

TRADING POLITICS FOR PROTEST: YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN ELECTORAL
POLITICS, VOLUNTEERING, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES FROM 1976-
2009

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Abstract

SARAH GABY: Trading Politics for Protest: Youth participation in electoral politics, volunteering, and social movement activities from 1976-2009
(Under the direction of Karolyn Tyson)

Political pundits have routinely held that youth civic engagement has declined since the 1960s and 1970s student movement, while academics have offered no consensus on the issue. This paper analyzes data from 1976-2009 on youth participation in three forms of civic engagement: participation in electoral politics, social movement activities, and volunteering. Additional analysis considers the influence of sociodemographic factors on participation in each of these activities as well as whether the influence of sociodemographic characteristics changes over time. My findings provide evidence that electoral participation has decreased over the time period while volunteering and social movement activity participation has increased. Across all models, I find that individuals from higher socioeconomic backgrounds and whites participate to a greater extent, and the influence of these factors changes over time.

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Introduction

Popular media and scholarship have provided conflicting messages about youth civic engagement in the United States in recent years. For instance, youth participation was captured in contradictory ways surrounding the 2008 presidential election. In a 2007 article chronicling his time spent on college campuses, *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman called today's youth "Generation Q," the "quiet Americans." In contrast, a *Time Magazine* story on the 2008 presidential election ran with the headline "The Year of the Youth Vote." The extent of youth participation is important to consider, as previous research has indicated that the health of a democratic society is dependent upon the strength of civil society and participation in the public and private spheres (Almond and Verba 1989). If this is an accurate analysis, then understanding the types of activities that youth engage in, as well as how that engagement changes across generations, is essential to understanding the strength of the U.S. democratic system. Further, youth in particular represent the driving force of change in society (Moller 1968; Flanagan and Sherrod 1998), and their participation as young adults is predictive of their future participation (Kedem and Bar-Lev 1989). Therefore, considering the participation of youth as they enter their adulthood represents a unique opportunity to capture social change and consider the future of civil society.

Although the majority of past studies on civic engagement focus on adults, likely because they are legally entitled to participate in activities such as voting, scholars have pointed to the importance of studying youth participation (e.g., Hooghe 2004). Youth participation is important to consider because it offers insight into future political

participation (Hooghe 2004) and is indicative of adult participation of those youth (McFarland and Thomas 2006; Kedem and Bar-Lev 1989). While youth are thought to have different participatory priorities than adults (Pilati 2011), their levels of participation in civic activities are representative of broader social trends, such as the rise and fall in electoral participation. In addition, recent findings indicate that youth participate more than adults in volunteering and community-based activities (Jenkins et al. 2003; Wilson and Musick 1997), indicating that future prospects for civic engagement may not be as dire as past scholarship has led us to believe (see Putnam 2000). Despite being absent from the majority of past work, youth remain an important and understudied population in regards to understanding political and non-political participation.

Measuring youth civic engagement captures the level of participation in a given year, but also offers insight into the potential for future engagement as cohorts age. Although I focus on youth specifically, I place this study into the larger framework of civic engagement that has become popular in social science literature. While levels of youth civic engagement have been freely contested in popular media, scholars have similarly been unable to reach a consensus on the broader pattern of civic engagement, with some finding that participation is declining (Jennings and Stoker 2004; Putnam 2000; Putnam 1995) and others suggesting that civil society is on the rise (Ladd 1999; Crawford and Levitt 1999). Still other scholars have sought to bridge these divergent findings by pointing to the variation across different civic behaviors with some increasing, others decreasing, and some relatively constant (Paxton 1999). The plethora of contradictory media analysis and scholarship on civic engagement leaves open the question: *how is civic engagement changing over time, particularly among youth?*

A major issue in past research on civic engagement, as alluded to by Paxton (1999) and others (see Zukin et al. 2006), is that time trends are heavily driven by the behavior under consideration. For instance, in a given 20 year period, youth may have voted at higher rates in the first decade than in the second. However, this may not be due to their disengagement with politics. Instead, the decline in the youth voting rate from the first to the second decade could be because youth are replacing their participation in voting and electoral activities with involvement in volunteering activities (Zukin et al. 2006). Thus, their perceived disengagement is a factor of changing participatory priorities.

Although these variations might be captured through measuring distinct forms of participation, past work on civic engagement has often utilized scales constructed from numerous behaviors. For example, both electoral activity and protest participation (Klandermans et al. 2008), or less explicitly by considering protests and voting together in a single measure of political participation (Smith et al. 2009). While broadly informative, such scaled measures cannot speak to whether the decline in participation in one activity is being replaced by participation in another activity. For example, measures that group behaviors together are unable to provide leverage for understanding the influence of social movement activity, like the rise of the Tea Party, which may have affected electoral participation or protest participation, or perhaps both, but points to a more complicated phenomenon than has previously been identified. A scaled measure would not show this nuance.

In this paper, I show that the major contribution to the inconsistent findings on trends in civic engagement over time is a result of past approaches to studying civic engagement, pointing to the need to reconsider the way we measure civic engagement in order to gain a broader understanding variations in behaviors. I argue that a more informative approach to

studying the phenomenon of changes in civic engagement behaviors is to take all behaviors into consideration, but disaggregate them by type. In scaled approaches, it remains unclear whether a strong trend in one behavior is driving the perception of an overall decline in civic engagement. In the past, the importance of separating these types of behaviors was discussed (Zukin et al. 2006), but the studies that followed did not consider all possible behaviors. Instead, several previous scholars focused their attention on providing further insight into specific behaviors such as protest and petition signing (e.g., Caren, Ghoshal and Ribas 2010), volunteering (e.g., Wilson 2000), and political participation (e.g., Zukin et al. 2006). These studies of particular behaviors have advanced their subfields in substantial ways, but leave unanswered essential questions about comparative changes over time. They also provide only limited insight into whether civic engagement has been declining since the 1970s.

In addition, studying behaviors in isolation by subfield has resulted in an inability to understand how characteristics such as race affect protest and volunteering, for instance. While some subfields have been attentive to the impact of sociodemographic characteristics like race, class, and gender on civic engagement behaviors, others have dealt haphazardly with this topic. For example, while blacks and Hispanics are generally thought to participate in political activities at lower rates than whites (Shingles 1981), social movement scholars have generally neglected to make claims about participation levels by racial group, focusing instead on factors such as the policing of black protesters (see Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011). This lack of attention has resulted in the inability to understand who participates and why. These cross-group comparisons are important for answering questions about who participates and in what types of activities, and gaining leverage on understanding mechanisms for participation. Furthermore, little work in any of these subfields has sought to

determine whether the impact of sociodemographic characteristics like race, gender, and socioeconomic status has changed over time.

In this study, I open a new line of inquiry on civic engagement by analyzing variations in electoral behavior, volunteering, and social movement participation, the effects of sociodemographic characteristics on participation in these activities, and changes over time, in order to understand changes in civic engagement among youth over the last 35 years. In addition, I bring the subfields of political participation, social movement participation and volunteering into dialogue with one another in order to gain insight into how and in what ways civic engagement occurs. I seek to address three major questions: 1) How has participation in electoral politics, volunteering, and social movement activities (collectively civic engagement) changed between 1976 and 2009? 2) What impact does race, gender, and socioeconomic status have on participation in each activity? 3) How has the impact of race, gender and socioeconomic status changed over time for each type of behavior? To answer these questions, I utilize unique national survey data on electoral participation, volunteering, and social movement activity from 1976-2009, encompassing 54,037 twelfth graders in the United States. I employ logistic regression models to analyze the data.

