



**UNIVERSITÉ  
DE GENÈVE**

**Archive ouverte UNIGE**

<https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch>

Livre

2021

Extract

Open Access

This file is a(n) Extract of:

---

## Youth and Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities

---

Giugni, Marco (ed.); Grasso, Maria (ed.)

This publication URL:

<https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:153511>

© This document is protected by copyright. Please refer to copyright holders for terms of use.

# Palgrave Studies in Young People and Politics

Series Editors

James Sloam

Department of Politics and International Relations  
Royal Holloway, University of London  
Egham, UK

Constance Flanagan

School of Human Ecology

University of Wisconsin–Madison  
Madison, WI, USA

Bronwyn Hayward

School of Social and Political Sciences  
University of Canterbury  
Christchurch, New Zealand

Over the past few decades, many democracies have experienced low or falling voter turnout and a sharp decline in the members of mainstream political parties. These trends are most striking amongst young people, who have become alienated from mainstream electoral politics in many countries across the world. Young people are today faced by a particularly tough environment. From worsening levels of child poverty, to large increases in youth unemployment, to cuts in youth services and education budgets, public policy responses to the financial crisis have placed a disproportionate burden on the young.

This book series will provide an in-depth investigation of the changing nature of youth civic and political engagement. We particularly welcome contributions looking at:

- Youth political participation: for example, voting, demonstrations, and consumer politics
- The engagement of young people in civic and political institutions, such as political parties, NGOs and new social movements
- The influence of technology, the news media and social media on young people's politics
- How democratic innovations, such as social institutions, electoral reform, civic education, can rejuvenate democracy
- The civic and political development of young people during their transition from childhood to adulthood (political socialisation)
- Young people's diverse civic and political identities, as defined by issues of gender, class and ethnicity
- Key themes in public policy affecting younger citizens – e.g. youth (un)employment and education
- Cross-cutting themes such as intergenerational inequality, social mobility, and participation in policy-making – e.g. school councils, youth parliaments and youth wings of political parties

The series will incorporate a mixture of pivot publications (25,000-50,000 words), full-length monographs and edited volumes that will analyse these issues within individual countries, comparatively, and/ or through the lenses of different case studies.

More information about this series at  
<http://www.palgrave.com/gp/series/15478>

Marco Giugni • Maria Grasso  
Editors

# Youth and Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities

palgrave  
macmillan

*Editors*

Marco Giugni  
Department of Political Science and  
International Relations  
University of Geneva  
Geneva, Switzerland

Maria Grasso  
School of Politics and International  
Relations  
Queen Mary University of London  
London, UK

Palgrave Studies in Young People and Politics

ISBN 978-3-030-63675-3      ISBN 978-3-030-63676-0 (eBook)

<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-63676-0>

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Nature Switzerland AG 2021

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use. The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, expressed or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover illustration: Leontura / DigitalVision Vectors / Getty Image

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by the registered company Springer Nature Switzerland AG.

The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Results presented in this book have been obtained within the project “Reinventing Democracy in Europe: Youth Doing Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities” (EURYKA). This project was funded by the European Commission under the Horizon 2020 Programme (grant agreement no. 727025). The EURYKA consortium was coordinated by the University of Geneva (Marco Giugni), and was formed, additionally, by the Scuola Normale Superiore (Lorenzo Bosi), Uppsala University (Katrin Uba), the University of Sheffield (Maria Grasso), the CEVIPOF-Sciences Po Paris (Manlio Cinalli), the University of Siegen (Christian Lahusen), the University of Crete (Maria Kousis), the Open University of Catalonia (Anna Clua), and the University of Warsaw (Marcin Sinczuch). Each research team was composed of several members, many of who are the authors of the chapters included in this volume. We thank all the members of the Euryka research consortium for their contributions to the project. We are also grateful to our three project advisors Jennifer Earl, Gema Garcia Albacete, and Howard Williamson for their feedback and comments at various stages of the project and to the Series Editors and the team at Palgrave.



