



RESEARCH ARTICLE

YOUNG PEOPLE'S POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: NEW AND OLD FORMS IN CONTEMPORARY SPAIN

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ABSTRACT:

This article is related to the literature concerning the decline of traditional forms of political participation in young people. It seeks to understand younger Spaniards' attitudes towards active participation in democratic processes and, more specifically, differences between those young people engaged in citizen-oriented political actions related to political parties and those engaged in cause-oriented activities. The main goal of this paper is to explain the relationship between young people and politics, focusing on three types of comparisons: (i) between young people, adults and seniors, (ii) in both kinds of actions, and (iii) across three theoretical models that scholars have been used indiscriminately to testing different models explaining why people became active in politics, each of them influenced by different political science research traditions. Data show a great disparity in the explanatory power of independent variables among age groups. A better performance of civic voluntarism model and also in cause-oriented participation.

KEYWORDS:

Young people, Political participation, Civic voluntarism model, Cognitive engagement model, Social Capital model, Spain

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1. Introduction

One of the main approaches in political science analyses the relationship between people and political participation. A first strand of research tries to identify why people show variations in their political behavior. Scholars have explained it by socio- demographic variables such as age (Blais et al. 2004, Strate et al. 1989), gender (Schlozman et al. 1995), background characteristics such as education, occupation, income (Brady et al. 1995, Verba and Nie 1972), and also race in the American context (Verba et al. 1993). Progress of methods, skills and development of political science as a discipline has added other variables beyond

demographics factors. The socioeconomic status (SES) shows their current effects on conventional forms of political participation. Later, the SES model was improved by introducing attitudes and the psychological engagement, under the civic voluntarism model (CVM). In this one, resources as civic skills, time and money, are used to explain political action (Brady et al. 1995:271). Other approaches introduced new independent variables; The integration of costs and benefits derived from political participation characterized the explanations under the Rational choice paradigm (Olson 1965, Downs 1957). In turn education and knowledge (among other variables), institutional trust and voluntary membership are, respectively, the key variables in the cognitive engagement model (CEM) and social capital model (SCM). In sum, scholars have normally explained electoral participation using these models and, in some cases, by combining them into an integrated model. Outside electoral participation, we find other forms of participation that need a greater individual engagement or are more costly. These behaviors are used less frequently as dependent variables, but we think they also deserve to be analyzed.

In this paper we explain how the above mentioned models work in young political participation, and whether differences can be found in the explanatory power of independent variables. The aim is delimiting the profile of young people in comparison with adults and seniors, focusing on modes of participation different from electoral participation. Therefore, this article compares the actions related to the sphere of party activity with other kind of political participation more oriented to issues such as protests and political consumption. The article aims to better understand younger Spaniards' behavior in their active political participation in democratic processes.

This research focuses on the relationship between politics and young people following Barnes' and Kaase's (1979) and Norris' (2003) perspective of bifurcation in the evolution of political action. The traditional distinction between 'conventional' and 'unconventional' kinds of political participation originated in Barnes and Kaase (1979) have been adopted in more elaborated models by many authors (Clua et al. 2021, Garcia-Albacete 2014, Dalton et al. 2010, Teorell et al. 2007, Norris 2003). This distinction is taken on two dependent variables, differentiating citizen-oriented and cause-oriented repertoires of political activities. Here, we test three classic models of participation in politics as well as an additional set of socio-demographic independent variables in both kinds of actions among young people, adults and seniors in contemporary Spain.

Spain represents an interesting context marked by being a young democracy after a dictatorship (1936-1975), and a political transition (1975-1978). Spanish democracy have been consolidated after a legalisation of political forces, the increase of the number of party members, the weak associationism compared to other European countries, the slow consolidation of non-electoral forms of participation and some peaks of great mobilization triggered by anti-NATO protest, against the Iraq War and Atocha attack (11M) (Feenstra 2018). After 2008, due to economic and values crisis, Spaniards youth have engaged in politics differently. The first years of second decade of the 2000's have been characterized by a phase of expansive movement activity under the 15M or Indignados movement (Feenstra et al. 2017). The way in which young people engage politics differs nowadays from that of the previous decade. The economic crisis, and the problem of labor precariousness endured by young people, has hit hard this group. Some of them increasingly excluded from civic and social participation and placing them at risk of detachment, marginalization and radicalization (Úbeda et al. 2020). The more visible impact of crisis in political participation is the decreased levels of trust in political institutions and the increased levels of political protest (Garcia-Albacete y Lorente 2019). Spanish young people appear less inclined to involve in traditional forms of political participation (as a vote, party membership,...). This study focuses on conventional and unconventional forms of social and political engagement performed by the Spanish youth in the context of the crisis of neoliberalism and to declining movement activity. Young people have been identified as the key players in the growing popularity of non-conventional forms of political participation and at the heart of the crisis of representative democracy (Norris 2004, Alteri et al. 2016, Cammaerts et al. 2016, Grasso et al. 2019).

The paper has been structured as follows. First of all, we show an overview of the literature on youth engagement in modern democracies, and then, we outline the three theoretical approaches of political participation and the place of socio-demographic variables. Later, we present the data set and tools used to analyses the different kinds of political participation, and, introduce the main objectives and hypothesis. The

following section introduces the independent variables of each model and their basic descriptive statistics. Finally we proceed to present our findings for young Spaniards, and the main conclusions are summarized in the last section.

2. Young People and Political Participation: Engaged and Politicized but Differently

Age effects on attitudes and political behavior are a classic theme in social sciences as a whole. The political science and sociology in their diversity of objects and approaches have explored the links between age and society, usually focusing on the categories located at both ends of the age's scale, the young and the elderly cohorts.

The literature on the forms of political participation and engagement of young people shows a great fragmentation of perspectives and explanations. First of all, youth studies can be divided into two main strands. On the one hand, the so-called youth development studies: in this perspective we can find all those documents, papers and studies with recommendations and initiatives which the main task is preparing young people to become citizens and enabling young people to exercise citizenship and be full citizens.¹ Within this perspective we can also find some works focusing on the impact of education on politics at schools² and socialization by contact with political institutions. On the other hand, from a perspective more typical of political science, we find the studies about youth engagement which can be divided into three groups.

