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FACULTY OF HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE NATURE OF YOUTH ACTIVISM

Exploring Young People Who Are Politically Active In Different Institutional Settings.

By

EMILY RAINSFORD

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis sets out to understand the nature of youth political activism by asking and answering two questions. The first research question explores the similarities and differences between those who engage in different kinds of political activities and those who do not engage at all. The second research question explores the similarities and differences between activists in different institutional contexts. The cases selected to explore this question were the youth factions of the three main political parties in the UK, the British Youth Council and the NUS student demonstrations in London, 2010.

To answer these two research questions two different datasets were used. The first dataset for the first research question was the data collected by the Youth Citizenship Commission and the analysis conducted was exploratory, using cross tabulations and chi-square tests. The second dataset was collected specifically for this thesis using the contextualised survey method developed by Klandermans et al. (2009) and the analysis methods used were cross-tabulations and chi-square but also multinomial regression analysis.

The results show two main findings. Firstly, they illustrate that there are differences between those who engage in different political acts, as well as differences between the active and non-active. This finding supports the argument put forward in this thesis regarding the re-conceptualisation of political participation to take the repertoire of participation in to account as well as the domain. Secondly, the analysis of the data collected for this thesis show that although there are many similarities between activists in different institutional contexts, there are also some differences especially in their attitudes to the political system.

This thesis makes three contributions to our understanding of political activism. First is a conceptual contribution by reconceptualising political activism around the repertoire to avoid conceptual stretching. Secondly, by applying the contextualised survey methodology on new cases this thesis contributes to a methodologically better way of researching political activism. Thirdly, by collecting original data the research also makes an empirical contribution. Combined these three contributions lead to a better more nuanced understanding of youth political activism.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Emily Rainsford

declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

The Nature Of Youth Activism: Exploring Young People Who Are Politically Active In Different Institutional Settings

I confirm that:

- This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- [Delete as appropriate] None of this work has been published before submission [or] Parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

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Acknowledgements

Some of my strongest memories from growing up are sitting with my dad at our kitchen table talking about politics. He inspired me to join my local youth council and that involvement has shaped my academic endeavours ever since. By being involved in the political process I developed a curiosity for understanding the political process and especially young people's role and place in politics. My mum suggested that I should treasure this curiosity and encouraged me to apply to study politics at University. Once at University my weekly dinners with my aunt Tinka and lively debates on the value of social science with my uncle Chris helped me reflect on the academic process and sharpen my arguments. I most likely would not be where I am today without the inspiration, support, guidance and unquestionable belief in my abilities that my family have given me throughout my academic ups and downs and for that I am eternally grateful.

During my studies the supervision by Professor Colin Hay and Professor Gerry Stoker has given invaluable support in pursuing and channelling my curiosity for understanding young people's role in politics in to a robust academic endeavour. It was the encouragement and enthusiasm that Colin Hay showed for my initial research in my undergraduate dissertation that led me to apply to do a PhD. And the guidance, reassurance and patience from Gerry Stoker has enabled me to complete it. The inspiration, support and opportunities that Professor Clare Saunders gave me during her time as supervisor have also been instrumental in the shaping of the research project. Professor David Owen guided the theoretical discussions on youth citizenship and was a good continuous critical voice. This 'brain trust' of supervisors has been vital for the development and completion of my PhD and I am forever thankful for the guidance, support, opportunities and encouragement they have given.

A vital, and challenging, part of this research project is the data that I collected. This was possible through the funds available in my ESRC scholarship and complemented by funds from C2G2. I am also grateful to the organisations; Conservative Future, Young Labour/Labour Students, Liberal Youth and the British Youth Council and my contacts in these organisations for the access to events and great hospitality that we have been met with at these events. Last but absolutely not least, the data could not have been collected without the help of my friends who have given up their time to come with me to collect data all over England. Without these people the thesis would not have been the same and I am forever grateful for the help they have given me.

For many people the PhD process is a lonely journey. In contrast, I have been privileged to have a great group of friends who have helped me with everything from moral support and distractions through data collection and analysis to proofreading. To mention everyone would be a long list but I am sure they know who they are and know that I will be eternally grateful. I hope that I can one day return the favour.

Abbreviations

BYC- British Youth Council

BYC ACM- British Youth Council Annual Council Meeting

Caught in The Act- Caught in the Act: Contextualising Contestation

POS- Political Opportunity structure

UKYP- United Kingdom Youth Parliament

YCC- Youth Citizenship Commission

Introduction

Much of recent debate on citizens' political participation is concerned with their disengagement from and disillusionment with politics. These trends are seen in declining turnout in elections (Hay, 2007, p. 21), falling membership of political parties (Van Biezen et al., 2012) and lack of trust in politicians and the political system (Hay, 2007, p. 28). At the same time, there is a trend of people being more involved in single issue groups, volunteering and being members of NGOs (Norris, 1999). One argument that comes to the fore in this debate is that people have a different way of doing politics. So the reason we see a decline in political participation is not because people are less politically engaged but they are engaged in different ways. As a result the citizenry *seems* disengaged from politics, when in fact they do still participate in new, non-institutionalised, forms (Li and Marsh, 2008, Dalton, 2008b).

The trends of disengagement with formal politics and engagement in alternative politics have been particularly prominent among young people. Therefore, much research has focused on understanding what young people think politics and citizenship is, and the conclusion of this research is that young people have a different understanding of politics from adults. As a result, these scholars are arguing for a definition of political participation that includes young people's perception of politics (Marsh et al., 2007, Lister et al., 2003, Sloam, 2013). However, it seems as if the literature exploring both the disengagement in formal politics and the engagement in alternative politics aims to answer the question *why people do not participate in formal politics*. As a consequence, we know very little about what "motivates actors to engage politically and what animates and drives the political behaviour" (Hay, 2007, p. 163). Combined, these developments in the political participation literature have led to two related issues. Firstly, the expansion of the concept of political participation has led to it being stretched to lose its empirical and theoretical usage. Secondly, the focus on disengagement treats political participation as a dichotomous variable. As a result, our knowledge is not only limited with regards to why people participate but also why they participate in different ways. This thesis aims to address both these issues by firstly reconceptualising political participation using the notion of political repertoires that takes the nature of the act in to consideration. This new conceptualisation of political

participation allows for inclusion of new political acts without stretching the concept. Secondly, this thesis address the second gap by exploring the characteristics, attitudes and motivations of those are politically active in different institutional settings.

The main problem with the expansion of the notion of political participation is that it has led to theories of political participation becoming *theories of everything* (van Deth, 2001). Although the arguments for the expansion of the concept of political participation are well founded and well argued, this thesis will illustrate and argue that the expansion of the concept of political participation has been stretched too far. As a consequence of the conceptual stretching the concept of political participation, in its current form, has lost its theoretical meaning and empirical usage. According to these expanded theories political participation is not only voting or signing petition but it is also every day experiences and life style choices (Dalton, 2008b, Li and Marsh, 2008). Even if all these activities are considered *political*, it is questionable whether they should be considered *political participation.* We do not even have to look at 'alternative' forms of political participation to see illustrative examples of this. For example, being member of a political organisation where the membership means nothing more than paying the membership fee may be an example of political engagement but it would be a stretch to say that this is *participation*.

This thesis expands on this point and argues that instead of basing comparisons of political activities only on whether they are occurring in the institutionalised or non-institutionalised political domains, it makes sense to also compare the political repertoires in which people engage. Political repertoires are the political activities that people engage in or what they do. A political repertoire could be signing a petition, being a member or a political organisation, or attending a political meeting. The domain is the place (not necessarily geographical) where the repertoire takes place or is targeted to. This could be attending a meeting of a political party versus a meeting of a voluntary organisation. By understanding political participation in terms of both the repertoire and domain we can find similarities in political repertoires across domains. Taking the example of political membership again, being a passive member of a political party has more in common with being a passive member of Greenpeace than it has with voting. This example clearly illustrates

that there might be more similarities between political repertoires across domains than within them. By understanding political participation both in terms of the repertoire and domain we can ask not only why people participate but also, how much and in what ways they participate. If we are interested in the dynamics of *political participation* rather than just understanding why people are not engaging in formal politics, it seems as if also understanding why people engage in certain repertoires is an important addition to our knowledge of political participation.

The literature on political parties and social movements has already recognised the importance of understanding different repertoires. Political party literature has classified membership in political parties as polymorphic (Heidar, 1994), because not only can membership take different forms (active versus passive) but it can also take place at different levels of intensity. For example, one member might be on the executive committee of the party whilst another only goes to the local meetings. Both members are active but they invest different amounts of time in their active membership. The political party and social movement literature has distinguished between political repertoires based on the cost (in terms of time and money) and risk it poses to the participant. Drawing from the insights from this literature this thesis will develop a new definition and conceptualisation of *political activity*. Here political activity is defined as *activities with the purpose of achieving a certain political goal or influencing a political decision*. Many political repertoires are included in this concept, such as signing petitions, voting, boycotting and active membership in political organisations. What is particular with this definition of political *activity,* is that it only includes repertoires that require some action. As such repertoires such as passive membership in a political organisation or reading political news are excluded from the definition. To distinguish between the repertoires included in the concept of political activity this thesis develops a scale of political activity. The scale is based on an assessment of the cost of the political repertoire, where cost is understood as a combination of the time and money invested to engage in the political activity. This classification of political activity gives rise to new kinds of questions; what are the similarities and differences between those who engage in political repertoires at different costs? What are the similarities and differences between people engaging in the same repertoire but in different domains?

As such, this thesis aims to also address the gap in our knowledge of what makes people participate politically. It does so by not only asking what motivates young people to be politically active but also, more importantly, asking what makes them engage in different institutional settings. The importance of this focus becomes clear when, in Chapter One, we explore the literature on what makes people participate politically. This literature is well equipped to explain what makes people participate in politics in general but not what makes people participate in specific ways. What also becomes clear is that this literature treats political participation as a dichotomous variable, where they aim to explain what makes people participate or not. If we recognise that non-participation may not be so widespread or straight forward as it first seems, but rather that there has been a shift in participation, it may also be interesting to also ask why people engage in different institutional settings. This discussion leads us to the research questions to be explored in this thesis;

Research Question One: Are the activists different from people engaging in other political repertoires and those not engaging at all?

Research Question Two: What are the similarities and differences between young people who are politically active in different institutional settings? Do they have different amounts or kinds of resources? Do they differ in their attitudes and motivations? Do they have a similar sense of efficacy?

By asking these questions the thesis aims to address the two gaps in the current literature on political participation. Firstly, one set of literature focuses on what inhibits people from participating politically. Secondly, the other set of literature explores what makes people participate in general. In contrast, this thesis aims to understand what it is that makes young people engage in different institutional settings. By taking this perspective to the study of political participation this thesis aims to contribute a better and more nuanced understanding of the nature of youth activism.

Why Do Young People Matter?

Much of the literature concerning young people's political (dis)engagement is motivated by the potentially dangerous consequences it can have on the legitimacy of democracy in the future. One of the strongest findings in political

participation literature is that participation has a strong positive reinforcing effect, especially when the participation happens in the formative years of youth. As such, if someone participates once they are more likely to participate again and if this participation takes place when young it is likely to hold until they get older (McFarland and Thomas, 2006, Verba et al., 1995). This insight has led to a large number of studies in the literature on young people's participation exploring the dynamics of this socialisation effect in general (Verba et al., 1995, Alberti Gambone et al., 2006, Quintelier, 2008, McFarland and Thomas, 2006) and in political parties in particular (Hanks and Eckland, 1978, Ross and Dooly, 2010).

The logic of socialisation is that after perhaps initially being encouraged to engage in political activities, by virtue of being involved the person develops the skills for further political participation. Therefore, another set of scholars have focused on the impact of teaching of civic skills when young on political participation when adult and under which conditions this best occur (Crick, 1998, Pasek et al., 2007, Westheimer and Kahne, 2004). The importance and influence of this socialisation effect can be seen in the spread and perceived importance of civic education. Across Europe, civic education is now part of the national curriculum of all EU countries and it is concerned with the values and virtues of citizenship (Birzea et al., 2004, Hoskins and Kerr, 2012). In England, citizenship education was introduced as part of the national curriculum in 2002 and despite some doubts of the success of the policy in producing active citizens (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004, Keating et al., 2009, Kisby and Sloam, 2009), the current coalition government has decided to keep it as a statutory entitlement- albeit in a modified form.

However, the socialisation perspective fails to recognise young people as agents in their own development as citizens. As a consequence, young people's current participation is seen to matter only because it will lead to something else in the future. Or in other words, young people's participation is seen merely as a means to adult participation (Ekman and Amnå, 2012). This approach to young people's political participation treats them as citizens to come rather than citizens with political rights and agency, which seems like an undemocratic and discriminatory way of justifying the focus on young people's political participation. Furthermore, the focus on the future participation of young people has resulted in a gap in our knowledge with regards to why

young people participate politically and what impact they might have. This thesis therefore aims to take a different perspective to why young people matter.

Another reason for focusing on young people is that they have a different understanding of politics. This finding comes from a vast literature across various disciplines, including geography, sociology and of course political science (Forbig, 2005). This research covers issues such as what young people think politics is and how they understand themselves as citizens (Lesko, 2001, Weller, 2007, Marsh et al., 2007, Lister, 2001, Lister et al., 2003), the relationship between the transition into adulthood and young people's identities as citizens (Hall et al., 1999, 1998), or how they practice and express citizenship (Marsh et al., 2007). This exploration has revealed that in citizenship literature the adult status of the citizen is often assumed and not widely discussed (Coles, 2002). This conflation of adulthood and citizenship may be because many of the characteristics of both concepts, such as independence, autonomy and reason, overlap (Hall et al., 1998). However, as a consequence there is an adult bias in the concept of citizenship and children and young people who, in contrast, are seen as independent, innocent and frail are disqualified by virtue of not being an adult (France, 2007). By this criterion it also becomes impossible for them to live up to the standards of being a citizen (Milne, 2005). As a result of this research and discussions, various re-conceptualisations of citizenship have been proposed to include the practices of young people, to include play, leisure activities and identity formation (Jans, 2004, Hall et al., 1999, 1998), every day activities (Marsh et al., 2007), focused on well-being (Barber, 2009), and practices (Lister, 1997).

The research presented above has given us a thorough understanding of how young people understand their role as citizens and how they express it. However, the danger with this focus on young people is that it sets them apart from adults too much. By pointing out how different young people are from adults in their understanding and practice of citizenship the treatment of young people as deficient or future citizens is not challenged but rather reinforced. It seems to be a difficult balance to strike; on the one hand, by having a separate concept of youth citizenship young people are recognised as a social group that are treated differently in society (Forbig, 2005). On the other hand, using this difference to argue that a difference in their attitudes or

understandings of citizenship legitimises an alternative concept of citizenship that applies only to young people seems to be taking this difference too far. In the effort to include and recognise young people's understandings of citizenship these scholars seem to exclude them in the same manner as those who they criticise; by arguing for their difference. This is not to deny that young people are different from adults, but it is to challenge the kind of importance this difference is given. Age- and the characteristics that come with certain ages- does matter and differentiates certain age groups, but this difference also leads to different treatment and opportunities in society. Young people are given different structural opportunities to practice citizenship but because it is differently practiced do not mean it is not a citizen practice. To avoid this problem it seems as if we need to find a different argument for the importance of youth that treats them as political agents.

The Particularity Of Youth And Their Opportunities To Be Political.

Most people would agree on the distinction between a child and an adult: when presented with someone from each group we can without difficulty determine what category they belong to. A child is simply not an adult. The clear child-adult distinction was challenged by the 'discovery' of adolescence which is the psychological state between childhood and adulthood underpinning the understanding of youth (Griffin, 2004). During this state the child gradually develops the autonomy and independence of adulthood. Based on this development of autonomy, Coles (2002) argues that just as the skills for adulthood develop gradually, so must the development *in to* an adult and it is therefore inadequate and incorrect to maintain a strict child-adult distinction. In between those categories is the *semi-independent* (Coles, 2002) and *transitional* (Wyn and White, 1997) period of youth. This status derives from that they draw some characteristics from the dependent nature of childhood but are at the same time developing some independence in the process of becoming an adult. This duality of youth gives rise to specific vulnerabilities, interests and rights (Coles, 2002), which creates some challenges for policy that concerns young people and consequently how they are treated in society. For example, the age of criminal responsibility is set at ten in England- but children and young people who are under 14 have traditionally been presumed

to be incapable of criminal intent (Munice, 2002) and there is a gradual development of rights and responsibilities throughout the period of youth (Tonge, 2009).

Drawing from the insights on the particularity of youth it becomes clear that young people are particular citizens. They are treated in a certain way both when it comes to their political rights and their opportunities to participate. By taking this perspective to the importance of youth, this thesis recognises that their positioning and opportunities in society are different from those of adults and that this might affect why and how they participate politically. This perspective is in contrast to how youth has been treated by other scholars, where age has been seen as an independent variable explaining either alternative participation (Norris, 2004b, Marsh et al., 2007), or non-participation (Quintelier, 2008, Verba et al., 1995, Alberti Gambone et al., 2006). This thesis explores youth participation in politics with the view that age might not only structure participation but also, opportunities to participate are structured by age, voting being the prime example. By doing so, this thesis aims to contribute a youth perspective to the wider literature on political participation.

When Does Youth Happen?

The gradual development of autonomy also makes it difficult to narrow down an age span during which youth can be considered to occur. In youth policy and research, 'youth' is often taken to be a period between 13-25 (Wyn and White, 1997), up to 25 as in the case of the Youth Citizenship Commission and the British Youth Council but up to 30 in the case of Conservative Future. This age span is problematic, not only because it has no clear upper or lower limits denoting when youth starts and stops- perhaps an inherent feature of the transitional nature of youth itself. More importantly however, within this age span there are other age thresholds that affect the treatment of young people in society. In the political sphere for example, the threshold for inclusion into the electorate in most parts of the world is 18 (Tonge, 2009). In contrast, other spheres of society, such as the criminal justice system, recognise the dual nature of youth. Although the age of criminal responsibility in England is at age ten, children under 14 have traditionally been presumed to be incapable of criminal intent (Munice, 2002) and children under the age of 16 appear in

special courts that take consideration of the age of the defendant (Munice, 2002). It is however not only the criminal justice system that shows sensitivity to the gradual development of maturity during youth.

The Youth Citizenship Commission (Tonge, 2009) shows that from the age of ten there is a gradual increase of rights up until the age of 18. For example, at the age of 16 a child is considered mature enough to make decisions about their medical care and have sex. Additionally, with parental consent a 16 year old can leave school, get married and join the armed forces, but not go into armed conflict. These examples show that at 16 young people are considered somewhat capable of taking responsibility for and understand the consequences of their actions, and this capacity entitles them to some rights. Because of this distinction in the treatment of young people it seems plausible to take 16 as the lower threshold for youth and that is what will be taken forward in this thesis. This threshold is also in line with the ethics guidance from the University of Southampton when researching young people. This research project has been cleared by the University of Southampton Ethics Committee (RGO Ref: 7997). The upper threshold may be even more difficult to establish as no other guiding threshold is available; instead a self-identification notion will be used in this thesis. If someone is active in a youth organisation, it will be presumed that they consider themselves as a young person, and therefore the biological age matters less.

An Outline Of The Thesis

This thesis is concerned with exploring the nature of youth political activism and this introduction has aimed to illustrate the importance and relevance of this research. The focus on political activism derives from a twofold critique of the literature that will be outlined in Chapter One. This chapter will start with a discussion on the definition of political participation and address the current debate regarding the scope of the concept of political participation. It will be argued that in much current research the concept has been stretched too far and has lost its meaning and we need a new way of distinguishing between political acts. The chapter will then briefly discuss possible ways of distinguishing between political acts but this will also be expanded on in the analytical framework in Chapter Three. Lastly the chapter will turn to the literature on what motivates and mobilises political activity. The individual level

explanations for political participation focus on resources, attitudes and motivations as explanations for political participation. According to this literature someone is more likely to participate if they hold the resources required for participation, have positive attitudes to the political system and there is a match of motivations with incentives offered by the political organisation. However, it will be argued that although this literature can explain why someone participates and what characteristics make someone more or less likely to participate, it is less well equipped to explain why someone participates in certain ways. To understand this we need to look at the institutions or outlets for people to participate, because they structure the opportunities for people to participate. To address both these gaps in the political participation literature, this thesis asks not only what it is that makes people engage in different political repertoires but also what makes them participate in different contexts. For this thesis political activism is defined as a high cost political activity, and more specifically attending the meetings of political parties' youth factions, meetings of the British Youth Council and the NUS student demonstrations in 2010.

Chapter Two will discuss the selection of these cases in more detail as well as giving the reader a thorough background to these outlets for political activism. The selection of cases is based on the literature review in Chapter One, where it is suggested that to explain differential political activism we need to understand the interaction between the individual and the available institutions or outlets for them to participate in.

Drawing from the literature on political participation the analytical framework in Chapter Three will set out three levels important for understanding differential political activism; the political system, the organisation and the individual level. Although the levels in the analytical framework can be distinguished theoretically, in reality they are connected and Chapter Three will discuss how the different levels of the analytical framework connect and together contribute to the explanations to differential political activism. The chapter will also discuss the concepts in the model in more detail and construct a scale of political activity that is founded in the critiques of the current literature that have stretched the concept of political participation.

The ideas developed in the analytical framework are central to the thesis and it is therefore worth introducing and outlining them here in the

introduction. The discussion in Chapter Three will illustrate the importance of the organisational level in explaining differential political activism and there are three possible ways that the organisation can affect who participates in an organisation. Firstly, the literature on resources for participation suggests that different types of participation require different resources. Seeing this same insight from an organisational perspective, we can see that organisations offer opportunities for people to participate that require different amounts and kinds of resources. For example, the emergence of 'cheque book' participation (Maloney, 1999) clearly illustrate that many political groups (only) ask their members to contribute financially. Others rely on their members to volunteer their time to run the organisation, such as many political parties (Scarrow, 2013). This discussion will illustrate the point that different organisations demand different resources from their participants and therefore only comparing participation across organisational contexts, without also paying attention to the way that someone participate, will miss out on nuances of political activism.

Secondly, another possible set of explanations for differential activism relates to the civic and political attitudes. These explanations draw from both the political participation and non-participation literature that has found that on the one hand positive attitudes to the functioning of the political system (high trust in institutions and politicians, external efficacy, satisfaction with democracy etc.) have a positive effect on the likelihood to engage in formal forms of political participation such as for example voting. On the other hand 'critical' attitudes (Norris, 1999) and alienation from the political system (low external efficacy and trust in political institutions) (Marsh et al., 2007) have been found to lead to non-institutionalised political participation. Therefore when we are interested in exploring what makes young people politically active in different institutional settings, we can amalgamate these explanations and test whether those who are active in formal politics (political parties) are in fact less alienated than those who participate in non-institutionalised forms (demonstrations). This thesis also explores the attitudes of those who engage in what could be seen as a semi-institutionalised form of political activism in the British Youth Council (BYC).

The inclusion of the case of BYC makes for a unique both theoretical and empirical contribution of this research. Theoretically, the inclusion of BYC

challenge previous research that has focused on comparing institutionalised versus non-institutionalised participation. By including the semi-institutionalised BYC into the analysis this dichotomy is challenged, and the theory of the relationship between level of institutionalisation and political attitudes can be more thoroughly tested. For example, if positive attitudes to the political system lead to institutionalised participation, and negative attitudes to non-institutionalised, the semi-institutionalised should have more positive attitudes than the non-institutionalised but less positive than the institutionalised. The unique data collected on the BYC activists enables empirical testing of this theory.

Thirdly, drawing from the rational choice literature there is an interaction between the motivations of the individual and the incentives that the outlet for political participation offers. Previous studies of the interaction between incentives and motivations have not taken the likelihood of the achievement of the organisation's goals into consideration and therefore cannot explain why different organisations offer different incentives for participation. The analytical framework will draw from the literature on political opportunity structures to argue that understanding the positioning of the outlet in the political system is crucial to understanding differential political activism. Consequently, the positioning of the organisation in the political system affects the incentives and opportunities for participation that the organisation offers the individual. The three cases chosen for this research each occupy different places in the political system and this enables a comparison and exploration of the differences in incentives offered to and the motivations held by the participants. This discussion clearly illustrates the importance of the organisational context for understanding differential political activism, as well as emphasising the importance of the political system in influencing the characteristics of the organisational context. This approach to understanding differential political activism derives from a critique of the general political participation literature and as such aims to contribute a more nuanced, contextualised, understanding of the nature of youth political activism.

As stated above this research has two research questions and the research design, methodology, data and operationalisation used to answer these questions will be outlined in Chapter Four. Because of the different focus

of the research questions two different kinds of datasets are required; both datasets were collected using a survey, producing quantitative data. The first research question is answered using the data collected by the Youth Citizenship Commission. This dataset is a nationally representative sample of young people in the UK between the ages of 11-25. This particular sampling makes the dataset appropriate to use to explore the first research question because it includes those who have engaged in various different political repertoires, and those who have not participated at all. The second research question is answered using data collected by a contextualised survey method where both sampling and distribution of the survey questionnaire occurs in the field. The rationale behind this survey design derives from a threefold critique of the methods currently used to study political participation, where either general population surveys or qualitative methods have been used. The general population surveys are problematic because those who are active are in a minority and misrepresented; they lack attention to the type of repertoire and are decontextualized. These limitations of the general population survey lead to a possible measurement error in analysis of political participation that uses general population surveys. Instead, the innovative contextualised survey method developed in the *Caught in the Act: Contextualising Contestation* project to survey street demonstrations has been adapted to also be applied to other forms of political activism. Chapter Four will discuss the rationale for and the details of the contextualised data collection method as well as introduce the details of the data and outline the analysis strategy for the following empirical chapters.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter Five, uses data collected by the Youth Citizenship Commission to apply and test the empirical usefulness of the scale of political activity and answer the first research question. It aims to address the critique of the general participation literature that was discussed in Chapter One. The general political participation literature tends to treat political participation as a dichotomous variable or focus only on the differences between those who participate in formal vs. informal politics. Instead, the scale of political activity that was developed in Chapter Three will be used as the dependent variable exploring the similarities and differences between those who engage in different political repertoires. The analysis shows that there are indeed significant differences between those who engage in different political repertoires and three groups can be distinguished in the

analysis. The first group consists of those who do not engage in any political activities or in low cost activities, such as signing a petition. The second group are those who engage in medium-cost, such as political consumerism and voting, and lastly is the group of those who engage in high cost activities, such as attending a political meeting or a demonstration or getting involved in a political campaign. This analysis illustrates that there are significant differences between those who engage in different political repertoires. As such this analysis contributes to justifying the focus on those who participate in certain political repertoires but across institutional settings.

The second empirical chapter, Chapter Six, aims to explore the data collected on the political activists in different institutional settings. The chapter will use descriptive statistics to investigate the similarities and differences between the activists. The result from this analysis that stands out the most in this analysis is the extent to which the activists are similar. They have similar socioeconomic backgrounds, have a high sense of personal efficacy, engage in a variety of political activities etc. Their differences primarily lie in their attitudes to the political system. This analysis also contributes to building the models for the third empirical chapter, Chapter Seven, where multinomial regression is used to explore which variables best explain differential political activism. This analysis shows that socioeconomic variables, or individual resources, and motivations do not contribute significantly to explaining differential political activism. Rather, it is in their attitudes to the political system that these activists differ. Additionally, the analysis shows that although all the activists have high internal efficacy, they differ in their external efficacy. In other words, they all think that they are able to take part in the political process and that they will be effective in their participation, but not all of them also think that the political system will listen to them. Furthermore, the activists differ in their attitudes to the political system. The political party activists are more likely than the other activists to have very positive attitudes to the political system and to politicians, but have a lower sense of external efficacy. The British Youth Council (BYC) activists are more likely than the other groups to have a positive attitude to the political system but less positive to politicians and have a moderate sense of external efficacy. Finally, the demonstrators are more likely to have negative attitudes to both politics and the political system but a high sense of external efficacy. The findings on the BYC activists challenge the alienation theory that suggests that negative

attitudes to the political system neither leads to non-institutionalised participation nor inhibits political activism. Here we have young people who are politically active in an organisation that has close ties towards the political system whilst holding negative attitudes to those who run the system. Similarly, all these activists, across levels of institutionalisation, have a high sense of internal efficacy, suggesting that although holding varying levels of alienation from the political system, they do believe that they are able to participate. As such, this research offers a nuance not only to the nature of activism but also to the nature of alienation.

A central theme in this thesis is the opportunities for political participation; it is the different opportunities to participate that set young people apart from adults, different opportunities of political activism impose different levels of cost to the individual and different organisational contexts offer different opportunities to be political. By bringing together these ideas and a conceptual redevelopment and refinement of the concept of political participation this thesis aims to contribute a more nuanced understanding to youth political activism. This research does so not only on a theoretical level but also empirically in two ways. Firstly by the re-analysis of the Youth Citizenship Commission data and the application of the scale of political activity that illustrates the importance of focusing on political repertoires as the basis for comparison. Secondly, this thesis has collected new original data on a previously neglected group using an innovative contextualised survey method. This research emphasise the importance of the context for political participation and provides some interesting insights to the semi-institutionalised BYC activists in particular. Combined, these two empirical points contribute to a more nuanced understanding of youth political activism that has implications for future research in terms of how political participation, and non-participation, is understood. The insights that this research brings can also be applied to a wider audience than the research community and the Conclusion will discuss the implications that the more nuanced understanding of political activism can have on the opportunities for young people to participate politically.

Chapter 1: Definitions And Dynamics Of Political Activism

This chapter will present and discuss the vast literature on what makes people participate politically. It will start by discussing the definition of political participation, which is not only prudent in any scientific endeavour but is of particular importance with regards to the concept of political participation because it has undergone conceptual stretching. This discussion will suggest that we need a better way of distinguishing between different repertoires of political participation than the popular distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms (Marien et al., 2010). This chapter will argue that looking at the nature of the repertoire, i.e. what kind of act it is; voting, membership, activism etc. makes for a better like with like comparison than comparisons of only the domain, or where the repertoire is located or aimed. Also, if we are interested in what makes people politically active in different institutional contexts it is sensible to keep the repertoire constant and allow variation in the context. Following this discussion the focus on political activism will be discussed and justified. The chapter will then move on to explore the theories of political participation and it will argue that this literature treats political participation as a dichotomous variable. These theories are very useful to explain what makes someone participate or not, but are less well equipped to explain what makes someone participate in different ways. To explain differential political activism we also need to consider the context and opportunities for political participation, which will be discussed in the last part of the literature review. Young people have very different opportunities to participate politically than adults and their participation is therefore likely to look very different. Therefore it is of special importance to consider the context and opportunities when studying young people's political participation. The discussion in this chapter will lead to the two research questions that are to be addressed in this thesis and aim to provide a more nuanced understanding of the nature of youth political activism.

1.1.1 Distinguishing Political Engagement, Participation And Activism.

There are various definitions of political participation in the literature and recently in relation to the disengagement debate the definition of what is

political participation has come under particular scrutiny (Ekman and Amnå, 2012). As a consequence van Deth (2001) argues that the repertoire (things people do) and the domain (where they could have influence) has increased to the extent that "the study of political participation has become *the study of everything*" (van Deth, 2001, p. 4). As a consequence, the boundary between what is political and non- political has been blurred and everything is political. This section will start by going back to the basic, and maybe somewhat limited, definitions of political participation and follow the development of the concept to the point where van Deth argues it has become the study of everything. Lastly, this section will discuss the consequences of the stretching of the concept of political participation and the problems it poses for the field.

Milbrath (1965) present a basic definition of political behaviour as "behaviour which affects or is intended to affect the decisional outcomes of government" (p.1). Even with such a basic definition, there are some initial problems. This definition includes both acts that have real effects and those that do not. Although it is perfectly acceptable that they are both political, it is questionable whether it is actually possible to classify them as the same kind of political act. A more focused definition is provided by Verba et al. (1978) in their study on political participation and political equality. They define political participation as "those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions that they take." (p.1). Although this is more focused, it is also more limited. For example, it excludes protest behaviour, which is widely accepted as political participation. In response to this they argue that they are aware that there are other, wider, definitions that describe important ways for citizens to influence decision makers, "but to deal with these would be to write a different book" (p.1).

The narrow scope of political participation to only include activities targeted to or relating to people in government has been widely criticised. One set of scholars is concerned with the narrow target of political acts. Instead, Brady (1999) widens the potential target when he defines political participation as "action by ordinary citizens directed toward influencing some political outcomes" (p.737). Political participation is therefore an attempt to influence others, not necessarily political elites; it could be any powerful actors. Norris (2002a) more clearly combines these two targets of political participation, and

defines political participation as "any dimensions of activity that are either designed directly to influence government agencies and the policy process, or indirectly to impact civil society, or attempt to alter systematic patterns of social behaviour" (p. 16). Parry et al. (1992) follow this expansion of the scope of political participation and defines it as "actions by citizens which are aimed at influencing decisions which are, in most cases, ultimately taken by public representatives and officials" (p. 16).

Another set of scholars are more concerned with what behaviour should be classified as political participation. For example, Barnes et al. (1979) define it as "all voluntary activities by individual citizens indented to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system" (p. 42). This expansion is largely driven by their interest in including protest behaviour into the definition of political participation. Other scholars take this further and argue that citizens have changed their understanding of what politics is, and have incorporated it into their everyday lives and life style choices (Dalton, 2008b, Bang, 2004, Li and Marsh, 2008). Political participation is thus part of something they do every day, perhaps when they buy organic fruit. As such, it is clear that the target of their political action is not in the first instance the government, or any other political actor, but a company.[1] Bang (2004) also argues that for some groups of people, politics and political action is no longer about decision making or influencing institutions. Now politics is more about the process of politics and being involved in *doing politics*. These citizens engage in a politics that is an alternative type of politics for citizens to engage in, one that has no or very few connections with formal political structures such as political parties but still achieve observable outcomes by implementing policy themselves.

We therefore now have a concept of *political participation* that started off as actions directly targeted at government, then moved to also be indirect action targeted towards government, then actions to government and other political actors, and finally any activities in your everyday life that have a political motivation or political outcome. In this context it is easy to see where

[1] It could of course be argued that by extension the government is the target of the political consumerism as it is possible for the government to pass legislation making it easier to grow and sell organic fruit. However, where these acts are practiced are primarily outside the institutionalised sphere.

van Deth is coming from in his conclusion that the study of political participation has become the study of everything. This journey of the concept resonates Sartori's (1970) reasoning about conceptual stretching. Conceptual stretching happens when a concept is being applied to an increasing number of phenomena "and the net result of conceptual straining is that our gains in extensional coverage tend to be matched by losses in connotative precision" (p. 1035). The definition of a concept is crucial because, as highlighted by the scholars arguing for a wider definition of political participation, if it is too narrow we miss parts of what could be included in the concept. Similarly, Sartori argues that concepts are the basis for the evidence to be collected, and this best done by using well-defined and precise concepts. "The empirical problem is that we badly need information which is sufficiently precise to be meaningfully comparable." (Sartori, 1970, p. 1053). If the concept of political participation is to denote both voting and everyday experiences of the political system this would denote some very different kinds of behaviour not just in terms of the likely outcomes but also in the nature of the actual behaviour. One is a one off occasion and the other is supposed to be part of everyday life. Even if we could call all these *political* the question is whether they are all *political participation.* It seems as if the attempt to develop a concept that better gathers the data on political participation has led to a concept that lacks connotative precision. Connotative precision is only one of Gerring's (1999) useful criteria for a 'good concept', [2] but when we think about it empirically the expanded notion of political participation also lacks precision, parsimony, depth and internal coherence. As a consequence political participation becomes a concept that is very difficult to use empirically to explain political behaviour.

It also becomes more difficult to differentiate what is political participation from other similar behaviours. In the case of voting, we have a clear opposite of what it is not, you simply do not turn up to vote or do not send in a postal vote. For every day experiences the question is which everyday experiences are political, and also will determine whether something is political or not. If it is up to the individual it becomes very difficult to measure, study and compare these every day acts of political participation. Equally, if it

[2] These are familiarity, resonance, parsimony, coherence, differentiation, depth, theoretical utility and field utility.

is up to someone else it begs the question who that person is, and on what grounds they can decide what is political or not. A good concept, according to Gerring, helps us classify and categorise the things we are interested in studying and is therefore useful both theoretically and in the field. In contrast, a wide notion of political participation eliminates all categorisations extends the concept to include a wide variety of behaviour that are not necessarily related. As such, it has lost both its theoretical and field utility.

The expanded definitions are very useful in highlighting that these new types of political behaviour exist and they need to be recognised as political if we are interested in understanding how citizens engage politically. However, what this discussion also has shown is that to do this in a meaningful way we need a better way of incorporating these political acts into the study of political participation to be able to conduct systematic research on these new ways of engaging with politics.

1.1.2 Distinguishing Political Repertoires

In the general literature on political participation there are suggestions for classification of different kinds of political behaviour. One way of classifying it is based on, to use the language of Van Deth above, the *domain* of participation, or what the target or context of the participation is. Many scholars follow the distinction made by Barnes et al. (1979) between conventional and unconventional political acts. The former is focused mainly on electoral and parliamentary activities or targeting the act towards those domains of the political system, whilst the latter is mainly protest activities and more recently political consumerism as well (Stolle et al., 2005). Ironically, the Barnes and Kaase (1979) study showed that the 'unconventional' repertoires were both widely practiced and accepted by citizens, and thus not particularly unconventional. Lately, the labels institutionalised versus non-institutionalised have become the preferred way of distinguishing between political activities (Marien et al., 2010).

Other scholars have focused on the repertoire and distinguished between voting, campaigning and contacting (Nie et al., 1974, Parry et al., 1992, Verba et al., 1995). These classifications are however limited by the narrow definition of what is political, as they would not include protest behaviour such as attending a demonstration. Another, wider, classification is

provided by Teorell and Torcal (2007) where they distinguish electoral participation, consumer participation, political activity, protest activity and contact activities. What is interesting about this distinction is that it does not use participation and activity synonymously but rather highlight that there may be important differences in the nature of the political repertoire. As such, the distinction between repertoires is not connected to the domain in which they are performed and therefore opens up the concept of political participation to new meanings.

In a similar vein, Berger (2009) suggests that the wider term engagement holds untapped potential to develop conceptual clarity because it is "a combination of attention and energy (or activity)" (p. 336). He argues that engagement has three meanings, not all including action, but that these are too often conflated in work on civic engagement. For example, watching a political programme on television may engage the viewer in the subject of politics, but they are not very politically active. Similarly, someone donating money to a political cause may be engaging in politics, but the majority of the action is delegated to someone else. In contrast, someone who is running for office or is in any other way active in the political process themselves is both engaged and active. Ekman and Amnå (2012) are on a similar track when they argue that we need to move up the ladder of abstraction to clarify the concept, so instead of talking about political participation they suggest an overarching notion of political behaviour to enable a "typology that could capture basically *all* types of political behaviour that we could consider to be of relevance when analysing civic engagement and political participation" (p. 294). Under this heading they then classify three types of behaviour; non-participation, civil participation and political participation that all could take individual or collective forms.

These distinctions are interesting because they move beyond the domain for participation and focus more on the political repertoire, which suggests that similar repertoires can be practiced across domains. This step seems particularly important to take when the notion of what is political has been expanded to include every day experiences. For example, being a paying member of a political organisation, no matter whether it is Greenpeace or a political party, is a similar political *repertoire* despite it being in different political domains. In fact, it could be argued that the membership repertoire in

different domains is more similar than repertoires in the same domain. Take for example the distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised political behaviour; the former category comprise activities such as voting, membership of a political party and working for a political party. The latter category involves repertoires such as membership in NGOs, attending demonstrations, political consumerism and those every day political activities that Dalton and Bang highlighted above. Once again we see that although these things may be political, each domain contains a great spread of political repertoires. As such, if we are interested in what makes people participate politically in different domains it seems as if comparing the same repertoires across domains makes for a better like with like comparison than only comparing a range of repertoires within domains. The question then is on what criterion we are to distinguish between different political repertoires.

One criterion for distinguishing between repertoires that was highlighted by Verba et al. (1995) is based on the resources, in terms of time, skills and money that are required to participate in different types of repertoires. The importance of resources has also been picked up by social movement scholars who also add risk to the calculation of resources. Some activities, such as donating money or signing a petition require little time and risk, whilst others such as attending a demonstration or occupation require more (Klandermans, 2004). By making this distinction between the types of activities McAdam (1986) showed that those who engage in high risk or cost activism were significantly different from those who engaged in low risk or cost activities within the same social movement. Further to this, Wiltfang and McAdam (1991) found that not only were these people different, but the predictors for the high vs. low risk activities were different. (McAdam, 1986, Wiltfang and McAdam, 1991). Other scholars have explored the differences between people engaging in the same kind of political participation, such as attending a street demonstration and found differences between first time goers and other protesters (Verhulst and Walgrave, 2009, Saunders et al., 2012, Verhulst and laer, 2008). This suggests that even those who engage in the same domain, or even kind of political repertoire, are different from each other.

Political party literature has also noted differences among members of political parties. One set of scholars have found differences in attitudes

between members at different levels of the organisation (May, 1973, Pierre, 1986, Norris, 1995). Others have studied the differences between active and passive members (Seyd and Whiteley, 2004, Whiteley, 1998, Whiteley et al., 1995, Whiteley et al., 1993). There are also differences in the ways that members engage in the party (Kosiara-Pedersen, 2013, Spier, 2013) and the reasons and motivations why members engage in different ways (Hofstetter, 1973, Bruter and Harrison, 2009). The nuancing of party membership has led scholars to develop typologies of members based on what kind of activities they engage in, such as 'inactives', 'meeting attendees', 'socially oriented' and 'office oriented' (Spier, 2013). Heidar (1994) concluded that party membership is polymorphic- meaning it can take many different forms. Furthermore, he argued that the determinants for if and in what way a member becomes active depends on the one hand on the motivations of the individual, but also on the opportunities that the party offer for them to be active.

The opportunities for party members to be active or affiliated to the party have changed recently. Gauja (2013) points out that the old presumption that membership means activity might never have been true, but certainly is not true today. Parties have introduced new and 'weaker' ways of affiliating with the party, such as liking facebook pages or becoming 'friends' of the political party. These new forms do not always involve formal membership, but is still an affiliation with the party. At the same time, Gauja argues that activity is not always preconditioned by membership; affiliation can be enough to get the opportunities to contribute to the party activities. As such, Gauja shows that the traditionally close relationship between membership and activity where the former was a precondition for the latter does not hold anymore.

The recognition of the multifaceted nature of participation and membership is useful because it moves beyond the dichotomous notion of membership. Furthermore these scholars illustrate the importance of paying attention to the way a member participates rather than only their status as a member. This literature is not interested in what makes someone participate or not. Instead, this literature is interested in what makes someone participate in a certain way. However, the social movement and political party scholars have focused on the diversity of activities within only two domains of politics, i.e. social movements and political parties respectively, and not made any comparisons across domains. However, there is no obvious reason to think

that the multifaceted nature of participation holds only within a certain domain. It seems plausible that the argument would hold across domains for political participation as well. For example as suggested above, being a paying member of Greenpeace and a political party would require similar resources and effort from the individual, just as being an active member of either organisation would. This is a limitation of this literature because they narrow down the scope too much with the consequence that they are only able to explain different political participation in one domain of politics. Despite this limitation, the insights this literature brings regarding the nature of political repertoires are worth taking forward and will be further discussed in the analytical framework in Chapter Three. Even with the focus on political repertoires as the dependent variable that we are interested in understanding, we must also have a theory explaining why someone engages in different political repertoires and exploring the theories of political participation is what this chapter will now turn to.

1.2 What Motivates And Mobilises Political Activity?

One of the most common and consistent findings in research on political participation is the importance of the availability of certain resources in terms of economic, social, cognitive or time (Morales, 2009), where more resources are likely to lead to more participation. Verba et al. (1995) pointed out the importance of resources in terms of skills for the ability and willingness to participate. As such, people with high socioeconomic class, i.e. highly educated in non-manual labour jobs have consistently been found to be more likely to participate politically (Verba et al., 1995, Stolle and Hooghe, 2011). Resources also structure not only the ability to participate but also the way that you can participate. Verba et al. (1995) take donating money as an example of a highly unequal way of participating, where the more money you have, the more money you can give the and the more influence one will have. In contrast, time is finite in the amount you can give as there are only 24 hours in a day and therefore the effect or influence is more equally distributed[3]. Social movement scholars have however noted a bias in biographical availability (McAdam, 1986), where some people are more likely to participate in certain

[3]There is of course a difference in the amount of *free* time different groups in society have, but initially the time in a day is equally distributed between people.

acts because they are available and have the free time to engage. For example having children or a full time job hinders you from going to remote demonstrations or may intimidate you from participating in high risk activism (McAdam, 1986), or sustaining participation over time (Corrigall- Brown, 2011).

However, the general political participation literature argues that merely holding resources or being available is not enough. In the *Civic Culture* Almond and Verba (1963) argue that even if people have the resources to participate, they also need to hold positive attitudes towards participation and this is fostered through participation in democratic decisions. They emphasise the importance of citizens being competent to participate. The importance of competence and skills for participation can be particularly seen in the field of youth research, where the lack of skills to participate among young people is seen as one of the reasons for them not participating politically (Crick, 1998). As a result, citizenship education now part of the national curriculum of all EU countries (Birzea et al., 2004, Hoskins and Kerr, 2012). In England, citizenship education was introduced as part of the national curriculum in 2002 and despite doubts regarding the success of the policy in producing active citizens (Kerr and Cleaver, 2004, Keating et al., 2009, Kisby and Sloam, 2009) the current coalition government has decided to keep it as a statutory entitlement- albeit in a modified form. This does not only illustrate how young people are often treated as incompetent or future citizens, but also the substantial contribution skills are seen to make in making someone participate politically.

For Almond and Verba (1963) competence also entails the perceived ability to participate. If citizens feel they can have influence and see that the results of the democratic process reflect their interests they will believe in their influence and be satisfied with the outcomes. Central to this line of argument are the concepts of trust and efficacy, where the logic is that "individuals are empowered and motivated when they believe that their involvement in politics will be consequential and they can have confidence that the behaviour of others will be honourable" (Anderson, 2010, p. 59). Trust is important because it contributes to overcoming collective action problems particularly related to political participation. If you trust that someone else will contribute to a collective good you have a stronger incentive to contribute to the achievement of the collective good (Putnam, 2000). The concept of trust has two dimensions, where there is a distinction between personal trust or

generalised trust, as just described, and political trust that is trust in government and other political institutions (Anderson, 2010, p. 65). High levels of political trust are linked to (formal) political participation as there would be little point in participating and voicing your opinion if you didn't trust the government to listen, or do the best thing for citizens. Efficacy is related to trust as it has to do with the individual's sense that their participation is going to make a difference. Scholars have distinguished between internal and external efficacy (e.g. Norris (2004a), Marien and Hooghe, 2010). Internal efficacy has to do with an individual's sense of ability or their confidence that they will be effective in influencing decision makers. External efficacy on the other hand has to do with the evaluation of the likelihood that the decision maker will listen (Niemi et al., 1991, p. 84). Again, there seems to be little point in participating if you do not think that you will be able to do it effectively and achieve your aim.

Although evidence often shows that resources and attitudes are important predictors of political participation, other scholars have argued that this is not the whole story. Another set of individual level variables are the motivations to participate. This set of variables highlight that it is not enough to have the resources to do something; there must also be something that interests you and makes you want to take action. Constantini and King (1984) examined the literature on motivations and found eleven motivations for political participation that have been investigated by previous research. These include; strong party loyalty, issue concern, community obligation and networking for both social and professional reasons. Whiteley et al. (1993) summarise a similar set of motivations in their general incentives model that takes selective incentives, moral concerns and social norms as well as affective motivations into account for participation in political parties. Klandermans (2004) distinguishes between identity, ideology and instrumental motivations to participate in social movements. These overlap with what Whiteley et al. (1993) develop in their general incentives model, where their benefits, costs and selective outcome incentives fall under Klandermans' instrumental category, whilst selective process incentives, altruistic motives, social norms and possibly expressive motivations fall under identity, and the ideological motivations are the same. The importance of motivations and incentives could be seen to derive from rational choice theory, where action is a combination of opportunities and desires (Elster, 2007). As such, the motivations to participate

are linked to the incentives that different participatory opportunities offer. Different motivations (deriving from different incentives) could thus be part of the reason for why people engage in different acts and will be receive special attention in the next section.

Even so, according to Putnam (2000) simply having lots of people able and willing to participate is not enough. These people also need to be connected to each other and he introduces the concept of social capital. He argues that the "core idea of social capital theory is that social networks have value" (p.19), and the value that these networks have is "the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them"(p.19). Putnam points out that this idea is closely related to Almond and Verba's concept of civic virtue but emphasise that "the difference is that 'social capital' calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital" (p.19). Central to Putnam's argument is that social capital generates generalised trust, and as we saw above this in turn leads to positive things, such as more political participation and as a consequence, good government because the citizens voice their opinions. Putnam sees the decline in social capital as the reason for the decline in political participation in Western societies. There has been a lot of debate and criticism regarding the strength and direction of the relationship Putnam proposes (Newton and Norris, 2000, Uslaner, 2006, Newton, 2007, Brehm and Rahn, 1997, Theiss-Morse and Hibbing, 2005). Despite this, an often forgotten point that Putnam and social capital theory highlights is the importance of the context or premises for the development of civic attitudes and of trust in particular. However, others also criticise the bottom up perspective of Putnam and point out that he does not account for the role of the state in facilitating or hindering both the initial development and the vibrancy of organisations and, in effect, the opportunities citizens have to participate and build social capital (Maloney et al., 2000). This is a key issue, because it highlights the point that if we want to understand what makes people engage in different forms of political activism, we must also understand the context in which they are offered.

