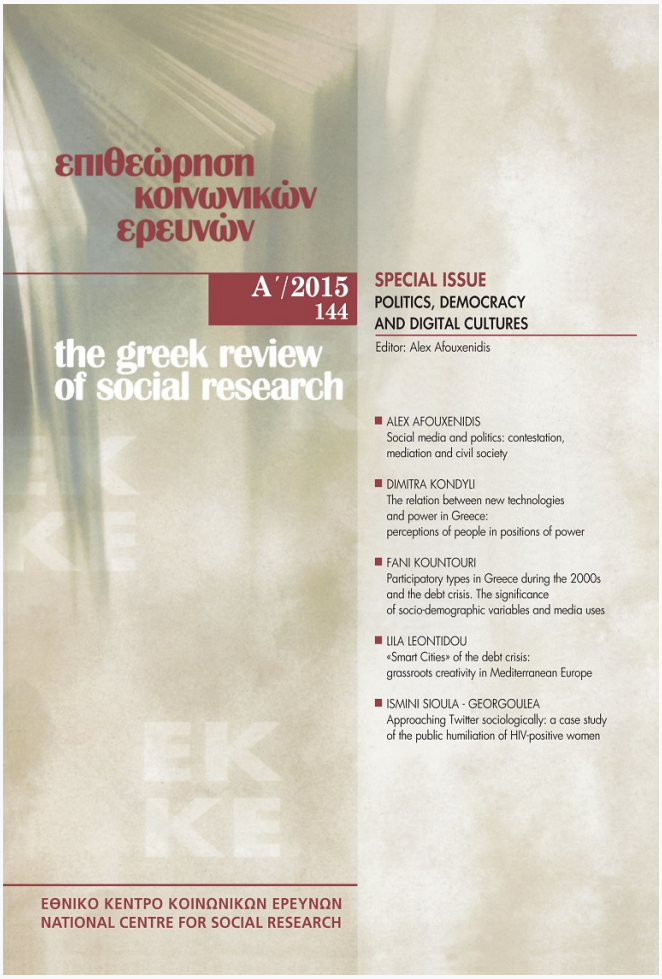
The Greek Review of Social Research

Vol 144 (2015)

144 A΄ Special Issue: Politics, Democracy and Digital Cultures. Editor: Alex Afouxenidis



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doi: 10.12681/grsr.8623

To cite this article:

Kountouri, F. (2015). Participatory types in Greece during the 2000s and the debt crisis. The significance of socio-demographic variables and media uses. *The Greek Review of Social Research*, *144*, 45–67. https://doi.org/10.12681/grsr.8623

The Greek Review of Social Research, special issue, 144 Α΄, 2015, 45-67

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PARTICIPATORY TYPES IN GREECE DURING THE 2000s AND THE DEBT CRISIS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND MEDIA USES

ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to question two major political shifts occurring in Greece during the recent economic, political and social crisis. The first is related to the collapse of political commitment (declining levels of political trust, political interest and institutionalised forms of political engagement). The second is associated to the resurgence of civic and political engagement as indicated by the appearance of new forms of political participation. Two main issues are under investigation: the rise of new forms of political and civic engagement in a context of declining levels of important political variables and the specific role of online media as one of the factors that influence patterns of engagement. More specifically, we question whether the debt crisis contributed to the emergence of a new political agent that acts in a more collective and participatory way, if there are some specific attributes to those participatory types and if the use of the Net can generate political engagement. The above hypotheses are investigated utilizing empirical data from the European Social Survey (ESS) and the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE).

Keywords: *Internet, media, political disengagement, political participation*

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INTRODUCTION

A consistent theme in social and political analysis has been the gradual disengagement of the citizenry from public life, especially from traditional forms of political participation. This apparent decline has been greatest amongst youth, who have been the least engaged and the most politically disaffected public towards more traditional modes of political participation. The concept of disengagement from conventional forms of group membership and participation patterns (Putnam, 2000, Bennett et al. 2008) is also related to "the emergence of a different mix of activities due to the process of a generational replacement part of which is the use of internet" (Zukin et al., 2010, p. 3). The key question underlying this discourse is whether media use, specifically digital media use, influences attitudes and behaviours or is a tool to reinforce the pre-existing attitudes and behaviours of a select group of citizens already interested and engaged in politics (Norris, 2000).

This contribution will investigate the parallel dynamic of a mix of forms of political and civic engagement in Greece during the debt crisis. The question therefore is: which variables (among socio-demographic ones) are related to the stimulation of political interest of citizens and to the motivation of political engagement? More specifically, the question goes further to the use of the media and the net: is there any connection between the use of online/offline media and certain types of political and civic engagement? Moreover, could those media function as a political commitment tool for those who are already interested in politics or do they lead to the motivation of young audiences to engage in politics?

We seek to answer these questions by proposing a typology of differentiated forms of political and civic engagement that are correlated to socio-demographic and media use variables. We examine this methodological work by extracting a number of **participatory types.** Certain types of participation exhibit a solid class effect, others generate a generational effect, some have a conjectural character of engagement, and finally, some are strongly correlated to the use of print and digital media.

