Inequality, Distributive Justice and Political Participation:

An Analysis of the Case of Chile

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Abstract

Political participation has frequently been associated with individual resources; that is, individuals with higher incomes, higher educational levels and more time tend to participate in the political process to a greater extent than other individuals do. The present study suggests that in addition to resources, an individual's beliefs about economic distribution are an important determinant of participation both in elections and in protests. Based on the analysis of the Chilean data from the Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) 2012, the results suggest that distributive beliefs are associated primarily with participation in protests.

Keywords: political participation, voting, protests, distributive justice, inequality.

Introduction

Economic inequality in countries is traditionally viewed as a threat to the stability of governments and to the legitimacy of the democratic system. As Lipset observes in 'Some Social Requisites of Democracy', 'A society divided between a large impoverished mass and a small favoured elite would result either in oligarchy […] or in tyranny […]' (Lipset, 1959: 75). In this vein, some authors observe that there should be greater collective pressure for redistribution in unequal societies (Barnes, 2013; Meltzer and Richard, 1981), which in turn should promote the election of candidates who favour greater equality in distribution and/or the generation of protests and demonstrations. The positive association between inequality and participation has been addressed under the *conflict model* concept, which posits that economic inequality is a source of political mobilization because the groups that are most disenfranchised (that is, those with fewer resources) tend to participate through different channels to promote greater redistribution (Solt, 2008). However, the conflict model has at least two limitations when it comes to explaining political participation: a) most existing empirical evidence supports the opposite conclusion, that is, the evidence indicates that people with greater resources exhibit higher levels of political participation than those with fewer resources do (Brady et al., 1995; Schlozman et al., 2012), and b) this model relies on the assumption that a consensus exists that economic inequality is unjust, which has been called into question by various theories and studies in the fields of sociology (Gaxie, 1979), social psychology and political psychology (Jost et al., 2009; Kluegel et al., 1995; Lerner, 1980; Wegener, 1992).

The present study seeks to further investigate people's beliefs regarding economic inequality and the impact of those beliefs on levels of political participation. Specifically,

the research question guiding this investigation is as follows: To what extent do beliefs regarding economic inequality motivate political action? The general hypothesis of this study is that socioeconomic status by itself does not trigger political participation but that the inclination to participate is based on the belief that economic inequality is unjust. Thus, those who perceive the economic distribution as unjust will exhibit a greater inclination to participate in politics as a means of changing the status quo.

Besides studying the association of distributive beliefs with participation, this study compares different forms of participation and considers their relationships with beliefs regarding distributive issues. Given the increasing decline in indicators of conventional participation (voting behaviour in particular) and the increase in social movements and protests in numerous countries (especially middle-income countries), another possible hypothesis to explore is whether redistributive demands are transmitted through different channels of conventional and unconventional participation.

We will focus on the case of Chile to examine the research hypotheses because this country possesses several characteristics that make it an interesting research subject in this context. Specifically, Chile is a middle-income country that has undergone an accelerated process of modernization over the last three decades; it has high indices of economic inequality and low rates of conventional participation; and it has experienced a considerable increase in unconventional participation in recent years. Our analysis uses the data pertaining to Chile from the Latin American Public Opinion Project's (LAPOP) 2012 survey.

Political participation

Political participation, particularly in democratic contexts, is a central theme in social sciences literature. As initially noted in widely cited studies such as *The People's Choice* (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948) and *Political Participation* (Milbrath, 1965), one important explanatory factor for differences in political participation levels is the *socioeconomic status* of people. Verba et al. (1995) expand this idea by proposing a model of participation based on the concept of 'resources', which has three components: time, money and civic skills. Age also plays a key role in political participation – younger cohorts demonstrate lower electoral participation – which shows the influence of generational differences and life-cycle on participation (Blais, 2006).

Over the last few decades, the concept of political participation has evolved to incorporate a broad range of specific activities in addition to electoral participation. *Political Action* (Barnes et al., 1979) maintains that protest activities and violence must be considered as political participation to paint a more accurate picture of the political reality of contemporary societies, in which institutional political activity is not the only means of expressing preferences or promoting political interests. Rather, as the literature on 'contentious politics' argues, unconventional participation – including petitions, marches, traffic blockades and protests – form part of the behavioural repertoire of a significant number of citizens (Tilly, 2006). In the same vein, Max Kaase (2007) observed that activities outside of institutionalised political processes now form part of the normal political repertoire of nearly all groups in society, which has prompted authors such as Pippa Norris to speak of extended and multimodal participation characterised by mixed action repertoires of political activity (Norris, 2002).

