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Article

Active Citizenship - Participatory Patterns of European Youth

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Keywords: active citizenship, civic and political participation, participatory patterns

- Treating Active Citizenship as a categorical construct gives new opportunities to explore it and to conceptualize it.
- 6 patterns of participation: fighter, activist, volunteer, backer, online and indifferent.
- 41.8% of respondents preserve their pattern of participation over 1 year.
- The United Kingdom has the most engaged population, with more than 80% of respondents in one of the engaged patterns of participation, while the Czech Republic is the opposite, with only 34-38% engaged respondents.
- Political interest, religiosity, gender and age are the main factors to change from indifferent to an engaged pattern.

Purpose: Treating Active Citizenship as a sum of behavioral indicators requires certain prerequisites that can be difficult to meet in practice (e.g. structural validity and measurement invariance). We explore a different approach, in which we treat Active Citizenship as a categorical, rather than a linear, construct.

Design: Based on longitudinal data from eight European countries, we discovered the patterns' structure based on the first-year data and then replicated the analysis on the second-year sample to confirm it. Next, we explored the change between the years and its' trajectories. We compared countries profiles and their change. Finally, we used multinomial logistic regression to explore the most common trajectories.

Findings: We describe six patterns: fighter, activist, volunteer, backer, online and indifferent. The pattern structure is replicable and 41.8% of respondents preserve their pattern. For those respondents who changed their pattern, we identified political interest, religiosity, gender and age as the main factors behind this change.

Research implications: The study contributes to the understanding of youth Active Citizenship and the factors that support and promote it.


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1 INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the last decades, there has been a growing academic interest in active citizenship in European countries premised predominantly on the concern about the declining levels of civic engagement and low electoral turnout (Ekman & Amnå, 2012; Hoskins, Kerr, & Liu, 2016; Mascherini, Manca, & Hoskins, 2009). Youth active citizenship has been of particular interest in this regard, as youth is viewed as a strategic asset to ensure the legitimacy of political institutions and the future of democratic countries (Fahmy, 2017; Martin, 2012; Miranda, Castillo, & Sandoval-Hernandez, 2017; Zeldin, Krauss, Collura, Lucchesi, & Sulaiman, 2014). Active Citizenship is a complex phenomenon, which includes psychological, behavioural, social and political dimensions (Barnes, Auburn, & Lea, 2004; Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). Depending on the research frames, different dimensions of Active Citizenship can emerge (Amnå, 2012; Fonseca, 2014).

Many studies are focused on civic and political participation (hereinafter CPP) as an integral and inalienable part of Active Citizenship (Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014; Ribeiro, Neves, & Menezes, 2017). Often, CPP is operationalized through a set of different actions or activities that are usually recognized as civic or political, but there has been a tendency to expand the definition of CPP to include new types of participation (Ekman & Amnå, 2012). As described by Jan Van Deth (2014, p.3): *“The continuous expansion of the modes of participation has confronted many researchers with the dilemma of using either a dated conceptualization excluding many new modes of political participation or stretching their concepts to cover almost everything”*. He then offers a set of criteria to decide whether a given phenomenon can be classified as CPP: it must be a voluntary action or activity, performed by civilians (non-professionals) and targeting civil or political issues. This definition includes both civic and political actions and allows to classify a broad range of them as CPP. At the same time, since we use the data from Catch-Eyou study, we focus specifically on the indicators that were available in this dataset (see section 3.2).

In quantitative studies, there is a long tradition in representing CPP as a latent trait, assuming that lower and higher levels of CPP can be identified based on selected indicators, such as different activities (Carroll, Child, & Darlington, 2015; Hoskins & Mascherini, 2009; Schulz, Fraillon, Ainley, Losito, & Kerr, 2008; Torney-Purta, Cabrera, Rios, Carlson, & Bridgeman, 2015). In some cases, CPP is calculated as a sum of indicators (Kennedy, 2007; Malafaia, Neves, & Menezes, 2017); in other cases, logistic models are used to model CPP as a latent trait (e.g.: Hoskins, Barber, Van Nijlen, & Villalba, 2011; Šerek & Jugert, 2018). Both methods result in some version of a cumulative score that estimates the general level of CPP for each respondent. Such cumulative score is very useful for many research tasks, such as comparing individuals and groups of people; or exploring correlations between CPP and other variables.

Regrettably, the issues of validity are often overlooked in quantitative studies of CPP and authors implicitly assume that all indicators are equally fit for all groups of people in all circumstances. This assumption cannot be accepted without a proper test, although testing measurement invariance might complicate the methodology and reporting it might shift the focus of the research and make an article two times longer than expected. Measurement

invariance means that all items used as indicators have the same parameters in every sub-sample, which will confirm that respondents understand and respond to these items in the same way. Nowadays, more and more studies show the crucial role of measurement invariance for results' validity (Brown, Harris, O'Quin, & Lane, 2017; Davidov, Meuleman, Cieciuch, Schmidt, & Billiet, 2014) and there are studies of Active Citizenship and CPP paying attention to it (Miranda et al., 2017; Šerek, Lacinová, & Macek, 2012; Zaff, Boyd, Li, Lerner, & Lerner, 2010). On the other hand, it is not always possible to achieve an acceptable level of measurement invariance in practice due to the cultural differences between the groups studied, meaning that measurement invariance is rooted deep inside the phenomenon. One recent research describes such a case, showing the problems with differential item functioning while comparing people from different countries (Enchikova et al., 2019). It shows that the same questions have a different meaning depending on the social and cultural situation and, as a result, indexes or scales created based on these indicators might be biased against some groups of people.

Therefore, we searched for a different methodology to analyze CPP in cases where measurement invariance is unachievable and decided to approach the problem from a different angle. When the questions have different parameters in different sub-groups, it is ill-advised to use these questions to build a cumulative index, since the final score might discriminate some sub-groups while giving an unfair advantage to others. Comparisons based on such an index, then, might be biased and lead to invalid conclusions. However, it is possible to use these questions separately to classify the respondents in some categories: therefore, instead of summarizing everything into one general index and comparing the degree of CPP, we decided to look at the activities separately and search for patterns in the respondents' behaviour. Thus, the problem of measurement invariance becomes irrelevant: since the indicators are not used to predict a general level of CPP, they are not expected to have equal parameters. This way, we use a descriptive approach, classifying respondents by their behavioural patterns. It is still possible that some questions might have different meanings for people from different social groups, but this approach doesn't hide this fact behind a cumulative index; on the contrary, it offers an opportunity to observe this difference and explore it. In other words, when we observe respondents with the same pattern and different characteristics, we get the chance to study them to understand the difference.

2 THE STUDIES OF PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

The idea of participation patterns or styles is not new and can be found in many studies. There are two possible scenarios: to classify the actions or to classify the individuals. In the first case, we speak of different types of participation, such as political participation, civic engagement, online activism, latent forms of participation, among others (e.g.: Ekman & Amnå, 2012; Martelli, 2013; Uslaner & Brown, 2005). These styles can also generally be viewed as dimensions of active citizenship, and therefore confirmatory factor analysis is the most commonly used method to process the data. On the other hand, studies focused on classifying individuals refer to patterns of profiles of participation (Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014; Harris,

Wyn, & Younes, 2010) or identities (Landberg et al., 2018). Cluster analysis and latent class analysis are the most common methods in this case.

