and well-articulated protests are rare at the school level and some of them (boys' noisy initiative to extend the tobacco-free zone at the school) are not experienced as pertinent. Some concrete problems (concrete interest concerning automat of soft drink, abolition of the school (districts) or dividing of the possible subjects at the school level) could be the themes of possible protesting. In addition, protesting could be passive and individual act.

In question q15\_6 it was asked if the respondent has organised a political event at school. The term 'political' is not popular among young people active at schools. Even if they are active organising culturally powerful group activities or such with local influence, they are not reporting it by saying "I was organising a political event".

### France:

In contrast to Finland in France there is a formal participation structure at school. In all colleges and grammar schools, there is a speaker for each class who is elected by his/her fellows and who represent the class to the teachers and the direction. That is why 40% of the respondents already had a function as a speaker for the class. Moreover, pupils and students are organised in some organisation or trade unions which are very active and regularly organised protest movement when they do not agree with the government policy (for example during last months, there was a huge protest movement against the Fillon's law on education and many pupils were involved in strikes or demonstration all over France). That can explain why 24% of the respondent had already attended a students' meeting, 11% have taken an active role in such a meeting and 38% participated in a protest movement at school.

Nevertheless, the word "politics" is not very "welcome" at school, although in France politics at school is not taboo. Pupils can take a stand against a law or for a social issue, but the word "politics" must not be pronounced. There is a paradox between the activism of pupils and students and this taboo. But it can explain that only 9,4% of the respondents had already organised a political event at school (for example they cannot organise a debate on political issues or invite a political man...)

Regarding question Q16\_1 ("been a member of a student council"), probably there is a problem of translation: student council (translated as "été membre du conseil d'administration de l'école") is not a very clear concept for the French educational system.

### Germany:

The student council is called "Schülervvertretungen". In Germany, each federal state "Bundesland" bears responsibility for school and education. Therefore, each „Bundesland“ has its own laws and regulations for the student council. But in general

in all 16 federal states students council have the function to consult and take part in the political process.

### **Italy:**

In Italy each high school has a student institute council (in the Italian questionnaire Q15\_1 was translated as “rappresentato gli studenti al consiglio d’istituto”). Each school class elects a class representative who participates at the student institute council which main functions are: defend and promote student’s needs and interest, doing requests at the teacher institute council and at the school directive staff.

At university level in general there is a student council for each faculty and a student council, composed by the student faculty representatives, for each university.

### **Slovakia:**

The level of political participation in school is high because of two reasons:

First, there is a new law regarding participation of pupils which was established in every Slovakian school (the law is called “zákonom o žiackych školských radách”). The headmaster of a school has to support this activity as a kind of informal political education of the pupils.

The second reason is that at the end of the year 2004 and at the beginning of 2005 there was a public discussion on tuition fee for university studies. This lead to students’ demonstrations and strikes which were supported not only by high grade students, but also by lower grade students. This law was prevented three times already.

### **UK:**

The term “student council” which was used in question Q15\_1 is not a frequently used one in British school life. Students may participate in staff-student committees, or as representatives. Frequently, schools rely on the prefects system of senior pupils, appointed to oversight roles by teaching staff. As such, it is likely that this question was not fully understood by all respondents.

In addition, this question may have been difficult to understand on the basis that there are very different opportunity structures for British pupils to engage in these kind of organised interest groupings in schools. As noted above, alternative systems exist and are relatively frequent; it is highly plausible that despite the “note to interviewers” included in the survey notes, that students did not fully make the link between the structures their own schools operate and the term “student council”.

Question Q15\_2 asks for having a function as a speaker for the class. Again, it is likely that the terminology may have confused British participants in the survey. The name of a “class speaker” is rarely used in British schools, with students more likely to be appointed as representatives for their year groups. Thus it is highly plausible that respondents did not appreciate fully that the term referred to a role they may well have undertaken.

In question Q15\_3 the term “students’ meeting” does not clearly relate solely to those meeting aimed at improving students’ school lives. There is a possibility that

respondents may have also taken into consideration meetings in school with other objectives or aims, such as organising a sporting or social event, or attending a school grouping of a charitable organisation.

There might be a similar problem in Q15\_4. It is not entirely clear what is meant by active role. Making a comment in a group discussion could equally be taken to mean active role, as could the task of organising the meeting.

In Q15\_5 (“participated in a protest movement at school”) there could be a possible confusion regarding the term “protest movement”, and whether the term relates simply to changing aspects of school life, or being part of wider social or political movements, such as a school environmental action group, a school group of Amnesty International or a even a political party.

Finally, in question Q15\_6 (“organised an event with a political topic at school”) there may again be confusion over what is meant by the phrase “an event with a political topic”. This could relate to various activities, and respondents may not have equated an environmental action week, a recycling awareness week or fair trade event as having a political dimension, therefore discounting them from their responses.

#### 6.1.4. Forms of participation at work place (Q17)

The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate to what extent the young people's responses to item block Q17 dealing with political participation at work place are comparable across different cultures. In respect of the fact that only a limited number of the respondents have work experience in a steady, paid job, the number of respondents on which the analyses are based is reported in Table 18. In different countries, between 31 and 56 percent of the respondents are occupied in a steady, paid job, with a mean percentage of 43. To put it another way, the results of cluster analysis containing all respondents from all countries includes 3468 people. And it is important to notice that the answers of people from the UK have a more intense effect than the answers of people from Italy on the result of the first cluster analysis (which was conducted with the pooled data file).

**Table 18: Sample size analysing Q17 by Hierarchical Cluster Analysis**

Country	Total	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
N	3468	498	305	419	391	454	313	527	561
Percent	43	50	31	42	39	44	32	54	56

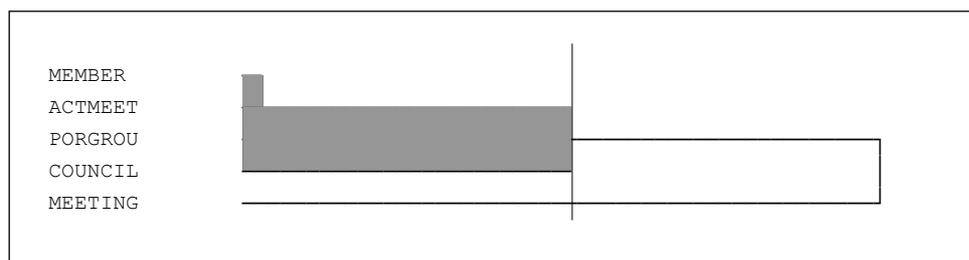
The next table lists the abbreviations of the variables which are used in the following figures and result descriptions.

**Table 19: Description of abbreviated items Q17**

name	abbreviation	items according to the questionnaire
q17_1	council	participated in elections for a workers' council
q17_2	member	been a member of a workers' council
q17_3	meeting	attended staff meetings
q17_4	actmeet	taken an active role in such a meeting
q17_5	porgrou	organised a group of workers to influence a decision of the management

Figure 26 shows the result of the cluster analysis based on all countries' data referring to the political participation at work place. It results in a one-cluster solution. The variables "been a member of a workers' council", "organised a group of workers to influence a decision of the management", "taken an active role in a staff meeting" and "participated in elections for a workers' council" build Cluster 1. It is important to note that the distances between these three former and the latter mentioned variables are noticeable. The variable "attended staff meetings" reveals the largest distances to the rest of the variables.

**Figure 26: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – all countries**



In general, it can be said, that these analyses cannot be described as easily comparable. Only in three out of eight analyses the same structure as in Figure 26 can be replicated. Six out of eight analyses reveal a one-cluster solution and the remaining two result in a two-cluster solution. For the most part, the variable *meeting* doesn't belong to any cluster; just in one analysis based on the Estonian data set it is connected with the variable *actmeet*. If the cut-off point in two analyses would be drawn later, it would lead to a new cluster containing the variables *meeting* and *council*. In general it can be said that “participating in elections for a workers' council” seems to play different roles across different countries.

In the following figure the cluster analysis referring to the Austrian data set is depicted. Cluster 1 contains only three variables: *actmeet*, *porgrou* and *member*. The distances between these variables seem to be minimal. The variables *council* and *meeting* do not belong to any cluster.

**Figure 27: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – Austria**

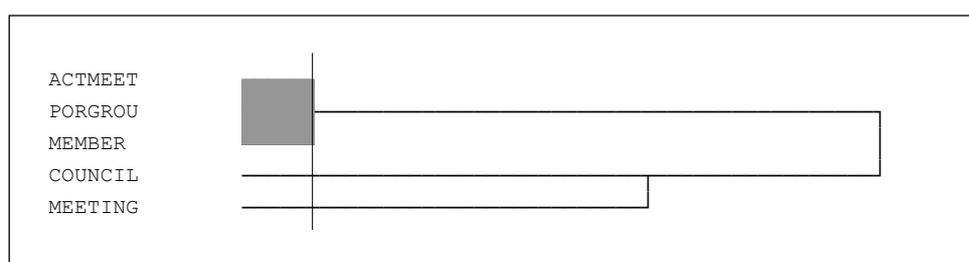
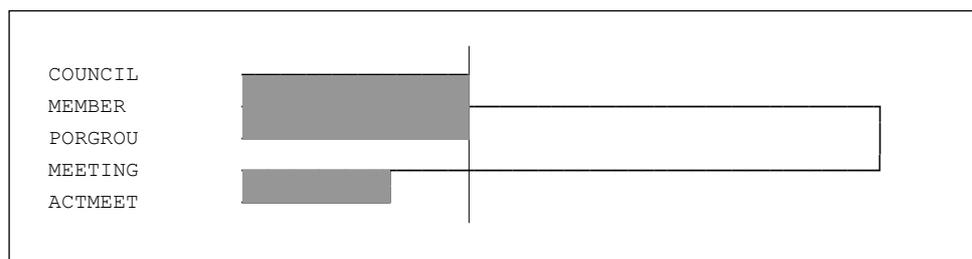


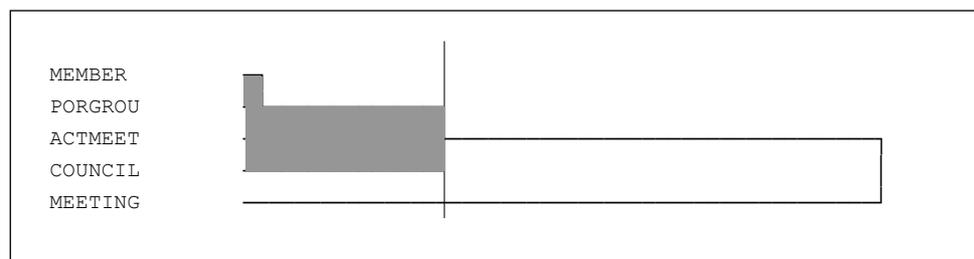
Figure 28 reveals a rather untypical result of a cluster analysis based on the data political participation at work place. The variables *council* and *member* become one cluster pretty soon. Another striking difference is the emergence of Cluster 2 which contains the variables *meeting* and *actmeet*. Especially, the variable *actmeet* seems to reveal a different meaning of “taking an active role in staff meetings” in Estonia.

**Figure 28: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – Estonia**



The result of the Finnish cluster analysis as shown in Figure 29 matches almost perfectly with the result of the cluster analysis based on all respondents' data. The only difference is that, this cluster seems to be more homogenous than Cluster 1 from the cluster analysis based on the full data set.

**Figure 29: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – Finland**



The cluster analysis founded on the French participants' answers results again in a one-cluster solution containing the variables *actmeet*, *porgrou* and *member* (see Figure 30). These three variables seem to be pretty close to each other. The variables *council* and *meeting* do not belong to any cluster, unless the cut-off-point would be drawn much later. It shall be pointed out that this cluster analysis illustrates striking similarities with the cluster analysis based on the Austrian data.

**Figure 30: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – France**

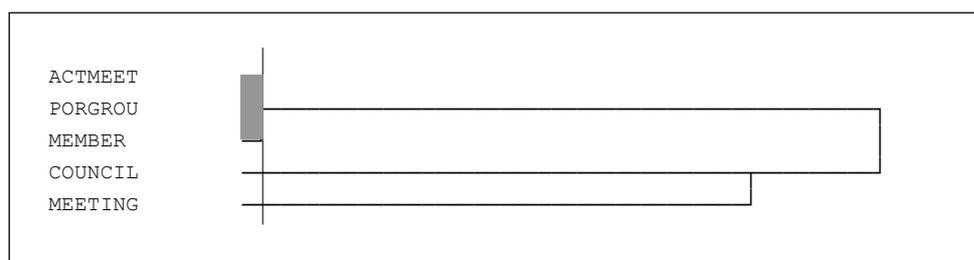
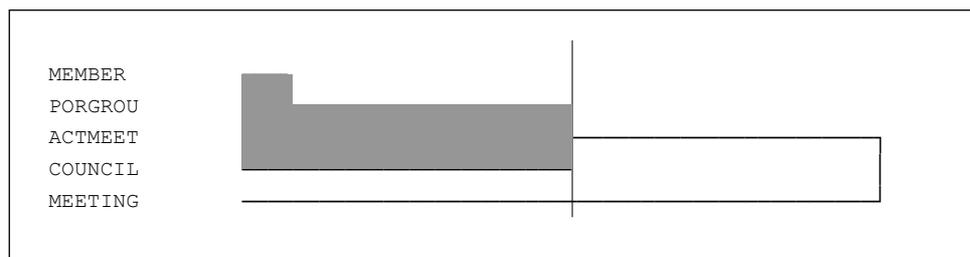


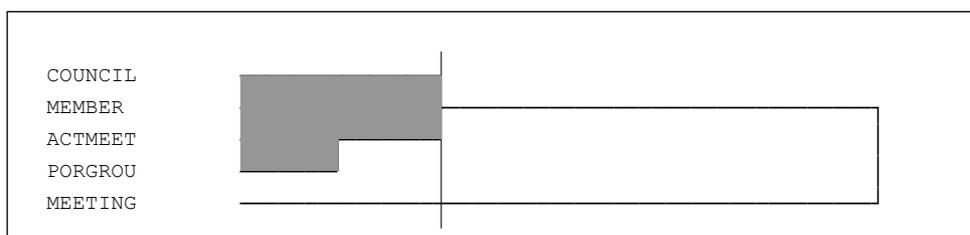
Figure 31 reveals the result of the cluster analysis containing the German data. This structure is almost identical to the Finnish and the cluster analysis based on the full data set. The result differs only in that respect that the variables *member* and *porgrou* exhibit larger distances toward the variable *actmeet* compared to the other mentioned ones. Once more, the item council emerges into Cluster 1 as the last variable. Again, the variable *meeting* does not belong to any cluster.

**Figure 31: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – Germany**



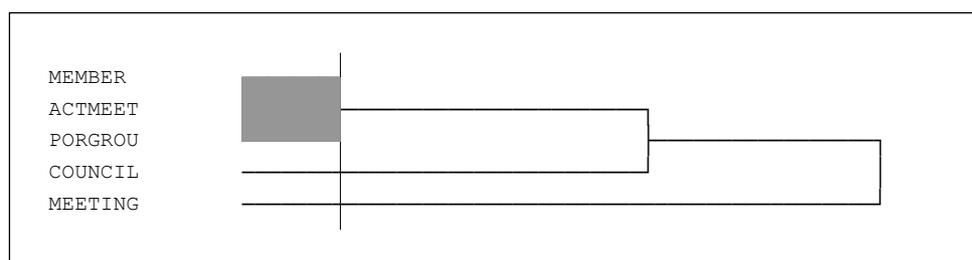
Although the following analysis of Italy reveals a similar belonging to the cluster, the distances between these items are not equivalent as compared with the result of the cluster analysis based on the full data set (see Figure 32). Especially, the variable *council* tends to fulfil a different purpose in Italy in comparison with other countries, because this variable emerges into one cluster with the variable *member* pretty soon. After the two variables *porgrou* and *actmeet* make up one cluster, they emerge into the cluster of the variables *council* and *member*. Once more, the variable *meeting* does not belong to any cluster.

**Figure 32: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – Italy**



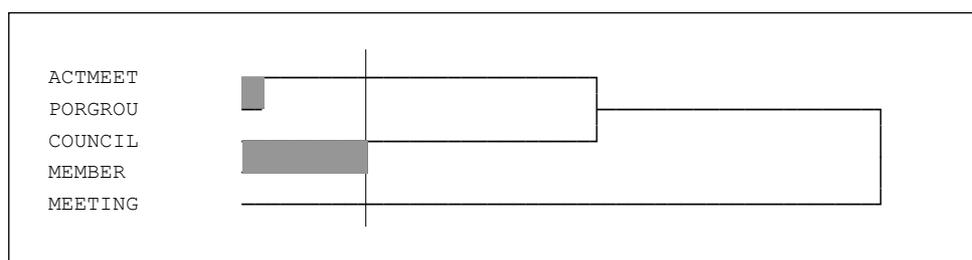
As depicted in Figure 33, Cluster 1 based on the Slovakian data set contains the variables *member*, *actmeet* and *porgrou*. Similar to the Austrian and French cluster analysis the variable *council* doesn't belong to Cluster 1 and reveals moderate distances towards this cluster. On the other side, if the cut-off-point would be drawn one step later, this variable would belong to Cluster 1. Again, the variable *meeting* does not show closeness to the rest of the variables.

**Figure 33: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – Slovakia**



Finally, the cluster analysis based on the British data results in a two-cluster solution (see Figure 34). Whereas the variables *actmeet* and *porgrou* build one cluster, the variables *council* and *member* make up the other one. An even more similar closeness between these two latter mentioned variables can only be found in the Italian and in the Estonian data set. It shall be mentioned that this two clusters would emerge into one, in the next step. Once more, the variable *meeting* reveals the largest distances towards the other variables.

**Figure 34: Cluster analysis „political participation at work place” – UK**



As shown in the previous figures, the structure of political participation at work is **not similar across countries** because of different opportunity structure in the participating countries. Results are not only different between countries but **may be different even within countries**. One should take into account, that there are differences in the structure of political participation at work between different companies within one country. Terms referring to “worker’s council” or “staff meeting” might even differ between companies depending on the organisation and structure of these companies.

Therefore, the **indicators are not comparable** and should not be used for international comparisons of frequencies and other level-oriented analyses. The indicators are appropriate **mainly for national use**.

To better understand the differences of opportunity structure and different meaning of items in the single countries, information on the political participation at work is given for each country. Again, the following explanations are based on discussions within the consortium and contributions of our national partners.

### **Austria:**

The legal precondition for a workers' council („Betriebsrat“) is a minimum of five permanent employees in a company. All employees who are 18 years or older are authorised to vote a representative in their company. All employees who are employed more than 6 months are eligible for a representative.

The cluster analysis for Austria seems to reveal an interesting modus of political participation at the work place. Those who are politically active at the workplace go beyond the representative structures of voting and partaking at meetings: they are members of the workers' council, take an active part in meetings and by need organise a group of workers to influence a decision of the management. That is organisational work, trying to influence decisions. With the opportunity structure to vote for “Betriebsräte”, who represent the interests of a whole group of workers, those “Betriebsräte” seem to take an active mandate. Even if we have only got a few very active people at workplace within the sample their intensity of participation forms this cluster that separates from the participation forms within the representative structure.

### **Estonia:**

Attending staff meetings is the form of work-place participation that makes the structure of workplace-participation in Estonia to be different from that in other countries. While in other countries attending meetings is a 'stand-alone' mode of participation amongst the five modes, in Estonia it is relatively close to being active in such meetings. This can be interpreted that in Estonia those who attend meetings tend to be active in such meetings. This interpretation can be interpreted further - workplace meetings in Estonia tend to be comparatively loosely structured/organised. One reason for that might be the relatively brief history of employee organisations and trade unionism. Attitudes and cultural patterns (a legacy from the Soviet-period) did not facilitate joining into voluntary organisations; trade unionism did not have the image of an institution that could realistically represent and defend employees' interests in front of the management and employers' organisations. At present time, the situation gradually evolves towards a higher social significance of trade unions, and more people join the organisations.

In general, activities nicely group together. In one cluster we find activities related to workplace meetings, in the other cluster we find activities related to doing organising work. In the case of the second cluster, presence of leadership function is evident. One possible interpretation could be that in Estonia workers can be split into two categories. One of the two categories possesses higher degree of leadership characteristics, and they tend to constitute the first cluster with leadership function. Another category is constituted of 'normal' workers who partake in organised events but possess neither drive for organising such events nor qualities for building and keeping the institution of employees' organisation.

### **Finland:**

Only some working places in Finland have a system of councils or workers' membership at the representative forum of all workers (maybe 5-10%; and even they are heterogenous). Instead of the workers' councils the associations/organisations of trade-unions are powerful in Finland at the level of working places. According to

some comparative research projects in Europe the Finnish workers are the most effectively organised in the united trade unions (some production fields over 90%). E.g. in big companies young people experience the fact that they must be a member of union. And the unions are well politically united, legitimate and hierarchical organised, the employer is automatically collecting the membership fees of the trade unions. The membership of the union is the legitimate condition of high-level unemployment benefit and worker's rights in general. And their working place level active associations are representing the workers interests by well-developed shop stewards and industrial safety delegates. The action repertoires of the unions are large – from youth action to the retirement services. At the level of national income-policy and politics on conditions of employment the centralist and corporatist way organised trade unions have real power (so called tripartite of trade unions, well-organised employers and state). The Finnish respondents of EUYOUNG are most often part-time-employed persons and their relationship to the trade-union is not so intimate as that of the older workers'.

Regarding the two questions about staff meetings (q17\_3 and q17\_4), in Finland the meeting of working place based association of trade union replace the staff meetings. The 'staff meeting' has sometimes an independent meaning; e.g. when the employer is organising something specific, free time activities or in the situation when workers are not members in (same) association of trade union.

