

# Perceived procedural injustice as motivator of different forms of political participation in European old and new democracies

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# Perceived procedural injustice as motivator of different forms of political participation in European old and new democracies



5th International ESS  
Conference  
20 years of European Social Survey  
data **Justice and fairness in Europe II**  
8-10 July 2024



# INTRODUCTION: (IN) JUSTICE AND PARTICIPATION

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## PROCEDURAL (IN) JUSTICE

- group engagement model of social justice - being treated fairly in a group, organization, or society enhances willingness to advocate for collective interests and cooperation
- collective action and social movement literature:
  - perceived injustice/grievance

## SYSTEM JUSTIFICATION THEORY

- system justification motivation can increase perceptions of procedural justice and consequently lower the motivation for behaviours aimed at social change.
- **The belief in a just world (BJW)** can be described as an system ideology which serves the purpose of legitimizing existing social and economic arrangements

# EFFICACY

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**Political sciences** *“the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process”* (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954 p. 187).



**Internal**

the perceptions of one's capability to engage in political behaviours



**External**

perceptions that the political system will be responsive

**Social psychology** – group efficacy

all forms positively related to various forms of political behaviours

## This study - AIMS

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- 1) To check the role of **perceived procedural injustice** and **beliefs in just world (BJW)** for explaining different form of political participation (previous protest participation- activism and voting)
- 2) To explore does the role of **procedural justice and BJW** for explaining different forms of political participation depends on internal efficacy
- 3) To explore does the role of perceived injustice, internal political efficacy and BJW differs among two group of European countries with different socio-political context (old democracies vs. new democracies post-socialist/communist democracies).

## Methods Data

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- **ESS round 9 (3.2) - 2018 - 2020**
  - 29 countries N = 49 519; 54% women; Mage = 51.07 (SD = 18.56)

### 12 new democracies

Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Croatia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia, Slovenia, Slovakia

Countries with a relatively recent history of socialism

### 17 old democracies

Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, Cyprus, Germany, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, UK, Ireland, Island, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden

Countries with a longer history of democracy



Analyses were conducted in R (MG)SEM with sampling weights and cluster-robust standard errors (with countries as clusters)

## Methods: variables - measures

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- Perceived injustice (1-5 scale ,  $\omega = .83$ )
- Belief in a just world (1-5 scale ,  $\omega = .76$ )
- Internal self-efficacy (1-5 scale,  $\omega = .81$ )
- Control factors (Age, Sex, Domicile, SES - Years in education)

## METHOD Measures

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### **Procedural justice beliefs:** fairness, impartiality, transparency

- three items - 5-point Likert scale (1 = *not at all*, 5 = *a great deal*).

*How much would you say that*

- *the political system in [country] ensures that everyone has a fair chance to participate in politics?*
- *that the government in [country] takes into account the interests of all citizens?*
- *that decisions in [country] politics are transparent, meaning that everyone can see how they were made?*  
(1-5 scale ,  $\omega = .83$ ) Reverse-coded, higher value = higher injustice

### **NOT INCLUDED**

Giving voice

- allows people like you to have a say in what the government does?
- allows people like you to have an influence on politics?

## METHOD Measures

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### **Belief in a just world** (1-5 scale , $\omega = .76$ )

*By and large, people get what they deserve*

*Confident that justice always prevails over injustice*

*Convinced that in the long run people compensated for injustices*

Reverse-coded, higher value = stronger belief in a just world

### **Internal self-efficacy** (1-5 scale, $\omega = .81$ )

*Able to take active role in political group*

*Confident in own ability to participate in politics*

Higher value = higher efficacy

### **Covariates**

- Gender (1 = female, 0 = male)
- age (in years)
- Residential status – domicile
- As for SES by education - the number of years of education completed by participants.

## METHOD – Dependent variables

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**Activism** (0-1 scale ,  $\omega = .65$ )