Classes can be organized in two ways: they can be organized vertically and form a hierarchy in which some classes are more engaged in general than the others, and they can be organized horizontally, and here the different classes exist in parallel lines and represent different styles of participation. One of the first examples of the hierarchical approach is Milbrath's framework of political participation (Milbrath & Goel, 1977), which claims that activities are organized as a pyramid according to their difficulty and people who perform in the topmost activities are likely to also perform in the activities of the lower rank. The top activities are the most difficult ones, such as having a political career or party membership, which require a lot of time and effort. Then, there are activities of medium difficulty or transitional activities, such as money donation, attending a political rally or volunteering. Finally, there are low-level or spectator activities such as participation in discussions or voting (Ruedin, 2007). As mentioned above, there has been a tendency to consider an increasingly broader scope of behaviours as civic or political (Van Deth, 2001). This has mostly served to expand the bottom of the pyramid. With more actions at the bottom, there is more room for horizontal classifications in which different types of participation exist in parallel.

Here are two recent examples of such studies, where the CPP patterns are explored in samples of young people. Martínez et al. (2019) have discovered four patterns of CPP based on the ICCS (International Civic and Citizenship Education Study) data from Chile: Uninvolved, Involved, Volunteer and Random. Involved respondents had a higher probability of being involved in CPP, Uninvolved respondents had a low probability of being involved and Volunteers were mostly involved in community service and work for religious or social causes. The authors used a multinomial logistic regression model to test the factors that can predict the respondents' pattern of CPP and found that gender, socio-economic status and age were significant (females are more likely to be in the Involved and Volunteer classes, high and middle SES reduces the chances of being in the Involved class but increases the chances of being in the Volunteer class compared to the Uninvolved class, and older respondents have higher chances of being in the Involved class). They also studied school and family characteristics and found them significant for the respondents' behavioural pattern.

Another study with a similar methodology was conducted by Reichert et al. (2018). They found five latent classes based on ICCS data: Activist, Debater, Communitarian, Indifferent, and Alienated. This classification is interesting because it has two "negative" categories – Indifferent and Alienated, where Indifferent is a more neutral category and Alienated is more negative. In this study, they also used multinomial regression to find the significant predictors for different patterns. They tested individual, family, school and community variables and found some significant predictors, such as gender (boys are more alienated), social problems in school (fewer problems help students engage more), opportunities in the local community for student participation, and teacher characteristics.

These two studies provide an insight into how patterns of CPP can be discerned and studied. Both studies highlight that the development of the citizen's identity starts in adolescence and that it is important to focus on Youth Active Citizenship: "... identifying early patterns of

commitment may be a first step toward understanding the precursor processes of trajectories of civic engagement in adult life, be these continuous or episodic, and to examine which patterns of involvement are more likely to continue in adult life" (Martínez et al., 2019, p.19). Thus, there is a question about the long-term effect of CPP patterns, how they develop and change through time. To study this, longitudinal data required tracking the changes in the respondents' behavioural patterns over time. We found no publications that resorting to this kind of methodology; therefore, in this study, we propose to fill this gap.

In this paper, then, we analyze CPP patterns, their change and stability over one year. We also explore the prevalence of these patterns across different countries and groups of people, searching for the most typical patterns for each group. Such an approach offers a deeper understanding of CPP of European youth because it shows not only the average level of CPP but also the content of participatory activities in each case. It offers a more personalised view, focusing on the particular qualities of CPP in each case.

3 DATA

3.1 Sample

We use data from the Catch-Eyou study (Constructing AcTive CitizensHip with European Youth: Policies, Practices, Challenges, and Solutions). This was an international project funded by the European Commission under the H2020 Programme. It examined various aspects of Active Citizenship, focusing on young European citizens. It included two groups of respondents: the younger group (14 to 18 years), and the older group (19 to 30). The data were collected in eight European countries: Italy, Sweden, Germany, Greece, Portugal, Czech Republic, Estonia, and the United Kingdom. To examine the dynamics of youth active citizenship, Catch-Eyou implemented a longitudinal design with two waves of data collection separated by one year (the first data collection wave took place during winter 2016-2017, and the second wave one year later, in 2017-2018). In this paper, we will use both waves to examine the change in behavioural CPP patterns over the course of one year.

The sample includes 12693 respondents. However, not all of them were included in the analysis due to missing data. The distribution of respondents and the number of valid cases in each country can be found in table 1. To study the change of CPP patterns we used longitudinal data, which has fewer respondents due to sample attrition and amounts to a total of 4365 respondents that participated in both waves. The high attrition rate relates to the data collection methodology, as a part of the data was collected in schools and universities, and some students have finished school or changed it during that year. Thus, it was impossible to reach them again. In rare cases, the educational institutions were unavailable for the second wave of data collection. Another part of the data was collected online, in these cases, participants were sent second wave questionnaires over email. However, this strategy is also connected to a high level of attrition. Thus, there are both, systematic and unsystematic dropouts.

In this study, we focus on the personal participation patterns of the respondents, and it is important to understand if these can be connected with the dropout rate. On the one hand, when dropouts are motivated by systematic reasons, such as the school not being available, or students moving to another school, we can consider, that it is not correlated with the personal characteristics of the students, and therefore it is not correlated with their participation patterns. On the other hand, when not participation is a personal choice of a respondent (for example, online), it can relate to their participation patterns, and therefore, it can bias the results. Unfortunately, it is impossible to identify the proportion of cases in this study. Therefore, when we speak about the comparisons between the two waves, we will focus specifically on the cases that are valid in both waves.

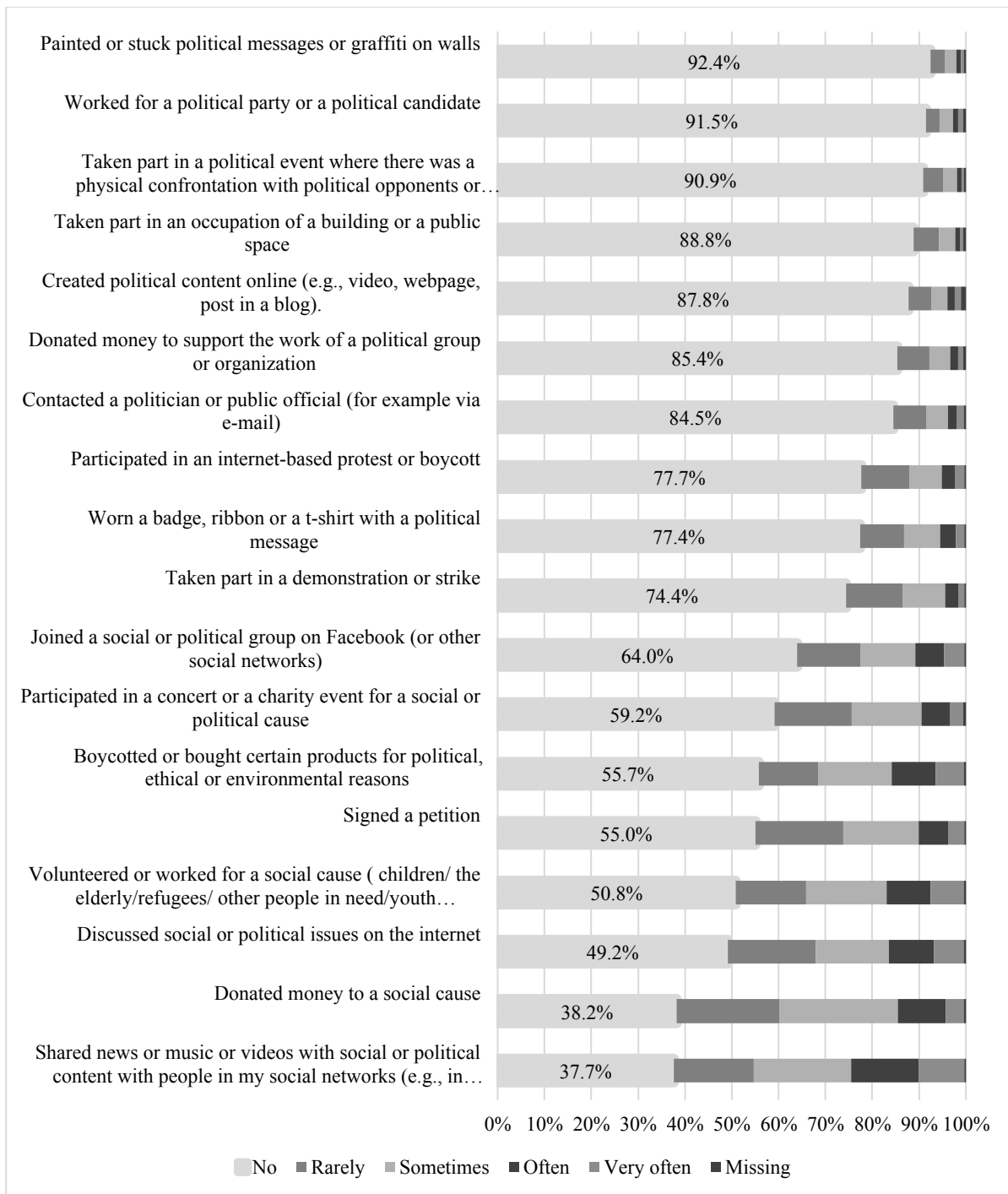
Table 1. Number of valid cases in each country

