Computers in Human Behavior 70 (2017) 113–118

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Computers in Human Behavior

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/comphumbeh

Full length article

Civic activism online: Making young people dormant or more active in real life?

Jasna S. Milošević-Đorđević [a, b, *], Iris L. Žeželj [c]

[a] Faculty of Media and Communications, Singidunum University, Karadjordjeva 65, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia
[b] Institute for Political Studies, Serbia
[c] Faculty of Philosophy, Psychology Department, Belgrade University, Cika Ljubina 18-20, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:
Received 23 August 2016
Received in revised form
17 December 2016
Accepted 28 December 2016
Available online 29 December 2016

Keywords:
Online/offline activism
Civic participation
Young people

ABSTRACT

Citizens can be active in their community through a diverse set of actions in real life or on online platforms. Since the emergence of the Internet, there has been continual debate about the impact of online activism on real-life activism: whilst some claim that "clictivism" creates the false sense of making a difference, and undermines real life activities, others say it actually fosters it. We therefore explored the relationship between online and offline activism, covering a range of engagement levels in eight different domains. Every offline activity had its online counterpart. The results draw from a probability sample of 1023 participants from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), Macedonia, Montenegro and Kosovo aged between 13 and 18 years. A unidimensional model fit the data better than a two dimensional model, suggesting that one factor underlies both online and offline forms of civic action. Our data demonstrate that online and offline activisms are not independent constructs, and that offline activism does not constrain online activism and vice versa. The two combine in a new, so called "hybrid activism", comprised of very different forms of offline and online actions.

1. Introduction

Any individual or collective action designed to identify and address issues of public concern might be considered as civic activism, a phenomenon nowadays widely analyzed from sociological, politicological, communicational and psychological perspectives (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002; Klandermans, 2004). The emergence of the Internet changed human potential to interact with their social environment, also expanding the forms of civic participation. People use the Internet for a broad number of reasons: searching for information, entertainment, socializing, expressing their opinions or deputizing their ideas. Therefore, traditional political engagement such as voting and face-to-face campaigns no longer covers the wide range of civil activities that exists in the real and online world. There are examples of recent public movements successfully used the Internet for informing and mobilizing wide populations in different parts of the world: the Arab Spring movement in 2010, the Euromaidan Ukrainian revolution in 2013 or the Hong Kong protests in 2014. In the Balkan region, the 2014 civil riots in Bosnia and Herzegovina (B&H), which targeted corruption and unequal wealth distribution, and the 2016 protests in Belgrade which targeted unregulated construction works in the capital, were largely coordinated via online platforms.

Although they go under the same label, civic actions can differ substantially by the level of involvement: some demand very little, i.e. "soft activism", such as expressing one's opinion or persuading others, whilst others demand a lot more, i.e. "hard activism", such as starting a petition or rallying (Brunsting & Postmes, 2002). Aside from different sets of skills that online and offline actions require, they also require different amount of resources. Evidently, it is easier to join a virtual than a real group, to sign an electronic than a real petition or to take part in a virtual than a real event (Christensen, 2011). Considering this asymmetry, some scholars assumed that virtual actions could undermine real-life activities by creating a false sense of making a difference. To illustrate this, these scholars use a term "clictivism" for fruitless online activities (Sormanen & Dutton, 2015; Tarrow, 2014).

Early scholars assumed that the Internet would reduce collective action because individuals are isolated and physically separated from each other and therefore, less socially influential

* Corresponding author. Faculty of Media and Communications, Singidunum University, Karadjordjeva 65, 11000 Belgrade, Serbia.
E-mail addresses: Jasna.milosevic@fmk.edu.rs (J.S. Milošević-Đorđević), zezelj.iris@gmail.com (I.L. Žeželj).

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.12.070
0747-5632/

(Kiesler, Siegel, & McGuire, 1984; Kraut et al., 1998; Putnam, 1995, 2000). They most often explored the impact of online activities on real life activities (Hardy & Scheufele, 2005). Later studies analyzed both the impact of online activities – e.g. blogging and time spent online, to offline activities – e.g. rallying and petitioning, and vice versa (Tworzecki & Semetko, 2012; Vaccari et al., 2015; Verba et al., 1995; Wojcieszak, 2009). Recent findings suggested that, contrary to public opinions and early theorizing, the Internet enhanced political interest and fostered civic and democratic values (Boulianne, 2009; Conroy, Feezell, & Guerrero, 2012; DiMaggio, Hargittai, Celeste, & Shafer, 2004; Krueger, 2002; Postmes & Brunsting, 2002; Vettehen, Hagemann, & Van Snippenburg, 2004; Zúñiga, Puig-i-Abril, & Rojas, 2009). For example, recent studies of media consumption in the political sphere showed that online media complement traditional media in fostering political discussion through all communication channels (Boulianne, 2009; Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005).