1.2.1 Missing Context

The context for participation is important for many reasons; it can encourage, give opportunities for participation and inform the individual about political events. Even if social capital may not have the strong explanatory power for political participation that Putnam first envisaged, what it does contribute is to emphasise that membership in a certain group, formal or informal, is important. Membership can fulfil many functions; it can mobilise people to collective action and create a sense of collective identity or collective good. The importance of being asked to participate is a finding that has been found across the literature on political participation, from general political participation (Verba et al., 1995) to social movements (Morales, 2009) and this shows differential embeddedness in social networks (Saunders et al., 2012). But as Li and Marsh (2008) and Huckfeldt (1979) showed different kinds of membership will promote different kinds of participation, and this seems to be another limitation of the social capital theory. Not only does it assume that there is a close link between civic participation and political participation, when this might not be so straight forward (Newton, 2007). It also seems to apply the idea equally to all forms of participation. According to Putnam, high levels of social capital leads to high levels of political participation, but he doesn't specify particularly what kind of political acts the high trusting individual will engage in. Rather, he presumes that it will lead to any kind of participation. As discussed above in relation to the attitudes to the political system, negative attitudes can also lead to political participation but of a different kind.

Much of the literature discussed above seems to presume that holding the right resources, being motivated etc. leads to any kind of political participation. It may be that these characteristics in an individual 'push' them over the threshold to being able to or wanting to participate, but once over the threshold there are many different ways of being political. If we are interested in knowing why people participate in *different* ways rather than why they participate or not, then the individual level explanations only take us so far. Some research has started to emerge that uses the resources and attitudinal variables to explain institutional versus non-institutional participation (Hooghe and Marien, 2012, Marsh et al., 2007, Dalton, 2008b, Norris, 1999), and this will be discussed in more detail below.

1.2.2 Missing Young People

From a youth perspective there is also another problem with the general participation literature. Firstly, the situation for young people regarding resources is different from adults. In most cases they are seen as lacking the necessary skills and knowledge to participate in the same way as adults (Ofsted, 2010, Kerr and Cleaver, 2004). At the same time there are structural limitations to the levels of education and financial resources of many young people simply because of their age. They cannot be more educated than their age allows, and until they turn 18 there are limitations as to how many hours they can work and what work they can do. Due to compulsory schooling there are also time limitations to youth participation (Matthews, 2001), and because of their limited lifetime the social networks they engage in are also somewhat limited.

Secondly, because young people have recently been seen to turn away from formal politics, they are seen to not want to participate. However, this is disregarding the fact that young people's opportunities to participate politically also look very different from adults'. Some opportunities to participate are technically open to everyone, such as signing a petition or wearing a badge, but others, such as voting are not. Attending a demonstration does not formally have an age limit, but young people's participation in such an 'unconventional' activity may be structured by their parent's approval of the activity and assessment of the risk of the participation. Political parties structure the opportunities to participate according to age, where if you are under a certain age you primarily become a member of the youth faction rather than the political party and therefore have different opportunities, for better or worse, than adults to be active in the party. These examples show that many of young people's opportunities to participate are structured by their age. As argued in the introduction, this is the reason why young people are interesting to investigate from a political participation perspective. Age may not only structure the skills and resources but age also structures the opportunities that a young person has to participate. An investigation into why young people participate would not be complete without also taking into consideration where they can and do participate.

1.3 The Dynamics Of Participation Across Institutional Settings

The discussion in the previous section suggested that there are three overarching explanations for political participation, resources, attitudes and motivations. These are all individual level explanations and it was argued that although this might explain why someone participates or not, it cannot explain why people participate in different ways. To explain these differences we also need to understand the context in which participation can occur and the opportunities to participate that exist. As argued in the introduction, this is of particular interest for young people, and the reason they are an interesting group to explore, because their opportunities to participate look very different from those of adults. This section will explore how the individual level variables may change and interact with the context for participation, and this will feed into the analytical framework for this thesis that aims to explore how we can understand why young people participate in different institutional settings.

1.3.1 Resources For Participation In Different Acts

As the discussion regarding activism above showed, different outlets for political participation offer different opportunities for an individual to be active. For example, some organisations mainly offer their members to be paying members, as shown by the emergence of chequebook participation (e.g. Maloney (1999) and others offer members (and non-members) to be more active and volunteer to run the organisation, such as for example political parties (Scarrow, 2007). However, with the 'professionalization' of political organisations where they rely more on professionals than volunteers to run the organisation the opportunities to be active are in decline (Stoker, 2006). As highlighted by the political party literature above, political parties have started offering 'weaker' forms of membership and as a consequence the plethora of different political repertoires offered to members of political associations is increasing. This clearly holds not just across domains, but also within the same domain. Each of these repertoires require different amounts and types of resources, and as shown by Verba et al. (1995), the resources an individual has available is one of the main factors structuring how an individual participates. The social movement literature has also shown that it is not only the level of

socioeconomic resources that structure political participation, but also what they call biographical availability (McAdam, 1986, McAdam, 1999).

Biographical availability is "the absence of personal constraints that may increase the cost and risks of movement participation, such as full time employment, marriage and family responsibilities" (McAdam, 1986, p. 70). This means that people in different situations in life are more or less likely to engage in high risk behaviour, where for example young students are suggested to be more likely than the parent of three children in their 30s to engage in high risk protest behaviour. This highlights that different repertoires require different amount and types of resources, and as a consequence appeals to people that have those resources available. Therefore, by focusing on a repertoire that requires similar amount and kind of resources, in this case attending a political meeting or a demonstration, the resources required to participate is held (relatively) constant. This focus makes for a better like with like comparison of political repertoires than only comparing across domains, such as the favoured comparison of institutionalised and non-institutionalised political participation. Because it is the explanations for why young people participate in different domains that we are interested in, it is prudent to hold the repertoire constant.

The socioeconomic resources are however still important as there may still be behavioural differences between social groups. Traditional participation has seen an inequality based on socioeconomic background, education level, age and gender (Parry et al., 1992, Verba et al., 1995, Hooghe and Marien, 2012). If there is an unequal distribution of people from different socio-economic backgrounds in an organisation this says something about the recruitment mechanisms and the democratic nature of the organisation. Some scholars have argued that the non-institutional repertoires of participation have the potential to democratise political participation, as they require less resources. Others argue that the cognitive skills required to be a critical citizen would actually increase the inequalities seen in institutionalised politics (for a good discussion of this, see Stolle and Hooghe, 2011, Marien et al, 2010). Research show that although some inequalities, such as gender and age, have been reduced, educational inequalities are maintained in non-institutionalised forms of political participation (Stolle and Hooghe, 2011, Marien et al., 2010).

This research therefore suggests that socioeconomic resources are still an important consideration, and driver, for political participation.

1.3.2 Attitudes To The Political System And Participation In Different Domains

The second set of variables explaining political participation in the general participation literature is the attitudes to the political system. It was suggested above that more positive attitudes to the political system and its working led to more participation. It seems implicit in this argument that the opposite would also be true, so negative attitudes lead to less participation, or apathy. However, as argued above this presumes that the only options are participation or non-participation and therefore sees political participation as a dichotomous variable. In contrast, scholars such as Norris (1999) and (Dalton (2008a), Dalton, 2008b, Dalton, 2008c), have shown that critical attitudes to the political system does not inhibit people from participating politically; it makes them participate in the non- institutionalised forms of participation. These are the kinds of political participation that the traditional scholars have excluded from their definition and operationalisation of political participation, as we saw in the beginning of this chapter. Similarly, Marsh et al. (2007) argued that young people do not participate in formal politics because they are alienated from the political process and have a different understanding of politics. By amalgamating this finding with the findings of the general political participation literature it seems as if the attitudes to the political system could be used to understand why (young) people participate in different institutional settings.

Efficacy is a central concept to explore in this context. Efficacy is also a concept that is particularly interesting to explore when studying young people. It seems as if the alienation argument is particularly concerned with young people's efficacy, where they neither think that their participation in formal politics will make a difference, nor that the government is responsive to their interests. The comparison of those who are active in different kinds of outlets from the institutionalised parties to non-institutionalised demonstrations allows exploration of how widely spread alienation is. The comparison allows us to explore if it is also something that those who engage in formal and semi-formal politics feel, or if it is only what makes people engage in informal

politics. The previous findings would suggest that those institutions that are more embedded in the political system, or more institutionalised, would be more attractive to those with positive attitudes to the political system and less attractive to alienated young people. But what about those who are in the semi-institutionalised British Youth Council?

Alienation has multiple dimensions. Seeman (1959) proposed five dimensions of alienation; powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. Powerlessness, Seeman argued, had its origins in Marxist theory and referred to "the expectancy or probability held by the individual that his own behaviour cannot determine the occurrence of the outcomes, or reinforcements, he seeks" (p. 784). In other words, powerlessness can be seen as the opposite of having a high sense of efficacy, and illustrates the close link between the concepts. It also seems as if this dimension of alienation is the primary focus of the youth scholars. The meaninglessness dimension stands for the individual's sense of understanding and seeing a meaning with the activities they are engaged in. This dimension seems to be what many scholars have picked up in the disengagement literature (Stoker, 2006, Hay, 2007). Normlessness refers to the situation where the individual has a "high expectancy that socially unapproved behaviours are required to achieve given goals" (Seeman, 1959, p. 788), and this links to the increase in cynicism about politicians that we see in current society (Stoker, Forthcoming). The fourth dimension of alienation is isolation, and this refers to the discrepancy in norms of the individual compared to the rest of society and by holding different norms the individual becomes isolated. Lastly, the fifth dimension of alienation presented by Seeman refers to self-estrangement, and this happens when the individual is not able to see any intrinsic meaning with the activities they engage in.

Later on Finifter (1970) conducted empirical analysis on these dimensions of alienation and found empirical evidence for the first four dimensions. Furthermore, Finifter found that different types of civic and political activities were associated with different dimensions of political alienation. For example, individuals with high powerlessness were less likely to participate in in community activities. Finifter then argue that "because the dimensional approach to political alienation clarifies and specifies attitudes to the political system, it may be a useful basis for the development of more

specific hypotheses regarding the effects of attitudes on political behaviour." (p. 406). As suggested above, current research on trust and different political participation supports this. This research suggests that attitudes to the political system are useful not only in explaining why people participate or not but also why they participate in different institutional settings. This is particularly interesting in the case of young people and the alienation argument because it leads to the question whether all young people are alienated in the same way, or whether different young people are alienated along different dimensions.

1.3.3 Motivations For Participation And Organisational Incentives

The individual level variable that has probably received the most attention in relation to the context for participation is the motivations for participation. This is based in rational choice theory and the classic work of Mancur Olson (1965) on *The Logic of Collective Action*. Olson argues that although motivations are important, simply being motivated is not enough for someone to contribute their resources to an organisation for the achievement of that aim, especially not if the contribution requires high intensity contributions. Instead Olson argues that the participant's motivations need to be met by incentives offered by the organisation. Based on the likelihood of the incentives meeting the motivations, or other incentives offered in return for contributions the individual makes a cost-benefit analysis which results in either participation or not. Olson has been criticised for having a very narrow conception of incentives where altruistic motivations for engagement did not fit, being too centred on the benefits to the individual, rather than other incentives such as social, learning new skills etc. (Seyd and Whiteley, 2004, Whiteley, 1998, Whiteley et al., 1995, Whiteley et al., 1993).

Another criticism of Olson's theory is that it may explain engagement with an organisation on an individual abstract basis, but does not take us very far in explaining why people engage in different organisations. Clark and Wilson (1961) developed this idea and argued that different organisations have different incentive systems, which attract different kinds of people. They identify three types of organisations based on their incentive systems; utilitarian, solidarity, and purposive. Utilitarian organisations focus on providing material incentives and benefits to their members, such as for

example trade unions that negotiate pay rises and benefits for their members. Solidarity organisations offer their members an opportunity to act together in solidarity. These actions are often altruistically motivated and commonly have a social focus. Many voluntary organisations would fall under this heading such as for example British Red Cross. Lastly, purposive organisations unite their members around the wish to achieve a certain aim or purpose, and most political organisations fall into this last category.

The theory also stipulates that incentive systems guide the behaviour of the organisation and how it relates to its members, and thus the opportunities that the member has to engage with the organisation. The utilitarian organisation acts in any way possible to maximise the benefits of the members, but do not necessarily require them to act. A solidarity organisation offers the members the opportunity to engage in activities that allows them to act altruistically. Clark and Wilson (1961) argue that people who engage with these kind of groups are seeking prestige and status by acting altruistically and therefore these organisations can be relatively flexible in the types of activities they offer as long as it satisfies the members who contribute. In contrast, the purposive organisation can only act in such a way as to move towards the achievement of the goal, otherwise the members will become disillusioned with the goal and the group fragments. One incentive system will dominate an organisation, but there is often overlap and one organisation can offer more than one kind of incentives. In fact, Clark and Wilson (1961) argue that some organisations need to offer more than one kind of incentive for their survival. According to this theory, someone would participate in a certain organisation based on a match in the incentives structure of the organisation, the opportunities to participate and the motivations for participation by the individual.

Albeit being a very influential and seemingly logical theory, it has been criticised because of weak and sometimes contradictory data (Hofstetter, 1973). Constantini and King (1984) also highlight that there has been many different operationalisations of these incentives and corresponding motivations, and this reduces the measurement validity of the concepts. Hofstetter (1973) also argue that the Clark and Wilson (1961) categories of incentives are not inclusive enough, so some motivations are not met by the incentives offered by the organisations. This may lead us to conclude like

Hofstetter (1973) that motivations and corresponding incentives are not enough to explain differential political participation.

Even if they are not enough, the incentives structure theory does contribute to the understanding of what makes people participate in different ways. Other theories of political participation may be able to explain what it is that pushes someone over the threshold to participate, but as pointed out earlier they cannot explain fully what makes someone participate in a certain way. According to Clark and Wilson (1961) incentive systems can do this (to some extent) and highlight the importance of not only the relationship between the incentives offered by the organisation but also the motivations of the member. They clearly illustrate that the opportunities the member has to contribute or interact with the organisation is related to the incentives offered to members. However, even though Constantini and King (1984) suggest that it is an organisational theory, they fail to take into account the potential for actual realisation of the incentives. They do discuss how incentives can change over time, and how the organisation reacts to this and other changes in the environment or the membership, but the causes for these changes remain unaddressed. So in a way they treat all groups as equal in the ability to satisfy the incentives of their members, or at least do not have an account for why some groups succeed and others do not.

The role of interest groups in the political system and their relationship to political parties has gained much attention in the literature. Special attention has been paid to interest groups and their influence especially in recent times when as a consequence of people turning away from formal politics but joining interest groups instead as these organisations have become professionalised and financially strong (Stoker, 2006). The increased role of civil society in the political sphere contributes further to the blurred line between the political and non-political. Civil society organisations have always been influential and played a role in policy making. Dearlove (1973) argued that they were seen as a channel for citizen participation and suggested that the impact of the organisation did not only have to do with the quality and the quantity of their lobbying but also how willing the government was to listen. This insight highlights that some organisations have a closer relationship with the government than others, and that this is affected not only by their demands, but also ‘good behaviour’. However, this idea is not fully developed by

Dearlove, even if it takes us one step further in our understanding of the relationship between the interest groups, members, incentives and opportunities. What is needed is a better understanding of how the political system selects who to listen to and on what basis.

In the social movement literature the concept of political opportunity structures (POS) has developed to explain the emergence and behaviour of social movements from a structural perspective. There are multiple definitions and operationalisations of the concept and has, just as many other concepts, suffered conceptual stretching. There are also issues with inconsistencies in the operationalisation and the empirical evidence supporting POS theory (Meyer, 2004). Even so, POS theory hold characteristics that can be helpful in explaining why certain groups have more influence than others in the political process (Eisinger, 1973, Tarrow, 1994, Kitchelt, 1986). In essence, POS theory "describes the political and institutional opportunities and constraints that either inhibit or facilitate collective action" (Chesters and Welsh, 2011p. 136). The POS can be open or closed to groups and demands Eisinger (1973) and therefore facilitate or hinder the realisation of them.

What the concept of POS does is to provide us with a way of understanding how different groups may have more or less influence in a political system. This discussion illustrate that certain repertoires of participation are closer to the formal political system and the decision makers, than others. As such we can apply the level of institutionalisation to the likelihood of motivations for participation being met. The more institutionalised an organisation is, the more likely it is to have links to the formal political system and the more likely it is to influence the decision maker they are targeting. Conversely, the less institutionalised organisation has the fewer links to the establishment, and it is less likely to influence the decision makers.

1.4 Conclusion: Bridging Two Gaps

This chapter has provided a thorough discussion of the concept of political participation and the problems with conceptual stretching that the concept has recently undergone. It was argued that with the expansion of the concept to include everyday activities as political participation, the concept lost its

connotative precision and empirical usefulness. Theories of political participation have become theories *of everything*. As a solution to this problem it was suggested that a new conceptualisation of political participation was needed that also distinguished between political repertoires rather than only political domains. The social movement and political party literature have made similar distinctions between types of participation in the respective domains, i.e. social movements and political parties. If we are interested in the dynamics of political participation rather than just what makes someone participate or not, it seems worth to also look at the repertoires people engage in rather than just the domain.

The chapter then moved on to explore what it is that makes people participate politically and this discussion highlighted two gaps in the current literature on political participation. The first gap is that the general literature on political participation treats political participation as a dichotomous variable. As such, it is best suited to explain what makes someone participate or not but less well suited to explain why someone participates in different ways. To understand differential political activism this we need to take the context and opportunities to participate into consideration. This focus is particularly important in a study on young people because they have very different opportunities to participate compared to adults. The second gap is that the scholars that have highlighted the nuances in repertoires within one domain, the social movements and political parties literature, have narrowed their focus too much and focused on differential participation in the particular domain of study. This thesis aims to address both these gaps by not only focus on those who are active, but also by exploring what makes people active in similar repertoires but in different institutional settings (or domains). The central research questions that guide this research therefore are:

Research Question One: Are the activists different from people engaging in other political repertoires and those not engaging at all?

Research Question Two: What are the similarities and differences between young people who are politically active in different institutional settings? Do they have different amounts or kinds of resources? Do they differ in their civic and political attitudes? Are they motivated by the same or different things?

These research questions fulfil different purposes and will be answered using different types of data and methodologies. The first research question aims to explore the strength of the argument put forward in this chapter regarding the importance of comparing repertoires and domains to understand the dynamics of political participation. To achieve this aim a dataset that includes respondents who have engaged in a variety of political activities and those who have not participated at all is needed. Such a dataset has been identified in the research that the Youth Citizenship Commission commissioned as part of their work in exploring youth citizenship and political participation.

The second research question requires a very different methodology as the focus on activism has consequences for the research design and methodology. As there has been no previous research, at least not found to date, that compares certain repertoires across domains, to answer this research question it was necessary to collect new data. The justification for this research design and methodology will be described in Chapter Four. Together these two research questions and the associated analysis explores the nature of youth activism by firstly differentiating the activists from other participants and non-participants, and secondly by providing a more nuanced approach to the nature of youth activism.

Chapter 2: Selection Of Cases At Different Levels Of Institutionalisation

The previous chapter illustrated the importance of the institutional setting for participation in understanding different political activism. It stipulated that the level of institutionalisation of an organisation, or the connections to the formal political system, affected who and how people engaged in the organisation. The three cases chosen for this research represent three different levels of institutionalisation. The first case is the institutionalised political parties youth factions, the second case is the semi-institutionalised British Youth Council (BYC), and lastly is the non-institutionalised NUS demonstration. BYC is a particular and critical case because of its positioning in the political system and will be discussed at greater length. BYC has some close links to the political establishment just like the political parties' youth factions but just like the social movements, they do not have a given and secure place. This very much resembles the youth advocacy groups that McLaughlin (2009) describe as between movement and establishment because they are "moving between established institutions and political arrangements and the individuals or neighbourhoods lacking access to or notice by community leaders"(p.5). In essence, this classification is similar to what in this thesis is referred to as semi-institutionalised but it provides an alternative, and perhaps more illustrative, image of the positioning of BYC in society. The varying levels of institutionalisation for the cases selected allows us to explore in more detail and with more nuance what the similarities and differences are between those who are politically active in different domains. Perhaps most importantly, it allows us to test the strength and explanatory value of the theories of political participation for young people's participation in different institutional settings. This chapter will discuss these classifications in more detail and give a thorough background to each case and the literature on each of the types of cases.

2.1 Case One: Institutionalised Youth Factions- Part Of The Establishment

Political parties can take different forms and the functions of the members differ depending on the type and size of party (Heidar, 2006). Members are important for parties to, for example, help campaigning, provide electoral and internal legitimacy, recruit new candidates, promote the party and listen to the opinions of civil society. Recruitment of members is often concentrated among the higher socioeconomic groups, and "youths and women have always been groups targeted by many parties, as evidenced by the special party organizations often created for them" (Heidar, 2006, p. 305). Despite youth scholars claiming there has been too much focus on formal political participation, surprisingly little research has been done on young people in the youth factions of political parties, except for noting young people's absence from these organisations.

The relationship the youth organisation has to the main party is important but also complicated[4]. Most political parties have a youth wing, with the intention to attract younger members, some of whom might be intimidated by joining the main organisation (Heidar, 2006). As the age profile of members of political parties has grown increasingly older over the past ten years, with an increase of older members and a decline in younger members (Bennie and Russell, 2012,p. 6) youth factions have been recognised as possessing the potential to address the under-recruitment of young people (Bennie and Russell, 2012). This noted, youth factions and young members are typically separated from the main party, meaning relationships with the main party are conditional and contested. Historically, British political parties have rarely attempted to engage with young people or consider issues of youth citizenship or political participation (Mycock and Tonge, 2012).

Youth factions have some independence from the main party to develop their own positions on policy and organise events such as annual conferences (Mycock and Tonge, 2012). However, they are dependent on the main party for

[4] This discussion has been replicated in the author's contribution to the 'Beyond Youth Citizenship Commission' (2014) publication, and I am very grateful to the editors Andrew Mycock and Jon Tonge for their excellent feedback on the drafts of the paper that clarified this discussion significantly.

funding and their representation and influence in the main party is determined by the main party. While some youth factions have seats on the main party executive, others do not (Russell, 2005). As such, scholars have classified their relationship to the main party as somewhat independent (Lamb, 2002). The youth factions are often at the margins of the main party membership who see the primary function of youth faction as recruiting, training, and socialising new members and future leaders (Henn et al., 2002). However, Lamb (2002) argue that the relationship that the youth organisation has with the main party is not consistent, but rather varies over time and this can have effects on recruitment and influence. He presents a thorough overview of the relationship the Conservative and Labour party in the UK have with their youth faction, and clearly illustrates that despite being (relatively) independent organisations, the main party is still able to exercise a great deal of control over the structure, influence and activities of the youth wing.

The segregation and peripheralisation of young people in political parties is evident both in terms of membership and their role in developing policy. There is no agreement between political parties regarding the lower and upper ages that defines 'youth' membership, thus reflecting wider uncertainties as to distinctions between youth and adulthood. Youth membership for most parties typically falls between an age-range of 15 and 30 years-old, thus excluding younger citizens and extending youth well beyond most legal definitions of the age of responsibility. If someone within the age threshold defined for youth membership seeks to join the main party, they automatically become members of the youth organisation. At first glance, this might suggest a close relationship between the two organisations in terms of common recruitment and membership. However, it is clear that young members of political parties are treated differently to their older counterparts whose membership is not codified or defined in age-specific terms. Moreover, while many parties have made concerted efforts to include young people in the formation of policy (Bennie and Russell, 2012), their marginalisation is still evident. Political parties seem reluctant to give young members too great a voice in party affairs, due to concerns that potentially radical policy proposals could alienate older voters. Young members are thus mainly consulted on youth issues rather than mainstream 'adult' policy that might also affect young people (Mycock and Tonge, 2012).

This illustrates that although the political parties' youth factions may have varying degrees (often very little) of policy influence, they are closely associated to the political party; they share name with the main party, have access to high ranking politicians to attend events, have events at the national conference, sometimes have seats on the national executive, or get financial support from the main party. All this contributes to the political parties' youth factions being the most institutionalised of the cases in this research.

The youth factions of all the three major parties in the UK were approached to participate in the research, i.e. Conservative Future, Young Labour/Labour Students and Liberal Youth. Gaining the necessary access to events proved to be more challenging than expected and initially only Conservative Future responded positively. However, after a change in national chair, the incumbent was not as collaborative. Eventually approaches through alternative avenues such as personal networks and contacts resulted in both Young Labour/Labour Students and Liberal Youth agreeing to participate. Even when access had been granted another challenge that presented itself was the scarcity of events organised by the national youth organisations. For example in 2013 Young Labour organised an annual conference, youth days at Labour conference and special conferences for minorities in the youth faction, such as women, disabled and BAME groups. In contrast Liberal Youth only organised two national events, a welcome reception at the Liberal Democrat conference in Glasgow and the Winter Conference that was surveyed for this research. At the other end of the spectrum Conservative future organised (or at least advertised on their national website) multiple events every month. The nature of these events ranged from a regional conference for the east midlands, through to drinks receptions and Christmas parties.

The frequency and types of events organised and advertised by the national youth faction is likely to reflect the purpose of the youth factions and the incentives they offer their members to be involved. It also reflects the status the youth faction has within the party, whether it has the resources to host and organise events and also at what level the main activity of the youth faction lies. For example, most of Conservative Future's events were based in London and many had a social, or networking, purpose, such as drinks receptions. Other events had a more professional focus. For example, the East Midlands Conservative Future Conference that was surveyed was sponsored by

Emma McClarkin, MEP for the East Midlands Region. This event was advertised as an event with speeches from senior MPs and a member of the Cabinet, policy forum discussion, as well as training sessions on how to handle the media, becoming a councillor or MP, getting a job in politics and setting up Conservative Future branches and events. In contrast, Young Labour/Labour Students advertised more 'political' events, such as the conference for minority groups, and the political weekend that was surveyed for this research. As such, Conservative Future offers more social incentives to their members than Young Labour/Labour Students, who offer their members opportunities to work on and campaign on certain issues. This does not mean that local clubs arrange more social or political activities but the events organised by the national organisations serve to illustrate and provide a sense of the focus of the organisations. The other inference that can be made regarding the frequency of events is that it is an indication of the resources the youth factions has available to organise events. Liberal Youth for example only organised two events, one which was surveyed, and it was clear that not only was their membership much smaller but they also had less resources to put into the event.

2.2 Case Two: Semi- Institutionalised British Youth Council: Between Movement And Establishment

It is worth discussing youth councils at a greater length as they form a relatively new, and unique, opportunity for young people to participate and influence politics. In the UK, youth councils and parliaments developed as part of both the engagement and co-governance agenda and also as a consequence of the ratification of the United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (O'Toole and Gale, 2006). Article 12 of UNCRC has set the agenda for young people's participation in politics as it states that children should have the right to influence all decisions that affect them. As a result many local authorities established youth councils or parliaments to ensure that young people had a voice in the local setting. As such, the youth councils are very close to the political establishment, and can have influence on the policy in the geographical area they are representing. They often also mirror the corresponding adult institution, both in structure and recruitment. For example the UK Youth Parliament (UKYP) has elected representatives representing

geographical areas and has their annual sitting in the Houses of Parliament. At the same time, the youth councils and parliaments are non-partisan, and can thus be seen as somewhat removed from the political structures. If the existence of the political parties' youth faction were dependent on the approval of the main party, this is even more the case in youth councils where there is no consistent way of dealing with them. In many cases they are more of a lobby group than part of the political system. This placing at the outskirts of the institutionalised politics resonates the suggestion by McLaughlin (2009) to see youth advocacy groups as groups that "exist in the middle of a continuum between social movements and stable organisations and institutions" (p.8). This positioning in society will be discussed further below and contributes to their semi-institutional nature that makes them a crucial and interesting case to include in this research.

Although the development of youth councils has a great democratic potential, scholars have been critical of the implementation. O'Toole and Gale (2006) point out that the implementation process has been inconsistent and there is no standard institutional organisation for youth councils. This is reflected in the findings of Matthews (2001) where he presents a classification of the different kinds of youth councils that have developed in England and finds that they differ on two dimensions, firstly on their relationship to adult institutions and secondly on the scope of their influence. He finds three kinds of relationships to adult structures. Firstly are the feeder organisations which are "committed to engage young people in decision making and are planned and resourced to fall within the orbit of a local authority or local regeneration partnership. In effect they feed into or contribute to on-going strategies" (p.303). The second kind is the shadow organisations which are "parallel bodies that mimic existing adult-based organisations" (p.303) and they are "regularly consulted on the day-to-day business of the local authority and invited to contribute to significant events" (p.303). The third type is consultative organisations which have a strong local focus and the purpose is to secure future resources to the immediate locality and improving the local environment.

Matthews also argue that there are three types of scope of youth councils. The first type is issue-specific organisations, and these are often initiated by public bodies such as the police to get a youth perspective on how

to solve a specific issue. The second type have a group scope where young people share interests or identities, and the last is the community-specific, which overlaps somewhat with the group-specific as it sees how the group can interact with the community in the best possible way. The adult relation and the scope dimensions can come in different combinations, so for example Hampshire youth council was classified by Matthews as a shadow-community specific council, whilst Dorset is a feeder-issue specific. Different youth councils can thus be placed at different steps on Arnstein's (1969) classic ladder of participation, and at times be more institutionalised than the political parties youth factions as some can have real influence on policy. However, this depends largely on the attitude of the local council to which the youth council is associated, and in effect the adults that run it.

The dependency on the approval of the adults for influence has led scholars to be critical of youth councils. These scholars acknowledge that these kind of partnerships have shown to have positive outcomes in terms of improving the situation for young people not involved in the decision-making, and cognitive development (Zeldin et al., 2000). However, it has been questioned whether they actually promote participation and empowerment (O'Toole and Gale, 2006). They have often been criticised for being tokenistic (Cockburn, 2005) because the young citizen participates as a consumer or service user on a particular issue or area of policy (O'Toole and Gale, 2006, Barber, 2009). This structural limitation of the realisation of young people's political rights has been highlighted by several scholars in relation to UNCRC and the condition that rights are granted on the basis of age and maturity (Tisdall et al., 2008).

Furthermore, other scholars have pointed out problems with the selection process (Milliken, 2001). The members are either self-selected or selected by a teacher or other adult because they are 'appropriate' to take part in adult affairs and this can lead to the councils being made up by an elite group. As such they are neither representatives, in any sense of the word, nor accountable to a constituency (Milliken, 2001). However, even if they were to be elected there would potentially be an issue of bias in who stands for election, and also who wins the election, and as youth councils often do not have any decision making power having that kind of accountability seems misplaced. Scholars are also concerned with the democratic qualities of youth

councils because the context and agenda is often dominated by adults, so even when they are given the opportunity to participate they are dominated by adults (Barber, 2009).

These inconsistencies in how youth councils work and the difference in the potential influence they can have poses some challenges for this research. Firstly, some local youth councils may have more influence in local policy than the local branch of the political parties' youth factions. In this scenario the youth council could be seen as the more institutionalised outlet. Secondly, due to the variation in the level of influence of the different youth councils, it is difficult to treat them as the same kind of outlet. For these reasons it seems more appropriate to take a national rather than local focus when comparing youth councils and youth factions. There are also practical benefits to a national focus, as doing so will increase the number of potential respondents which is necessary for the survey method. Furthermore, the demonstrations surveyed also had a national focus and mobilisation despite being held in London. Therefore the national bodies of the youth factions were approached for collaboration as well as the British Youth Council (BYC).

The BYC was founded in 1948, long before the youth empowerment agenda and UNCRC, with the original purpose to unite young people against the forces of communism. In 1963 they became independent of the British Government and became a charity uniting the local youth councils and developing their own network of youth councils. BYC currently has 230 member organisations including youth councils and parliaments. Each member organisation is allocated voting and observer delegates to attend the Annual Council Meeting. During their existence they have worked closely with government, producing reports, and joining up with other organisations to lead campaigns on, for example, encouraging young people to vote. In 2000 BYC led the biggest consultation with young people ever commissioned by the government on issues such as education, employment and voice for young people. Today they lead on campaigns such as votes at 16, ending child poverty, saving youth services and safe and affordable public transport for young people, on which they led a select committee from April 2012 resulting in the publication *Transport and Young People*. BYC engages in various kinds of other activities as well, such as serving their membership, running youth-led networks including UK Youth Parliament (UKYP), Young Mayors Network,

Local Youth Council Network, National Scrutiny Group and the Youth Select Committee. They also conduct training to empower young people to get involved in politics and present a series of awards for youth organisations recognising excellent youth influence. Furthermore their proximity to the political parties is shown in that they organise fringe events at all the party conferences in both 2012 and 2013.

This discussion shows that in many ways the BYC is in real terms much more institutionalised than the political parties youth factions, because they can, and have had, real influence on the politicians in power. However, as they are non-partisan and thus do not have a direct and formal link to the political establishment such as the political parties or government. The lack of such a formal tie makes the existence and influence of BYC more precarious than the political parties' youth factions, and as such they are simply an advocacy group than a permanent part of the political establishment. They are currently a very influential advocacy group, but if the existence and influence of the political parties youth factions was dependent on the attitude of the main party, this is even more the case with the BYC. For example, they led the consultancy exercise on education, employment and voice for young people, on behalf of the Government and this shows that part of their existence depends on the support of the political establishment. Therefore, the existence of BYC is (more) dependent on maintaining a good relationship to the political establishment, but if this relationship were to be broken, the organisation would be severely weakened. As such, they are different from the social movement organisations that McLaughlin (2009) describe as wanting to "challenge the established systems of power and authority, and they seek to change the bases on which decisions are normally made and the ways in which activities are routinely conducted" (p.9). BYC might to some extent challenge the established systems of power and authority, for example through their votes@16 campaign, but they are not challenging the way that decisions are made, as seen in for example the mirroring of the parliamentary system in UKYP. Although the youth factions would also be weakened by a change in their relationship with the main party history has shown that their existence has not been severely threatened (Lamb, 2000). In contrast to the youth factions, which (supposedly) work as mobilisation forces for the political party, there is no such direct link between a youth council and political parties. There is thus less incentive for the political establishment to keep them running. This could also be because

the formal link between the youth faction and the political party is stronger. For example the Liberal Democrats constitution states that they should have a youth wing and Young Labour have a seat on the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. In contrast, the BYC does not have one institution in the political establishment to which they have such a close formal link.

The semi-institutional nature of BYC is also seen in the activities that they offer their members. As highlighted in Chapter One, the level of institutionalisation affects the activities that an organisation engages in; where the very institutionalised engage in non-radical activities, whilst the non-institutionalised engage in more radical activities, such as protest and direct action. BYC engages in some not very radical activities, such as leading select committees. At the same time their organisation is based around campaigns, showing that they are opposing the political establishment. This discussion show, if anything, that it is difficult to establish the real level of institutionalisation of BYC, but what it has illustrated is that in comparison to the other cases, BYC falls in the middle. Therefore it is classified as a semi-institutionalised organisation.

As mentioned above, one of the unexpected limitations of the methodology was that there were few events that could be surveyed. As such, any event organised by the BYC was of interest to ensure a large a sample as possible. This led to one regional event for the South East region as well as two UK Youth Parliament (UKYP) annual sittings being surveyed under the heading of BYC because they are organising and coordinating the UKYP. The UKYP is thus an institution with a slightly different direct purpose to the BYC but as the UKYP is run by the BYC, in fact by the same people, the organisational overlap is almost complete. Furthermore, both institutions came about in the same drive for inclusion of young people in the policy making process, and occupy a similar position in the establishment structure. Therefore seeing BYC and UKYP as de facto the same organisations should not be considered to be an obstacle.

2.3 Case Three: Non- Institutionalised NUS Demonstrations: The Social Movement

In the current context of citizen disenchantment with formal parliamentary politics it has been argued that there has instead been an upswing in citizens'

engagement with 'new' forms of political participation, such as single issue post-materialistic issues (Inglehart, 1990). Several studies argue that demonstrations and other forms of 'unconventional' political participation originally associated with the rise of new social movements and the new politics in the late 1960s are commonplace today (Norris, 2004b, Norris, 2002b, Van Aelst and Walgrave, 2001). By 1975, Tilly argued that protest had simply become another way of mobilising public opinion and influencing governmental agendas. More recently, (Dalton (1996)) argued that protest has become common amongst the educated and politically sophisticated middle classes. Rather than being spontaneous outbreaks aimed at overthrowing the established political order, modern demonstrations are consciously organised by new social movements and lobby groups and aimed at influencing the political agenda. Social movement and protest participation is of particular interest from a youth perspective as not only did Barnes *et al* suggest already in 1979 that young people are more likely to participate in the more radical kind of participation of protest, but as Dalton (1996) puts it "protest is the domain of the young" (p. 68).

Several explanations have been offered for why young people are more engaged in non-institutionalised politics than other age groups. One explanation is that following the professionalisation of politics and the introduction of increasingly marketing-led campaigning methods, the campaigning strategies adopted by political parties tend to be geared more towards middle-aged voters. As a result of this new way of conducting electoral campaigns young people are not the target of political campaigns, and scholars have argued that this has led young people to consider formal politics as remote and irrelevant (Kimberlee, 1998). However, it may also (or instead) be the case that parties tend to cater less for young people's interests, since they perceive them as a lost constituency (Keiser, 2000). Another theory is that young people espouse a 'new politics' value agenda which leads them to prioritise new social movements and consumer style single-issue campaigns over mainstream political participation (Abramson and Inglehart, 1992, Inglehart, 1990, Dalton, 1996).The explanation for this may be a life-cycle and biographical availability, or a generational change in political values (Dalton, 1988). Recently more research lends its support to the argument that young people are leading the shift from formal political participation to the 'new' and non-institutionalised (Marsh et al., 2007, Dalton, 2008a, Norris, 2004a). As

such, a study on young people's political participation would not be complete without a case investigating social movement and protest participation.

Even so, just as with the other domains of political participation, there is a wide range of repertoires an individual can engage in. Social movement participation can range from wearing a campaign button or signing a petition to direct illegal action (see e.g. Barnes et al., 1979, p. 156, Dalton, 1988, p. 65). As pointed out in Chapter One, each of these activities require different amounts and kinds of resources (Klandermans, 2004), but the focus here is on political activism as defined as attending a political event or meeting. Even with this focus, there are still multiple options for this in the sphere of social movement participation. Attendance at a demonstration is chosen as the preferred comparison for this thesis for two main reasons. Firstly, meeting attendance at a social movement organisation would most likely overlap too much with the BYC activities. Although a most similar cases approach is chosen for this thesis, it is also important that the activities across the institutional settings do not overlap. Secondly, a study on young people's participation would not be complete without covering protest behaviour. Although protest behaviour is often seen as part of the wider repertoire of social movements, the act of protest is more radical than other acts. To keep the level of risk and cost involved similar to the other cases for this research, the act of attending a legal street demonstration is chosen as the social movement or protest participation.

The UK team of the *Caught in the Act: Contextualising Contestation* (henceforth, *Caught in the Act)* has surveyed 12 demonstrations in the UK since 2009 covering a wide variety of issues from climate change to anti-fascism. The focus of this research is however on youth, and therefore an issue that is particularly relevant to young people seems like the most appropriate case to select. From the demonstrations that have been surveyed by the UK *Caught in the Act* team (See Appendix A) the student demonstrations of 2010 are the most directly relevant to young people and therefore serve as the most appropriate demonstration to use for this research. The student demonstrations were a result of mobilisation in opposition to the Coalition's plans for a steep increase in tuition fees and spending cuts in education. On November 10, 2010, a first national demonstration against fees and cuts was called by the National Union of Students (NUS) and University and Colleges

Union (UCU). This demonstration attracted over 50,000 participants (making it the largest UK protest since Stop the War in 2003) and culminated in the infamous Millbank 'riots'. Following a perceived lack of leadership on the part of the NUS, the more radical National Campaign Against Fees and Cuts (NCA£C) and Education Activist Network called two days of action and a second national demonstration for December 9, 2010, (on the day of the vote in Parliament) attracting over 20,000 attendants.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the three cases for this research that provide an outlet for political activism. Each case is selected because of its location and embeddedness in the political system, from the institutionalised political parties youth factions, through the semi-institutionalised BYC to the non-institutionalised demonstration. The next chapter will outline the analytical framework that will discuss how the positioning of the outlet in the political system and the characteristics of the outlet influence differential political activism. This thesis adds to the current debate on political participation by including the semi-institutionalised BYC, and this allows us to explore the impact of the level of institutionalisation of an organisation on those who participate in it. The critical case of the BYC allows us to test the alienation theory in more detail and ask the question whether all young people who are not active in institutionalised forms of political participation are alienated, and if so, are alienated in the same way? What are their attitudes to the political system? Are they more similar to the demonstrators or the youth faction activists? As such, the selection of cases for this thesis contributes to a more nuanced understanding of political activism.

Chapter 3: Analytical Framework

In the literature review chapter it was suggested that the general literature on political participation was not fully able to explain differential political activism. It was argued that the general political participation literature treated political participation as a dichotomous variable, and was best suited to explain why someone participates or not, but not why someone participates in different institutional contexts. Instead, it was suggested that we also need to understand the context for participation, and how this context interacts with the individual level variables. Now that we have explored the characteristics of the cases chosen for this research and thus the context for each of the activists' participation, we can amalgamate the findings in the existing literature to develop an analytical framework that will provide guidance in answering the research questions. This chapter will start by outlining the analytical framework that has three levels; the macro, meso and micro, or in other words; the system level, the organisation level and the individual level. Each of these levels has particular characteristics affecting political activism but in reality they are not as neatly separated as the model suggests. This chapter will therefore also discuss the connections and relationships between the different levels and the effects they might have on the individual. The chapter will then move on to discuss the concepts used in the framework in more detail. This discussion will pay particular attention to the definition and the operationalisation of the dependent variable; political activism. For empirical reasons, two related but slightly different definitions will be used depending on which data source is being analysed to ensure that the operationalisation makes sense in the data. Finally, drawing from the (limited) literature on each of the cases the chapter will outline the expected findings.

3.1 An Outline Of The Analytical Framework

To understand differential political activism we need to understand the context of participation. The analytical model presented here to understand and explain differential political activism has three levels; the political system (macro), the organisation (meso), and the individual (micro), where the latter is the focus and level of analysis for this thesis.

The system level shapes the overarching context and the available opportunities for political activism. The most telling example of this is the difference between a democracy and a dictatorship; they are different political systems and clearly offer very different opportunities (or lack of opportunities) to be politically active. However, we do not have to go to that extreme to understand how the macro level affects the opportunities and context for participation. Even democratic states can take different roles in for example supporting the development of civil society groups, which is why we see different levels of activity and vibrancy of civil society groups in different countries (Maloney et al., 2000, Wijkström and Zimmer, 2011).

The literature review ended by suggesting that the theory of political opportunity structures (POS) can be used to understand how the context for individual political activity is shaped by the political system. POS theory is a structural theory aiming to explain the emergence and behaviour of social movements in a particular context. Just as suggested by Dearlove (1973), POS theory also stipulates that the likelihood that an organisation achieves their aims and the behaviour of organisations depends on their positioning in the political opportunity structure. The POS can thus facilitate or obstruct not only the presence of organisations, but also the achievement of their goals. The political system does so by at different points in time, be more or less 'open' or 'closed' to the emergence of social movements in general and some organisations in particular. POS has been subject to much debate and some conceptual stretching, with varying definitions, operationalisations and strengths of evidence supporting the theory (Meyer, 2004). However, for those who have defined and operationalised the concept, features such as the nature of the chief executive, the electoral system and social cohesion (Eisinger, 1973) make up the factors affecting the openness or closedness of the system. An open system, according to Eisinger (1973) provides opportunities of formal representation of distinct segments of the population or is responsive to citizen needs and demands. A more decentralised executive, proportional voting system and cohesive society is more open and facilitates the emergence and development of civil society organisations. It is clear that these factors would not only affect social movements, but in fact influence all groups in civil society and it therefore seems feasible to also apply the logic of POS to other organisations in society as well. As such the POS theory can explain how the political system affects the context and development of organisations in

society that give opportunity for political activism. The UK is a political system that should be considered to be relatively open to the emergence and influence of interest groups.

The second level of the analytical model is the organisational level. This is of particular interest in this thesis as the aim is to compare activists across different institutional settings, or organisations. All organisations have their own values, structures, resources and capacities that affect their behaviour their goals. These characteristics of an organisation shape the direct opportunities and context for political activism for an individual. A telling example of the dynamics of this is the research on the changing nature of political parties, where they have changed from being mass-parties to being catch-all (Heidar, 2006) cartel parties (Katz and Mair, 1995). In this new modern party the behaviour of the party has changed, and has become more centralised and professionalised (Stoker, 2006). As a result, the role of the member has changed from being the main channel of spreading information and convincing people to vote for the party, to a financial resource and 'foot-soldier' in election campaigns (Scarrow, 2007). As such, the incentives for participation in the party offered by a party have also changed (Katz and Mair, 1995, Seyd and Whiteley, 2004).

Similarly, other civil society organisations offer various incentives and ways for their members to be active. All kinds of organisations offer the potential and existing members different incentive structures to become members and be active. Clark and Wilson (1961) identified three kinds of incentive systems; utilitarian, solidarity and purposive. The utilitarian organisation acts in any way possible to maximise the benefits of the members, but do not necessarily require them to act. A solidarity organisation offers the members opportunities to engage in activities that allow them to act altruistically, and Clark and Wilson argue that people who engage with these kind of groups are seeking prestige and status by acting altruistically. Therefore these organisations can be relatively flexible in the types of activities they offer as long as it satisfies the members who contribute. In contrast, the purposive organisation can only act in such a way to move towards the achievement of the goal, otherwise the members will become disillusioned with the goal and the group fragments. Clark and Wilson argue that the purposive organisations are the least resistant to change, because they need to unite their members around the purpose.

However, as many political goals are difficult to achieve members risk of becoming disillusioned with the process. Therefore these organisations "simultaneously try to increase the importance of friendships, sociability, and organisational status as incentives" (Clark and Wilson, 1961, p. 150), thus moving closer to the solidarity type of organisation. According to this theory, someone would participate in a certain organisation based on a match in the incentives structure of the organisation, the opportunities to participate and the motivations for participation by the individual. As such, the organisational level highlights the importance of what is offered by the organisation to the member in return for their participation. This illustrates how the behaviour of the organisation contributes to explaining why someone participates in a certain organisation.

The last level is the individual level, and as shown in the literature review there is a vast literature that deals with this level of explanation. The literature review outlined some of the vast research and literature on the individual levels of explanation for political participation, which included resources, in terms of socioeconomic status and skills. It was suggested that someone with more resources was more likely to participate politically. Another set of individual level variables that also contribute is the attitudinal variables; it is simply not enough to be able to participate; one needs to be willing to participate as well. This includes the attitudinal variables such as attitudes to the political system, levels of alienation from the political system and a sense of the participation actually having the desired outcome. Lastly, it was argued that being motivated by something to participate was also important and as outlined above the motivations are closely related to the incentives to participate.

The three levels of analytical framework outlined above illustrate that why someone participates is a function of a combination of opportunities to participate, incentives to participate and the resources, attitudes and motivations of the individual. However, as suggested in the literature review, focusing on only one of these levels of explanation for political participation, is not sufficient to explain differential political activism. Therefore the next section will discuss how these levels relate to each other and how the interaction between the levels contribute to a better way of understanding and explaining differential political activism.

3.2 Connecting The Levels Of The Analytical Framework

The section above argued that the features of the political system could encourage or inhibit the development and vitality of organisations. However, not all organisations are the same, and have the same relationship to the political system. Therefore Saunders (2008) argues that the POS can be more or less open to certain organisations at the same point in time. She takes the example of the environmental movement where some organisations engage in more radical behaviour and therefore meet closed POS. At the same point in time, other less radical organisations, meet a more open POS and are invited to consultations by the government. The insights from Saunders highlight the importance of the meso, or organisational, level. She shows that the positioning of the organisation in a system affects the behaviour of the organisation, the opportunities and incentives they give members to be active and the likelihood of the organisation in achieving its aims. Additionally, the varying levels of embeddedness in, or closeness to, the political system, will make certain organisations more or less attractive to individuals depending on their attitudes to the political system. Thus, the closer to or more embedded in the system the more likely an organisation is to have influence, so political parties should theoretically have the most and demonstrations the least. This is however where the semi-institutionalised BYC poses a potential challenge to this logic, because they are not the closest to the system, but they are rather a (currently) very influential lobby group with close links to the political system.

Achieving their aims is not only important for the organisation to function, but also to give the members incentives to engage and be active. From an organisational perspective, the location in the political system can be seen to affect their objectives, behaviour and the incentives they can offer the members depending on how likely they are to achieve their objectives. Not all organisations have purposive objectives, as discussed in the literature review, and therefore rely more on the solidarity and utilitarian elements. The different objectives of the organisations can be seen in the aims of the organisations where the demonstrations have a (relatively) concrete aim, but the other two organisations also appeal to the training and social elements of their organisation (see Table 3:2 on page 76).

As described in the previous chapter, the cases selected for this research hold different positions in the political system, and this acted as the basis for their selection. Following from the insights in the POS literature these organisations would face different opportunity structures, which would affect their likelihood of achieving their goals and their behaviour. The differences in behaviour would lead to the organisations offering different opportunities to be active to their members, as well as the incentives they can offer the individual member. Take for example the youth factions; they can offer the young members the opportunity to network with high ranking politicians of the political party and they can offer them opportunities to work on electoral campaigns. This experience will build up the skills and networks to move up the political ranks of the party. Similarly, the BYC offer their members an opportunity to be part of a democratic organisation that mirrors many democratic structures of the Westminster model. If they are successful in their lobbying they offer their members the opportunity to network with high ranking politicians. The members are also given extensive training opportunities that will give them the skills to be political in other ways in the future. As such, these two organisations offer their members a more utilitarian incentives structure that is to benefit them personally, and it is expected that this will be reflected in the motivations of the activists. However, especially political parties can also be seen to offer solidarity incentive structures that allow the members to act altruistically, when for example helping out in election campaigns or running the local party.

In contrast, the NUS are much less institutionalised. Because of this positioning in the political system they can give the affiliates the opportunity to engage in the (relatively) radical behaviour of demonstrations. A demonstration also has a particular purpose; in this case to stop implementation of tuition fees and cuts in the education sector. Combined these features illustrate that the NUS clearly has a purposive incentive structure. The importance of the achievement of the purpose for organisations with a purposive incentive structure is well illustrated by the limited presence the student movement has today. They did not achieve their aim, which resulted in the student movement practically vanishing. The demonstrations had only one aim, and offered only one incentive, and when that incentive could not be met, it was difficult to mobilise people around the issue. The student demonstration against fees and cuts went from 50,000 attendants in 2010 to (probably a

generous estimate by the organisers) 10,000 in 2012[5]. However, it would have been difficult for the student movement to offer any other, or change their incentive structures. They managed to mobilise people around the tuition fees and education cuts, but to change the purpose or incentives to participate would require a whole new mobilisation process. Offering other kinds of incentives, more like the ones of the BYC or the youth factions, is unlikely to have been successful, because these activists were not interested in talking to high ranking politicians, they wanted to shout at them.