In a first group, traditional explanations of political participation showed that the participation of young people differs from older people. The explanation argued that young people have fewer incentives to engage in politics (Delli Carpini 2000), this being explained in some cases by a lack of interest in public affairs (Putman 2000:36). Conventional political activities correlated positively with age, drawing a curvilinear path until an old age, when a decline in participation occurs.³ Life-cycle factors, such as problems in finding employment, housing and starting a family, or their greater mobility, inter alia, meant that young people have less time and interest in becoming engaged in politics, being these factors moderated by certain facts or events during the life of an individual, such as attending college (Grasso et al. 2019, Galais 2012, Quintelier 2007, Kimberlee 2002, Parry et al. 1992, Milbrath and Goel 1977, Verba and Nie 1972, Campbell et al. 1960). When young people become older, or these initial problems are resolved or disappear, they are fully incorporated into adulthood and these differences disappear because they get more experienced in the political process.

Secondly, there are a number of studies where the main assumption is a generational change in common forms of political participation, since life-cycle explanations alone are considered insufficient. These studies show differences in attitudes and the way of understanding and acting in politics or inside a political system as a consequence of sharing different political experiences. Blais et al. (2004) found that life-cycle effects still partly account for the decline in turnout of young people; the source of a decline in participation is due to generational replacement. Their findings in Canada pointed out that a political and cultural change has made young people less likely to pay attention to politics and to feel voting as a moral obligation (Blais et al. 2004:229). Empirical data show the decline in formal political participation (Blais et al. 2004, IDEA 1999) and how young people are increasingly less engaged in conventional or citizen-oriented repertoires, though conversely, they are more involved through unconventional participation like protest activities, or new forms of political participation, with an origin in social and technological changes (Whiteley 2011, 2007, Quintelier

1 Governments, international institutions and NGOs have usually developed these studies.

2 Scholarship used the name 'civic education' to refer programs within schools and colleges to improve civic habits and values. This is a productive line of research see Pontes et al.(2019).

3 For voters' turnout see e.g. Fieldhouse et al. (2007:803). For the Spanish case see Garcia-Albacete (2008:148), that pointed out that electoral participation moves from an curvilinear path to lineal relation (in a clear sign of period effect).

2007, Kimberlee 2002, Norris 2003, O'Neill 2001). O'Neill argues for the Canadian case that: 'Younger generations are more likely to engage in "new politics,"... and to be involved with non-traditional institutions and processes such as grassroots social movements and protest behavior' (2001: 8). Henn et al. concluded their study on first time British citizen stating that "the political parties and professional politicians- are perceived to be self-serving, unrepresentative and unresponsive to the demands of young people" (2005:574). The result is that younger-age cohorts do not join political parties (Whiteley 2011, Hooghe et al. 2004). In multi-level analysis of party activism across 22 European democracies, Whiteley (2007:19) evidenced that young cohorts of political activists prefer to get engaged in single-issue pressure groups and in other types of voluntary organizations, rather than in political parties. He pointed out that we do not observe an individual switching in party activism to other more fashionable forms of engagement; the fact is that new cohorts of electors opt more and more for non-party forms of participation. Alteri et al. (2017:718) have noted a shift "from general organizations to single-issue movements, and finally to single-event mobilization".

Finally we find some changes due to period effects that are produced by tumultuous events of a different nature such as an economic crisis or a civil war. These events may result into different generational effects as these are forged in youth between adolescence and early adulthood. Although all citizens feel influenced by these turbulent phenomena, political orientations are not well defined at young ages and these young people begin to think more seriously about politics. Muxel points out that though the current political representation crisis encompasses all the population, concerning the distrust of young people in political institutions and politicians, the effect is higher in older generations, who have more tools to decode and understand the political game (2011: 26-27).

Norris points out that it is difficult to clearly disentangle life-cycle, generational and period effect (2003:16). She finds out that there has been a generational shift away from the traditional "politics of loyalties" to new repertoires and agencies (ways of organizing for participation) reflecting a scenario of "politics of choice" amongst young people. Norris claimed that these changes are evident in the repertoires and the kind of participation because young people are more likely to engage in cause-oriented political participation. That also implies a shift in the agencies with an increase in the engagement in other forms of participation, like new social movements, environmental organizations, among others, all this being contrary to the thesis of youth apathy (O'Toole 2004, Pattie et al. 2004).

This explanation for the puzzle of young people's political participation is also related to advances in studies using qualitative approach (Banaji and Mejias 2020). Scholars, as O'Toole et al. (2003), point out that we are not in response to a crisis of youth participation, but they are concerned and participate differently than previous generations. These authors suggest that the main flaw in these kinds of studies resides in the definitions of political participation, which have been formulated from a top-down conception of politics. The solution proposed to assess levels of political participation is to understand, mainly, how young people, in particular, conceptualize 'the political sphere' (2003:51). As Banaji and Mejias (2020:243) pointed out that youge people do not belong permanently to a type of catergory, rather at different periods young people gravitate to one or other type of participation.

3. Engagement in Politics: Models

Studies of political participation go beyond the socio-demographic criteria in the explanation of the political engagement of citizens. The progress of some theoretical perspectives has led to the development of more sophisticated models that in some cases tested rival explanations (Soler i Martí 2015, García-Albacete 2014, Whiteley 2007, 2011, Pattie et al. 2004, Seyd and Whitely 1992, Whiteley and Seyd 1996). In this paper, due to data restrictions, three models -CVM, CEM and the SCM- and a small group of socio-demographic characteristics can be tested.

3.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics

Individual differences between people are present in real life, they influence the way we think and behave, and those effects operate in the course of our daily routine. The central idea of this socio-demographic perspective is that differences in traits have an effect on the attitudes of young people towards politics. First, we take two main variables into account from the socio-demographic model: education and income (Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978, Verba and Nie 1972). Both variables are well documented in the political science literature. Education is strongly related to many types of political activity (Dalton 2008, Verba et al. 1995:433-437) and there is a large body of evidence on the impact of income on political participation (Brady et al. 1995, Verba and Nie 1972).

