

University of Salzburg
Department of Political and Social Science

Seminar: Methods in Political Science II

Course-Number: 300.241

Semester: SS 2020

Lecturer: Assoz.-Prof. Dr. Gabriele Spilker

SEMINAR PAPER

on

Relationship between political participation and perception of corruption

Minja Čulić

Matrikelnummer: 11936559/minja.culic@stud.sbg.ac.at

Salzburg

September 2020

Table of content

Introduction	1
Research question and variables	2
Control variables	2
Data Sources	4
Theory	4
Justification of relevance	4
Definitions	4
Hypothesis, argument and causal chain	5
Research design	7
Literature review	7
Results	10
Univariate analysis	10
Share of countries through variables	10
Regression assumptions	13
Bivariate and Multivariate analysis	13
Conclusion	19
Bibliography	21
Database sources	22

Introduction

Political participation presents one of the essential aspects in terms of democratic civil society. However, in the last several years, we are witnessing phenomena that reflect in a specific decrease in terms of voter turnout and general percentage when it comes to the political participation of citizens. This phenomenon is especially emphasized in transitional countries, newly established democracies, but also in "backsliding democracies," which present a threat to evolve in authoritarian regimes of government. The fact is that those, authoritarian regimes, enjoy the most fruitful benefits from decreased political participation and reduced voters turnout on elections, even though political participation represents a source of legitimacy of newly-elected officials in democratic societies.

However, this politically incorrect absence during elections brings to a question if this behavior of citizens in certain countries means that the citizens are furtherly distancing and become more alienated from politics or some other aspects influence the reduction of political participation?

One of the possible reasons for the decrease in terms of political participation and voters' turnout on elections could also be the perception of corruption, which is unavoidable. Highly corrupted societies could play a significant role in terms of political participation, both positively and negatively, as it will be shown in the text.

Through conversation with my friends, family, acquaintances, but also with persons who work abroad but still have the right to vote, since they have the citizenship of Bosnia and Herzegovina, I concluded that most of them do not want to take part as voters neither on local, nor parliamentary elections in Bosnia and Herzegovina since they think that their vote does not have any "power" and that they as individuals can not influence on any type of change neither in the political or social system of the country. Some of the previous researches that were conducted around the world (which will be additionally mentioned in the text) supported this argument when it comes to the relationship between perception of corruption and political participation and claimed that person, because of the belief that the political system is corrupted think that he cannot change anything with hi vote which additionally brings to a fact that citizens of those countries in which perception of corruption is low (which is a negative sign) more often decide not to participate in political participation whether it is active or passive.

Exactly this phenomena of political alienation represent my primary motivation for upcoming research so I could on methodologically correct and empirically testable way to check if there

is a particular relationship between these two factors, but also to make a comprehensive analysis in terms of research of the relationship between perception of corruption and political participation.

Research question and variables

All in all, because of all the facts that I have mentioned above, we come to the research question for the upcoming paper, and it is:

Research question: How the perception of corruption influence political participation?

Independent variable: Perception of corruption

Dependent variable: Political participation

However, we have to bear in mind that there could also be some other alternative sources which could influence on the decrease in terms of political participation, such as political culture which differs from country to country, type of the electoral process, and pluralism, just as civil liberties that are established in-country. These alternative explanations will present our control variables so we could check which influence do they play in the relationship mentioned above of perception of corruption and political participation.

Control variables

Political culture- According to encyclopedia Britannica, political culture could be defined as a "set of shared views and normative judgments held by a population regarding its political system. The notion of political culture does not refer to attitudes toward specific actors, such as a president or prime minister, but rather it denotes how people view the political system as a whole and their belief in its legitimacy. "(Winkler, 2018.)

The most significant influence on efforts in terms of defining the political culture made Gabriel Almond and Sydney Verba. Almond, in 1956. defined political culture according to which "Political culture is a particular pattern of orientations to political action." (Almond, Comparative Political Systems, 1956) However, he refined this definition together with Verba, who joined Almond in 1963. In their book "The civic culture-Political attitudes and democracy of five nations "they emphasized that "political culture could be defined as the "distribution of patterns of orientations to political action, "but they also emphasized that "political culture

could be divided into three different types of political culture: parochial, subject, and participant.“ (Almond & Verba, 1963)

According to them, in a parochial political culture, the citizens are only indistinctly aware of the existence of the central government. In a subject political culture, the citizens see themselves not as participants in the political process but as subjects of the government. In a participant political culture, the citizens believe both that they can contribute to the system and that they are affected by it.

However, when it comes to this control variable, we have exact scores which are given by „The Economist intelligence unit“ as part of the democracy index which is published annually, but a potential pitfall could be the fact that they did not explain to which type of political culture do they refer and how it is measured. Many critics were directed toward the measurement of „The economist intelligence unit“because they give set of questions to experts from different countries, and the question that arises is how reliable is this data, but it should be more than good to measure political culture as one of the control variables. It should be emphasized that score for political culture, according to „The Economist“ in theory, ranges from 0 to 10, but in practice, its ranges are from 1,25(North Korea) to 10 (several states). The source for scores regarding this control variable will be derived from the official “Democracy Index report” made by “The Economist.”

The electoral process and electoral pluralism- According to USlegal.com, “Electoral process refer to the method by which a person is elected to Public office or the taking and counting of votes. “ (USlegal.com, n.d.) However, I have to admit that I was not able to find some other, better definitions regarding the electoral process since it differs from country to country. When it comes to electoral pluralism, multiple definitions were offered regarding different terms, but it mostly refers to plurality voting in electoral systems in which the candidate who polls more votes than any other candidate is elected. It is distinguished from the majority system, in which, to win, a candidate must receive more votes than all other candidates combined. Election by a plurality is the most common method of selecting candidates for public office. (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020) The electoral process and pluralism score will also be derived from the “Democracy index report” made by “The Economist” with countries’ scores range 0-10.

Civil liberties- According to the Cambridge dictionary (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.) and Collins dictionary (Collins Dictionary, n.d.), civil liberties are defined as „the rights that people

have to say, think, and do what they want as long as they respect other people's rights.“ „Civil liberties are protected explicitly in the constitutions of most democratic countries. (In authoritarian countries, civil liberties are often formally guaranteed in a constitution but ignored in practice.)“ (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2016) Civil liberties score will be derived from the “Democracy index report” just as the previous two control variables of this research, and the range of measurement for this control variable is from 0 to 10.

