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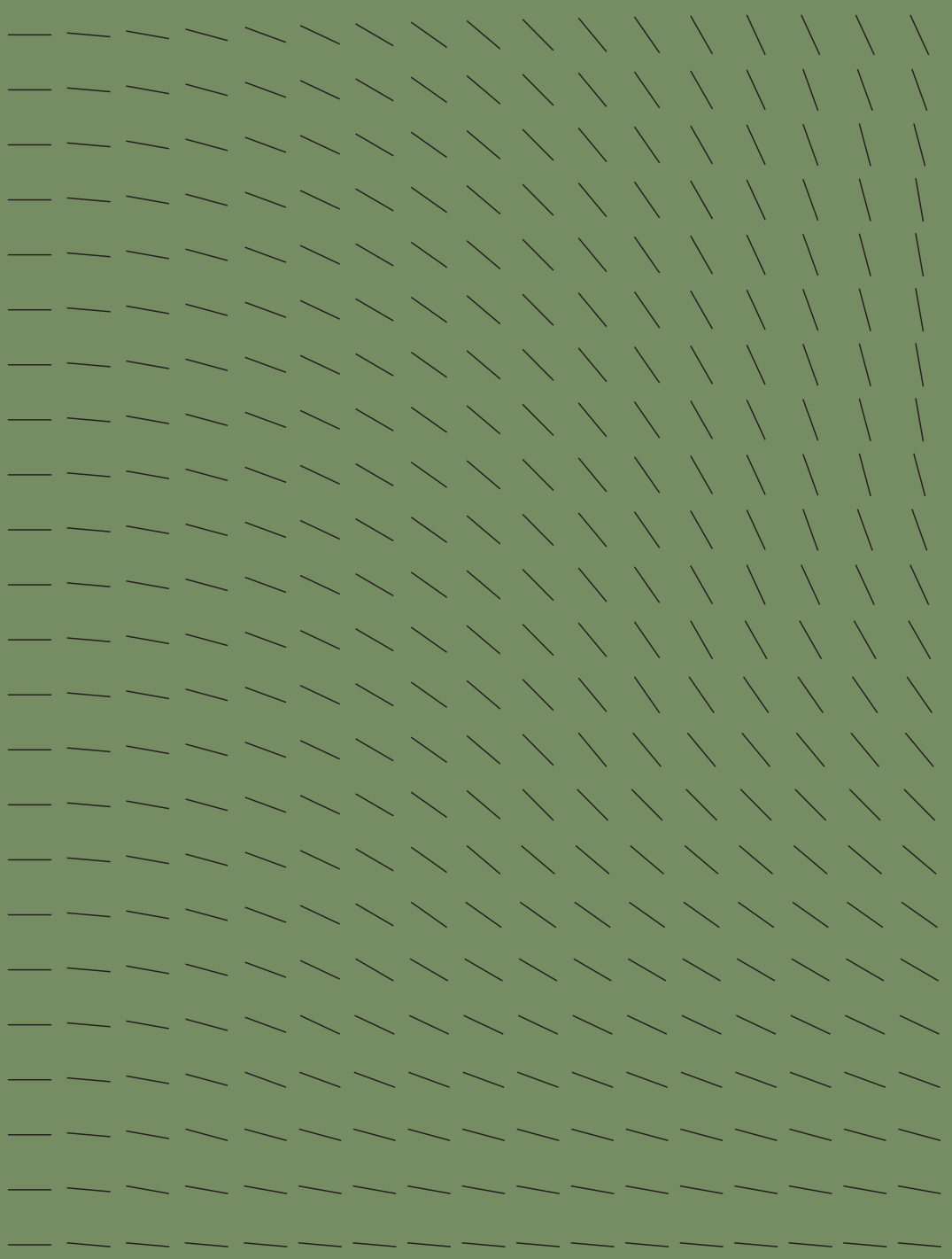

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The Selective Catalyst

Internet use as a mediator of citizenship norms' effects on political participation

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The Selective Catalyst: Internet use as a mediator of citizenship norms' effects on political participation

Abstract

We test the mediating effect of media use on the effects of citizenship norms – shared ideas of what a good citizen is – on political participation. We do so by comparing France and Finland, two countries with distinct media trust levels. Results support the notion that Internet use works as a selective catalyst of political participation, as it is enhanced merely by engaged citizenship norms but not by dutiful citizenship norms. Within the nexus of citizenship norms, media use, and political participation, this article contributes to a better understanding of the normative premises for the Internet use to promote political engagement within differing media contexts.

Keywords: citizenship norms, Internet use, political participation, mediation analysis

Recommended Citation (APA)

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Introduction

The Internet has an increasingly important role in how people learn about the world around them and interact with it. However, in times of debates on fake news and alternative facts, pundits often blame the Internet for citizens' inability to access truthful information about politics. Yet, the online world provides platforms for citizens to discuss politics and to pursue collective action in ways and with consequences that would have been previously difficult (Bennett and Segerberg, 2013). Therefore, and although the information available on the Internet presents opportunities and challenges simultaneously (Mutz and Young, 2011), it provides an environment where users can share and negotiate their understandings of citizenship, in ways that can affect their political behavior.

In this paper, we test whether understandings of what a good citizen is – citizenship norms – affect political participation, whether media use mediates this effect – with a special focus on Internet use –, and the extent to which these effects hold in different media contexts. We use data from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) to test these mechanisms in two countries with different levels of media trust – France and Finland.