Most of the studies, however, addressed specific forms of activism (e.g. signing a petition or rallying) in a specific domain (e.g. politics or human rights). It still remains to be extensively explored whether the different forms of online and offline actions are related, and if that relation is dependent on the domain of interest.

The aims of this study were: a) to measure the prevalence of offline and online civic activism among youth in Western Balkans; b) to examine the relationship between different engagement levels of offline and online civic youth activism in the Balkans, to explore the correlations between activism performed on different platforms; c) to examine structural relations between online and offline activism.

We pitted a one factor model, that postulates that one latent dimension underlies all forms of online and offline activism, against a two factor model, postulating that online and offline activism will be independent (Fig. 1).

2. Methods

A total of 1023 young adolescents from five Balkan countries (Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina (B&H), Macedonia (FYRoM), Montenegro and Kosovo[1]) comprised the probability sample. The questionnaire included a section on civic activism, a section on intergroup relations (on which we do not report in this paper) and a section on demographic. The research was a part of a regional project aiming to empower young people in the Balkans and foster their cooperation.

2.1. Instruments

Online and offline civic participation were assessed by parallel versions of the activism scale, in which participants were asked to mark all (offline/online) activities they ever took part in.

In order to stimulate recall of diverse activism forms, the respondents were asked to assess whether they were active in eight different domains: human (minority) rights; humanitarian issues (floods, earthquakes etc …); environment protection; animal rights; issues related to school/afterschool activities; issues in local community; politics.

Different levels of engagement were operationalized as a set of activities ranging from soft to hard: I openly expressed my opinion about that issue; I tried to persuade other people to agree with my opinion; I was wearing a T-shirt or a badge with the slogan supporting some idea; I signed a petition; I participated in meetings/rallies to support some idea; I volunteered in an organization/was a member of some organization. Each offline activity had its online counterpart: I openly expressed my opinion about that issue through a Facebook status, comments, forum or exchange of materials; I tried to persuade other people to agree with my opinion during Internet communication; I changed a photograph, status or profile on Facebook/twitter, etc. in order to support some idea; I signed an online petition; I joined Internet groups to support some idea; I volunteered in an Internet group e.g. as an administrator, or I was active every day in an Internet group). That way we ended up with a matrix of 8 × 6 for both online and offline activities – the total score ranged from 0 to 48.

The questionnaire ended with a set of standard socio-demographic questions: age, gender, educational level, settlement type (urban or rural), and household monthly income.

The master questionnaire was developed in English and translated into local languages by two independent native speakers. We compared the two versions against one another and corrected minor discrepancies. To test the clarity and relevance of the translated versions, we conducted five pilot studies with approximately ten respondents per country.

We computed six composite measures for subscales by activity type regardless of domain; every offline activity had a parallel online activity. These scales demonstrated good internal reliability (Table 1). Two global scales of offline and online activities were highly reliable, with a Cronbach's alpha higher than 0.9 for both.

2.2. Respondents and sampling

Upon obtaining parents' permission, a total of 1023 participants aged between 13 and 18 years were interviewed over the telephone (computer assisted telephone interview). Average age of the respondents was 15.7. Approximately 200 respondents from each of the five countries within the Balkan region participated in the survey. Countries in which the survey was conducted were: Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina (B&H), Macedonia (FYRoM), Montenegro and Kosovo. The sampling universe was based on data from the national Census and estimated population dynamics. We opted for stratified two-staged combined probability sampling. Primary sampling units were households, which were defined as a group of people living in the same dwelling. Secondary sampling units were members of the household of targeted age.

To reduce sampling errors, the sample was stratified by the type of settlement (urban-rural), region, and gender per country. Fig. 2 details the demographic characteristics of the sample. Data was gathered via IPSOS regional offices in the Balkans in November 2014. The research procedure adhered to APA ethical guidelines. The response rate was over 80% on average per country.