Data Sources

Data for political participation, political culture, electoral processes, and pluralism, just as for the civil liberties will be used from the democracy level index’s variable (political participation score), which is annually made by the magazine “The Economist” (https://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=democracyindex2019). On the other hand, data for the perception of corruption will be derived from Transparency International annually report regarding this topic. (<https://www.transparency.org/cpi2019>)

Theory

Justification of relevance

Given the importance of an active citizenry and the persistence of corruption, the paper will have not only political but also social relevance and importance. At the same time, it will try to examine does the population in countries where political participation is higher also have a higher perception of corruption. This paper will have political, social, but also scientific importance and relevance, and it will also add to existing corruption and political participation literature.

Definitions

To examine this relationship between the perception of corruption and political participation, first of all, it needs to be explained what political participation and perception of corruption are.

According to Verba and Nie, “*Political participation lies in the heart of democracy.*” It involves both active and passive participation in elections and policy-making processes, but also in actions such as protests or signing of petitions. Political participation is crucial,

especially in democracies, since it gives legitimacy for future actions to elected leaders. We could say that political participation reflects not only citizens' interest, but also their power and civil liberties in society.

When it comes to the perception of corruption, we will use the definition provided by the organization "Transparency International" which define this phenomenon as "perceived levels of public sector corruption, as determined by expert assessments and opinion surveys."

According to Rose-Ackermann and Palifka, corruption solely could be defined as "the misuse of public power for gaining of personal benefit" (Rose-Ackermann & Palifka, 2016), while Transparency International and World Bank offered similar definitions as Rose-Ackermann. (Transparency International, 2018) (Jin-Wei, 1999)

Hypothesis, argument and causal chain

Based on previous thinking, but also on reading articles which tried to explain the relationship between perception of corruption and political participation, I came to the presumption that lower perception of corruption, as a negative sign of the state of society, has a strong, negative influence on political participation of the citizens, since citizens of countries with a lower perception of corruption have a belief that they can not make any difference during elections if they cast a vote, but also because of the belief that whichever officer gets elected, he will be corrupted just the same as previous. On the other hand, in countries which are stable democracies with a high level of respect in terms of civil liberties, human rights and in which citizens believe that the officials which they elected are less corrupt, perception of corruption will be higher, which make belief among citizens of those countries that they can hold the elected officials accountable which additionally reflects in the fact that political participation in these countries is higher. This behavior of citizens in terms of politics, when citizens participate in political processes, can be enforced or even obligatory so elected officials could gain legitimacy during their mandate. Because of all the facts that are mentioned above, the general hypothesis of this research paper is:

General Hypothesis: The higher the perception of corruption is, the higher the political participation in elections will be.

My main argument is that corruption harms the population's attitudes not only toward institutional legitimacy and political trust but also toward our political behavior that results in reduced political participation. Just as Olsson argues, "corruption makes citizens feel as if they

do not influence politics.“ (Olsson, 2014) Because of this, I argue that citizens will be more politically active if the level of perception of corruption is higher.

Aside from the central hypothesis and aside from the independent variable, I am going to use three control variables through which I am going to try to explain political participation as much as I can.

Political culture represents one of the most significant factors in every society. Nevertheless, it varies a lot from country to country, and even some of the most developed countries have a low political culture. However, my argument for research of the control variable is that political culture has a positive impact on political participation in societies in general. This assumption leads us to my second hypothesis:

H2: As higher political culture is, as higher will be political participation

The situation is pretty much similar to the second control variable, which is electoral processes and electoral pluralism. Although this could be a possibly most crucial aspect in terms of political participation, I am using it as a control variable. My assumption for electoral processes and electoral pluralism is that as the developed electoral process is and as many parties there are, as higher will be political participation. This argument is straightforward since it claims that there will be higher voter turnout as they have more options to vote for. On the other hand, this could lead to a phenomenon called hyperpartisanship, where there is a possibility for the creation of the enormous number of political parties that are competing in elections. This can have a negative influence on political participation, but this is a topic for some other research. Because of the previous arguments, my third hypothesis is:

H3: As higher as electoral processes and electoral pluralism are, as higher political participation will be.)

In the very end, I am going to investigate how civil liberties as a control variable influence on political participation. Civil liberties are politically one of the essential factors in every society and can play a significant role in terms of political participation. Although the relationship of political participation and civil liberties can be negative (as it is in dictatorships, where people are often obliged to vote although there is only one party available), or when civil liberties are violated by the government, which can result with peaceful „coup d'etat“ which reflects in increased political participation in elections, I argue that relationship between civil liberties and political participation is positive. My argument for this last hypothesis is based on the

assumption that there are people who are prevented from voting in countries in which civil liberties are small or violated. Because of that, my fourth hypothesis is:

H4: As higher civil liberties are, as higher political participation will be.

Causal Chain: Higher perception of corruption (positive sign) > Citizens feel that they have a more significant influence on policy-making processes and elected officials > Citizens understand that their vote is essential > Higher political participation

Research design

Research design: This paper will be based on cross-section analysis, while it should compare the level of political participation and level of perception of corruption in 164 countries in 2019, for which both of these two types of data are available. Given the importance of an active citizenry and the persistence of corruption, the paper will have not only political but also social relevance and importance. At the same time, it will try to examine does the population in countries where political participation is higher also have a higher perception of corruption.

Literature review

Corruption is a hot topic in the sphere of political sciences. Many studies regarding political participation and corruption perception were conducted to furtherly examine this relationship, but to the best of my knowledge, none of them was comprehensive but was more focused on a regional level or specific case study.