My findings indicate that electoral participation decreases over time, while volunteering and social movement activities increase over time. This suggests that the last decade of civic participation does not look as bleak as analysts would lead us to believe—that we are not, in fact, disengaging from social connections and participating less in civic activities, resulting in the collapse of community in America, as suggested by Putman (2000) in *Bowling Alone*. I find that participation in all of the behaviors increases as socioeconomic status increases. I also find that non-whites participate at lower levels than whites in all

activities. Males participate at lower levels than females in volunteering, but at the same level in electoral and social movement activities. In addition, I find some evidence that the effect of these demographic characteristics changes over time. In particular, the effect of being from a higher socioeconomic status group on participation in electoral behaviors and volunteering decreased between the 1970s and 1980s, although the positive correlation between being from a higher socioeconomic status group and volunteering increased over the time period. I also find a changing effect of gender, such that the ratio between male and female participation is increasing over time. Although males are volunteering more than they were in the 1970s, the disparity between male and female participation is increasing.

TIME TRENDS IN CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Changes in civil society have been the topic of scholarship for some time, but was recently popularized by Putnam (1995; 2000), resulting in a cluster of similar studies in the years surrounding his publications (*e.g.*, Edwards and Foley 1998; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999; Paxton 1999; Stolle and Hooghe 2004; Jennings and Stoker 2004). Putnam's (1995; 2000) work revealed a major decline in civic engagement since the 1950s, which he argued resulted from declining social capital in American society. In his 1995 study, Putnam found that since 1976 there have been declines in electoral activities, attending public meetings, attending rallies and speeches, and working for political parties. He concluded that, "Americans' direct engagement in politics and government has fallen steadily and sharply over the last generation (68)."

Other scholars have found that the steadiness of a decline in civic engagement may be overstated and that participation varies by cohort. For example, Jennings and Stoker (2004)

found that levels of civic engagement are declining among Generation X (born around 1965-1984) but not among Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964). Baby Boomers are found to participate at similar levels to previous generations (Jennings and Stoker). Regardless of the cohort responsible for declining civic engagement, scholars have long pointed to the need for further investigation and a better understanding of the mechanisms for changes in participation over time. Skocpol and Fiorina (1999), for instance, posited that one impetus for change in civic engagement is the increasing flexibility and openness of the American democracy. These sorts of causal mechanisms, while not the focus of past research, further establish the significance of understanding the time trends in civic engagement.

Still others studying trends over time found that while concerns around declining civic engagement are merited, “Civic America is being renewed and extended, not diminished (Ladd 1999: 5).” For example, Putnam (2000) offered support for the argument that American civic organizations were declining based on finding that Parent Teacher Association (PTA) membership was on the decline in recent decades. In contrast, Ladd (1999) found that while membership in Parent Teacher Associations has yet to return to its peak, it increased by 1.7 million members from 1982-1996. Further, parental involvement through “unaffiliated parent-teacher groups” (Ladd 1999: 17) in schools was high and even increasing while formal PTA membership decreased. In addition, the formation of local parent-teacher organizations increased during the decline of the PTA (Crawford and Levitt 1999).

Another line of thinking on civic engagement focuses on the measurement of particular behaviors, finding that the behavior in question dictates whether civic engagement is increasing or decreasing, and that some behaviors have remained relatively constant over

time (Paxton 1999). For instance, while voting rates are on the decline for youth, they are replacing these activities with volunteering (Zukin et al. 2006). This reshuffling of activities may be due to the shift in recent decades to promoting participation in volunteer and service activities more strongly than political engagement (Zukin et al. 2006). Regardless of these contradictory findings, the debate around changes in civic engagement continues to capture the attention of scholars and remains in further need of exploration.

TYPES OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

As Edwards and Foley (1998) contend, determining what constitutes civil society often results in boundary issues such as the inability to distinguish the civil sector from “state” and “society” and the delineation of a cohesive “civic society” presents theoretical limitations as well as challenges to empirical analysis. As such, it is necessary to distinguish between an individual’s interactions with the state, for instance, and with non-state voluntary organizations (Edwards and Foley). However, civic engagement has often been measured using a scale that includes everything from writing an elected official to volunteering, seeking to encapsulate all forms of civic activities (Klandermans et al. 2008; Andolina et al. 2003; Youniss et al. 2002; Putnam 1995; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Otto 1976). This scaled approach to civic engagement often fails to consider the distinct literatures on each type of behavior, which tend to exist in their own realms. As a result, the literature on civic engagement misses nuances and varying effects of indicators for particular behaviors, as well as their distinct change over time, and the literature in behavioral subfields fails to speak to larger trends in engagement. Therefore, it becomes particularly important to construct individual measures that reflect the three main types of civic engagement (electoral politics, volunteering, and social movement activities), rather than treating them all as equal

parts of a whole. It is also important to take into account all relevant literatures to provide a better understanding of how civic engagement changes. In the next section, I address each of the three types of behaviors, pointing to findings from each area that can inform studies of civic engagement.

Participation in Electoral Politics

Although the United States was thought to have a participant civic culture in the 1960s (Almond and Verba 1989), since then, scholars have identified a drastic decline in electoral and political participation (Putnam 2000; Gastil 2000). Although popularized in 2000, scholars in earlier periods also noted the decline in political participation (Abramson and Aldrich 1982), implying that such a decline has spanned several decades. Historians studying political engagement also weigh in on the discussion by focusing on cohort experiences and find that generational variation interacts with political context to alter patterns of participation (Powell 2007).

Although analysts have identified broad trends over time, they also find variation within these trends. For instance, Zukin et al. (2006) found that youth are less likely to engage in some electoral and political activities than adults, but that the differences are minimal and vary by the activity measured. Youth are more likely to try to influence others to vote, although as a whole they vote less than adults. Despite differences across generations, the general trend has shown a constant decline across several age groups in those who say they always vote. Dalton (2008b) similarly finds that voting has decreased, but that a decrease in political activities that are “duty-based,” such as voting, actually stimulates participation in other activities that are seen as alternative positive forms of engagement.

Using data from the Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy survey, Dalton (2008b) found that while voting in an effort to respond to concerns about the Bush administration, for example, was a fruitless event which involved waiting for the next election cycle, citizens instead interacted with interest groups and political consumerism to take action. Although the findings on electoral participation have been portrayed as an indication that participation is declining, there is some evidence that the Millennial generation (born 1978-2000) is much more politically engaged than its predecessors (Greenberg and Weber 2008).

Participation also varies based on whether an event or opportunity is particularly compelling to a given group. For example, in the 2008 presidential election, the overall voter turnout was the same as in the 2004 election, but the youth turnout was reported to be one of the highest in recent history (Fisher 2012). The 2008 election also spurred an increase in youth campaign volunteering (Fisher 2012). Similarly, Jenkins et al. (2003) found that participation in electoral politics is often tied to participation in other sorts of civic activities.

Who participates in electoral politics?