3. Results

The aim of this study was to investigate the prevalence and relationship of online and offline activism, and to further explore the transformation of civic activism in a digital era. A person who performed at least one activism form in at least one measured issue is considered as activist in our study. Among the youth in the Balkans, 88.6% reported to have taken part in at least one offline action (N = 906), compared to 75.6% who reported to have taken part in at least one online action (N = 773). Despite the fact that our sample comprised of adolescents, the heaviest Internet users of all demographic groups, offline activism was still more present than online activism. This relatively surprising result could be due to the fact that we employed a rough measure of activism, and did not measure its frequency.

As expected, soft activism was more frequent then hard activism

[1] This designation is without prejudice to positions on status and is in line with UNSCR 1244 and the ICJ Opinion on Kosovo.

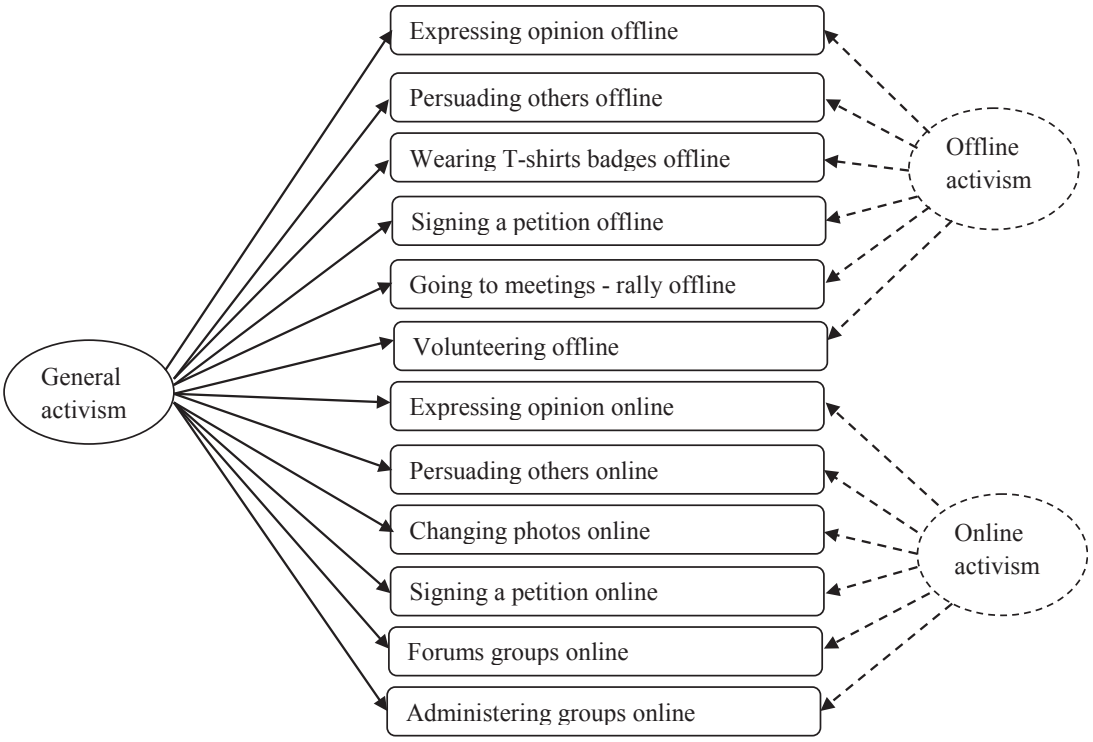

Fig. 1. Possible structural relationship among online and offline activism (one-dimensional vs. two-dimensional models). *Note*. Full lines represent the one-dimensional hypotheses that online and offline activism can be better explained with one general activism factor then by bipolar dimensions.

Table 1
Internal reliabilities of scales.