Arkhede Olsson tried to investigate “how perceptions of corruption influence our propensity to engage in political participation.” She found that corruption perception has a strong negative effect on political participation, which resulted in the reduced voting turnout, but she also found out that corruption harms our willingness to engage in non-institutional participation. (Olsson, 2014)

Morris and Klesner follow this argument and claim, based on their case selection of Mexico, that corruption decreases social capital, legitimacy, and trust in national institutions, which furtherly results in a decrease of political participation. (Morris & Klesner, 2010)

Bull and Newell claim that “Recent cases of political corruption may also encourage disillusioned voters to consider the smaller parties, or alternatively it may accelerate the drop in active political participation and electoral turnout that is already in evidence“ This basically means that hyperpartisanship could be a cure for the political corruption, yet it proves that corruption decreases political and social capital since it decreases political participation which lies in the ground of modern democratic societies. (Bull & Newell, 2003)

Similarly, Aleksandar Štulhofer also argued that the corruption of public officials decreases the level of social capital, but he focused on the case of Croatia in the period from 1995-2003. (Štulhofer, 2004)

Inman and Andrews, based on their research of African countries, provide a different approach and claim that corruption can also increase political participation in a way that corrupted officials bribe citizens to participate in elections, which are often described as clientelism. However, they also claim that even in these cases, citizens oppose these kinds of actions and disapprove this way as a way of raising political participation. (Inman & Andrews, 2009)

Similarly, Roberta Ann Johnson claims that „In the 1990s, with the end of the cold war, there occurred what has been called “an eruption of corruption.”“ She argues that many factors have contributed to this explosion. They include (1) state failure in many parts of the world that tended to aggravate already existing problems of corruption; (2) deregulation and privatization of the markets in the former Soviet bloc countries without a simultaneous strengthening of state institutions to ensure accountability; (3) growth of and access to “information technology” that increased opportunity for everyone and anyone to do business; and (4) technology enabling everyone to communicate and move money instantaneously. The world now had more corruption and “corruption without frontiers.”

So how all of this influence political participation? Johnson claims that „The parties’ corrupt political practices mobilized the poor and lower caste, turned them into political participants, and made them beneficiaries of the state’s political bounty. Corrupt practices achieved democratic ends.“ (Johnson, 2004)

Marc Hooghe and Ellen Quintelier also tried to examine the effects of authoritarian rule, corruption, lack of good governance, and economic downturn on political participation with a specific focus on European countries and compared levels of political participation in countries in Eastern and countries in Western Europe. They emphasized the differences which are still significant and incomparable, though the process of democratic transition happened in Eastern

European countries. They argued that previously mentioned effects have a considerable influence on decreased political participation in comparison to Western European countries. (Hooghe & Quintelier, 2014)

Luminita Ionescu also wrote about the relationship between political participation and corruption and concluded that there is a robust negative relationship between these two. Aside from that, she argues that corruption is not only a political problem as it is often perceived, but also a social problem, or as Ionescu calls it, „moral hazard. “ What is interesting in Ionescu's paper is the fact that she claims that „Many autocratic governments maintain lower corruption levels than all but the most advanced democracies.“ (Ionescu, 2013)

Although I argue that the more corrupt a citizen perceives the political system to be, the more likely he or she is not to participate in politics or elections, Navot and Beerli proved that 1) the more corrupt a citizen perceives the political system to be, the more likely he or she is to participate in politics and 2) the more judgmental a citizen's conception of political corruption is, the more likely he or she is to participate in politics. (Navot & Beerli, 2017)

This could be true since there is a possibility that citizens perceive that they can change something in a political system, yet it is usually the case in established, traditional democracies. In rising democracies and transitional countries, it is much more often the case that citizens will be apolitical since they consider that the political system cannot be changed whether they participate in elections or not.

To the best of my knowledge, most of the researches that were conducted to examine the relationship between corruption and political participation were focused on specific geographic region, and there is no single, comprehensive research regarding this topic.

Results

Univariate analysis

Central tendency operation	Values				
	Political participation	Perception of corruption	Political culture	Electoral processes and electoral pluralism	Civil Liberties
Median	5,56	38	5,63	6,92	6,03
Mean	5,267866	42,9939	5,58	5,82	5,77
Mode	Numeric	Numeric	Numeric	Numeric	Numeric
Standard deviation	1,885503	19,0873	1,693352	3,65	2,71
Range	1,11 10	13 87	1,25 10	0 10	0 10
Min	1,11	13	1,25	0	0
Max	10	87	10	10	10
1st Q.	3,89	28,75	4,38	2,647	3,53
3rd Q.	6,67	56	6,25	9,170	8,24
Kurtosis	-0,6346401	-0,4651268	0,2277554	-1,376281	-1,117565
Skewness	-0,05053717	0,7001105	0,473425	-0,4328371	-0,2522998