Political participation is becoming more diverse and is undergoing changes (Norris and Inglehart, 2009), which can be partly explained by transformations in cultural values: from duty-based value orientations to more post-materialistic and self-expressive ones (Welzel, Inglehart and Kligemann, 2003). The link between changing values and political participation has been conceptualized by citizenship norms; normative beliefs about what a good citizen is (Dalton, 2006). According to this approach, citizens in Western democracies are moving from supporting dutiful citizenship norms – anchored on strong civic duty and social order – to more engaged notions of citizenship, with weaker ties to the state, but reinforcing the importance of individualized engagement (Bennett, 2008; Dalton, 2008). These transformations in citizenship norms are argued to influence political participation, making citizens participate more in non-traditional forms and less in dutiful-based forms, such as joining political parties.

Nevertheless, research on the link between citizenship norms and types of political behavior has received mixed support thus far. By studying this effect in different contexts, we aim to provide a better understanding of the extent to which citizenship norms affect participation. Furthermore, although communication is essential for negotiation of norms, research on the impact of media use on the effects of citizenship norms on political participation has been scarce and provided mixed results. In a world where citizens are increasingly permanently online (Vorderer et al., 2018) and receiving more personalized information (Beam and Ko-

sicki, 2014), it is important to clarify whether such conditions affect the means by which citizenship norms are negotiated and, ultimately, how they affect political participation. Hence, we focus on the role of Internet use for political purposes.

As the Internet provides an environment that promotes non-institutional participation (e.g., Bimber, 2012), we argue that its use for political information can strengthen the link between engaged citizenship norms and these forms of political participation. This is particularly relevant because it would suggest that the more people use online media, the more they engage in politics in non-traditional forms. As online media are becoming more important, to understand these mechanisms is particularly significant.

Our results show that engaged citizenship norms are associated with greater Internet use in both countries, and, consequently, to greater participation. In line with our theoretical argument, this catalyzing effect is not shown for dutiful norms. This article thus adds to the literature on citizenship norms by further exploring the link between them and political behavior, by testing this effect in different contexts, and by providing insights on how media use affects this relationship. Additionally, by focusing on online media use and its impact on participatory behavior, we address the wider debate on how the Internet affects democratic processes.

Theoretical Background

Citizenship Norms in a changing world

Cultural values in Western democracies are changing, making their citizens supporting more individualistic values (Inglehart, 1990). As these values emphasize more direct forms of participation (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005), these transformations impact the way by which people engage in politics. Today, particularly among young people, political participation is increasingly individualized, clashing with more traditional, representative forms of participation (e.g., Bennett, 2008). Accordingly, citizens today engage more in lifestyle, project-oriented, and identity-based politics, taking part in more expressive and ad-hoc forms of participation and less in traditional, institutional-oriented ones (Bang and Eva, 1999; Bennett and Segerberg, 2013; Loader, Vromen and Xenos, 2014; Vromen, 2017).

An approach that integrates changing value structures with the changing nature of political participation is that of citizenship norms. Citizenship norms are shared images of what good citizenship is, which are expected to shape political behavior (van Deth, 2007;

Dalton, 2008). As a result of transformations in cultural values, citizens in Western democracies are moving from duty-based citizenship norms – which highlight civic duty, citizens' responsibility towards government and social order – towards more engaged citizenship norms – characterized by a weaker sense of duty to the state and an emphasis on personalized politics and social responsibility (Bennett, 2008; Dalton, 2008).

This shift from duty-based to more engaged norms is said to affect how citizens participate in politics. Thus, people who support duty-based citizenship are more prone to participate in traditional politics, such as voting or joining political parties (Dalton, 2008). Contrastingly, those who support a more engaged citizenship participate in more individualized and less conventional politics (Bennett, 2008), such as boycotting products.

Some research supports the notion that different support for certain types of citizenship norms predict certain forms of political participation (Theiss-Morse, 1993; Dalton, 2006; Copeland, 2014; Chang, 2016). However, research has also yielded results that challenge this distinction between the two types of citizenship norms and, more importantly, their impact on political behavior. In a study with 25 countries, Bolzendahl and Coffé (2013) found that support for dutiful norms also is associated to more engaged forms of participation, such as individualized activism, and that support for the two types of norms varies considerably across different countries (see also Coffé and van der Lippe, 2010). Likewise, in a study on adolescents' citizenship norms in 38 countries, Hooghe, Oser and Marien (2016) found that less than half the participants fit ideal types of dutiful or engaged citizenship ideals, and that other forms of conceptualizing a good citizen exist. Furthermore, Copeland and Feezell (2017) found that support for engaged citizenship norms is positively associated with both electoral and non-electoral participation. Thus, previous research on the distinction between the two types of citizenship norms and their impact on political behavior provides mixed results, urging for more research on this relationship.

Learning norms: Citizenship norms, media use and political participation

A fruitful way of understanding the impact of citizenship norms on political participation is to explore the means by which these norms are transmitted and negotiated. As channels through which societies negotiate ideals of good citizenship, the media are a particularly important object of research for a better understanding of citizenship norms and their effect on political participation.

However, the relationship between citizenship norms, media use, and political participation is still under-researched (Copeland and Feezell, 2017). Media use is a well-established predictor of political participation (Almond and Verba, 1963; Shah, McLeod and Yoon, 2001), as higher media use, particularly for political information-seeking, is positively associated with political participation. Likewise, Internet use has been shown to foster participation in politics (Boulianne, 2009). Nevertheless, isolating the effects of media use on political participation can be misleading.

