

MEMBERSHIP IN POLITICAL GROUPS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES

THESIS PROJECT (December 1998) English not revised

Laura Morales Diez de Ulzurrun

INSTITUTO JUAN MARCH

I. DEMOCRACY, POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND MEMBERSHIP IN POLITICAL GROUPS

The study of political participation has traditionally been considered as central to the analysis of political processes and, especially, of democratic political systems. Even if citizens' participation in their self-government is the defining feature of democratic systems, there are several and differing understandings of which should be the real degree of citizens' involvement in government. Thus, there is no consensus around which is the most adequate level of citizen participation in the government of the polity for a good functioning of democracy (Schumpeter, 1943; Lipset, 1981; Almond and Verba 1989; Held, 1992; Dalton, 1996). In the more participative visions of democratic government, participation through associations and groups is considered fundamental for the maintenance of a strong democracy (Pateman, 1970), especially at the local level. Participation in groups and associations was considered by Tocqueville as the most characteristic feature of a developed democracy and the reason of its good working in America, as well as a basic element in all democratic system¹.

The relationship between participation in groups and associations and the political process is not limited to those aspects just mentioned, but it extends to an attitudinal and behavioural face that has traditionally been studied by the empirical Political Science. The importance of membership in groups and associations –especially those politically oriented– in influencing the attitudes and behaviours of individuals was pointed out by Almond and Verba (1989: 262):

“Democracy depends upon citizen participation, and it is clear that organisational membership is directly related to such participation. The organisational member is likely to be a self-confident citizen as well as an active one. [...] Membership in a politically oriented organisation appears to lead to greater political competence than does membership in a nonpolitical organisation (...)”.

Therefore, even if the study of political participation must be conceived in more general terms, there are good reasons to analyse separately membership of political groups as a specific mode of political participation. As Huntington and Nelson (1976: 14) highlighted, the concept of political

¹ “There is no country where associations are more necessary for preventing the despotism of parties or the arbitrariness of the prince, than that whose social state is democratic” (Tocqueville, 1980: Book I, p.180. My translation). “In democratic countries, the science of association is fundamental; the progress of all the rest depend on its progress. [...] For men to keep their civilization, or to acquire it, it is necessary that the associative practice is developed and perfected in the same proportion than equity in social conditions increases” (Tocqueville, 1980: Book II, p. 99. My translation).

participation is an umbrella term for a set of activities and behaviours that, even if related, show different causes and consequences. Among these activities and behaviours, membership of groups with political goals constitutes in itself a form of political participation that merits separate analysis for different reasons.

First, no matter how relevant sporadic participation might be, political participation is frequently organisationally structured, even direct political action, and therefore the analysis of political membership is crucial for understanding political participation. Its importance derives primarily from the continuity that the organisation of political activities imply, as well as from the fact that organisations shape citizens' roles in the political sphere. As Wilson (1995: 7) put it, "passions can be aroused and for the moment directed; they cannot be sustained. Organisation provides continuity and predictability to social processes that would otherwise be episodic and uncertain. [...] Organisations generally are important as sources of rather precisely defined roles". Moreover, it is mainly through organised groups or associations that ordinary citizens are in contact with the political system, to the extent that, as Rosenstone and Hansen (1993: 126) show, decreasing public involvement in voluntary associations is strongly related to decreasing participation in governmental politics, since it means the weakening of an important link in the process by which citizens are moved to participate in government. Thus, the study of membership of political groups is not only interesting in itself as a phenomenon of political behaviour, but also to the extent that it has influence on other political behaviours and attitudes and it is crucial for the understanding of other processes of political participation.

Secondly, membership of political groups is important for unravelling other political processes related to the government of democratic societies. More concretely, organised mobilisation –as well as that not organised- has as its aim to influence in the decisions of the political community, and as Schattschneider (1960) pointed out, mobilisation is always the mobilisation of bias in favour of the interests and views of the groups mobilised. Furthermore, several studies (Milbrath, 1965; Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978; Verba, Scholzman and Brady, 1995; Dalton, 1996) have shown that political participation is not homogeneously distributed among social groups; that is, there are clear participatory inequalities. Social differences such as the gender, the age, the social class, the educational skills or the race, are transformed –depending on the context- in differences in terms of social and economic resources, which favour or hinder access to the public sphere. Clearly, organised participation in political groups are no exception in this sense. The fact that the different social groups participate differently in political associations leads to an increase of the power gap which already exists among social categories. Leaving aside the success that political organisations and associations may have in pushing for their goals and demands, the sole fact of participating in the decision-making

process increases their potential influence. In democratic systems it is not only the distribution of preferences that exerts and influence over the decisions adopted, the intensity of such preferences does also matter; and the intensity of preferences are mostly known only when they are publicly expressed. Hence, understanding who, how and why joins political groups which, in one way or another, mobilise to exert influence, helps to get a better understanding of our political systems (Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992). However, it is also relevant to know which are the groups citizens join. Many are the interests and causes that may be publicly supported, but not all of them receive the same support, and the level of citizen participation in them varies significantly across countries and across time. Therefore, it is interesting to search for the factors that may explain the differential support to several types of political groups.

Finally, the importance of membership and participation in groups and associations has been emphasised recently in studies like Putnam's (1994) relating participation in associations to the production of social capital and institutional efficacy. The field of work which follows Putnam considers that some associations and social structures may generate civic commitment and promote effective democracies, both due to the structural resources they display and the values and attitudes they promote in their interaction. Although Putnam makes no explicit reference to groups and organisations with political goals, it seems not risky to assume that many of these groups would also contribute to the generation of such resources, values and attitudes. Besides, it is not clear which are the causes that might explain the different levels of membership and participation in groups and associations, in spite of Putnam's own efforts (1995a; 1995b)².

In summary, the study of membership of political groups and organisations contributes both to answer theoretical questions about political behaviours and processes, and to clarify the factors that may explain certain political phenomena of clear relevance for contemporary societies. The topic which will be object of study in this thesis, thus, represents a cross-way of several scholarly traditions of political analysis: the normative theory of democracy, the empirical political science and political sociology, and the deductive approaches to politics. Knowing which are the factors that favour or hinder citizen participation in public decisions –besides contributing to the empirical knowledge of certain social and political processes- enables to establish normative guides of future action (in case of willing to do so) in order to promote such participation. On the other hand, this study will take into

² The explanations put forward by Putnam in relation to the decrease in levels of associational life in the U. S. are rather unsatisfactory. Even allowing for the existence of an inverse correlation between the number of hours dedicated to watch TV and participation in associations, it is meaningless to argue that the reason why americans participate less in associations is because they prefer to dedicate their time to watching TV. Rather, it seems that, given that associational life has decreased, they have more time available for television, and the reason for a lower level of participation in associations should be sought in other factors.

account some of the conclusions and developments of the deductive approaches to collective action, and will try to contribute to this theoretical debate pointing to its usefulness and limitations. Hence, this research is within a consolidated area of sociological and political interest.

However, the analysis of membership in political groups as a separate type of political participation has not been carried out until now in a systematic fashion. In fact, it was not until recent dates that exhaustive questions about membership in groups were included in surveys of political participation. Previously, questions existed about membership in political parties and trade unions. There are, moreover, non-exhaustive studies about membership in voluntary associations in general, but without making distinctions between different types of groups and associations (Curtis, Grabb and Baer, 1993). More recently Dekker, Koopmans and van den Broek (1997) and Wessels (1997) have shown interest in political groups, but their approach to the topic remains superficial because it is not their intention to make an intensive analysis to this phenomenon. Finally, we can find an endless number of works on membership and activism in specific groups (concretely political parties and trade unions), but these do not include general elaborations on membership, thus limiting their conclusions to the specific groups which they study.

II. GOALS OF THE RESEARCH

The general question that gives structure to the whole research of the thesis is the following: which factors explain membership in political groups? However, this question may be developed in several ways, and here it will be treated paying attention to the individual level as well as to the aggregate patterns that exist in the different Western countries.

Thus, a first goal of the research is to analyse the factors that have an impact on individual decisions of membership in political groups, trying to answer the following two questions: which factors may account for the fact that some individuals join political groups and others do not? And, among those individuals that belong to political groups, which elements help to understand what type of groups do they join?, why do some persons join traditional political groups while others join new types of political groups?³ In summary, one of the tasks is to consider these individual political behaviours as one of the aspects that should be explained. Nevertheless, membership of political groups is not a behaviour homogeneously distributed in time and space (see appendix); that is, there are important variations in the levels of membership of political groups (and of the different types of groups) across countries and across time. We are facing different patterns at the aggregate level which

³ Below I define what is understood by traditional and new types of political groups.

merit an explanation, and this is a second goal of this research. It is possible (and desirable) that the factors which account for membership at the individual level could also account for the different aggregate patterns; but this need not be so, and different analytical strategies will be pursued in order to study the aggregate patterns from different perspectives⁴. Hence, the development of the research will always take into account two levels of analysis which are intimately connected: although the main interest of this research is to explain the existing differences in the levels of membership in political groups across Western countries, it is not possible to forget that what is being explained are not national features⁵ but aggregate results of individual behaviours. That is, all explanation of the variations observed among countries must be accompanied of an explanatory mechanism at the individual level. Some times this mechanism may be also measured at the individual level, others, the measurement will necessarily be at the aggregate level, but the theoretical argument will have to offer the connection between what is measured and individual behaviour. In fact, as will be seen further, it is possible to combine methodological individualism with an explanatory emphasis on non-individual factors.

Finally, another goal of the research is to develop a better understanding of the processes and conditions which lead to a certain aggregate pattern of membership of political groups, allowing for the possibility that different combinations of factors may lead to the same results and vice versa; that is, exploring the possibility of multiple causality in the explanation of these patterns of individual behaviour. As Ragin (1987) has pointed out, the studies based on statistical techniques are founded on a multiplicity of simplifying assumptions of the possible causal relations present in the real world. One of these assumptions is that of additive causality, which means that the effect of each variable is analysed independent of the effect and value of the rest⁶. Thus, it seems useful to confront the results of the quantitative analysis with a more qualitative study, in order to unravel causal relationships which are more complex in reality than what statistical methods assume. There is one more reason to incorporate this complementary analysis: the probabilistic conception of causality in which statistical methods are grounded implies that what can be known are general patterns and average phenomena, which may not necessarily apply to all cases analysed. In this sense, it is possible to obtain several cases that do not adjust well to the model resulting from the statistical analysis without this fact invalidating it; so there may be phenomena which remain unexplained if a separate analysis is not carried out. In accordance, it

⁴ This will be developed later when dealing with the research design and the methodology.