Level of engagement, merged for eight domains	CronbachAlpha	
	Offline	*Online*
I openly expressed my opinion about that issue/*on Facebook status, comments, forum, exchange of materials*	0.81	0.83
I tried to persuade other people to agree with my opinion/*during Internet communication*	0.79	0.82
I was wearing a T-shirt or a badge with the slogan supporting some idea/*I changed a photograph, status or profile on Facebook/twitter, etc. in order to support some idea*	0.69	0.80
I signed a petition/*an online petition*	0.73	0.81
I participated in meetings/rallies to support some idea/*I joined Internet groups*	0.74	0.82
I volunteered in an organization, was a member of some organization/*I volunteered in Internet group (e.g. as an administrator), or I was active every day in Internet group*	0.73	0.81
Total activism	0.93	0.95

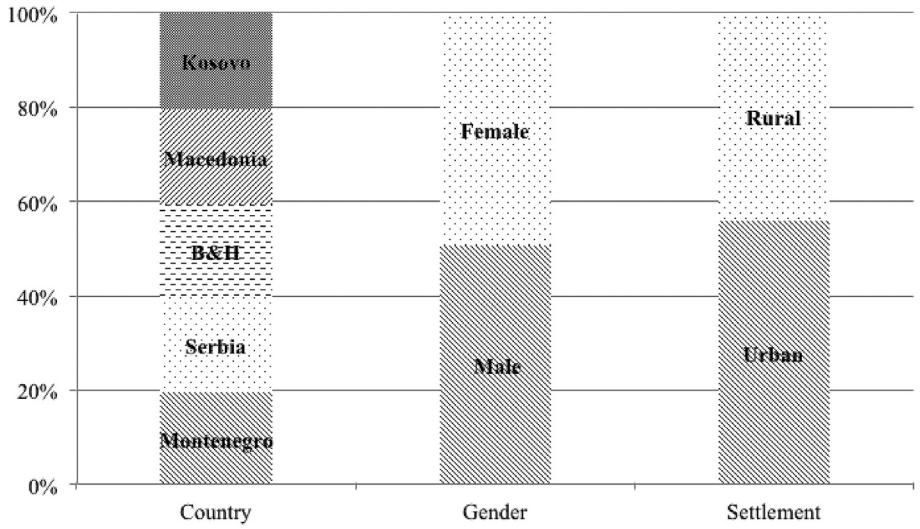

Fig. 2. Demographic profile of the sample.

(Table 3). If the action required less investment in terms of time and effort, it was more likely that a young person would join. Therefore, expressing an opinion occurred more frequently than volunteering and participating in the meetings and protests/rallies for any issue. Table 2 details the inter-correlations for all measured activism forms. Correlations among different engagement levels of online and offline activities were high, especially for the same type of activities in two settings (e.g. expressing one's opinion offline or online; persuading others to vote offline or online; signing a petition offline or online). This pattern of results supports the idea of the two forms of activism being interdependent, and not exclusive; the type of activities and engagement level proved to be more important determinant of activism than the actual setting (real vs. virtual).

To check whether the correlation patterns replicated on the country level, we tested the relationship between online and offline level of engagement per country (Table 3). The correlations between offline activities and their online counterparts were all high ($r = 0.6$ and higher) and robust in country subsamples.

In the next phase, we conducted a confirmatory factor analysis to test the validity of two models: (a) one dimensional model explaining all online and offline activities of different levels of engagement with one general activism factor; (b) two dimensional model that postulated two independent factors comprised of online and offline activities. The data were analyzed using AMOS 18 program for SPSS. The latent factors were not allowed to correlate. Parameters of fit for the two models are presented in Table 4 (they were selected following recommendations from Jackson, Gillaspy, & Purc-Stephenson, 2009).

When analyzing the fit of the models, we relied on conventional recommendations: a value between 0.08 and 0.1 for RMSEA index we considered to be acceptable (MacCallum, Browne, & Sugawara, 1996), as well as a value of 0.9 and higher for NFI and CFI indices (Byrne, 2001).

Table 4
Confirmatory factor analysis: Comparison of the one- and two-dimensional model of activism.

CFA	HI	DF	HF/DF	NFI	CFI	RMSEA	AIC
One dimensional model	450.8	43	10.48	0.95	0.95	0.096	520.8
Two dimensional model	944.8	49	19.28	0.89	0.89	0.134	1002.8

All measures of fit for the two-dimensional model were outside of these acceptance limits: RMSEA values were above, and the CFI and NFI scores were below the recommended level. In comparison, the one-dimensional model demonstrated superior fit in all measured indices: CFI and NFI were higher then 0.9, while RMSEA remained at an acceptable level of 0.09. In addition, we employed an additional fit measure AIC (Akaike, 1987) which is commonly used to compare competing models (Kumar & Sharma, 1999). As documented in Table 4, higher AIC index for the one-dimensional model further supported the conclusion that it fitted the data better. The standardized loadings of all activities to one latent factor were 0.6 and higher, all significant at 0.01 (Fig. 3).