Communication is a central form by which people are socialized into norms (Hogg and Reid, 2006), impacting their perceptions of the prevalence of certain behaviors in society and informing them on the extent to which certain behaviors might be supported or sanctioned (Lapinski and Rimal, 2005). The Internet, and social media particularly, offer and stimulate horizontal networks; centered on peer-to-peer, non-institutional-mediated forms of interaction, which contrasts with the more top-down, institutional, and hierarchical forms of political organization in the offline world (Bennett, Wells and Rank, 2009). As a consequence, the Internet is furthering the transformations in value structures and political participation, enhancing more individualized participation in politics (Bimber, 2012). Thus, it is particularly relevant to understand the role of the media – and of the Internet in particular – in the effect of citizenship norms on political participation.

Different patterns of media use are related to different repertoires of participation and citizenship norms (Bennett, 2008). The Internet provides platforms where people learn and negotiate citizenship norms (Ohme, 2018) and has been shown to foster engaged forms of participation (Shehata, Ekström and Olsson, 2016). Conversely, dutiful citizenship norms are related to traditional media use, such as news or political ads. Moreover, dutiful information-seeking behavior, such as looking for information about a candidate or reading news, leads to more traditional and institutional forms of political participation (Feezell, Conroy and Guerrero, 2016; Shehata, Ekström and Olsson, 2016; Ohme, 2018), as well as to enhanced support for dutiful norms (Chang, 2016). On the other side, more innovative forms of seeking information are associated with more engaged norms and forms of participation (Feezell, Conroy and Guerrero, 2016).

These studies point to the need of a better understanding of the relationship between citizenship norms, media use, and political participation better. Further, they stress the complex role of media use in this relationship, as well the need to understand it as more than an isolated variable. Copeland and Feezell (2017) studied media use as a moderator of the effects of citizenship norms on political participation in the US but found no significant effects. Likewise, Ohme (2018) found little effects of the role of online media use in citizenship norms and their effects on participation. Given the recency and

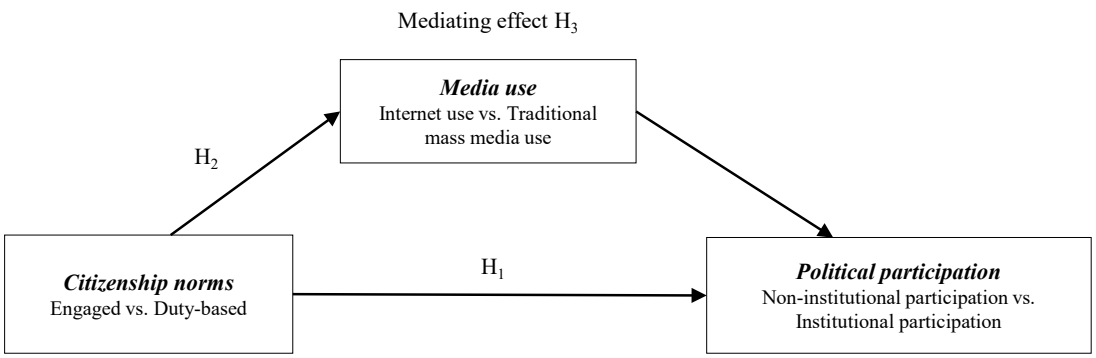
mixed results of this research stream, the present study aims is to provide a theoretical underpinning and empirical inquiry that contributes to clarifying the links between citizenship norms, media use, and political participation, focusing on Internet use.

We argue that socialization into different citizen roles leads to different ways of media use, which, in turn, affect one's political participation. Therefore, this study looks beyond the mere explanatory value of media use for political participation, focusing instead on the media as a catalyzer of the effect of citizenship norms on political participation. This article aims to provide insights into these issues by exploring the relationship between support for dutiful or engaged citizenship norms, using traditional mass media or the Internet and forms of political participation, in different media contexts.

Research questions, hypotheses and country selection

Research question. Normative behavior is strongly affected by whether norms are focal when the behavior is enacted (Cialdini, Kallgren and Reno, 1991). As spaces where non-traditional forms of participation are fostered, online media seem as particularly suited to those supporting engaged citizenship norms. Moreover, they can provide cues for engaged norms when participating in politics and, ultimately, foster non-traditional participation. Consequently, those who support more engaged views of citizenship, would use the Internet more, which, in turn, would make them participate more in non-traditional politics. Hence, it is particularly relevant to study the role of media as a mediator of the effect of citizenship norms in political participation. We investigate these links by adopting the following research question: *Does Internet use mediate the effects of engaged citizenship norms on political participation?* (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Outline of the mediation model and hypotheses.



Hypotheses. As evidence for the link between citizenship norms and political participation is still mixed, this study aims to study this effect in two countries which are less explored; France and Finland. Following this, we expect that *citizenship norms affect political participation (H1)*.

It is often argued that the shift to more engaged citizenship norms is partially driven by a decrease in trust in politicians and political institutions (e.g., Bennett, 2008). Moreover, one way by which participation is changing from more traditional to more engaged forms is a shift from institutional to non-institutional participation, such as ad hoc demonstrations or political consumerism (e.g., Kern, Marien and Hooghe, 2015). Nevertheless, the study of the effect of citizenship norms on political participation rarely tests the distinction between institutional and non-institutional participation. This study will do so, providing a particularly suited framework to test the theory's assumptions. Specifically, we expect that *support for duty-based norms fosters institutionalized participation (H1a)*, and *support for engaged norms fosters non-institutionalized participation (H1b)*.