## Praise for *Youth and Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities*

“This volume is an indispensable guide to understanding young European’s experience and engagement of politics, the inequalities that shape young people’s political engagement and are sometimes replicated through them, and young people’s commitment to saving the environment and spreading democratic ideals. Based on compelling and extensive research across nine nations, this volume makes important advances in key debates on youth politics and provides critical empirical insights into which young people engage, influences on young people’s politics, how young people engage, why some young people don’t engage, and trends across nations. The volume succeeds in the herculean task of focusing on specific national contexts while also rendering a comprehensive picture of youth politics and inequality in Europe today.”

—Jennifer Earl, Professor of Sociology, *University of Arizona, USA*

“Forecasts by social scientists of young people’s increasingly apathetic stance towards political participation appear to have been misplaced. This text, drawing data and analysis across and between nine European countries, captures the changing nature of political ‘activism’ by young people. It indicates how this is strongly nuanced by factors such as social class and gender identity. It also highlights important distinctions between young people’s approaches towards more traditional (electoral) and more contemporary (non-institutional) forms of participation. Critically, it illuminates the many ways in which youth political participation has evolved and transformed in recent years. Wider social circumstances and experiences are identified as highly significant in preparing young people for, and influencing their levels of participation in, both protest-oriented action and electoral politics.”

—Howard Williamson, Professor of European Youth Policy, *University of South Wales, UK*

“This book is an incredible guide to understanding the role and sources of inequalities on young people’s political involvement. Country specific chapters allow the authors to integrate a large number of the key and most pressing issues regarding young people’s relationship to politics in a single volume. Topics range from social mobility and the influence of socioeconomic (parental) resources and class; young people’s practice in the social sphere; the intersection of gender with



other sources of inequalities; online participation and its relationship with social inequalities; the impact of harsh economic conditions; the mobilization potential of the environmental cause; to the role of political organizations. Integrating all these pressing dimensions in a common framework and accompanying it with extensive novel empirical evidence is a great achievement and the result is a must read piece for researchers and practitioners aiming to understand the challenges young people face in developing their relationship to politics.”

—Gema García-Albacete, Associate Professor of Political Science, *University Carlos III Madrid, Spain*

# CONTENTS

<b>1 Youth and Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities</b>	<b>1</b>
Marco Giugni and Maria Grasso	
<b>Part I Socialization and Youth Political Participation</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>2 Class Against Democracy? Family Background, Education, and (Youth) Political Participation in Germany</b>	<b>29</b>
Johannes Kiess	
<b>3 Youth's Socializing Spheres in Switzerland: Educational, Recreational, and Community Activities</b>	<b>57</b>
Valentina Holecz, Eva Fernández G. G., and Marco Giugni	
<b>4 Disclosing Inequalities: Gender and Patterns of Political Participation Among the Italian Youth</b>	<b>83</b>
Anna Lavizzari and Martín Portos	

<b>Part II</b>	<b>Modes of Youth Participation</b>	107
5	<b>Between Indifference and Rejection of Politics: Mobilization of Youth in Post-contentious France</b> Henry P. Rammelt, Manlio Cinalli, and Didier Chabanet	109
6	<b>Inequalities in Young Adults' Electoral and Non-institutionalised Modes of Political Participation in Greece: Similar or Diverse Patterns?</b> Stefania Kalogeraki	127
7	<b>An Unequal Surge? UK Youth Participation in Political Organisations and the Role of Gender Inequalities</b> Katherine A. Smith	159
8	<b>Knocking on the Public Sphere Door: Does Online Political Participation Make a Difference for Young People in Spain?</b> Anna Clua, Susana López-León, and Núria Ferran-Ferrer	183
<b>Part III</b>	<b>The Mobilization of Youth Politics</b>	207
9	<b>The Concern About Environment and Climate Among Young Adults in Sweden</b> Katrin Uba	209
10	<b>Inequalities Among Youth and Support for Right-Wing Populism in Poland</b> Marcin Sińczuch, Piotr Michalski, and Mariusz Piotrowski	231
	<b>Index</b>	259

## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

**Didier Chabanet** is Dean of Research at IDRAC Business School and Senior Researcher at Triangle (École Normale Supérieure). He is also Associate Researcher at Sciences Po – CEVIPOF, France. His interest lies especially in the fields of social movements, social exclusion, social entrepreneurship, and European integration.