| | Valid cases 1 st year | | | Valid cases 2 nd year | | | Valid cases in both waves | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------|------------------------------|----------------|-------|
| | Younger group | Older group | Total | Younger group | Older group | Total | Younger group | Older group | Total |
| Italy | 787 | 857 | 1644 | 700 | 602 | 1302 | 619 | 565 | 1184 |
| Sweden | 379 | 858 | 1237 | 460 | 412 | 872 | 203 | 393 | 596 |
| Germany | 662 | 359 | 1021 | 828 | 482 | 1310 | 235 | 34 | 269 |
| Greece | 544 | 727 | 1271 | 514 | 427 | 941 | 319 | 291 | 610 |
| Portugal | 458 | 522 | 980 | 289 | 219 | 508 | 182 | 136 | 318 |
| Czech Republic | 505 | 814 | 1319 | 364 | 415 | 779 | 347 | 415 | 762 |
| United Kingdom | 520 | 288 | 808 | 458 | 320 | 778 | 119 | 118 | 237 |
| Estonia | 524 | 477 | 1001 | 159 | 255 | 414 | 145 | 244 | 389 |
| TOTAL | 4379 | 4902 | 9281 | 3772 | 3132 | 6904 | 2169 | 2196 | 4365 |

3.2 Variables in the analysis

The Catch-Eyou questionnaire included 18 questions about the respondent's involvement in different types of civic and political participation. These questions were created by the CATCH-EyoU research team based on an overview of previous studies, such as PIDOP (Barrett & Brunton-Smith, 2014), European Social Survey, and Eurobarometer. The questions covered a wide range of topics, including both conventional and non-conventional types of participation, such as protest activities, volunteering, charity, online participation, political actions, and illegal activities. The list of questions can be found in figure 1.

Figure 1. Questions and distribution of the response categories (in %)



Respondents were asked if they had done any of those actions during the previous year. The questions included 5 categories of answers, and respondents were offered the opportunity to select the frequency of their actions: 1 – No; 2 – Rarely; 3 – Sometimes; 4 – Often; 5 – Very often. However, the analysis of the response categories shows that most of the questions are very difficult to agree with and the distribution of the categories is skewed to the negative side. Category “no” includes more than 50% of the answers for 15 questions out of 18, and it includes more than 70% of the answers for 10 questions out of 18. It shows that the other categories are rarely used, and, in some cases, there are not enough observations in each

category for the quantitative analysis. In the categories “often” and “very often” the number of observations was close to 0. Thus, it was not possible to use this data as it was, as some categories were not working properly. We had two options: either to limit our research to the questions that had a more adequate distribution of responses (by different criteria, it would be around 10 questions) or to reduce the number of categories and to collapse some of them. In this study, it was important to focus on different types of participation, rather than on the intensity of it. Thus, we decided to follow the second option and to reduce the number of categories. And since we aimed to keep all the questions, we had to take into account the extreme difficulty of some of them. Since most of the questions have “no” as a dominant category, we decided to focus on the fact of the participation in itself. Thus, we transformed the categories into a dichotomous format, leaving only two options: 0 – No and 1 – Yes (all the other options).

4 RESEARCH METHOD

The first goal of this study was to identify the patterns of CPP. To achieve this goal, we used cluster analysis based on the average linkage within a group. This means that clusters were created to minimize the average distance between all individuals or cases within it. Clusters, then, become more homogeneous since they tend to include respondents with similar response patterns. In our case, respondents with similar patterns of civic and political behaviour were allocated to the same clusters. This helped define the most typical styles of civic and political participation. Next, we examined the distribution of different styles of CPP in different countries while looking for the most typical patterns of participation in each country. The sustainability of CPP patterns was also addressed: we used the same clusterization method on the 2nd year data looking for the same patterns. This had two purposes: first, we tested the hypothesis that the same pattern structures would emerge in the sample in the following year; second, we looked into changes in respondents’ behaviour from one year to another. We used chi-square criteria to test the linkage between the two waves. Finally, we examined the change in respondents’ patterns from one year to another. We looked for the factors behind this change using multinomial logistic regression. However, because few respondents switched from un-engaged to the most engaged patterns, we were only able to study the two most common types of change.

5 RESULTS

5.1 Patterns of civic and political participation

Using cluster analysis, we uncovered six patterns of CPP that vary by the types of civic and political actions reportedly performed by the respondents. We tried to give meaningful and expressive names to these patterns, to describe them and to ease their use in the future. Considering the number of different types of actions as an indicator of the personal engagement (respondents who perform more actions are more engaged), these patterns also

vary by the intensity of participation, from minimum to maximum. The detailed statistics can be found in the appendix; here we will briefly describe each pattern.

The indifferent pattern of CPP describes people who reported almost no involvement in any kind of civic and political actions. These people might participate occasionally: on average they report 1-3 different actions from the list of 18, but this participation is quite random. The most common types of reported actions were money donation (40% of respondents with this behaviour) and sharing social or political content in social networks (37%). Other actions are rare (median participation rate is 11%).

The online pattern is characterized by high involvement in internet activism: 98% of the respondents reportedly shared social or political content in their social networks and participated in social or political discussions online. Sometimes, respondents reported signing a petition (48%) or donating money (59%). Other actions are rare and occasional (median participation rate is 16%).

The backer pattern is characterized by volunteering (99%) and financial support (75%) to social and political causes. Also, there is occasional participation in charity events (47%) and sharing content in a social network (42%). Other civic and political actions are rare (median participation rate is 14%).

The volunteer pattern is characterized by higher levels of participation, including volunteering (97%), sharing social or political content (96%), discussing issues online (93%), donating money (92%), participation in charity events (87%), and signing a petition (70%). However, other actions are occasional and rare (median participation rate is 37%).

The activist pattern is characterized by a high level of CPP (median participation rate is 77%). In addition to all civic and political actions described in the previous patterns, this pattern also includes participation in demonstrations, wearing political symbols or messages, and participation in different kinds of boycotts. Thus, this pattern combines all the most common types of CPP.

The fighter pattern is characterized by an exceptionally high level of CPP (median participation rate is 92%) and describes the respondents who reportedly engaged in all kinds of actions listed in the questionnaire. This pattern describes people who are not afraid to fight for their cause using many different methods, even the most radical ones, such as painting graffiti, occupying public spaces and confronting the police or political opponents.