Literatures from each sub-field also suggest effects for specific groups on electoral and political participation. Research suggests that males participate at higher rates than females in institutionalized political activities (Burns, Scholzman, and Verba 2001; Pilati 2011), although women are more likely to vote (Fisher 2012). It has also been established that increases in socioeconomic status lead to increased participation in political activities (Walsh, Jennings, and Stoker 2004; Brady, Verba, and Scholzman 1995; Verba 1995; Ellison & London 1992; Milbrath and Goel 1977). Additionally, middle-class parents are thought to be more civically involved than others, and therefore raise children who are also more involved (Putnam 1995; Verba 1995). Further, Skocpol and Fiorina (1999) contend that the

economic gaps between social classes have widened, resulting in declining democratic engagement.

The effect of race is less defined in the existing literature. Findings on black and Hispanic participation in political activities are inconclusive. Shingles (1981) finds that blacks are generally thought to participate in political activities at lower rates than whites, especially in areas where they also exist as the minority population (Bobo and Gilliam 1990). However, scholars have also found that blacks actually participate at higher levels than whites in political activities after controlling for the effects of socioeconomic status (Verba & Nie 1972). Others find that participation is conditional; where blacks and Hispanics are more equally integrated into the population or are represented by political elites of the same race, they participate to a far greater extent (Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Baretto et al. 2009; Okamoto and Ebert 2010). Race consciousness, therefore, is highly indicative of participation (Ellison and London 1992). The targeting of racial groups in particular political settings increases participation, with black youth representing the group with the highest increase in voter turnout in the 2008 Obama election, essentially eliminating the racial gap in voter turnout (Kirby and Kawashima-Ginsberg 2009).

Volunteering

It is unclear whether participation in volunteer activities has been stable over time (e.g., Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1996), on the rise (e.g., Twenge, Campbell, and Freeman 2012; Ladd 1999), or declining (Putnam 2000; Wolfe 1989). Using interviews of adults, Hodgkinson and Weirzman (1996) found that between 1987 and 1995, the percentage of the population who volunteered remained around 50%. Wolfe (1989), with data from the 1960s-

1980s, found that indicators of volunteering such as giving blood and charitable giving were on the decline. By 2000, Putnam claimed that volunteering had begun to decline, especially when he ran separate analyses on volunteering in community projects. However, Putnam (2000) also found that from 1975-1999 volunteering that did not include work on community projects was on the rise, but that was driven by adults age 60 and over. Other scholars contend that any sort of linear trend in volunteering is less straightforward—with declines that began in the 1970s ceasing and even reversing to increase in the 1980s and 1990s (Galston and Levine 1998).

Still other scholars such as Ladd (1999), utilized a series of surveys that included Gallup polls to point to the increases in volunteering that have occurred for youth and adults alike since 1977, with the rates more than doubling in regards to social service or charity work. Twenge et al. (2012), using data from the Monitoring the Future survey as well as several supplemental surveys, also found that volunteering was on the rise. Others such as Epstein and Howe (2006) found that the millennial generation is strongly connected to volunteering. Trends from past scholarship indicate that volunteering activities may be replacing political participation as an outlet for engagement in civic society (Galston and Levin 1998). While the studies discussed here have sought to measure the effect of volunteering, the literature has generally been focused on the question of how to measure volunteering (e.g., Clary, Snyder, and Stukas 1996; Wilson and Musick 1997; Wilson 2000; Hustinx and Lammertyn 2003). Works focused on the types of behaviors that are appropriate to include under the volunteering umbrella have remained central to the discipline (e.g., formal volunteering versus helping a neighbor), as have antecedents and outcomes of

volunteering (Wilson 2012). As a result, variation in behaviors may be driven by which activities scholars include in volunteering measures.

Who Volunteers?

In past research, males were either found to volunteer less than females (Musick and Wilson 1997; Wilson 2000; Wuthnow 1995), or there was no significant variation between the two (Musick, Wilson, and Bynum 2000), although the theoretical reasons for these gender differences are not well developed. Wilson and Musick (1997) contended that women's higher rate of volunteering was a result of behaviors they participated in at higher rates than men that are conducive to volunteering, such as having children, talking with friends, and attending church. Wilson and Musick also found that blacks were less likely to volunteer than whites, but this effect was indirect through lower levels of human and social capital in the African American population. In a more recent study, Music et al. (2000) found that whites volunteered one and a half times as often as blacks. Socioeconomic status, as in the case of political participation, was positively correlated with volunteering (McBride et al. 2006; Sundeen et al. 2009; Music et al. 2000; Wuthnow 1995; Musick and Wilson 1997). Sundeen et al. (2009) used data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics and found that while whites generally volunteered at high rates than minority groups, the status of these minority groups based on immigration and social resources contributed to differences between racial groups.

Social Movement Participation

It has been recently established that social movement activities have become more widespread since the 1960s, with significantly more participation in recent decades (e.g.,

Caren, Ghoshal, and Ribas 2010; Dalton 2006, 2008a, 2008b), although similar assessments have been made in past decades (e.g., Soule and Earl 2005; Meyer and Tarrow 1998a; Meyer and Tarrow 1998b; Tarrow 1994; Verba, Scholzman, and Brady 1995). Like the literature on volunteering, there is disagreement about trends in social movement participation. Using data from the Roper trends, Putnam (2000) found that there was a 10% decline in signing petitions, while Verba et al. (1995) found consistent protest participation between 1987 and 1994. Still, Dalton (2008) found that based on data from the Political Action/World Values Survey, petition signing has increased since 1975. Dalton concludes that, “Protest has become so common that it is now the extension of conventional political action by other means. (2008:91)” Caren et al (2010) warn against overstating the extent of participation in protests, finding that petition signing and protest participation vary by period and cohort, although the likelihood of attending a protest has increased over time. Analyses of trends in social movement activity have generally been absent from the literature, and previous studies and are often not representative due to small sample sizes that result from the rarity of protest participation.

Who Participates?

Males are thought to participate at a higher rate than females in social movement activities because they have fewer restrictions (e.g., primary children rearing responsibilities) (McAdam 1986). It has also been established that increases in socioeconomic status lead to increased participation in social movement activities (Beyerlein and Hipp 2005; Verba, Scholzman and Brady 1995). Caren et al (2010) point to the stability of socioeconomic influences over time stating that, “The types of individuals who viewed protest as a viable political tactic in the 1970s—liberals, the well-educated, union members, and people living

on the coasts—were roughly the same 35 years later (22).” The social movements literature has analyzed race in relation to outcomes such as police repression (Davenport, Soule, and Armstrong 2011), but has not focused on differences in participation by racial group. Two exceptions to the dearth of research on who participates in social movements are studies by Beyerlein and Hipp (2005) and Schussman and Soule (2005). Both studies found that African Americans were significantly more likely and willing to participate in protests than whites. Schussman and Soule (2005) found that the effect was ameliorated by the inclusion of measures that accounted for political engagement and structural availability (e.g., political interest and knowledge). While both studies also found that education was positively correlated with protest participation, Schussman and Soule again found that including measures of structural availability ameliorated the effect. There was no significant difference between males and females in terms of protest participation in either study.