The discussion above illustrates how the positioning of an organisation in the political system influences their incentive systems, which in turn influence their behaviour and who is attracted to a certain organisation. The location of the organisation in the political system can also be related to the attitudes of the people who engage with the organisation. This brings us more directly to the individual level of the analytical model, where the attitudes held by the individual affect which organisation they chose to engage in. Whilst the motivations are also held by the individual, they have to be met by incentives by the organisation. The organisation offers the individual incentives to be active and the likelihood of the incentives being met is a function of the positioning of the organisation in the political system. Conversely, the attitudes held by an individual will affect what type of organisation the individual is active in depending on the location of the organisation in the political system. The link between the attitudes of the individual and the organisation is not dependent on the behaviour of the organisation to the same extent as the motivations. The operational function here is the connection between the location in the political system and the individual's attitudes. This reasoning stems from the current disengagement debates, in particular in the youth field. These scholars have argued that negative attitudes to the political system, or alienation, does not necessarily mean non-participation, but it can also lead to system-challenging alternative political participation. Conversely then, positive attitudes to the political system lead to institutionalised political participation. Applying these insights to the question of differential participation, it seems as if certain dimensions of alienation can have a role to play in explaining activism across institutional settings. Similar

[5]See BBC reporting http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-20412792

to the attitudes to the political system, the more alienated someone is the less likely they will be to engage in institutionalised settings.

Again, the selection of cases at different levels of institutionalisation is deliberate to be able to test this proposition. By comparing the attitudes of those engaged in outlets of different levels of institutionalisation, we can explore to what extent this holds true, and whether it holds for all attitudes to the political system and which dimensions of alienation affect choice of outlet. This is of particular interest when it comes to the semi- institutionalised BYC, which is a previously neglected outlet for young people to be politically active. The BYC are between the movement and the establishment, and therefore can allow us to tease out which attitudes it is that affect what kinds of participation.

The efficacy attitudes are slightly different from the other attitudes, as they are an assessment of the likelihood of the particular activity being effective. As such, it is related to the discussion above regarding the positioning of the organisation in the political system and the effect this has on the likelihood of it achieving its aims. However, there is an important nuance here, because efficacy is an individual assessment and it has been shown to be an important indicator as to whether someone gets involved or not in the first place. The main analysis of this thesis is of those who are politically active, and thus have, according to a rational choice logic, made an assessment that the action is worth the effort. This may be a naïve assessment, as unfortunately seen in the student demonstrations failing to influence the government. The case of the student movement illustrates that the positioning of the organisation in the political system, and thus their more objective efficacy, is not necessarily part of the calculation of the potential efficacy of the action. The real potential for achievement as influenced by the positioning in the political system does not necessarily play a role in this, and therefore the efficacy assessment is an individual level variable that is not directly affected by the level of institutionalisation of an organisation. As such, there are no expected differences between the activists across institutional settings in terms of their efficacy.

We see from this discussion that the explanation for differential political activism seems to on the one hand have to do with the level of institutionalisation of an organisation. The level of institutionalisation affect the behaviour and opportunities for an individual to be active and it influences

their likelihood of being successful in achieving them etc. On the other hand the individual level choice to join a certain organisation also depends on the location of this organisation in the system, and therefore also a function of the individual's attitudes to the political system. Someone who wants to be political, but does not particularly like the system would not necessarily join a political party. This thesis aims to address the issue of differential political activism from an individual perspective, whilst also bringing in some organisational elements. It does so by conducting the comparison of activists in organisations at different levels of institutionalisation, or embeddedness, in the political system. By doing so it is possible to compare activists, and explore the strength of the explanations. Is it mostly a matter of different incentives and motivations for participation? Or is it a matter of attitudes held by the individual? If so, which motivations and attitudes set the activists apart? The choice of organisations at different positions in the political system, from institutionalised political parties youth factions to non-institutionalised demonstrations enables an empirical testing of the analytical framework. The result will be a better understanding of differential political activism.

3.3 Developing And Defining The Concepts In The Framework

Now that the analytical framework and the three levels constituting the analytical framework have been outlined we need to explore the concepts in the framework at greater detail. This section will discuss the concepts in the framework as well as the measurements for the concepts in the data. This discussion is important and as we will see the application of the concepts to young people is not always straight forward. Firstly the dependent variable, political activism, will be discussed and defined, and a scale of political activity will be created based on the cost of the activity ranging from low cost to high cost. Secondly, the concepts used for the independent variables will be discussed and how they hypothetically would relate to levels of institutionalisation and by extension how they would affect differential political activism.

3.3.1 Defining The Dependent Variable: Political Activism

As argued in the introduction, much of the current literature on young people's political participation has focused on why they do not participate politically. But as discussed in the literature review the potential repertoires of political participation are much more extensive than a dichotomy and they are likely to change over time. This thesis aims to address our knowledge gap in what makes young people participate by focusing on those who are politically active, and also exploring whether there are differences between those who are active in a similar repertoire but in different domains. Building on the discussions presented in Chapter One regarding the stretching of the concept of political participation, a more specific definition of *political activity* is used. For this thesis political activity will be defined as *activities with the purpose of achieving a certain political goal or influencing a political decision*.

There are two elements of this definition that are important to highlight. Firstly, following the critique of the conceptual stretching of political participation in Chapter One, the first step in defining political activity was to clearly state the *political* nature of the acts to be included in the concept of political activity. Drawing from the discussion on the variation in repertoires the second important feature of this definition is that it specifies that the behaviour is an activity. These two elements ensures that the political behaviour included is firstly clearly political and secondly an activity. The definition therefore attempts to avoid the wide and vague definitions that were criticised in the literature review and ensures that there is not a too wide range of repertoires included in the concept.

However, the discussion in the literature review also suggested that there are nuances even to the same repertoire (a political activity). The way to distinguish between these nuances was in terms of the cost of the activity to the individual, where the cost has three dimensions. Firstly is the time required performing the activity itself, secondly whether it imposes some monetary costs on the individual, such as membership fees and or travel costs, and thirdly whether some time needs to go into preparation for performing the act. Based on these three criteria a repertoire will be placed on a scale of political activity ranging from low cost to high cost repertoires. For this research this scale will be developed using the measurements of political and civic

participation from the Youth Citizenship Commission dataset, which will be described in the methodology chapter (Chapter Four).

It is important to remember that these criteria are not a measure of whether the activity is a political activity or not, but rather at what point of the scale an activity is to be placed. For something to be classified as a political activity in the first place it has to fulfil the criteria of the definition above, of being an activity with a clear political purpose. As such, Berger's example above of watching a political programme would not be considered a *political activity*, although it is an activity that is *engaging* with politics. That person would be considered to be politically *engaged,* but not politically *active.* We therefore have a definition of political activity that has a clear scope but flexible enough to encompass different repertoires in a systematic way.

The construction of this scale is only the first step in the analysis to be conducted in this thesis; whilst the second step and the main focus of the thesis is the nature of activism. This will be operationalised as the high cost political activities, which we will see below are the activities such as attending a meeting or an event organised by a political organisation or being involved in a political campaign. These activities score the highest in terms of the cost they impose on the individual, and this will be discussed in more detail later. The activists engaging in these kinds of political activities are of particular interest because they are a previously neglected group, but are an important group for the survival of the organisations they are part of. By exploring who they are, and why they are active, and comparing them across institutional domains this thesis aims to provide a more nuanced understanding of the nature of youth political activism.

3.3.2 Constructing A Scale Of Political Activism

The construction of a scale of political activity is not an easy or straight forward task. The discussion below will show that the difficulties partially derive from the innovative nature of the construction of political activism, but also because the cost of an activity is extremely difficult to measure in an objective way. This is particularly because, as was suggested in the literature review and will be further argued in the methodology chapter, not many surveys are designed to catch this nuance. The limitation of the standard survey is that it is not fixed in time and does not take the nuance of repertoire

into consideration. The YCC data is no exception to these limitations. The question relating to political repertoires asks 'Which, if any, of the following have you done in the last couple of years?'. The response options are made up of an extensive list of civic activities ranging from volunteering to running campaigns; see Table 3:1 below for the full list of repertoires and their position on the scale. However, the benefits of the sampling being targeted at the particular demographic group of interest here and that the survey includes variables particular to the youth engagement literature, makes the data useful for this analysis despite these challenges.

The first step in constructing the scale of political activism was to narrow down which activities were considered to be political. To do this only those activities that were explicitly named as political (such as got involved in a political campaign) or directly targeted at or aimed to influence decision makers (signing a petition or voting) were considered as political. It can definitely be argued that all activities on the list are political, and some respondents may interpret them as political and tick the box for one of these activities with a political activity in mind. However, as it is equally likely that the respondent interprets them as non-political, but we have no way of telling from the data, these activities were treated as non-political. These activities and the response option of 'none of the above', meaning they had not engaged in any of the civic and political activities were combined into one category of 'no political activity'.

The next step in the construction of the scale is to distinguish between the political activities based on their cost. The biggest challenge to producing this scale is the lack of information about the act both in qualitative and in quantitative terms, and as such it is difficult to generalise about the cost an activity may impose on an individual. With the question formulated as it is in the survey, just as it is in many other surveys, it is difficult to make precise estimations of the cost imposed on the individual. The scale produced here is a first attempt to reconstruct the variable of political participation using the survey items that are available and the analysis in the following chapter shows that it works to produce meaningful and significant results and therefore fulfils the purpose of this thesis.

For example, someone who ticks the box of signing a petition may have done it once after having conducted extensive research about the issue and

then follows up on the result of the petition. At the same time someone might just be approached in the street by someone who asks them to sign a petition, they think the cause sounds good but don't know much about it and do not follow up the issue. Or people might fall between these extremes. However, the act itself of signing a petition is relatively low cost, compared to for example voting; it does not *require* previous information, for you to go anywhere or spend a lot of time actually performing the act, and is therefore the lowest cost activity on the scale.

Table 3:1. Political Activity Scale

Survey Item	Number on scale
Helped to raise money for a good cause	0
Given time/volunteered to help other people	0
Got involved in running a local club/putting on a local event	0
Donated money to good cause	0
Done something to help make my local area a better place	0
Signed a petition	1
Boycotted certain products	2
Discussed politics or political news with someone	2
Voted in general election	3
Voted in a local election	3
Contacted MP or local councillor	3
Gone to political meeting, demonstration, march or rally	4
Got involved in a political campaign	4

The next step on the scale is a combination of boycotting products and discussing politics. These questions were combined because both tend to require the respondent to have engaged with some previous information, and for the individual to then use it either to inform their consumer choices or in a political discussion. Both activities can of course also be engaged in without any previous information, and again we have the possibility of the person engaging in much previous research and going out of their way to buy ethical products, and someone who casually buys fair-trade because it seems like a good thing to do, and anything in between. The time engaged in the activity may also differ, where a political discussion is likely to last longer than a

purchase of an ethical product. However, the latter may mean either travelling further to get an ethical version of the product, paying a higher price, or not purchase the product at all, and as such impose a different kind of cost to the individual. Overall therefore the potential cost that these acts could impose on the individual is relatively similar and most importantly; different from the cost other acts impose on the individuals.

The third category is the category of voting in a general or local election or contacting an MP or local councillor. These acts require the individual to engage in some kind of preparation for the act, either by registering to vote or finding out whom the politician is that they want to contact and find their contact details. Most of the time it also involves obtaining some kind of information, either about what the parties stand for or about the issue that one wishes to raise with the politician. The act itself also requires a certain effort, in the case of voting sending off a postal ballot or going to the polling booth and in the case of contacting the politician writing the letter (and sending it). As such they impose a greater cost to the individual who engages in them and is placed higher up on the cost scale than signing a petition, boycotting and having a political discussion respectively.

The last category on the scale that represents the highest cost activities is a combination of the actions of getting involved in a political campaign and attending a political meeting, rally or demonstration. This category is also what is in this thesis being understood as political activism because of the high cost it impose on the individual. All these activities require the individual to have received some information in advance, decided to act on it and the actual act requires the most time as well. What is particularly interesting about these response options is that in contrast to all other response options none of these options is sphere specific. The other options, such as signing a petition or voting, are activities aiming to influence the formal sphere of politics. The options in this category however entail multiple types of activities (attending political meeting, demonstration or rally) and the nature of these activities can differ significantly. Someone might have attended a party political meeting, attended an anarchist demonstration or a BNP rally. All these people would fall into the same category, but it is probably fair to say that the activities are significantly different and they might be very different kinds of people. This is both a strength and a weakness of this category. From the perspective of this

research it follows the proposed focus on the type of activity rather than the sphere of the activity. However, this is not to say that the sphere or type of activity does not matter, and because we do not have any information about the activities themselves this is also a weakness of the category that will have to be taken into consideration when interpreting the results.

The construction of a scale like this allows us to not only compare the activists with non-activists, but also allows for a more nuanced understanding of those young people who are politically active. This is the first step in conceptually improving the measure of political participation that this thesis aims to achieve and explore the nature of youth activism. The second step is to explore those who are active in high cost activities. Or more specifically, attending a meeting arranged by a political party's youth faction, a meeting organised by the British Youth Council or the NUS demonstration. As such, this thesis has two, similar but slightly different, operationalisations of political activism depending on which research question is being answered and which dataset is being used. This is necessary because of the different purposes and nature of the different steps in the analysis. The first step intends to understand the similarities and differences between those who engage in political activities of different costs, and those who do not engage in any political activities. For this analysis the whole scale of political activity will be used. The second step is to better understand the similarities and differences between political activists, those who engage in high cost political activities, in different institutional settings. To achieve this new data was collected on those who attended meetings or events organised in different institutional settings. The two definitions share common grounds but for practical reasons concerning the nature of the data they are both necessary.

3.3.3 Defining The Independent Variables

So far we have a nuanced understanding of the analytical framework and how the different levels of the framework relate to each other. We also have a focused, yet nuanced, definition of the dependent variable political activism. One remaining element is now to understand the independent variables explaining differential political activism. This section will introduce and discuss the independent variables, that are categorised under the headings; resources,

attitudes and motivations. All these variables are individual level variables as this is the level of analysis and the data is individual level data.

3.3.3.1 Resources

As argued in the literature review, the traditional measures of resources do not apply neatly to young people. For example, education level is structured by age, and therefore it is not a reflection of how academically skilled they are because they cannot have progressed further than their age allows. Furthermore, due to the recruitment to BYC through schools in some cases, this risks biasing that sample towards a certain age group with particular educational qualifications. Similarly, income or class variables have limited application as many young people rely on their parents for financial support because of their place in the life cycle. Furthermore, if they work there are limitations on how long they work, and what work they are allowed to do until they are 16. This illustrates that even if young people can be somewhat economically independent from their parents there are structural limitations to their economic status. This does however not diminish the value of exploring the spread of demographic variables in the sample, but their explanatory value for differential youth political activism is limited.

The importance of the demographic variables can be seen to be of a more democratic nature. They can give an illustration of who's voice is heard in the political system and explore whether there are any inequalities in recruitment and mobilisation in the different institutional settings. As Verba et al. (1995) argue, having different groups in society represented in political organisations is important for the quality of democracy. If there is inequality in the access to means of communicating with the politicians in power the decisions they make are unlikely to reflect the wishes of the unheard. Young people are underrepresented in formal politics, it therefore becomes even more important to explore who it is that is active in the institutionalised and established forms of political parties. How do they compare to the young population as a whole? And how do they compare to those young people who are active in different institutional settings? The results from the research by Marien et al. (2010) suggest that some inequalities in the institutionalised forms of participation do translate to the non-institutionalised forms of political participation. But what about the semi-institutionalised? Are they better or worse at recruiting people

from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds than the political parties and demonstrations?

The other two sets of resources variables refer to the mobilisation patterns and previous civic and political participation. Of course, both sets of variables could also be seen as important in their own right. However, mobilisation patterns and previous participation can also be seen as a proxy for the resources an individual actually possess. Mobilisation patterns give an indication of the social networks of the individual and how embedded they are in these social networks. The importance of social networks for political participation has been emphasised both by social movement scholars (Klandermans, 1984, Walgrave and Klandermans, 2010) and by social capital scholars (Putnam, 2000, McClurg, 2003). The more extensive the social networks or the more embedded an individual is in the networks the more likely they are to participate politically because they are more likely to be asked and receive information about events. Extensive social networks and deep embeddedness in these networks can thus be seen as a resource of the individual that contributes to their likelihood of being mobilised.

Mobilisation channels can take different forms, and following Walgrave and Klandermans (2010) the distinction that will be used here is whether the mobilisation channel is open or closed. This is defined based on the target of the mobilisation effort. If there is no restriction to the target is, the mobilisation channel it is open. In contrast, if there are restrictions on mobilisation to people with certain characteristics, such as membership in an organisation, it is considered to be closed. Linking this to the embeddedness and social networks ideas presented above, if someone is mobilised primarily through closed channels they are well embedded in a social network, and if someone is primarily mobilised through open mobilisation channels they will not be considered as embedded. The different ways the organisations mobilise their members matter because if they use open channels they reach a wider range of people which is likely to create a greater diversity of people in the organisation. Based on the structures and functions of the organisations as described in Chapter Two, it can be expected that the activists in the youth factions and BYC activists are more likely than the demonstrators to be mobilised through closed channels. Both social movement and general political participation literature has found that one of the strongest mobilising forces is

to be asked by someone to participate in an event. Therefore it is expected that all activists have been asked by someone to participate.

As discussed in the literature review, lack of political skills is one of the main reasons found in both research and youth policy debate that has been seen as the reasons young people do not participate politically. However, these are very difficult to measure, and the YCC survey uses a self-assessment notion. This was not possible in the survey used for this research. Although the surveys for the BYC and youth faction cases were developed by the researcher the researcher had no influence over the survey developed for the demonstrations. Therefore, for comparability reasons too many changes and additions to the BYC and youth faction surveys were not feasible. Another way of approaching this is to use previous civic and political participation as a proxy of the skills an individual possess. Research has shown that previous participation is one of the best predictors for future participation (at least for voting, see e.g. (Green and Shachar (2000), Franklin (2004)). Although the strong link between past and future participation is questioned in the methodology chapter below (see also for example Barnes Barnes et al. (1979)), if the activities occur with little time in between it seems as if the effect may still hold. One of the explanations to this is that the individual forms a habit of participating and is exposed to social networks and mobilisation forces, where participation once puts the individual in a position where they are more likely to be asked to participate again. Another reason why previous participation matters is because of the educational value, or the imitative learning as suggested by Barnes et al. (1979), where the experience of participation develops skills required for more participation. As such, the more extensive previous civic and political participation is an indication of the individual possessing skills for participation.

With the repertoire for participation held (relatively) constant, the interesting question becomes whether there are any differences in the levels of resources of the people that are attracted to certain types of domains for political participation. For example, are the activists in the political parties more or less embedded in social networks and active in more organisations than the other activists?

3.3.3.2 Attitudes

It was established in the literature review that attitudes to the political system, attitudes of alienation and sense of efficacy all contributed to the likelihood of someone participating or not. However, more nuanced research showed that for example negative attitudes to the political system and sense of alienation did not necessarily lead to non-participation, but it resulted in non-formal participation. The analytical framework then applied the logic of this argument to suggest that attitudes to the political system and sense of alienation would have a role to play in explaining differential political activism.

The variables used to measure the attitudes of the respondents are split into three more specific groups that capture the nuances of the literature described in Chapter One. The first group is civic and political attitudes, which include the attitudes to the political system, and are concerned with what could be seen as the more 'traditional' forms of politics. The second set of measurements relates more specifically to the alienation variables, and has more to do with the sense of powerlessness and meaninglessness of political engagement. This category also somewhat overlaps with the last category of efficacy, as some of the alienation variables measure the external efficacy. The efficacy variables does however more specifically bring out the personal efficacy, but also taps into how effective they think that the organisation will be in achieving its stated goals.

The civic and political attitudes are what Almond and Verba (1963) argued was the important difference between those who hold the resources to be politically active and participate and those who do not. It makes sense that if someone engages in a political process and in a political system they ought to hold positive views of this system, one is (generally) satisfied with the functioning of democracy, trust that the institutions and people they interact with will treat them fair, and they would have an interest in politics. However, this applies most neatly to the formal political activities; positive attitudes to the political system lead to engagement with the political system. The reverse does however also make sense, qua the arguments of scholars such as Norris; holding negative views of the political system leads to other kinds of political engagement. This illustrates very well how the explanations for political participation so far have treated political participation as a dichotomous variable, where the options are whether someone participate in formal politics

or not. As this thesis aims to move beyond this distinction it is important to explore how the insights from the research on attitudes can contribute to understanding differential political activism.

If positive attitudes to the political system leads to engagement with the system, and vice versa, how does this apply to the semi-institutionalised form of political activism in BYC? Drawing from the analytical framework that suggested that the level of institutionalisation of the outlet for activism is related to the civic and political attitudes we would expect the activists in BYC to fall somewhere between the party activists and demonstrators, but on which civic and political attitudes? Is it the functioning of democracy, or the trust in institutions and people that sets them apart from the other groups? Or are they similar to the other groups? Similarly, if young people have a different understanding of politics than adults, would any of the young people say that they are interested in politics?

The alienation attitudes work in a similar way to the civic and political attitudes, where the more alienated someone is from the political system, the less likely they are to engage with it. These attitudes are particularly interesting to explore with regards to young people who are politically active in different institutional settings because it can explore whether the alienation argument holds across the institutional settings. Furthermore, as discussed in the literature review there are dimensions to the notion of alienation as presented by Seeman (1959) and Finifter (1970); the powerlessness, meaninglessness, normlessness, isolation and self-estrangement. Powerlessness referred to the sense that one's actions will not have an effect, meaninglessness referred to that there was no point in the action, normlessness referred to an attitude of cynicism about politicians, isolation is the sense that no one else care about the same things as oneself, and lastly self-estrangement when one does not put any intrinsic value to the activities.

It is clear that all these dimensions of alienation would have an inhibiting effect on any political participation, but what the youth scholars argue is that this applies particularly to those who do not engage in formal politics. It therefore follows that the people who engage in the very institutionalised setting of political parties are likely to have a very low sense of alienation on all dimensions. Whilst it is likely that all activists will have a low sense of powerlessness or meaninglessness regarding the particular activity

they engage in, as this is basically a sense of efficacy that it was suggested where no major differences were expected between the activists, this might not hold for the political system in general. Rather, the alienation from the political system, i.e. seeing it as meaningless to engage in activities relating to the political system has been suggested to drive non-institutional participation. Similarly, cynicism about politicians is likely to lead someone to engage in activities that have nothing to do with them. This shows that the positioning of the outlet for political activism in the political system can lead to the outlet attracting different types of activists, and therefore play a part in explaining differential political activism. However, yet again this theory is well equipped to explain institutionalised versus non-institutionalised participation, but we do not know what to expect from the BYC activists in the semi-institutional setting. Are they more like the demonstrators or the party activists?

3.3.3.3 Motivations

The analytical framework highlighted the very sophisticated interaction between the positioning of the organisation in the political opportunity structure, the incentives they were able to offer and the motivations held by the individual. By this theory someone would participate in a particular institutional setting because their motivations to participate are matched with the incentives that the organisation offers. It was suggested that organisations have utilitarian, purposive and solidarity incentive systems that affect the behaviour of the organisation as well as the interaction with the members. From an individual perspective, the literature review brought out three types of motivations; instrumental, ideological and identity motivations. These can be seen to overlap with the incentive structures where the instrumental fit with a utilitarian incentive system as it is aimed to satisfy the interests of the members, an ideological motivation is matched with the purposive incentive system as it is about achieving a particular goal that is not necessarily benefiting the individual, and lastly the solidarity is about identity as these attitudes have to do with self-fulfilment. As discussed above the positioning of the organisation in the political system will affect their likelihood of achieving the goal, but it might also work the other way around where the more institutionalised organisations do not formulate very radical goals.

The literature review suggested that an organisation often offers a mix of incentives to their members. Offering a variety of incentives is vital for the

survival of an organisation, as seen in the ebbing of the student movement when their goal had not been achieved. Looking at the goals of the organisations in Table 3:2 below we can see that the NUS demonstration has the most specific goal aimed at a particular purpose. The other organisations emphasise training for working on campaigns, contributing to the main party and giving young people voice in the party or in issues that concern them. As such it is clear that the BYC and political parties offer more of the utilitarian and solidarity incentive systems to their members, where although they are working towards certain aims and perhaps work on particular campaigns, the goal of the organisation is more abstract than that. This highlights the differences in the purposes of the outlets chosen, where the demonstration is mobilising around a single event, whilst the other organisations have an ongoing organisation. This is not necessarily a problem as this thesis is interested in comparing the activists rather than the organisations as such, but of course this plays a role in the formulation of the goals of the organisations. From an individual perspective it is still very interesting to explore the dynamics of the motivations, especially because the sophisticated literature surrounding it, and explore whether the framework holds across different institutional settings. What motivates the activists to be active? Do their motivations overlap with the incentive structures offered by the organisations?

Table 3:2 Goals of Organisations		
Organisation	**Goal one**	**Goal two**
Conservative Future	Represent younger people across the UK and their views in the Conservative Party.	To hold fun and exciting campaigning, policy, social action and fundraising events across the UK
Young Labour	Young Labour is there to represent the voice of young people within our party, and campaign for rights and interests of young people both within our party and beyond	Young Labour plays a central role in spreading the values and messages of the Labour Party through campaigning in elections, by-elections and regular leafleting, phone canvassing and door knocking
Labour Students	Recruit, train and campaign with members of the Labour party in colleges and universities	Campaign with students for Labour in elections across the country and on issues we care about on our campuses
Liberal Youth	Liberal Youth aims to train their members in skills they need to run effective campaigns	Liberal Youth aims to run strong campaigns on issues members care about.
BYC	Empowering young people aged 25 and under, wherever they are from, to have a say and be heard.	Helping young people to participate in decisions that affect them and have a voice and campaign on issues they believe in
UKYP	Providing opportunities for 11-18 year-olds to use their voice	Providing creative ways to bring about social change
NUS Demonstration	Defend the rights of students and university staff	Secure accessible further and higher education for generations to come'
Note: The goals of the organisations were developed based on the information provided on the organisations' websites and in conversation with the contact at the organisation.		

3.4 Insights From The Literature And Expected Findings

The previous sections have outlined the analytical framework and defined and discussed the dependent and independent variables. This section will bring together the previous discussions of the dynamics between the dependent and independent variables guided by the analytical framework. Drawing from the (sometimes limited) literature expected findings will be developed regarding the differences between firstly those who are politically active in different repertoires and not at all, and secondly the activists in different institutional settings. Because of the innovative operationalisation of political activism of this thesis, and the nature of the comparison, it is difficult to develop specific hypotheses for the comparisons of the activists and in particular the BYC activists. Therefore more general expected findings are extrapolated from previous work that is similar but might not have the same focus.

3.4.1 Are The Activists Different?

The main focus of this thesis is on exploring activists in different institutional settings, but this is based on a so far not empirically tested hunch that the activists are different from those who participate in different repertoires and those who do not participate at all. As argued in the literature, review this is what much of the current literature in the field has focused on, and is therefore not an unfeasible expectation. However, this thesis aims to explore this a bit further and the first research question is therefore concerned with exploring those who are politically active in different political repertoires and compare them to each other and to those who do not participate at all. As argued above, this required a different operationalisation of political activity, and a scale of political activity was constructed. This scale ranged from no political activity, through low and medium cost to high cost activities. Following from the literature on political participation the biggest differences are expected to be found between the group that have not engaged in any political activities and those who have engaged in some political activities as this is what most of the literature has focused on. Here we expect that the non-participants would come from low socioeconomic backgrounds, have negative attitudes to the political system, they would be alienated, and have a low sense of efficacy. The implicit hunch that lay at the basis for the construction of the scale also leads us to expect that there would be some differences between those who engage

in different political repertoires. Similarly to the difficulties in developing specific hypotheses regarding the differences between the activists in different institutional settings, it is difficult to spell out the expected findings regarding different political repertoires. As such there is a need to test these extrapolations empirically. This analysis is important to not just assess the explanatory value of the theories of political participation in explaining differential participation but also scope out which variables are the most useful in explaining differential political participation. The literature review suggested that some differences should be expected but it is difficult to specify detailed expected results.

3.4.2 Who Are The Youth Faction Activists?

Ironically, there have not been many studies on young people who participate in political parties. In contrast, as outlined above most studies have focused on attempting to show that young people do in fact participate politically and what they think politics is. (Lamb (2002)), (Cross and Young (2008)) and Bruter and Harrison (2009) are among the few exceptions focusing on why young people engage in political parties. Others, such as Mycock and Tonge (2012) and Russell (2005) have focused more on the organisations and their relationship to the main party. Lamb (2002) revises the general incentives model presented by Whiteley et al. (1993), to complement it with a youth specific element and making it a model of both participation and non-participation. He argues that the balance of incentives may be different for young people as they are in a transitional period. He argues that a key incentive for young people is to have fun, thus a procedural selective incentive, and that social norms and acceptance are important when finding identity. Results show that altruistic motives were clearly the highest ranked motivation to participate, second was collective positive incentives including specific policies, third collective negative incentives, where the motivation was in opposition to something, e.g. keeping Tories out for a Labour member, less important was selective outcome incentives, the ones where the individual benefit from participation, next was selective process incentives and lastly social norms.

Cross and Young (2008) sampled a group of active young Canadians, constituted of both party members and non-members. Their results show, not

unexpectedly, attitudinal differences among the members and non-members, with the latter being very suspicious of parties. The most recent study of young party members is the one by Bruter and Harrison (2009) where they also add a cross-national comparison. They developed a sample of youth factions in 15 countries across Europe, gathering an impressive sample size of 2919 and response rate of 69%. They found that there are three distinct types of members, who are motivated by different motivations and behave in different ways. The first type is the moral minded who is motivated by what Whiteley et al. (1993) and Lamb (2002)would call altruistic motives or ideological motives. Similarly to Lamb (2002), Bruter and Harrison (2009) expect this to matter more for young people than for adults, and thus that they are more radical than their elderly counterparts. They also expect this group to be the largest and most active in radical forms of participation. The second type is the social minded, the one who does it for fun and the social elements of it, they are therefore not expected to be very involved or active, and to constitute a middle size of the total population. The last group is the professional minded, this group is motivated by the selective outcome incentives in the (Whiteley et al. (1993), 1995) model, and it is hypothesised that this incentive will matter more to these young people than to adults, because they are at the verge of their careers.

Bruter and Harrison (2009) argue that this last group of young people, motivated by careers, is of particular interest as they are the ones who are likely to then move on to work in the party. This is supported by the Hooghe et al. (2004) research that showed that 41% of councillors in Belgium started their career in a youth organisation. What Bruter and Harrison (2009) show is that this socialisation into the role of a politician is not only something that happens in the organisation, but it is also something that motivates the young person to join the organisation in the first place and shapes their behaviour in the organisation. Their results show that young party members do fall into these categories, and this finding is valid across countries. They also show that the different type of members engage in different kind of activities, have different senses of efficacy and very different views on their future engagement in the party. It can therefore be expected that those who are active in the youth factions, and attend meetings organised by the national organisation, would be motivated by the instrumental motivation such as a potential professional career as a politician. However, as suggested in the discussion of the goals of

the organisations and the incentive structures they offer, it seems as if they also offer solidarity incentives, or acting altruistically, such as helping out at elections would contribute as a motivation for the party activists. Furthermore, it is important to highlight the social elements that the parties even emphasise in their goals, and as such we would expect a mix of motivations such as identity and instrumental reasons from the party activists.

Because of the limited research on young people in political parties, extrapolations have to be made from other literature on political parties regarding the expected findings for young people in political parties. With regards to resources, the resource discussion above would suggest that the party activists are more likely to possess the traditional resources for participation, such as higher socioeconomic class and be highly educated (despite these being difficult measurements applied to young people). Furthermore, there is the expectation that the young party members, who are active, will to some extent reflect similar patterns to the main party, where a majority are men and older (Hooghe and Marien, 2012). As the party activists are mobilised to activity, it is expected that they will have been asked by someone to participate, and as the events organised by the political parties (often) are for members only, it is expected that the party activists will have been mobilised through closed mobilisation channels. This also illustrates their deep embeddedness in social networks that can give them information about and mobilise them for various political activities. These activists are active in the formal sphere and as such it can be expected that they have the skills required to participate in this sphere, and as discussed above this will be reflected in their previous participation. As such it is expected that they will have participated in other institutionalised political activities before.

With regards to the attitudes the expected findings for the political parties are also very straight forward; they are expected to hold very positive attitudes to the political system, and political parties in particular. They are also expected to not be alienated from the political system, but rather think that it can do something for them, and thus hold a high sense of both internal and external efficacy.

This discussion shows that the youth faction activists are expected to live up to many of the ‘usual suspect’ criteria when it comes to those who engage in formal politics. They are expected to come from good socioeconomic

backgrounds, be highly educated, be deeply embedded in social networks and thus mobilised through closed mobilisation channels. They will also possess the necessary skills to participate in the formal sphere, expressed in their past participation in similar activities. The youth faction activists will be the most likely to hold positive attitudes to the political system, and political parties in particular, and think that both their engagement and the organisation will be likely to achieve their aims. They will be highly motivated to participate and they will be motivated by instrumental and identity motivations.

3.4.3 Who Are The BYC Activists?

Despite youth political participation being a topic of recent interest both from academics and policy makers, very little research has been conducted on young people who are active in youth councils. The studies identified in Chapter Two are the few exceptions but they mostly focus on the function of youth councils and to what extent they live up to the democratic expectations that are placed on them (Matthews, 2001, Matthews and Limb, 2003, Matthews and Limb, 1998, Matthews et al., 1999, Bessant, 2003, Bessant, 2004). Less systematic attention has however been paid to those who are engaged in these forums. Who are they? Why are they engaging in the forum? How are they recruited? What do they think about the political system, do they think that they can make a difference? Because of this gap in the literature there is not much research and previous findings to draw from when it comes to developing theoretical expectations for the activists in BYC. However, it also illustrates the importance of the data collected and the analysis conducted for this thesis. By exploring who the young people are who are active in the BYC we can explore whether they are the usual suspects of people who get engaged in politics? Or do these forums manage to attract a wider variety of people compared to political parties and demonstrations?

Based on the critiques of the democratic nature and the functioning of youth councils presented above, it could be expected that it will be the 'usual suspects' who are active, thus being similar to the party activists. However, not all youth councils and representatives in the BYC are recruited through self-selection but some are also recruited by youth workers. These youth workers work with the local youth council or in a local youth club and as such they can give the encouragement, support and mentoring to the young people who

would perhaps not otherwise have participated. The availability of the youth workers is also the main, and perhaps crucial, difference between the BYC and the other cases for this research. These youth workers accompanied the young people to these events, organised travel and made sure they got there and back in one piece. This support not only enables a much wider range of young people to participate, especially younger cohorts, but also facilitates participation for everyone because it removes some obstacles such as the cost and arranging of transport to participate. These practical issues are potentially very big obstacles for young people to overcome as they may not have their own income to pay for transport.

Furthermore, BYC has a strong focus on training and education and this ensures that those who are recruited gain the necessary skills to engage in the activities of BYC. For example, they have specific briefings for first time delegates at the UKYP Annual Sittings and BYC Annual Council meetings. These two measures not only allows for a wider range of young people to engage but helps to ensure that they stay involved and are not put off by daunting procedures. Having attended multiple BYC events throughout the data collection for this thesis the lasting impression is that there was a wide range of social classes, ethnicities, confidence levels and ages, and not just the 'usual suspects', especially in comparison to the impression that the political parties' youth factions gave. As such, based on this observation and the way that the recruitment process is structured it could be expected that the main mobilisation channel would be a teacher or a youth worker, and that the activists will come from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds and ethnicities.

There are a couple of studies that have mentioned youth councils and parliaments. Sloam (2007) found that a young activist that was engaged in the youth parliament was also active in a wide variety of other activities and suggested that this activist was an example of Park et al's (2003) 'super activists' who "are able and willing to engage in a range of political activities" (p.94). However, as suggested above, the recruitment mechanisms for participation in BYC do not necessarily mean that all activists are 'super activists'. We can definitely expect some 'super activists', especially among those who attend the BYC ACM as these are representatives from the organisations that are associated with the BYC, ranging from youth councils to

girl guiding. As such it can be expected that those who are representatives from other civil society groups and not the youth councils and parliaments would be more likely to be the kind of 'super activists' Sloam encountered.

The previous civic and political participation that is expected among these activists can also give us an indication of what to expect regarding their attitudes. As established by the general participation literature positive civic and political attitudes are associated with political participation. The BYC has close links with the political system, follows the same democratic principles and mirror some of the institutions. As such we do not expect that the activists would have particularly negative attitudes to the political system. They would be interested in politics and they would not have a very strong sense of alienation. However, something has made them join the BYC rather than a political party,[6] and therefore we expect some nuances in the attitudes where the attitudes to the political parties is expected to play an important role.

Another study that mentions young people in youth councils is (Lowndes et al., 2001a, Lowndes et al., 2001b) and they looked at the motivations for young people to participate in youth councils. They found that the young people who had been involved in local youth councils had a clear self-interest as a motivation to participate, but this self-interest did not have to be tangible. Rather, Lowndes et al. (2001b) argued that "it appears that 'self-interest' can be satisfied, at least in part, by the intangible benefits of participation- new skills and knowledge, greater self-respect or stronger community identity- and does not require that citizens 'succeed' in protecting their individual material interests" (p. 448). Similar to the youth factions, we can in the goals of BYC see a variety of incentives to be active. Learning the skills to be political is a central aim of BYC and is something that would be good for the individual that would facilitate a political career in the future. As such, it can be expected that those who are active in BYC, especially those who are representatives from the local youth councils, would report these 'soft' reasons for participation, that fall under the instrumental type of motivations. The aims of BYC and UKYP are also about giving young people voice and representing them. These goals are close to being a purposive incentive,

[6] It is of course possible for one individual to be a member of both the BYC and a youth faction, especially as the youth factions can be members of the BYC. However, as the descriptive analysis in chapter 6 shows the overlap of membership is small.

however as they do not specify the issues in which young people should have voice the overarching aim is more of a solidarity aim and thus appeal to the identity motivations. As such we expect the BYC activists to also be motivated by a mix of instrumental and identity motivations.

The discussion above has drawn from the limited literature on young people in youth councils to develop some expected findings. As the BYC is a semi-institutional organisation, in between the movement and establishment, there are two potential results that can be expected. On the one hand, if the youth faction and demonstrators attitudes to a large extent is expected to be on opposite ends of the spectrum, it can be expected that the BYC activists attitudes would be somewhere in between the two other groups. On the other hand, it is equally plausible that the BYC activists will draw some characteristics from either group depending on the variables explored. As discussed above, the recruitment mechanisms of the BYC is likely to affect many of the findings. For example, much recruitment occurs through secondary schools, so this will structure both the age span and the education level of the activists. Furthermore, because there is active recruitment by teachers or youth workers, there is a mechanism in place that can ensure that a wider socioeconomic demographic can participate. Therefore we expect the BYC activists to be younger, lower educated but come from a wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds. Furthermore, this affects the mobilisation pattern, where it is most likely that the BYC activists will have been asked by an adult rather than a member of the organisation to be involved. This is however still, just as with the youth faction activists, a closed mobilisation channel. The BYC activists are also expected to have participated in other civic repertoires before, again a consequence of the structure of the organisation where BYC has membership organisations sending delegates to events. As with the youth faction activists, it is expected that the BYC activists will possess the necessary skills for participation in civic and political life but they will not have engaged in the same civic and political repertoires in the past.

It is more difficult to assess the expected findings with regards to the attitudes of the BYC activists. To some extent they are expected to have positive attitudes to the political system because they are active in an organisation with close links to the political system, but as they have chosen not to be active in a political party they are expected to hold negative attitudes

to political parties. They could be alienated on some accounts, again with relation to the political system, but are expected to have high internal and external efficacy. The analysis regarding the attitudes of the BYC activists is therefore of a highly exploratory nature and vital to understand the nature of youth activism better. There is more guidance in the literature regarding the motivations for the BYC activists, and here we expect that they will be motivated by instrumental and ideological motivations.

3.4.4 Who Are The Demonstrators?

Recent debates on youth political participation suggest that young people are more prone to protest partially because they are not as integrated to society as adults and therefore are more likely to challenge the status quo (France, 2007), or because they hold different values than the older generations and therefore oppose the system that upholds these values (Inglehart, 1981). Overall however, it can be expected that they follow similar patterns to adult demonstrators and as such will be the most different from the political party activists. However, following the research conducted by Hooghe and Marien (2012) regarding the demographics of those who participate in institutionalised versus non-institutionalised politics, we would expect some of the inequalities of institutionalised repertoires to persist in the demonstrations, and considering the subject matter of the demonstration we would expect many to be in higher education. The relative similarity in the activists with regards to their demographics and resources also follows from the discussion above that suggested that because the repertoire of political action is held constant and a similar amount of resources are required to participate in all acts we do not expect to find major differences between the activists with regards to demographics and resources. Similarly to the other kinds of activists the demonstrators have also been mobilised to participate, but as the demonstration is much bigger than the other events the mobilisation patterns are unlikely to only be through closed channels, so they are expected to be mobilised through open channels as well. Although attending a demonstration may not require skills in the same way as being active in a youth faction or BYC, in the former case you just turn up and follow the demonstration whilst in the latter two membership and invitation is required and contribution sometimes expected. To the extent that the

demonstrators have participated in the past it is expected that it will be of a similar non-institutionalised form as the demonstration they participate in.

In contrast, substantial differences are expected between the demonstrators and the other activists with regards to their attitudes to the political system and their levels of alienation. Following from the logic outlined in the analytical framework, because of the non-institutionalised nature of the demonstrations and their positioning on the outskirts of the political system, it can be expected that the demonstrators will not hold the political system in very high regard, particularly in comparison to the party activists.

Furthermore, the alienation thesis proposes that the young people who participate in the non-institutionalised forms of political action do so because they have negative attitudes to the political system. However, the more nuanced understanding of alienation presented in Chapter One suggests that they may still have a high sense of internal efficacy, despite negative attitudes to the political system and being alienated from the political system. As discussed above the internal efficacy has to do with the sense that the activity will achieve its goal, and without a judgement that this will be the case it is unlikely that someone will engage in high cost political activities considering the cost they impose to the individual. Furthermore, the demonstrations have the most purposive goal, in comparison to the other organisations. As such we would expect that they would be mostly motivated by the ideological motivations that relate to an altruistic achievement of the goal. However, it is also likely that they will be motivated by some identity motivations that have to do with expressing their support for the issue as a demonstration is an impressive expression of shared opinion in the form of collective action.

3.4.5 Summarising The Expected Findings

The discussion above shows that regarding the first research question we expect that the biggest differences will be found between those who engage in political activities and those who do not. Following from the conceptualisation of political activity based on the cost of the repertoire it is also expected that there will be differences between those who engage in different repertoires.

The second research question, and the main focus for this thesis, is concerned with a more specific question, namely whether there are any

differences between those who engage in the same political repertoire; political activism, but are active in different domains. More specifically the second research question is concerned with the similarities between those who attend meetings of political parties youth factions or BYC and those who attended the NUS demonstrations in 2010. The expected findings based in the literature and the analytical framework are discussed below and summarised in Table 3:3 below.

Starting with the similarities, it is expected that all the activists will have a high sense of both internal and external efficacy. It would make little point in participating, especially in high cost activities, if one did not expect to also achieve the intended outcome. Similarly, it is expected that they will all be highly motivated to participate, but depending on the incentive structures of the organisations they will be motivated by different things. Here we expect the youth faction and BYC activists to be motivated by instrumental and ideological motivations, whilst the demonstrators mostly motivated by ideological and identity motivations. Furthermore, the activists are expected to be relatively similar when it comes to the resources they possess, because they are all politically active in a way that requires similar amounts of resources. However, because of the recruitment method of the BYC they are expected to come from a slightly wider range of socioeconomic backgrounds than the other activists. Furthermore, all activists are expected to have been mobilised to participate, but the youth faction and BYC activists are expected to be more likely than the demonstrators to be mobilised through closed channels.

All activists are also expected to have engaged in previous civic and political activities, and as such possess the skills to be active. Differences are however expected with regards to the type of previous participation they have engaged in, where it is expected that they will have engaged in similar activities previously to the one in which they have been 'caught' for this research. As such, youth faction activists will have engaged mainly in institutionalised activities in political parties, BYC mostly in civic activities such as volunteering and the demonstrators mainly in non-institutionalised activities such as boycotting.

It is with regards to the attitudinal variables that the main differences between all activists are expected. The youth faction activists and the demonstrators are expected to be the most different where the former are

expected to have positive attitudes to the political system, be very interested in politics, and not be alienated on any of the dimensions. Conversely, the demonstrators will show an interest in politics, but they will hold negative views to the political system, and be the most alienated from the political system. The BYC is expected to be similar to the youth faction activists with regards to interest in politics, hold somewhat positive attitudes to the political system, but be sceptical towards political parties. They are expected to not to be particularly alienated on most of the dimensions, except for the normlessness that refers to a sense of cynicism about politicians.

Table 3:3 Summary of Theoretical Expectations

Variable	Youth Factions	BYC	Demonstrators
Resources- Demographics	Highest socioeconomic class	Wider spread of socioeconomic class	High socioeconomic class
Resources- Mobilisation Channels	Mobilised through closed mobilisation channels	Mobilised through closed mobilisation channels	Mobilised through a mix of open and closed mobilisation channels
Resources- Civic And Political Repertoires	Much previous participation especially of institutionalised form.	Much previous participation, particularly in non-institutionalised civic organisations	Some previous participation, especially of non-institutionalised form
Attitudes – Civic And Political	Very positive, especially to political parties	Somewhat sceptical, especially to political parties	Very sceptical to all political institutions
Attitudes- Alienation	Not alienated	Somewhat alienated	Very alienated
Attitudes- Efficacy	Highly efficacious	Highly efficacious	Highly efficacious
Motivations	Identity and instrumental	Instrumental and ideology	Ideology and identity

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to get to the heart of this thesis by outlining the analytical framework by outlining the concepts that contribute to the explanation for differential political activism. The analytical framework

developed from the two critiques of the general political participation literature. Firstly, political participation has been stretched to the point where it is not an empirically useful concept anymore. Secondly, most studies have focused on why young people do not participate in formal politics and therefore treated political participation as a dichotomous variable. As a result, the current literature on political participation fails to understand the nuances of political repertoires and the importance of contextual factors in understanding why someone participates in different repertoires and in different domains.

This thesis aims to address one of these shortcomings by bringing in the context of participation as a central part of the analytical framework that has been outlined in this chapter. There are two dimensions to the context; the political system and the organisation, or the macro and meso levels. In this study the macro level is largely kept constant as the data is collected in the UK only and within the same broad period of time, so there are no major changes in the political system that would have affected the context for activism. It is important to note that the YCC data was collected before the economic crisis and under a different government than the youth factions, BYC and demonstration. Although this might affect some of the civic and political attitudes, the way that the political system is expected to have an effect is through the organisations and the effect that the positioning of the organisation has in the political system on the incentives and opportunities they give to be active as well as what kind of people they attract. As such, it is the individual and organisational level that does most of the explanatory work in the analytical framework.

This thesis also addresses the shortcoming of the definition of political participation by focusing on political activity and developing a new way of conceptualising it according to the cost that the activity imposes on the individual. As a result of this discussion, a scale of political activity from no activities, through low and medium cost activities to high cost activities was created. This conceptualisation followed from the argument in the literature review that it makes for a better like with like comparison than comparing only across domains. The analysis that follows in Chapter Five uses this scale of political activism to explore the first research question using the YCC data whether there are any differences between those who participate in different

political repertoires, and with particular interest in whether those who engage in high cost political repertoires (activists) stand out from the rest. The focus on political activism also has consequences for the data collection and methodology, which is what the following chapter will outline.

The rest of the thesis focuses on these activists and aims to answer the second research question regarding the similarities and differences between those who engage in different institutional settings. As such the main analysis of political activists stems from both critiques in the literature and aims to give a more nuanced understanding of young peoples' political activism.

Chapter 4: Research Design, Methodology, Data, And Operationalisation

The two research questions to be answered in this thesis are both of a comparative and exploratory nature but because of their different focus they require different kinds of data. The first research question is interested in understanding the differences between those participating in different political repertoires and those who do not participate at all. To answer this question a dataset that contains both participants and non-participants is needed. For this thesis the dataset collected by the Youth Citizenship Commission (YCC) has kindly been made available for analysis by Professor Jon Tonge and it will be used to answer the first research question by conducting explorative descriptive analysis.

The second research question to be addressed in this thesis in concerned with understanding what makes young people engage in similar political repertoires across institutional domains. As illustrated in the literature review the second research question developed from a critique of the literature that did not take the repertoire into consideration. The focus on activism also has methodological consequences, and this chapter will develop a threefold critique of the methods currently used to study political participation, where either general population surveys or qualitative methods have been used. The general population surveys are problematic because those who are active are underrepresented; they lack attention to the type of repertoire and are decontextualized. The qualitative studies are in contrast limited in their comparability. It will be argued that the data collection method developed by Klandermans et al. (2009) in the project *Caught in the Act: Contextualising Contestation* (henceforth *Caught in the Act*) overcomes many of these problems by sampling in the field. This data collection method has with small modifications also been used to collect data on the youth faction and BYC activists and answer the second research question. This data collection method has been given ethics clearance by Southampton University Ethics Committee (RGO Ref: 7997).

This chapter will start by briefly outlining the research design for this thesis and then provide the details of the data collected by the YCC. Following

this the challenges of studying the politically active will be discussed and the *Caught in the Act* data collection method will be discussed as well as how it overcomes most of the challenges with studying the politically active. The data collection and sampling method for demonstrations will then be described in more detail followed by how this was adapted to the other cases. This discussion is followed by a description of the survey instrument and operationalisation of the variables. Lastly the analysis strategy for the following chapters will be outlined.