**Manlio Cinalli** is Professor of Sociology at the University of Milan and is Associate Research Director at CEVIPOF (CNRS – UMR 7048), Sciences Po. Previously he held other positions in universities across Europe and the US. His research focuses on contentious fields, citizenship, and the relationship between policy and politics.

**Anna Clua** is Lecturer at the Studies of Communication and Information Sciences, Open University of Catalonia (UOC). She has a PhD. in Information Sciences (Autonomous University of Barcelona, 2001) and has been teaching Journalism since 1995. Her research has been funded by the European Commission, the Danish and Spanish Ministries of Foreign Affairs, the Spanish Ministry of Science and Education, the Spanish Ministry of Economy, Industry and Competitiveness, and the Spanish Woman Institute, among others.

**Eva Fernández G. G.** is a post-doc researcher at the University of Geneva and at the University of Applied Sciences and Arts, Western Switzerland. She works at the NCCR On the Move on a research project on post-retirement international mobilities, transnational lifestyles, and care configurations. She collaborated on the H2020 TransSOL and Euryka

projects. Her research focuses on immigration, inequality, solidarity, and political behavior.

**Núria Ferran-Ferrer** is Associate Lecturer of Information and Communication Sciences Studies at the Open University of Catalonia (UOC) since 2005. She has a doctorate from the University of Barcelona (UB), a bachelor's degree in Journalism (UAB), in Documentation (UOC) and a Master's degree in Society of Information (IN3-UOC). She has been a part-time lecturer since 2004 at universities such as UAB, UPF, and UOC.

**Marco Giugni** is Professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations and Director of the Institute of Citizenship Studies (InCite) at the University of Geneva, Switzerland. His research focuses on social movements and political participation.

**Maria Grasso** is Professor of Political Science and Political Sociology at Queen Mary University of London, UK. She is the author of *Generations, Political Participation and Social Change in Western Europe* (2016), *Street Citizens: Protest Politics and Social Movement Activism in the Age of Globalization* (2019, with Marco Giugni), and *Living with Hard Times: Europeans in the Great Recession* (Forthcoming, with Marco Giugni).

**Valentina Holecz** is a doctoral student and collaborator of research at the Institute of Citizenship Studies (InCite) at the University of Geneva. She worked on a project financed by the European Commission EURYKA; she also collaborated on a SNFS research project 'Offensive Discourse in Political Arenas' and on LIVEWHAT, with a funding from the European Union Programme. Her research focuses on youth political participation and social movements.

**Stefania Kalogeraki** is Assistant Professor of Quantitative Methods in Sociology and Social Demography at the Department of Sociology, University of Crete (Greece). Her main research interests focus on quantitative methods in social research, questionnaire design, social demographic analysis, cross-national social research designs, and mixed method studies.

**Johannes Kiess** is a post-doc researcher at University of Siegen, Germany and deputy director of the Else-Frenkel-Brunswik-Institute for Democracy Research at University of Leipzig, Germany. He holds an MA in political science from the University of Leipzig and a PhD in Sociology

from University of Siegen. Johannes has published various articles, chapters, and books in both English and German in the field of political sociology, focusing on right-wing extremism, participation, and industrial relations.

