

The impact of the community development on electoral turnout in rural areas at the parliamentary elections (2008), Romania

Aurelian GIUGAL^{1,*}, Ionuț CIOBANU²

¹ University of South-East Europe Lumina, Bucharest

² University of Bucharest, PhD in Political Science

* Corresponding author, giugal.aurelian@fspub.unibuc.ro

Received on <01-10-2013>, reviewed on <20-12-2013>, accepted on <15-01-2014>

Abstract

In the countries with a consolidated democracy, but also in post-communist Romania, the turnout has experienced a downward evolution. The difference lies in the fact that while in Western European countries the turnout is higher as the economic and educational level is higher, in Romanian during the last general elections (2008), the turnout was higher in rural areas (traditionally more precariously from the economic and educational point of view than the urban areas). In this way, the article strives to identify to what extent there is a causal relationship between the development index of the rural localities and the turnout, the descriptive statistics highlighting a relevant aspect: there is a higher turnout in the less developed counties than in the developed ones.

Keywords: *general election, turnout, Romania, development*

Rezumat. Impactul dezvoltării comunității asupra prezenței la vot în zonele rurale la alegerile parlamentare (2008), România

În statele cu o democrație consolidată, dar și în România post-comunistă, prezența la vot este din ce în ce mai puțin numeroasă. Există însă și o diferență considerabilă: în timp ce în statele vest-europene, prezența la vot crește o dată cu nivelul de educație, în România, la ultimele alegeri generale (2008), prezența la vot a fost mai mare în zonele rurale (care sunt, prin tradiție, mai precare din punct de vedere economic și educațional decât zonele urbane). Astfel, articolul încearcă să identifice în ce măsură există o legătură causală între indicele de dezvoltare a localităților rurale și prezența la vot, statistica descriptivă ilustrând un aspect important: în județele mai puțin dezvoltate, prezența la vot este mai mare decât în județele dezvoltate.

Cuvinte-cheie: *alegeri generale, prezență la vot, România, dezvoltare*

Introduction

Starting from the theory which states that citizens would abstain from voting, if they acted rationally (Downs, 2009), in spite of the fact that the chances to influence the final elections score are almost null, many proves have been shown for the perfect citizen who is interested by the electoral process.

Some voters consider that voting is a civic action and a duty of every citizen of a democratic society (Johnston and Pattie, 2006), others believe that belonging to a group of interests constitute a sufficient motivation for voting (in accordance with this assertion, when a voter rationalizes he does not start from the premise "will my vote count in the final result?", but rather from the question "will my vote count in the interests' group I belong to?" – Franklin, 2004). Others authors explain that the turnout of the electorate and its affinity for one party or other, from an anthropological point of view, the vote being considered "the central element of a rite, and from this perspective, "the vast majority of voters does not use a scientific reasoning to attend the game because then few individuals would participate in the game if they were aware of the

probability of winning" (Guyonnet, 1994; Comșa, 2004).

However, a simple record shows that, both in countries with strong democracy and in those with new one, a part of the voting citizens gives up this right anyway (Johnston and Pattie, 2006; Gray and Caul, 2000; Norris, 2002). At the general elections in 2001, in Great Britain, the turnout was of 59 per cent, the lowest level of attending since 1918: the number of those abstain their voting right was higher than of those who voted for the winning party (Johnston and Pattie, 2006). We also meet this last case in post-communist Romania, where the voting turnout had a descendent trend, from a high percentage in 1990 (86.20 per cent, in 2008, the pro cent was quite low (39.20 per cent), practically, in less than 20 years, more than half of the voters have chosen not to vote any longer.