This group of social background characteristics are completed with gender, religiosity and two measures of the lifecycle. Gender differences in political participation have been a regular topic (Schlozman et al. 1995). Scholars speak about a gender gap in the political activity of women, in spite of gender equality due to social changes such as women's access to the labour market and equality at an education level (Inglehart and Norris 2003). In Spain, in traditional politics young men are slightly more involved than young women (Clua et al 2021). Religiosity is also related to political participation (Verba et al. 1995, 1993, Berelson et al. 1954). Rubenson et al. (2004:410) pointed out that the degree of importance of religion in one's life, determines the extent one is prone to participate. Concerning life-cycle factors, being married (opposite to being single) and having children are less common factors among young people. These factors have been found to be a positive influence on electoral participation (Rubenson et al. 2004, Burns et al. 2001, Stoker and Jennings 1995).

3.2 Civic Voluntarism Model

The first and wider model of participation, and the best known approach paying attention to individual factors, follows the work of Verba and Nie, and then by Parry, Moyser and Day. This model was originally referred to as the resources model due to the importance it gives to socio-economic resources in political participation and its influence on the social attributes and political skills of people who tend to participate (Brady et al. 1995, Verba et al. 1995, Parry et al. 1992, Verba et al. 1978, Verba and Nie 1972). From this perspective, personal resources (related to social features, family and social environment, their attitudes, etc.) facilitate or prevent political participation. That is individual engagement in politics is largely motivated by personal resources. The propositions are well documented for young people. Parry et al. (1992:156) point out that young people participate less in politics because they lack resources.

The main proposition in this perspective is that the resources are related to social status and, therefore, the social status of an individual determines, to a large extent, how much he or she participates. Verba et al. (1995) defined that the necessary resources to political participation are time, money and civic skills (1995:271). Scholars tended to use as proxies for these variables: education, income, and occupation (Brady et al. 1995, Verba and Nie 1972). The social status relates to a variety of "civic attitudes", which lead to participation. Inside the CVM model Verba and Nie (1972:13), also established that there are a sense of efficacy, a psychological involvement in politics and the feeling of obligation to participate.

In sum, two groups of factors determine political participation. One group is related to individual resources (money or time) and a second group is related to political attitudes and motivation, including here variables such as political interest, personal efficacy, the sense of civic duty became relevant. Here we have also used a proxy of this psychological involvement, the degree of closeness to a political party. In this model we assume the change of the main social characteristics throughout the life cycle and also, that race does not provide any implications in the Spanish case.

Our expectation is that young people who have a high level of resources, who are more closely attached to political parties and with high levels of political efficacy are more likely to participate than people who lack

these characteristics. The adaptation of this framework that will be used to test this model can be found in section 5, focused on the operationalization of the independent variables.

3.3 Cognitive Engagement Model

The main proposition in this model is that individuals' political participation depends on their ability and willingness to process and understand information about politics and society (Whiteley, 2007:8, Pattie et al. 2004:138, Clarke et al. 2004, Dalton 2002, Norris 2000). Dalton (2002) pointed out that the growth of the education levels in western countries and the low cost of information due to the development of electronic and Internet channels explain the salience of this theory. Pattie et al. (2004:138) and Whiteley (2007:9, 2010:28) suggest that cognitively engaged individuals are close to the "good citizen" view of Greek philosophers: An informed member of the "polis" who fully participates in the process of government.

Education, media consumption, interest in politics, political knowledge, and policy satisfaction are the key variables usually associated to this model (Pattie et al. 2004:152-153). In this work, political engagement is explained through by variables such as educational attainment, knowledge of politics and attention to political events or campaigns, as well as overall engagement with the political process. The first factor at the heart of the model is education, because education increases the individual's ability to process and to understand political information. In the CVM education is a resource, but in this model it is an indicator of the ability to make sense of the political world by the individual (Pattie et al. 2004:152)

A lack of interest in politics is linked to a lack of information and understanding of what happens in the society, while possessing a minimal level of interest and information about the public sphere is a requisite to engage in political action. It is assumed that consuming information about politics in journals and newspapers, radio, television and the Internet make individuals become critical citizens (Norris, 1999). In this respect, the media usage, measure used by Whiteley (2011), combines indicators of television, newspaper, radio and Internet usage into a cumulative scale. The expectation in this CEM is that education; media consumption of politics, and interest in politics should be all positive predictors of party involvement.

3.4 Social Capital Model

The main proposition of this model is that social capital stimulates political engagement among other effects (Putnam 2000, Coleman 1988). In consequence, those who trust in others and work in voluntary organizations are more likely to be active (Putnam 2000). The key indicator in the SCM is trust (Putnam 2000, Van Deth et al. 1999, Putnam et al. 1993). Scholars trace the origins of this hypothesis back to the work of Alexis de Tocqueville, in his analysis of democracy in America (Pattie et al. 2004:168). Trust can be a composite of interpersonal and institutional trust. Interpersonal trust allows individuals to move beyond their own immediate circle (family and friends) and engage in cooperative behaviour with strangers, with other people whom they do not know. Besides, individuals trusting government, parties or other political institutions, as well as their fellow citizens, should be more likely to get involved in conventional participation. Measures of voluntary activity are particularly important in this model: the number of voluntary organizations an individual is a member of, and the kinds of these voluntary organizations (trade unions, students unions, sports organizations, environmental groups, cultural groups, human right organizations, environmental groups, religious organizations, among others). Geographical and social ties are also important concepts in this model. People with strong social (i.e. marital status) ties are more likely to show political activism than individuals with weak ties. The same expectation applies to the size of the community of residence (geographical ties): in big cities individuals are expected to be less active while in small towns they are probably more active.