Finally, we explored whether the one-dimensional model fits the country subsamples. The fit statistics for these models per country are shown in Table 5. The NFI and CFI indices were in the acceptable range in all countries except Kosovo, while the RMSEA ranged from tolerable to suboptimal.

4. Discussion

It is a well-established fact that young people are heavy Internet users, and majority of their interactions with the social world are in fact virtual (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011). As young people are supposed to be bearers of future societal values and active in a potential change, we thought it was vital to explore whether their civic engagement is tied only to virtual sphere or the virtual

Table 2
Correlations, means and standard deviations between different types of online and offline activities (total sample).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Expressing opinion offline	1											
2. Persuade others to vote offline	0.77**	1										
3. T-shirt badges offline	0.46**	0.50**	1									
4. Petition offline	0.41**	0.43**	0.54**	1								
5. Meetings offline	0.53**	0.55**	0.62**	0.51**	1							
6. Volunteering offline	0.47**	0.46**	0.59**	0.50**	0.66**	1						
7. Expressing opinion online	0.61**	0.60**	0.56**	0.48**	0.50**	0.45**	1					
8. Persuade others to vote online	0.56**	0.71**	0.54**	0.47**	0.52**	0.45**	0.81**	1				
9. Changing photos online	0.38**	0.46**	0.61**	0.48**	0.50**	0.44**	0.66**	0.65**	1			
10. Petition online	0.29**	0.33**	0.47**	0.66**	0.42**	0.41**	0.52**	0.52**	0.58**	1		
11. Forums, groups online	0.51**	0.51**	0.54**	0.44**	0.58**	0.50**	0.68**	0.67**	0.67**	0.51**	1	
12. Administering online	0.35**	0.39**	0.54**	0.51**	0.52**	0.57**	0.56**	0.56**	0.60**	0.61**	0.61**	1
M	3.47	2.99	1.38	0.92	1.78	1.36	2.16	1.98	1.51	0.66	2.11	0.96
SD	2.54	2.39	1.66	1.49	1.93	1.74	2.38	2.25	1.98	1.44	2.30	1.69

Notes. Values for level of engagement scales: minimum 0 maximum 8 per online/offline scales.
**p < 0.01 two tailed.

Table 3
Inter-correlations of online & offline activism by level of engagement, for total sample and per country.

Correlation online vs offline activities						
Level of engagement	Combined sample	MNE	SRB	B&H	MK	KOS
Expressing opinion	0.61**	0.46**	0.54**	0.52**	0.60**	0.86**
Persuade others to vote	0.71**	0.68**	0.75**	0.63**	0.67**	0.79**
T-shirt badges/changing photos online	0.61**	0.52**	0.58**	0.52**	0.67**	0.76**
Petition	0.66**	0.65**	0.64**	0.72**	0.65**	0.70**
Meetings offline/forums groups online	0.60**	0.60**	0.52**	0.48**	0.65**	0.73**
Volunteering offline/administering online	0.57**	0.53**	0.46**	0.35**	0.72**	0.76**

Note **p < 0.01 two tailed.