Consistent with the perspectives described above, more recent studies have started to incorporate both conventional and unconventional participation into a single participation theory (Harris and Gillion, 2010). In their study on the transformation of citizen participation in the United States, Zukin et al. (2006) identify three dimensions of public behaviour: (a) electoral behaviour, the principal activity of which is voting; (b) civic behaviour, which is associated with volunteer work and community improvements; and (c) 'public voice' activities, which encompass a number of expressive actions, including participation in protests (Zukin et al., 2006). According to Dalton (2008), the expanding repertoires of political participation are the result of citizens' changing perceptions of their role in the political sphere. Nonetheless, certain authors, including Oser (2010) and Oser et al. (2013), show that despite these transformations, the citizens who are most disadvantaged in terms of education and income are less likely to use non-institutional political activities as tools of expression.

Political Participation and Inequality in Chile

The region encompassing Latin America and the Caribbean is considered the most unequal region in the world (Solt, 2009). A variety of explanations have been offered for this phenomenon, including the impact of historical factors (such as unequal patterns of land tenure), ethnic discrimination, and limited taxation. The situation in this region has been exacerbated by the recent effects of privatization and the economic liberalization policies that were adopted by Chile in the late 1970s and by other countries in the region ten years later (Ortiz and Cummins, 2011).

Arce and Bellinger (2007) examine the political impact of economic liberalization and observe that in the context of open and democratic political systems, these reforms

have led to a significant increase in political protests but have not significantly influenced electoral participation (Arce and Bellinger, 2007). In a later study that explores this observation in more depth, the authors state that economic reforms in democratic contexts have effectively repoliticised citizens, stimulating their collective will to mobilise as a means of resisting or modifying policies that adversely affect their lives (Bellinger and Arce, 2011). In addition, Machado et al. (2011) note that in regions characterised by weak institutions, unconventional means of expressing preferences, such as protests, are more attractive to citizens.

Chile has exhibited a pattern of inequality and economic growth similar to those seen in other countries in Latin America. Indeed, due to Chile's substantial income inequality (Larrañaga and Valenzuela, 2011), Chile's inequality indices are the highest of all the member states of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (OECD, 2013). One troubling effect of educational and income inequality in Chile is its apparent impact on the electoral arena beginning several years ago. The literature notes that the current electorate has not only grown older (Navia, 2004; Toro, 2008) but also displays a notorious class bias: citizens with higher incomes and education vote at higher rates than their lower-income counterparts (Contreras and Navia, 2013; Corvalán and Cox, 2011; Joignant et al., 2013; Toro, 2007). The recent voluntary vote reform may have increased this bias, especially in urban sectors and the Metropolitan Region (Corvalán et al., 2012; Joignant et al., 2013).

In addition to class bias, there is a generation bias, which is manifest in the significantly greater levels of apathy among adults relative to their own previous interest in politics as youths (Madrid, 2005). Carlin (2006) delves further into this finding, stating that

to properly explain electoral practices in Chile, one should incorporate not only the theory of generational turnover in political culture but also theories regarding support of politics and depoliticisation.

Chilean literature on political participation has focused primarily on formal political participation, which is understood as participation in elections and membership in political parties (Espinoza and Madrid, 2010; Joignant, 2010; Joignant and Navia, 2007; Luna, 2010; Luna and Altman, 2011; Luna and Mardones, 2010; Navia, 2004; Navia and Del Pozo, 2012; Navia and Joignant, 2000). Studies regarding unconventional political participation have addressed this subject from the perspective of social capital (UNDP, 2000) and have associated participation in protests and marches with variables including age, interests and political effectiveness (Patterson, 2005). Luna and Toro (2013) suggest that a person's age and income are negatively associated with protest activities, whereas interest in politics and educational level have a positive association with this type of participation. This argument is consistent with recent international evidence (Marien et al., 2010; Oser et al., 2013). Carlin (2011) notes that those who protest are characterized by having democratic attitudes but lack trust in institutional mechanisms, so called 'distrusting democrats'. who protest; these individuals

Unconventional political participation has attained great importance in Chile in recent years due to the emergence of large-scale social movements – particularly student movements (Donoso, 2013) – and to more general debates regarding equity and the equality of opportunities in Chilean society (Azocar, 2013).