Table 1-Univariate analysis results

Share of countries through variables

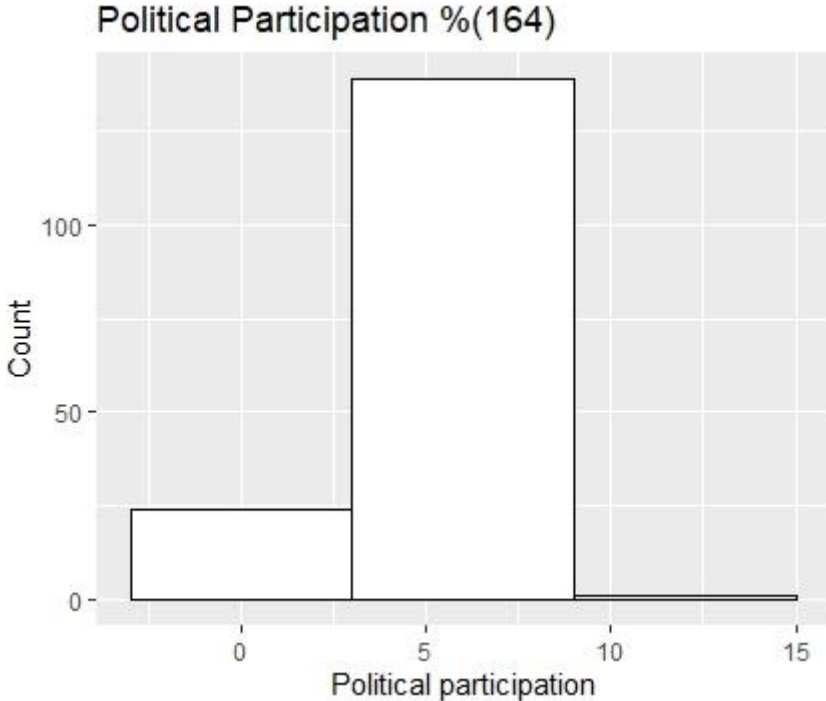


Figure 1-Share of countries regarding political participation

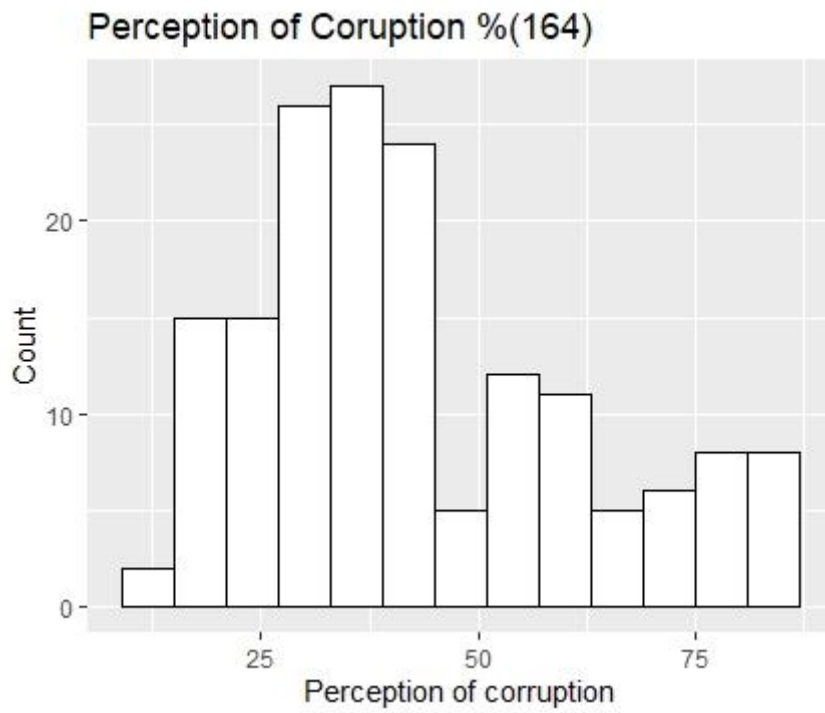


Figure 2-Share of countries regarding the perception of corruption score

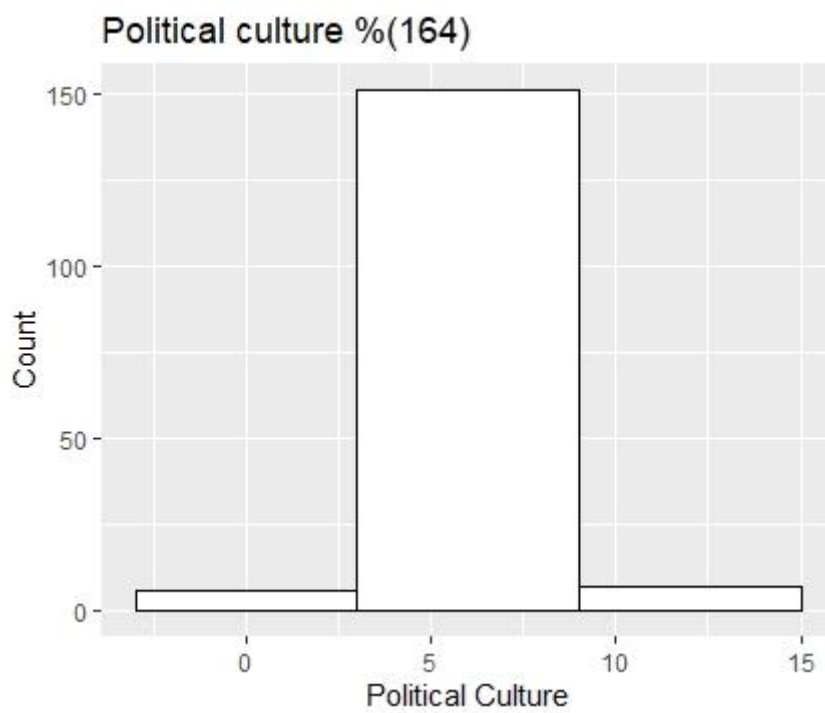


Figure 3-Share of countries regarding PC score

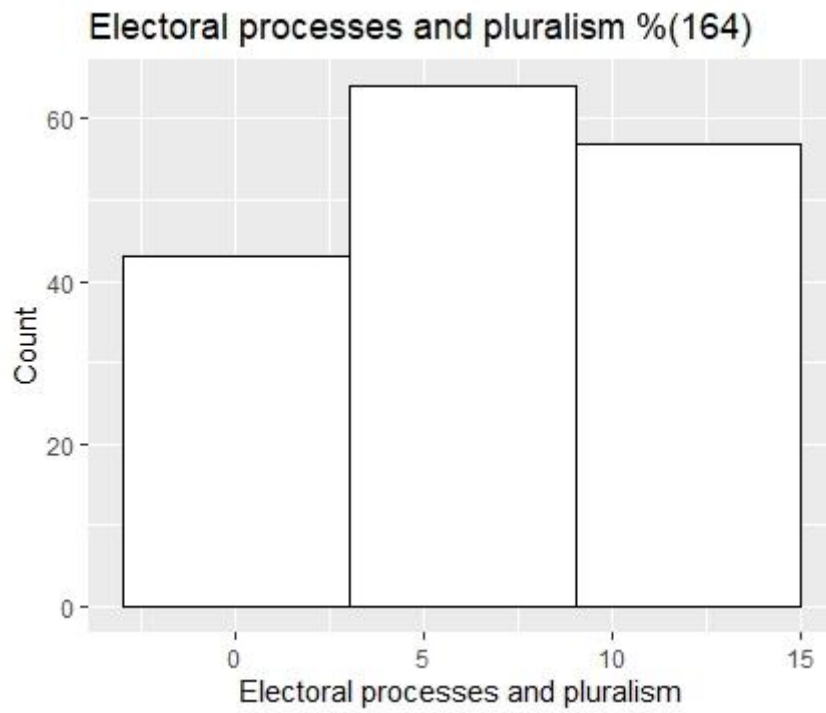


Figure 4-Share of countries regarding EPEP score

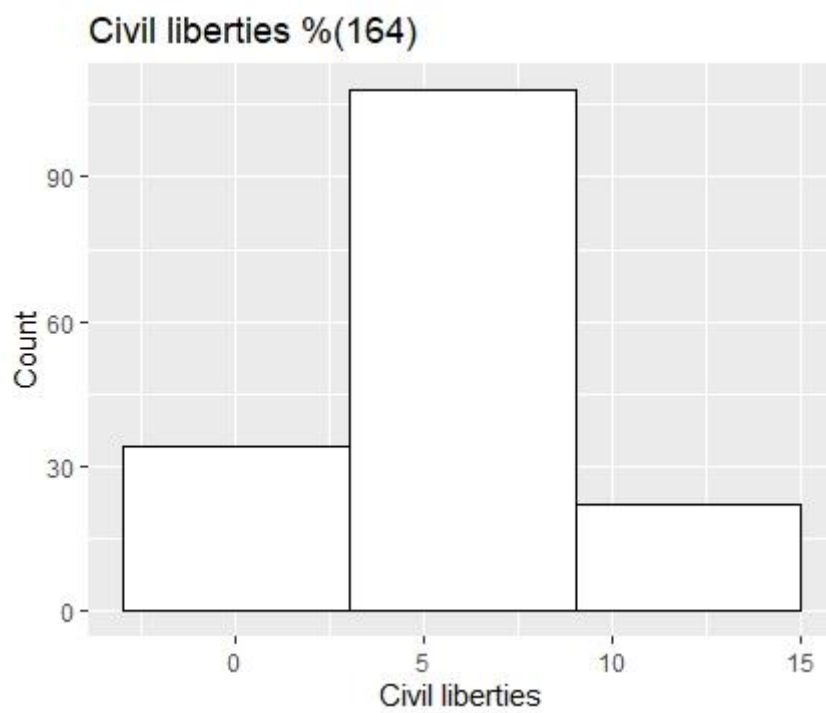


Figure 5-Share of countries regarding CL score

Regression assumptions

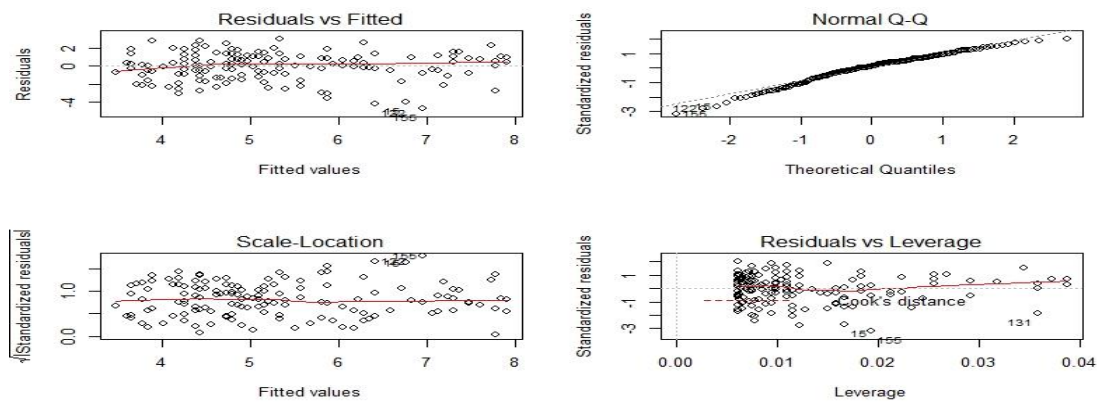


Figure 6-Regression assumption

Bivariate and Multivariate analysis

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
(Intercept)	2.70 ^{***}	1.58 ^{***}	2.95 ^{***}	2.11 ^{***}	1.79 ^{***}
	(0.29)	(0.41)	(0.18)	(0.21)	(0.30)
POC	0.06 ^{***}				0.01
	(0.01)				(0.01)
PC		0.66 ^{***}			0.13 [*]
		(0.07)			(0.08)
EPEP			0.40 ^{***}		0.20 ^{***}
			(0.03)		(0.06)
CL				0.55 ^{***}	0.21 ^{**}
				(0.03)	(0.09)
R ²	0.37	0.35	0.59	0.62	0.66
Adj. R ²	0.36	0.35	0.59	0.62	0.65
Num. obs.	164	164	164	164	164
RMSE	1.51	1.52	1.21	1.17	1.12

*** p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * p < 0.1

Statistical models

MODEL 1

For every unit increase in perception of corruption, political participation increase for 0,06.

Political participation would be 2,70 (interception coefficient), even if the perception of corruption is 0. The coefficient for the perception of corruption is 0,06, and it is statistically significant on the 99% level.

