



## **Good Corporate Citizenship: Predictors of Support for Corporate Social Justice as an Element of Sustainable Citizenship Norms in Europe**

LUCY ATKINSON  
University of Texas at Austin, USA

Using 2011 Eurobarometer survey data, this study draws on the O-S-O-R model to examine the predictors of one dimension of sustainable citizenship. It takes a cross-cultural approach to compare the roles of trust, satisfaction, pro-social values, media use, and interpersonal discussion in predicting support for corporate justice in Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain (the PIGS countries) and Denmark, Finland, and Sweden (the Nordic region). OLS regression reveals trust is a more important predictor in PIGS countries, whereas satisfaction is more relevant in the Nordic countries. Findings also indicate that corporate justice is qualitatively different from political consumption, the other, more-studied dimension of sustainable citizenship.

*Keywords: sustainable citizenship, corporate justice, trust, satisfaction*

After an audience with the Pope and an attempted 1,400 km protest march, on May 18, 2014, Jérôme Kerviel made the dramatic trek from Italy to France to turn himself in to French authorities and begin serving a three-year sentence for fraud (Clark, 2014a). Kerviel, “the most spectacular rogue trader in financial history” (Lichfield, 2014), was convicted in 2010 for amassing 50 billion euros (US\$68.5 billion) in trades during 2008 while working at the Société Générale, one of the three largest banks in France (Clark, 2014b). Kerviel, who never denied engaging in the unauthorized trades, has argued the bank was complicit in his actions and turned a blind eye so long as he was making a profit.

Although dramatic, Kerviel’s case is not unique. Rather, it is emblematic of a number of corporate scandals that came to light during the global financial crisis of 2007–2009. Collectively, they speak to a growing sense of distrust and discontent among Europeans toward corporate responsibility and transparency. From an academic perspective, they present an interesting lens through which to examine changing citizenship norms and the increasing importance of corporate entities in contemporary citizenship repertoires (Norris, 2002; Scammell, 2003). They also offer an opportunity to examine the ways citizenship and consumer roles are becoming increasingly interconnected in contemporary European civil society (Micheletti, Stolle, & Berlin, 2012; Scammell, 2003).

---

Lucy Atkinson: [lucyatkinson@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:lucyatkinson@austin.utexas.edu)

Date submitted: 2014-07-04

Copyright © 2014 (Lucy Atkinson). Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution Non-commercial No Derivatives (by-nc-nd). Available at <http://ijoc.org>.

The focus on corporations (and the marketplace more broadly) as an important aspect of citizenship has its roots in what some have called the transformational school of political theorists. These theorists have argued that contemporary citizenship is changing from the liberal or civic republican traditions of citizenship to a model that allows for alternative forms of engagement, one that connects the private domain to the political sphere and emphasizes issues of social justice and fairness (Bennett, 2003b; Dalton, 2008; Micheletti, Berlin, & Barkman, 2009; Micheletti & Stolle, 2012; Micheletti et al., 2012; Scammell, 2003).

This study explores these changing forms of political engagement through the lens of sustainable citizenship, a model of emerging citizenship norms that goes beyond the traditional view of rights and responsibilities circumscribed by state boundaries to include nonreciprocal obligations that extend to global others and allows for personal lifestyle choices, such as consumption, to be vehicles of political change (Micheletti et al., 2009; Micheletti & Stolle, 2012; Micheletti et al., 2012). Using 2011 Eurobarometer data, I present a cross-cultural analysis of pro-social values, trust, satisfaction, mass media, and interpersonal discussion networks as predictors of sustainable citizenship norms. I focus specifically on the dimension of corporate social justice as an important element of sustainable citizenship, a dimension that is a central component of sustainable citizenship norms (Micheletti & Stolle, 2012) but that also so far has been largely missing from empirical analyses. This study adds to the literature on sustainable citizenship, presenting one of the first empirical tests of which factors predict corporate justice norms. It expands our understanding of sustainable citizenship beyond its usual operationalization as political consumption and brings corporate justice norms more fully into the discussion of alternative citizenship. It adds to preliminary theories on the "consumer turn in citizenship" (Micheletti et al., 2012, p. 143) and how the marketplace is a site where roles of citizen and consumer overlap and a new form of citizenship practice emerges.

### **Sustainable Citizenship and Changing Citizenship Norms**

The fields of mass communication and political science have long been concerned with issues of changing political values and behaviors. Scholars have lamented what they see as a precipitous drop in social capital along with a "voting paradox" of declining rates of political and civic participation (Corner & Pels, 2003). The last few decades have seen a deleterious decline in those "features of social life—networks, norms and trust—that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives" (Putnam, 1995, p. 664). The impact of this decline in social capital can be seen in dwindling levels of civic engagement and political participation. Fewer people vote in national elections, work on community projects, and trust their political leaders. For example, in 2002 in the UK, more people voted for the two finalists of *Pop Idol*, a reality TV music contest, than for the Liberal Democrats in the general election, and the TV series' finale episode drew three times as many viewers as the evening news (Corner & Pels, 2003).

Still others take a less despairing view and argue that citizenship is not deteriorating but changing. Instead of thinking about citizenship as a declining force, as witnessed by measures including stagnating voter turnout, scholars suggest that we redefine what is meant by citizenship and what constitutes legitimate political engagement (Bennett, 1998; Dahlgren, 2007; Dalton, 2008; Ward, 2008).

The realities of a second modernity—a hollowing out of state authority, weakening of ties to institutions such as work and government, expanding influence and reach of corporations, and strengthening force of globalization (Beck, 1992; Giddens, 1991)—have changed what it means to be political and have given rise to “politics by other means” (Bennett, 1998, p. 749).

Work on changing citizenship norms suggests political participation is taking on new forms that align neatly with contemporary norms of citizenship emphasizing direct action, networked publics, and loose institutional affiliations (Bennett, 2005; Dahlgren, 2007; Dalton, 2008). This new citizenship model suggests that rather than facing declining involvement, politics is changing and evolving. One of these forms is political consumption, in which individuals connect their civic rights and responsibilities to their roles as consumers (Atkinson, 2012). It represents a salutary, alternative form of political participation that allows citizens to express and enact their civic norms and ideals outside the traditional bounds of the “dutiful citizen” (Bennett, 2008; Dalton, 2008). Whereas the dutiful citizen is aligned more closely with conventional means of political engagement and understands the basic workings of government and becomes informed about issues, the engaged or self-actualizing citizen sees political engagement in very personal terms and is motivated by a desire to enhance the quality of his or her personal life and social relations rather than to support government institutions (Bennett, 2008; Dalton, 2008).