### **France:**

In France, although there are many opportunities to be active at school, it is more difficult to take part in political actions at work place. Since several years, there is a fall of trade unionism in France (only 9% of the French workers are member of a trade union which is the lowest rate in Europe). Young people are less involved in trade unionism than older workers. Moreover, in the French sample, 64% of the respondents are still in the educational system.

### **Germany:**

In all companies with five or more permanent employees, representatives of the staff ("Betriebsrat") are elected.

### **Italy:**

In Italy the right to elect the workers' representatives (rappresentanza sindacale aziendale) and the right to organize a staff meeting (during or outside the working time) is applicable only in enterprises that have more than 15 employees. Besides only workers who have a permanent contract or a long-term contract can participate at these activities. The interim workers can participate only at the meeting but cannot elect the representatives.

**Slovakia:**

There are two possible explanations for lack of comparability:

First, in all institutions which are state owned or under public law there are kinds of staff meetings (“zhromaždenia pracovníkov”) which are not identical to meetings organised by trade unions. The according questions (Q17\_3 and Q17\_4 where staff meetings is translated as “zhromaždenie pracovníkov”) do not distinguish between meetings organised by companies and those organised by trade-unions.

Second, trade-unions lose influence in Slovakia which means growing powerlessness of the so called tripartite. In the past, government, trade unions and employers’ institutions negotiated collective agreements which has not been the case since the year 2002.

**UK:**

Unlike in other European countries, workers’ councils are very rare in the UK, with other forms of industrial relations’ organisations being much more common. It is likely that the interviewees had only limited appreciation of what a workers’ council actually consists of (concerning questions Q17\_1 and Q17\_2).

In the UK questionnaire in Q17\_3 the question referred to “union meetings” as opposed to “staff meetings”. Union meetings are the most common form of active engagement amongst workers in the UK, yet participation in these kind of organised events remains relatively low. The survey results thus reflect the overall nature of industrial relations in the UK.

Referring to question Q17\_4, only a limited number of respondents had actively participated in these meetings. Again, this result reflects the overall nature of industrial relations in the UK, which is less formalised than in many other European countries.

Question Q17\_5 asked the respondent, if he or she has organised a group of workers to influence a decision of the management. Although this form of engagement represents an alternative means to shape employer-employee relations in the UK, given the limited nature of formal participatory forums, the general lack of involvement points towards a broader culture of non-participation amongst workers in the UK. For young people, the results on workplace activities also build on lack of engagement in school-level activities. The culture of non-participation therefore begins early in the life of young Britons.

### 6.1.5. Organisational involvement (Q18)

This chapter is concerned with the question if the structure of organisational involvement is similar across the different participating countries. Again, hierarchical cluster analyses are used to answer this question. These analyses are based on the full data set and are conducted with the dichotomous variable Q18\_x\_4 (“none applies”). E.g. it was not distinguished if respondents are members of a given organisation, if they have participated in activities of an organisation or if they have done voluntary work for this organisation. It was simply distinguished between involvement and non-involvement.

Table 20 contains the items of question block Q18 and the related abbreviations which are used in the following figures.

**Table 20: Description of abbreviated items Q18**

name	abbreviation	items according to the questionnaire
q18_1	youorg	Youth association or youth organisation
q18_2	ypolpar	Youth organisation of a political party
q18_3	relig	Religious or church organisation, including religious youth organisation
q18_4	trunion	Trade Union, including youth organisation of a trade union
q18_5	polpart	Political Party
q18_6	enviro	Environmental organisation
q18_7	animal	Animal rights or animal protection group
q18_8	peace	Peace organisation
q18_9	human	Human rights or Humanitarian Aid organisation
q18_10	social	Charity or social-welfare organisation
q18_11	profess	Professional organisation, e.g. farmers’ organisation, business or employers’ organisation
q18_12	consum	Consumer association
q18_13	culture	Cultural, music, dance or theatre group
q18_14	immig	Immigrants’ organisation
q18_15	women	Women’s organisation
q18_16	antiglob	Anti-globalisation organisation
q18_17	sport	Sports club

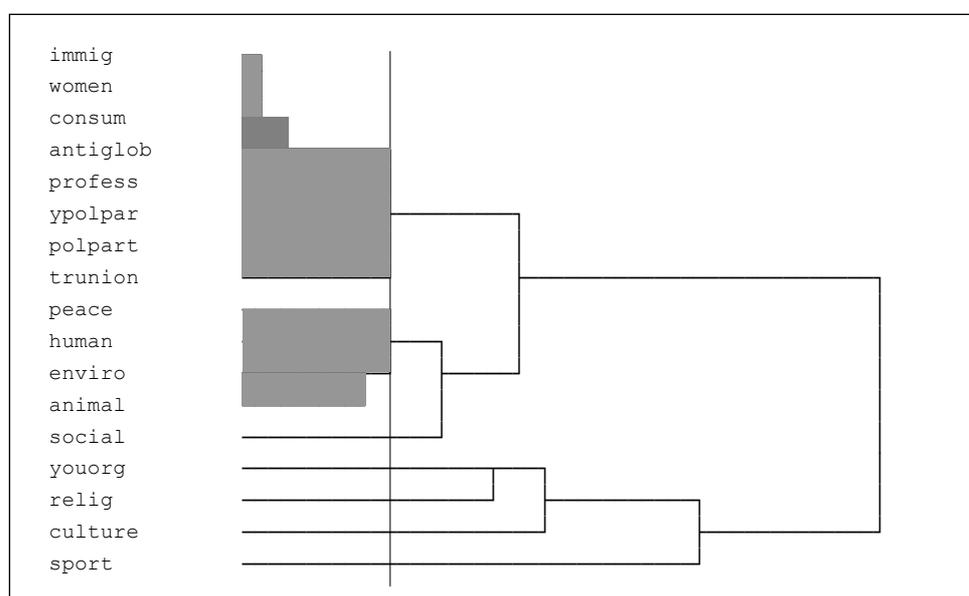
The cluster analysis based on the full data set from all participating countries resulted in a two-cluster solution with five remaining categories. This solution was chosen as it seemed to represent the data well.

As illustrated in Figure 35 (page 79), Cluster 1 is composed of organisations of immigrants, organisations of women, professional and anti-globalisation organisations, consumer associations, political parties, youth organisations of a political party and trade unions. Cluster 2 contains organisations fighting for peace, human rights, environmental and animal rights protection. Social-welfare, youth and religious organisations and also culture and sports clubs neither seem to belong to any of the former clusters nor do these organisations seem to form their own cluster.

In trying to label these clusters, it can be said that whereas organisations belonging to both clusters are rather engaged in achieving political aims, the latter mentioned organisations – not entailed in any cluster – are more apt to accomplish creative recreational activities. Cluster 1 differs from Cluster 2 in a sense, that the organisations of Cluster 1 are political parties and organisations dealing with topics like working conditions. The following figure shows that Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 would be merged two steps later in the analysis after the cut-off line was drawn.

It is also interesting to mention that immigrants' organisations, women's organisations and anti-globalisation organisations and consumer associations reveal the largest proximity within the first cluster.

**Figure 35: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – all countries**

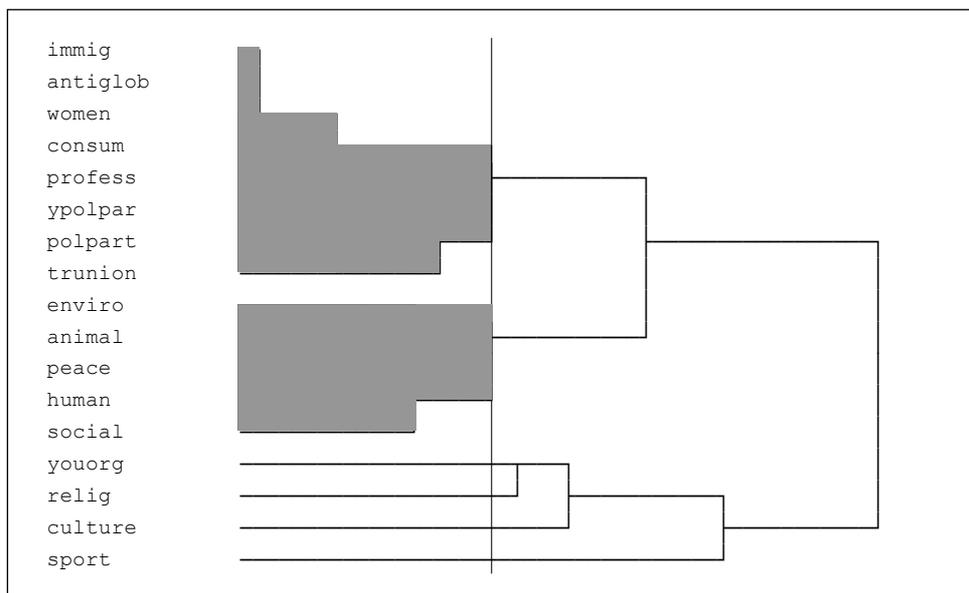


In most of the data sets of the different participating countries an almost similar structure can be found. Especially, the elements of Cluster 1 – based on the data set of all countries – remain rather stable over separate analyses for different countries. The elements of Cluster 2 – particularly peace and human rights organisations – do not show the same stability. Sometimes these elements are included in Cluster 1. Furthermore, social-welfare organisations are sometimes added to Cluster 2. In general, the element sports club shows the largest dissimilarities compared with other organisations. More considerable exceptions will be discussed separately for each country.

In the following, the cluster analyses' results will be presented for each country. The largest similarities in the cluster analyses' results can be found between Austria, Germany and the solution based on the pooled data file. Especially, Estonia reveals quite a different structure and also the analysis from UK shows only a few similarities.

Figure 36 depicts the results of the Austrian cluster analysis. The only dissimilarity to Figure 35 exists in the element social-welfare organisation, belonging now to Cluster 2 instead of not fitting into any cluster.

**Figure 36: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – Austria**



Although the cluster analysis based on the Estonian data (see Figure 37) reveals a similar pattern compared with Figure 35 at the first glance, it is important to notice that several elements have changed their association to a cluster.

Being somehow involved in the activities of a political party or belonging to the youth organisation of a political party does not show as many similarities with being part of a trade union, a professional organisation, an immigrants' organisation, a women organisation, a consumer rights' organisation and an anti-globalisation organisation as in other cluster analyses. Additionally, the distances between environmental, social, religious organisations and political parties seem to be less distinctive compared to other countries.

Peace, animal and human rights' organisations now seem to belong to Cluster 1.

**Figure 37: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – Estonia**

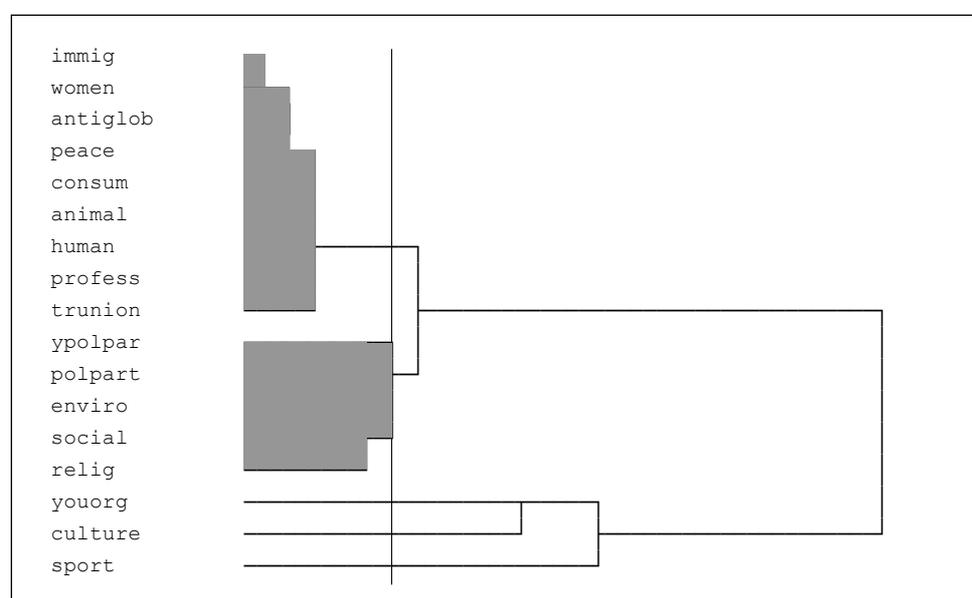
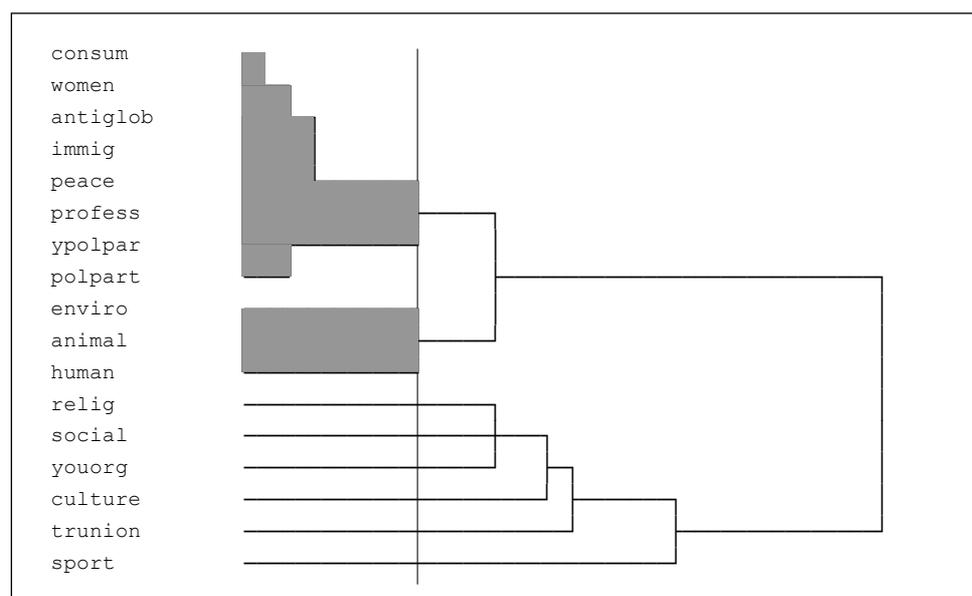


Figure 38 allows the conclusion that the cluster analysis based on the Finnish data set reveals a similar structure than the average cluster analysis. Therefore only two exceptions will be discussed. Peace organisations can be seen as more similar to other elements of Cluster 1 than to other elements of Cluster 2. Participating in a trade union shows greater similarities to being a member of a culture or a sports club than pursuing other political activities.

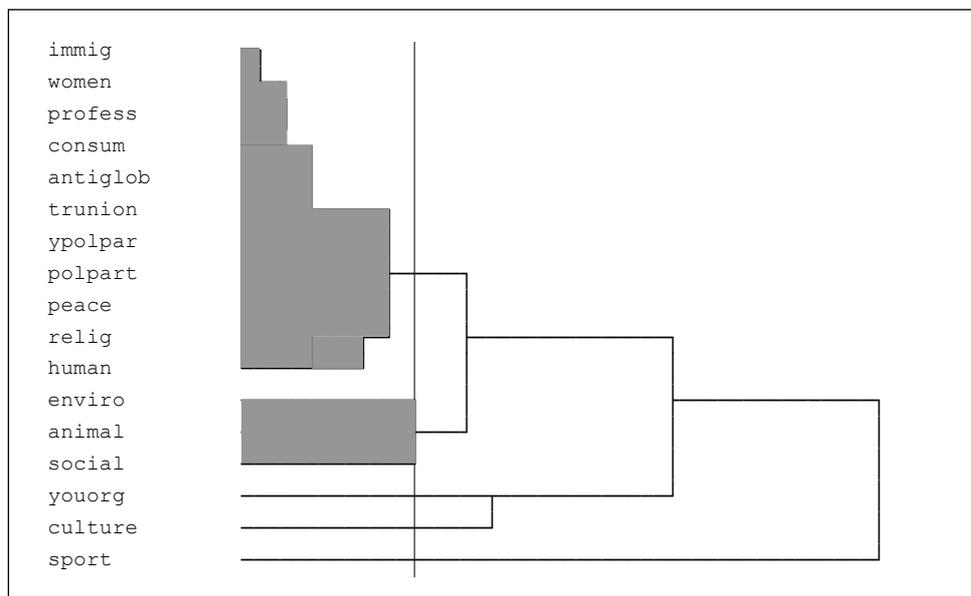
In this case, participation in trade union does not join together with participation in youth organisations of political parties (*ypolpar*) and with participation in political parties (*polpart*). Possible reasons might be ideological issue for young people being in trade union on the one hand. Young people have a quite positive and active attitude and have a confident relationship to trade unions. Often, young people are really participating and they trust on the positive role of unions dealing with social security and responsibilities of unemployment policy. On the other hand if people are members of a trade union they get higher unemployment wages. The membership of the union as legitimate condition of high-level unemployment benefit and workers rights in general was already mentioned in the previous chapter (6.1.4) about political participation at work place.

**Figure 38: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – Finland**



An almost similar structure can be found in the cluster analysis based on the French data set. Peace, religious and human rights' organisations seem to have more in common with other elements from Cluster 1. Additionally, social organisations now belong to Cluster 2.

**Figure 39: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – France**



The structure of the cluster analysis found in the German data set is almost identical to the structure of the Austrian and the overall cluster analysis. Only the item “social organisations” now belongs to Cluster 2.

**Figure 40: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – Germany**

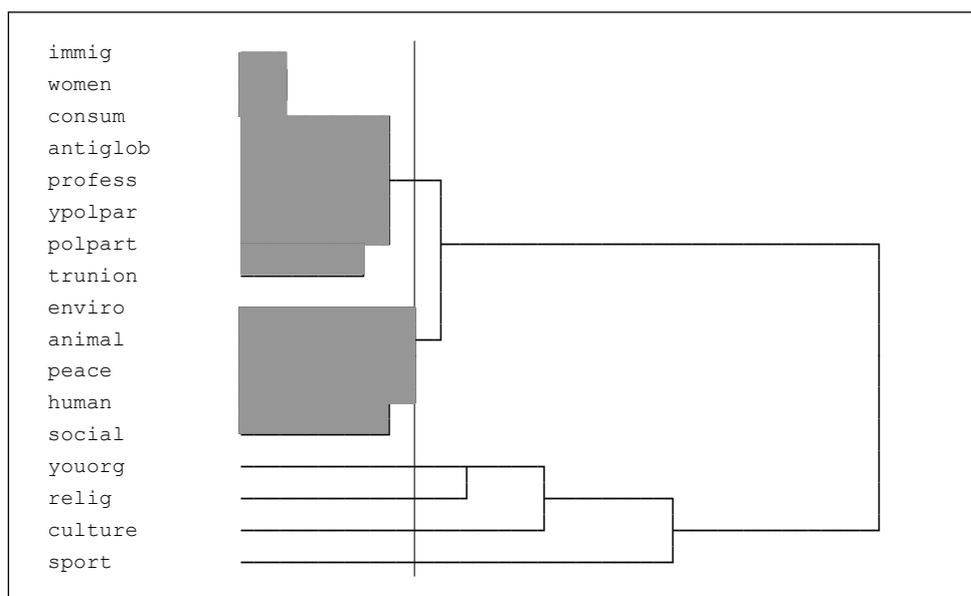
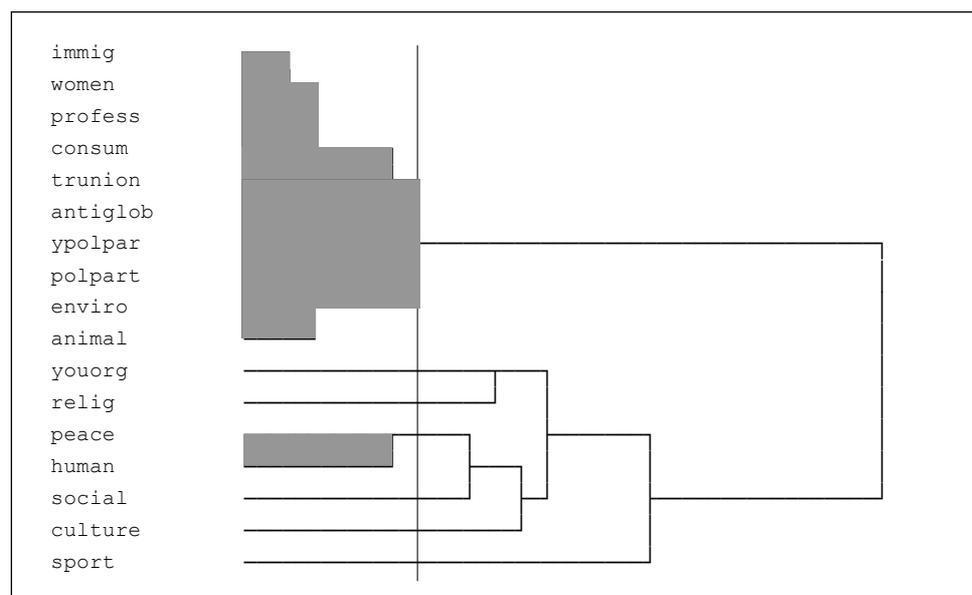


Figure 41 indicates that environmental and animal organisations seem to have more in common with other elements from Cluster 1 than with peace and human rights organisations in the Italian data set; therefore leaving Cluster 2 with only two elements.

