Comparing the influence of socioeconomic factors on participation in national elections and referendums

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Abstract

The number of referendums is growing in Europe, especially on issues relating to European integration. Therefore it needs to be tested, whether problems occurring in representative elections, as the participatory gap between members of lower and upper social classes, are also translated into direct democratic elections. The question which should be answered in this thesis is: “Does the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation differ, comparing national elections and referendums ?” To answer this question the level of education and income, chosen as indicators for socioeconomic status, of voters in general elections is compared to the level of education and income of voters in referendums. Therefore two cases were chosen The Netherlands, comparing Dutch national election 2006 and 2012 to the referendums in 2005 and 2016, and Ireland, comparing the Irish national elections 2002 and 2007 to the Irish referendums in 2001 and 2002. The results of the analysis show that the influence of income and education on participation differs between general election and referendums. Both factors have a stronger influence on participation in referendums than in general election. Especially education seems to be a key indicator towards participation in referendums. General elections are more reliable, representing the interest of society in its entirety.

Keywords: Referendum, Direct Democracy, Participation, Political Inequality,

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1. Introduction

In the last 35 years the condition of the European representative democracies has changed to a noticeable extent. A rapid loss in trust in the political elite and democratic institutions, as well as sinking voter turnout, can be observed in the recent decades. Parties, unions and other political mass organizations, which functioned as political signposts for large parts of the society, lost a large amount of their members (Bödeker, 2011; Nolte, 2011; Hooghe & Stolle, 2009). Additionally, in the majority of the world's wealthiest democracies economic inequality is rising since the early 1970s, with direct consequences for the quality of the democratic process, because socially disadvantaged citizens are disproportional excluded from political participation, from general election as well as party membership (Jörke, 2016; Solt, 2008). These two developments bear the risk to harm the legitimacy of European representative democracies, as unequal participation in general elections leads to unequal representation of preferences and interests in parliaments and governments (Griffin & Newman, 2005). When a lack of socioeconomic resources, like income or education, leads to less participation and therefore specific parts of the society are structurally excluded from the political process, the egalitarian principle of democratic rule is threatened (Gallego, 2007; Lijphart, 1997; Schäfer, 2009a). Similar to equal rights to participate, equal capacities, which are formed through education, social background and many other factors, are necessary for the functioning of a democracy. Needs and preferences of all citizens have to be considered equally (Verba, 2003).

As an answer based on the dissatisfaction with representative democracy, new forms of direct democracy have been established, from product boycott to signing petitions (Jörke, 2011; Donovan & Karp, 2006). Also the number of referendums is growing in Europe, especially on issues relating to European integration (Setälä, 1999). Referendums and other forms of direct democracy are often seen as a panacea to revive democracy in European societies, compensating the possible bias of parliaments and governments (Fatke, 2015). Nonetheless referendums pose new questions about their legitimacy and whether they prove successfully to reintegrate socio-economically weak citizen into the democratic process again.

A short comparison between the turnout of general elections and referendums in western Europe between 1970 and 2007, as seen in Appendix A, Figure 1, shows, that in all ten depicted states

the average turnout in general elections is higher. Ranging from a big difference of 34% in Italy and Portugal, to a small difference in Switzerland and Finland. However differences in turnout, do not give indications whether individuals from any specific social group do not vote. Therefore, it should be evaluated, whether in referendums, inequality in political participation differ compared to national elections, in order to asses, whether the principle of equality can be ensured through implementing new elements of direct democracy.

1.1 Research Question

The question, which should be answered in this bachelor thesis is: “Does the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation differ, comparing national elections and referendums ?” In order to asses the research question the following sub questions need to be considered:“Which socioeconomic factors are most influential regarding to political participation?”, “Does the effect of education on participation differ between national elections and referendums ?” “Does the effect of income on participation differ between national elections and referendums ?”, “What are the differences between participation in national general elections and participation in referendums?” . The question raised can be labelled as relational, examining the relationship between variables, in this case socioeconomic status and participation in different democratic processes .

1.2 Scientific and Social Relevance

Recently, growing socioeconomic inequality is a topic drawn attention to by the public again, nevertheless the implications of inequality for democracy are oftentimes unnoticed. Democracy is based on the principle of equality, treating everybody's interest as equally important. Formal equality, as the right to vote, seem to be self-evident, but in order to incorporate every citizen's interest equally, every citizen needs the same opportunity to recognize and articulate their interests. When socioeconomic inequality leads to a situation, where citizens do not take part in the political process, because a lack of income or education, the principle of equality and therefore legitimacy is threatened (Schäfer, 2009a).

Alternative forms of political participation, which look useful from a theoretical point of view, have to be tested to be advantageous for every member of society and do not amplify political

inequality. But research in this field does not only have social relevance, as systematic data about the use of referendums on an individual level for most of the European countries, except Switzerland, is rare. The number of referendums is growing in Europe, especially on issues relating to European integration, this signifies the importance of research in this field (Setälä, 1999). This research can offer small insights about patterns and use of referendums regarding to the problem of inequality in political participation.

1.3 Outline of the thesis

After introducing the topic and discussing its scientific and social relevance, the theoretical framework will follow. In this chapter basic insights about political participation and the influence of economic inequality on participation in different forms of political participation will be extensively discussed and critically assessed. Deriving from that insight, three hypotheses will be postulated. Subsequently the research methodology, giving insight into the case selection, sources and operationalization, is developed. The analysis is separated according to each case, in every case the voting behavior of the electorate in two general elections and two referendums will be analysed. Interim conclusions from the analysis are finally compared and discussed in the conclusion.

2. Theoretical Framework

The chapter starts with deliberating theoretical insights of the contemporary scientific discussion about participation in elections. Afterwards resource theory is used to explain reasons for inequality in political participation and differences in participation in referendums and national elections. Conclusively hypotheses are developed which are tested in the following chapters.

2.1 Political Participation

Political participation is most commonly defined, as stated by Verba, Nie & Kim (1971), "the means by which the interests, desires and demands of the ordinary citizen are communicated" (as cited in, Cohen Vigoda & Samorly, 2001, p. 729). While this definition is broad, other authors define political participation more narrow. For instance, as acts with the intention to influence governmental action or just as activities including voting or party membership (Cohen et al., 2001). As there are many different ways of expressing political opinion or participating in political processes, voting is the most common way to participate.

The reasons why citizens participate in general elections and referendums and why they do not take part in processes of democratic participation is one of the most controversial debated topics in political science. In the following, five of the most common approaches will be shortly described. The first is resource theory. In this model socioeconomic status is positively related to participation. Common factors used in this analysis are occupation, income and education, while educations seems to be one of the most important factors. But many other factors are also common in this model, for example age, gender, marital status, residential mobility. Especially age and gender were found to have an influence on political participation, while men and older individuals are more likely to engage in more institutionalized forms of political participation, women and younger individuals are found to engage more in non-institutionalized forms of political participation (Kern, Marien & Hooghe, 2015; Smets & van Ham, 2013). The second model, mobilization model, focusses on variables like partisan mobilization, union membership, organizational membership and media exposure. Mobilization of parties, candidates and interest groups have an influence on individual turnout. According to Smets and van Ham(2013), "Such social networks reduce the costs of political participation by providing information about parties,

candidates and the electoral process. Associational life, moreover, emphasizes values that are thought to mobilize citizens"(p.7). The next model to explain voter turnout on the individual level is the socialization model, which highlights developments during childhood and early adulthood as key phase determining political behaviour as an adult. Variables used in this context are parental social class, political discussion and parental education. The fourth model is the rational choice model. A cost-benefit calculus is connected to variables like vote in previous election, cares who wins, evaluation of the parties. The personal cost and gains of voting are leading the decision to absence or take part in an election according to this theory. The last theory commonly used to explain individual turnout is the psychological model. According to Smets and van Ham (2013) "explanatory factors range from more cognitive characteristics such as political interest, political knowledge, or cognitive ability to personal preferences associated with expressive voting such as party identification and ideology" (p.11).

Conclusively it has to be stated that many factors presented in the aforementioned models are interdependent. Nonetheless the factors used in the resource theory are very reliable determinants of individual turnout and additionally many reliable sources for this kind of data are available. As this thesis views the development of direct democratic institutions under the light of a economic inequality, resource theory seems to be the most reasonable choice.

2.3 Resource theory

The fact that, on the individual level, a high socioeconomic status is positively related to political participation, while socioeconomically disadvantaged citizens use to participate disproportionately less, is one of the most extensively analyzed findings in empirical research (Gallego, 2007; OECD, 2015; Schäfer, 2010). Two trends that can be observed in Europe, sinking voter turnout on the one hand and rising economic inequality in most European countries, must be taken into account. According to the OECD (2015), "Over the past three decades, income inequality has risen in the most OECD countries, reaching in some cases historical highs" (p.20). The OECD concludes, that this development could lead to a breakup of social ties and loss of trust in the governmental institutions (OECD, 2015).

According to resource theory, socioeconomic resources, like income, education, social skills and language abilities are the main factors influencing political participation. In the majority of cases

a combination of those is required, while contributing to a campaign needs investment of money, working on a campaign, protest or contacting officials needs investment of time, social skills and language abilities (Brady, Verba & Schlozman, 1995). Nonetheless, education seems to be the most important socioeconomic factor. Knowledge and skills developed in an educational process give citizens tools for understanding topics discussed in politics and institutional mechanisms Therefore it enables citizens to make political decisions. Empirical research shows, that besides other socioeconomic factors like income, occupation and gender, education shows the strongest relationship with political participation (Berinsky & Lenz, 2010; Cohen et al., 2001). The other way around, studies show, that low levels of income and education correlate with political resignation, rather than with rising will to change the status quo or a higher willingness to participate (Böhnke, 2011; Solt, 2008). Besides the influence of socioeconomic resources on the individual level, these tendencies are amplified on a societal level. When disadvantaged groups in society participate less, incentives for politicians to represent their interests are relatively low, creating a circle were political and social inequalities amplify each other (Böhnke, 2011; Gallego, 2007). Combining these two claims, the passiveness of the socially disadvantaged and the bias in representativeness of the politicians, E. E. Schattschneider came up with a thesis already in the 1960s, asserting citizens with more economic resources are able to influence the public and political debate. The bias in the topics debated is leading, according to Schattschneider, to a decline in participation of lower income groups and a bias towards higher income groups (Solt, 2010).

2.4 Differences between national elections and referendums

On the basis of resource theory inequality in participation, between referendums and general elections, seems to be approximately equal, as the difference in resources needed are insignificantly small. Nevertheless voting in referendums pose other obstacles to socioeconomically disadvantaged citizen compared to citizens from higher income and education groups. Generally it can be stated that the more pretentious the form of participations is, the more

socioeconomically disadvantaged citizen are excluded. Alternative forms of political participation oftentimes demand higher knowledge, time and resources (Hooghe & Stolle; 2009). Same rule can be applied to each question posed in referendums. If the question in a referendum is complex, special information are demanded, which demands an additional investment of time. Many socioeconomically disadvantaged citizen, are not able to invest more time in education on the specific issue, this phenomena is often called "self exclusion of the incompetent"(Merkel; 2014). The other way around heuristic cues, simplifying decision making process, do not exist to the same extent in referendums than in general elections. Heuristic cues can be explained as, stated by Kang (2002), "systematic regularities that service as reliable shortcuts"(p.1149). The most striking example of heuristic cues in elections is party identification. If the electorate has to vote for a candidate, party identification hints to the voter, that a certain candidate, member of the favoured party, matches values and shares interest. Additionally, other heuristic cues, for example ideological self identification, which can be typically observed in union membership or parties, which are traditionally connected to working class milieus, provide schemata voters can rely on (Galego, 2007; Kang, 2002; Lau & Redlawsk, 2001). As already mentioned previously, voting in referendums pose other obstacles to socioeconomically disadvantaged citizen compared to citizens from higher income and education groups. A symbolization, working as cues for the voters, which takes place in national elections, through political parties or politicians, does not exist to a comparable extent in referendums. Cues could compensate the lack of knowledge and the hence resulting "self exclusion of the incompetent"(Merkel, 2014). Nonetheless it has to be differentiated between the topics which are voted on in referendums. Ideology can work as heuristic cue in referendums, but drops out if the question is from technical nature. Party identification and personal appearance, two important heuristic cues, which are common in politics of representative democracies, are not available in referendums. Endorsements and polls are two factors working as heuristic cues definitely in both referendums and national election. Focussing on the topic voted on, the use of heuristic cues can be differentiated between hard and soft issues. As stated by Gilens and Murakawa (2002) "empirical findings generally support the prediction that citizens will look to source cues more when evaluating hard issues" (p.20). Easy issues are described as ends-oriented, emotional and relatively familiar while hard issues are described means-oriented, technical and unfamiliar. Voting on soft issues and therefore more independence from heuristic cues, could therefore have a positive effect on the turnout.