4.1 Research Design

The research design for this thesis is a survey but because of the nature of the two research questions two different datasets and types of analysis have been used. The first research question is answered by exploratory descriptive analysis of the quantitative data collected by the Youth Citizenship Commission (YCC). This analysis aims to apply the scale of political activity developed in the analytical framework and use the scale to explore the differences between those who engage in different repertoires of political activity and compare them to those who do not engage at all. Hence, it applies the theoretical discussions in the literature review and analytical framework with respect to the importance of not only looking at the domain of a political repertoire but also paying attention to the repertoire as such. The focus on the repertoire is particularly important in the light of the argument that young people do engage in politics, just not in formal politics, because this perspective allows for taking their 'alternative' political participation into consideration as the focus is on what it is that they are doing rather than in what domain of politics they are participating. This analysis also serves the purpose of setting apart the activists (those who engage in high cost activities) from the other groups to not only illustrate their difference, but also explore in what ways they are different.

The second part of the analysis is the more specific analysis of the three cases of political activism. This analysis aims to take the ideas developed in the literature review and analytical framework further and focus on one political repertoire across domains (or institutional settings). This focus is achieved by using the data collected for this research using a contextualised data collection method at meetings of the political parties youth factions, the British Youth

Council and at the 2010 student demonstrations in London. By selecting cases that are at different levels of institutionalisation it is possible to explore the importance of context in explaining differential political activism. Previous studies have compared both repertoires and domains at the same time, but as argued in the literature review comparing the same repertoire across domains makes for a more focused and better like with like comparison than what has been done before. By only comparing domains we do not know whether the difference in repertoire or domain is the main explanatory factor. For example, someone might have boycotted products, and report that they are not interested in politics. On one interpretation their engagement in the 'alternative' political activity is driven by their dislike for the formal system. It might however equally be that they simply do not want to or have time to be more politically active than that, and there is thus an underlying variable explaining their 'alternative' political participation. By focusing on the activists and comparing across domains, we can get a better idea of what it is that drives young people away from formal politics and towards the less institutionalised forms of political participation.

4.1.1 Youth Citizenship Commission Data And Methods

To answer the first research question regarding the similarities and differences between those engaging in different political repertoires and those who do not engage at all, a dataset that included all groups was required. This was found in the dataset that was produced in the research commissioned by the YCC. This dataset is unique because of the focused sample of 11-25 year olds. Whilst some general population surveys include young people aged 16 and over (e.g. British Household Panel Survey) most surveys limit the sample to those aged of 18 and over (e.g. World Values Survey). The YCC survey therefore enables analysis of a group of people who are either not represented or in a minority of the sample of general population survey. Furthermore, the YCC survey was also well founded in the current debates surrounding alienation and therefore the survey also included questions that allows for exploration of the theories particular to youth engagement. The questions in the survey can be found in Appendix B.

The dataset is a nationally representative sample consisting of 1102 individuals and the survey was a face to face survey conducted in the

respondent's home. They used random location sampling, but used quotas to ensure that the sample was representative of the 11-25 population of young people. The quotas imposed were; gender interlocked with age, social grade and for the 20-25 year olds a life stage quota. When researching young people it is particularly important to ensure that jargon is not used and that the young people understand the questions being asked, and to ensure that the survey was understood by all age groups the researchers piloted the survey with 20 young people. During the data cleaning and standardisation process respondents who showed little or no variation of response on the variables they were interested in or had too much missing data were removed.

Despite the limitations of general population surveys in exploring political activism that will be argued below it is important for the validity of the research to compare the activists to those who engage in other forms of political activity and those who do not engage at all. This is not only to establish that they are different, but also in what ways they are different. The YCC data has the benefit of sampling the particular group of interest for this research, and therefore it also includes questions in the survey that bring up the issues in the academic debate on young people. As such, the data and the analysis of the YCC data are essential to the overarching aim of this thesis to get a better and more nuanced understanding of youth political activism.

4.1.2 Construction And Distribution Of Dependent Variable

The analysis of the YCC dataset implements the scale of political activity that was developed in the analytical framework. The question in the survey that this scale is produced from allows the respondent to tick all the activities that they have engaged in in the past couple of years, and therefore many respondents ticked more than one box. These response options complicate the operationalisation and coding of the variable, because if someone has engaged in more than one activity, at which point on the scale should they be placed? One way of assigning the respondents a place on the scale of political participation would be to take these multiple responses into consideration, and include everyone who has responded that they have engaged in a particular activity in that category. The benefit of this approach would be that each group would have a larger N and the nuance of the repertoires and the data would be encapsulated. An alternative strategy is to code respondents according to the

highest cost (defined as time and money) activity they have engaged in and exclude them from the other groups. As a result they will be placed as high as possible on the scale. The benefit of this approach is that if we are interested in what differentiates those who participate in different ways, this method keeps respondents who have engaged in a particular activity apart from those who have engaged in different activities. The first approach would still keep people who have only engaged in one of the acts, say signing a petition, in the same group as someone who has signed a petition and attended a demonstration. The fact that the latter person engage in another act is what sets them apart from the people who have only signed a petition, and this nuanced difference is what this research is interested in and therefore the latter approach is the one employed for this analysis.[7]

The Table (4:1) below shows the distribution of the respondents in the YCC dataset along the political activity scale after the coding described above. What becomes clear from this is that a majority of young people of the ages 11-25 are not politically active in the ways that were measured in the survey. Interestingly, of those who are politically active, almost equally large proportions have engaged in boycotting and discussing politics as have contacted a politician or voted (just under and over a third respectively), with the latter being the largest group. This finding is interesting because it shows that among those who are politically active, the institutionalised political activities are (almost) equally popular as some of the less institutionalised political activities. The least popular activities are signing a petition and attending a political meeting or a demonstration. The small number of respondents engaging in signing a petition can probably be explained by the coding described above, where if someone has signed a petition and done any of the higher cost activities they will fall into the group of the higher cost activity. This means that 6.8% of the sample have only signed a petition, but not engaged in any other political activities. The smallest group is the group of highest cost activity, or the activists, only making up 5.5% of the sample. Just as the petition signers these activists might have engaged in other lower cost

[7] Descriptive analysis was performed on both types of operationalisation, but the results for the latter operationalisation were more robust in terms of their level of significance. It may be possible to do more advanced modelling that takes the multiple responses in to account and explores the interaction effect, however, as the descriptive statistics presented here tell a story in themselves that was considered sufficient for the purposes of this thesis.

activities as well, but are only represented in the highest cost activity. As such, this is an accurate reflection of the low level of political activism in the sample.

The low levels of political activism in the YCC sample are both a limitation and a benefit of this research. On the one hand, the small numbers in this group makes statistical comparison with the other groups, especially the no political activities group that is more than ten times bigger, difficult. The activist group is so small that it will be difficult to get significant results. However, on the other hand this illustrates the importance of the data collected for this research as it illustrates the difficulty with using cross sectional surveys for exploring political activism.

Table 4:1Distribution of Sample on Political Activity Scale

Political activity	Number of observations	Percentage of sample
No political activity	667	60.5
Signing a petition	75	6.8
Boycotted products or discussed politics	135	12.3
Contacted a politician or voted	164	14.9
Attended a political meeting or demonstration or being active in a political campaign	61	5.5
Total	1102	100%

4.2 How To Best Explore Those Who Are Politically Active?

As illustrated by the low level of political activism in the YCC dataset, there are challenges to exploring those who are politically active. Low numbers of respondents is however not the only reason political activism is a challenging topic to research. This section will explore some of the methodological limitations of the studies of political participation in the literature and explore how the *Caught in the Act* data collection method overcomes some of the criticisms. There are three overarching challenges with researching the politically active. Firstly, because the active are in minority they are difficult to capture through the popular methodology of general population surveys,

secondly general population surveys also fail to fully take the characteristics of the political repertoire into consideration and are decontextualized. However, the abundance of qualitative investigations into youth political participation has led to a lack of material available for systematic comparisons. The contextualised survey method overcomes these issues and offers other benefits such as not having to rely on sampling frames.

The first challenge in studying political action is that there are not that many who are in fact politically active, as the YCC data and much of the literature on political disengagement shows (Hay, 2007, Stoker, 2006, Pattie et al., 2003). This has the consequence that in cross-sectional general population surveys, which are a very popular method of exploring political participation (see for example; (Almond and Verba (1963)), (Putnam (2000)), (Pattie et al. (2003))), those who are active are likely to only form a minority of the sample and be underrepresented (Saunders, 2011). Although under-representation can to some extent be overcome through weighting or other sampling techniques, it may be an accurate reflection of the level of political activism and participation in the population. If there is an interest in what makes people engage in certain acts rather than others, general population surveys also present other limitations.

General population surveys have also been criticised for other reasons. As pointed out in Chapter One much research fails to appropriately distinguish between different repertoires or take the frequency of the action into consideration and this is reflected in the survey questionnaire designs. Barnes et al. (1979) point out that in research on political participation there is an assumption of a straightforward relationship between attitudes and participation. In addition, they highlight that there is a parallel assumption about the link between past and future behaviour. Neither of these assumptions are however straightforward. This is because research has found a gap between attitude and behaviour, in relation to for example ethical consumerism (Mueller et al., 2011, Carrigan and Attalla, 2001). Surveys ask the respondent what political actions they have performed in the *past* and even if this can be taken to be an indication of the likelihood of similar future behaviour there is no certainty that this will be the case. The timing of the past behaviour is a particularly pertinent issue, as research has shown that political behaviour changes over time (Corrigall- Brown, 2011). If the question is what

kinds of acts the respondent has participated in in the *past five or ten years* (as in World Values Survey, wave 2010-12 and the Barnes et al. (1979) study respectively), or *ever* (as in the European Values Survey) those who were more radical when they were younger but now mainly participate in more moderate forms, if at all, will be misrepresented. The respondents will be perceived to be politically active and in a wider range of activities, when in fact there may have been substantial changes in the political repertoires in which they engage. Furthermore, this kind of question fails to take the frequency of the political behaviour into consideration; a person might have done something once or twice in the past, but never again. In a survey this person would still be treated the same as someone who engages in the same act on a regular basis.

There is thus a validity issue in the measurement of political participation in the general population survey. Barnes and colleagues are not too concerned about this, as they argue that "even if it is questionable to expect there is *necessarily* a strong link between past and future behaviours, the concept of a stock of capabilities, a repertory, has to assume- on the basis of concepts from learning theory- that such a link, or at least processes of imitative learning, exist" (Kaase and Marsh, 1979, p. 156). This learning mechanism is to make it more likely that if a person participates in one kind of act they are likely to also do that act in the future. However, as the lifecycle arguments suggest this might not be the case if a long time has passed between the acts. Furthermore, Corrigall- Brown (2011) has shown that changes in biographical availability (such as marriage, having children and moving house) has effects on commitment to protest organisations. It seems plausible that changes in a person's life could also have effects on their repertoires. Even if learning occurs that develops preferences and skills to participate in a certain way, external changes may affect repertoires. This discussion illustrates the limitations in some of the research instruments available that take the timing of political participation into consideration, without addressing the importance of understanding the patterns of political repertoires.

Related to this is the issue brought up in Chapter One regarding the sensitivity to the diversity of political acts that the survey measures. This problem is reflected in the survey instruments where for example, the YCC survey has the response option of having 'attended a meeting or a

demonstration'. Similarly, the Hansard Society Audit of Political Engagement lists eleven civic and political acts as response options and one being 'attended any political meeting'. These two examples clearly illustrates the difficulty in using this data, and many other datasets, to explore differential political activists. The main problem here is that the surveys do not distinguish between different kinds of political meetings. Those respondents who tick the box that they have attended a political meeting may have attended any kind of political meeting, which can be anything from a meeting with a political party to a meeting with an anarchist group. These contexts for participation are clearly very different and what makes someone engage in either group is very likely to differ. This illustrates that this kind of survey is not the most appropriate method to use to explore differential political action.

Barnes et al are however not alone in criticising what can be measured in survey research. In the chapter *The Mismeasure of Political Man*, John Dryzek (1990) argues that "one should not expect any evidence of political perceptions and beliefs outside the context of political action" (p. 164). He bases this argument in an ontological understanding of politics as "public debate among people deciding how individually and collectively they shall act and interact" (p.163), and contrasts this to a positivist understanding that sees politics as a competitive struggle between entities where all individuals are concerned with is choosing sides. Consequently, Dryzek refutes the survey method because it is both based in positivist ontology and attempts to measure political attitudes in the abstract. Barnes and Kaase, (1979) also point out the limited knowledge of context in large surveys and argue that "situational factors can best be effectively encompassed by research designs that systematically identify and control for different political environments" (p.6). However, staying true to their chosen methodology they argue that "the implementation of a truly contextualised design would have necessitated extensive aggregate data on the level of some meaningful contextual unit" (p.22). Similarly, Klandermans (2012) argues that despite the cross-sectional surveys collecting vast amounts of data, they strip data of contextual variation. They cannot ask specific questions about how the participant experiences the political context they engage in, other participants, and their motivations to participate in that particular repertoire, the goals for participating or the perceived efficacy of participation. All these indicators have been seen to be important for mobilisation for specific events, play a role in rational choice or selective

incentive models and are, to a large extent, what differentiates the different outlets. Klandermans (2012) argue that "questions such as who participates in protests, why they participate, and how they are mobilised all lack, to date, comparative, evidence-based answers" (p. 233). As shown in the literature review, this is very much the case also when exploring differential political actions.

Another ontological issue regarding the definition of politics is brought up by Henn et al. (2002). They argue that "political science tends to rely heavily upon quantitative techniques, such as questionnaire-based political surveys. Such an approach assumes that a common understanding exists between the researcher and the research participant about the definition and the meaning of politics; it is arguable that this common meaning may well not exist, and that studies reliant on such an approach may not, by themselves, fully address what (young) people perceive the 'political' to be" (p. 169). As seen in the literature review this is an argument particularly made in relation to the finding that young people are disengaged from formal politics. The solution for many youth scholars have been to conduct qualitative studies such as for example the Marsh et al. (2007) study to explore what young people think politics is and how they understand themselves as citizens (Weller, 2007, Lister, 2001, Lesko, 2001).

Qualitative methods are often used when exploring specific subgroups where the goal is not to generalise across a large number of cases, but to get a deeper and richer understanding of the phenomena and the variables at play (Vromen, 2010, Silverman, 2005, Mason, 2002). Additionally, in contrast to the decontextualized survey methods, Mason (2002) argues that qualitative methods have "an unrivalled capacity to constitute compelling arguments about how things work in particular contexts" (p. 1). Based on this it might seem as if a qualitative methodology is more appropriate for this research project, particularly considering the focus on a small number of cases and the importance given to the context of the political act. However, there are also drawbacks when it comes to comparability and quantity of qualitative data. Without reducing qualitative research to mere subjective interpretation, one of the benefits of qualitative data is that it contains much more detailed and nuanced information. At the same time this detailed information this makes it more difficult to systematically compare. Quantitative data does not only more

easily lend itself to presentation of descriptive statistics and summary statistics such as explorations of the distribution of the data. This kind of analysis both form part of the interpretation of the data but it also allows for systematic assessment of the *strength* of a relationship between variables (John, 2010). Furthermore, the favouring of qualitative methods in youth literature has led to a lack of quantitative data that explores young people, which is added to because many surveys start their sampling at the age of 18 (e.g. Hansard Audit and World Values Survey).

It might also be premature to abandon the survey method based on the reservations posed by Barnes et al. (1979) and Dryzek (1990) regarding the decontextualized nature of the survey method. There are ways of overcoming both the repertoire and context problems of general population surveys whilst still using quantitative data that can be systematically compared. With respect to the issue of comparing certain types of repertoires, Whiteley et al. (1993) resolved some of these issues, as they used the parties' membership registers to survey the members only, and included ways of measuring how often the members had participated in the past. This is a great improvement when concerned with the repertoires of participation, but there are still limitations. Firstly, they still ask about previous participation, and as Barnes et al. (1979) pointed out there might not be a very strong relationship between past and future behaviour. Perhaps more importantly, the methodology is highly reliant on the access to the sampling frame. First of all not all organisations are willing to give this up; in fact negotiating access to membership registers or records of event participants is very difficult (See for example: Lamb, 2002). Secondly, membership registers may be highly unreliable, out of date or non-existent such as is the case with street demonstrations. Thirdly, a membership register fails to contextualise the participation, as called for by Barnes et al. (1979) and Dryzek (1990), because even if a respondent reports that they have been to a certain number of meetings in the past year, or how many hours they work for the party per month, these experiences may be very different from each other. One potential way of overcoming this would be to get for example a register for the events and survey those who have been at each event independently, as this would be a good proxy for sampling the active. Although the register of attendants may be more reliable, using the register may still result in some people being surveyed who failed to turn up. The research design works well in the context it is used in for Whiteley and

colleagues when the interest is party activism but less so if the interest is differential political participation as it is in this thesis. Another way of overcoming some of the problems is the one developed by Klandermans *et al* to survey street demonstrations in in 9 European countries in the project *Caught in the Act: Contextualising Contestation*. (Klandermans et al., 2009).

4.3 Caught In The Act: Contextualising Contestation Research Design

The title of the project says a lot about the rationale behind it. To overcome the small sample of general population surveys Klandermans et al survey only those who attend protests by conducting the sampling in the field, i.e. 'catching' the demonstrators in 'the act of demonstrating'. The details of the sampling method will be described further down. This survey method also overcomes the problem that was pointed out by the party membership scholars in Chapter One, where the same kind of activity on paper looks the same but in reality might be very different. It does so by literally catching the respondent in the act of participating and therefore it is certain that all who are surveyed are active in the same way. This sampling strategy ensures that only those who are *active* and active in the same way at the same time are the ones being surveyed. Some people might of course be more active than others and attend a lot of events; therefore the survey instrument also includes a question of their past participation. Sampling in the field also overcomes the problem of reliable sampling frames, which is an issue particularly in research on social movements or high-risk activism. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the survey is highly contextualised. This characteristic not only enables contextualised questions that can give richer information about how the respondent perceives the demonstration, what made them participate in the particular event they were surveyed at, to what extent they agree with the organisation that organise the event they attend or how effective they think the organisation or demonstration will be in achieving their aims. It also puts the researcher in the same space as the respondent when participating in the act and that way the respondent and researcher share the experience of the event. The *Caught in the Act* project also collects other contextual data such as media reporting of the demonstration, conducts interviews with both police and organisers in advance as well as collects qualitative data at the demonstration

of the slogans and chants used by demonstrators (Van Stekelenburg et al., 2012). This survey methodology is thus clearly highly contextualised. It might not be fully satisfying Dryzek's critique, but it is addressing many of the concerns raised above.

There are however of course limitations to this data collection method as well. Firstly, one potential problem is representativeness of the sample as well as interviewer bias. These issues are overcome by a systematic data collection method and separation of the selection of the interviewee and the distribution of the survey. These will be further explained in the data collection section. Secondly, the contextualised survey method is time- and resource intensive as it requires distribution in the field. However, any non-self-administered survey or qualitative interviews would be as well. Although the contextualised survey is more resource intense at the point of distribution, the time that the resources are needed is limited to the event itself. In contrast, interviewer administered surveys may have interview schedules over a longer period of time. However, due to this intensity in the resources required with limited resources the sample size will be smaller than would be achievable in a general population survey. As seen in Table 4:1 above (p. 96) on the distribution of the respondents along the scale of political activity we can see that the activists are only 61 people, making up 5.5% of the sample. So although the sample size gathered for this research is small, it is large in comparison to the sample of activists caught in general population surveys. Furthermore, due to the increased quality and depth of the data, which is required to answer the research question, this data collection method is favoured over using secondary general population data.

An additional challenge with the contextualised survey method is availability of events to be surveyed. Firstly, there are a limited number of events that occur that can be surveyed. There are only so many demonstrations that can be mobilised within the space of a year, and only so many meetings with political parties youth factions or youth councils that will attract a variety of members over a similar time period. Secondly, the researcher needs to negotiate access to the events to be surveyed, which proved to be a great challenge for this research requiring a lot of time. However, despite these limitations, the contextualised survey is a very useful tool to understand what makes young people participate in different kinds of political acts as it

overcomes some of the problems of cross sectional surveys and maintains comparability and manages to get a relatively large number of respondents.

To conclude, the *Caught in the Act* data collection methodology address some of the concerns raised with the quantitative data on political participation available, such as lack of attention to lack of differentiation between types of acts, the cost involved in performing them and the decontextualized nature of surveys. It was argued that the limitations of the survey method did not have to be addressed by using qualitative methods, rather the *Caught in the Act* method address many of the concerns with the survey method, but at the same time keeps the ability to compare systematically and gather larger samples. As the method is developed for demonstrations, this method was replicated at meetings of the political parties youth factions and BYC, with some modifications which will be further explained below.

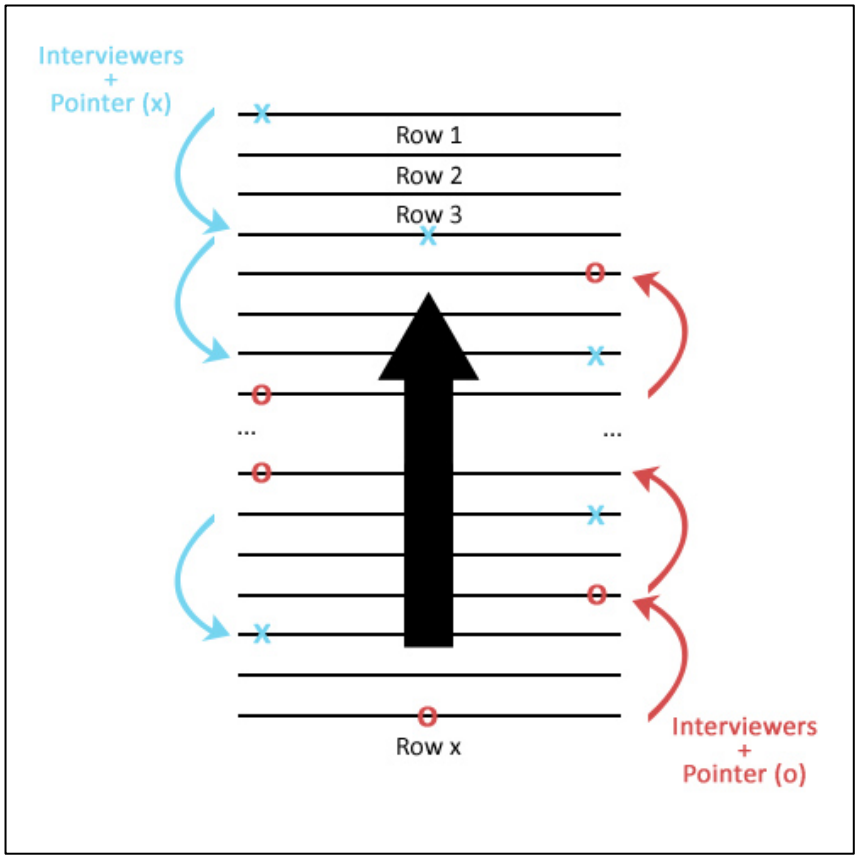
4.4 Caught In The Act Data Collection Method

As explained above, the data collection method developed by Klandermans et al is adapted for a situation when sampling occurs in the field and the method is designed to overcome two potential problems when doing so. The two main problems when sampling in the field are interviewer bias and representativeness of the sample. These are overcome by two measures in the research design. Firstly, interviewer bias is overcome by separating the task of respondent selection from that of distribution of survey and interviewing. Secondly, representativeness of the sample is achieved through employing 'pointers', or field supervisors, who randomly select the subjects for survey before directing interviewers to them. The survey distribution method is visually described in Figure 4:1 below (p. 105), although the figure only illustrate two teams whilst survey distribution was normally conducted by four teams each consisting of a pointer and four interviewers / survey distributors. As can be seen in the figure below two teams position themselves at the front of the demonstration and two teams position themselves at the back of the demonstration. The back team moves towards the front of the demonstration, the front team moves in the opposite direction to the demonstrations. While the interviewers / survey distributers are collecting data within the demonstration rows, the pointers 'bookmark' the last demonstration row to have been sampled so that no rows of protesters are missed, ensuring that

each protester has an equal chance of being selected. Furthermore, non-response bias is estimated by conducting face to face surveys with 1 in every 6 respondents. Face to face surveys consist in abridged versions of the questionnaires and since non-response rates for these are negligible, provide a very reliable benchmark for estimating which types of people are less likely to return the postal mail back surveys.

This data collection method is developed to work on demonstrations that are estimated to be attended by 3,000 or more demonstrators, which also necessitates some changes to the methodology when applied to the other events. However, small modifications are also needed for each demonstration depending on the size and shape of the demonstration. For example the sampling at static demonstrations is slightly different, (see Van Stekelenburg et al. (2012) for details), but the principles of random distribution, interviewer bias and non-response bias are always maintained.

Figure 4:1Sampling method at demonstrations



4.4.1 Applying The Caught In The Act Method To Other Political Activities

The data collection method described above was developed particularly for street demonstrations, but as discussed above the contextualised survey method has benefits beyond the social movement. The innovations in the contextualised survey method overcome the limitations of the general population survey in exploring political activism, and although there are some important differences between the outlets for political activism, there are also enough similarities for the method to be able to be applied to the other cases as well. The application of the method to other cases has been approved by the project leaders in the *Caught in the Act* project.

One of the main benefits of the *Caught in The Act* method is that it allows for surveying populations where a sampling frame is difficult to get access to. Reliable membership registers and gaining access to these registers is a problem in research on political parties (Lamb, 2002) and as the BYC is an umbrella organisation for other youth organisations, they would not have an individual level sampling frame. Therefore these two cases present similar challenges that face the social movements. Furthermore, not only are the party and BYC activists likely to be underrepresented in general population surveys, but the case of youth council activists they are not at all represented because the response option is not included in surveys. Therefore it was considered that the C*aught in the Act* methodology was appropriate to apply to these cases as well but due to the differences in size and structure of the events the sampling method was modified and a census was attempted instead of a random sample. However, the events organised by the youth factions and the BYC are by their very nature smaller, but to ensure a level of consistency, it was mainly national events organised by the youth factions and the BYC that were surveyed. This strategy ensures not only that the events are as big as possible, but also because as discussed in the case of BYC, local chapters of youth factions and youth councils may work very differently, and thus would bring in a contextual factor that difficult to account for.

There are also some important differences between the cases. For example, a demonstration is a public event that is much less structured than the youth faction and BYC events. The latter are only open to the members, many requiring pre-registration and in one specific location, in contrast to the

demonstrations that first of all were not static and anyone observing the demonstration could join in. As such, it was also much more difficult to get access to the meetings of BYC and the youth factions. The benefit of the youth faction and BYC events being more structured was however that it facilitated data collection, and because the events were also smaller fewer research assistants were required. For most of the events it was only two or three people distributing the survey, and still managing to survey all attendants.

Although the *Caught in the Act* method is easily applied to the other cases as well, there have been minor changes in the data collection methodology, mainly due to contextual factors. Due to the importance of the face to face surveys in being able to assess the non-response bias this element has been kept exactly the same. The main changes have been made in the distribution of the survey. Firstly, as the events organised for youth factions and BYC are smaller and in a confined space, a census of the attendants was feasible instead of selecting a random sample. As a result of everyone being surveyed the potential impact of interviewer bias were reduced. Furthermore, because of the more structured nature of the BYC and youth faction events compared to the demonstrations, the survey was distributed at the point of registration or entrance to the venue for the event. This survey distribution also ensured that everyone attending the event was surveyed. Depending on the size of the event this was either done in teams of two where one approached the attendants and one conducted the face to face survey to ensure that everyone is 'caught' and given a survey, or the one survey distributor does both kinds of surveys. If the event was bigger, or there was a big influx of in people attending, the former strategy of splitting survey distribution and conducting the face to face survey was used to ensure that everyone was surveyed.

Being present at these events has several benefits that are slightly different from the benefits of being present at a demonstration. Firstly, it allows for interaction with the attendants and presence throughout the event which can increase their likelihood to respond to the survey as they are also given the option of returning the survey at the time of surveying. Secondly, by being at the event it is possible to get a better understanding of how the organisation works, and what the purpose and process of the events are which

provides a thorough background to interpret differences between attendants at different events.

To conclude, there are some clear and important differences between the cases, but also some important similarities that make it possible to apply the *Caught in the Act* methodology to the youth factions and BYC as well. Most importantly is that all events (meetings and demonstrations) are events that an individual can attend, and thus keeping the resources required for engagement in the political repertoire (relatively) constant.

4.5 Caught In The Act Survey Design

The survey is a self-administered postal survey and the respondent is provided with a free post envelope addressed to the address of the researcher at the University. For each of the surveys the front cover stated that the survey was an independent survey and the logo of both the Centre for Citizenship Globalisation and Governance (C2G2), which contributed to some of the research costs, and the University of Southampton were printed to make it very clear to the respondent where the survey was coming from. This information was complemented with a verbal statement as the survey was handed out informing them about who we were and what we were doing as well as ensuring them of anonymity and confidentiality and that they could opt out at any time. This information was also repeated on the first page of the survey.

For the demonstrations the survey developed by Klandermans et al was used, which is a standard survey used across the participating countries (See Appendix C for survey). There is a country specific section of the survey where each country can include specific questions relating to the demonstration or issues that are pertinent in the country at the time. There are also minor changes in the contextualised questions for each demonstration, such as inputting the goals of the demonstration in the question about the agreement with the goals of the demonstration. This illustrates the highly contextualised nature of this survey, and this was made possible because the survey, and research project, was designed to encapsulate contextual factors. This is a real benefit of not only the data collection method, but also the survey instrument.

The surveys for the other two cases were developed based on this survey, but also complemented with some questions from Whiteley et al.

(1995), focusing on the intensity of the activity e.g. how many meetings they have participated in in the past (see Appendix D and E for the full surveys used). The survey design intended to explore the traditional drivers for political participation, the wider patterns of their participation and how often they engage in their political activity as well as the more specific motivations for the attendant to attend that specific event, how they found it, to what extent they identify with the goals of organisation and how effective they find them. Because the survey developed for this thesis had the specific focus of young people, some measures of alienation were also included to be able to test the alienation theory. The survey instrument contains a great variety of questions measuring the important independent variables explaining political participation but to be able to compare results systematically only the questions where there is substantial overlap between the surveys will be used, with a few exceptions. There were minor changes made to the surveys depending on the outlet to be surveyed. This was particularly the case for the BYC surveys where there were differences in terms of the role each attendant had at the event. For example at the Annual Council Meeting of BYC some attendants had voting rights, whilst others were observers, and it was suggested by the organisers that this would be good to capture in the survey. This will be further expanded on in the operationalisation section below.

4.6 Caught In The Act Data

This section will describe the data for each of the three cases the data collection context in more detail. The details of the full sample can be seen in Table 4:2 below. This table shows that the total number of responses is 450, with each of the organisations representing about a third of the overall sample. The data collected at the demonstration has kindly been made available for this research by the UK Principal Investigator Dr. Clare Saunders. The sample size is substantially smaller than what can be achieved through general population samples, but as discussed above getting access to events and ensuring high response rates proved to be more challenging than expected at times. It is also important to point out that the sample is not representative of all activists who engage in political parties, BYC or demonstrations, and as such we cannot extrapolate and generalise the findings further than to the groups surveyed here. However, the uniqueness of the dataset in terms of both

the data on BYC activists but also in terms of the systematic comparison that the sample enables some interesting analysis that has not been possible or done before.

Table 4:2 Distribution of the Sample Across Institutional Settings		
Organisation	Frequency	Percentage of Sample
Youth Factions	136	30.2
British Youth Council	161	35.8
Demonstration	153	34
TOTAL	450	100

4.6.1 Case One: Institutionalised Youth Factions

The data presented in Table 4:3 below of the youth factions was collected between October 2011 and November 2013. The extended period of data collection is a result of the difficulty in gaining access to two of the youth factions, as discussed in Chapter Two. What can also be seen in Table 4:3 below is that there is an uneven distribution of respondents from each of the parties in the sample (Conservative Future: N52, Young Labour/Labour Students: N62, Liberal Youth: N22), which is a consequence both of the type of events surveyed (and organised by the youth factions) and the number of attendants. For example, although more Conservative Future than Young Labour/Labour Students and Liberal Youth events were surveyed the Conservative Future events were smaller (reflected in numbers of surveys distributed) which resulted in a smaller number of responses. The structures of the event also affected the survey distribution. The aim was to conduct a census of the attendants, but as shown in the discrepancy between the number of attendants and the surveys distributed this was not fully possible. It is however worth noting that the number of attendants is an approximation from the organisers of how many people attended the event. The impression we got at the events was still that we approached everyone who was at the event, and had very few rejections, on average about 3 per event. As such, the number of distributed surveys is a better indication of how many people attended the event and has been used to calculate the response rates.

Table 4:3 Youth Factions (YF) Sample Details					
Organisation	**Number Of Attendants**	**Frequency Of Surveys Distributed**	**Frequency Of Responses**	**Response Rate**	**Percentage Of YF Sample**
Conservative Future	164	147	52	35.3%	38.2%
Young Labour/Labour Students	260	200	62	23.8%	45.5%
Liberal Youth	30	30	22	73.3%	16.2%
TOTAL	454	377	136	36%	100%

Details of events				
Event	**Number Of Attendants**	**Frequency Of Surveys Distributed**	**Frequency Of Responses**	**Response Rate**
Conservative Future Ian Duncan Smith drinks reception,2011, London	100	91	27	31.8%
Conservative Future East midlands Conference, 2012, Nottingham	34	31	19	61.2%
Conservative Future Post Graduate reception,2012, London	30	25	6	24%
Young Labour Conference Event, 2013, Brighton	100	100	16	16%
Labour Students Political Weekend, 2013 Manchester	160	100	46	46%
Liberal Youth Winter Conference, 2013, Cardiff	30	30	22	60%
TOTALS	454	377	136	36%

The response rate is also affected by the structure and size of the event. In the case of Liberal Youth for example, the venue was very small and the number of attendants was low, so we were able to remind each respondent about the survey and got a much more personal connection with them. In contrast, one of the Young Labour events was much larger and part of Labour Conference, so people paid less attention to the survey, and despite a large number of surveys distributed the response rate was low for that event. Similarly, the Conservative Future events were quite small, but as some had a social focus and were arranged as 'drinks' with a speaker, the context reduced the number of responses received. The total number of responses ended up being N136 giving a response rate of about 36%.

4.6.2 Case Two: Semi-Institutionalised BYC

The data presented here is collected from five BYC events from July 2012 to August 2013. As described in Chapter Two outlining the selection cases, the BYC events surveyed include the UK Youth Parliament (UKYP) Annual Sittings as well because they are events that BYC organise and fall under the overarching heading of semi-institutionalised forms for young people to participate. The details of the events surveyed can be seen in Table 4:4 below, and they include two BYC Annual Council Meetings (BYC ACM) (N43 and 39 respectively), two Annual Sittings of UKYP (N27 and 32 respectively), and one regional event for the South East (N20). Just as with the youth faction events the events were smaller and more structured than a demonstration a census was attempted. However, again as with the youth factions there may be some discrepancy in the number of people actually attending and the estimation by the organisers, so the number of distributed surveys is used as the number of attendants for the calculation of response rates.

An important difference however is that because BYC is open to members from the age of 11 but this project only gained ethics approval to survey those over the age of 16, only those who were over 16 were given a survey. To ensure this the researchers asked the respondents of their age before they handed out the survey and only gave a survey to those over 16. If someone under 16 had accidentally been given a survey they were excluded from the analysis. This strategy is also reflected in the discrepancy between the number of attendants and the number of surveys distributed. As seen in the

Table 4:4 below the response rates varied from 11 to 27 per cent, giving a total response rate of 21%. Some events gave higher response rates, especially the last BYC ACM. Some contributing factors to this could be that by that time the researcher had built up a good relationship with the organisation and therefore managed to negotiate a timeslot at the event to introduce the researcher (myself) and the survey to the attendants of the event. Furthermore, at the events with the two highest response rates we were also able to distribute the survey not only at registration but also over lunch to those who had not got it at registration. This second distribution could also have served as a reminder about the survey to those who had already got the survey. Additionally, at the more local events (London) I was able to stay at the event to the end and therefore collect more surveys as the attendants were leaving the venue and pick up those that were left behind. These lessons are worth keeping in mind as ways of boosting the response rates in future research and were employed for data collection at later dates as well. The total sample size is 161 and this represents a response rate of 21%, of those who were over 16 and therefore were given a survey.

Table 4:4 British Youth Council Sample Details

Event	Approximate attendants	Distributed surveys	Responses	Response rate
BYC Annual Council Meeting 2012, Cardiff, UK	170	160	43	27%
UKYP Annual Sitting 2012, Nottingham, UK	255	239	27	11%
BYC South East convention 2013, London, UK	120	68	20	29%
UKYP Annual sitting 2013, Leeds, UK	250	200	32	16%
BYC Annual Council Meeting 2013, London, UK	150	97	39	40%
TOTAL	945	764	161	21%

4.6.3 Case Three: Non-Institutionalised NUS Demonstration

The data used for this analysis is the data collected at the two student demonstrations in London in 2010, as described in Chapter Two. The data collection method that was described above is a method that has been employed at 12 demonstrations by the UK team of *Caught in the Act*. The team has developed a well-working routine for preparing the surveys, briefing the interviewers and distributing the surveys, and we have a team of experienced interviewers who are very familiar with the data collection method. Therefore, there are in most cases only minor problems in implementing the methodology outlined above. These are for example that demonstrations seldom proceed in neat rows and therefore 'counting' rows can be a rather challenging task of the pointer, or that the demonstration is smaller than expected. These are problems that are easily overcome in the field, especially for the more experienced pointers.

As the second national demonstration taking place on 9 December, 2010, was called at very short notice, it was difficult to recruit and brief a large team of interviewers. We therefore organised a smaller team of more experienced volunteers to survey the demonstration. While it was not possible to conduct face-to-face interviews in this instance, the survey distributors divided the protest as evenly as possible between themselves, estimated the numbers of protesters and counted rows to ensure even an distribution of surveys and full coverage of the demonstration, thus giving each demonstrator an equal chance of being handed a survey. While the absence of pointers in this instance opens up for potential interviewer bias, the fact that this team of survey distributors was composed of very experienced individuals who had also previously acted as pointers or field supervisors gives us reason to believe that interviewer bias was minimised in the circumstances. Despite these potential drawbacks and limitations in the data, we are convinced that collecting data at the second national demonstration was still a worthwhile effort as a follow up to the first demonstration and can therefore be seen as part of the same movement.

The sample analysed consists of a total of 245 respondents (N) who were handed out surveys at the "Fund Our Future: National Demonstration Against Education Cuts and Tuition Fees", on November 10, 2010 (147 N) and "London Calling" the second national demonstration against education cuts

and tuition fees on the day of the vote in Parliament on December 9, 2010 (98 N). The details of the sample can be seen in Table 4:5 below. Both demonstrations took place in London. Response rates were 15 and 11 per cent, respectively. These are particularly low response rates relative to those from other demonstrations surveyed by the UK *Caught in the Act* team, with response rates ranging from about 40 per cent for climate change protests to about 20 percent for protests around anti-racism and women's rights to the low of approximately 10-15 percent for student mobilisations. This low response rate is probably due to the context of the protests – these protests were very different from the others surveyed by the UK teams being the only two demonstrations where violent tactics were employed by both demonstrators and the police. It stands to reason that this would hinder the likelihood that protesters would hold on to the surveys and be able to complete them and post them in the self-addressed pre-paid envelopes provided with the survey at distribution. Furthermore, due to the below zero temperatures at the protests and the containment, kettling, tactics of the police, the surveys (along with all kinds of other paper materials) were used to maintain fires to keep protesters warm in the cold.

This thesis is particularly interested in young people, so the sample needs to be split to enable the analysis to be conducted on only young people. There is however not one consistent age span for what is considered to be youth, as described in the introduction this is because of the transitional and semi-independent nature of youth (Wyn and White, 1997, Coles, 2002). This gradual development makes it difficult to narrow down an age span for 'youth'. In youth policy and research youth is taken to be a period between 13-25 (Wyn and White, 1997) or up to 25 as in the Youth Citizenship Commission and the BYC. The political parties youth factions also differ in who they consider being young, Young Labour is open to everyone between the ages of 14-26, Young Liberals all members under 26, whilst Conservative Future is open to anyone under 30. This variation in the age span is problematic, not only because it has no clear limits on when someone starts or stops being youth- perhaps an inherent feature of the transitional nature of youth itself- but also because within this group there are also thresholds that treats those in the group of 'youth' very differently. In the political sphere, the threshold for inclusion into the electorate in most parts of the world is 18 (Tonge, 2009). However some countries have lowered it and there is currently a strong lobby in the UK for

lowering it to 16 as a result of the lowering of the voting age to 16 in the Scottish Referendum.

Because of these inconsistencies in the age span it is difficult to set a certain age for when a person starts and stops being young. Just as with the BYC sample, the ethical approval necessitated taking 16 as the starting point for youth in this case. To get the upper limit guidance was taken from the other cases. In these cases the upper limit is not a problem, as they are particular youth organisations and people would not be active in them unless they fit the criteria of being young. To maintain consistency the upper threshold for youth being used will be based on the upper thresholds of the other cases. Conservative Future is the one with the highest threshold, and to maintain a large N, 30 will be used as the upper threshold for the demonstrator sample that will be used for analysis. As expected, a majority of the sample (68.4%) is under the age of 30, and this brings the sample size to N153.

Table 4:5 Demonstration Sample Details

Demonstration	Approximate Attendants	Distributed Surveys	Responses	Response Rate
Fund our Future, 2010, London	50.000	1000	147	14.7%
London Calling, 2010, London	20.000	1000	98	9.8%
TOTAL	70.000	2000	245	12%
Fund our Future, 16-30 year olds	N/A	N/A	59	
National Day of Action 16-30 year olds	N/A	N/A	94	
TOTALS	N/A	N/A	153	7.6%

4.7 Analysis Strategy

The following chapters will set out to answer the research questions. This will be done in three steps, one per chapter. The first research question aims to explore the proposition developed in the literature review regarding the differences between the people who participate in different political

repertoires. The first empirical chapter, Chapter Five, use the YCC data to answer this question. This analysis will be able to compare those who have participated in certain political repertoires to each other and to those who have not participated at all. As this is exploratory analysis simple descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations will be used to investigate the differences between those who participate in different ways. This analysis does show that there are significant differences between those who participate in different ways, and three groups emerge, the non-participants, the low cost participants and the high cost participants (activists). As such, the analysis shows that the activists (high cost participants) do stand out from other participants and it strengthens the justification for exploring them in more detail.

The second step in the analysis is to start exploring the activists in more detail and this will be done in Chapter Six. This is a very important part of the analysis because of the uniqueness and novelty of this dataset, both in terms of the individual samples of groups of young activists that have not been investigated in such a detailed way before. But also, the comparison of activists across institutional settings that the overall sample enables. The analysis in this chapter will be primarily exploratory and therefore using descriptive statistics to get an understanding of the composition of the samples and how they compare to each other. This analysis will also feed into the final empirical chapter, Chapter Seven, which more systematically compares the three groups using multinomial logistic regression. This analysis aims to assess the explanatory value of the different sets of variables in predicting what type of organisation an individual is active in.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has set out the research design and research methods to be used to answer the two research questions posed in the literature review. The first research question aims to test and explore the conceptualisation of political activity by using YCC dataset. The implementation of the scale of political activity allows for exploring the proposed differences between those active in different repertoires. The second research question was developed based on critiques of previous research on youth political engagement, but also based in a methodological critique of the survey instruments used to measure political activism. It was argued that the contextualised data collection method

developed by Klandermans et al in the *Caught in the Act* project overcomes problems with surveying political activists that general population surveys, and even the YCC dataset, encounter. These problems are firstly that the activists are in a minority of the population and therefore also become a minority of a representative sample. Secondly, the general population survey is decontextualized, which results in that we know that a respondent has attended a political meeting, but not what kind of meeting they have attended. The contextualised survey method also brings other benefits, such as ensuring that everyone who is considered to be politically active in a certain domain is active in the same way (and at the same time) as the other activists in that domain. Holding the repertoire constant is an important aspect of this thesis as the second research question is interested in the differences between activists in different domains.

This chapter has discussed the methodological implications of focus on activism and described the solutions that the *Caught in the Act* survey method propose to the issues that arise. The next chapters aim to use the data to explore and answer the research questions and give a more nuanced image of political activism.

Chapter 5: Setting Apart The Activists

The previous chapters have argued that one of the gaps in the current literature on political participation is that it focuses on what makes young people *not participate in formal politics*. If there has been a shift in participation rather than simple disengagement, as argued by many youth scholars, it becomes relevant to ask what makes young people engage in different ways. Because, with the focus in the current literature we do not know what makes people engage in a wider range of political activities, and this led to the first research question of this thesis regarding the similarities and differences between those who engage in different political repertoires and those who do not engage at all. This chapter aims to address this question by using a dataset collected by the Youth Citizenship Commission (YCC) but also to test an alternative way of classifying political repertoires to the ones currently used in the literature. This distinction is based on the cost of engaging in the repertoire, where cost is understood as both time and money (see pp. 51-53 for a detailed discussion on this).

This chapter will start by giving the background to the YCC, to then move on to recap the data and methods that was described in Chapter Four and expand on the operationalisation of the independent variables in the YCC survey. The analysis aims to explore whether there are any differences between those who engage in different types of political repertoires. Due to the exploratory nature of the research, cross-tabulations and chi square tests will suffice to answer this question. The results show some interesting findings. Firstly, the analysis shows that three groups emerge from the analysis; the non- and low cost participants, medium cost participants and high cost participants. The first group consists of people who have not engaged in any political activities in the same group as those who have for example signed a petition. What is interesting about this group is that it includes both participants and non-participants. The two other groups also portray some interesting differences and similarities, where those who had engaged in high cost activities, such as attending a meeting, demonstration or rally or getting involved in a campaign, particularly stood out from the rest of the respondents. The high cost activists particularly stood out in terms of their political attitudes, levels of alienation and efficacy compared to the other

respondents. These findings suggests that it is not enough to look merely at what makes people participate or not, or the differences and similarities between these groups, but there are also significant differences between those who engage in different ways. Therefore this analysis suggests that this is something we need to take into consideration when exploring what makes people participate politically. This finding supports the argument presented in the literature review that we cannot only look at political participation as a binary variable but the repertoire a person engages in also matters. This analysis therefore supports the focus on the activists of this thesis.

Background to the Youth Citizenship Commission

The Youth Citizenship Commission (YCC) was announced by the British Government in 2007 in the *Governance of Britain* Green Paper. It was set up to explore what young people thought citizenship meant, consider how to increase young people's participation in politics and promote active citizenship, as well as consult on whether to lower the voting age in Britain to 16. As part of the consultation process they gathered responses from the public and youth organisations, and commissioned a survey of 11-25 year olds. The YCC analysis of the data was interested in the wider issue of political engagement, and they used a threefold notion of engagement, attitudes to politicians, knowledge and attitudes to politics and political process, attitudes to voting.

Their recommendations fell under three overarching themes; empowered citizenship, connecting with young people, changing the way that decision-makers and institutions work. They found that citizenship was a concept young people did not identify with and was not something they associated with politics. The YCC suggested that citizenship education, that had been part of the national curriculum in schools in England since 2002, should become more practical and highlight the political elements of citizenship. Not surprisingly, they also found that young people felt disempowered and lacked the knowledge to make a difference, and the suggested solution was to bring political processes and opportunities closer to young people. Despite the sense of lack of knowledge and ability to contribute, the YCC found that, young people were willing to be involved. YCC proposed that politicians, institutions and decision-makers should reach out

and make politics more attractive to young people, something that is likely to hold true across age-groups.

5.1 Data and Operationalisation

As outlined in Chapter Four the dataset used for the analysis aiming to answer the first research question is the dataset collected by the YCC. This is a unique nationally representative of young people of the ages 11-25 consisting of 1102 individuals and the survey was a face to face survey conducted in the respondent's home.

5.1.1 Operationalisation Of Variables

The dependent variable of political activity was thoroughly discussed and operationalised in Chapter Four. It is worth mentioning again that the dependent variable has five values; 'no political activities', 'low cost political activities', 'medium cost political activities' and 'high cost political activities', ranging from zero to four in the scale produced in Table 5:1 below.

Table 5:1 Political Activity Scale

Survey Item	Number on scale
Helped to raise money for a good cause	0
Given time/volunteered to help other people	0
Got involved in running a local club/putting on a local event	0
Donated money to good cause	0
Done something to help make my local area a better place	0
Signed a petition	1
Boycotted certain products	2
Discussed politics or political news with someone	2
Voted in general election	3
Voted in local election	3
Contacted MP or local councillor	3
Gone to political meeting, demonstration, march or rally	4
Got involved in a political campaign	4

The theory behind the independent variables is discussed in detail in Chapter One and Chapter Three and will not be discussed in detail here. The operationalisation of the variables is summarised in Table 5:2 below. The groups of variables available in the YCC survey are slightly different than the ones in the survey conducted for this thesis, and this is one of the limitations when using secondary data. However, as argued above, and this becomes very clear in the operationalisation, the focus on the knowledge and alienation variables is a clear benefit of this data.

The independent variables are grouped into five themes that overlap with the three themes developed in the literature, but are slightly different because of the nature of the survey and the additional focus on young people's political literacy. Therefore the five themes used for this analysis are; 'Demographics', 'Political Attitudes', 'Knowledge and Efficacy', 'Alienation and Trust'. The demographic variables in the survey used for this analysis are the standard gender, age and socioeconomic class variables. The variables classed as political attitudes relate not only to the attitudes to the political system but also to the respondent's attitudes to getting involved in politics, such as 'I would like to be able to influence how local/national decisions are made'. These were measured on a Likert scale ranging from one to ten, where one meant strongly disagree and ten strongly agree. All the attitudinal variables were measured using this scale, and for the analysis these were collapsed into five smaller categories of 'Strongly Disagree', 'Disagree', 'Neutral' 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree'.

