
Miscellaneous

Elizaveta Kopacheva

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3708-6333>

elizaveta.kopacheva@lnu.se

Linnéuniversitetet

Submitted

June 20th, 2020

Approved

October 8th, 2020

© 2021

Communication & Society

ISSN 0214-0039

E ISSN 2386-7876

doi: 10.15581/003.34.2.67-85

www.communication-society.com

2021 – Vol. 34(2)

pp. 67-85

How to cite this article:

Kopacheva, E. (2021). How the Internet has changed participation: Exploring distinctive preconditions of online activism. *Communication & Society*, 34(2), 67-85.

How the Internet has changed participation: Exploring distinctive preconditions of online activism

Abstract

The continuously growing number of people participating in Internet-based, online, political activism suggests that the latter has the potential to replace offline forms of unconventional political participation in the future. If that is the case, it is essential to understand the nature and objectives of such type of participation. This article addresses the question of distinctive preconditions of online activism. As a result of the mixed-effect logistic regression analysis of the European Social Survey data, it was found that online activism contrasts with other unconventional types of political participation in respect to the effect of social trust. It is suggested that the key differences between the preconditions of online and offline forms of participation may speak in favour of several phenomena. First of all, it is proposed that social networking services (SNSs) managed to create an illusion of directness of political participation. Secondly, new groups of people with the lower risk preferences may be recruited into online political action. Lastly, groups that do not believe in the effectiveness of political participation or that have other motives, such as a search for attention, may be more likely to participate online. The results call for further research on how SNSs reshape how people understand political engagement and how they want to be involved.

Keywords

Online activism, political participation, political trust, social trust, trust in the political system, trust in political institutions, Civic Voluntarism Model.

1. Introduction

Who participates in online activism? –this question is especially important in the time when online activism and other forms of online political participation are increasing the potential to supplant more traditional unconventional political activities, such as signing petitions and boycotting (Gil De Zúñiga, Puig-I-Abril & Rojas, 2009; Macafee & De Simone, 2012).

It has been argued that online participation, including online activism, has revolutionized political participation (Bentivegna, 2006; Bimber, 1998; Pippa Norris, 2001; Polat, 2005). Internet gave people more access to resources (Best & Krueger, 2005; Bimber, 2001, 2003), exposed them to unanticipated recruitment (D. Shah, Schmierbach, Hawkins, Espino & Donovan, 2002) and via social networking services (SNSs), such as Facebook and Twitter, facilitated the engendering of identities (Bode, 2012; Brunsting & Postmes, 2002; Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe, 2007; Gil De Zúñiga *et al.*, 2009), which, in their turn, are considered to

be one of the most important conditions of social movement participation (B. Klandermans, 1984, 2012, 2014).

With the rapid development of Internet technologies, the nature of political participation as we had known it before changed significantly. Despite this fact, many of the research papers in political participation still focus on more traditional, i.e., offline, forms of participation.

There is clearly more to learn about such new types of political participation as, e.g., online activism, hacktivism, civic journalism. For one thing, while it is proposed that political participation is a vital element of a stable democracy (de Tocqueville, 1835; Lipset, 1959; Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 1999), it is still inconclusive if this fact holds true in the case of new types of political participation or, on the opposite, such types aim to change the established political system. In the light of such overarching questions about the implications for democracy, there is a need to expand on our knowledge of online political participation as such.

Some studies got sufficiently close to the understanding of how Internet activity influences both offline and online political participation (Bode, 2012; Bode, Vraga, Borah & Shah, 2014; di Gennaro & Dutton, 2006; Gil De Zúñiga *et al.*, 2009; Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011; Hsieh & Li, 2014). Yet, the importance of other factors that stimulate online activism, e.g., political trust, internal political efficacy, is often dismissed. Hence, we are in need of a comprehensive model of online political participation.

In the endeavor to develop such a model, this article answers the following research question.

RQ1. Are the preconditions of online activism and offline forms of unconventional political participation the same?

2. Theory and hypotheses

When examining the preconditions of participation in online activism, which in this article, is understood as the online activities that ‘raise awareness about political issues’ and aim to ‘mobilize citizens to take other forms of action’ to promote political reforms (Christensen, 2011, p. 10), there are five works that, arguably, bring the most contribution to such an analysis. Verba, Schlozman and Brady’s (1995) Civic Voluntarism Model of political participation (SVM), Kaase’s finding on the significance of the social trust influence (1999) and Gamson’s (1968) analysis of the political mistrust effect on political participation are the first point of departure when distinguishing the most influential characteristics and their effect on any kind of political participation. Additionally, in regard to online political participation, in particular, we also have to refer to the recent works of Yang and DeHart (2016) who analyzed the effect of social trust in the US context and Theocharis, de Moor and van Deth (2019) who compared the effect of trust in the political system on different forms of unconventional political participation, including online participation.

According to the Civic Voluntarism Model (Verba *et al.*, 1995), resources, recruitment and political motivation determine political participation. Political motivation characteristics, which are comprised of political efficacy, political interest, political information and party identification, partly depend on the initial characteristics, such as education, ‘race or ethnicity’, income, gender, as well as, biological characteristics that affect the Big Five personality traits, not originally included into the CVM (Cawvey, Hayes, Canache & Mondak, 2017; Dinesen, Nørgaard & Klemmensen, 2014; Mondak, Canache, Seligson & Hibbing, 2011).

In line with Verba, Schlozman and Brady’s reasoning, a number of scholars emphasize the significance of political efficacy in stimulating political participation (Almond & Verba, 1963; S. Finkel, 1985; Gamson, 1968; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993). That being said, Balch (1974) suggests distinguishing between internal and external political efficacy that affects political participation differently. According to Lane’s (1965) hypothesis, internal political efficacy

constitutes the individual's ability to influence political decision-making, while external political efficacy is signified by the responsiveness of the political system to the influence of citizens. Hence, it has been suggested that participation in conventional political activities, or a direct form of political participation (Barnes, Kaase & Allerbeck, 1979), such as contacting a politician or working in a political party, is linked to internal political efficacy, whereas unconventional participation, e.g. protesting, signing petitions, boycotting, can be stimulated by external political efficacy (Balch, 1974).

Several studies, also, found a contrasting effect of internal political efficacy proposing that belief in the ability of oneself to influence political decision-making also affects online political participation (Gil de Zúñiga, Jung & Valenzuela, 2012; Jung, Kim & de Zúñiga, 2011; Yang & DeHart, 2016) and, in combination with political mistrust, triggers participation in traditional unconventional activities (Citrin, 1977; Guterbock & London, 1983; Muller, 1977; Paige, 1971).

A number of scholars examine political information and political interest, two interrelated concepts, as the main predictors of both offline and online political participation. Putnam (2000) argues that citizens who read the news are more equipped to hold authorities accountable, thus, the scholar finds political information to be a necessary resource for political participation. Such a perspective on political information finds its roots in the work of Carpini and Keeter (1996) who described this resource as a prerequisite of effective political participation.