Conclusively heuristic cues do not appear in the same amount comparing national elections and referendums. Nonetheless, regarding to referendums, it also depends on the topic voted on, to what an extent heuristic cues influencing individual voting behavior.

2.5 Concluding Remarks

To get an overall picture of the theory behind the participatory gap and to explain the differences of inequality in participation between national election and direct democratic decisions the resource theory approach was used. Voting requires information and the capabilities to evaluate these. Citizen with lower socioeconomic status, do not have the same resources, because they do not have the same educational capabilities or time to evaluate the available information. Direct democratic decisions requires additional capabilities, resources as time and educational are more important in this case, while heuristic cues common in representative democracies do not exist in a comparable amount. Therefore a moderating effect of the type of democratic process, national election and referendum, on the relationship between socioeconomic status and participation can be expected. More precise, it can be expected that inequality in participation is larger in referendums than in national elections. According to the theoretical deliberations the relationship between education and participation, should be stronger in referendums than in national elections, while the relationship between income and participation should not differ to the same extent. In the following the hypotheses derived from the theoretical deliberations are presented.

H1: Education has a stronger influence on participation in referendums than in national elections

H2: Income has a stronger influence on participation in referendums than in national elections

H3: The moderating effect of the type of participation, is stronger focussing on education than on income

3. Research Methodology

To answer the question whether the influence, of socioeconomic factors on participation, differs between national election and referendums, two different cases were chosen. In the chosen cases, the electorate of national election is compared to the electorate of referendums, on the basis of socioeconomic variables and demographic control variables. In the following, the case selection and the methodology will be outlined.

3.1 Case Selection

To get a valid insight into patterns of participation, cases with different preconditions were chosen, namely the Netherlands and Ireland. The observed population will be the electorate of the selected countries. The countries were chosen, according to two conditions.

The first condition is the number of referendums held, since 1950. According to Merkel (2014), there is a correlation between the number of referendums held a country and the turnout. When there are more referendums, the difference in turnout between referendums and national elections is higher. If referendums are a rare phenomenon in a certain country the possibility, that the focus of the national media will lead to additional mobilization, independent from the factor named in the theoretical part is much higher, than in a country where referendums are common and do not get the same amount of publicity. Therefore the chosen cases should have an obvious difference in numbers of referendums held since 1950, to minimize the risk of biased results.

Another precondition is the institutional setting, in national election and the referendum process. Regarding to national elections both countries use proportional systems, while a list system of proportional representation is used in the Netherland, single transferable vote is used in Ireland. In Ireland citizen indicate in multi seat constituencies their preference for their candidates, focused on individual representativeness and closer to the first past post system. The Dutch voting system is much focused on proportional representation. While there is no direct geographical representation, citizen vote for candidates on a list, while the votes cast for every candidate are summed up to compute the number of seats. The votes for individual candidates are less important (Andeweg & Irwin, 2014; Coakley & Gallagher, 2005). Comparing the processes of initiating referendums between Ireland and the Netherlands show significant

differences. In Ireland binding referendums are obligatory, when changes in the constitution are made by the parliament. In the Netherland only two referendums were performed so far. While the first referendum held in 2005 was based on the act on the consultative referendum on the European consultation, established only for this case and from an non-binding nature. The referendum held in 2016 was based on the advisory referendum act, which enables citizens to initiate referendums when a certain amount of signatures are collected. This type of referendums is also not binding (Davis, 2016; Nijeboer, Bähnsch & Rehmet, 2016). As in both countries different voting systems in national elections and different processes of initiating referendums exist, it is not expected that they have too much influence as for example compulsory voting. In this case the turnout rates would not be comparable. As shown by Hooghe and Pelleriaux (1998), compulsory voting, as for example executed in Belgium, leads to a reduction in inequality in participation and turnout rates of around 90% which can be seen in Appendix A, Figure 2.

As already mentioned above, two referendums were chosen for each case. The reason is the extreme difference in turnout between different referendums in one country. Turnout in national elections, vary slightly, which can be seen in Table 1 ranging from 62.5% to 70% in Ireland , between 1990 and 2014, and ranging from 73.2% to 80.4% in the Netherlands, between 1990 and 2014. On the contrary difference in turnout between the referendum about the European constitution in 2005 and the referendum on the European union association agreement with Ukraine in 2016, which both took place in the Netherlands, was 31% (Centre for Research on Direct Democracy, 2016).

Table 1: Turnout of the chosen cases

Country	**Case**	**Turnout**
Netherlands	General Election 2006	80.4 %
	General Election 2012	75.4 %
	Referendum on the European Constitution 2005	63.3 %
	Referendum on the European Union Association Agreement with Ukraine 2016	32.3 %
Ireland	General Election 2002	62.6 %
	General Election 2007	67 %
	Referendum on Nice Treaty 2001	49.47 %
	Protection of human life in pregnancy in 2002	42.89%

Note: Adapted from: Voter turnout in national parliamentary elections retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdgo310 & Direct Democracy Database retrieved from www.c2d.ch/inner.php?table=dd_db&link_id=61&parent_id=61

As first case the Netherlands was chosen. The Dutch general elections in 2006 and 2012 will be compared to the referendum on the European constitution 2005 and the referendum on the European Union Association Agreement with Ukraine 2016. As second case Ireland was chosen. The Irish national election 2002 and 2007 will be compared to the referendum on the Nice Treaty 2002 and the referendum on protection of human life in pregnancy in 2002. Regarding the first precondition the two selected cases are very different, while Ireland held 33 referendums since 1950, the Netherland only held two (Centre for Research on Direct Democracy, 2016). Also both countries do not execute, major differences in voting procedure like compulsory voting. The only difference that have to be mentioned is the nature of the Dutch referendums, because in difference to the Irish case where referendums are obligatory, those referendums were not binding. Nonetheless the differences in turnout between the two referendums was very high, especially in the Netherland, where the difference in turnout between the referendum in 2005 and

2016 is higher than 30%. The differences between the turnout of the referendum in Ireland in 2002 and 2004 is 10% which can be viewed in Table 2.
The selection of countries, decrease the risk of threats to the external validity, wrong conclusions based on similarities of number of referendums or differences in structure of the electoral processes.

3.2 Sources

As four national general elections and four national referendums were chosen to be analysed, different sources were needed. To analyse the Dutch case three sources were chosen, only one for the Irish case. The first source used for the Dutch case was the Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006[1], it consisted of two waves of interviews, the first wave was done six weeks before the election and the second wave of interviews shortly after the election, a self-completion questionnaire and a non-response project for the interviews, were also included. A two-stage procedure was used for the sampling. In the first stage municipalities were selected, with an unequal chance in proportion to the number of persons in the municipalities in question, in the second stage 12 people from every municipality are selected with an equal chance. The effective sample size was 3920 individuals with response rates of 71,6% for the first wave and 64,3% for the second wave (Aarts, van der Kolk, Rosema & Schmeets, 2007). The "Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006" was used to gather data about the electorate in the parliamentary elections in 2006 and the referendum on the European Constitution in 2005.
The second source used was the Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012[2]. As the sampling method stayed the same the research design changed significantly, compared to the former election study in 2006, the two rounds mentioned above were merged together in one combined interview after the election, a self-completion questionnaire was still included. The effective sample included 2710 individuals, the response rate was 61% (van der Kolk, Tillie, van Erkel, van der Velden & Damstra, 2013).
The third source used was the Election Survey Ukraine referendum[3] funded by the Dutch Foundation for Electoral Research (SKON). It consists of two questionnaires before the and

1Retrieved from https://www.nkodata.nl/study_units/view/9
2Retrieved from https://www.nkodata.nl/study_units/view/11/dc
3Retrieved from https://www.dataarchive.lissdata.nl/study_units/view/648

referendum and one shortly afterwards. The sample size was 2888 individuals, 2024 also took part in Measurement 1 and 2 and 864 new participants. The response rate was 87,4%. (Elshout, 2016).

In the Irish case only one source is used, the Irish National Election Study 2002-2007[4]. Starting point of this study were post-election interviews in 2002. The sample was created by choosing households randomly and then participants were chosen randomly from within the household. The sample size includes 2663 participants. Following the first interview, mail questionnaires were sent to the respondents in November and December 2003, in summer of 2004 and in the first month of 2006. After the national elections in 2007 another interview was hold in 2002, followed with a last mail questionnaire in late 2007 (Marsh & Sinnott, 2008). The survey gives an overview above the electorate of the national elections in 2002 and 2007 and the referendums on the Nice Treaty 2001 and the Referendum on Citizenship 2004.

3.3 Operationalization

As four different sources were chosen, the variables differ slightly in data collection method. This applies especially for the variables, income and education, but not for the dichotomous participation variable and the demographic control variables, age and gender. In the following it will be shown how the data was collected and operationalized.

3.3.1 Netherlands

As already mentioned the data for the Dutch case was retrieved from three different studies.
In the "Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006" education was measured as ordinal variable, asking for the highest completed education of the respondent ranging from (1) elementary (2) (lower) vocational (3) secondary (4) middle level vocational, higher level secondary (5) higher level vocational, university. To measure the income of the respondents, disposable income of household (after taxes) was used, where the respondent could decide between 20 categories from

4Retrieved from https://www.ucd.ie/issda/data/Irishnationalelectionstudy/

(1) < 11166 (2) 11166 - < 14556 and so on until (20) 66501 and more, those were merged into five categories for practical reasons.

In the "Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012" education was measured as ordinal variable similar to the "Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006". Income in contrast was operationalized as spendable household income in 10% groups and again merged into five categories.

In the third source education is similar operationalized, consisting of (1) primary education (basisonderwijs), (2) preparatory secondary vocational education (vmbo), (3) general secondary education (havo/vwo), (4) senior secondary vocational education (mbo), (5) higher professional education (hbo), (6) research-oriented education (wo) (NUFFIC, 2011). Income was measured as monthly brutto household income in euro (Bruto maandinkomen huishouden in euro's), which was merged into five categories.

The methodology in the three sources equals regarding to the participation in the two referendums and both general elections, which are treated as dichotomous variables. Same applies for the demographic control variables gender and age. Age is asked trough year of birth of the respondent, in all three studies, while gender is treated as a dichotomous variable, asked whether the respondent is male or female.

3.3.2 Ireland

The data about participation and the level of education, income, age and gender of the respondents in the Irish national elections 2007 and 2002 and the referendum on the Nice treaty in 2001 and the Protection of human life in pregnancy in 2002 was retrieved from the "Irish Election Survey 2002 - 2007".

Education was measured as ordinal variable asking the respondents "Which of the following best describes the highest level of education you have completed to date" (Marsh & Sinnott, 2008). Possible answers ranging from (1) None to (6) University degree or equivalent. Income is measured in terms of level of household income per week, whereby the respondent can be assigned into 4 categories ranging from under 240 to 701 or more. Participation in the two referendums and both general elections, is treated as dichotomous variables. Same applies for the

demographic control variables gender. Age is asked trough year of birth of the respondent, in all three studies.