The low turnout at the general elections in 2008 made John Gledhill (2009) state that the low level of the voting citizens should not be a worrisome matter as "a low turnout is a normal although regrettable, result of the advanced democracies, and since Romania has become an advanced democracy it has to face this disease of growing up". How can we explain this low turnout in consolidated democracies? The explanation of the above mentioned author as

"the experienced voters in the advanced democracies understand that it is quite unlikely that the individual vote to influence the final result, one vote is ultimately just a drop in a huge electoral ocean", and even more "since there is no direct benefit from the electoral process, many citizens would rather go to a bar or take a walk in a park, than to enter the voting booth" (Gledhill, 2009) is quite often quoted. Given under the circumstances of extensively debates upon the paradox of the theory of the rational election, a simple proof for non-participation would be that, although it is rational for the citizens to abstain from voting, a significant part of them still vote, although as it was observed, its number has been constantly decreasing lately.

On the other hand, opposed to what Gledhill has noted concerning the Romanian turnout, we find J. K. Galbraith's statement. Analyzing the American contemporary society, Galbraith (1992) has identified two types of communities that live in the same country, but experience different standards of living, as the logical consequence of the market economy. One of the communities comprises those benefiting upon the market capitalism, whose life has been comfortable, the living standard has had a permanent growth trend, and accordingly they are deeply concerned with preserving their current state (*status quo*). On the other hand, we notice a large group including those who loose on the market economy. Here we have the paupers, the unemployed and the workers. As the parties are looking to get as many votes to win the election, they will pay attention to the opinion of the influential people; hence the policies adopted will be in accordance with the aspirations of the upper classes: low taxes, limiting the public expenditure (including wages). And in this way the interests of the paupers are neglected and as a result the turnout will be different on the two compartments of the superimposed social classes; particularly the turnout in the lower classes of society would be in a continuous decline. Moreover, the policies implemented by the parties will be focused on the upper classes, the problem of those economically disadvantaged be left aside "here is the modern political dialectics, in a highly concise form. It is about an unequal competition: the rich and prosperous have money and they count. And they vote. And the paupers, concerning for tomorrow – although in large number – most of them, unfortunately, do not vote. There is democracy, but there is a democracy of the wealthy people and that not in small measure" (Galbraith, 1997).

There have been brought numerous other substantiations for non-participation and concerning the non-voters. Crewe (2002) has distinguished four different categories:

a) apathetic non-voters, i.e. those who have no knowledge or interest in politics;

b) those who believe that there is no certainty that the politicians and governments address their problems;

c) those who are indifferent and are not interested in the result of the elections and the party that will win;

d) those that see no difference in the result of the elections.

Referring strictly to the Western area, it is undeniable the fact that the turnout is higher among the wealthy and educated classes compared to the participation among lower income and poorly educated citizens (Johnston and Pattie, 2006; Clarke et al., 2004; Almond and Verba, 1996; Leighley and Nagler, 1992; Lipset, 1983). At the elections from 2004, in Romania, the survey showed that the proportion of the voters was higher "among men, middle-aged, better educated, wealthy persons and employers" and that of non-voters was higher among women, younger or older people, less educated and low income persons, unemployed/ housewives" (Bobârnac and Comșa, 2005). The general elections from 2008 suggest a shift of paradigm: the turnout in rural areas was higher than in the urban environment (see table 1), major urban centres, such as Brașov, Timișoara, Cluj Napoca and Constanța had a reduced turnout and less educated and poor population voted in a proportion greater than the educated and better-off classes (Alexandru et al., 2009).

In this context, taking into account the above mentioned, the main purpose of this article is to test if there is a significant/relevant interrelationship between the turnout and the development index of the commune at the general election in 2008 (Chamber of Deputies). If in 2008, in the rural localities the turnout (as percentage) was higher than in the urban ones, is there a certain correlation between the development index of the commune and the political participation inferred, meaning that the turnout is higher in rural areas, which are economically poorer compared to others economically pre-eminent? Were the differences significant at the regional and counties level, regarding the different degree of development in the historical Romanian provinces? How big are the turnout variations depending on the selected rural areas? These are the questions that our research aims to provide a response to.

Method

The present analysis is structured by two major variables, which are the development index of the communes (encoded here in IDC) and the turnout in the selected rural areas. These two variables will be correlated at various levels of analysis: the general one (correlation across the whole level of the

selected units), regional and categories of development level.