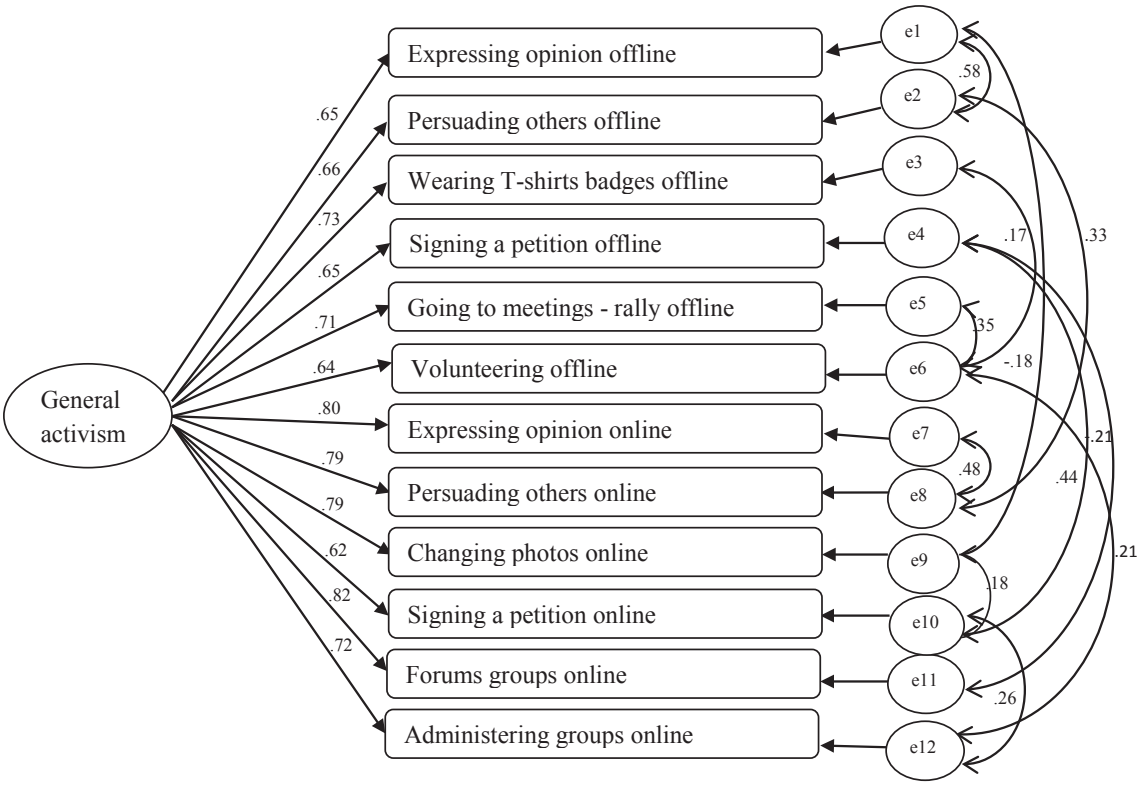

Fig. 3. Standardized factor loadings of the one-dimensional model.

activism is positively related to the activism in real life (Baumgartner & Morris, 2010; Hardy & Scheufele, 2005; Wojcieszak, 2009; Zúñiga et al., 2009). The question of activism is particularly important in so called "new democracies", societies in transition and with recent history of conflict, such as Western Balkans, in which young people are often relatively intolerant towards outgroups, politically cynical and feel disempowered (Branković et al., 2016; Milošević - Đorđević, 2016). The previous studies in the region showed that the general activism in this population is relatively low (Pavlović, 2012; Reidy et al., 2015).

However, this could partially be due to the fact that the bar for assessing it was set high: it typically captured only hard-type of activities (rallies, volunteering, membership in organization), and usually in one or two domains (e.g. politics and human rights). We therefore developed a more comprehensive measure assessing six levels of activities varying in level of involvement (from expressing one's opinion to volunteering or being a member of an organization); all the activities were probed for eight different domains (from politics to animal and environmental rights).

Results suggested that, in spite of the fact that majority of them are heavy Internet users, especially of social networking sites (Bodroža & Jovanović, 2016; Milošević-Đorđević & Žeželj, 2014), the young from Balkans are still more active in real than in online world. The two forms of activisms were, however, strongly positively correlated – people who tended to be active in virtual, tended to be active in real life and vice versa. Confirmatory factor analysis also showed that one factor model was superior fit to the data in comparison to two factor model, which postulated two constructs are distinct. This was clearly demonstrated in the combined sample and in majority of country samples. Our results also indicated that hard and soft types of activities are positively correlated; furthermore, being active in one domain was positively related to being active in others. Taken together, the results corroborate the notion that online and offline actions complement one another, and that new, hybrid form of participation is emerging (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013; Krueger, 2006; Shah et al., 2005; Wojcieszak, 2009; Zúñiga, Veenstra, Vraga, & Shah, 2010, 2012).

Our research does not confirm the fears that new platforms for activism would prevent more traditional forms of it – quite the contrary; it seems that one fuels the other. These results have clear policy implementations: enhancing civic activism of young people via new media (e.g. social networking sites) has potential to make them more attentive to social problems around them and more active in real life; similarly, enhancing real life activism should lead to more online activities. In the same vain, making young people more attentive to one domain of societal problems does not make them insensitive to others; soft forms of activism do not prevent its hard forms. These mechanisms, however, need to be further investigated, as our results do not allow for causal explanations.