Kim, Chen and De Zúñiga (2013) elaborate on Putnam's ideas highlighting that SNSs and other Internet platforms increase the chances to accidentally receive political information. A positive relationship between Internet-based political information and online and offline political participation was found by Johnson and Kaye (2003).

Similar findings were reported in relation to political interest. Hence, examining political participation on Facebook, Carlisle and Patton (2013) found political interest to be the most meaningful predictor for political participation. Some scholars highlight the importance of political interest in stimulating both online and offline political participation (Bode *et al.*, 2014; Hsieh & Li, 2014).

A positive relationship between party identification and political participation has been established in a number of works (Sofie Marien, Hooghe & Quintelier, 2010; Milbrath & Goel, 1977; Schlozman *et al.*, 1999; Verba *et al.*, 1995). In regard to online political participation, inconclusive results were found. Some scholars claim no significant relationship between two variables (Best & Krueger, 2005; Margetts, John, Hale & Yasseri, 2015; Santana, 2017), others find a significant positive relationship (Dalton, 2013; Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017). A more comprehensive analysis in party identification and political participation suggests that identification with only some parties influences unconventional political participation (S. E. Finkel & Opp, 1991). Hence, Finkel and Opp found that the identification with green parties motivates people to participate in unconventional forms of political activity.

Despite the scarce number of studies distinguishing the relationship between the abovementioned characteristics and online political participation, according to the literature in political participation, we expect to see a significant positive effect of internal political efficacy, political interest and party identification, as well as placement on the left of the left-right scale, on participation in online activism. In relation to two other significant predictors of political participation, resources and recruitment (Verba *et al.*, 1995), previous research suggests that these predictors also, remain significant for online political participation (Best & Krueger, 2005; Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2011). In that regard, the first hypothesis is the following.

- H1. Political motivations, i.e., internal political efficacy, political interest and party identification, as well as resources and recruitment are positively associated with online activism.

That means that those characteristics cannot be considered distinctive for online activism as they are associated with other unconventional forms of participation in the same way.

In the endeavor to determine predictors that are unique for participation in online activism, we have to refer to the literature focusing on the effect of social and political trust on political participation.

The relationship between social trust and political participation has been widely discussed in a series of studies. Both positive (Benson & Rochon, 2004; Kaase, 1999; Pippa Norris, 2002; Putnam, 1993, 2000), negative (Bäck, 2011; Muhlberger, 2003; Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2003; Uslander & Brown, 2005) and weak or non-significant (Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Claibourn & Martin, 2000; Deth, 2001; D. V. Shah, 1998) relationship found its evidence. Kaase (1999) states that social trust is especially important when examining participation in unconventional types of participation. Thus, due to its collective nature, unconventional political participation is positively affected by generalized trust (Bäck & Christensen, 2016, p. 192; Crepaz, Jazayeri & Polk, 2017, p. 269; Kaase, 1999, p. 15).

Assuming that online activism as any other form of unconventional political participation, has a collective nature, we can suggest that social trust has a significant positive effect on participation in online activism.

Indeed, it has been suggested that social trust correlates with online political participation (Himmelboim, Lariscy, Tinkham & Sweetser, 2012) due to the fact that SNSs were found to increase generalized trust (Valenzuela, Park & Kee, 2009) and cooperation of users (Grabner-Kräuter, 2009).

However, an opposite phenomenon can also be in place. As a result of the regression analysis and structural equation modeling conducted by Yang and DeHart (2016), social trust was found to be an insignificant characteristic in relation to online political participation in the US context. In accordance with this finding, we can expect that the influence of social trust on online activism is insignificant, as opposed to the positive significant relationship between social trust and participation in any other form of unconventional political activities. Since the mentioned research explicitly examines online political participation, the second hypothesis is the following.

H2. Social trust is unrelated to online activism.

In regard to the influence of political trust, it has been proposed that political trust tends to positively correlate with conventional forms of participation (Cox, 2003, p. 766; Dalton, 2004; Pippa Norris, 1999; Pattie & Johnston, 2001), while affects participation in unconventional political activities negatively (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Kaase, 1999; Sofie Marien *et al.*, 2010; Miller, 1974; Pippa Norris, 1999, 2002; Nye, Zelikow & King, 1997; Pollock, 1983).

Moreover, political trust is often suggested to be a necessary condition of political participation. Thus, for instance, Gamson (1968) emphasizes that the combination of political mistrust and political efficacy is in need for political participation to take place.

Little research has been done to distinguish a relationship between political trust and participation in online political participation. Based on the suggestions of the scholars in relation to participation in unconventional forms of political participation, we can suggest that political trust is negatively associated with participation in online activism.

However, it is worth acknowledging that the recent studies of the nature of political trust have found that political trust, in practice, consists of two entities (Kenneth Newton, Stolle & Zmerli, 2017). One is the value of political trust that is deeply rooted in the political opportunity structure. In this analysis, it is referred to as trust in the political system. Another entity is continually changing depending on the political and economic situation in a country, i.e., trust in political institutions. Trust in political institutions is often treated as “a middle-range indicator of support” (Zmerli & Newton, 2007, p. 41) and measures the “underlying

feeling of the general public about its polity” (Ken Newton & Norris, 2000, p. 53). Thus, for instance, political scandals can bring a president or prime minister down but would not affect the general belief in the legitimacy of the constitutional arrangements, i.e. trust in the political system (Pippa Norris, 2017, p. 21).

Such an understanding of the political trust nature was proposed as early as 2001 (Mishler & Rose, 2001). However, since then, there was little scientific interest in comparing the effects of each one of those entities on political participation.

Theocharis, de Moor and van Deth (2019) have found that in the context of Belgium, while having a non-significant effect on boycotting, trust in the political system has a significant negative effect on participation in online political activities. In line with this finding and the previous suggestion, the third hypothesis is the following.

H3. Political trust is negatively associated with online activism.

Based on the evidence found by Theocharis *et al.* (2019), however, we can also expect that trust in the political system is negatively associated with some forms of unconventional political participation while being unrelated to others. That means that political trust as a collective variable of trust in the political system and trust in political institutions cannot be considered to be a predictor of unconventional political participation.

As it can be seen, the CVM has been thoroughly tested on both conventional and unconventional participation and, to some extent, on online political participation as well. That being so, in relation to the influence of social and political trust, two characteristics that were not originally included into the CVM by Verba *et al.* (1995), considerably little research was conducted. The fact that social and political trust plays a major role in stimulating conventional and unconventional political participation found its evidence in a series of works. This research aims to test if those characteristics influence online political participation in the same way or if the insignificant influence of social trust is distinctive for online activism.

3. Data and method

The dataset used for this study is the 9th round of the European Social Survey (2018). This dataset is chosen for the analysis as, arguably, it has the most comprehensive measure of all variables that are necessary to estimate the influence of highlighted characteristics on different forms of unconventional political participation. For another thing, the survey contains the measurement of online activism, in particular, the question in the questionnaire “Have you... ..posted or shared anything about politics online, for example on blogs, via email or on social media such as Facebook or Twitter”.

