



UvA-DARE (Digital Academic Repository)

Rain falls on all of us (but some manage to get more wet than others) : political context and electoral participation

van Egmond, M.H.

Publication date
2003

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

van Egmond, M. H. (2003). *Rain falls on all of us (but some manage to get more wet than others) : political context and electoral participation.*

General rights

It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations

If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: <https://uba.uva.nl/en/contact>, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.

references

- Aarts, C.W.A.M. (1999). *Opkomst bij Verkiezingen: onderzoeksrapportage in opdracht van het Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties, Directie Constitutionele Zaken en Wetgeving*. The Hague: Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken
- Anduiza Perea, E. (1997). *Individual and Systemic Determinants of Electoral Abstention in Western Europe*. Florence: European University Institute.
- Anker, H. & Oppenhuis, E.V. (1995). *Dutch Parliamentary Election Study 1994*. Steinmetz Archive/SWIDOC, Amsterdam.
- Bawn, Kathleen. (1999). Voter Response to Electoral Complexity: Ticket Splitting, Rational Voters and Representation in the Federal Republic of Germany. *British Journal of Political Science* 29:487-505.
- Berch, N. (1993). Another Look at Closeness and Turnout: the Case of the 1979 and 1980 Canadian National Elections. *Political-Research-Quarterly* 46 (Issue 2):421-432.
- Berelson, B.R., Lazarsfeld, P. & McPhee, W.N. (1954). *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Blais, A. (2000). *To Vote or Not to Vote: The merits and limits of rational choice theory*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Blais, A. & Carty, R.K. (1990). Does Proportional Representation Foster Turnout? *European Journal of Political Research*. 18:167-181.
- Blais, A., & Dobrzynska, A. (1998). Turnout in Electoral Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*. 33. 239-261.
- Blondel, J., Sinnott, R. & Palle Svensson. (1996). Institutions and attitudes: towards an understanding of low turnout in the European Parliament elections of 1994. *European University Institute Working Papers*, 96/19
- Brants, K. & Ph. van Praag jr., Eds. (1995). *Verkoop van de Politiek: de verkiezingscampagne van 1994*. Amsterdam, Het Spinhuis.
- van der Brug, W., van der Eijk, C. & Franklin, M. (2002). *The Reasoning Public: Education, interest and political choices*. Paper prepared for the joint sessions of workshops of the ECPR in Turin, March 2002.
- Butler, D. & Butler, G. (1994). *British Political Facts 1900-1994*. 7th ed. London: Macmillan.
- Campbell, A., Converse, P.E., Miller, W.E. & Stokes, D.E. (1960). *The American Voter*. New York: Wiley.
- Carmines, E.G. & Huckfeldt, R. (1996). Political Behavior: An overview. In R.E. Goodin & H.D. Klingemann (eds.). *A New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Castenmiller, P. & Dekker, P. (1987). Politieke Participatie van Vrouwen en Mannen in Nederland 1973-1986 *Acta Politica* 22:409-448.
- Castenmiller, P.G. (2001). *De Levende Werkzaamheid. Politieke betrokkenheid van burgers bij het lokaal bestuur*. The Hague: VNG Uitgeverij