3.4 Socioeconomic status

To measure the influence of individual resources on participation, the concept of socioeconomic status (SES) is widely used. It is often described as the result of a set of indicators, like income, education, occupation and many more. It is used to describe material inequality and the position of an individual in a society, regarding to power and the reproduction of privilege. As there is no standardized version of the SES the most fundamental and influencing for political participation , namely income and education, were chosen as independent variables. Rather than to merge education and income into one index, it is more informative to focus on each influence on political participation separately (APA, 2007).

Education is one fundamental dimension of SES and influences the individual in different ways. According to the American Psychological Association (2007), education has a positive effect on the likelihood of employment, income, social and psychological resources and health risk behaviour. It is also one of the keys towards social mobility and the reproduction of privileges (Galobardes, Shaw, Lawlor, Lynch, & Smith, 2006). Income was chosen as the second dimension of the SES. Frequently used as dimension of the SES, income measures SES most directly, it directly measures the access to material resources, different goods and services, which control a wide range of material circumstances, like living conditions and health care (APA, 2007; Galobardes et al., 2006). Age and Gender are used as control variables. Control variables are included to clarify the relationship between two other relationship, control for spuriousness or the stability of the original relationship (Babbie, 2013).

3.5 Concluding Remarks

As already mentioned, surveys about political participation bear certain risks leading to an inaccuracy in the result, due to sampling or the “Hawthorne Effect”. A mixture of both is likely to be observed in all chosen studies. In the Irish case the answers of the respondents indicate a turnout ranging 11% to 27% above the originally measured turnout. Measuring political

participation through voting, leads to some problems, as especially in post-election studies the results exceeding the original turnout in the most cases (Burden, 2000). Nonetheless only misreporting can not explain the differences. Two more complex mechanisms play a role, that can not be ruled out by sampling. The first is similar to the well known "Hawthorne Effect". Pre-election interviews stimulate the respondent to vote, whereby the respondent would not have gone voting when he was not interviewed. The second reason is, that citizen who are interested in politics are more likely to go voting, but are also more likely to respond in a study about elections. Or as stated by Burden (2000) "The first selection, done by survey administrators, is nearly random, but the second type of selection, done by potential respondents, is surely not" (p.394).

As well as measuring participation also income and education bear certain risks for reliability and validity. Problems measuring income appears frequently due to misreporting, as income is a sensitive topic. Additionally as stated by Armingeon & Schädel (2015), "While income inequality is an obvious indicator of social position, information on household income is difficult to measure in a reliable and valid way"(p.8). Nonetheless there are also problems with using education as an indicator for socioeconomic status. The main difficulties are, shifting values for different educational attainments and changes in educational opportunities for women and minorities over time which can be labeled as cohort effects (Galobardes et al., 2006).

4. Analysis

The aim of the analysis will be to answer the question, whether the relationship between socioeconomic status and political participation differ in national elections and referendums. Statistical tests for correlation and its strength will therefore be carried out. The analysis will start with testing whether there is a correlation between participation in general election and referendums and socioeconomic status, split in its partial aspects “Is the voting behavior influenced by educational attainment ?” and “Is the voting behavior influenced by income ?”, using chi-square test. In a second step, if a correlation can be determined, the strength and the direction of the correlation will be tested, therefore Spearman's rho is used.

4.1 Ireland

4.1.1 General Election 2002

At first the relationship between education and participation in the electorate of the general election in 2002 was tested. The result of the chi-square test shows, that there is a correlation. As presented in Table 2, especially respondents with no educational attainment did not vote. Nonetheless a higher percentage of respondents only holding primary education voted, than respondents with a university degree. Spearman's rho shows no statistical significant linear correlation, which means, no tendency that inequality in education leads to inequality in participation can be observed. The difference in turnout between citizen completed primary and citizen holding university degree, leaving aside the citizen without educational attainment, amounts to 4.4%. Contrary to the deliberations in the theoretical chapter, again leaving aside the citizen without educational attainment, participation slightly decreases with higher levels of participation, nonetheless level of participation is relatively balanced between the educational groups. Introducing the control variables gender and age show a slightly different picture. The test variable gender does not seem to influence the original relationship between education and participation. Comparing the relationship between participation and education in three age groups, it can be observed, that the original relationship is preserved in two of the three age groups (see Appendix B, Table 18 and Table 19). Same procedure will be applied for income groups. In this case the results of the chi-square test show no correlation between income group

and participation in the general election in 2002, as presented in Table 3. The turnout for participants with an household income below 240 per week is only 0.6% lower than the turnout of the of the participants with the highest income. The lowest turnout rate, which is 81.9% can be observed in the 2nd highest income group. Similar to the relationship between education, no relevant transfer from income inequality to political inequality can be observed. Contrary to the exception drawn from the theoretical framework, no relationship between income and participation can be observed.

Table 2: Highest level of Education / Participation in general election, May 2002

	No	Yes	Total (n)
None	54.2%	45.8%	100%
			24
Completed Primary	12.2%	87.8%	100%
			547
Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	15.9%	84.1%	100%
			528
Leaving Cert or equivalent	15.9%	84.1%	100%
			696
Diploma or Certificate	15.6%	84.4%	100%
			442
University Degree or equivalent	16.6%	83.4%	100%
			416
Total (n)	15.6%	84.4%	100%
			2653

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 32.242; df = 5; p - Value = 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Coefficient = -0.015; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.44

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 3: General level of Household income in € per week / Participation in general election, May 2002

	No	Yes	Total (n)
Under 240	16.2%	83.8%	100%
			390
241 - 450	14.6%	85.4%	100%
			718
451 - 700	13.7%	85.4%	100%
			613
701 or more	18.1%	81.9%	100%
			612
Total (n)	15.60%	84.40%	100%
	363	1970	2333

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 5.286; df = 3; p - Value=0,152

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

4.1.2. General election 2007

Testing the relationship between educational attainment and participation in the electorate of the general election in 2007, the result of the chi-square test indicates a correlation. Equally to the results of the general election in 2002, participants without any educational attainment did not vote (see Table 4). The number of participants with no educational attainment is very low at all, nonetheless the extreme difference between no education and the other educational levels suggest that education is an influential factor regarding to participation. Spearman's rho shows no statistical significant linear correlation. The difference in turnout between citizen completed primary and university degree is only 1.2%, while the highest turnout can be observed in the Junior / Inter Group or equivalent. Leaving aside the citizen without educational attainment, the differences in turnout between the educational groups amount to 7.4% and therefore show a relatively balanced representation. Introducing the control variables age and gender, the original relationship is preserved (see Appendix B Table 20 and Table 21).

Testing the correlation of income groups with participation in the electorate of the general election in 2007, the chi-square test shows a similar result than in the general election in 2002, there is no correlation between income group and participation (see Table 5). The lowest income group has the lowest turnout, but the difference between the highest and lowest income group is

only 0.8%. The income group with the lowest turnout in the general election in 2002 does now have the highest turnout rate. But also the turnout ranges from 91.5% to 86.7%.

Table 4: Highest level of education / Participation in general election may 2007

	No	Yes	Total (n)
None	37.5%%	65.5%	100%
			16
Completed Primary	12.2%	87.8%	100%
			254
Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	6.0%	94.0%	100%
			235
Leaving Cert or equivalent	12.9%	87.1%	100%
			310
Diploma or Certificate	13.0%	87.0%	100%
			208
University Degree or equivalent	13.4%	86.6%	100%
			254
Total (n)	11.9%	88.1%	100%
	152	1125	1277

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 19; df = 5, p - Value=0,002 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.021; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0,44

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 5: General level of Household income in €/ Participation in general election in may 2007

	No	Yes	Total (n)
Under 240	13.3%	86.7%	100%
			120
241 - 450	11.2%	88.8%	100%
			242
451 - 700	8.5%	91.5%	100%
			270
701 or more	12.5%	87.5%	100%
			503
Total (n)	11.40%	88.60%	100%
	129	1006	1135

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 3.315; df = 3; p - Value= 0.346

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

4.1.3 Referendum 2001

Same tests, as for the general elections, will be applied to the electorates of the chosen referendums, starting with the relationship between educational attainment and participation.

The result of the chi-square shows a correlation. As already observed in the general election, only 27.3% of participants without educational attainment cast their vote. Participants which completed primary education, with a junior and leaving certification have almost similar values. While participants with a diploma or a university degree have the highest turnout around 70% (see Table 6). Spearman's rho shows a weak, but linear and statistically significant correlation, in contrast to the relationship between education and participation in both general elections. Neither the introduction of the test variable age nor gender shows alterations in the original relationship (see Appendix B Table 22 and Table 23).

After analysing the correlation between education and participation in the referendum 2001 the correlation between income and participation is analyzed in a second step. The chi-square test shows a correlation between income groups and the participation in the referendum in June 2001. In lowest income group 56.5% participated, while in the two highest income groups 66.7% and 65.9% participated (see Table 7). The correlation coefficient shows a weak linear correlation of 0.054. In difference to the two analyzed general elections in the referendum in 2001 a weak

linear relationship can be observed. Nonetheless the correlation is weaker compared to the correlation between education and participation. Introducing the control variables shows a different picture. Neither in the male nor in the female group a significant correlation can be observed (see Appendix B Table 24). In the male control group turnout is ranging between 58.1% in the lowest income group and 70.8% in the highest income group, while in the female control group the turnout is ranging between 57.2% in the lowest income group and 68% in the highest. A possible reason could be the topic of the referendum as already mentioned above. Regarding to the second test variable age, the original relationship is maintained in all of the three age groups (see Appendix B Table 25).

Table 6: Highest level of education / Participation in the Irish referendum june 2001

	No	Yes	Total (n)
None	72.7%	27.3%	100%
			22
Completed Primary	38.9%	61.1%	100%
			507
Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	37.1%	62.9%	100%
			496
Leaving Cert or equivalent	39.7%	60.3%	100%
			668
Diploma or Certificate	31.6%	68.4%	100%
			427
University Degree or equivalent	29.6%	70.4%	100%
			406
Total (n)	36.3%	63.7%	100%
	917	1609	2526

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 29.511; df = 5; p - Value= 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.074; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.000

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 7: General level of Household income in €/ Participation in the Irish referendum june 2001

	No	Yes	Total (n)
Under 240	43.5%	56.5%	100%
			363
241 - 450	35.2%	64.8%	100%
			677
451 - 700	33.3%	66.7%	100%
			594
701 or more	34.1%	65.9%	100%
			589
Total (n)	35.80%	64.20%	100%
			2223

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 11.846; df = 3; p - Value= 0.008 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.054; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.011

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

4.1.4 Referendum 2002

Testing the relationship between educational attainment and participation in referendum in March 2002, chi-square test shows a correlation. The percentages of participation ranging from 33.3% of those without any educational attainment, 66.7% of those who completed primary to 73.2% of those with a university degree (see Table 8). As expected a higher level of education is connected to a higher level of participation. The linear correlation in this case is also very weak 0,067 but statistically significant. In comparison to the correlation between education and participation in the referendum 2001 it is even weaker.

Also for the income groups a correlation can be found. The percentages are ranging from 64.3% participation in the lowest income group to 73.4% in the second highest, while the highest income group has 70% participation (see Table 9). Compared to the weak correlation between education and participation, the correlation between income and participation is even lower (0.041). The test variable gender does not influence the original relationship between education and participation in both cases (see Appendix B Table 26, Table 27, Table 28 and Table 29).