⁵ As certain features of the political system could be: the type of constitution (written or unwritten), the type of political regime (presidential or parliamentary), the degree of fragmentation of the party system, etc.

⁶ Although it is technically possible to introduce interactions in quantitative techniques, this cannot systematically be done with all logically conceivable interactions.

is of special interest to explain in a non quantitative fashion the processes that are behind the most extreme results: those patterns of higher and lower levels of membership of political groups.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Two main approaches to the phenomenon of political participation dominate in the literature on political behaviour: one which centres the explanation in individual features, and another which focuses on factors external to the individual⁷. The approach paying attention to individual features follows the line of research proposed by Verba and Nie (1972) and is rooted in the tradition which gives more importance to socio-economic resources when explaining political participation (Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978; Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992; Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995). This approach emphasises the social attributes and the political skills of the individuals who tend to participate. It is considered that the factors which help most to understand which individuals participate in political activities are those related to their social features, their family and social milieu, their attitudes, etc. All these factors constitute political resources which facilitate or prevent political participation from different types of individuals, and they determine the degree of political equality or inequality of a society. Hence, why some people participate more than others is explained through the personal attributes and circumstances of individuals.

On the other pole we find the approaches which stress the factors external to the individual that have an impact on her final decision to participate. These were originally developed in rational choice interpretations of political participation and political membership: given the small likelihood of being able to influence outcomes through one's participation, and that benefits are collective while costs are individual, the rational calculus of costs and benefits would derive in non-participation (Downs, 1957). Thus, participation in and membership of organisations would be a paradox whenever selective incentives are not provided for participants, there is no coercion for participation, or the group size is such that it does not permit social pressure in favour of co-operation being effective (Olson, 1992). So

⁷ Whitely and Seyd (1996) conceive these two approaches in terms of the existence of a market of participation, considering individuals to be the demand and groups or institutions, the supply. However, I consider this metaphor to be problematic for the analysis of political participation. First, it is not clear that the exchanges which take place give origin to a sole market, given that several types of contributions are demanded and supplied. Participants may contribute with money, work, presence, or all of them simultaneously; demanders may give in exchange identity, money, power, moral rewards, recognition, etc. In sum, it is not possible to analyze participation in terms of an only market to the extent that the exchange is not taking place around a sole exchange value, and multiple markets can be identified, thus reducing the analytical usefulness of the metaphor. Secondly, it is rather arbitrary to assign one side or the other the role of demand and supply: if we consider as the object of exchange not participation but certain public goods or services, then individuals would form part of the demand, and groups and institutions would be the suppliers (see Jordan and Maloney, 1997: 77). This degree of arbitrariness in the assignment of who makes part of the supply and who is the demand-side, reinforces the first objection: it is not possible to conceive a sole market of participation.

people would finally join those groups who have managed to organise themselves in a way that they can also provide material rewards to their members in addition to pursuing the public good.

These first rational choice theories of political behaviour and political participation have been extensively criticised on the grounds that they cannot account for reality: people do participate. However this type of critique is insufficient, since these rational choice theories do not always predict non-participation, they only do so in the absence of selective incentives, when the size of the group is large, and when coercion is absent. What should be tested, therefore, is whether people participate in the absence of selective incentives, and if so, why.

Research results seem to confirm, on the one hand, that there are plenty of groups which are not able to offer attractive selective rewards –especially those whose goal is a pure public good–, and on the other hand, that joiners and leaders do not consider material selective rewards as the main factor behind the decision to join (Hansen, 1985; King and Walker, 1992; Schlozman, Verba and Brady, 1995). Thus, even if unmodified rational choice approaches to political behaviour may clarify reality and offer a useful heuristic device (Udéhn, 1993), they are not sufficient to give a correct account of all the causal relations.

Even if both individual attributes and rationality must be taken into account when analysing organisational membership, other factors external to the individual seem to be of relevance. In this sense, contextual factors and the mobilisation strategies used by organisations appear crucial for the explanation of political participation (Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993)⁸. The introduction of context factors in the analysis of political participation was initiated with the consideration of the importance of institutional factors in explaining electoral participation (Zipp y Smith, 1979; Oppenhuis, 1995; Franklin, 1996; Franklin, van der Eijk, and Oppenhuis, 1996), and it is still with respect to abstention where a greater development and a more systematic analysis of the effects of contextual variables over individual participation is evident (Oppenhuis, 1995; Anduiza, 1997). In relation to other types of political participation, while some scholars have expressed the importance that context has for explaining political behaviour (Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Kaase, 1989)⁹, few have been the studies which analyse in detail the effects of specific variables on empirical results. A first empirical contribution was the consideration of issues as catalysts of participation (Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992), to the extent that they enabled to understand when and how did people decide to participate in

⁸ Although in recent years more attention is being paid to contextual factors and to opportunities to participate, the idea that individuals participate to the extent that they are provided with opportunities to do so is not new. A first development of it can be found in J. S. Mill (1972).

⁹ The pieces of Barnes and Kaase (1979), and Kaase (1989) do not employ direct indicators of contextual factors and they just hypothesize their importance when explaining the phenomena which they consider: basically protest, but they also distinguish between conventional and non-conventional political action.

political activities. The work by Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) extended the elements included in the context that surrounds individuals to incorporate in the explanation of conventional participation – along with issues- the mobilisation carried out by political actors, and the opportunities available to people to participate (mediated by their social network¹⁰). The results of this study show the enormous importance of contextual factors for the understanding of which individuals participate in the different political activities, and when do they participate. Another approach that pays attention to contextual factors in the explanation of participation has been developed in the study field of social movements. The study of political opportunities structure (POS) and of resource mobilisation are key for the explanation of the emergence, development and success (or failure) of social movements (Tarrow, 1994; Kriesi, 1989; Kitschelt, 1986; Koopmans, 1995; Kriesi et al., 1995; Kriesi, 1988; McAdam, 1986; Della Porta and Rucht, 1995; Rucht, 1996). The interest, for this research, of these approaches relies in the fact that these contextual factors are not only applied to explain the success of social movements in achieving the acceptance of their demands by governments, but also to understand different levels of citizen participation in such movements (McAdam, 1988; Schmitt, 1989; Dekker, Koopmans, Van den Broek, 1997; Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; Oegema and Klandermans, 1994; Klandermans, 1997; Koopmans, 1996; Kriesi and Van Praag, 1987; Schmitt, 1989). These works stress the role played by the mobilising efforts made by social movements as well as the influence on mobilisation by traditional political organisations, and at the same time they point out the importance of the configuration of political opportunities and of the political system in making sense of the strategies of mobilisation.

Thus, in the view of the specialised literature, the study of political participation –and more concretely, of membership of political groups- should take into consideration both the elements that would form part of individual characteristics –the political and social resources of individuals- and those factors which are external to the individual –incentives to participation, the POS, and the mobilisation of political actors. Hence, in this research personal factors as well as contextual ones will be considered in order to explain membership of political groups, trying to establish the relative weight of each one in determining the behaviours under study. As has been mentioned above, this type of analysis is still undone in relation to membership in political groups. No research has been published, up to now, that tests empirically which is the contribution of both individual and contextual factors in the explanation of membership in political groups. More concretely, the influence of certain phenomena –such as the mobilisation of political actors- on political membership has not been explored

¹⁰ The importance of social and political networks to understand individual participation has been established by many studies (Huckfeldt, 1979; Granovetter, 1983; Huckfeldt, 1986; Leighley, 1990; Gould, 1993; Opp and Gern, 1993; Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; Granovetter, 1983; Knoke, 1990).

empirically in a comparative fashion. Besides, the special attention that will be paid to the understanding of the differences existing among Western countries contributes to the greater interest of the conclusions of this research, to the extent that its results will aim to make generalisations about causal relations. Finally, even if this research resembles others that have been developed in the area of electoral participation (Oppenhuis, 1995; Anduiza, 1997), the work presented here takes into consideration contextual factors that are not only institutional, and their indicators will have to be partly elaborated in the process of research, thus contributing to a greater knowledge of these same factors.

IV. DEFINITIONS AND CONCEPTS

In this section I will try to define some of the main concepts and categories that I will use in this paper.

1. Political Participation and Political Organisations

In this case I will use a slightly modified version of the classical definition of political participation offered by Verba, Nie and Kim (1978, p.1) which they partly extract from Milbrath (1965): *the acts by private citizens¹¹ that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel, the actions that they take, introducing issues into the agenda, and/or changing values or preferences directly linked with political decision-making*. First, only actions and not attitudes or other cognitive behaviours are considered as political participation, the former being considered part of political psychological involvement –political interest, discussion and information- (Verba and Nie, 1972; Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992). In my use of the definition by Verba, Nie and Kim, I am explicitly eliminating the criteria that these acts must be legal, since that would exclude some of the forms of unconventional participation that have been incorporated into the repertoire of political action of Western citizens; nevertheless, excluded from this analysis are extremely violent actions and the groups involved in them (terrorism, kidnapping, guerrilla groups, etc). On the contrary, I am including as political participation those actions oriented to include issues on the political agenda and to changing values or preferences, thus making it possible to consider as political participation

¹¹ When speaking of private citizens I am referring to the exclusion of governmental agents and officials which influence on public decisions due to their position within the bureaucratic or governmental apparatus. However, I do not consider adequate the exclusion made by Huntington and Nelson (1976: 5) of the activities of political parties officials, candidates or professional lobbyists, with the aim of distinguishing between professional politicians and participants. Following the same example they offer to reject the adequacy of a distinction between voluntary participation and mobilised participation –it would make no sense to argue that a conscripted soldier does not participate in the war while a voluntary one does- I would add that it does not seem very reasonable to argue that the general which guides them is not participating in the war just because he is a professional officer.

other activities that do not aim at exerting influence on the selection of governmental personnel, but which do attempt to redefine what should be considered of public concern, and thus, a political matter.