Communication is central for the development of norms (Hogg and Reid, 2006). As such, media can be a way by which citizens access information about norms and expectations on political behavior and through which these are negotiated. Furthermore, we expect that the more individuals think one should be active in politics in order to be a good citizen, the more they use media in order to be informed about politics. Following this, we expect that *support for – dutiful or engaged – citizenship norms leads to more media use (H2)*.

The relationship between different types of citizenship norms and different types of media use is still under-researched. We expect Internet use to have a special role in this relationship. Online media provide an environment that is detached from institutional settings, where individuals participate on their own terms (Bimber, 2012), and therefore are tailored for personalized participation. Departing from this, we argue that those who support engaged citizenship find an ideal platform on the Internet, and, therefore expect that *support for engaged citizenship norms leads to greater Internet use, when compared to support for duty-based norms (H2a)*.

Media use is positively associated with political participation. However, there is a lack of research on the influence of different types of media use on different types of participation. We expect that a reason why research on the relationship between citizenship norms, media use, and political participation has provided mixed results is that it focuses on direct effects. In H2 we postulate that enhanced support for citizenship norms leads to greater media use. As the Internet provides platforms that are appropriate for the development of non-institutional political participation, we expect it to have a specific role in this mediation and that *Internet use, in contrast to mass media use, mediates*

the effects of engaged citizenship norms on political participation (H3) (see Figure 1).

Country selection. Following previous research (e.g., Rimmer and Weaver, 1987), we expect that as people trust mass media less, they will use it less. As a consequence, in contexts where media trust is lower, we expect citizens to rely more on the Internet. If this holds true, the Internet would have a particularly relevant role in mediating the relationship between citizenship norms and political participation in these contexts, as people would be more exposed and trust more platforms that foster engaged forms of participating. Following this, we select two countries with dissimilar news trust levels, Finland and France. According to the *Reuters Institute Digital News Report 2017*, 62% of Finnish participants trust the news media most of the time, while only 30% of the French participants said so (Newman et al., 2017).

Research on citizenship norms has mostly focused on the US, and studies on other countries have often yielded results which do not entirely support the theory's assumptions (Coffé and van der Lippe, 2010; Hooghe, Oser and Marien, 2016). However, while France and Finland present cases of different media trust conditions, other baseline parameters are similar enough to ensure comparability: these are two well-established European democracies, both EU member states, with generally similar patterns of political participation (Gallego, 2007). Of particular interest here, these countries have similar household Internet penetration (Eurostat, 2018). Although we did not include trust in our analytical model, the above-mentioned differences serve as convincing criteria for selecting these countries, allowing us to provide initial research on the effects of different media environments on citizenship norms and their effects on participation.

The contribution of studying these countries is twofold. Firstly, it researches citizenship norms and political participation within an environment other than that of the US, where the theory was developed and most research on it was conducted. Secondly, by studying countries which are similar politically, but have different levels of media trust, we are able to test our expectations under dissimilar media environments, providing some generalization of our findings.

Method

Data

To test our hypotheses, we used data from the 2014 Citizenship II Module from the ISSP. This module was conducted in 34 countries, focusing on issues of civil rights, political participation, and communication (see Scholz, Jutz, Pammett, & Hadler, 2017). In France and Finland, the survey was administered via web survey or email. The total sample was of 1,259 participants for Finland and 972 for France.

Dependent variables: Political participation. The ISSP measured respondents' engagement in different political actions. We classified eight items into two distinct dimensions: (1) *institutional participation*, and (2) *non-institutional participation*. We tested the fitness of these dimensions using a confirmatory factor analysis, which showed good applicability in both countries (see Appendix A).

Institutional participation included all items concerned with actions directly aimed at the political system: (a) being a party member; (b) attending a political rally or meeting, (c) contacting a politician (Finland (FI): $M = 1.76$, $SD = 0.67$, $\alpha = 0.63$; France (FR): $M = 1.69$, $SD = 0.67$, $\alpha = 0.64$). Following previous research on political participation, we excluded voting from these categories. We did so as voting is a very common activity and thus very different from other participatory behaviors, which would overshadow other relations in the data, or beg for it to be analyzed separately (Marien, Hooghe and Quintelier, 2010; De Rooij, 2012).

Non-institutional participation included all items on actions which seek political change, but take place outside the institutional sphere: (d) signing a petition, (e) taking part in a demonstration, (f) boycotting certain products, (g) donating money or raising funds, and (h) contacting the media (FI: $M = 2.23$, $SD = 0.70$, $\alpha = 0.76$; FR: $M = 2.41$, $SD = 0.70$, $\alpha = 0.68$).

All items of political participation were measured on a 4-point Likert scale. Party membership was measured on a scale of 1 = "Never belonged to one"; 2 = "Used to belong to one"; 3 = "Belong to one but do not actively participate", and 4 = "Belong to a party and actively participate". All other items were measured on a scale of 1 = "Have not done it and would never do it"; 2 = "Have not done it but might do it"; 3 = "Have done it in the more distant past", and 4 = "Have done it in the past year". As these variables have a right-skewed distribution, we log-transformed them before calculating the mean index for each dimension.