- Coleman, J. (1990). *The Foundations of Social Theory*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Couch, J., W. Shughart II, and A. Williams. 1993. Election Closeness and Voter Turnout: Evidence from California ballot propositions. *Public Choice* 76 (Issue 4):313-334.
- Cox, G.W. (1988). Closeness and Turnout: a Methodological note. *The Journal of Politics* 50 (3):768-775.
- Crewe, I. (1981). Electoral Participation. In: David Butler, Howard R. Penniman and Austin Ranney (Eds). *Democracy at the Polls; A comparative study of competitive national elections*.
- Crewe, I. (1997). The opinion polls: confidence restored? In P. Norris & N. T. Gavin (eds.), *Britain votes 1997*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Curtice, J. (1994). Great Britain: Imported ideas in a changing political landscape. *European Journal of Political Research* 25:267-286.
- Dekker, P. (ed.) (2002). *Niet-stemmers: Een onderzoek naar achtergronden en motieven in enquêtes, interviews en focusgroepen*. The Hague: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- van Deth, J. (1989). Interest in Politics. In M.K. Jennings & J. van Deth (eds.). *Continuities in Political Action*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Donovitz, F. (1998). *Journalismus und Demoskopie: Wahlumfragen in den Medien*. Berlin: Vistas.
- Downs, A. (1957). *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Durkheim, E. (1897). *Le Suicide, Etude de Sociologie*. Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- van Egmond, M., de Graaf, N.D. & van der Eijk, C. (1998). Electoral Participation in The Netherlands: Individual and contextual influences. *European Journal of Political Research* 34: 281-300.
- van der Eijk, C. & Niemöller, B (1983). *Electoral Change in The Netherlands*. Amsterdam: CT Press.
- van der Eijk, C. & Oppenhuis, E. (1990). Turnout and Second-order Effects in the European Elections of June 1989 - Evidence from The Netherlands. *Acta Politica* 25:67-94.
- van der Eijk, C. & Franklin, M. (1996). *Choosing Europe? The European Electorate and National Politics in the Face of Union*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- van der Eijk, C., Franklin, M. & Marsh, M. (1996). What Voters Teach Us About Europe-Wide Elections, What Europe-wide Elections Teach us about Voters. *Electoral Studies* 15:149-166
- Erikson, R. & Goldthorpe, J.H. (1992). *The Constant Flux: A study of class mobility in industrial societies*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Erikson, R.S. & Sigman, K. (2000). *Gore Favored in Electoral College*. Retrieved from the web 5-3-2003. <http://www.columbia.edu/~ks20/Erik-sig-web-battleground.pdf>.
- Fennema M. and Tillie, J.N. 1999. Political Participation and Political Trust in a Multicultural Democracy. Civic communities and ethnic networks in Amsterdam. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 25: 703-726.
- FitzSimon, M., (ed.) (1993). *The Finish Line: Covering the campaign's final days. The Media and Campaign '92*. New York, The Freedom Forum Media Studies Center.
- Flickinger, R.S., & Studlar, D.T. (1992). The Disappearing Voters? Exploring Declining Turnout in Western European Elections. *West European Politics*. Vol. 15, no. 2, 1-16. London: Frank Cass.