The relationship between perception of corruption and political participation is positive, so we can conclude that these results are in-line with the General hypothesis stated in the paper (The higher the perception of corruption is, the higher the political participation in elections will be.)

Model 1 is statistically significant on a 99% level, and there is a low probability for error in this model. The standard error for political participation is 0,29, while the standard error for the perception of corruption is 0,01. By looking at the R2, we can see that for this entire model, 37% of the linear variability observed in terms of political participation can be explained by the perception of corruption. Similarly, Adjusted R2 tells us that the explanatory factor is 36%.

Usually, the higher the R2 is, the more useful is the model. Also, the more variance that is accounted for by the regression model, the closer the data points will fall to the fitter regression line. Root MSE presents the standard deviation of the error term and the square root the Mean Square Residual Error (RMSE), and in this case, it is 1,51, which means that there are not cases which deviate a lot from the regression line.

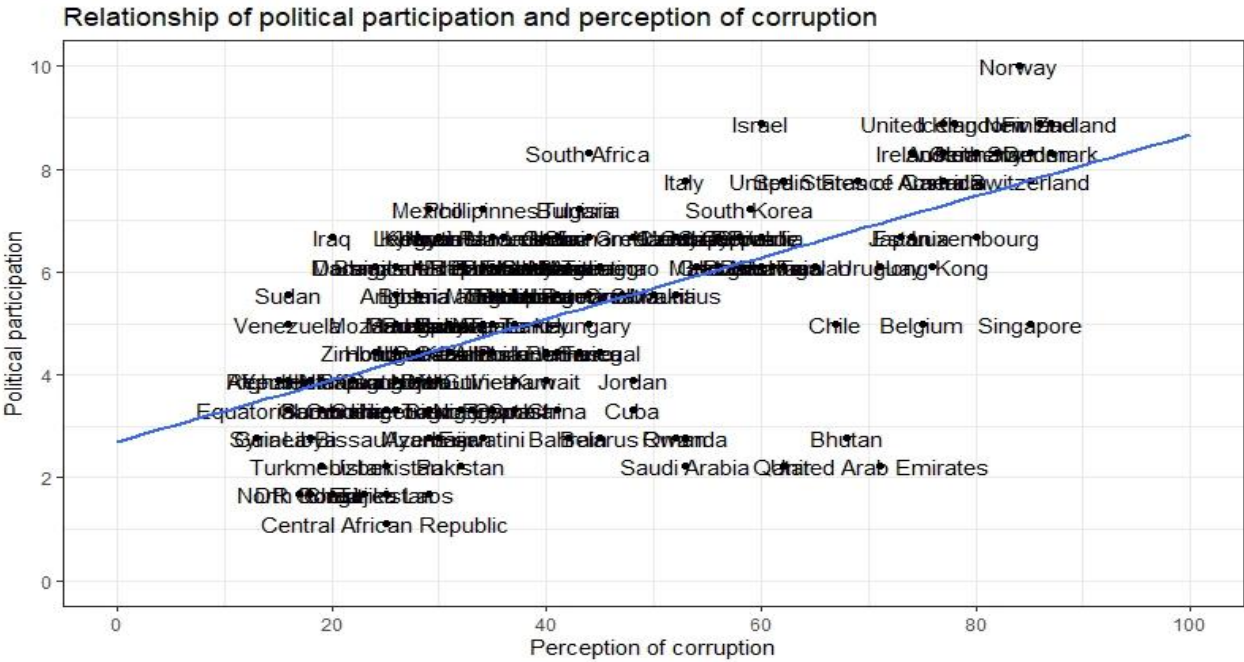


Figure 7-Relationship of political participation and perception of corruption

MODEL 2

In the second model, I have tried to investigate the relationship between political culture (PC) and political participation.