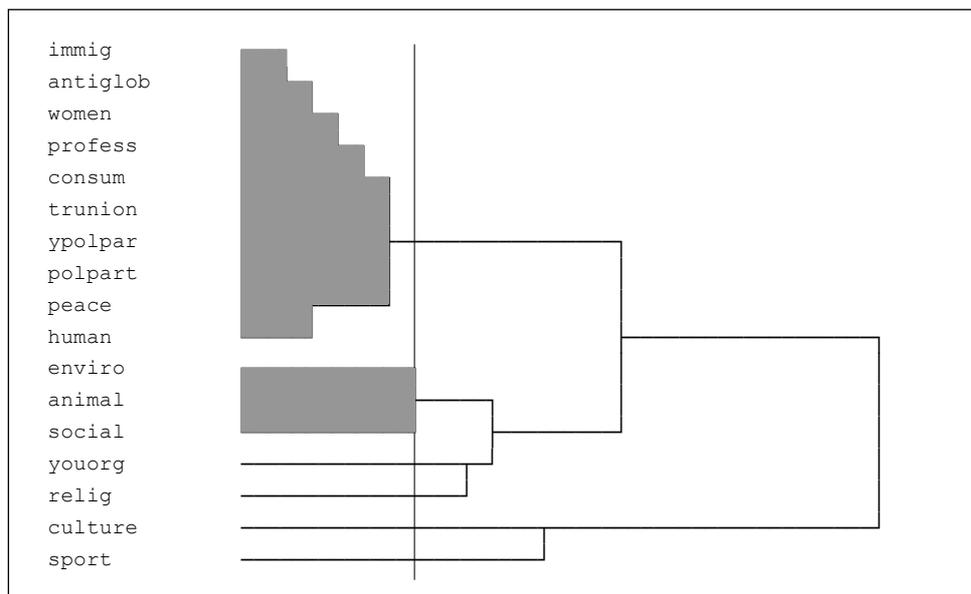
Participation in animal rights and animal protections groups (Q18\_7; *animal*) seems to be a behaviour more associated conventional political participation than in other countries. It can be due to the high “politicizing” of this issues by the Italian left and green parties.

**Figure 41: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – Italy**



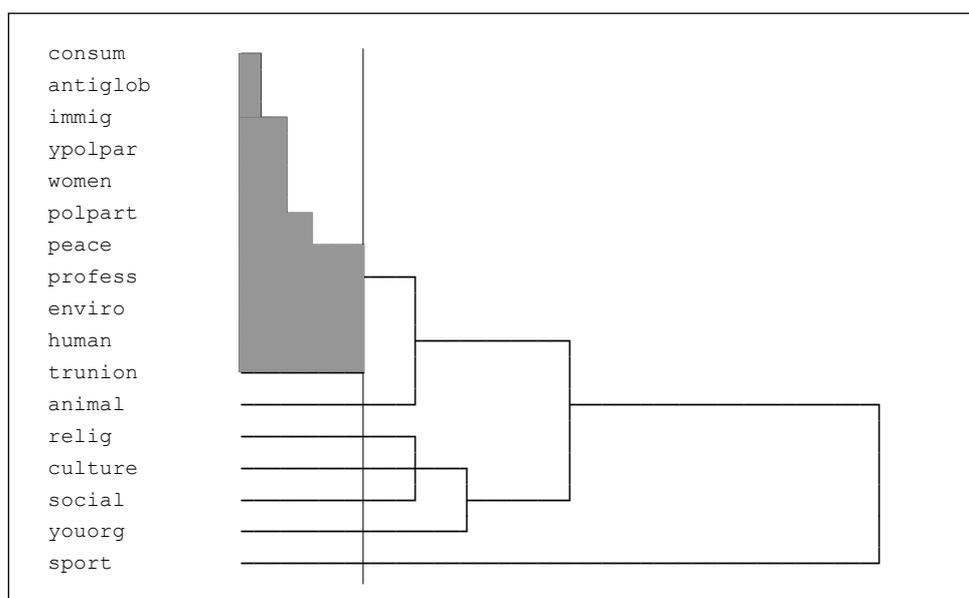
Also the cluster analysis based on the Slovakian data set shows a comparable result. Similar to the results from France, Germany, Estonia and Austria, social organisations seem to be more closely linked with other non-governmental organisations pursuing political aims. Peace and human rights organisations belong to Cluster 1.

**Figure 42: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – Slovakia**



The result of the cluster analysis based on the data set from the UK results in a one-cluster solution (see Figure 43). Although all elements from Cluster 1 are also entailed in this cluster, three further elements like peace organisations, environmental organisations and human rights' organisations add up to Cluster 1. Furthermore, peace organisations show more similarity to political parties than to human rights organisations. Also the element trade unions shows greater distances towards other elements in Cluster 1 compared to other cluster analysis solutions. The other elements seem to reveal more dissimilarities in comparison to other cluster solutions.

**Figure 43: Cluster analysis „organisational involvement“ – UK**



To sum up Cluster 1 (including immigrants' organisation, women's organisation, professional organisation, anti-globalisation organisation, consumer association, political party, youth organisation of a political party and trade union) is most stable across countries. The elements of Cluster 2 – particularly peace organisations and human rights organisations – do not show the same stability. Sometimes these elements are included in Cluster 1. Furthermore, social-welfare organisations are sometimes added to Cluster 2.

In general, the element sports club shows the largest dissimilarity in comparison to the other organisations.

Most similar structures in comparison to the total structure can be found in Austria, Germany and Finland (where the only exception is "trade union"). One has to take into account that the similarity of the Austrian and German results determine to a certain extent the pooled results and therefore the point of reference for the other countries. The most different structures compared to the overall structures reveal the solutions of Estonia and the UK.

Thus, the structure of organisational involvement is **partly comparable across countries**. Participation in some organisations can be compared internationally, whereas participation in other organisations should not be compared across countries without giving important background information (e.g. trade unions in Finland).

Few organisations and questions are reconsidered in the following. Based on discussions within the consortium and contributions of our national partners we try to give possible explanations for lack of comparability and relevant background information about opportunity structures in the countries.

Question **Q18\_1** (*youorg*) refers to participation in **youth associations or youth organisations**. This item seems to summarise all different forms of youth organisations. If all organisations that explicitly call themselves youth organisations should be the reference for the answers, this should have been defined appropriately in the questionnaire.

The present formulation of the item is unspecific and the category is very general. Some of the respondents may understand that e.g. sport clubs, scouts and political youth organisations are part of it. Maybe, some part of the respondents understood it more narrowly and in a specific way. One should also consider that young people taking part in a certain activities are not always informed about who is the main organising institution (e.g. if it is a main body or youth department of the national/ regional organisation).

Another problematic item is **Q18\_3 “Religious or church organisation, including religious youth organisation”**. In cluster analysis it is either joining one of the two clusters or remaining single item.

In the Austrian questionnaire, the term “religiöse Organisation” may mix up different confessions. This type of organisation is not reduced to church (youth) organisations and therefore may have led to different understandings.

In Finland, the Lutheran Church has a relatively powerful organisation. Free time activities, hobby-chances, socially responsible campaigns and e.g. confirmation class activities (over 80% of young people at the age of 15 (16) are participating) are relevant cultures in Finland. Sometimes the Finnish Scouts are acting near by the church’s organisation.

The main problem of this question (referring specifically to Q18\_3, but also in q18 in general) in France is the low involvement of young people in such organisations. Only 2% of the respondents are members of a religious or church organisation, 39% of the respondents have no religion (and among those who declare to belong to a religion many of them are not-believers). There are only few church or religious organisation in France.

In the Italian questionnaire, “church organisation” is translated as “organizzazione parrocchiale”. This word could have been associated to the “oratorio” which the parish youth centre situated in all municipality (often in big municipality there is more than one “oratorio”). These centres often organise different sport or cultural activities for youth people.

In Slovakia, church (youth) organisations are most active.

In the UK, it is likely that church organisations have a high ranking because of the fact they are one of only few social institutions which actively run community associations which young people can join. There are limited formal arenas for young people to engage, which may in fact distort church groups’ high standing in these rankings.

There is no evidence available from the survey results, but it is likely that young people who are actively engaged in religious or church organisations in British society have come to do so through family connections.

**Q18\_8** is asking about involvement in **peace organisations**.

In Finland, peace organisations and the membership there are not popular among young people. But the active discussing on Iraq War questions in peaceful terms and potential participation in peace demonstrations organised by peace movement is some way living genre. The number of participants in non-military service is not very high (about 3-4% of young men). The Winter-War tradition is influencing yet today – e.g. we have a system of compulsory national service. The prestige of the peace movement at the seventies was dramatically better. Now there is an ‘Old-Soviet’ aspect in the use of the term.

There are numerous organisations of this kind in France – which does not only applies to peace organisations (Q18\_8), but also to human rights or humanitarian aid organisation (Q18\_9) as well as charity or social-welfare organisation (Q18\_10) (cf. Association Law 1901). It is not easy for young people to become members, opportunity structures are not very in favour of young people.

The question **Q18\_10** refers to involvement in “**charity or social-welfare organisations**”. In cluster analysis it is either joining one of the two clusters or remaining single item which points out that different kinds of organisations may be the reference in different countries.

The Austrian translation “Wohltätigkeitsorganisation” may not be understandable for young people.

In Estonia, relatively poor participation in charity organisations can be a result of cultural patterns. In the last decades, success has been valued much higher than charity and helping fellow-citizens. Also young people are interested in joining organisations where prospects for establishing profitable contacts and learning valuable social skills (also technical skills, like chairing a meeting) are relatively high. Only few young people are fond of spending time on working for free.

In contradiction, in Finland especially charity organisations are just now in the favor of young people. You can do some light, distanced and individualist way solidarist acts via them. Many large and well-organised organisations are halfly public well-fare-organisations with big public resources (e.g. The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare or Red Cross Organisation in Finland) are well and legitimately organised.

As was already mentioned above, in France there are numerous organisations of this kind and it is not easy for young people to become member of them, because opportunity structures are not very in favour of involvement of young people.

In Italy charity or social-welfare organisations are often connected to religious or church organization, but also laical organizations exist. The Italian translation (organizzazioni di beneficenza o di assistenza sociale) seems quite clear.

Slovakian charity or social-welfare organisations are mainly an area for participation for young girls and women.

Charity organisations have a high profile in the UK, often using media or sports stars to front their campaigns. At the local level, there are frequent fund-raising initiatives, many of which organise social events with charitable aims, an area of activity which attracts young people's interest. It is likely therefore that young people view this means of engagement as a key arena of direct action in political or social issues.

Item **Q18\_11 (Professional organisation, e.g. farmers' organisation, business or employers' organisation)** is also questionable. This category is extremely non-specific and blurred, very different kinds of organisations are subsumed in this category. Just to mention one example, in Finland there are only rare organisations in this field; trade union and economic interest organisations are hegemonic here.

Question **Q18\_13 "cultural, music, dance or theatre group"** also includes different kinds of organisations – even on national level. This item may be too unspecific and heterogeneous. A number of private and public groups and organisations may be subsumed as well as groups taking place in school.

In Estonia, partaking in activities of a cultural group has history going back to the Soviet period. During that period, cultural groups became very significant spots where national identity was 'kept alive'. The tradition of being active in cultural groups has been passed from parents to children, and it is still relatively popular to partake in cultural clubs.

Also for Finland, this is an extremely large and expansive category. But the popularity of this category indicates the rising value of self-expression and experiential actions. To speak about the participation on these cultural actions is elastic because sometimes you are part of the audience/role among the high-qualified consumers.

In Slovakia, sport and cultural activities are the most popular among young people. Singing, dancing, music, theatre, different leisure courses, fan clubs etc. There is a tradition for this kind of activities and it is also supported by local communities (e.g. fishing, fire brigade).

These kind of youth groups are amongst the most visible in the UK, and inspire the participation of culturally aware young people. As more social organisations, it is hardly surprising that these groups score more highly in terms of participation than more explicitly politically focused groupings such as political parties or consumer organisations.

But, there may also have been some confusion concerning the wording of this question in the British questionnaire, as the idea of a “cultural” group is likely to mean different things to different individuals.

## **6.2. Attitudinal and behavioural background variables in core questionnaire (“priority II”)**

In this section the analysis of attitudinal variables and behavioural background variables of the core questionnaire is described. For this purpose, Exploratory Factor Analysis is used for the attitudinal variables as was explained in chapter 2.4 (“Testing by means of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)”). Hierarchical Cluster Analysis was used for behavioural background variables (see chapter 2.3 “Testing by means of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis (HCA)”).

### **6.2.1. Political Interest (Q1, Q2, Q5, Q20, Q27)**

13 questions related to political interest and political self-placement are analysed by means of Exploratory Factor Analysis.

In pooled analysis (all eight countries together), three factors can be extracted. The result is shown in Table 21 below. The first factor is called “Political interest”. The following items are loading on this factor: Interest in national politics (Q2\_2), interest in politics (in general) (Q1), interest in European politics (Q2\_3) and interest in international politics (Q2\_4).

The second factor is labelled “Self-placement”. Two questions concerning the self-placement of the interviewee are loading high on this factor. In both items the respondent is asked to set his political attitude on a scale (Q20\_1 using a five-point scale and Q27 a eleven-point scale).

The third factor relates to the political interest of the parents. As shown in Table 21, the factor loadings of political interest of the mother as well as political interest of the father are comparatively low (around .700 in pooled analysis and even lower in several national solutions).

In seven countries a similar factor structure is found, although there are differences in the size of the loadings (see Table 22 to Table 28). In Austria, the question concerning political interest of the best friend is loading very low on the factor political interest.

On the basis of the British data file it was not possible to run factor analysis appropriately and to extract any factors.

**Table 21: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – all countries**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,878	-,005	-,019
Q1 Interest in politics	,851	,008	-,018
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,838	,006	-,061
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,832	,027	-,051
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,572	-,058	,076
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,449	,032	,132
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	,023	,887	-,027
Q27 Left-right self-placement	-,016	,839	-,020
Q20_2 Left-right: father	-,040	,675	,039
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	-,022	,673	,052
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	,052	,601	-,045
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	-,004	,004	,710
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,034	,003	,688

**Table 22: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – Austria**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,866	-,036	-,022
Q1 Interest in politics	,811	,017	,025
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,769	-,073	-,035
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,713	-,003	,041
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,570	,007	-,008
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,362	,108	,143
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	,148	,848	-,150
Q27 Left-right self-placement	,107	,818	-,106
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	-,109	,700	,082
Q20_2 Left-right: father	-,125	,661	,052
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	,028	,633	,033
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,024	-,069	,627
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	,044	,042	,612

**Table 23: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – Estonia**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,819	,075	-,063
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,781	,031	-,056
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,764	-,011	,049
Q1 Interest in politics	,764	-,048	,002
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,537	-,018	,209
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,401	-,066	,132
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	-,093	,852	,158
Q27 Left-right self-placement	-,114	,710	,189
Q20_2 Left-right: father	,118	,577	-,143
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	,111	,570	-,162
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	-,052	,562	,006
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	,076	,032	,706
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,121	-,019	,495

**Table 24: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – Finland**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,832	,033	,027
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,826	-,051	-,097
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,817	-,007	-,063
Q1 Interest in politics	,780	-,002	,076
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,526	-,017	,202
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,440	,033	,010
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	,041	,852	-,118
Q27 Left-right self-placement	,037	,835	-,140
Q20_2 Left-right: father	-,063	,702	,228
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	-,050	,639	,196
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	,048	,510	-,191
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,108	-,031	,504
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	,021	,007	,443

**Table 25: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – France**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,905	-,045	,005
Q1 Interest in politics	,900	-,004	-,033
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,873	,023	-,058
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,824	,034	-,014
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,590	-,062	,070
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,513	,073	,126
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	,060	,901	-,026
Q27 Left-right self-placement	-,017	,851	-,024
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	-,035	,719	,068
Q20_2 Left-right: father	-,085	,716	,083
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	,094	,698	-,108
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	,029	-,007	,742
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,036	,011	,731

**Table 26: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – Germany**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q1 Interest in politics	,865	-,003	-,053
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,831	-,061	,024
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,821	,062	-,053
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,785	,061	-,082
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,454	,024	,093
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,408	-,065	,100
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	,036	,891	-,035
Q27 Left-right self-placement	-,002	,830	-,032
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	,068	,685	-,035
Q20_2 Left-right: father	-,059	,639	,059
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	-,020	,609	,055
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	-,023	,013	,757
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,060	,027	,609

**Table 27: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – Italy**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,843	-,011	,013
Q1 Interest in politics	,817	,014	,016
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,758	-,003	,029
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,739	,003	,027
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,545	-,041	-,011
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,419	,033	-,023
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	-,015	,921	-,020
Q27 Left-right self-placement	-,073	,902	-,007
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	,005	,683	,104
Q20_2 Left-right: father	,003	,666	,025
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	,047	,494	-,061
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	-,061	-,015	,788
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,083	,025	,543

**Table 28: EFA (pattern matrix) “political interest” – Slovakia**

	political interest	self-placement	political interest of parents
Q2_4 Interest in international politics	,875	,013	-,118
Q2_3 Interest in European politics	,865	-,001	-,059
Q1 Interest in politics	,849	,017	-,023
Q2_2 Interest in national politics	,828	,024	,039
Q2_1 Interest in local politics	,556	-,054	,107
Q5_3 Interest in politics: best friend	,394	-,014	,204
Q20_1 Left-right: interviewee	,024	,866	-,046
Q27 Left-right self-placement	-,013	,825	-,088
Q20_2 Left-right: father	-,013	,673	,057
Q20_3 Left-right: mother	,006	,636	,091
Q20_4 Left-right: best friend	-,002	,595	-,031
Q5_2 Interest in politics: mother	,012	,021	,611
Q5_1 Interest in politics: father	,010	-,012	,597

To sum up, on the basis of this analysis a similar factor structure across countries could be found. Although the following restrictions should be mentioned:

- There is an equivalent structure in seven countries, but it could partly be a method effect (according to the three item batteries Q2, Q5, Q20).
- Question Q20\_4 “political interest of best friend” is not suited to build the dimension “political interest of respondent”. Anyway, it was included in the analysis.
- No factors were extracted for the British sample.
- Although the factor structure of the left-right scale seems comparable across countries on the basis of this analysis, the validity of this scale can be questioned. It is not possible to conclude if the instrument reflect the meaning of “left” and “right” – neither in the national nor in international context. First of all, the validity of the scale should be analysed in each country. For Germany, the left-right scale and its understanding by young people was examined in depth by Franziska Wächter (2004).

### 6.2.2. Political efficacy (Q24)

Running EFA for question block Q24 (political efficacy) in pooled analysis, two factors were extracted – “legal influence” and “illegal influence” (see Table 29). Three items of block Q24 are not loading only on the first, but also on the second factor. Asking for the efficacy of influencing decisions in a society, these three items are: the social influence of the voting (Q24\_3), the social influence of the participation in public demonstrations (Q24\_7) and the social influence of boycotting products (Q24\_6). Particularly the item Q24\_6 has low discriminatory power (low factor loading on first and on second factor).<sup>3</sup>

**Table 29: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – all countries**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,634	-,069
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,612	-,215
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,610	,148
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,593	,265
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,579	,088
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,570	-,110
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,567	,086
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,456	,275
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,131	,634
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,055	,612

Compared to Table 29, showing the average factor structure over all eight countries, in Austria again the three items mentioned above are loading also on the second factor.

**Table 30: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – Austria**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,642	-,221
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,624	,060
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,577	-,123
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,566	,234
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,554	-,145
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,544	-,406
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,540	,144
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,447	-,298
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,076	-,831
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,050	-,659

<sup>3</sup> Computing again, without these three items (Q24\_3, Q24\_6 and Q24\_7) will lead to a better result without any cross-loadings between the two factors. Nevertheless, the structural comparison will be conducted with all ten items.

In Estonia the two items, social influence of boycotting products (Q24\_6) and social influence of participation in public demonstrations (Q24\_7) have a weak discriminatory power, as shown in the nearly equal loadings of these two items on both factors. In Estonia and Italy Q24\_6 (social influence of boycotting products) is loading on the factor “illegal influence”, not on factor “legal influence” as in all other countries. But the weak loading of this item has to be taken into account in interpretation.

**Table 31: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – Estonia**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,675	-,174
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,630	-,098
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,583	-,050
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,568	,128
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,555	,097
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,504	,209
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,421	,395
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,143	,776
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,074	,767
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,308	,347

Compared to all other countries in the Finnish data set the item “social influence of the participation in public demonstrations” (Q24\_7) is loading not just on the “Legal influence”- but also on the „Illegal influence“-factor”.

**Table 32: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – Finland**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,748	-,123
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,711	-,057
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,650	,044
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,614	-,194
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,606	,221
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,550	,211
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,478	,284
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,081	,876
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,111	,759
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,452	,499

**Table 33: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – France**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,751	,110
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,698	-,004
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,675	-,235
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,589	,167
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,577	,070
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,565	-,100
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,540	,060
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,460	,270
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,074	,872
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,196	,773

Similar to the average factor structure the analysis of the German data set shows that the items Q24\_3, Q24\_6 and Q24\_7 are loading not just on the first, but also on the second factor (see Table 34). Although these cross-loadings are not very high they have to be mentioned.

**Table 34: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – Germany**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,671	-,114
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,605	,116
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,587	-,225
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,582	,219
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,531	,081
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,516	-,164
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,445	,145
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,349	,199
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,156	,806
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,059	,649

Compared to the other seven countries Italy is the only exception, with a three-factor solution. Like in all other countries there was an “illegal influence”-factor found. But as shown in Table 35, the “legal influence”-factor was divided into two factors. Similar to the average factor structure, the items Q24\_3 and Q24\_6 are showing cross-loadings on two and in one case even in all three factors.