- Franklin, M.N. (1996). Electoral Participation. In: L. LeDuc, R.G, Niemi, & P. Norris (eds.), *Comparing Democracies: Elections and voting in global perspective*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Franklin, M.N. (1999). Electoral Engineering and Cross-National Turnout Differences: What Role for Compulsory Voting? *British Journal of Political Science*. 205-224. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, M.N. (2002). The Dynamics of Electoral Participation. In: L. LeDuc, R.G, Niemi, & P. Norris (eds.), *Comparing Democracies 2: New challenges in the study of elections and voting*. London: Sage.
- Franklin, M. (2003). *Voter Turnout in Established Democracies: Responses to the changing character of elections since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming)
- Franklin, M., Mackie, T.T. & Valen, H. et al. (1992). *Electoral Change: Responses to evolving social and attitudinal structures in western countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, M., van der Eijk, C. & Oppenhuis, E. (1996). The Institutional Context: Turnout. In C. van der Eijk & M.N. Franklin (eds.) *Choosing Europe?* pp. 306-331. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Goldstein, H. (1995). *Multilevel Statistical Models*. London: Arnold.
- de Graaf, N.D. (1996). Politieke Scheidslijnen: Ontwikkelingen in Politieke Participatie en Politieke Voorkeuren. In *De Sociale Segmentatie van Nederland in 2015*. H.B.G Ganzeboom & W.C. Ultee (ed). The Hague: SCP.
- Grofman, B., Collet, C. & Griffin, R. (1998). Analyzing the turnout-competition link with aggregate cross-sectional data. *Public Choice* 95:233-246.
- Hancock, M. D. (1993). Sweden. In M.D. Hancock, D.P. Conradt, B.G. Peters, W. Safran, & R. Zariski (eds). *Politics in Western Europe*. Chatham: Chatham House Publishers.
- Harrop, M. & Miller, W.L. (1987) *Elections and Voters: A comparative introduction*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Holmberg, S. (1994). Election Studies the Swedish Way. *European Journal of Political Research* 25. 309-322.
- Hout, M. & Knoke, D. (1975). Change in Voter Turnout, 1952-1972. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 39:52-68.
- Huber, P.J. 1967. The Behavior of Maximum Likelihood Estimates under Nonstandard Conditions. In *Proceedings of the Fifth Berkeley Symposium on Mathematical Statistics and Probability*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, vol. 1, 221-223.
- Jaarsma, B., Schram, A., van Winden, F. & Linssen, G. 1986. Kiezersopkomst in Nederland. *Acta Politica* 21:39-55.
- Judge, G.G., Griffiths, W.E., Hill, R.C., Lütkepohl, H. & Lee, T.C. 1985. *The Theory and Practice of Econometrics*. second ed. New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Katosh, John. P. & Traugott, Michael W. (1981). The Consequences of Validated and Self-Reported Voting Measures. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 45:519-535.
- King, G. (1997). *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- King, G., Keohane, R.O. & Verba, S. (1994). *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific inference in qualitative research*. Princeton (NJ): Princeton University Press.

- Kirchgassner, G., & Himmern, A. (1997). Expected Closeness and Turnout: an Empirical Analysis For the German General Elections, 1983-1994. *Public Choice* 91 (1):3-25.
- Lazarsfeld, P.F., Berelson, B. & Gaudet, H. (1948). *The People's Choice; How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign..* New York: Columbia University Press.
- Leijenaar, M.H. (1989). *De Geschade Heerlijkheid*. The Hague: SDU.
- Lijphart, A.J. (1975). *The Politics of Accommodation: Pluralism and democracy in The Netherlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of Democracy: Government forms and performance in thirty six countries*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Lipset, S.M. (1981). *Political Man: The social bases of politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Littlewood, T. B. (1998). *Calling Elections: The history of horse-race journalism*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Mair, P. & Marsh, M. (1999). Parteireaktionen auf Veränderungen in den Wählermärkten in Irland. In P. Mair, W. C. Müller & F. Plasser (eds.). *Parteien auf komplexen Wählermärkten: Reaktionsstrategien politischer Parteien in Westeuropa*, Vienna: Signum Verlag.
- Marsh, M. & Franklin, M. (1996). The Foundations: Unanswered Questions from the Study of European Elections, 1979-1994. In C. van der Eijk & M.N. Franklin (eds.). *Choosing Europe?* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Milbrath, L.W. & Goel, M.L. (1977). *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* 2nd ed. Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Mokken, R.J. (1971). *A Theory and Procedure of Scale Analysis*. The Hague: Mouton
- Nieuwbeerta, P. & Ganzenboom, H.B.G. (1996) *The International Social Mobility and Politics File: Documentation of an integrated dataset of surveys held in 16 countries, 1956-1991*. Amsterdam: Steinmetz Archive.
- Norris, P., Curtice, J., Sanders, D., Scammell, M. & Semetko, H.A. (1999). *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*. London: Sage.
- Oscarsson, H. (1995). *Partierna i Rymden. Svenska väljares uppfattningar av partiavstånd och konfliktstrukturer 1968-1994*. Ph.D. thesis. Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, Statsvetenskapliga institutionen.
- Oppenhuis, E. (1995). *Voting Behavior in Europe*. Amsterdam: Spinhuis.
- Pattie, C. & Johnston, R. (1998). Voter turnout at the British General Election of 1992: Rational choice, social standing or political efficacy? *European Journal of Political Research*. 33: 263-283.
- Powell, Jr. G.B. (1980). Voting Turnout in Thirty Democracies: Partisan, Legal and Socio-Economic Influences. In Richard Rose (ed.). *Electoral Participation. A comparative analysis*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Powell, Jr. G.B. (1986). American Voter Turnout in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review* 80:17-43.
- Przeworski, A. & Tuene, H. (1966). Equivalence in cross-national research. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 30, 551-568.
- Przeworski, A. & Tuene, H. (1970). *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry*. New York: Wiley.
- Putnam, R.D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