Schussman and Soule (2005) point to the equality of protest participation across gender groups as “evidence of a diminishing gender gap in [protesting] (1089).” They allude to another area of interest that has only received cursory exploration in social movements scholarship, as well as in the volunteering and political participation disciplines—variations in participation over time. The possibility that the effect of being female or black, for instance, on participation in any form of civic engagement is different in 2009 than it was in 1999 or 1979 presents an additional line of inquiry yet to receive much attention in the literatures. One example of a similar exploration was in Welch’s 1977 study of political engagement, which demonstrated that as social barriers for women diminished, political engagement increased. Welch found that the gap in the levels of political involvement between males and females decreased from 1952-1972, and that controlling for factors like

marital status and number of children almost completely eliminated the gender differences. Accounting for structural and situational differences, such as college education and employment, by 1972 females were participating at higher levels than males in several of the civic activities measured in the study, like working for political parties and membership in political clubs. Since 1977, little traction has been gained on understanding changing effects of demographic characteristics on participation levels in any of the sub-fields.

In sum, the general literature on civic engagement has tended to use scaled measures that do not allow for a more nuanced look at how changes in specific behaviors are driving the overall trends. Further, scholars who address specific behaviors, such as social movements, have rarely engaged in conversation with scholars in other subfields, such as volunteering. In this study, I separate these behaviors by type into three measures and utilize their respective literatures to comprehensively examine changes in youth participation over time. I particularly focus on youth participation because it remains an understudied area; the majority of the literature has focused on adult participation. Finally, I expand the scope of previous scholarship by examining the effect of sociodemographic characteristics on participation, and by analyzing the changing effect of these characteristics across the time period.

HYPOTHESES

I present three hypotheses regarding variation in electoral participation, volunteering, and participation in social movement activities over time and four additional hypotheses regarding the influence of demographic characteristics as well as the change in the influence of those characteristics over time. The electoral and political participation literature

overwhelmingly posits a decline in participation since the 1970s, although the belief that electoral participation is declining is not ubiquitous. The majority of scholars who argue in support of the decline in participation model point to causes such as decreased participation in civic organizations (Putnam 2000) or replacement of political activities with activities such as volunteering (Galston and Levin 1998).

Hypothesis 1: Electoral participation among youth has decreased since the 1970s.

Studies of volunteering have been less conclusive about directional changes in participation than scholars of political participation or civic association. While Putnam (2000) links the decline in civic organization participation to a decrease in volunteering, Twenge et al. (2010) find an increase in youth volunteering since the 1970s that they attribute to the growth of community service requirements in high schools. Still others have found that volunteering has been relatively stable over time (Hodgkinson and Weitzman 1996). Although it is unlikely that volunteering required by high schools has been the only contributor to variation in participation, factors such as an expansion of opportunities and growing social pressure may also increase rates of volunteering.

Hypothesis 2: Volunteering among youth has increased since the 1970s.

Through mechanisms such as the acceptability of tactics like protest (Meyer and Tarrow 1998) and the diffusion of these tactics (Soule and Earl 2005), participation in social movement activities and is thought to be increasing over time. A recent study by Caren et al. (2010) also finds that participation is greater in recent decades, although the authors posit that the increase is overstated in the literature.

Hypothesis 3: Youth participation in social movement activities has increased since the 1970s.

Participation in each of the activities contained within the broad category of civic engagement are also thought to vary by key demographic factors, although some sub-fields have more fully theorized the existence of these variations. Key factors such as race, socioeconomic status, and gender are influential in levels of civic participation.

Hypothesis 4: Whites participate in each activity more than non-whites.

Hypothesis 5: Higher socioeconomic status is correlated with increased participation in all activities.

Hypothesis 6: Males participate more than females in political and social movement activities, but volunteer less than females.

Although scholars have looked at the influence of demographic factors, they have yet to consider that these influences potentially change over time. Previously, some scholars have hinted at the changing influence of gender over time. Welch (1977) pointed to the increase in female involvement in political activities that resulted from a decrease in social barriers to participation. This sort of variation has not been considered in regards to the changing influence of race or socioeconomic status, except for specific sub-groups such as immigrant communities (see Baretto et al. 2009). However, as Welch finds, decreasing barriers to participation for minority groups and a broadening class divide are likely to simultaneously influence levels of participation across groups over time. Factors such as being female or African American are less restrictive identities than they were in the 1970s, and therefore point to the possibility that there has been a decrease in the extent to which these factors influence participation. Although individuals of higher or more privileged statuses are still likely to participate at greater rates, the extent of this effect may be changing over time as well.

Hypothesis 7: The impact of race, gender, and socioeconomic status on electoral participation, volunteering, and social movement participation has decreased since the 1970s.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Past research on changes over time in volunteering, social movement activity, and political participation have focused on limited time periods and utilized data that offers an inconsistent measure of participation over time. These inconsistent measures have been produced through variation in survey question construction or researcher-driven evaluations of participation, such as through the utilization of newspaper data (e.g., Soule and Earl 2005), compilations of surveys (e.g., Caren et al. 2010; Twenge et al. 2012), or data that is not nationally representative. Lack of data availability has been a challenge that past researchers have overcome through these methods, but the data utilized remain biased as a result of these issues. Further, in areas such as social movement participation or campaign donations, behaviors in which participation is uncommon, the data utilized have often not been representative due to small sample sizes.

In this study, I utilize the Monitoring the Future (MTF) survey, which uses consistent question construction across the entire time period to ask 12th graders about their participation in political activities, social movement activities, and volunteering from 1974-2009. The MTF survey is an ongoing national study that collects information on American secondary students in 8th, 10th, and 12th grades (Johnston et al. 1976-2009). The survey is given to approximately 50,000 8th, 10th, and 12th grade students in public and private schools each spring (12th graders since 1976 and 8th and 10th graders beginning in 1991) (Johnston et

al. 2008). Due to the limited time period of available data for 8th and 10th graders, I only utilize the 12th grade data in this study.

The MTF data were collected using a multi-stage random sampling procedure. The stages include: selecting geographic areas, selecting the schools in each area, and selecting classes within each school. Up to 350 students were selected from each school, and sampling weights were used in the data collection to account for unequal probability of selection at all stages (Johnston et al. 2008). The students surveyed responded through self-administered, machine-read questionnaires in their classrooms. The purpose of the data collection is to monitor changes in the beliefs of adolescents in the United States over time, as well as to monitor progress towards meeting national health goals (Johnston et al. 2008).

A major limitation of these data is that they only capture U.S. 12th grader responses for the time period of interest. This limits the generalizability of the findings, although rising adults are an essential population to focus on as they represent a key intersection between childhood and adult participation. Furthermore, the data begins in 1976, after a major period of social movement activity in the United States, which concluded in the early 1970s. As a result, this study cannot speak to past levels of activity nor the effect of potentially elevated levels, particularly of social movement activities, as a result of the wave of civic participation in the 1960s and early 1970s. However, many important elections, social movements, and the expansion of volunteering marked the period considered in this study and the period is long enough to encapsulate a significant amount of time to account for many important societal changes.

Despite its limitations, the Monitoring the Future survey provides a unique and underutilized data source targeted at measuring change over time. The consistent nature of

the MTF sampling procedure and question construction, as well as the large sample size, allow for comparisons across years throughout several decades. The majority of past work utilizing the survey has focused on variation in youth health behavior over time (e.g., Patrick and Schulenberg 2010; Bachman et al. 2008; Johnston 2009). However, a recent study (Twenge, Campbell, and Freeman 2012) on generational variation in life goals utilized the MTF data as well as additional data and found that millennials are “Generation Me,” confirming earlier findings that although this generation generally focuses on their own life outcomes, they volunteer at higher rates than previous generations. Another recent study also utilized Monitoring the Future data and found that while participation in conventional civic activities was declining, volunteering was increasing, and that the trends varied based on college aspirations (Syvertsen et al. 2011).