Thus, we found 6 different patterns of CPP that vary by the types of actions performed by the respondents and also by the number of different types of actions (from the minimal number of actions to the maximum). The patterns form a hierarchy where top patterns are likely to include behaviours from the lower rank patterns. This helps in understanding the structure of participation in each case and exploring each pattern separately. The total number of cases in each pattern is shown in table 2. Next, we will examine the stability of these patterns, their distribution across countries and the factors that support the change from the indifferent to the engaged patterns.

Table 2. Participation patterns

| | 1 st year | | 2 nd year | |
|-------------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|
| | | | | |
| Fighter | 432 | 4.7% | 424 | 6.1% |
| Activist | 840 | 9.1% | 364 | 5.3% |
| Volunteer | 855 | 9.2% | 545 | 7.9% |
| Backer | 1583 | 17.1% | 1378 | 20% |
| Online | 1625 | 17.5% | 1406 | 20.4% |
| Indifferent | 3946 | 42.5% | 2787 | 40.4% |
| Total | 9281 | 100% | 6904 | 100% |

5.2 Stability of patterns

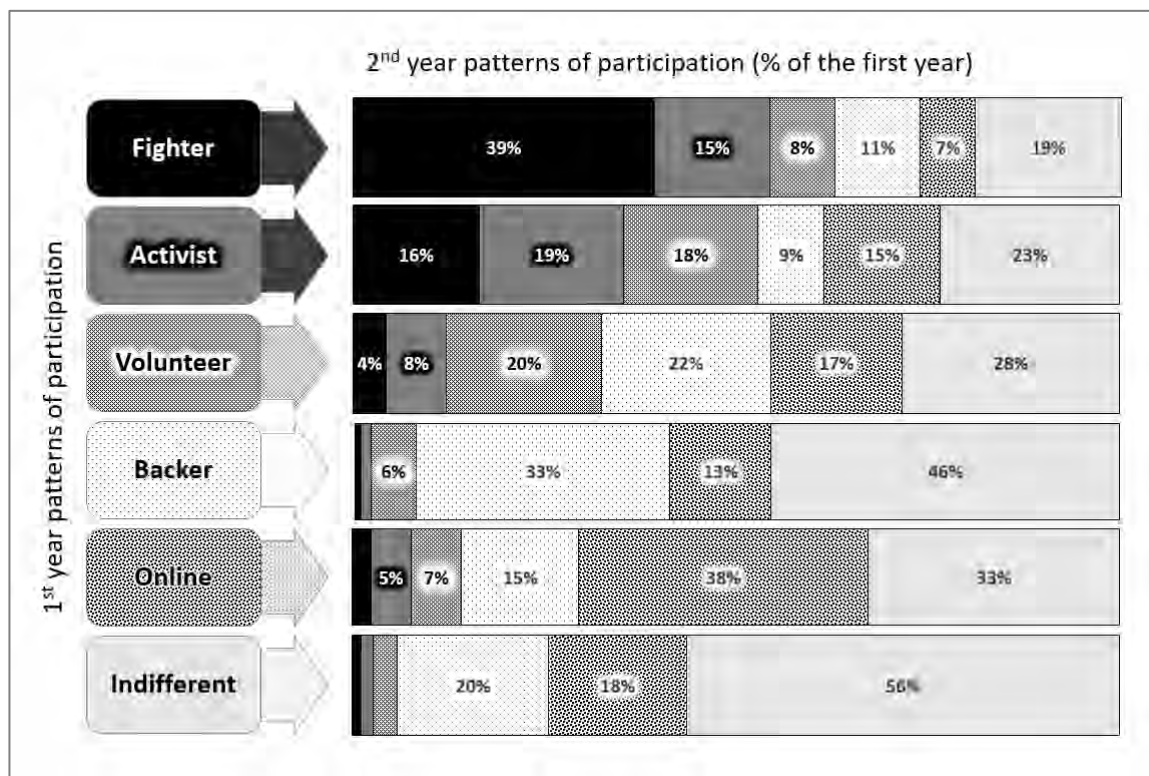
Examining the stability of the identified patterns involved two steps: first, to confirm the pattern structure on the second wave data; and second, to examine whether respondents were likely to maintain their pattern over one year. For that, we applied the same clusterization method on the 2nd wave data looking for the same number of groups. We found six patterns, very similar to the first wave solution. The details of the cluster solutions can be found in appendix 1. Of course, the exact percentages in each case changed; however, the general tendencies remained the same, and the patterns were structurally and essentially identical to those found in the first year. The only exception was the Backer profile: in the 1st year it included volunteering and donations, and in the 2nd year volunteering became secondary as the main focus shifted to donations. However, this change didn't affect the meaning of the pattern, so we decided to preserve the "Backer" label. We used a Wilcoxon signed-ranks test to confirm that there was no significant difference in the patterns' structure between the 1st and 2nd years and that the patterns could be considered identical and compared with each other; the test showed no significant differences between the years (table 3).

Table 3. Difference between patterns structure

| | 1 st year | | | | 2 nd year | | | | Difference | |
|-------------|----------------------|------|------|------|----------------------|------|------|------|------------|--------------|
| | Mean | SD | Min | Max | Mean | SD | Min | Max | Z | Sig. |
| Fighter | 0.87 | 0.11 | 0.66 | 0.98 | 0.82 | 0.16 | 0.49 | 0.99 | -1.62 | <i>0.105</i> |
| Activist | 0.60 | 0.35 | 0.06 | 0.96 | 0.58 | 0.37 | 0.07 | 0.97 | -1.45 | <i>0.148</i> |
| Volunteer | 0.44 | 0.36 | 0.04 | 0.97 | 0.43 | 0.36 | 0.03 | 0.99 | -0.7 | <i>0.484</i> |
| Backer | 0.24 | 0.27 | 0.03 | 0.99 | 0.23 | 0.25 | 0.03 | 0.97 | -0.54 | <i>0.587</i> |
| Online | 0.29 | 0.30 | 0.02 | 0.98 | 0.25 | 0.26 | 0.03 | 0.98 | -1.57 | <i>0.116</i> |
| Indifferent | 0.15 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.4 | 0.17 | 0.13 | 0.03 | 0.44 | -0.99 | <i>0.325</i> |

Thus, we confirmed that the same pattern structure can be found on the second-year sample and that the patterns are comparable to each other. The comparison between the distributions in the first and the second years is presented in table 3. Next, we examined whether the respondents tended to maintain their pattern over one year. To check this hypothesis, we used a chi-square test. Although many respondents changed their pattern, the relation between two waves was significant, $X^2(25, N = 4365) = 1533.668, p(2\text{-sided}) < .000$, which means that respondents are likely to preserve their pattern of participation in one year, almost 42% of respondents preserve their pattern of participation. The detailed statistics can be found in appendix 2, and figure 2 offers a visualisation of change in the respondents' pattern of behaviour. Notably, respondents with Indifferent, Online, Backer and Fighter patterns are more likely to preserve their pattern when compared to Activists and Volunteers, which are more volatile. It appears that these two patterns can be more situational and reactive to some particular situation or circumstances of the respondents' life, while others represent more of a lifestyle.