Table 8: Highest level of Education / Participation in the Irish referendum in March 2002

	No	Yes	Total (n)
None	66.7%	33.3%	100%
			24
Completed Primary	33.3%	66.7%	100%
			546
Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	32.4%	67.6%	100%
			525
Leaving Cert or equivalent	31.2%	68.8%	100%
			695
Diploma or Certificate	26.8%	73.2%	100%
			441
University Degree or equivalent	26.6%	73.4%	100%
			414
Total (n)	30.7%	69.3%	100%
			2645

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 23.683; df = 5; p - Value= 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.067; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.001

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 9: General level household income in €/ Participation in the Irish referendum in March 2002

	No	Yes	Total (n)
Under 240	35.7%	64.3%	100%
			389
241 - 450	30.7%	69.3%	100%
			716
451 - 700	26.6%	73.4%	100%
			612
701 or more	30.0%	70.0%	100%
			609
Total (n)	30.30%	69.70%	100%
			2326

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 9.409; df = 3; p - Value= 0.024 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.041; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.046

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

4.1.5 Conclusion: Irish case

Comparing the results of the analysis of the two Irish general elections and the two Irish referendums show satisfying results. In both general elections similar results can be observed, as well as in both referendums. Regarding to the first socioeconomic variable education, in both general elections, the result of the chi-square test shows a correlation, additional tests for the strength and direction of the correlation, could not found significant linear correlation. As predicted in the first hypothesis, the results of the analysis of the relationship between education and participation in the two Irish referendums show a weak but statistically significant linear correlation between the two variables. Inequality in education is transferred into inequality in participation in referendums but not in general elections

Regarding to income similar results can be observed. While the analysis of the relationship between income and participation in general elections does not show any correlation between those two variables. The analysis of the relationship between income and participation in referendums shows a weak but statistically significant linear correlation. This result supports the second hypothesis. Similar to the influence of education on participation, low levels of income are leading to less participation in referendums but not in national elections. Regarding to the third hypothesis, focussing on the increase in correlation between the socioeconomic variables

and participation, the correlation of education increased from 0 in both general election to a coefficient of 0.074 and 0.067, the influence of income rose from 0 in both general elections to 0.054 and 0.041. As participation in referendums is more pretentious than voting in national election, level of education is one of the major factors influencing participation. Due to a lack of education additional resources were needed, to articulate and formulate the citizens interests. Heuristic cues which would compensate the lack of education are missing in this case.

As expected the socioeconomic variables, education and income, have a higher influence on participation in referendums than in general elections. In other words there are evidences that egalitarian principles are realized to a greater extent in the two analysed national election, than in the referendums. In both referendums a linear correlation between the socioeconomic variables and participation can be observed. Nonetheless contrary to the theoretical deliberations no inequality in participation in general elections can be observed at all.

4.2 Netherlands

4.2.1 Dutch Parliamentary Election 2006

Similar to the Irish case, in the Dutch case, two national elections and two referendums were chosen, the Dutch parliamentary election in 2006 and 2012 and the Dutch referendums in 2005 and 2016. The second part of the analysis will start with analysing the results of the Dutch parliamentary election in 2006.

The analysis of the relationship between educational attainment and participation in the general election in 2006 in the Netherland, using the chi-square test, shows a correlation. While 85.4% of participants with elementary educational attainment participate in the general election, 97.2% of the participants with university degree participated (see Table 10). Nonetheless it should be mentioned that the difference between the turnout suggested by the survey (93.2%) and the real turnout (80.4%), is relatively large, possible reasons for this have already been mentioned above.

Using Spearman's rho, the correlation coefficient shows a weak but statistically significant linear correlation between education and participation. Unlike in the Irish national elections, a linear relationship between education and participation is visible. Higher levels of educational attainment can be associated with higher levels of participation.

Introducing the test variable gender shows that for both control groups, male and female, the original relationship is maintained (see Appendix B Table 30). The same result appears for the second test variable age, in all three control groups the original relationship between education and participation in the general election 2006 is maintained (see Appendix B Table 31).

Repeating the process with income groups shows, that the lowest turnout can be found in the second lowest income group, the highest income group shows the highest turnout (see Table 11). Just like education, also income shows a association with participation, different than in the Irish national elections. The correlation is again linear statistically significant but even weaker, than the relationship between education and participation. The difference in turnout between the low and high income groups is smaller than the difference in turnout between the high and low educational group. Similar to the analyzed Irish referendums the influence of education is stronger than the influence of income.

Introducing the test variable gender, the results of the chi-square test show that the correlation is only maintained in the male group, while there is no relationship in the female control group (see Appendix B, Table 32). For the second test variable age the correlation between income and participation is only maintained in one control group (see Appendix B, Table 33).

Table 10: Highest level of Education / Participation in the Dutch general election in 2006

	No	Yes	Total (n)
elementary	14,6%	85,4%	100%
			144
(lower) vocational	8,7%	91,3%	100%
			391
secondary	5,5%	94,5%	100%
			220
middle level vocational, higher level secondary	7,6%	92,4%	100%
			995
higher level vocational, university	2,8%	97,2%	100%
			602
Total (n)	6,8%	93,2%	100%
			2352

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value= 32.718; df= 4; p - Value= 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.098; Sig. (2-tailed)= 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 11: Household income in € / Participation in the Dutch general election 2006

	No	Yes	Total (n)
< 19592	10,3%	89,7%	100%
			455
19592 - < 26879	8,3%	91,7%	100%
			504
26879 - < 34896	6,9%	93,1%	100%
			509
34896 - < 45683	6,3%	93,7%	100%
			508
45683 and more	6,3%	93,7%	100%
			530
Total (n)	6,3%	93,7%	100%
			2506

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 14.923; df = 4; p - Value = 0.005 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.076; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

4.2.2 Dutch Parliamentary election 2012

In the Dutch parliamentary elections in 2012 a correlation between education and participation can be found. While 75.5% of the participants completed elementary education participated in the election 2012, 96.6% of the participants with university level degree did (see Table 12). The differences between the first three educational groups are rather small, while turnout is heavily increasing for the last group. The correlation coefficient shows stronger linear relationship between education and participation than in 2006, while in the general election 2006 the correlation coefficient was 0.098, in 2012 it was 0.23. Introducing the control variable gender, shows that the original relationship is maintained (see Appendix B, Table 34) Same picture appears introducing the test variable age, the original relationship between education and participation is maintained in every age group (see Appendix B, Table 35).

Also the chi-square test involving income and participation shows a correlation. While in this case, the group with the lowest income does not have the lowest turnout (83.3%), an steady increase in participation can be observed, with 47% turnout in the 2nd and 3rd lowest income group, to 90% turnout in the group with the 2nd highest and 96.5% turnout in the group with the

highest income (see Table 13). Nonetheless it has to be mentioned, that in difference to the other surveys the income was not grouped in total numbers, but staggered in 20% groups.

The correlation coefficient is also higher than in the election in 2006, but still lower than the correlation coefficient between education and participation in the same election. Introducing the test variable gender the original relationship is maintained in the male and the female control group (see Appendix B, Table 36). Introducing age groups the original relationship is maintained in every control group (see Appendix B, Table 37).

Table 12: Highest education / Participation in the Dutch general election in 2012

	No	Yes	Total (n)
elementary	24,5%	75,5%	100%
			102
(lower) vocational	24,1%	75,9%	100%
			245
secondary	23,8%	76,2%	100%
			101
middle level vocational, higher level secondary	14,2%	85,8%	100%
			650
higher level vocational, university	3,4%	96,6%	100%
			495
Total (n)	13,6%	86,4%	100%
			1593

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 85.701; df = 4; p - Value = 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.230; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

Table 13: Household income (in 20% groups) / Participation in the Dutch general election 2012

	No	Yes	Total (n)
till 20	20,6%	79,4%	100%
			175
20 till 40	24,5%	75,5%	100%
			269
40 till 60	14,5%	85,5%	100%
			358
60 till 80	11,6%	88,4%	100%
			441
80 till 100	6,9%	93,1%	100%
			432
Total (n)	14,0%	86,0%	100%
			1675

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 51.099 df = 4; p - Value = 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.164; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

4.2.3 Referendum in 2005

Analyzing the influence of the highest education completed on participation in the 2005 referendum, shows a clear relationship. While 45.5% of participants completed elementary education voted in the referendum, 60.2% of the participants with secondary education voted and 82.9% of the participants with university degree voted in the referendum in 2005 (see Table 14). The correlation between education and participation is slightly lower than in the election 2012, but higher than the correlation in 2006. Introducing the test variable gender the original relationship is maintained in both control groups (see Appendix B, Table 38). Introducing age groups shows that the original relationship is only not maintained in the first age group 18 to 27 years (see Appendix B, Table 39).

Same picture appears analyzing the relationship between income and participation in the Dutch referendum 2005, the turnout is ranging between 54.7% in the 2nd lowest income group and 78.6% in the 2nd highest group (see Table 15). The correlation, ranges similar to the correlation of education, stronger than the value in the 2006 general election but slightly beneath the value of the election in 2012. None of the control variables changes the original relationship (see

Appendix B, Table 40 and Table 41) The influence of the socioeconomic variables education and income is ranging between the values of both general elections. Compared to the general election which took place in the same year, the correlation coefficient of education more than doubled from 0.098 to 0.216 while the correlation coefficient of income rose from 0.076 to 0.115. Compared to the influence on participation in the general election 2012 the values are slightly lower.

Table 14: Highest education completed / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2005

	No	Yes	Total (n)
elementary	54,5%	45,5%	100%
			167
(lower) vocational	40,4%	59,6%	100%
			421
secondary	39,8%	60,2%	100%
			226
middle level vocational, higher level secondary	32,1%	67,9%	100%
			1040
higher level vocational, university	17,1%	82,9%	100%
			637
Total (n)	31,9%	68,1%	100%
			2491

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 123.902; df = 4; p - Value = 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.216; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 15: Disposable income of household (after taxes) in €/ Participation in the Dutch referendum 2005

	No	Yes	Total (n)
< 19592	38,4%	61,6%	100%
			490
19592 - < 26879	39,1%	60,9%	100%
			537
26879 - < 34896	33,0%	67,0%	100%
			542
34896 - < 45683	25,2%	74,8%	100%
			532
45683 and more	26,3%	73,7%	100%
			556
Total (n)	32,3%	67,7%	100%
			2657

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 41.368 ; df = 4; p - Value = 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.115; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

4.2.4 Referendum in 2016

In the analysis of the relationship between education and participation in the Dutch referendum in 2016, the chi-square test shows a correlation. Looking at the cross table shows that 42.9% of the participants holding primary education voted, while 61.3% of the participants with higher professional education voted in the referendum (see Table 16). The linear correlation is weak but significant. Contrary to the other analysed Dutch elections, in this case exceptionally low levels of correlation between education and participation were measured. A possible reason might be the low turnout, as not even a third of the electorate cast their vote. Introducing the test variable gender the original relationship is maintained in both control groups (see Appendix B, Table 42). Introducing the test variable age shows, that the original relationship is only maintained in the third age group 58 years and older (see Appendix B, Table 43).

Same procedure will be applied for income groups. In this case the results of the chi-square test show a correlation between income and participation. The turnout ranges from 53.4% of the participants without any income and 51.7% of those with an income beneath 1000€ to 64.9% turnout of those with an income above 4000€ (see Table 17). The correlation coefficient shows, that the linear relationship is very weak and not statistically significant. Compared to the other

three analysed referendums, the Dutch referendum 2016 represents an outlier. No statistically significant linear correlation of income and participation could be observed and, compared to the Dutch referendum in 2006, the correlation coefficient of education and participation is four times lower. The original relationship could not be maintained introducing the test variable gender (see Appendix B, Table 44). Introducing the test variable age shows, that the original relationship can only be maintained in the second age group (see Appendix B, Table 45).