We use the European Social Survey to examine the relationship between the dependent and independent variables as opposed to other world surveys as it uses a clear measurement of the needed variables. Thus, the survey rarely employs the semantic differential scale to measure variables and frequently uses the 0-10 scale, for instance, when measuring the political interest of a respondent, or dichotomous variables, e.g., for estimating political participation.

Another advantage of using the European Social Survey, in comparison with the nation-sized surveys, is the fact that the results can be generalized to the European societies. However, in order to control for the country-level variation, the random effect of country of origin is still used in the mixed model.

3.1. Dependent variables

The 2018 European Social Survey allows examining five forms of unconventional political participation, including signing a petition, boycotting certain products, displaying a campaign badge, participating in a lawful public demonstration and posting information about politics online, i.e., online activism.

Despite the fact that traditionally the influence of independent characteristics is analyzed in relation to unconventional participation as a collective variable (Sofie Marien *et al.*, 2010), here, five models are tested. The reason for running five models is explained by the ambiguous results of previous research. In addition, as suggested by Theocharis *et al.* (2019), trust in the political system can have a different effect on participation in boycotting and other forms of unconventional political participation.

3.2. Independent and control variables

The list of the independent variables includes political motivation characteristics, i.e., internal and external political efficacy, political interest and party identification, access to resources and recruitment, as well as social and political trust.

In the endeavor to compare the influence of trust in the political system and trust to political institutions on online activism, we have to operationalize two entities of political trust.

In the previous research, it was suggested to examine five dimensions of political trust, i.e. trust in politicians, political parties, parliament, police and the legal system, as a one-dimensional variable (Pippa Norris, 2017). However, it has also been proposed that the factor loadings of representative and implementing institutions can substantially differ in established democracies (Sofie Marien, 2017, p. 97). Rothstein and Stolle also differentiate between representative and implementing institutions referring to them as to partisan and impartial institutions accordingly (Rothstein & Stolle, 2008).

In line with those arguments, we have to distinguish between trust in representative and implementing institutions and include them in the analysis as two independent variables.

By applying factor analysis to five measures of political trust, i.e., trust in politicians, political parties, parliament, police and the legal system, we operationalize trust in the political system. The preliminary analysis of the data showed that there is around 50% correlation between trust to implementing and representative institutions. Such a correlation may show the underlying value of political trust, i.e., trust that the political system is fair and just.

Thus, by differentiating between the independent influence of trust in representative and implementing institutions and trust in the political system, we can compare how two entities of political trust influence each form of unconventional political participation. By not reducing the number of political trust dimensions to one and by analyzing the influence of the independent variables on all five forms of unconventional political participation separately (Hooghe & Marien, 2013), we have a possibility to distinguish the underlying difference between the forms of unconventional participation in relation to their preconditions.

The list of the control variables includes a number of initial characteristics such as gender, nationality, income and educational level, as well as age. As proposed by Kern *et al.* (2015), controlling for age, its linear and curvilinear effects are considered.

3.3. Statistical model

After controlling for the missing cases, the data included from 27,366 to 27,401 valid observations, depending on the form of unconventional political participation. Confirmatory factor analysis was applied to 12 ESS questions to reduce the number of variables to 6, i.e., social trust, trust in the representative and implementing institutions, trust in the political system, external and internal political efficacy. The factor loadings can be found in the supplementary materials.

Mixed-effect logistic regression analysis was used in order to examine the relation between the independent and dependent variables. The random intercept model design was

employed in order to estimate the correlation between the independent and dependent variables as well as to measure the significance of the effect.

In order to distinguish the effect of trust in the political system and trust in the political institutions, two equation models were used for the analysis. Model 1 includes trust in the implementing and representative institutions as two independent variables. Model 2 examines the effect of trust in the political system as one independent variable.

In both models, fixed effects included all the independent and control variables, as well as the random effect of the country was measured. Both models were tested on five types of unconventional political participation. Thus, the dependent variables are specified as follows:

Model 1

$$Y_1 = \beta_1 \cdot X_{\text{social trust}} + \beta_2 \cdot X_{\text{trust in the implementing institutions}} + \beta_3 \cdot X_{\text{trust in the representative institutions}} + \beta_4 \cdot X_{\text{external efficacy}} + \beta_5 \cdot X_{\text{internal efficacy}} + \beta_6 \cdot X_{\text{interest}} + \beta_7 \cdot X_{\text{party identification}} + \beta_8 \cdot X_{\text{placement on the left-right scale}} + \beta_{9-19} \cdot X_{\text{other variables}} + \vartheta_{\text{country}} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

Model 2

$$Y_2 = \beta_1 \cdot X_{\text{social trust}} + \beta_2 \cdot X_{\text{trust in the political system}} + \beta_3 \cdot X_{\text{external efficacy}} + \beta_4 \cdot X_{\text{internal efficacy}} + \beta_5 \cdot X_{\text{interest}} + \beta_6 \cdot X_{\text{party identification}} + \beta_7 \cdot X_{\text{placement on the left-right scale}} + \beta_{8-18} \cdot X_{\text{other variables}} + \vartheta_{\text{country}} + \varepsilon_{ij}$$

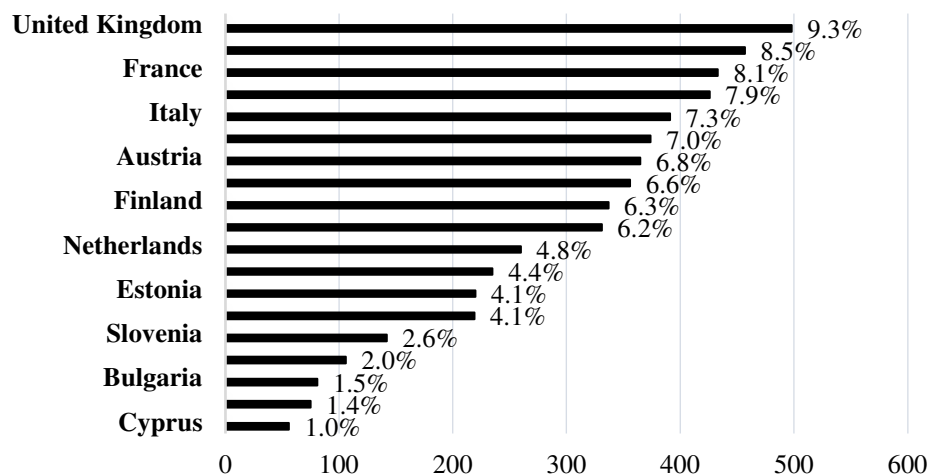
where $\vartheta_{\text{country}}$ is the random effect of the country of origin.

The statistical analyses were performed using the R 3.6.1 platform. The additional packages lme4, psych, r2glmm, MuMIn and stats were also used for the analysis. The R script of the analysis is provided as a supplementary material.

4. Results

According to the data, out of 35807 respondents, 5362 people participate in online activism. The proportion of participators by the country of origin is presented in Figure 1: Proportion of People Participating in Online Activism by Country of Origin.