Independent variables: Citizenship norms. We adopted the following citizenship norms items: (a) never try to evade taxes, (b) obey laws, (c) always vote in elections, (d) buy or boycott goods for political/ethical/environmental reasons, (e) help people in your country who are worse off than yourself, (f) help people in the world who are worse off than yourself, (g) be active in social and political associations, and (h) try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions, measured in a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 = "Not at all important" to 7 = "Very important"). Following previous conceptualizations (e.g., Dalton, 2008), we distinguished between *dutiful* and *engaged* citizenship norms. A confirmatory factor analysis yielded good applicability of this distinction (see Appendix A). We then calculated mean indices for both dimensions. The dutiful citizenship norms dimension included (a), (b), and (c) (FI: M = 5.94, SD = 1.06, α = 0.62; FR: M = 6.04, SD = 0.97, α = 0.54). The engaged citizenship norms dimension contained (d), (e), (f), (g), and (h) (FI: M = 4.54, SD = 1.08, α = 0.75; FR: M = 4.82, SD = 1.16, α = 0.74).

Mediator: Political media use. The ISSP measured media use by asking respondents how often they obtain political news from the following sources: (a) newspapers, (b) television, (c) radio, and (d) Internet. These items were measured on a 7-point Likert scales (from 1 = "Never" to 7 = "Several times a day").

As our aim is to compare Internet use with other sources of media, we compared two different mediators: (1) *traditional mass media use*, including (a), (b), and (c) (FI: M = 4.06, SD = 1.58, α = 0.77; FR: M = 3.66, SD = 1.67, α = 0.64), and (2) *Internet use* as a single item (FI: M = 3.35, SD = 2.15; FR: M = 2.92, SD = 2.20).

Control variables. We controlled for socio-demographic variables that are traditionally associated with political participation; *age*, *education*, and *gender*. *Age* was included as the participants' age in years (FI: M = 48.87, SD = 15.87; FR: M = 48.85, SD = 15.83). *Education* was measured on a 7-point Likert scales (from 1 = "No formal education" to 7 = "Upper-level tertiary (master, doctor)", FI: median = post-secondary; FR: median = upper secondary). *Gender* was measured as a dichotomous variable (1 = "Male" and 2 = "Female", FI: female = 55%; FR: female = 53%).

Additionally, we controlled for sociopolitical predictors of participation; *political interest*, *political efficacy*, *political trust*, and *social trust* (see Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995). *Political interest* was measured by the item "How interested would you say you personally are in politics?" on a 4-point Likert scale (from 1 = "Not at all interested" to 4 = "Very interested", FI: M = 2.43, SD = 0.75; FR: M = 2.62, SD = 0.86). *Political efficacy* was measured by the item "The government does not care what people like me think," on a 5-point scale (1 = "Strongly agree" to 5 = "Strong-

ly disagree"; in which high values represent high political efficacy, FR: M = 2.26, SD = 1.31; FI: M = 2.69, SD = 1.20). *Political trust* was measured by the item "Most of the time, we can trust people in government" on a 5-point Likert scale (from 1 = "Strongly disagree" to 5 = "Strongly agree", FI: M = 2.96, SD = 0.96; FR: M = 2.39, SD = 1.00). Finally, *social trust* is measured by the item "Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?" on a 4-point Likert scale (from 1 = "You almost always can't be too careful in dealing with people" to 4 = "People can almost always be trusted", FI: M = 3.60, SD = 0.66; FR: M = 3.23, SD = 0.70).

Results

Direct effects

Our first hypothesis concerns the effects of citizenship norms on political participation (*H1*). We tested the direct effects of dutiful and engaged citizenship norms on non-institutional and institutional political participation with a separate multiple regression model for each country.

The results show that support for engaged citizenship norms is positively associated with both types of political participation in both countries (see Table 1 for Finland; see Table 2 for France). In particular, engaged norms have the strongest association with non-institutional participation (FI: β = .248, p < .001; FR: β = .254, p < .001). The positive effects on institutional participation are smaller but still significant (FI: β = .133, p < .001; FR: β = .094, p < .01).

Support for dutiful norms affects political participation differently. The regression models show that dutiful norms have a negative effect on non-institutional participation in Finland (β = −.099, p < .001) but not in France. Dutiful norms do not affect institutional participation in either country.

These findings partly support *H1*, showing that citizenship norms affect political participation. Focusing on the different effect of the two sets of citizenship norms, the results draw a mixed picture. *H1a* suggested that support for duty-based norms fosters institutionalized participation. Surprisingly, the regression models contradict this assumption, as they show no significant effect of dutiful norms on institutional participation. Consequently, *H1a* is not supported.

Similarly, *H1b* stated that engaged norms promote non-institutional participation, and our results support it for both countries. According to our results, en-

Table 1. Explanatory models predicting different forms of political participation in Finland (n = 1,259).

	Inst. participation			Non-inst. participation		
	b	*SE*	*β*	*b*	*SE*	*β*
Constant	.051	.084		.081	.067	
Block 1: controls						
Age	.001	.001	.032	-.004	.001	-.179***
Gender (female)	-.019	.021	-.024	.034	.017	.048*
Education	.018	.008	.065*	.042	.006	.171***
Political interest	.122	.017	.234***	.066	.014	.142***
Political trust	-.021	.012	-.053	-.023	.010	-.064*
Social trust	.027	.016	.045	.051	.013	.097***
Political efficacy	.028	.010	.085**	.022	.008	.077**
R^2		.163			.250	
Block 2: norms						
Engaged norms	.048	.010	.133***	.080	.008	.248***
Dutiful norms	-.001	.011	-.004	-.032	.009	-.099***
R^2		.180			.308	
Block 3: media use						
Internet use	.017	.006	.094**	.029	.005	.182***
Mass media use	.011	.009	.045	.005	.007	.022
R^2		.189			.331	
Adj. R^2		.182			.325	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

gaged norms do not only foster non-institutional but also institutional participation. While we expected effects of dutiful norms on institutional participation, we only find them for engaged norms. Therefore, we only find partial support for *H1b*.

