**Supplementary material**

**Appendix A**

**Logistic regressions including income**

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| --- |
| **Table A1: Antecedents of six modes of political participation**  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | DNP | Conventional | Consumerist | Protest | Volunteering | Voting |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  |
| Gender | -0.217 | -0.638\*\*\* | 0.794\*\*\* | -0.117 | -0.004 | -0.192 |
|  | (0.189) | (0.168) | (0.171) | (0.160) | (0.158) | (0.239) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 1.150\*\* | 0.873\*\* | 1.389\*\*\* | 0.630\* | 0.952\*\* | 1.228\*\* |
|  | (0.382) | (0.328) | (0.326) | (0.311) | (0.310) | (0.469) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -5.705\* | 2.993 | 3.226 | 1.539 | -0.111 | 2.145 |
|  | (2.611) | (2.231) | (2.265) | (2.096) | (2.094) | (3.228) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age Squared | 2.951 | -3.524 | -5.233\* | -2.595 | -0.219 | 0.581 |
|  | (3.072) | (2.488) | (2.557) | (2.330) | (2.337) | (3.827) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Income** | 0.547 | 1.492\*\*\* | 1.615\*\*\* | 0.810\*\* | 1.057\*\*\* | 1.734\*\*\* |
|  | (0.344) | (0.314) | (0.317) | (0.301) | (0.295) | (0.473) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Values: Mixed | -0.126 | 0.449 | 0.713 | 0.178 | 0.571 | -0.565 |
|  | (0.433) | (0.420) | (0.386) | (0.340) | (0.373) | (0.531) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Values: Postmaterialist | 0.427 | 0.896\* | 1.239\*\* | 0.657 | 0.382 | -0.578 |
|  | (0.431) | (0.421) | (0.389) | (0.346) | (0.377) | (0.542) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfaction with democracy | -0.683 | -0.066 | -0.119 | -0.046 | 0.081 | 1.594\*\* |
|  | (0.451) | (0.399) | (0.407) | (0.385) | (0.380) | (0.567) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left/right placement | -0.943 | -0.046 | -1.528\*\*\* | -0.307 | -0.125 | -0.449 |
|  | (0.500) | (0.423) | (0.428) | (0.394) | (0.397) | (0.590) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Good citizen norm: Active in politics | 0.900\* | 2.552\*\*\* | 0.948\* | 1.177\*\* | 1.470\*\*\* | 2.076\*\*\* |
|  | (0.443) | (0.409) | (0.380) | (0.358) | (0.368) | (0.511) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -0.508 | -3.813\*\*\* | -2.548\*\*\* | -1.130\* | -2.706\*\*\* | -1.811\* |
|  | (0.689) | (0.660) | (0.612) | (0.562) | (0.596) | (0.826) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 758 | 758 | 758 | 758 | 758 | 758 |
| Log Likelihood | -365.690 | -447.812 | -444.339 | -481.073 | -487.994 | -247.996 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 753.381 | 917.624 | 910.678 | 984.146 | 997.988 | 517.993 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.05 \*\*p<0.01 \*\*\*p<0.001 |

**Sensitivity checks, count models**

|  |
| --- |
| **Table A2: Antecedents of six modes of political participation (Poisson regression)**  |
|  | Dependent variable: |
|  |  |
|  | DNP | Conventional | Consumerist | Protest | Volunteering | Voting |
|  | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
|  |
| Gender | -0.244 | -0.407\*\*\* | 0.201\* | -0.106 | -0.104 | -0.020 |
|  | (0.139) | (0.109) | (0.094) | (0.087) | (0.103) | (0.072) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Education | 0.944\*\*\* | 0.651\*\* | 0.837\*\*\* | 0.397\* | 0.671\*\* | 0.196 |
|  | (0.283) | (0.212) | (0.191) | (0.170) | (0.204) | (0.138) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age | -0.976 | 1.920 | 3.730\*\* | 1.259 | 0.631 | 1.270 |
|  | (1.814) | (1.391) | (1.319) | (1.123) | (1.300) | (0.921) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Age Squared | -1.483 | -2.025 | -4.832\*\* | -1.875 | -0.878 | -1.001 |
|  | (2.235) | (1.544) | (1.510) | (1.273) | (1.455) | (1.004) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Values: Mixed | -0.169 | 0.137 | 0.181 | 0.001 | 0.216 | -0.085 |
|  | (0.324) | (0.315) | (0.262) | (0.220) | (0.280) | (0.168) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Values: Postmaterialist | 0.196 | 0.417 | 0.422 | 0.204 | 0.255 | -0.082 |
|  | (0.321) | (0.315) | (0.262) | (0.221) | (0.282) | (0.170) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Satisfaction with democracy | -0.472 | 0.194 | 0.192 | 0.100 | 0.305 | 0.227 |
|  | (0.315) | (0.248) | (0.226) | (0.204) | (0.248) | (0.171) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Left/right placement | -0.174 | 0.032 | -0.507\* | -0.090 | -0.056 | -0.067 |
|  | (0.363) | (0.271) | (0.242) | (0.221) | (0.263) | (0.180) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Good citizen norm: Active in politics | 0.716\* | 1.287\*\*\* | 0.379 | 0.494\* | 0.591\* | 0.289 |
|  | (0.319) | (0.252) | (0.217) | (0.198) | (0.237) | (0.162) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Constant | -1.319\*\* | -2.609\*\*\* | -1.928\*\*\* | -1.132\*\*\* | -2.004\*\*\* | -0.711\*\* |
|  | (0.510) | (0.448) | (0.384) | (0.332) | (0.410) | (0.266) |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |
| Observations | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 | 929 |
| Log Likelihood | -495.359 | -672.325 | -752.746 | -823.506 | -717.568 | -912.879 |
| Akaike Inf. Crit. | 1,010.717 | 1,364.649 | 1,525.492 | 1,667.013 | 1,455.136 | 1,845.759 |
|  |
| Note: | \*p<0.05 \*\*p<0.01 \*\*\*p<0.001 |