The theory of sustainable citizenship offers an explanation for how these changing norms influence new forms of political engagement (Micheletti et al., 2009; Micheletti & Stolle, 2012; Micheletti et al., 2012). Unlike the liberal and civic republican traditions of political thought, sustainable citizenship posits a model that is nonreciprocal, is centered on issues of social justice and fairness, and is unbounded by temporal or spatial constraints. Sustainable citizenship norms prioritize values and behaviors that seek equality and sustainability for all people. It reflects an obligation that extends beyond state boundaries and the present time to include unknown individuals in other parts of the world and in future generations. It is nonreciprocal and assumes that individuals are not motivated to act based on expectations of personal gains or claims to certain rights. Rather, sustainable citizens act nonreciprocally because they feel responsible for others and obligated to act and are often motivated by issues of social justice and fairness. As with actualized and engaged citizenship, sustainable citizenship is not limited to the public sphere but makes room for private, personal issues to become catalysts of political action and the means of engagement. Sustainable citizenship models describe this explicitly in the form of carbon footprints and the expectation that individuals should seek to minimize them by engaging in responsible, sustainable consumption of consumer goods and natural resources.

As a result, consumer behavior and the various marketplace actors that make up the consumption sphere become highly politicized elements in the socialization and manifestation of citizenship norms (Stolle, Hooghe, & Micheletti, 2005). Whereas corporations and consumers were largely absent in traditional views of citizenship, they are vital players in these alternative models. This shift can be understood as a movement away from the “politics of loyalties” to the “politics of choice” (Norris, 2002). As institutional expressions of civic duty—voting, party identification—lose their appeal, individual and direct forms of action become more commonplace, and political interest groups give way to new social movements (Bennett, 1998, 2003b; Dalton, 2008).

In traditional interest groups, the organizational structures or agencies that mobilized citizens were bureaucratic, hierarchical, and professional and characterized by formal rules and clear demarcations of who did and did not belong (Norris, 2002). New social movements, on the other hand, are much more fluid and ad hoc, with flat organizational structures and informal modes of belonging based on shared interests and identities (Bennett, 2003a). The ways that individuals express themselves politically, what Norris (2002) calls *repertoires*, are citizen-oriented in traditional politics and tend to focus on institutional means of engaging, such as voting, party membership, or community organizing. Contemporary political activism, however, is cause-oriented. New social movements may adopt a mix of direct action strategies, many of which engage lifestyle politics and blur the boundaries between social and political, between public and private (Bang, 2003; Bennett, 2003b). This redefinition of what is political reveals new methods of democratic engagement (Ward, 2008). Last, the target of political participation, which Norris (2002) defines as the actors that participants are trying to influence, have traditionally been state-oriented but are increasingly non-state-oriented. Traditional views of participation meant that targets of political action were institutional—held accountable directly by elections and indirectly by news media, political parties, and interest groups. Norris (2002) argues that this definition is too narrow for contemporary politics and leaves out activities that are directed at individuals in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, such as multinational corporations and intergovernmental organizations like the World Trade Organization.

Sustainable citizenship offers a framework within which the role of these corporations and other marketplace actors can be understood. Sustainable citizenship has been conceptualized as having multiple dimensions, including political consumption, environmental concern, and support for workers' rights (Micheletti & Stolle, 2012). Of these dimensions, most empirical work has focused on political consumption, particularly on the ways in which moral and ethical consumer choices are connected to conventional means of civic engagement (e.g., Stolle et al., 2005). But by focusing the empirical lens primarily on the consumption side (i.e., on how individual consumers select and dispose of commodities), researchers have given short shrift to the production side, on the values and orientations corporations and multinationals ought to embody. If the marketplace is becoming a site of political action, then the expected civic norms of those actors that occupy this site should also be examined.

Within the sustainable citizenship framework, corporations and corporate justice are central components (Micheletti & Stolle, 2012). Corporations and other marketplace institutions, such as banks, are seen as having responsibility for fostering and maintaining sustainability. According to the tenets of sustainable citizenship, corporate institutions are responsible for obeying laws, being transparent, never engaging in corruption, and never using legal loopholes for corporate benefit at the cost of individual citizens' interests. Given the global recession following the collapse of the U.S. economy in 2008 and the questionable business practices that helped precipitate it, these questions about institutional responsibilities are not insignificant. And yet they remain largely understudied in work on sustainable citizenship. Whereas most empirical work has focused on political consumption and pro-environmental behaviors, the perceived importance of corporate ethics and marketplace transparency has received much less attention. However, to understand sustainable citizenship as a meaningful model of alternative citizenship norms, a more multidimensional picture must be developed. For sustainable citizenship to hold explanatory power beyond the domain of political consumption or environmental concern, other aspects must be examined.

In this study, I examine the corporate-justice dimension of sustainable citizenship and develop an initial model that accounts for individual-level factors that might predict support for corporate justice. As a related but alternative form of citizenship norms, the model of sustainable citizenship proposed here covers the same scope of predictors that are relied on to explain conventional forms of civic engagement and political attitudes (Shah et al., 2007; Stolle et al., 2005). As with scholarship that explores predictors of engaged and actualized citizenship norms (Bennett, 2008; Dalton, 2008), this study also examines predispositions and orientations that have been shown to be significant predictors. Specifically, I explore the roles of pro-social values, trust, satisfaction, mass media, and interpersonal political discussion in fostering sustainable citizenship in the form of corporate social justice.

The model also explores the influence of national context and takes a cross-cultural approach to compare how these predictors work in two different European regions: Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain (collectively referred to as PIGS) and the Nordic countries of Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. These countries were chosen because they represent two distinct regions. Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain have been categorized in the economic literature as having some of the lowest debt ratings and higher interest rates on government bonds than other countries in the EU (Gartner, Griesbach, & Jung, 2011). In these countries, the global economic collapse was felt more powerfully and had further-reaching consequences than in other European countries. By focusing on this region, then, the model can offer insight into how the variables of trust, satisfaction, media use, and interpersonal discussion predict support for corporate justice against a background of pronounced salience and resonance for issues related to economic security and growth. The Nordic countries were chosen to represent a counterpoint. Although they were not immune to the global financial crisis, its consequences were less severe, with unemployment rates and austerity measures not matching those of the PIGS countries. In addition, compared with Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain, residents of the Nordic countries show higher rates of support for sustainable citizenship in the form of political consumption repertoires such as boycotting and buycotting (Stolle & Michele, 2013). In studying the corporate-justice dimension of sustainable citizenship, then, the two regions offer an interesting comparison, and different patterns are expected.