Distributive Beliefs and Political Participation

In addition to the components included in the resource model, a number of psychosocial factors have been linked to political participation (Dalton, 2000). Among these factors, it is possible to identify concepts such as political effectiveness, political knowledge and trust in institutions, as well as other, more general psychological characteristics, such as self-esteem, locus of control and personality types (Bekkers, 2005; Cohen et al., 2001; González et al., 2005; Schneider and Castillo, 2009; Segovia et al., 2008; Velásquez et al., 2004). However, the influence of perceptions and beliefs regarding economic inequality has barely been considered in political participation research.

In the area of social psychology, the study of distributive justice has been more strongly associated with theories that attempt to justify an unequal system that maintains the status quo, as social dominance theory and system justification theory (Jost et al., 2009; Jost and Major, 2001; Sidanius et al., 2001; Sidanius and Pratto, 1999). The central argument of system justification theory is that people have a motive to justify the status quo, and this motive may be even more pronounced in people of low socioeconomic status. Thus, the system justification theory maintains that people of low status are characterised by lower redistributive demands. In contrast to psychological theories, sociological approaches to distributive issues emphasises the influence of structural and cultural characteristics (especially socioeconomic status variables and components of the sociopolitical system) on the formation and maintenance of beliefs regarding social justice (Kluegel et al., 1995; Kluegel and Smith, 1986; Wegener, 2001).

Although social justice research has emphasised the impact of distributive beliefs on social action, research regarding their effect on political participation is virtually non-existent (Mühleck, 2009; Poulos, 2012). Nonetheless, it is possible to glean a series of

hypotheses based on evidence provided in general studies of distributive justice. First, although the rational choice theory implies that lower-status individuals demand more redistribution, the system justification theory hypothesises that there are no significant differences in the distributive preferences of individuals with different statuses. However, feelings of injustice motivate political action, and thus, it is suggested that individuals with stronger beliefs in distributive justice participate more actively in politics. Because the relationship between social justice and participation is presently emergent in the literature, we do not have sufficient prior evidence to suggest that different types of participation are affected differently by beliefs regarding justice. However, given the recent Chilean experience, it would not be surprising to observe that distributive demands are channelled primarily through unconventional pathways.

A complementary component to distributive beliefs relates to perceptions regarding the economy. In this respect, it is important to differentiate between the effect of normative beliefs regarding distribution and the effect of beliefs based on an individual's personal interests. One could pose the following question: Do distributive justice ideals motivate political action, or do justice beliefs derive from the personal consequences or gains that might be realised as a result of distribution/redistribution? The primary reason for introducing economic perception variables into the model is that these variables might establish whether the effect of redistributive beliefs is independent of the expected impact of redistribution on one's personal interests, or whether the demand for redistribution is essentially explained by the anticipated personal benefits of redistribution. The hypotheses for this study are summarised in schematic form in Figure 1.

[Figure 1 here]

Figure 1 shows the primary relationships that are empirically evaluated in this article and summarises and connects the arguments that have been presented up to this point. First, the relationships between socioeconomic status (SES) and both forms of participation are based on the resource model hypothesis: the greater the SES, the greater the probability of participation. Second, Figure 1 includes the variables for distributive justice beliefs and perceptions of the economy; it is expected that individuals with higher SES support less redistribution and have more optimistic perceptions of the economic situation. Third, people who place a greater value on redistribution are more motivated to participate politically, especially in unconventional forms, whereas people who have a more optimistic perception of the economic situation tend to participate more through conventional means and less through unconventional methods.

Data, Variables and Methods

Data

The LAPOP project is coordinated through Vanderbilt University and conducts biennial surveys in 26 countries throughout the entire region. Chile has participated in LAPOP's surveys since 2006. The 2012 data for Chile were collected between March 30 and May 1, 2012. The sample included 1,571 persons (including 1,362 in urban areas and 209 in rural areas) who were interviewed in person. The sample was selected using a probabilistic multi-stage sampling design at the national level for persons of voting age; this design took into account stratification and clustering. Stratification was based on five geographical regions: North, Centre, Metropolitan, South and Extreme South.