Our theoretical concern is connected to the discussion on eroding confidence in political institutions, declining levels of civic engagement and other signs of political disaffection alongside the emergence of new forms of political and civic engagement. Furthermore, we discuss two interpretative schemes which question the ability of new media to broaden the scope of political participation. Our methodology is based on the use of empirical data from the European Social Survey (ESS R1, 2002), (ESS R2,

2004), (ESS R4, 2008) (ESS R5, 2010) and from a 2012 survey conducted by the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) in the wider Athens area through face-to-face interviews. Through these two databases, we document trends and fluctuations in political participation and interest and correlations of the forms of political and civic engagement in Greece with a number of variables, such as income, education, gender, age and media use.

MEDIA DYNAMICS IN POLITICAL AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Scholars (Newton, 1999; Kenskin and Stroud, 2006) tend to treat the relationships among political interest, political participation and media use in two ways. Some argue that media use has a negative effect on the variables of political efficacy, knowledge and political participation, whereas others contend that use of the Internet increases the indicators of these three variables. Both modes question the ability of media to broaden the scope of political participation.

The first stream gathers the views of those who argue that traditional and new media have either negative or neutral impact on the variables of political effectiveness, knowledge and political participation. The interpretive scheme known as "media malaise" is used as Newton (1999, p. 579) points out "broadly to cover those types of democratic pathology which are supposed to be caused, at least in part, by the modern mass media - political apathy, alienation, distrust, cynicism, confusion, disillusionment and even fear". The extension of the media-malaise theory in the uses of the Internet and its connection to the political commitment are based on the same logic. Putnam (2000) emphasized the fact that entertainment uses of the Internet led to a parallel isolation of users from social and political actions and to the consequent damage of social capital. Moreover, Scheufele and Nisbet (2002, p. 69) have argued that "the role of the Internet in promoting active and well informed citizens is limited. Those who respond to Internet users on a daily basis for entertainment purposes are less likely to feel sufficient potential roles in democratic processes". Other authors argue that the net could lead people to abandon their social environment (Nie, Erbring, 2000). Similar trends of thought indicate that the political agenda is usually set by those in power and not by ordinary citizens. Hague and Loader (1999, p. 13) point to the fact that most government sponsored initiatives are not aimed at citizen feedback, while those that are show a "tendency to seek aggregate 'consumer/citizen' views (via e.g. electronic

opinion polling, referenda, etc.) on predetermined issues rather than to encourage discourse and deliberation amongst citizens and allow an input to agenda setting".

Theorists of mobilisation (Norris, 1996) have viewed increasing education levels and expanded access to political information as trends that could aid in the mobilisation of public opinion at the cognitive and behavioral levels (political interest, political participation). Consequently, politically interested individuals might decide to follow public affairs through the use of print and electronic media. In that case, new and traditional media become not only information tools but also activation tools for those already interested and engaged in politics and for those who demonstrate positive feelings towards politics (Afouxenidis, 2014; Boulliane, 2011; Bonfadelli, 2000; Weber et al., 2003; Bimber, 1999). Media then stimulate pre-existing political interests and shape political attitudes and behaviours. For instance, reading a newspaper might promote interest in a topic, help identify a candidate who takes a position on a topic or motivate voting for a particular political party. Norris (2001) refers to this process as *reinforcement*. Additionally, other scholars insist that the effects of digital media on citizenship mean that Internet use increases the likelihood of voting and civic engagement (Mossberg et al., 2009, p. 15).

However, the questions remain: does Internet use facilitate access to political information, and does it enhance political participation? As Brants (2005, p. 143) points out, the political benefits of the Internet are described by e-optimists or cyber-utopians and e-pessimists or cyber-realists. The first hail this new medium of communication for not merely offering new ways of obtaining information but for also "revolutionizing the character of democratic society by transcending the limitations of time, space and access and enabling an interactive, deliberative citizenship not hindered by the elite character of traditional mass media". The latter, question the potential powers ascribed to the Internet in mobilizing the politically uninterested. "Cyber-optimists" believe that the use of the Internet offers possibilities to mobilize the inactive population, such as young people (Krueger, 2002).

Furthermore, improved access to information may reduce the knowledge differences observed between those of low and high socioeconomic status, men and women, and youth and older adults (Carpini and Keeter, 1996; Boulliane, 2009). Increased knowledge access may reduce knowledge deficiencies that are used to excuse disengagement. Increased knowledge access may reduce the knowledge deficiencies used to excuse disen-

gagement. Moreover, the Internet has driven the emergence of new forms of political participation considered especially important in industrial societies (Anduiza et al., 2010).