Figure 2. Change in CPP patterns in one year



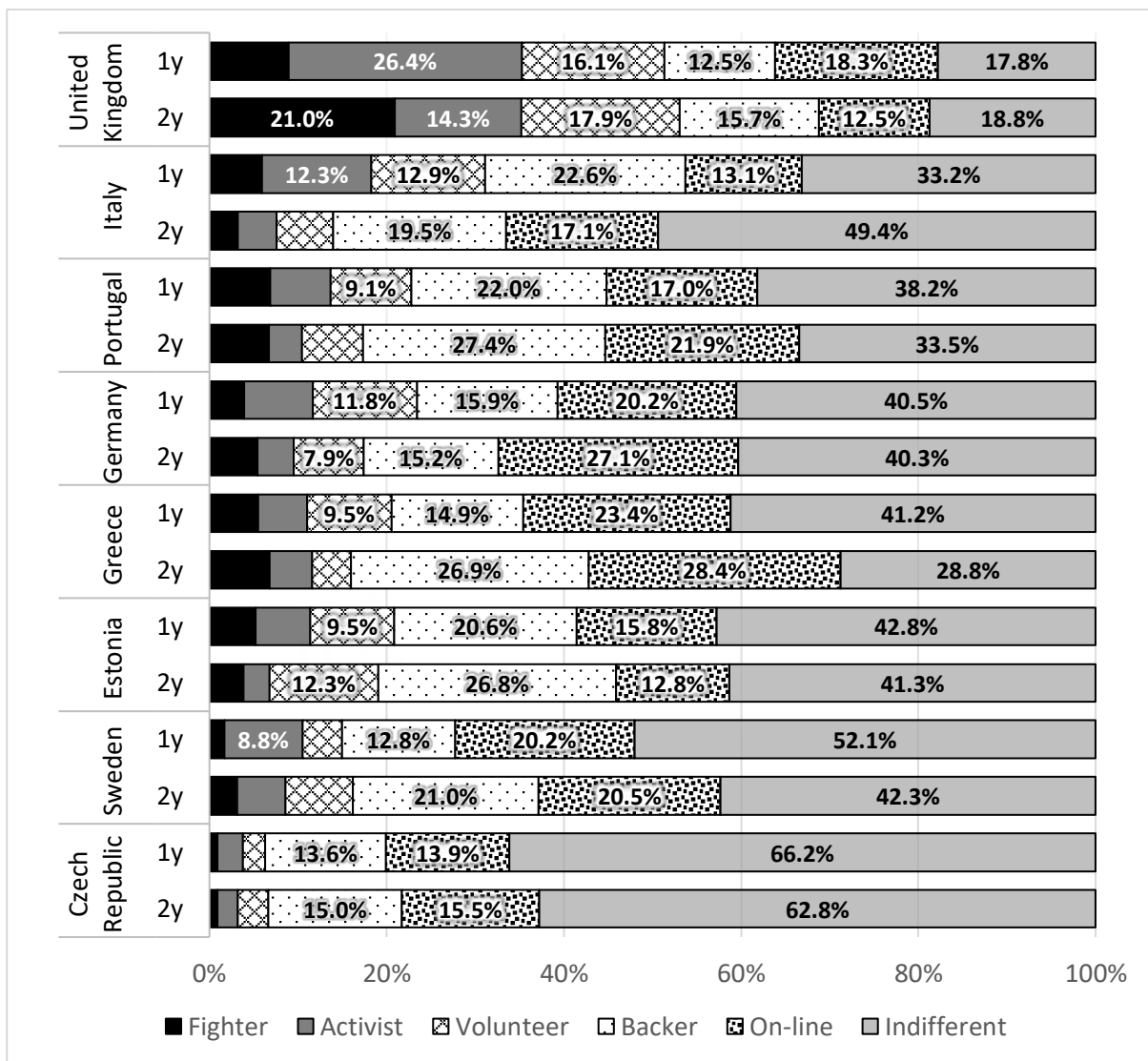
5.3 Country profiles

We examined the countries' profiles to search for the most typical patterns in each case. The distribution of patterns is not the same and therefore their proportions can give a general idea about differences in civic and political participation across countries. The profiles are shown in

figure 3, where 100% is the total amount of respondents in each country; thus, we can observe the proportional distribution of patterns.

Countries vary by the proportion of indifferent respondents, which implicitly indicates the general participation level in each country and therefore helps to range countries by the overall level of participation. The United Kingdom has the most engaged population, with more than 80% of respondents in one of the engaged patterns of participation, while the Czech Republic is the opposite, with only 34-38% engaged respondents. Sweden is on the lower side of active participation, with more than half of the respondents being indifferent. Italy demonstrates a higher level of engagement, with 33% of indifferent respondents, however, this number grows to 49% on the 2nd year. The other countries have a substantial number of indifferent respondents as well, around 40%.

Figure 3. Country profiles (1st and 2nd years comparison, % of the country sample)



However, the country profiles show not only the general level of participation but also the structure of participation in each case. Hence, we can see the popularity of each pattern in each country. Activist is the most popular pattern in the UK (26%) and, together with Fighter

and Volunteer, makes the proportion of the most engaged respondents higher than 50%, showing an extremely high level of participation. In other countries, the most popular patterns are Backer and Online: in some countries, Backer is more popular (Italy, Portugal, Estonia), while in others it is the Online pattern that is more frequent (Sweden, Greece, Germany).

The countries' profiles can be correlated with the political situation in each country during the time of data collection (2016-2017). Elections and referendums bring attention to political life and motivate people to be more active in civic and political life. In 2016, five countries out of eight had some kind of electoral event: constitutional referendum in Italy, state elections in Germany, presidential election in Portugal, senate and regional elections in the Czech Republic, and, of course, Brexit in the UK. Sweden, Greece and Estonia did not have any kind of major election in that year. Except for the case of the Czech Republic, which has an extremely low level of engagement and the biggest proportion of Indifferent respondents, the countries with some kind of electoral event have a higher proportion of engaged profiles. It is worth noticing that both Italy and the UK, where there were referendums in that year, are located on the top of the list. Interestingly, Italy experienced a significant decline in engaged respondents in the following year (probably because there were only local elections in 2017), while in the UK the engaged population was growing, and many respondents moved to the Fighter pattern. Other countries don't show any substantial change in pattern profiles, except for Sweden and Greece, where there are more engaged respondents in the second year.

5.4 Factors correlated with the change from indifferent to other patterns

Next, we studied the respondents who changed their pattern of participation from indifferent to engaged. We focused mostly on two types of change: from Indifferent to Backer and to Online participation since there are not enough observations in other cases to run statistical analyses. We examined four scales, two continuous variables and two categorical variables available in the questionnaire to identify the factors that can be correlated with this kind of change. Below is the full list of the scales and variables examined and an example of a question for each scale (statistics are calculated for the sub-sample used in this analysis; continuous variables range from 1 to 5).

Scales and variables that are used in the analysis:

- Political interest "How interested are you in politics?" (4 items, $N = 1761$, $\alpha = .868$, $M = 2.85$, $SD = .84$)
- Self-Efficacy "I can always solve difficult problems if I try hard enough" (3 items, $N = 1762$, $\alpha = .743$, $M = 3.86$, $SD = .67$)
- Alienation "People like me do not have opportunities to influence the decisions of the government" (3 items, $N = 1765$, $\alpha = .837$, $M = 3.28$, $SD = .98$)
- Nationalism "Generally speaking, /country/ is a better country than most other countries" (3 items, $N = 1764$, $\alpha = .719$, $M = 2.73$, $SD = .81$)

- Religiosity “To what extent are you religious?” (1 item, N = 1767, M = 1.87, SD = .93)
- Life Satisfaction “On the whole, how satisfied are you with the life you lead?” (1 item, N = 1757, M = 3.54, SD = .84)
- Younger age group, age below 18 years (a dummy variable, n = 1770, 53% of the sample)
- Identifying as Female (a dummy variable, N = 1770, 57% of the sample)

Multinomial logistic regression was used to model the relationship between the scales and the respondents’ membership in the two groups (those who changed their pattern from Indifferent to Online participation and those who changed from Indifferent to Backer); respondents that remained Indifferent were treated as a reference category.

