THE CONCEPT AND DETERMINANTS
OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

PASCHALIS A. ARVANITIDIS

Abstract: Civic engagement plays a prominent role in sustaining a strong civil society and a vibrant democracy. However, it is a complex multidimensional concept, taking multiple forms and encompassing a variety of behaviours and actions related to both political and social aspects. Drawing on the relevant literature the paper attempts to clarify and pinpoint the notion, specifying its dimensions and mapping out its determinants. Then, focusing on university students, it moves to examine youth civic engagement in Greece, examining the extent of their civic participation and its determinants. After controlling for sociodemographic factors it finds that interpersonal trust, religiosity and political ideology affect students' likelihood to be civically engaged.

Key words: civic engagement; determinants; social capital; university students; Greece.

Introduction

In recent decades, many western societies have seen declining rates of citizen participation in traditional political activities, particularly voting in elections and party membership (Franklin, 2004; Sloam, 2014; Torcal & Montero, 2006). People, especially the young (Flanagan, 2009; Norris, 2003), appear more and more critical of the mechanisms of conventional democracy, of political institutions themselves and the activities of political actors. Some scholars have attributed this to increasing public disenchantment, distrust and cynicism (Craig, 1996; Miller, 1974), without necessarily doubting the future of democracy per se (Citrin, 1974), but questioning the performance and effectiveness of the polity and its institutions (Stoker, 2006).

Putnam, Leonardi, and Nanetti (1993) notably proposed that civic participation was integral to political involvement, arguing that it is a key element in building social capital that forms a fundamental ingredient in democratic action by fostering trust and facilitating cooperation. Noting the recent sharp decline in civic involvement, Putnam (2000) suggested that diminished social capital was intimately connected with political disengagement. Although Putnam's overall argument has been contested (inter alia: Berger, 2009; Norris, 2002), the importance of civic participation in both traditional and emerging forms of political involvement and action has been widely acknowledged (Norris, 2003, 2011; Sloam, 2014).

252

Attempts by scholars, educators, public officials, practitioners and journalists to encapsulate the multiple interlinked facets of citizenship with political and social activism have engendered the concept of 'civic engagement'. This notion has attracted criticism for lacking definitional and content clarity and for 'conceptual stretching'; impeding inter-disciplinary communication by meaning different things to different audiences (Berger, 2009). Drawing on relevant literary sources the current paper attempts to elucidate and pinpoint the concept of civic engagement, before proceeding to settle its definition, specify its dimensions and map out its determinants. On that basis it then moves on to explore civic engagement of university students in Greece, using the University of Thessaly as a case study. To our knowledge this is the first time that such an issue has been explored with reference to young people, and particularly to university students, in Greece.

Civic engagement, citizenship and democracy

In concept and practice, citizenship has always been pivotal to the emergence and consolidation of democracy. Political scientists and scholars of democracy have long argued that the extent of civic engagement (of its members) defines a truly democratic society (Almond & Verba, 1963; de Tocqueville, 1835-1840; Norris, 1999; Putnam, 2000). A vibrant civic society contributes to consolidating democracy in a number of ways (Diamond, 1999; Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). Firstly, it instils fundamental values of a democratic political culture, including tolerance, moderation and respect for opposing viewpoints. Secondly, it stimulates political participation, increasing political efficacy and enhancing democratic awareness and aptitude. Thirdly, it inculcates effectiveness in meeting political and collective challenges (e.g. organizing and motivating people, debating issues, reconciling conflicts and building coalitions) moulding future political leaders. Fourthly, it enables and empowers various groups, including traditionally excluded ones, such as racial or ethnic minorities, to assert their rights. Finally, it monitors and controls the power by the state; holding it accountable and thus protecting individuals from abuse. As such, civic engagement integrates citizens into the political system and binds society together (Paxton, 2002).

Growing recognition of the importance of civic engagement in political involvement and the consolidation of democracy has led foundations and institutes to allocate substantial resources to studying civic participation, organizations with individual donors investing significantly in projects, initiatives and funding streams designed to help young people become more engaged, and academic institutions endorsing the concept through scholarship, mandatory volunteering, and service-learning programs (inter alia: Levinger & Mulroy, 2003; Saltmarsh & Zlotkowski, 2011). On the political front, the perception of civic engagement as panacea has been embraced across the political spectrum (Theiss-Morse & Hibbing, 2005). The right seeing it as a means of devolving power to local communities and an alternative to state-funded programs, and the left as fostering grassroots politics and increasing the voice of common people.

Civic engagement among younger people has been extensively discussed (*inter alia*: Norris, 2003, 2011; Sherrod, Torney-Purta, & Flanagan, 2010; Sloam, 2014; Youniss et al., 2002). Studies indicate not only the greater propensity of young people to engage in

cause-oriented forms of political activism, but also the necessity of such engagement in cultivating the values, skills and experience essential for responsible and 'good' citizens. As such, a young person's record of civic engagement is now increasingly examined as part of evaluating applicants by universities and organizations (Adler & Goggin, 2005).

In this context, a body of research has looked to new information and communication technologies (ICTs), and particularly the Internet and the social media, as a means of (re-) engaging people, especially the young ones to whom these technologies have greater appeal and relevance, and thereby of revitalizing civic life. It was argued that ICTs reduce information and communications costs, offering multiple opportunities for learning, deliberation, discussion, networking and mobilization, which are important for civic action (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009; McDonald, 2008; Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005). As a result these new technologies can give rise to new ways of participating in political and community matters (Gibson, Lusoli, & Ward, 2005; Woo-Young, 2005), or, at least, better activate those who are already interested and engaged in such processes (Livingstone, Bober, & Helsper, 2005; Norris, 2000; Xenos & Moy, 2007). Other scholars, however, have been more sceptical of the impact ICTs have on civic and political participation (inter alia: Bimber, 2001; Uslaner, 2004). They note that the opportunity is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for civic engagement and that information abundance does not necessarily mean that all, or even most, citizens have the capacity to process and interpret it or will take advantage of it in ways that advance their roles as political beings (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009; Bimber, 2001).

Empirical studies which address the issue find a relationship between the use of new technologies and civic engagement (Kahne, Lee, & Feezell, 2013; Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005), but the effects are rather small, weak, spurious, indirect (mediated) or bidirectional (Bimber, 2001; Boulianne, 2009; Gibson, Lusoli, & Ward, 2005; Gil de Zuniga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012; Kahne, Lee, & Feezell, 2013; Livingstone, Bober, & Helsper, 2005, 2005; Warren, Sulaiman, & Jaafar, 2014). As such most scholars converge on the view that (at least for the time being) there should be no distinction between technology-related and traditional civic engagement, on the basis of the complementarity and interdependence of new and old modes of communication in civic life (Anduiza, Cantijoch, & Gallego, 2009; Bimber, 2000; Jugert, Eckstein, Noack, Kuhn, & Benbow, 2013; Moy, Manosevitch, Stamm, & Dunsmore, 2005; Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005; Shah, McLeod, & Lee, 2009). In other words it is not the technology per se which affects individual participation but the specific attitudes and behaviours and the ways in which these media are used.