There are a number of variables that are classified as 'Knowledge and Efficacy'. These are combined because it is presumed in much of the literature that unless one has the knowledge about how to participate it is very difficult to be effective in achieving the goal. As argued in the literature review this group of variables is a key set of variables in the youth literature, as lack of knowledge and understanding of politics is often seen as both the reason for excluding young people from political processes and the justification for citizenship education. The measurements used in the survey particularly separate local and national levels, by asking how the respondent feels about each level, and asks specifically if the respondent understands how decisions are made and whether they feel they can influence the decisions.

Another set of key variables that was brought up in the literature review is the 'Alienation' variables. These variables are important because they are seen as the reason to why young people turn away from formal politics; it is simply not for them. As suggested in the literature review the alienation variables has to do with the sense the respondent have of politics mattering to them or them and their interests being represented by politicians and Seeman (1959) proposed five dimensions of alienation. The measurements for alienation available in the YCC survey most directly cover the meaningless and isolation dimensions where they measure to what extent the respondent feels it is worth engaging and whether they feel that their interests will be represented and listened to, such as for example 'Politicians take notice of what people like me think' and 'People in authority are interested in my ideas and what I think'.

The last set of variables in the survey relate to the levels of trust. To measure trust the respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with the statements 'The police treat people my age with suspicion, even if they haven't done anything wrong' and 'I trust politicians to make the right choices for people like me'. Although not necessarily being the traditional measures of political and institutional trust they give an indication of young people's attitudes to these institutions and whether they trust them to treat them well. The institutional trust is measured by their attitudes to the police, and whether they will treat young people with suspicion.As such it measures the young person's suspicion (or distrust) to the police. The second measurement relates to their trust in politicians to make the right choices for people like them, and therefore is a more specific measurement of the levels of political trust.

These five sets of independent variables and measurements constitute a comprehensive basis for the analysis aiming to answer the question about the similarities and differences between those not engaging in any political activities and those who engage in political repertoires imposing different levels of cost to the individual. It is expected that most variation will be found between the non-participants and a respondent that has engaged in any other activity. However, some differences are also expected between those who have engaged in different political repertoires.

Table 5.2 Operationalisation of Independent Variables in YCC Data Set		
DEMOGRAPHICS		
Variable	Question	Measurement
Gender	N/A	Male/female
Social Grade	People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to a certain class, which of the following would you describe yourself as?	A/B- Upper Middle or middle class C1- Lower middle class C2-Skilled working class D/E- Working class or non-working Don't know/Not applicable
Age	What age are you?	11 or under, 12-14, 15-17, 18-22, 23-25
POLITICAL ATTITUDES		
Question		Measurement
Agreement with statements: I am really interested in getting involved in local and political activities		Scale 1-10 recoded to 5 categories, strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree.
Voting is a good way to influence the decisions that are made about national and local is		Same as above
It is important to vote		Same as above
I would like to be able to influence how decisions are made locally		Same as above
I would like to be able to influence how national decisions are made by the government		Same as above
KNOWLEDGE AND EFFICACY		
Agreement with statement: I understand how decisions are made about local issues		Scale 1-10 recoded to 5 categories, strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree.
I feel like I can influence decisions that are made locally		Same as above
I understand how decisions are made about national issues		Same as above
I feel I can influence national decisions that are made by the government		Same as above
ALIENATION		
Agreement with statements: Politicians care about people like me		Same as above
Politicians understand what people like me need and want		Same as above
Politicians take notice of what people like me think		Same as above
Note: Table 5:2 continues on the next page		

Table 5.2 cont.	
ALIENATION	
I feel respected by the people in authority I have contact with	Same as above
People in authority are interested in my ideas and what I think	Same as above
TRUST	
Agreement with statements: The police treat people my age with suspicion, even if they haven't done anything wrong	Same as above
I trust politicians to make the right choices for people like me	Same as above

5.2 Analysis Strategy and Expected Findings

The analysis conducted here is intended to be exploratory to investigate a new aspect of the dataset and test the validity of the theoretical framework regarding the differences between people who engage in different kinds of political activities. The analysis is exploratory and therefore cross-tabulations and chi-square tests have been used to analyse the data. As briefly discussed above and based on the analytical framework in Chapter Three, the pattern that is expected to emerge is that the biggest differences are to be found between those who participate and those who do not, especially as the explanatory variables are drawn from the literature with this focus. The literature review suggested that some differences should be expected between those engaging in different repertoires but it is difficult to specify detailed expected results. As such, this analysis is important to not just assess the explanatory value of the theories of political participation in explaining differential participation but also scope out which variables are the most useful in explaining differential political participation.

5.3 Results

Due to the exploratory nature of the focus of this chapter, the results presented here are based on crosstabs and chi square tests to assess the significance of the relationship between the variables. Table 5:2 presents the demographics of the sample. Overall there is an almost equal split between men and women in the sample both with regards to non-participation and also

the different political activities, although it is not significant. There is also a relatively even spread of the sample across the age groups, with the only exception of those being 11 or under. Both these distributions a consequence of the quotas imposed in the sampling process. Looking at the specific activities however, we can see that a majority of those in the meeting/campaign and in the contact/vote categories are over 18. For the latter category this is not surprising considering the age threshold for voting. With regards to the lower cost activities the majority of respondents in those groups (petition, boycott and discuss) fall into the 15-22 age brackets. This finding indicates that as people grow older they engage in high cost activities.

Table 5:2Demographics of YCC Sample, Percentages

Gender (notsig)	**No Political Activity**	**Petition**	**Boycott/ Discuss**	**Contact /Vote**	**Campaign/ Meeting/ Demo**	**%of Total Sample**
	N 667	N75	N135	N164	N61	
Male	49	45.3	51.1	49.4	50.8	49.2
Female	51	54.7	48.9	50.6	49.2	50.8
Age* **						
11 or under	10.3	2.7	3	0.6	6.6	7.6
12-14	25	12	11.9	3	9.8	18.4
15-17	23.4	33.3	23.7	3.7	13.1	20.6
18-22	24	36	39.3	31.7	37.7	28.6
23-25	16.6	16	22.2	61	32.8	24.8
Social class* **						
Upper middle or middle class	12.9	17.3	25.9	20.7	19.7	16.3
Lower middle class	30.3	40	34.8	44.5	42.6	34.3
Skilled working class	29.2	21.3	20.7	22	23	26.2
Working class or non-working[8]	27.6	21.3	17.8	12.8	13.1	23
Don't know or not applicable	0	0	0.7	0	1.6	0.2
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001						

[8] This relates to casual or lowest grade workers, pensioners, and others who depend on the welfare state for their income, this includes students.

The majority of the sample is either lower middle class or skilled working class but no clear pattern emerges with regards to class and the cost of the activity. The respondents identifying as working class or non-working have the highest percentage of no political participation, but it is not much higher than the percentage for the same social grade signing a petition or boycotting/discussing politics. The respondents identifying as lower middle class engage highly in both lower intensity activities such as signing a petition and the higher intensity activities such as contact/voting and meeting/campaign. These are also the activities where the differences between the social grades are the highest, where almost twice as many lower middle class people engage in the activities compared to the skilled working class. However, as this pattern is found in both high and low intensity activities it seems as if social grade only structure some political activity.

Table 5:3 presents the results for the 'Political Attitudes' variables and demonstrate two interesting patterns. Firstly, the first measurement regarding their interest in getting involved in local and political activities does present a pattern that is not particularly surprising with the ones being involved in the highest cost activities agreeing most strongly with this statement and those who are not engaged at all disagreeing the strongest. However, the neutral category is of similar proportion across the types of activities (ranging from 23.3% to 33,1%). This finding suggest that although positive attitudes to participation matter to some extent with regards to the highest cost political activity, it matter less for the other types of activities. This pattern of similarity across the types of political activity continues in the attitudes to the potential value of voting to influence national and local issues, where we can see that a majority of respondents agree or agree strongly with this statement. However the cross tabulation does not come out as significant on the chi square test so this result should be treated with some caution.

A different pattern emerges in the responses to the importance of voting. A clear majority of those who engage in the highest cost activities strongly agree or agree with the statement (ranging from 75.6% to 86.4% of respondents in each type of activity). Here there is however a significant difference between the non-participants, the petition signers and the participants engaging in high cost activities where for the former there is still a majority agreeing, but not as a large proportion. These results suggest that

although there are some differences in political attitudes between those who engage in activities of different cost and those who do not engage at all, the differences are not as sharp as one would expect. In fact, these results suggest that the small differences there are between the groups lie between non-participants on one side, and the higher intensity participants on the other. Overall however, most respondents hold positive political attitudes on the measurements available in this survey research, suggesting that there are other mechanisms at place explaining not only political participation, but also differential participation. These results also show that just because someone is not politically active, does not mean they do not hold political opinions. This finding is very much in line with the argument that young people are not politically apathetic just because they don't participate in politics.

A more significant difference can be found in the willingness to influence national and local decisions, where 40% of the respondents active in high cost activities strongly agree with the statement that they would like to influence national and local decisions. The three middle groups are similar in that a majority are on the positive end of the spectrum, but with around a quarter in the neutral category. In contrast, the non-participants are in a majority on the negative end of the spectrum, but with a substantial proportion in the neutral category as well. This result suggests that the non-participants are not apathetic or without political opinions. Although these attitudes and opinions are negative, and that is a problem in itself, this still suggests that they have cared enough to form an opinion. The results also shows that it is not only the non-participants who respond with a neutral response suggesting that the respondent has no strong opinion on the matter. In fact, the proportions of neutral responses are similar across the types of political activities, even the high intensity activities.

Table 5:3 Political Attitudes in YCC Sample, Percentages						
I am really interested in getting involved in local and political activities* **						
	No Political Activities	**Petition**	**Boycott/ Discuss**	**Contact/ Vote**	**Campaign/ Meeting/ Demo**	**%of Total Sample**
	N622	N74	N133	N160	N59	
Strongly Disagree	37,1	31,1	21,8	18,1	3,4	30,0
Disagree	21,9	18,9	25,6	29,4	13,6	22,8
Neutral	25,9	28,4	23,3	33,1	30,5	27,1
Agree	10,0	18,9	21,8	12,5	32,2	13,7
Strongly Agree	5,1	2,7	7,5	6,9	20,3	6,4
Voting is a good way to influence the decisions that are made about national and local issues. (notsig)						
Strongly Disagree	9,0	11,1	5,2	3,7	6,7	7,6
Disagree	9,5	9,7	10,4	8,6	10,0	9,5
Neutral	23,8	15,3	17,9	16,7	16,7	20,9
Agree	32,9	38,9	32,1	34,6	33,3	33,5
Strongly Agree	24,8	25,0	34,3	36,4	33,3	28,4
Agreement with statement: It is important to vote* **						
Strongly Disagree	7,7	11,6	3,8	2,5	3,4	6,4
Disagree	8,2	4,3	7,6	4,4	3,4	7,0
Neutral	22,0	21,7	13,0	8,2	6,8	17,7
Agree	28,3	36,2	21,4	28,5	28,8	28,0
Strongly Agree	33,8	26,1	54,2	56,3	57,6	40,9
I would like to be able to influence how decisions are made locally* **						
Strongly Disagree	21,6	17,6	10,6	6,2	0	16,3
Disagree	18,7	12,2	12,1	19,1	10,2	17
Neutral	30,2	28,4	25,8	24,1	22	28,1
Agree	19,5	32,4	36,4	30,9	27,1	24,8
Strongly Agree	10	10	15	20	40,7	13,9
I would like to be able to influence how national decisions are made by the government* **						
Strongly Disagree	26,5	19,2	10,7	12,3	1,7	20,3
Disagree	22,5	12,3	13,7	13,6	5,8	18,4
Neutral	26,0	34,2	22,9	26,5	16,9	25,7
Agree	16,5	27,4	36,6	27,2	32,2	22,4
Strongly Agree	8,7	6,8	16,0	20,4	40,7	13,2
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001						

Table 5:4 present the 'Knowledge and Efficacy' variables and an overall pattern that emerge is that the respondents who engage in the highest cost activities stand out from the rest of the sample. For all variables the majority of the respondents engaging in high cost activities are on the higher end of the agreement spectrum, whilst for the other participants and non-participants the majority of respondents are either around the neutral response or on the lower end of the agreement spectrum. There are some results that are particularly interesting to pick out. Firstly, there seem to be a discrepancy in the confidence among the respondents knowledge in national and local levels. The respondents report a higher agreement with their self-assessed understanding of how national decisions are made compared to the local decision responses.

Interestingly however, the increase in the confidence in understanding politics does not translate to their confidence in their efficacy. For example, the efficacy level of the respondents engaged in high cost activities drops from 21.7% strongly agreeing that they can influence decisions made locally whilst only 13% agree strongly that they can influence the government. This gap somewhat challenges the proposed relationship between having an understanding of a process and being effective in influencing the process. The proportion of respondents on the positive side of the scale is still over 30% for both measures but over 50% of the respondents engaging in high intensity activities feel they understand how local and national decisions are being made. As a contrast, over 30% are neutral in their perceived ability to influence decisions. This gap could be explained by the fact that processes of government are more complex than local issues or the question does not actually specify decisions made by local government. Even so, the gap between the knowledge of the processes and the perceived efficacy of their participation still challenges the assumption of a close relationship between the two variables on which much of citizenship education (especially the new curriculum) is based on. These results suggest that knowledge or understanding of the process does not necessarily lead to a corresponding confidence in the ability to have influence.

Table 5:4Efficacy and Knowledge in YCC Sample, Percentages						
I understand how decisions are made about local issues* **						
	No Political Activities	**Petition**	**Boycott /Discuss**	**Contact/ Vote**	**Campaign/ Meeting/ Demo**	**%of Total Sample**
	N607	N74	N131	N157	N57	
Strongly disagree	29,2	27,0	21,4	13,4	8,8	24,5
Disagree	22,9	17,6	15,3	21,7	17,5	21,1
Neutral	25,2	27,0	23,7	28,0	19,3	25,2
Agree	16,3	18,9	30,5	22,3	33,3	20,2
Strongly agree	6,4	9,5	9,2	14,6	21,1	9,1
I feel like I can influence decisions that are made locally* **						
Strongly disagree	36,90	40,50	29,30	22,80	10,00	32,50
Disagree	26,60	17,60	28,60	25,90	21,70	25,80
Neutral	22,50	23,00	23,30	28,40	35,00	24,30
Agree	10,50	14,90	15,80	16,00	11,70	12,40
Strongly agree	3,40	4,10	3,00	6,80	21,70	5,00
I understand how decisions are made about national issues* **						
Strongly disagree	32,3	28,4	18,3	17,0	6,7	26,4
Disagree	23,8	16,2	17,6	14,5	13,3	20,4
Neutral	21,7	18,9	24,4	26,4	20,0	22,5
Agree	16,5	27,0	29,0	30,2	33,3	21,9
Strongly agree	5,7	9,5	10,7	11,9	26,7	8,8
I feel I can influence national decisions that are made by the government* **						
Strongly disagree	41	40	38	28	18	37
Disagree	25	28	28	21	12	24
Neutral	22	19	18	28	33	23
Agree	9	13	14	14	23	12
Strongly agree	4	0	2	9	13	5
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001						

Table 5:5 shows the variables measuring the levels of alienation. Two of the variables (feeling respected by people in authority and that people in authority take interest in them) do not come out as significant in the chi-square tests. However, the patterns emerging for those measurements are similar for all types of activists and are therefore not likely to play a part in distinguishing between repertoires. For the other variables that are concerned with the perception of politicians the overall pattern that emerges is that all of the respondents are quite alienated. For these variables there seem to be three groups forming; once again the non-participants and the respondents who have only signed a petition respond in a similar way, the ones who have boycotted/discussed politics and the ones who have voted/contacted also respond in a similar way and the respondents active in highest cost activities stand out in their pattern of responses. Rather, as expected those who have engaged in no or very low cost activities are the most alienated, where around 40-45% of the respondents strongly disagree with the statements that politicians care, understand and take notice of people like them, closely followed by the medium cost active where around 31-38 percent strongly disagree with these statements. The respondents active in high cost activities stand out not only because they have lower proportions in the strongly disagree category but also because the majority of the respondents are in the neutral category or on the negative side of the spectrum, suggesting that alienation does not deter political activism.

The discrepancy between the attitudes to politicians and people in authority is interesting. Although the latter did not come out as significant in the chi square test and therefore should be treated with caution, the results showing alienation from politicians, even among those who are active in high cost political activities, is worrying. It is also casting some doubt on the strength of the alienation argument, because if alienation was the reason young people were not engaging with formal politics, those who have engaged in for example voting should not display such high levels of alienation.

Table 5:5 Alienation Variables in YCC Sample, Percentages						
Politicians care about people like me* **						
	No Political Activities	**Petition**	**Boycott/ Discuss**	**Contact/ Vote**	**Campaign/ Meeting/ Demo**	**%of Total Sample**
	N583	N75	N132	N162	N58	
Strongly Disagree	37,9	40,0	29,5	29,6	17,2	34,5
Disagree	30,2	17,3	30,3	24,7	19,0	27,7
Neutral	21,4	26,7	21,2	26,5	32,8	23,3
Agree	8,6	14,7	15,9	17,9	27,6	12,6
Strongly Agree	1,9	1,3	3,0	1,2	3,4	2,0
Politicians understand what people like me need and want**						
Strongly Disagree	41,0	40,5	34,1	31,1	25,4	37,6
Disagree	26,2	18,9	28,0	25,5	18,6	25,4
Neutral	21,8	24,3	21,2	26,7	37,3	23,6
Agree	10,1	12,2	12,9	14,9	11,9	11,5
Strongly Agree	0,9	4,1	3,8	1,9	6,8	2,0
Politicians take notice of what people like me think*						
Strongly Disagree	45,3	45,9	38,5	35,6	22,0	41,6
Disagree	25,7	17,6	28,5	27,5	25,4	25,7
Neutral	20,3	25,7	23,8	24,4	30,5	22,4
Agree	7,1	8,1	5,8	10,6	18,6	8,6
Strongly Agree	1,5	2,7	0,8	1,9	3,4	1,7
I feel respected by the people in authority I have contact with (notsig)						
Strongly Disagree	4,9	2,7	5,4	5,1	5,1	4,8
Disagree	9,4	9,6	6,2	7,6	1,7	8,3
Neutral	24,1	20,5	16,9	20,9	22,0	22,3
Agree	34,9	39,7	40,8	35,4	39,0	36,3
Strongly Agree	26,7	27,4	30,8	31,0	32,2	28,2
People in authority are interested in my ideas and what I think (notsig)						
Strongly Disagree	12,7	12,2	9,8	8,6	6,7	11,3
Disagree	16,5	23,0	14,4	11,0	8,3	15,4
Neutral	30,0	24,3	32,6	28,8	33,3	29,9
Agree	28,2	32,4	31,1	36,8	41,7	31,0
Strongly Agree	12,7	8,1	12,1	14,7	10,0	12,4
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001						

Table 5:6 shows the results from the analysis of the 'Trust' variables. What the Table below show is that the levels of trust in the fair treatment of young people by the police is quite low, with the majority of respondents, except for those who are engaged in high cost activities, tending to agree or strongly agree with the statement that the police treat people like them with suspicion. With regards to trust in politicians a clear majority of those who engage in no political activities or low cost political activities are distrusting of politicians. This is also illustrated in that 40% of the total sample strongly disagree with the statement that they trust politicians to make the right choices for people like them. The high cost activists stand out here, because large proportions of respondents fall into both the strongly disagree, the neutral and the agree response options and thus not giving a clear picture of the levels of trust among the political activists.

Table 5:6Trust Variables in YCC Sample, Percentages

The police treat people my age with suspicion, even if they haven't done anything wrong*						
	No Political Activities	**Petition**	**Boycott/ Discuss**	**Contact/ Vote**	**Campaign/ Meeting/ Demo**	**%of Total Sample**
	N622	N72	N133	N156	N57	
Strongly Disagree	7,9	8,3	12,0	15,4	12,3	9,8
Disagree	12,4	12,5	15,0	16,7	17,5	13,7
Neutral	26,5	13,9	20,3	28,8	26,3	25,2
Agree	29,9	38,9	29,3	23,7	29,8	29,5
Strongly Agree	23,3	26,4	23,3	15,4	14,0	21,8
I trust politicians to make the right choices for people like me*						
Strongly Disagree	42,7	35,6	38,5	39,0	27,6	40,1
Disagree	25,2	19,2	23,1	24,5	13,8	23,7
Neutral	21,4	31,5	27,7	27,0	31,0	24,4
Agree	8,6	11,0	8,5	8,2	25,9	9,7
Strongly Agree	2,1	2,7	2,3	1,3	1,7	2,0

Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001

5.4 Discussion And Conclusion

Two overarching themes can be found in the previous sections presenting the results from the exploratory re-analysis of the YCC data. Firstly, and in response to the research question, the results show that there are not only differences between those who engage and those who do not but there are also differences between those who engage in different ways. In many cases three groups emerged in the analysis. The first group consists of those who were not engaged at all and those who had only signed a petition. The second group consisted of those engaged in medium cost activities, such as boycotting, discussing politics, voting and contacting politicians. The third group were those who engaged in high cost activities, such as attending a meeting, demonstration, rally or got involved in a political campaign, stood out on most variables. These findings support the theory developed in the analytical framework that we cannot only look at political participation as a binary variable. The type of activity one engages in also matters, where in particular the people who have engaged in high cost activities stand out from the rest of the group.

The politically active are often in a minority in general population samples but this analysis supports the suggestion that it would be worth exploring this group of people in more detail. As argued above, some scholars in the social movement and political party literature have started exploring this but they look at a certain domain, such as demonstrations or political parties. This chapter started taking the insights of this literature further and found that the group who engages in high cost activities do stand out. In fact, the high cost act variable was constructed from a response option that did not specify what domain the participation took place in. As such, the activities can spread across domains of activities. Although this could be seen as a limitation of the data, this also gives reason to explore them in more detail with more facts about their participation. It would be worth asking makes people engage in high cost activities across domains, i.e. what makes someone go to a meeting with a political party versus a demonstration? Are these people the same people? If not, how are they different from each other? The data provided from the YCC does not contain enough detail to answer these questions, but considering that this group stand out from the rest of the sample, it seems a worthwhile further exploration of those who are politically active. The rest of

the thesis aims to explore and answer these questions. What the analysis in this chapter has shown is that the activists stand out from the rest of the population and the more detailed understanding of these activists cannot be answered by using a general population survey.

Chapter 6: Exploring The Activists

Based on the findings in the previous chapter regarding the particular nature of those who engage in high cost political activities this chapter will start the analysis of the data collected as part of this research project. The aim is to start addressing the second research question about the similarities and differences between young people who are politically active in different institutional settings. This chapter will focus on exploratory analysis and descriptive statistics to start exploring the similarities and differences between activists. This analysis is important for two reasons. Firstly, we do not know much about young people who are politically active, especially across these institutional settings. Therefore exploring who they are, what they think and in what other civic and political repertoires they engage will add to our knowledge about those who are politically active. Secondly, by exploring the similarities and differences between the groups, the findings here can feed into the more advanced multinomial regression analysis in Chapter Seven. This chapter will briefly restate the details of the data and discuss the operationalisation of the variables and then move on to the exploratory analysis of the data to find the similarities and differences between activists in different institutional settings. The analysis will start by exploring the results from each set of variables case by case to then make some concluding remarks regarding the similarities and differences between the cases. The image that emerges is that these activists are more similar than expected but with some important differences with regards to the attitudes they hold to the political system.

6.1 Data and Operationalisation

The data that was collected for this part of the analysis using the contextualised survey method and survey developed in the *Caught in the Act* project as described above (see Chapter Four). The total sample consists of (N) 450 respondents and each group of activists make up around a third of the sample, as illustrated in Table 6:1 below.

Table 6:1Distribution Of The Sample Across Institutional Settings		
Organisation	**Frequency**	**Percentage of sample**
Youth factions	136	30.2
British Youth Council	161	35.8
Demonstration	153	34
TOTAL	450	100

6.1.1 Operationalisation Of Variables

The dependent variable for this analysis is differential political activism. The variable has been coded in to one variable with three outcomes; Political party's youth faction activist, BYC activist and Demonstrator, given the values one, two and three respectively. The independent variables are classified into the three themes, and subgroups, that were discussed in the literature review in Chapter One and in Chapter Three; 'Resources' ('Demographics', 'Mobilisation Patterns' and 'Civic and Political Repertoires'), 'Attitudes' ('Civic and Political Attitudes', 'Alienation and Disaffection' and 'Political Efficacy') and 'Motivations'.

6.1.2 Resources

The measurements for the Demographic variables include 'Gender', 'Age', Education Level', 'Country of Origin', 'Parental Country of Origin' and 'Self-identified Social Class'. These are summarised in the Table 6:2 below. The age measurement asked the respondent to write down their year of birth, based on this their age at the event was calculated and coded into age categories that can be seen in Table 6:2 below. Similarly, 'Education', 'Country Of Origin' and 'Parental Origin' were open ended questions asking the respondent to write down their highest or current level of educational qualification and their and their parents' country of birth. The educational qualifications were coded into categories guided by the international standard classification of education, i.e. 'Secondary Education', 'Vocational Education', 'University Degree', 'Post Graduate University Degree'. The parental origin was coded into three categories, 'Non-EU', 'EU' and 'UK'. The self-identified class measurement gave all options reported in Table 6:2, allowing the respondent to tick the option that best fit their self-identified class, but also included the 'none' option for those who did not identify themselves to a particular class.

Table 6:2 Operationalisation Resources Variables		
Resources: Demographics		
Measurement	Question	Indicators
Gender	Are you…?	Male/female
Age	In which year were you born?	Open question coded into age categories: 16-18, 19-21, 22-25, 26-30
Education Level	What is your highest educational qualification? Or if you are still a student, at what level are you studying?	Open question coded into: Secondary Education Vocational Education University Degree Postgraduate University Degree
Country Born	In which country were you born?	Open question coded into: Non-EU, EU, UK
Parents Born	In which country was your mother/father born?	Same as above
Social Class	People sometimes describe themselves belonging to the working class, the middle class, ore the upper/lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the…?	Upper Class, Upper Middleclass, Lower Middle Class, Working Class, Lower Class, None.
Resources: Mobilisation Patterns		
Information Channels	There are many ways we can find out about organisations and events, please tick all the information channels that you gained information from and that influenced your decision to join your organisation.	Radio/Television; Newspapers; Alternative Online Media; Advertisements, Flyers and /or Posters; Partner and/or Family; Friends and/or Acquaintances; People at Your School or Workplace; Existing Members of Another Organisation or Association; Members of Your Organisation; An Organisation Magazine, Meeting, Website, Mailing List etc.; Online Social Networks.
Asked By	Which of the following persons approached you to join your organisation/attend this event?	No –One; Family; Relatives; Friends; Acquaintances; A Fellow Student; Members Of M Organisation; Youth Worker (BYC Only); Teacher (BYC Only)

Note table 6:2 continues on the next page

Table 6:2 Continued		
Resources: Civic And Political Repertoires		
Civic repertoires	In the past 12 months, how many different organisations have you actively participated?	None; One; Two or Three; More than Three
	If you have been involved in any of the following types of organisations in the past 12 months, please indicate whether you are an active or passive member. If you are a member of several organisations of the same type, tick the box of the organisation of the type you are the most 'active'.	Church or Religious Organisation; Trade Union or Professional Association; Women's Organisation; Sport or Cultural Organization; Environmental Organization; Lesbian or Gay Rights Organization; Community or Neighbourhood Association; Charity or Welfare Organization; Third World, Global Justice or Peace Organization; Anti-Racist or Migrant Organisation; Human or Civil Rights Organization; Youth Council/Parliament (YFS Only)
Political Repertoires	When you get together with friends, how often do you discuss politics?	Never; Rarely; Sometimes; Fairly Often; Very Often
	There are many things people can do to prevent or promote political change. Have you, in the past 12 months?	Contacted a Politician, Government, or Local Government Official; Signed a Petition/Public Letter; Donated Money to a Political Organisation or Group; Boycotted Certain Products; Deliberately Bought Products For Political, Ethical or Environmental Reasons; Worn or Displayed a Campaign Badge/Sticker; Joined a Strike; Taken Part in Direct Action (Such as: Blockade, Occupation, Civil Disobedience); Used Violent Forms of Action (against Property or People); Attended a Demonstration (YF And BYC Only)

The 'Mobilisation Pattern' variables include two measurements; 'Information Channels' and 'Asked By'. The question for the first measurement stipulated to the respondent "There are many ways we can find out about organisations and events, please tick all the information channels that you gained information from and that influenced your decision to join your organisation". The measurement is therefore a binary measurement, and they were grouped into two overarching categories of 'Open' and 'Closed' depending on whether they were open to a public audience or closed to only address a closed network of audience. The 'Asked By' measurement simply asked the respondent who had approached them and asked them to attend the event and the respondent could tick as many options as applied to them. For the BYC survey the two response options of 'Youth Worker' and 'Teacher' were added after consultation with the organiser of the BYC events as these mobilisation channels were by their experience the most common mobilisation patterns because of the structure of the BYC.

The 'Civic and Political Repertoires' variable is measured by four different measurements. The first asks the respondent "in the past 12 months, how many different organisations have you actively participated in?", and the respondent is given the options of 'None', 'One', 'Two or Three' and 'More than Three'. There is also a question specifying what kind of organisation they have participated in and asking the respondent to indicate whether they have been active or passive members. The list of type of organisations is quite extensive and outlined in Table 6:2 above. Moving on to the more political repertoires the first measurement asks the respondent how often they discuss politics when they get together with friends and they are given the options of 'Never', 'Rarely', 'Sometimes', 'Fairly Often' and 'Very Often'. Lastly, the measurement for other engagement in political repertoires asked the respondent the question "There are many ways of influencing politicians and political decisions, which of the following have you done in the past 12 months?". It allowed the respondent to tick all response options that applied to them, and the options can be seen in Table 6:2 above. The 'Attending a Demonstration' option was not included in the demonstration survey, as there was another question asking them more specifically about their past demonstration experience. For consistency in the data the demonstrators were coded as if they had ticked this box because they were at a demonstration when they were surveyed so they would have ticked the box if surveyed at a

different time. For the youth factions the option of a 'Youth Council/Youth Parliament' was also added to check for overlap of membership between the youth factions and youth councils/parliaments.

6.1.3 Attitudes

The measurements for the 'Civic and Political Attitudes' include Satisfaction with Democracy', 'Interest in Politics', attitudes to voting and trust in the government, parliament and political parties and are summarised in Table 6:3 below. The 'Satisfaction with Democracy' measurement asked the respondent to indicate "In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in the UK?" on a scale ranging from zero to ten, where zero was 'Very Dissatisfied' and ten 'Very Satisfied', including a 'Don't Know' option. For the analysis the scale was coded into a five-point scale, with the sixth 'Don't Know' option. The interest in politics measurement simply asked the respondent how interested they would say that they are in politics, giving them the options 'Not at All', 'Not Very', 'Quite' and 'Very'. Political ideological identification was measured through a question stipulating to the respondent "In politics, people sometimes talk of 'left' and 'right'. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where zero means left and ten means right?", there was also a 'Don't Know' option available for the respondent. For the analysis this was then recoded into 'Left', 'Centre Left', 'Centre', 'Centre Right' and 'Right'. It is important to note that this is a subjective classification, and as one of the cases include the political parties they might simply locate themselves on this scale depending how they see themselves in relation to their political party peers, rather than how they would compare to the rest of the young population. The attitudes to voting, and in a way to politicians, is measured by asking the respondent to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement "I don't see the point of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway", and they are given five options ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The trust measurements asked the respondent to what extent they trusted the national government, national parliament and political parties, giving them five response options ranging from 'Not at All' to 'Very Much'.

The 'Alienation and Disaffection' variables include four measurements regarding the young people's sense of politics concerning them and their opportunities for participation. All measurements gave the respondent five

response options from 'Strongly Disagree', 'Disagree', 'Neither', 'Agree' and 'Strongly Agree'. The first measurement relates to the powerless dimension of alienation and asked whether the respondent agreed or disagreed with the statement 'I have no influence over policies that affect me'. The next two relate to the meaninglessness dimension, but as discussed in the literature review and analytical framework the activists are not expected to have a strong sense of meaninglessness regarding their own participation because they have engaged in it. The measurements relating to the meaninglessness dimension rather relate to participation in other ways, which is an indication of alienation from other forms of political participation and the political system. As such, they are proposing to the respondent "Events like this are the only way for young people like me to make their voices heard" and "Events like these are the only way for me to influence the situation of young people". The last alienation and disaffection measurement relate to the normlessness dimension asking the respondent to what extent they agree with the statement "Politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do much".

The political efficacy variables relate to both personal and organisational efficacy. The personal efficacy is measured by asking the respondent to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement "My participation can have an impact on public policy in this country", giving the respondent five response options ranging from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree'. This question is of course intended to measure the personal efficacy channelled through the organisation they are active in, but it also allows for a wider interpretation by the respondent to simply assess their general efficacy. This is complemented by the more specific organisational efficacy measurement asking the respondent to what extent they think the organisation/demonstration will be effective in achieving their stated goals, and the respondent were presented with the official goal of the organisation. The response options ranged from 'not at all' to 'very much'.

Table 6:3 Operationalisation of Attitude Variables		
Measurement	**Question**	**Indicators**
Civic And Political Attitudes		
Satisfaction With Democracy	In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in the UK?	Scale of 0-10 coded and don't know option into 6 categories of; Very Dissatisfied; Quite Dissatisfied; Satisfied; Quite Satisfied; Very Satisfied; Don't Know.
Interest In Politics	How interested are you in politics?	Not At All; Not Very; Quite; Very
Left Right Self-Identification	In politics people sometimes talk of 'left' and 'right'. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means left and 10 means right?	Scale of 0 to 10 and don't know option coded into; Left; Centre Left; Centre; Centre Right; Right; Don't Know.
Attitude To Voting/Political Parties	Agreement with statement: I don't see the point of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway	Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Neither; Agree; Strongly Agree
Trust In Political Institutions	Please indicate, in general, how much you trust each of the following; national government, national parliament; political parties	Not At All; Not Very; Somewhat; Quite; Very Much
Alienation And Disaffection		
Powerlessness	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: I have no influence over policies that affect me	Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Neither; Agree; Strongly Agree.
Meaninglessness	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements Events like this are the only way for young people like me to make their voices heard	Same as above
	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements Events like these are the only way for me to influence the situation of young people	Same as above
Normlessness	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements: Politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do much	Same as above
Note table 6:3 continues on the next page		

Table 6:3 Continued		
Efficacy		
Personal Efficacy	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements My participation can have an impact on public policy in this country	Same as above
Organizational Efficacy	Below are two goals of [organisation/demo, how effective do you think [organisation/demonstration]are in achieving these goals?	Not At All; Not Very; Somewhat; Quite; Very Much

6.1.4 Motivations

The motivational measurements are mainly the ones developed by the *Caught in the Act* team deriving from the literature on motivations for political participation and fall under the three overarching categories of identity, ideology and instrumental motivations as shown in Table 6:4 below. These include 'Defend My Interests', 'Express my Views', 'Pressure Politicians to Make Things Change', 'Raise Public Awareness [About Youth Issues][9]', 'Express Solidarity', 'Because I Felt Morally Obliged'. However, some additional measurements were included both after consultation with the wider literature on young people's political participation and in conversation with the organisations surveyed. These included the 'Stand for Election', 'Work in Politics in the Future' and for BYC only 'Represent Young People in my Area'. The motivational measurements were a combined question where the question posed to the respondent was "Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements; I joined my organisation/demonstration in order to…. " and the motivations were listed below giving the respondent the options of 'Strongly Disagree' through to 'Strongly Agree'.

[9] Specified for BYC and Youth Factions only.

Table 6:4 Operationalisation of Motivation Variables		
Measurement	**Question**	**Indicators**
	Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements; I joined my organisation/demonstration in order to….	
Instrumental	Defend My Interests	Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Neither; Agree; Strongly Agree
Identity	Express My Views	Same as above
Instrumental	Pressure Politicians To Make Things Change	Same as above
Ideology	Raise Public Awareness	Same as above
Identity	Express Solidarity	Same as above
Identity	Because I Felt Morally Obliged	Same as above
Instrumental	Because I Want To Stand For Election For A Political Party (YF And BYC Only)	Same as above
Instrumental	Because I Want To Work In Politics In The Future (YF And BYC Only)	Same as above
Ideology	To Represent Young People In My Area (BYC Only)	Same as above

6.2 Analysis And Results

As described above, the analysis conducted in this chapter aims to explore the individual samples in more detail and start making some comparisons between them. Therefore cross-tabulations and chi-squared tests are the main methods of analysis. The analysis will be structured around the three groups of variables described in the literature review in Chapter One; 'Resources', 'Attitudes' and 'Motivations' and are operationalised according to the discussion in the analytical framework in Chapter Three. This chapter focuses on exploratory analysis and will therefore not explicitly test hypotheses. It is still worth keeping the theoretical expectations outlined in the analytical framework in mind and they are reproduced in Table 6:5 below.

Table 6:5 Summary Of Theoretical Expectations For Activists			
Variable	**Youth factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**
Resources- Demographics	Highest socioeconomic class	Wider spread of socioeconomic class	High socioeconomic class
Resources- Mobilisation Channels	Mobilised through closed mobilisation channels	Mobilised through closed mobilisation channels	Mobilised through a mix of open and closed mobilisation channels
Resources- Civic And Political Repertoires	Much previous participation especially of institutionalised form.	Much previous participation, particularly in non-institutionalised civic organisations	Some previous participation, especially of non-institutionalised form
Attitudes – Civic And Political	Very positive, especially to political parties	Somewhat sceptical, especially to political parties	Very sceptical to all political institutions
Attitudes- Alienation	Not alienated	Somewhat alienated	Very alienated
Attitudes- Efficacy	Highly efficacious	Highly efficacious	Highly efficacious
Motivations	Identity and instrumental	Instrumental and ideology	Ideology and identity

6.3 Resources

The first step in the analysis is to explore the resources variables and these were split into the subcategories of 'Demographics', 'Mobilisation Patterns' and 'Civic and Political Repertoires'. The question underlying this analysis is whether people with different kinds or levels of resources are attracted to different institutional settings. The resources required for participation should be approximately the same, so if there are any differences found in the resources among participants these are structural and a matter of who is attracted to be active in that institutional setting. As discussed before, such

structural inequalities have implications for the democratic and representative nature of these youth organisations. A similar problem arise if this group of young activists are very homogenous, because if all young people who are politically active come from for example the same socioeconomic background there will be young people whose voices and interests are not being expressed. The literature on previous research in this area suggests that there might be some inequalities between those who participate in institutionalised forms versus those who are in non-institutionalised, this research can explore whether this holds for particular repertories and also how this applies to those participating in the semi-institutionalised BYC.

6.3.1 Demographics

The first and most straight forward step in this analysis is the demographics, and the demographic profile of the sample as described in Table 6:6 below. The results show that overall there is an almost equal split between men and women in the sample and that a majority falls in the 19-21or 22-25 age categories. This result is to some extent replicated in the sub-samples, except for in the case of the youth factions, where the expected result that males are more likely to participate holds. The BYC activists are also generally younger than the other activists, with 80% of them being under 21 years. This pattern is also replicated in the educational achievements, since overall there is an almost equal split between the secondary education and university degree categories. A majority of the BYC activists fall into the former category whilst a majority of the youth faction and demonstration activists fall into the latter. This pattern illustrates the difficulty with using some of the traditional demographic and socioeconomic variables for young people where the educational achievement is less a reflection of their academic ambition and more a reflection of their age that structurally limits them to have achieved a higher educational level than their age allows.

The high proportion of young people, especially an age range that other institutions such as political parties struggle to recruit, is a unique feature of the BYC and most likely a consequence of a recruitment that is mainly focused around schools and youth councils. This pattern also illustrate that people leave the organisation as they get older, so BYC struggle to hold on to their activists. Again, this is partially explained by the structure of BYC where a

Member of Youth Parliament (MYP) can only hold that role for two years. Furthermore, many local youth councils have upper age limits on their participants, which structurally limit participation of 'older' young people. Another explanation for this may be changes in life that happens between the ages of 18 to 20, such as finishing school and possibly going off to university and/or breaking the links with the local community. Perhaps most importantly, at 18 they are given the right to vote (although there might not be an election). However, the BYC is not only made up of MYPs, it is also the umbrella organisation for all youth organisations in Britain. It would be a stretch to say that the age structure found in this sample could be extrapolated to represent the population of all young people in youth organisations in Britain. However, the data presented here does show that those who are active in these organisations and in the BYC are in the younger demographics. Once again BYC comes across as a particular organisation that manages to attract younger people than other organisations struggle to attract but BYC is less attractive to the older young people. There are thus on the one hand potential lessons to be learnt from BYC in terms of engaging the younger cohorts but on the other hand, BYC is less successful in attracting, or maintaining, the 'older' young people.

Looking at the other measurements we can see that a majority of the activists are born in the UK and with parents who are also born in the UK and most of them identify as lower middle class. These patterns also hold across the subsamples, and there is a slightly higher proportion of respondents that identify as middle-class than the representative sample described in the analysis of the YCC data in Chapter Five. Looking at the proportion of people identifying as working class we can see a significant difference between the activists. For BYC and the demonstrators about twenty per cent identify as working class, whilst only around fifteen percent of the party activists do. Instead, a similar proportion (23.9%) of party activists identify as upper middle class. This finding regarding the self-identified class suggests that the activists are not fully representative of the young population and this might have democratic consequences. Class is a difficult variable to apply to young people directly as their transitional status between the dependent childhood and independent adulthood means that they are somewhat dependent on their parents and therefore their social class is a reflection of their parents' class. This limitation of the class variables is not a major problem as the parental

class will still influence the networks, support and ability the young person has to participate. However, this discussion shows that is worth keeping in mind that the class variable may not work the same way for young people as it does for adults. Interestingly, there are a relatively large proportion of activists with parents from outside the UK; this proportion is actually higher than the proportion of respondents with parents from the EU. This finding suggests that there is at least some diversity between the activists.

Table 6:6 Demographic Profile Activists, Percentages

Gender* **	**Youth Factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstration**	**Total % of sample**
Male	70,9	41	44,7	51,2
Female	29,1	59	55,3	48,8
Age Categories* **				
16-18	7,4	67,1	0,7	26,4
19-21	47,1	22,4	29,4	32,2
22-25	28,7	7,5	48,4	27,8
26-30	16,9	3,1	21,6	13,6
Education level				
Secondary education	10,4	84,6	19,7	41,2
Vocational qualification	0,7	0	4,1	1,5
University degree	71,9	12,2	63,1	46,7
Post graduate university degree	17	3,2	13,1	10,7
Country Born **				
Non-EU	4,4	3,7	5,2	4,5
EU	3	2,5	11,1	5,6
UK	92,6	93,8	83,7	90
Mother Born* **				
Non-EU	7,4	13,1	6,6	9,2
EU	3,7	2,5	13,8	6,7
UK	88,9	84,4	79,6	84,1
Father Born* **				
Non-EU	10,3	16,4	11,9	13
EU	2,2	1,3	11,3	4,9
UK	84,5	82,4	76,8	82,1
Social Class				
Upper-class	0,7	0	0,7	0,5
Upper middle class	23,9	15,7	19,7	19,5
Lower middle class	47	42,1	44,2	44,3
Working class	15,7	28,9	23,8	23,2
Lower class	1,5	2,5	3,4	2,5
None	11,2	10,7	8,2	10

Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01* =p≤0.001**

Overall the image that emerges of political activists is that there is an almost equal split between men and women, activists are quite young, from the UK and with parents from the UK and identify as lower middle class. However, looking at the sample as a whole will disguise differences between the groups. Here we can see that political parties' youth factions are mainly male, they are older and less likely than the BYC activists to have parents from outside the UK, and more likely than both other groups to identify as upper middle class. The BYC activists and demonstrators are overall quite similar except that the BYC activists are much younger than the other groups, and more likely than the other groups to have parents from outside the UK. The demonstrators are generally older and most highly educated.

6.3.2 Mobilisation Patterns

Mobilisation patterns are made up by information channels the respondent have heard about the event from and by whom the respondent has been asked by to attend the event. As described in the operationalisation above, the information channels are split into 'Open' and 'Closed'. The question allowed the respondent to tick the response options that applied to them indicating a 'Yes' answer, so the percentages reported in Table 6:7 below are the percentage of 'Yes' answers in the sample. For the BYC 'Asked By' measurement the options of 'Youth Worker' and 'Teacher' were also included after a suggestion by the organiser as this was thought to be one of the main mobilising forces for BYC because of its structure. This insertion was found to be valid since 'Youth Worker' was found to be the main mobilising factor for the BYC activists. Comparing this to the other activists we can see that there are very different mobilisation patterns. A majority of the youth faction activists have not been asked by anyone to join the organisation, whilst a majority of the demonstrators have been asked by friends to take part in the demonstration. This finding is interesting and suggest that one of the problems with declining membership figures in the political parties might actually be that they do not ask other people to join.

The 'Information Channels' analysis also show interesting differences between the activists. In this case the question was phrased around how they found out about the organisation/demonstration. For all groups the primary

information channel is of a closed type, suggesting that all activists are deeply embedded in social networks. Although this resource is beneficial on the individual level, organisationally this narrow mobilisation mechanism is problematic as it encourages homogeneity of members. For the demonstrators the main information channel was friends, and this is the second information channel for the activists in the youth factions. For both the youth faction and BYC activists 'members of the organisation' is the main information channel.

Table 6:7 Mobilisation Patterns Across Institutional Settings, Percentages					
Indicator	**Measurement**	**Youth Factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**	**%Of Total Sample**
Information Channels: Open	Radio/TV***	29,4	9,9	8,5	15,3
	Newspaper***	36,8	18,6	19,6	24,4
	Alternative online media**	36	23,6	35,9	31,6
	Advertisement***	19,9	32,3	41,2	31,6
	Online social networks, e.g. facebook and Twitter***	43,4	27,3	62,1	44
Information Channels: Closed	Partner/family***	16,2	22,4	6,5	15.1
	Friends/acquaintances***	32,4	30,4	49,7	37.6
	People at school/workplace***	19,1	32,3	49	34
	Fellow members of organisation***	49,3	43,5	25,5	39.1
	Organisation magazine*	17.6	18	27.5	21.1
Asked By	No one***	58,8	21,1	14,4	30,2
	Partner/family***	2,9	19,3	8,5	10,7
	Relatives*	0,7	4,3	5,9	3,8
	Friends***	11,8	17,4	46,4	25,6
	Acquaintances***	2,2	6,8	15	8,2
	Colleagues or fellow students***	11	9,9	47,1	22,9
	Co-members of an organisation	25	24,8	22,9	24,8
	Youth Worker		35.4		
	Teacher		16.8		
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001					

This finding suggests that although the political parties may not be good at asking people to join their party, their members are good at spreading the word about the organisation. These findings regarding the mobilisation channels may contribute to the explanation for why this sample of activists is quite homogenous; simply because the members recruit people like themselves. From a democratic perspective this is worrying, not only because this finding suggests that the organisations mobilise mostly through closed networks which make them very exclusive. It is also worrying because of the potential long term effects this might have in terms of the representation of young people's interests in the political sphere and who's interests are voiced. As such the mobilisation patterns are a point where these organisations, especially political parties, can improve to get a wider spread of people engaging and therefore become more democratically representative organisations.

6.3.3 Civic And Political Repertoires

The analysis so far has suggested that the activists are a reasonably homogenous group only differing on a couple of measurements, primarily the mobilisation patterns. The resource variables have traditionally been seen to contribute to political participation, so the question then is what consequences this has for their other civic and political repertoires; do the activists engage in many other civic and political repertoires as well? Or are there differences in how many and what repertoires they engage in? The literature suggests that they should have different political repertoires, where the youth faction activists would mainly participate in institutionalised forms, whilst the demonstrators in non-institutionalised forms.

Table 6:8 Overlap Of Organisational Membership Percentages of 'Yes' Answers

Organisation	Youth factions- Active (passive)	BYC- Active (passive)	Demonstration Active (passive)
Political Party	100(N/A)	16.5 (5.7)	12.6 (16.2)
Youth Council/Parliament	8.9 (2.1)	57.6 (3.8)	N/A

When it comes to the types of repertoires the activists engage in, Table 6:8 above shows that even if there is some overlap in membership, it is not

substantial (at only around 10%). Interestingly, active memberships are much higher than the passive memberships, suggesting that these activists do engage in a similar repertoire, namely by being active, in whatever outlet they are engaged in. Table 6:9 below shows that activists are not just active in the type of outlet that they have been surveyed in. The majority of all three groups have been active in two or three organisations in the past 12 months. Figure 6:1 below also shows that the type of organisations they are active in are similar with the three top active memberships for BYC and youth factions being charities, sport and Church. The demonstrators are also active in charity and sport organisations but the top third is a political party. However, the youth faction and BYC activists are even more active, as when asked how many organisations they have been active in the second highest response category is more than three, whilst none is the second highest for the demonstrators. Furthermore, for all three groups around 60% discuss politics fairly or very often with their friends and family. The BYC activists deviate somewhat from this pattern, and substantial proportions only do it 'Sometimes' and 'Rarely'.