OLD AND NEW MEDIA: QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE DIFFERENCES

The distinction between new media and traditional media (print and television media) is based primarily on a qualitative differentiation that results in consequences for the forms of civic and political engagement. First, we need to underline the hierarchical organisational forms of traditional media versus the horizontal forms of the Internet's organisation, which have enabled the transition from the communication scheme of '*one too many*' to the communication scheme of '*many too many*'. Secondly, regarding the informational role of the Web, we need to clarify its compensatory nature, interactivity (see Lilleker et al., 2008), lack of temporal and spatial constraints, multiplicity of issues, possibilities of access for different groups, emergence of alternative journalism and frames, absence of political control and low costs of communication. In general, traditional media tend to restrict the field of political publicity to a limited number of political issues and collective actors (Kountouri, 2011).

However, the question of the effects of Internet use on political variables such as efficacy (internal and external), knowledge and participation remains. Specifically, if we take into account a set of parameters that Boulianne (2011) points out such as the degree of effort required to access media (quick and easy access to a vast amount of information), the degree of attention required to use media (Internet is largely a self-directed medium that tends to require more user attention), the function of information sharing (social networks can facilitate access to civic and political information, reaching those citizens who are less motivated or interested in public affairs) and the volume of information (stimulation of political interest by reducing the effort required to access information of personal interest to users through direct and indirect access to news sources).

Although these trends emerge from the qualitative dimension of the Internet uses, we need to emphasise some cautions (Table 1). First, traditional media have not lost their impact. In Greece, television remained the leader in the field of communication throughout the 2000s. In the 5th round of the ESS (2010) of respondents declared that they acquire political information from television (0.5-1.5 h.) (European average is 82,5), a higher

percentage than in earlier rounds of the survey. However, the percentage of those who declared that they do not reading newspapers at all was very high in the Greek case (33,5% stated they read newspapers, 66,5% that they do not read newspapers, and 20% of those who responded affirmatively said that they do not read about politics or current affairs). Even if the practice of reading the newspaper has lost its impact, the practices of reading articles posted by friends on social media and taking a look at the headlines of newspapers remain important elements that underline the role of newspapers on setting the agenda. The percentage of everyday users of the Internet remains lower in Greece than the European average. Everyday users increased from 4,2% in 2002 to 26,1% in 2010. (The European average was 13,6% and 40,5%, respectively).

It is important to note the distinction between entertainment and informational uses of the Internet. Research by the National Book Centre of Greece (EKEVI) in 2010[1] indicated the reasons for Internet use. The response "general information/communication" garnered the highest percentage (77,3%), social media came in second (43,8%), and the act of reading newspaper articles was reported by 20,4% of respondents. These informational uses of the Internet in Greece are reinforced by the high percentages of Greeks who perceive the Internet as reliable, according to the Eurobarometer (2011). In Greece, 77% of respondents do not trust television (42% is the European average), and 43% do not trust the press (51% is the European average). In contrast, 38% do not trust the Internet (the European average is 37%). Moreover, 37% of Greeks say they trust social media and blogs (non-institutional sites), more than among other Europeans (the European average is 19%).

Lastly, we need note the digital divide on the Internet, which is the fact that the poorest, the aged and the less educated are not hard-core users of the Internet. The public of the Internet is composed of young men ages 15 and 35 years with high levels of education (Kountouri, 2011). Additionally, it has to be underlined that the intensive use (Rucht, 2008, p. 164) of the Internet by activists from social and global justice movements attracts members from the most educated and politically informed segments of the population. There is a positive relation between some forms of participation and the use of Internet without distinguishing the degree to which the Internet constitutes a motive for mobilisation.

1. The survey by the National Centre of Book took place between 15/11/2010 and 13/12/2010 using a sample of 1500 respondents.

TABLE 1
Media uses in Greece since 2002

		Television					Press					Internet		
		General Use "On an average weekday, how much time, in total, do you spend watching television?"		Political use "And again on an average weekday, how much of your time watching television is spent watching news or programmes about politics and current affairs?"			General Use "On an average weekday, how much time, in total, do you spend reading the newspapers? "			Political use "And how much of this time is spent reading about politics and current affairs?"		General use "How often do you use the Internet, the World Wide Web or e-mail - whether at home or at work - for your personal use?"		
Ess Rounds		No time at all	More Than 3h	No time at all	Less than 0,5 h	0,5 h-1h	No time at all	Less than 0,5 h	0,5 h-1h	No time at all	Less than 0,5 h	No access	Never use	Every day
2002	Greece	2,8	36,8	14,6	27,1	31,3	63,5	17	12,8	19,2	53,8	73,9	12,7	4,2
	E.A.	2,8	21,6	5,6	29,2	40,4	28,5	31,4	27,7	15,3	60,6	46,2	16,6	13,6
2004	Greece	1,8	42,1	13,6	30,8	33,8	63,7	14,4	13,9	19,3	50,7	66,3	14	5,5
	E.A	3,3	25,2	6,8	31,7	38,1	31,8	28,9	26,3	15	59,5	40,6	20,3	15,9
2008	Greece	3,4	29,1	25,1	36,5	25,3	60,1	16,5	14,7	24,1	51,4	44,7	16,5	18,2
	E.A	3,6	24,7	8,9	33,3	35,4	36,4	28,7	23,5	17,1	60	37,2	13,7	28
2010	Greece	3	32,7	17,3	28,2	30,8	66,5	13,4	14,3	20	46,6	26,8	28,6	26,1
	E.A	3,9	22,7	8.9	36,2	35,8	38,3	30,5	21,6	17,7	62,6	26,7	10,6	40,5