- Rallings, C. & Thrasher, M. Turnout in Local Elections - an Aggregate Analysis with Electoral and Contextual Data. *Electoral Studies*. 9:2.
- Reif, K. & Schmitt, H. (1980). Nine Second-order National Elections. A Conceptual Framework for the Analysis of European Elections Results. *European Journal of Political Research*. 8:3-44
- Reif, K. (1984). National Electoral Cycles and European Elections 1979 and 1984. *Electoral Studies*. 3: 244-255.
- Roberts, G.K. (1988). The 2nd-Vote Campaign Strategy of the West-German Free-Democratic-Party. *European Journal of Political Research*. 16:317-337.
- Rose, R. (1974). *Electoral Behavior, a Comparative Handbook*. New York: The Free Press.
- Schmidt, O. (1981). Opkomst. In A.Th.J. Eggen, C. van der Eijk, & B. Niemöller (eds.) *Kiezen in Nederland: 26 mei 1981: Wat de kiezers deden en waarom*. Zoetermeer: Actaboek.
- Schmidt, O. (1983). Kiezersopkomst van 1971 tot 1982. In C. van der Eijk & B. Niemöller, (eds.) *In het Spoor van de Kiezer*
- Schram, A.J.H.C. (1989). *Voter Behavior in Economic Perspective*. Alblasserwaard: Kanters.
- Smeenk, W., de Graaf, N.D. & Ultee, W. (1995). Thuisblijven bij verkiezingen in Nederland en de Verenigde Staten. *Mens en Maatschappij* 70:220-242.
- Smeets, I. (1995). Facing Another Gap: an Exploration of the Discrepancies between Voting Turnout in Survey Research and Official Statistics. *Acta Politica* 20: 307-334.
- Snijders, T. & Bosker, R. (1999). *Multilevel Analysis: An introduction to basic and advanced multilevel modeling*. London: Sage.
- StataCorp. (2001). *Stata Statistical Software: Release 7.0*. College Station, TX: Stata Corporation.
- Steenbergen, M.R. & Jones, B.S.. (2002). Modeling Multilevel Data Structures. *American Journal of Political Science*, 46. 218-237
- Tillie, J. (1995). *Party Utility and Voting Behavior*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Verba, S. & Nie, N. (1972). *Participation in America. Political Democracy and Social Equality*. New York: Harper & Rowe.
- Verba, S., Nie, N.H. & Kim, J. (1978). *Participation and Political Equality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Visscher, G. (1995). *Kiezersonderzoek op een dwaalspoor: De in politiek geïnteresseerde kiezer als selffulfilling prophecy*. The Hague: SDU.
- de Vries, H. & van Praag jr., Ph. (1995). De Inhoud van het Campagnenieuws: Tussen hoopla en horse-race. In K. Brants & Ph. van Praag jr., (Eds.) *Verkoop van de Politiek: de verkiezingscampagne van 1994*. Amsterdam: het Spinhuis.
- White, H. 1980. A heteroskedasticity-consistent covariance matrix estimator and a direct test for heteroskedasticity. *Econometrica* 48: 817-830.
- Wittebrood, K.A. (1995). *Politieke Socialisatie in Nederland: een onderzoek naar de verwerving en ontwikkeling van politieke houdingen van havo- en vwo-leerlingen*. Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
- Wolfinger, R.A. & Rosenstone, S.J. (1980). *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.