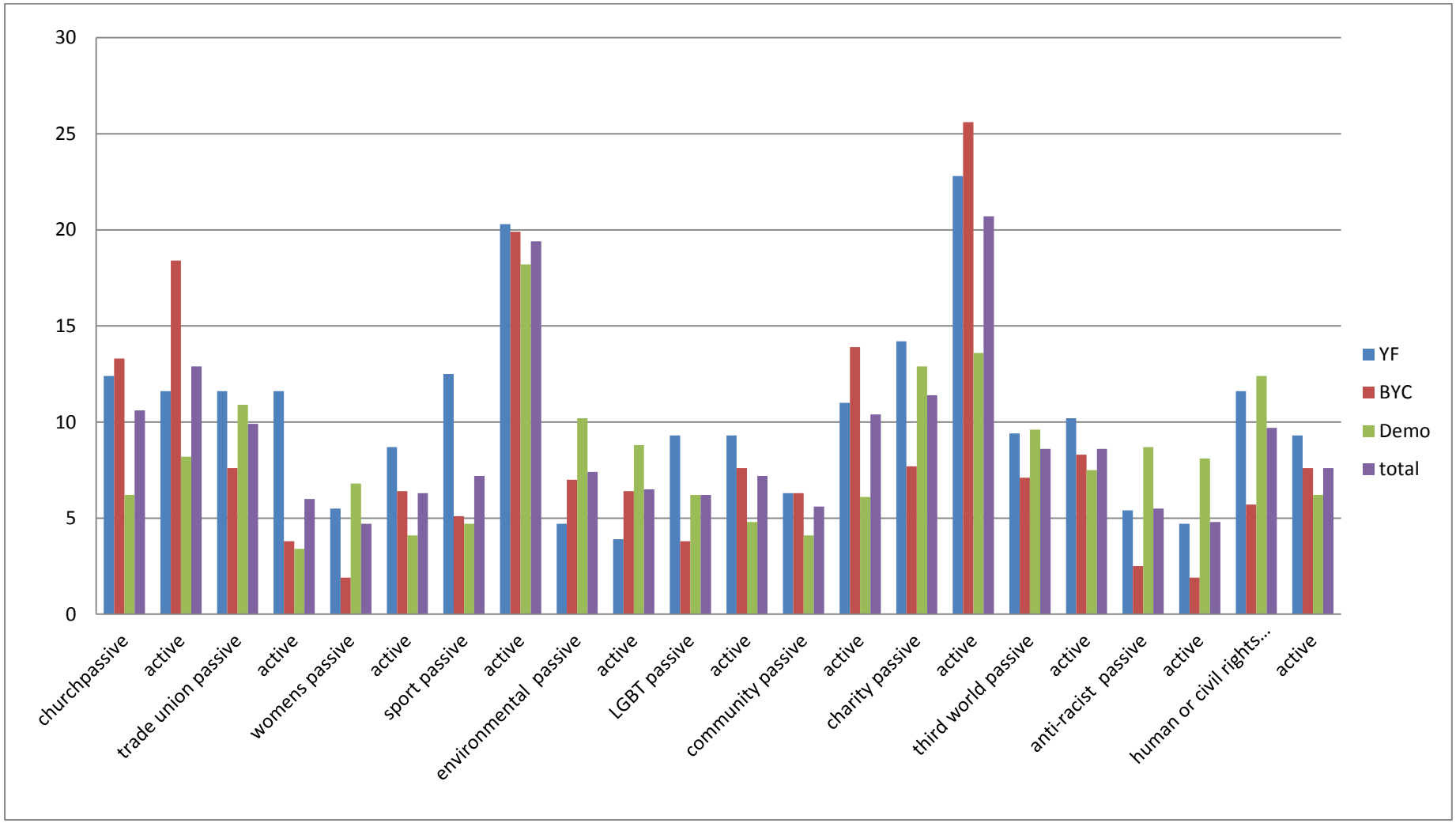
The political repertoires show some interesting patterns. Firstly, we can see that these activists have also engaged in multiple other political repertoires. The demonstrators are especially engaged, as Table 6:8 above shows that a majority (or close to) of the demonstrators have engaged in most activities (with the exception for strike, direct action, and the use of violence). The second pattern that is found in Table 6:9 shows is that there is overlap in the top three political repertoires across the institutional settings. The top political activities for the party activists and BYC are contacting a politician, signing a petition and wearing a badge. Interestingly, two of these (petition and badge) are also part of the top three for the demonstrators but as expected they have also more often engaged in the non-institutionalised activity of having bought products for political reasons.

These findings are consistent with the recent literature on young people's participation, because it supports the argument that young people who have turned away from formal politics (i.e. the demonstrators and BYC activists) are still political and engage in political activities. In fact, they even engage in similar political activities as those who are active in the institutionalised political party, which is not what was expected based on the existing literature on patterns of political participation.

Table 6:9 Civic And Political Repertoires Across Different Institutional Settings, Percentages				
Measurement	**Youth Factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstration**	
In the past 12 months, how many different organisations have you actively participated?* **				
None	8,3	2,5	25,7	12,2
One	16,5	14,6	21,1	17,4
2 or 3	45,1	43,3	44,1	44,1
More than 3	30,1	39,5	9,2	26,2
When you get together with friends, how often do you discuss politics?				
Never	0,7	5,8	1,3	2,7
Rarely	0	16	7,3	8,2
Sometimes	7,5	21,8	18,5	16,3
Fairly often	38,8	34	46,4	39,7
Very often	53	22,4	26,5	33,1
Contacted a politician or local government official* [10]**	81,6	72,7	49,7	67,7
Signed a petition or a public letter* **	82,4	83,9	92,1	56,2
Donated money to a political organisation or group* **	21,8	9,9	43,2	46,1
Boycotted certain products* **	33,1	29,2	57,7	39,9
Deliberately bought products for political or environmental reasons* **	47,1	44,7	74,7	55,5
Worn or displayed a campaign badge or sticker * **	83,8	66,5	64,9	71,2
Joined a strike* **	5,2	2,7	6,3	14,2
Taken part in direct action* **	5,9	5,6	38,3	16,6
Used violent forms of action* **	0,7	0,6	4,7	2
Attended a demonstration* **	35,3	28	100	54,7
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001				

[10] For all these items the respondent could tick as many as applied, and the figures reported here are the percentage of 'ticks' indicating a yes answer.

Figure 6:1 Distribution of Active and Passive Organisational Membership Across Institutional Settings



6.3.4 Conclusion

What the analysis above of the resources variables has shown is primarily how similar the activists are. This is not surprising as the intention of holding the repertoire constant was, in a way, to control for the resources required for participation. They are all likely to identify as lower middle class, they are mobilised by closed information channels and engage in many civic and political repertoires. There are some interesting nuanced differences between the groups however. Generally, more party activists are male and identify as upper-middle class than the other groups, the BYC activists are younger and the demonstrators are generally older. They are asked by very different kinds of people to participate, or in the case of the party activists, not asked by anyone at all. Most importantly, this analysis shows that these young people are extremely active and they are politically active. Just because someone engages in a non-institutional repertoire does not mean that they do not engage in other repertoires, in fact there is a lot of overlap in the civic and political repertoires of these young activists. This finding strengthens the thesis that there is something else than the resources available that leads to differential political activism.

6.4 Attitudes

The analysis so far has been concerned with the characteristics of the young activists and has shown that although there are some important differences between them, they are overall very similar to each other. Although this might have some democratic implications that are worrisome, this finding was expected. The question then remains what it is that differentiates them from each other and what it is that drives the participation in different institutional settings. This section will explore the activists' attitudes, and these were split into the subgroups of 'Civic and Political' 'Alienation and Disengagement' and 'Political Efficacy'. The first category deals with the attitudes to the political system and political orientation, the second to what extent the individual feels the political system would listen to them, and political efficacy more specifically on the assessment of the impact they or the organisation they are active in can have. The theoretical expectations developed in Chapter One suggested that the activists would almost fit on to a scale from positive party

activists to negative demonstrators and the BYC activists somewhere in the middle. It was also suggested that the BYC activists would have a positive attitude to the political system, but perhaps a more negative view of the actors in the political system.

6.4.1 Civic And Political Attitudes

The results in Table 6:10 below show, just as expected, that the party activists hold very positive civic and political attitudes. They are very satisfied with the functioning of democracy, have an extremely high interest in politics and value voting very highly. They therefore stand out significantly from the BYC activists and demonstrators, who do not compete with the party activists in their positive civic and political attitudes (although they probably score much higher than the general population). With regards to trust in political institutions the results are more complex. The youth faction sample is split with regards to their trust in Government, 23.5% do not trust the Government 'Very Much' but 37.9% trust the Government 'Somewhat'. This pattern might be a consequence of the fact that two of the three parties surveyed were (at the time that the surveys were completed) in government. It is also, perhaps not surprisingly, in contrast to the attitudes of the BYC activists and demonstrators who did not trust government. Furthermore, a majority of respondents of the party activists do trust both political parties and parliament, again in contrast to the other activists where a majority of respondents did not trust these institutions. Interestingly, a third of party activists who only trust political parties 'Somewhat', which is similar to the proportion of those who trust them 'Quite Much'. There is therefore a sense of some scepticism towards political parties within the youth factions of the parties. The overall image that emerges from the civic and political attitudes of the youth faction activists is that they are extremely positive about the political institutions.

Table 6:10 Civic and Political Attitudes Across Institutional Settings, Percentages				
Measurement	**Youth factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**	**Total**
Satisfaction With Democracy* **				
Very dissatisfied	2,2	1,3	28,5	10,7
Quite dissatisfied	17	7,3	28,5	17,4
Satisfied	35,6	39,7	35,4	37
Quite satisfied	32,6	37,1	4,2	24,7
Very satisfied	9,6	7,3	3,5	6,7
Don't know	3	7,3	0	3,5
Interest In Politics* **				
Not at all	0	1,9	1,3	1,1
Not very	0,7	7,6	11,1	6,7
Quite	6,7	37,3	30,1	25,6
Very	92,6	53,2	57,5	66,6
Left-Right Scale* **				
Left	7,5	8,3	38,1	17,5
Centre left	37,6	23,7	38,8	32,9
Centre	18,8	32,7	10,4	21,3
Centre right	30,1	12,8	0	14,2
Right	5,3	3,8	12,7	7,1
Don't know	0,8	18,6	0	7,1
Agreement with statement: I don't see the point of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway* **				
Strongly disagree	56,1	30,3	33,8	39,3
Disagree	33,3	31	28,5	30,8
Neither	8,3	16,1	14,6	13,2
Agree	1,5	17,4	15,2	11,9
Strongly agree	0,8	5,2	7,9	4,8
Trust in national government* **				
Not at all	9,8	8,3	27,3	15,3
Not very much	23,5	29,5	35,3	29,7
Somewhat	17,4	34	27,3	26,7
Quite	37,9	22,4	10	22,8
Very much	11,4	5,8	0	5,5
Trust In Parliament* **				
Not at all	4,6	3,8	19,9	9,6
Not very much	11,5	23,1	37,1	24,4
Somewhat	23,7	39,7	29,8	31,5
Quite	47,3	28,2	12,6	28,5
Trust Political Parties* **				
Not at all	1,5	9,7	20,7	11
Not very much	18,8	34,8	46	33,8
Somewhat	33,1	36,8	26	32
Quite	38,3	15,5	7,3	19,6
Very much	8,3	3,2	0	3,7
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01* =p≤0.001**				

The analysis of the civic and political attitudes of the activists in BYC is particularly interesting, because these young people are political, but not in the traditional outlets for political participation and it is non-partisan. At the same time however, BYC is an organisation that has quite close links with the establishment though its chairing of select committees for example, and the UKYP mirrors the structure of the Westminster Parliament. Theory suggests that positive civic and political attitudes should encourage political participation, but do all attitudes contribute in the same way to all kinds of political participation? And what are the attitudes of young people who are active in a political, but non-partisan, organisation such as the BYC?

The results presented in Table 6:10 above shows some interesting results. On the one hand it can be seen that BYC activists hold some clear positive civic and political attitudes when it comes to the satisfaction with the functioning of democracy, they have a high interest in politics and they consider it important to vote. On the other hand, findings are less clear with regards to their levels of trust in different institutions. Overall they cluster in the 'Somewhat' interested category, suggesting that they do not hold very strong opinions on the matter. This could be because they do not have much experience of these institutions, or because they did not fully grasp what is meant by the question or simply that they do not hold strong opinions on the matter.

There are some interesting small differences in the levels of trust in the different institutions. For trust in the Government and political parties there are a larger proportion of respondents on the negative side of the neutral response than for the trust in Parliament. What is interesting is that all these institutions are connected to the formal political system but do still exhibit slightly different responses among the BYC activists.

With regards to left-right positioning there is a clear clustering in the middle, where a majority fall into the 'Centre', and the 'Centre Left/Right' categories. This is not particularly surprising considering the non-partisan nature of BYC, and it could thus be expressed as a non-partisan stance to tick the middle box. This is further supported by the substantial number of participants who responded 'Don't Know' to this question.

Overall there is an ambiguous message emerging from this analysis, because on the one hand the respondents hold some very positive political attitudes with regards to their interest, and the functions of democracy. On the other hand they do not respond strongly to the trust variables and despite interest in politics come across as non-partisan. The image that emerges is unclear and needs to be complemented by other attitudinal analysis.

Table 6:10 also shows some interesting and somewhat contradictory results with regards to the civic and political attitudes of the young demonstrators. On the one hand, a majority of respondents report a high interest in politics. An interesting aspect of this is that it shows that young people who participate in these 'alternative' or 'unconventional' ways are not disaffected with politics, but it rather seems as if their interest in politics can be a strongly contributing factor to why they have attended the demonstration. On the other hand, young demonstrators report a greater dissatisfaction with the institutions of politics. A majority (45.5%) of respondents report that they are very or quite dissatisfied with the functioning of democracy, and this trend of negative attitudes to political institutions continues in the levels of trust in government, parliament and political parties. In fact barely anyone reports that they trust these institutions very much, and only around 10% report that they trust them quite much. However, this pessimism towards the institutions of democracy does not translate into disaffection with the importance of voting, where a clear majority of respondents disagree with the statement that they do not see the point of voting.

Once again this is in some contrast to the literature on young people's political participation, where scholars have argued that young people participate in 'alternative' forms because they are disaffected with formal politics (Marsh et al, 2007). They argue that young people have a different understanding of politics that is not electoral, formal and Westminster. Although youth scholars are working with a much wider definition of politics, demonstrations are still at the 'non-institutionalised' end of the spectrum, so we could expect these young people to be disaffected with politics. These results seem to suggest something different. These young people are disaffected with some of the institutions of formal politics, the ones where politicians take part but not with the institutions of democracy where they can have a say, such as the electoral system. This finding suggests that the

problem with young people's disaffection might be more a matter of how politics is done rather than an agential problem and the attitudes of young people.

6.4.2 Alienation And Disaffection

The image that emerged in the previous section was that the youth faction activists were very positive to the political system, and Table 6:11 below shows a similar pattern; the youth faction activists are not very alienated or disaffected with politics. They have a very strong sense of their own personal influence on policies that affect them and they do not see their participation in the organisation as the only way for them to have influence. This suggests that they see themselves as rather effective political agents and have a strong belief in the political system being able and willing to respond to their demands. This is also reflected in their attitudes to politicians where a majority disagree or strongly disagree with the statement that 'Politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do anything'. This is in sharp contrast to the BYC activists and demonstrators where a majority of the respondents agreed with the statement. Yet again, there is some scepticism among the party activists towards politicians where a fifth of the sample respond 'Neither' or 'Agree' to the statement. Overall however, youth faction activists are similar to the demonstrators and BYC activists in that they are not disaffected and alienated from politics but again stand out from the other activists by holding positive attitudes to the political system.

The results presented in Table 6:11 also show that a clear majority of the BYC respondents disagree with the negative statements regarding their levels of influence on the political process, suggesting that they are not disaffected with politics as such. This may also shed some doubt on the alienation statement, because they disagree that their way of being active is the only way for them to give voice to young people and influence the situation for young people. This shows that they see other political opportunities, and their participation in BYC (or in their organisations) is not the 'only' or 'last' resort for influence. This pattern is different from the demonstrators, where a larger proportion of respondents agreed with this statement.

In contrast, the more specific question regarding their attitudes to politicians shows the complete opposite where a clear majority of BYC

respondents agree that most politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do much. This pattern is similar to the demonstrators and suggests that although these young BYC activists are not alienated from and disenchanted with politics, they are very disaffected with politicians.

The results presented in Table 6:11 again show some contradictory results for the young demonstrators. On the one hand the young demonstrators disagree that they have no influence on education policy,

Table 6:11 Alienation and Disaffection Across Institutional Settings, Percentages

Measurement	Youth Factions	BYC	Demonstrators	Total
I have no influence on policies that affect me*				
Strongly disagree	11,3	15,3	5,9	10,9
Disagree	49,6	45,2	48,7	47,7
Neither	9,8	18,5	20,4	16,5
Agree	23,3	16,6	21,7	20,4
Strongly agree	6	4,5	3,3	4,5
Events like this are the only way for young people like me to make their voices heard.* **				
Strongly disagree	16,4	15,3	3,9	11,7
Disagree	45,5	38,9	22,4	35,2
Neither	17,2	11,5	14,5	14,2
Agree	14,9	23,6	38,2	26
Strongly agree	6	10,8	21,1	12,9
Events like this are the only way for me to influence the situation of young people* **				
Strongly disagree	13	21	3,3	12,5
Disagree	53,4	37,6	28,3	39,1
Neither	16	14,6	16,4	15,7
Agree	13,7	20,4	32,2	22,5
Strongly agree	3,8	6,4	19,2	10,2
Most politicians promise a lot of things but do not actually do much* **				
Strongly disagree	10	5,1	2,6	5,7
Disagree	35,4	10,8	7,2	16,9
Neither	23,1	11,5	15,8	16,4
Agree	23,1	44,6	46,7	39
Strongly agree	8,5	28	27,6	22,1

Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01* =p≤0.001**

suggesting that they have a high personal efficacy level and thus are not disaffected with politics or even policy discussion. On the other hand, they believe that the demonstrations are the only way for them to influence policy, suggesting that they are disaffected with formal politics. It seems as if it is not politics per se but the people who do politics that are seen to be the problem, as seen in that a clear majority of the respondents have very negative views of politicians.

6.4.3 Political Efficacy

In a similar vein to the results regarding the low levels of alienation and disaffection, youth faction activists report a very high sense of political efficacy as seen in Table 6:12 below. In particular, they believe in their personal efficacy, where two thirds agree or strongly agree that their participation can have impact on public policy. Interestingly, however, this is lower than the proportions reported by the BYC activists and demonstrators. The levels of organisational efficacy vary, and this probably depends on the formulation of the goals of the organisations that were presented in Table 3:2 (p.77), these were taken from the organisations websites and confirmed by the organisers of the events surveyed. It is still interesting to see that they see their own participation as more influential than the organisation that they are part of. Interestingly, BYC follow a very similar pattern.

Table 6:12 Political Efficacy Across Institutional Settings, Percentages				
Measurement	**Youth Factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**	**Total**
Personal- my participation can have an impact on public policy in this country				
Strongly disagree	1,5	1,9	1,3	1,6
Disagree	10,6	7,1	4,6	7,3
Neither	23,5	13,5	15,1	17,1
Agree	52,3	60	55,3	56
Strongly agree	12,1	17,4	23,7	18
Organisational- organisation/demonstration effective in achieving goal1 ***				
Not at all	1,6	0,7	2,7	1,6
Not very much	11	7,2	12,2	10,1
Somewhat	36,2	23	42,2	33,6
Quite	40,2	33,6	33,3	35,4
Very much	11	35,5	9,5	19,2
Organisational- organisation/demonstration effective in achieving goal2***				
Not at all	1,6	2	3,4	2,4
Not very much	3,2	7,3	28,6	13,5
Somewhat	30,4	29,1	36,1	31,9
Quite	36,8	38,4	24,5	33,1
Very much	28	23,2	7,5	19,1
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01* =p≤0.001**				

The results in Table 6:12 above show that the young demonstrators have a quite high sense of both personal and organisational efficacy. However, the demonstrators seem less confident that the organisation will achieve the second goal seen in lower levels of agreement with the likelihood that the organisation will be effective in achieving the goal (24,5 and 7,5% responding 'Quite' or 'Very much' for the second goal versus 33,3 and 9,5 % for the first goal). The first goal is a bit vaguer and much harder to assess, which is possibly why it receives somewhat higher efficacy ratings and in a way the demonstrators were right to be sceptical towards the achievement of the second goal that had to do with tuition fees. Calling the demonstration and being at the demonstration could be seen as a way of defending, or standing up for, the rights of students and university staff, and as such the demonstration achieves the first aim, whilst the second aim depends on a decision made by someone else. What is particularly interesting is the high sense of personal efficacy that these young people report, which is in line with

the previous findings in this chapter where the image that emerges is that the demonstrators are highly politically engaged and confident young people. It is however clear that these young people were wrong to be so confident regarding the demonstration's likelihood of achieving the stated goals. The question is what effect this may have on their future participation. The dynamics of expectations and disappointment has been argued by Stoker (2006) to be one of the explanations for the trends of disengagement in current society, and it seems as if these demonstrators may have too high expectations on the political process they engage in.

6.4.4 Conclusion

The results presented above on the attitudinal variables shows some interesting results that illustrate some of the similarities and also differences between activists. They are all very interested in politics and have a high sense of both personal and organisational political efficacy. None of this is particularly surprising as these are people who are politically active, having invested some time and effort, and probably some cost, to be at the event where they have been surveyed. It would be remarkable if they did so without thinking it would lead to the desired outcomes. The differences between the activists are more interesting. To some extent the differences are not particularly surprising; the demonstrators and the party activists display some significant differences in terms of their satisfaction with democracy, attitudes to politicians and the political system. The BYC activists present the most interesting pattern, because on the one hand they are similar to the party activists, such as in their satisfaction with democracy but on the other hand, they are similar to the demonstrators in their lack of trust in politicians and political parties. This finding not only adds to our knowledge of activists in semi-institutionalised settings, but it also adds to the alienation argument presented by youth scholars. This finding suggests that even those young people who are active in semi-institutionalised settings, working very closely with the political system, are sceptical of the political system and are somewhat alienated. Similarly, the demonstrators add to the argument since, despite them having very negative views of politicians, they do value the act of voting. This pattern suggests that the argument of young people's alienation is not simply that those who are alienated simply engaging in alternative acts, but it is more nuanced than that. Overall this analysis suggests that the

attitudinal variables can play an important role in explaining differential political activism.

6.5 Motivations

The last step in the analysis is concentrating even more on what, in particular, made the young people participate in their organisation. It was expected that the youth faction and BYC activists would primarily be motivated by the instrumental motivations, such as to be able to work in politics in the future. It was also expected that they would be motivated by the specific aspects of those organisations. For example, standing for election for the youth faction activists and representing young people for the BYC activists, whilst the demonstrators would be motivated by interest and ideology motivations.

For the party activists the top three motivations are to express their views, pressure politicians to make things change and defend their interests as well as expressing solidarity. Interestingly, these motivations are very similar to the other activists and we see yet again that the activists are remarkably similar to each other. Half of the youth faction sample report that they want to work in politics in the future but the sample is split with regards to standing for election where almost 40% agree but 30% disagree. The proportions of respondents aiming for some kind of political career in the youth faction is much higher for the BYC activists and suggests that the recruitment and socialisation function of youth factions is strong. The demonstrators present another interesting pattern, namely that they are highly motivated by all of the motivations, as shown in that almost 80% of the sample agreeing or strongly agreeing with a majority of the motivations.

These results were not expected, as one of the most sophisticated arguments in the literature to explain different political participation is regarding the different dynamics between incentives and motivations that different organisations. Despite the organisations being very different and offering both very different events and incentives to attend, there are no substantial differences in the motivations for participation between the different activists. These results are also statistically significant, which suggest that the motivational variables do not explain why these activists are active in different institutional settings.

Table 6:13 Motivations to Participate Across Institutional Settings, Percentages				
Measurement	**Youth Factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**	**Total**
Defend my Interests**				
Strongly disagree	1,6	4,2	3,4	3,1
Disagree	16	13,9	9,5	13
Neither	17,6	22,2	11,6	17,1
Agree	42,4	41,7	40,8	41,6
Strongly agree	22,4	18,1	34,7	25,2
Express my Views***				
Strongly disagree	0	4,6	0	1,6
Disagree	2,4	0,7	0,7	1,2
Neither	4,7	3,9	3,4	4
Agree	57,5	52,6	28,6	45,8
Strongly agree	35,4	38,2	67,3	47,4
Pressure Politicians To Make Things Change***				
Strongly disagree	2,4	6,7	0	3,1
Disagree	9,4	6	1,4	5,4
Neither	15,7	15,3	4,8	11,8
Agree	44,1	44	29,9	39,2
Strongly agree	28,3	28	63,9	40,6
Raise Public Awareness***				
Strongly disagree	7,9	3,9	0	3,8
Disagree	13,5	3,3	2,1	5,9
Neither	22,2	6,6	6,2	11,1
Agree	37,3	38,2	24	33
Strongly agree	19	48	67,8	46,2
Express Solidarity***				
Strongly disagree	6,4	4,9	1,4	4,1
Disagree	10,4	8,3	2,7	7
Neither	18,4	45,1	19,7	28,1
Agree	38,4	24,3	26,5	29,3
Strongly agree	26,4	17,4	49,7	31,5
Morally Obliged***				
Strongly disagree	18,3	20,5	3,4	13,9
Disagree	25,4	26,5	12,2	21,2
Neither	21,4	31,8	12,2	21,9
Agree	25,4	17,9	29,3	24,1
Strongly agree	9,5	3,3	42,9	18,9
Note: Table 6: 13 continued on next page				

Table 6:13 Continued				
Stand For Election in the Future* **				
Strongly disagree	12,7	30,5	n/a	22,4
Disagree	22,2	26,5	n/a	24,5
Neither	23,8	21,9	n/a	22,7
Agree	28,6	13,2	n/a	20,2
Strongly agree	12,7	7,9	n/a	10,1
Work In Politics in the Future* **				
Strongly disagree	7,6	13,4	n/a	11,4
Disagree	17,7	19,5	n/a	18,9
Neither	26,6	28,2	n/a	27,6
Agree	32,9	24,8	n/a	27,6
Strongly agree	15,2	14,1	n/a	14,5
Represent Young People In My Area				
Strongly disagree	n/a	12.4	n/a	n/a
Disagree	n/a	18	n/a	n/a
Neither	n/a	26.1	n/a	n/a
Agree	n/a	23	n/a	n/a
Strongly agree	n/a	13	n/a	n/a
Note: *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001				

6.6 Discussion And Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter shows that on many accounts the activists are very similar to each other but there are also important nuanced differences. These differences will be used in the next chapter to explore their explanatory value in predicting what institutional setting an individual engages in. The first step of the analysis relating to the resources showed that- just as expected- the activists are very similar with regards to the resources they possess. They were all from relatively well-off backgrounds and from England. More of the youth faction activists were male and identified as upper middle class than the other groups, and the BYC activists were substantially younger than the other activists. Part of the explanation for the demographic homogeneity of the sample of activists can be derived from the mobilisation channels, since the analysis showed that all activists were primarily mobilised through closed information channels. Although the focus of this thesis is not equality of representation, this finding is worrying and can have democratic implications. This thesis aims to address the best ways of engaging young people in politics analysis shows that these organisations are successful in mobilising young

people but only from a particular (the same) demographic group. Because of the way they mobilise their activists this is unlikely to change. More systematic research on the mobilisation patterns of youth organisations needs to be done to fully understand this, but it seems like this could at least be one point where improvements could be made to ensure a wider representation in these organisations.

The second step in the analysis regarding attitudes shows a very different image. Just as expected, youth faction activists hold very positive attitudes to the political system and they are not particularly alienated from the political system. This finding was expected because the youth faction activists are active in the most institutionalised organisation so they have (more than the others) direct links with those in power. What is more interesting however, is that although they report very high external political efficacy, i.e. how effective they think they or their organisation can be in achieving its goals, their sense of efficacy is lower than for the other activists. It is difficult to say whether this is a result of the overestimation of the efficacy of the other activists or an underestimation, or perhaps realistic, by the youth faction activists but it is an interesting dynamic.

Another interesting dynamic emerges with regards to the attitudes of the BYC activists and the demonstrators. Just as expected all activists are very interested in politics and have some positive civic and political attitudes in terms of the attitudes to the functioning of the political system and as such they are similar to the youth faction activists. However, the BYC activists are similar to the demonstrators in their scepticism to the actors in this political system. This finding was expected with regards to the demonstrators but less so with regards to the BYC activists. It does make sense because they are politically active, but not in the institutionalised forms of for example a political party and this attitude to the politicians seems to be what it is that drives them away from the institutionalised forms of participation. This finding gives some nuance to the alienation argument put forward by youth scholars. They argued that young people turn their back on politics because they disapprove of the political system, but this analysis suggest that the BYC activists who to some extent turn their back on the political system approve of the political system, but not the *politicians*.

Furthermore, the analysis of the 'Efficacy' variables showed some interesting patterns, particularly in relation to the demonstrators and youth faction activists. Although the demonstrators report a high personal efficacy, i.e. they think that the political system will listen to them; a majority thinks that attending a demonstration is the only way for them to have influence. Unfortunately, as the vote in parliament on December 9th that implemented the higher tuition fees showed that in this case the demonstration was unsuccessful in achieving its aim. These demonstrators still think that this is the only way for them to make their voice heard and they believe they will be effective. In contrast, the youth faction activists report the lowest sense of efficacy despite them having the most access to the policy makers. As such, this analysis adds to the alienation argument by showing that those who are engaged in institutionalised forms do not always think they will have influence on policy, whilst those who engage in non-institutionalised forms of political acts believe that they can and will.

Perhaps the most surprising finding relates to the motivations for participation. The literature relating to motivations is very sophisticated and has a well-developed theory of the dynamics between the individual level motivations and the organisation level incentives. What this analysis shows is that although the three cases at different levels of institutionalisation offer very different incentives and opportunities for the individual to be active, they are all motivated by similar things. This result might be an effect of the survey design, where most of the motivations were taken from the social movement literature but as discussed in the literature review there is substantial overlap in the conceptualisation and operationalisation of motivations even across to the political party literature. The other way this finding might be an effect of the survey design is that the motivations question was a closed ended question with only a limited number of response options. As such, this survey might have missed out on the nuances in the dynamics of incentives and motivations, which are most likely highly complex.

To conclude, this exploratory analysis has revealed some expected and some unexpected findings. The analysis shows that these activists are similar in many ways, for example in terms of their resources and sense of efficacy. The analysis also shows some important differences between activists. These differences seem to focus on the attitudes to the political system and

politicians and seem to follow the expected pattern where the institutionalised youth faction activists have very positive views of both, but the semi-and non-institutionalised activists are more sceptical. These differences will be explored in more detail in the next chapter by conducting multinomial regression analysis. This chapter has contributed an extensive knowledge of the youth activists as well as a more nuanced understanding of the alienation argument.

Chapter 7: What Explains Differential Political Activism?

Previous chapters have looked at how the activists compare to the general population and to each other. The next step in the analysis is to explore the explanatory value of each set of variables. We have previously seen that there are differences between the activists in both their age and attitudes to political system but this does not assess to what extent these variables contribute an explanation of differential political action. This chapter will use multinomial regression analysis to explore the explanatory value of the variables. The chapter will start with a description of the analysis strategy and then proceed with the analysis that is conducted in two steps; first a rigorous model selection and then calculating predicted probabilities. To develop a parsimonious and theoretically sound model a process of rigorous model is essential and the model selection is based on two criteria; both the model fit (assessed by the AIC) and the level of significance of individual variables. The first step in the analysis is to explore the explanatory value of each set of variables. Therefore each set of variables will be modelled separately and the significance level of variables and model fit will be assessed on each of the models. The variables that have a significant effect on the results will be taken forward to a model that consists of only the significant variables and compares the explanatory value of them. This model is then developed and refined model through the same model selection process as before where each group of variables is added one at a time and the model fit and significance levels of variables are assessed. The second step, once a parsimonious and theoretically sound model is found, is to calculate and interpret the predicted probabilities. This is necessary because of the complexity of interpreting multinomial logistic models. Predicted probabilities give the probability for any respondent for falling in to a particular category of the dependent variable based on their characteristics on the independent variables included in the model. This analysis can tell us how likely a respondent falling into a certain outcome category is to portray a certain characteristic, holding all other variables constant.

7.1 The Analysis Method

Multinomial logistic regression analysis is selected as the most appropriate method of analysis because the outcome variable (differential political activism) has three values that are discrete and cannot be ordered; 'Youth Faction', 'BYC' and 'Demonstration'. Long (1997) describes the multinomial logistic model as "simultaneously estimating binary logits for all possible comparisons among the outcome categories" (p.149), where one of the outcome values or groups is used as a baseline to compare the other groups to. The formal statement of the model can be seen below. Where π_1 is the probability of someone falling in group one and π_2 is the probability of someone falling in group two, etc. and the fraction shows the odds of someone falling in group one compared to group three.

$$log = \left(\frac{\pi_1}{\pi_3}\right) = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 X + \ldots \beta_i X$$

$$log = \left(\frac{\pi_2}{\pi_3}\right) = \alpha_1 + \beta_1 X + \ldots \beta_i X$$

Because of the multiple outcomes the model does become more complex and assessing the model fit and interpretation of the results is not as straight-forward as a simple logistic regression. Long and Freese (2006) argue that "there is no convincing evidence that selecting a model that maximizes the value of a given measure results in a model that is optimal in any sense other than the model's (sic.) having a larger (or, in some instances, smaller) value of that measure." (p.104). There are still various ways of assessing and comparing models, and for this analysis the Akaikes's information criterion (AIC) measure will be used as a measure of fit of the models. The formal statement of the AIC calculation can be seen below, where $\hat{L}\left(M_\beta\right)$ is the likelihood of the model, P is the number of parameters in the model, and N is the number of observations.

$$AIC = \frac{-2ln\hat{L}\left(M_\beta\right) + 2P}{N}$$

The AIC is designed to assess the fit of a model but also for comparing different models based on measures of information. It assesses the fit by taking both the goodness of fit, the number of parameters and the number of observations into consideration, and a lower AIC suggests a better fit of the

model to the data. The AIC is chosen as the measure of fit because it allows comparison of both nested and non-nested models (Long, 1997, p. 109). The AIC therefore allows the analysis to test the contribution of variables when added to a model incrementally but also to compare across models. More practically this means that for each group of variables (resources, attitudes and motivations) we can test whether the addition of a variable improves the model fit compared to a previous model without the added variable. The measure of fit also allows comparison of the model fit of three separate (non-nested) models (resource, attitudes and motivations) using the same measure of fit statistic. However, this feature of the AIC is also a potential disadvantage. Because the AIC does not test a null-hypothesis; it can only give us an idea of the model fit relative to another model, rather than an absolute model fit. This means that if we have a model where all variables fit poorly, the AIC will not tell us this; it will only tell us how well the model fits the data in comparison to other models. This is why it is also important to also look at the individual variables and their level of significance when it comes to building the final model.

The interpretation of the results in the models is also less straight forward because of the complexity of the analysis method. In simple logistic regression the odds ratio is used to interpret the effect of a variable. The odds ratio describes the change in odds for an event occurring resulting from a one unit change in the independent variable. In multinomial regression this also describes the risk that the respondent falls in the comparison group compared to the risk of falling in the reference group. The odds ratio takes one of the response categories as a reference category, so we get the odds ratio compared to this reference category, and the log odds which are reported below are the logit functions of the odds ratio. However, there are some limitations of this approach. For example, with nominal variables there is no way of telling whether an increase in a coefficient (or log odds) in the comparison group is an increase in the variable or actually a reflection of a decrease in the base line (i.e. the reference group). Furthermore, the coefficients (or log odds) only allow comparisons with the base group, not across the three groups, which is of interest in this analysis. Interpretation of log odds also requires interpretation on a logit scale, which is not straight forward. Instead, a commonly preferred way of interpreting the results is to calculate the predicted probabilities to understand the relationship between

the dependent and independent variables (Long and Freese, 2006). Predicted probabilities give the probability for any respondent for falling in to a particular category of the dependent variable based on their characteristics on the independent variables included in the model. This can tell us how likely a respondent falling into a certain outcome category is to portray a certain characteristic, holding all other variables constant. Another benefit that the predicted probabilities bring is that they do not take a reference category, but rather calculates the predicted probability for all values and groups. This is beneficial as the main point of this analysis is to enable a wider comparison across the three groups. The formal statement of calculating the predicted probabilities is stated below. Once again π_1 is the probability of someone falling in group one, and π_2 the probability of falling in group two etc.

$$\pi_1 = \frac{exp(\alpha_1 + \beta_1 X)}{1 + exp(\alpha_1 + \beta_1 X) + exp(\alpha_2 + \beta_2 X)}$$

$$\pi_2 = \frac{exp(\alpha_2 + \beta_2 X)}{1 + exp(\alpha_1 + \beta_1 X) + exp(\alpha_2 + \beta_2 X)}$$

$$\pi_3 = \frac{1}{1 + exp(\alpha_1 + \beta_1 X) + exp(\alpha_2 + \beta_2 X)}$$

The analysis strategy for this chapter will be to first explore the groups of variables individually by creating three different models, one for resources, one for attitudes and one for motivations. Because of the relatively small sample size the categories for the independent variables will be collapsed into fewer categories. The rationale and details of this will be explored in relation to each model. Then the AIC of these models will be compared to assess which group of variables best explains the differences between the activists. However, as seen in the previous chapter there are similarities and differences between the activists across these theoretical distinctions of groups of variables, and therefore it is also necessary to build a model where all groups of variables are represented to explore how the variables from the different groups compare within the same model. This model will be built based on a combined assessment of the model fit and the level of significance of the variables in each of the models. This fourth and final model is also the model on which the predicted probabilities will be calculated and compared, as it is the one with the widest comparison of variables.

7.2 Testing The Models

As described above and in previous chapters, the dependent variable for this analysis is differential political activism and it has three discrete outcomes; political parties youth factions, the British Youth Council (BYC) and attending a demonstration, given the values one, two and three. The independent variables are classified into the three groups of resources, attitudes and motivations and each of the three groups of variables are assessed in separate models. The AIC will be compared across the models to explore to what extent each set of variables contributes to our understanding of differential political activism. Although the substantive effect of the variables are difficult to interpret, as explained above, the coefficients (log odds) and significance levels will be reported and the significant effects will briefly be discussed as these will be taken forward to the final model. As discussed above (p.176), interpretation of the coefficients in a multinomial regression analysis is not straight forward. Therefore it is at this point in the analysis primarily important to look at the significance level of the coefficients, as represented by the number of asterisks after the coefficient, and the substantial effect will be interpreted using the predicted probabilities.

7.2.1 Resources

The 'Resources' variables were split into three groups of 'Demographics', 'Mobilisation Patterns' and 'Civic and Political Repertoires'. As discussed above, the categories of the independent variables that were presented in the cross tabulations in Chapter Five are too extensive and to conduct meaningful analysis where there are enough cases in each category to produce meaningful results. Therefore the response categories have been collapsed for the multinomial analysis. The result of this process of collapsing the resource variables can be seen in Table 7.1 below, for all variables the last category (in italics) is the reference category in the analysis.

Table 7:1 Old And New Response Categories For Resources Variables.		
Variable	**Old values**	**New values**
Demographics		
Gender	Male/female	Male/Female (Male=1, F*emale = 2*)
Age categories	16-18	16-21 (1)
	19-21	*21-30 (2)*
	22-25	
	26-30	
Country born	Non-EU	UK (1)
	EU	*Non-UK (2)*
	UK	
Parents born	Non-EU	UK (1)
	EU	*Non-UK (2)*
	UK	
Social class	Upper-class	Upper-Class/Upper Middleclass/Lower Middle Class(1)
	Upper middle class	*Working class/lower class/none (2)*
	Lower middle class	
	Working class	
	Lower class	
	None	
Mobilisation patterns		
Information channels	Radio/TV	Open (1)
	Newspaper	
	Alternative online media	
	Advertisement	
	Online social networks, e.g. Facebook and Twitter	
	Partner/family	*Closed (0)*
	Friends/acquaintances	
	People at school/workplace	
	Fellow members of organisation	
	Organisation magazine	
Asked by	No one	Not asked (0)
	Partner/family	*Asked by someone (1)*
	Relatives	
	Friends	
	Acquaintances	
	Colleagues or fellow students	
	Co-members of an organisation	
Civic and political repertoires		
Active participation past 12 months	None	None (1)
	One	One (2)
	Two or three	*More than two (3)*
	More than three	

Note: Table 7.1 continues on next page

Table7.1 Continued	
When you get together with friends, how often do you discuss politics?	
Never	Never/rarely (1)
Rarely	Sometimes (2)
Sometimes	*Fairly often/often (3)*
Fairly often	
Very often	
Political activity in the past 12 months	
No political activities	No political activities (0)
Contacted a politician or local government official	Expressive (1)
Signed a petition or a public letter	Expressive (1)
Donated money to a political organisation or group	Money (2)
Boycotted certain products	Money (2)
Deliberately bought products for political or environmental reasons	Money (2)
Worn or displayed a campaign badge or sticker	Expressive (1)
Joined a strike	*Action(3)*
Taken part in direct action	*Action (3)*
Used violent forms of action	*Action (3)*

Some variables have been excluded from the list already, such as the educational variable as it was shown in the descriptive analysis in Chapter Six (p. 149) that this variable was structured by age rather than educational achievement. Furthermore, the 'Mother Born' and 'Father Born' categories have been combined to make one variable distinguishing only between whether the parent is born in the UK or not, and the same measure has been constructed for the 'Country Born' variable. The 'Social Class' variable has been mostly truncated and this was done for two reasons. Firstly, with more categories there were not many people in each category, e.g. for 'Lower Class' the previous chapter (Chapter Six) showed that only 2.5% (N11) of the total sample identified as 'Lower Class' and 0.4% (N2) identify as 'Upper Class'. Analysis using such small response categories would be unlikely to produce meaningful results. Secondly, the previous chapter also showed that the two biggest categories were 'Working Class' and 'Lower Middle Class', suggesting that this is where the biggest differences between activists may lie, or at least will be most visible. As such the 'Social Class' variable was split into two groups, one including the working class and all social classes below, and one middle class and all classes above.

With regards to 'Mobilisation Patterns' the multiple options were re-coded into binary variables, where the 'Information Channels' were collapsed into the two overarching theoretical categories of 'Open' and 'Closed'. Where

the variable 'Information Channel Open' takes the value of one or zero, where if the channel a respondent has got information from is one categorised as open they get the value of one, and zero if any of the closed channels. For example, if someone ticked that they had found out about the event through an advertisement they were coded as one. This was done because in this analysis the particular mobilisation channel is not as important as comparing the similarities and differences between those who have been mobilised through closed or open channels. Similarly the 'Asked By' group of variables were combined into one binary variable of asked by, where a zero score on this variable means that the respondent has ticked that they were not asked by anyone to attend the event, whilst a score of one means that they have been asked by any of the response options.

The 'Civic and Political Activity' response categories have also been collapsed to make analysis more meaningful. The most substantial recoding is in the political activities variable, where a new variable 'Political action categories' were created, where similar repertoires were put together in the same category and the four categories that were created were 'No Other Political Activities' meaning that a respondent has not ticked any of the boxes of for political activities. The next category is 'Expressive' that has more to do with expressing an opinion, 'Money' combines both boycotting and donating money for a political cause and then finally 'Action' involves taking some kind of action. The variable is created using an 'or' condition, which means that each respondent is only counted once. This categorisation can also be seen as a scale similar to the one constructed in the analytical framework in Chapter Three and applied in Chapter Five, where the higher up the scale the more resources are required. As such, this coding also means that the respondents have been coded according to their highest 'cost' activity. An alternative way to operationalise this variable would be along the popular institutionalised versus non-institutionalised dimensions. However, as this distinction was criticised for not taking the type of political repertoire into consideration and the descriptive statistics in Chapter Six showed that the top political activities for the activists were the same and of the institutionalised form, it makes sense to use an alternative classification of the variables. Although this way of operationalising the variable may create a less parsimonious model than a simple binary variable of institutionalised versus non- institutionalised, the

theoretical argument for using the types of political repertoires for classification of political behaviour is stronger.

7.2.1.1 Results

The first step in the analysis is to assess the explanatory value of the resources model, and as seen in Table 7.2 below the overall AIC of the resources variables is 452 and the significance levels and coefficients presented in the Table are based on the full model. As a means of comparison each of the three subgroups ('Demographics', 'Mobilisation Patterns', and Civic and Political Repertoires') were also modelled separately and the AIC for each subgroup is reported in Table 7.2 below as well. For the demographics model a rigorous model selection process was conducted as these are variables that are often used as control variables in analysis, and it was important to explore the impact of the different variables individually and combined[11]. This analysis showed that, generally, a model with fewer variables gives a lower (i.e. better) AIC, but for theoretical reasons it is important to still include the demographic variables. Adding variables incrementally showed that the AIC increases considerably when parents born and social class variables are included.[12] However, these are theoretically important variables that are often used as control variables in analysis so they will be included in the model despite their negative contribution to the model fit. To create a more parsimonious model only one of these problematic variables will be included and to have a wide range of control variables, the social class variable is included. The final demographics model gives an AIC of 121, which is better than the model fit of only civic and political repertoires variables, but worse than for the mobilisation patterns.

[11] Results not presented here, see appendix F for the results.
[12] Different orders of adding variables were tested, and it gave similar results. Testing each variable on their own was also done where fitting one variable made the model better than intercept only, except for age.

Table 7:2 Model 1: Resources (AIC:452)		
	BYC	**Demo**
Model 1a: Demographics: (AIC: 121)		
Gender: *Male*	-1.17***	-0.79*
Age: *16-21*	1.56***	-1.44***
Country born: *Born UK*	0.44	-0.28
Social Class: *Higher Social Class*	-0.29*	-0.66
Model 1b: Mobilisation patterns (AIC:48)		
Information channel: *Open information channel*	-1.04**	0.31
Asked by: *Not asked by anyone*	-1.44***	-2.41***
Model 1c: Civic and political repertoires (AIC:160)		
Civic repertoires		
No other active participation	-2.61**	1.32*
Active participation in one other	-0.79*	0.42
Active participation in two or more others	Reference category	Reference category
Discuss politics		
Never/rarely discuss politics	3.19**	2.67*
Sometimes discuss politics	1.36**	1.53**
Fairly often/often discuss politics	Reference category	Reference category
Political repertoires		
No other political activities	1.29	-1.79
Expressive political activities	1.84**	-1.32*
Money political activities	0.29	-1.7***
Action political activities	Reference category	Reference category
Note: Reference category Youth factions *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001		

The second step in interpretation of the results is to look at the significance level of the variables. The analysis presented in Table 7.2 above shows that most of the resources variables have a significant effect, even when controlling for all other resource variables. The 'Born in the UK' variable does not have a significant effect and will not be taken forward to the final model. 'Social Class' does have a significant effect for the BYC but as the effect is small and the 'Social Class' variable is problematic to apply to young people it

will not be taken forward to the final model.[13] It is only the 'Gender', 'Age' and 'Asked By' variables that give the strongest and most straight forward result as these variables are significant for both the BYC and Demonstrators and have substantial effects. This result replicates the findings in the descriptive statistics in the previous chapter where it was found that the BYC activists were more likely than the other groups to be younger and be female and the party activists were more likely to not have been asked by anyone to participate. With regards to the other variables level and pattern of significance varies, we can see that for example for the Demonstrators the 'Money' political activity has a significant effect at the 0.001 level, whilst for the BYC it does not have a significant effect. In contrast for the BYC the 'Expressive' political activities have a significant effect at the 0.01 level, whilst for the demonstrators this is only significant at the 0.05 level. However, as the significance level of the variables is relatively high they will initially be taken forward to the final model but the significance level of them will have to be taken into consideration in the final analysis.

7.2.2 Attitudes

The attitudes model is the model with the most variables in it and therefore it was particularly important to recode variables to make fewer response categories. For the 'Civic and Political Attitudes' and 'Alienation and Disaffection' variables the old and new values can be seen in Table 7.3 and 7.4 below and for these variables the merging of response categories was straight forward bringing it from five to three. The previous categories ranged from 'Strongly Disagree' to 'Strongly Agree' and were re-coded in to 'Disagree', 'Neither' and 'Agree'. The two organisational efficacy measurements, asking the respondent how effective they think the organisation is in achieving two stated goals, have been combined into one variable of 'organisational efficacy', with three response categories rather than five. For the analysis the last category of the independent variables will be used as reference categories and this is also indicated by italics.

[13] The model was run with the 'Social Class' variable as well but the results were not significantly different from the results without the model. This contributed to the decision to exclude the variable from the final model as its theoretical usefulness is limited.

Table 7:3 Civic and Political Attitudes Old and New Values	
Measurement/old value	**New Value**
Satisfaction With Democracy	
Very Dissatisfied	Dissatisfied (1)
Quite Dissatisfied	Neutral (2)
Satisfied	*Very Satisfied (3)*
Quite Satisfied	
Very Satisfied	
Don't Know	
Interest In Politics	
Not At All	Not At All/Not Very (1)
Not Very	Quite (2)
Quite	*Very (3)*
Very	
Left-Right Scale	
Left	Left (1)
Centre Left	Centre (2)
Centre	*Right (3)*
Centre Right	
Right	
Don't Know[14]	
Agreement with statement: I don't see the point of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway	
Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree/Disagree (1)
Disagree	Neither (2)
Neither	*Agree/Strongly Agree (3)*
Agree	
Strongly Agree	
Trust In National Government	
Not At All	Not At All/Not Very (1)
Not Very Much	Some (2)
Somewhat	*Quite/ Very (3)*
Quite	
Very Much	
Trust In Parliament	Same As Above
Same As Above	
Trust Political Parties	Same As Above
Same as above	

[14] The don't know responses were coded as missing

Table 7:4Alienation, Disaffection and Political Efficacy Old and New Values		
Measurement	**Old value**	**New value**
Alienation and Disaffection		
For demonstration: I have no influence on education policy	Strongly disagree	Disagree (1)
For others: I have no influence on policies that affect me	Disagree	Neither (2)
	Neither	*Agree (3)*
	Agree	
	Strongly agree	
For demonstration: Protests like this are the only way for students to make their voice heard	Same as above	Same as above
For others: Working for [organisation] is the only way for young people like me to make their voices heard	Same as above	Same as above
For demonstration: Protests like this are the only way for me to influence spending cuts in higher education	Same as above	Same as above
For others: Events like this are the only way for me to influence the situation for young people.	Same as above	Same as above
Most politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do anything	Same as above	Same as above
Political Efficacy		
Personal efficacy- My participation can have an impact on public policy in this country	Same as above	Same as above
Organisational efficacy- Demonstration/organisation effective in achieving goal 1	Not at all	Not at all/not very (1)
	Not very	Somewhat(2)
	Somewhat	*Quite/very (3)*
	Quite	
	Very	
Organisational efficacy- Demonstration/ organisation effective in achieving goal 2	Same as above	N/A goals combined

7.2.2.1 Results

The results from the multinomial logistic regression modelling for the attitude variables can be seen in Table 7.5 below. This analysis shows that overall the AIC for the whole attitudes model is 595, which is higher than the resources model and suggests a worse model fit. However, looking at the individual models a similar pattern to the demographics model appears. We can see that the more variables are included in the model the worse the fit is, where the highest AIC is for the civic and political attitudes which includes six variables, whilst the lowest at 86 is for political efficacy with only three variables. Interestingly, looking at the significance of the effects in the full model we can see that although the political efficacy variables may fit the data better, when all the other variables are controlled for the effect is not significant. Looking at the significant variables we can see that satisfaction with democracy, the attitudes to voting and trust in political parties are the variables having the most significant effects. The 'Left' response option for the demonstrators is also highly statistically significant. This result supports the general finding that demonstrators are more left wing and that this has a significant effect on distinguishing them from the youth faction activists. However, as this variable is only significant for one response option for one of the groups of the dependent variable the 'Left-Right Scale' variable will not be taken forward to the final model.