Figure 1: Proportion of People Participating in Online Activism by the Country of Origin.



Notes: N=35,807 individuals in 19 countries. Entities are the percentages of respondents who stated that they participated in online activism in the past year.

Source: ESS (2018).

As could be expected based on the previous research in unconventional political participation (Bădescu & Radu, 2010), respondents from the Eastern European countries are less involved in online activism (Figure 1: Proportion of People Participating in Online Activism by Country of Origin).

It is worth to mention that only 325 out of 36015 respondents participate in all types of unconventional political participation (Table 1).

Table 1: Number of People Participating in Different Forms of Unconventional Political Participation.

Type of participation	Number of participators	Number of people answered the question	Proportion of participators to the number of people answered the question, in %
Signing petitions	8606	35777	24%
Boycotting	6570	35769	18%
Participating in online activism	5362	35807	15%
Badge wearing	2999	35834	8%
Protesting	2417	35829	7%

Notes: N=27,244-35,852 individuals in 19 countries. Entities are the numbers and percentages of respondents who stated that they participated in the indicated political acts in the past year.

Source: ESS (2018).

Moreover, out of 5362 people participating in online activism, 1396 respondents participate only in this form of unconventional political activity. This fact implies that extremely low costs of participation online and unpredicted exposure to mobilization stimulate new groups of people to participate in online political activities, as proposed by a number of scholars (Correa & Jeong, 2011; Krueger, 2002; McCaughey & Ayers, 2013; Mossberger, Tolbert & McNeal, 2007).

Estimating Model 1 using different forms of unconventional political participation as the dependent variables, we can clearly see that the independent variables, especially in respect to political trust, have inconsistent effects on the dependent variables (Table 2). Hence, the assumption that different types of political participation should be examined separately is confirmed.

Table 2: Model 1 Estimates for Different Forms of Unconventional Political Participation.

	<i>Signing petitions</i>	<i>Boycott</i>	<i>Protest</i>	<i>Badge wearing</i>	<i>Online activism</i>
Intercept	-2.494*** (0.20)	-3.313*** (0.23)	-2.085*** (0.26)	-1.95*** (0.26)	-2.137*** (0.19)
Social trust	0.156*** (0.02)	0.07** (0.03)	0.153*** (0.04)	0.103** (0.04)	0.029 (0.03)
Trust in representative institutions	-0.21*** (0.02)	-0.233*** (0.03)	-0.059 (0.04)	-0.017 (0.04)	-0.273*** (0.03)
Trust in implementing institutions	-0.004 (0.03)	-0.06* (0.03)	-0.237*** (0.04)	-0.147*** (0.04)	-0.034 (0.03)
External political efficacy	0.013 (0.02)	0.041 (0.02)	0.06 (0.04)	0.067* (0.03)	-0.007 (0.03)
Internal political efficacy	0.308*** (0.02)	0.32*** (0.02)	0.339*** (0.03)	0.334*** (0.03)	0.39*** (0.02)
Political interest	0.544*** (0.04)	0.485*** (0.04)	0.433*** (0.06)	0.366*** (0.06)	0.774*** (0.04)

Party identification	0.38*** (0.03)	0.372*** (0.04)	0.498*** (0.06)	0.617*** (0.05)	0.532*** (0.04)
Placement on the left-right scale	-0.057*** (0.01)	-0.09*** (0.01)	-0.142*** (0.01)	-0.063*** (0.01)	-0.049*** (0.01)
Being in workforce	-0.017 (0.04)	0.03 (0.04)	0.033 (0.06)	0.113 (0.06)	-0.095* (0.05)
Membership in a non-governmental organization	0.777*** (0.04)	0.539*** (0.04)	0.963*** (0.06)	1.329*** (0.05)	0.568*** (0.04)
Belonging to particular religion or denomination	-0.186*** (0.03)	-0.247*** (0.04)	-0.282*** (0.05)	-0.108* (0.05)	-0.141*** (0.04)
Membership in a group discriminated against	0.391*** (0.06)	0.661*** (0.06)	0.458*** (0.08)	0.288*** (0.08)	0.598*** (0.06)
Membership in a trade union	0.295*** (0.04)	0.048 (0.04)	0.504*** (0.06)	0.354*** (0.05)	0.249*** (0.04)
6 control variables are included into the model					
Variance at the country level	0.37	0.55	0.36	0.5	0.15
Number of cases	27366	27371	27400	27401	27379
Conditional pseudo R²	0,27	0,28	0,30	0,30	0,31

Notes: N=27,366-27,401 individuals in 19 countries. Mixed-effect logistic regression was applied to analyze the data. Six independent and control variables are also included in the equation and their parameter estimates and standard errors are reported in the supporting material. Entities are the parameter estimates and standard errors, in brackets, of the mixed-effect logistic regression. Conditional pseudo R² is reported to show the variance partly dependent on the political opportunity structure (for more information see Supplementary information). Sign.: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001. All variables are individual level variables.

Source: ESS (2018).

In relation to the influence of recruitment and political motivation characteristics, i.e., internal and external political efficacy, political interest and party identification, the results show that those variables, in general, have a significant positive effect on online activism as well as on other forms of unconventional political participation. Thus, *H₁ is supported by the data.*

Indeed, only one characteristic, i.e., being in workforce, has a negative effect on online activism, while being non-significant for other unconventional political participation forms. In this analysis, being in a workforce is one of the variables that operationalizes recruitment as an independent variable. However, it may also be the case that being in a workforce captures other characteristics, such as, e.g., having not enough of time.

It is, also, worth to mention that internal political efficacy has a significant positive effect on all forms of unconventional political participation, while the effect of external political efficacy is significant only for badge wearing. Those results are in line with the previous suggestions of a number of scholars (Citrin, 1977; Guterbock & London, 1983; Muller, 1977; Paige, 1971).

Political interest and party participation tend to have a stable significant effect on all types of political participation that challenges the assumptions of some scholars (Best & Krueger, 2005; Margetts *et al.*, 2015; Santana, 2017) in relation to the effect of party identification on online political participation. Moreover, compared to the effect of other political motivation characteristics and political and social trust, political interest tends to have one of the strongest effects on participation in all forms of unconventional political activities and the strongest effect on participation in online activism (see Table 5 of the Supplementary materials). This confirms Verba *et al.* (1995) hypothesis and supports previous findings (Bode *et al.*, 2014; Hsieh & Li, 2014) that general political interest tends to have a significant effect on both offline and online political participation.

It was also found that people who place themselves left are more likely to participate in online activism, as well as other forms of unconventional political participation. This result is in line with the Finkel and Opp (1991), who suggested that identification with only some political parties affects online political participation.

In regard to social and political trust, a more complex result was acquired. While, indeed, social trust positively affects offline forms of unconventional participation, as it was suggested by a number of scholars (Bäck & Christensen, 2016, p. 192; Crepaz *et al.*, 2017, p. 269; Inglehart & Norris, 2003, p. 112; Kaase, 1999, p. 15), it does not have a significant effect on participation in online activism. In that regard, *H2 is supported by the data*. Such a result is consistent with the finding of Yang and DeHart (2016), who concluded that social trust does not have a significant effect on online political participation in the US context. The present analysis showed that the same phenomenon is in place in the European context as well. Hence, we have acquired some evidence to state that the insignificant effect of social trust is a distinctive characteristic of participation in online activism.