From the perspective of the sample we have to specify from the very beginning that at the level of counties and communes, we have chosen a representative one in a statistical sense, the research units have been randomly chosen. The article is built in three stages in order to answer the questions of the research treated by the present study. Therefore, it can fundamentally be catalogued as a multistage purposive sample (Quinn Patton, 2001).

In the first stage of sampling, we grouped all the 41 counties of the country in three regions that provide flexibility and efficiency in managing data and that surprise the most important regional and historical characteristics of them.

The three regions selected are Moldova, Transylvania and Wallachia. Under the generic name of Wallachia, we have also included the two historical provinces, Oltenia and Dobrudja, and when we mention here Transylvania we have also incorporated into it Banat, Crişana and the historical Maramureş. We have chosen this approach for several reasons. On the one hand, Oltenia and Wallachia had similar history since the 13th century and until the Union in 1859, as for Transylvania (here being included Crişana and Maramureş) and Banat they have followed different historical paths than the regions previously mentioned, their history between 1250 and

1918 been linked to that of Hungary and Austria-Hungary (Chiroţ, 2002). On the other hand, Dobrudja, although it has been a Romanian province for a relatively short time (since 1878), later on, the intense process of ethnicization has radically changed the region, encompassing it to the southern area, the ethnic transformation of the Moldova between the Danube and the Black Sea having a great impact on the electoral behaviour, even in the interwar period Dobrudja and Romania had a similar electoral behaviour (Giugă, 2011). Therefore, we mean to define these three mentioned regions not in the sense of their strict term base size, but rather their spatiality which obviously involves a certain similarity in the historical evolution.

In the second stage, we have selected for each historical region, according to IDC county media (correlated with the population), three counties: a county with a low IDC, one with a medium IDC and in the end, one with a high IDC. On this criterion we have selected from Transylvania Maramureş, Hunedoara and Timiş counties; from Wallachia Teleorman, Gorj and Ilfov, and, finally, from Moldova Vaslui, Neamţ and Galaţi. We have chosen these counties concerning the intensity of cases (in our case – of IDC) and we consider that these cases provide representativeness for each historical region and each development category.



Fig. 1: Regional divisions and counties

Note: I – counties with a low IDC; II – counties with a medium IDC; III - counties with a high IDC

In the third stage of sample formation, the counties selected in the second stage have been reviewed in light of the questions sought, on the one hand, all localities in the assembly, on the other hand, the top 5 communes and last 5 ones from each county (according to IDC). The main reason for this latter selection was to observe if there can be noticed important differences between them or, conversely, the distinctions are dimmed at this level of bivariate analysis.

This sampling has certain advantages: I) it provides a comprehensive analysis upon selected counties; II) it ensures a degree of representativeness per region and per category of development; III) it enables comparisons between countries, regions and categories of development; IV) it provides the opportunity to in depth study for certain deviant localities. It also has its weak points: the cut regions were not balanced, the difference between Wallachia and Moldova is quite high from this point of view; the medium index (IDC) at the county level and the level of development in the selected regions is different, so that Maramureș has a medium IDC of 50, which makes it a weak developed county in the region of Transylvania, but places it on the same place with Galati which is the most developed county in Moldova.

The statistical instruments that we have used are the bivariate correlation and Pearson index, on the one hand, and the descriptive statistics on the other hand. The electoral data at the parliamentary elections (Chamber of Deputies) in 2008 are at the level of administrative territorial unit (locality) and they have been published by the National Institute of Statistics (INS) and the Permanent Electoral Authority (AEP).

The development index of the commune represents the indicator on which the counties and communes of the sample were selected. It is built by a team of National Institute of Statistics (INS)/School of Sociology, University of Bucharest and it measures the degree of the development of each commune, based on a set of 10 indicators grouped into four main dimensions: housing infrastructure, local financial resources, population health and household goods measured based on the number of cars per thousand inhabitants (Sandu et al., 2009). Most of the calculated values are arranged on an interval between 20 and 100, but these values are not per cents but scores in a series with the average of 50 and standard deviation of 14, but which could take values from 0 to infinity.