Defining civic engagement

The term civic engagement has been variously used to describe different aspects of citizenship, including electoral participation, organizational involvement, individual voluntarism and collective action (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Warren, Sulaiman, & Jaafar, 2014). These activities concern engagement in political, as well as social (community) affairs, through formal or informal organizations (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). Although some scholars (e.g. Berger, 2009) argue 'the political' and 'the social' are different aspects and should be treated separately, others (Ekman & Amna, 2012; Jugert, Eckstein,

Noack, Kuhn, & Benbow, 2013; Keeter, Zukin, Andolina, & Jenkins, 2002; Youniss et al., 2002) emphasize the common ground between them and advocate an integrated approach, since both aspects relate to citizens transcending the sphere of private and oriented towards the common good. Thus, civic engagement can be seen as efforts to directly address public concerns, through individual work, collective action, or involvement with democratic institutions.

Although we still lack a single agreed-upon definition of civic engagement (Adler & Goggin, 2005; Ekman & Amna, 2012), the literature converges on a more-or-less common understanding (based on the elements stressed above), serviceable as a working definition. Accordingly, civic engagement refers to how "an active citizen participates in the life of a community in order to improve conditions for others or to help shape the community's future" (Adler & Goggin, 2005, p. 241); including wide ranging activities undertaken alone or in concert with others designed to identify and address issues of public concern.

Civic engagement exhibits certain characteristics (Gil de Zuniga & Valenzuela, 2011; Hilger, 2006; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). First, voluntarism: it concerns activities that are not mandatory or rest coercively on deliberate choice. Second, it is unpaid: there is no direct profit or monetary gain. Third, it strongly involves acting for others out of altruism or concern for the collective well-being and common good. Fourth, it concerns behaviour and action, rather than simply attitudes or cognition. Finally, it operates largely in the public sphere and thus is usually carried out with others. In that sense it is often collective and cooperative.

Dimensions and measurement of civic engagement

Civic engagement is a complex multifaceted phenomenon, assuming numerous forms and ranging from donating time at a homeless shelter, raising money for charities, calling an official to report a local problem, working for a candidate or a political party, voting and boycotting or buycotting specific products/services (Adler & Goggin, 2005). Given this wide range, scholars have attempted to develop measures of engagement that capture most of these manifestations.

Verba & Nie (1972), for example, organized these behaviours into four distinct dimensions of civic engagement: voting, campaign activity (including membership of, or work for political parties and organizations, and donating money to such entities), contacting public officials and cooperative or communal activity (i.e. working with others on a community problem). The particular significance of their research was to highlight that civic engagement is a complex domain involving aspects beyond mere electoral or political participation.

Later studies extended and elaborated this framework; Brady (1999), for instance, differentiated between electoral (voting and campaign activity) and non-electoral aspects, with non-electoral ones classified as 'conventional' (e.g. community work, organizational memberships, etc.) and 'unconventional' (e.g. boycotting, signing petitions, etc.) behaviour. Similarly, Putnam (2000) distinguished between cooperative activity and expressive forms of behaviour (such as writing petitions), whereas Pattie, Seyd, and Whiteley (2003) empirically identified three groups of activism: individualistic (encompassing ethical consumption,

donations, petition-signing, fund-raising, voting and badge-displaying), contact (referring to contacting authorities) and collective (predominately concerning participation in public demonstrations).

More recently, Teorell, Torcal and Montero (2007) developed an all embracing typology along two dimensions: the channel of expression and the mechanism of influence, demarcating five modes of participation: voting, party or campaign activity, contacting, protest activity and consumer participation (which conflates donations, boycotting, political consumption and petition-signing). In turn, Ekman and Amna (2012) advanced the framework by Teorell, Torcal and Montero (2007) to provide a fairly extensive classification with emphasis on the social elements of political and civic behaviour. These concern actions not directly aimed at influencing political outcomes but reflect involvement in society and public affairs. The suggested typology differentiates between manifest and latent modes of participation, along individual and collective aspects of engagement, identifying four types of action: formal political participation (campaign and contact activities), extra-parliamentary activism (either individual, such as petition-signing and political consumption, or collective, including participation in demonstrations, protests, riots, or building squats), social involvement (concerning attention to, or interest in, political and societal issues) and civic action (involving voluntary or charity work).

One of the most comprehensive and relatively simple frameworks of civic engagement analysis is the survey instrument developed by Keeter, Zukin, Andolina, & Jenkins (2002) and applied by Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, and Delli Carpini (2006) among others. It contains 19 items, grouped into three categories (Table 1): *civic activities*, concerning community participation including activities such as volunteering, fund-raising and active membership in associations; *electoral activities*, revolving around political participation involving behaviours such as voting, campaigning and button-displaying; and *political voice*, comprising activities where people express their viewpoints on public issues by protesting, boycotting or signing petitions.

Table 1. Core indicators of civic engagement

Civic indicators	Electoral indicators	Indicators of political voice
• Community problem solving • Active membership in a group or association • Regular volunteering for a non-electoral organization • Participation in fund-raising run/walk/ride • Other fund-raising for charity	• Regular voting • Persuading others • Displaying buttons, signs, stickers • Campaign contributions • Volunteering for candidate or political organizations	• Contacting officials • Contacting the print media • Contacting the broadcast media • Protesting • E-mail/written petitions • Boycotting • Buycotting • Canvassing

Source: Keeter et al. (2002, p. 3)

Determinants of civic engagement

While theories have been developed to explain behaviours such as political or social activism, few have related these determinants to civic engagement in general. Pancer and Pratt (1999) provided such a theoretical framework that integrates all these forms and explains civic engagement as a whole.

The theory portrays the process of civic engagement occurring on two complementary levels: the individual and the systems. On an individual level, people become civically engaged as a result of factors concerning personal attributes, resources and values, as well as personal influences, coming from their parents (Kelly, 2006; Youniss et al., 2002), friends (McClurg, 2006), or even school teachers (McLellan & Youniss, 2003).