last 12 month

*Taken part in lawful public demonstration*

*Boycotted certain products*

*Signed petition*

*Worn or displayed campaign badge/sticker*

*Posted or shared anything about politics online*

**Voting**

Voted on last national election

**Reverse-coded, higher value = higher activism and voting**

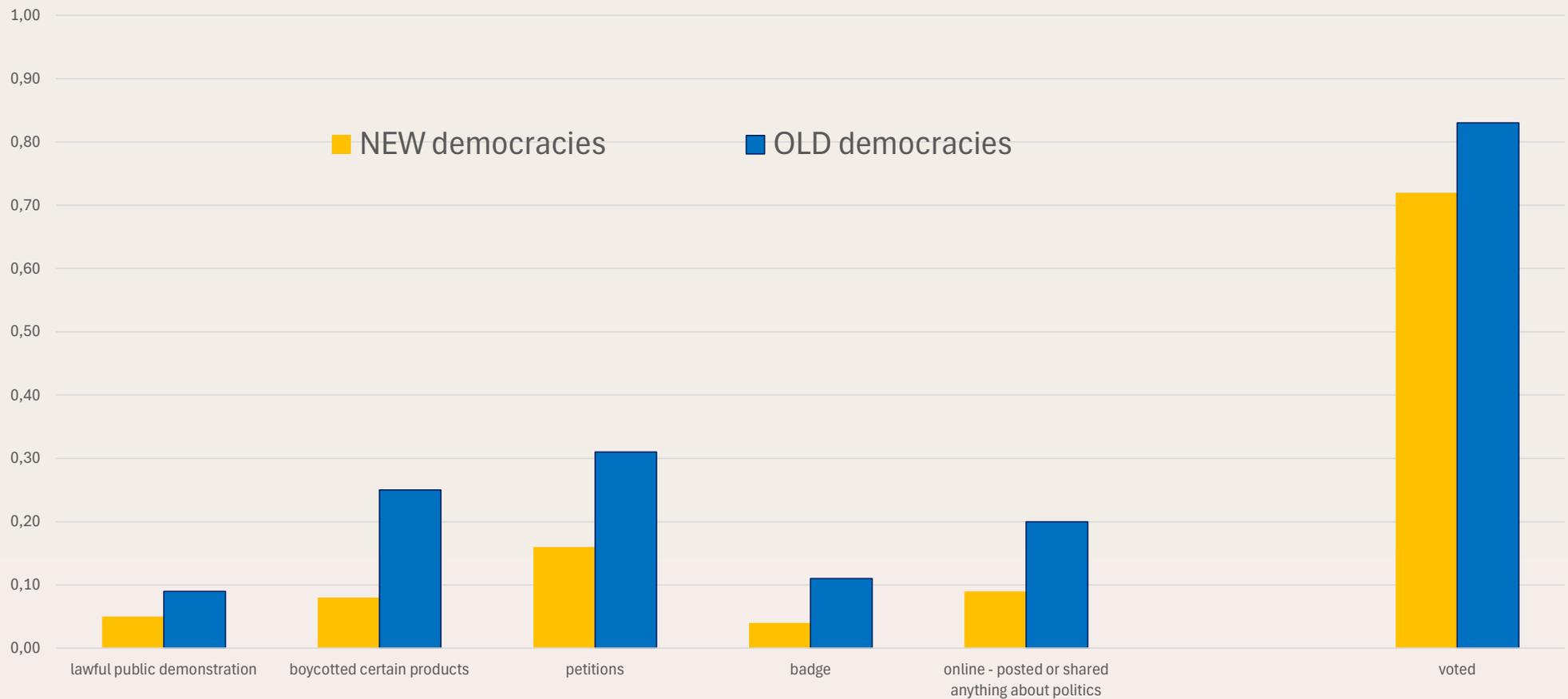
**Mot;KA**

Motivacije i prepreke za kolektivne akcije

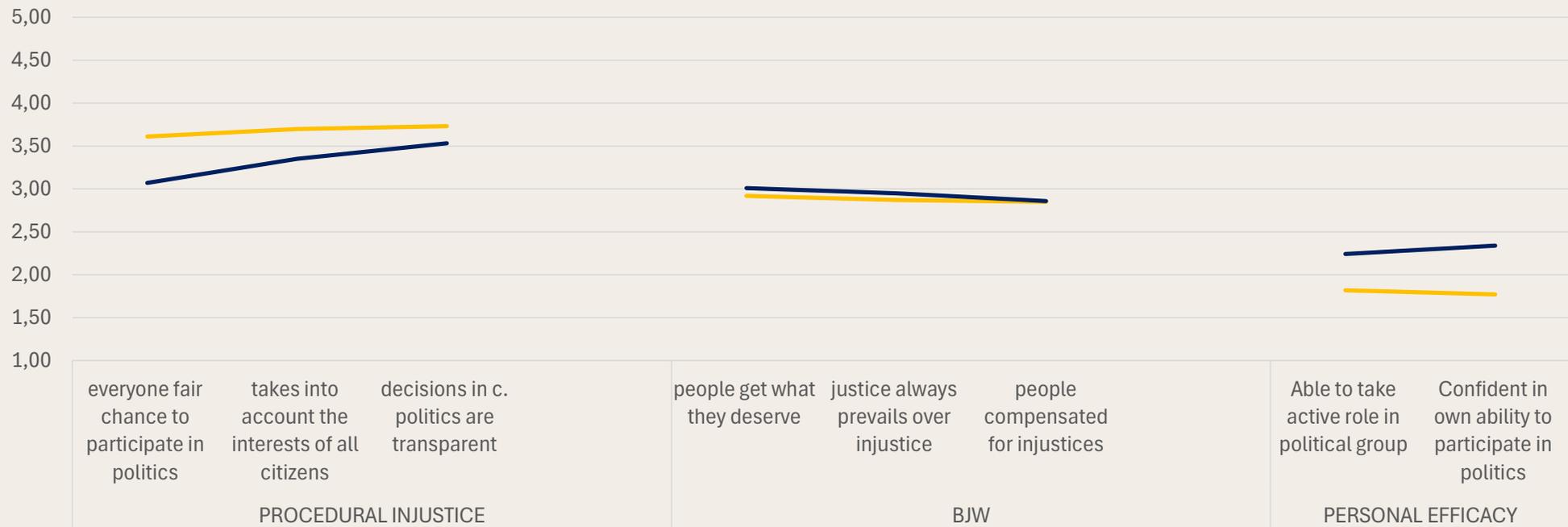
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# RESULTS