This type of measuring poverty/development is characteristic to the local communities, not to the individual or family's level and involves not just aggregation for home consumption but also goods, services and public consumption at the level of communes. Therefore, it is focused on the community, not on the family or individual.

Transferring this approach at the level of our study, we can state that electoral turnout is an individual act mediated by the development of the community and therefore the turnout is understood in the context of the community. Moreover, since IDC has as its main predictor the stock of education (Sandu et al., 2009) it can be considered that the electoral turnout is indirectly linked to education.

Results and Discussion

In 1990, at the first elections in the post-Communist period, it was registered the highest rate of the turnout (86.20 per cent). From this beginning point, the turnout has steadily dropped, with a steady period at the ballots in 1992 and 1996 (76.29 and 76.01 per cent, respectively) – see the table below.

On the other hand, the dynamics of the turnout on urban/rural distinction has followed the same downward trend (see table 1), with only one important difference. In 1996, under the conditions of high rate of the turnout, in urban areas there has been a higher turnout than in the rural areas (77.3 per cent compared to 74.5 per cent). After this electoral moment, at the ballots in 2000 and 2004, the proportion of voters has declined by about 10 percentage points, and the rural-urban distinction was relatively balanced. The parliamentary elections in 2008 is looming as a turning point in the post-December 1989 history of Romanian electoral, on the one hand due to drastic decrease of the turnout from 58.51 per cent at the election in 2004 to the unassuming per cent of 39.20 in 2008 (the biggest difference from one election to another, basically less than half of what was registered in 1990) and on the other hand, by inverting the report of the turnout, with a significant difference of 8 percentage points in favour of the rural areas (43.9 per cent compared with 35.7 per cent).

Table 1: Turnout (%) in urban and rural areas at Romanian general elections (Chamber of Deputies)

	1996	2000	2004	2008
Urban	77,3	65,7	58,1	35,7
Rural	74,5	64,8	59,0	43,9
Urban – Rural	2,8	0,9	–0,9	–8,2

Source: Alexandru et al.2009

At all levels of the selected analysis, respectively the regional and counties' ones, categories of development, the turnout in rural areas was higher than in the urban areas, except for Ilfov County. At the region level, there can be distinguished two spaces (Wallachia and Moldova) with a difference of urban-rural of 11.10, and respectively of 13.39 per

cent, a higher rate than the national average and Transylvania with a rate under the national one (5.54 per cent compared to 8.20 per cent – the national average).

The counties selected on the base of development categories of the rural settlements also present important distinctions. On the one hand, an obvious difference was registered between the counties with developed rural settlements and those with underdeveloped ones, meaning that the turnout in the rural areas was vastly higher than that in the urban areas from Teleorman and Vaslui counties, compared to the category of developed counties, Ilfov (higher turnout in the urban area) and Timiș (a small urban-rural difference of 5.83 per cent). Significant differences were registered among the category of the medium developed counties, with a minimum turnout between urban and rural in Neamț (of 2.61 per cent) and a maximum turnout in Hunedoara (of 10.61 per cent) (table 1).

This general perspective on the turnout between regions and counties indicates an essential aspect: the turnout for parliamentary elections in 2008 was much higher in rural areas in counties with a precarious economic situation (Teleorman, Vaslui) compared to those situated at the top of rural development in selected regions (Timiș and Ilfov).

Turning to the particular situation of Romania, if we admit that rural areas are more precarious from the economic and social point of view compared to the urban settlements and taking into account the two electoral realities at the parliamentary elections in 2008, on the one hand, the low turnout (below 50 per cent), and on the other hand, the superiority of rural turnout in comparison with the urban one, it makes sense to ask ourselves if there is a significant correlation between the development index of rural localities from all the nine selected countries (606 communes as a total), and the turnout concerning the important aspect that the Romanian electoral logic is quite the opposite to the Western one, because the turnout is higher in the disadvantaged economic settlements (rural areas). On the other hand, we admit that this high turnout in the rural areas at the

parliamentary elections in 2008 can be just pure random and not a clear peculiarity of Romanian space.