**Table 35: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – Italy**

	influence via civic society structures	illegal influence	influence via party politics
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,684	-,169	,066
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,640	-,203	,052
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,413	,086	-,016
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,105	-,880	-,006
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,074	-,704	,032
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,322	-,375	,145
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	-,162	-,079	,757
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,103	-,030	,539
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,087	,037	,530
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,279	,159	,286

**Table 36: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – Slovakia**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,676	,008
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,663	,089
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,612	,207
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,591	-,050
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,591	-,152
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,585	-,289
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,555	-,182
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,518	-,058
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,143	-,844
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,019	-,784

**Table 37: EFA (pattern matrix) “political efficacy” – UK**

	legal influence	illegal influence
Q24_4 Social influence: contacting politicians	,716	,016
Q24_1 Social influence: work in a political party	,684	-,017
Q24_2 Social influence: work in voluntary organisations	,684	-,078
Q24_5 Social influence: work to get attention from the media	,682	-,011
Q24_3 Social influence: voting	,680	-,138
Q24_7 Social influence: participation in public demonstrations	,609	,284
Q24_8 Social influence: signing petitions	,591	,135
Q24_6 Social influence: boycotting products	,574	,217
Q24_9 Social influence: participation in illegal protest	,077	,880
Q24_10 Social influence: participation in violent protest	-,025	,809

To sum up, question block Q24 (political efficacy) displays a similar structures across countries in general, but

- a few items have low discriminatory power (especially Q24\_3, Q24\_6, Q24\_7),
- country-specific exceptions or outliers of the similar factor structure are mainly caused by this items with low discriminatory power, and
- in the Italian sample, the factor “legal influence” splits into “influence via civic society structure” & “influence via party politics”.

### 6.2.3. Identity (Q26)

The average factor analysis over all countries is extracting three factors (see Table 38). The following factors can be distinguished:

- regional identity
- international identity and
- social identity.

The country's nationality (Q26\_3) has a low factor loading on "regional identity", but is also loading on "international identity". This phenomenon of the average structure can be explained by differences between countries (see below).

Especially note that the item asking for the family's identity (Q26\_8) has a very low loading on the factor "social identity".

In general, the average factor structure of Q26 indicates several problems, which are better identifiable if consulting national results of EFA (see below).

**Table 38: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – all countries**

	regional identity	international identity	social identity
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,854	-,055	-,029
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,669	-,105	,140
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,446	,169	-,012
Q26_2 Identity: European	,092	,908	-,035
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,065	,620	,070
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	-,051	-,010	,678
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	,011	,046	,613
Q26_8 Identity: family	,151	,017	,270

In Austria the item Q26\_8 (feeling as part of the family) has nearly equal loadings on the two factors "social identity" and "regional identity".

**Table 39: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – Austria**

	regional identity	international identity	social identity
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,938	-,018	-,018
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,698	,247	-,026
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,644	-,128	,111
Q26_8 Identity: family	,286	-,006	,279
Q26_2 Identity: European	,218	,911	-,094
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,125	,544	,140
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	,044	,000	,721
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	-,017	,061	,678

In Estonia the item Q26\_3 (country's nationality) shows weak loadings on the first and on the second factor. Probably this is caused because of the history of Estonia belonging to the Soviet Union for decades on the one hand and interviewees belonging to the Russian minority on the other hand.

**Table 40: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – Estonia**

	regional identity	international identity	social identity
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,808	,099	,000
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,760	-,110	,115
Q26_2 Identity: European	-,040	,843	,004
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,080	,715	,058
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,226	,354	-,012
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	-,103	,018	,733
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	,078	,067	,578
Q26_8 Identity: family	,072	-,034	,434

Based on the Finnish data set, only two factors can be extracted. In contrast to the average factor analysis the items Q26\_3 (country's identity), Q26\_6 (part of the school/university), Q26\_7 (part of the working place) and Q26\_8 (part of the family) are loading on the first factor ("regional & social identity"). In comparison to the other countries (which are showing a three-factor solution) the items measuring "social identity" in Finland join the factor "regional identity". Note that factor loadings are quite low especially in the pooled factor.

**Table 41: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – Finland**

	regional / social identity	international identity
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,718	,179
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,709	,105
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,394	-,001
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	,382	-,187
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	,375	-,118
Q26_8 Identity: family	,279	-,134
Q26_2 Identity: European	,087	-,786
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,044	-,703

In France a similar result as on the basis of the Finnish data set, was found. Two factors were extracted while regional and social identity merge into one factor.

**Table 42: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – France**

	regional /social identity	international identity
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,908	-,174
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,842	-,212
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	,510	,095
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,485	,097
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	,448	,170
Q26_8 Identity: family	,364	,056
Q26_2 Identity: European	,122	,789
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,037	,778

Similar to Austria, Estonia and the UK, the factor analysis based on the Italian data set shows three factors. The country's nationality identity (Q26\_3) does not load very high on "regional identity", but has also a low loading on "international identity". Item Q26\_6 (feeling part of school/university) joins the regional factor, instead of the "social identity" factor.

**Table 43: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – Italy**

	regional identity	international identity	social identity
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,850	-,031	-,051
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,778	-,128	-,002
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,399	,277	,125
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	,264	,090	,051
Q26_2 Identity: European	,011	,878	,065
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,026	,710	-,083
Q26_8 Identity: family	-,053	,024	,717
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	,037	-,046	,416

As shown in Table 44 the factor analysis based on the Slovakian data set results in a two-factor solution. Again, regional and social identity merge into one factor.

**Table 44: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – Slovakia**

	regional / social identity	international identity
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,819	,104
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,676	-,040
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,416	,047
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	,400	-,111
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	,388	-,131
Q26_8 Identity: family	,365	,026
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,091	-,855
Q26_2 Identity: European	,161	-,683

The British result is similar to the Austrian where Q26\_8 (family) is in the factor "regional identity" and simultaneously displays also a factor loading on "social identity".

**Table 45: EFA (pattern matrix) "identity" – UK**

	regional identity	international identity	social identity
Q26_4 Identity: (region/county)	,816	,098	,089
Q26_3 Identity: (country's nationality)	,574	-,145	,074
Q26_5 Identity: (town/community)	,522	-,043	-,263
Q26_8 Identity: family	,215	-,005	-,161
Q26_1 Identity: a world citizen	-,022	-,781	,027
Q26_2 Identity: European	,046	-,728	-,054
Q26_7 Identity: working place/company	-,010	,067	-,818
Q26_6 Identity: school/university	-,015	-,171	-,598

On the basis of the German data set it wasn't possible to extract any factors.

To sum up, in Austria, Estonia, Italy and the UK a three factor solution was extracted. The factors represent a kind of hierarchy regarding international and regional identity. A factor “social identity” was also extracted. Whereas in Finland, France and Slovakia only two factors were extracted – factor “regional identity” was merged with “social identity”. Therefore, the **factor structure cannot be considered as similar across countries**. Only small parts of the structure can be replicated similarly in all countries.

Country-specific exceptions in the similar factor structure are mainly caused by the items “part of the company” (Q26\_7), “part of school/university” (Q26\_6) and “part of family” (Q26\_8) AND

- in Estonia also “country’s nationality” raises difficulties
- in Finland “country’s nationality” seems also problematic.

Analysis indicates different problems regarding the item battery “political identity”:

- The item battery Q26 refers to two dimensions of political identity and one dimensional of personal identity. Mixing up the political and more personal aspects seems confusing for the respondents.
- In addition, two items of the factor “social identity” – namely Q26\_7 (working place/company) and Q26\_6 (school/university) are not relevant for all respondents. Although there’s the answering option “not applicable” this category is not always used correctly.
- Then there is the very low factor loading and the low discriminatory power of question Q26\_8 “part of family” in most countries.

### 6.2.4. Political values (Q28)

The item block Q28 relates to statements about being politically active. The overall factor analysis reveals a three-factor solution. The factors are labelled “political inactivity”, “political benefits” and “political idealism”. Only a few items show low cross-loadings, item Q28\_9 (it is interesting to be politically active because you learn a lot of useful things) shows cross-loadings on two factors (.204 on “political idealism”).

If all eight countries are analysed separately the same items are loading on the same factors. So there is an almost identical three-factor structure in all participating countries.

**Table 46: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – all countries**

	political inactivity	political benefits	political idealism
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,873	-,033	-,086
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	,738	-,035	,023
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	,735	,010	,042
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	,048	,669	,097
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	-,043	,637	-,015
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	-,101	,531	-,204
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,071	,069	-,655
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	-,042	-,016	-,552
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,075	,076	-,546
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	,139	,123	,511

**Table 47: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – Austria**

	political inactivity	political benefits	political idealism
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	-,869	-,024	-,097
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	-,761	-,014	,037
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	-,757	-,024	,062
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,029	,714	-,015
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	-,043	,662	,069
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	,115	,607	-,152
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	-,005	-,044	-,704
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	-,029	,084	-,598
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	-,064	,033	-,542
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	-,166	,058	,460

**Table 48: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – Estonia**

	political inactivity	political idealism	political benefits
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,851	,002	-,004
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	,754	-,049	-,012
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	,696	-,026	-,091
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,022	,633	,126
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,088	,625	,040
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	,120	-,517	,162
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	-,023	,478	,156
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	-,173	-,035	,639
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	-,017	,015	,597
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	,117	,116	,231

**Table 49: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – Finland**

	political benefits	political inactivity	political idealism
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	,803	,054	,097
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,673	-,049	,010
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	,571	-,046	-,198
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,027	,909	-,027
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	-,003	,750	-,001
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	-,035	,671	,010
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,067	,064	-,599
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	,051	-,018	-,571
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	-,016	,023	-,512
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	,064	,056	,508

**Table 50: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – France**

	political idealism	political inactivity	political benefits
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,734	,083	,114
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	,527	,005	,170
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	-,488	,166	,183
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,460	,082	,148
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,062	,857	-,002
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	,043	,744	-,113
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	-,100	,683	,025
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	-,073	-,034	,802
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,094	-,062	,653
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	,260	,018	,563

**Table 51: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – Germany**

	political idealism	political inactivity	political benefits
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,635	-,024	-,057
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	-,521	,072	,052
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	,496	,019	,110
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,444	,036	,035
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,087	,775	-,056
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	-,019	,699	,001
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	-,071	,678	,022
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,115	-,001	,645
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	,127	-,077	,621
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	-,109	,001	,577

**Table 52: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – Italy**

	political inactivity	political benefits	political idealism
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,883	-,019	,065
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	,807	,028	,034
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	,704	,025	-,107
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	,031	,641	-,034
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,079	,544	-,042
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	-,234	,378	,108
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,099	,051	,621
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	-,025	,042	,553
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,001	-,024	,464
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	,105	,120	-,451

Factor analysis based on the Slovakian data set reveals a three-factor solution, like in all the other countries (Table 53). The only exception is the item Q28\_9 (it is interesting to be politically active because you learn a lot of useful things) which has a very low discriminatory power, because it is loading also on the other factors.

**Table 53: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – Slovakia**

	political inactivity	political idealism	political benefits
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,883	,058	-,003
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	,831	,043	-,020
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	,804	-,035	,075
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,108	,576	-,026
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,060	,561	-,012
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	-,138	,374	,175
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	,187	-,363	,012
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	-,165	,342	,309
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	,034	-,107	,644
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,025	,177	,372

**Table 54: EFA (pattern matrix) “political values/participation” – UK**

	political idealism	political inactivity	political benefits
Q28_4 Even if I cant change things, still important to try	,671	,009	,041
Q28_8 If bothered try to change things	,630	,113	-,004
Q28_1 It is important to try to make world better	,524	-,010	,083
Q28_3 It is pointless trying to change things	-,493	,201	,067
Q28_10 I don't have enough time to be politically active	,121	,891	-,069
Q28_5 I am too busy to be politically active	,000	,709	-,121
Q28_7 I am too exhausted to engage in politics in free time	-,096	,692	,094
Q28_2 Being politically active to meet influential people	,070	-,026	,755
Q28_6 Being politically active is good for career	-,105	,027	,740
Q28_9 Being politically active because learn lot of things	,173	-,085	,580

Regarding item block Q28 a **similar factor structure is found across countries**, but one has to consider that

- there are low factor loadings of some items on the relevant factors. This is especially with regard to the factor “political idealism”,
- question Q28\_9 (“it is interesting to be politically active because you learn a lot of useful things”) has low discriminatory power in some countries (especially in France, Italy and Slovakia) and
- in Slovakia there are very low factor loadings of items in the two factors “political idealism” and “political benefits” (many of them below .400).

### 6.2.5. Future expectations (Q30)

In this chapter, an item battery asking respondents about their future expectations in comparison to their parents is analysed. The respective introductory question:

“What do you think about your future? Do you think that in ten years your ... (income) .... will be much better, better, the same, worse or much worse than the current ... (income) ... of your parents?”

EFA results in a one-structure solution – both, the average data set and single countries. I.e. **factor structure is equivalent across countries**. The only variations observed in the countries are linked to the level of factor loadings.

**Table 55: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – all countries**

	future expectations
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,820
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,793
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,786
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,779
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,643

**Table 56: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – Austria**

	future expectations
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,769
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,745
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,733
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,713
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,614

**Table 57: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – Estonia**

	future expectations
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,804
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,755
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,738
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,736
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,560

**Table 58: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – Finland**

	future expectations
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,769
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,666
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,527
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,460
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,435

**Table 59: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – France**

	future expectations
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,835
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,758
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,747
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,734
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,696

**Table 60: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – Germany**

	future expectations
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,768
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,728
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,720
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,715
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,649

**Table 61: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – Italy**

	future expectations
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,798
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,723
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,718
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,711
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,435

**Table 62: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – Slovakia**

	future expectations
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,888
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,847
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,822
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,786
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,666

**Table 63: EFA (pattern matrix) “future expectations” – UK**

	future expectations
Q30_2 Compared to parents now: job in 10 years	,823
Q30_4 Compared to parents now: quality of life in 10 years	,794
Q30_1 Compared to parents now: income in 10 years	,768
Q30_3 Compared to parents now: social security in 10 years	,722
Q30_5 Compared to parents now: education in 10 years	,637

### 6.2.6. Problems (Q31)

Now the item battery Q31 is analysed, asking:

“How important are the following problems in (country): very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important?”

Exploratory Factor Analysis based on the data set including all eight countries shows a three-factor solution (see Table 64). These three factors are labelled “social threat”, “criminal threat” and “cultural threat”. Particularly, item Q31\_9 (terrorism), is loading on the second and third factor, which means that it has a weak discriminatory power regarding.

**Table 64: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – all countries**

	social threat	criminal threat	cultural threat
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,911	,026	-,092
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,496	-,017	,099
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,358	-,147	,075
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,019	-,910	-,056
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	-,010	-,766	-,019
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,083	-,481	,236
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,022	,050	,650
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	-,059	-,062	,540
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	,168	-,010	,367

EFA of the Austrian data set shows a three-factor solution. The only difference to the average factor solution is the item Q31\_6 (unemployment), which doesn't load on the “social threat factor” but mainly on the “cultural threat factor”.

**Table 65: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – Austria**

	criminal threat	social threat	cultural threat
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,881	-,006	-,026
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	,711	-,070	,103
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,637	,149	-,025
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,020	,760	,037
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,029	,568	,016
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	-,072	,039	,638
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,075	-,106	,519
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	-,003	,077	,379
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,153	,088	,374

The result of EFA based on the Estonian data is a two-factor solution, as illustrated in Table 66. Compared to the average factor structure item Q31\_6 (unemployment), Q31\_9 (terrorism), Q31\_2 (poverty) and Q31\_1 (environmental pollution) are loading both on the “criminal threat factor” and on the “social threat factor”.

**Table 66: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – Estonia**

	criminal threat	social/cultural threat
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,862	-,065
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	,848	-,132
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,361	,292
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,358	,293
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	-,101	,570
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	-,049	,551
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	,041	,426
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,306	,342
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,243	,288

The factor analysis related to the Finnish data set shows also a two-factor structure (see Table 67). Again, there is the factor “criminal threat” on the one hand and “social/cultural threat factor” on the other hand. The items Q31\_3 (number of immigrants) and Q31\_9 (terrorism) have very low discriminatory power; they are loading on both factors with almost the same size.

**Table 67: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – Finland**

	social/cultural threat	criminal threat
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,824	,154
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,645	,037
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,468	-,105
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	,453	-,039
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,371	-,136
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,143	-,124
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	-,031	-,855
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,015	-,844
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,312	-,385

Also in the French sample a two-factor structure was found (Table 68). Again a separate “criminal threat factor” was produced. But in comparison to pooled analysis, the item Q31\_3 (number of immigrants) is loading on this factor. The second factor represents a combination between the “social threat” and the “cultural threat”.

**Table 68: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – France**

	criminal threat	social/cultural threat
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,876	-,047
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,747	-,026
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	,732	,002
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,333	,129
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	-,032	,687
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	,002	,616
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	-,055	,535
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,064	,476
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,218	,439

The factor analysis based on the German data set shows a three-factor structure, which is almost identical to the structure of the average factor analysis. Only item Q31\_6 (unemployment) is loading on the “cultural threat”.

**Table 69: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – Germany**

	criminal threat	social threat	cultural threat
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,915	-,028	-,008
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,708	,010	,004
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	,686	,032	,039
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	-,029	,658	,120
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,012	,524	-,077
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	-,114	-,019	,603
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,111	,094	,367
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,186	,029	,364
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,043	-,014	,316

In Italy the factor analysis reveals a two-factor structure with the item Q31\_6 (unemployment) and the item Q31\_3 (number of immigrants) loading on “criminal threat” (Table 70). The second factor is a combination between parts of the “social threat factor” and parts of the “cultural threat factor”.

**Table 70: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – Italy**

	criminal threat	social threat
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	,730	-,030
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	,705	-,071
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,599	-,021
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,304	,229
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,248	,079
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,125	,618
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,016	,582
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,043	,514
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	-,084	,501

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Slovakian EFA produces a three-factor structure (Table 71). But it differs from the overall factor solution: item Q31\_1 (environmental pollution) is loading on “cultural threat” instead of “social threat”.

**Table 71: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – Slovakia**

	cultural threat	social threat	criminal threat
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,838	-,153	-,064
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,570	,030	-,047
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	,431	,172	,043
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,333	,138	-,095
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	-,054	,617	-,143
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,139	,569	,038
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	-,029	,003	-,838
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	-,006	,157	-,742
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,305	-,097	-,548

In the UK the factor analysis results in a two-factor structure (Table 72). One factor is the “criminal threat factor”, the other one consists of a combination of social and cultural threat.

**Table 72: EFA (pattern matrix) “Problems” – UK**

	social/ cultural threat	criminal threat
Q31_2 Problem: poverty	,699	,040
Q31_1 Problem: environmental pollution	,635	,086
Q31_4 Problem: racism/xenophobia	,618	,050
Q31_5 Problem: reduction of welfare state	,553	-,081
Q31_6 Problem: unemployment	,505	-,047
Q31_3 Problem: number of immigrants	,411	-,076
Q31_8 Problem: crimes and violence	-,011	-,837
Q31_7 Problem: drugs	-,014	-,791
Q31_9 Problem: terrorism	,038	-,608

To sum up, in all participating countries the factor “criminal threat” was found, even in those countries where the factor analysis shows a two-factor-solution. In these countries the second factor consists of items which are usually loading on the factor “social threat” and “cultural threat”. The only exceptions are the two items concerning unemployment and number of immigrants. These items are loading in some countries also on the “criminal threat”. Therefore, the **factor structure is not equivalent across countries**. In addition, it has to be considered that

- many items have low factor loadings and
- some items have low discriminatory power.

This item battery reflects public opinion and personal perception of problems, not the real extent or priority of societal problems.

The term “reduction of the welfare state” may not be comprehensible for young people.

### 6.2.7. Political activity of parents, political interest (Q21, Q22, Q23)

Once more, this chapter's aim is to describe to what extent the items dealing with political activity and interest are comparable across participating countries. Now, the focus is on behavioural variables of the core questionnaire which are analysed by means of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis. Therefore, three item block are summed up for analysis:

- question Q21 dealing with parents as well as best friend taking part in demonstrations,
- Q22 about political discussions with different groups and
- Q23 asking about parents as well as best friend taking part in elections.

Due to the fact, that not all respondents answered these questions, the sample sizes on which the analyses are based, are shown in the following table. In general, only 36 percent of the respondents provided a complete data set. While almost two-thirds of the Finnish people answered all questions only 21 percent of the French and only 23 percent of the Estonian participants responded to all of these relevant questions.

**Table 73: Sample size HCA Q21, Q22, Q23**

Country	Total	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
N	2851	364	227	604	213	311	374	461	297
Percent	36	36	23	60	21	30	38	47	30

To enhance the figures' readability only abbreviations of the items are used which are shown in Table 74.

**Table 74: Description of abbreviated items Q21, Q22, Q23**

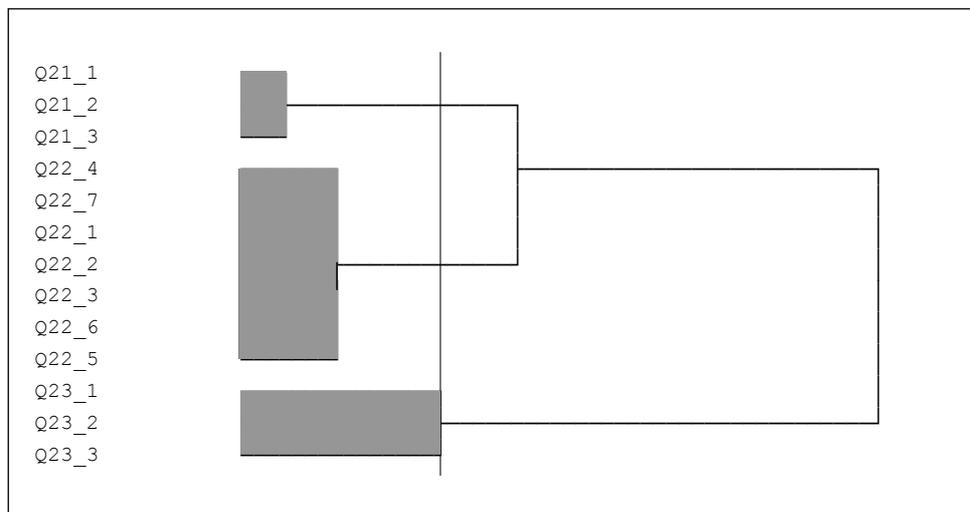
name & abbreviation	items according to the questionnaire
Q21_1	Does ... your father ... always, often, sometimes, rarely or never take part in demonstrations?
Q21_2	... your mother ...
Q21_3	... best friend ...
Q22_1	How often do you discuss political issues when you get together with ... your father ...: Always, often, sometimes, rarely or never?
Q22_2	... your mother ...
Q22_3	... your sister or brother ...
Q22_4	... your friends ...
Q22_5	... your teachers ...
Q22_6	... your partner ...
Q22_7	... your co-worker, colleagues, fellow students ...
Q23_1	Does ... your father ... always, often, sometimes, rarely or never vote in elections?
Q23_2	... your mother ...
Q23_3	... your best friend ...