Additionally, demographic attributes (age, gender, ethnicity and geographic region) may influence willingness to join and participate in civic activities. For instance, it is argued older people are more likely to participate compared to younger ones (Moy, Manosevitch, Stamm, & Dunsmore, 2005; Putnam, 2000), since the latter seem to have shallower roots in their communities, make less money, move more often and have less of a tendency to become informed on local matters (Uslaner, 2003a). Scholars also assert that the size of the community where one lives, or was raised, affects civic engagement prospects. Putnam (2000), for example, believes that social ties in smaller communities predispose their members to engage civically than those in big cities, and others (Becker & Dhingra, 2001; Reed & Selbee, 2002) find that town or rural residents are more likely to volunteer than those in more metropolitan locations. In contrast, Kurtz (2012) and Oliver (2001) indicate that many forms of engagement (e.g. working informally on community issues, contacting local officials, voting, etc.) are lower in rural areas than in big cities—although this might be due to the higher income and better education urban people have. On these grounds, Uslaner (2003a) argues that the degree of attachment people have to their community outweighs community size.

Personal resources are also important for civic engagement, with affluent and more educated people more likely to participate in civic activities than the less educated and less well-off (Reed & Selbee, 2002; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006). This maybe because time and money are required to participate in such activities, while education increases awareness about public issues, which in turn lowers the barriers for participation, both political and social ones (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). Interestingly, occupation (particularly the type of occupation) is also an influence on the likelihood of civic engagement (Egerton, 2002). As Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995, p. 315) put it "teachers and lawyers are more likely to have opportunities to enhance civic skills – to organize meetings, make presentations, and the like – than are fast food workers or meat cutters".

Individuals' social values, political ideologies, religious beliefs and life attitudes can also play a role in determining civic engagement. Pro-social values such as altruism, trust and sociality, reflect generosity, tolerance, sympathy and cooperation, and could be expected to increase civic involvement (Uslaner, 2003a, 2004). Studies on altruism, for instance, find this plays a positive role in the decision to vote (Jankowski, 2007) and correlates with specific civic behaviours such as volunteering and informal helping (Beyerlein & Vaisey, 2013). Trust is another key ingredient of civic engagement because it lowers the barriers to participation

by increasing feelings of security with others and their environment (Uslaner, 2003b; Uslaner & Brown, 2005). However, others (A. J. Damico, Conway, & S. B. Damico, 2000) find no spillover effect from trust on engagement, and argue that this link is largely illusory. Finally, sociality: the intensity of social connections, is also associated with higher levels of civic participation (Gil de Zuniga & Valenzuela, 2011; Rojas, 2008), since it increases information about public matters (Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998) and lowers psychological and social barriers inhibiting collective forms of behaviour (Keller & Berry, 2003).

Another significant factor in civic participation concerns ideological identities. Scholars (Brooks, 2006; Gil de Zuniga, Veenstra, Vraga, & Shah, 2010) have suggested that conservatives and liberals are more likely to participate in civic (and political) activities than moderates; although it could well be that "the non-political nature of civic activities makes the effect of ideological extremity on participation moot" (Gil de Zuniga & Valenzuela, 2011, p. 4000). Religiosity, defined as religious belief and dedication, also seems to have a positive impact on activities like volunteering, donating and involvement in political and community affairs (Brooks, 2006; Driskell, Lyon, & Embry, 2008; Lewis, MacGregor, & Putnam, 2013; Putnam & Campbell, 2010). However, the differences in core values and beliefs within religious traditions are likely to be reflected in the kind and level of peoples' civic engagement (Pancer, 2015; Smidt, 1999). Thus, several studies found that individuals belonging to churches espousing more conservative religious beliefs or that are more hierarchically structured are less likely to participate in secular community organizations or social activism (Chaves, Giesel, & Tsitsos, 2002; Schwadel, 2005; Uslaner, 2002) since, while they encourage participation in church activities, they do not foster similar engagement in the wider society.

At a systems level, research indicates that social structures (families, schools, communities, and societies in which people live, work and pray) have a substantial influence on civic engagement (Andolina, Jenkins, Zukin, & Keeter, 2003; Rappaport, 1998; Shah, McLeod, & Lee, 2009; Warren, Sulaiman, & Jaafar, 2014). The process and outcomes involved are similar to those at the individual level, with factors corroborating civic engagement at a systems level, including the presence of programs encouraging civic activities (covering service-learning in schools, or employee volunteering in businesses and corporations), or of community organizations which recruit members and mentor participants (Flanagan, 2009; Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995), with the numbers of individuals involved correlated with the availability of these "opportunity structures" within a social system (Metz & Youniss, 2005; Watts & Flanagan, 2007).

This engagement will be sustained within social systems that have the values and norms that support and promote it. For example, communities with a strong sense of belonging, trust and solidarity between members will sustain and enhance civic involvement by providing a supportive environment and positive experiences to those who participate (Lewis, MacGregor, & Putnam, 2013, 2013; Xu, Perkins, & Chow, 2010). Conversely, neighbourhoods with little sense of community where residents are mistrustful or even fearful of one another inhibit sustained civic involvement (Norris, 2000). Income disparities can also affect civic engagement, either directly or indirectly, through their effect on trust, since high levels of inequality engender feelings of powerlessness in the poor, erode trust and discourage civic engagement (Uslaner & Brown, 2005; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

The civic engagement of university students in Greece

Research concept and methodology

The current section investigates the extent and determinants of civic engagement of university students in Greece, using the University of Thessaly as a case study. The data we use have been collected through a questionnaire survey which explored aspects of students' civic engagement along with other related attributes, attitudes and behaviours.[1] Following Keeter et al. (2002), civic engagement was assessed in three dimensions (civic, electoral, political voice) with reference to: active membership in an association, regular volunteering for a non-governmental organization, display of buttons, signs or stickers, protesting, signing petitions and boycotting. The determinant factors we consider include demographic characteristics (age, gender, family size, etc.), socioeconomic characteristics (income and parental education), and personal values (interpersonal trust, religiosity and political ideology).

The survey was held in December 2013 and repeated in December 2014 and in December 2015. Questionnaires were distributed in person by the members of the research team and it was requested that participants complete them on the spot. In order to increase response rate and quality, participants were given the choice of having the questions read to them and their responses recorded by the researcher, or, should they wish, to complete the questions by themselves in their own time. Questionnaires were collected, validated, and then coded and analysed to generate a number of statistics illustrating the respondents' answers on the issues raised.