The correlation between IDC and turnout at the level of these 606 units analyzed is negative and very low (fig. 1). Following the correlation it can be said that the relationship between the level of development of one commune and the turnout in that commune is almost non-existent. This very weak link leads to the conclusion that if a commune is more developed, then its turnout is lower.

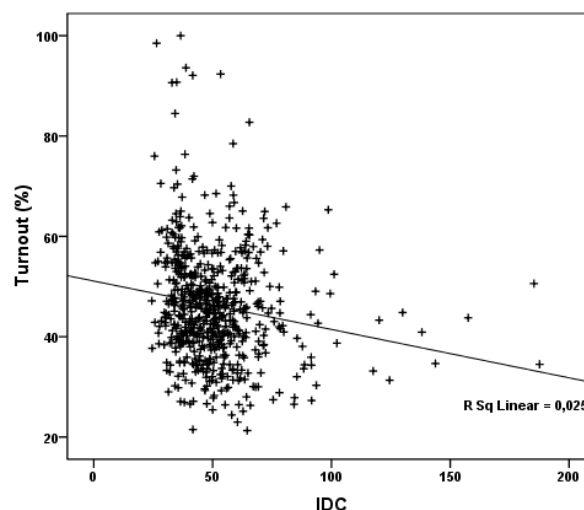


Fig. 2: IDC and turnout, 2008

Considering the historical regions, the most significant connection between the variables can be found in Wallachia, where there is a negative correlation of -0.309 , but still, it is a weak one, which means that only 10 per cent of the turnout in 2008 can be explained through the development index of the community (table 2). In the same time, we should notice that Transylvania is the only region with a positive correlation, although insignificant. At the level of development categories, it is worth noticing the positive correlation between variables in the category of the medium developed counties, where the electoral turnout is higher as the local development is higher (table 2).

Table 2: Correlation coefficients between IDC and turnout

	NAT	MOL	MUN	TR	D	MD	SD	GL	NT	VS	IF	GJ	TR	TM	HD	MM
Pearson	-.158	-.167	-.309	.008	-.122	.195	-.107	-.423	-.421	-.090	-.348	-.019	-.174	-.206	.309	.244
R ²	.024	.027	.095	-	.028	.039	.011	.179	.177	.008	.121	-	.030	.042	.095	.059

Note: NAT – national; MOL – Moldova; MUN – Wallachia; TR – Transylvania; HD – high development counties; MD – medium development counties; LD – low development counties; GL – Galați; NT – Neamț; VS – Vaslui; IF – Ilfov; GJ – Gorj; TR – Teleorman; TM – Timiș; HD – Hunedoara; MM – Maramureș.

Source: National Institute of Statistics (INS); D. Sandu et al. (2009) Dezvoltarea comunelor din România. București

At county level, the strongest correlations we encounter in Galați and Neamț, where there is a negative, inverse correlation, and where an index of higher development means a lower turnout. These are the only cases where the (inconspicuous too) correlation between IDC and the turnout has some relevance (approximately 18 per cent of the turnout could be explained by IDC) (table 2, fig. 3 and 4).