Dependent Variables

The dependent variables are dichotomous measures that capture whether an individual has participated in electoral, volunteering, or social movement activities. Electoral activities are measured by questions that ask respondents whether they have done any of the following: written to an elected official (12.25%), donated money to a candidate or political cause (3.86%), or worked on a political campaign (5.93%). I create an aggregate indicator of participation in electoral behaviors if the individual expresses participating in *any* of these activities. As opposed to previous studies that utilize an aggregate scale of behaviors that are arguably influenced by different mechanisms, like protesting and participation in political campaigns, here I group behaviors that are related by their connection to electoral politics. I

do not including voting in this measure, as voting is non-linear and only has the potential to occur during election periods.

In a similar manner, the dichotomous variable for social movement activity includes a measure for whether an individual participated in a boycott (8.54%) or protest (4.15%), taking a positive value for participation if the individual indicates completing either behavior. The measure for volunteering occurs on a different scale, and is based on whether an individual participated in community affairs or volunteer work (72.61%). The variable is coded such that any volunteer activity—a few times a year, once or twice a month, once a week, or daily counts as participating. This group of participants is compared to those who never volunteered¹.

For the purposes of differentiating the approach to studying variations in civic engagement I have outlined in this paper from previous work, I contrast the models with a synthetic measure for participation in any civic engagement activity. I create the civic engagement measure by allowing for a value of 1 to be taken if an individual participates in any of the possible activities included in the other dependent variables. In discussing the findings from this analysis, I do not explicitly address these models, although I later discuss the models to further problematize previous work on civic engagement.

Explanatory Variables

¹ I also modeled this variable to compare those who participated frequently with those who did not, moving those who participated a few times a year to the non-participants. This modification produced the same findings except for race, where the effect was reversed. This effect is driven by the majority of volunteers of both races residing in the “few times a year” category and the largest difference between races on participation also existing in that category (21,045 whites and 3,304 non-whites). Because the majority of volunteers participate a few times a year, I count these individuals as participating; noting also that this is consistent with the other activities, where the threshold is participating at all in a given year.

I also include a set of explanatory measures that capture the year of the survey collapsed into decades, as well as individual demographics, since past research has detailed the importance of these measures. The year variable is divided into decades to allow for comparison to the 1970s, the portion of the dataset thought to be the most closely related to elevated levels of political and social movement activities (Wilson & Simson 2006)². A measure for socioeconomic status is based on the student's report of their parents' education level, and is coded to take the value of the parent with the highest level of education. Past research has utilized measures of parental education as a proxy for socioeconomic status (see Verba 1995). I also include a measure for gender based on identification as male or female, and a measure for race, which includes whites and non-whites, where non-whites are defined as black or African American and Hispanic (including Mexican, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and "other Hispanic"). This variable represents all racial categories contained within the publicly available data set³.

Control Variables

In addition to explanatory measures, I include a series of control variables that seek to capture the remaining elements previous scholars have identified as influential in participation. I control for political party affiliation including Democrat, Republican, Independent, and no affiliation. I also control for religious service attendance based on the frequency of attendance (e.g., once per week or more, once to twice a month, rarely, and never) as well as region of the country the student's school is located within (south, west,

² I also model the data by year, in 5-year increments, and using a series of functions (year², year³, etc) and find consistent results. I present the data utilizing the decades for ease of presentation and because they are consistent with the data.

³ Additional racial data were collected, however it was not released in the public data.

northeast, northcentral). I include a control for media exposure, as some studies have identified the potential influence of media exposure on participation, but its role remains contested (see Galston 2001). I present this variable in all models because findings in the literature are inconclusive on the role of media exposure. The media variable is dichotomous and represents frequent media exposure to books, magazines, and newspapers or television. The variable takes a value for exposure to any of these mediums frequently, operationalized as once per week or daily. Control variables as well as explanatory variables are presented in table 1, and a supplemental model that present results for the control variables is presented in the appendix.

Methods

I use logistic regression models to evaluate the changes in electoral participation, volunteering, and social movement activities over time. These models are ideal for this study because they allow for dichotomous comparisons (e.g., those who participate versus those who do not). In all models, I present the survey year as decades. I also include a series of demographic variables in the models as well as several control variables that are not presented. Since a central interest of this study is to determine whether the effect of race, gender, and socioeconomic status has changed over time, I include a series of interactions between these explanatory variables and the decade variables.

FINDINGS

I begin by addressing the variations in each of the behaviors over time as presented in Table 2 models 1, 2, and 3. I then discuss the impact of race, gender, and socioeconomic

status as well as media. Finally, I explore the results of the variation in the impact of race, gender, and socioeconomic status over time as seen in Table 3. All models include controls for political party, religious service attendance, and region of the country, which are presented in the appendix.

As seen in Figure 1, volunteering and social movement participation increased from 1976-2009, while participation in electoral politics decreased. In general, civic engagement increased in the time period. Even controlling for changes in demographic factors, model 1 in Table 2 indicates that participation in electoral behaviors has decreased significantly over time. Holding constant the other factors in the model, about 24% of people participated in political activities in the 1970s, but this dropped to roughly 18% in the 1980s, then to 15% in the 1990s, and slightly elevated to 16% in the 2000s.⁴ Conversely, volunteering increased significantly in the 1990s and 2000s compared to the 1970s. Whereas in the 1970s about 72% of respondents reported volunteering often, 75% reported volunteering often in the 1990s and 78% reported doing so in the 2000s. In contrast, after accounting for demographic factors, participation in social movement activities was only statistically significantly different between the 1970s and 1980s during which time it decreased. In the 1970s about 12% of people reported participating in social movement activities, but by the 1980s this had fallen to about 8%. There was no statistically significant difference in social movement participation in the 1990s or 2000s compared to the 1970s. Frequent media exposure is positive and statistically significant for participation in political activities and volunteering, and not statistically significant for participation in social movement activities⁵.

⁴ These values are drawn from predicted values using the margins command in Stata 12 with Wald significance tests as shown in Cameron and Trivette (2010).

⁵ Several of the other control variables also produce significant results and can be seen in the appendix.

There are also statistically significant effects of demographic characteristics on each outcome. Across all models, holding other factors constant, an increase in socioeconomic status is significant and positively correlated with increased participation in each of the categories of activity. Holding all other factors constant, individuals from the highest socioeconomic bracket are about twice as likely to participate in electoral activities as those from the lowest social class, where about 13% participate (in comparison to about 24%). There is a smaller disparity in volunteering, with about 67% of those in the lowest class likely to volunteer, holding all other factors constant, compared to about 82% of those in the highest social class. The gap between socioeconomic groups is largest in social movement activities, in which being from the highest socioeconomic group results in an individual being 75% more likely to participate than those in the lowest group.

Differential effects by gender group are only statistically significant and negatively correlated for males in volunteering, holding other demographic elements constant. For example, net of all other factors, about 78% of females volunteer compared to 70% of males. The effect is not statistically significant for electoral behaviors and social movement activities.

The findings on effect for racial minorities are again consistent across all models, with a statistically significant and negative correlation for non-whites in regards to each behavior holding other factors constant. For example, about 74% of whites volunteer, while only about 70% of non-whites do so. Similarly, 11% of whites participate in social movement activities in comparison to about 8% of non-whites. Roughly 18% of whites participate in political behaviors, compared to about 13% of non-whites.