Table 5
Confirmatory factor analysis for each country.

CFA One dimensional model	HI	Df	HI/df	NFI	CFI	RMSEA
Montenegro	90.66	43	2.11	0.93	0.96	0.07
Serbia	141.24	43	3.28	0.91	0.93	0.11
B&H	160.75	43	3.74	0.91	0.93	0.12
Macedonia	210.43	43	4.89	0.92	0.93	0.14
Kosovo	411.48	43	9.57	0.85	0.86	0.20

4.1. Limitations

Although we investigated an important topic per se – civic participation among youth– our findings do not allow the generalization to the general population. The relations between the two forms of activism might also be different for new Internet users or

different demographics (e.g. elderly).

Since we relied on self-report for assessing the activism, our results can be sensitive to self-presentation. In addition, high correlation between the two forms of activism could be partially due to their shared methods variance, as we created two parallel measures for the two. Future research could address these methodological issues by observing real behavior and/or assessing the two separately.

5. Conclusion

Taken together, our results show that when tailoring policies to engage young people in civic activities, one has to have in mind different platforms and different topics; making them engaged in one type of activity makes it more probable that they would engage in others, making them engage in "soft activities" makes it more probable that they would engage in "hard activities". Additionally, we demonstrate that researchers need to be sensitive to the forms of questions when assessing levels of civic activism in different populations, as the registered level of activism heavily depends on the types, domains and the time period defined in the questionnaire.

Acknowledgement

This research received funding from the Department for International Development the Government of the UK Grant Agreement No PEU CPP 000502 and the Embassy of Norway, Grant Agreement No RER 12-0035 under the project 'Its Our Generation'. We are grateful to the donors for their contribution to the research. Part of the research was supported by the Serbian Ministry of Education and Science, project number 179009. We thank Jana van Niekerk for editing this manuscript.