4. Data and Methods

In order to explain political participation of young people in Spain under previous models, we have used the study number 3126 of the CIS that included a representative sample of the Spanish population. This study consisted in a survey based on face-to-face interviews conducted in the early months of 2016, between

two national elections (November 2015 and June 2016). For a level of confidence of 95,5% and $P = Q$, the error is $\pm 1,3$ for the entire sample.⁴ The questionnaire included items that measure attitudes towards participation and motives for doing so.

In order to explain variation in political participation in young people we compare young to older people. The data set was divided in three sub-samples: (i) young people, population between 18 and 30 years old, made up by 950 cases; (ii) adults for those individual that share 31 to 59 years old, and (iii) elder people, for individual that are 60 year or older. Definition of young people in political participation has large arbitrary sense usually limited by the size of the available samples (Garcia-Albacete 2008). Follow the work of Garcia-Albacete and Lorente (2020), the strategy use a criterion of demarcation between life stages have been the average age at the time of the first child take places (30 years old for Europe). This cut-off has widely used (Cammaerts et al. 2016, Garcia-Albacete and Lorente 2020). Additionally, as we have showed previously, senior citizens participate in politics in a different way to adult population. We will use 60 as a cut-off point to separate adults from senior, in line with the literature of political participation of older people (Goerres 2009).

A twofold analysis of data is implemented. Each independent variable has been analysed under a comparative-descriptive analysis of young, adults and seniors. Later, a lineal regression model analyses the effect of institutionalized political and cause-oriented participation to test the previous models in three sub-samples. R-squared has been used as a goodness-of-fit measure for evaluating alternative models (Pattie et al. 2004:171).

Table 1 - Citizen and Caused Oriented: Dependent Variables

<i>Citizen-oriented</i>			<i>Caused-oriented</i>		
<i>Items</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Items</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
Party membership	160	2,6	Demonstration	3080	49,3
Donated money	89	1,4	Boycotts	2532	40,6
Party work	99	1,6	Strike	2613	41,9
Meeting or rally	378	6,1	Illegal protest	399	6,4
			Use of Internet	629	10,1
<i>Index</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Index</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
0	5762	92,3	0	2166	34,7
1	336	5,4	1	1226	19,6
2	69	1,1	2	1186	19
3	48	0,8	3	1127	18,1
4	27	0,4	4	408	6,5
			5	128	2,1

Source : Own elaboration

5. Political Engagement: Dependent variables

Dependent variables are citizen-oriented and cause-oriented repertoires of political actions as categorized by Norris (2003:8). For both variables we constructed an index based on individuals' answers to question about their previous engagement in several different political activities. The more institutionalized methods

⁴ Data set and fact sheet of survey:
http://www.cis.es/cis/opencm/ES/1_encuestas/estudios/ver.jsp?estudio=14258

of political participation (citizen-oriented) refer to engagement in some repertoires of formal participation such as membership in political parties and party support and work. More specifically, the resulting additive scale comprises four items: (i) party membership; (ii) donating money to a political organization, (iii) working for a political party; and (iv) participating in a party meeting or rally. 4 items compose the scale. This distinction is the same one used by Teorell, Torcal and Montero (2007:340-343) under the label of “involvement in political parties”. Activities defined as cause-oriented are based on the following items: (i) taking part in a lawful demonstration, (ii) buying or boycotting a product for political reasons; (iii) being on strike; (iv) illegal protest activities; and (v) the use of the Internet for a political cause. 5 items compose the scale. Missing values were dropped for both of them. Items values compositions are in table 1. Cronbach's α coefficients range from 0,666 for citizen-oriented to 0,681 for cause-oriented. The validity of construct it is relatively acceptable, but is sustained by the large theoretical background of two kinds of political actions.

Table 2 - Socio-demographic Characteristics (%)

		<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
<i>Gender</i>	Male	50,7	48,9	45,6
	Female	49,3	51,1	54,4
<i>Education level</i>	Never attended any school	0,2	1,6	18,4
	Primary school	4,9	8,1	40,5
	Elementary school	48,6	40,3	21,7
	Technical school	26,3	23,3	6,1
	University degree	20	26,8	13,3
<i>Income monthly</i>	Lower than 600	10,5	10,5	9
	601-1200	31,8	27,1	48,9
	1201-2400	36,9	41,6	32,9
	2401-4500	17,5	18,6	7,8
	More than 2401	3,4	2,2	1,4
<i>Religiosity</i>	Catholic	47,7	65,2	84,7
	Believer in another religion	2,7	3,2	0,9
	Non-believer	27,9	17,8	8,3
	Atheistic	19,7	11,1	3,9
	DK	1,9	2,7	2,2
<i>Marital status</i>	Married	7,8	62,4	64
	Single	91	25,9	7,1
	Widowed	0,2	2,1	23
	Divorced	0,7	6,1	3,3
	Separated	0,4	3,1	2,4
	DK	-	0,4	0,2
<i>Offspring</i>	Having children	14,7	66,4	47,7

Source: Own elaboration

6. Modelling Political Participation: Independent Variables in the Models

The aim of this section is translating the three rival theories and the socio-demographic variables previously discussed into testable models. The examination of the theories of political participation in section 3 permits to develop one equation for each model.

6.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics

In this sub-section we introduce the following variables: gender, education level, income, religiosity, to be single and to have children. Some of them, such as income, being single, offspring and education level are introduced in the CVM. Education level is also added to the CEM.

Gender measures the sex of the respondent in a binary response. The percentage is quite similar among young and older people (see table 2). Education level measures the respondent's educational attainment by their graduate status. The comparison between young people and older populations shows that first levels of formal education have expanded in recent years. The percentage of young people who have finished primary, elementary and technical school is higher compared to the other group. In higher education the percentage is quite similar to adults, due to the fact that young people are composed by a great group still in a formative period, around 30% (see table 3). The Income variable measures the total income of the household's respondents, classified into five categories varying from income under 600 euros to over 2401 euros. The rates are quite similar between young people and adults samples. No differences can be seen among both populations; in contrast, senior citizens due to retirement pension showed lower levels of income.