Response rate and composition of respondents

A total of about 3,000 questionnaires were collected, of which 2,834 were valid. The average age of the respondents was about 21 years old, with the youngest being 17 and the oldest 55, whereas the gender composition was about 43.3% male and 56.7% female (see Table 2). Most respondents (65.6%) come from families of four or less members in total (which is typical in Greece; the average household size is about three), while 34.1% belong to families of more than four members. The majority of the students grew up in small towns or villages (52.5%), and 47.5% were raised in large cities. Only one out of three students (31.8%) has parents with tertiary education. The majority of students have a monthly disposable income of up to €300 per month (followed by those on €301-€500). These figures are indicative of the financial stress that Greek households have been experiencing due to the recession and

---

[1] The instrument was developed for a broader study that explored attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of Thessaly University students. This questionnaire consists of three parts containing 25 questions of all types: measurement, dichotomous, ordinal, as well as Likert-scale and semantic-differential ones scaled from zero (denoting strong disagreement, negative opinion, etc.) to ten (denoting strong agreement, positive opinion, etc.). The first part of the questionnaire informs the respondents as to the purpose of the research and ensures the anonymity of participation. The second part gathers sociodemographic information, and the third part measures aspects of social capital, including civic engagement and trust, religiosity and the political ideology of the respondents.

Table 2. Sample characteristics

		Distribu-tion (%)	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Median
Year of survey	2013	39.4	*2834*			
	2014	35.7				
	2015	24.9				
Age (years)	up to 21 *(0)*	69.2	*2832*	*20.81*	*2.25*	*21*
	above 21 *(1)*	30.8				
Gender	Male *(0)*	43.3	*2831*			
	Female *(1)*	56.7				
Family size	up to 4 *(0)*	65.6	*2822*			
	above 4 *(1)*	34.1				
Grew-up area	big city *(0)*	47.5	*2831*			
	small town or village *(1)*	52.5				
Parental Education (both parents)	Less than tertiary *(0)*	68.2	*2834*			
	Tertiary *(1)*	31.8				
Monthly dispos-able income (€)	Up to 300 *(1)*	53.4	*2827*	*1.72*	*1.03*	*1*
	301-500 *(2)*	31.4				
	501-750 *(3)*	9.4				
	751-1.000 *(4)*	3.2				
	1.001-1.250 *(5)*	1.3				
	1.251-1.500 *(6)*	0.7				
	above 1.500 *(7)*	0.6				
Studies object	Human-centred	48.2	*2834*			
	Other	51.8				

the austerity measures.[2] Finally, we classified our sample in two categories according to subject studied, those who deal directly with humans (subjects such as education, medicine,

---

[2] Greece's long-standing public debt reached crisis levels at the beginning of 2010, resulting in the general collapse of its economy. The European Commission, the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank provided financial assistance in two bailout programmes (in 2010 and 2012) in return for harsh austerity measures (deep budget cuts and steep tax increases imposed through 13 austerity packages) which contributed to a worsening of the recession. By the end of 2013, the economy had contracted by about 25%, unemployment had tripled to exceed 25% (above 50% for young people), average real gross earnings had fallen 9% below their 2000 level, and a considerable number of people found themselves in conditions of extreme hardship (Matsaganis & Leventi, 2014).

etc.) and all the others (e.g. engineering, agriculture, etc.). Respondents were almost equally divided between the two groups.

Variables and descriptive statistics

The current section provides descriptive information of the variables used in the study. The dependent variable is civic engagement, which (as mentioned above) is explored in terms of: active membership in an association, regular volunteering for a non-governmental organization, displaying of buttons, signs or stickers, protesting signing petitions and boycotting. Students were asked to report whether over the last 12 months they had done any of the aforementioned, providing a simple yes-or-no answer. Figure 1 describes the results. Overall, we see that university students display low levels of civic engagement. Volunteering scores last, as only 11.3% of the sample had been involved in such work over the last year. Next comes button-displaying (12.5%), followed by active membership in associations (19.5%). Boycotting and petition-signing score better, indicating that about one out of four students had been involved in such expressive forms of civic engagement. Protesting scores top, which, as the literature reports (Kalyvas, 2015), constitutes quite a popular kind of activism in modern Greece (from Metapolitefsi onwards).The overall civic engagement measure we used is the sum of the scores of the aforesaid dimensions, taking values from zero (when a respondent did not engage in any one of the aforementioned activities) to six (when someone had engaged in all these activities). Figure 2 portrays the distribution of the variable. As can be seen, the majority of students (39.0%) had not participated in any civic engagement activity, and only 0.4% had, over the last year, engaged in all of them.

The first variable of interest is interpersonal trust. Following other studies (e.g. Clark & Eisenstein, 2013; Zmerli & Newton, 2008) we measure this by combining three semantic-differential questions to construct the well-known Rosenberg Trust Scale. These are: first, "would you say that most of the time people look out for themselves or that they mostly try to be helpful?", second "do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?", and third, "generally speaking, would you say that you cannot be too careful in dealing with people or that most people can be trusted?". Responses were given on an eleven-point scale, ranging from zero (no trust) to ten (high trust). Figure 3 presents the results, indicating that university students (and Greeks in general, see Jones, Malesios, Iosifides, & Sophoulis, 2008) exhibit low to medium levels of trusting behaviour. Following standard practice the interpersonal trust variable was calculated using Principle Component Analysis (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.76).

The next variable of interest is religiosity. Again, this was calculated using Principle Component Analysis to combine three variables which assess religious stances and behaviour (Cronbach's Alpha: 0.93). Three Likert-type questions were employed asking respondents to evaluate, on a scale of zero (not at all) to ten (very much), first, the importance of religion in their lives, second, the level of their religiousness, and third, the degree to which religious values affect their daily behaviour. The results are reported in Figure 4, and show medium levels of student religiosity.