Variables

The dependent variables for this study are formal political participation and participation in protests. The variable for formal political participation was operationalised through questions regarding past and anticipated future participation in elections, and the variable for participation in protests was operationalised through questions about participation in demonstrations and blockades of public spaces over the last twelve months. Table 1 presents the questions as they appeared in the questionnaire.

[Table 1 here]

The independent variables are shown in Table 2. The first group of independent variables refers to subjective beliefs regarding distributive justice and the economic situation. A second group comprises sociodemographic variables (age and sex), interest in politics, level of income and educational level. Level of income and educational level are used as proxies for socioeconomic status. Finally, we include the variable for self-placement on the left-right political axis to explore variations in participation according to political affiliation.

[Table 2 here]

Analysis

This section describes the estimation of a series of regression models for the two participation variables, namely, conventional participation and participation in protests. The models are estimated in a structural equation context, which allows for better control of errors in variable measurement. This model begins by estimating a model to measure the variables, as shown in Figure 2. Figure 2 is a schematic representation of a confirmatory factor analysis model that estimates the relationship between the observed indicators and the two primary variables of this study, conventional participation and participation in

protests. The indices of fit for the model (shown below the figure) are within acceptable ranges (Kline, 2011).

[Figure 2 here]

The presentation of the estimated models is organised as follows: first, we examine the impact of the variables for education, age and gender on both conventional and unconventional political participation. Second, we analyse distributive justice and economic perception as dependent variables to observe how they are affected by sociodemographic predictors before we use these two variables as predictors themselves. Finally, we present the complete political participation model, which includes information on sociodemographics, distributive justice beliefs and economic perceptions.

Table 3 shows models for conventional and unconventional political participation regressed for sociodemographic predictors and political identification. Model 1 includes the dummy variables for educational level, with the basic level as a reference. The specific objective of examining this model is to observe the negative effect of educational level on voting, which contradicts the resource model of political participation. However, the effect of educational level on voting is neutralised when age is entered into Model 2 as it is evident that the age variable is related to educational level. In addition, the age variable has the greatest effect on conventional political participation, consistent with previos evidence. To make this effect more precise, a quadratic term is added, which becomes negative when participation is understood as voting; participation increases with age, but this relationship tends to become attenuated as age increases. It is interesting to note that although participation in protests is not significantly affected by age, it is influenced by educational level. Although one might initially be surprised that people with higher educational levels

tend to participate more actively in protests, this finding is in line with recent evidence regarding the influence of individual resources on unconventional political participation (Marien et al., 2010). Model 3 adds the left-right political identification variable, which exerts different effects on the two forms of participation: individuals who identify with the right are those who participate most in elections, whereas those on the left participate more in protests and stand apart from the rest of the categories.

[Table 3 here]

Table 4 shows the models for distributive justice and the two economic perception variables (the perception of the individual's own economic situation and the perception of the country's economic situation), as well as the complete models for the political participation variables that include distributive justice beliefs and economic perception as predictors. The first three models in Table 4 include the variables for sociodemographics and left-right political identification. Model 1 corresponds to the distributive justice belief variable and shows that people who identify more with the centre and the right are less supportive of economic redistribution by the State than individuals on the left are. With respect to the variables for economic perception in Models 2 and 3, the impact of the predictors indicates that males who have higher educational levels and rightist political orientations perceive their own economic situations and that of the country as more positive.

Models 4 and 5 in Table 4 are related to the central hypothesis of this article, that is, the effect of the distributive justice belief and economic perception variables on different forms of political participation. Model 4 presents the results for voting and shows that belief in distributive justice is associated with a greater probability of voting, albeit this

effect does not reach statistical significance. The perception of a better personal economic situation is also positively associated with voting, which aligns with the results of Tillman (2008) and other similar studies, which find that the probability of voting increases with public approval of the economy. The positive relationship between perceived individual economic situations and voting is also consistent with the more general results of Carlin (2006) related to regime performance and voting. The model for the protest variable (Model 5) shows that a belief in distributive justice has a positive effect on protest participation, whereas perceptions regarding one's personal economic situation and the country's economic situation do not have a significant influence on protest participation.