Interception for political participation is 1,58, and it is statistically significant on the 99% level with a standard error of 0,41. This means that political participation would be 1,58, even if political culture were 0.

However, for every unit increase in political culture, political participation increases for 0,66 units. Since a relationship is positive and since political culture, with a coefficient of 0,66 and standard error of 0,07, which is statistically significant on level of 99%, we can conclude that our results are in line with H2 (**As higher political culture is, as higher will be political participation**).

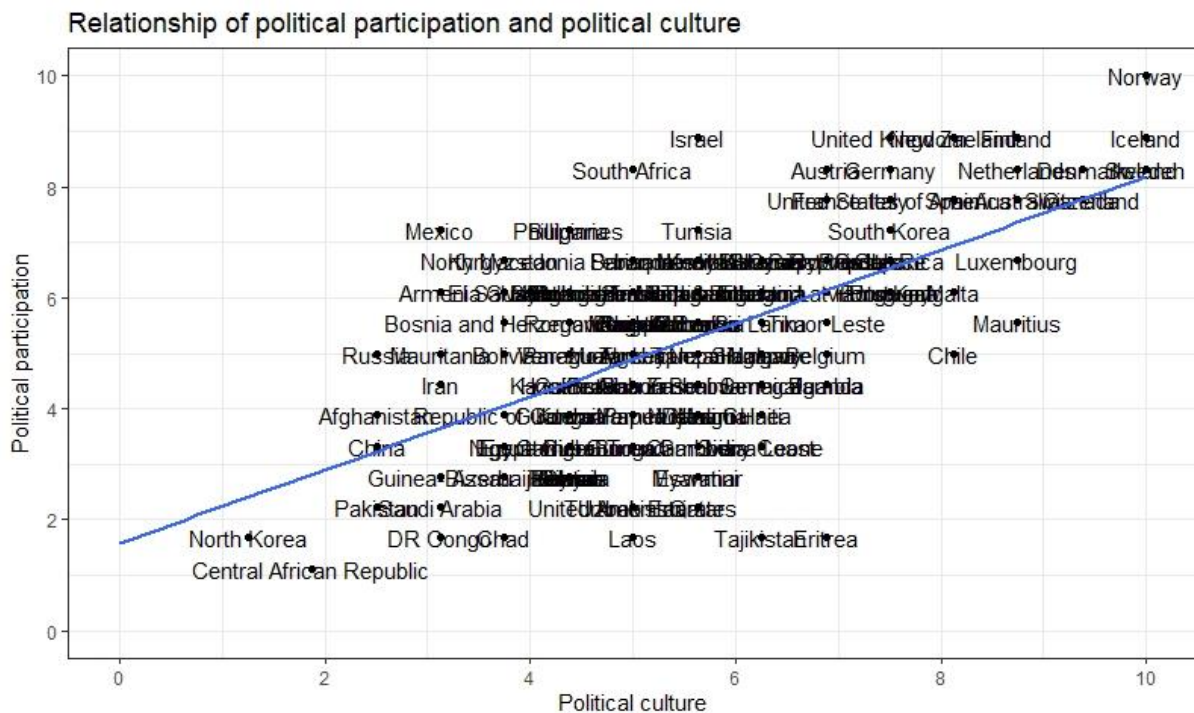


Figure 8-Relationship of political participation and political culture

If we look at R^2 in the second model, we can conclude that 35% of cases of dependant variables can be explained through political culture as our control variable. Our adjusted R^2 is also 0,35, which means that our explanatory factor is equal to 35%.

The number of observations remained just the same as in model 1, while RMSE increased for 0,01. However, this still means that there are no vast deviations from the regression line.

MODEL 3

In the third model, I have tried to investigate the relationship between electoral processes and electoral pluralism (EPEP) and political participation.

For every unit increase in electoral processes and electoral pluralism, political participation increases for 0,40. (coefficient for electoral processes and electoral pluralism which is statistically significant on 99% level with a standard error of 0,03).

Political participation would be 2,95 (interception coefficient), even if electoral processes and electoral pluralism is equal to 0.

The relationship between electoral processes and electoral pluralism and political participation is positive, so we can conclude that these results are in-line with our H3 (**As higher as electoral processes and electoral pluralism are, as higher political participation will be.**)