# RESULTS - descriptives



# RESULTS - descriptives



# Results – model-implied correlations

	injustice	BJW	i.efficacy	activism	voting
injustice	1	-0.31	-0.25	-0.01	-0.18
BJW	-0.26	1	-0.02	-0.25	0.01
i. efficacy	-0.34	0.14	1	0.45	0.26
activism	-0.04	-0.13	0.36	1.00	0.23
voting	-0.16	0.05	0.28	0.24	1.00

OLD democracies

AND

NEW

Injustice

– voting

BJW

- activism

efficacy

+ voting AND activism

NEW

BJW + efficacy

# Results FULL SAMPLE

(MG)SEM with sampling weights and cluster-robust standard errors  
(with countries as clusters)

Model fit (full model): CFI = .910, RMSEA = .058, SRMR = .051

critierion	predictor	$\beta$	$p$	$\beta$	$p$
activism	injustice (inj)	0.01	0.584	0.02	0.137
	self-efficacy (eff)	0.53	<0.001	0.44	<0.001
	just world (jw)	-0.24	<0.001	-0.22	<0.001
	interaction inj x eff	0.04	<0.001	0.03	0.006
	interaction jw x eff	-0.06	<0.001	-0.09	<0.001
	interaction jw x inj	0.02	0.045	0.01	0.258
	interaction inj x eff x jw	-0.01	0.379	-0.02	0.024
	gender			0.02	0.259
	age			-0.10	<0.001
	domicile			-0.07	<0.001
	years in education			0.32	<0.001
	R <sup>2</sup>		0.36		0.41
	voting	injustice (inj)	-0.14	<0.001	-0.12
self-efficacy (eff)		0.23	<0.001	0.22	<0.001
just world (jw)		-0.05	<0.001	-0.03	0.071
interaction inj x eff		0.02	0.110	0.02	0.171
interaction jw x eff		0.02	0.382	0.02	0.310
interaction jw x inj		0.02	0.129	0.02	0.102
interaction inj x eff x jw		0.01	0.301	-0.02	0.231
gender				-0.01	0.179
age				0.31	<0.001
domicile				0.06	<0.001
years in education				0.26	<0.001
R <sup>2</sup>			0.09		0.20