Religiosity measures if the respondent considered herself as believer to a particular religion or not, with four options of response. These responses were converted into a dichotomous variable: believer or not. Analysis shows that people are largely believers, more than 50 % in young people and over 85 % in senior citizens. While almost half of the young people are atheists or non-believer, only one out of ten senior citizens surveyed are. Marital status measures the personal situation of respondents. There are distinctions between young and other two groups in their personal situation. Young people are single while adults and seniors are more likely to be married. Offspring indicates the existence of children. Data show that young people are less likely to have children, only 14 % of respondents but the rate changes for adults and senior people to one in two. Both variables marital status and offspring, pointed out that we are in the presence of changes due to life cycle.

6.2 Civic Voluntarism Model

As it has been previously mentioned, the core idea behind the CVM or resources model is that individuals with resources will participate more than people without them. Resources are at the core of this model and involve their occupational status, income, education level and their free time. The CVM goes beyond the socioeconomic status (income, education and occupation) to add also resources. Thus, the variables included in this model are: personal efficacy, interest in politics, political closeness, income, being single, having children, professional work, education level and civic duty. Education level and income are measured as socio-demographic variables and they both help to promote political participation. Personal efficacy measures the perception that the individual can influence politics. Percentages of the two items that measure internal political efficacy show a great similarity between the two populations or age groups. Interest in politics measures the extent to which individuals are motivated to follow politics. It is a kind of psychological engagement that will be completed with partisanship and civic duty. Three variables have quite similar values between young and older people. Political closeness measures partisanship. Political parties are one of the most important civic organizations and it is well known that party identification boosts participation (Clarke et al. 2004, Verba, et al. 1995:477-480). Civic commitment measures the individual's own attitudes in order to support democracy by their conception of political participation. Young, medium age and older people mainly conceptualize political participation as a right. Nevertheless, perception of civic duty increases with the age, and a reversed situation with thinking vote as a right. Finally, professional situation considers employment roles among eight categories. Data show a foreseeable distribution among people depending on the age of the citizen. The percentage of retired people and pensioners is (logically)

higher among the senior group, more than 75 %. In contrast, young people from adults and seniors, are mainly students.

Table 3 - Differences in Variables of Civic Voluntarism Model (%)

		<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
<i>Internal political efficacy</i>				
I think that I am better informed about politics and government than most people	Strongly disagree	21,2	17,8	23,5
	Disagree	43,3	46,2	39,1
	Agree	25,7	24	25,3
	Strongly agree	3,3	4,5	4,2
	DK	6,6	7,5	7,8
Through voting, people like you can influence what happens in politics	Strongly disagree	8,6	6,4	5,7
	Disagree	25,9	22,6	19,3
	Agree	50,3	50,6	51,1
	Strongly agree	13,5	17,7	15,4
	DK	1,7	2,6	8,6
<i>Political interest</i>				
	Not at all	20,1	21,7	31,3
	Little bit	39,2	34,5	31,2
	Quite	31,5	31,8	26,5
	A lot	9	11,8	10,9
	DK	0,2	0,2	0,3
<i>Political closeness</i>				
	Yes	47,3	46,3	55,9
	Not	52,1	52,9	42,9
	DK	0,7	0,8	1,2
<i>Professional situation</i>				
	Employed	42,9	63,2	7,5
	Retired person	0,2	5	66,3
	Pensioner (never working)	0,1	0,2	11
	Unemployed	23,3	24,1	3,6
	Unemployed, looking for 1 st job	3,9	0,2	0
	Student	29,2	0,1	0
	Unpaid housework	0,4	6,4	11,3
	Other	-	0,3	0,1
	DK	-	0,1	0,3
<i>Civic commitment</i>				
	A duty	26,6	30,4	41,1
	A right	69,6	65,5	52,2
	Both	0,5	1,1	1,1
	DK	3,2	3	5,6

Source: Own elaboration

6.3 Cognitive Engagement Model

The variables included in this model are: education level, media consumption, Internet usage, political interest, political dissatisfaction and political knowledge. Education level is measured as in the socio-demographic model. Interest in politics is the same indicator as in the CVM. The results of the questions related to political knowledge were described in table 4 (percentage of success by each question). Political knowledge is an index of knowledge, measured by an additive scale of the success rate of three questions. The comparison between young and adults shows similar levels of political knowledge, particularly high in questions 1 and 3. Only question number 2 exhibits a low percentage of success, the rate being lower for

young people; although, the percentage is very similar in question 2 among young people and seniors. Political dissatisfaction measures the personal satisfaction with the political situation in Spain as a whole. That is, how people perceived the political climate in general. Young people, adults and seniors have very similar rates about disaffection with the political situation. Internet measures the use of the Internet in the last three months. Data in table 4 show an age gap: the rate of the Internet non-usage in older people -adults and seniors- is much higher, more than one fifth among adults and two thirds in seniors.

Table 4 - Differences in Variables of Cognitive Engagement Model (%)

		<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
<i>Internet</i>	Yes	97,9	83	30,5
	Not	2	16,8	69,3
	DK	0,1	0,2	0,2
<i>Political disaffection</i>	Very good	0,1	0,1	0,2
	Good	4,3	3,8	3,6
	Fair	33,6	32,9	35,6
	Bad	38,6	38,9	37,7
	Very bad	22,6	23,7	21,1
	DK	0,8	0,6	1,8
<i>Political Knowledge</i>	Question 1	88,9*	92,9	84,7
	Question 2	32,6	46,2	31
	Question 3	89,4	89,4	79,9

*Success rate

Source: Own elaboration

Data of individual exposure to political information in the media show that most people follow politics on Television, with high rates of daily consumption among adults and seniors. People get more political information from television than from reading newspapers or listening to the radio. Later in the OLS analysis, Media consumption have been measured as an index of the individual exposure to political and electoral information in newspapers, television and radio.