**Anna Lavizzari** is a Research Fellow at the Scuola Normale Superiore, Centre on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS). She holds a PhD from the University of Kent. Her research interests include youth political participation, social movements, gender, and religion. As a political sociologist, she published on the links between political participation, religious identities, and gender dynamics in both party politics and grassroots mobilizations.

**Susana López-León** She has a degree in Sociology from the University of Barcelona (2004) and a Master's in Applied Social Research Techniques (UAB, UB and Colpis, 2006). Since 2014, she has established herself as a freelancer in quantitative research, in different fields, both in opinion and marketing studies. She possesses advanced knowledge of statistical software, especially SPSS and R.

**Piotr Michalski** is a quantitative researcher at the Institute of Psychology, Polish Academy of Sciences, University of Warsaw. His work focuses on the effects of individual differences and social context on intergroup relations.

**Mariusz Piotrowski** works at the University of Warsaw. His main focus areas of research are sociology of the Internet (his PhD thesis looked at open source communities in Poland) and spatial analysis (creation of prototype database and tools for analysis of spatial data of culture institutions in Poland).

**Martín Portos** is CONEX-Plus Marie Curie Fellow at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid, Spain. He holds a PhD in Political and Social Sciences from the European University Institute. Winner of the Juan Linz Best Dissertation Award in Political Science and the ISA's Worldwide Competition for Junior Sociologists in 2018, he studies political participation, social movements, inequalities, and nationalism.

**Henry P. Rammelt** is a Visiting Professor at the National University of Political Studies and Public Administration Bucharest, Romania. He is the author of *Activistes Protestataires en Hongrie et en Roumanie* (2018). His research interests include contentious politics, civil society, and regime change.

**Marcin Sińczuch** is Assistant Professor at the Institute of Applied Social Studies, University of Warsaw. He is a qualitative and quantitative researcher interested in biographical trajectories of youth especially in the context of political participation and socialization.

**Katherine A. Smith** is a Doctoral Researcher at the University of Sheffield in the UK. She holds a BA in philosophy, politics, and economics and an MA in research methods from the University of Durham. Her research interests lie in political participation, young people's politics, and gender inequalities. In 2017, she was awarded a studentship for her doctoral studies from the EU Horizon 2020 funded EURYKA project.

**Katrin Uba** is Associate Professor at the Department of Government, Uppsala University. Her research focuses on long-term consequences of the Swedish environmental protests, the activists in climate strikes, and the mobilization of the Swedish labor movement. She is author of a *Trade Unions on YouTube* (with Jenny Jansson; Palgrave, 2019).

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. 2.1	Structural equation model for voting calculated with the full sample of the data set	42
Fig. 4.1	Forms of political participation by gender. (Source: EURYKA survey)	96
Fig. 5.1	Conventional forms of action in France. (Source: EURYKA survey)	114
Fig. 5.2	Disruptive forms of action in France. (Source: EURYKA survey)	114
Fig. 5.3	Consumerist forms of action in France. (Source: EURYKA survey)	115
Fig. 5.4	Direct forms of action in France. (Source: EURYKA survey)	116
Fig. 5.5	Online mobilization in France. (Source: EURYKA survey)	116
Fig. 6.1	Young adults' political participation (%) in Greece. (Source: EURYKA survey)	140
Fig. 8.1	Spanish young people profile (Segmentations of the sample). (Source: EURYKA survey)	194
Fig. 8.2	Dimensions regarding access and participation to the public sphere (Segmentations of the sample). (Source: EURYKA survey)	196
Fig. 8.3	Dimensions regarding online participation (Segmentations of the sample). (Source: EURYKA survey)	198
Fig. 8.4	Typology of political engagement regarding access to public sphere debates (Segmentations of the sample). (Source: EURYKA survey)	199



Fig. 8.5	Typology of political engagement regarding access to public information. (Source: EURYKA survey)	200
Fig. 9.1	The proportion of respondents choosing “the environment” or “climate and energy issues” as one of the two major personal concerns in Sweden by age groups. (Source: EURYKA survey)	214
Fig. 9.2	Factors explaining the variation in environmental and climate concerns among young people in Sweden. (Source: EURYKA survey)	222