BJW -

3 WAY INTERACTION

ACTIVISM

CONSISTENT POSITIVE LINEAR EFFECT OF

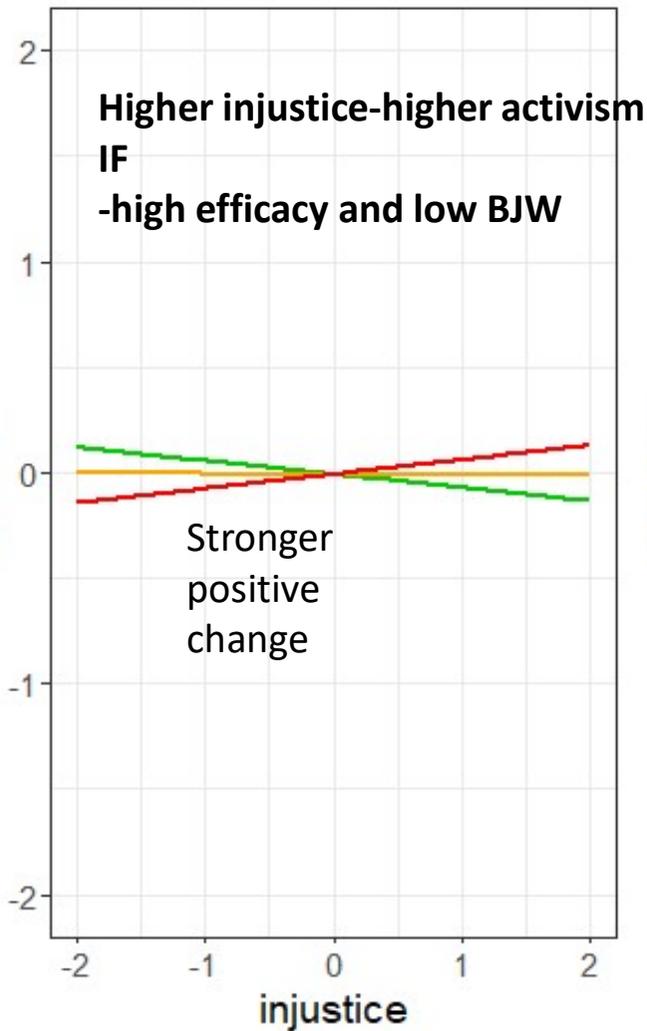
- EFFICACY
- EDUCATION

Injustice -

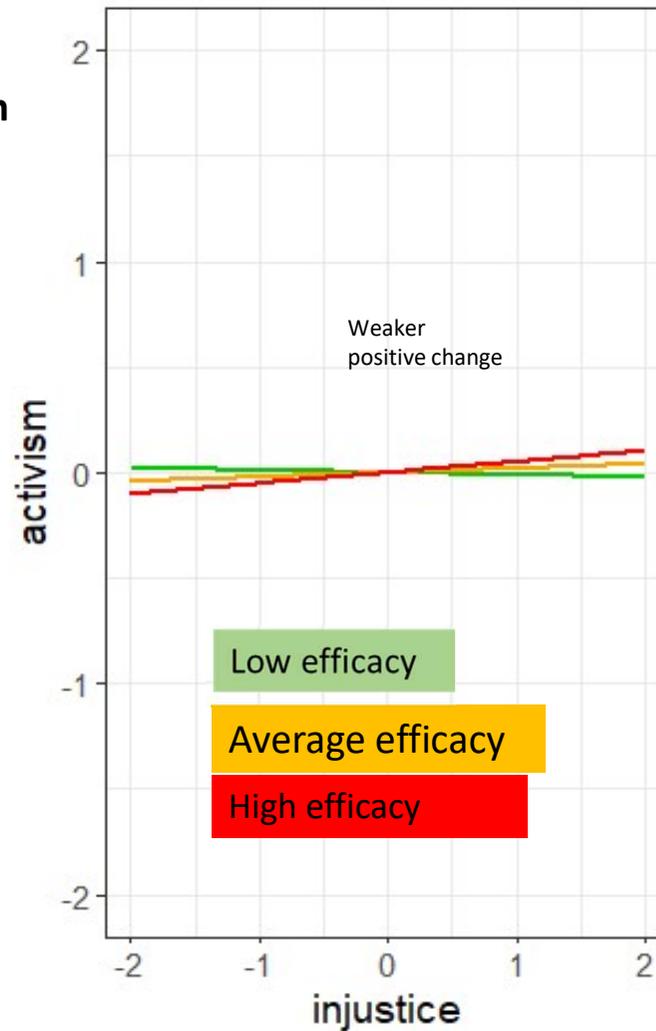
VOTING

# Results FULL SAMPLE The relationship between injustice and **ACTIVISM**

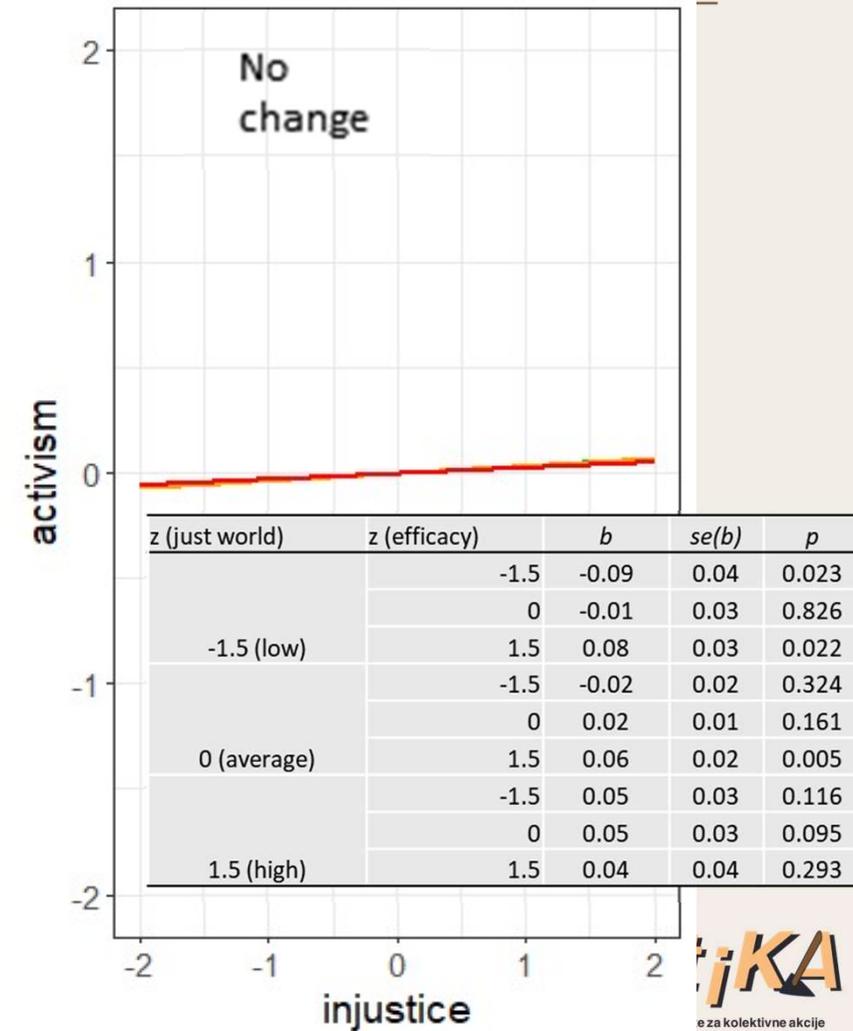
just world = low



just world = average



just world = high



# Results - multigroup

Note: Weak measurement invariance was not achieved!

criterion	predictor	old		new	
		$\beta$	$p$	$\beta$	$p$
activism	injustice (inj)	0.02	0.201	0.04	0.169
	self-efficacy (eff)	0.43	<0.001	0.42	<0.001
	just world (jw)	-0.24	<0.001	-0.19	<0.001
	interaction inj x eff	0.04	<0.001	-0.02	0.469
	interaction jw x eff	-0.02	0.186	-0.13	<0.001
	interaction jw x inj	0.03	0.028	-0.01	0.849