It should be mentioned that in the following analysis cluster formation is probably also affected by frequencies of different item blocks. E.g. the distribution of Q21 has positive skewness, Q22 has also positive skewness but much lower kurtosis and Q23 has negative skewness. So the distributions are consistent within one item block and reveal differences between item blocks.

The cluster analysis based on the pooled data set reveals a three-cluster solution (see Figure 44). It turns out, that all items belonging to one item block emerge into one cluster. Therefore, Cluster 1 which contains the items Q21\_1, Q21\_2 and Q21\_3 can be labelled as “important others’ participation in demonstrations”. Cluster 2 emerges of seven items dealing with debating on political issues and can therefore be called, “discussion of political issues with the social network”. The three items Q23\_1, Q23\_2 and Q23\_3 make up Cluster 3 and can be characterised as “voting behaviour of important others”. Especially Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 tend to be very homogenous. Only the item Q22\_5 tends to stay rather apart from the other items. Examining Cluster 3 closer, particularly, item Q23\_3 reveals larger distances toward the two other variables belonging to Cluster 3.

In general, it can be said, that the cluster “important others’ participation in demonstrations” shows greater similarities with the cluster “discussion of political issues with the social network” than with the cluster “voting behaviour of important others”.

**Figure 44: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – all countries**

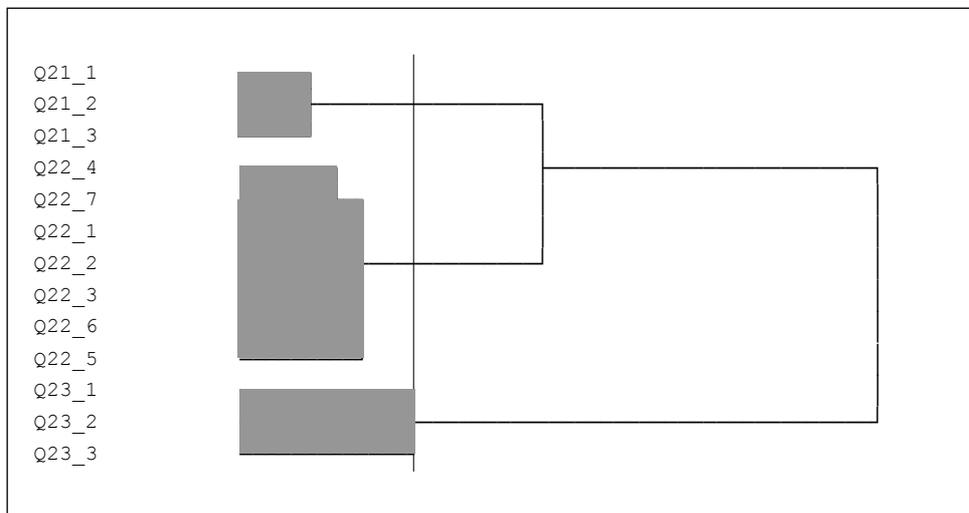


All in all, the cluster analyses conducted separately for each participating country, result in six out of eight analyses in a similar structure. Hence, these items can be seen as comparable across different participating countries.

The exceptions of this pattern, which are found in the data set of Finland and the UK, are due to the item “voting behaviour of your best friend”. Consequently, contrasting these items across different countries should be done cautiously.

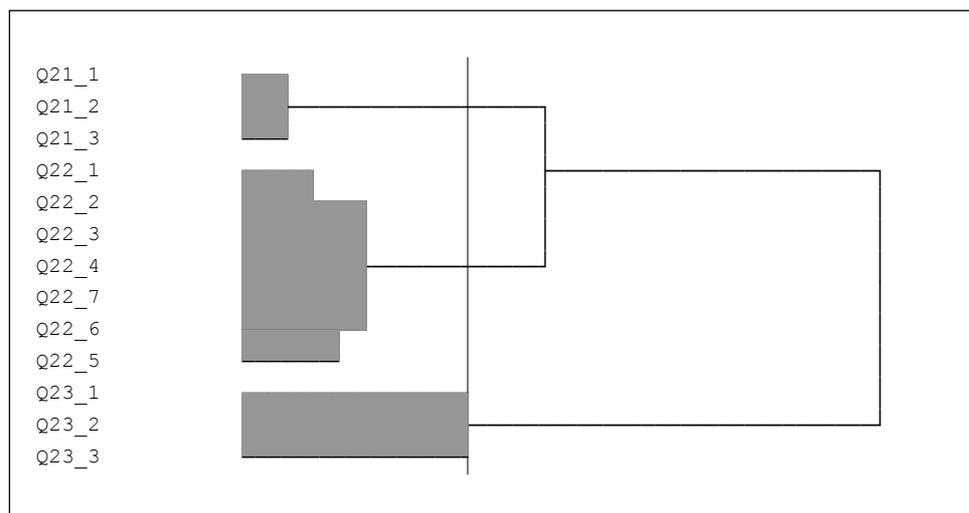
Figure 45 reveals the result of the cluster analysis based on the Austrian sub sample which is almost identical to the analysis containing all data.

**Figure 45: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – Austria**



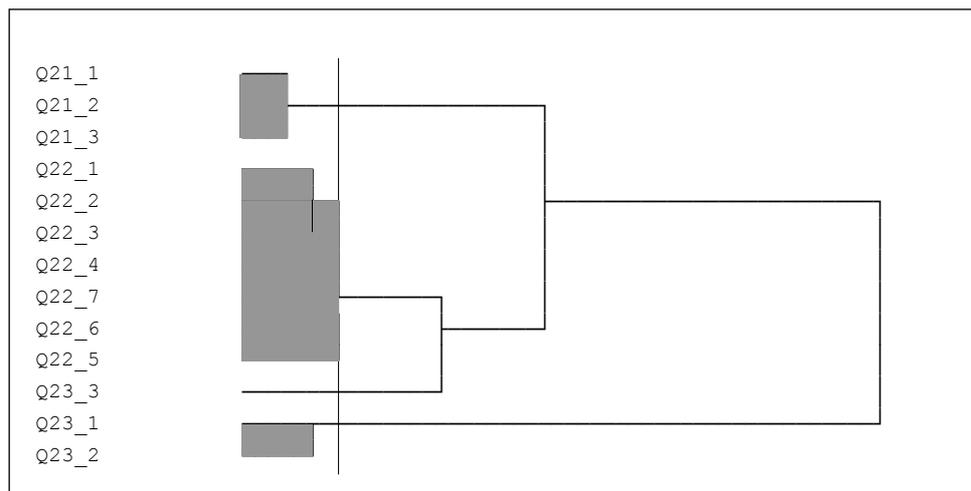
Also the cluster analysis based on the Estonian data reveals a similar structure and can therefore be perceived as comparable (see Figure 46).

**Figure 46: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – Estonia**



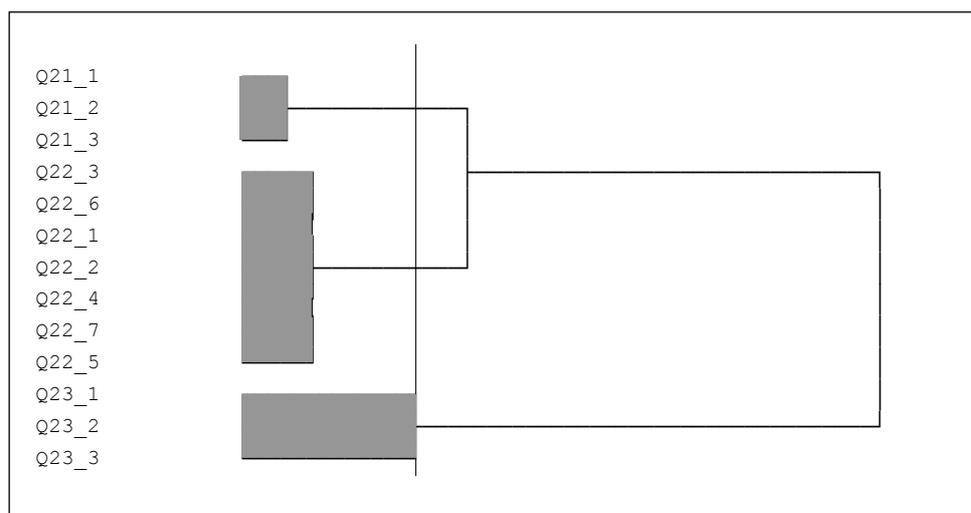
As already mentioned the cluster analysis founded on the Finnish sample results in a slightly different structure. The item “voting behaviour of your best friend” seems to have more in common with items from the cluster “discussion of political issues with important others” than with the items “voting behaviour of your father and your mother”. This result can perhaps be due to the age of the respondents and of their friends. Probably not being allowed to vote in elections is one reason for this difference in structure.

**Figure 47: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – Finland**



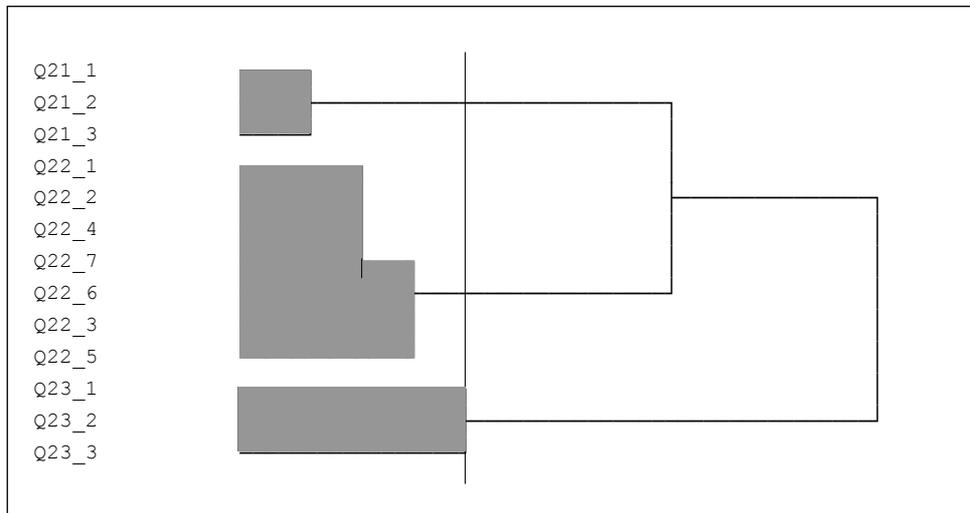
As depicted in Figure 48 the cluster analysis based on the data of the French respondents results again in a similar structure as contrasted with the analysis based on all data.

**Figure 48: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – France**



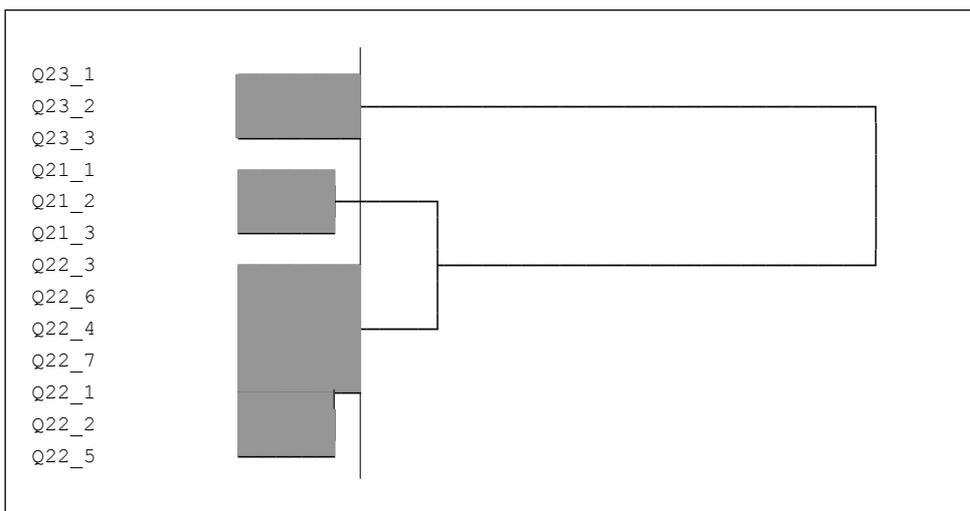
Looking at Figure 49 one can realise that this structure reveals considerable similarities with the results of other analyses. Only one minor difference can be found: Cluster 2 seems to be less homogenous than in comparison with other analysis. Especially the item “discussing political issues with your teacher” (Q22\_5) seems to reveal larger distances towards the other variables of Cluster 2.

**Figure 49: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – Germany**



Once more, the cluster analysis based on the Italian data results in a comparable three-cluster solution (see Figure 50).

**Figure 50: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – Italy**



Also the following analysis (see Figure 51) shows that drawing comparisons across different countries regarding these questions is possible. The cluster analysis based on the Slovakian data reveals a similar structure.

**Figure 51: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – Slovakia**

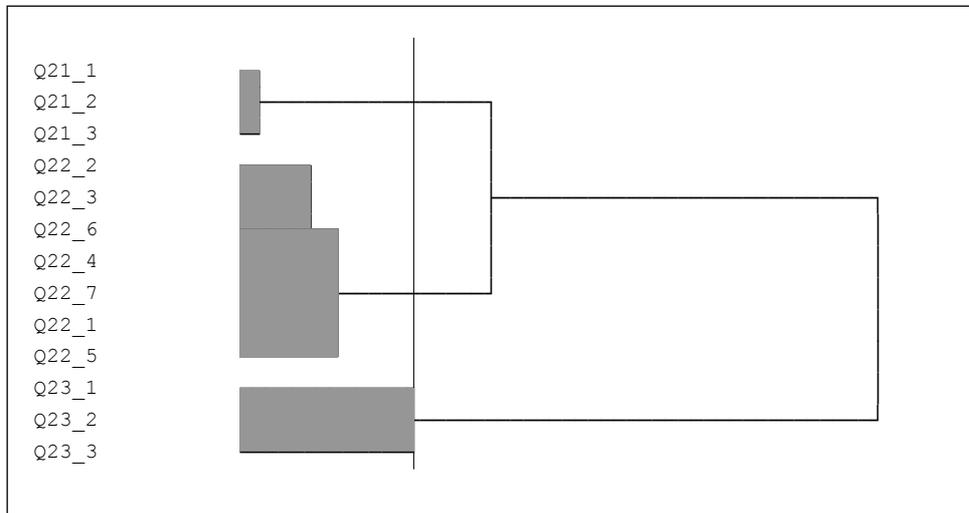
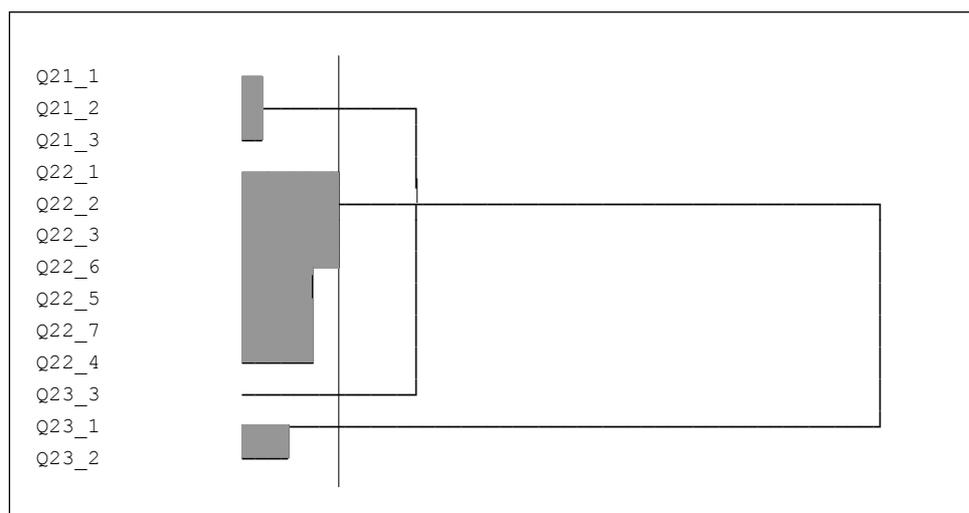


Figure 52 depicts that the cluster analysis based on the data from the UK results in a diverse structure. Similar to the analysis based on the Finnish data, the variable “voting behaviour of your best friend” (Q23\_3) seems to reveal greater similarities with the cluster “important others’ participation in demonstrations”. Moreover, the age of the respondents and their friends can probably be made responsible for this result.

**Figure 52: Cluster analysis „political participation of the social network” – UK**



To sum up, the item blocks reveal a similar structure if based on this kind of analysis. **Clusters seem to be comparable across countries.**

### **6.3. Attitudinal variables in optional part of questionnaire (“priority III”)** **(by Fabio Cotti / IARD)**

In this section the analysis of attitudinal variables of the optional part of the questionnaire is described. For this purpose, Exploratory Factor Analysis is used as was explained in chapter 2.4 (“Testing by means of Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)”).

Note that questions Q49 and Q50 were not administered in Germany. Questions Q51 and Q52 were not implemented in the German and Finnish survey.

#### **6.3.1. Statements concerning politics (Q49)**

EFA extract two factors.

There are two points to stress:

- a. q49\_1 correlates just in a moderate way with factor 2 and, in addition, correlates also a little bit with factor 1.
- b. Surprising, q49\_5 correlates with factor 1.

The factors are **not stable across countries**. These are the main differences:

- Finland, France, Italy and UK show a three factors matrix, where the third factor is constituted by q49\_1, q49\_5, q49\_9. This factor seems referring to institutionalized politics.
- In Austria we have a two factors matrix, where q49\_1 and q49\_5 correlate with factor 2.
- In Estonia we have three factors, where q49\_1 represents alone one factors and q49\_5 correlates with factor 1.
- In Slovakia a two factors matrix appears, but the correlation of the items is often unclear.

**Table 75: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – all countries**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	,727	-,112
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	,692	-,161
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	,607	-,068
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	,545	-,104
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,413	,325
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	-,157	,637
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	-,159	,634
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	-,271	,558
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	-,275	,539
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	,321	,393
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	,202	,331

EFA was repeated and was **forced to extract three factors**. This matrix appears clearer than other. The structure highlights three factors: 1) distrust in politics 2) institutional politics 3) political service.

Factors are stable across countries with exception of Austria, Estonia and Slovakia:

- Austria: item q49\_1 correlates with political service.
- Estonia: item q49\_5 correlates with distrust; item q49\_9 correlate with political service; item q49\_1 is alone the third factor.
- Slovakia: item q49\_5 and q49\_9 correlate with distrust; item q49\_1 is alone the third factor.

**Table 76: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – all countries**

	Distrust in politics	Institutional politics	Political service
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	,833	-,049	,065
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	,788	-,070	,016
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	,540	,104	-,061
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	,445	,117	-,127
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	-,014	,582	,013
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,097	,536	-,018
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	-,042	,424	,041
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	,083	,007	,729
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	,027	,057	,668
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	-,058	-,029	,615
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	-,106	,032	,575

**Table 77: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – Austria**

	Political service	Institutional politics	Distrust in politics
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	,637	,027	,009
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	,620	,041	,048
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	,610	-,075	-,068
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	,609	,063	-,018
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	,297	,254	-,126
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,012	,580	-,024
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	,053	,481	,071
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	,129	-,139	,845
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	-,102	,139	,632
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	-,043	,025	,606
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	-,134	,111	,405

**Table 78: EFA (pattern matrix) – Q49 – Estonia**

	Distrust in politics	Political service	Institutional politics
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	,757	-,077	-,083
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	,751	-,127	-,165
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	,544	,018	,074
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,531	,208	,022
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	,463	-,182	,241
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	,094	,689	-,102
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	-,025	,683	-,031
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	-,084	,532	,002
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	-,216	,527	,103
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	,174	,410	,187
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	-,030	,010	,631

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**Table 79: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – Finland**

	Political service	Institutional politics	Distrust in politics
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	-,772	-,057	,091
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	-,672	,094	-,022
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	-,592	-,066	-,106
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	-,505	,109	-,152
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	-,045	,628	,040
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	,083	,548	-,048
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	-,126	,542	,096
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	-,049	-,075	,789
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	,141	,001	,645
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	-,013	,101	,551
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	,174	,134	,367

**Table 80: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – France**

	Political service	Distrust in politics	Institutional politics
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	,791	,047	,034
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	,724	,009	-,008
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	,673	-,046	,008
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	,651	,005	-,096
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	,093	,845	,076
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	,021	,670	,012
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	-,003	,544	-,086
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	-,158	,451	-,068
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	-,001	,002	-,608
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	-,059	,125	-,573
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	,167	-,096	-,372

**Table 81: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – Italy**

	Political service	Institutional politics	Distrust in politics
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	-,724	,051	,057
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	-,660	,019	-,061
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	-,596	-,024	,047
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	-,536	,080	-,230
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,093	,627	,019
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	-,152	,576	-,070
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	-,030	,528	,036
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	-,094	-,045	,854
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	-,006	-,062	,770
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	,123	,112	,516
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	,189	,228	,359

**Table 82: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – Slovakia**

	Political service	Distrust in politics	Factor 3
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	,658	,006	-,116
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	,514	-,164	,164
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	,505	,013	,200
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	,451	-,179	,204
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	-,132	,760	-,175
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	-,005	,594	-,297
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	-,258	,573	,082
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	,234	,392	,057
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	-,073	,355	,175
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,268	,307	,100
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	,084	,017	,359

**Table 83: EFA (pattern matrix) Q49 – UK**

	Political service	Institutional politics	Distrust in politics
Q49_6 Politics = solving social conflicts	,791	-,058	,051
Q49_10 Politics = solving international problems	,698	,094	,010
Q49_8 Politics = a way to create a better world	,579	,038	-,199
Q49_3 Politics = taking care of social issues	,572	,010	-,016
Q49_9 Politics refers to parliamentary discussions	-,066	,786	-,139
Q49_5 Politics refers to parties	,065	,467	,080
Q49_1 Politics refers to voting	,090	,374	,149
Q49_7 Politics = empty promises	,026	,043	,704
Q49_11 Politics is just corrupt	-,044	,012	,662
Q49_4 Politics is a game played by old men	,026	-,056	,622
Q49_2 Politics does not deal with important things	-,130	,057	,479

### 6.3.2. List of statements (Q50)

EFA produces a matrix with five factors:

1. thematic are about welfare state, free market and privatization concerns;
2. topics are about class-fight, multinational companies and anti-globalization movements;
3. topics are about immigrants and refugees;
4. here there is need for punishments for crimes, obedience and need of strong leaders;
5. topics are about women rights.