Comparing to an intercept-only model, additional predictors significantly improved the fit between model and data, χ^2 (16, N = 1770) = 101.80, Nagelkerke R^2 = 0.067, p = .000. The goodness of fit was explored by Pearson and Deviance tests and they were both insignificant, which indicates a good fit. However, some factors tested were insignificant in the model; therefore, we also present both the full and the reduced models. The reduced model includes only the statistically significant variables and it has good model fit, χ^2 (10, N = 1770) = 98.20, Nagelkerke R^2 = 0.064, p = .000. Regression details and coefficients can be found in tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Predictors’ Contributions in the Multinomial Logistic Regression

| | Full model | | | Reduced model | | |
|-------------------------------|------------|----|-------|---------------|----|-------|
| | χ^2 | df | Sig. | χ^2 | df | Sig. |
| <i>Intercept</i> ^a | 0.00 | 0 | . | 0.00 | 0 | . |
| Religiosity | 16.78 | 2 | 0.000 | 15.82 | 2 | 0.000 |
| Life satisfaction | 10.91 | 2 | 0.004 | 13.98 | 2 | 0.001 |
| Female | 8.41 | 2 | 0.015 | 9.73 | 2 | 0.008 |
| Younger age group | 32.06 | 2 | 0.000 | 32.71 | 2 | 0.000 |
| Political Interest | 22.39 | 2 | 0.000 | 24.95 | 2 | 0.000 |
| Self-efficacy | 0.73 | 2 | 0.693 | | | |
| Alienation | 4.25 | 2 | 0.120 | | | |
| Nationalism | 0.12 | 2 | 0.944 | | | |

**The chi-square statistic is the difference in -2 log-likelihoods between the final model and a reduced model. The reduced model is formed by omitting an effect from the final model. The null hypothesis is that all parameters of that effect are 0.*

^a *Omitting the effect does not increase the degrees of freedom.*

Table 5. Parameter estimates for the multinomial regression

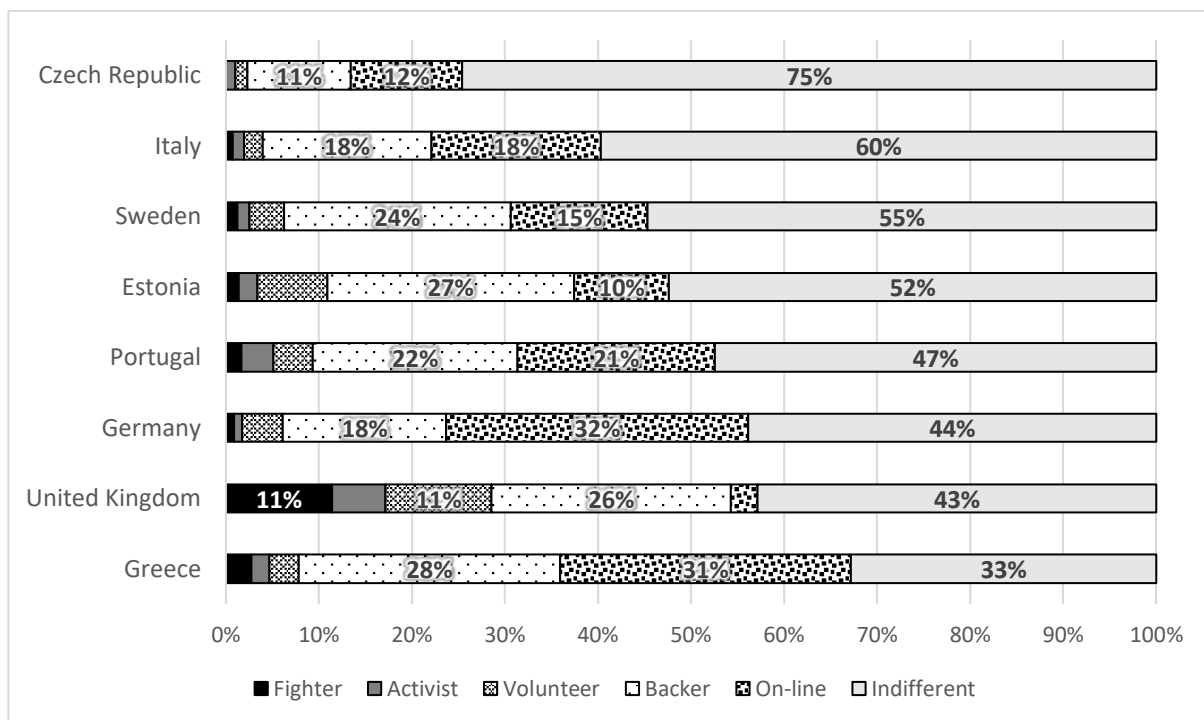
| | | Full model | | | | Reduced model | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| | | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>OR</i> | <i>Sig.</i> | <i>B</i> | <i>SE</i> | <i>OR</i> | <i>Sig.</i> |
| Indifferent to Backer | <i>Intercept</i> | -2.63 | 0.58 | . | 0.000 | -3.33 | 0.38 | . | 0.000 |
| | Religiosity | 0.25 | 0.07 | 1.28 | 0.000 | 0.24 | 0.07 | 1.27 | 0.000 |
| | Life satisfaction | 0.27 | 0.08 | 1.31 | 0.001 | 0.27 | 0.08 | 1.32 | 0.000 |
| | Female | 0.37 | 0.13 | 1.45 | 0.004 | 0.40 | 0.13 | 1.49 | 0.002 |
| | Younger age group | 0.14 | 0.13 | 1.15 | 0.270 | 0.16 | 0.13 | 1.17 | 0.220 |
| | Political Interest | 0.16 | 0.08 | 1.17 | 0.038 | 0.19 | 0.08 | 1.21 | 0.012 |
| | Self -efficacy | -0.04 | 0.10 | 0.96 | 0.700 | | | | |
| | Alienation | -0.13 | 0.06 | 0.88 | 0.051 | | | | |
| | Nationalism | -0.01 | 0.08 | 0.99 | 0.863 | | | | |
| Indifferent to Online | <i>Intercept</i> | -2.93 | 0.59 | . | 0.000 | -3.12 | 0.39 | . | 0.000 |
| | Religiosity | 0.19 | 0.07 | 1.20 | 0.007 | 0.18 | 0.07 | 1.20 | 0.008 |
| | Life satisfaction | 0.04 | 0.08 | 1.04 | 0.623 | 0.01 | 0.08 | 1.02 | 0.845 |
| | Female | 0.11 | 0.13 | 1.11 | 0.426 | 0.11 | 0.13 | 1.11 | 0.409 |
| | Younger age group | 0.76 | 0.14 | 2.15 | 0.000 | 0.77 | 0.14 | 2.16 | 0.000 |
| | Political Interest | 0.37 | 0.08 | 1.44 | 0.000 | 0.37 | 0.08 | 1.45 | 0.000 |
| | Self -efficacy | -0.09 | 0.11 | 0.92 | 0.402 | | | | |
| | Alienation | 0.01 | 0.07 | 1.01 | 0.903 | | | | |
| | Nationalism | 0.02 | 0.08 | 1.02 | 0.813 | | | | |

** Reference category is "remained indifferent"*

Three variables were found insignificant for the respondent’s pattern change: nationalism, alienation and self-efficacy. Other examined variables had a statistically significant connection with the change from Indifferent to Engaged patterns. Political interest has a significant positive correlation in both groups and greater political interest connected with higher chances of switching from Indifferent to Engaged. Religiosity also has a positive connection with the probability to switch the pattern in both cases, with religious respondents being more likely to start to engage more. Life satisfaction has a positive correlation with changes to the Backer profile. This means that those respondents who are more satisfied with their current life also have a higher probability of becoming involved in the Backer forms of participation, such as a charity. Life satisfaction, however, does not affect Online participation. Women also have a higher probability to become involved in the Backer participation profile kind of activities, when comparing to men; however, there is no significant connection between gender and the Online pattern. On the other hand, there is a significant connection between age and Online participation, with the respondents from the Unengaged younger age group being more likely to change their pattern to Online. This shows that change from one pattern to another can have different contexts for happening, and different factors can facilitate people to engage in different participation patterns.