With regards to the alienation and disaffection variables, there are three dimensions that have significant and substantial effects. Looking at the coefficients in Table 7.5 below, we can see that the first alienation dimension, the powerlessness, has significant and substantial effects for the demonstrators but less significant and less substantial for the BYC. The reverse is true for the normlessness alienation dimension measured as 'Most politicians promise a lot of things, but do not do much', where the effect is most significant for the BYC, although it is not very substantial. Based on their significance levels these two variables will be brought forward to the final model. Interpreting the effects of the variables we can see that both the BYC and demonstrators are more likely than the youth faction activists to disagree with the powerlessness alienation dimension, whilst they are less likely to disagree with the normlessness dimension. Just as was discussed in the exploratory analysis in the previous chapter this suggests that a clue to

understanding the differences between the political activists is to understand their attitudes to the political system and to politicians. Furthermore, the 'Events are the only way to influence the situation for young people' alienation dimension is significant at the 0.05 level for the demonstrators, whilst it is not significant for the BYC activists and we can see that the demonstrators are less likely than the youth faction activists to disagree with this statement. This finding is expected based on the descriptive analysis conducted in the previous chapter, and also with the theoretical framework, where it was hypothesised that the demonstrators would be most alienated from the political system.

Table 7:5 Model 2 Attitudes (Aic:595)		
Model 2a: Civic And Political Attitudes (AIC: 448)		
Satisfaction With Democracy	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**
Very/Quite Dissatisfied With Democracy	-1.89***	1.34*
Satisfied With Democracy	-0.44	1.02*
Quite/Very Satisfied With Democracy	Reference Category	Reference Category
Left-Right Scale		
Left	0.52	2.5***
Centre	0.63	0.25
Right	Reference Category	Reference Category
There Is No Point In Voting		
Agree/Strongly Agree	-2.13**	-1.76*
Neither	-1.33	-1.6
Disagree/Strongly Disagree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Trust National Government		
Not At All/Not Very Much	-0.24	-0.94
Somewhat	0.22	0.29
Quite/Very Much	Reference Category	Reference Category
Trust In Parliament		
Not At All/Not Very Much	0.85	0.82
Somewhat	0.82	0.53
Quite/Very Much	Reference Category	Reference Category
Trust In Political Parties		
Not At All/Not Very Much	1.34**	2.09***
Somewhat	0.62	0.87
Quite/Very Much	Reference Category	Reference Category

Note: table 7:5 continues on the next page

Table 7:5 continued		
Model 2b: Alienation And Disaffection (AIC:292)		
Agreement With: I Have No Influence On Policies That Affect Me		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.866*	1.49**
Neither	0.8	1.58**
Agree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Events Only Way To Make Voice Heard		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.06	-0.4
Neither	-0.06	0.43
Agree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Events Only Way To Influence Situation For Young People		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.18	-1.1*
Neither	-0.18	-1.43*
Agree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Most Politicians Promise A Lot Of Things But Do Not Do Much		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	-.68***	-0.95*
Neither	-1.1*	0.1
Agree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Model 2c: Political Efficacy (AIC:86)		
Personal- My Participation Can Have An Impact On Public Policy		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.06	-0.1
Neither	-0.77	0.84*
Agree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Organisational- Organisation Effective In Achieving Goals		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	-0.39	1.07*
Neither	-0.68	0.44
Agree	Reference Category	Reference Category
Note: Reference Category Youth Factions *= P≤ 0.05 ** =P≤0.01*** =P≤0.001		

7.2.3 Motivations

In the descriptive exploratory analysis in the previous chapter we could see that contrary to the theoretical expectations no significant or substantial differences were found between the activists in their motivations for participation. One reason for this could be that there were too many response categories and therefore the nuances were not fully captured. Therefore, to establish whether there are differences between the activists, the motivation variables were collapsed into the three overarching categories as discussed in the literature review; instrumental, identity and ideology variables and as seen in Table 7.6 below. The variable then became binary, where if a respondent had answered agree or strongly agree for the motivation measurement they were scored one, and if any of the other response categories they were scored

zero. So for example, if someone responded that they strongly agreed with 'Defend My Interests' or 'Pressure Politicians to Make Things Change' they were coded as being motivated by instrumental motivations.

Table 7:6 Motivation Old And New Values

Measurement	Old Values	New Value
Defend my interests	Strongly disagree	Instrumental
	Disagree	
	Neither	
	Agree	
	Strongly agree	
Express my views	Same as above	Identity
Pressure politicians to make things change	Same as above	Instrumental
Raise public awareness	Same as above	Ideology
Express solidarity	Same as above	Identity
Morally obliged	Same as above	Ideology

7.2.3.1 Results

The results in Table 7.7 below shows a similar pattern to the other models where the fewer the variables the better the fit of the model; the AIC for the full model is 102, whilst only ~30 for the individual models. We can also see that the levels of significance differ, where variables making a significant contribution in one case are not significant in the other. For example, instrumental and ideological motivations have a significant effect in the case of distinguishing between the demonstrators and the youth faction activists but not the BYC activists and youth faction activists. For the BYC activists it is the identity motivations that distinguish them from the party activists, at the 0.001 significance level. The results show that the demonstrators are slightly more likely than the party activists not to be motivated by instrumental motivations, whilst they are much less likely than the party activists to not be motivated by ideology motivations. The BYC activists however are slightly more likely than the party activists to not be motivated by identity motivations.

Table 7:7 Model 3 Motivations (AIC 102)		
	BYC	**Demonstrators**
Model 3a: Not motivated by instrumental (AIC 30) [15]	-0.05	0.48*
Model 3b: Not motivated by identity (AIC30)	0.82***	0.36
Model 3c: Not motivated by Ideology (AIC29)	-0.23	-1.89***
Note: Reference category Youth factions *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001		

7.3 Refining the models

The first step in refining the model based on the results in the exploratory modelling above is to test the models individually with the variables that came out as significant in the modelling above to explore whether they are still significant and compare the model fit. The results from this analysis are presented in Table 7.8 below. The motivations variables were not run again because all three were taken forward to the final model. The results from the 'Resources' and 'Attitudes' models show that the model fit has improved and all variables make a significant contribution in at least one of the cases. It is worth highlighting here that two of the alienation variables ('No influence on policy' and 'Events only way to influence policy') have very low levels of significance for the BYC and the latter of the two is only significant for one of the response options for the demonstrators. The variables will still be taken forward, but it is worth noting them. All other variables will be taken forward to the final model that will be explored in the next section.

[15] This formulation may look counterintuitive and is a result of the coding of the variable and which response category the software takes as a reference group. However, as we are only interested in the significance levels for the variable here, not any further interpretation this is presented this way, in the final analysis of predicted probabilities, both response options are included.

Table 7:8 Comparing Adjusted Models.		
Model 1: Resources (Aic:350)	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**
Gender: *Male*	-1.18***	-0.79**
Age: *16-21*	1.61***	-1.45***
Information Channel: *Not Mobilised Through Closed Channel*	-1.0**	0.2
Asked By: *Not Asked By Anyone*	-1.4***	-2.45***
Active Membership In Organisations		
No Other Active Participation	-2.5**	1.4**
Active Participation In One Other	-0.78*	0.47
Active Participation In Two Or More Others	Reference	Reference
Discuss Politics		
Never/Rarely Discuss Politics	3.35**	2.8*
Sometimes Discuss Politics	1.38**	1.55**
Fairly Often/Often Discuss Politics	Reference	Reference
Political Repertoires		
No Other Political Activities	1.3	-2.27
Expressive Political Activities	1.83**	-1.43*
Money Political Activities	0.24	-1.68***
Action Political Activities	Reference	Reference
Model 2: Attitudes (476)	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**
Satisfaction With Democracy		
Very/Quite Dissatisfied With Democracy	-1.91***	1.81***
Satisfied With Democracy	-0.33	1.42***
Quite/Very Satisfied With Democracy	Reference	Reference
There Is No Point In Voting		
Agree/Strongly Agree	-2.14**	-1.69**
Neither	-1.3	-1.45
Disagree/Strongly Disagree	Reference	Reference
Trust In Political Parties		
Not At All/Not Very Much	1.74***	2.16***
Somewhat	0.97**	1.03*
Quite/Very Much	Reference	Reference
Agreement With I Have No Influence On Policies That Affect Me		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.96*	1.21**
Neither	1.09*	1.46**
Agree	Reference	Reference
Events Only Way To Influence Situation For Young People		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	-0.01	-1.14**
Neither	-2.6	-0.65
Agree	Reference	
Most Politicians Promise A Lot Of Things But Do Not Do Much		
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	-1.59***	-1.11**
Neither	-1.10**	-0.21
Agree	Reference	Reference
Note: Reference Category Youth Factions *= P≤ 0.05 ** =P≤0.01*** =P≤0.001		

7.4 Testing The Full Model

Next in the modelling process is to build the final model. The construction of the final model is done stepwise by adding the groups of variables to be able to compare the AIC to see what the contribution of the variables are. The analysis presented in Table 7.9 below shows that the model fit get worse with the attitudinal variables, but then is improved by adding the motivation variables. However, looking at the effect of the variables (see Appendix G for details), it can be seen that the number of variables that have a significant effect is reduced when controlling for all other variables. Therefore a second process of refining the model was conducted removing the variables that were not significant for any of the cases; the final model is presented in Table 7.10. As can be seen in Table 7.9 below the AIC is higher for the model with only significant variables, suggesting that the model fit is worse for the final model, but as it is also important to take the significance of the effect of variables into consideration this final model is chosen despite a higher AIC. With fewer variables that all are significant the model becomes more parsimonious, which is a desirable feature for a model.

Table 7:9 Comparing Model Fit Stepwise Modelling Full Model.	
Model 4 Combining the Models	AIC
Model 4a: Resources	350
Model4b: Resources and Attitudes	452
Model 4c: Resources, Attitudes and Motivations.	417
Model 4d: Only Significant Variables	455

The results in Table 7.10 below show that all variables in the refined model have a significant effect in at least one of the cases. There are a number of variables that were hypothesised to contribute to the explanation of the differences between the activists, which have now been excluded because of their lack of significance. However, there are still variables from each of the three overarching groups of variables represented in the model. Interestingly, some of the variables that showed the biggest differences in the descriptive analysis, such the alienation and political efficacy variables, no longer make a significant contribution to the results. This finding is interesting because these were the variables that presented the biggest differences between the groups in the descriptive analysis. However, it seems as if when controlling for all

Table 7:10 Significance Levels of Variables in Model 4d		
Variable (Model AIC 455)	**BYC**	**Demo**
Demographics		
Age: *16-21*	2.04***	-1.27**
Asked by: *Not asked by anyone*	-1.37***	-3.06***
Civic and political repertoires		
Active participation		
No other active participation	-3.34***	1.22
Active participation in one other	-0.77	0.75
Active participation in two or more others	reference	Reference
Discuss politics		
Never/rarely discuss politics	2.84**	2.76**
Sometimes discuss politics	1.07	1.44**
Fairly often/often discuss politics	Reference	Reference
Political activities		
No other political activities	1.67	-0.76
Expressive political activities	1.88**	-0.85
Money political activities	0.69	-1.11**
Action political activities	reference	Reference
Civic and political attitudes		
Satisfaction with democracy		
Very/quite dissatisfied with democracy	-1.36**	2.34***
Satisfied with democracy	-0.15	1.41**
Quite/very satisfied with democracy	Reference	Reference
There is no point in voting		
Agree/strongly agree	-1.93**	-0.66
Neither	-1.29	-1.66
Disagree/strongly disagree	Reference	Reference
Trust in political parties		
Not at all/not very much	2.14***	2.25***
Somewhat	0.93**	1.24**
Quite/very much	reference	reference
Most politicians promise a lot of things but do not do much		
Strongly disagree/disagree	-1.24**	-0.77
Neither	-1.08**	-0.13
agree	Reference	Reference
Motivations		
Not motivated by instrumental	-0.84**	-0.52
Not motivated by identity	1.1**	0.97**
Not motivated by Ideology	-0.05	-2.48***
Total sig variables	13	11
Note: Reference category Youth factions *= p≤ 0.05 ** =p≤0.01*** =p≤0.001		

other variables they do not make a significant contribution, suggesting that the variables are collinear and where the latter variable explain the variation of the former. Similarly, the gender variable lost its significance in the final model, despite having had significant effects in previous models and showed large differences in the descriptive statistics.

The 'Information Channel' variable was also excluded from the final model based on low significance. This is not surprising as the descriptive analysis showed that the majority of all activists had been mobilised by closed information channels. Furthermore, two out of three trust variables have been excluded, with only the 'Trust in Political Parties' variable left, which suggests that the strongest trust predictor for determining differential political activism is the attitude to political parties. This result follows a similar pattern as the analysis in Chapter Six that suggested that one of the main distinguishing features between the activists was their attitudes to politicians. The results in Table 7.10 suggest that this can be boiled down to trust in political parties and attitudes to politicians. In contrast, other variables such as for example motivations where there were not major differences in the descriptive statistics analysis have a significant effect even when all other variables are controlled for. This could to some extent be an effect of the recoding of the variables, where for example in the descriptive statistics, the motivations variables were split into more categories and had more response options. The fact that they now are significant suggests there is co-linearity between the motivational variables, which also makes theoretical sense. The dynamics of which variables are significant or not when other variables are controlled for show which variables that are important (and which variables are not important) for explaining differential political activism.

The model selection process presented above has considered both the model fit and the level of significance of variables to ensure that the most parsimonious and theoretically sound model has been developed. Some variables that were expected to have a significant effect have been shown to not have an effect, and have subsequently been excluded from the model. There are of course various ways of building a model which may result in different results, but for the current purposes the model that is presented in Table 7.10 makes theoretical sense and is parsimonious. The next step in the

analysis is to produce the predicted probabilities to be able to interpret the substantial effects of variables in a meaningful way.

7.4.1 Interpreting Predicted Probabilities

As discussed above in the analysis strategy the predicted probabilities is the preferred way of interpretation of the substantial effects of variables in a multinomial model. Predicted probabilities are preferred because they are calculated for all response options and all cases and therefore allow for a wider comparison across the groups. There are various ways of presenting the predicted probabilities and for this analysis the arithmetic means of the predicted probability for each variable has been calculated. This enables a comparison of the likelihood that a person falling into a certain response category for the independent variable belongs to a certain category of the outcome variable, i.e. type of political activist. The means of the probability across the groups add up to one, i.e. horizontally in the table, and Table 7.11 below presents the results from the means of the predicted probabilities where a higher arithmetic mean means that the probability is higher.

7.5 Results and Discussion

Before interpreting the results it could be worth revisiting the theoretical expectations, especially as many variables been excluded from the model. The remaining variables do fall into all three overarching categories of variables; the resources, attitudes and motivations but as discussed above some of the subgroups of variables have fallen out. The majority of the variables that are left are attitudinal variables. Many of the 'Resource' variables have been excluded due to lack of significant effects in explaining differences between the activists. This lack of significance of many of the resource variables this gives support for the theoretical expectation that there would not be major differences in the resources between the activists. The fact that these variables did not have a significant effect when all other variables are controlled for shows that they do not contribute significantly to the explanation for the differences between activists across institutional settings. The resource variables that are left in the model are the 'Age', 'Asked By' and most of the 'Civic and Political Repertoires', the results will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Similarly, and more specifically, the efficacy variables have

all been removed from the model and this is in accordance with the theoretical expectation that there would not be any significant differences between the activists in their levels of efficacy. So the fact that this group of variables does not have a significant effect on the outcome variable, the three different groups of activists, is in line with the theoretical expectation.

7.5.1 Resources

The 'Resource' variables that are included in the model are the 'Age', 'Asked By' and the 'Civic and Political Repertoires'. As discussed in the descriptive analysis in Chapter Six these variables are very important from a democratic perspective. The results in Table 7:11 below show that BYC is much better than the other organisations to recruit younger people (members are most likely to be 16-21). There are therefore lessons to be learnt from BYC in terms of recruiting these younger people if other organisations also want to attract younger members and activists. Some of these lessons should perhaps be directly addressed at the political parties youth factions, as their activists are much more likely than the other activists to not have been asked by anyone to participate in the event. This result is similar to the one found in the descriptive statistics, and it was raised as a problem with their organisational structure, where people who want to be active have to do so on their own accord. As such, the draining of political parties of members may not be entirely down to new values of non-members but also have something to do with the behaviour of the members. The fact that this relationship holds when controlling for all other variables suggest its importance and it is also a relatively easy thing to change.

The theoretical expectation for the civic and political repertoires was that BYC activists would have engaged actively in more civic activities, whilst the demonstrators would be more likely to have engaged in non-institutionalised forms of political activities. The results confirm the expectations regarding the civic activities, where the BYC activists are the most likely of the three groups to say that they have been active in two or more groups in the past year. This finding is in line with the previous findings regarding young people in youth parliaments and councils, where for example Sloam (2007) suggest that the youth council activists are a form of 'super activists'. The youth faction activists are not far behind the BYC activists in their civic activities, but they

Table 7:11 Predicted Probabilities For Final Model			
Variable	**Youth factions**	**BYC**	**Demonstrators**
Resources:			
Demographics			
Aged Between 16-21	0.30	0.52	0.18
Mobilisation Patterns			
Not Asked By Anyone	0.62	0.23	0.14
Civic And Political Repertoires			
Active Participation			
No Other Active Participation	0.22	0.06	0.72
Active Participation In One Other	0.30	0.26	0.43
Active Participation In Two Or More Others	0.34	0.4	0.26
Discuss Politics			
Never/Rarely Discuss Politics	0.03	0.63	0.34
Sometimes Discuss Politics	0.13	0.45	0.42
Fairly Often/Often Discuss Politics	0.39	0.27	0.34
Political Activities			
No Other Political Activities	0.25	0.37	0.37
Expressive Political Activities	0.18	0.65	0.17
Money Political Activities	0.4	0.33	0.27
Action Political Activities	0.23	0.13	0.63
Civic And Political Attitudes			
Satisfaction With Democracy			
Very/Quite Dissatisfied With Democracy	0.21	0.11	0.68
Satisfied With Democracy	0.3	0.38	0.32
Quite/Very Satisfied With Democracy	0.44	0.48	0.08
There Is No Point In Voting			
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.39	0.29	0.31
Neither	0.21	0.4	0.38
Agree/Strongly Agree	0.05	0.45	0.5
Trust In Political Parties			
Not At All/Not Very Much	0.15	0.34	0.51
Somewhat	0.33	0.38	0.29
Quite/Very Much	0.64	0.24	0.11
Most Politicians Promise A Lot Of Things But Do Not Do Much			
Strongly Disagree/Disagree	0.64	0.2	0.15
Neither	0.42	0.25	0.33
Agree	0.17	0.4	0.45
Motivations			
Not Motivated By Instrumental	0.35	0.39	0.24
Motivated By Instrumental	0.29	0.28	0.42
Not Motivated By Identity	0.28	0.47	0.24
Motivated By Identity	0.34	0.24	0.42
Not Motivated By Ideology	0.39	0.42	0.18
Motivated By Ideology	0.19	0.19	0.62
Note: The means have been rounded and add up to 1 horizontally			

are much more likely than the BYC activists to not have engaged in any other group. However, the demonstrators are the most likely overall to not have engaged actively in any other groups, but also in only one other group.

Overall the BYC activists appear to be the notably most active in other civic and political organisations, whilst the demonstrators are the least and the youth faction activists fall in the middle. With regards to the political repertoire of discussing politics, we can see a contrasting pattern. Here the BYC activists are the least likely to engage, seen in that someone who responds that they 'Never' or 'Rarely' discuss politics is most likely to be a BYC activists. In contrast, those who respond that they discuss politics 'Often' or 'Fairly Often' are most likely to be youth faction activists with the demonstrators a close second. This is an interesting dynamic, where the BYC activists are most active in civic and political organisations but they are the least likely to report that they discuss politics. This finding links to the debate of what is considered political, where these young people may be behaving in a political way but they do not recognise their activities as political because it does not fit into the institutionalised ways of doing politics. It is not possible to fully determine this from this data whether this is the case but the literature suggests that this might be an explanation for this result.

In contrast to the descriptive analysis regarding the political activities, where the top activities the activists had engaged in were the same, the multinomial regression shows that different political activities have a significant effect in the model. Using the alternative classification of political acts according to the type of political repertoire, we can see that there are differences in the types of political repertoires the activists engage in on the side of the participation in their organisation. The results show that all activists are almost as likely to not have engaged in any other political activities, with a slightly larger likelihood that someone who has not engaged in any activities is a BYC activist or demonstrator. The effects are much more substantial regarding the other types of activities, where we can see that someone who has engaged in 'Expressive' political activities, such as contacting a politician or worn a badge or a sticker, is more likely to be a BYC activist. The respondents who have engaged in 'Money' political activities, such as donating money and boycotting, are surprisingly most likely to be youth faction activists. This illustrates that the 'consumerist' and 'cheque book' participation is not

something that only those who have turned their back on institutionalised politics engage in but something that youth faction activists are most likely to engage in compared to the other groups. The respondents who have engaged in the 'Action' political repertoire, including strikes and direct action, are most likely, with a substantial margin, to be demonstrators. Somewhat surprisingly though is that the youth faction activists are more likely to have engaged in these kind of activities than the BYC activists. Overall the analysis shows that the BYC activists are most likely to engage in the less demanding and radical activities. This pattern of political repertoires might follow from the low likelihood of them also discussing politics but it also highlights that the institutionalised activists do not necessarily engage in the most conformist activities.

Overall this analysis has shown that with regards to the resources variables some interesting patterns of differences emerge between the activists. It must however be kept in mind that many of the resource variables, especially the traditional resource variables of demographics, are not included in the model because of their lack of significant effects on explaining the differences between activists. The remaining variables do provide some interesting results, especially with regards to the BYC activists. The BYC activists are the most likely to be younger, have been active in a number of organisation but they are the least likely to discuss politics with friends and family and they are the most likely to engage in 'Expressive' political acts such as writing a letter to a politician or wearing a badge. In contrast, the demonstrators are the most likely to have been asked by someone to participate, least likely to engage in civil society organisations, they sometimes discuss politics and are the most likely to engage in 'Action' political repertoires such as strikes and direct action. Lastly, the youth faction activists are the most likely to not have been asked by anyone to participate, relatively likely to be active in other civil society organisations, most likely to discuss politics and are also the most likely to engage in 'Money' political repertoires, such as donating money to political organisations or groups and boycotting products for political reasons. This shows that there are some important differences between the activists in terms of who they are (BYC youngest, demonstrators oldest), how they are recruited (or for youth faction activists, not recruited) and how they build up the skills and networks that encourage political participation. BYC activists seem to be highly embedded in organisations and networks but this is not

reflected in their political repertoires where they are not discussing politics, and do 'low intensity' or conventional political activities such signing petitions or wearing badges. Youth faction activists and demonstrators however, who are less embedded in civil society engage more often in political discussions and in the higher intensity, or more radical, political activities. These findings provide some interesting patterns and some good information about the similarities and differences between the activists where BYC activists stand out with the most unexpected results.

7.5.2 Attitudes

The 'Attitudes' group of variables contained a large amount of variables and was consequently split into the three groups of 'Civic and Political Attitudes', 'Alienation and Disaffection' and 'Political Efficacy'. Many of the variables included in the original model were excluded because they did not have significant effects; with the exclusion of all the 'Political Efficacy' variables perhaps being the most drastic one. However, as discussed above, this research is interested in what distinguishes the activists from each other, and the descriptive analysis showed that there were no major differences in the levels of efficacy between the activists. What is slightly surprising is that only one of the 'Alienation' variables was significant. This finding suggests that although alienation has a significant effect, it is only one dimension (the normlessness dimension) of alienation that contributes to explaining the differences between the activists. This finding will be discussed in more detail below and how it links into the other results and attitudes.

The remaining variables that contribute to explaining the differences between the activists are 'Satisfaction with Democracy', attitudes to voting and politicians and trust in political parties. The results from the predicted probabilities analysis show that the findings to a large extent support the theoretical expectations developed in Chapter Three based on the literature on political participation. However, the results also provide some more details to the dynamics of the BYC activists' attitudes. Looking at the 'Satisfaction with Democracy' variable to begin with, the least satisfied respondents are most likely to be demonstrators but the BYC and youth faction activists are almost equally likely to be satisfied with democracy. Yet, the BYC activists are just as likely as the demonstrators to think there is no point in voting because

politicians do whatever they want anyway. Similarly, the BYC activists are almost as likely as the demonstrators to agree that most politicians promise a lot of things but do not do much and have low trust in political parties or more radical forms of participation. These results suggest that the BYC activists may not necessarily fall between the two other groups in terms of their political attitudes but rather share some characteristics with the youth faction activists and some with the demonstrators. The analysis shows that BYC activists are similar to the youth faction activists with regards to their attitudes to the political system but similar to the demonstrators with regards to attitudes to the people running the political system. This analysis provides some important insight to the dynamics of differential political activism and it seems as if a mixed attitude to the political system drives the BYC activists to engage in the semi-institutionalised political repertoire. They are not as dissatisfied with the functioning of democracy as the demonstrators and therefore choose to still engage with, if not in, the political system, but they do so at the margins- not as part of the establishment because they do not like what the actors in the system do.

This dynamic between the attitudes of the BYC activists is a very interesting finding and it seems like it could contribute to understanding the reasons why the BYC activists do not engage in political parties. However, somewhat ironically, they are active in an organisation that, as was discussed in Chapter Two on the selection of the cases (pp. 33-38), probably is more institutionalised and has more influence on youth policy than the political parties youth factions. They are very much part of the political system, but does not like politicians. Perhaps these attitudes are a result of their experience of dealing with politicians, which in itself is worrying. However, this finding also shows that positive attitudes to the political system does not only mean that people engage in system-opposing activities, as suggested by Norris (1999), as exemplified by the BYC activists.

7.5.3 Motivations

The motivations variables are the group of variables that had the largest, and most coherent, literature around it. It was suggested in the literature review and the analytical framework that the dynamics of differential political activism could be very well explained by understanding the dynamics of incentives,

motivations and the likelihood that an organisation would be able to achieve its goals. However, the descriptive analysis of the activists in Chapter Six showed that although the demonstrators were highly motivated, there were no substantial differences between the types of motivations held by the activists. Despite this finding, two out of three of the motivational variables were significant in the final model for both BYC activists and demonstrators. The new groupings of the variables were coded as binary and because of the particular dynamic of the motivations variable the predicted probabilities for both values are presented in Table7.11.

The results show that the demonstrators are the most likely to be motivated by all types of motivations, whilst the other activists are almost equally unlikely to be motivated by all types of motivations. There are nuanced differences between the BYC and youth faction activists where for example the BYC activists are the most likely to not be motivated by identity motivations. It therefore seems as if the motivational variables are able to explain the difference between the demonstrators and the other activists but not between the BYC and youth faction activists. This result might be a result of the motivations mainly being taken from the survey developed for social movements and that the motivations are not easily mapped on to the incentives that the other outlets can offer, or it might be because there are not substantial differences between the incentives that the BYC and youth factions offer. Based on the framework developed in the literature review however, it is still surprising that the activists in the least institutionalised outlet, i.e. the outlet least likely to have policy influence, is the one where, if the theory is right, the incentives of the outlet is best matched with the motivations of the activists.

7.6 Discussion And Conclusion

The results above show some surprising and some not so surprising findings. The first surprising result is the number of variables that did not have a significant effect when controlling for all other variables. This suggests that there are some key variables that are of interest when we want to explain differential political activism. The final model is a reflection of this and although many variables were excluded, the final model included variables from all categories that were developed in the literature review. What was clear

from this analysis was that none of the traditional demographic variables had significant effects when controlling for all other variables. Instead, the variables that matters in explaining differential political activism are age, mobilisation patterns, civic and political repertoires, political attitudes and to some extent motivations.

The analysis gives us a detailed image of the young activists across different institutional settings. The youth faction activist typically is older than 21 years, they have not been asked by anyone to participate in the organisation or event but they are actively engaged in other civic organisations along with their political party engagement and often discuss politics with their friends. They do also engage in other political repertoires, where making a monetary contribution or political consumerism is the activity they are most likely to engage in. As such, these youth faction activists do seem to have the skills to participate and be embedded in potential mobilising networks but these networks have not mobilised them to their particular engagement in the youth faction. Neither has the motivations, seen in the result that the youth faction activists are almost as likely as not likely to be motivated by particular motivations which leaves us wondering what makes them participate in the party. It seems as if part of the answer to this question can be found in the attitudes that the youth faction activists have to the political system, where as expected, they stand out in their very positive attitudes to the political system. This contributes to explaining why they have been 'caught' in the youth faction and not whilst engaging in any other political repertoire.

To a large extent the demonstrators, just as expected, display substantial differences from the party activists. The demonstrators are the oldest activists and they are the most likely to have been asked by someone to participate in the demonstration. They are not engaging in many other civic organisations, if any at all, and only sometimes discuss politics with their friends. When they do engage in political repertoires they are most likely to engage in action political repertoires such as striking and direct action. These activities are also the most oppositional to the political system, which is also reflected in the attitudes that the demonstrators hold towards it. They are very dissatisfied with the functioning of democracy and they hold very negative attitudes to political parties and politicians. These attitudes only seem to make up part of their motivation to participate in the demonstration, as they are also much more

likely than the other groups to be motivated by the motivations in the survey. Not only are the demonstrators most likely to be motivated in the first place but they area also motivated by all instrumental, identity and ideological motivations.

The analysis in this chapter provides some interesting insights to the characteristics of the BYC activists. As discussed in Chapter One in the literature review and Chapter Two on the selection of the cases there has been little systematic investigation into those young people who engage in youth parliaments and councils. As such, without any other guidance it was presumed that the characteristics of the BYC activists would fall somewhere in between the youth faction activists and the demonstrators, just as the BYC falls between movement and establishment. The analysis in this chapter shows that this might not be the case. With regards to the political and civic repertoires we saw that just like the youth faction activists the BYC activists are more likely to be very active in civic organisations but unlike youth faction activists BYC activists do not discuss politics. BYC activists are more likely than the youth faction activists to engage in less demanding and radical activities, which suggest that these young people who are in between movement and establishment are less radical than the institutionalised youth faction activists. These findings illustrate the problem with presuming that those engaging in 'old' or 'institutionalised' forms of participation are less radical than other activists.

The BYC activists become even more interesting in the light of their civic and political attitudes. Whereas the youth faction activists and demonstrators largely fulfilled the expected findings of having positive versus negative attitudes to the political system, the dynamics of the BYC activists and their attitudes suggest a more complex answer than was anticipated. The BYC activists hold positive attitudes to the political system as such, as they are almost as likely as the youth faction activists to be satisfied with democracy. At the same time they share some attitudes with the demonstrators with regards to their attitudes to the people running the political system, as they are as likely as the demonstrators to distrust political parties, think there is no point in voting and that politicians promise a lot but do not do much. This is by no means a unique finding; the trends of disenchantment with formal politics are well documented among both young people and adults. What is interesting

about this finding though is that it is found among those young activists that first of all are politically active and secondly, they are active in an organisation that although it is classified as semi-institutional is (currently) a very influential organisation in the youth policy field. As discussed in Chapter Two on the selection of the cases, the BYC engages in many activities where they probably have more direct influence, or at least potential influence, on youth policy than the political parties youth factions. Linking this finding to the discussion in the resources section, where we see that the BYC activists do not discuss politics, it almost seems as if they are in denial with regards to their political activity. They are active in a highly political organisation, contribute to political decisions but they do not like politics and the political actors. Despite contributing to a political institution and being political actors themselves.

The motivation variables present a conundrum for explaining differential political activism. They seem to only be able to explain the differences between the demonstrators and the other activists, but not so much between the BYC and youth faction activists. Or rather, there seem to be no substantial differences between the motivations of the BYC and youth faction activists. Despite a sophisticated theory regarding the dynamics of incentives and motivations, this research only gives support to motivations contributing to explaining differences between the demonstrators and the other activists but not all three groups. As discussed above, this might be a result of the operationalisation of the 'Motivation' variable and further research is required to establish whether this is the case.

The image that emerges from this analysis is that many of the variables that were expected to explain differential political activism did not have a significant effect on the results when all other variables were controlled for. It also seems as if there are different variables contributing to explaining different differences. For example, the attitudinal variables seem to be particularly useful in explaining the differences between the BYC activists and the other activists, whilst the motivational variables seem to be able to explain the differences between the demonstrators and the other activists. These results therefore contribute to a more nuanced understanding of differential political activism.

Conclusion: What Do We Now Know About Youth Political Activism?

This thesis set out to explore a previously neglected group; politically active young people. Youth political activism is an important research topic for many reasons. Firstly, young people are interesting to research because the opportunities they have to participate are different from those of adults. Many opportunities to be politically active are structured by age, voting being the prime example. We can also see this effect in the automatic membership in a political party's youth faction if someone under a certain age joins the political party, or in the case of the British Youth Council (BYC) where only those under the age of 25 can be members. The impact that age has on the dynamics of youth political participation has previously been neglected in the political participation literature. For better or worse, the young member in a political party's youth faction has different opportunities to be politically active than an adult in the party and the influence that the BYC has in policy making is more extensive than any non-parliamentary opportunities for participation that adults have. By recognising the structuring effects of age and exploring youth political activism from this perspective this thesis has provided a youth perspective to the wider literature on political participation. Secondly, the current focus in both policy and research on youth political engagement has focused on answering the question of why young people *do not engage in formal politics.* As a consequence we know very little about what "motivates actors to engage politically and what animates and drives the political behaviour" (Hay, 2007p. 163). By focusing on young people who are politically active this thesis addresses a gap in our knowledge regarding the patterns of political participation in modern Britain. This conclusion will summarise and link the arguments and findings in the previous chapters, discuss the limitations of the research and avenues for future research as well as discuss the implications of these findings for policy and youth political activism.

Summary Of Arguments And Findings

This thesis aimed to explore youth political activism by posing two questions. The first research question asked whether young people who are active in high cost political repertoires (such as attending political meetings and

demonstrations) were different from those who engage in other political repertoires and those who do not engage at all. The re-analysis of the Youth Citizenship Commission data showed that this was indeed the case. This finding led to, and justified, the second research question that focused on the young people active in high cost activities and asked what the similarities and differences are between activists in different institutional settings. By collecting and analysing new unique data on the activists in three institutional contexts (political parties' youth factions, the British Youth Council and young people who attended the NUS demonstrations in London 2010), this thesis found that although there are many similarities between these activists there are also important differences.

The focus on activism derived from a conceptual discussion that was presented in Chapter One. The origins of this discussion could be found in one of the arguments that have been put forward in the debate regarding youth disengagement. These scholars argue that young people only seem disengaged because they do not engage in traditional forms of politics (see e.g. Bang, 2004, Dalton, 2008b, Marsh et al., 2007). If we expand our understanding of what politics means we will see that young people are politically engaged, in their own way that is distinct from the traditional understanding of politics. Chapter One addressed this debate by returning to a discussion on the definition of political participation and followed the development of the concept to the point where current scholars argue for the expansion of political participation to include the new ways that young people engage with politics. Chapter One argued that these arguments illustrate that the concept of political participation, as perceived in much previous research, cannot capture all the ways that modern (young) people are political. However, the expansion of the notion of political participation has led to theories of political participation becoming *theories of everything* (van Deth, 2001). As such, the concept of political participation has undergone extensive conceptual stretching to the point that it has lost its theoretical and empirical usefulness. Therefore, substantial parts of this thesis were concerned with disentangling where the expansion of the concept had gone too far and what the solution could be.

Chapter One also argued that in the political participation literature too much attention has been paid to the domain of participation, or where

participation occurs, and not enough to the repertoire, the things people actually do. As a consequence the literature on political participation has treated political participation as a dichotomous variable, where either someone participates (in formal politics) or they do not. This discussion also illustrated that there might be more similarities between repertoires in different domains than between repertoires in the same domain, where the example of membership in a political organisation serves as a telling example. Being a passive member, meaning only paying the membership fee, of a political party has more in common with being a passive member in Greenpeace than it has with voting, despite voting and membership in a political party being part of the same domain of formal politics. Understanding political participation both in terms of the repertoires and the domain provides a way of integrating the new forms of political engagement that modern citizens engage in, without having to determine in what way they are political. As such, the 'new' political repertoires can be investigated alongside 'old' political repertoires and thus be taken seriously in political research. The focus on repertoires also allows research to ask not only whether people participate but also, how much and in what type of activity without stretching the concept to the extent that it loses its empirical and theoretical usefulness. It was argued that if we are interested in the dynamics of *political participation* also comparing repertoires makes for a better like for like comparison than only comparing participation in different domains.

The question then was on what criteria we propose to distinguish between different kinds of political repertoires. Drawing from the social movement and political party literature it was suggested in Chapter One that the cost that the activity imposed to the individual could serve as a good basis for classification. Cost in this case is defined as the time and money that the individual has to invest to engage in the activity. The analytical framework in Chapter Three applied this criterion to a list of civic and political activities and created a scale of political activity ranging from 'No Political Activities' through 'Low-' and 'Medium Cost' activities to 'High Cost Activities'. Low cost activities such as signing a petition do not *require* any preparation of the individual, it takes very little time to engage in the actual act and do not impose any monetary cost to the participant. In contrast, high cost activities such as attending a political meeting do *require* the individual to prepare before they participate, it takes time to engage in the activity and may also impose a

monetary cost on the individual either in terms of membership fees or travel to the event.

The first research question aimed to apply and test this scale of political activity and by doing so also test the theory regarding the differences between people engaging in different repertoires. To do this, the data collected as part of the Youth Citizenship Commission was re-analysed in Chapter Five. The analysis found that there are differences between those who participate in different repertoires and those who do not participate at all in their demographics, political attitudes, levels of alienation and trust. Three groups stood out in the results. Firstly, those who had not engaged in any political repertoires and those who had engaged in low cost (little time, preparation and monetary costs) repertoires were all rather alienated and had a low sense of efficacy. Secondly were those who had engaged in medium cost political activities, such as voting or contacting politicians, who are slightly less alienated than the first group but had a similar sense of low efficacy. Thirdly were those who had engaged in high cost political activities, such as attending a political meeting, demonstration or march, or political activism as defined in this thesis. These activists stood out in their positive political attitudes and their high levels of knowledge and efficacy. This illustrates that there are indeed some important differences between those who engage in different political repertoires. These findings give empirical support for the argument regarding the importance of the focus on political repertoires. As such, these findings make a knowledge contribution to the field of political participation research by developing a refinement of the concept of political participation that can contribute to more focused research in the future.

Another issue that was brought up in Chapter One with the current literature on political participation was the lack of attention to the context of participation. It was argued that the current literature was apt to explain what makes someone choose whether to participate in (formal) politics or not but less able to explain what makes someone participate in different ways. To explain differential political activism it was argued that it is also important to understand the interaction between the individual and the context. The context is particularly important in the case of young people where their opportunities to participate, and the context in which they participate, differs substantially from the opportunities and context of adults. The second research question

exploring the similarities and differences between activists in different institutional settings was formulated partially on this insight but also on the findings from the first research question. By comparing the same repertoire across institutional settings at different levels of institutionalisation the importance of the context for participation comes to the fore. Previous research has seen institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of participation in contrast to each other, where the institutionalised participation is driven by positive attitudes to the political system and vice versa for the non-institutionalised forms of participation. Although the analysis in this thesis largely supported this theory, this thesis has controlled for the context in a better way by holding the political repertoire constant and allowed for variation in the context across different institutional settings.

The selection of the three cases described in Chapter Two was theoretically driven and the cases represent different institutional contexts. The discussion in Chapter Two also illuminated the differences in opportunities for young people to be politically active compared to adults'. The first case; the political parties' youth factions, were classified as the most institutionalised case. However, the youth factions and consequently the young people in political parties are marginalised in the political party. The peripheralisation of young people in political parties is seen in their limited influence and automatic membership in the youth faction rather than the main party if you are under a certain age. These examples demonstrate that even those young people who are active in the institutionalised form meet structural limitations for their participation because of their age. Secondly, the BYC illustrates that there is an option in between the institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of participation. The BYC was classified as semi-institutionalised because on the one hand its close links to the political system but on the other hand its influence is dependent on these close links. In contrast to the marginalisation of young people in political parties that limits their influence, youth councils and parliaments are a unique and exclusive opportunity for young people to engage politically that adults do not have. The third case; the NUS demonstrations in London 2010, illustrate the least institutionalised case as they have no links to the formal political system. By having three cases at different levels of institutionalisation it was possible to explore in more detail how the context for participation interacts with the individual level drivers for political participation.

Conclusion: What Do We Now Know About Youth Political Activism?

Chapter Three amalgamated the explanations for what makes people participate politically found in political participation literature into one analytical framework aiming to understand how the context for participation shapes differential political activism. The analytical framework set out three levels that affect differential political activism. First there is the political system, and drawing from the political opportunity structure theory, the political system can be open or closed to certain interests and groups. The analytical framework suggested that not only is the system level important for the existence of organisations, it also affects their behaviour and the likelihood they will be achieving their aims. The more embedded an organisation is in the political system (seen in its links with the formal political structures) the more likely it is to be able to influence the decision makers. As such, the positioning of an organisation in the political system affects the second level of the analytical framework; the organisational level.

All organisations have their own norms, values, structures, resources, goals and methods to retain and attract new members. Organisational theories have focused on the characteristics of the organisation, and in particular the incentives they offer to join or be active in the organisation. As such, these theories link the organisational and individual level where a match in the incentives offered by the organisation and the motivations held by the individual leads to them participating in the organisation. These theories also suggested that the types of incentives offered affect the behaviour of the organisation and what they ask the members to do. For example, a utilitarian organisation could act in any way to maximise the benefits to the members and did not require the members to act themselves whilst a purposive organisation could only act in such a way to achieve the stated goal that relied on members to contribute to the achievement of the goal. The analytical framework argued that although these are sophisticated theories of organisational behaviour they neglect the importance of the political system and its role in shaping the institutional context. As argued above, the positioning of an organisation in a political system also affects the behaviour of the organisation and the likelihood they will be able to achieve their stated aims. As such, the political system affects the organisation, which in turn affects the individual.

Another criticism posed to the organisational theories was that they only look at the motivations for participation as the driver for what makes people participate in certain ways. Political participation literature has shown that there are many other factors making someone participate or not. As such, the analytical framework used the literature on political participation to argue that resources, attitudes and motivations are all affected by the organisational context.

The analytical framework originated in the presumption that the context for participation mattered in explaining differential political activism and developed a theory linking together the political system, the organisation and the individual level into an explanation for differential political activism. This discussion illustrated that differential political activism to a large extent can be understood as a function of the position of the organisation chosen for participation in the political system, which then impacts the individual level in two ways. Firstly, the level of institutionalisation of the organisation affects the behaviour of the organisation and the likelihood of it achieving its goals, which in turn affects the opportunities and incentives for participation offered to the individual. Secondly, the positioning of the organisation in the political system will also attract people with different attitudes to the political system. When combined, these two effects of the level of institutionalisation was expected to contribute to the explanation for differential political activism.

The cases selected to answer the second research question were chosen because they have different positions in the political system and therefore enable an empirical test of the theory in the analytical framework. The analysis in Chapters Six and Seven show that although the activists are similar on many accounts, there are some key variables where they differ. The descriptive analysis in Chapter Six showed that the similarities between the activists were primarily seen in their resources; where a majority of all three groups identified as lower middle class, primarily from a British background, were interested in politics and had engaged in many other civic and political activities. This finding was expected as the repertoire, and therefore the resources required for participation, was held constant in this research. However, the homogeneity of activists is a worrying finding from a democratic perspective because it limits the voices that are represented in the political process.

Furthermore, all the activists had a high internal efficacy meaning that they believe that they are able to participate in the political process and confident they will be effective in influencing policy. Again, this finding was expected because the activists have invested substantial resources in their participation and it would be strange if they did so without thinking that they were able to participate and would be likely to achieve their aims. However, the activists in the political parties' youth factions, i.e. the most institutionalised organisation and thus most likely to have influence on policy, were the least efficacious compared to the other activists. Whether this result is an overestimation of their efficacy by the other activists, in particular the demonstrators who were most unsuccessful in achieving their goal, or simply an underestimation of the youth faction activists is impossible to say. Yet, these results illustrate an interesting dynamic that was not anticipated.

The main differences between the activists can be found in their civic and political attitudes. Both the descriptive analysis in Chapter Six and the multinomial regression analysis in Chapter Seven illustrate this. The results largely follow the patterns expected from the analytical framework but also present some interesting patterns among these activists. Just as expected, the institutionalised youth faction activists have very positive attitudes to the political system as well as the actors in the system and the non-institutionalised demonstrators hold very negative attitudes seen in for example the levels of trust in political institutions and satisfaction with the functioning of democracy.

The semi-institutionalised BYC activists present the most interesting pattern regarding the civic and political attitudes, which contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the alienation argument. Simply put, the alienation argument suggests that those (young) people who feel alienated from the political system will not participate in formal politics but will rather be found in the non-institutionalised outlets for participation. The BYC falls in between these two poles and the analysis show that they share characteristics with both the youth faction activists and the demonstrators. On the one hand they are similar to the party activists, seen in their satisfaction with democracy, whilst on the other hand they are similar to the demonstrators in their lack of trust in politicians and political parties. This finding suggest that even those young people who are active in semi-institutionalised settings and working closely

with the political system are sceptical to the actors in the system and are somewhat alienated. Furthermore, the demonstrators add to the nuancing of the alienation argument because although they hold negative attitudes to the political system and the actors in the system they do value the act of voting.

These attitudinal patterns among activists suggest that the argument regarding young people's alienation and the consequences it has for their patterns of participation is not as straight forward as first suggested. In the analysis presented in this thesis we can see that the BYC activists are disaffected with some of the institutions of formal politics, i.e. the ones where politicians take part but they are not as disaffected with the institutions of democracy where they can have a say, such as the electoral system. Furthermore, the descriptive analysis in Chapter Six illustrated that all activists had engaged in similar civic and political repertoires, despite their different levels of alienation. These findings are also supported by the high efficacy that the activists portray, which suggest that they engage in the kind of political activities they think will be effective and achieve something. All the young activists are willing and able to be politically active but they are selective in what opportunities for activism they take up. These findings therefore suggest that the problem of young people's disaffection might be more a matter of how politics is done (to young people) rather than an agential problem of the attitudes of young people.

The motivations present another interesting dynamic that to some extent follow the expected findings but also present some results that were not expected. The theory of the dynamics between the incentives and motivations that was discussed in the analytical framework was based on a very sophisticated argument. This argument was complemented by the insights from the political opportunity structures to explain why different organisations offered different incentives and opportunities for participation. Based on the different positioning of the cases in the political system and the different goals of the cases it was expected that this would also be reflected in the motivations of the activists. The results in Chapter Six and Chapter Seven showed that this was only partially the case. Both these analyses showed that the motivational variables only had a significant effect in distinguishing between the demonstrators and the other activists but did not produce significant differences between the BYC and youth faction activists. There are

various potential explanations for this. One is methodological, as these findings might be a result of the measures for motivations included in the survey that were developed for street demonstrations, or that the question was a closed ended question that only allowed the respondent to tick to what extent they agreed with a particular motivation being their reason for engaging. Another possible explanation is that the incentives system theory does not hold, or that there simply are no significant differences between the incentives offered by the youth factions and BYC and therefore their activists are motivated by similar things.

The focus on political activism also had methodological consequences as was illustrated in Chapter Four. This discussion illustrated that there are measurement problems in general population surveys, which are a popular method for studying political participation. Firstly, in general population surveys young political activists are often in a minority and it is therefore difficult to conduct specific analysis on them. Many surveys also start the sampling at 18, which automatically excludes many young people. Secondly, surveys are often not designed in a way that takes the nature or frequency of the repertoire into consideration. The question used to construct the dependent variable of political participation asks the respondent about political participation in the past (at varying timeframes from 12 months to ever). This is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, because someone has participated in a certain way in the past, it does not mean that they continue to do so. Secondly, if someone has participated in a certain way once and tick the box they will be treated the same way as someone who has engaged in the same act more recently and multiple times and therefore also ticked the same box. There is no way of distinguishing this in the general population survey, which leads to a potential measurement error in the dependent variable of political participation. A third problem is that although general population surveys collect vast amounts of data, they strip the data of contextual variation because they measure political participation in the abstract.

Based on this discussion, it might seem as if a qualitative research design would be a better way of exploring political activism. However, Chapter Four also argued that there is an abundance of qualitative studies on young people's political participation. Therefore, what is currently largely lacking from an empirical perspective is a quantitative dataset that enables not just an

exploration of the relationship between the variables but also allows for an assessment of the *strength* of the relationship. A quantitative dataset does not have to strip the data of contextual variation and it was argued in Chapter Four that the data collection method developed by the *Caught in the Act: Contextualising Contestation* (henceforth *Caught in the Act*) research project overcomes many of the issues when surveying political activism at street demonstrations. By sampling in the field the method ensures that only those who are active, and active in the same way, are surveyed. Furthermore the survey is highly contextualised, which enables more specific questions regarding for example the activist's sense of efficacy, to what extent they agree with the goals of the organisation etc. Much of the analysis conducted in this thesis would not have been possible without a contextualised survey. Additionally, the contextualised survey locates the researcher in the same context as the activist and the researcher can therefore form their own impression of the nature of the event. This is particularly important at street demonstrations where for example the student demonstrations illustrate the effect a violent environment can have on the response rate. At this event the 'kettling' tactics by the police led the demonstrators using the survey (and other paper products) to light fires to stay warm. The researchers were only able to determine this by being at the demonstration. The *Caught in the Act* data collection method overcomes many of the problems with researching political activists. It was therefore applied to the other cases as well, with small modifications in sampling method due to the smaller size of the events and more controlled environment. As such, this research has produced a unique dataset. The dataset is unique not just because of the larger sample of activists but also because contains data on the BYC activists that, in the literature found to date, no previous research has. Chapter Four illustrates how this thesis makes methodological, and consequently empirical, contribution to a better and more nuanced understanding of political activism.