References

Akaike, H. (1987). Factor analysis and AIC. *Psychometrika, 52*, 317–332.
Bakker, T. P., & de Vreese, C. H. (2011). Good news for the future? Young people, Internet use, and political participation. *Communication Research, 38*, 451–470. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0093650210381738.
Baumgartner, J. C., & Morris, J. S. (2010). MyFaceTube politics: Social networking web sites and political engagement of young adults. *Social Science Computer Review, 28*, 24–44.
Bodroža, B., & Jovanović, T. (2016). Validation of the new scale for measuring behaviors of Facebook users: Psycho-social aspects of Facebook use (PSAFU). *Computers in Human Behavior, 54*, 425–435.
Boulianne, S. (2009). Does Internet use affect engagement? A meta-analysis of research. *Political communication, 26*, 193–211.
Branković, M., Pavlović, M., Žeželj, I., Vladisavljević, M., Jovanović, O., & Petrović, N. (2016). Social identity complexity and inclusiveness as predictors of intergroup emotions. *Applied Psychology, 8*, 363–378.
Brunsting, S., & Postmes, T. (2002). Social movement participation in the digital age predicting offline and online collective action. *Small group research, 33*, 525–554.
Byrne, B. M. (2001). Structural equation modeling with AMOS, EQS, and LISREL: Comparative approaches to testing for the factorial validity of a measuring instrument. *International Journal of Testing, 1*, 55–86.
Christensen, H. S. (2011). Political activities on the Internet: Slacktivism or political participation by other means? *First Monday, 16*.
Conroy, M., Feezell, J. T., & Guerrero, M. (2012). Facebook and political engagement: A study of online political group membership and offline political engagement. *Computers in Human Behavior, 28*, 1535–1546.
DiMaggio, P., Hargittai, E., Celeste, C., & Shafer, S. (2004). *Digital inequality. Social Inequality: From unequal access to differentiated use* (pp. 355–400).
Gibson, R., & Cantijoch, M. (2013). Conceptualizing and measuring participation in the age of the internet: Is online political engagement really different to offline? *The Journal of Politics, 75*, 701–716.
Hardy, B. W., & Scheufele, D. A. (2005). Examining differential gains from Internet use: Comparing the moderating role of talk and online interactions. *Journal of Communication, 55*, 71–84.
Jackson, D. L., Gillaspy, J. A., & Purc-Stephenson, R. (2009). Reporting practices in confirmatory factor analysis: An overview and some recommendations. *Psychological methods, 14*, 6.
Kiesler, Siegel, & McGuire. (1984). Social psychological aspects of computer-mediated communication. *American Psychologist, 39*, 1123–1134.
Klandermans, B. (2004). The demand and supply of participation: Social-psychological correlates of participation in social movements. In *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 360–379).
Kraut, R., Patterson, M., Lundmark, V., Kiesler, S., Mukophadhyay, T., & Scherlis, W. (1998). Internet paradox: A social technology that reduces social involvement and psychological well-being? *American psychologist, 53*, 1017.
Krueger, B. S. (2002). Assessing the potential of internet political participation in the United States a resource approach. *American Politics Research, 30*, 476–498.
Krueger, B. S. (2006). A comparison of conventional and Internet political mobilization. *American Politics Research, 34*, 759–776.
Kumar, A., & Sharma, S. (1999). A metric measure for direct comparison of competing models in covariance structure analysis. *Structural Equation Modeling: A Multidisciplinary Journal, 6*, 169–197.
MacCallum, R. C., Browne, M. W., & Sugawara, H.,M. (1996). Power analysis and determination of sample size for covariance structure modeling. *Psychological Methods, 1*, 130–149.
Milošević - Đorđević, J. M. (2016). The role of contact in reducing social distance of youth from the Balkans towards minority groups. *Primenjena psihologija [Applied Psychology], 8*, 415–432.
Milošević-Đorđević, J. S., & Žeželj, I. L. (2014). Psychological predictors of addictive social networking sites use: The case of Serbia. *Computers in Human Behavior, 32*, 229–234.
Pavlović, Z. (2012). Predictors and correlates of youth political knowledge in Serbia. *Psihologija, 45*, 433–449.
Postmes, T., & Brunsting, S. (2002). Collective action in the age of the Internet mass communication and online mobilization. *Social Science Computer Review, 20*, 290–301.
Putnam, R. D. (1995). Tuning in, tuning out: The strange disappearance of social capital in America. *PS: Political science & politics, 28*, 664–683.
Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone, the collapse and revival of civic America*. New York.
Reidy, C. M., Taylor, L. K., Merrilees, C. E., Ajduković, D., Biruški, D.Č., & Cummings, E. M. (2015). The political socialization of youth in a post-conflict community. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 45*, 11–23.
Shah, D. V., Cho, J., Eveland, W. P., & Kwak, N. (2005). Information and expression in a digital age modeling Internet effects on civic participation. *Communication research, 32*, 531–565.
Sormanen, N., & Dutton, W. H. (2015). The role of social media in societal Change: Cases in Finland of fifth estate activity on facebook. *Social Media+ Society, 1*, 2056305115612782.
Tarrow, S. (2014). Response to W. Lance Bennett's review of the language of Contention: Revolutions in words, 1688–2012. *Perspectives on Politics, 12*, 472–473.
Tworzecki, H., & Semetko, H. A. (2012). Media use and political engagement in three new democracies: Malaise versus mobilization in the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland. *The International Journal of Press/Politics, 17*(4), 407–432.
Vaccari, C., Valeriani, A., Barberá, P., Bonneau, R., Jost, J. T., Nagler, J., et al. (2015). Political expression and action on social Media: Exploring the relationship between lower-and higher-threshold political activities among twitter users in Italy. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication, 20*, 221–239.
Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and Equality: Civic voluntarism in American politics* (Vol. 4). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Vettehen, P. H., Hagemann, C. P., & Van Snippenburg, L. B. (2004). Political knowledge and media use in The Netherlands. *European Sociological Review, 20*, 415–424.
Wojcieszak, M. (2009). "Carrying online participation offline" – mobilization by radical online groups and politically dissimilar offline ties. *Journal of Communication, 59*, 564–586.
Zúñiga, H. G., 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*, 319–336.
Zúñiga, H. G., 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*, 553–574.
Zúñiga, H. G., Veenstra, A., Vraga, E., & Shah, D. (2010). Digital democracy: Reimagining pathways to political participation. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics, 7*, 36–51.