Regarding our control variables, the regression models show that formal education and political interest are strong predictors for institutional and non-institutional participation in both countries, which is consistent with previous research. Further, non-institutional participation is also associated with political and social trust.

We tested the effect of citizenship norms on political media use (*H2*) by conducting a multiple regression model with mass media use and Internet use as the dependent variables in each country (see Table 3 for Finland and Table 4 for France).

Table 2. Explanatory models predicting different forms of political participation in France (n = 972).

	Inst. participation			Non-inst. participation		
	b	*SE*	*β*	*b*	*SE*	*β*
Constant	-.135	.098		.029	.164	
Block 1: controls						
Age	.004	.001	.148***	-.001	.001	-.031
Gender (female)	-.028	.024	-.035	.038	.019	.058
Education	.012	.008	.054	.035	.006	.193***
Political interest	.113	.017	.238***	.058	.014	.151***
Political trust	.003	.012	.007	-.020	.010	-.062*
Social trust	.011	.018	.018	.043	.014	.093**
Political efficacy	.018	.009	.059*	-.004	.007	-.014
R^2		.226			.211	
Block 2: norms						
Engaged norms	.033	.011	.094**	.071	.009	.254***
Dutiful norms	.000	.013	.000	-.016	.010	-.049
R^2		.236			.266	
Block 3: media use						
Internet use	.024	.006	.129***	.009	.005	.063
Mass media use	.029	.009	.121***	.015	.007	.079*
R^2		.264			.275	
Adj. R^2		.255			.266	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

Our results show that support for engaged citizenship norms is positively associated with Internet use in both countries (FI: $\beta = .064$, $p < .05$; FR: $\beta = .093$, $p < .01$). By contrast, there is a small negative effect of dutiful norms on Internet use, which is significant for France ($\beta = -.068$, $p < .05$) but not for Finland ($\beta = -.041$, p = .119). The use of mass media is influenced neither by dutiful nor by engaged norms. These findings support *H2a*, showing that people who endorse engaged citizenship norms are more likely to use the Internet for political information, whereas dutiful citizenship norms do not promote any form of political media use.

Following this, we scrutinized the influence of media use on participation by turning to our first regression model, which tested the direct effects of media use on political participation (see Table 1 for Finland; see Table 2 for France).

Table 3. Explanatory models predicting different forms of media use in Finland (n = 1,259).

	Internet use			Mass media use		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Constant	2.013	.390				
Block 1: controls						
Age	-.032	.003	-.236***	.031	.002	.312***
Gender (female)	-.552	.103	-.128***	-.087	.072	-.027
Education	.285	.038	.186***	.069	.026	.061*
Political interest	1.291	.071	.453***	.998	.049	.476***
Political trust	-.099	.058	-.044	-.010	.041	-.006
Social trust	-.055	.079	-.017	.028	.056	.012
Political efficacy	.043	.049	.024	.060	.034	.045
R^2		.342			.407	
Block 2: norms						
Engaged norms	.127	.050	.064*	.066	.035	.045
Dutiful norms	-.082	.053	-.041	.003	.037	.002
R^2		.346			.408	
Adj. R^2		.341			.404	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

The results suggest that media use is associated with participatory behavior, as Internet use is positively associated with both forms of political participation. While this result is significant in France, in Finland it is slightly above the 0.05 significance level (non-institutional participation: FI: $\beta = .182$, $p < .001$; FR: $\beta = .063$, p = .06; institutional participation: FI: $\beta = .094$, $p < .01$; FR: $\beta = .129$, $p < .001$).

Contrastingly, traditional mass media are significantly associated with both types of participation in France, but not in Finland. For France, both types of participation are positively affected by mass media use, with the effect on institutional participation being the strongest (FR: $\beta = .121$, $p < .001$). For Finland, there are no significant effects of mass media use on political participation. Thus, mass media use surprisingly influences citizens' political participation in the low media trust country but not in the high media trust country.

Table 4. Explanatory models predicting different forms of media use in France (n = 972).

	Internet use			Mass media use		
	B	*SE B*	*β*	*B*	*SE B*	*β*
Constant	.970	.520				
Block 1: controls						
Age	-.013	.004	-.092**	.016	.003	.146***
Gender (female)	-.453	.130	-.103**	-.282	.093	-.084**
Education	.251	.040	.203***	.088	.029	.093**
Political interest	.951	.080	.367***	.946	.058	.480***
Political trust	-.013	.066	-.006	.115	.048	.068*
Social trust	.018	.098	.006	.018	.071	.007
Political efficacy	-.082	.050	-.049	-.014	.036	-.011
R^2		.257			.342	
Block 2: norms						
Engaged norms	.177	.059	.093**	.041	.043	.028
Dutiful norms	-.156	.068	-.068*	.031	.049	.018
R^2		.267			.343	
Adj. R^2		.260			.337	

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$.