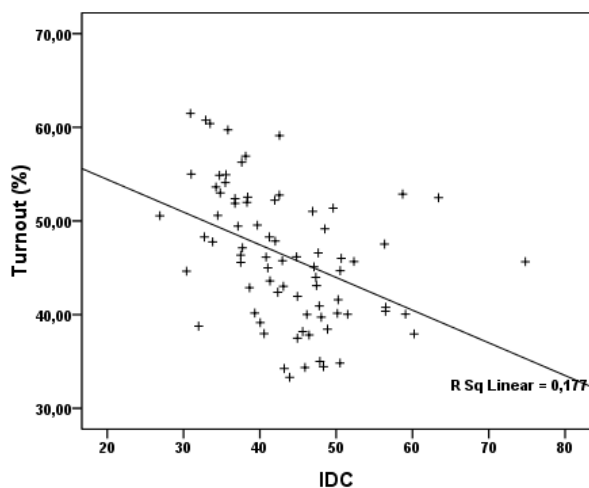


Fig. 3: IDC and turnout in Neamț county, 2008

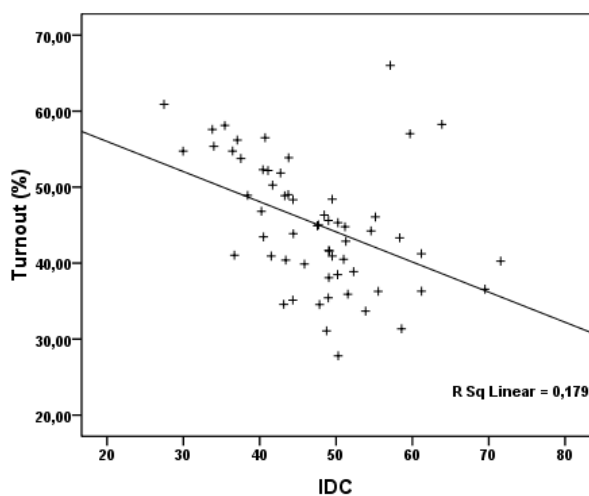


Fig. 4: IDC and turnout in Galați county, 2008

In Maramureș and Hunedoara counties, the correlation is positive, which means that here the development would lead to a higher turnout. These relations are much more interesting as the first two (Neamț and Galați) are part of Moldova and the other (Maramureș, Hunedoara) of Transylvania. It is also interesting the meaning of the correlation between development and turnout in most developed countries – Timiș and Ilfov, where the development has a reducing effect upon the turnout. However, the correlation between IDC and turnout remains a very low one, but the meaning of the correlation can provide important information.

The correlation is negative in Wallachia and Moldova, but also in the developed counties such as Timiș, Ilfov and Galați, and therefore the development of the community has a reducing effect upon the electoral turnout in the poorest areas and in wealthy areas from the IDC point of view. On the other hand, the turnout is higher as the development of the community is higher for the Transylvanian counties Hunedoara and Maramureș. For the county with the highest turnout at the rural level – Teleorman, the correlation is very weak, suggesting that the turnout is similar in the localities with a very different levels of development (cases of Siliștea-Gumești and Peretu, where the IDC was low, respectively high and the turnout high, over 90 per cent, but also localities with a medium IDC, where the turnout was as high as in the others, the case of commune Fântânele with 100 per cent. These special situations can only be explained through a detailed case research.

In this situation, in the absence of a significant coefficient of correlation, can we state that the higher turnout in rural areas at the last general elections in Romania cannot be associated with community development index (IDC)? We might say so, if we judge in the general context in which to include all the selected localities at regional and county level; this conclusion might support multiple faces if we filter all statistic data used and we refer to the first 5 localities and the last 5 from the point of view of development. In this context, we observe that in most of the cases the correlation index of Pearson between IDC and turnout gets negative – a relationship inversely proportional between the turnout and IDC (table 3), sometimes with significant statistical values in Galați, Ilfov and Timiș counties. This specific situation, given by the extreme values (the highest and the lowest developed 5 localities in each of the analysed county), indicates a peculiarity of the Romanian space (if we compare it with the electoral dynamics in western European space): in the highest developed counties in our study (Galați, Ilfov and Timiș), the development index of the communes has a strong reductive effect upon the turnout. This statistical correlation is far more significant if we take into account the highest and the lowest developed 5 localities in each of the counties mentioned above. This is why a county which is weaker economically (Teleorman) had a greater turnout (50.7 per cent) than a more developed county, such as Timiș (31.5 per cent) – table 3. More even, Teleorman county was the most imbalanced in terms of the voting range in rural areas, the difference between the maximum turnout rate (100 per cent) and minimum (38,73 per cent) is of 61.27 per cent. In Teleorman and Vaslui counties from the south and east of the country, with a

development index far much lower than in Galați, Ilfov or Timiș, the correlation between IDC and the turnout is extremely weak, which make us believe

that other indicators should be taken into account in order to provide a better clarification of the electoral behavior.