[Table 4 here]

Summary and Discussion

The present study aimed to analyse the relationship between the belief in distributive justice and political participation utilizing data for Chile from LAPOP's 2012 survey. To achieve this aim, we evaluated the effects of socioeconomic factors and of beliefs regarding inequality and redistribution on two distinct forms of political participation: electoral participation and participation in protests.

With respect to beliefs regarding inequality and redistribution, we discussed concepts related to empirical research on distributive justice. These concepts – from which the central hypotheses of this study were derived – suggest from a psychosocial perspective that perceptions and beliefs regarding economic inequality and redistribution are mobilizing factors and positively influence political participation. According to this proposal, an individual who perceives the present economic distribution as detrimental and unjust will exhibit higher levels of political participation to change the status quo. We considered

individuals' perceptions regarding the economy as a complementary component because the literature in this field reports that the perceived performance of a country is an important determinant of political participation (Carlin, 2006).

Regarding resource theory and political participation, this study provides results that are differentiated according to the modality of political participation. For electoral participation, we do not observe a significant effect of resources (measured as educational level) when other variables, such as age, are incorporated into the model. This result does not refute the resource theory because, as Verba et al. (1995) explain, the resource model was developed to explain political participation in its most varied forms, especially forms requiring more time and greater skills, and thus is not focused on voting, which supposedly does not increase costs. This notion is supported by the results of our study, which show a significant effect of interest in politics on voting. Furthermore, we identify a significant effect of age on electoral participation; this result is consistent with the Chilean literature reviewed previously in this study, which finds decreased electoral participation by younger generations and an aging of the voter list (Carlin, 2006; Madrid, 2005; Navia, 2004; Toro, 2008).

With respect to participation in protests, the various models specified in this study indicate that resources have a significant effect on this type of political participation; specifically, individuals with higher educational levels tend to participate more in protests. Although this finding contradicts the conflict theory, which hypothesises greater political activity by groups that are less well-off, it is consistent with international research on this topic, which finds that individual resources influence participation in protests: 'representative surveys show a consistent association between educational level and

propensity to be involved in protest activities […] the higher the level of education, the greater the percentage of people who participate in protests' (Rucht, 2007: 715).

Another significant effect observed in this study relates to people's political identification. This attribute exerted different influences the distinct modalities of political participation, which is consistent with the study by Carlin (2011). Specifically, the greater one's identification with the left, the greater the tendency to participate in protests, whereas the greater one's identification with the right, the greater the tendency towards electoral participation. These results suggest that although fewer people locate themselves on the left-right axis, or do so in a less intense way, political identification continues to be a factor that explains citizens' political behaviour (Mair, 2007). In the case of Chile, this may be related to the subject of recent political protests, which have raised fundamental questions about the business performed in the Chilean educational system (Bellei et al., 2014).

The finding that beliefs in distributive justice – which constitute the central focus of this study – have a significant effect on participation in protests is certainly relevant. We observed that the greater the belief in distributive justice, the greater the tendency towards political participation, particularly participation in protests is a means of channelling redistributive demands. Moreover, this result provides insight into the individual characteristics that lead to participation. In particular, the perception of inequality as unjust and a preference for redistributive policies are attitudes that motivate citizens to participate in politics. This finding contributes to the field of study related to the influence of attitudes and political beliefs on the propensity of citizens to become politically active (Brady, 1999) by providing evidence that supports the hypothesis that the commitment of citizens to

particular topics – in this case, inequality and redistribution – has the power to motivate them to participate in politics (Verba et al., 1995).

Although this study yields important results regarding the influence of perceptions of distributive justice on participation, it also opens a series of questions that should be addressed in future studies. First, it is important to include the impact of perceptions of economic inequality on the model, as previous studies have observed that distributive justice beliefs are related to the ability of individuals to perceive current levels of inequality. Another component that may be incorporated as a dependent variable in future studies relates to attitudes regarding civic commitment and participation in civic organizations, broadening the concept of political participation. Finally, one of the primary limitations of this study is its focus on one country at one moment in time. The purpose of this strategy was to concentrate on estimating a model that measures political participation and its relationship to distributive justice such that in a second phase, one could evaluate the extent to which this model is generalizable to other contexts in Latin America. The data available from LAPOP's 2012 survey will enable this plan to proceed, which will require addressing issues of metric invariance and moderating effects based on country characteristics in a multilevel setting.