The last variable in focus is political ideology. Following relevant studies (e.g. Eurobarometer Surveys), we asked our sample to place themselves on an eleven-point left-
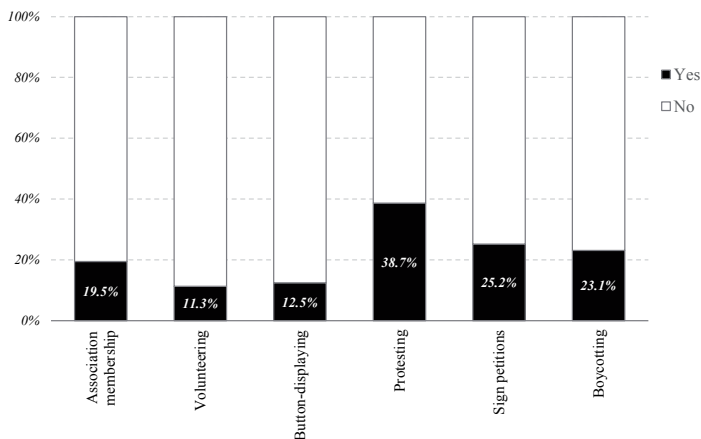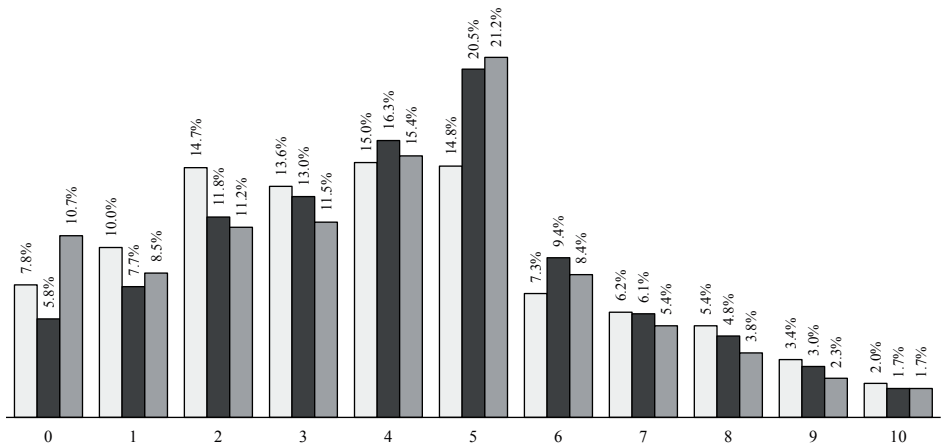
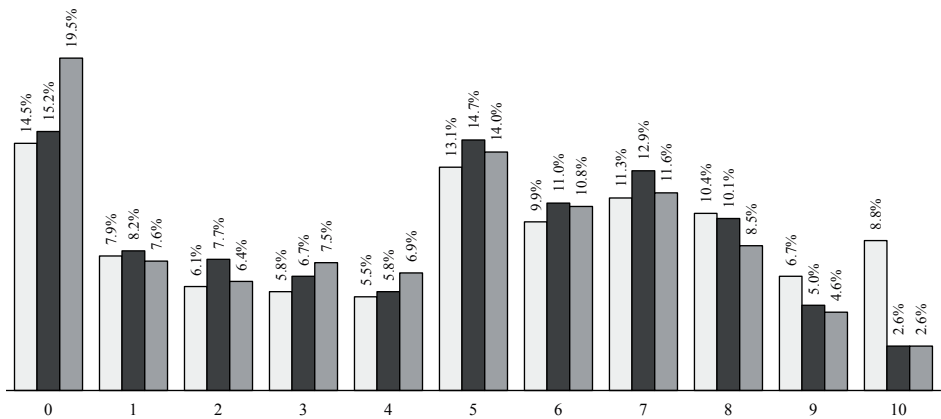**Figure 1.** Civic engagement of Greek students

Figure 2. Civic engagement variable

to-right scale of the political spectrum. Figure 5 outlines the results. As becomes evident, 20.5% of the respondents placed themselves on the 'left' of the political scale, 22.1% on the 'centre-left', 14.5% on the 'centre-right', and 9.7% on the 'right', whereas the majority of students (33.2%) placed themselves in the centre of the political spectrum.

Figure 3. Interpersonal trust

○ People are mostly looking out for themselves (0) / try to be helpful (10)

■ People try to take advantage of you (0) / try to be fair (10)

▨ Cannot be too careful in dealing with people (0) / people can be trusted (10)

□ Importance of religion in your life

■ Degree of religiousness

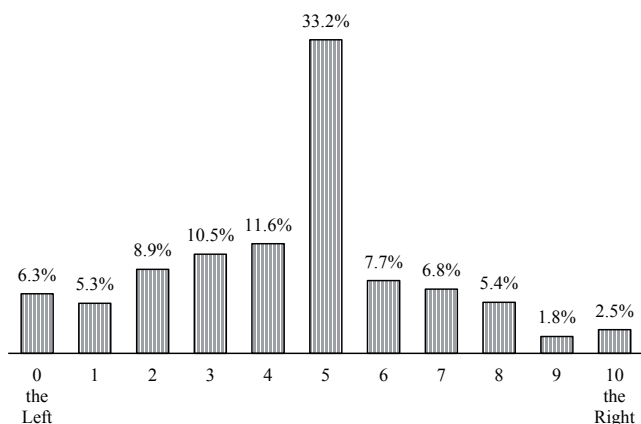▨ Degree at which religious values affect your daily behaviour

Figure 4. Religiosity

Figure 5. Political ideology

Determinants of student civic engagement

The study uses ordered logistic regressions to investigate the determinants of student civic engagement. The dependent variable is civic engagement, whereas the explanatory ones are, first, control variables: age, gender, family size, area grew up in, parental education, disposable income, subject and time of survey, and, second, variables of interest: interpersonal trust, religiosity and ideology (Table 3).

To explore whether, and if so, to what degree and how, the aforementioned factors affect students' civic engagement, we ran a number of ordered logits to examine all combinations of variables. We decided to present eight of the models acquired, showing all control variables with various combinations of the three variables of interest. Table 4 presents the models with the variable coefficients, significance, standard error and model statistics.

As can be seen, three variables (gender, family size, disposable income and date of survey) do not seem to exert a statistically significant effect on students' likelihood to become civically engaged. This means that people's civic participation is not really differentiated by gender, size of family, income and year examined. Factors that robustly enhance the possibility of civic engagement seems to be: age (with older students showing greater probability of becoming civically engaged), the place the person was raised (with those growing up in large cities showing an increased likelihood for civic participation, compared to those raised in towns and villages), subject (with those engaged more directly with humans showing an increased probability of becoming involved in civic action), degree of trust (with those having higher levels of interpersonal trust showing an increased willingness for civic engagement), political ideology (with those leaning towards the left being more prone to civic action) and religiosity, which is found to exert a negative influence on civic engagement. We argue that this is because the vast majority of students (98.5%) belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, which, in comparison to other Christian denominations, is quite hierarchically structured, more traditional and resistant to change

264

Table 3. Variables and values

Variables	Values
Civic engagement	0-6 0: low, 6: high
Gender	0: Male 1: Female
Age	0: Up to 21 1: Above 21
Family size	0: Up to 4 members 1: Above 4 members
Grew-up area	0: Big city 1: Town/village
Parental education	0: Both parents below tertiary 1: At least one with tertiary
Disposable income	1: Up to 300€ 2: 301-500€ 3: 501-750€ 4: 751-1.000€ 5: 1.001-1.250€ 6: 1.251-1.500€ 7: Above 1.500€
Studies object	0: human-centred 1: others
Survey2014	0: 2013, 2015 1: 2014
Survey2015	0: 2013, 2014 1: 2015
Interpersonal trust	PCA min: -2.0485, max: 3.0818
Religiosity	PCA min: -1.5792, max: 1.8933
Ideology	0-10, 0: Left, 10: Right

(Ware, 1991), and exhibits a relatively conservative stance towards participation in secular community organizations or political activism (Clarke, Huliaras, & Sotiropoulos, 2015).