Table 5 - Media Consumption in Cognitive Engagement Model (%)

	<i>Young people</i>			<i>Adults</i>			<i>Seniors</i>		
	<i>Press</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Radio</i>	<i>Press</i>	<i>TV</i>	<i>Radio</i>
Almost everyday's	14,5	44,4	7,1	25,5	56,8	21,5	22,8	67,5	22,4
4 or 5 days a week	4,6	12,4	2,6	4,7	10,5	4,1	3,8	8,4	2,5
2 or 3 days a week	9,3	11,1	4,9	6,9	8,6	4,2	3,2	4,5	2,9
Only at the week-end	2,3	2,3	1	3,7	1,9	1	3,1	0,6	0,8
Sometimes	11	13,6	7,1	9,3	9	8,1	6	7,4	6,5
Never or hardly ever	57,8	15,8	76,7	49,6	13	60,1	60,3	11,3	63,5
DK	0,5	0,4	0,6	0,4	0,2	1	0,8	0,3	1,1

Source: Own elaboration

6.4 Social Capital Model

The variables operationalizing the SCM are: interpersonal trust, institutional trust, non-political trust, social network and ties in the community. Inter-personal trust measures the extent to which individuals trust in other people. Institutional trust measures the individual perception of trust in the institutions of the state: elected representatives in The House of Parliament and the judicial power. Non- institutional trust is composed by trust in the media and NGOs. Each pair of items was combined into an overall trust scale, one for institutional actors and another for non-institutional trust (in later analysis). It can be seen in table 6 that within the group of indicators of trust there are considerable differences depending on the kind of trust under consideration. Young people, adults and seniors are much more likely to trust in non-institutional actors of the political system.

Table 6 - Differences in Trust

	<i>Young people</i>		<i>Adults</i>		<i>Seniors</i>	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD*</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Interpersonal trust</i>	4,75	2,176	5,01	2,195	4,67	2,271
<i>Institutional trust</i>						
The House of Parliament	3,9	2,285	4,05	2,444	4,16	2,563
The Judiciary	4,04	2,433	4,00	2,491	3,87	2,550
<i>Non-political trust</i>						
Media	4,04	2,400	4,26	2,368	4,45	2,356
NGOs	5,72	2,282	5,53	2,400	5,78	2,540

* SD= Standar desviation

Source: Own elaboration

Social network measures individual membership in voluntary associations or formal groups. The voluntary network scale is based on the responses given in table 7. It indicates that young, adults and seniors differ in membership in youth, culture and sport associations. In ecology networks percentages are quite similar. Ties in the community are measured by two proxies. The first one is by family ties; we used the marital status to identify people that are married (statistical descriptions are in table 2). The second proxy is by the size of the community.

Table 7 - Differences in Social Networks (%)

	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
<i>Membership in voluntary associations</i>			
Youth	3,9	1,1	0,1
Culture	4,2	6,7	8,3
Ecology	1,1	1,9	1,4
Sport	9,9	9,8	4,6
<i>Size of the community</i>			
Lower than 2000 inhabitants	2,7	6,8	10,2
2001-10000 inhabitants	16,9	15,6	16,1
10001-50000 inhabitants	33	27,3	22,2
50001-100000 inhabitants	13	12	10,8
100001-400000 inhabitants	22,6	21,6	21,3
400001-1000000 inhabitants	5,8	5,7	6,7
More than 1000000	5,9	9,9	12,7

Source: own elaboration

7. Results of Multivariate Analysis

The investigation starts by analysing each of the different models previously described and begins with the socio-demographic variables in an Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression. Adjusted R² indicates that the explicative power of socio-demographic variables is higher for cause-oriented participation. Clearly, individuals who have higher levels of education take part in both kinds of political actions. Education level and religiosity are the both variable that have an effect on the two types of participation, with some limitations in civic-oriented participation on young people and adult populations. Believers are less active than non-believers in both kind of political participation. In civic oriented participation, there is not differences between male and female young people. Other variables, such as gender, have a limited influence in both populations. Gender has some impact on both kinds of political participation. When it is significant in citizen-oriented, Beta coefficient is negative which indicates that young women participate less than young men in politics; in caused oriented on senior populations, older women participate less than older men. On the one hand, life cycle and family income influence non-institutional participation on adults and seniors. As income increases non-institutionalized participation is greater, in the opposite way, having children has a negative impact on non-institutionalized participation in the case of young people.

Table 8 - OLS regressions with socio-demographic variables

	<i>Citizen-oriented</i>			<i>Cause-oriented</i>		
	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
Gender	-0,086* (0,042)	-0,038 (0,024)	-0,039 (0,026)	0,179 (0,122)	-0,030 (0,054)	-0,186** (0,060)
Education	0,048* (0,024)	0,006 (0,013)	0,040*** (0,012)	0,386*** (0,071)	0,298*** (0,30)	0,319*** (0,027)
Income	0,010 (0,022)	0,028+ (0,015)	-0,001 (0,018)	0,039 (0,063)	0,154*** (0,033)	0,163*** (0,043)
Married	0,008 (0,076)	-0,028 (0,028)	0,029 (0,028)	-0,046 (0,223)	-0,087 (0,062)	-0,060 (0,064)
Children	-0,051 (0,061)	0,010 (0,028)	-0,035 (0,033)	-0,629*** (0,172)	-0,102 (0,063)	0,032 (0,075)
Religiosity	0,032 (0,042)	-0,099*** (0,026)	-0,234*** (0,038)	-0,973*** (0,122)	-0,938*** (0,059)	-1,028*** (0,086)
Constant	-0,057 (0,107)	0,149** (0,056)	0,236*** (0,061)	0,799* (0,311)	1,057*** (0,126)	0,820*** (0,138)
R-squared	0,025	0,013	0,059	0,255	0,218	0,313
Adjusted R-squared	0,012	0,011	0,054	0,245	0,216	0,310
n	482	2259	1297	482	2259	1297

[*** p<0,001; ** p<0,010; * p<0,05;+ p<0,10]