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

We address the question of the emergence of types of civic–political engagement during the debt crisis in Greece using two axes-filters. The first is related to the construction of a typology of institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of political and civic engagement, especially in light of the debt crisis and the emergence of new forms of engagement. The second correlates these participatory types to the socio-demographic profiles of participants and to the differing levels of their significance to the reinforcement of patterns in participation. We document trends and fluctuations in political participation over time using data starting from from four rounds of ESS (2002, 2004, 2008, 2010). Additional empirical data are drawn from the 2012 survey conducted by EKKE in the wider Athens area (N=595).

Based on these theoretical considerations, we propose several related hypotheses for which we generate measures in the following sections:

1. The debt crisis enhanced new forms of political and civic engagement without a parallel reinforcement of institutionalised forms of political participation, such as party adhesion, contact with politicians and closeness to party.
2. The socio-demographic variables of the institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of political participation which emerged during the crisis differ.
3. Socio-demographic variables offer stronger explanations of most institutionalised forms of political participation.
4. Access to the Internet is positively associated with certain forms of non-institutionalised political participation and with young citizens who are more likely to be inactive in institutionalised forms of political participation, such as electoral participation.
5. The relation between political interest and use of the press remains strong in contrast to the relation between the use of television and either institutionalised or non-institutionalised forms of political participation.

A TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATORY TYPES

Let us begin by clarifying some notions of political and civic engagement. The traditional concept of political participation was first reported in the work of Verba et al (1978). In their comparative research, the concept of

political participation consists mostly of involvement (engagement) in elections and actions developed by established institutional entities within the framework of democratic political systems (e.g. political parties, pressure groups), excluding forms of political protest. In 1971, the study of Barnes, Kaase et al. (1979) conclude for the emergence of new forms of non institutionalised participation and for the existence of a continuum among conventional and non conventional participation. Since the 1970s, significant changes in the social value system that, according to Inglehart (1990), have given priority to post-materialist value orientations have contributed to an increase in less institutionalised forms of political participation, a decrease in more traditional forms of political participation related to elections and political parties and a decrease in attachment to political parties. In addition to traditional forms of political participation, new or non-institutionalised forms of participation, such as boycotts, sit-ins and occupations, have been added. Milbrath and Groel (1979) distinguished different types of participation, from protests to electoral and partisan activism, exposition to communication flows, political contact and local activism.

As Verba, Nie and Kim (1971, p. 8) underline "political participation is not a unitary phenomenon but a multidimensional one meaning that citizens differ not only in the overall amounts of participation they perform but also as to the types of acts in which they choose to engage". The critical element of these different, alternative types of participatory systems "that are used for different purposes that are able to provide different types of benefits" by Verba et al. (1971, p. 8) is that they are acts aimed at more or less directly influencing the selection of governmental personnel and the decisions they make. They describe political participation as "the means by which the interests, desires, and demands of the ordinary citizen are communicated. By political participation we refer to all those activities that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the decisions that they make". The concept of influence in the notion of political participation was also analysed by Brady (1999), who argued that almost all definitions of political participation include four basic concepts: (1) activities or actions, (2) ordinary citizens, (3) politics and (4) influence. The notion of political participation includes the necessity of influencing the government, but the notion of civic engagement is extended to a voluntary form of participation that is not oriented towards political influence.

Our typology of **participatory types** (Table 2) is based on three distinctions. The first distinction is between civic and political engagement.

Political participation refers to acts aimed at influencing the government (political engagement) and its decisions, whereas civic engagement refers to voluntary acts with a collective scope (civic engagement). The second distinction is between participation in formal organisations (political parties) and informal organisations. The third distinction is between collective and individualistic types of participation. We take into account a differentiated list of participatory types from two different panel studies. The table above offers a description of our typology based on two surveys. The first typology scheme concerns the distinction between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of participation. Taking into consideration suggestions from the academic specialist consultants for the ESS core questionnaire of political issues, we use more descriptive ways to distinguish between different repertories of actions.

The first ensemble of acts consists of party-related or institutionalised forms of political participation. The questions asked by the ESS survey are whether a respondent is a member of a party, has worked for a party or in group action or contacted a politician or government official in the past 12 months. The second ensemble of acts includes non-institutionalised forms of participation and acts by external formal organisations aimed at influencing the government. The questions posed by the ESS refer to wearing or displaying a campaign badge or sticker, signing a petition, boycotting certain products and taking part in lawful demonstrations. The third ensemble of acts concerns civic engagement. These questions are based on whether respondents have worked for another organization or social group. It was decided to treat these questions separately due to their uninfluential nature.