Concluding remarks

The current paper has explored the literature of civic engagement in an effort to organize and pinpoint the concept. The outcome is a working definition, a specification

Table 4. Determinants of student civic engagement

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Age	0.0538***	0.0551***	0.0523***	0.0446***	0.0533***	0.0458***	0.0445***	0.0455***
	(0.0153)	(0.0154)	(0.0154)	(0.0156)	(0.0155)	(0.0157)	(0.0156)	(0.0157)
Gender	0.0969	0.0850	0.1337*	0.0502	0.1223*	0.0367	0.0668	0.0550
	(0.0707)	(0.0708)	(0.0712)	(0.0716)	(0.0713)	(0.0717)	(0.0720)	(0.0721)
Family size	0.0361	0.0287	0.0825	0.1074	0.0751	0.1027	0.1210	0.1164
	(0.0729)	(0.0730)	(0.0734)	(0.0741)	(0.0736)	(0.0742)	(0.0742)	(0.0744)
Grew-up area	-0.2591***	-0.2628***	-0.1936***	-0.2781***	-0.1950***	-0.2790***	-0.2469***	-0.2452***
	(0.0704)	(0.0706)	(0.0712)	(0.0713)	(0.0713)	(0.0714)	(0.0719)	(0.0721)
Parental education	0.1641**	0.1593**	0.1213	0.1366*	0.1133	0.1337*	0.1156	0.1104
	(0.0761)	(0.0762)	(0.0767)	(0.0769)	(0.0769)	(0.0770)	(0.0774)	(0.0775)
Disposable income	-0.0037	-0.0079	-0.0034	0.0589*	-0.0077	0.0570	0.0508	0.0480
	(0.0341)	(0.0341)	(0.0343)	(0.0349)	(0.0344)	(0.0349)	(0.0350)	(0.0350)
Studies object	-0.3631***	-0.3476***	-0.2604***	-0.1888**	-0.2368***	-0.1717**	-0.1499**	-0.1286*
	(0.0730)	(0.0732)	(0.0743)	(0.0747)	(0.0746)	(0.0749)	(0.0754)	(0.0757)
Survey2014	0.0551	0.0401	0.0053	-0.017654	-0.0134	-0.0300	-0.0372	-0.0521
	(0.0794)	(0.0796)	(0.0801)	(0.0807)	(0.0804)	(0.0809)	(0.0811)	(0.0813)
Survey2015	0.0590	0.0243	0.0226	0.0378	-0.0205	0.0047	0.0192	-0.0187
	(0.0928)	(0.0932)	(0.0933)	(0.0939)	(0.0938)	(0.0944)	(0.0942)	(0.0947)
Interpersonal trust		0.1525***			0.1814***	0.1509***		0.1641***
		(0.0348)			(0.0351)	(0.0357)		(0.0358)
Religiosity			-0.3052**		-0.3217***		-0.1447***	-0.1597***
			(0.0361)		(0.0363)		(0.0385)	(0.0387)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8
Ideology				-0.2458***		-0.2466***	-0.2267***	-0.2250***
				(0.0166)		(0.0166)	(0.0175)	(0.0175)
N	2801	2800	2792	2785	2791	2784	2776	2775
Pseudo Rsq	0.0083	0.0106	0.0168	0.0353	0.0199	0.0375	0.0372	0.0398
LR stat.	71.4556	90.6668	143.3737	300.9958	170.0936	319.2990	316.2567	337.5998
AIC	3.0454	3.0393	3.0201	2.9632	3.0113	2.9574	2.9579	2.9510
SIC	3.0772	3.0732	3.0541	2.9973	3.0474	2.9936	2.9942	2.9894

*, ** and *** indicates significance at the 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01 levels, respectively. Standard errors in parentheses

of the dimensions of civic engagement and its fundamental determinants. As became evident, civic engagement is a complex notion, taking multiple forms and encompassing a variety of aspects: civic, electoral and political. Central to all these is the citizen who transcends the private-public dichotomy to work for the common good. Civic engagement, on these grounds, refers to individual or collective actions undertaken to address issues of public concern for the betterment of the community. The concept of civic engagement has been extensively discussed in the context of young people, and especially university students. The idea is that these people are more likely to participate in less conventional, cause-oriented forms of political activism than civic engagement conveys, and also that such engagement is vital for their personality, skills and democratic culture.

On the basis of these arguments, the paper also examined civic engagement of young people in Greece, focusing on students of the University of Thessaly. In particular, it assessed the level and characteristics of their civic engagement, and explored the determinants of this behaviour, offering the first (to our knowledge) systematic study of this target group in the country. A number of findings emerged. First, civic engagement does not seem to be a particularly strong trait of the students in Thessaly University, though civic engagement in general is argued to be on the rise in Greece (Clarke, Huliaras, & Sotiropoulos, 2015). The more popular dimensions among the students were political voice activities, with protesting being the favourite form of activism; a point raised by other studies surveying the whole of Greek society (e.g. Kalyvas, 2015). Second, a number of factors seem to affect Greek students' propensity for civic engagement, with students who are more mature, raised

in large cities and dealing more directly with humans in their studies showing an increased likelihood of involvement. This is also the case for those who are more trusting, less religious and lean towards the left side of the political spectrum, something which comes as no surprise, since students' civic engagement is heavily related to political voice activities which are ideologically endorsed by the left.

References

Adler, R. P., & Goggin, J. (2005). What do we mean by 'civic engagement'? *Journal of Transformative Education*, *3*(3), 236-253.

Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Andolina, M. W., Jenkins, K., Zukin, C., & Keeter, S. (2003). Habits from home, lessons from school: Influences on youth civic engagement. *Political Science and Politics*, *36*(2), 275-280.

Anduiza, E., Cantijoch, M., & Gallego, A. (2009). Political participation and the Internet: A field essay. *Information, Communication & Society*, *12*(6), 860-878.

Becker, P. E., & Dhingra, P.H. (2001). Religious involvement and volunteering: Implications for civil society. *Sociology of Religion*, *62*(3), 315-335

Berger, B. (2009). Political theory, political science, and the end of civic engagement. *Perspectives on Politics*, 7(2), 335-350.