Source: Own elaboration

Analysis of the civic voluntarism model looks for relations between resources of political participation with the salience of life cycle effect in young people and psychological engagement. As it is shown in table 9, a high level of internal political efficacy, political interest and political closeness implies a strong relationship with both kinds of actions, civic and caused oriented participation. Personal political efficacy and interest in politics have significant effects in citizen-oriented actions only in adults and seniors; in young

people higher levels of political efficacy and political interest do not correlate with a more intense civic political participation. Both independent variables in citizen-oriented participation do not have a significant effect upon young people. As previously stated only partisanship has a positive effect in this kind of political participation. In cause-oriented, other variables as the education level and to having offspring presented an effect. In the case of education, well-educated young people tended to participate more than people with lower levels of instruction. Having children has a negative effect in young people; young people with children show lower levels of intensity on cause-oriented participation. All variables in the model, with the exception of having children have an effect on cause-oriented participation among seniors. In relation to the civic commitment variable, it shows that it does not have an effect on young people and adults on both kind of political participation, and evidences a significant negative impact on senior people regarding citizen-oriented and cause-oriented participation; high levels of civic duty are related to more intense political participation.

Table 9 - OLS regressions in Civic Voluntarism model

	<i>Citizen-oriented</i>			<i>Cause-oriented</i>		
	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
Internal efficacy	0,027 (0,021)	0,058*** (0,011)	0,049*** (0,013)	0,161** (0,058)	0,146*** (0,026)	0,105*** (0,030)
Political interest	0,020 (0,028)	0,071*** (0,015)	0,085*** (0,016)	0,374*** (0,077)	0,256*** (0,034)	0,302*** (0,037)
Political closeness	0,113* (0,047)	0,200*** (0,026)	0,111*** (0,031)	0,543*** (0,131)	0,365*** (0,059)	0,094 (0,071)
Income	0,002 (0,024)	0,017 (0,017)	-0,022 (0,021)	-0,025 (0,067)	0,126*** (0,038)	0,157*** (0,048)
Married	0,018 (0,085)	-0,032 (0,029)	0,052+ (0,031)	-0,114 (0,237)	-0,198** (0,066)	-0,002 (0,073)
Children	-0,053 (0,064)	0,015 (0,030)	-0,035 (0,037)	-0,521** (0,178)	-0,102 (0,067)	0,061 (0,086)
Professional work	0,030 (0,047)	-0,013 (0,029)	-0,010 (0,058)	0,135 (0,130)	0,083 (0,066)	0,293** (0,135)
Education level	0,026 (0,027)	-0,008 (0,014)	0,008 (0,014)	0,330*** (0,074)	0,245*** (0,033)	0,244*** (0,032)
Civic commitment	0,034 (0,047)	0,042 (0,027)	-0,083** (0,028)	0,089 (0,131)	-0,046 (0,061)	-0,161* (0,066)
Constant	-0,240+ (0,137)	-0,409*** (0,071)	-0,327*** (0,068)	-1,264*** (0,380)	-0,816*** (0,160)	-1,170*** (0,157)
R-squared	0,044	0,089	0,102	0,295	0,202	0,297
Ajusted R-squared	0,024	0,085	0,095	0,280	0,198	0,291
n	444	2010	1060	444	2010	1060

[*** p<0,001; ** p<0,010; * p<0,05;+ p<0,10]

Source: Own elaboration

In table number 10, we can find the six OLS regressions testing the CEM. Political efficacy has the same behaviour than in the civic voluntarism model. In both kinds of repertoires, personal efficacy promotes participation. The education level (a resource in the civic voluntarism model) has here an impact with a high level of correlation in cause-oriented action. When the educational level increases, political participation in cause oriented also grows. In contrast, adults people with lower levels of education show higher level of intensity in civic oriented participation. Despite the fact that media consumption has an important impact on both repertoires of actions, it does not have an effect on young people citizen-oriented participation. In

contrast, data shows that the use of the Internet has a salient effect only on senior population. That means that no differences can be observed concerning the consumption of the Internet between young people who participate and those who do not. Interest in politics is the only variable that affects all kinds of actions for both populations. Its effect is positive: if interest in politics increases, the intensity of the participation also increases.

Political dissatisfaction shows a some kind of period effect in seniors; higher level of dissatisfaction are related to higher intensity activity in cause-oriented participation, in contrast low levels of dissatisfaction correlated with high level of seniors civic-oriented participation. Senior people have grown up in Franquist regime's (1939-75). Effect of Political knowledge is only related to cause-oriented action; their impact is positive and significant among the three populations, higher levels of political knowledge are related to higher intensity in caused oriented repertory of actions. As we have seen, with the exception of internet consumption, all the variables included in the model have an impact in casue-oriented repertories among young people.

Table 10 - OLS regressions in Cognitive Engagement Model

	<i>Citizen-oriented</i>			<i>Cause-oriented</i>		
	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
Internal efficacy	0,016 (0,012)	0,047*** (0,009)	0,37*** (0,010)	0,089* (0,041)	0,096*** (0,021)	0,054* (0,024)
Education level	0,018 (0,016)	-0,025** (0,011)	-0,010 (0,010)	0,238*** (0,054)	0,189*** (0,027)	0,125*** (0,026)
Media consumption	0,005 (0,004)	0,014*** (0,002)	0,007* (0,003)	0,054*** (0,013)	0,035*** (0,006)	0,033*** (0,007)
Internet	-0,053 (0,099)	0,029 (0,028)	0,079** (0,027)	0,093 (0,327)	0,344*** (0,067)	0,533*** (0,067)
Political interest	0,035* (0,017)	0,078*** (0,012)	0,063*** (0,012)	0,332*** (0,057)	0,275*** (0,028)	0,234*** (0,030)
Political dissatisfaction	-0,002 (0,016)	-0,013 (0,011)	-0,025* (0,012)	0,145** (0,052)	0,133*** (0,028)	0,048 (0,030)
Political knowledge	0,024 (0,021)	-0,008 (0,015)	-0,006 (0,014)	0,259*** (0,068)	0,132*** (0,036)	0,153*** (0,03)
Constant	-0,177 (0,134)	-0,281*** (0,069)	-0,181** (0,069)	-2,001*** (0,441)	-1,526*** (0,169)	-1,102*** (0,171)
R-squared	0,030	0,072	0,084	0,213	0,195	0,303
Adjusted R-squared	0,022	0,069	0,080	0,207	0,193	0,300
n	855	2942	1614	855	2942	1614