The effects of trust in implementing and representative institutions on political participation give the most ambiguous results. Indeed, when looking at the results received by applying Model 2 (Table 3), we can see that the effect of trust in the political system is similar for all forms of unconventional political participation.

Table 3 Estimates for Different Forms of Unconventional Political Participation.

	<i>Signing petitions</i>	<i>Boycott</i>	<i>Protest</i>	<i>Badge wearing</i>	<i>Online activism</i>
Intercept	-2.516*** (0.20)	-3.332*** (0.23)	-2.061*** (0.26)	-1.934*** (0.26)	-2.158*** (0.19)
Social trust	0.16*** (0.02)	0.068** (0.03)	0.136*** (0.04)	0.097** (0.04)	0.037 (0.03)
Trust in the political system	-0.209*** (0.02)	-0.259*** (0.03)	-0.215*** (0.04)	-0.125*** (0.03)	-0.304*** (0.03)
16 independent and control variables are included into the model					
Variance at the country level	0.37	0.56	0.37	0.49	0.16
Number of cases	27366	27371	27400	27401	27379
Conditional pseudo R²	0,27	0,28	0,30	0,30	0,31

Notes: N=27,366-27,401 individuals in 19 countries. Mixed-effect logistic regression was applied to analyze the data. Sixteen independent and control variables are also included in the equation and their parameter estimates and standard errors are reported in the supporting material. Entities are the parameter estimates and standard errors, in brackets, of the mixed-effect logistic regression. Conditional pseudo R² is reported to show the variance partly dependent on the political opportunity structure (for more information see Supplementary information). Sign.: *p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001. All variables are individual level variables.

Source: ESS (2018).

Thus, trust in the political system has a significant negative effect on all types of unconventional political participation. Hence, *H3 is supported by the data*.

Nonetheless, Table 2 shows that trust in the implementing institutions has a significant negative effect only on boycotting, protesting and badge wearing, while staying non-significant for other two forms of unconventional political participation. Trust in the representative institutions, in its turn, has a significant negative effect on signing petitions, boycotting and participation in online activism. That means that the effect of trust in political institutions is dissimilar for different forms of unconventional political participation and suggests that trust in political institutions is an unreliable predictor of unconventional political participation as it was suggested earlier.

5. Discussion

The aim of this study was to distinguish the predictors of online activism to answer the broader question of who participates in online activism and what the reasons for such involvement are. The previous studies proposed that online forms of participation tolerate the lack of commitment (Li & Marsh, 2008; Trechsel, 2007), thus, may mobilize people who have low levels of political interest or political knowledge. If that is the case, some of the mobilized groups may be easily manipulated that can potentially threaten the stability of democracy.

In this particular study, we tried to investigate if those who participate in online activism are substantially different from the groups involved in offline political activities.

Testing the Civic Voluntarism Model of political participation, we found that in many senses, online activism is similar to any other form of unconventional political participation. One of the interesting findings of this analysis is the fact that recruitment, which in this study was operationalized as the membership in a non-governmental organization, group discriminated against in this country and a trade union, is positively associated with online activism. This result is contradictory to some of the earlier propositions, such as the suggestion of Best and Krueger (2005) that mobilization that takes place offline is only significant for offline political participation and does not have any effect on online activism. In this study, we saw that, indeed, there is a spill-over effect. Hence, the mobilization that occurs either online or offline is always a significant factor when analyzing the predictors of political participation.

Trying to find which characteristics differ in their effects on offline and online characteristics, we found that positively associating with offline forms of unconventional political participation, social trust has a non-significant effect on online activism. The reason why it occurs cannot be distinguished within the scope of this study and data. However, we can consider several explanations of such a phenomenon.

It was proposed that participation in unconventional political activities is associated with greater risk preferences (Oosterhoff & Wray-Lake, 2019). Assuming that online forms of participation mobilize new groups of people, we can suggest that those groups with lower risk preferences may believe that their identity can be secured by the depths of the Internet space, thus, are not in need of the social support. This suggestion may explain the insignificance of social trust for the newly mobilized groups, however, not for the people who also participate in other unconventional forms of political activities.

The second explanation may be the fact that people who participate in online activism do not believe in the effectiveness of such type of participation (see below), thus, are not looking for the support of other participants. Indeed, referring to online activism as to 'slacktivism' (Christensen, 2011; Morozov, 2009), several scholars propose that this form of participation is ineffective (Barney, 2010; Gladwell, 2010). Larsson (2013) also, argues that when participating online, the majority of people stay content consumers rather than contribute to the content creation. Knowing that such participation, in any case, would not lead to any political or institutional changes, people may be engaged in online activism but not look for the support of other participants.

In relation to this explanation, we may also expect that some participants may not even want to make political or institutional changes, but rather have other motives for online participation, e.g., the search for attention or the feeling of fulfillment, the ambition to marketise social change, etc. In that regard, Morozov (2011) explains online political participation by the 'feel-good' effect, while White (2010) suggests that online activism is often used as a marketing tool to collect more clicks and increase advertising revenue.

An alternative explanation may be the fact that SNSs managed to create an illusion of directness of political participation. Due to the increasing number of political leaders'

accounts on all of the major SNSs, individuals may believe that by posting or sharing anything online they can easily draw the attention of the people in power and change the dissatisfactory situation. In that case, the support of other participants is not needed anymore as one participator may discuss the issue directly with the authorities.

Further research is needed to shed more light on this issue.

Another interesting finding of this analysis is the fact that different entities of political trust influence unconventional forms of political participation in an inconsistent way. In this regard, it can be suggested that when examining the effect of political trust on political participation, it is worth distinguishing between trust in political institutions and trust in the political system.

This analysis suggests that political trust as a one-dimensional characteristic is not a good predictor of any form of unconventional political participation. It is worth mentioning that in many cases, the previous research did not distinguish between trust in the political system and trust in political institutions as two different predictors of political participation. In practice, scholars often operationalize trust in the political system referring to the variable as to political trust and dismiss the importance of trust in the implementing and representative institutions when distinguishing predictors of political participation (Almond & Verba, 1963; Hooghe, 2011; Hooghe & Marien, 2013; S. Marien, 2013; Pippa Norris, 2007). Simplification of such sort can be beneficial in some cases, however, does not help to develop a more comprehensive model of political participation.

In fact, we can see that all dimensions of political trust have a negative significant effect on only one form of political participation, i.e., boycotting. At the same time, trust in the political system and trust in the implementing institutions are predictors of participation in protest and badge wearing, while trust in the political system and trust in the representative institutions are predictors of participation in signing petitions and online activism. Such findings may speak in favour of developing a new classification of political participation forms, the one that takes into account the differences in characteristics that predict political participation.