Beyerlein, K., & Vaisey, S. (2013). Individualism revisited: Moral worldviews and civic engagement. *Poetics*, *41*(4), 384-406.

Bimber, B. (2000). The study of information technology and civic engagement *political communication*, *17*(4), 329-333.

Bimber, B. (2001). Information and political engagement in America: The search for effects of information technology at the individual level. *Political Research Quarterly*, *54*(1), 53-67.

Boulianne, S. (2009). Does internet use affect engagement? A meta-analysis of research. *Political Communication*, *26*(2), 193-211

Brady, H. (1999). Political participation. In J. P. Robinson, P. R. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of Political Attitudes* (pp. 737-801). San Diego: Academic Press.

Brooks, A. C. (2006). *Who really cares: The surprising truth about compassionate conservatism*. New York: Basic Books.

Chaves, M., Giesel, H., & Tsitsos, W. (2002). Religious variations in public presence: evidence from the national congregations study. In R. Wuthnow & J. Evans (Eds.), *The quiet hand of god: Faith-based activism and the public role of mainline protestantism* (pp. 108-128). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Citrin, J. (1974). Comment: the political relevance of trust in government. *American Political Science Review*, *68*(3), 973-988.

Clark, A. K., & Eisenstein, M. A. (2013). Interpersonal trust: An age-period-cohort analysis revisited. *Social Science Research*, *42*(2), 361-375.

Clarke, J., Huliaras, A., & Sotiropoulos, D. A. (Eds.) (2015). *Austerity and the third sector in Greece: Civil society at the European Frontline*. London: Ashgate.

Craig, S. C. (1996). *Broken contract: Changing relationships between Americans and their government*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Damico, A. J., Conway, M. M., & Damico, S. B. (2000). Patterns of political trust and mistrust: Three moments in the lives of democratic citizens. *Polity*, *32*(3), 377-400.

de Tocqueville, A. (1835-1840). *Democracy in America* (Ed. J. P. Mayer, 1969). New York: Harper & Row.

Delli Carpini, M. X., & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Diamond, L. J. (1999). *Developing democracy: Toward consolidation*. Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins University Press.

Driskell, R. L., Lyon, L., & Embry, E. (2008). Civic engagement and religious activities: Examining the influence of religious tradition and participation. *Sociological Spectrum*, *28*(5), 578-601.

Egerton, M. (2002). Higher education and civic engagement. *British Journal of Sociology*, *53*(4), 603-620.

Ekman, J., & Amna, E. (2012). Political participation and civic engagement: towards a new typology. *Human Affairs*, *22*(3), 283-300.

Flanagan, C. (2009). Young people's civic engagement and political development. In A. Furlong (Ed.), *Handbook of youth and young adulthood; New perspectives and agendas* (pp. 293-300). Abingdon: Routledge.

Franklin, M. (2004). *Voter turnout and the dynamics of electoral competition in established democracies since 1945*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, R. K., Lusoli, W., & Ward, S. (2005). Online participation in the UK: Testing a 'contextualised' model of Internet effects. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, *7*(4), 561-583.

Gil de Zuniga, H., Veenstra, A., Vraga, E., & Shah, D. (2010). Digital democracy: Reimagining pathways to political participation. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, *7*(1), 36-51.

Gil de Zuniga, H., & Valenzuela, S. (2011). The mediating path to a stronger citizenship: Online and offline networks, weak ties, and civic engagement. *Communication Research*, 38(3), 397-421.

Gil de Zuniga, H., Jung, N., & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Social media use for news and individuals' social capital, civic engagement and political participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *17*(3), 319-336.

Hilger, P. (2006). Beyond organized civil society: Definitions and discourses of civic engagement. In H. Katsui & R. G. Wamai (Eds.), *Civil society reconsidered. A critical look at NGOs in development practice* (pp. 8-23). Helsinki: Institute for Development Studies.

Jankowski, R. (2007). Altruism and the decision to vote explaining and testing high voter turnout. *Rationality and Society*, *19*(1), 5-34.

Jones, N., Malesios, C., Iosifides, T., & Sophoulis, C. M. (2008). Social capital in Greece: Measurement and Comparative Perspectives. *South European Society and Politics*, *13*(2), 175-193

Jugert, P., Eckstein, K., Noack, P., Kuhn, A., & Benbow, A. (2013). Offline and online civic engagement among adolescents and young adults from three ethnic groups. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *42*(1), 123-135.

Kahne, J., Lee, N. J., & Feezell, J. T. (2013). The civic and political significance of online participatory cultures among youth transitioning to adulthood. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, *10*(1), 1-20.

Kalyvas, S. (2015). Modern Greece: What everyone needs to know. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keeter, S., Zukin, C., Andolina, M., & Jenkins, K. (2002). *The civic and political health of the nation: A generational portrait*. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.

Keller, E., & Berry, J. (2003). *The influentials*. New York: Free Press.

Kelly, D. C. (2006). Parents' influence on youths' civic behaviors: The civic context of the caregiving environment. *Families in Society: The Journal of Contemporary Social Services*, *87*(3), 447-455.

Kurtz, J. (2012). *Civic engagement of youth in the Middle East and North Africa: An analysis of key drivers and outcomes*. Portland, OR: Mercy Corps.

Lake, R., & Huckfeldt, R. (1998). Social capital, social networks, and political participation. *Political Psychology*, *19*(3), 567-584.

Levinger, B., & Mulroy, J. (2003). *Making a little go a long way: How the World Bank's small grants program promotes civic engagement*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

Lewis, V. A., MacGregor, C. A., & Putnam, R. D. (2013). Religion, networks, and neighborliness: The impact of religious social networks on civic engagement. *Social Science Research*, *42*(2), 331-346.

Livingstone, S., Bober, M., & Helsper, E. J. (2005). Active participation or just more information? Young people's take up of opportunities to act and interact on the internet. *Information, Communication and Society*, *8*(3), 287-314

Matsaganis, M., & Leventi, C. (2014) Poverty and inequality during the great recession in Greece. *Political Studies Review*, *12*(2), 209-223.

McClurg, S. D. (2006). Political disagreement in context: The conditional effect of neighborhood context, disagreement and political talk on electoral participation. *Political Behavior*, *28*(4), 349-366.

McDonald, J. (2008). The benefits of society online: civic engagement. In K. Mossberger, C. J. Tolbert and R. S. McNeal (Eds.), *Digital citizenship: The internet, society, and participation* (pp. 47-66). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

McLellan, J. A., & Youniss, J. (2003). Two systems of youth service: Determinants of voluntary and required youth community service. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *32*(1), 47-58.