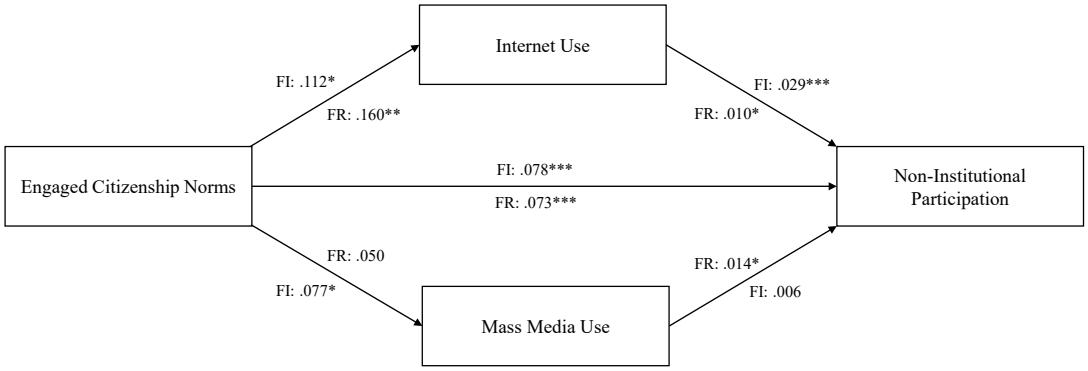
Indirect effects: The mediating role of Internet use

In order to test *H3*, we applied a mediation analysis testing whether the effects of engaged citizenship norms on participation are mediated through Internet use. This analysis was conducted using a bootstrapping procedure with PROCESS, an SPSS application (Hayes, 2018; mediation model 4, version v.3.00; 1,000 bootstrap samples). Even though our main focus is on the effects of Internet use, we included mass media use in the model in order to compare the effect of the two different media types systematically. This resulted in four mediation models for each country.

The results showed no indirect effects with dutiful citizenship norms as a predictor (see Appendix B). Therefore, we will only report the results of the models with engaged citizenship norms as the independent variable (see Figure 2 and 3). We included the same control variables as in the regression model.

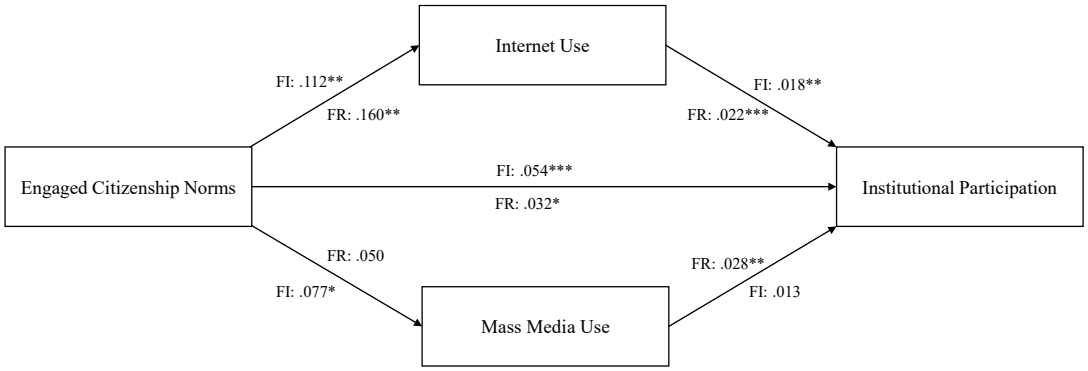
Following *H3*, we first focused on models including Internet use as the mediator. Concerning the direct effects, the mediation models replicated the results of the regression

Figure 2. Mediation model with Internet use and mass media use as mediators of the effect of engaged citizenship norms on non-institutional participation.



Note. Upper path: FI: .003, 95% CI [.001, .007]; FR: .001, 95% CI [.000, .004].
Lower path: FI: .001, 95% CI [-.001, .002]; FR: .001, 95% CI [-.001, .003]

Figure 3. Mediation model with Internet use and mass media use as mediators of the effect of engaged citizenship norms on institutional participation.



Note. Upper path: FI: .002, 95% CI [.000, .005]; FR: .004, 95% CI [.001, .007].
Lower path: FI: .001, 95% CI [-.000, .003]; FR: .001, 95% CI [-.001, .004]

analysis, with engaged citizenship norms positively influencing Internet use, which, in turn, affects participation. This result holds true for both countries and confirms the role of Internet use in the relationship between citizenship norms and participation.

Regarding the indirect effects, we find that Internet use mediates the effects of engaged citizenship norms on both types of participation in both countries. Concerning Finland, Internet use mediates the effect of engaged norms on non-institutional participation with an indirect effect of b = .003 (95% CI [.001, 007]). The indirect effect on institutional political participation amounts to b = .002 (95% CI [.000, .005]). For France, there are significant indirect effects of citizenship norms, mediated by Internet use, of b = .001 for non-institutional participation (95% CI [.000, .004]), and of b = .004 for institutional participation (95% CI [.001, .007]). Contrastingly, traditional mass media use does not mediate the effects of engaged norms on political participati-

on in neither of the two countries. Neither the indirect effects on non-institutional participation nor the effects institutional participation are significant for both countries.

Overall, our results show that support for engaged norms promotes Internet use, which, in turn, positively affects citizens' political engagement while mass media use does not exert this mediating effect. Subsequently, *H3* can be clearly supported, showing that Internet use has a catalyzing effect on the effect of engaged citizenship norms in participation.