Table 3: Correlation coefficients between IDC and turnout ^a

	NAT	MOL	MUN	TR	D	MD	SD	GL	NT	VS	IF	GJ	TR	TM	HD	MM
Pearson	-.430	.297	.527	-.127	-.710	.412	-.551	-.788	-.277	-.208	-.509	.309	-.105	-.508	.302	.218
R ²	.184	.088	.327	.016	.504	.169	.303	.621	.076	.043	.259	.094	.011	.257	.090	.047

^aWere taken into account the turnout and IDC values in ten localities (first 5 and the last 5 as development).

Note: NAT – national; MOL – Moldova; MUN – Wallachia; TR – Transylvania; HD – high development counties; MD – medium development counties; LD – low development counties; GL – Galați; NT – Neamț; VS – Vaslui; IF – Ilfov; GJ – Gorj; TR – Teleorman; TM – Timiș; HD – Hunedoara; MM – Maramureș.

Source: National Institute of Statistics (INS); D. Sandu et al. (2009) *Dezvoltarea comunelor din România. București*

Conclusion

In the post-communist Romania, at the general election in 2008, was registered the lowest turnout in its electoral history (39.20 per cent). If we follow Key, Jr. and other researchers' in the field of social sciences judgement, we should really concern with such a turnout.

V. O. Key, Jr. (1958) affirmed that when the turnout is weak, this leads to Governmental under-representation of social and economic disadvantaged classes, which subsequently will implement it through a poor cohesion and loyalty to the democratic system as a whole (in one form or another it's about the same argumentation used by Galbraith in *The Culture of Contentment*). It wasn't quite precise specified in Key, Jr.'s statement, if low turnout is the effect of under-representation of poor economic and social classes or rather under-representation of the disadvantaged categories generates a low turnout. Other claims were made in order to strengthen the following assertion: a low turnout, as well as a very large one, can be translated by a democratic impasse (F. Wilson, 1936; H. Tingsten, 1937; M. Lipset, 1983).

A democratic impasse or not, at 2008 parliamentary election was registered a higher turnout in the rural areas than in the urban ones. This difference rural/urban is higher in the poor counties and is lower in the developed ones. In the same time, it is higher in Wallachia and Moldova than in Transylvania.

This way, we notice a different electoral behavior in Romania compared to the countries with consolidated democracies, where the turnout is higher among the communities with a greater level of development. In this framework, our research question, if there is a correlation between the

turnout and the development index, is quite legitimate.

The level of the community development has a very weak effect upon the turnout, but several remarks can be made: in counties with a higher IDC the reducing effect is higher than in the poor ones. On the other hand, the positive correlation between IDC and turnout noticed in two counties in Transylvania (Maramureș and Hunedoara), albeit a small one and insignificant, from the statistical point of view, indicates the difference in electoral behaviour in terms of turnout, on the one hand between the centre and west of the country (the development has a positive effect upon the turnout), and on the other hand, between the south and east of the country (reverse correlation between development and turnout).

Although in the less developed counties (Teleorman, Vaslui) the bivariate analysis does not indicate an interaction between IDC and turnout, however, in both counties it is registered the biggest difference between the turnout in rural areas and urban (18.20 per cent and 12.18 per cent). These issues create the perspective of a further complementary analysis: micro analyses focused on commune or small groups of localities which could provide clues concerning the client relations in local partisan politics. By saying that we take into account the fact that the client networks controlling the vote do not represent an unique fact in political behaviour, such mechanisms being present in the western areas as well (Piattoni, 2001; Finner, 1970), but also in autochthonous politics, both in the interwar period (Dogan, 1999; Ivan, 1933), as in the post-Communist period as well (Olteanu, 2011; Ciobanu and Olteanu, 2011).