Since the main object of analysis is not political participation in general terms but political participation in political organisations –political membership-, a definition is needed of what these organisations are and which are the criteria that will enable us to distinguish them from other social organisations¹². In accordance with the definition of political participation given above, I will consider political associations¹³ as those organised groups of citizens which pursue collective goods –be they pure public goods or other collective goods- and which have as their main goal to attempt to influence political decision-making processes, either by trying to influence in the selection of governmental personnel or their activities, including issues in the agenda, or aiming at changing that values and preferences which guide the decision-making process.

In order to be able to distinguish them from social movements or citizen mobilisations, such groups must show some degree of formal interaction between the citizens involved in them, even if only in a loose way. That is, here I am considering organised groups and associations, although their degree of organisational formalisation may vary across them.

2. Membership of political organisations

Membership of political organisations is one type of political participation, regardless of the level of activism and commitment that the membership of a political group may entail for each individual (Verba y Nie, 1972; Huntington y Nelson, 1976) (Verba y Nie, 1972; Huntington y Nelson, 1976). Even if someone belongs to an association with no other involvement than contributing economically when required, this must be considered –and it is considered in the literature- as a form of political participation. The money destined to the association has the purpose to contribute to its activities, and hence, is intended to influence the political process.

It is important to discuss briefly the different concepts that may be used when referring to political participation channelled through organisations. Without being exhaustive, I will present the problems and advantages of each of these concepts and I will reason the option for the concept of membership. In the literature on political participation we can find several terms which refer to engagement in groups, organisations, and associations: militancy, activism, affiliation, membership and belonging. It should be pointed that the mere presentation done of the terms denotes a certain scale with

¹² Van Deth (1997) does also make this distinction between social and political organisations, attending to their main goals, but not relating it to a certain concept of political participation.

¹³ I will use interchangeably political associations and political organisations, but this should not lead the reader to think that in the latter I include the state or other governmental apparatus.

respect to the degree of active participation in the group. However, this is not clearly so, given that the meaning which can be given to each of these concepts may vary depending on the academic tradition in which it is placed. Thus, the concept of militancy is used in a somewhat different fashion in the Anglo-Saxon and French traditions; whereas in the former it is rarely used to design the most dedicated activists of political parties and trade unions, its use in French sociology and political science includes the activists of all types of groups and associations oriented to the political sphere¹⁴. In any case, it seems that a certain common understanding exists around the use of the concept of militancy mainly for designing the most dedicated individuals who exert an active role within the group, as it was once indicated by Duverger (1965). Besides, the most common use reserves the concept of militant for the activists of parties and trade unions. Duverger did also highlight the intrinsic difficulty in counting the number of militants of a certain organisation, not only due to the impossibility to keep a census of these, but also because of the complexity of establishing objective criteria to classify different types of members. Something similar happens with the concept of activist: although its use is common to individuals in all type of groups which defend a cause, its quantification and operationalisation are also complex. In summary, both terms –activism and militancy- make reference to two specific types of political participation through groups and organisations, and even if they could be treated in this research, they are not the main object of study. As said above, it is not necessary to display a considerable level of activity within a group or association in order to consider the act of adhesion as an act of political participation. The mere economic contribution, or the simple act of adhering imply the support through actions of an organisation with the aim to influence on the political process. Hence, the concepts of affiliation, membership, and belonging would define in a better way what is to be studied here. The term affiliation implies, nevertheless, a formal procedure of incorporation to the group, and this requirement would be unnecessarily restrictive for many political groups whose organisation is scarcely formalised. Thus, the concept that better fits the object of study of this research is that of membership. The concept of belonging, being similar, poses a problem of distinction between the act of belonging and the feeling of belonging, given that it does not make explicit which one it refers to. As mentioned before, cognitive aspects are not included in the definition of participation used in this research, and only activities of a certain type are going to be studied. In this sense, it is preferred the concept of membership to the concept of belonging for the greater clarity with which it defines the type of behaviour that is analysed in the thesis proposed.

One further operational problem –different from the one of definition- derives from the isolation of members and the need to distinguish members from non-members. Membership definitions and the

¹⁴ A good summary of the concept of militancy in the specialized French literature can be found in Subileau (1981), and Jardin (1994).

requirements that individuals should fulfil to be considered as members vary from organisation to organisation, so it is impossible to offer a single operational definition of political membership. Membership can be related both to a committed and active engagement in the group, or it may imply a loose relation to the group limited to economic contributions from time to time. Nevertheless, these two opposite cases can both be found in “new” and “traditional” political organisations, and should not pose special problems for the analysis proposed in these pages. More important than the heterogeneity of the level of activism of members of political groups is the difficulties of measuring membership itself, given the low reliability of the figures offered by the groups themselves (when they do exist). This can be solved in practice turning to the figures of self-declared membership which exist in surveys. However, this solution is not free of problems and limitations, since the analyst is in the hands of the designers of the survey and the way in which questions have been formulated, what frequently leads to gaps between theoretical definitions and operational ones. Thus, the cross-national surveys which are available currently, and which include questions about membership in different types of groups have the disadvantage of having posed the question of membership in terms of belonging. In spite of it, I consider this to be a minor problem, given that the bias which this formula may introduce into responses is always in the same direction: it tends to over-represent the number of individuals who are members of groups. This type of bias is, in a way, possible to be controlled if the figures given by the groups themselves are used as an indicator to estimate the degree of over-representation in each group and country. Clearly this solution is only partial, because in many cases these figures do not exist. Hence, the research will always have to count on the existence of a certain error of measurement that in some cases will be known, and in others will not.

3. “Traditional” and “new” political organisations

As indicated above, one of the main goals of this research is to investigate the factors that may explain why individuals that join political groups join certain ones and not others; that is, which factors have influence on the selection of groups that political members have made. Here, special attention will be given to the distinction between traditional and new types of groups, which has already been applied in other researches related to membership of political groups (Wessels, 1997; Dekker, Koopmans and Van den Broek, 1997).

Much has been written on the nature of the features that differentiate “old” and “new” politics, especially comparing parties and social movements. Among those features the following would be more prominent: ideology and values, libertarian vs. distributive (Dalton, Küchler y Bürklin, 1992); the logic of participation, expressive vs. instrumental (Pizzorno, 1981); the organisational structure, decentralised and participative vs. centralised and hierarchical (Rucht, 1992; Kitschelt, 1992); and the

forms of action, protest vs. institutionalised ones (Offe, 1988; Dalton, Küchler y Bürklin, 1992). However, I think that the characteristics proposed in the specialised literature are not very useful for establishing a criteria that should enable to classify specific organisations and groups in the categories of “new” or “traditional”. Some of them are even questioned by scholars of new social movements. Rucht (1992) rejects the validity of the argument that the distinction of new and traditional organisations is based on their different logic of action (expressive vs. instrumental). He considers that normally both logic are present in all new social movements, even if one of them may prevail in a certain period. In fact, he shows how most of new social movements (students, New Left, women, antinuclear, ecologist, alternative and peace movement) are either ambivalent or power-oriented (instrumental) in the logic of action they follow. We find a similar problem when considering organisational structure as the distinctive feature. Even if it must be admitted that, in general terms, new politics is correlated with loose organisation, decentralisation and participatory democracy within groups, this is not always the case. Some organisations that undoubtedly should be placed in the “new politics” group show hierarchical forms of organisation (e.g. Greenpeace) and some political parties are implementing this type of organisational format (Green Parties and Left Libertarian Parties). And the same argument is valid in relation to the forms of action: although new politics is closely related to protest politics, unconventional political participation is neither exclusive to new organisations nor the only repertoire of action that they follow. Therefore, most of the differentiating features between “old” and “new” politics that have been highlighted in the literature on new social movements are not so straightforward as many of them are shared by both types of politics and groups.

So, what are the appropriate criteria for differentiating between one type of organisation and the other? I think that this should be what I term the *political style of defending demands*, which both conceptually and analytically is not the same as either the logic of action nor the forms of action mentioned above. My contention is that new political organisations are characterised by a non-representative way of pressing for the success of their demands while traditional political organisations (political parties, trade unions and interest groups) are the political actors *par excellence* for representing interests and demands. “Traditional” political associations are directly involved in electoral politics and are in charge of the recruitment and selection of candidates, thus, playing a fundamental role in representative politics. In addition, one of the main political goals of traditional political organisations is to win representative power in the polity. Political organisations of the “new” type do not view themselves as intermediate organisations and they do not seek to play such a role in political institutions¹⁵: representation is not the aim of those organisations. There is no representative

¹⁵ This does not mean that they may not participate in institutional bodies, but when they do so they are not in those seats as representatives of a group of people but as some kind of “advisors”.

link between these groups and specific sectors of the population, whether formal or self-claimed. Moreover, representation of a definable sector of the population implies bargaining with the representatives of other sectors, and the demands of these “new” groups are non-negotiable (Offe, 1988). In this sense, the political style of defending demands that I propose as a criterion for distinguishing between traditional and new types of political organisations is intimately connected with the ideological orientation aspect pointed out by Dalton, Küchler and Bürklin (1992), since the ideology of those groups is one of the main determinants of the way in which they view their own role in the political realm and in society. But what matters here is not only how they view themselves or their intentions or discourse, what should be considered is the dynamic through which new and traditional political organisations press for their demands. The reason for the different dynamic is not so much connected to the type of interests or demands defended by traditional and new organisations, but to the representation agency in which the former are involved and the latter are not. Being an agent of interest or demand “representation” automatically introduces a political organisation into a dynamic of competition with the other representation agents (or the potential representation agents) for the agency itself. This is not the case for new political organisations, which is not to deny that there is competition among them, rather that this competition is on other grounds. Political organisations of the “new” type do compete for social and human resources, for patronage, for financial support, for media coverage, and, to a certain degree, for political opportunities (Jordan and Maloney, 1997). These organisations need financial and human resources for their organisational survival, as well as to have relative success in acting as spokesmen of the demands they pursue in face of both the decision-making bodies and the public as a whole. For this purpose they need a certain degree of legitimacy and credibility, and on these grounds these organisations do compete among themselves. However, they do not compete for the agency of representation nor one of their main goals as organisational structures is to obtain good results in the competition for representation.