Discussion

This study examined the role of media use on the effects of citizenship norms on political participation. Specifically, we focused on how using the Internet for political information, compared to mass media, mediates the effects of citizenship norms on political participation. We did so in countries with different levels of media trust, as we expected that this would impact the degree by which Internet use mediates the effect of citizenship norms on participation.

Our main finding is that Internet use mediates the effect of engaged citizenship norms on participation, while – and in line with our theoretical rationale – this mediation did not hold for dutiful norms. These findings partially resonate with those of Copeland and Feezell (2017), who found that the more people supported engaged citizenship norms and used both online and traditional media, the more they participated in non-electoral participation. According to our findings, people who support more engaged forms of citizenship use more online media and participate more in politics. Nevertheless, given that our results provide small effects and the fact that previous research in other places, such as the US or Denmark (Copeland and Feezell, 2017; Ohme, 2018), has provided somewhat divergent results, more research on the impact of the Internet on the relationship between citizenship norms and political participation is needed.

Contrastingly, mass media use does not mediate the effects of citizenship norms. As expected, only Internet use mediates the effects of engaged norms on political participation in both countries. This result provides initial evidence that Internet use functions as a selective catalyst, as it is enhanced by only one type of citizenship norms – engaged citizenship norms – and affects participation independently of any compensation effects mass media use could have.

Concerning direct effects, we found that engaged citizenship norms promote both institutional and non-institutional political participation, while support for dutiful norms is negatively associated with non-institutional participation, and not associated with

institutional participation. These results contrast with Dalton's (2006, 2008) conceptualization of citizenship norms, according to which one would expect dutiful citizenship norms to lead to more traditional participation, and engaged citizenship norms to lead to more non-traditional participation. However, our findings are consistent with recent research (Bolzendahl and Coffé, 2013; Copeland and Feezell, 2017), which found that engaged citizenship norms promote both traditional and non-traditional forms of political participation instead of just more engaged forms, as would have been expected. By replicating this result in different countries and with a different measurement of political participation, our study suggests that engaged citizenship norms encourage a more active citizenship, making people more likely to engage in politics in various ways. Thus, as others have discussed before (Copeland and Feezell, 2017; Hooghe et al., 2016), our results raise the issue of whether the distinction between dutiful and engaged norms is the most suitable today and whether it actually portrays different patterns of participation.

Concerning the effect of citizenship norms on media use, in accordance with previous research (Chang, 2016; Copeland and Feezell, 2017), our results show that engaged citizenship norms are associated with greater Internet use, and thus support the claim that the Internet provides platforms for more engaged forms of interaction and participation. By contrast, in France, it seems that support for dutiful norms partly deters people from seeking political information online. This, again, points to the need for studying the relationship between citizenship norms, media use, and participation in different contexts. Overall, these findings support the claim that the communication logic of the Internet particularly addresses those with engaged views of citizenship and that these citizens rely more on the Internet for political use, even when mass media are trusted.

Besides the aim of generalizing our theoretical rationale, our country selection followed the assumption that in contexts with low media trust, people are less likely to learn citizenship norms on mass media, and would instead do so online. We could not find evidence for this pattern, as mass media use affected participation positively only in the low trust country, France, but not in the high trust country, Finland. This result may indicate that mass media impact political engagement differently in the two countries. Namely, it might be the case that different levels of political parallelism – which allows political parties to mobilize citizens more (France) or less (Finland), according to their influence on media coverage (Hallin & Mancini, 2004) – can partially explain these differences. Likewise, in the future, it would certainly be fruitful to investigate the role of other factors of a country's civic culture on these processes, in order to better understand our results. Moreover, it would be important to measure media trust in order to test its impact on these processes. Although we did not do so in this study because the

ISSP does not measure this variable, we provide a framework for future research to investigate how key contextual factors – such as different media contexts – may interfere in the relationship between citizenship norms, media use, and political participation. In this regard, we provide first results on these effects, which might guide future research.

Our limitations ought to be discussed too. Together with the issue of not including media trust in the model – which has been addressed earlier – secondary data analyses have common limitations (see Bryman, 2016), and by using data from the ISSP, this research suffers from these. Particularly, we should mention the low response rates, and ideally, future surveys would be able to produce higher quality data. Moreover, the operationalization of media use through a single item for each media type must be addressed. Questioning the frequency of using "the Internet" for political information no longer seems appropriate to the manifold ways of accessing content online, and therefore, surveys like the ISSP need to be adapted to this reality.

Overall, this article contributes to existing literature in multiple ways. Firstly, it helps clarifying questions that have received mixed results thus far, namely, how different citizenship norms affect political participation differently, as well as on the relationship between citizenship norms, media use, and political participation. Moreover, by focusing on countries in which this relationship has not, to our knowledge, been studied in detail, it contributes to the advancement of our understanding of citizenship norms by studying them in different contexts.

Finally, theoretical implications of this study ought to be discussed. Societal transformations, such as devasting economic crises, have been shown to affect participatory norms (e.g., Galais and Blais, 2014). In this vein, it is reasonable to assume that citizenship norms might change, and new norms may emerge as a result of societal transformations prompted by widespread digitalization. According to our results and the fact that Internet use can lead to changes in democratic values (Swigger, 2017) and political engagement (e.g., Bennett and Segerberg, 2013), it can be argued that people might develop *new* citizenship norms online. There is then a clear need to study the impact of societal changes on citizenship norms and the possibility of *emergent* citizenship norms, for its obvious implications in future political participation.

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