### **Developing the Model**

To develop the model predicting support for corporate justice, I draw inspiration from the O-S-O-R model of social psychology (Markus & Zajonc, 1985) and political communication (McLeod, Kosicki, & McLeod, 2002). This approach allows researchers to examine individual audience orientations in combination with mass-communication messages, acknowledges the complex ways that individuals interpret and process media messages, and helps to avoid the pitfalls of "media-centrism" that results from focusing narrowly on message content while giving short shrift to the ways in which individuals make meaning of mass media (Olaussen, 2011).

The first *O* in the O-S-O-R model stands for pre-existing *orientations*, "the set of structural, cultural, cognitive and motivational characteristics" (McLeod et al., 2002, p. 238) of the audience members who are presented with a mediated message. These predispositions are essentially individual differences. The communication message, or stimulus, represented by the *S*, encompasses those media messages that inform individuals. Individuals may respond to the message in various ways, and these

subsequent orientations, represented by the second *O*, influence how consumers are likely to react or respond, signified by the *R*.

Essentially, the model posits that mass media have conditional effects on individuals that are mediated by individuals' pre-existing orientations. It recognizes that individuals use their unique sets of cognitive, affective, and motivational characteristics in processing any media message. This basic model and its extensions have been applied successfully to gauge the influence of political media content, such as news or advertising, on civic and political participation and to gauge support for scientific developments such as biotechnology and stem cells (Besley & Shanahan, 2005; Cho et al., 2009; Nisbet & Goidel, 2007; Rojas & Puig-i-Abril, 2009; Shah, Cho, et al., 2007; Sotirovic & McLeod, 2001) and for other matters, including environmental concern and political consumption (Shah, McLeod, et al., 2007; Zhao, 2012).

This study uses the O-S-O-R model as a guide, but it is not an exact application of the model. The logic of the model informs the selection of independent variables and provides a preliminary conceptualization of how they hang together. As outlined in Table 1, the model offers an initial framework for understanding the predictors of support for corporate justice as a dimension of sustainable citizenship. Whereas studies often use the O-S-O-R to explain the influence of interpersonal communication and discussion as a mediator, this study adopts the analytical approach that focus on discussion as a nonmediator used by other scholars (Besley & Shanahan, 2005; Binder, Scheufele, Brossard, & Gunther, 2011; Nisbet & Goidel, 2007).

**Table 1. O-S-O-R Model of the Corporate Justice Dimension of Sustainable Citizenship.**

Demographics	Predispositions ( <i>O</i> <sub>1</sub> )	Media Use ( <i>S</i> )	Orientations ( <i>O</i> <sub>2</sub> )	Response ( <i>R</i> )
Marital status	Corporate values	TV	Political discussion	Support for corporate justice
Gender	Social values	Press		
Age	Life satisfaction	Social		
Employment	Political satisfaction	Networking		
Education	Political knowledge	Sites		

### ***Predispositions (O<sub>1</sub>)***

Values have long played a role in fostering political participation and have served as a reference point for decision making and attitude formation on important social issues (Sotirovic & McLeod, 2001). This is no less true of alternative forms of political engagement, where lifestyle issues and personal values are central motivators for action (Bennett, 1998, 2003b; Giddens, 1991). These relationships have been extended to sustainable citizenship with pro-social values as a central component (Micheletti et al., 2009; Micheletti & Stolle, 2012; Micheletti et al., 2012). Specifically, these studies by Micheletti and colleagues have argued that values oriented toward justice, fairness, equality, and civil rights are at the heart of sustainable citizenship norms. We might expect, then, that these pro-social values are also good

predictors of support for a particular dimension of sustainable citizenship explored here—support for corporate justice.

Trust has an equally influential role as values in fostering political participation. Specifically, lower levels of political trust can act as powerful motivators to action such that the lower the level of political trust, the higher the probability of engaging in direct action (Kaase, 1999). This negative relationship has been demonstrated in the context of sustainable citizenship in the realm of political consumption (Stolle et al., 2005). Scholars have suggested that political consumers seek political engagement and ways of effecting change outside conventional political practices as a result of a low regard for political institutions and officials in general (Shah, McLeod, et al., 2007; Shapiro & Hacker-Cordon, 1999; Zijderveld, 2000). The model theorized here extends this line of reasoning to corporate justice and predicts that political trust will have a negative relationship.

The last predisposition under examination here is life satisfaction. Life satisfaction is assumed to hold an important place in the cultivation of citizenship, with political participation being a positive predictor of life satisfaction (Brehm & Rahn, 1997; Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Stutzer & Frey, 2006; Sullivan & Transue, 1999). As a predictor of participation, however, life satisfaction is more ambiguous. There is reason to think life satisfaction may diminish civic and political engagement by making individuals selfish and complacent, with negative implications for citizenship (Coleman, 1990; Galbraith, 1958). Some research supports this negative view, showing that happiness is associated with a weaker inclination to join in protests and demonstrations (Barnes & Kaase, 1979). Still other evidence suggests that satisfaction may foster social and political connectedness (Shah, 1998; Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001; Veenhoven, 1988). Literature on postmaterialism emphasizes that once individuals reach a certain level of security and life satisfaction, then they can look beyond their own material, private concerns and begin to address broader social concerns (Inglehart, 1997; Sullivan & Transue, 1999).

### ***Media Use (S)***

A large body of scholarly work has investigated the role of mass media in motivating political participation. While some formats, such as entertainment television and political advertising, have been shown to have a negative relationship with participation, other forms, such as news media and social media, have been shown to have a positive influence on political engagement (Cho et al., 2009; Gil de Zúñiga, Jung, & Valenzuela, 2012). More specifically in the context of sustainable citizenship norms, mass media, especially informational ones, are important positive predictors, whereas entertainment-oriented ones are not (Shah, McLeod, et al., 2007; Zhao, 2012). Similarly, online media, including social media, have also been connected with sustainable citizenship behaviors such as political consumption (Gil de Zúñiga, Copeland, & Bimber, 2013; Wicks & Warren, 2014).