Combined, the two research questions, and answers, address limitations in the current literature and research on young people's political participation and provide a better and more nuanced understanding of youth political activism. As such this thesis has made three overall contributions to our knowledge of youth political activism. Firstly, the re-conceptualisation of political participation in to the more specific concept of political activity and the subsequent analysis giving support for the validity of this conceptualisation

illustrates the importance of political repertoires. By framing political participation around the repertoires we can develop a more nuanced concept of political activism that takes both political repertoires and domain in to consideration without stretching the concept so it loses its theoretical and empirical meaning. Secondly, the focus on activism had methodological consequences and it was argued that the *Caught in the Act* contextualised survey design was the most appropriate method for studying activism. By applying the *Caught in the Act* data collection method to other cases of political activism this thesis also makes a methodological contribution. This data collection methodology ensures a more accurate and contextualised measure of political activism. Lastly, by reconceptualising political activism and applying the *Caught in the Act* methodology on new cases this research also makes an empirical contribution. The collection and analysis of this unique dataset has given new empirical insights to the nature of youth political activism.

Limitations And Avenues for Future Research

The image that emerges from the summary of the findings is that there are differences between those engaging in different political repertoires and those who do not participate at all. Furthermore, there are both similarities and differences between those who are active in different institutional settings. More research needs to be conducted to support these initial findings but the results presented here suggest that it would be worth focusing on comparing political repertoires and domains in future research. This section will discuss some of the limitations to the research presented here and suggest avenues for future research.

Due to the original nature of this research there are of course some limitations with it as well. Firstly, it must be noted that the development of the scale of political activity and the subsequent analysis was conducted on a survey that was not designed to operationalise political activity in the way that this thesis has done. As discussed in the construction of the scale of political activity in Chapter Three, it is virtually impossible to objectively assess what cost the activity imposes on the individual, and subjective assessment will be limited in its comparability. Therefore there are potential limitations in the measurements of political activity as operationalised here that would need to

be addressed in future research. It might be difficult to fully integrate a measurement of the cost of a repertoire in a general population survey but more objective estimations could be achieved by doing pilots on smaller samples and asking them to rank the activities according to the cost (in terms of time and money required). Further discussion, development and refinement of the scale of political activity is required to make the argument stronger. However, what the analysis and the theoretical discussion in this thesis show is that it is worthwhile using a repertoire based operationalisation of political participation in future survey research.

Secondly, although the sample size of activists in this research is larger than would have been found in a general population survey, a total sample size of 450 limits the generalisability and strength of the statistical analysis. As was described in Chapter Seven, extensive recoding had to be performed to ensure that enough respondents were in each response category to produce meaningful and significant results. As such, the findings presented in this thesis should be seen as preliminary and exploratory and need to be supported by further data collection and analysis.

Another limitation of this research derives from the analysis on the motivations for participation. As discussed above, the lack of differences in the motivations between the youth faction and BYC activists could either be a result of the survey design or lack of differences in the incentives between the organisations. Both these sets of explanations open up for further research into the dynamics between organisational incentives and motivations. One way of doing this would be to focus on the organisational level and explore the incentives the organisations offer in more detail, this was however not the purpose of this thesis. Another way of improving the analysis of motivations would be to supplement the quantitative data with qualitative data on the motivations. This addition could be done either by including an open ended question in the survey allowing the respondent to write down why they are at the event in their own words. Or, an alternative and much more onerous approach would be to conduct qualitative interviews with the activists focusing on their motivations for participation. Both these possibilities were originally planned in the research design, however due to the unexpected difficulty with gaining access to the organisations it was necessary to leave this analysis for future research.

The exploratory nature of the research also opens up opportunities for future research. There are some interesting findings that would be particularly interesting to take forward and explore in more detail. Firstly, the analysis presented in this thesis challenges the alienation thesis as it is currently presented. The image that emerges from this analysis is that there are some young people who are willing and able to invest a lot of time in being politically active. There are two implications for future research of this finding. Firstly, more research needs to be conducted exploring the nature of alienation in more detail, especially the attitudes of the semi-institutionalised BYC activists. Furthermore, this analysis would be strengthened by a more systematic comparison of the activists to those who participate in a wider range of political repertoires and maybe even non-political repertoires. These findings to some extent support that alienation is widespread among young people but it also shows that alienation does not inhibit participation. As such, future research could investigate whether those engaging in other political repertoires, or do not participate at all are more, or differently, alienated.

Another way to take this exploratory analysis further would be to add another comparative dimension in the form of a cross-country comparison. This would allow for variation in the political structure and thus be able to in more detail explore the impact that the political structure has on the organisations. Initially, such a comparative dimension was planned but this also had to be abandoned due to the resource demanding nature of the data collection method. The intended comparison would be with Sweden, where Sweden was chosen because it is similar to the UK on many accounts but also different on some crucial factors. The similarities are that both countries are stable western democracies that have vibrant civil societies. In contrast, the differences are that political participation is generally higher in Sweden, seen in higher membership figures and turnout in elections. Furthermore although, both countries have vibrant civil societies the characteristics of civil society are very different where volunteering is much more common in the Anglo-Saxon culture than in the Scandinavian (Wijkström and Zimmer, 2011). It could thus be proposed that (non-political) volunteering might compete with political activities and it would be interesting to explore and compare political repertoires in these contexts. For this research project this comparison was not possible due to restrictions in resources, it would however be worthwhile to pursue this comparison in the future.

Implications For Policy And Youth Political Participation

One of the main findings emerging from this research is that the activists are very similar in the resources that they possess. The inequality in access to political voice is a substantial democratic problem that cannot be ignored. On the one hand, this finding supports the importance of resources for participation. As such, it seems as if by improving the political skills of young people, for example through citizenship education, more young people would participate actively. On the other hand, the homogeneity among the activists was not only found with regards to their skills but also in their demographics. The homogeneity of activists suggests that these organisations recruit and mobilise from similar demographic groups. This was supported by the analysis on the mobilisation channels that showed that most of the activists had been mobilised through closed mobilisation channels, with the exception of the youth faction activists that had not been asked by anyone to join the event. This finding illustrates a problem located in the structures of the organisations. Mobilisation through closed channels suggest that the mobilisers and the ones being mobilised (the activists) are deeply embedded in social networks but as the activists are largely homogenous in terms of socioeconomic status these networks are likely to also be homogenous. In other words, people recruit people like themselves to organisations, and those who are active most likely stay active because they socialise with people like themselves. As such, this finding suggests a deeper homogeneity among the activists deriving from a structural inequality in society in access to opportunities for political participation. This structural inequality in access to opportunities for political voice has democratic consequences for those interests who are not heard and because this does not have to do with the skills of the young people it would be more difficult to resolve simply by education of young citizens.

Luckily, the problem of recruitment through closed mobilisation patterns is relatively easy to resolve. These organisations can change their recruitment strategies to target previously underrepresented groups and give the underrepresented groups the training and support that would make them feel welcome. This recommendation is perhaps particularly pertinent for the political parties youth factions, where the finding that a majority had not been asked to participate suggest that the decline in membership in political parties may not just have to do with the changing attitudes of the general population

but also a result of the lack of mobilising efforts by the political parties youth factions. By improving the mobilisation process for political participation these outlets for political activism would open up opportunities for participation for a wider range of young people and would become more democratic and representative of the young population.

We have also seen from the analysis conducted in this thesis that only some civic and political attitudes are important in distinguishing between the political activists. Here the BYC activists provide an interesting pattern and challenge. These activists have positive attitudes to the political system but not to politicians and political parties, i.e. the actors in the political system, despite the BYC being an organisation that works closely with the political establishment and currently being a very successful lobby group on youth issues. The BYC activists therefore have experience of politicians doing good things for them but still do not trust them. Or perhaps it is because they have the experience of politicians that they do not trust them? This gives rise to questions about what socialising effects this experience will have on the BYC activists, will they engage in a political party in the future? Will they abandon politics all together? These findings therefore poses challenges to both the BYC and the political parties to catch these highly politically interested and skilled young people and make sure that their engagement in the political process is channelled to further participation.

We have also seen that the demonstrators differ from the other activists in some of their political attitudes. The finding that stood out particularly was their assessment of their personal efficacy, where they ranked it higher than the other activists (who also ranked their efficacy highly but not as high as the demonstrators). They were also much more highly motivated than the other activists to participate and this gives an impression of these activists as very enthusiastic with high hopes for the outcome of their activism. Unfortunately, they had the most clearly formulated purpose and failed to achieve it. Just as with the BYC activists these findings raise issues of what consequences this disappointment might have on their future participation and how their enthusiasm can be treasured.

In conclusion, this thesis has focused on a previously neglected group; young political activists. These young people are in a minority of the population and this thesis has provided a better and more nuanced image of

who they are, what they think and why they are active. However, despite the passion that many of these young people seem to have when they first engage, there are some worrying findings among these activists that relate to a larger problem of how politics is conducted. In the case of the BYC activists and demonstrators it almost seems as if the involvement in the political process could hinder future involvement in politics. This illustrates the importance to focus even more on the opportunities and contexts in which young people are and can be politically active to ensure that political activity does not turn into inactivity. These politically active young people are important for the functioning of a democracy where citizen participation has a central role. We must continue to give them the opportunities to be politically active and we cannot take them for granted.

Appendices

Appendix A Demonstrations Surveyed By The UK Caught In The Act Team

Details Of Demonstrations Surveyed By UK Caught In The Act Team			
Event	**Distributed surveys**	**Returned surveys**	**Response rate**
Demonstrations			
Climate march 2009	1000	243	24.3%
May Day, 2010	1000	178	17.8%
Take Back Parliament, 2010	1000	351	35.1%
No to hate crime, 2010	1000	169	16.9%
Unite against fascism, 2010	1000	194	19.4%
Fund our Future, 2010	1000	147	14.7%
Climate march, 2010	1000	360	36%
Second student demonstration, 2010	1000	98	9.8%
Million women rise, 2010	1000	178	17.8%
TUC, 2010	1000	211	21.1%
Occupy London, 2011	1000	144	14.4%
London Pride, 2012	1000	192	19.2

Appendix B Questions in the Youth Citizenship Commission Survey

Questions in the Youth Citizenship Commission survey	
Question	Response option
Q1. Which of these do you do at least quite regularly?	Use Social Networking Sites (Facebook, Bebo, Myspace Etc); Take Part In Online Forums, Chat Rooms Or Blogs; Use Local Outside Spaces Such As Parks, Skate Parks, Tennis Courts, Football Pitches; Use The Local Sports Or Leisure Centre; Watch The News Or Current Affairs Programs; Attend Or Belong To A Local Group Or Club; None Of These; NA/DK; One Activity; Two Activities; Three Activities; Four Or More Activities
Q2. Agreement with statement	I feel positive about my future; I feel good about myself and the person that I am; It is up to all of us to make things better in the future; I feel respected by the people in authority I have contact with; These days you have to look out for yourself rather than worrying too much about others; People in authority are interested in my ideas and what I think; People my age are always getting a hard time in the news and on TV; I have a good group of close friends; The police treat people my age with suspicion, even if they haven't done anything wrong
Q3. Which of these things do you feel confident will be available to you in the future?	Decent hospitals and doctors; Good education and/or training; Enough money to live on; A decent job; A home of your own; A safe area to live in; None of these; DK/NA; One thing mentioned; Two things mentioned; Three things mentioned; Four things mentioned; Five things mentioned; All things mentioned
Q4. How much do you care about the issue…	Having good doctors and hospitals available; Having good schools and colleges available to everyone; Having good job prospects; Making sure people are treated fairly regardless of their race, sex, religion; Global warming and climate change; Reducing drug and alcohol abuse; Having good public transport available; International issues
Q5. How much do you care about the issue…	Crime - Feeling safe when I am out and about in my local community; Living in a place that is tidy, litter free, with no vandalism; Having things to do and places to go in my local area; Helping to make the local area a better place to live.
Q6. Agreement with statement	Most of the time I feel safe when I am out and about in my local community; My local area is a great place to live; I feel I belong to my local community; There are things to do and places to go in my local area for people my age; It's my responsibility to make my local area a better place to live
Q7. Agreement with statement	: I understand how decisions are made about local issues; I would like to be able to influence how decisions are made locally; I feel like I can influence decisions that are made locally; I understand how decisions are made

	about national issues; I would like to be able to influence how national decisions are made by the government; I feel I can influence national decisions that are made by the government; I would be more likely to get involved in local and political activities if I got something for it; I am really interested in getting involved in local and political activities
Q9. Agreement with statements	Politicians care about people like me; Politicians understand what people like me need and want; Politicians take notice of what people like me think; I trust politicians to make the right choices for people like me;
Q10. Agreement with statement	Voting is a good way to influence the decisions that are made about national and local issues; It is important to vote; People should be allowed to vote from when they are 16 years of age, not 18 as it is now
Q11. Which, if any, of the following have you done in the last couple of years?	Donated money to a good cause; Voted in a general election; Voted in a local election; Contacted an MP or local councillor; Signed a petition/an online petition; Got involved in a political campaign; Helped to raise money for a good cause; Gone to political meeting, demonstration, march or rally; Given your time/volunteered to help other people; Got involved in running a local club/putting on a local event; Done something to help make my local area a better place to be; Discussed politics or political news with someone; Boycotted certain products; None of the above; DK/NA
Q12. In the next 12 months, how likely are you to	Vote in an election; Contact an MP or local councillor; Get involved in a political campaign; Volunteer your time for a good cause; Help to raise money for a good cause; Try to bring about change to help others
Q13a. Of the people on this list, whose attitudes and views would you be interested in and take notice of	Your close family; Your friends; People who live in my local area (but are not my close friends/family); Other adults in authority (e.g. youth leaders, coaches, church leaders); Celebrities and famous sports personalities; Government and politicians; Journalists (i.e people who write articles in papers and magazines); Views expressed on blogs, forums and social networking sites; IF AT SCHOOL: Teachers at school; IF AT UNIVERSITY: Lecturers; IF AT WORK: Bosses at work; IF AT WORK: Work colleagues; None of these
Q13b And of the people on this list, whose attitudes and views would you not be bothered about?	Same as above
Q14Which of the following do you find useful for getting information about issues you are interested in	National newspapers; Local newspapers; TV news/current affairs programmes; The internet; Blogs/forums; Social networking sites; Magazines for people my age; :None of these; DK/NA
Q15. Which of these statements best fits with how attracted you are to a particular political party?	If I was asked to vote tomorrow I definitely Know which party to vote for; I think I know who I would vote for but I could be swayed; I am not sure who I would vote for as I do not know enough; I don't think it is worth voting;

	Don't know
Q16. Have you ever taken part in Citizenship Education, i.e. were you taught about citizenship at school?	Yes; no; don't know.
Q17a What puts you off getting more involved in helping out with issues?	I have no interest in these types of things; I am too busy/don't have time; I do not know how; I am not able to make a difference on my own; I think it is more important to look out for your friends and family; It is not my job to do these things; This is what we/my parents pay taxes for; There is no point, nothing ever happens anyway; Everything seems fine as it is; Only dull people do that sort of thing; I do lots already; Other; Nothing puts me off; DK/NA
Q17b. What types of things would encourage you to get more involved in your local community/area?	Need for more information/education about what goes on/I don't know what to do; More information at schools/talks in schools/schools involved; More advertising of (options for helping)/notices, flyers, leaflets, emails; Other information/education; If (better) things to do/be involved with I'd help, I already do things; More things for age 19 plus; If have the chance, opportunity, if easier to take part, if involves Young people; If asked opinion /get our view; If results in actual change, if see progress, if something happened from doing it, real results; If I see individuals have made difference; Things that make change to where I live, it helps in this area makes batter place to live in; Promises to make change - it happens then goes back to what it was; That MPs want to make change; To raise money for special cause/charity; To help old people/disabled/disadvantaged; Environmental issues; If people in power /they listen to us, take notice; If young people feel they are being taken seriously; If government/MP's takes news about children/YP seriously, takes into consideration; To be appreciated to what you try to do; Government/they do not listen; If listened to by teachers; Something that affects my area/local things; Something I was interested/involved in/if of interest/if I feel strongly about; Something that affects me/happened to me/affects young people; If it affects my family, friends, if they need help; Young faces in Politics; Politicians/MPs to run country who know what they are doing/better; Good leadership/strong leader; If church more input/more christian programmes; Government brought country to its knees/rock bottom/country letting us down; More regional Government; If friends my age were doing/if enough people; Clubs/Youth Clubs/After school activities/youth groups/facilities for us Young People; If somewhere to go to meet people/to hang around/to occupy time; Things to get kids off street at night/more to do at night; More fun/exciting things for kids;

	Parks/play parks/green areas/outdoor facility; :(Free) Sporting facilities/gym/boxing/football/games/sports events/swimming; Invest money in local halls/empty industrial sites/buildings; Freedom pass/free transport to different areas; More funding for things that benefit community; Training courses for Young People; More fundays/events for young people; Trips away; Local groups/young mother groups; Sponsored events to raise money; Debates/meetings/events where; If I was paid; Some sort of incentive/cinema tickets/got something out of it; Give me a job to give self confidence/more jobs; Celebrity would encourage/other incentives; To give more encouragement; Just too busy; If I had more time; Would be wasting my time; Family comes before everything; Not interested/not bothered (in politics); I am too young/when I'm older; Other personal reasons; Not safe in area/not safe to go out/clean it up; Get drug dealers/get rid of druggies; Stop stabbing, being robbed, crime; Take away Polish immigrants; Change type of people living near; Police should arrest trouble makers; Everything is closing; Nothing here for young people, nothing will get done; Other local; The involvement of the whole community/ community spirit; Bring voting age down; I do voluntary work/do my best to help; More voting opportunities; Other answers; Nothing; DK/NA
Which the categories A-L, best describes your ethnic origin?	A- White British B- White Irish C- White Other D- *Mixed White & Black African E- Mixed White & Asian F Any other mix G- Asian or Asian British – Indian H - Asian or Asian British – Other I- Black or Black British – Caribbean J- Black or Black British - Other black background K-Chinese or other ethnic background – Chinese L- Other DK/NA
GENDER	MALE/FEMALE
S2. What age are you?	
S3. Which of these best describes you?	Working full time, 30 or more hours per week; Working part time, up to 29 hours per week; Unemployed; On a gap year; Pupil at primary school; Pupil at secondary school; Student at 6th Form College; Student at university; Student at college of further education; Student in other form of training e.g youth training; Homemaker; Other; :Prefer not to say; DK/NA
Current school year	
Age at which left/expect to leave full time education	
And which of these best describes who you live with?	Living at home with parent(s); Living with partner in parents home; Living with other adults (e.g. grandparents, guardian, carer; *Left home - living with

	partner, with kids; Left home - one parent family; Left home - living on my own; Left home - Living with friends/ house share; Lives at college/boarding school/hostel; Other; Prefer not to say
Which member of your household is the Chief Income Earner, that is the person with the largest income	Respondent; respontend's partner/spouse; father; mother, other adult; DK/NA
Social grade	A/B; C1; C2; D/E; DK/NA
Television area?	London (Carlton) Eastern (Anglia) Midlands (Central) Lancs. (Granada) North East (Tyne Tees) Yorkshire Southern (Meridian) South West (West Country) Wales/West (HTV) C/Scot (Scottish) N/Scot (Grampian) Ulster TV N Ireland

Appendix C Caught in the Act Survey: demonstrations

‘Fund our Future’

NUS and UCU: Stop Education Cuts

Protest Survey

London, 10 November, 2010

Thank you for accepting this survey booklet. It will take about 20 minutes to fill in the following questionnaire. We really appreciate you taking the time. When finished, simply put the questionnaire in the FREEPOST self-addressed envelope provided and post it (no stamp required). Please fill in the questionnaire individually; it is your personal opinion we are interested in. Obviously, your anonymity is guaranteed.

We will use the results of this survey in social research on the motives of people taking part in demonstrations and protests. Similar questionnaires will be distributed at other demonstrations in countries throughout Europe and the US. This is an independent, collaborative university-based research project, and the results of this survey will be made available for all who have participated in it.

For more information, you can visit our website www.protestsurvey.eu.

Any suggestions, questions or remarks can be made on the final page of this survey, or by e-mailing Maria Grasso on m.grasso@soton.ac.uk

Once again, thank you very much for your cooperation.

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Appendix C

1. *Please tell us why you participated in this protest.* *[01whyp]*

……

……

……

……

2. *In your opinion, who or what is to blame for the cuts in spending on higher education?* *[02whobl]*

……

……

3. *What should be done to address the cuts in spending on higher education?* *[03whatdo]*

……

……

……

……

4. *What do you think of the behaviour of <u>the police</u> at the demonstration?* *[04police1-2]*

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Cooperative	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Aggressive	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

5. *And what about <u>the demonstrators</u>? Were they…?* *[05behdem1-2]*

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Cheerful	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Disorderly	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

6. *Were you at the demonstration: (tick as many as apply)* *[06comp1-7]*

Alone?	❑
With your partner?	❑
With your children?	❑
With friends and/or relatives?	❑
With acquaintances?	❑
With colleagues or fellow students?	❑
With members of an organisation of which you are a member?	❑

7. When did you make a firm decision to participate in the demonstration? [07decis]

❑ The day of the demonstration ❑ A few days before the demonstration ❑ A few weeks before the demonstration ❑ Over a month ago

8. How did you find out about the demonstration? Was it via: (tick as many as apply) [08chan1-10]

1	Radio or television	❑
2	Newspaper(s) (print or online)	❑
3	Alternative online media	❑
4	Advertisements, flyers, and/or posters	❑
5	Partner and/or family	❑
6	Friends and/or acquaintances	❑
7	People at your school or workplace	❑
8	(Fellow) members of an organisation or association	❑
9	An organization (magazine, meeting, website, mailing list, etc.)	❑
10	Online social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter)	❑

8b. Which **ONE** of the above channels was the most important source of information for you? (please write **ONE** of numbers 1-10 as indicated in the left column above) [08chanimp]

Information channel number: …………

9. Which of the following people specifically asked you to take part in the demonstra-tion, and which people did you yourself ask to participate? (tick as many as apply)

[09askby1-7] [09asked1-7]	**I was asked by**	**I asked**
No-one	❑	❑
Partner or family	❑	❑
Relatives	❑	❑
Friends	❑	❑
Acquaintances	❑	❑
Colleagues or fellow students	❑	❑
Co-members of an organisation of which I am a member	❑	❑

10. Please list the names of the main organisations staging this demonstration. (please write full names if you know them) [10lstorg]……………………………………………………………………….

……

11. Are you a member of any of these organisations? [11memorg]

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Don not know/not sure

If 'yes', what is (are) the name(s) of the organisation(s)? (please write full name(s))

………

…………………………………………… *[11nameorg]*

Appendix C

To what extent do you identify…

	Not at all	Not very much	Some what	Quite	Very much
with the other people present at the demonstration? *[12idpart]*	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
with any organisation staging the demonstration? *[12idorg]*	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

12. How <u>determined</u> were you to participate in the demonstration? [13deter]

❑ Not very ❑ Rather ❑ Somewhat ❑ Quite ❑ Very much

13. Thinking about the cuts in spending on higher education makes me feel: [14feel1-4]

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Angry	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Worried	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Fearful	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Frustrated	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

14. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements? I participated in the demonstration in order to… [15whypar1-6]

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
defend my interests	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
express my views	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
pressure politicians to make things change	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
raise public awareness	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
express my solidarity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
because I felt morally obliged to do so	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

15. Below are two goals that are ascribed to this demonstration. <u>First</u>, indicate how important these two goals are to you. <u>Second</u>, on a similar scale, how effective do you think this demonstration will be in achieving these goals? [16goalimp1-2] [16demeff1-2]

	Defend rights of students and university staff						*Secure accessible further and higher education for generations to come*				
	Not at all	Not very	Some what	Quite	Very much		Not at all	Not very	Some what	Quite	Very much
Goal important	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Demonstration effective	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

16. If you have been involved in any of the following types of organisations in the past 12 months, please indicate whether you are a passive member or an active member. If you are a member of several organisations of the same type, tick the box for the organisation of that type in which you are most 'active'. [17orgmem1-13]

	Passive member/ financial supporter	**Active member**
Church or religious organisation	❑	❑
Trade union or professional association	❑	❑
Political party	❑	❑
Women's organisation	❑	❑
Sport or cultural organisation	❑	❑
Environmental organisation	❑	❑
Lesbian or gay rights organisation	❑	❑
Community or neighborhood association	❑	❑
Charity or welfare organisation	❑	❑
Third world, Global Justice or Peace organisation	❑	❑
Anti-racist or Migrant organisation	❑	❑
Human or civil rights organisation	❑	❑
Other *(specify):……*	❑	❑

17. In the past 12months, in how many different organisations have you actively participated? [18actorg]

❑ None ❑ in 1 ❑ 2 or 3 ❑ In more than 3

18. There are many things people can do to prevent or promote change. Have you, in the past 12 months…? [19polact1-9]

	Yes	**No**
contacted a politician, government, or local government official?	❑	❑
signed a petition/public letter?	❑	❑
donated money to a political organisation or group?	❑	❑
boycotted certain products?	❑	❑
deliberately bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?	❑	❑
worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?	❑	❑
joined a strike?	❑	❑
taken part in direct action (such as: blockade, occupation, civil disobedience)?	❑	❑
used violent forms of action (against property or people)?	❑	❑

19. How many times have you taken part in a demonstration? [20pastpart1-2]

	Never	1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 20	21+
Ever	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Past 12 months	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

20. In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in your country? [21satdem]

Very dissatisfied								Very satisfied			Do not know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

21. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [22polval1-4]

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Children should be taught to obey authority	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Even the most important public services and industries are best left to private enterprise	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
People from other countries should be allowed to come to my country and live in it permanently if they want to	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

22. How interested are you in politics? [23polint]

❑ Not at all ❑ Not very ❑ Quite ❑ Very

23. When you get together with your friends, relatives, or fellow workers, how often do you discuss politics? [24talkpol]

❑ Never ❑ Rarely ❑ Sometimes ❑ Fairly often ❑ Very often

24. With which party do you most closely identify right now? [25partid]

……

<u>How closely</u> do you identify with this party? [25partcl]

❑ Not very closely ❑ Quite closely ❑ Very closely

25. Below is a list of institutions. Please indicate, in general, how much you trust each of the following (types of) institutions: [26trust1-6]

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
National government	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

National parliament	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Political parties	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Trade unions	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Judicial system	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
European Union	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

26. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [27poleff1-6]

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
Most politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do anything	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
I do not see the use of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
My participation can have an impact on public policy in this country	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Organized groups of citizens can have a lot of impact on public policies in this country	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
If citizens from different countries join forces, they can have a lot of impact on international politics	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
I consider everybody's side of an argument before making a decision	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

27. In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the Left and 10 means the Right? [28leri]

Left										Right	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Do not know
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

28. Have you heard about any similar demonstrations taking place in other countries these days? [optintdem]

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Do not know/ not sure

If 'yes', to what extent do you identify with the other people present at these demonstrations in other countries? [optintid]

❑ Not at all ❑ Not very much ❑ Somewhat ❑ Quite ❑ Very much

29. How many times have you participated in the following in the past? [optprotest]

	Never	1-5	6-10	11-20	21+

Climate change march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Other environmental issue(s) march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Trade justice/fair trade march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Trade union/workers' rights march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Development/poverty relief march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Anti-war/pro-peace march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Anti-racist/pro-immigrant march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Women's rights/solidarity march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
LGBT/gay rights/solidarity march/rally	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Creative protest/creative action	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

30. Do you consider yourself to be part of the global justice movement? [optgsj]

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Do not know/not sure

31. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? [optissueEDU]

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
The proposed cuts will have a negative effect on my education and/or life chances	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
I have no influence on education policy	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Protests like this are the only way for students to make their views heard	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Cuts in spending on higher education have motivated me to engage with politics	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Participation in this protest is a way for me to exercise my rights	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Protests like this are the only way for me to influence spending cuts in higher education	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

32. Policies can be decided at different levels. At which level, primarily, do you think the following should be decided? (please tick one for each row)[optdeclev]

	International	European	National	Regional
Aid to developing countries	❑	❑	❑	❑

Protecting the environment	❑	❑	❑	❑
Immigration and refugees	❑	❑	❑	❑
Social welfare	❑	❑	❑	❑

33. Do you consider yourself to be part of the student movement? [optstum]

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Do not know/not sure

34. How important are the following goals of the demonstration to you? [optgoolEDU]

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Ensure choice based on academic ability and ambition, not ability to pay fees (1)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Protect education and research because they sustain the economy (2)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Offer equal opportunity to a quality university education for all (3)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Express concern that universities will be run by profit-seeking corporations (4)	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Which ONE of the above five goals is <u>most important</u> to you? (please fill in ONE of numbers 1-4 from the left column above) Goal nr: ……

35. Are you a member of a political party? [optparty]

❑ Yes 〈 Which political party? (please write full name)……
❑ No ……
[optwunion]

Finally, some personal questions…

I. Are you…? [sdsexe] ❑ *Male* ❑ *Female*

II. In which year were you born? [sdyrborn] ___ ___ ___ ___

III. In which country were you born? [sdcoborn] ……

IV. In which country do you live? [sdcolive] ……

V. In which country was your mother born? [sdmoborn] ……

VI. In which country was your father born? [sdfaborn] ……

VII. What is your highest educational qualification? Or, if you are a student, at what level are you studying? (please write full name of qualification) [sdeduc]

……

VIII. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper/ lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the…?

❑ Upper class ❑ Upper middle class ❑ Lower middle class ❑ Working class ❑ Lower class ❑ None

IX. What is your employment situation? (tick as many as apply) [sdempl1-9]

❑ I work full-time (including maternity leave or other temporary absence)

- ❑ I work part-time (including maternity leave or other temporary absence)
- ❑ I am freelance/self-employed (without employed staff)
- ❑ I am self-employed with employed staff
- ❑ I study full-time at the University of _____〈 ***Go to question XII***
- ❑ I am unemployed/between jobs
- ❑ I am retired
- ❑ I am a housewife / househusband
- ❑ Other: ……

X. In your main job, do/did you have any responsibility for supervising the work of other (or your own) employees? [sdemplsup]

❑ No ❑ Yes, for 1 to 9 persons ❑ Yes, for 10 persons or more

XI. What is your occupation, or what was your last occupation? (please be specific – if you are a member of university staff, please state which university) [sdoccup]

……at the University of……

XII. Did you vote in the last general election (6 May, 2010)? [sdvoteyn]

❑ Yes 〈 *for which party did you vote?* ……
❑ No *[sddidvote]*

If you want you can write down your postal and/or e-mail address so we can send you a short report with the results of this research project. If you are interested we might also contact you for further research on social and political participation. The sole purpose of this survey is to advance scientific understanding. If you give us personal contact information, it will only be used to contact you for the reasons mentioned above. Your personal contact information will be stored in separate secure files and will never be linked to your answers to the questionnaire. It will not under any circumstances be passed on to any third party.

❑ Yes, I would like to receive a short research report
❑ Yes, I would like to collaborate in future research

Postal address:

Name:																						
Street:																						
															Nr.:							
City:														Postal code:								

E-mail address:

If you have any comments or questions regarding this survey or research or if there is anything you want to add relating to the demonstration, please use the space below.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!!!

Appendix D Example Survey for Youth Factions

INDEPENDENT SURVEY OF YOUNG LABOUR

Appendix D

Thank you for accepting this survey booklet, I really appreciate you taking the time as it will help me complete my PhD. It will take about 15 minutes to fill in the following questionnaire. When finished, simply put the questionnaire in the FREEPOST self-addressed envelope provided and post it (no stamp required). Please fill in the questionnaire individually; it is your personal opinion we are interested in. Obviously, your anonymity is guaranteed, there will be no way to link your answers to your identity. The study has received ethical approval from University of Southampton.

This research will be used as part of my PhD at University of Southampton. I wish to investigate whether there are any relevant differences in the aims, objectives and motivations for young people to participate in three different kinds of political participation. I will give a similar survey to people at demonstrations and to members of youth parliaments. I will also do some follow up interviews with those people who volunteer to this.

I hope that through my research be able to suggest improvements to how youth policy and the institutions available for young people to participate are shaped so that they are adapted to them and takes their interests and opinions seriously. Your participation is therefore vital to achieve this aim, and I hope that you will take time to fill in this survey.

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1. Please tell us why you participated in this meeting.

……
……
……
……
……

2. Are you a member of…?

❑ Young Labour ❑ Labour Students ❑ Both

3. Which of the organisations do you identify most strongly with?

❑ Young Labour ❑ Labour Students ❑ Both ❑ None

4. Please tell us why you joined Young Labour/Labour Students.

……
……

In which year did you join Young Labour/Labour Students?

……

Have you been a continuous member for that time?

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Don not know/not sure

5. ***Do you hold an elected position in Young Labour/Labour Students***

❑ No ❑ Yes, national organization ❑ Yes, local branch

6. ***Which of the following persons approached you to join Young Labour/Labour Students? (tick as many as apply)***

No-one	❑
Family	❑
Relatives	❑
Friends	❑
Acquaintances	❑
A fellow student	❑
Members of Young Labour/Labour Students	❑

7. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?
I joined Young Labour/Labour Students in order to…

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
defend my interests	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
express my views	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

pressure politicians to make things change	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
raise public awareness about youth issues	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
express my solidarity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
because I felt morally obliged to do so	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Stand for election in the future	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Work in politics in the future	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

8. ***There are many ways we can find out about organizations and events, please tick all the information channels that you gained information from and that influenced your decision to join your Young Labour/Labour Students. (tick as many as apply)***

1	Radio or television	❑
2	Newspaper(s) (print or online)	❑
3	Alternative online media	❑
4	Advertisements, flyers, and/or posters	❑
5	Partner and/or family	❑
6	Friends and/or acquaintances	❑
7	People at your school or workplace	❑
8	Existing members of another organisation or association	❑
9	Members of Young Labour/labour students	❑
10	An organization (magazine, meeting, website, mailing list, etc.)	❑
11	Online social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter)	❑

8b. Which ONE of the above channels was the <u>most important</u> source of information for you? (Please write ONE of numbers 1-10 as indicated in the left column above) [08chanimp]
Information channel number: ……

9. ***Below are two goals of Young Labour/Labour Students. <u>First</u>, indicate how important these two goals are to you. <u>Second</u>, on a similar scale, how effective do you think this [organization] will be in achieving these goals?***

	Young Labour is there to represent the voice of young people within our party, and campaign for rights and interests of young people both within our party and beyond					Young Labour plays a central role in spreading the values and messages of the Labour Party through campaigning in elections, by-elections and regular leafleting, phone canvassing and door knocking				
	Not at all	Not very	Some what	Quite	Very much	Not at all	Not very	Some what	Quite	Very much
Goal important	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Young Labour/ Labour students effective	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

10. ***If you have been involved in any of the following types of organisations in the past 12 months, please indicate whether you are a passive member or an active member. If you are a member of several organisations of the same type, tick the box for the organization of that type in which you are most 'active'.***

	Passive member/ financial supporter	**Active member**
Church or religious organisation	❑	❑
Trade union or professional association	❑	❑
Youth council/Parliament	❑	❑
Women's organisation	❑	❑
Sport or cultural organisation	❑	❑
Environmental organisation	❑	❑
Lesbian or gay rights organisation	❑	❑
Community or neighborhood association	❑	❑
Charity or welfare organisation	❑	❑
Third world, Global Justice or Peace organisation	❑	❑
Anti-racist or Migrant organisation	❑	❑
Human or civil rights organisation	❑	❑
Other *(specify):*……	❑	❑

11. In the past 12months, in how many different organizations have you actively participated?

❑ None ❑ in 1 ❑ 2 or 3 ❑ In more than 3

12. ***There are many things people can do to prevent or promote change. Have you, in the past 12 months…?***

	Yes	**No**
contacted a politician, government, or local government official?	❑	❑
signed a petition/public letter?	❑	❑
donated money to a political organisation or group?	❑	❑
boycotted certain products?	❑	❑
deliberately bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?	❑	❑
worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?	❑	❑
joined a strike?	❑	❑
taken part in direct action (such as: blockade, occupation, civil disobedience)?	❑	❑
used violent forms of action (against property or people)?	❑	❑
Attended a demonstration?	❑	❑

13. How many meetings of your branch of Young Labour/Labour Students have you attended…?

	0	1	2 to 5	6 to 10	11 +
Ever	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Past 12 months	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

14.

How did you find the meetings?

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Interesting	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Efficiently run	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
United	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Hard to understand	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

15. How much time would you say that you spend working for your Young Labour/Labour Students per month?

Less than 1 hour	2-4 hours	5-7	8-10	11+
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

16. How do you find the other members of Young Labour/Labour Students, are they?

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Friendly	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Respectful	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

17. In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in UK?

Very dissatisfied									Very satisfied		Do not know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

18. How interested are you in politics?

❑ Not at all ❑ Not very ❑ Quite ❑ Very

19. ***When you get together with your friends, relatives, or fellow Young Labour/Labour Students members, how often do you discuss politics?***

❑ Never ❑ Rarely ❑ Sometimes ❑ Fairly often ❑ Very often

20. ***Please indicate, in general, how much you trust each of the following****:*

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
National government	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
National parliament	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Political parties	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Trade unions	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Youth councils/Parliament	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
European Union	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
NGOs	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Social movement organisations	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

21. In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the Left and 10 means the Right?

Left										Right	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Do not know
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

22. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
I have no influence on policies that affect me	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Working in Young Labour/Labour Students is the only way for young people like me to make their voices heard	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Events like this are the only way for me to influence the situation of young people	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Most politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do anything	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
I do not see the use of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
My participation in Young Labour/Labour Students can have an impact on public policy in this country	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

XIII. Are you…? [sdsexe] ❑ *Male* ❑ *Female*

XIV. In which year were you born? [sdyrborn] ___ ___ ___ ___

XV. In which country were you born? [sdcoborn] ……

XVI. In which country was your mother born? [sdmoborn] ……

XVII. In which country was your father born? [sdfaborn] ……

XVIII. What is your highest educational qualification? Or, if you are a student, at what level are you studying? (please write full name of qualification) [sdeduc]

……

……

XIX. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper/ lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the…?

❑ Upper class ❑ Upper middle class ❑ Lower middle class ❑ Working class ❑ Lower class ❑ None

Did you vote in the last General Election on May 6th 2010?
❑ Yes 〈 for which party did you vote? ……
❑ No〈 for which party would you vote for? ……
Is or were any of your parents politically active?
❑ *Yes one is* ❑ *Yes both are*
❑ Yes one used to be ❑ Yes both used to be
❑ No

XX. If you want you can write down your postal and/or e-mail address so we can send you a short report with the results of this research project. As mentioned at the start I will also conduct some follow up interviews to get a better understanding of why people participate in political parties. Please give your contact details below if you are interested in participating in further research. The sole purpose of this survey is to advance scientific understanding. If you give us personal contact information, it will only be used to contact you for the reasons mentioned above. Your personal contact information will be stored in separate secure files and will never be linked to your answers to the questionnaire. It will not under any circumstances be passed on to any third party.

❑ Yes, I would like to receive a short research report

❑ Yes, I would like to collaborate in future research

Postal address:

Name:																						
Street:																						
														Nr.:								
City:														Postal code:								

E-mail address:

If you have any comments or questions regarding this survey or research or if there is anything you want to add relating to the meeting or the survey, please use the space below.

……

……**THANK YOU VERY MUCH!**

Appendix E BYC Example Survey

INDEPENDENT SURVEY OF BRITISH YOUTH COUNCIL ANNUAL COUNCIL MEETING

UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

Appendix E

Thank you for accepting this survey booklet. It will take about 15 minutes to fill in the following questionnaire. I really appreciate you taking the time. When finished, simply put the questionnaire in either the box marked SURVEY or the FREEPOST self-addressed envelope provided and post it (no stamp required). Please fill in the questionnaire individually; it is your personal opinion we are interested in. Obviously, your anonymity is guaranteed, there will be no way to link your answers to your identity. The study has received ethical approval from University of Southampton.

This research will be used as part of my PhD at University of Southampton. I wish to investigate whether there are any relevant differences in the aims, objectives and motivations for young people to participate in three different kinds of political participation in Sweden and England. I will give a similar survey to people at demonstrations and to members of youth factions. I will also conduct some follow up interviews with those people who volunteer to this.
I hope that through my research be able to suggest improvements to how youth policy and the institutions available for young people to participate are shaped so that they are adapted to them and takes their interests and opinions seriously. Your participation is therefore vital to achieve this aim, and I hope that you will take time to fill in this survey.

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1. Please tell us why think the Annual Council is important.

……

2. How did you find this event?

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Interesting	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Efficiently run	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
United	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Hard to understand	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

3. ***What organization do are you a member of?***

……

4. Please tell us why you joined your organisation.

……

……

……

……

5. In which year did you join your organisation?

……

6. Have you been a continuous member for that time?

❑ Yes ❑ No ❑ Do not know/not sure

7. ***Do you hold an elected position in your organisation/BYC?***

❑ Yes, BYC ❑ Yes, my organisation ❑ No

8. ***Which of the following persons approached you to join your organisation? (tick as many as apply)***

	I was asked by
No-one	❑
Family	❑
Relatives	❑
Friends	❑
Acquaintances	❑
A fellow student	❑
Members of my organisation	❑
Youth worker	❑
Teacher	❑

9. Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements?
I joined my organisation in order to…

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
defend my interests	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
express my views	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
pressure politicians to make things change	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
raise public awareness about youth issues	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
express my solidarity	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
represent young people in my area	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
because I want to stand for election for a political party	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
because I felt morally obliged to do so	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Because I want to work in politics in the future	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

*10.**There are many ways we can find out about organisations and events, please tick all the information channels that you gained information from and that influenced your decision to join your organisation. (tick as many as apply)***

1	Radio or television	❑
2	Newspaper(s) (print or online)	❑
3	Alternative online media	❑
4	Advertisements, flyers, and/or posters	❑
5	Partner and/or family	❑
6	Friends and/or acquaintances	❑
7	People at your school or workplace	❑
8	Existing members of another organisation or association	❑
9	Members of the organisation	❑
10	An organisation (magazine, meeting, website, mailing list, etc.)	❑
11	Online social networks (e.g. Facebook, Twitter)	❑
12	Local Authority	❑

9b. Which ONE of the above channels was the <u>most important</u> source of information for you? (Please write ONE of numbers 1-10 as indicated in the left column above) [08chanimp]
Information channel number: ……

*11.**Below are two goals of British youth council. <u>First</u>, indicate how important these two goals are to you. <u>Second</u>, on a similar scale, how effective do you think British Youth Council are in achieving these goals?***

	XXXXXXXXX.					*XXXXXXXXX.*				
	Not at all	Not very	Some what	Quite	Very much	Not at all	Not very	Some what	Quite	Very much
Goal important	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

BYC effective	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

*12.**If you have been involved in any of the following types of organisations in the past 12 months, please indicate whether you are a passive member or an active member. If you are a member of several organisations of the same type, tick the box for the organisation of that type in which you are most 'active'.***

	Passive member/ financial supporter	**Active member**
Church or religious organisation	❑	❑
Trade union or professional association	❑	❑
Women's organisation	❑	❑
Sport or cultural organisation	❑	❑
Environmental organisation	❑	❑
Lesbian or gay rights organisation	❑	❑
Community or neighborhood association	❑	❑
Charity or welfare organisation	❑	❑
Third world, Global Justice or Peace organisation	❑	❑
Anti-racist or Migrant organisation	❑	❑
Human or civil rights organisation	❑	❑
Political party's youth faction	❑	❑
Political party	❑	❑
Youth Parliament		
Youth council	❑	❑
Other *(specify):……*	❑	❑

13.In the past 12months, in how many different organisations have you actively participated?

❑ None ❑ In 1 ❑ 2 or 3 ❑ In more than 3

*14.**There are many things people can do to prevent or promote political change. Have you, in the past 12 months?***

	Yes	**No**
contacted a politician, government, or local government official?	❑	❑
signed a petition/public letter?	❑	❑
donated money to a political organisation or group?	❑	❑
boycotted certain products?	❑	❑
deliberately bought products for political, ethical or environmental reasons?	❑	❑
attended a demonstration?	❑	❑
worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker?	❑	❑
joined a strike?	❑	❑
Attended a demonstration?	❑	❑
taken part in direct action (such as: blockade, occupation, civil disobedience)?	❑	❑
used violent forms of action (against property or people)?	❑	❑

15.How many of your youth council meetings have you attended?

	0	1	2 to 5	6 to 10	11 +
Ever	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Past 12 months	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

*16.**In general, how did you find the meetings?***

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Interesting	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Efficiently run	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
United	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Hard to understand	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

17.How much time would you say that you spend carrying out your role as a member of your youth council per month?

No time	Less than 1 hour	2-4 hours	5-7	8-10	11+
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

18.How do you find the other members of your youth council, are they?

	Not at all	Not very much	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
Friendly	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Respectful	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

19.In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the functioning of democracy in UK?

Very dissatisfied									Very satisfied		Do not know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

20.How interested are you in politics?

❑ Not at all ❑ Not very ❑ Quite ❑ Very

*21.**When you get together with your friends, relatives, or fellow youth council members, how often do you discuss politics?***

❑ Never ❑ Rarely ❑ Sometimes ❑ Fairly often ❑ Very often

*22.**Please indicate, in general, how much you trust each of the following**:*

	Not at all	Not very	Somewhat	Quite	Very much
National government	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
National parliament	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

Political parties	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Political parties youth factions	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Trade unions	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Youth Parliament	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
European Union	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
NGOs	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Social movement organisations	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

23.In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the Left and 10 means the Right?

Left										Right	Do not know
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

24.To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree
I have no influence on policies that affect me	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Working in my youth council is the only way for young people like me to make their voices heard	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Events like this are the only way for me to influence the situation of young people	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Most politicians make a lot of promises but do not actually do anything	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
I do not see the use of voting, parties do whatever they want anyway	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
My participation in my youth council can have an impact on public policy in this country	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

XXI. Are you…? ❑ *Male* ❑ *Female*

XXII. In which year were you born? ___ ___ ___ ___

XXIII. In which country were you born? ……

XXIV. In which country was your mother born? ……

XXV. In which country was your father born? ……

XXVI. What is your highest educational qualification? Or, if you are a student, at what level are you studying? (please write full name of qualification)

……

XXVII. People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper/ lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the…?

❑ Upper class ❑ Upper middle class ❑ Lower middle class ❑ Working class ❑ Lower class ❑ None

XXVIII. Was or are your parents politically active?

❑ Yes, both ❑ Yes, one of them ❑ No

Did you vote in the last General Election on May 6th 2010?

❑ Yes 〈 for which party did you vote? ……

❑ No

❑ Prefer not to answer.

XXIX. If you want you can write down your postal and/or e-mail address so we can send you a short report with the results of this research project. As mentioned at the start I will also conduct some follow up interviews to get a better understanding of why people participate in Conservative Future. Please give your contact details below if you are interested in participating in further research. The sole purpose of this survey is to advance scientific understanding. If you give us personal contact information, it will only be used to contact you for the reasons mentioned above. Your personal contact information will be stored in separate secure files and will never be linked to your answers to the questionnaire. It will not under any circumstances be passed on to any third party.

❑ Yes, I would like to receive a short research report

❑ Yes, I would like to collaborate in future research

Postal address:

Name:																						
Street:																						
														Nr.:								
City:														Postal code:								

E-mail address:

If you have any comments or questions regarding this survey or research or if there is anything you want to add relating to the demonstration, please use the space below.

……

THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

Appendix F Demographics model selection

Appendix XX Model selection resources variables		
Variables in model	AIC	Intercept only
Gender	30	56
Gender, age categories	51	199
Gender, age categories, country born	79	226
Gender, age categories, country born, parents born	118	263
Gender, age categories, country born, parents born, social class	174	316
Gender, age categories, country born, social class.	121	267
Gender, age categories, country born, social class, open channel	178	325
Gender, age categories, country born, social class, open channel, asked	229	432
Gender, age categories, country born, social class, asked	167	373
Gender, age categories, country born, social class, asked, active participation	249	483
Gender, age categories, country born, social class, asked, active participation, discuss politics	324	586
Gender, age categories, country born, social class, asked, active participation, discuss politics, political activity scale	407	719

Appendix G Intermediate models for multinomial regression model.

Appendix G comparing levels of significance for variables including motivations one at a time								
	1.Byc (AIC 417 FULL)	1.Demo	2BYC (instrumental AIC 451)	2demo	3.BYC Identity (AIC452)	3Demo	4BYC ideology (AIC421)	4DEMO
Male								
16-21	***	*	***	**	***	**	***	**
Not asked by anyone	***	***	***	***	***	***	***	***
Not mobilised through closed channel							*	
No other active participation	**		**		**		**	
Active participation in one other								
Active participation in two or more others								
Never/rarely discuss politics	*		*	*	**	**	**	*
Sometimes discuss politics								
Fairly often/often discuss politics								
No other political activities								
Expressive political activities			**		**		**	
Money political activities	**							

Action political activities								
Very/quite dissatisfied with democracy			*	***	**		**	**
Satisfied with democracy	*	**		**		***		*
Quite/very satisfied with democracy		*				**		
There is no point in voting								
Agree/strongly agree	*		**		**		**	
Neither							*	
Disagree/strongly disagree								
Trust in political parties	***	***	***	**	***	**	***	***
Not at all/not very much	*							
Somewhat								
Quite/very much								
Agreement with I have no influence on policies that affect me								
Strongly disagree/disagree								*
Neither								
agree								
Events only way to influence situation for young people								

Strongly disagree/disagree						**		
Neither								
agree								
Most politicians promise a lot of things but do not do much								
Strongly disagree/disagree	**		**		**		**	
Neither	*		*		*			
agree								
Model 3a: Not motivated by instrumental (AIC 30)	*			*				
Model 3b: Not motivated by identity (AIC30)	**	*			**			
Model 3c: Ideology (AIC29)		***						***
Total sig variables	13	7	10	7	11	7	11	8

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