References

- Alexandru, V., Moraru, A. and Ercuș, L. (2009) Declinul participării la vot în România. Doar jumătate din participanții la vot din '90 mai sunt astăzi interesați să voteze. București: Institutul pentru Politici Publice. Available at <http://www.ipp.ro/pagini/declinul-particip259rii-la-vot-in-rom-1.php>
- Almond, G. and Verba, S. (1996) *Cultura civică*. București: Du Style.
- Bobârnac, D. and Comșa, M. (2005) Votanți versus non-votanți. Cine și de ce? In T. Rotariu and M. Comșa, eds., *Alegerile generale 2004. O perspectivă sociologică*. Cluj-Napoca: Eikon, 73-98.
- Chiroț, D. (2002) Schimbarea socială într-o societate periferică. Formarea unei colonii balcanice. București: Corint.
- Clarke, H. D., Sanders, D., Stewart, M. C. and Whiteley, P. F. (2004) *Political Choice in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ciobanu, I. and Olteanu, D. (2011) Local politics after 2000: clientelism and feudalization in Teleorman county. In press *Studia Europaea*.
- Crewe, I. (2002) A new political hegemony? In A. King, editor, *Britain at the Polls, 2001*. New York: Chatham House, 207-32.
- Dogan, M. (1999) Regimul politic și clasa politică în România interbelică In M. Dogan, *Sociologie politică. Opere alese*, București: Alternative, 139-72.
- Downs, A. (2009) *O teorie economică a democrației*. Iași: Editura Institutul European.
- Finner, S. F. (1970) *Comparative Government*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Franklin, M. N. (2004) *Voter Turnout and the Dynamics of the Electoral Competition in Established Democracies since 1945*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Galbraith, J. K. (1992) *The Culture of Contentment*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson.
- Galbraith, J. K. (1997) *Societatea perfectă. La ordinea zilei: binele omului*. București: Eurosong & Book.
- Giugăl, A. (2011) Arheologie electorală. Particularități istorico-electorale în România și Dobrogea interbelică. *Studia Politica* 2: 255-73.
- Gledhill, J. (2009) O maturitate imperfectă. Ce ne spun alegerile din noiembrie despre evoluția democrației românești. *Sfera Politicii* 134: 3-8.
- Gray, M. and Caul, M. (2000) Declining voter turnout in advanced industrial democracies, 1950 to 1997: the effect of declining group mobilization. *Comparative Political Studies* 33: 1091 – 122.
- Guyonnet, P. (1994), *Le vote comme produit historique de la pensée magique*. *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 44, 6, in Comșa, M. (2004), *Rată de participare, supraportare și predicții electorale*. *Sociologie Românească*, vol. III, 3: 50-76.
- Ivan, M. (1933) *Evoluția partidelor noastre politice în cifre și grafice 1919 – 1932*. Sibiu: Krafft & Drotleff.
- Johnston, R. and Pattie, C. (2006) *Putting Voters in their Place. Geography and Elections in Great Britain*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.
- Key, V. O., Jr. (1958) *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*. New York: Crowell In Lipset, S. M. (1983) *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics*, London: Heinemann.
- Leighley, J. E. and Nagler, J. (1992) Individual and systemic influences on turnout: who votes? 1984. *The Journal of Politics* 54: 718-40.
- Lipset, S. M. (1983) *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics*, London: Heinemann.
- Norris, P. (2002) *Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism Worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Olteanu, D. (2011) *Vot și intenție de vot. Rețele clientelare de control al votului*. Teleorman, 1992-2009. PhD thesis.
- Quinn, M. P. (2001) *Purposive Sampling*, In A. Bryman, editor, *Ethnographic Fieldwork Practice*. London: Sage, 100-29.
- Piattoni, S. (2001) *Clientelism, Interests, and Democratic Representation. The European Experience in Historical and Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sandu, D., Voineagu, V. and Panduru, F. (2009) *Dezvoltarea comunelor din România*. București. Available at <http://sites.google.com/site/dumitrusandu/bazededate>
- Tingsten, H. (1937) *Political Behavior: Studies in Election Statistics*. London: P. S. King & Son In Lipset, S. M. (1983) *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics*, London: Heinemann.
- Wilson, F. G. (1936) *The Inactive Electorate and Social Revolution*. *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* 16 In Lipset, S. M. (1983) *Political Man. The Social Bases of Politics*, London: Heinemann.