V. THE MODEL

In the following pages the model of explanation that will be tested in this research is explained, justifying the theoretical reasons which guide the emphasis put on certain factors of explanation versus many other possible ones, and offering the indicators upon which the empirical research will be developed. Finally, the general and work hypotheses that guide the research are presented.

1. Variables and indicators

Membership of political groups

As expressed in the goals of the research, there are several questions to be answered in this dissertation: one related to the participation in political groups in more general terms, the other related to the type of political groups –new vs. traditional- to which members belong. Thus, two are the variables to be explained, although their operationalisation will be done in different ways. Given that the source from which the dependent variable is constructed are mass surveys, the aim is to maximise the analytical possibilities that the questions on membership available in each moment enable.¹⁶ Thus, the dependent variable will be operationalised in different ways in order to get the greater information possible. The question on organisational membership consists in giving the interviewee a list of groups and associations over which she has to express whether she is or not a member, and sometimes also whether she gives unpaid time for working for the group. This enables the researcher to select among the list of groups and construct categorical variables which indicate whether the respondent belongs or not to any political group, if she belongs or not to a political group of the traditional type, or to a new type of political group, to both, none, etc. As it may be deduced, the type of data allows for different types of analysis, that will be undertaken depending on the interpretative convenience and the technical restrictions that may be found. The same analytical possibilities exist with respect to active membership (unpaid working time), nevertheless, its use will be mainly with illustrative purposes, given that the number of cases implied in this type of activity is much lower.

The model presented below (see graph) aims to explain the different patterns of political membership in Western countries, and tries to identify which factors exert an influence over the individual behaviour under consideration.¹⁷ Two groups of factors are considered to influence individual choices, and hence over the existence of important differences of levels of membership among countries: variables defining the **political context** and variables defining **individual features**. In this research it is considered that the core explanatory elements lie at the non-individual level, that is, the “macro” features of the political context would account for the cross-country patterns of political membership, since they could account for the fact that some people join political groups and others do not, and why they join certain groups and not others. In turn, the variables grouped under the heading

¹⁶ Below I will comment on the surveys that will be used, and on the strategies to adopt with the data.

¹⁷ It is reasonable to ask why the same factors are used to explain both membership of political groups and the type of groups individuals join. I consider that, in general terms, the three groups of factors of the political context (openness, mobilisation, and issues) are useful for understanding both phenomena. Besides, the variable indicating to which type of groups the respondent is a member (new vs. traditional) is a subdivision of the general variable of political membership (yes or no), and it would be somewhat fictitious to consider them different phenomena.

of the personal context are considered to be relevant in order to understand who are the individuals who join political groups, and which are the personal features that might influence their decisions to join one or another type of political organisation. However, it is likely that this group of factors –even if they could be important for knowing the resources which lead to participation inequalities both within and across countries- will not be very significant for the explanation of cross-national differences in the patterns of political membership or changes over time. But this is something to be empirically tested with the research.

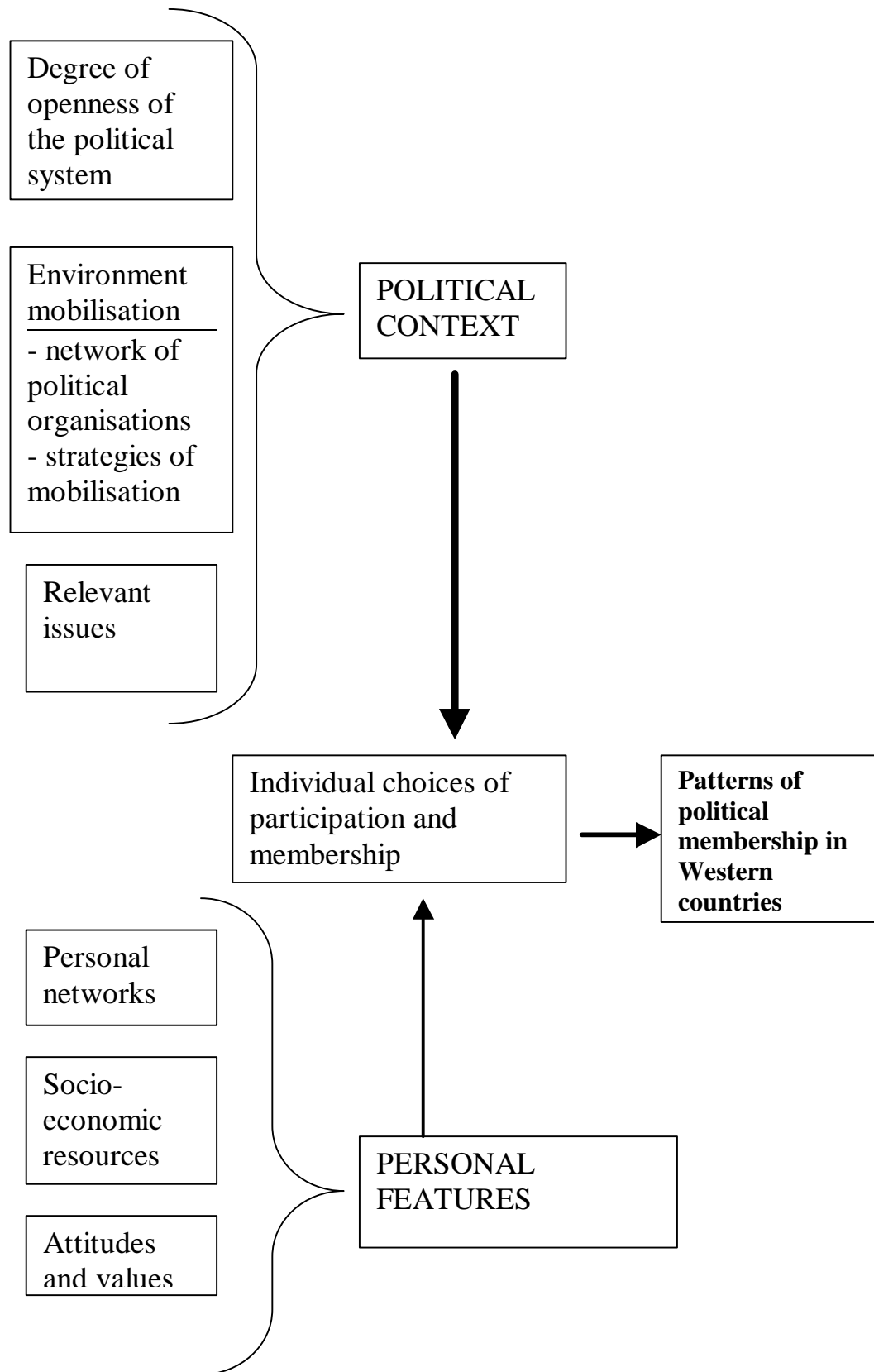
The political context

The factors which form part of the political context and which may influence individual decisions of joining groups are the following: the *openness of the political system*, the *environment of mobilisation*, and the relevant *issues* of that society.

The *openness of the political system* may influence the decisions of joining of individuals in several ways (Kriesi et al., 1995; Dekker, Koopmans and Van den Broek, 1997; Kriesi and Van Praag, 1987; Klandermans, 1997; Kitschelt, 1989). First, the degree of openness of the political system is a powerful incentive (or disincentive) for collective action in general, and for group membership more concretely. It has an impact on the development of new demands: the greater the openness of the political system to new demands, the greater their legitimacy and following in the population. Secondly, a greater openness of the political system to those demands will increase the efficacy of new actors in achieving their goals, and will increase the expected benefits from collective action.¹⁸ If the political system responds with ease to the requirements of citizens and of the groups which they form with the goal of fulfilling their political demands, citizens will consider participation in these groups as useful means for obtaining their goals. Finally, a political system open to new demands favours the participation of new actors in the decision-making process and, thus, increases the possibilities of influencing outcomes for the members of those groups while increasing their resources. The availability of resources and of direct channels of influence in the decision-making process is an important selective incentive for collective action (in this case, for membership).

However, the openness of the political system is a multidimensional phenomenon, since a single political system can be open in certain aspects and closed in others. Hence, it is necessary to specify the different elements which point to this multi-dimensionality.

¹⁸ I will not discuss here the consequences of the logic of collective action, nor the problem of the free-rider. It is considered that, *caeteris paribus*, a greater openness of the political system increases the expected benefit from collective action, and thus, the likelihood of joining it.



1. The points of access of the political system: a core aspect is the accessibility to the places of political decision-making, and the number of these. The existence of greater possibilities of influence in the process of decision-making is an incentive to participation through organised and institutionalised channels. Thus, three indicators of this aspect of the openness of the political system may be pointed out as influencing citizens' participation

Indicator Openness 1a The degree of political decentralisation at the local and regional level (operationalisation pending). This aspect was already highlighted by Tocqueville (1980) as one of the determinants of the level of association participation in America. More recently, it is considered to influence different types of citizen mobilisation (Mabileau, Moyser, Parry y Quantin, 1987; Kriesi, 1992).

Indicator Openness 1b The existence or not, and the functions assigned to citizen councils or committees in the process of decision-making. This indicator may be elaborated from secondary sources (Navarro, 1997; Oldersma, 1997; Lelieveldt, 1997).

Indicator Openness 1c The existences of ways of access to the decision-making system alternative to governmental channels. It can be constructed as an additive index that identifies whether the country has institutions such as the referendum by popular initiative, popular legislative initiatives, and/or the possibility to appeal to a constitutional court against governmental decisions.

Once these three indicators have been elaborated, it can be tested if the loss of information is not too huge when aggregating them in a single indicator of the points of access to the system, in order to make the analysis easier.