The second typology scheme of participation acts includes questions posed by the EKKE survey. We present a list of repertories of acts that occurred during the debt crisis in the Athens area.

We, therefore, need to distinguish conjectural forms of political participation, such as participation in popular assemblies in Syntagma Square or in neighbourhoods and participation in the large mobilisations (*indignados-aganaktismenoi*) in Syntagma Square. The second ensemble of acts is related to forms of political disobedience or individualistic acts of resistance (e.g. refusal to pay tolls or taxes). These acts are not collective and do not represent a participatory structure. The third ensemble is limited to some expressive forms of participation. We refer to participation through social media and blogs on Internet in the current situation. Finally, we need to distinguish acts of civic engagement that include forms of citizens' self-organisation and participation in nongovernmental organisations (NGO)

TABLE 2
A typology of participatory types

Survey	Participatory types	Distinctive characteristics	Questions
ESS	Institutionalised Forms of participation	Influence Institutionalised actions	There are different ways of trying to improve things in or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? • Have you contacted a politician, government or local government official? • worked in a political party or action group? • Member of political party?
ESS	Non institutionalised forms of political participation	Influence Non institutionalised actions	There are different ways of trying to improve things in or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? • worn or displayed a campaign badge/sticker? • signed a petition? • boycotted certain products? • taken part in a lawful public demonstration?
ESS	Civic engagement	Voluntary actions Collective scope	There are different ways of trying to improve things in or help prevent things from going wrong. During the last 12 months, have you done any of the following? • worked in another organization or association
EKKE	Conjectural forms of political participation	Influence Non institutionalised actions	• Participation in popular assemblies in Syntagma Square or in neighborhoods • Participation in the concentrations of indignados at Syntagma Square
EKKE	Acts of resistance/ political disobedience	Acts of Range Individualistic scope Non institutionalised actions	• Refusal to pay special contributions • Refusal to pay tickets and tolls
EKKE	Acts of range	Acts of Range Individualistic scope Non institutionalised actions	• Join persons in symbolic acts of rage
EKKE	Civic engagement	Voluntary actions Collective scope	• Participation in NGOs / charities
EKKE	Expressive participation	Expression of opinions Individualistic scope	• Participation in social media / blogs for the current situation
EKKE	Institutionalised forms of participation	Influence Institutionalised actions	• Member of party or trade union last 12 months or earlier
EKKE	Participation in strikes	Influence Non institutionalised actions	• Participation in strikes last 12 months or earlier

and charity groups. We refer to some voluntary forms of engagement that extensively emerged in Greece.

THE QUESTION OF POLITICAL AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AMID THE COLLAPSE OF POLITICAL COMMITMENT

During the recent debt crisis, a paradox seems to have emerged in issues of political engagement. This paradox is related to the emergence of new participatory types or the resurgence of some non-institutionalised forms of political and civic engagement amid the collapse of political commitment (Table 3). Decreasing variables, such as interest in politics, trust in institutions and satisfaction with democracy and government, coexisted with a revival of participation forms that do not include party-related participatory types. An overview of the sample composition is provided in the following tables (3, 4 and 5). Well over a majority of respondents reported that they are not interested (at all) in politics (39,4%), do not rust (at all) parties (47,9%), politicians (48,2%) or parliament (37,5%) and are extremely dissatisfied with the way democracy works in the country (21,2%), with the national government (36,1%) and with the present state of economy (41,4%). The following figures indicate that all these percentages have worsened considerably since 2002.

TABLE 3
Diachronic evolution of political variables in Greece (ESS)

Greece in European Social Survey		2002	2004	2008	2011
Interest in Politics	Not at all interested in politics	34,3%	30,8%	31,0%	39,4%
Trust in institutions	No trust at all in parties	,0%	15,4%	22,2%	47,9%
	No trust at all in politicians	18,0%	15,1%	22,9%	48,2%
	No trust at all in country's parliament	9,8%	8,5%	13,1%	37,5%
	No trust at all in the legal system	4,8%	5,6%	7,8%	19,2%
	No trust at all in the police	4,1%	4,6%	7,2%	13,5%
Satisfaction	Extremely dissatisfied with the way democracy works in country	4,0%	1,6%	6.9%	21.2%
	Extremely dissatisfied with the national government	11.1%	6.4%	20.6 %	36,1%
	Extremely dissatisfied with the present state of economy in country	14,2%	11,6%	19,8%	41,4%

In general, the figures in Table 4 indicate that the majority of respondents do not declare engaging an institutionalised type of participation. High percentages of respondents do not engage in all forms of participation, such as "contact a politician", "work in political party", "closeness to party" and "party adhesion". Therefore non-institutionalised forms of participation appear to have attracted growing percentages of respondents accross the ESS rounds.