### ***Interpersonal Discussion (O<sub>2</sub>)***

Work in political communication has indicated that mass media effects do not operate directly on civic and political participation but rather indirectly through political talk (Cho et al., 2009; Shah, Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005; Sotirovic & McLeod, 2001). News media, for example, can prompt political

discussion among individuals and influence their likelihood of voting in an election. This model has been called the campaign communication mediation model, and it underscores the fact that mass media and interpersonal discussion are both important predictors of political participation and that the influence of mass media, while oftentimes direct, is also frequently mediated through interpersonal discussion and reflection. Looking at political consumption in particular, Shah et al. (2007) demonstrate that political discussion is an important predictor, with the influence of online and offline news consumption largely mediated through these interpersonal conversations. In terms of corporate justice and sustainable citizenship, it is logical to expect the same important influence of interpersonal discussion on support for corporate transparency and fairness.

### **Method and Measures**

To test the model, data from the Eurobarometer 76.3 survey are used. This survey was conducted from November 5 to November 20, 2011, with individuals 15 years and older. The survey included questions about the financial crisis, public opinion, and media use. The survey was fielded in 33 countries, but only those cases that represent Denmark ( $n = 1,009$ ), Finland ( $n = 1,002$ ), Greece ( $n = 1,000$ ), Italy ( $n = 1,031$ ), Portugal ( $n = 1,002$ ), Spain ( $n = 1,004$ ), and Sweden ( $n = 1,022$ ) were retained for analysis in this study. Data were collected via a multistage random (probability) sampling design. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in people's homes and in the appropriate national language.

### **Demographic Variables**

As indicated in Figure 1, the model contains several demographic control variables including *marital status* (63.7% married), *gender* (52.8% female), *age* ( $M = 50.39$ ,  $SD = 18.19$ ), *employment status* (46.6% employed), and *education* (age at which full-time stopped: modal answer 20 years old).

### **Predispositions ( $O_1$ )**

Six variables were used to measure respondents' values and predispositions. *Life satisfaction* was measured with a single item asking respondents to measure on a 4-point scale from "not at all" to "very" how satisfied they are with the life they lead. Descriptives for this and all other variables can be found in Table 2. *Social values* were measured with three averaged items that asked respondents to measure on scale of 1 ("not at all important") to 10 ("very important") how important they thought the following priorities were for the European Union: (a) to enhance the quality and appeal of the EU's higher education system, (b) to support an economy that uses less natural resources and emits less greenhouse gas, and (c) to help the poor and socially excluded and enable them to play an active part in society. *Corporate values* were measured with three averaged items asking respondents to measure on a scale of 1 ("not at all important") to 10 ("very important") how important they thought the following priorities were for the European Union: (a) to increase the support for research and development policies and turn inventions into products, (b) to develop the e-economy by strengthening ultrafast Internet within the EU, and (c) to help the EU's industrial base to be more competitive by promoting entrepreneurship and the development of new skills.



**Table 2. Descriptives.**

Predispositions (O <sub>1</sub> )	Mean	SD	Reliability
Life satisfaction	2.88	0.88	
Social values	7.89	1.44	$\alpha = .72, r = .46^1$
Corporate values	7.1	1.55	$\alpha = .66, r = .40$
Political knowledge	2.43	1.19	
Political satisfaction	2.37	0.75	
Political trust	1.68	1.75	$KR20 = .83^2$
<b>Media Use (S)</b>			
Television	4.15	1.07	
Press	4.36	1.83	
Online social networks	2.92	2.14	
<b>Orientations (O<sub>2</sub>)</b>			
Political discussion	5.87	1.79	$\alpha = .83, r = .62$
<b>Dependent Variable (R)</b>			
Corporate justice	3.38	0.54	$\alpha = .83$

Three measures of political predispositions were included in the model. *Political knowledge* was assessed by four summed true-false questions asking respondents whether (a) the members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of each member state, (b) each member state has the same number of members in the European Parliament, (c) the EU's budget is determined jointly by the European Parliament and the member states, and (d) at the EU level, European laws (directives and regulations) have to be agreed upon jointly by the European Parliament and the member states. *Political satisfaction* was measured with a single item asking respondents to measure on a 4-point scale from "not at all" to "very" how satisfied they are with the way democracy works in the EU. *Political trust* was assessed with five dichotomous questions that asked respondents whether they tended to trust (a) political parties, (b) their regional or local public authorities, (c) their national government, (d) their national parliament, and (e) the European Union. Items were summed.

#### **Media Use (S)**

Media use was measured with three variables tapping frequency of different media use on a 6-point scale from "never" to "every day/almost every day." The three items were (a) frequency of watching television, (b) reading the written press, and (c) using online social networking sites.

<sup>1</sup> Given Cronbach's alpha's sensitivity to a small number of items in a scale and a tendency to underestimate the reliability of the index, the interitem correlation is also reported.

<sup>2</sup> *KR20* refers to the Kuder-Richardson Formula 20, which indicates reliability for measures with dichotomous choices.

### ***Orientations (O<sub>2</sub>)***

Political discussion was measured with three summed items asking respondents to measure on a 3-point scale (from "never" to "frequently") when they get together with friends or relatives, how often they discuss (a) local political matters, (b) national political matters, and (c) European political matters.

### ***Dependent Variable (R)***

To tap the corporate-justice dimension of sustainable citizenship, seven items on the subject of financial markets reform were averaged. Respondents indicated on a 4-point scale (from "strongly opposed" to "strongly in favor") their support for the following reforms: (a) increasing transparency of financial markets; (b) a closer supervision of hedge funds; (c) the regulation of wages in the financial sector (i.e., traders' bonuses); (d) the introduction of a tax on financial transactions; (e) the introduction of a tax on profits made by banks; (f) tougher rules on tax avoidance and tax havens; and (g) tighter rules for credit-rating agencies. Although there is no established scale for the corporate-justice dimension of sustainable citizenship, the indicators included here mirror those recommended by Micheletti and Stolle (2012).

### **Results and Discussion**

To test the model, data were analyzed using ordinary least squares (OLS) regression using the corporate-justice variable as the dependent measure (see Table 3). Independent variables were added in the order outlined in the O-S-O-R model. To explore the influence of national context, two sets of analyses were run, one with those countries making up the PIGS region and the second with those countries representing the Nordic region. The results are presented in the order in which the variables were entered into the regression model; they were entered simultaneously but are presented in the table in blocks in accordance with the O-S-O-R model.