Another factor that can be connected with the pattern change from Indifferent to Engaged is the respondent’s country of living. Due to the small number of respondents in some groups, we decided not to use regression analysis. However, the distribution of respondents that changed from Indifferent (1st year) to other patterns (2nd year) in different countries – shown in figure 4 – demonstrates that there are some differences. For example, in the Czech Republic, 75% of Indifferent respondents remained indifferent one year later; in Italy, Sweden and Estonia, this number is also above 50%. On the other side, in Portugal, Germany, the UK and Greece, more than half of the Indifferent respondents changed their pattern. The biggest change happened in Greece, where only 33% of Indifferent respondents remained indifferent one year after. These differences can be explained by cultural background, as well as by political and social events in the country. Partially, we discussed these changes in the “country profiles” section above. In countries where there is a lot of social and political movement, there are more opportunities and more motivation for Indifferent respondents to start participating in social and political life. In most cases, Indifferent respondents change their pattern to Backer or Online participation.

Figure 4. Respondents who changed from indifferent to other patterns by countries (percentage of the indifferent respondents in the 1st wave)



6 CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Youth Active Citizenship has been a focus of academic interest for the last decades and many authors emphasize specifically the importance of studying youth since the development of the citizens' identity starts in school years. The traditional approach to conceptualize Active Citizenship as a cumulative of a set of behavioural indicators (acts of civic and political participation) has some common flaws, mostly in addressing certain prerequisites (e.g. unidimensionality and measurement invariance). While methodological studies highlight the importance of meeting these prerequisites for research validity (for example, Tran, 2009), others prefer to overlook this problem. For example, the technical report for the ICCS 2016 (Schulz, Carstens, Losito, & Fraillon, 2016) reveals that many scales do not have satisfactory measurement invariance across countries, such as civic participation in the community and school (p.156), students' perceptions of the importance of citizenship behaviours (p. 165), students' attitudes toward civic institutions and their country of residence (p. 171), students' dispositions toward civic engagement (p.174). These are among the most problematic scales (in some other cases the model fit was achieved, but with certain limitations). Yet, there are many published studies based on the ICCS data, and not all of them pay attention to these limitations. On the other hand, it can be argued that in some cases it is impossible to achieve measurement invariance in some scales due to the cultural differences between countries. This means that we should seek a different methodological approach to work with such cases.

In this study, we tried to step aside from the quantitative cumulative indexes and attempted a categorical approach. In other words, we used indicators to classify the respondents and explore their patterns of behaviour, rather than trying to measure the 'intensity' of their behaviour. This is not the first attempt at such a methodology, and we have discussed previous studies with a similar design (Martínez et al., 2019; Reichert et al., 2018; Stolle & Hooghe, 2011). However, this study has some novel features. Not only did we use original, recent data collected in eight European countries, but we also had the opportunity to study the dynamics of the profiles, since the data was collected in two waves and there are two observation points for each respondent. This is a unique opportunity to study the patterns of youth civic and political participation over time, to explore their change and the factors that can lead to this change.

We found six patterns of youth CPP: Fighter, Activist, Volunteer, Backer, Online and Indifferent. Each pattern has a distinctive structure and identifies a given mode of civic and political participation. There are five engaged patterns, starting with the Fighter, the most engaged pattern, which includes people who participate in the most difficult, laborious or even dangerous actions. These are followed by Activists, people who are passionate about civic and political participation but do not participate in the most extreme actions. Next, the Volunteers, people who work on a given social or political cause but would not attempt to make a revolution or join the protests. Finally, the two low-engaged patterns, which contribute to social or political causes by donating money (Backer) or support them in social media (Online). There is also the Indifferent pattern, which describes people that are not likely to engage in civic or political participation. Similarly to Milbrath's pyramid of political participation (Milbrath, 1981), these patterns are organised into a pyramid structure, with the two parallel patterns on

the bottom (Backer and Online) and the others above them. This classification resembles Martínez's (2019) and Reichert's (2018) classifications in terms of hierarchical structure but offers more categories and specific types of participation.

The patterns proved to be robust and we were able to identify the same patterns on the second-year sample. Moreover, we showed that there is no significant difference in the composition of the first and second-year clusters and, therefore, conceptually they can be considered identical (meaning that patterns represent the same concepts in both waves). Based on that, we were able to match two years and explore the respondents' trajectories tracking their change from one year to another. We found that 41.8% of the respondents maintained their pattern of participation, which shows some stability in their behavioural patterns. However, the other 58.2% of the respondents changed their pattern, which shows the volatility of this characteristic and it was especially interesting for us to explore this change and to see what correlates with the probability to become more engaged. However, due to a small number of respondents in some categories, we were only able to examine the change from Indifferent to the Backer and the Online patterns. We found that higher religiosity, life satisfaction, political interest and female gender are correlated with the higher chances to change from the Indifferent to the Backer profile. On the other hand, higher political interest together with the young age and religiosity correlated with the higher chances to change to the Online pattern. For future research, it will be interesting to explore the other types of changes to other patterns, especially the movements between the engaged patterns.

Exploring the countries profiles was another goal of this study, as we planned to uncover and compare the structure of CPP in each country. Using patterns, we created profiles for each country to see the proportion of respondents in each category. We showed how the participation profiles are connected with the political background in each country, countries that had some kind of electoral events these years showed a higher percentage of people in the engaged patterns. Two countries had a referendum in 2016 (Italy and the UK) and they both had the highest percentage of people in the engaged patterns. Moreover, BREXIT was such a shake for British society, that the levels of civic engagement increased in the following year

This study has some limitations that need to be addressed. First of all, the pattern structure is specific to this sample and this set of indicators in the questionnaire. In other circumstances, with other respondents and other indicators, the configuration of patterns might change. However, this is common for all quantitative exploratory studies. Not only does this not impair the results of this study, but it helps to create specific patterns to fit this specific sample and therefore would result in the more meaningful interpretations. Another limitation concerns the list of factors that we tested concerning the pattern change. This list should be expanded with more variables to test more factors. However, it is important to keep in mind that all new scales used for analysis have to be tested for measurement invariance for the same reasons described at the beginning of this paper. In our case, all four scales used in the multinomial regression equation (Political interest, self-efficacy, Alienation, and Nationalism) had acceptable configural invariance according to the technical report from the study. However, introducing new scales will require testing their measurement invariance across countries. Finally, it is important to mention sample attrition, which is a typical situation in longitudinal studies. In our case, data

was collected mostly in educational institutions and people moved naturally: some of them finished their education, others moved to other educational facilities. Thus, it was impossible to reach all the respondents from the first wave. In our case, there were only 4365 valid cases in both waves (though in each wave separately we had many more observations), which makes 49.9% of the first wave valid cases.