TABLE 4

Diachronic evolution in institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of participation in Greece (ESS)

	Greece in European Social Survey		2002	2004	2008	2011
Institutionalised forms of participation	Contacted a politician or government official last 12 months	Yes	14,5%	13,5%	10%	8,6%
	Worked in political party or action group last 12 months	Yes	5%	5,8%	3,9%	2,9%
	Feel closer to a particular party than all other parties	Yes	57,7%	58,5%	58,7%	32,1%
	Member of political party	Yes	4,9%	7,3%	7,5%	4,1%
Forms of civic engagement	Worked in another organization or association last 12monts	Yes	5,7%	5,1%	3,9%	4,7%
Non-institutionalised forms of participation	Signed petition last 12 months	Yes	4,6%	3,1%	4,8%	5,1%
	Taken part in lawful public demonstration last 12 months	Yes	4,3%	4,8%	5,9%	10,3%
	Boycotted certain products last 12 months	Yes	8,5%	4,9%	15,2 %	11,9%

Figures in Table 5 indicate results from the survey conducted by EKKE in the wider Athens area. This survey focused on a large repertoire of participation forms which emerged during the crisis and forms of institutionalised participation which already existed. Again, the majority of respondents did not declare engaging in an institutionalised type of participation. The percentages of respondents reporting such engagement decreased for all such forms of participation (adhesion to political party) and some forms of civic engagement (participation in NGOs). At the same time, non-institutionalised forms of participation appear to have increasing percentages of respondents engaged in them during the crisis. As shown in the Table above, we refer to demonstrations in Syntagma Square and the assemblies which lasted for 65 days, as well as to forms of expressive communication.

TABLE 5
Participatory types in Greece (area of Athens) in 2012

		Yes, last 12 months	Yes, in the past
Conjectural forms of participation	Participation in the concentrations of indignados in Syntagma Square	41%	-
	Participation in popular assemblies in Syntagma Square or in other neighborhoods in Athens	35%	-
	Refusal to pay special contributions	21,4%	-
Acts of resistance /Political disobedience	Refusal to pay tickets and tolls	16,4%	5,8%
Civic engagement	Participation on NGOs / charities	7,3%	14,4%
	Participation in forms of self - organization of citizens to address basic needs locally	8%	7,3%
Expressive participation	Participation in social media / blogs for the current situation	16,3%	8,9%
Acts of range	Join persons in symbolic acts of rage	9,8%	5,4%
Non-Institutionalised forms of participation	Participation in strikes	14,4%	23,2%
Institutionalised forms of participation	Adhesion to political party / trade union	2,8 %	13,2%

Therefore, new forms of political and civic engagement have appeared in Greece (since 2010) indicating a movement towards forms of collective organization that exclude traditional organizations, such as political parties (Table 6). There is a centrifugal trend connected to the de-valorization of political parties and other formal institutions. This proposition is also supported by the loss of trust in formal organization (e.g. government, 5,4%) to deal with the impact of the crisis, in contrast to trust in civil society movements (31%), citizen initiatives (11,5%) and individuals (11,8%), as shown in the EKKE[2] survey.

2. The question posed was "In your opinion, what of the following may be more effective in dealing with the impact of the crisis". The responses given were: government, 5.4%, initiatives of citizens, 11.5%, friends and relatives, 1.6%, European union, 10.6%, municipalities and peripheries, 5%, NGO's 3.4%, Charity organizations 3.4%, Enterprises, 7.5%, church and religious institutions, 8.8%, civil society movements 31%, each one on its own, 11.8%.

TABLE 6
Citizens movements since 2010

Type of organisation	Type of organisation
Solidarity commerce	Popular assemblies of Athens
Local systems of exchange, time banks and networks of producers and consumers without intermediaries	Popular assemblies of other cities
Gratuitous bazaars	Groups supporting the project of Direct democracy
Working collectivities	Multi spaces of self organization
Ecological Communities	Collective gestation of social goods
Groups of free education	Groups of Cultural activism

PARTICIPATORY TYPES AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES: THE MEDIA FACTOR

We employed the types of political and civic engagement used in both the ESS and EKKE survey as **dependent** variables. The answer options for these types of participation were either "yes" or "no" (binary logistic regression), and the integration of each type of participation was calculated by the type of answers. Institutionalised types of participation were indicated by positive answers to three questions (party member, worked for a party, contacted a politician or member of a government in the past 12 months). Non-institutionalised types of participation were also indicated by positive answers to the related questions.

Seven **independent** variables were included in this project. As noted in the literature review, these variables have known relationships to the dependent variables under consideration. Although media uses were the focus of this study, the other independent variables were used as control variables.

Socio-demographics. Socio-demographic variables include gender (male=1, female=2), age (years), education (1=primary education, 2=secondary, 3=graduate, 4= post graduate), and monthly household income (in hundreds) (just for the case of the survey by the National Centre for Social Research).