In general, analysis by countries reveals that the **factors are not stable**. Just two exceptions: factor 3 and 5 appear stable, but not in Estonia (no stability of factor 3) and UK (no stability of factor 5).

**Table 84: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – all countries**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	<b>,496</b>	,031	-,099	,008	,018
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	<b>,457</b>	-,110	-,071	-,010	-,058
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	<b>,434</b>	,075	-,060	,060	,006
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	<b>,402</b>	-,097	,110	-,215	,009
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	<b>,376</b>	-,022	,130	-,187	-,067
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	-,116	<b>,617</b>	-,040	-,154	,002
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	-,068	<b>,539</b>	-,053	-,110	,032
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	,027	<b>,495</b>	-,024	,099	,036
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	,069	<b>,390</b>	,127	,060	,000
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,206	-,002	<b>-,699</b>	-,048	-,005
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	,062	,071	<b>,625</b>	,095	,018
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,241	,172	<b>-,298</b>	-,083	-,056
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	-,023	-,031	-,058	<b>-,688</b>	,082
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,006	,056	-,074	<b>-,645</b>	-,052
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	,005	-,002	-,058	<b>-,478</b>	,029
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,166	,120	,037	<b>-,393</b>	-,148
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	,149	,096	,042	-,025	<b>,618</b>
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,126	,054	,020	,014	<b>-,538</b>

**Table 85: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – Austria**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,761	,025	,032	-,062	,103	-,054
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	-,753	-,034	,019	,079	-,035	,119
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,365	,153	,076	-,109	,127	,083
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	,042	,691	-,122	,040	,056	,097
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	,056	,551	,063	,061	-,039	,052
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	-,135	-,027	,586	-,074	,044	-,042
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	,174	-,083	,452	,058	-,057	,242
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	,053	-,067	,451	,048	,078	-,120
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	,029	,102	,348	-,056	-,054	-,057
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	-,007	-,001	,299	-,020	,202	-,030
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	-,087	,065	,085	,708	,038	,039
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,038	-,036	,085	-,587	,027	,094
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	,166	-,019	-,025	,125	,622	,012
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,004	,126	,016	-,068	,545	-,031
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	,129	-,173	-,042	,018	,490	,062
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	-,109	,061	,135	-,158	,394	-,031
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	,034	,065	-,044	-,022	-,017	,611
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	-,147	,084	-,040	-,022	,036	,459

**Table 86: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – Estonia**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	,662	-,034	-,037	,048	-,023	-,010	-,057
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	,499	-,010	-,040	-,021	,033	,072	,200
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	,217	-,049	,177	-,144	,078	,042	,193
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	,203	,024	,143	,181	,155	,035	,067
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	-,085	-,808	,040	-,096	-,166	,134	,133
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,159	-,515	,079	-,030	-,008	-,028	-,127
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	-,017	-,341	-,081	,018	,085	-,032	,004
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	-,041	-,033	,650	-,026	-,034	-,031	-,064
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	,010	,031	,395	-,004	-,018	-,034	-,027
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	-,010	,067	-,031	,537	-,133	,038	-,020
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,128	-,025	-,014	,384	,251	-,091	-,014
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	-,058	-,165	,139	,186	,017	,046	,159
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	-,001	-,038	-,020	-,071	,584	-,029	-,102
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,058	,014	-,045	-,006	,419	,088	,106
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	-,083	-,012	,169	,064	,210	-,053	,132
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	,039	-,003	,042	,059	,039	,524	-,015
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,032	,001	,119	,054	,007	-,508	,064
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	,071	,007	-,083	-,009	-,018	-,063	,545

**Table 87: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – Finland**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	,675	-,015	-,017	-,001	-,002	-,002
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	,497	-,102	-,044	,009	-,065	,106
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,235	,129	-,015	,169	,213	,059
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	-,176	,601	,014	-,059	-,045	,035
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	-,105	,572	-,026	,098	-,046	,006
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	,063	,489	-,083	,091	-,072	,027
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	,061	,371	,141	-,122	,042	-,039
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,128	,336	-,206	,029	,083	-,023
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,099	,081	-,854	-,113	,030	,072
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	,082	,042	,773	-,041	-,009	,017
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	,080	-,005	,020	,670	-,014	-,067
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	-,144	,022	,010	,464	-,023	,115
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,262	-,029	-,132	,410	,082	,029
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	,097	,062	,022	,023	-,617	,053
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,005	-,018	,004	,000	,603	,131
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	-,068	-,115	-,076	,017	,037	,554
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	,245	,086	,024	-,093	,071	,364
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	,071	,111	,017	,096	,019	,331

**Table 88: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – France**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	,748	-,070	-,060	,123	-,040
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,692	,033	-,125	-,030	,008
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	,568	-,057	-,071	,095	-,039
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,518	,063	,017	-,162	,123
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	,481	,034	,163	-,085	,175
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,437	,157	-,243	-,133	,090
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	,423	-,077	,249	-,077	,234
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	,135	,581	-,021	,074	-,071
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	-,185	,578	-,040	,013	,076
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	,108	,565	-,052	,080	-,028
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	-,059	,520	,093	-,059	-,046
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	,007	,020	,776	-,034	-,067
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,311	,015	-,589	-,064	,224
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	-,031	,070	,113	-,719	,097
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	-,015	,210	,126	,537	,159
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	,069	-,173	-,015	-,003	,587
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	,117	-,010	-,091	,001	,578
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	-,059	,039	-,030	,018	,576

**Table 89: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – Italy**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,861	-,032	-,085	-,024	,031
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	-,693	-,053	,118	,122	,136
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,518	,021	,187	-,050	-,002
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	,490	,027	,167	,130	-,034
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	,357	-,155	,112	,036	,056
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	-,010	,706	,081	,056	-,164
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	,123	,607	-,077	,019	,242
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	-,130	,382	-,080	-,066	,173
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	-,030	-,028	,548	,030	-,023
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	-,004	-,039	,519	,068	-,013
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	,057	,042	,427	-,046	,041
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,171	-,029	,379	-,044	,026
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	,030	,030	,372	-,149	-,187
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	-,015	,025	,330	-,162	,095
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	,024	,046	,014	,567	,017
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,035	,013	,047	-,513	-,009
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	-,231	,132	-,057	,080	,540
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,286	,020	,179	-,119	,323

**Table 90: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – Slovakia**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	,837	,055	-,027	-,015	,023	,046
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	,548	,032	,109	,071	-,029	,084
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	,010	,531	-,079	-,153	,006	,075
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	-,066	,509	,134	,032	-,142	,057
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	,063	,508	-,087	,071	,001	-,073
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	,043	,389	,001	-,005	,098	-,182
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	-,089	,288	-,126	,149	,119	,136
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	,081	-,085	,656	-,024	-,035	-,110
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	,104	-,149	,517	-,091	-,122	,089
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	,057	-,075	,427	-,094	,085	-,044
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,013	,076	,301	,082	-,089	,007
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	-,057	,040	,222	,016	,072	,139
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,041	,103	,104	,604	,069	,028
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	,013	,170	,136	-,419	,050	,027
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	-,028	,106	,057	,076	,619	,098
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,032	,164	,076	,068	-,587	,140
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	,194	-,093	-,134	-,073	-,054	,624
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,022	-,007	,068	,053	,004	,425

**Table 91: EFA (pattern matrix) Q50 – UK**

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Q50_14 Welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves	,549	-,009	,044	-,032	,078
Q50_15 Joblessness is persons own fault	,543	-,109	-,104	-,065	-,065
Q50_16 I dont need state support for good life	,290	-,081	,060	-,058	-,068
Q50_6 There are too many immigrants	,034	-,745	,014	-,022	-,040
Q50_5 /country/ should accept more refugees	,041	,637	,045	,071	-,164
Q50_7 /country/ is in danger of losing its culture in EU	,264	-,527	,136	,052	-,053
Q50_17 MNCs influence too much politics	,082	,037	,498	,057	-,114
Q50_10 Law is applied differently to the rich than the poor	-,133	-,140	,432	-,077	-,080
Q50_11 Owners of big companies get rich at cost of their workers	,052	-,043	,423	,016	,031
Q50_9 There should be more women in politics	-,083	,016	,367	-,108	,182
Q50_18 Anti-globalisation fighters are right	,103	,110	,278	,048	-,159
Q50_1 Severe crimes should be punished with death penalty	-,088	-,149	-,150	-,662	-,169
Q50_2 We need more severe punishments	,040	-,011	,004	-,565	,003
Q50_3 Children should be taught to be obedient	,179	,063	,123	-,328	,147
Q50_4 Strong leader can resolve problems better than parl.	,104	,018	,086	-,287	-,214
Q50_12 The state should privatise all public companies	-,049	,046	,055	-,084	-,581
Q50_13 The free market solves all social problems	,184	,012	,139	-,103	-,355
Q50_8 Women have no reason to demand more rights	,250	,047	-,193	,052	-,256

### 6.3.3. Trust (Q51)

Exploratory Factor Analysis highlights two factors: 1) trust in institutional-politic organizations and 2) trust in not institutionalized organizations.

**This factor structure can be found in all countries.** Problems occur only in Estonia, where trust in European Commission and Parliament are in the second factor.

**Table 92: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – all countries**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,837	,019
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,821	-,101
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,810	-,042
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,741	-,067
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,623	,272
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,620	,270
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	-,041	,900
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	-,031	,772
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	,107	,763

**Table 93: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – Austria**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,782	,052
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,751	-,070
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,746	,108
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,725	,134
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,716	-,058
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,682	-,091
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	,003	,867
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	-,019	,741
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	,026	,738

**Table 94: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – Estonia**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,823	-,041
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,801	,044
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,777	-,003
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,692	-,014
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	-,127	,886
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	,004	,813
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	-,023	,589
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,335	,561
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,375	,520

**Table 95: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – France**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,883	-,152
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,877	-,004
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,807	,012
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,805	-,053
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,689	,304
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,682	,275
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	-,021	,921
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	-,047	,885
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	,112	,784

**Table 96: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – Italy**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,820	,051
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,763	-,043
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,738	-,154
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,662	-,055
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,657	,280
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,631	,323
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	-,017	,874
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	-,053	,783
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	,075	,693

**Table 97: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – Slovakia**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,835	-,028
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,823	-,036
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,793	-,044
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,695	-,012
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,473	,390
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,461	,396
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	-,064	,950
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	,028	,823
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	-,027	,749

**Table 98: EFA (pattern matrix) Q51 – UK**

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Q51_1 Trust in Government	,882	-,077
Q51_3 Trust in Parliament	,866	,028
Q51_2 Trust in parties	,865	-,015
Q51_4 Trust in politicians	,854	-,049
Q51_6 Trust in EP	,807	,074
Q51_5 Trust in EC	,768	,113
Q51_7 Trust in Greenpeace	-,105	,888
Q51_8 Trust in Amnesty International	,046	,834
Q51_9 Trust in Attac	,346	,691

### 6.3.4. Reliability – internal consistency

For testing internal consistency of the item batteries Cronbach Alpha was calculated. The analysis has been carried out for all countries.

#### Q49

Alpha = .54

Alpha's value is low.

We can try to evaluate alpha in relation to factors (see EFA). Here are the results:

- Factor 1 (distrust in politics) = .77
- Factor 2 (institutional politics) = .51
- Factor 3 (political service) = .75

In synthesis, factor 2 creates instability.

#### Q50

Alpha = .66

Alpha's value is satisfactory.

If we delete q50\_5 alpha increases to .70. Nevertheless, we cannot delete q50\_5 because it fits a factor saturated by just two items.

#### Q51

Alpha = .89

Reliability is very good; no change should be made.

## **7. QUALITY OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES (BY MARTI TARU / IISS)**

This chapter aims at describing efforts which were undertaken to establish cross-national comparability of socio-demographic questions in the EUYOUPART questionnaire. A short overview on strategies to increase comparability of socio-demographic indicators is given. Then, changes of the questionnaire in comparison to the pretest are mentioned and the analysis of 2 variables (economic activity and household composition) is summed up.

### **7.1. Indicators of social location**

The questionnaire contains usual set of socio-demographic indicators: gender (Q33), month and year of birth (Q34a and Q34b), citizenship (Q35) and country of birth (Q36), children (Q37), economic activity (Q38) and hours worked per week (Q39), present involvement in educational system (Q40) and educational attainment (Q41), household composition (Q44\_1 through Q44\_8), religious affiliation (Q46) and settlement type (Q48); explicit indicator of civil status was not included.

In the case of all socio-demographic indicators, the following measures to increase comparability of indicators were taken.

#### **7.1.1. Review of 'best practices'**

In the initial phase of designing the questionnaire, several earlier questionnaires were reviewed. European Social Survey questionnaire was the main source but also other cross-national and national questionnaires were analyzed.

#### **7.1.2. Expert consultation and collaboration**

First, EUYOUPART team consulted outstanding experts in the field of survey research before designing our own questionnaire. The consultation meeting was held in Milan in November 2003. During the meeting, outstanding experts Jan van Deth, Janet Harkness, Fons van de Vijver and Peter Mohler gave suggestions how to increase comparability of cross-national survey data.

Second, socio-demographic indicators were reviewed and amended by the German partner DJI (German Youth Institute). German partner possesses expertise in the field of methodological problems of social location analysis.

#### **7.1.3. Good translation practices**

Further, comparability of indicators was increased by following translation guidelines. According to the guidelines, three persons – all with some or good knowledge of social science and good level of both source and 'target' languages – were involved in translation process. During translation, all changes that were perceived as

deviations from the source questionnaire were recorded in a separate document so that anyone in need of translation details can take a look.

#### 7.1.4. Analysis of pretest data

Analysis of data from pretest survey gave valuable hints of quality of items and scales. Based on the results, several amendments were made to items and scales.

##### Number of exit options

In the case of all scales, the list of exit options ('don't know', 'refused') was shortened so that only one exit was included in the scales of the final questionnaire.

##### Number of response categories

Scale of the 'children-indicator' (Q37) was changed from a multi-category scale in the pretest to a dichotomous scale in the final questionnaire. The primary reasons were that very few young people had more than one kid so that presence or absence of kids turned out to overrule the effect of number of children.

Citizenship and country of birth scales were changed from country-specific scales to an universal scale. The final scale consisted of common lists of 26 nations for all countries.

Religious affiliation scale was shortened considerably. Out of 18 categories in the pretest questionnaire, only 8 remained in the final questionnaire.

Gender, month and year of birth, settlement type, number of working hours per week were not changed.

## 7.2. Analysis of comparability

Only more complex variables – economic activity and household composition were given a closer look in order to assess the degree of their comparability across countries.

### 7.2.1. Activity status Q38

**Table 99: Frequency of activity status (column %; due to rounding, 0% refers to percentages < 0,5%)**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
in paid work	51%	28%	22%	26%	27%	33%	43%	45%
in education	42%	61%	65%	62%	61%	51%	39%	42%
unemployed and in training for unemployed	1%	0%	2%	1%	0%	2%	2%	1%
unemployed	3%	5%	4%	7%	5%	10%	9%	6%
permanently sick, disabled	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
community, military service	1%	0%	1%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%
in housework	1%	5%	4%	3%	3%	0%	4%	6%
other	1%	0%	1%	1%	3%	2%	3%	0%

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### Missing value analysis

One can see (Table 100), the percentage of missing values per country is well below 1% in all eight countries. This finding gives a good reason to believe that the indicator of activity status did measure the same thing in all 8 countries.

**Table 100: Q38 – percentage of missing values per country**

A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
0,2%	0,0%	0,6%	0,0%	0,7%	0,0%	0,0%	0,4%

### Analysis of construct validity: tests

When one takes a look at the indicator of activity status, one immediately sees gross differences across countries. The main differences are related to percentages of those reporting being 'in paid work' (from 22% in Finland to 51% in Austria). Differences are notable also in the category 'in education' (from 39% in UK to 65% in Finland) and 'unemployed' (from 3% in Austria to 10% in Italy).

In the context of the degree of comparability, the differences acquire specific meaning. The question is whether the percentages in the table characterize actual differences in rates of employment, unemployment and schooling or, alternatively, these differences were generated by different interpretation of response categories by interviewers and interviewees. If the latter were true then, for instance, explanation of the figures would refer to apprenticeships and/or other modes of 'learning by doing' education that could have been reported as full-time employment. In this case the scale performed differently across countries – it measured and reported different 'things'. Consequently, the figures were not directly comparable but need further explanation telling whether 'in paid work' refers to being in work-life after schooling or, instead, being involved in some sort of 'learning by doing' program while still in education.

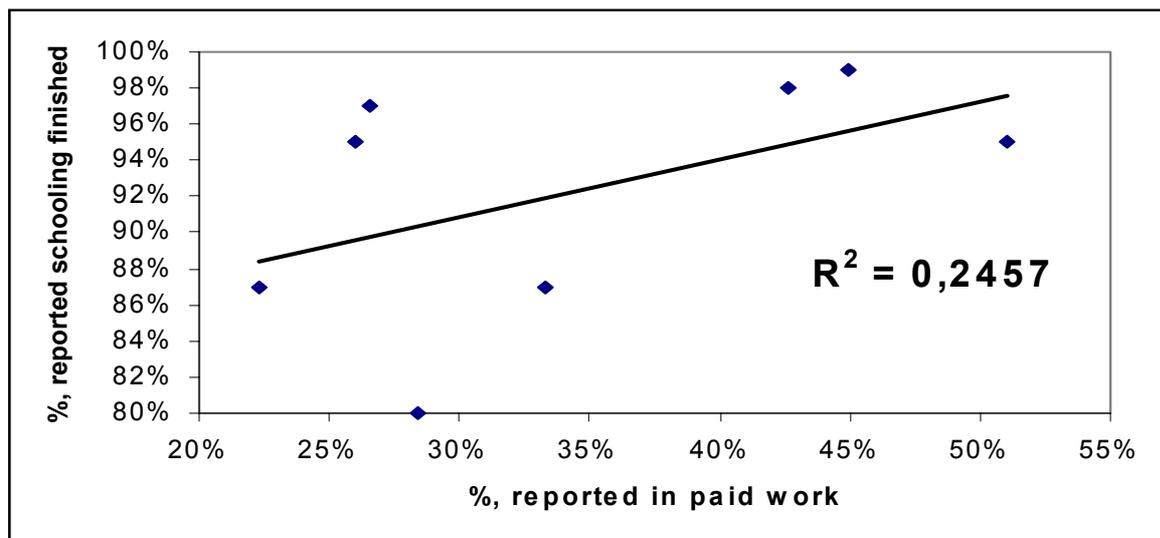
In order to establish the degree which way is it, the following tests were performed.

If involvement in 'learning by doing' program were included in the category 'in paid work', then we would expect the following relationships to occur.

- 1 We would find high percentage of those who did not report having finished schooling (q40\_new) while they reported 'in paid work',
- 2 We would find lower average number of working hours among those reporting 'in paid work',
- 3 We would find lower age among those reporting 'in paid work'.

### Analysis of construct validity: results

1. There was some support to the hypothesis that actually 'learning by doing' was reported as full time employment. There is a positive relationship between percentages in paid work and having finished schooling but the relationship is not very strong (Pearson  $r=0,5$ ). Stronger relationship would be stronger indication of clear separation between educational and work life.