As a conclusion, this study contributes to the current knowledge of Active Citizenship in four ways. First, it provides a confirmatory evidence of sustainable and distinctive patterns of civic and political participation of the European youth that preserve at least for one year. Second, it shows the change between patterns and their trajectories over time. Third, it identifies the factors that support this change and reveals some correlations between personal characteristics and the respondents' changes from the Indifferent to the Engaged patterns. And finally, it explores the international perspective and compares the countries profiles of participatory patterns. Altogether, this study describes the ways how young people participate in civic and political life, enlightens the mechanisms that support this participation and puts this into the international perspective of eight European countries.

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APPENDIX 1. Types of actions reportedly performed by respondents in each CPP pattern (1st and 2nd waves comparison) – per cent of respondents who performed the action

| | 1 st wave | | | | | | 2 nd wave | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------|-----------|--------|--------|-------------|----------------------|----------|-----------|--------|--------|-------------|
| | Fighter | Activist | Volunteer | Backer | Online | Indifferent | Fighter | Activist | Volunteer | Backer | Online | Indifferent |
| Shared news or music or videos with social or political content with people in my social networks | 98% | 96% | 96% | 42% | 98% | 37% | 99% | 97% | 92% | 52% | 98% | 29% |
| Discussed social or political issues on the internet | 98% | 96% | 93% | 15% | 98% | 20% | 97% | 95% | 99% | 24% | 75% | 17% |
| Donated money to a social cause | 94% | 94% | 92% | 75% | 59% | 40% | 95% | 86% | 82% | 97% | 46% | 28% |
| Volunteered or worked for a social cause | 96% | 90% | 97% | 99% | 29% | 12% | 94% | 90% | 94% | 51% | 19% | 33% |
| Boycotted or bought certain products | 93% | 88% | 57% | 34% | 39% | 32% | 90% | 91% | 63% | 32% | 40% | 38% |
| Joined a social or political group on Facebook | 96% | 83% | 53% | 17% | 42% | 19% | 95% | 95% | 35% | 17% | 33% | 23% |
| Signed a petition | 92% | 90% | 70% | 30% | 48% | 28% | 94% | 90% | 96% | 22% | 25% | 44% |
| Participated in an internet-based protest or boycott | 91% | 87% | 9% | 7% | 25% | 8% | 81% | 80% | 19% | 7% | 17% | 7% |
| Taken part in a demonstration or strike | 95% | 65% | 40% | 18% | 15% | 12% | 88% | 75% | 29% | 15% | 16% | 15% |
| Worn a badge, ribbon or a t-shirt with a political message | 86% | 70% | 33% | 12% | 14% | 10% | 87% | 66% | 40% | 11% | 16% | 12% |
| Participated in a concert or a charity event | 94% | 86% | 87% | 47% | 17% | 21% | 87% | 73% | 60% | 45% | 13% | 25% |
| Donated money to support the work of a political group or organization | 73% | 35% | 14% | 9% | 8% | 7% | 78% | 24% | 14% | 11% | 10% | 6% |
| Contacted a politician or public official (for example, via e-mail) | 74% | 39% | 22% | 8% | 10% | 6% | 81% | 27% | 23% | 7% | 9% | 8% |
| Created political content online (e.g., video, webpage, post in a blog). | 76% | 29% | 11% | 4% | 8% | 4% | 83% | 10% | 10% | 3% | 9% | 3% |
| Taken part in an occupation of a building or a public space | 88% | 6% | 9% | 8% | 7% | 6% | 54% | 10% | 3% | 9% | 8% | 4% |
| Taken part in a political event where was a physical confrontation with political opponents or with the police | 89% | 7% | 6% | 4% | 4% | 4% | 56% | 7% | 4% | 3% | 4% | 4% |
| Painted or stuck political messages or graffiti on walls | 66% | 9% | 4% | 3% | 4% | 3% | 49% | 9% | 3% | 3% | 4% | 3% |
| Worked for a political party or a political candidate | 67% | 17% | 6% | 4% | 2% | 3% | 60% | 11% | 6% | 3% | 3% | 4% |

APPENDIX 2. Cross-tabulation of the 1st and the 2nd year participation patterns

| | | CPP Patterns 2nd year | | | | | | Total |
|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|----------|-----------|--------|--------|-------------|-------|
| | | Fighter | Activist | Volunteer | Backer | Online | Indifferent | |
| CPP Patterns 1st year | Fighter | 60 | 23 | 13 | 17 | 11 | 29 | 153 |
| | Activist | 61 | 70 | 65 | 32 | 56 | 87 | 371 |
| | Volunteer | 17 | 31 | 80 | 87 | 68 | 112 | 395 |
| | Backer | 7 | 10 | 49 | 273 | 109 | 375 | 823 |
| | Online | 18 | 39 | 49 | 113 | 280 | 243 | 742 |
| | Indifferent | 23 | 29 | 59 | 372 | 337 | 1061 | 1881 |
| Total | | 186 | 202 | 315 | 894 | 861 | 1907 | 4365 |

APPENDIX 3. First wave CPP patterns distribution by countries - per cent of the country sample

| | Italy | Sweden | Germany | Greece | Portugal | Czech Republic | United Kingdom | Estonia |
|-------------|-------|--------|---------|--------|----------|----------------|----------------|---------|
| Fighter | 98 | 21 | 40 | 70 | 67 | 12 | 72 | 52 |
| | 6.0% | 1.7% | 3.9% | 5.5% | 6.8% | 0.9% | 8.9% | 5.2% |
| Activist | 202 | 109 | 79 | 70 | 67 | 38 | 213 | 62 |
| | 12.3% | 8.8% | 7.7% | 5.5% | 6.8% | 2.9% | 26.4% | 6.2% |
| Volunteer | 212 | 55 | 120 | 121 | 89 | 33 | 130 | 95 |
| | 12.9% | 4.4% | 11.8% | 9.5% | 9.1% | 2.5% | 16.1% | 9.5% |
| Backer | 371 | 158 | 162 | 189 | 216 | 180 | 101 | 206 |
| | 22.6% | 12.8% | 15.9% | 14.9% | 22.0% | 13.6% | 12.5% | 20.6% |
| Online | 216 | 250 | 206 | 297 | 167 | 183 | 148 | 158 |
| | 13.1% | 20.2% | 20.2% | 23.4% | 17.0% | 13.9% | 18.3% | 15.8% |
| Indifferent | 545 | 644 | 414 | 524 | 374 | 873 | 144 | 428 |
| | 33.2% | 52.1% | 40.5% | 41.2% | 38.2% | 66.2% | 17.8% | 42.8% |
| TOTAL | 1644 | 1237 | 1021 | 1271 | 980 | 1319 | 808 | 1001 |

APPENDIX 4. Full list of questions of all the scales and variables

Political interest:

- How interested are you in politics?
- How interested are you in what is going on in society?
- How interested are you in European Union related topics?
- How interested are you in national politics?

Self-Efficacy:

- I can always solve difficult problems if I try hard enough.
- I am certain that I can accomplish my goals.
- I am confident that I can deal efficiently with unexpected events.

Alienation:

- People like me do not have opportunities to influence the decisions of the European Union.
- It does not matter who wins the European elections, the interests of ordinary people do not matter.
- People like me do not have opportunities to influence the decisions of the national parliament.

Nationalism:

- Generally, the more influence /country/ has on other nations, the better off these nations are.
- The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like /nationality/.
- Generally speaking, /country/ is a better country than most other countries.

Religiosity

- To what extent are you religious?

Life Satisfaction

- On the whole, how satisfied are you with the life you lead?

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

EE performed the analysis and wrote the first draft of the manuscript. TN and PF contributed conception, design and review of the study. MB, SB and VP contributed with relevant data and revisions.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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