#### ***Predicting Sustainable Citizenship***

##### ***PIGS Countries***

In the PIGS context, none of the demographic variables are significant predictors of sustainable citizenship. Of the predispositions, four demonstrate a significant relationship with sustainable citizenship. When it comes to favoring financial reforms, individuals with greater pro-social values ( $\beta = .38, p < .001$ ), political knowledge ( $\beta = .09, p < .001$ ), and media trust ( $\beta = .05, p < .05$ ) and lower levels of political trust ( $\beta = -.08, p < .001$ ) were significantly more likely to view corporate transparency as important. In terms of information seeking, use of social networking sites ( $\beta = -.09, p < .01$ ) and the printed press ( $\beta = .06, p < .01$ ) were both predictors of sustainable citizenship attitudes, with use of social networking sites holding a negative relationship and the printed press holding a positive relationship. Last, in terms of interpersonal communication, the frequency of engaging in political discussion ( $\beta = .06, p < .01$ ) was a positive predictor of sustainable citizenship norms.

**Table 3. Factors Predicting Support for Corporate Justice as a Dimension of Sustainable Citizenship.**

	Corporate Justice	
	PIGS	Nordic
Demographics		
Married	-0.02	-0.00
Female	-0.00	0.00
Age	-0.03	0.16 ***
Employed	0.02	0.03
Education	0.00	-0.02
Predispositions (O <sub>1</sub> )		
Corporate Values	-0.00	-0.04
Social Values	0.37 ***	0.16 ***
Life Satisfaction	-0.01	-0.07 ***
Political Satisfaction	0.02	-0.04 *
Political Knowledge	0.08 ***	0.05 *
Political Trust	-0.06 **	-0.01
Media Use (S)		
TV	0.08 ***	0.02
Press	0.06 **	0.05 *
Social Networking Sites	-0.04 *	-0.05 *
Orientations (O <sub>2</sub> )		
Political Discussion	0.05 **	0.08 ***
Total R <sup>2</sup> (percentage)	18.9 ***	9.5 ***

Notes: \*\*\*  $p < .001$ ; \*\*  $p < .01$ ; \*  $p < .05$ .

Entries are standardized regression coefficients resulting from an ordinary least-squares regression.

### **Nordic Countries**

For the Nordic countries, only the age demographic variable was a significant predictor, with older people being more likely to favor financial reforms ( $\beta = .17, p < .001$ ). Of the predispositions and values, four were significant predictors of sustainable citizenship, and only two of these were shared by the PIGS countries. As with the PIGS countries, greater pro-social values ( $\beta = .15, p < .001$ ) and political knowledge ( $\beta = .05, p < .05$ ) predicted sustainable citizenship attitudes. Unlike in the PIGS countries, in Nordic countries, lower levels of satisfaction with life ( $\beta = -.07, p < .001$ ) and with politics ( $\beta = -.04, p < .05$ ) were also predictors. Of the information-seeking variables, use of social networking sites ( $\beta = -.05, p$

< .05) was a negative predictor, and use of the printed press ( $\beta = .04, p < .05$ ) was a positive predictor of sustainable citizenship attitudes. As in the PIGS context, only political discussion ( $\beta = .08, p < .001$ ) was a positive significant predictor of sustainable citizenship.

While considerable energy has been devoted to conceptualizing sustainable citizenship as a new form of citizenship, little empirical work has examined its norms and the various attitudes and behaviors that help foster it beyond the dimension of political consumption. This study offers an initial pass at mapping out these factors, focusing mostly on issues of trust, satisfaction, media use, and interpersonal communication. The two regression models suggest some areas of overlap but also of divergence when cross-cultural factors are taken into account.

### ***Predispositions and Values***

*Pro-social vs. corporate values.* For citizens of both regions, when it comes to predispositions and values, those who support civil rights and favor pro-social priorities such as education, environmental protections, and support for the poor and elderly are also more likely to support financial reforms and to favor corporate transparency, both aspects of sustainable citizenship. In contrast, those who favor corporate values such as free market competition and entrepreneurship are not likely to support corporate transparency and financial reform. As conceptual work into sustainable citizenship suggests, the norms of corporate justice are shaped by deeply felt concern for others motivated by issues of fairness and justice. Support for corporate justice is directly related to support for civil rights, or what could be called positive rights (Conover, Crewe, & Searing, 1991). From the perspective of sustainable citizenship, individuals who embody these norms feel obligated to do what they can and strive to support and foster the positive development of others. This pro-social leaning is not limited to traditionally conceived targets of citizenship behaviors; it extends to business and corporate entities and a belief that these nongovernmental institutions are obligated to incorporate facets of social justice into their operating procedures. These findings reinforce claims made by others (Scammell, 2003; Stolle et al., 2005; Stolle & Michele, 2013) that corporations and the marketplace rightfully belong in discussions of civic norms and political engagement.

*Political predispositions.* For other values and predispositions, the patterns diverge depending on cultural context. In the PIGS countries, corporate justice is predicted by political knowledge and political trust, whereas in the Nordic countries, corporate justice is motivated by feelings of satisfaction, both personal and political.

In the PIGS context, individuals who are less trusting of politicians and political institutions are more likely to support corporate justice. These findings echo past work on trust as it relates to conventional citizenship norms showing that trust is a necessary precursor to political participation (Dalton, 2008). This is true of alternative forms of political engagement such as political consumption, which is a related dimension of sustainable citizenship (Stolle et al., 2005). Individuals who lack trust in politicians and political institutions are more likely to seek alternative channels to effect change because government institutions are seen as weak and ineffectual (Shapiro & Hacker-Cordon, 1999; Stolle et al., 2005). Citizens of Portugal, Italy, Greece, and Spain might view their respective governments as incapable

of stopping or slowing down the financial crisis. High unemployment rates and continued austerity measures in these countries did little to stem the crisis, and as a result, citizens might view government and politicians with distrust.

*Satisfaction.* In the Nordic countries, the patterns are different. Political trust, or lack of it, is not a significant predictor of support for corporate justice. The contextual differences might explain these divergent patterns. For example, Denmark, Finland, and Sweden were less dramatically affected by the global financial crisis, with employment rates and social welfare programs being impacted less than they were in the PIGS region. As a result, trust in political institutions to help the country weather the storm is not an issue in the Nordic countries. Instead, feelings of satisfaction, or more specifically, feelings of *dissatisfaction* are positive predictors of corporate justice. In Denmark, Finland, and Sweden, individuals who are less satisfied with their own lives are more likely to demand financial reform. The same relationship approaches significance when it comes to political satisfaction, with those who are less satisfied with the way democracy works in the EU being more in favor of financial reforms.