Metz, E. C., & Youniss, J. (2005). Longitudinal gains in civic development through school-based required service. *Political Psychology*, *26*(3), 413-437.

Miller, A. H. (1974). Political issues and trust in government: 1964-1970. *American Political Science Review*, *68*(3), 951-972.

Moy, P., Manosevitch, E., Stamm, K., & Dunsmore, K. (2005). Linking dimensions of Internet use and civic engagement. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, *82*(3), 571-586.

Norris, P. (Ed.). (1999). *Critical citizens: Global support for democratic governance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Norris, P. (2000). *A virtuous circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Norris, P. (2003). Young people & political activism: From the politics of loyalties to the politics of choice? Report for the Council of Europe Symposium: Young people and democratic institutions: From disillusionment to participation, Strasbourg, 27-28 November 2003.

Norris, P. (2011). *Democratic deficit: Critical citizens revisited*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Oliver, J. E. (2001). *Democracy in Suburbia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Pancer, S. M. (2015). *The psychology of citizenship and civic engagement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pancer, S. M., & Pratt, M. (1999). Social and family determinants of community service involvement in Canadian youth. In M. Yates & J. Youniss (Eds.), *Roots of civic identity: International perspectives on community service and activism in youth* (pp. 32-55). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Pattie, C., Seyd, P., & Whiteley, P. (2003). Citizenship and civic engagement: Attitudes and behaviour in Britain. *Political Studies*, *51*(3), 443-468.

Paxton, P. (2002). Social capital and democracy: An interdependent relationship. *American Sociological Review*, *67*(2), 254-277.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. D., & Campbell, D. E. (2010). *American grace: How religion divides and unites us*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Putnam, R. D., Leonardi, R., & Nanetti, R. Y. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Rappaport, J. (1998). The art of social change. Community narratives as resources for individual and collective identity. In X. B. Arriaga & S. Oscamp (Eds.), *Addressing Community Problems* (pp. 225-246). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Reed, P. B., & Selbee, L. K. (2002). *Early life experiences and other factors in the social dynamics of civic behavior*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.

Rojas, H. (2008). Strategy versus understanding: How orientations toward political conversation influence political engagement. *Communication Research*, *35*(4), 452-480.

Saltmarsh, J., & Zlotkowski, E. (Eds.). (2011). *Higher education and democracy: Essays on service-learning and civic engagement*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Schwadel, P. (2005). Individual, congregational, and denominational effects on church members' civic participation. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *44*(2), 159-171.

Shah, D. V., Cho, J., Eveland Jr, W. P., & Kwak, N. (2005). Information and expression in a digital age: Modeling Internet effects on civic participation. *Communication Research*, *32*(5), 531-565.

Shah, D. V., McLeod, J. M., & Lee, N. J. (2009). Communication competence as a foundation for civic competence: Processes of socialization into citizenship. *Political Communication*, *26*(1), 102-117.

Sherrod, L. R., Torney-Purta, J., & Flanagan, C. A. (2010). *Handbook of research on civic engagement in youth*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Sloam, J. (2014). New voice, less equal: The civic and political engagement of young people in the United States and Europe. *Comparative Political Studies*, *47*(5), 663-688.

Smidt, C. (1999). Religion and civic engagement: A comparative analysis. *The annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *565*(1), 176-192.

Stoker, G. (2006). *Why politics matters: Making democracy work*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Teorell, J., Torcal, M., & Montero, J. R. (2007). Political participation: Mapping the terrain. In J. W. van Deth, J. R. Montero, & A. Westholm (Eds.), *Citizenship and involvement in European democracies: A comparative analysis* (pp. 334-357). London: Routledge.

Theiss-Morse, E., & Hibbing, J. R. (2005). Citizenship and civic engagement. *Annual Review of Political Science*, *8*(1), 227-249.

Torcal, M., & Montero, J. R. (2006). *Political disaffection in contemporary democracies: Social capital, institutions and politics*. London: Routledge.

Uslaner, E. M. (2002). Religion and civic engagement in Canada and the United States. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, *41*(2), 239-254.

Uslaner, E. M. (2003a). Civic engagement in America: Why people participate in political and social life. Unpublished paper. Retrieved from http://illinois-online.org/krassa/ps410/Readings/Uslaner,%20why%20people%20participate%20in%20social%20life%202013.pdf

Uslaner, E. M. (2003b). Trust and civic engagement in East and West. In G. Badescu & E. M. Uslaner (Eds.), *Social capital and the transition to democracy* (pp. 81-94). London: Routledge.

Uslaner, E. M. (2004). Trust, civic engagement, and the Internet. *Political Communication*, 21(2), 223-242.

Uslaner, E. M., & Brown, M. (2005). Inequality, trust, and civic engagement. *American Politics Research*, *33*(6), 868-894.

Verba, S., & Nie, N. H. (1972). *Participation in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Verba, S., Schlozman, K. L., & Brady, H. E. (1995). *Voice and equality: Civic voluntarism in American Politics*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Ware, K. (Bishop) (1991). *The Orthodox Church*. (Revised ed.) New York: Penguin.

Warren, A. M., Sulaiman, A., & Jaafar, N. I. (2014). Social media effects on fostering online civic engagement and building citizen trust and trust in institutions. *Government Information Quarterly*, *31*(2), 291-301.

Watts, R. J., & Flanagan, C. (2007). Pushing the envelope on youth civic engagement: A developmental and liberation psychology perspective. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *35*(6), 779-792.

Wilkinson, R. G., & Pickett, K. (2009). *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*. London: Allen Lane.

Woo-Young, C. (2005). Online civic participation, and political empowerment: Online media and public opinion formation in Korea. *Media, Culture & Society*, *27*(6), 925-935.

Xenos, M., & Moy, P. (2007). Direct and differential effects of the Internet on political and civic engagement. *Journal of Communication*, *57*(4), 704-718.

Xu, Q. W., Perkins, D. D., & Chow, J. C. C. (2010). Sense of community, neighboring, and social capital as predictors of local political participation in China. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, *45*(3-4), 259-271.

Youniss, J., Bales, S., Christmas-Best, V., Diversi, M., Mclaughlin, M., & Silbereisen, R. (2002). Youth civic engagement in the twenty-first century. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, *12*(1), 121-148.

Zmerli, S., & Newton, K. (2008). Social trust and attitudes toward democracy. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *72*(4), 706-724.

Zukin, C., Keeter, S., Andolina, M., Jenkins, K., & Delli Carpini, M. X. (2006). *A new engagement? Political participation, civic life, and the changing American citizen*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Department of Economics,
University of Thessaly,
43 Korai street,
38333 Volos,
Greece
Email: parvanit@uth.gr