Table 16: Highest level of education / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2016

	No	Yes	Total (n)
primary education	57,1%	42,9%	100%
			175
preparatory secondary vocational education	44,4%	55,6%	100%
			592
general secondary education	41,6%	58,4%	100%
			279
senior secondary vocational education	47,3%	52,7%	100%
			624
higher professional education	38,7%	61,3%	100%
			587
wo	45,4%	54,6%	100%
			260
Total (n)	44.5%	55.5%	100%
			2517

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value =22.399 ; df = 5; p - Value = 0.000 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.048; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.016

Adapted from: Election Survey Ukraine referendum - Measurement 3

Table 17: Monthly Income in €/ participation in the Dutch referendum 2016

	No	Yes	Total (n)
< 1000	42,7%	57,3%	100%
			349
1000 - 2000	45,8%	54,2%	100%
			288
3000 - 4000	43,2%	56,8%	100%
			375
4000 - 5000	32,5%	67,5%	100%
			228
> 5000	40,4%	59,6%	100%
			193
Total (n)	41.5%	58.5%	100%
			1433

Test Statistics: Pearson chi-square Value = 10.652 ; df = 4; p - Value = 0.031 // Spearman's Rho: Correlation Coefficient = 0.049; Sig. (2-tailed) = 0.061

Adapted from: Election Survey Ukraine referendum - Measurement 3

4.2.5 Conclusion: Dutch case

Before giving an overall conclusion, the results of the Dutch case will be shortly summarized. The four analyzed elections differ highly from the analyzed elections in the Irish case. Comparing both chosen Dutch general elections shows a huge difference regarding the influence of socioeconomic variables on participation. In 2012 the influence of income and education was much higher than in the general election 2006. The correlation coefficient doubled for both variables. Focusing on education it rose from 0.098 to 0.23, while for income it rose from 0.076 to 0.164. Nonetheless the association between education and participation is higher than between income and participation, which highlights the importance of education again. Additionally it has to be noted, that in contrast to the Irish national elections it can be observed, that in the Dutch national elections inequality in education and income translate into inequality in political participation.

Also the results of the referendums differ highly. While the referendum in 2005 shows a linear correlation with education (0.216) and a weaker linear correlation with income (0.115). The results of the analysis of the referendum in 2016 show a weak linear correlation with education

(0.048) but no statistically significant linear relationship with income. One possible reason for the untypical result might be low turnout. In the 2016 referendum only 32.3% cast their vote while in 2005 63.3% cast their vote (see Table 2). Only focussing on the elections which took place in 2006 the predicted hypothesis can be confirmed. The influence of education and income is stronger in the referendum than in the general election, confirming the first and the second hypothesis. Also the third hypothesis can be confirmed, while the correlation coefficient of education more than doubled, the correlation coefficient of income increased by 51.31%. Nonetheless in light of the results of the general election in 2012 and the referendum in 2016 all three hypotheses have to be rejected. The influence of the socioeconomic variables education and income is turned around. Contrary to all of the three hypotheses the correlation coefficient of income and education on participation in national election 2012 is higher than in the two chosen referendums. Additionally the correlation coefficient of education and income in the referendum 2016 is lower than in both chosen general elections.

5. Conclusion

As we know about the influence of socioeconomic variables on participation in national elections, there is a need to know, to what extent this relationship is transferred to other forms of participation. Analyzing the influence of socioeconomic variables and economic inequality on participation does have a long tradition in political science. Based on deliberations about resource theory and heuristic cues, three hypotheses derived. To test these hypotheses two cases with different preconditions were chosen. The determining preconditions were the number of referendums held in the past and comparable election systems. Therefore Ireland, where referendums are common instruments and work as addition to parliamentary decision and the Netherland, where referendums are rare, were chosen. Two general elections and two referendums were chosen for each case, to minimize the risk, that the result are biased through any special events or the topic of the referendum influencing the turnout.

The cases chosen are distinguished by their different traditions towards referendums and their differences in voting system in national election. These difference are also pictured by different results, in the relationship between socioeconomic variables and participation in national elections and referendums. In the Irish general elections in 2002 and 2007 no statistically significant linear correlation between the two socioeconomic variables and participation could be measured. This result is rather surprising and opposed to the deliberations in the theoretical framework. Nonetheless it shows that in comparison to referendums, national election, represent society in its entirety more balanced, because in both Irish referendums linear correlations between the socioeconomic variables income and education and participation were measured. A high income and even more influential a high educational attainment leads to higher levels of participation. As national elections in Ireland represent citizens with high or low levels of socioeconomic status relatively balanced. The turnout in referendums in Ireland is biased towards high educated and high income citizen.

Contrary to the Irish case, in both Dutch general elections a statistically significant linear correlation between both socioeconomic variables and participation could be determined. But the results of the two chosen Dutch general elections differ highly, similar to the results of both referendums. Income and education are twice as influential in the national election in 2012 than

in the national election in 2006, while on the other hand the influence of income and education on participation in referendums halved from 2005 to 2016. The referendum held in 2016 marks an exception, as the level of inequality is much lower than in the other three elections. A possible reason is the exceptional low turnout, not even a third of the electorate participated, this fact opposes the argument brought up previously that if referendums are a rare phenomenons in a certain country the possibility, the focus of the national media will lead to additional mobilization. Additionally, as stated by Fatke (2015), "most research points to the fact that SES particularly matters in low-turnout elections"(p.103). Again this is not the case in the 2016 referendum.

But also the general election in 2012 presents exceptionally high values for the correlation coefficient between both socioeconomic variables. Comparing the relationship between the socioeconomic variables and participation in the national election 2005 to the referendum 2006 all three hypotheses could be confirmed. Nonetheless the comparison between the national election in 2012 and the referendum in 2016 turned the hypotheses on its head, as the influence of income and education on participation in the referendum is much lower than in the national election. Sounding positive at the first moment, it has to be added, that not even a third of the electorate cast their vote. Inequality in participation, originated in socioeconomic inequality, is a threat to legitimacy of democratic decisions, but extreme low level of turnout too.

The differences in influence of income and education between the elections in Ireland and in the Netherlands have to be elaborated more closely. Comparing electoral systems, difference in voting procedure and institutional settings, are posing different obstacles and rewards to voters. Different voting procedures are related to differences in cognitive costs, some posing higher obstacles for lower educated citizens than others (Gallego, 2010). While in the theoretical chapter resource theory, in combination with the theory of heuristic cues, has been used to explain difference between national elections and referendums, it also can offer explanations for differences between countries.

Irish and Dutch national election, have different electoral systems as already outlined earlier, nonetheless both use preference expression. According to Perera (2002) the effects of preference expression differ, while "for advantaged electors it may be an incentive to participate, but for disadvantaged electors it may appear as a cost, and thus increase abstention" (p.663). As in both nations preference expression for a candidate is used, the differences between ranking them, as in

the Irish case, or choosing from a relatively large number of candidates as in the Dutch case can not explain the differences in inequality in turnout.
Regarding to the referendums, one major difference between irish and dutch referendums is, besides the different traditions towards referendums, the nature of those. While referendums in Ireland display binding decision, Dutch referendums have advisory character. But nonetheless both Irish referendums with binding character have similar values in turnout and correlation between socioeconomic variables and participation, while the dutch referendums differ highly regardless of the same non-binding character. Therefore no conclusive statement about the different effect of the character of the referendums on inequality in participation can be made. To verify the notion, that turnout and voter stratification in non-binding referendums depends on the topic voted on, while turnout and voter stratification is stable in binding referendums, the extent of this research is not sufficient.

As the results of the two cases have already been discussed separately, in the following, the results will be compared to answer the research question. Most noticeable, in all elections, regardless whether they are referendums or general election, education does have a higher influence on participation than income and gets even more influencing when it comes to participation in referendums. This shows the high importance of education regarding to participation in a political process, the ability to recognize and articulate opinions and interests. Education is highly interdependent with employment and income, but also displays one of the major factors towards social mobility and the reproduction of privileges. Recourse theory and the theory of heuristic cues explained the differences between the influence of education and income and the differences between voting in referendums and voting in national elections. The analysis supports the thought, that education gets even more important when participation processes get more pretentious. When heuristic cues, which work as shortcuts, are missing, lower educational groups are excluded from participation, as these groups are not able to invest more time and other recourses to compensate their lack of education and therefore to recognize and articulate their interest.

Despite the fact, that the hypotheses could not be approved in every case, the research question can nonetheless be answered. The relationship between socioeconomic status and political

participation differs, comparing national elections and referendums. In no case the relationship was comparable, but in the most cases the influence of education and income was stronger in referendums than in general elections. Additionally it can be confirmed that in the most cases the influence of education increased by a higher factor than the influence of income.

As written in the beginning of this thesis, alternative forms of political participation, which look useful from a theoretical point of view, have to be tested to be advantageous for every member of society equally and not amplifying the relationship of socioeconomic inequality, that leads to political inequality. The final result of this thesis shows, that referendums pose similar difficulties concerning inequality in participation. Referendums are even amplifying the tendency which is already well known from general elections, especially education seems to be a major indicator when it comes to voting in referendums. One claim of proponents of direct democratic methods and one of its theoretical bedrocks is, that these methods display the will of the electorate without the bias of representatives. This claim, that methods of direct democracy, erase this bias, seems not to be true, as even stronger, socioeconomic status determine whether an individual is voting in referendums. On the other hand, the research shows, that, elections for representative bodies seem to be more reliable to portray the interest of society in its entirety and are therefore closer to the democratic principle of equality. Equality of capacity and opportunity to participate is hard to achieve, but essential for the functioning of democracy. Possible solutions to fight unequal participation can not be found in supplementing representative democracies with direct democratic features. Reducing socioeconomic inequality and enable every citizen the be active in the political realm, through education and a life without existential fear, could on the long run help to enhance the democratic process.

Finally, as the effects of socioeconomic factors on participation differ between the chosen national elections and the chosen referendums, future research has to determined which contextual factors shape the effect, the electoral system regarding to national elections, the character of the referendum or the topic approached in the referendum. Therefore more systematic cross national research is needed.