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Political participation (% engaged in last 12 months) by age group and country	15
Table 1.2	Associational membership (% member) by age group and country	17
Table 1.3	Community participation (% engaged in last 12 months) by age group and country	20
Table 1.4	Online political participation (% at least once a month) by age group and country	22
Table 2.1	Young people and different forms of political participation compared (in %)	36
Table 2.2	Education and forms of political participation (in %)	39
Table 2.3	Educational attainment and father holding higher education degree (in %)	40
Table 2.4	Structural equation models for the “full sample”	43
Table 2.5	Structural equation models for the sub-sample “general population”	45
Table 2.6	Structural equation models for the sub-sample “18–24-years-old”	46
Table 2.7	Structural equation models for the sub-sample “25–34-years-old”	47
Table 2.8	Recoding of variables employed	50
Table 3.1	Group differences across the three socializing spheres for four sociodemographic characteristics of young people (t-test and rank test)	67

Table 3.2	Engagement in the three socializing spheres by age group and gender (percentages)	69
Table 3.3	Engagement in the three socializing spheres by age group and citizenship status (percentages)	70
Table 3.4	Engagement in the three socializing spheres by age group and linguistic region (percentages)	71
Table 3.5	Engagement in the three socializing spheres by social class (percentages)	72
Table 3.6	Effects of covariates on involvement of young people in the three socializing spheres (logistic regression models, odds ratios)	74
Table 4.1	Mean levels of political consumerism, semi-institutional activism, confrontational activism, online participation, and electoral turnout by gender and education	97
Table 4.2	Level of political consumerism, semi-institutional activism, confrontational activism, online participation, and electoral turnout by gender and income	98
Table 4.3	Level of political consumerism, semi-institutional activism, confrontational activism, online participation, and electoral turnout by gender and job status	99
Table 4.4	Level of political consumerism, semi-institutional activism, confrontational activism, online participation, and electoral turnout by gender and frequency of meeting friends	99
Table 4.5	Level of political consumerism, semi-institutional activism, confrontational activism, online participation, and electoral turnout by gender and discussion of political issues with friends	100
Table 5.1	Percentage distribution mobilization items in France	112
Table 6.1	Component loadings for the rotated components	137
Table 6.2	Descriptive analysis of political participation	141
Table 6.3	Descriptive analysis of political participation	142
Table 6.4	Binary logistic regression predicting non-institutionalised protest-oriented participation of young adults in Greece	143
Table 6.5	Binary logistic regression predicting non-institutionalised individualised participation of young adults in Greece	145
Table 6.6	Binary logistic regression predicting electoral participation of young adults in Greece	148
Table 7.1	Political organisation and form of participation by age group	169
Table 7.2	Organisational participation by gender among respondents aged 18–34	171
Table 7.3	Logistic regression of environmental organisation membership	173

Table 7.4	Logistic regression of political party membership	173
Table 7.5	Logistic regression of environmental organisation volunteering	174
Table 7.6	Logistic regression of political party volunteering	174
Table 8.1	Types of political engagement	191
Table 8.2	Types of online political participation	192
Table 8.3	Classification of political engagement typology	193
Table 8.4	Description of political engagement typology	195
Table 9.1	Details of the variables used in the analysis	221
Table 9.2	Factors explaining the concern over environment and climate among young people in Sweden	226
Table 10.1	Voting preferences in general and among the youngest voters in Poland 2015–2020, in %	241
Table 10.2	Logistic regression: support for right-wing populist parties among youth (18–34) in Poland	244
Table 10.3	Logistic regression: support for centre-right populist party (PiS) among youth (18–34) in Poland	249
Table 10.4	Support for radical-right populist party (Korwin, KNP, Kukiz'15) among youth (18–34) in Poland	251