[*** p<0,001; ** p<0,010; * p<0,05; + p<0,10]

Source: Own elaboration

Finally, but no less important, we analyse the SCM. For young people, adults and seniors, inter-personal trust and membership of a voluntary association have an impact on both kinds of actions. The significant effect of a voluntary network upon political participation is positive, people who participate in a greater number of (non- political) associations also participate more in politics. However, inter-personal trust has a negative effect on citizen-oriented participation and a positive one on cause-oriented for young people. A low level of interpersonal trust encourages institutional participation, whilst a high level is needed for cause-oriented action. As it might be expected, institutional trust has a positive effect on citizen-oriented actions in adults but their effect is negative in cause-oriented participation, in young people and seniors with low

institutional trust are more inclined to participate in actions related to cause-oriented participation. Conversely in non-political trust, the relation is quite opposite in young people: young people, with a low level of trust in non-political actors, take more part in civic oriented actions than people with a high level. Ties within the community in line to our expectations. Being married, which implies having marital ties, has a positive effect on cause-oriented participation in adults. The same happened with the size of the community. Contrary to our expectations people who live in big cities are more prone to participate than people who live in small cities in caused-oriented actions; in young people live in small communities influence citizen-oriented participation.

Table 11. OLS regressions in Social Capital Model

	<i>Citizen-oriented</i>			<i>Cause-oriented</i>		
	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>	<i>Young people</i>	<i>Adults</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
Inter-personal trust	-0,010+ (0,006)	0,019*** (0,004)	0,015** (0,005)	0,091*** (0,022)	0,109*** (0,011)	0,117*** (0,013)
Institutional trust	0,001 (0,004)	0,010*** (0,003)	0,01 (0,003)	-0,026* (0,013)	-0,010 (0,006)	-0,0123+ (0,007)
Non political trust	0,000 (0,004)	-0,012*** (0,003)	0,001 (0,003)	-0,016 (0,014)	-0,017* (0,007)	-0,016+ (0,008)
Voluntary network	0,061* (0,027)	0,152*** (0,019)	0,201*** (0,026)	0,633*** (0,096)	0,618*** (0,047)	0,652*** (0,069)
Married	-0,043 (0,049)	-0,012 (0,020)	0,007 (0,042)	0,265 (0,171)	0,122* (0,049)	-0,016 (0,063)
Community' size	-0,020* (0,009)	-0,009 (0,006)	0,001 (0,006)	0,121*** (0,031)	0,163*** (0,014)	0,129*** (0,016)
Constant	0,191* (0,056)	0,094* (0,041)	-0,015 (0,048)	1,098*** (0,184)	0,805*** (0,101)	0,200 (0,129)
R-squared	0,015	0,036	0,050	0,101	0,134	0,149
Adjusted R-squared	0,008	0,034	0,046	0,095	0,132	0,145
n	873	3107	1532	873	3107	1532

[*** p<0,001; ** p<0,010; * p<0,05; + p<0,10]

Source: Own elaboration

8. Conclusions and Implications

In the last decades a series of changes in values (from traditional to secular rational values) have been observed in Western societies. Scholars emphasized the idea that young people prefer alternative forms of political participation than older people in almost all studies of political participation in Western countries. For this reason this paper analyses, as a dependent variable, political participation in two kinds of actions: citizen-oriented and cause-oriented actions. We want to evaluate which variables under three theoretical models provide the best explanation for attitudes and behavior in relation to both kinds of political participation. The aim is not merely to identify the best model, or to explain political participation under citizen and cause oriented actions, but to draw conclusions about the relevance of some variables as explanations for institutionalized on non institutionalized political participation in contemporary Spain.

The comparative analysis of young people, adults and seniors in the involvement in party activities and cause-oriented political participation indicates some differences that will be necessary to note. First at all, the data and the literature suggest a political participation gap between younger and older generations in traditional forms; almost all independent variables used in models do not explain variation in political activities related to parties. However, for young people, adults and seniors, some independent variables have

a similar behavior, such as education, internal political efficacy, political efficacy or partisanship, among others. The education level provides one of the most basic indicators of the individual's ability to process political information. Their impact on both kinds of participation is very limited. In contrast, variables that measure transitions in lifecycle from youth to adulthood do not change the connection to traditional politics and unconventional politics. This finding is opposed to traditional views of lifecycle effects on young population. This perspective emphasized that when young people become fully integrated in the society, they show a higher levels of participation due to the fact that they have more experience in politics and more resources. In the analysis proposed only two variables were controlled, to have children and to be married. This means that the findings must be taken with caution. Resources, as time and money, do not show an effect to political behaviour.

Secondly, a descriptive analysis shows minor differences between populations. Besides regressions do not show an effect of independent variables on changes in their level of engagement. Independent variables such as internal political efficacy, political closeness, political knowledge or variables related to life cycle do not have an effect on traditional politics on young people.

Thirdly, the percentage of explained variance is higher for cause-oriented participation in the four models and for three population groups. A simple explanation can be found in the low level of involvement of citizens in activities related to parties and the decrease in party membership inspired by disaffection to institutional politics. On the whole, young people are less interested in conventional (party-related) forms of participation; the percentage and actions inside the sphere of parties only comprises a small percentage of the population as well documented.

Fourth, in accordance with previous literature in political science, multivariate analysis shows that different models provide only relatively modest fits to the data but they all explain variance. In the aim of testing the performance of both kinds of actions, civic voluntarism models explain more variance (in R2 adjusted) than the other models in both kinds of political actions (Grasso et al 2019). Nevertheless the number of independent variables with a significant effect is higher between the CEM and the SCM. The CVM increased their explanatory power for young people, adults and seniors, and predicts political participation better than the alternative models tested in this paper.

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