These patterns challenge existing work examining satisfaction and postmaterialist values as predictors of sustainable citizenship in the form of political consumption (Copeland, 2014; Inglehart, 1997; Stolle et al., 2005). Those studies indicate that as individuals become more satisfied with their quality of life, they are able to focus more on issues of social justice and political participation. The results of this study indicate the pattern does not hold and that rather than greater levels of satisfaction leading to more significant involvement with social justice issues, the reverse is true. In Nordic countries, those who report greater feelings of satisfaction are less likely to support social justice in the corporate realm. Rather than freeing up people to engage with broader social-justice issues, satisfaction has more of a pacifying influence. As Veenhoven (1988) suggested, satisfaction might diminish engagement by turning individuals into idle, selfish "contented cows" (p. 335) and might weaken social bonds by fostering selfish individualism or making individuals unaware of suffering, injustice, or danger. Higher satisfaction can be detrimental to healthy democratic functioning since it can breed repressive governments or apathetic publics (Bouckaert & Van de Walle, 2003; Mishler & Rose, 1997).

These patterns suggest important implications for support of corporate justice specifically and sustainable citizenship more broadly. As individuals become more satisfied with their lives, they may be less inclined to support the values of sustainable citizenship, at least as it is applied to corporate justice. The implications are twofold. First, if sustainable citizenship norms represent an evolution of traditional norms of citizenship and, as such, hold more promise as a means of engaging individuals in civic action, then this promise is greatly reduced in the event of rising satisfaction. Rather than being a panacea for stagnating rates of engagement, sustainable citizenship norms might be no more effective than traditional norms at translating values into actions. Second, rather than being a poor indicator of sustainable citizenship as a whole, corporate justice might be qualitatively different from other dimensions, such as political consumption. To the extent that satisfaction has a positive relationship with political consumption, corporate justice might denote different values and attitudes. Future studies ought to clarify the differences between these sustainable-citizenship dimensions.

### ***Mass and Interpersonal Communication***

#### *Mass Media*

In terms of media use, this study echoes past work indicating mass media can have differential influences on political engagement. In terms of sustainable citizenship dimensions including political consumption and pro-environmental attitudes, informational mass media have been shown to be important positive predictors, while entertainment-oriented ones are not (Shah, McLeod, et al., 2007; Zhao, 2012). This study offers partial support for those findings. Frequency of watching television (in the case of PIGS countries) and reading print news such as newspapers are both positive predictors of support for corporate justice. These patterns underscore the informational requirements of full engagement in the norms of sustainable citizenship. Although limited, extant literature on media use and political consumption indicates that these alternative forms of engagement are dependent on exposure to mediated content (Wicks & Warren, 2014).

Interestingly, this positive media influence does not extend to the use of social networking sites. In both the PIGS and Nordic contexts, use of social media is a negative predictor of support for corporate justice. In the context of political participation more generally, this positive relationship between engagement and social media is well established (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2013; Gil de Zúñiga, Veenstra, Vraga, & Shah, 2010; Rainie, Purcell, & Smith, 2011; Rainie & Smith, 2012). Although extant research is almost silent on the relationship between social media and dimensions of sustainable citizenship, two studies suggest that these patterns are the reverse of what might be expected: In the context of political consumption, Gil de Zúñiga and colleagues (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2013; Gil de Zúñiga & Valenzuela, 2010) have shown that use of social networking sites is positively related, a fact they attribute to social media's ability to build social capital and extend social networks.

The negative relationship shown in this study is interesting and warrants additional study. As possible explanation, researchers might look to studies that indicate social media use is positively related to satisfaction and trust. Given the negative relationship between satisfaction (in the Nordic countries) and trust (in the PIGS context) on support for corporate justice, the suppressive influence of social networking sites on sustainable citizenship might be moderated by these two predispositions. Further research ought to disentangle these possible connections by further specifying the different kinds and uses of social networking sites and their connection to satisfaction and trust in the context of sustainable citizenship. Additionally, the different findings regarding social networking sites and support for corporate justice as compared with political consumption might further underscore that although political consumption and corporate justice are two dimensions of sustainable citizenship, sufficiently different attitudes and behaviors predict them.

#### *Interpersonal Communication*

Last, the findings of this study lend further support to the role of interpersonal discussion in political participation (Cho et al., 2009; Shah et al., 2005; Sotirovic & McLeod, 2001). In what they term the campaign communication mediation model, Shah and colleagues have argued that mass media and

interpersonal discussion are both important predictors of political participation and that although the influence of mass media is often direct, it is also frequently mediated through interpersonal discussion and reflection. The findings here suggest the same patterns partly hold in the context of sustainable citizenship practices. Looking at political consumption in particular, Shah et al. (2007) demonstrate that political discussion is an important predictor and that the influence of online and offline news consumption is largely mediated through these interpersonal conversations. This study extends the important influence of political discussion to the corporate-justice dimension of sustainable citizenship and indicates that talking about politics is a positive predictor of support for corporate justice. As past research has suggested, talking about politics can help raise awareness about issues, underscore opportunities for involvement, and foster engagement in public life (Walsh, 2004).

Unlike the findings of Shah et al. (2007) that mass media influence political consumption indirectly via political discussion, the results of this study indicate that media use remains a significant predictor even after political discussion is added to the model. That mass media retain significant direct effects might be a result of the more complicated nature of financial reforms and the widespread media coverage of the financial crisis.

### **Implications and Future Research**

Looking at the patterns of significant predispositions and communication variables collectively suggests a number of broader implications for sustainable citizenship and the acquisition of changing citizenship norms. First, cultural context matters. Although the patterns in the PIGS and Nordic countries overlap considerably, there are two important areas where they diverge: trust and satisfaction. In the PIGS case, trust is an important predictor of corporate justice support, whereas in the Nordic case, satisfaction is a more powerful predictor. Future research ought to explore why these differences appear and under what other conditions they might be found. For example, are these differences apparent in other forms of sustainable citizenship such as political consumption? Longitudinal studies could address how changing levels of satisfaction and trust influence alignment with norms of sustainable citizenship.

Second, the findings indicate that the corporate-justice dimension of sustainable citizenship is qualitatively different from its more studied counterpart, political consumption. Whereas social media use is a significant predictor of political consumption, it appears to be a negative predictor of support for corporate justice. Likewise, mass media use is important in both dimensions of sustainable citizenship, but its influence seems to be more direct in the case of corporate-justice support, whereas it is mediated via political discussion in the case of political consumption. Future studies should explore why these differences arise and what other points of departure might exist between the two dimensions.