	interaction inj x eff x jw	-0.04	0.002	0.05	0.070
	gender	0.03	0.043	-0.07	<0.001
	age	-0.12	<0.001	-0.10	<0.001
	domicile	-0.07	<0.001	-0.13	<0.001
	years in education	0.32	<0.001	0.28	<0.001
	R <sup>2</sup>	0.41		0.32	
	voting	injustice (inj)	-0.13	<0.001	-0.08
self-efficacy (eff)		0.20	<0.001	0.25	<0.001
just world (jw)		-0.05	0.029	0.00	0.959
interaction inj x eff		0.01	0.449	0.02	0.211
interaction jw x eff		0.03	0.176	-0.03	0.158
interaction jw x inj		0.04	0.032	-0.01	0.645
interaction inj x eff x jw		-0.04	0.030	0.03	0.113
gender		-0.01	0.547	-0.05	0.015
age		0.32	<0.001	0.29	<0.001
domicile		0.07	<0.001	0.01	0.442
years in education		0.26	<0.001	0.20	<0.001
R <sup>2</sup>		0.20		0.17	

ACTIVISM

OLD DEM. 3 WAY INTERACTION

NEW DEM. 2 WAY INTERACTION B JW X EFF

VOTING

OLD DEM. 3 WAY INTERACTION

OLD DEM.

NEW DEM.