Considering the results of this analysis, we can suggest that the main difference between protesting and badge wearing, as one group, and signing petitions and online activism, as another one, is the fact that people who protest and wear a badge expose their identities in real time, thus, involve themselves in a more risky behaviour as the consequences may be immediate (e.g., the police brutality at an anti-pension reform demonstration in Lyon (Rigouste, 2020)). On another hand, when participating in signing petitions and online activism, people instead receive immediate rewards, such as the support of the fellow participants.

Despite the fact that online activism is often condemned for its ineffectiveness (Barney, 2010; Gladwell, 2010; Morozov, 2011), a number of studies showed that social media can be an effective tool in mobilizing society into offline political actions, such as protests and even revolutions (Clarke & Kocak, 2020; Eaton, 2013; González-Bailón, Borge-Holthoefer, Rivero & Moreno, 2011; H. H.-s. Kim & Lim, 2019). It has to be acknowledged that in order to ensure the stability of democracy we have to understand who politically participates and what stimulates such kind of participation (Barber, 2003; Kornhauser, 1959; Pateman, 1970; Putnam, 1993; Tocqueville, 2009). This analysis showed that despite the number of similarities between different forms of unconventional political participation in terms of its preconditions, key differences between online and offline forms of participation, as well as between traditional offline forms, exist. Thus, this research supports the idea of examining various forms of political participation separately and developing a new classification of political participation forms, the one that also, will include other online forms of political participation not examined in this paper, e.g., hacktivism, cyberprotesting, cyber-vigilantism.

References

- Almond, G. A. & Verba, S. (1963). *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bäck, M. (2011). *Socialt kapital och politiskt deltagande i Europa*. Turku, Finland: Åbo Akademis Förlag.
- Bäck, M. & Christensen, H. S. (2016). When trust matters—a multilevel analysis of the effect of generalized trust on political participation in 25 European democracies. *Journal of Civil Society, 12*(2), 178–197. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/17448689.2016.1176730>
- Bădescu, G. & Radu, B. (2010). Explaining Political Participation in East Central Europe. In L. Halman & M. Voicu (Eds.), *Mapping value orientations in Central and Eastern Europe* (pp. 169–194). Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Balch, G. I. (1974). Multiple Indicators in Survey Research: The Concept “Sense of Political Efficacy”. *Political Methodology, 1*(2), 1–43.
- Barber, B. (2003). *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*: University of California Press.
- Barnes, S. H., Kaase, M. & Allerbeck, K. R. (1979). *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Barney, D. (2010). “Excuse us if we don’t give a fuck”: The (Anti-) Political Career of Participation. *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures, 2*(2), 138–146. <https://www.doi.org/10.1353/jeu.2010.0031>
- Benson, M. & Rochon, T. R. (2004). Interpersonal trust and the magnitude of protest: A micro and macro level approach. *Comparative Political Studies, 37*(4), 435–457. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0010414003262900>
- Bentivegna, S. (2006). Rethinking Politics in the World of ICTs. *European Journal of Communication, 21*(3), 331–343. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0267323106066638>
- Best, S. & Krueger, B. (2005). Analyzing the representativeness of internet political participation. *Political Behavior, 27*(2), 183–216. <https://www.doi.org/10.1007/s11109-005-3242-y>
- Bimber, B. (1998). The Internet and Political Transformation: Populism, Community, and Accelerated Puralism. *Polity, 31*(1), 133–160. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/3235370>
- Bimber, B. (2001). Information and Political Engagement in America: The Search for Effects of Information Technology at the Individual Level. *Political Research Quarterly, 54*(1), 53–67. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/106591290105400103>
- Bimber, B. (2003). *Information and American Democracy: Technology in the Evolution of Political Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bode, L. (2012). Facebooking It to the Polls: A Study in Online Social Networking and Political Behavior. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics, 9*(4), 352–369. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2012.709045>
- Bode, L., Vraga, E. K., Borah, P. & Shah, D. V. (2014). A new space for political behavior: Political social networking and its democratic consequences. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 19*(3), 414–429. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/jcc4.12048>
- Brehm, J. & Rahn, W. (1997). Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital. *American Journal of Political Science, 41*(3), 999. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2111684>
- Brunsting, S. & Postmes, T. T. (2002). Social movement participation in the digital age – Predicting offline and online collective action. *Small Group Research, 33*, 225–554. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/104649602237169>
- Carlisle, J. E. & Patton, R. C. (2013). Is social media changing how we understand political engagement? An analysis of Facebook and the 2008 presidential election. *Political Research Quarterly, 66*(4), 883–895. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1065912913482758>

- Carpini, M. X. D. & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Cawvey, M., Hayes, M., Canache, D. & Mondak, J. J. (2017). Biological and psychological influences on interpersonal and political trust. In E. M. Uslaner (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust* (pp. 119–147). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Christensen, H. S. (2011). Political activities on the Internet: Slacktivism or political participation by other means? *First Monday*, 16(2).
<https://www.doi.org/10.5210/fm.v16i2.3336>
- Citrin, J. (1977). Political Alienation as a Social Indicator: Attitudes and Action. *Social Indicators Research*, 4(4), 381–419. <https://www.doi.org/10.1007/BF00353142>
- Claibourn, M. & Martin, P. (2000). Trusting and Joining? An Empirical Test of the Reciprocal Nature of Social Capital. *Political Behavior*, 22(4), 267–291.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1023/A:1010688913148>
- Clarke, K. & Kocak, K. (2020). Launching Revolution: Social Media and the Egyptian Uprising's First Movers. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(3), 1025–1045.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S0007123418000194>
- Correa, T. & Jeong, S. H. (2011). Race and online content creation: Why minorities are actively participating in the Web. *Information, Communication & Society*, 14(5), 638–659.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2010.514355>
- Cox, M. (2003). When Trust Matters: Explaining Differences in Voter Turnout. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 41(4), 757–770. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/1468-5965.00444>
- Crepaz, M. M. L., Jazayeri, K. B. & Polk, J. (2017). What's Trust Got to Do With It? The Effects of In-Group and Out-Group Trust on Conventional and Unconventional Political Participation. *Social Science Quarterly*, 98(1), 261–281.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1111/ssqu.12271>
- Dalton, R. J. (2004). *Democratic challenges, democratic choices* (Vol. 10). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, R. J. (2013). *Citizen politics: Public opinion and political parties in advanced industrial democracies*: Cq Press.
- De Tocqueville, A. (1840). *Democracy in America Volumes I & II*. Auckland: The Floating Press
- De Tocqueville, A. (1969). 1835. *Democracy in America*. London: Saunders and Otley.
- Di Gennaro, C. & Dutton, W. (2006). The Internet and the Public: Online and Offline Political Participation in the United Kingdom. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 59(2), 299–313.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsl004>
- Dinesen, P. T., Nørgaard, A. S. & Klemmensen, R. (2014). The Civic Personality: Personality and Democratic Citizenship. *Political Studies*, 62(1), 134–152.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12094>
- Eaton, T. (2013). Internet activism and the Egyptian uprisings: transforming online dissent into the offline world. *Westminster papers in communication & culture*, 9(2), 3–24.
<https://www.doi.org/10.16997/wpcc.163>
- Ellison, N. B., Steinfield, C. & Lampe, C. (2007). The Benefits of Facebook “Friends”: Social Capital and College Students’ Use of Online Social Network Sites. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 12(4), 1143–1168. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2007.00367.x>
- ESS (2018). Round 9: European Social Survey Round 9 Data. Data file edition 1.2. from NSD – Norwegian Centre for Research Data, Norway – Data Archive and distributor of ESS data for ESS ERIC
- Finkel, S. (1985). Reciprocal Effects of Participation and Political Efficacy: A Panel Analysis. *American Journal of Political Science*, 29(4), 891–913. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2111186>
- Finkel, S. E. & Opp, K.-D. (1991). Party identification and participation in collective political action. *The Journal of Politics*, 53(2), 339–371. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2131763>