2. The fragmentation of the governing elites: the greater it is fragmented, the greater the possibilities for external actors to establish alliances with parts of these political elites (Kriesi, 1996; Rucht, 1996). On the other hand, fragmentation implies a greater weakness and flexibility with citizen demands, thus favouring the success of the groups and organisations which press for their goals, and increasing the expected benefits from action. Two are the indicators that enable to grasp this aspect

Indicator Openness 2a The degree of parliamentary fragmentation of the party system. There are several indicators already elaborated (Taagepera and Shugart, 1989; Lijphart, 1994).

Indicator Openness 2b The existence of a coalition government. As pointed before, this type of governments tend to be weaker and more open to citizen demands (Koopmans and

Rucht, 1995). The information necessary is in handbooks such as Lane, McKay and Newton's (1997).

A final dimension of the degree of openness of the political system is

3. The level of public resources destined to citizen groups which do not cater social services: it is important to distinguish between the economic support to what has been called the third sector – which may be a way to tender out the development of social and welfare services, through the financing of these activities to voluntary associations- and the economic support of other associations and citizen groups which do not give a direct social service. Thus the indicator would be

Indicator Openness 3a	The proportion over the public budget directed to pay the different activities of the various political groups. This indicator would have to be constructed from information of secondary sources.
-----------------------	--

With the aim of not overcharging the statistical analysis, it will be necessary to establish first which of these indicators show significant bivariate relationships with the phenomenon of political membership, in order to later include in the analysis with other contextual and individual factors only those which are clearly relevant.

The *environment of mobilisation* is related to the organisational aspects of the whole spectrum of political associations and to their levels of mobilisation. It is considered that one of the factors that can most influence on individuals' political participation is the level of mobilisation of political actors. There are many qualitative studies which stress the role of recruitment tasks in determining the final decision to join a group. All political organisations make greater or lesser efforts to recruit new members, and some groups make of this task one of their main organisational dedications (Harasse, 1996; Jordan and Maloney, 1997; Johnson, 1998). The institutional context and the distribution of costs and benefits derived from the search of new members, enable to understand why some groups try harder than others to find new supporters. The aim of introducing this factor of mobilisation in this research is to grasp these mobilisatory efforts and other aspects of the mobilisation process. Therefore, the level of mobilisation of political groups is important in several ways: a first element of relevance of mobilisation is related to the intentional aspect of recruitment; however, a second element is connected with the visibility of these groups. If political groups do not mobilise in contexts close to citizens, the former become remote actors detached from the latters' lives and daily activities. Citizens will neither have many reasons to join them, since their activities are unknown to them and they will see no usefulness or necessity in so doing. In summary, the mobilisation of groups matters when trying to understand the disposition of individuals to join groups. It matters because citizens do join groups –to a

greater or lesser extent- when they are asked to do so (Pollock, 1982; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Kriesi, 1988; Klandermans and Oegema, 1987), and because mobilisation increases the visibility of groups, and the usefulness and necessity of joining. Another aspect connected to the context of mobilisation, but which presents greater problems of measurement, is the degree of interconnection and collaboration between traditional and new types of groups in the mobilisation of citizens. Studies of new social movements show how there is not always a radical separation between these two types of organisations, and how organisational links are important and, in some cases, central to understand the success or failure of mobilisations (Kriesi and van Praag, 1987; Schmitt, 1989). Good organisational relations between new types of groups and traditional ones imply the expansion of the resources available for action. But what is of more interest here is the fact that a greater organisational linkage between both types of groups widens the potential sphere of recruitment of new members: it is not only more likely to find cases of overlapping membership, but also joint mobilisations will favour feelings of closeness with respect to the other type of groups, fostering more adhesions. Finally, another aspect that might be interesting to incorporate is related to the traditions of political mobilisation in each country. It is reasonable to think that there where traditionally people have participated in politics in an organised fashion –mainly, through political parties and trade unions- positive tendencies may remain with time. Not only due to the possibility that cultural patterns related to participation have been created, but also because the previous existence of organisational networks, infrastructures, and mobilisatory skills may play an important role.¹⁹

In this sense, there are several aspects of the context of mobilisation that will be incorporated as explanatory factors:

1. The level of mobilisation of groups: in principle, direct indicators of mobilisation will be preferred. Nevertheless, due to the high number of countries for which information should be collected, in some parts of the analysis, direct indicators may be substituted by proxy indicators –such as variables known in the literature to be related to mobilisation. Two different indicators, which point to two types of mobilisation, are considered: mobilisation in the streets, and cognitive mobilisation.

Indicator Mobilisation 1a The number of public demonstrations carried out by different types of political groups and organisation in a certain period of time (year, month, etc) during the two years previous to each of the surveys analysed. The best source for gathering reliable data of this sort would be police archives (Fillieule, 1996 and 1997), however, from my own experience with the Spanish and Italian cases, this source of information is likely not to be

¹⁹ This type of connection between previous types of associational life and the present one can be found, in addition to the literature on social capital, in historical studies about nineteenth century associational life, popular houses (case del popolo), and sociability (c.f. degli Innocenti, 1984; Baravelli, 1999).

available in a certain number of cases. The other possible source are newspapers accounts of demonstrations, which in turn have other problems of measurement error (Rucht and Ohlemacher, 1992; Fillieule, 1996 and 1997), but which are already available for a number of cases (France, Switzerland, Germany, The Netherlands, and Great Britain; in Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, and Giugni, 1995).

Indicator Mobilisation 1b The degree of ideological polarisation of the party system. It is considered that this type of measure may serve as an approximate indicator of the level of cognitive mobilisation developed by political parties, and that –to a certain extent- polarisation around the left-right cleavage may favour membership in political parties (Bartolini, 1996). However, polarisation need not gravitate only (nor mainly) around the left-right axis. It would, thus, be necessary to take into account other dimensions of the political competition (religious, regional, etc). A first difficulty lies in the non-existence of homogeneous cross-nationally used scales to measure the position in these other dimensions; thus, here I will opt to include an indirect indicator of segmentation (Bartolini and Mair, 1990; Billiet, 1997).

2. The visibility of groups: the public presence of political groups is an important element when trying to incentive participation in them, reducing the information costs previous to joining. The lesser the visibility of these, the lesser the likelihood that citizens will be interested in them. It is likely that the visibility of groups would show a certain interaction with the social and economic resources of individuals, so there where groups are more visible social inequalities in participation will be smaller, and where they are less visible, greater.

Indicator Mobilisation 2a The proportion of local sections and bureaux that groups have. Clearly, it is not possible to obtain this figure for all the groups included in the analysis; in this sense, the analysis will be partial and applied only to the groups for which information is available. This is the case –for most of the countries- for figures related to political parties (Katz and Mair, 1992); it is possible to reconstruct partially the information for some of the countries not included in that data handbook (Spain, France, and maybe Portugal). It is also possible to obtain information in the case of the groups of new type which form part of an international organisation (environmental: Greenpeace, WWF; human rights: Amnesty International, etc.). I still have to find out if it is possible to have these figures for trade unions.

Indicator Mobilisation 2b The development or not of annual membership drives as an initiative of the groups. Again, this is an indicator that will be possible to use only partially – especially for political parties and trade unions, and groups of the new type which are an

international organisation. The information can be collected directly through groups, or consulting national experts.

3. The linkage between traditional and new types of political groups: This variable is meant to encompass something similar, but yet different, to what Rokkan (1977: 565) called “segmentation” –the degree of interlocking between cleavage specific organisations active in the corporate channel and party organisations mobilising for electoral action-. It attempts to measure the extent to which traditional and new political associations are autonomous of each other, form coalitions among them or some organisations are able to instrumentalise others.²⁰ In this sense, several direct and indirect indicators may be elaborated

Indicator Mobilisation 3a The proportion of joint calls for public demonstrations. The source would be the same that in the case of the indicator 1a of mobilisation.

Indicator Mobilisation 3b The division of the parliamentary left into two relevant parties (socialists and communists). This would be an indirect indicator of a conflictive or co-optation relationship between parties and new groups, which is based on the results of case studies developed by social movements researchers (Kriesi, 1995; della Porta and Rucht, 1995; Kriesi, Koopmans, Duyvendak, and Giugni, 1992 and 1995) which argue that when the parliamentary left is significantly divided in two parties of a certain weight, there will be little space for the mobilisation of new groups and the support of left parties to them will be conditioned to their competition for the hegemony of the left-wing political space.

Indicator Mobilisation 3c The presence or absence of the socialists in the government. It is also an indirect indicator of the linkage and collaboration of these parties and new groups, which is based in the same research results of the preceding one. The logic of this relationship lies in the fact that when the socialists/social-democrats are in opposition they tend to support and collaborate with the mobilisations and demands of new groups, while they end so doing when they are in government.

4. The tradition of mobilisation: here I understand as tradition of mobilisation the levels of membership to political groups in the recent past, with an aim to test whether the resources and attitudes that were created then could contribute to understand the variations on the levels of membership to political groups across Western countries.

²⁰ Obviously it is not possible to put as a reference for comparison the relation existing between trade unions and political parties at the end of the XIXth century and the early XXth century. The linkages that may exist between the groups here considered are organisationally more loose and less structured than those which inspired the Rokkan’s concept of segmentation, so this model should not be imposed to the analysis of those relations.

Indicator Mobilisation 4a

The average (may weighted in some way) ratio members/electors of political parties and trade unions in each of the countries during the period 1945-1960. I consider this to be the adequate period because the II World War marked a change in the structure of politics and of political organisations²¹, and because since the 1960s membership of political parties and trade unions started –in general terms- to decline but with a different pace across countries, and thus an average of a longer period could be very biased. These figures can be found in Katz and Mair (1992) and Ebbinghaus (1993).