Political uses of media and Internet use. An indicator of media use was used differently in the two surveys. From the ESS survey, we used

the following questions: "On an average weekday, how much of your time watching television is spent watching news or programs about politics and current affairs?" "On an average weekday, how much of your time is spent reading about politics and current affairs?" For the Internet use, we used the question: "How often do you use the Internet and the World Wide Web or e-mail (electronic mail) for your personal use, whether at home or at work?" We retained the 7-point scale for the answer options on the above questions (ranging from 0 = no time to 7 = more than 3 hours and from 0 = no access at home or at work to 7 = every day). For the EKKE survey, we opted to create three different variables of media use that constructed a scale from hard to soft uses. Survey participants were asked, 'Could you tell me from where you were primarily informed about the issues of the crisis?'. We created three different variables based on the different options (first and second options) for the preceding question. Depending on whether respondents selected the first or second option, they were coded as follows: users of television, print media and Internet were coded as 0 = no use of sources of information, 1 = hard user (first option) or 2 = soft user (second option).

Political interest (ESS survey) was assessed by responses to the question "How interested would you say you are in politics?" (1=very interested, 2=quite, 3=hardly, 4=not at all).

FINDINGS

The analysis confirms that socio-demographic variables matter to all forms of political and civic engagement (Table 7). Education levels seem to be a valuable parameter to those engaged in any form of political engagement. For institutionalised forms of engagement, it seems that more educated, older men have more possibilities to be engaged. This is a standard socioeconomic model of participation, proving the statistically significant correlations of education, gender and age with institutionalised political involvement. Regarding non-institutionalised forms of participation, we should note that more educated, younger men are the most engaged. Among those engaged in organisations or associations, we should note that more educated men are the most engaged.

The variable of political interest is positively related to all three dependent variables and it also intermediates other independent variables such as age, gender and use of print media. The force of the variable is also explained by the fact that Internet use remains statistically significant

even when the variable of political interest is introduced.The stability of the political interest indicates the autonomous dynamic of Internet use, especially in relation to other media uses. Therefore we can agree with Boulliane (2011, p. 148) when she notes that "online news can have different implications for individuals and their levels of political interest and engagement". She finally notes that online news may have a stronger effect on stimulating political interest (meaning that media have a causal role in shaping both political interest and behavior, the mobilization process ac-

TABLE 7

Institutionalised forms, non-institutionalised forms and forms of civic engagement (ESS)

ESS survey	Institutionalised		Non-institutionalised		Civic engagement	
Primary Education	-1,087***	-,603+	-2,021***	-1,289***	-1,805***	-,810
Secondary Education	-,715***	-,565*	-1,120***	-,607**	-1,054***	-,766+
Graduate education	-,289	-,318	-,459**	,068	-,750*	-,512*
Gender (Male)	,446***	,528**	,203*	-,077	,617**	,419
Age	,010**	,006	-,008**	,003	,002	,000
Cox & Snell R Square	0,18		0,70		0,19	
Political Interest		-423***		-,460***		,542***
Political users television		-,007		-,066		,102 (,203* without political interest)
Political users of press		,147+ (,183* without political interest)		-,053		-,232+
Users of internet		,047		,134***		,131* (,160** without political interest)
Cox & Snell R Square		0,62		,119		,056

cording to Norris) than reinforcing political interest (meaning that media use fits preexisting interests, the reinforcement process according to Norris)". On the other side the more traditional media (especially the print media) become an information tool for those already interested and engaged in politics, having a reinforcing effect on political participation.

The findings from the EKKE are presented as follows (Table 8). We can attest to similarities among participatory types in two surveys that confirm our hypothesis of the different correlations produced by various forms of political and civic engagement. There are some common trends among participatory types. We can advance the hypothesis of the existence of correlations among socio-demographic variables, media uses and hard or soft, collective or individualistic, political or civic forms of participation.

Let us begin with institutionalised forms of participation, such as party and union organisation (with the past 12 months or earlier). We underline the dominance of variables, such as age (older adults), gender (male), education (more educated) and monthly income (the poorer seem more engaged). Socioeconomic status, age and gender are variables that explain types of institutionalised political participation in both surveys. Use of the press can be interpreted as an indication of political interest as we know that users of the press are among the most politically interested (Kountouri, 2011). The type of civic engagement also includes one variable which is the participation to NGO's and other associations (including charity). The type of civic engagement also includes the variable of participation in NGOs and other associations, such as charities. There is no correlation between civic engagement and media use (as was the case in the ESS analysis). The variable of education remains the strongest factor in explaining such forms of engagement.

We also need to underline that the two types of participation that emerged during the debt crisis (symbolic acts of rage and the refusal to pay tickets, tolls and special contributions) do not represent a solid organisational form that permits their classification. Instead, we hypothesise that they are conjectural acts of rage that do not become acts of protestation with as solid a status as most types of political and civic engagement. There do not seem to be any significant correlations to socio-demographic variables, exception for age with acts of refusal and use of the press with symbolic acts of rage. There seems to exist an actor who reacts to the crisis by adopting some non-institutionalised practices, eliminating political parties and unions and participating in *indignados* and popular assemblies in Syntagma Square and in some acts of political disobedience.