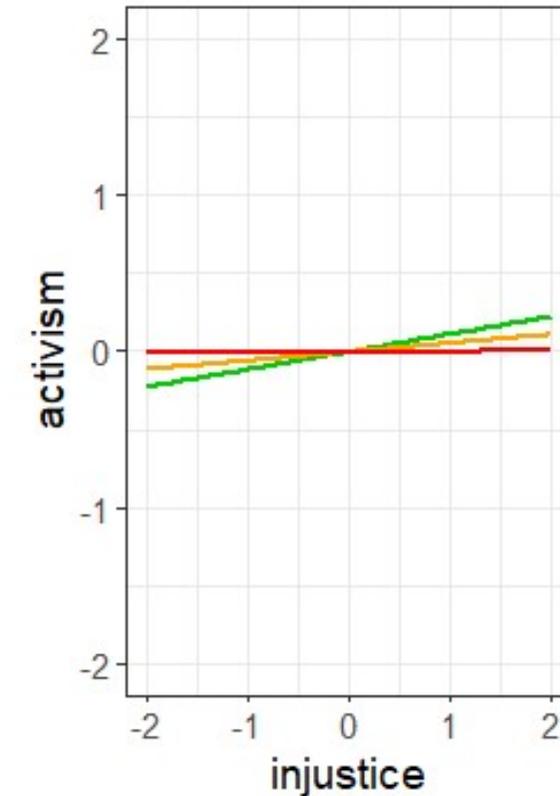
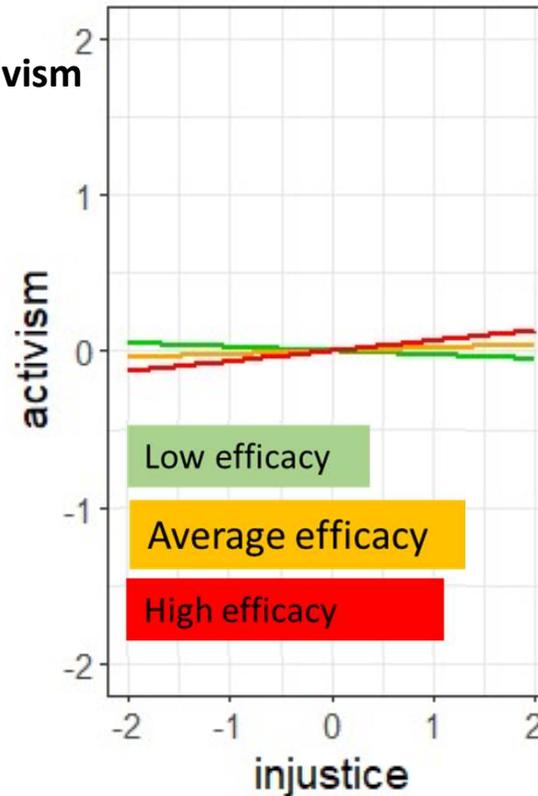
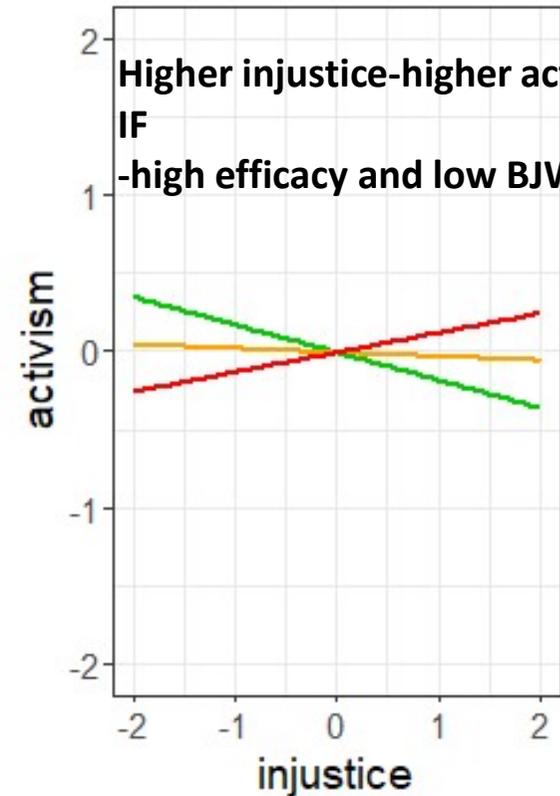
# OLD DEMOCRACIES The relationship between injustice and activism when...

$z$ (bjw)	$z$ (effic)	$b$	$se(b)$	$p$
-1.5	-1.5	-0.23	0.06	<0.001
	0	-0.04	0.03	0.192
	1.5	0.15	0.05	0.002
0	-1.5	-0.04	0.02	0.075
	0	0.02	0.02	0.219
	1.5	0.08	0.02	0.001
1.5	-1.5	0.15	0.05	0.004
	0	0.08	0.03	0.012
	1.5	0.01	0.06	0.867