The third variable related to the political context is the list of *issues* considered most important in each society. Given that people will only join causes they consider to be important, it is necessary to know which are the issues and the most relevant political conflicts of each society, and relate them to the patterns of political membership. This variable should enable us to better understand which political groups do people join and why do levels of membership of the different groups vary across-countries. To a certain extent, it could be argued that there exists a close relationship between the issues considered important by citizens and the mobilisation of groups around those issues. This could be so given that –to a certain degree- the assignment of political value to several issues is part of a process of social construction of reality in which political groups participate together with other social and political actors (mass media, institutions, social groups, etc.). However, this fact does not pose important problems to the creation of separate indicators of mobilisation and issue-relevance, the influence of which is empirical and theoretically distinguishable. First, the indicators of mobilisation are not related to the issues or demands defended by the mobilisation, thus what they are measuring is not equivalent to what the indicators of issues do. Secondly, not even new types of groups mobilise exclusively for the issues they defend with priority –and what is more important, they do not show the same degree of thematical specialisation in all countries-, and less so political parties and trade unions. Finally, the social process of value assignment which I have mentioned mediates the intentions and actions of groups, and the final results, so the relation between mobilisation and the importance assigned to different issues is less straightforward.

A more important problem is related with the measurement of the relevance that citizens give to each issue in each country. It is not possible to undertake in this research a job that would combine both qualitative information about the public relevance of different issues in mass media, with quantitative

²¹ Historical traditions of a longer term will not be analyzed because it is difficult to establish causal connections in the explanation, and because this longer term traditions should be reflected in the period analyzed –otherwise, their relevance would be small.

date obtained from mass surveys. Thus, a pragmatic solution is taken in favour of the latter source of information.

Indicator Issues 1 the exact measurement will depend on the concrete formulation of the questions in the surveys. An attempt will be made to extract the data from cross-national surveys (WVS, Eurobarometer, ISSP) with the aim of having the same question for all countries and avoid measurement bias. Several types of issues will be considered: unemployment, security, social inequalities, economic situation, environment, situation of Third World countries, international conflicts, etc.

An alternative way to measure public priorities in each of the countries would be to include an indicator which would not measure perceptions but real situations. For instance, some indicator that would express the degree of competition for jobs to which individuals are subject in their respective labour markets. We might suppose that the greater the pressure introduced by the labour market over individual and professional perspectives, the lesser the time available to dedicate to political activities. Thus, it could be an approximation to the type of priorities that individuals may have in a certain country when it comes to distributing their time among different types of activities.

Indicator Issues 2 This indicator should summarise information about the level of unemployment, wage levels, the average time of jobs, the level of public employment, etc.; in this way it could offer an image of the existing competition among individuals in the labour market.

Personal features

As it has been mentioned, the explanatory model proposed in these pages takes into consideration variables related to individual features, although giving them a more limited explanatory value. The reason is that I consider, a priori, these variables to be useful for knowing who are the persons which join political groups and associations, and which are the social and economic resources that foster participation, but that they are not good as explanatory factors of the differences in the levels of political membership in Western countries. Thus, it is not very reasonable to assume that the cross-national differences found in the levels of membership to new and traditional groups is due a different socio-economic composition of their populations, because this is not so important as the variations in membership. Nevertheless, it could happen that individual values and political attitudes, or even personal networks did have an impact on the cross-national patterns and their changes over time. In any case, this remains an empirical question to be solved.

Therefore, first it will be considered the *socio-economic resources* available to individuals in terms of their education, age, gender, occupational position, etc. As it is known, the greatest developments in the specialised literature about political participation have emphasised the importance of these variables for the understanding of the different individual likelihoods to participate in politics (Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978; Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Jennings and van Deth, 1989; Kaase, 1989; Parry, Moyser and Day, 1992; Verba, Schlozman and Burns, 1995). Many of these studies have tested the existence of common patterns across countries in relation to the influence of these variables over participation behaviours (Verba and Nie, 1972; Verba, Nie and Kim, 1978; Barnes and Kaase, 1979; Kaase, 1989); that is, these variables tend to be significant for distinguishing who participates and who does not, and who does so more frequently or in a greater number of activities. However, these same studies point to the fact that the magnitude of their impact varies across countries –thus supporting the possible importance of contextual factors. Hence, each of these features will be included among the variables of the explanatory model.

Secondly, attention will be paid to the role played by *political attitudes and values* in determining membership of political groups and membership choices. The literature does also stress these type of personal features, normally in combination with socio-economic resources (Inglehart, 1991; Verba, Schlozman y Burns, 1995; Dekker, Koopmans y Van den Broek, 1997). As it has been said, I do not consider these variables to be able to explain differences among countries, but they may be useful to understand the phenomenon of political membership in general terms. Among the attitudes to be considered the following have been selected: interest in politics, interpersonal trust, and the attitude towards social change. With respect to values, Inglehart's (1991) scales will be used to distinguish between materialists, post-materialists and mixed individuals²².

Finally, it will be taken into account (to the extent possible, and in a more limited fashion) the *personal network* of individuals, especially in what concerns the contacts they may have with people that participate in politics in one way or another (Gould, 1993; Opp and Gern, 1993; Klandermans and Oegema, 1987; Granovetter, 1983; Knoke, 1990). Some indicators that may be useful in this sense are those which ask for the presence or absence of persons in the respondent's family who are members of trade unions or political parties (Eurobarometres). It would also be possible to use partially the post-electoral surveys of the CNEP.

²² The incorporation of this variable does not imply an acritical use of the theoretical arguments of Inglehart in making this distinction. The criticisms will be left for further pieces of work. The inclusion of this value scales are, in any case, justified by a aim of controlling their possible effects, and to avoid problems of omission of relevant variables.

2. Hypotheses

In the exposition of the model and of the factors that will be taken into account, some of the expected effects of them have been presented. Nevertheless, it is more useful to make explicit the hypotheses which guide the present research, and that will be tested in it.

A first hypothesis to test stems from the general approach of this research,

H1. Membership of political groups cannot be accounted for only –nor mainly- with the individual features of citizens. Moreover, the differences in the levels of political membership across countries do not disappear with (and, hence, are not explained by) the introduction of the individual-level variables that are traditionally considered relevant in the literature of political participation.

After this general hypothesis, those related to the different factors of explanation are presented.

H Openness The greater the degree of openness of a certain political system, the higher the levels of political membership in that country. In terms of the individual-level analysis, the greater the openness of the political system in which an individual lives, the higher the likelihood that such an individual will be a member of a political group.

H Openness 1 Greater possibilities of access to the political system increase the likelihood that the citizens of this country join political groups.

H Openness 2 A greater level of fragmentation of the elites favours membership of new types of groups, but not necessarily of traditional types of groups.

H Openness 3 The greater availability of public funds in the form of aids to political groups, increases the likelihood of individuals joining all types of groups.

H Mobilisation The greater the level of mobilisation of political groups in a given country, the greater the level of membership to these groups.

H Mobilisation 1a A greater frequency in the mobilisation and demonstrations called by political groups, increases the likelihood of individuals participating in the groups mobilised.

H Mobilisation 1b A greater degree of polarisation and political segmentation favours membership of political parties, but may hinder membership to the rest of groups.

H Mobilisation 2 The greater the public visibility of political groups, the greater the likelihood that citizens will join them.

H Mobilisation 3a A greater linkage between new types of groups and traditional ones, reflected in the number of joint mobilisations, favours membership to both types of groups.

H Mobilisation 3b The division within the parliamentary left between two relevant parties decreases the likelihood of joining groups of the new type.

H Mobilisation 3c The presence of the socialists/social-democrats in government decreases the likelihood of joining groups of the new type.

H Mobilisation 4 A greater historical tradition in a certain country of mobilisation in political parties and trade unions between 1945 and 1960, increases the likelihood of joining all types of political groups.

H Issues Relevant issues do not show a univocal relationship with political membership. The likelihood of being a member will increase or decrease depending on the issue concerned.

H Issues 1 There where a greater priority is given to issues not related with the economic situation, security, or unemployment, citizens will show a greater likelihood of joining all types of groups.

H Issues 2 The existence of a high degree of competition for jobs in the labour market of a given country, decreases the likelihood of being a member of any type of political groups.

H Socio-economic resources The greater availability of social and economic resources increases the likelihood of being a member of a political group.

H Resources 1 The impact of resources such as age or gender will be lower than that of resources as education or occupation.

H Political attitudes A positive attitude towards politics and others favours membership of political groups. Those individuals who show to a greater extent “post-materialist” values will more likely be members of new types of groups.

H Personal networks Being in contact with other persons (friends, kin, peers) who participate in politics, increases the likelihood of an individual being a member of a political group.

It should also be tested other alternative hypotheses that are suggested in the literature as possible explanations of the phenomenon of political membership. Up to now, the following will be considered:

HA1. The level of membership of political groups is due to the degree of political and economic modernisation of the country. Thus, the greater the political and economic modernisation, the greater the levels of membership of political groups (Wessels, 1997). Though, until now, political modernisation has been (co)related to political membership only at the aggregate level, here it is considered that the best way to really test this traditional hypothesis (and an alternative one to the model presented in this research) is to observe the logical mechanisms of explanation which would link the hypothesis of modernisation to organisational membership. If it is argued that a greater aggregate level of education in the population, or a greater level of economic resources (GDP, NDP, etc.), are the factors which explain the differences in the levels of political membership across Western countries, it should be true that personal features of education and earnings would make these differences disappear. On the other hand, when the length of democracy is included among the features defining

modernisation (Wessels, 1997), it is not enough to say that democracy favours political membership, it is necessary to make explicit the mechanism through which the life-time of democracy (and not its mere presence, which all the countries in this study share) contributes to increase membership in political groups. If the mechanism of explanation are the positive attitudes towards public issues that may be developed in individuals, then it should be true that the latter variables would make disappear the differences. In summary, the core arguments which relate modernisation and organisational membership may be tested through individual-level variables; it is not necessary to use aggregate correlations, which are too imperfect to establish firm conclusions. Thus, the design of this research will also enable to test the validity of this alternative hypothesis.

HA2. Membership of political groups is mainly due to the attitudes of individuals towards them (support and identification). Thus, the greater the level of support and identification with the groups considered, the greater the levels of their membership. In the end, this alternative hypothesis would suggest that the differences in political membership among Western countries are mainly due to differences in the attitudinal support that these groups receive. This argument may be also tested in the frame of this research.

VI. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The research questions to be answered refer both to individual behaviours and aggregate patterns. Nevertheless, the latter cannot be understood without making reference to processes and factors which affect individual behaviour. Hence, the research design must take into account both levels and combine them to the extent possible.