Analysis of the variation in the impact of the explanatory variables over time,

presented in table 3, is less straightforward. For example, there is some support for variation in the impact of socioeconomic status over time. Holding all other variables in the model constant, there is a negative and significant interaction effect in the 1980s in electoral behaviors and volunteering for individuals whose parents have college degrees. This indicates that overall the effect of being from this socioeconomic group is decreasing in these decades, however the disparity between those whose parents have a college degree and those whose parents do not have a college degree increased. For instance, about 25% of individuals whose parents held a college degree in the 1970s participated in political activities versus only 18% whose parents did not have a high school diploma. By the 1980s, 19% of respondents who had parents with a college degree participated while 13% of those whose parents did not have a high school degree participated. In the 1970s, individuals from the highest social class were about twice as likely to participate in electoral activities as those from the lowest social class. There are also positive and statistically significant effects for volunteering in the 1990s and 2000s for the group with the highest socioeconomic status. In the 1970s about 79% of those from the highest socioeconomic group volunteered compared to 65% from the lowest group; this disparity increased by the 2000s as 85% of those from the highest group participated versus 73% of those from the lowest group. In regards to volunteering, the effect of socioeconomic status increased over the time period.

Support for changes in the effect of gender over time are present in participation in both volunteering and social movement activities. Since the 1970s, male participation in volunteering activities has been increasing. In the 1970s, holding other factors constant, about 69% of males volunteered, although this was down to 67% by the 1980s, 70% by the 1990s, and 74% in the 2000s. The ratio of male to female participation in the 1970s was

about 1.07, in the 1980s it was 1.12, 1.13 in the 1990s, and 1.12 in the 2000s. The difference between males and females in terms of volunteering is increasing over time. The impact of being male in the 1990s compared to the 1970s is also statistically significant and negative for participation in social movement activities. While in the 1970s about 13% of males participated in social movement activities, by the 1990s this was down to about 10%. The change represents a 23% increase in the effect for males in the 1990s compared to the 1970s, with the ratio of female to male participation in the 1970s at .85 and in the 1990s at .70.

There is very little support for change in the influence of race over time. For non-whites, the effect of lower participation levels for social movement activities seems to increase between the 1970s and 1980s. While in the 1970s about 12% of whites participated in social movement activities versus about 11% of non-whites, by the 1980s overall participation had decreased. However, the differential increased between racial groups such that about 8% of whites participated in social movement activities in the 1980s compared to about 5% of non-whites. There is no evidence that the effect of race changes over time for volunteering or political behaviors.

CONCLUSIONS

I began this study by discussing the inconsistent findings on trends in civic engagement over time and pointing to the need to reconsider the way we measure civic engagement in order to gain a broader understanding of variation in behaviors. To develop the framework for this reconceptualization, I integrated literature on the major sub-fields for types of behaviors typically included in civic engagement—electoral participation, social movement activity, and volunteering. Proceeding from this theoretical framework, I found

that while civic engagement was lower in the 1980s than in the 1970s, it was higher in the 2000s than in the 1970s. Political participation, however, has been declining over time, with slightly less decline in the 2000s than the 1990s compared to the 1970s. Volunteering, on the other hand, has been increasing since the 1970s, and while social movement participation decreased between the 1970s and 1980s, it was at the same level as the 1970s in the 1990s and 2000s.

Additional explanatory variables were included to provide context to participation by detailing who participates in each of the behaviors under consideration. I found unanimously that higher socioeconomic status led to increased participation in all activities under consideration. However, I also found that the effect of socioeconomic status on each behavior was not particularly variant over time, indicating that the effect of being middle class on social movement participation, for instance, was the same in 1970s and in the 2000s. I also found that males are less civically engaged and volunteer less often than females, and that this effect seems to be increasing over time. Across all activities, non-whites participate at lower levels than whites, with no change in the effect over time. Additionally, I found that media exposure increases civic engagement, electoral activity, and volunteering, but has no effect on social movement participation.

The findings from this paper make evident that research on time trends in civic engagement that utilize scales is highly driven by volunteering and other common behaviors, indicating further issues with this sort of analysis. Once I disaggregated the civic engagement behaviors, I found differential effects for each sort of behavior. Interestingly, I found that although there was a relatively large disparity between levels of participation in electoral activities and volunteering in the 1970s, by the 2000s individuals were about equally likely to

protest or boycott as participate in electoral politics. Also of note is the trend in social movement activity, which illustrates that although the 1960s and 1970s were thought to be the age of youth activism, the following decades were not nearly as grim in regards to protesting and boycotting. In fact, while engagement in electoral politics has declined, the findings indicate that perhaps youth really are trading politics for protest, shifting their political engagement into other mediums.

These findings contribute both to the academic conversation on civic engagement that was reinvigorated by Robert Putnam in 2000, as well as to each behavioral sub-field. They point to the need to conceptualize the framework used to study civic engagement through disaggregating types of behaviors. Putnam and others pointed to a steep decline in social capital and civic participation resulting in the collapse of community. However, I find that in this case that claim is unsupported. In fact, if we consider the last two decades, civic engagement is on the rise. Since 2001, there has been very little research on whether we are still “bowling alone” a decade later. Putnam himself pointed to 9/11 and the Obama campaign as events that resulted in increases in political engagement in the last decade (Sander and Putnam 2010). The findings presented show that civic engagement is increasing in the last decade, and perhaps the outcomes for civil society are not as bleak as previously presented. Furthermore, that this study utilizes data from youth indicates that youth are engaging in civil society, and, if the findings on persistence of participation throughout the life course are accurate (e.g., McFarland and Thomas 2006; Kedem and Bar-Lev 1989), should continue to do so into adulthood.

The findings from this study raise some concerns as well as provide encouragement about equal participation in civil society. First, while it has been consistently found that

individuals from higher socioeconomic status groups participate more, the effect is increasing for volunteering and electoral participation, namely between those families where the parents hold college degrees and those who do not. That social class is indicative of participation is already a concern for scholars, but increases in this trend indicate that volunteering, for instance, is becoming an elite activity to which those from higher-class backgrounds have greater access. Future research should be attentive to increases in socioeconomic homogeneity in civic engagement activities.

The findings on gender and race are slightly more encouraging. Gender equality in electoral politics and social movement activities are counter to previous findings, and offer encouragement regarding equal participation. However, in regards to volunteering, an activity in which males already participate at lower levels than females, an increase in the effect over time is occurring. Participation in volunteer activities is highly gendered and increasingly becoming so, pointing perhaps to the socialization of volunteering as “women’s work” and the need to be aware of and perhaps shift away from such conceptions.

Racial disparities are present across all activities, with whites consistently participating more than non-whites, a finding that brings some conclusiveness to the debate on electoral participation and runs counter to previous findings regarding social movement participation. In regards to social movement participation, the differential participation between groups is increasing, creating greater inequality in participation. The findings also indicate that while non-whites have historically participated less than whites in volunteering and electoral activities, the difference between these groups remains constant, with the racial gap neither closing nor opening further. These findings point to the need for future research to address the mechanisms of participation and the variations in these mechanisms over time.