**Appendix B: Questions on political participation**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | yes | no |
| 1 | Did you vote in the last national election? | 🞏 |  🞏 |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *During the last twelve months, have you done any of the following:* | yes | no |
| 2 | Worked for a party or candidate | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 3 | Contacted a politician or a state or government official about an issue or problem | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 4 | Attended a meeting of a political party or other political organization | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 5 | Donated money to a political party or other political organization | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 6 | Worked for a political action group (“Bürgerinitiative” in Germany) | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 7 | Signed a petition | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 8 | Joined a demonstration | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 9 | Donated money to a social, humanitarian or charitable organization | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 10 | Volunteered in a social, humanitarian or charitable organization | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 11 | Boycotted certain products for political or ethical reasons | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 12 | Deliberately bought certain products for political or ethical reasons | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 13 | Volunteered for a community project | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 14 | Posted or shared links on social media (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc) to political stories or articles for others to read | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 15 | Commented on social media (Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, etc) on political or social issues | 🞏 |  🞏 |
| 16 | Encouraged other people to take action on a political or social issue using Facebook, Twitter or other social media platforms | 🞏 |  🞏 |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| *In Berlin a group of people planted flowers in abandoned sites without permission, in order to make their neighborhood more beautiful; In Vienna hundreds helped creating a miniature model of a city that could have been built instead of bailing out banks. In Ferguson, thousands shared photos on social media to protest the shooting of a young black man by a white policeman. Many other examples of such expressive actions can be thought of and these are only three examples.* | yes | no |
| 17 | During the last twelve months, have you been engaged in any such actions to express your political or social views or concerns? | 🞏 | 🞏 |
| 18 | If yes, what did you do? (i) ………………………………………………………………… (ii) ………………………………………………………………… (iii) ………………………………………………………………… |

**Appendix C: Questions used in the study and justification**

*Materialism/postmaterialism*

We measured values using Inglehart’s validated four-item battery asking respondents to choose two out of four items that they consider as most important, including as possible responses two materialist and two postmaterialist options (Inglehart & Abramson 1999, p.667). Based on previous studies (Inglehart & Abramson, 1999; Clarke et al., 1999), those selecting two materialist (5% in our sample) or two postmaterialist items (42%) were classified as materialists and postmaterialists respectively, while the rest (selecting one materialist and one postmaterialist item) were categorised as “mixed” (53%).

*Left-right placement*

For the measurement of left-right ideological orientations we employed the standard self-placement question (“In politics sometimes people talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?”) asking respondents to choose from 0 (left) to 10 (right).

*Satisfaction with democracy*

Satisfaction with democracy was measured using a similar self-placement scale in response to the question “Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Germany?”.

*Citizenship norm: being active in politics*

Support for the norm being active in politics was measured through the question “To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to be active in politics?” (used in the Citizen, Involvement and Democracy (CID) survey; (Dalton 2008a). Support for this norm has been frequently used as an indicator of citizens’ perception of what “good”, politically engaged citizenship entails (Theiss-Morse, 1993; Dalton 2008a; Pattie, Seyd & Whiteley, 2003). “Being active in politics” is not linked to norms of solidarity, social order, or autonomy in Dalton’s work, but, rather, explicitly refers to whether the respondent recognises it as a *norm of political participation* that is important (2008, p.80). Therefore, if participation through new modes is perceived by respondents just as much a part of what it means to be politically active as participation through well-established modes (such as voting or protesting), then a positive effect of this norm should be consistently found across all modes of participation. This is an indirect way to demonstrate that new modes of participation may be perceived by citizens just as political in nature as well-established forms. Although future research should improve upon it, this strategy can provide important circumstantial evidence for the conclusion that forms of participation that do not fall squarely within established definitions (DNP certainly being one of them) may nevertheless be part of what citizens understand as a means to be politically active.