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Table 1. Dependent Variables

Aspect	Items	Response	Descriptors
Formal political participation	Did you vote in [the first round of][a] the presidential elections?	1. Yes 0. No	74.21 % 25.79 %
	If the next presidential elections were held this week, what would you do?	1. Yes[b] 0. No	75.14% 24.86%
	Beginning with the municipal election of 2013, the vote will be voluntary. That is, even though you have registered, you will not be obligated to vote. What do you think you will do about the municipal/parliamentary election?[c]	1. Sure that will not vote . . 7. Sure to vote	$\bar{X}$=5.44 SD=2.09
Participation in protests	In the last 12 months have you participated in a public demonstration or protest?	1. Yes 0. No	9.15% 90.85%
	In the last twelve months, have you participated in blocking a street or public space as a form of protest?	1. Yes 0. No	2.80% 97.20%

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from LAPOP (2012).

[a]'The first round' was included in the question in countries that include first-round elections in their electoral processes.

[b]The options 'would vote for candidate or party of the current president', 'would vote for some candidate or party different from the current government' and 'would vote, but would leave the ballot blank or annul it' are recoded into this category.

[c]The questionnaire included separate items for municipal and parliamentary elections; the responses to these items were averaged to construct this variable.

Table 2. Independent Variables

Variable	Items	Response	Descriptors
Belief in redistribution	The State of Chile should implement strong policies to reduce income inequality between rich and poor	1. Very much disagree . . .	$\bar{X}$ = 5.97 SD= 1.25
	This inequality is beneficial because it incentivises poorer people to make an effort[a]	7. Very much agree	$\bar{X}$ = 4.80 SD=1.89
Perception of economic situation	How would you rate the country's economic situation? [a]	1. Very good 2. Good 3. Not good, not bad 4. Bad 5. Very bad	$\bar{X}$ = 2.97 SD= 0.85
	How would you describe your own economic situation, generally speaking? [a]		$\bar{X}$ = 3.01 SD= 0.74
Age	Age (in years)		$\bar{X}$ = 46.77
	Age squared		SD= 16.98
Educational level	What was the final year of education that you completed or passed?	1. Basic	30.99%
		2. Middle	45.71%
		3. Incomplete technical or university	13.51%
		4. University	9.80%
Political tendency identification	This card shows a scale from that ranges from 1 to 10 and goes from left to right. On this scale, 1 means left wing and 10 means right wing. When discussing politics today, many people refer to individuals who sympathise more with the left or more with the right. Based on your interpretation of the terms 'left' and 'right', where would you place yourself on this scale?	Left (ref) (1-3)	39.53%
		Centre (4-7)	35%
		Right (8-10)	21.71%
		None	3.76%
		1. Left . . 10. Right	
Income	Household income divided by the number of members of the household, then logarithm is		$\bar{X}$ = 123.13 SD= 110.28

	applied		
Political interest	How much interest do you have in politics?	1. None 2. A little 3. Some 4. A lot	$\bar{X}$ = 1.90 SD= 0.87
Sex		Male	36.54%
		Female	63.46%

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from LAPOP (2012).

[a]These variables were recoded by inverting the original order of response options. Thus, for example, for the question, 'how would you describe your economic situation, generally speaking?', a higher answer value represents a more optimistic perception of the interviewee's own economic situation.

Table 3. Models for Electoral Participation and Participation in Protests

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Vote			
Educational level (ref.=basic educ.)			
Middle	-0.793**	-0.247*	-0.325**
	(-7.781)	(-2.271)	(-2.872)
Incomplete higher education	-0.965**	0.043	-0.201
	(-7.007)	(0.288)	(-1.304)
Complete higher education	-0.664**	-0.045	-0.273
	(-3.124)	(-0.225)	(-1.389)
Age		0.104**	0.110**
		(7.664)	(7.852)
Woman (ref.=man)		-0.054	0.007
		(-0.645)	(0.079)
Income (logarithm)	0.168**	0.043	0.001
	(2.631)	(0.680)	(0.009)
Age x Age		-0.001**	-0.001**
		(-4.606)	(-5.176)
Political interest			0.428**
			(8.191)
Political ideology (ref.=Left)			
Centre			0.122
			(1.221)
Right			0.510**
			(3.184)
No identification			-0.085
			(-0.664)
R^2	0.107	0.421	0.483
Protests			
Educational level (ref.=Basic educ.)			
Middle	0.675**	0.393*	0.434*
	(3.705)	(1.956)	(1.985)
Incomplete higher education	1.146**	0.711**	0.787**
	(5.285)	(2.811)	(2.779)
Complete higher education	1.272**	1.019**	1.089**
	(4.822)	(3.840)	(3.878)
Age		-0.037	-0.058*
		(-1.621)	(-2.362)
Woman (ref.=Man)		-0.006	0.016
		(-0.051)	(0.121)
Income (logarithm)	-0.037	-0.006	-0.071
	(-0.381)	(-0.058)	(-0.690)
Political interest			0.236**