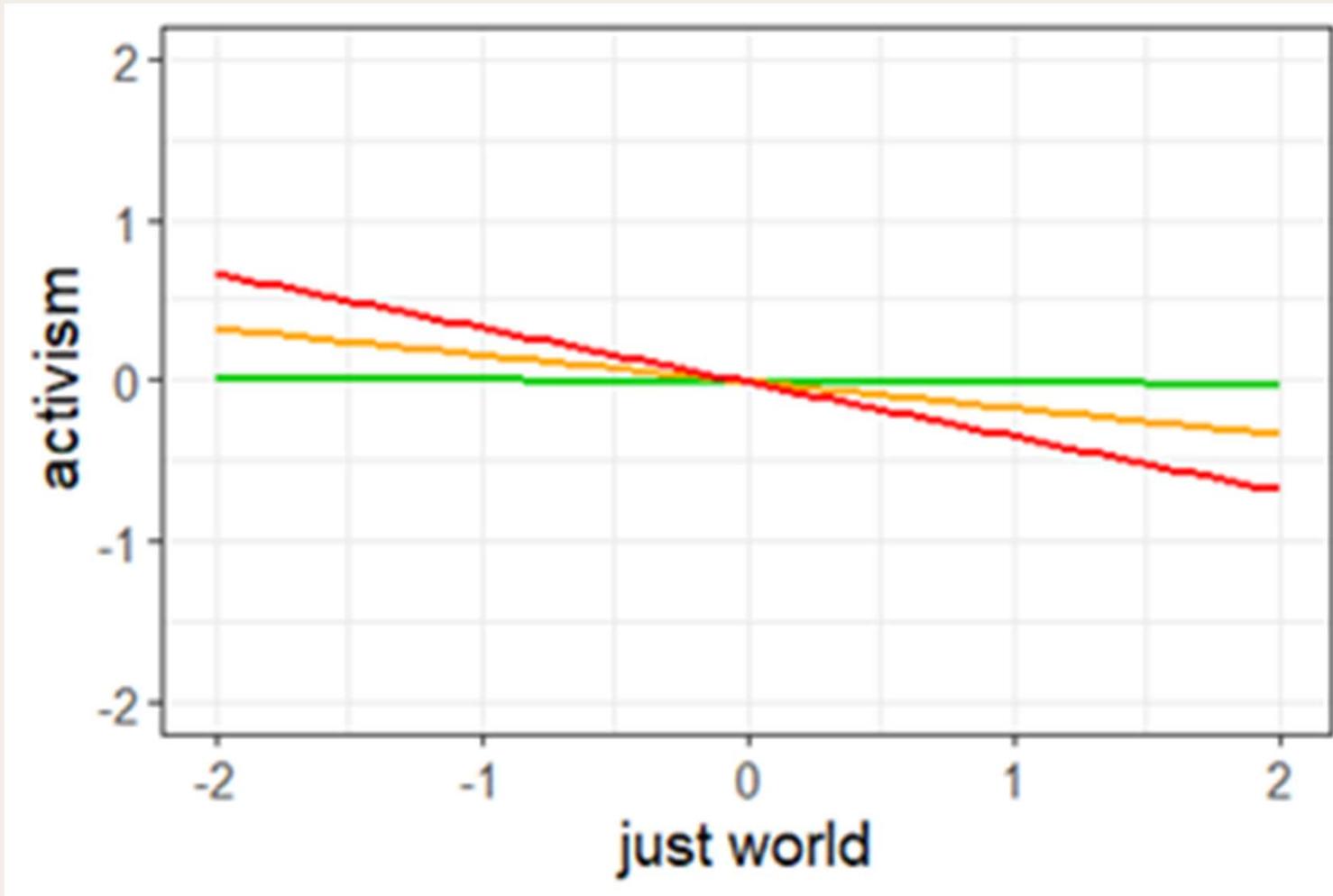
just world = low

just world = average

just world = high



## NEW DEMOCRACIES : The relationship between just world and activism when...



Low efficacy

Average efficacy

High efficacy

z (efficacy)	b	se(b)	p
-1.5	-0.02	0.06	0.729
0	-0.22	0.03	<0.001
1.5	-0.42	0.05	<0.001

Note: Weak measurement invariance was not achieved!

# Results - multigroup

criterion	predictor	old		new	
		$\beta$	$p$	$\beta$	$p$
activism	injustice (inj)	0.02	0.201	0.04	0.169
	self-efficacy (eff)	0.43	<0.001	0.42	<0.001
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	interaction jw x inj	0.03	0.028	-0.01	0.849
	interaction inj x eff x jw	-0.04	0.002	0.05	0.070
	gender	0.03	0.043	-0.07	<0.001
	age	-0.12	<0.001	-0.10	<0.001
	domicile	-0.07	<0.001	-0.13	<0.001
	years in education	0.32	<0.001	0.28	<0.001
	R <sup>2</sup>	0.41		0.32	
	voting	injustice (inj)	-0.13	<0.001	-0.08
self-efficacy (eff)		0.20	<0.001	0.25	<0.001
just world (jw)		-0.05	0.029	0.00	0.959
interaction inj x eff		0.01	0.449	0.02	0.211
interaction jw x eff		0.03	0.176	-0.03	0.158
interaction jw x inj		0.04	0.032	-0.01	0.645
interaction inj x eff x jw		-0.04	0.030	0.03	0.113
gender		-0.01	0.547	-0.05	0.015
age		0.32	<0.001	0.29	<0.001
domicile		0.07	<0.001	0.01	0.442
years in education		0.26	<0.001	0.20	<0.001
R <sup>2</sup>		0.20		0.17	