- Gamson, W. A. (1968). *Power and discontent*. Belmont, CA: Dorsey Press.
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Jung, N. & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Social Media Use for News and Individuals' Social Capital, Civic Engagement and Political Participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17(3), 319-336. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01574.x>
- Gil De Zúñiga, H., Puig-I-Abril, E. & Rojas, H. (2009). Weblogs, traditional sources online and political participation: an assessment of how the internet is changing the political environment. *New Media & Society*, 11(4), 553-574. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1461444809102960>
- Gil de Zúñiga, H. & Valenzuela, S. (2011). The mediating path to a stronger citizenship: Online and offline networks, weak ties, and civic engagement. *Communication Research*, 38(3), 397-421. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0093650210384984>
- Gladwell, M. (2010). Why the revolution will not be tweeted. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-malcolm-gladwell>
- González-Bailón, S., Borge-Holthoefer, J., Rivero, A. & Moreno, Y. (2011). The Dynamics of Protest Recruitment through an Online Network. *Scientific reports*, 1(197), 1-7. <https://www.doi.org/10.1038/srep00197>
- Grabner-Kräuter, S. (2009). Web 2.0 social networks: the role of trust. *Journal of business ethics*, 90(4), 505-522. <https://www.doi.org/10.1007/s10551-010-0603-1>
- Guterbock, T. M. & London, B. (1983). Race, Political Orientation, and Participation: An Empirical Test of Four Competing Theories. *American Sociological Review*, 48(4), 439-453. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2117713>
- Himmelboim, I., Lariscy, R. W., Tinkham, S. F. & Sweetser, K. D. (2012). Social media and online political communication: The role of interpersonal informational trust and openness. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(1), 92-115. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2011.648682>
- Hooghe, M. (2011). Why There is Basically Only One Form of Political Trust. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 13(2), 269-275. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-856X.2010.00447.x>
- Hooghe, M. & Marien, S. (2013). A Comparative Analysis Of The Relation Between Political Trust And Forms Of Political Participation In Europe. *European Societies*, 15(1), 131-152. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2012.692807>
- Hsieh, Y. P. & Li, M.-H. (2014). Online political participation, civic talk, and media multiplexity: How Taiwanese citizens express political opinions on the Web. *Information, Communication & Society*, 17(1), 26-44. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2013.833278>
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Inglehart, R. & Norris, P. (2003). *Rising tide: Gender equality and cultural change around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Inglehart, R. & Welzel, C. (2005). *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: the human development sequence*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, T. J. & Kaye, B. K. (2003). A boost or bust for democracy? How the web influenced political attitudes and behaviors in the 1996 and 2000 presidential elections. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 8(3), 9-34. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1081180X03008003002>
- Jung, N., Kim, Y. & de Zúñiga, H. G. (2011). The Mediating Role of Knowledge and Efficacy in the Effects of Communication on Political Participation. *Mass Communication and Society*, 14(4), 407-430. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/15205436.2010.496135>
- Kaase, M. (1999). Interpersonal trust, political trust and non-institutionalised political participation in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 22(3), 1-21. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/01402389908425313>

- Kern, A., Marien, S. & Hooghe, M. (2015). Economic Crisis and Levels of Political Participation in Europe (2002–2010): The Role of Resources and Grievances. *West European Politics*, 38(3), 465–490. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/01402382.2014.993152>
- Kim, H. H.-s. & Lim, C. (2019). From virtual space to public space: The role of online political activism in protest participation during the Arab Spring. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 60(6), 409–434. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0020715219894724>
- Kim, Y., Chen, H.-T. & De Zúñiga, H. G. (2013). Stumbling upon news on the Internet: Effects of incidental news exposure and relative entertainment use on political engagement. *Computers in human behavior*, 29(6), 2607–2614. <https://www.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2013.06.005>
- Klandermans, B. (1984). Mobilization and Participation: Social–Psychological Expansions of Resource Mobilization Theory. *American Sociological Review*, 49(5), 583–600. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2095417>
- Klandermans, B. (2012). Between Rituals and Riots: The Dynamics of Street Demonstrations. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 17(3), 233–234. <https://www.doi.org/10.17813/mai.17.3.93g42727640W5102>
- Klandermans, P. G. (2014). Identity Politics and Politicized Identities: Identity Processes and the Dynamics of Protest. *Political Psychology*, 35(1), 1–22. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/pops.12167>
- Kornhauser, W. (1959). *The politics of mass society*. NY: Free Press.
- Krueger, B. S. (2002). Assessing the Potential of Internet Political Participation in the United States: A Resource Approach. *American Politics Research*, 30(5), 476–498. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1532673X02030005002>
- Lane, R. E. (1965). *Political life: why and how people get involved in politics*. NY: Free Press.
- Larsson, A. O. (2013). “Rejected bits of program code”: Why notions of “Politics 2.0” remain (mostly) unfulfilled. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 10(1), 72–85. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/19331681.2012.719727>
- Li, Y. & Marsh, D. (2008). New Forms of Political Participation: Searching for Expert Citizens and Everyday Makers. *British Journal of Political Science*, 38(2), 247–272. <https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S0007123408000136>
- Lilleker, D. G. & Koc-Michalska, K. (2017). What drives political participation? Motivations and mobilization in a digital age. *Political Communication*, 34(1), 21–43. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/10584609.2016.1225235>
- Lipset, S. M. (1959). Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy. *The American Political Science Review*, 53(1), 69–105. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/1951731>
- Macafee, T. & De Simone, J. (2012). Killing the bill online? Pathways to young people’s protest engagement via social media. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 15(11), 579–584. <https://www.doi.org/10.1089/cyber.2012.0153>
- Margetts, H., John, P., Hale, S. & Yasserli, T. (2015). *Political turbulence: How social media shape collective action*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Marien, S. (2013). Measuring Political Trust Across Time and Space. In S. Zmerli & M. Hooghe (Eds.), *Political Trust: Why Context Matters* (pp. 13–46). Colchester, UK: ECPR Press.
- Marien, S. (2017). The measurement equivalence of political trust. *Handbook on political trust*, 89–103.
- Marien, S., Hooghe, M. & Quintelier, E. (2010). Inequalities in Non–Institutionalised Forms of Political Participation: A Multi–Level Analysis of 25 Countries. *Political Studies*, 58, 187–213. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.2009.00801.x>
- McCaughy, M. & Ayers, M. D. (2013). *Cyberactivism: Online activism in theory and practice*. Abingdon, UK: Routledge.