			(3.500)
Political ideology (ref=Left)			
Centre			-0.879**
			(-5.731)
Right			-1.278**
			(-4.388)
No identification			-0.938**
			(-3.731)
R^2	0.154	0.390	0.621
Fit			
Chi^2	(17) 66.406**	(27) 74.300**	(39) 72.986**
CFI	0.963	0.945	0.961
RMSEA	0.047	0.036	0.026
N	1342	1341	1320

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from LAPOP (2012).

Notes: WLSMV (weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted) estimator. This is a robust estimator of weighted least squares appropriate for categorical data (Muthen and Muthen, 2007).

(t values in parentheses, *p<0.05, **p<0.01).

Table 4. Models of Distributive Justice, Economic Perception and Political Participation

Variable	Model 1 Distributive justice	Model 2 Personal economic situation	Model 3 Economic situation of the country	Model 4 Vote	Model 5 Protests
Age	-0.001	-0.019**	-0.011	0.110**	-0.069*
	(-0.053)	(-2.884)	(-1.388)	(7.878)	(-2.266)
Educational level (ref.=basic education)					
Middle	-0.136	0.162**	0.167*	-0.301**	0.659*
	(-1.407)	(2.972)	(2.586)	(-2.652)	(2.335)
Incomplete higher education	-0.158	0.165*	0.341**	-0.155	1.105**
	(-1.106)	(2.055)	(3.435)	(-0.986)	(3.035)
Complete higher education	0.262	0.250**	0.245*	-0.329	1.047**
	(1.465)	(2.686)	(2.333)	(-1.661)	(2.954)
Woman (ref.=man)	0.050	-0.027	-0.161**	-0.017	-0.035
	(0.687)	(-0.604)	(-3.088)	(-0.199)	(-0.210)
Income (logarithm)	-0.100	0.238**	0.151**	0.002	0.021
	(-1.805)	(7.248)	(3.720)	(0.031)	(0.161)
Political interest	-0.016	0.022	0.051	0.431**	0.299**
	(-0.369)	(0.846)	(1.801)	(8.372)	(3.518)
Political ideology (ref.=left)					
Centre	-0.340**	0.158**	0.348**	0.201*	-0.703**
	(-3.436)	(2.761)	(5.633)	(1.972)	(-3.709)
Right	-0.382**	0.388**	0.647**	0.595**	-1.129**
	(-2.888)	(4.882)	(7.156)	(3.655)	(-3.383)
No identification	-0.023	0.077	0.026	-0.089	-1.094**
	(-0.201)	(1.045)	(0.330)	(-0.688)	(-3.511)
Distributive justice				0.191	0.996**
				(1.895)	(3.781)
Personal economic situation				0.142*	0.068
				(1.957)	(-0.146)
Economic situation of the country				-0.110	-0.018
				(-1.873)	(-0.198)
Age x age				-0.001**	
				(-5.231)	

	R^2	0.105	0.302	0.219	0.494	0.734
Fit						
	Chi^2	(68) 120.331**				
	CFI	0.961				
	RMSEA	0.024				
	N	1320	1320	1320	1320	1320

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from LAPOP (2012).

Notes: WLSMV (weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted) estimator. This is a robust estimator of weighted least squares appropriate for categorical data (Muthen and Muthen, 2007).

(t values in parentheses, *p<0.05, **p<0.01).

Figure 1. Model of Distributive Justice and Political Participation.