Additional insight into group-based participation can also be seen in the supplemental analyses presented in the appendix from the set of control variables. That attendance at religious institutions increases participation in volunteering and in civic engagement generally is well established (see Youniss, McLellan, Yates 1999), although the positive correlation between religious attendance and social movement participation should be considered in future studies. Since I controlled for political party affiliation, this points to a mechanism besides political stance affecting the relationship. Additional attention should also be paid to regional influences on participation, which may function through social cohesion as Oliver (2001) suggests or through other means. Further, variation by political party group should be included in future research, as there is a strong and contradictory effect for Independent party affiliates in volunteering and social movement participation.

The effect of media exposure also merits further exploration. Past work on political knowledge has led researchers to identify the importance of exposure to media in increasing political and electoral participation (Galston 2001). Although it has received less attention, media exposure and increased knowledge of the political and community culture may increase volunteering. If the mechanism through which media exposure operates is increased knowledge and awareness of one's surroundings, then media exposure should also lead to increases in social movement participation. However, the findings indicate that the relationship is not statistically significant. It is therefore likely that the mechanism through which media exposure operates is more complicated, and should be addressed further in future research.

Future research on civic engagement should focus on finding underutilized and appropriate data to afford researchers both the ability for comparison across types of

behaviors and sociodemographic groups, as well as changes over time. Longitudinal data has largely been absent from the discussion on civic engagement, limiting the ability for scholars to understand how both cohorts and generations change over time in regards to participation. There remain challenges to gaining leverage on understanding activities such as protesting or campaign donations, resulting from the generally low levels of participation present in the population. Ways to overcome these challenges include utilizing large, nationally representative data sources and balancing these studies with micro-level analyses that provide insight into how and why people engage and do not engage in certain behaviors.

TABLES

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	Obs.	Description	Mean	S.D.	Distribution by Year
Dependent Variables					
Electoral Behaviors	53887	Dichotomous Variable	0.18	0.38	
Volunteering	53887	Dichotomous Variable	0.73	0.45	
SM Activities	53887	Dichotomous Variable	0.10	0.31	
<i>Decade</i>	53887	Year of Survey by Decade	1988	13.60	
Demographics					
Less College	50868	Parents Have Less Than a College Degree	0.46	0.50	
College	50868	Parents Have a College Degree	0.28	0.28	
Grad School	50868	Parents Went to Graduate School	0.20	0.20	
Male	53887	--	0.52	0.50	
Non-White	53887	Non-Whites including Black and Hispanic	0.15	0.36	
Control Variables					
Media	53884	Exposure to TV & Newspapers	0.99	0.12	
Region	53887	Region of Student's School	--	--	
Northeast	53887		0.23	0.42	
Northcentral	53887		0.31	0.46	
South	53887		0.35	0.48	
West	53887		0.11	0.32	
Political Party	53887	Self-Reported Political Party Affiliation	--	--	
Democrat	53887		0.32	0.47	
Republican	53887		0.33	0.47	
Independent	53887		0.05	0.23	
Other/No Affil.	53887		0.30	0.05	
Religious Attend	53887	Religious Institution Attendance	--	--	
Never	53887		0.12	0.33	
Rarely	53887		0.35	0.48	
1-2x/mo	53887		0.17	0.38	
1/wk or+	53887		0.36	0.48	

Table 2. Logistic Regressions for participation in political behaviors, volunteering, and social movement activities

VARIABLES	(1) Electoral Behaviors	(2) Volunteering	(3) Social Movement Activities	(4) Civic Engagement
1980s	-0.376*** (0.0377)	-0.0523 (0.0354)	-0.448*** (0.0508)	-0.141*** (0.0372)
1990s	-0.617*** (0.0416)	0.160*** (0.0382)	-0.0455 (0.0502)	0.0312 (0.0400)
2000s	-0.526*** (0.0443)	0.393*** (0.0416)	-0.0689 (0.0546)	0.261*** (0.0436)
Less College	0.198*** (0.0669)	0.178*** (0.0492)	0.471*** (0.0967)	0.230*** (0.0501)
College	0.465*** (0.0690)	0.409*** (0.0522)	0.734*** (0.0990)	0.479*** (0.0534)
Grad School	0.822*** (0.0699)	0.753*** (0.0560)	1.221*** (0.0993)	0.888*** (0.0581)
Male	-0.0326 (0.0273)	-0.469*** (0.0247)	0.0273 (0.0340)	-0.415*** (0.0259)
Non-White	-0.415*** (0.0472)	-0.225*** (0.0378)	-0.346*** (0.0580)	-0.287*** (0.0390)
Media	0.330*** (0.123)	0.520*** (0.0917)	-0.161 (0.136)	0.442*** (0.0962)
Constant	-1.745*** (0.146)	-0.467*** (0.112)	-1.994*** (0.173)	-0.0348 (0.117)
Observations	50,866	50,866	50,866	50,866
Pseudo R2	0.0256	0.0744	0.0316	0.0665

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 1. Variations in each behavior from 1976-2009