- Milbrath, L. W. & Goel, M. L. (1977). *Political participation: How and why do people get involved in politics?* Chicago, IL: Rand McNally College Pub. Co.
- Miller, A. H. (1974). Political issues and trust in government: 1964–1970. *American Political Science Review*, 68(3), 951–972. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/1959140>
- Mishler, W. & Rose, R. (2001). What Are the Origins of Political Trust?: Testing Institutional and Cultural Theories in Post-Communist Societies. *Comparative Political Studies*, 33(9), 30–62. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0010414001034001002>
- Mondak, J. J., Canache, D., Seligson, M. A. & Hibbing, M. V. (2011). The Participatory Personality: Evidence from Latin America. *British Journal of Political Science*, 41(1), 211–221. <https://www.doi.org/10.1017/S000712341000027X>
- Morozov, E. (2009). The brave new world of slacktivism. *Foreign policy*, 19(05). Retrieved from <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/05/19/the-brave-new-world-of-slacktivism/>
- Morozov, E. (2011). *The net delusion: How not to liberate the world*. London, UK: Penguin UK.
- Mossberger, K., Tolbert, C. J. & McNeal, R. S. (2007). *Digital citizenship: The Internet, society, and participation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Muhlberger, P. (2003). *Political trust vs. generalized trust in political participation*. Paper presented at the Paper for the 2003 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Muller, E. N. (1977). Behavioral Correlates of Political Support. *The American Political Science Review*, 71(2), 454–467. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/1978341>
- Newton, K. & Norris, P. (2000). Confidence in public institutions. In S. J. Pharr & R. D. Putnam (Eds.), *Disaffected democracies. What's troubling the trilateral countries* (pp. 52–73). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Newton, K., Stolle, D. & Zmerli, S. (2017). Social and Political Trust. In E. M. Uslaner (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social and Political Trust*. (pp. 37–56). NY: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (1999). *Critical citizens global support for democratic government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (2001). *Digital divide?: civic engagement, information poverty, and the Internet worldwide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic Phoenix: Reinventing Political Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Norris, P. (2007). Political Activism: New Challenges, New Opportunities. In C. Boix & S. C. Stokes (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics* (pp. 628–652). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, P. (2017). The conceptual framework of political support. In S. Zmerli & T. W. G. van der Meer (Eds.), *Handbook on political trust* (pp. 19–32). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Nye, J. S., Zelikow, P. & King, D. C. (1997). *Why people don't trust government*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Oosterhoff, B. & Wray-Lake, L. (2019). Risky politics? Associations between adolescent risk preference and political engagement. *Child development*, 91(4), 743–761. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/cdev.13313>
- Paige, J. M. (1971). Political orientation and riot participation. *American Sociological Review*, 36(5), 810–820. <https://www.doi.org/10.2307/2093668>
- Pateman, C. (1970). *Participation and Democratic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pattie, C. & Johnston, R. (2001). Losing the voters' trust: evaluations of the political system and voting at the 1997 British general election. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 3(2), 191–222. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/1467-856X.00057>
- Pattie, C., Seyd, P. & Whiteley, P. (2003). Citizenship and civic engagement: Attitudes and behaviour in Britain. *Political Studies*, 51(3), 443–468.

- Polat, R. K. (2005). The Internet and Political Participation: Exploring the Explanatory Links. *European Journal of Communication*, 20(4), 435-459.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/0267323105058251>
- Pollock, P. H. (1983). The Participatory Consequences of Internal and External Political Efficacy: A Research Note. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 36(3), 400-409.
<https://www.doi.org/10.2307/448398>
- Putnam, R. D. (1993). *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Rigouste, M. (2020). The violence of the French police is not new, but more people are seeing it now. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from
<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2020/feb/13/french-police-violence-gilets-jaunes-victims>
- Rosenstone, S.J. & Hansen, J. M. (1993). *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. NY: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Rothstein, B. & Stolle, D. (2008). Political institutions and generalized trust. In G. T. Svendsen & G. L. H. Svendsen (Eds.), *The handbook of social capital* (pp. 273-302). Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Santana, R. S. (2017). Online and offline political participation in the 2014 presidential elections in Salvador. *Intercom: Revista Brasileira de Ciências da Comunicação*, 40(3), 189-207.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1590/1809-58442017311>
- Schlozman, L., Verba, S. & Brady, H. (1999). Civic Participation and the Equality Problem. In T. Skocpol & M. P. Fiorina (Eds.), *Civic Engagement in American Democracy* (pp. 427-459). Hanover, PA: Brookings Institution Press.
- Shah, D., Schmierbach, M., Hawkins, J., Espino, R. & Donovan, J. (2002). Nonrecursive models of Internet use and community engagement: Questioning whether time spent online erodes social capital. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 79(4), 964-987.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1177/107769900207900412>
- Shah, D. V. (1998). Civic Engagement, Interpersonal Trust, and Television Use: An Individual-Level Assessment of Social Capital. *Political Psychology*, 19(3), 469-496.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1111/0162-895X.00114>
- Theocharis, Y., de Moor, J. & van Deth, J. W. (2019). Digitally Networked Participation and Lifestyle Politics as New Modes of Political Participation. *Policy & Internet*.
<https://www.doi.org/10.1002/poi3.231>
- Trechsel, A. H. (2007). Inclusiveness of Old And New Forms of Citizens' Electoral Participation. *Representation*, 43(2), 111-121. <https://www.doi.org/10.1080/00344890701363326>
- Uslaner, E. M. & Brown, M. (2005). Inequality, trust, and civic engagement. *American Politics Research*, 33(6), 868-894. <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/1532673X04271903>
- Valenzuela, S., Park, N. & Kee, K. F. (2009). Is there social capital in a social network site?: Facebook use and college students' life satisfaction, trust, and participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14(4), 875-901. <https://www.doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2009.01474.x>
- Van Deth, J. W. (2001). Studying political participation: Towards a theory of everything. In *Joint sessions of workshops of the European consortium for political research*, Grenoble, 6-11.
- Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L. & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: civic voluntarism in American politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- White, M. (2010). Clicktivism is ruining leftist activism: Reducing activism to online petitions, this breed of marketeering technocrats damage every political movement they touch. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from

<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2010/aug/12/clicktivism-ruining-leftist-activism>

Yang, H. C. & DeHart, J. L. (2016). Social media use and online political participation among college students during the US election 2012. *Social Media+ Society*, 2(1). <https://www.doi.org/10.1177/2056305115623802>

Zmerli, S. & Newton, K. (2007). Trust in people, confidence in political institutions, and satisfaction with democracy. In J. W. van Deth, J. R. Montero & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies* (pp. 59-89). Abingdon, UK: Routledge.