## ACTIVISM

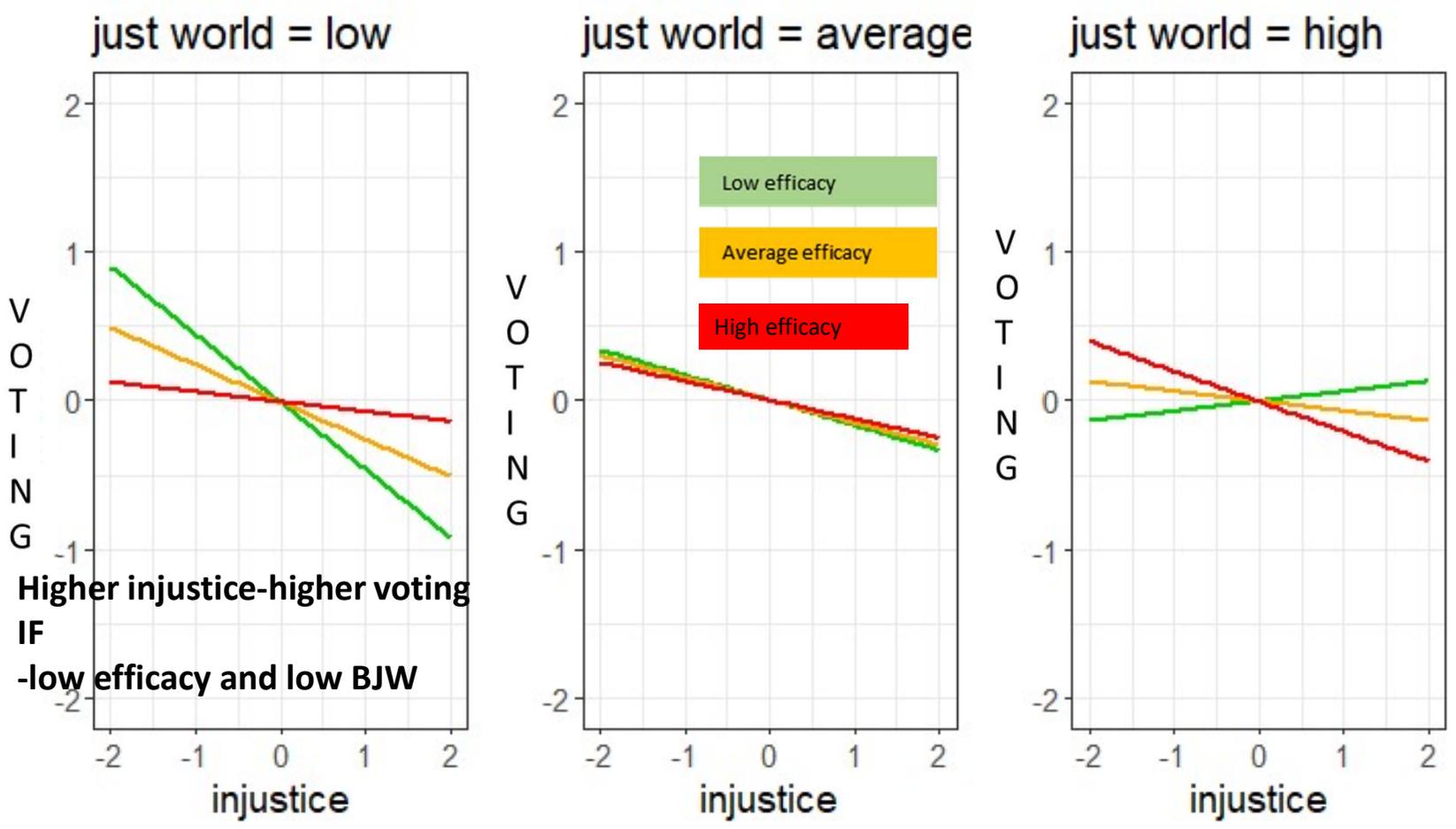
Note: Weak measurement invariance was not achieved!

## VOTING

# Results - multigroup

## OLD DEMOCRACIES The relationship between injustice and **voting** when...

Note: Weak measurement invariance was not achieved!



Higher injustice-higher voting  
IF  
-low efficacy and low BJW

z (just world)	z (efficacy)	b	se(b)	p
-1.5	-1.5	-0.54	0.15	<0.001
	0	-0.32	0.06	<0.001
	1.5	-0.09	0.08	0.248
0	-1.5	-0.22	0.04	<0.001
	0	-0.20	0.02	<0.001
	1.5	-0.17	0.05	<0.001
1.5	-1.5	0.09	0.13	0.457
	0	-0.08	0.06	0.191
	1.5	-0.25	0.10	0.012

## Results and discussion

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### **Internal political efficacy**

- Consistent correlate and determinant of both type of participation
- Higher efficacy - higher voting and activism
- **Perceived procedural justice and BJW**
  - more complex role, contingent on efficacy, socio-political context

### **LIMITATIONS**

- Related to measurement invariance
- Role of other relevant factors: external political efficacy, political trust, identification, participation for what .....

....

Work in progress

# Motivators and Barriers for Collective Action (MOTIKA)

Funded by Croatian science foundation, Research projects IP-2022-10 n. 2803

# Motika

Motivacije i prepreke za kolektivne akcije



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