### **Limitations**

As with all empirical studies, this one is not without limitations. First, as is common with secondary data analysis, this study was constrained by the operationalization of variables. For example, while the data set included questions about respondents' media use, it would have been preferable to have more detailed measures about different kinds of media use and indicators of respondents' attention

to them. Second, the survey was fielded in 2011, and this study was conducted three years later. Although more recently collected data might be desirable, this particular data set was collected when the global economic crisis and issues of corporate malfeasance would have been particularly salient and timely for participants. Third, the average age of respondents was on the higher end (50.39 years old) but is not a gross misrepresentation of the countries included in this analysis, each of which has an average age in the low 40s (U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, 2014). However, all research comes with trade-offs, and this study is no different. Although the wording of some questions might not be ideal, the study benefits from very detailed questions about support for corporate justice that, to this researcher's knowledge, are not available in other data sets. In addition, it offers a large representative sample of residents of seven European countries, allowing for useful cross-cultural comparisons.

Despite these limitations, the analysis offers useful insight into sustainable citizenship. It is one of the first analyses of dimensions of sustainable citizenship other than political consumption and expands the literature on alternative citizenship norms. It suggests that while related, corporate justice and political consumption represent qualitatively different aspects of sustainable citizenship. It also offers evidence that context, in this case country, is an important factor in the acquisition and development of sustainable citizenship norms.



### References

- Atkinson, L. (2012, November). Buying in to social change: How private consumption choices engender concern for the collective. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644, 191–205. doi:10.1177/0002716212448366
- Bang, H. P. (2003). A new ruler meeting a new citizen: Culture governance and everyday making. In H. P. Bang (Ed.), *Governance as social and political communication* (pp. 241–266). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Barnes, S., & Kaase, M. (1979). *Political action: Mass participation in five Western democracies*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Bennett, W. L. (1998). The uncivic culture: Communication, identity, and the rise of lifestyle politics. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 31(4), 741–761. doi:10.1017/S1049096500053270
- Bennett, W. L. (2003a). Communicating global activism: Strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics. *Information, Communication & Society*, 6(2), 143–168.
- Bennett, W. L. (2003b). Lifestyle politics and citizen-consumers. In J. Corner & D. Pels (Eds.), *Media and the restyling of politics: Consumerism, celebrity, and cynicism* (pp. 137–150). London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Bennett, W. L. (2005). *Civic learning in changing democracies: Challenges for citizenship and civic education*. Paper presented at the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Bennett, W. L. (2008). Changing citizenship in the digital age. In W. L. Bennett (Ed.), *Civic life online: Learning how digital media can engage youth* (pp. 1–24). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Besley, J. C., & Shanahan, J. (2005). Media attention and exposure in relation to support for agricultural biotechnology. *Science Communication*, 26(4), 347–367. doi:10.1177/1075547005275443
- Binder, A. R., Scheufele, D. A., Brossard, D., & Gunther, A. C. (2011). Interpersonal amplification of risk? Citizen discussions and their impact on perceptions of risks and benefits of a biological research facility. *Risk Analysis*, 31(2), 324–334. doi:10.1111/j.1539-6924.2010.01516.x
- Bouckaert, G., & Van de Walle, S. (2003). Comparing measures of citizen trust and user satisfaction as indicators of “good governance”: Difficulties in linking trust and satisfaction indicators. *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 69(3), 329–343. doi:10.1177/0020852303693003

- Brehm, J., & Rahn, W. (1997). Individual-level evidence for the causes and consequences of social capital. *American Journal of Political Science*, 41(3), 999–1023.
- Cho, J., Shah, D. V., McLeod, J. M., McLeod, D. M., Scholl, R. M., & Gotlieb, M. R. (2009). Campaigns, reflection, and deliberation: Advancing an O-S-R-O-R model of communication effects. *Communication Theory*, 19(1), 66–88. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2008.01333.x
- Clark, N. (2014a, March 18). Ex-trader's pilgrimage culminates in jail cell. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/05/19/business/international/convicted-trader-resumes-his-trek-toward-prison.html>
- Clark, N. (2014b, March 19). French court upholds prison term for rogue Société Générale trader. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/20/business/international/prison-for-societe-generale-trader-jerome-kerviel.html>
- Coleman, J. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Conover, P. J., Crewe, I. M., & Searing, D. D. (1991). The nature of citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: Empirical comments on theoretical themes. *Journal of Politics*, 53(3), 800–832. doi:10.2307/2131580
- Copeland, L. (2014). Value change and political action: Postmaterialism, political consumerism, and political participation. *American Politics Research*, 42(2), 257–282. doi:10.1177/1532673X13494235
- Corner, J., & Pels, D. (2003). Introduction: The re-styling of politics. In J. Corner & D. Pels (Eds.), *Media and the restyling of politics: Consumerism, celebrity, and cynicism* (pp. 1–18). London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Dahlgren, P. (2007). Civic identity and net activism: The frame of radical democracy. In L. Dahlberg & E. Siapera (Eds.), *Radical democracy and the Internet: Interrogating theory and practice*. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56(1), 76–98. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9248.2007.00718.x
- Galbraith, J. K. (1958). *The affluent society*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
- Gartner, M., Griesbach, B., & Jung, F. (2011). Pigs or lambs? The European sovereign debt crisis and the role of rating agencies. *International Advances in Economic Research*, 17(3), 288–299. doi:10.1007/s11294-011-9302-7

- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Copeland, L., & Bimber, B. (2013). Political consumerism: Civic engagement and the social media connection. *New Media & Society*, 1461444813487960. doi:10.1177/1461444813487960
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Jung, N., & Valenzuela, S. (2012). Social media use for news and individuals' social capital, civic engagement and political participation. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 17(3), 319–336. doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2012.01574.x
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., & Valenzuela, S. (2010). The mediating path to a stronger citizenship: Online and offline networks, weak ties, and civic engagement. *Communication Research*, 38, 397–421. doi:10.1177/0093650210384984
- Gil de Zúñiga, H., Veenstra, A., Vraga, E., & Shah, D. V. (2010). Digital democracy: Re-imagining pathways to political participation. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 7(1), 36–51. doi:10.1177/107769901008700305
- Inglehart, R. (1997). *Modernization and postmodernization: Cultural, economic, and political change in 43 societies*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kaase, M. (1999). Interpersonal trust, political trust, and non-institutionalised political participation in Western Europe. *West European Politics*, 22(3), 1–21. doi:10.1080/01402389908425313
- Lichfield, J. (2014, May 18). Rogue trader Jérôme Kerviel "to surrender" to French police after protest march through Italy. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/rogue-trader-jrme-kerviel-to-surrender-to-french-police-after-protest-march-through-italy-9392639.html>
- Markus, H., & Zajonc, R. (1985). The cognitive perspective in social psychology. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (3rd ed., pp. 137–229). New York, NY: Random House.
- McLeod, D. M., Kosicki, G. M., & McLeod, J. M. (2002). Resurveying the boundaries of political communication effects. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (2nd ed., pp. 215–267). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Micheletti, M., Berlin, D., & Barkman, H. (2009). Sustainable citizenship: Opportunities and barriers for citizen involvement in sustainable development. *Statsvetenskaplig tidskrift*, 111(1), 74–79..