TABLE 8

Types of political and civic participation (EKKE)

	Conjectural forms of participation		Acts of resistance/ Political Disobedience		Civic engagement		Expressive Participation		Symbolic acts of range		Non-institutionalised forms of participation		Institutionalised (Party/ Syndical adhesion)	
Primary Education	-,506	-,266	-,406	-,526	-1,181**	-1,242*	-1,394*	-2,011*	-0,25	-,427	-1,196**	-1,181*	-2,368**	-2,612*
Secondary Education	-,004	,035	,323	,295	-,599**	-,540*	-,470*	-,372	,165	,108	-,482*	-,394+	-,542*	-,465
Graduate education	,142	,317	,037	,089	-,491*	-,406	-,108	,040	,401	,341	-,454+	-,251	-,578+	-,517
Gender (Male)	,296	,169	,163	,177	-,025	-,041	,226	,249	,081	,131	,009	,166	,543*	,546*
Age	-,019**	-,017**	-,011*	-,009	,002	-,001	-,025***	-,026**	,005	,001	,238	,007	,023**	,019*
Monthly revenue	-,003	-,006	,001	,000	-,004	-,002	-,009+	-,008	-,016	-,107+	-,009*	-,011*	-,016*	,015+
Cox & Snell R Square	0,40		0,20		0,25		0,68		0,15		0,34		0,62	-
Users of television		,171		-,239		-,048		-,011		-0,73		-,276+		,110
Users of press		,261*		-,117		,087		0,43		,345*		,228+		,477**
Users of internet		,319*		-,021		,118		,336*		,087		,054		,200
Cox & Snell R Square		0,53		0,24		0,29		0,93		0,48		0,54		0,83

Internet use was significantly associated with some conjectural forms of participation, such as Syntagma Square demonstrations and popular assemblies. This statistically strong significance also supports the case for expressive participation. In the Syntagma Square protests and assemblies, communication technologies functioned as *coordinating tools* that this relationship between digital networking and forms of political engagement brings us to the hypothesis advanced by Graber et al (2004) that digital networking might enable sustained patterns of association that can be organised into loose, voluntary and non-hierarchical relationships. As Bennett et al. (2008, p. 271) point out, communication technologies may now enable sustainable interpersonal network organization on a large scale that is (to varying degrees) independent of and, in some cases, may act upon conventional institutional organizations. To conclude, we stress that Internet use in the case of the *indignados* in Syntagma Square may partly explain the emergence of fluid organisational forms for individuals.

CONCLUSION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VARIABLES IN DIFFERENT FORMS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

We have discussed the existence of a dual paradox. The first paradox concerns the coexistence of diminishing levels of political trust, interest and satisfaction with a resurgence of certain institutionalised forms of political engagement. The second paradox is the endogenous qualitative and quantitative distinctions among forms of political commitment. The so-called resurgence of political engagement does not include all types of political and civic engagement. Indeed, our findings on emerging participatory types during the debt crisis resonate with shifts in the collective action theory paradigm that recognise more fluid organisational forms characterised by looser membership relationships which enable loose-tie networks to flatten conventional hierarchical organisation (Bimber et al., 2005; Bennett et al., 2008, p. 285).

We have created a typology of participatory types which distinguishes between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of political engagement and other forms, such as civic and expressive engagement. The differences between the types are quantitative. Forms of engagement which emerged during the crisis have strong percentages of positive responses from survey participants, whereas institutionalised forms of participation have declining responses. At the same time, we have noticed differences in the structure of different types of participation. Some qualitative differ-

ences between institutionalised and non-institutionalised forms of political participation have emerged. Socio-demographic variables become stronger when concerning forms of institutionalised participation, while media use, especially Internet use, revealed an autonomous dynamic related to non-institutionalised forms of participation.

Forms of political participation matter in different ways due to the qualitative differences in the structures of these participatory types. Namely, Internet use proves to be an *autonomous dynamic* in some forms of political and civic participation not mediated by the variable of political interest. However, we must note that using the Internet *stimulates* political interest, while use of the press *reinforces* political interest. Another significant element in media use is the distinctions between different types of media. For example, television remains a hegemonic force in the media but does not have statistically significant correlations to various types of political and civic engagement.

In addition, we need to stress that variables, such as *Internet use* and *age*, have a significant correlation to all forms of participation. In that respect, the hypothesis developed by Zukin et al (2010) on the disengagement from traditional forms of political participation and the emergence of a different mix of activities, including Internet use, seems to be correct in this case. Education remains the strongest single factor explaining the motives of civic and political engagement. As shown by Sawicki et al (2008, p. 430), social groups without access to different types of capital (e.g. economic capital, political capital, social networks) do not have equitable access to the political game or understand the language and the rules and consequently have fewer opportunities to engage in various types of participation. This is an *important* point in the overall discussion: under *normal conditions*, participation is generally the result of *an ensemble of social restrictions*, but *times of crisis*, favor *alternative modes of political participation which cut through some social restrictions*, such as education, and contribute to the emergence of a more politically aware public. In this respect, the Internet can become a tool for the enhancement of *non-institutionalised forms* of political participation.

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