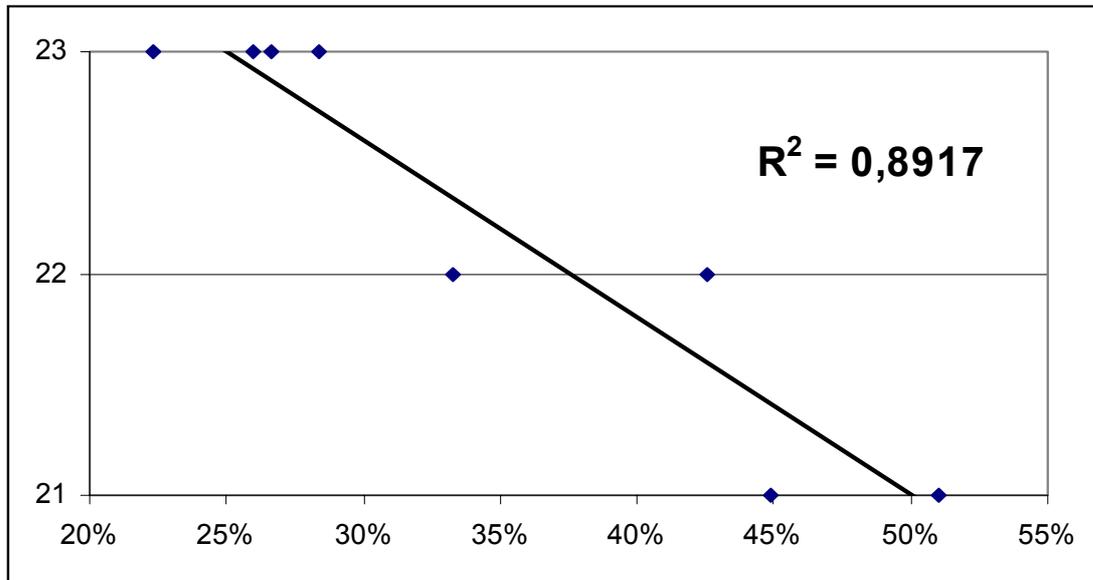


2. There was no relationship between average number of working hours and employment rate ( $r=0,1$ ). Neither was there indication of higher minimum and/or maximum working hours in countries with lower employment rate. This means that all employed young people did experience similar employment conditions; there was no indication of apprenticeship vs. full-time job differences.

**Table 101: Relationships between percentage in paid work and number of working hours per week**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
In paid work	51%	28%	22%	26%	27%	33%	43%	45%
Average number of working hours	38	41	37	35	37	36	41	35
Minimum	10	8	5	7	4	7	8	10
Maximum	72	80	70	90	70	70	99	80

3. There was a strong positive relationship between percentage in paid work and average age ( $r>0,9$ ). This means young people get involved in full-time employment after finishing schooling, not during schooling programs.



**Table 102: Relationships between percentage in paid work and age**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
In paid work	51%	28%	22%	26%	27%	33%	43%	45%
Average age	21	23	23	23	23	22	22	21

### Conclusion

Based on the results from tests 1 thru 3, one can conclude that the indicator of economic activity did perform similarly in different countries and that the figures are predominantly equivalent.

### **7.2.2. Household composition Q44**

Household composition was indicated by 8 dichotomous items.

**Table 103: Household patterns (only percentages of 'yes' included, percentages of 'no' omitted)**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
Q44_1 Household: alone	12%	6%	19%	11%	9%	3%	3%	5%
Q44_2 Household: with parents	69%	64%	45%	70%	74%	91%	81%	56%
Q44_3 Household: with friends	5%	4%	2%	2%	3%	3%	2%	8%
Q44_4 Household: with partner	10%	10%	19%	11%	10%	2%	7%	16%
Q44_5 Household: with partner + child(ren)	5%	12%	6%	5%	4%	0%	8%	4%
Q44_6 Household: a single parent	0%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	4%
Q44_7 Household: in students home	3%	12%	7%	2%	1%	1%	3%	5%
Q44_8 Household: other	1%	2%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%

### Missing value analysis

One sees no gross differences across countries. However, France is exception with its somewhat higher percentages of refusals.

**Table 104: Percentages of missing values (refused)**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
Q44_1 Household: alone	,7%	,1%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,2%
Q44_2 Household: with parents	,7%	,0%	,0%	,7%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,6%
Q44_3 Household: with friends	,7%	,2%	,0%	1,3%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,3%
Q44_4 Household: with partner	,7%	,3%	,0%	1,1%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,3%
Q44_5 Household: with partner + child(ren)	,7%	,2%	,0%	1,3%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,1%
Q44_6 Household: a single parent	,7%	,2%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,2%
Q44_7 Household: in students home	,7%	,2%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,3%
Q44_8 Household: other	,7%	,2%	,0%	1,4%	,0%	,3%	,0%	,3%

The number of missing values per person varies from 0 to 8. Closer examination of the structure of missing values suggest two different patterns. First, in Austria, in France and in Italy there were persons who did not respond to any of the household items (Austria and Italy); in France there were few persons who did not respond to most of the items but we can see any person who did not check any of the items. Second, in Estonia and in UK there were relatively more people who refused to check one item out of the eight items.

Differing structure of missing answers provokes some thoughts whether the item battery performs similarly across countries. However, though some differences could be observed, these were relatively small in magnitude. Therefore my conclusion would be that missing values' structure does not indicate incomparability of the item battery.

**Table 105: Distributions of persons' missing values across countries**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
,00	99,3%	99,4%	100,0%	98,3%	100,0%	99,7%	100,0%	98,7%
1,00		,4%		,3%				1,2%
5,00		,1%						
6,00		,1%		,1%				
7,00				1,3%				,2%
8,00	,7%					,3%		

### Construct validity: tests

We would expect the following relationships if the item battery worked correctly:

- 1 Among younger age groups, higher percentage living with parents
- 2 Among those with children, nearly all should report living in a household with children

### Construct validity: results

1 There was a strong correlation between age of a respondent and indication of living together with parents. Correlations between age and household composition display similar values of correlation coefficients. This finding supports the claim that indicators of household composition perform similarly across countries. Only Italy did not fit well into the general pattern, correlation coefficient was notably smaller. This finding obviously illustrates late start of young peoples' independent life.

**Table 106: Correlation between age and living in the same household with parents**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
Q44_2 Household: with parents	-,6	-,6	-,6	-,6	-,5	-,2	-,4	-,5

2. A very clear relationship could be observed between having children and living in a household with children and between having children and living as a single parent. Correlation coefficient indicated strong positive relationship and was highly significant. Similarity of correlation coefficients can be interpreted as an indication of similar performance of the indicators across countries.

**Table 107: Correlation between having children and living in the household with partner and child(ren)**

	A	E	FI	FR	GER	IT	SK	UK
Q44_5 Household: with partner + child(ren)	,8	,8	,8	,7	,9	,7	,9	,7

Based on the tests 1 and 2, one can rather safely conclude that the item battery for measuring household composition did perform similarly across all eight countries.

## 8. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The objective of EUYOUPART was to develop a measurement instrument for political participation of young people (aged 15 to 25 years), which should be cross-nationally comparable at least for the countries involved in this project. This instrument – the questionnaire – has to enable comparisons of empirical constructs and indicators between countries. The main objective of the present report is the testing of cross-national comparability and the discussion of possible reasons in case of a lack of equivalence.

The comparability of important behavioural variables was tested by means of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis focusing on structural aspects of participation, activity and organisational involvement of young people. Attitudinal questions which constitute background variables according to the conceptual framework of EUYOUPART were tested by Exploratory Factor Analysis.

Table 108 (page 139) gives an overview on the results of testing comparability of behavioural questions. This is the most important part of the EUYOUPART questionnaire measuring different conventional and unconventional forms of political participation of young people in the eight participating countries.

The analysis of question blocks **Q13a and Q14** (forms of participation – **activities**) shows that the dimensions and questions are partly comparable. Few items – Q13a5 (public meetings), Q13a6 (signing a petition) and Q13a9 (distribution of leaflets) – are not comparable across all participating countries (see Table 108). Other items – Q13a11 (buying products), Q13a16 (strike) and Q13a18 (discussions on the internet) – are not comparable only across some countries. Details are described in chapter 6.1.1 (page 44ff).

Question blocks **Q15 and Q17** refer to different forms of **participation at school and at work place**. These questions are not comparable across countries because opportunity structures as well as the meaning of the used terms differ internationally. Therefore, the questions should be used for national analysis only.

Questions on different forms of **organisational involvement** (membership, participation in activities and voluntary work for organisations) were asked in question block **Q18**. All in all, 17 such forms were included in the EUYOUPART questionnaire. The analysis of structural aspects reveals that asking about some of these organisations seem to be cross-nationally comparable. Other questions are not equivalent across all participating countries, namely Q18\_1 (youth association/organisation), Q18\_3 (religious/church organisation), Q18\_10 (charity/social-welfare organisation), Q18\_11 (professional organisation, e.g. farmers/business/employers), Q18\_13 (consumer association). Asking for involvement in peace organisations (Q18\_8) seems to be problematic particularly in Finland, France and Slovakia.

Question blocks **Q21, Q22 and Q23** ask about **political activity of parents and political interest/orientation**. On the basis of Hierarchical Cluster Analysis these dimensions seem cross-nationally equivalent. These results are limited due to

possible method effects of the statistical method and procedure, therefore further research would be needed to analyse the equivalence of these questions.

**Table 108: Comparability of behavioural questions of EUYOUPART**

Question block & content	Which parts are equivalent, which are problematic?
Q13a & Q14: forms of participation – activities	partly equivalent; problematic: Q13a5, Q13a6, Q13a9 (Q13a11, Q13a16, Q13a18)
Q15: forms of participation at school	not equivalent
Q17: forms of participation at work place	not equivalent
Q18: organisational involvement	partly equivalent; problematic: Q18_1, Q18_3, Q18_10, Q18_11, Q18_13 (Q18_8)
Q21, Q22, Q23: political activity of parents and political interest	equivalent; partly method effect

Below, Table 109 sums up the comparability of attitudinal questions of EUYOUPART. This table contains questions of the core as well as of the optional part of the questionnaire. Note that question block Q49 (understanding of politics) was not asked in Germany; blocks Q50 (list of statements/attitudes) and Q51 (trust in institutions) were not administered in Germany and Finland. Therefore, no information on comparability can be given for this country (countries) and these questions.

**Table 109: Comparability of attitudinal questions of EUYOUPART (core and optional part of questionnaire)**

Question block & content	Which parts are equivalent, which are problematic?
Q1, Q2, Q5, Q20, Q27: political Interest	equivalent, but partly method effect; meaning of left-right?
Q24: political efficacy	mainly equivalent, but few items with low discriminatory power
Q26: identity	not equivalent; major problem: factor “social identity”
Q28: political values	equivalent, partly low factor loadings
Q30: future expectations	equivalent
Q31: problems	not equivalent (low factor loadings, low discriminatory power)
Q49: understanding of politics *	partly equivalent
Q50: list of statements/attitudes *	partly equivalent (2 factors)
Q51: trust in institutions **	equivalent

\* not administered in Germany

\*\* not administered in Germany and Finland

In general, the comparability of attitudinal questions seems better than that of behavioural questions. Table 109 reveals equivalent dimensions on the one hand and problematic areas on the other hand. Although equivalence seems relatively high, nevertheless there are problems with measurement characteristics of some questions. Few questions indicate low factor loadings on underlying factors and some questions have low discriminatory power.

To sum up, at least three groups of questions can be distinguished with regard to comparability. According to this distinction there are different implications on further analyses and the construction of the final measurement instrument:

- Highest cross-national comparability is given for attitudinal variables. Although measurement properties of these variables could be improved on the national level, main parts of these questions reveal a common structure across countries and are therefore a good basis for a measurement instrument.
- The most important part of the questionnaire is composed by behavioural variables. Some of these questions reveal a similar structure and seem therefore to be comparable.
- The rest of the behavioural questions shows different or partly different structures and is therefore not comparable at least for few countries.

As for the last case (if questions are not equivalent) these questions should **not be used for international analysis**. In the first instance, it is not appropriate to use level-oriented statistical method like frequencies, cross-tabulations, *t*-tests etc. One should use these questions for national analysis only or (if cross-national comparisons are undertaken) background information has to be made available and included in interpretation.

Caution (with regard to a number of questions of the EUYOUNG PART questionnaire) is necessary for at least two reasons. First, every country has its own history of democratization and second, each participating country has its own traditions and possibilities of political participation (opportunity structure).

The methods applied for testing equivalence indicated country-specific differences in the social, political and cultural context of different activities and organisations. E.g. signing a petition in the UK is an activity with a different meaning and impact than signing a "Unterschriftensammlung" in Germany.

In some cases, possible explanations for a lack of comparability could be found. This information should be used for (a) further work on the instrument and (b) as background information for interpretation. Anyhow, the current instrument includes a number of behavioural variables where no common structure can be found and in this stage of knowledge there is not enough information to make these questions comparable. Especially, with regard to this last type of variables it is important to continue research in order to make also this important part of the questions applicable for cross-national surveys.

Finally, some general conclusions and further recommendations should be mentioned in this context:

- For the final measurement instrument the complexity of coding different types of missing values (don't know, answer refused, not applicable, don't know/answer) should be reduced. The questionnaire should contain only one single mode of registering missing values to avoid mistakes of coding. It is not necessary and even not reasonable to use only one single category, but different combinations of different numbers of categories should be avoided.
- For the construction of the questionnaire and the translation of the behavioural questions of EUYOUNGPART it is even more important to take care of the country-specific situation. By using Hierarchical Cluster Analysis, some of the differences in the opportunity structure were indicated. Nevertheless it is important to put even more time and effort into a more sophisticated construction and translation strategy.
- As has been concluded on the basis of statistical testing of comparability, a number of questions of EUYOUNGPART are not equivalent and actually cannot be used for international analysis. Therefore it is important not only to indicate which variables lack comparability, but also to deliver information on opportunity structure and context together with data and questionnaire.
- In addition, the use of an event data base is desirable for a cross-national and even a national analysis of the data. E.g. for interpreting the results of the main survey it is important to know if there was an election/election campaign during or before the fieldwork of the survey which can influence the outcome.

## 9. LIMITATIONS OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

A number of methodological challenges had to be met in the EUYOUPART-project. Some of them were mainly concerning the survey and data – e.g. sampling strategy & response rates, modes of data collection, interviewing, coding, data cleaning etc.

Another challenge was to construct a measurement instrument for political participation of young people, which should be cross-nationally comparable at least for the countries involved in this project. The focus of work package 9 and the present report (Deliverable 16) was on the statistical testing of indicators after data collection analysing their structure. The equivalence of data with regard to sampling, modes of data collection, time of data collection etc. was not part of this work package and is not included in this report.

If testing survey questions after data collection one has to keep in mind a number of limitations. Some of these limitations for the statistical evaluation of measurement quality in the framework of EUYOUPART will be mentioned briefly:

- The tests were conducted only for different countries as well as for the pooled data file. The underlying assumption of homogeneity of countries was not tested before. It was not tested if e.g. opportunity structure of Eastern and Western Germany are comparable and if there are problems with functional equivalence within countries. The analysis only dealt with differences between countries.
- A number of tested variables have little variance which is not only a technical problem with regard to testing, but also in terms of content.
- Important types of equivalence can be tested only when methodical experiments are conducted. This was not the case for EUYOUPART. In the preliminary stage of the project the experiments which were conducted in the framework of the ESS (European Social Survey) were part of the decisions for designing and constructing the EUYOUPART questionnaire (see also work package 4, Deliverable 5).
- Finally, an additional evaluation of the measurement instrument by means of qualitative methods and cognitive procedures is preferable.

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## 11. MASTER QUESTIONNAIRE OF MAIN SURVEY

<b>Young People and Democracy in Europe (EUYOUPART)</b>
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[*target population: young people 15-25 years*]

Interviewer number:

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Contact/Address number

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**Note to all partners:**

All things that you need to change according to your country are marked in RED.

For many items, there is a "NOTE FOR THE TRANSLATOR": These notes serve as explanation what we want to measure with a specific item or word. Please make sure that you & the translator use these notes so that we get a good translation. In case of doubt, please send an email to SORA.

**Instructions for the interviewer:** As a rule, please do not read the options "don't know", "answer refused" and "not applicable". They are written in brackets () to make this clear. If there is an exception to this rule, it is stated explicitly and there are no ().

**INTRODUCTION:** We are currently conducting a study in eight countries about young people and democracy in Europe and would also like to get your opinion.

**QUESTION 1**

How interested are you in politics: Are you very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested?

Very interested..... 1  
 Fairly interested ..... 2  
 Not very interested..... 3  
 Not at all interested..... 4  
 (Don't know)..... 77  
 (Answer refused) ..... 88

**QUESTION 2**

People's interest sometimes varies across different areas of politics. Are you personally very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in ...(local politics)...?

And how about...	Very interested	Fairly interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested	(dk/ar)
1) Local politics	1	2	3	4	77
2) National politics	1	2	3	4	77
3) European politics	1	2	3	4	77
4) International politics	1	2	3	4	77

**QUESTION 3**

How often do you follow politics in the news on television, on the radio or in the newspapers? Every day, several times a week, once or twice a week, less often or never?

Everyday..... 1  
 Several times a week..... 2  
 Once or twice a week ..... 3  
 Less often ..... 4  
 Never ..... 5

**QUESTION 4**

If you want information about a political event\*\*, which of the following do you use mainly?  
Television, radio, newspaper or internet? (INT: Only one answer)

Television.....	1
Radio.....	2
Newspaper.....	3
Internet.....	4
(None of these).....	5
(dk/ar) .....	77

\*\*\*Note for the translator: We mean „political event“ as something that just happened or that is about to happen and that you want to learn more about. In German, we translate “event” as “Ereignis” (and not as “Veranstaltung”). The intention of the question is to measure which media youth primarily turns to if they are looking for current political information.

**QUESTION 5**

How interested is your...(father)...in politics? Is your...(father)...very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested in politics?

	Very interested	Fairly interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested	(dk)	(ar)	(not applicable)
1) father	1	2	3	4	77	88	66
2) mother	1	2	3	4	77	88	66
3) best friend	1	2	3	4	77	88	66

**QUESTION 6**

Is it very important for you, fairly important, not very important or not at all important, that your friends have the same political opinion as you?

Very important .....	1
Fairly important.....	2
Not very important .....	3
Not at all important.....	4

**QUESTION 7**

FILTER: Were you eligible to vote in the last general\*\*\* elections in (INSERT month, year)?

Yes, was eligible .....	1	
No, was not eligible.....	0	go to qu.10
(Don't know).....	77	go to qu.10
(Answer refused) .....	88	go to qu.10

\*\*\*Note for the Translator: general = the last parliamentary elections. Please use the term that is commonly used in your country for the parliamentary elections.

**QUESTION 8**

IF “YES” AT QU.7

FILTER: Did you vote in the last general\*\*\* elections in (INSERT month, year)?

Yes.....	1	
No .....	0	go to qu.10
(Don't know).....	77	go to qu.10
(Answer refused) .....	88	go to qu.10

\*\*\*Note for the Translator: general = the last parliamentary elections. Please use the term that is commonly used in your country for the parliamentary elections.

**QUESTION 9**

IF "YES" AT QU.8

**Which party did you vote for in the last general\*\*\* elections?**

(insert party list A – See Annex)

party 1 .....	1
party 2 .....	2
party 3 .....	3
etc .....	4
.....	5
Other party .....	44
<u>Cast an invalid vote .....</u>	<u>55</u>
(Don't know) .....	77
(Answer refused) .....	88

\*\*\*Note for the Translator: general = the last parliamentary elections. Please use the term that is commonly used in your country for the parliamentary elections.

**QUESTION 10****FILTER: Were you eligible to vote in the last European Parliament elections in June 2004?**

Yes .....	1
<u>No .....</u>	<u>0</u> go to qu.13
(Don't know) .....	77 go to qu.13
(Answer refused) .....	88 go to qu.13

**QUESTION 11**

IF "YES" AT QU.10

**FILTER: Did you vote in the last European Parliament elections in June 2004?**

Yes .....	1
<u>No .....</u>	<u>0</u> go to qu.13
(Don't know) .....	77 go to qu.13
(Answer refused) .....	88 go to qu.13

**QUESTION 12**

IF "YES" AT QU. 11:

**Which party did you vote for in the last European Parliament elections?**

(insert party list B – See Annex)

party 1 .....	1
party 2 .....	2
etc .....	3
.....	4
.....	5
Other Party .....	44
<u>Cast an invalid vote .....</u>	<u>55</u>
(Don't know) .....	77
(Answer refused) .....	88

**QUESTION 13**

A) **There are different ways of being politically active. Have you ever done any of the following activities?**

(INT: READ item – if answered “YES” ask immediately B, if “NO” ask next item)

B) (INT: IF YES:) **During the last 12 months, how often have you done this? Never, once, twice, 3-5 times or more than 5 times?**

A) Have you ever...?			B) ONLY IF YES: How often during the last 12 months...?					
	No	Yes	Never	Once	Twice	3-5x	5plus	(dk/ar)
1) voted in elections	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
2) cast an invalid vote	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
3) not voted out of protest	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
4) contacted a politician	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
5) attended a public meeting dealing with political or social issues	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
6) signed a petition	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
7) collected signatures	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
8) held a political speech	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
9) distributed leaflets with a political content	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
10) boycotted certain products for political, <b>ethical**</b> or environmental reasons	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
11) bought certain products for political, <b>ethical**</b> or environmental reasons	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
12) written political messages or graffiti on walls	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
13) worn a badge with a political message	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
14) participated in a legal demonstration	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
15) participated in an illegal demonstration	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
16) participated in a strike	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
17) donated money to support the work of a political group or organisation	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
18) contributed to a political discussion on the internet	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
19) written an article, e.g. in a students newspaper, organisation journal, or the internet	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
20) written or forwarded a letter/an email with a political content	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
21) participated in a political event where property was damaged	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
22) participated in a political event where there was a violent confrontation with the police	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77
23) participated in a political event where there was a violent confrontation with political	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77

opponents									
24) occupied houses, school/university buildings factories or government offices	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77	
25) blocked streets or railways	0	1	0	1	2	3	4	77	

\*\*\* Note for Translator: Item 10 and 11 - Please check if "ethical" is understandable for 15-25 year olds – it may need national adaption. E.g., in the UK-version "ethical" will be replaced by the word 'moral' in questions 10) and 11). This is a specific UK translation decision. "Moral" denotes the meaning of the word 'ethical', but is more understandable to young people in the UK.

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#### QUESTION 14

And have you ever done any of the following for a political party?