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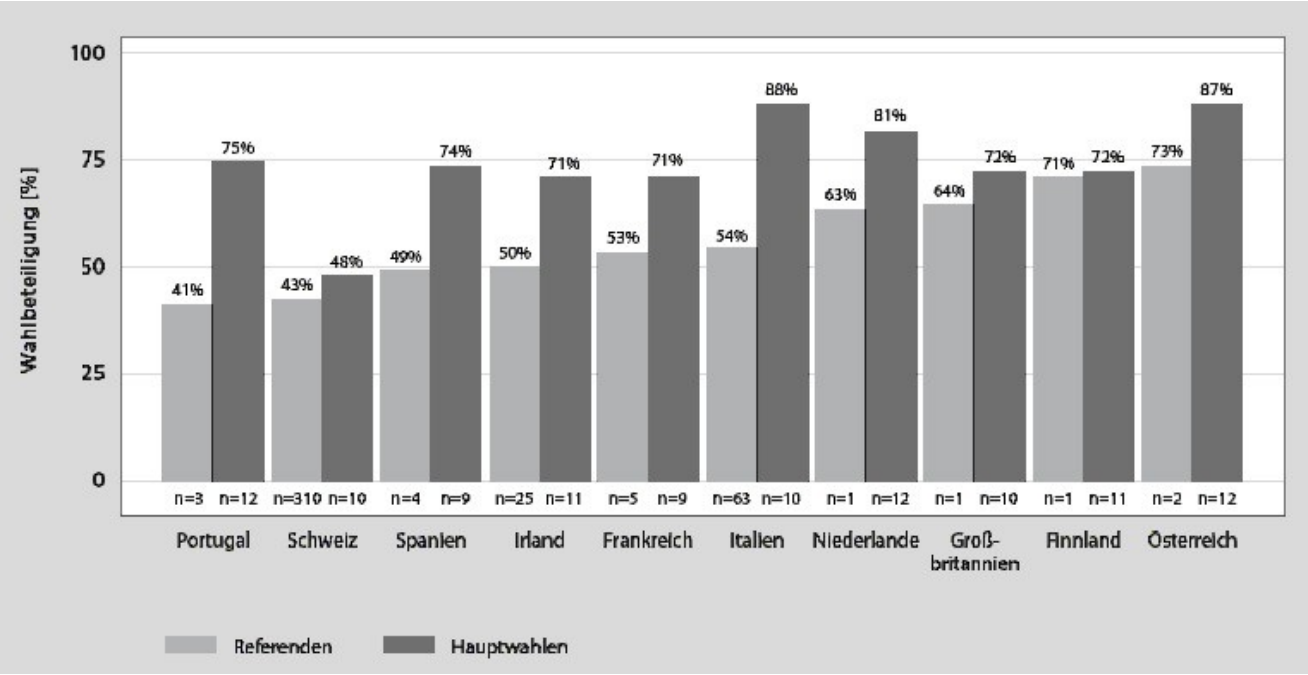
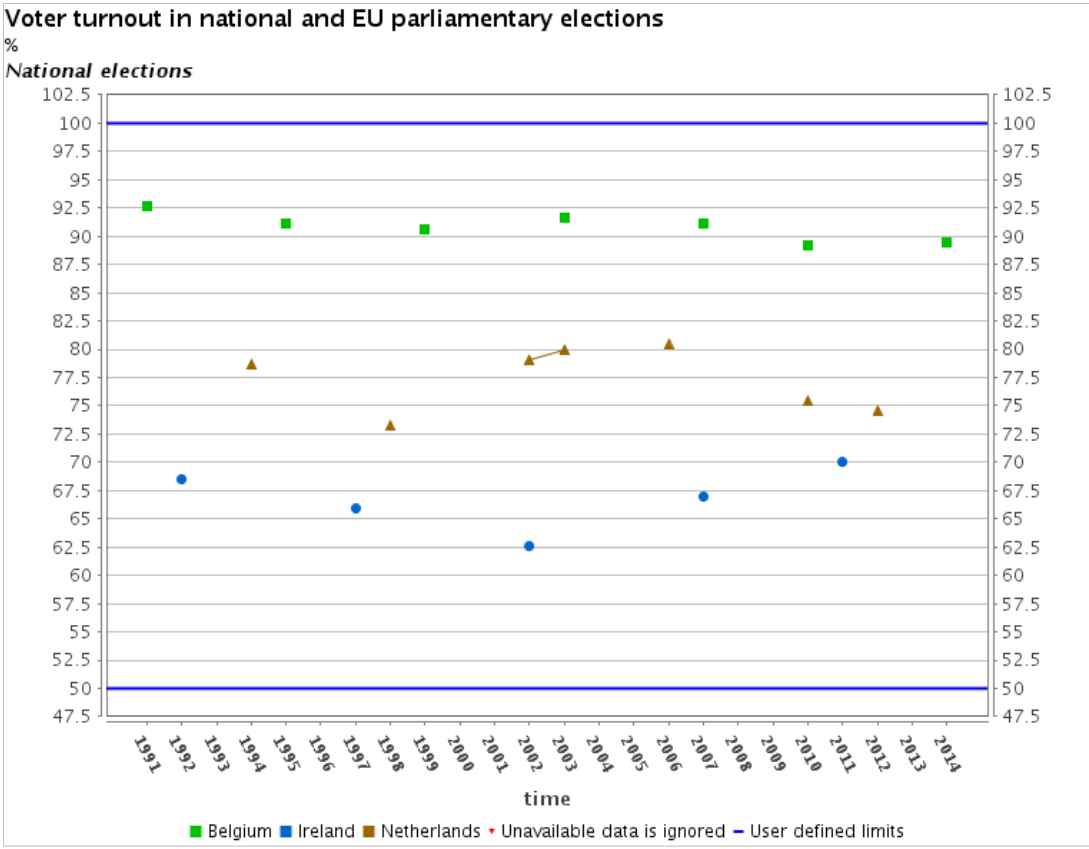
Appendix A

Figure 1: Average turnout of general elections and referendums in Western Europe 1970-2007



Note. Reprinted from: Merkel, W. (2014). *Direkte Demokratie: Referenden aus demokratietheoretischer und sozialdemokratischer Sicht*. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Internat. Politikanalyse.

Figure 2: Turnout in national parliamentary elections from 1990 till 2014 in Ireland Belgium and the Netherlands



Source of Data Eurostat - IDEA Voter turnout database (IDEA: International institute for democracy and electoral assistance)
Last update: 24.11.2016
Date of extraction: 05 Dec 2016 11:50:36 CET
Hyperlink to the graph: http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/eurostat/tgm./drawGraph.do&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdgo310&toolbox=legend
Disclaimer: This graph has been created automatically by Eurostat software according to external user specifications for which Eurostat is not responsible. Graphic included
General Disclaimer of the EC website: http://ec.europa.eu/geninfo/legal_notices_en.htm
Short Description: The number of those who cast a vote or 'turn out' at an election includes those who cast blank or invalid votes. In Belgium, Luxembourg and Greece, voting is compulsory. In Italy, voting is a civic obligation (no penalty). The EU average was estimated by Eurostat on the basis of the trends observed in each of the Member States. The EU average refers to parliamentary elections for all countries, except for Cyprus (only presidential elections), France, Portugal and Romania (both parliamentary and presidential elections).

Note: Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/graph.do?tab=graph&plugin=1&pcode=tsdgo310&language=en&toolbox=sort

Appendix B

Table 18: Highest level of Education / Participation in general election may 2002 separated by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	None	62.5%	37.5%	100% 8
	Completed Primary	9.2%	90.8%	100% 249
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	16.7%	83.3%	100% 216
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	15.9%	84.1%	100% 283
	Diploma or Certificate	16.0%	84.0%	100% 156
	University Degree or equivalent	16.3%	83.7%	100% 203
	Total (n)	15%	85%	100% 1115
Female	None	45.5%	54.5%	100% 11
	Completed Primary	14.0%	86.0%	100% 236
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	11.9%	88.1%	100% 236
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	13.5%	86.5%	100% 348
	Diploma or Certificate	14.7%	85.3%	100% 238
	University Degree or equivalent	17.3%	82.7%	100% 173
	Total (n)	14.3%	85.7%	100% 1242

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 21.7; df=5; p - Value = 0.001 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 11.368; df = 5; p - Value= 0,045

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 19: Highest level of Education / Participation in general election may 2002 separated by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	None	33.3%	66.7%	100% 6
	Completed Primary	37.5%	62.5%	100% 32
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	31.7%	68.3%	100% 139
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	25.9%	74.1%	100% 286
	Diploma or Certificate	22.9%	77.1%	100% 201
	University Degree or equivalent	20.9%	79.1%	100% 201
	Total (n)	25.4%	74.6%	100% 865
38 - 57	None	77.80%	22.2%	100% 9
	Completed Primary	11.2%	88.8%	100% 179
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	11.8%	88.2%	100% 245
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	7.7%	92.3%	100% 284
	Diploma or Certificate	9.3%	90.7%	100% 182
	University Degree or equivalent	12.0%	88.0%	100% 158
	Total (n)	10.8%	89.2%	100% 1057

58 and older	None	44.4%	55.6%	100% 9
	Completed Primary	10.5%	89.5%	100% 334
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	7.1%	92.9%	100% 141
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	12.4%	87.6%	100% 121
	Diploma or Certificate	11.3%	88.7%	100% 53
	University Degree or equivalent	11.5%	88.5%	100% 52
	Total (n)	10.7%	89.3%	100% 710

Test Statistics: 18 -37: Pearson chi-square Value = 8,391 ; df= 5; p - Value= 0,136 / 38 -57: Pearson chi-square Value 45,661; df= 5; p - Value=0,000 / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value= 13,083; df= 5; p - Value=0,023

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 20: Highest level of education / Participation in general election may 2007 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	None	16.7%	83.3%	100%
				12
	Completed Primary	11.8%	88.2%	100%
				119
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	5.9%	94.1%	100%
				101
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	9.2%	90.8%	100%
				131
	Diploma or Certificate	14.1%	85.9%	100%
				78
	University Degree or equivalent	15.2%	84.8%	100%
				125
	Total (n)	11.3%	88.7%	100%
		64	502	566
Female	None	100.0%	0.0%	100%
				2
	Completed Primary	11.9%	88.1%	100%
				109
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	5.6%	94.4%	100%
				108
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	14.4%	85.6%	100%
				146
	Diploma or Certificate	12.4%	87.6%	100%
				113
	University Degree or equivalent	11.1%	88.9%	100%
				108
	Total (n)	11.6%	88.4%	100%
				586

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 6.368; df = 5; p - Value= 0.272 / Female: p - Value: Pearson chi-square Value= 20.291; df = 5; p - Value=0.001

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 21: Highest level of education / Participation in general election may 2007 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	None	100.0%	0.0%	100% 1
	Completed Primary	28.6%	71.4%	100% 7
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	25.0%	75.0%	100% 28
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	23.8%	76.3%	100% 80
	Diploma or Certificate	21.3%	78.7%	100% 61
	University Degree or equivalent	19.4%	80.6%	100% 98
	Total (n)	22.2%	77.8%	100% 275
38 - 57	None	0.0%	100.0%	100% 3
	Completed Primary	13.2%	86.8%	100% 68
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	2.8%	97.2%	100% 108
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	11.9%	88.1%	100% 143
	Diploma or Certificate	8.2%	91.8%	100% 97
	University Degree or equivalent	6.5%	93.5%	100% 92
	Total (n)			100% 511

58 and older	None	41.7%	58.3%	100% 12
	Completed Primary	10.7%	89.3%	100% 169
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	4.2%	95.8%	100% 95
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	4.9%	95.1%	100% 82
	Diploma or Certificate	6.5%	93.5%	100% 46
	University Degree or equivalent	13.3	86.7%	100% 60
	Total (n)	9.1%	90.9%	100% 464

Note: Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 4.387; df = 5; p - Value= 0.495 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 9.449; df = 5; p - Value= 0.092; / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 22.164; df= 5; p - Value= 0.00

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 22: Highest level of education / Participation in the Irish referendum june 2001 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	None	62.5%	37.5%	100%
				8
	Completed Primary	32.8%	67.2%	100%
				241
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	35.3%	64.7%	100%
				204
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	37.0%	63.0%	100%
				281
	Diploma or Certificate	32.5%	67.5%	100%
				151
	University Degree or equivalent	28.6%	71.4%	100%
				199
	Total (n)	33.8%	66.2%	100%
Female	None	77.8%	22.2%	100%
				9
	Completed Primary	43.3%	56.7%	100%
				210
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	38.2%	61.8%	100%
				220
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	37.5%	62.5%	100%
				325
	Diploma or Certificate	29.4%	70.6%	100%
				228
	University Degree or equivalent	30.4%	69.6%	100%
				168
	Total (n)	30.4%	69.6%	100%
				1160

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 7.046; df = 5; p - Value= 0.217 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 19; df = 5; p - Value= 0.002

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 23: Highest level of education / Participation in the Irish referendum june 2001 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	None	83.3%	16.7%	100%
				6
	Completed Primary	75.0%	25.0%	100%
				36
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	55.1%	44.9%	100%
				136
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	58.9%	41.1%	100%
				280
	Diploma or Certificate	42.1%	57.9%	100%
				202
	University Degree or equivalent	40.2%	59.8%	100%
				199
	Total (n)	50.9%	49.1%	100%
				859
38 - 57	None	75.00%	25.0%	100%
				8
	Completed Primary	43.40%	56.6%	100%
				175
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	33.6%	66.4%	100%
				238
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	26.4%	73.6%	100%
				277
	Diploma or Certificate	24.0%	76.0%	100%
				175
	University Degree or equivalent	21.4%	78.6%	100%
				154
	Total (n)	30.2%	69.8%	100%
				1027

58 and older	None	62.5%	37.5%	100%
				8
	Completed Primary	31.6%	68.4%	100%
				294
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	21.4%	78.6%	100%
				117
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	22.1%	77.9%	100%
				104
	Diploma or Certificate	14.0%	86.0%	100%
				43
	University Degree or equivalent	10.2%	89.8	100%
				49
	Total (n)	25.5%	74.5%	100%
				615