The research will extract a great deal of the data –the variable to be explained and the individual-level factors- from mass surveys conducted co-ordinately in several Western countries. The studies of the World Values Surveys (WVS), Eurobarometres (EB), and the Comparative National Elections Project (CNEP) are available for different dates which cover from 1980 to 1997. The core part of the quantitative analysis will rely on the WVS, given that this is the one which better adjusts to the needs of the research due to the number of Western countries which it includes (between 13 and 20, depending on the wave considered), and because it gives several time points with the same questionnaire (1980-81, 1990-91, 1995-96). However, this survey is not free of problems: the countries included vary depending on the year considered, and there are certain groups which are not listed in the older surveys. These problems make compelling that the analysis is not limited to these series of

surveys, and that data from the EB and the CNEP are used in a complementary way. Thus, there will be a core group of countries that will appear in all the analyses (France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, Ireland, and Denmark), others that will appear whenever WVS are used (Spain, Norway, Sweden, United States, and Canada), and finally others that will appear and disappear depending on which surveys are used, EB or the latest WVS (Portugal, Greece, Switzerland, Austria, Finland, and Island). Although it may seem that the use of different surveys could complicate excessively the analysis, it does also have the advantage of permitting to know the level of generalisation applicable to the conclusions. Hence, the complexity that it might introduce in the execution and interpretation of results, is balanced by the clarity in the applicability of the conclusions

The research will be developed in several parts: a first part of the dissertation will analyse the factors related to the personal features of individuals in order to show how and to what extent they have influence on the behaviours of political membership. It will be studied which are relevant for the understanding of who join political groups, and more concretely, who join which groups; and it will also be tested whether these factors account for cross-national variations and changes over time. This section of the research will be developed through the analysis of survey data coming from Eurobarometer, World Values Surveys, and other national surveys; trying to maximise the number of countries and time points included in the analysis.

A second section of the thesis will incorporate the factors of the political context through the employment of the indicators presented above, analysing their independent effect on individual behaviour as well as the interaction they may show with personal attributes. Given that obtaining information for all countries in some indicators is very costly, the number and list of countries that will form part of the analysis will change all over this section. In some cases it will be possible to keep all countries, and in others a smaller number will be chosen for the recollection of the information on certain variables and their analysis. A good deal of the work in this section will be developed using quantitative techniques which enable the consideration of different level of analysis (*multi-level techniques*).

The final part of the research will try to study the aggregate patterns of political membership from a comparative logic of comprehension of the social and political processes that are behind the results obtained with the data. The aim is to consider each of the countries that form part of the study as whole entities with a historical meaning (Ragin, 1987). Although statistical techniques are useful for finding patterns and common tendencies, they disaggregate the information existing in each historical case into separate variables that prevents having a sufficient knowledge of the interactions existing between the different relevant elements and factors. Moreover, if we recall that the present research introduces several contextual factors as possibly relevant for the explanation of political membership,

the use of statistical techniques arises some limits to the establishment of firm conclusions. Hence, it is necessary to arrive to a historical and qualitative understanding of the processes that lie behind the different patterns of membership of political groups across countries. The purpose is, then, to apply boolean algebra and the methods proposed by Ragin (1987) to achieve a better understanding of the processes which lead to different patterns of membership of political groups. Many of the variables included in previous sections of the research will also be introduced in this one, with the aim of getting to know which processes are behind the average patterns described by the quantitative analysis.

Boolean analysis, proposed by Ragin (1987) enables to analyse complex causal relations – including multiple causality- with a great number of cases. Based on the logic of the comparative method, boolean algebra summarises the combination of features which leads to a certain result of the phenomenon under study. Both the phenomenon to be explained and the explanatory variables must be presented in a dichotomic way, in terms of absence/presence of a certain feature or situation. Thus, what we obtain through boolean calculus is a function that summarises which are the combinations of presence/absence of different explanatory features that have given place to the presence/absence of the phenomenon to be explained, in the cases considered. In this sense, the comparative analysis based in boolean algebra offers the possibility of considering whether several combinations of factors have produced the same result, thus being quite different from quantitative analysis, but complementary to it to the extent that they offer different pieces of information about the phenomenon under study.

However, the application of boolean analysis to this research presents a main problem: the greater part of the explanatory factors and, what is more important, the variable to be explained are quantitative in nature. Although there are studies which have used this method for variables of this kind (Griffin, Botsko, Wahl, and Isaac; 1991), this is not free of problems. The transformation of a continuous variable into several dichotomical categories requires the establishment of a cut-off point that results, at a minimum, arbitrary. It is not easy to establish an individualised criterion for each of the variable which does not have the (undesirable) consequence of aggregating in the same category cases (countries) that are qualitatively different. In addition, this transformation is crucial for the results of the analysis, given that the combinations of present/absent features depend on this codification. In summary, this matter is crucial for the possibility itself of carrying out this part of the research.

This section will be completed with the systematic narration of the historical and political processes that are behind the results in political membership in two cases which out-stand for being the two opposite poles of the existing patterns of political membership: Spain and The Netherlands. Spain always shows one of the lowest levels of membership of all types of political groups; The Netherlands, on the contrary, is one of the countries with highest levels (see appendix). It would be, then, of great interest to apply the results of the statistical and the qualitative comparative analyses in order to

understand with greater detail how and why do Spain and the Netherlands show such patterns of membership of political groups. The selection of these two countries does not respond, hence, to a comparative design for controlling variables: this is not the goal of the detailed study of both cases. It is neither a study of deviant cases, given that it could well be that the quantitative analysis explained well these two cases, and that the atypical ones where others. The main goal of this section is to illustrate with a deeper knowledge of the circumstances, processes, and actors, the relationship between the different explanatory factors and political membership. As Ragin points out (1989: 166), “in the variable-oriented approach cases stand out as worthy of an investigator’s attention when they fail to conform to the predictions of a certain model. Thus, individual cases typically acquire significance *as cases* only relative to general patterns displayed across many cases, not relative to the specific historical, cultural, political, substantive, or theoretical concerns of the investigator”. Here, on the contrary, the goal is to emphasise the complex nature of the patterns of causal relations, and to call attention to two cases that result interesting in themselves for the extremeness of the results they have produced.

VI. PROVISIONAL INDEX OF THE DISSERTATION

- Introduction. Theoretical and political relevance of the study of membership of political groups.
- Chapter 1. Theoretical framework, research design, hypotheses, indicators, and methodology.
- Chapter 2. Membership of political groups and the personal features of individuals.
 - 2.1: Membership in political groups and personal features across countries. Statistical analysis of the influence of personal variables (socio-economic resources, political attitudes, and personal networks) in each country. Comparison of the results across countries.
 - 2.2: The limits of personal features in the explanation of variations in political membership in Western countries. Joint statistical analysis (of all countries) of the relation between personal variables and political membership.
- Chapter 3. Membership of political groups and the political context.

3.1: The openness of the political system and membership. Statistical analysis of the relation between the indicators of openness and political membership in Western countries. Selection of the most relevant indicators.

3.2: The mobilisation of groups and membership. Statistical analysis of the relation between the indicators of mobilisation and political membership in Western countries. Selection of the most relevant indicators.

3.3: Issues and membership. Statistical analysis of the relation between indicators of the relevant issues and political membership. Selection of the most relevant indicators.

- Chapter 4. Conditions and processes: the boolean analysis of aggregate patterns of political membership.
- Chapter 5. The extreme cases: Spain and the Netherlands.
- Conclusions

REFERENCES

Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. [1963] 1989. *The Civic Culture*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Anduiza, Eva. November 1997. "Individual and Systemic Determinants of Electoral Abstention in Western Europe." Ph.D. Thesis. European University Institute.

Barnes, Samuel H., and Max Kaase. 1979. *Political Action. Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Bartolini, Stefano, and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition and Electoral Availability. The Stabilisation of European Electorates 1885-1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Billiet, Jaak B. 1997. "Political Parties and Social Organisations in Flanders." In *Private Groups and Public Life*, ed. Jan W. van Deth. London: Routledge.

Curtis, James E., Edward G. Grabb, and Douglas E. Baer. 1993. "Voluntary Association Membership in Fifteen Countries: A Comparative Analysis." *American Sociological Review* 57(2): 139-52.

Dalton, Russell J. 1996. *Citizen Politics. Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*. Second ed. Chatham (New Jersey): Chatham House.

Dalton, Russell J., Manfred Küchler, and Wilhelm Bürklin. 1992. "El Reto De Los Nuevos Movimientos." In *Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales: Un Reto Al Orden Político*, ed. Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Küchler. Valencia: Edicions Alfons El Magnànim.

Deg'Innocenti, Maurizio. 1984. *Le Case Del Popolo in Europa: Dalle Origini Alla Seconda Guerra Mondiale*. Firenze: Sansoni.