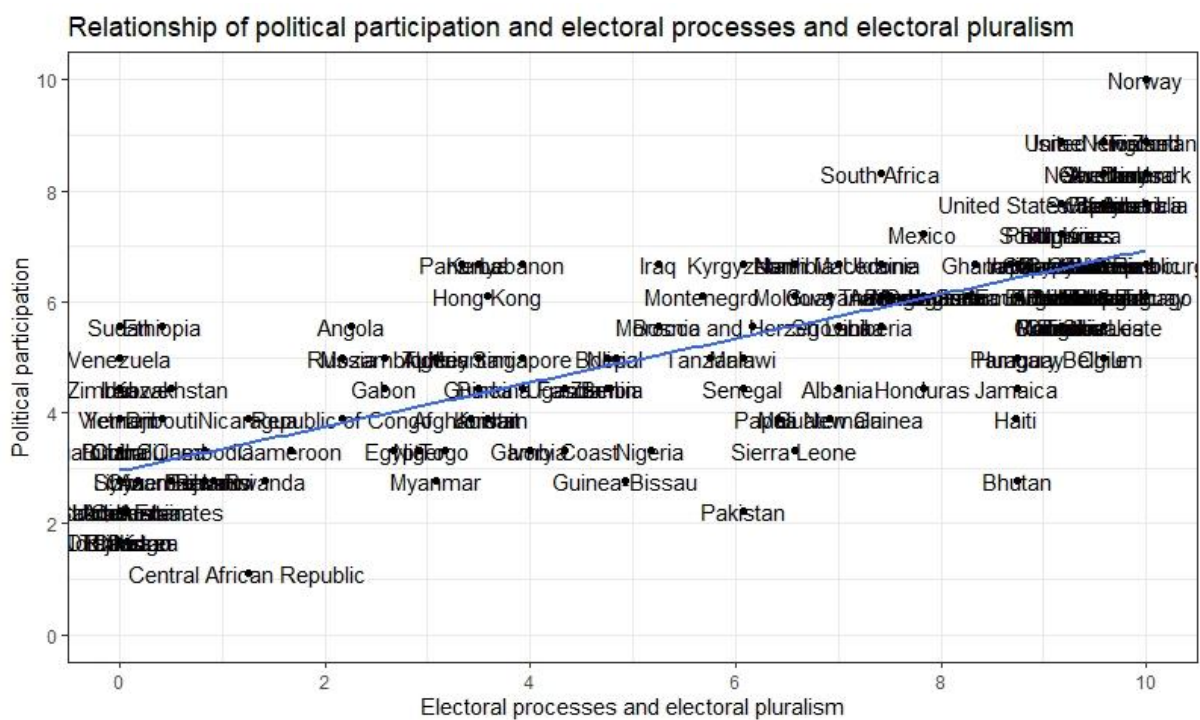


Figure 9-Relationship of political participation and electoral processes and electoral pluralism

If we look at R^2 , we can see that it is significantly increased in comparison to the first two models, since through this model, we can explain 59% of cases of political participation through electoral processes and pluralism. Adjusted R^2 is equal to R^2 and its value is 0,59, which means that the explanatory factor is 59%. Because of the statistical significance and good results from R^2 we can say that electoral processes and electoral pluralism are an excellent control variable when it comes to this paper.

RMSE has slightly decreased in comparison to the previous two models since its value is 1,21, but still, this shows us that there are not massive deviations from the regression line in this model.

MODEL 4

In the fourth model, I have tried to investigate the relationship between civil liberties (CL) and political participation.

Results indicate that for every unit increase of civil liberties, political participation increases for 0,55 units, but also that political participation would be 2,11 (interception coefficient), even if our civil liberties are equal to 0.

From the results, we can notice that the civil liberties coefficient is 0,55 with a standard error of 0,03 and that it is statistically significant on the 99% level.

From the regression equation, we can notice that the relationship between our control variable (CL) and dependant variable (Political participation) is positive and in line with our H4 (**As higher civil liberties are, as higher political participation will be.**)

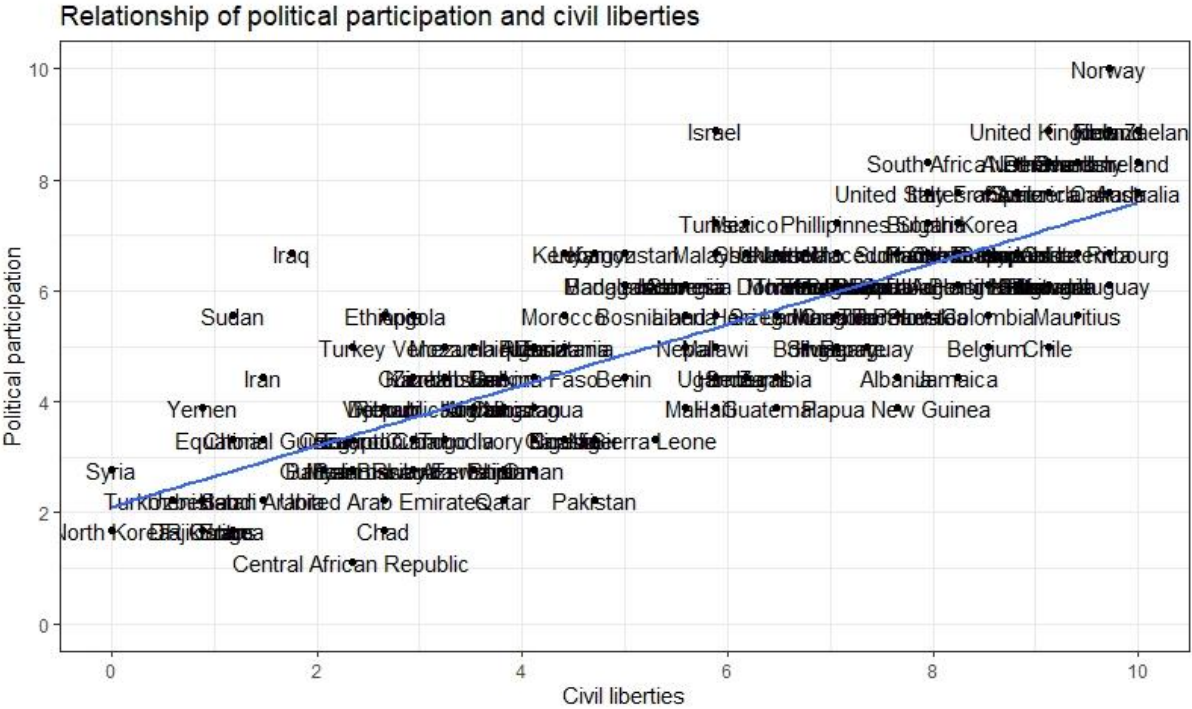


Figure 10-Relationship of political participation and civil liberties

If we look at R^2 , we can see that it is significantly increased in comparison to the first two models and slightly increased in comparison to the third model, since through this model, we can explain 59% of cases of political participation with civil liberties as a control variable. Adjusted R^2 (explanatory factor) is also equal to 59%, while RMSE has slightly decreased in comparison to all three previous models and equals 1,17, which means that there are not massive deviations from the regression model in this fourth model.

MODEL 5

In the last, fifth model, I have tried to investigate the influence of the independent variable and three control variables (POC, CL, EPEP, PC) on my dependent variable (Political participation).

Results indicate that for every unit increase of the perception of corruption, political participation will increase for 0,01 units. However, the perception of corruption is not statistically significant in this model, so we have to accept the zero hypotheses, which we would decline if our perception of corruption were statistically significant.

Similarly, for every unit increase of political culture, political participation will increase for 0,13 units. Political culture is statistically significant on the 90% level, which means that there are 10% chances for occurring of a mistake in this model.