- Micheletti, M., & Stolle, D. (2012). Sustainable citizenship and the new politics of consumption. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 88–120.  
doi:10.1177/0002716212454836
- Micheletti, M., Stolle, D., & Berlin, D. (2012). Habits of sustainable citizenship: The example of political consumerism. In A. Warde & D. Southerton (Eds.), *The habits of consumption* (vol. 12, pp. 141–163). Helsinki, Finland: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies.
- Mishler, W., & Rose, R. (1997). Trust, distrust, and skepticism: Popular evaluations of civil and political institutions in post-communist societies. *Journal of Politics*, 59(02), 418–451.  
doi:10.2307/2998171
- Nisbet, M. C., & Goidel, R. K. (2007). Understanding citizen perceptions of science controversy: Bridging the ethnographic-survey research divide. *Public Understanding of Science*, 16(4), 421–440.  
doi:10.1177/0963662506065558
- Norris, P. (2002). *Democratic phoenix: Reinventing political activism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Olaussen, U. (2011). “We’re the ones to blame”: Citizens’ representations of climate change and the role of the media. *Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture*, 5(3), 281–299.  
doi:10.1080/17524032.2011.585026
- Putnam, R. (1995). Tuning in, tuning out: The strange disappearance of social capital in America. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 28(4), 664–683 doi:10.2307/420517
- Rainie, L., Purcell, K., & Smith, A. (2011). The social side of the Internet. Retrieved from <http://www.pewInternet.org/Reports/2011/The-Social-Side-of-the-Internet.aspx>
- Rainie, L., & Smith, A. (2012). Politics on social networking sites. Retrieved from <http://pewinternet.org/Reports/2012/Politics-on-SNS.aspx>
- Rojas, H., & Puig-i-Abril, E. (2009). Mobilizers mobilized: Information, expression, mobilization, and participation in the digital age. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 14, 902–927.  
doi:10.1111/j.1083-6101.2009.01475.x
- Scammell, M. (2003). Citizen consumers: Towards a new marketing of politics? In J. Corner & D. Pels (Eds.), *Media and the restyling of politics: Consumerism, celebrity, and cynicism* (pp. 117–136). London, UK: SAGE Publications.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Shah, D. V. (2000). Personality strength and social capital: The role of dispositional and informational variables in the production of civic participation. *Communication Research*, 27(2), 107–131. doi:10.1177/009365000027002001

- Shah, D. V. (1998). Civic engagement, interpersonal trust, and television use: An individual level assessment of social capital. *Political Psychology, 19*(3), 469–496. doi:10.1111/0162-895X.00114
- Shah, D. V., Cho, J., Eveland, W. P. J., & Kwak, N. (2005). Information and expression in a digital age: Modeling Internet effects on civic participation. *Communication Research, 32*, 531–565. doi:10.1177/0093650205279209
- Shah, D. V., Cho, J., Nah, S., Gotlieb, M. R., Hwang, H., Lee, N., et al. (2007, December). Campaign ads, online messaging, and participation: Extending the communication mediation model. *Journal of Communication, 57*, 676–703. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2007.00363.x
- Shah, D. V., McLeod, D. M., Kim, E., Sun Young, L., Gotlieb, M. R., Ho, S. S., & Breivik, H. (2007). Political consumerism: How communication and consumption orientations drive “lifestyle politics”. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 611*(1), 217–235. doi:10.1177/0002716206298714
- Shah, D. V., McLeod, J. M., & Yoon, S. H. (2001). Communication, context, and community: An exploration of print, broadcast, and Internet influences. *Communication Research, 28*(4), 464–506. doi:10.1177/009365001028004005
- Shapiro, I., & Hacker-Cordon, C. (1999). *Democracy's edges*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sotirovic, M., & McLeod, J. M. (2001). Values, communication behavior, and political participation. *Political Communication, 18*, 273–300. doi:10.1080/10584600152400347
- Stolle, D., Hooghe, M., & Micheletti, M. (2005). Politics in the supermarket: Political consumerism as a form of political participation. *International Political Science Review/Revue internationale de science pol, 26*(3), 245–269. doi:10.1177/0192512105053784
- Stolle, D., & Michele, M. (2013). *Political consumption: Global responsibility in action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Stutzer, A., & Frey, B. S. (2006). Political participation and procedural utility: An empirical study. *European Journal of Political Research, 45*(3), 391–418. doi:10.1111/j.1475-6765.2006.00303.x
- Sullivan, J. L., & Transue, J. E. (1999). The psychological underpinnings of democracy: A selective review of research on political tolerance, interpersonal trust, and social capital. *Annual Review of Psychology, 50*(1), 625–650. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.50.1.625
- U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. (2014). World factbook. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/2177.html>

- Veenhoven, R. (1988). The utility of happiness. *Social Indicators Research*, 20, 333–354.  
doi:10.1007/BF00302332
- Walsh, K. C. (2004). *Talking about politics: Informal groups and social identity in American life*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Ward, J. (2008). The online citizen-consumer: Addressing young people's political consumption through technology. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11(5), 513–526. doi:10.1080/13676260802282984
- Wicks, R. H., & Warren, R. (2014). Modeling political consumerism among young consumers: An ecological systems approach. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 58(6), 738–754.  
doi:10.1177/0002764213515991
- Zhao, X. (2012). Personal values and environmental concern in China and the U.S.: The mediating role of informational media use. *Communication Monographs*, 79(2), 137–159.  
doi:10.1080/03637751.2012.672999
- Zijderveld, A. C. (2000). *The institutionalist imperative*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press.