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 34.498; df = 5; p - Value= 0.000 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value; df = 5; p - Value= 0.000 / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 22.3; df = 5; p - Value= 0.000 //Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 24: General level of Household income in €/ Participation in the Irish referendum june 2001 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	Under 240	41.9%	58.1%	100%
				136
	241 - 450	32.2%	67.8%	100%
				270
	451 - 700	29.2%	70.8%	100%
				27
	701 or more	32.7%	67.3%	100%
				284
	Total (n)	32.90%	67.10%	100%
				961
Female	Under 240	42.8%	57.2%	100%
				180
	241 - 450	36.9%	63.1%	100%
				317
	451 - 700	35.1%	64.9%	100%
				271
	701 or more	32.0%	68.0%	100%
				250
	Total (n)	36.20%	63.80%	100%
				1018

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 6.789; df = 3; p - Value= 0.079 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 5.5 ; df = 3; p - Value= 0.139

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 25: General level of Household income in €/ Participation in the Irish referendum june 2001 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	Under 240	68.2%	31.8%	100%
				66
	241 - 450	53.2%	46.8%	100%
				186
	451 - 700	44.7%	55.3%	100%
				219
	701 or more	46.6%	51.4%	100%
				257
	Total (n)	50.40%	49.60%	100%
				728
38 - 57	Under 240	40.9%	59.1%	100%
				93
	241 - 450	32.0%	68.0%	100%
				281
	451 - 700	29.5%	70.5%	100%
				278
	701 or more	22.6%	77.4%	100%
				270
	Total (n)	29.4%	70.6%	100%
				922
58 and older	Under 240	35.8%	64.2%	100%
				201
	241 - 450	22.3%	77.7%	100%
				202
	451 - 700	17.0%	83.0%	100%
				94
	701 or more	20.7%	79.3%	100%
				58
	Total (n)	26,10%	73,9%	100%
				555

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 12.059; df = 3; p - Value= 0.007 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value; df = 3; p - Value= 0.005 / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 16.264; df = 3; p - Value= 0.001

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 26: Highest level of Education / Participation in the Irish referendum in March 2002 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	None	75.0%	25.0%	100%
				8
	Completed Primary	40.3%	59.7%	100%
				248
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	36.7%	63.3%	100%
				215
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	32.2%	67.8%	100%
				283
	Diploma or Certificate	24.5%	75.5%	100%
				155
	University Degree or equivalent	26.7%	73.3%	100%
				202
	Total (n)	33.1%	66.9%	100,00%
				1111
Female	None	54.5%	45.5%	100%
				11
	Completed Primary	25.8%	74.2%	100%
				236
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	26.8%	73.2%	100%
				235
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	26.2%	73.8%	100%
				347
	Diploma or Certificate	28.2%	71.8%	100%
				238
	University Degree or equivalent	22.5%	77.5%	100%
				173
	Total (n)	26.4%	73.6%	100%
				1240

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 22.436; df = 5; p - Value=0.000 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 6.251; df = 5; p - Value= 0.283

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 27: Highest level of Education / Participation in the Irish referendum in March 2002 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	None	50.0%	50.0%	100%
				6
	Completed Primary	59.4%	40.6%	100%
				32
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	44.2%	55.8%	100%
				138
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	45.5%	54.5%	100%
				286
	Diploma or Certificate	33.3%	66.7%	100%
				201
	University Degree or equivalent	37.7%	62.3%	100%
				199
	Total (n)	41.2%	58.8%	100%
38 - 57	None	77.80%	22.2%	100%
				9
	Completed Primary	31.70%	68.3	100%
				180
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	29.5%	70.5%	100%
				244
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	21.1%	79.0%	100%
				181
	Diploma or Certificate	21.0%	79.0%	100%
				158
	University Degree or equivalent	15.8%	84.2%	100%
				158
	Total (n)	24.5%	75.5%	100%
				1056

58 and older	None	66.7%	33.3%	100%
				9
	Completed Primary	31.9%	68.1%	100%
				332
	Junior / Inter Group or equivalent	25.0%	75.0%	100%
				140
	Leaving Cert or equivalent	20.8%	79.2%	100%
				120
	Diploma or Certificate	22.6%	77.4%	100%
				53
	University Degree or equivalent	15.4%	84.60%	100%
				52
	Total (n)	27.2%	72.8%	100%
				706

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 13.355; df = 5; p - Value= 0.02 / 38 - 58: Pearson chi-square Value = 31.475; df = 5; p - Value= 0.000; / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value =17.85; df = 5; p - Value= 0.003

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 28: General level household income in €/ Participation in the Irish referendum in March 2002 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	Under 240	42.9%	57.1%	100%
				140
	241 - 450	31.9%	68.1%	100%
				279
	451 - 700	28.0%	72.0%	100%
				275
	701 or more	32.5%	67.5%	100%
				289
	Total (n)	32.60%	67.40%	100%
				983
Female	Under 240	30.2%	69.8%	100%
				199
	241 - 450	27.9%	72.1%	100%
				344
	451 - 700	23.5%	76.5%	100%
				281
	701 or more	23.9%	76.1%	100%
				264
	Total (n)	26.20%	73.80%	100%
				1088

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 9.421; df= 3; p - Value= 0.024 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value= 3.94; df= 3; p- Value = 0.268

Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 2002 - 2007

Table 29: General level household income in €/ Participation in the Irish referendum in March 2002 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	Under 240	52.8%	47.2%	100%
				72
	241 - 450	39.4%	60.6%	100%
				188
	451 - 700	36.0%	64.0%	100%
				211
	701 or more	42.7%	57.3%	100%
				255
	Total (n)	40.90%	59.10%	100%
				726
38 - 57	Under 240	30.4%	69.6%	100%
				92
	241 - 450	29.2%	70.8%	100%
				281
	451 - 700	21.6%	78.4%	100%
				296
	701 or more	20.4%	79.6%	100%
				285
	Total (n)	24.30%	75.70%	100%
				954

58 and older	Under 240	31.80%	68.2%	100%
				223
	241 - 450	25.6%	74.4%	100%
				238
	451 - 700	22.1%	77.9%	100%
				104
	701 or more	22.1%	77.9%	100%
				68
	Total (n)			100%
				633

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 6.825; df = 3; p - Value= 0.078 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 9.088; df = 3; p - Value= 0.028 / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 4.987; df= 3; p - Value= 0,173 // Adapted from: Irish National Election Study 20002 - 2007

Table 30: Highest level of Education / Participation in the Dutch general election in 2006 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	elementary	13,6%	86,4%	100%
				66
	(lower) vocational	10,5%	89,5%	100%
				200
	secondary	3,2%	96,8%	100%
				63
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	8,4%	91,6%	100%
				526
	higher level vocational, university	3,1%	96,9%	100%
				321
	Total (n)	7,3%	92,7%	100%
				1176
Female	elementary	15,4%	84,6%	100%
				78
	(lower) vocational	6,8%	93,2%	100%
				191
	secondary	6,4%	93,6%	100%
				157
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	6,8%	93,2%	100%
				469
	higher level vocational, university	2,5%	97,5%	100%
				281
	Total (n)	6,3%	93,7%	100%
				1176

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 17.686; df = 4; =0.001 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 18.133; df = 4; p - Value= 0.001

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 31: Highest level of Education / Participation in the Dutch general election in 2006 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	elementary	27,3%	72,7%	100%
				11
	(lower) vocational	18,8%	81,2%	100%
				69
	secondary	5,8%	94,2%	100%
				69
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	12,3%	87,7%	100%
				381
	higher level vocational, university	4,9%	95,1%	100%
				205
	Total (n)	10,5%	89,5%	100%
				735
38 - 57	elementary	25,0%	75,0%	100%
				20
	(lower) vocational	9,8%	90,2%	100%
				164
	secondary	5,4%	94,6%	100%
				74
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	4,9%	95,1%	100%
				432
	higher level vocational, university	2,0%	98,0%	100%
				251
	Total (n)	5,4%	94,6%	100%
				941

58 and older	elementary	10,3%	89,7%	100%
				107
	(lower) vocational	3,2%	96,8%	100%
				154
	secondary	4,1%	95,9%	100%
				73
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	4,0%	96,0%	100%
				177
	higher level vocational, university	1,5%	98,5%	100%
				136
	Total (n)	4,3%	95,7%	100%
				647

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 18.322; df = 4; p - Value=0.001 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 26.991; df = 4; p - Value= 0.000; / 57 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 13.341; df = 4; p - Value=0.015

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 32: Household income in €/ Participation in the Dutch general election 2006 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	< 19592	11,9%	88,1%	100%
				193
	19592 - < 26879	10,2%	89,8%	100%
				255
	26879 - < 34896	6,7%	93,3%	100%
				270
	34896 - < 45683	6,7%	93,3%	100%
				254
	45683 and more	4,0%	96,0%	100%
				277
	Total (n)	7,6%	92,4%	100%
				1249
Female	< 19592	9,2%	90,8%	100%
				262
	19592 - < 26879	6,4%	93,6%	100%
				249
	26879 - < 34896	7,1%	92,9%	100%
				239
	34896 - < 45683	5,9%	94,1%	100%
				254
	45683 and more	4,7%	95,3%	100%
				253
	Total (n)	6,7%	93,3%	100%
				1257

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 13.387; df= 4; p - Value = 0.01 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 4.449; df= 4; p - Value = 0.349// Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 33: Household income in €/ Participation in the Dutch general election 2006 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	< 19592	13,4%	86,6%	100%
				149
	19592 - < 26879	14,9%	85,1%	100%
				134
	26879 - < 34896	9,5%	90,5%	100%
				169
	34896 - < 45683	10,1%	89,9%	100%
				158
	45683 and more	10,1%	89,9%	100%
				145
	Total (n)	11,1%	88,9%	100%
				755
38 - 57	< 19592	9,4%	90,6%	100%
				117
	19592 - < 26879	7,5%	92,5%	100%
				160
	26879 - < 34896	7,0%	93,0%	100%
				213
	34896 - < 45683	4,2%	95,8%	100%
				237
	45683 and more	3,0%	97,0%	100%
				271
	Total (n)			100
				998

58 and older	< 19592	8,6%	91,4%	100%
				187
	19592 - < 26879	4,4%	95,6%	100%
				205
	26879 - < 34896	3,4%	96,6%	100%
				119
	34896 - < 45683	3,7%	96,3%	100%
				107
	45683 and more	1,9%	98,1%	100%
				106
	Total (n)	4,8%	95,2%	100%
				724

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 4,572 ; df = 4; p - Value= 0.334/ 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 9.56; df = 4; p - Value= 0.049; / 57 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 8.56 ; df = 4; p - Value=0.073

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

Table 34: Highest education / Participation in the Dutch general election in 2012 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	elementary	20,0%	80,0%	100%
				45
	(lower) vocational	33,0%	67,0%	100%
				109
	secondary	21,1%	78,9%	100%
				38
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	13,6%	86,4%	100%
				337
	higher level vocational, university	3,9%	96,1%	100%
				256
	Total (n)	13,9%	86,1%	100%
				785
Female	elementary	28,1%	71,9%	100%
				57
	(lower) vocational	16,9%	83,1%	100%
				136
	secondary	25,4%	74,6%	100%
				63
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	14,4%	85,6%	100%
				312
	higher level vocational, university	2,9%	97,1%	100%
				239
	Total (n)	13,3%	86,7%	100%
				807

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 57.778; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 43.063; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

Table 35: Highest education / Participation in the Dutch general election in 2012 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	elementary	50,0%	50,0%	100%
				8
	(lower) vocational	33,3%	66,7%	100%
				30
	secondary	37,5%	62,5%	100%
				24
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	20,4%	79,6%	100%
				230
	higher level vocational, university	6,9%	93,1%	100%
				145
	Total (n)	18,3%	81,7%	100%
				437
38 - 57	elementary	29,4%	70,6%	100%
				17
	(lower) vocational	28,6%	71,4%	100%
				98
	secondary	25,0%	75,0%	100%
				36
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	11,6%	88,4%	100%
				268
	higher level vocational, university	0,5%	99,5%	100%
				202
	Total (n)	11,9%	88,1%	100%
				621

58 and older	elementary	20,8%	79,2%	100%
				77
	(lower) vocational	17,9%	82,1%	100%
				117
	secondary	14,6%	85,4%	100%
				41
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	9,2%	90,8%	100%
				152
	higher level vocational, university	4,1%	95,9%	100%
				148
	Total (n)	11,8%	88,2%	100%
				535