	Yes	No
1) supported an election campaign	1	0
2) tried to convince others to vote for a candidate or a party	1	0

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#### QUESTION 15

And have you ever done any of the following at school?

	Yes	No
1) been a member of a <b>student council**</b>	1	0
2) had a function as a speaker for the class	1	0
3) attended a students' meeting	1	0
4) taken an active role in such a meeting	1	0
5) participated in a protest movement at school	1	0
6) Organised a political event at school	1	0

\*\*\* Note for Translator: „Students' Council“ in English equates with the concept of a „Student Government“ in other countries (e.g. Austria). We want to know if the target person was/is involved in any formal body that is elected by students to represent their interests in school. Please choose the appropriate word for your country. As there are no "student councils" in Finland, please use the Finnish equivalent.

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#### QUESTION 16

**FILTER: Do you have work experience in a steady, paid job\*\*\*?**

Yes..... 1  
 No ..... 0 go to qu.18

\*\*\*Note for Translator: We need to filter out those people who are currently working in a paid job or who have already work experience in a steady = regular job (workers, employees). People who did only internships or temporary jobs during vacations (students) should be excluded by the translation you select. The main thing is that it is a steady, continuous job that is paid (only in this context does the next question make sense).

**QUESTION 17**

IF "YES" at qu.16: **And have you ever done any of the following at your work place?**

	Yes	No	(na)
1) participated in elections for a workers' council**	1	0	66
2) been a member of a workers' council	1	0	66
3) attended staff meetings***	1	0	66
4) taken an active role in such a meeting	1	0	66
5) organised a group of workers to influence a decision of the management	1	0	66

\*\* Note for Finish and Estonian coordinator please insert your national equivalent for workers' council.

\*\*\*Note for translator: We want to know if the target person did participate in meetings that the people working in a company (regardless whether they are employees or workers) organised, because they want to change their working conditions or because they are dissatisfied with something. For the UK, the most understandable term is "union meetings", but these meetings are not necessarily organised with a union. For Austria, a good translation for "staff meeting" would be "Mitarbeiterversammlung". Please distinguish from regular work meetings that are held as part of your tasks or workload!

**QUESTION 18**

I will read you a list of organisations. Please tell me for each organisation if you are a member. Also, please tell me if - during the last 12 months - you participated in an activity arranged by this organisation or if you have done voluntary work for this organisation.

(INT: Multiple responses possible. Ask line by line.)

	Code all that applies for each organisation			
	Member	Participated in activity	Done voluntary work	(None applies)
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
1) Youth association or youth organisation	1	1	1	1
2) Youth organisation of a political party	1	1	1	1
3) Religious or church organisation, including religious youth organisation	1	1	1	1
4) Trade Union, including youth organisation of a trade union	1	1	1	1
5) Political Party	1	1	1	1
6) Environmental organisation	1	1	1	1
7) Animal rights or animal protection group	1	1	1	1
8) Peace organisation	1	1	1	1
9) Human rights or Humanitarian Aid organisation	1	1	1	1
10) Charity or social-welfare organisation	1	1	1	1
11) Professional organisation, e.g. farmers' organisation, business or employers' organisation	1	1	1	1
12) Consumer association	1	1	1	1
13) Cultural, music, dance or theatre group	1	1	1	1
14) Immigrants' organisation	1	1	1	1

	Code all that applies for each organisation			
	Member	Participated in activity	Done voluntary work	(None applies)
	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
15) Women's organisation	1	1	1	1
16) Anti-globalisation organisation	1	1	1	1
17) Sports club	1	1	1	1

**QUESTION 19**

**When you hold a strong opinion on a political issue, do you always, often, sometimes, rarely or never try to persuade your friends, relatives or fellow workers to share your views?**

(INT: Do not read category 6 ("Does not hold a strong opinion"). Mark only if spontaneous answer.)

Always .....	1
Often .....	2
Sometimes .....	3
Rarely .....	4
Never .....	5
(Does not hold a strong opinion) .....	6

**QUESTION 20**

**In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Would you say that ... (you personally)... are very left-wing, left-wing, right-wing, very right-wing, or neither left-wing nor right-wing?**

And what about your...?	Very left-wing	Left-wing	Neither left-nor right-wing	Right-wing	Very right-wing	(dk)	(ar)	(na)
1) You personally	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	66
2) Father	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	66
3) Mother	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	66
4) best friend	1	2	3	4	5	77	88	66

**QUESTION 21**

**Does your ... (father) ... always, often, sometimes, rarely or never take part in demonstrations?**

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	(dk/ar)	(na)
1) Father	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
2) Mother	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
3) Your best friend	1	2	3	4	5	77	66

**QUESTION 22**

**How often do you discuss political issues when you get together with the following people: Always, often, sometimes, rarely or never?**

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	(dk/ar)	(na)
1) Your father	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
2) Your mother	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
3) Your sister or brother	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
4) Your friends	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
5) Your teachers	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
6) Your partner	1	2	3	4	5	77	66

7) Your co-worker, colleagues, fellow students	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
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**QUESTION 23**

Does your ... (father) .... always, often, sometimes, rarely or never vote in elections?

	Always	Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never	(dk/ar)	(na)
1) Father	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
2) Mother	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
3) Your best friend	1	2	3	4	5	77	66

**QUESTION 24**

There are many opinions on how one can effectively influence decisions in society. I will read you some of the ways that are used. Please tell me on a scale from 0 to 10 how effective you think it is: 0 means "not at all effective" and 10 means "very effective".

How effective is it to....	Not at all effective	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Very effective	(dk/ar)
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
1) work in a political party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
2) work in voluntary organisations and associations	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
3) vote in elections	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
4) personally contact politicians	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
5) work to get attention from the media	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
6) boycott certain products	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
7) participate in public demonstrations	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
8) sign petitions	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
9) participate in illegal protest activities	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77
10) participate in violent protest activities	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77

**QUESTION 25**

How often does politics seem so complicated that you can't really understand what is going on? Always, often, sometimes, rarely or never?

Always .....	1
Often .....	2
Sometimes.....	3
Rarely .....	4
Never .....	5
(dk/ar) .....	77

**QUESTION 26**

To what extent, on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means “not at all strong” and 5 means “very strong”, do you feel yourself to be....?

	Not at all	2	3	4	Very strong	(dk/ar)	(na)
1) a world citizen	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
2) a European	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
3) (country's nationality)	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
4) A (INT: please ask the name of region/ county)	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
5) From your town or community (INT: insert the name of town or community e.g. a Londoner)	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
6) Part of your school or university	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
7) Part of the company you work for	1	2	3	4	5	77	66
8) Part of your family	1	2	3	4	5	77	66

Item 4: For the UK; this would be “English, Scottish or Welsh”. For Austria, the interviewer needs to ask the name of the region, e.g. a “Salzburger”. The national coordinator needs to clarify this with the field institute!

**QUESTION 27**

In politics people sometimes talk of “left” and “right”. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means left and 10 means right?

	Left 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Right 10	(dk)	(ar)
Interviewee	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	77	88

**QUESTION 28**

To what extent do you agree with the following statements about being politically active? Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(dk/ar)
1) It is important to play one's part to make a better world.	1	2	3	4	5	77
2) It is interesting to be politically active because you meet influential people.	1	2	3	4	5	77
3) It is pointless trying to change things.	1	2	3	4	5	77
4) Even if I cannot change things, it is still important to try.	1	2	3	4	5	77
5) I am too busy with my own life to be politically active.	1	2	3	4	5	77
6) It is interesting to be politically active because it is good for your career.	1	2	3	4	5	77
7) I am too exhausted to engage in politics in my free time.	1	2	3	4	5	77
8) If you are bothered by something, you need to try to change it.	1	2	3	4	5	77

9) It is interesting to be politically active because you learn a lot of useful things.	1	2	3	4	5	77
10) I don't have enough time to be politically active	1	2	3	4	5	77

**QUESTION 29**

How close or distant do you feel to each of the following political parties? Do you feel very close, close, neither close nor distant, distant or very distant to....(party1)...

(NATIONAL COORDINATORS: insert all the parties from party lists A and B)

And how about...	Very close	Close	Neither close nor distant	Distant	Very distant	(dk)	(ar)
1) Party 1	1	2	3	4	5	77	88
2) Party 2	1	2	3	4	5	77	88
3) Party 3	1	2	3	4	5	77	88
4) Party 4	1	2	3	4	5	77	88
5) Party 5	1	2	3	4	5	77	88
6) Etc.							

**QUESTION 30**

What do you think about your future? Do you think that in ten years your ... (income) .... will be much better, better, the same, worse or much worse than the current ... (income) ... of your parents?

	Much better	Better	Same	Worse	Much worse	(dk/ar)
1) Income	1	2	3	4	5	77
2) job situation	1	2	3	4	5	77
3) Social security	1	2	3	4	5	77
4) Quality of life	1	2	3	4	5	77
5) Education and training**	1	2	3	4	5	77

\*\* Note for Translators: We mean the "formal" type of education (School, university) but also continuing education (courses, workshops etc.) that may not result in a formal degree.

**QUESTION 31**

How important are the following problems in (country): very important, fairly important, not very important or not at all important?

	Very important	Fairly important	Not very important	Not at all important	(dk)
1) Pollution of the environment	1	2	3	4	77
2) Poverty	1	2	3	4	77
3) Number of immigrants	1	2	3	4	77
4) Racism/Xenophobia	1	2	3	4	77
5) Reduction of Welfare State	1	2	3	4	77
6) Unemployment	1	2	3	4	77
7) Drugs	1	2	3	4	77
8) Crimes and Violence	1	2	3	4	77
9) Terrorism	1	2	3	4	77

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**QUESTION 32**

Thinking about the (country's) government, how satisfied are you with the way it is doing its job? Are you very satisfied, satisfied, neither satisfied nor dissatisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied?

Very satisfied .....	1
Satisfied .....	2
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied .....	3
Dissatisfied .....	4
Very dissatisfied.....	5
(dk/ar) .....	77

### SOCIODEMOGRAPHICS

**QUESTION 33**

INTERVIEWER: respondent is...

Male ..... 1

Female ..... 2

**QUESTION 34**
**In which month and year were you born?**

MONTH:

 A)  

YEAR:

 B)  1  9  
**QUESTION 35**
**What is your nationality?\*\*\***

 (INT: Don't read - please code. **Two answers are possible**)

\*\*\* Note for the Translator: the question used here should be the one traditionally asked in forms regarding people's 'citizenship' e.g. 'In which country do you hold your citizenship?'. You do not need to translate exactly "nationality" if no one will understand this in your country.

**NATIONAL COORDINATORS: We decided to use ONE LIST FOR ALL COUNTRIES! Don't use country specific variations! DON'T CHANGE THE ORDER OF COUNTRIES! (It does not need to be an alphabetic order in your country!)**

	Yes	No
1) Albania	1	0
2) Algeria	1	0
3) Austria	1	0
4) Bangladesh	1	0
5) Czech Republic	1	0
6) Estonia	1	0
7) Ex-Yugoslavia	1	0
8) Finland	1	0
9) France	1	0
10) Germany	1	0
11) Great Britain	1	0
12) Greece	1	0
13) Hungary	1	0
14) India	1	0
15) Ireland	1	0
16) Italy	1	0
17) Morocco	1	0
18) Pakistan	1	0
19) Philippines	1	0
20) Poland	1	0
21) Rumania	1	0
22) Russia	1	0
23) Slovakia	1	0
24) Tunisia	1	0
25) Turkey	1	0
26) Ukraine	1	0
27) No citizenship	1	0
28) Other	1	0

**QUESTION 36****In which country were you born?**

(INT: Don't read - please code)

**NATIONAL COORDINATORS: We decided to use ONE LIST FOR ALL COUNTRIES! (like in the previous question) DON'T CHANGE THE ORDER OF COUNTRIES! (It does not need to be an alphabetic order in your country!)**

Albania .....	1
Algeria .....	2
Austria .....	3
Bangladesh .....	4
Czech Republic .....	5
Estonia .....	6
Ex-Yugoslavia .....	7
Finland .....	8
France .....	9
Germany .....	10
Great Britain .....	11
Greece .....	12
Hungary .....	13
India .....	14
Ireland .....	15
Italy .....	16
Morocco .....	17
Pakistan .....	18
Philippines .....	19
Poland .....	20
Rumania .....	21
Russia .....	22
Slovakia .....	23
Tunisia .....	24
Turkey .....	25
<u>Ukraine .....</u>	<u>26</u>
Other .....	27

**QUESTION 37****Do you have children?**

Yes .....	1
No .....	0

**QUESTION 38****Which of these descriptions best describes your situation? Are you currently....)**

(INT: Read all except for (other); ONLY ONE ANSWER)

in paid work .....	1
(employed, self-employed, working for your family business)	
in education .....	2
unemployed and in a training program for	
unemployed people .....	3
unemployed .....	4
permanently sick or disabled .....	5
in community or military service .....	6
doing housework, looking after	
<u>children or other persons .....</u>	<u>7</u>
(other) .....	8

**QUESTION 39****How many hours per week are you in average in paid work?**

(INT: If not at all in paid work, please fill in 00)

Number of hours/ week

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**QUESTION 40****At what age did you finish school?**

INT: Insert age

A) 

--	--

 years

B) I am still at school ..... 1

**QUESTION 41****What is the highest level of education you achieved so far?**

(INT: This question is asked to all people) (INT: Don't read - please code)

National coordinators: INSERT NATIONAL CASMIN SCALE

Please add to your Casmin scale the categories "don't know" (Code 77) and "answer refused" (Code 88)

**QUESTION 42****What is the highest level of education your mother achieved?**

(INT: Don't read - please code)

National coordinators: INSERT NATIONAL CASMIN SCALE

Please add to your Casmin scale the categories "don't know" (Code 77) and "answer refused" (Code 88)

**QUESTION 43****What is the highest level of education your father achieved?**

(INT: Don't read - please code)

National coordinators: INSERT NATIONAL CASMIN SCALE

Please add to your Casmin scale the categories "don't know" (Code 77) and "answer refused" (Code 88)

**QUESTION 44****What is your current living situation? Do you live...**

(INT: Please read all answers- multiple answers possible)

	Yes	(ar)
1) on your own	1	88
2) together with parents (or with one of them)	1	88
3) Together with friends	1	88
4) Together with your partner	1	88
5) Together with your partner with a child or children	1	88
6) As a single parent with a child or children	1	88
7) in a student's home or boarding school	1	88
8) Other	1	88

**QUESTION 45****All things considered, how would you judge your present standard of living? Is it very low, low, average, high or very high?**

Very low ..... 1

Low ..... 2

Average ..... 3

High ..... 4

Very High ..... 5

(dk/ar) ..... 77

**QUESTION 46****To which religion or denomination do you belong to?**

(INT: do not read answers – please code)

(Roman) Catholic.....	1
Greek or Russian Orthodox.....	2
Protestant.....	3
Church of England/Anglican.....	4
Other Christian.....	5
Jewish.....	6
Islam/Muslim.....	7
<u>Other.....</u>	<u>8</u>
Does not belong to any religious domination.....	9
(dk/ar).....	77

**QUESTION 47****Regardless whether you belong to a religious community or not: Are you very religious, somewhat religious, a little religious or not at all religious?**

Very religious.....	1
Somewhat religious.....	2
A little religious.....	3
<u>Not at all religious.....</u>	<u>4</u>
(dk/ar).....	77

**QUESTION 48****Which of the following best describes the area where you live?**

(INT: Please read all options except for dk/ar)

A big city.....	1
The suburbs or outskirts of a big city.....	2
A town or a small city.....	3
A village.....	4
<u>A farm or home in the country.....</u>	<u>5</u>
(dk/ar).....	77

**(Thank you very much for the interview!)**

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**END OF CORE QUESTIONNAIRE**

**OPTIONAL PART**

The following four questions should be asked after finishing the core questionnaire. The questions are ranked by priority: Q49 is the most important one, Q50 the second important one, and so on. Please do not change the order of questions. You have to ask the complete questions – don't change or omit items.

**QUESTION 49**

To what extent do you agree with the following statements concerning politics? Do you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree?

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(dk/ar)
1) Politics refers to voting in elections.	1	2	3	4	5	77
2) Politics does not deal with things that are important to people like me.***	1	2	3	4	5	77
3) Politics is a necessary way to take care of social issues.	1	2	3	4	5	77
4) Politics is a game played by old men.	1	2	3	4	5	77
5) Politics refers to activities of parties.	1	2	3	4	5	77
6) Politics is a necessary way to solve conflicts in society.	1	2	3	4	5	77
7) Politics means empty promises.	1	2	3	4	5	77
8) Politics is a way to create a better world.	1	2	3	4	5	77
9) Politics refers to discussions in parliament.	1	2	3	4	5	77
10) Politics is a necessary way to solve international problems.	1	2	3	4	5	77
11) Politics is just corrupt.	1	2	3	4	5	77

\*\*\* Note for Translators: Item 2) is trying to convey the meaning that political process does not 'care about' important issues for one self.

**QUESTION 50**

I will read you a list of statements. Please tell me for each statement if you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree or strongly disagree.

	Agree strongly	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Disagree strongly	(dk/ar)
1) Severe Crimes should be punished with the death penalty.	1	2	3	4	5	77
2) We need more severe punishment for crimes.	1	2	3	4	5	77
3) Children should be taught to be obedient and disciplined.	1	2	3	4	5	77

4) One strong leader can resolve our country's problems better than the parties and the parliament.	1	2	3	4	5	77
5) (country) should accept more refugees.	1	2	3	4	5	77
6) There are too many immigrants.	1	2	3	4	5	77
7) As a member of the EU, (country) is in danger of losing its culture and traditions.	1	2	3	4	5	77
8) Women have no reason to demand more rights.	1	2	3	4	5	77
9) There should be more women in politics.	1	2	3	4	5	77
10) The law is applied differently to the rich than the poor.	1	2	3	4	5	77
11) Owners of big companies get rich at the cost of their workers.	1	2	3	4	5	77
12) The state should privatise all public companies.	1	2	3	4	5	77
13) The free market provides the best solutions for all problems in society.	1	2	3	4	5	77
14) The welfare state makes people less willing to take care of themselves.	1	2	3	4	5	77
15) If somebody does not find a job it is their own fault.	1	2	3	4	5	77
16) I don't need the support of the state*** to create a good life for myself.	1	2	3	4	5	77
17) Big international companies have too much influence on politics.	1	2	3	4	5	77
18) People who are fighting in anti-globalisation movements are right.	1	2	3	4	5	77

**\*\*\* Translator's note: With item 16) we want to measure if young people feel that they can achieve everything on their own; if they think all "support" (this includes all services offered by a state in general; not only welfare benefits but also education opportunities etc) by the state is superfluous. You may need to use the word "government instead of "state – e.g. in the UK, 'government' will be used instead of 'state', because although it is technically wrong, this is the phrasing used most commonly in the UK.**

#### QUESTION 51

I will now read out names of different bodies such as the government and the European Commission. Please tell me on a scale from 1 to 5 how much you trust each of them. 1 means "not at all" and 5 means "very much".

How much do you trust...	Not at all	2	3	4	Very much	(dk/ar)
1) the government	1	2	3	4	5	77
2) political parties	1	2	3	4	5	77
3) (country's parliament)	1	2	3	4	5	77
4) politicians	1	2	3	4	5	77
5) the European Commission	1	2	3	4	5	77
6) the European Parliament	1	2	3	4	5	77
7) Greenpeace	1	2	3	4	5	77
8) Amnesty International	1	2	3	4	5	77
9) Attac	1	2	3	4	5	77

\*\*\* Note for translator: Item 3) should use the specific name of the national parliament if applicable. E.g. for Austria, this will be "Nationalrat".

## QUESTION 52

Now I will read out a few statements about politics. For each statement, please tell me if you think it is true or false.

		True	False	(dk/ar)
1)	Serbia is a member of the European Union.	1	2	77
2)	There are 25 member states of the European Union.	1	2	77
3)	The European flag is blue with white stars.	1	2	77
4)	Josè Barroso follows Romano Prodi as the head of the European Commission.	1	2	77
5)	(name of Prime Minister or chancellor) is the (country) Prime Minister (or chancellor).	1	2	77
6)	The (name of the principal rightist or conservative party of your country) is a leftist political party.	1	2	77
7)	In (country), national elections must be held every (correct number of) years.	1	2	77
8)	The (Prime Minister or chancellor) has the right to dissolve parliament.	1	2	77

NATIONAL COORDINATORS: You need to insert the correct information for your country in the following items: 5), 6), 7), 8).

**THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR THE INTERVIEW!**

<b>FOR THE INTERVIEWER DATABASE</b>
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**Note for interviewer: The following three questions please answer ONLY ONCE!**

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**QUESTION 53**

**Are you....**

Male ..... 1  
 Female..... 2

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**QUESTION 54**

**How old are you?**

Insert your age:  
  years

---

**QUESTION 55**

**How interested are you yourself in politics: Very interested, fairly interested, not very interested or not at all interested?**

Very interested..... 1  
 Fairly interested ..... 2  
 Not very interested..... 3  
 Not at all interested..... 4  
 (Don't know)..... 77

**THANKS FOR YOUR COOPERATION!**

**ANNEX for consortium partners**

Party lists: There are 2 national-specific party lists: party list A and B.

- **Party list A** comprises all 'significant' parties in the **last national election** (it is completely up to national partners to judge which parties are significant, but we do not – as a guide – want to include very small parties (i.e. those with less than 1.5% of the vote).
- **Party list B** comprises all parties that a sizeable number of people voted for in the **European Parliament election 2004** (it is completely up to national partners to judge which parties are significant, but we do not – as a guide – want to include very small parties (i.e. those with less than 1.5% of the vote).

**NOTE:** You can include also very small parties BUT there needs to be a good reason why you want to do this.