Electoral processes and electoral pluralism remained statistically significant on a 99% level with a coefficient of 0,20 and a standard error of 0,06, which presents a slight decrease from the bivariate model (MODEL 3) of EPEP and political participation. These results of electoral processes and electoral pluralism indicate that for every unit increase of electoral processes and electoral pluralism, political participation will increase for 0,20 units.

When it comes to civil liberties relationship to political participation in this model, we have to bear in mind that the coefficient has decreased to 0,21 with a standard error of 0,09 and dropped from 99% of statistical significance to 95% of statistical significance. However, these results show us that for every unit increase in civil liberties, political participation will increase for 0,21.

R^2 shows us that we can explain 66% of cases of political participation through these four variables, while our explanatory factor is 65%, which is the most in all the models that I have examined in this paper. The increased power of the fifth model shows us that all the variables have a significant role in terms of political participation.

In 164 observed countries, our RMSE in multivariate analysis is equal to 1,12, which is good and shows no massive deviations of cases from the regression line.

Conclusion

Corruption has always been, and it will remain a hot topic in the sphere of political sciences. On the other hand, the perception of corruption as a positive factor shows us that people who have a higher perception of corruption are more likely to vote and participate in political activities.

We could say that if corruption presents a “moral hazard” and decreases political and social capital, the perception of corruption, on the contrary, increases it and presents a good aspect when it comes to political participation.

Results from the regression analysis that I have conducted shows us that all four variables which I have emphasized in this paper (perception of corruption, political culture, electoral processes, and electoral pluralism and civil liberties) have a positive impact on political participation just as I have expected and assumed in the hypotheses.

Although results support all the hypotheses that I have stated in my theoretical part, it should be emphasized that all three control variables (political culture, civil liberties, and electoral processes and pluralism) have much more influence on political participation than the perception of corruption. However, this is to the most prominent extent expected since these variables have a direct relationship with political participation.

In bivariate analysis, all the variables were statistically significant on a 99% level of confidence, but in the multivariate model, their power decreased just as statistical significance. The only variable that has kept statistical significance on the 99% level is electoral processes and pluralism, and it would be correct to say that this variable, at least in theory, explains political participation better than other variables as it was expected to the most significant extent.

However, results from regression analysis indicate that civil liberties explain political participation better than any other variable. Although this is the case, the civil liberties coefficient decreased in the multivariate model just as statistical significance, which dropped from 99% to 95%.

I would say that the multivariate model is excellent in this case since the explanatory factor is good, and there are no enormous deviations of case results from the regression line.

It is also similar in bivariate models, and we can see on scatterplots that there are no vast deviations from the regression line when it comes to the relationship of independent and control variables with political participation as our dependent variable.

For sure, results would be quite different if I have measured corruption and not perception of corruption, but it would be interesting to see the coefficient and sign of that measurement since clientelism as a phenomenon is still present, especially in undeveloped and transitional countries.

Figure 1-Share of countries regarding political participation	10
Figure 2-Share of countries regarding the perception of corruption score	11
Figure 3-Share of countries regarding PC score	11
Figure 4-Share of countries regarding EPEP score	12
Figure 5-Share of countries regarding CL score	12
Figure 6-Regression assumption	13
Figure 7-Relationship of political participation and perception of corruption	14
Figure 8-Relationship of political participation and political culture	15
Figure 9-Relationship of political participation and electoral processes and electoral pluralism	16
Figure 10-Relationship of political participation and civil liberties	17
Table 1-Univariate analysis results.....	10

Bibliography

- Almond, G. A. (1956, August). Comparative Political Systems. *The Journal of politics*, 3(18), p. 396.
- Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture- Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton, New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.
- Bull, M. J., & Newell, J. L. (2003). *Corruption in Contemporary politics*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cambridge Dictionary. (n.d.). *Cambridge Dictionary*. Retrieved from civil liberties: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/civil-liberties>
- Collins Dictionary. (n.d.). *Collins Dictionary*. Retrieved from civil liberties: <https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/civil-liberties>
- Hooghe, M., & Quintelier, E. (2014). Political Participation in European Countries. *Comparative European Politics*, 12(2), pp. 209-232.
- Inman, K., & Andrews, J. T. (2009). *Corruption and Political Participation in Africa*. Chicago, Illinois: Midwest Political Science Association.
- Ionescu, L. (2013, December). THE INFLUENCE OF CORRUPTION ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. *Economics, Management & Financial Markets*, 8(4), pp. 184-189.
- Jin-Wei, S. (1999, February). Corruption in economic development - Beneficial Grease, Minor Annoyance, or Major Obstacle? Washington, Washington DC, USA: World Bank-Public Economics, Development Research Group-.
- Johnson, R. A. (2004). *The Struggle Against Corruption*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morris, S. D., & Klesner, J. I. (2010). Corruption and Trust: Theoretical Considerations and Evidence From Mexico. *Comparative Political Studies*, 43(10), pp. 1258-1285.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414010369072>
- Navot, D., & Beerli, I. (2017, April). Conceptualization of Political Corruption, Perceptions of Corruption, and Political Participation in Democracies. *LEX LOCALIS - JOURNAL OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT*, 15(2), pp. 199-219.

- Olsson, S. A. (2014). CORRUPTION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION - A multilevel analysis. Goteborg, Sweden: QOG THE QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT INSTITUTE.
- Rose-Ackermann, S., & Palifka, B. J. (2016). *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences, and Reform* (II ed.). New York, New York, USA: Cambridge University Press.
- Štulhofer, A. (2004). Perception of Corruption and the Erosion of Social Capital in Croatia 1995-2003. *Politička Misao, XLI*(5), pp. 74-88.
- The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2020, February 21). *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from Plurality System: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/plurality-system>
- The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica. (2016, August 11). *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from civil liberties: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/civil-liberty>
- Transparency International. (2018). *What is corruption?* Retrieved March 14., 2020., from How do you define corruption?: <https://www.transparency.org/what-is-corruption#define>
- USlegal.com. (n.d.). *USlegal*. Retrieved from Electoral Process Law and Legal Definition: <https://definitions.uslegal.com/e/electoral-process/>
- Winkler, J. R. (2018., May 4). *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved April 4, 2020., from Political culture: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/political-culture>

Database sources

<https://www.transparency.org/en/cpi/2019>

https://www.eiu.com/public/topical_report.aspx?campaignid=democracyindex2019