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value =29.134 ; df = 4; p - Value= 0.000/ 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 61.863; df = 4; p - Value= 0.000; / 57 and older: Pearson chi-square Value =20.079 ; df = 4; p - Value=0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

Table 36: Household income (in 20% groups) / Participation in the Dutch general election 2012 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	till 20	13,4%	86,6%	100%
				82
	20 till 40	28,7%	71,3%	100%
				122
	40 till 60	14,1%	85,9%	100%
				163
	60 till 80	13,7%	86,3%	100%
				227
	80 till 100	8,4%	91,6%	100%
				226
	Total (n)	14,5%	85,5%	100%
				820
Female	till 20	26,9%	73,1%	100%
				93
	20 till 40	20,5%	79,5%	100%
				146
	40 till 60	14,9%	85,1%	100%
				195
	60 till 80	9,3%	90,7%	100%
				214
	80 till 100	5,3%	94,7%	100%
				206
	Total (n)	13,5%	86,5%	100%
				854

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 26.788; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 35.77; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

Table 37: Household income (in 20% groups) / Participation in the Dutch general election 2012 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	till 20	17,7%	82,3%	100%
				79
	20 till 40	39,7%	60,3%	100%
				58
	40 till 60	18,3%	81,7%	100%
				93
	60 till 80	15,9%	84,1%	100%
				113
	80 till 100	10,8%	89,2%	100%
				102
	Total (n)	18,7%	81,3%	100%
				445
38 - 57	till 20	19,6%	80,4%	100%
				56
	20 till 40	21,4%	78,6%	100%
				70
	40 till 60	12,7%	87,3%	100%
				150
	60 till 80	13,1%	86,9%	100%
				183
	80 till 100	6,8%	93,2%	100%
				192
	Total (n)	12,6%	87,4%	100%
				651

58 and older	till 20	27,5%	72,5%	100%
				40
	20 till 40	19,9%	80,1%	100%
				141
	40 till 60	13,9%	86,1%	100%
				115
	60 till 80	6,2%	93,8%	100%
				145
	80 till 100	4,3%	95,7%	100%
				138
	Total (n)	12,1%	87,9%	100%
				579

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 21.63; df = 4; p - Value= 0.000 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 13.449 ; df = 4; p - Value= 0.009; / 57 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 29.808; df = 4; p - Value=0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2012

Table 38: Highest education completed / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2005 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	elementary	50,0%	50,0%	100%
				76
	(lower) vocational	41,0%	59,0%	100%
				212
	secondary	44,8%	55,2%	100%
				58
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	31,3%	68,7%	100%
				546
	higher level vocational, university	18,4%	81,6%	100%
				337
	Total (n)	31,2%	68,8%	100%
				1229
Female	elementary	58,2%	41,8%	100%
				91
	(lower) vocational	39,7%	60,3%	100%
				209
	secondary	38,1%	61,9%	100%
				168
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	33,0%	67,0%	100%
				494
	higher level vocational, university	15,7%	84,3%	100%
				300
	Total (n)	32,5%	67,5%	100%
				1262

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 52.783; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 73.661; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 39: Highest education completed / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2005 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	elementary	58,3%	41,7%	100%
				12
	(lower) vocational	48,6%	51,4%	100%
				74
	secondary	56,4%	43,6%	100%
				55
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	40,8%	59,2%	100%
				390
	higher level vocational, university	23,8%	76,2%	100%
				214
	Total (n)	38,1%	61,9%	100%
				745
38 - 57	elementary	53,6%	46,4%	100%
				28
	(lower) vocational	39,2%	60,8%	100%
				176
	secondary	32,1%	67,9%	100%
				81
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	24,9%	75,1%	100%
				454
	higher level vocational, university	15,2%	84,8%	100%
				264
	Total (n)	26,2%	73,8%	100%
				1003

58 and older	elementary	54,7%	45,3%	100%
				117
	(lower) vocational	36,8%	63,2%	100%
				163
	secondary	34,5%	65,5%	100%
				84
	middle level vocational, higher level secondary	30,4%	69,6%	100%
				184
	higher level vocational, university	11,2%	88,8%	100%
				143
	Total (n)	32,6%	67,4%	100%
				691

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 32.998; df = 4; p - Value= 0.000 / 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 44,747 ; df = 4; p - Value= 0.000; / 57 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 57.729 ; df = 4; p - Value=0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 40: Disposable income of household (after taxes) in € / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2005 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	< 19592	37,4%	62,6%	100%
				206
	19592 - < 26879	39,3%	60,7%	100%
				270
	26879 - < 34896	33,8%	66,2%	100%
				278
	34896 - < 45683	24,8%	75,2%	100%
				262
	45683 and more	24,0%	76,0%	100%
				288
	Total (n)	31,5%	68,5%	100%
				1304
Female	< 19592	39,1%	60,9%	100%
				284
	19592 - < 26879	39,0%	61,0%	100%
				267
	26879 - < 34896	32,2%	67,8%	100%
				264
	34896 - < 45683	25,6%	74,4%	100%
				270
	45683 and more	28,7%	71,3%	100%
				268
	Total (n)	33,0%	67,0%	100%
				1353

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 24.541; df= 4; p - Value = 0.000 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 18.095; df= 4; p - Value = 0.001

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 41: Disposable income of household (after taxes) in € / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2005 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	< 19592	37,4%	62,6%	100%
				155
	19592 - < 26879	50,8%	49,2%	100%
				130
	26879 - < 34896	38,8%	61,2%	100%
				170
	34896 - < 45683	28,4%	71,6%	100%
				162
	45683 and more	40,5%	59,5%	100%
				148
	Total (n)	38,7%	61,3%	100%
				765
38 - 57	< 19592	29,5%	70,5%	100%
				129
	19592 - < 26879	33,7%	66,3%	100%
				172
	26879 - < 34896	32,2%	67,8%	100%
				230
	34896 - < 45683	25,7%	74,3%	100%
				249
	45683 and more	18,8%	81,2%	100%
				287
	Total (n)	27,0%	73,0%	100%
				1067

58 and older	< 19592	45,0%	55,0%	100%
				200
	19592 - < 26879	35,9%	64,1%	100%
				223
	26879 - < 34896	26,4%	73,6%	100%
				129
	34896 - < 45683	18,2%	81,8%	100%
				110
	45683 and more	24,3%	75,7%	100%
				111
	Total (n)	32,5%	67,5%	100%
				773

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 15.555 ; df = 4; p - Value= 0.004/ 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value = 17.431; df = 4; p - Value= 0.002; / 57 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 31.298; df = 4; p - Value=0.000

Adapted from: Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 2006

Table 42: Highest level of education / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2016 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	primary education	57,3%	42,7%	100%
				75
	preparatory secondary vocational education	44,2%	55,8%	100%
				231
	general secondary education	40,0%	60,0%	100%
				120
	senior secondary vocational education	38,4%	61,6%	100%
				320
	higher professional education	35,8%	64,2%	100%
				296
	wo	44,1%	55,9%	100%
				145
	Total (n)	40,9%	59,1%	100%
				1187
Female	primary education	57,0%	43,0%	100%
				100
	preparatory secondary vocational education	44,6%	55,4%	100%
				361
	general secondary education	42,8%	57,2%	100%
				159
	senior secondary vocational education	56,6%	43,4%	100%
				304
	higher professional education	41,6%	58,4%	100%
				291
	research-oriented education	47,0%	53,0%	100%
				115
	Total (n)	47,6%	52,4%	100%
				1330

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 14.03; df= 5; p - Value = 0.015 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 20,408; df= 5; p - Value = 0.001

Adapted from: Election Survey Ukraine referendum - Measurement 3

Table 43: Highest level of education / Participation in the Dutch referendum 2016 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	primary education	59,3%	40,7%	100%
				27
	preparatory secondary vocational education	74,3%	25,7%	100%
				35
	general secondary education	52,1%	47,9%	100%
				94
	senior secondary vocational education	55,6%	44,4%	100%
				117
	higher professional education	51,0%	49,0%	100%
				102
	research-oriented education	49,5%	50,5%	100%
				91
	Total (n)	54,3%	45,7%	100%
				466
38 - 57	primary education	60,0%	40,0%	100%
				25
	preparatory secondary vocational education	51,3%	48,7%	100%
				150
	general secondary education	42,7%	57,3%	100%
				75
	senior secondary vocational education	52,5%	47,5%	100%
				284
	higher professional education	47,3%	52,7%	100%
				201
	research-oriented education	48,8%	51,2%	100%
				84
	Total (n)	49,9%	50,1%	100%
				819

58 and older	primary education	56,1%	43,9%	100%
				123
	preparatory secondary vocational education	39,3%	60,7%	100%
				407
	general secondary education	31,8%	68,2%	100%
				110
	senior secondary vocational education	36,3%	63,7%	100%
				223
	higher professional education	28,2%	71,8%	100%
				284%
	research-oriented education	37,6%	62,4%	100%
				85%
	Total (n)	37,1%	62,9%	100%
				1232

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 7.469 ; df = 5; p - Value= 0.188/ 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value =4.072; df = 5; p - Value= 0.539; / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 30.592; df = 5; p - Value=0.000

Adapted from: Election Survey Ukraine referendum - Measurement 3

Table 44: Monthly Income in €/ participation in the Dutch referendum 2016 by gender

		No	Yes	Total (n)
Male	< 1000	47,7%	52,3%	100%
				65
	1000 - 2000	43,1%	56,9%	100%
				102
	3000 - 4000	41,7%	58,3%	100%
				216
	4000 - 5000	30,8%	69,2%	100%
				182
	> 5000	41,5%	58,5%	100%
				164
	Total (n)	39,6%	60,4%	100%
				729
Female	< 1000	41,5%	58,5%	100%
				284
	1000 - 2000	47,3%	52,7%	100%
				186
	3000 - 4000	45,3%	54,7%	100%
				159
	4000 - 5000	39,1%	60,9%	100%
				46
	> 5000	34,5%	65,5%	100%
				29
	Total (n)	43,5%	56,5%	100%
				704

Test Statistics: Male: Pearson chi-square Value = 8.867; df= 4; p - Value = 0.065 / Female: Pearson chi-square Value = 3.062; df= 4; p - Value = 0.548

Adapted from: Election Survey Ukraine referendum - Measurement 3

Table 45: Monthly income in €/ participation in the Dutch referendum 2016 by age

		No	Yes	Total (n)
18 - 37	< 1000	59,2%	40,8%	100%
				120
	1000 - 2000	51,2%	48,8%	100%
				43
	3000 - 4000	57,7%	42,3%	100%
				78
	4000 - 5000	43,2%	56,8%	100%
				37
	> 5000	46,2%	53,8%	100%
				13
	Total (n)	55,0%	45,0%	100%
				291
38 - 57	< 1000	40,2%	59,8%	100%
				82
	1000 - 2000	56,1%	43,9%	100%
				98
	3000 - 4000	48,1%	51,9%	100%
				131
	4000 - 5000	36,1%	63,9%	100%
				97
	> 5000	49,4%	50,6%	100%
				89
	Total (n)	46,3%	53,7%	100%
				497

58 and older	< 1000	30,6%	69,4%	100%
				147
	1000 - 2000	37,4%	62,6%	100%
				147
	3000 - 4000	32,5%	67,5%	100%
				166
	4000 - 5000	24,5%	75,5%	100%
				94
	> 5000	30,8%	69,2%	100%
				91
	Total (n)	31,8%	68,2%	100%
				645

Test Statistics: 18 - 37: Pearson chi-square Value = 3.803 ; df = 4; p - Value= 0.433/ 38 - 57: Pearson chi-square Value =9.608; df = 4; p - Value= 0.048; / 58 and older: Pearson chi-square Value = 4.649; df = 4; p - Value=0.325

Adapted from: Election Survey Ukraine referendum - Measurement 3