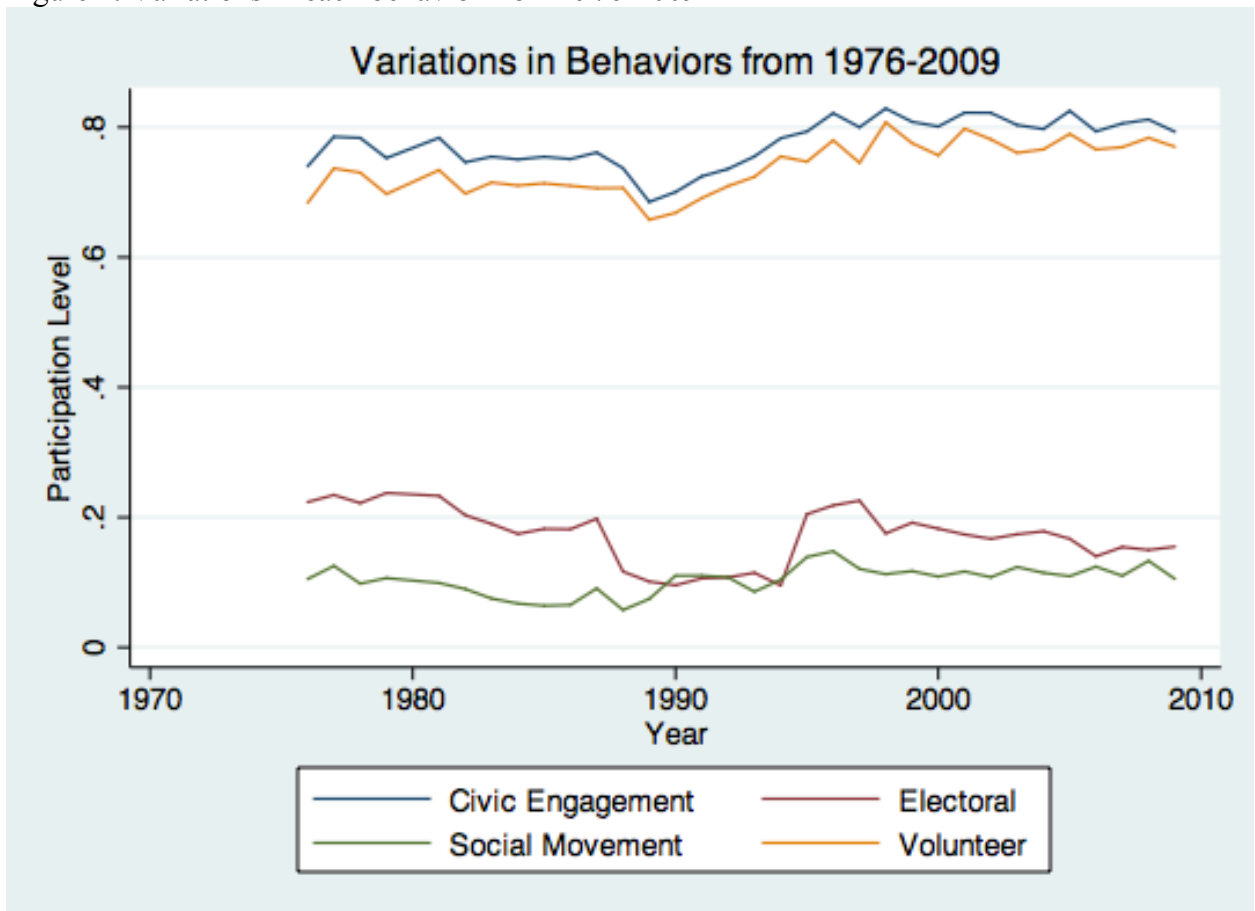


Table 3. Change in explanatory variables over time

VARIABLES	(1) Electoral Behaviors	(2) Volunteering	(3) Social Movement Activities	(4) Civic Engagement
1980s	-0.230 (0.150)	0.215* (0.121)	-0.174 (0.233)	0.268** (0.124)
1990s	-0.454** (0.212)	0.248* (0.148)	0.108 (0.287)	0.254* (0.149)
2000s	-0.499** (0.230)	0.405** (0.160)	0.167 (0.273)	0.382** (0.162)
Less College	0.298** (0.117)	0.230** (0.0964)	0.602*** (0.175)	0.365*** (0.0987)
College	0.684*** (0.125)	0.439*** (0.109)	0.806*** (0.185)	0.615*** (0.113)
Grad School	0.827*** (0.130)	0.593*** (0.118)	1.396*** (0.185)	0.890*** (0.126)
Male	-0.0550 (0.0597)	-0.257*** (0.0577)	0.157** (0.0783)	-0.179*** (0.0614)
Non-White	-0.472*** (0.107)	-0.126 (0.0942)	-0.148 (0.139)	-0.195** (0.0980)
Media	0.332*** (0.123)	0.521*** (0.0922)	-0.154 (0.136)	0.442*** (0.0969)
1980s#Less College	-0.144 (0.155)	-0.167 (0.123)	-0.371 (0.240)	-0.302** (0.126)
1980s#College	-0.367** (0.163)	-0.232* (0.136)	-0.321 (0.251)	-0.386*** (0.141)
1980s#Grad School	-0.0750 (0.167)	-0.0263 (0.147)	-0.309 (0.250)	-0.234 (0.155)
1990s#Less College	-0.212 (0.215)	0.0312 (0.150)	0.0291 (0.293)	-0.0530 (0.151)
1990s#College	-0.210 (0.220)	0.0892 (0.161)	0.147 (0.300)	-0.0374 (0.164)
1990s#Grad School	-0.0170 (0.224)	0.320* (0.172)	-0.000761 (0.301)	0.0851 (0.178)
2000s#Less College	-0.0406 (0.233)	0.119 (0.159)	-0.0738 (0.278)	0.0219 (0.161)
2000s#College	-0.215 (0.238)	0.262 (0.169)	-0.0627 (0.286)	0.146 (0.173)
2000s#Grad School	0.0420 (0.241)	0.513*** (0.183)	-0.257 (0.286)	0.374* (0.192)
1980s#Male	0.0421 (0.0750)	-0.196*** (0.0702)	0.125 (0.102)	-0.216*** (0.0742)
1990s#Male	-0.0442 (0.0823)	-0.273*** (0.0755)	-0.384*** (0.0998)	-0.323*** (0.0796)
2000s#Male	0.0834 (0.0847)	-0.340*** (0.0806)	-0.170 (0.104)	-0.351*** (0.0851)
1980s#Non-White	0.124 (0.130)	-0.0241 (0.112)	-0.302* (0.181)	-0.00188 (0.116)
1990s#Non-White	0.0598 (0.142)	-0.146 (0.117)	-0.158 (0.169)	-0.132 (0.121)
2000s#Non-White	0.0131 (0.139)	-0.174 (0.118)	-0.248 (0.171)	-0.189 (0.122)
Constant	-1.834*** (0.172)	-0.621*** (0.138)	-2.211*** (0.223)	-0.290** (0.143)
Observations	50,866	50,866	50,866	50,866

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

APPENDIX

Supplemental Table—Complete Model With Additional Controls

VARIABLES	(1) Electoral Behaviors	(2) Volunteering	(3) Social Movement Activities	(4) Civic Engagement
1980s	-0.376*** (0.0377)	-0.0523 (0.0354)	-0.448*** (0.0508)	-0.141*** (0.0372)
1990s	-0.617*** (0.0416)	0.160*** (0.0382)	-0.0455 (0.0502)	0.0312 (0.0400)
2000s	-0.526*** (0.0443)	0.393*** (0.0416)	-0.0689 (0.0546)	0.261*** (0.0436)
Less College	0.198*** (0.0669)	0.178*** (0.0492)	0.471*** (0.0967)	0.230*** (0.0501)
College	0.465*** (0.0690)	0.409*** (0.0522)	0.734*** (0.0990)	0.479*** (0.0534)
Grad School	0.822*** (0.0699)	0.753*** (0.0560)	1.221*** (0.0993)	0.888*** (0.0581)
Male	-0.0326 (0.0273)	-0.469*** (0.0247)	0.0273 (0.0340)	-0.415*** (0.0259)
Non-White	-0.415*** (0.0472)	-0.225*** (0.0378)	-0.346*** (0.0580)	-0.287*** (0.0390)
Media	0.330*** (0.123)	0.520*** (0.0917)	-0.161 (0.136)	0.442*** (0.0962)
Republican	-0.146*** (0.0345)	-0.0648** (0.0327)	-0.349*** (0.0440)	-0.0875** (0.0345)
Independent	-0.0452 (0.0634)	-0.129** (0.0574)	0.206*** (0.0689)	-0.0783 (0.0614)
No Affiliation	-0.434*** (0.0364)	-0.290*** (0.0315)	-0.262*** (0.0437)	-0.338*** (0.0329)
South	-0.126*** (0.0378)	0.0472 (0.0333)	-0.370*** (0.0456)	0.00586 (0.0348)
North Central	0.0415 (0.0370)	0.0168 (0.0332)	-0.265*** (0.0449)	0.0306 (0.0350)
West	-0.0654 (0.0497)	-0.0176 (0.0435)	-0.0925 (0.0596)	-0.0255 (0.0458)
Religious Rarely	0.0813* (0.0478)	0.687*** (0.0359)	-0.184*** (0.0542)	0.611*** (0.0369)
Religious 1-2/Mo.	0.175*** (0.0531)	1.153*** (0.0433)	-0.180*** (0.0624)	1.027*** (0.0449)
Religious 1/Wk.	0.257*** (0.0477)	1.575*** (0.0390)	-0.123** (0.0544)	1.438*** (0.0404)
Constant	-1.745*** (0.146)	-0.467*** (0.112)	-1.994*** (0.173)	-0.0348 (0.117)
Observations	50,866	50,866	50,866	50,866

Robust standard errors in parentheses
p<0.1

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

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