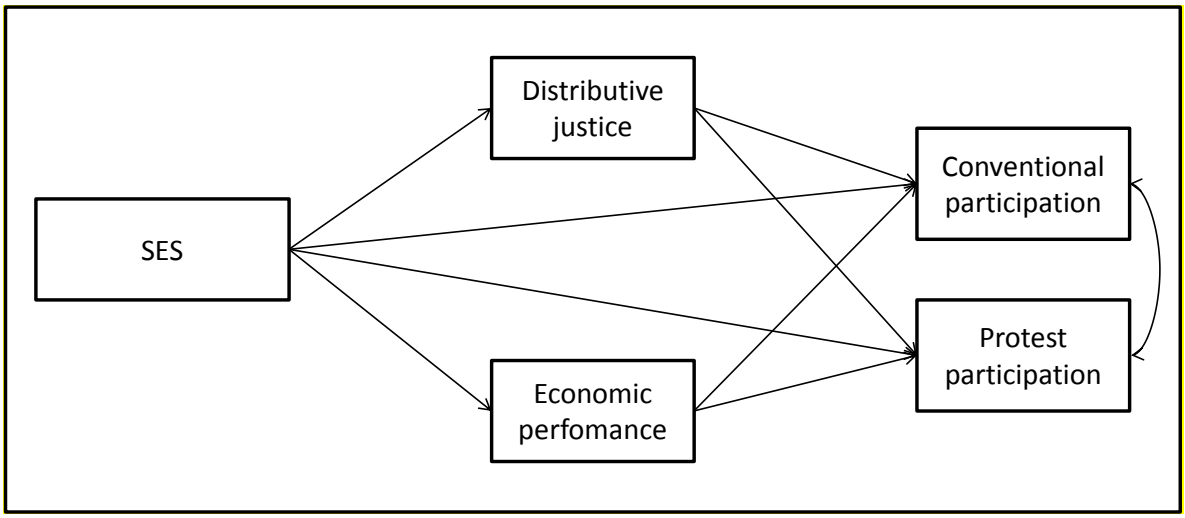
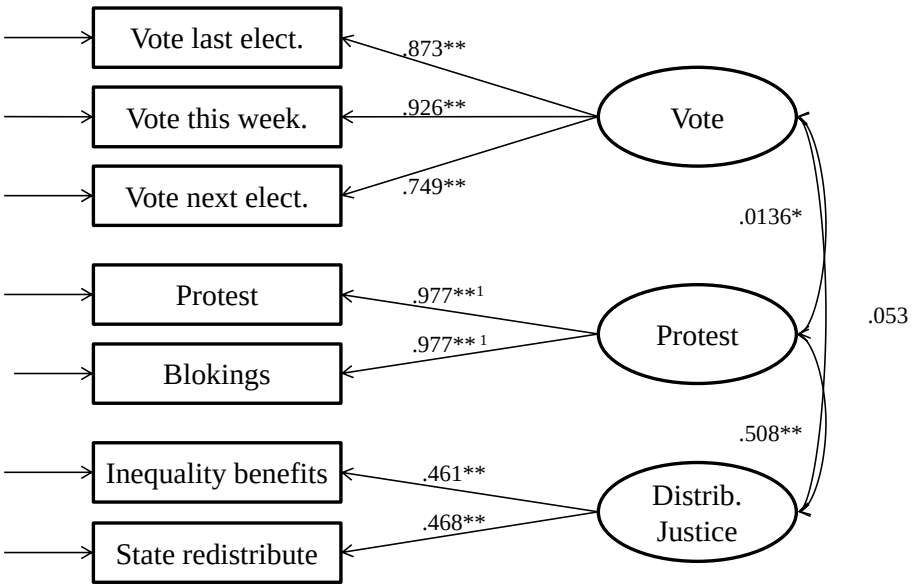


Figure 2. Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Voting, Protests and Distributive Justice Variables.



Estimator: WLSMV
Model fit: Chi2(12)=34.93**, CFI=.99, TLI=.98, RMSEA=0.035, * = p<0.05, ** =p<0.01; 1=equality restriction.
N=1,571

Source: Prepared by the authors based on data from LAPOP (2012)
Notes: WLSMV (weighted least squares mean and variance adjusted) estimator.
Model Fit: Chi2(12)=34.93**, CFI=-99, TLI=.98, RMSEA=.035, N=1,571
*p<0.05, **p<0.01; 1=equality restriction.