Dekker, Paul, Ruud Koopmans, and Andries van den Broek. 1997. "Voluntary Associations, Social Movements

- and Individual Political Behaviour in Western Europe." In *Private Groups and Public Life*, ed. Jan W. van Deth. London: Routledge.
- Della Porta, Donatella, and Dieter Rucht. 1995. "Left-Libertarian Movements in Context: A Comparison of Italy and West Germany, 1965-1990." In *The Politics of Social Protest. Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements*, ed. J. Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans. London: UCL Press.
- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Bros.
- Duverger, Maurice. 1965. *Los Partidos Políticos*. 3 ed. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica.
- Ebbinghaus, Bernhard. 1993. "Labour Unity in Union Diversity. Trade Unions and Social Cleavages in Western Europe, 1890-1989." Ph.D. Thesis. European University Institute.
- Fillieule, Olivier. 1996. *Police Records and the National Press in France: Issues in the Methodology of Data-Collection From News Papers*. RSC Working Papers, Vol. 96/25. Florence: European University Institute.
- Fillieule, Olivier. 1997. *"Plus ça Change, Moins ça Change" Demonstrations in France During the Nineteen-Eighties*. EUI Working Papers. Robert Schuman Centre, Vol. 97/18. Florence: European University Institute.
- Franklin, Mark. 1996. "Electoral Participation." In *Comparing Democracies. Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*. London: Sage.
- Franklin, Mark, Cees Van der Eijk, and Erik Oppenhuis. 1996. "The Institutional Context: Turnout." In *Choosing Europe?*, ed. Cees Van der Eijk and Mark N. Franklin. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Gould, R. V. 1993. "Collective Action and Network Structure." *American Sociological Review* 58(2): 182-96.
- Granovetter, Mark. 1983. "The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited." In *Sociological Theory 1983*, ed. R. Collins. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Griffin, Larry J., Christopher Botsko, Ana-Maria Wahl, and Larry W. Isaac. 1991. "Theoretical Generality, Case Particularity: Qualitative Comparative Analysis of Trade Union Growth and Decline." In *Issues and Alternatives in Comparative Social Research*, ed. Charles C. Ragin. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Hansen, John Mark. 1985. "The Political Economy of Group Membership." *The American Political Science Review* 79(1): 79-96.
- Harasse, Sophie. septembre 1996. "Engagement Et Désengagement Dans Les Organisations: L'exemple D'Amnesty International Section Française." Memoria DEA. Institut d'études politiques de Paris.
- Held, David. [1987] 1992. *Modelos De Democracia*. Madrid: Alianza.
- Huckfeldt, Robert R. 1979. "Political Participation and the Neighborhood Social Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 23: 579-92.
- Huckfeldt, Robert R. 1986. *Politics in Context: Assimilation and Conflict in Urban Neighborhoods*. New York: Agathon.
- Huntington, Samuel P., and Joan M. Nelson. 1976. *No Easy Choice. Political Participation in Developing Countries*. Cambridge (Ma.): Harvard University Press.

- Inglehart, Ronald. 1991. *El Cambio Cultural En Las Sociedades Industriales Avanzadas*. Madrid: CIS/Siglo XXI.
- Jardin, Xavier. septiembre 1994. "Le Militantisme Au RPR (Dans Quatre Circonscriptions Parisiennes). Contribution à L'analyse Générale Du Militantisme Politique." Memoria DEA. Institut d'études politiques de Paris.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and Jan W. van Deth. 1989. *Continuities in Political Action*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Johnson, Paul E. 1998. "Interest Group Recruiting: Finding Members and Keeping Them." In *Interest Group Politics*, ed. Allan J. Cigler and Burdett Loomis. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Inc.
- Jordan, Grant, and William Maloney. 1997. *The Protest Business? Mobilising Campaign Groups*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Kaase, Max. 1989. "Mass Participation." In *Continuities in Political Action*, ed. M. Kent Jennings and Jan W. van Deth. Berlin/New York: Walter De Gruyter.
- Katz, Richard S., Peter Mair, and et al. 1992. *Party Organisations. A Data Handbook*, ed. Richard Katz and Peter Mair. London: Sage.
- King, David C., and Jack L. Walker. May 1992. "The Provision of Benefits by Interest Groups in the United States." *The Journal of Politics* 54(2): 394-426.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1986. "Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 16: 57-85.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1989. *The Logics of Party Formation: Structure and Strategy of Belgian and West German Ecology Parties*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert. 1992. "Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales Y El Declinar De La Organización De Los Partidos." In *Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales. Un Reto Al Orden Político*, ed. Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Küchler.
- Klandermans, Bert. 1997. *The Social Psychology of Protest*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Klandermans, Bert, and Dirk Oegema. August 1987. "Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements." *American Sociological Review* 52: 519-31.
- Knoke, David. 1990. *Political Networks. The Structural Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 1995. *Democracy From Below: New Social Movements and the Political System in West Germany*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Koopmans, Ruud. 1996. "New Social Movements and Changes in Political Participation in Western Europe." *West European Politics* 19(1): 28-50.
- Koopmans, Ruud, and Dieter Rucht. 1995. *Social Movement Mobilisation Under Right and Left Governments: A Look At Four West European Countries*. WZB Working Papers, Vol. FS III 95-106. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1988. "Local Mobilisation for the People's Petition of the Dutch Peace Movement." In *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*, ed. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow. Greenwich: JAI Press.

- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1989. "The Political Opportunity Structure of the Dutch Peace Movement." *West European Politics* 12(3): 295-312.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1992. "El Contexto Político De Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales En Europa Occidental." In *Las Transformaciones De Lo Político*, ed. Jorge Benedicto and Fernando Reinares. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter. 1996. "The Organisational Structure of New Social Movements in a Political Context." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Ruud Koopmans, Jan W. Duyvendak, and Marco G. Giugni. 1995. *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, and Philip van Praag (Jr.). 1987. "Old and New Politics: The Dutch Peace Movement and the Traditional Political Organisations." *European Journal of Political Research* 15: 319-46.
- Lane, Jan-Erik, David McKay, and Kenneth Newton. 1997. *Political Data Handbook*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leighley, J. E. 1990. "Social Interaction and Contextual Influences on Political Participation." *American Politics Quarterly* 18(4): 459-75.
- Lelieveldt, Herman. 1997. "The Political Participation of Intermediary Organisations At the Local Level." In *Private Groups and Public Life*, ed. Jan W. van Deth. London: Routledge.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1994. *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1981. *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mabileau, G., George Moyser, Geraint Parry, and P. Quantin. 1987. *Les Citoyens Et La Politique Locale: Comment Participent Les Britanniques Et Les Français*. Paris: Pedone.
- McAdam, Doug. 1986. "Recruitment to High-Risk Activism: The Case of the Freedom Summer." *American Journal of Sociology* 92: 64-90.
- McAdam, Doug. 1988. "Micromobilisation Contexts and Recruitment to Activism." In *From Structure to Action*, ed. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney Tarrow. Greenwich: JAI Press.
- Milbrath, Lester W. 1965. *Political Participation. How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics*. Chicago: Rand Mc Nally & Co.
- Mill, John Stuart. 1972. *Representative Government*. London: Dent.
- Navarro, Clemente J. 1997. "Innovación Democrática En El Sur De Europa. La Experiencia Municipal En Italia Y España (1960-1995)." Tesis Doctoral. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Oegema, Dirk, and Bert Klandermans. October 1994. "Why Social Movement Sympathizers Don't Participate: Erosion and Nonconversion of Support." *American Sociological Review* 59(4): 703-22.
- Offe, Claus. 1988. *Partidos Políticos Y Nuevos Movimientos Sociales*. Madrid: Editorial Sistema.
- Oldersma, Jantine. 1997. "The Corporatist Channel and Civil Society in The Netherlands." In *Private Groups and Public Life*, ed. Jan W. van Deth. London: Routledge.

- Olson, Mancur. [1965] 1992. *La Lógica De La Acción Colectiva*. México: Limusa Noriega Editores.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter, and C. Gern. 1993. "Dissident Groups, Personal Networks, and Spontaneous Cooperation: The East German Revolution of 1989." *American Sociological Review* 58(5): 659-80.
- Oppenhuis, Erik. 1995. *Voting Behavior in Europe*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Parry, Geraint, George Moyser, and Neil Day. 1992. *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pateman, Carole. 1970. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pizzorno, Alessandro. 1981. "Interests and Parties in Pluralism." In *Organising Interests in Western Europe: Pluralism, Corporatism and the Transformation of Politics*, ed. Suzanne Berger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Putnam, Robert. 1994. *Making Democracy Work. Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, Robert. 1995a. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1): 65-78.
- Putnam, Robert. 1995a. "Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *Political Science and Politics* 28(4): 664-83.
- Ragin, Charles C. 1987. *The Comparative Method. Moving Beyond Qualitative and Quantitative Strategies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rokkan, Stein. 1977. "Towards a Generalized Concept of Verzuiling: A Preliminary Note." *Political Studies* 15(4): 563-70.
- Rosenstone, Steven J., and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilisation, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Cy.
- Rucht, Dieter. 1992. "Estrategias Y Formas De Acción De Los Nuevos Movimientos." In *Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales. Un Reto Al Orden Político*, ed. Russell J. Dalton and Manfred Küchler. Valencia: Edicions Alfons El Magnànim.
- Rucht, Dieter. 1996. "The Impact of National Contexts on Social Movement Structures: A Cross-Movement and Cross-National Comparison." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rucht, Dieter, and Thomas Ohlemacher. 1992. "Protest Event Data: Collection, Uses and Perspectives." In *Studying Collective Action*, ed. Mario Diani and Ron Eyerman. London: Sage.
- Schattschneider, E. E. 1960. *The Semisovereign People*. Hinsdale: Dryden Press.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. "Participation's Not a Paradox: The View From American Activists." *British Journal of Political Science* 25: 1-36.
- Schmitt, Rüdiger. 1989. "Organisational Interlocks Between New Social Movements and Traditional Elites: The Case of the West German Peace Movement." *European Journal of Political Research* 17: 583-98.
- Schumpeter, Joseph. 1943. *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*. London: Allen & Unwin.

- Subileau, Françoise. 1981. "Le Militantisme Dans Les Partis Politiques Sous La Cinquième République." *Revue Française De Science Politique* 31(5-6): 1038-67.
- Taagepera, Rein, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes. The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Tarrow, Sidney. 1994. *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Mass Politics in the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 1980. *La Democracia En América*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Udéhn, Lars. 1993. "Twenty-Five Years with the Logic of Collective Action." *Acta Sociologica* 36: 239-61.
- Verba, Sidney, and Norman H. Nie. 1972. *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-on Kim. 1978. *Participation and Political Equality. A Seven-Nation Comparison*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality. Civic Voluntarism in American Politics*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Wessels, Bernhard. 1997. "Organising Capacity of Societies and Modernity." In *Private Groups and Public Life*, ed. Jan W. van Deth. London: Routledge.
- Whitely, Paul F., and Patrick Seyd. March 1996. "Rationality and Party Activism: Encompassing Tests of Alternative Models of Political Participation." *European Journal of Political Research* 29: 215-34.
- Wilson, James Q. [1974] 1995. *Political Organisations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Zipp, John F., and Joel Smith. 1979. "The Structure of Electoral Political Participation." *American Journal of Sociology* 85: 167-77.