

## ONLINE SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION FOR 'ACCOUNTING FOR ACTIVISM AMONG MEMBERS OF YOUTH PARTY ORGANISATIONS'

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### APPENDIX 1. THE SAMPLE.

The sample was divided into four subsamples with respect to the main political groupings in parliament. The socialist forces comprise: Juventudes Socialistas de España (Spain's Socialist Youth, JSE), an organization linked to the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE); and the members of Joventut Socialista de Catalunya (Catalonia's Socialist Youth, JSC), the youth section of the Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya (Catalan Socialist Party, PSC). The conservative youth force, Nuevas Generaciones (New Generations, NNGG), an organization linked to the Partido Popular (People's Party, PP). Youth sections linked to Izquierda Unida (United Left, IU) composed by the members of IU Jóvenes, Unió'n de Juventudes Comunistas de España (UJCE) linked to the Partido Comunista de España (PCE) and Jovø's d'Esquerra Verda of Iniciativa per Catalunya-Verds. This figure is bolstered by adding members of four YPO of Non State-Wide Parties (for a characterization see: Pallares et al. 1999): Euzko Gaztedi Indarra (EGI), the youth section of the Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist Party, PNV); Galiza Nova (GN) from Bloque Nacionalista Gallego (Galician Nationalist Bloc, BNG); Joventuts d'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (JERC), the youth section of Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia, ERC) and, the members of Joventut Nacionalista de Catalunya (JNCAT), the youth wing of Catalan Democratic Party, as the successor party Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (a constituent party of the Convergence and Union political formation). Table A1 provides detailed information about sample, respondents and membership coverage.

**Table A1. Respondents and members coverage**

	Respondents	% of Respondent	Numbers of Valid Respondents Used	% of Valid Response
Juventudes Socialistas de España (JSE)	1331	35,35	<b>812</b>	35,1
Joventut Socialista de Catalunya (JSC)	125	3,32	<b>88</b>	3,8
Nuevas Generaciones (NNGG)*	906	24,06	<b>499</b>	21,6
Izquierda Unida Jóvenes (IU Jóvenes)	163	4,32	<b>106</b>	4,58
Unió'n de Juventudes Comunistas de España (UCJE)	360	9,56	<b>249</b>	10,8
Jovø's d'Esquerra Verda (JEV)	74	1,96	<b>55</b>	2,38
Joventuts d'Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (JERC)	105	2,78	<b>70</b>	3,03
Euzko Gaztedi Indarra (EGI)	118	3,13	<b>69</b>	3,76
Foro Asturias Jóvenes (Foro)	10	0,26	<b>8</b>	0,35
Galiza Nova (GN)	130	3,45	<b>87</b>	3,76
Gazte Abertzaleak (GA)	39	1,03	<b>20</b>	0,86

Gazteok Bai (GB)	11	0,29	6	0,26
Joventut Nacionalista de Catalunya, (JNC)	165	4,38	<b>109</b>	4,71
Joves amb Iniciativa (JambI)**	28	0,74	15	0,65
Joves del Paç Valencià (Joves PV)**	61	1,62	38	1,64
Juventudes Andalucistas (JJAA)	41	1,08	25	1,08
Juventudes de Extremadura Unida (JEU)	2	0,05	1	0,04
Juventudes Leonesistas (JL)	3	0,08	1	0,04
Juventudes Regionalistas (JRC)	25	0,66	11	0,48
Juventudes Riojanas (JR)	2	0,05	1	0,04
Juventudes Navarras (JJNN)	36	0,95	24	1,04
Unió de Joves (UJ)***	3	0,08	1	0,04
Podemos***	0	0	0	0
Jóvenes Ciudadanos (JCs)***	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>3765</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>2313</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: own elaboration

Note: In all youth sections, except NNGG, an email was sent with the link to their distribution list of members that includes the entire census.

\* In the case of NNGG, the email was sent from the national headquarters of the People's Party to a random selection of a thousand members of youth section.

\*\* Both YPO have an independent structure but operate as a coalition in the Valencian Community

\*\*\*In these youth sections the implementation of survey fieldwork was not possible.

In **bold** the surveys used in the analysis carried out (n=2144).

## APPENDIX 2. OPERATIONALIZATION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

- *Individual political efficacy* is measured by an additive scale composed by six items measured in a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree... 5=Strongly agree): (1) Sometimes politics seems so complicated that it is difficult for a person like me to understand what is going on (reversed); (2) I am better informed about politics than most people; (3) People like me can have a real influence on politics if they get involved; (4) "Youth section name" would be more successful if people like me had more influence on the organization; (5) I can easily understand most of the political issues; and (6) When people discuss about political issues I always have something to say. Responses range from 6 (low level of individual efficacy) to 30 (maximum perceived individual political efficacy).

- *Group political efficacy*: Additive scale composed by items measured in a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree... 5=Strongly agree): (1) When party members work together they can really change the country; (2) My political party has really made a difference to the way in which our community has developed; and (3) The party leadership doesn't pay a lot of

attention to the views of ordinary party members. The scale ranges from 3 to 15, with highest scores indicating a higher perception of group efficacy.

- *Collective benefits*: satisfaction with democracy in the country (0-10 scale) (see, for instance, Pattie et al. 2004).

- *Cost of participation*: additive scale composed of three items, measured in a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree... 5=Strongly agree): (1) Attending party meeting can be pretty tiring after a hard day's work; (2) Working for the party can be pretty boring at times; and (3) Party activity often takes time away from one's family.

- *Outcome incentives*: scale measuring individuals' predisposition to follow a political career (see Alarcón and Trujillo 2020). The scale is composed by seven statements in a 7-points Likert scale (1= strongly disagree...7=completely agree): (1) I am passionate about being a politician; (2) I enjoy being a politician more than anything else; (3) Being a politician gives me immense personal satisfaction; (4) I would continue being a politician even in the face of severe obstacles; (5) Being a politician is always in my mind in some way; (6) My existence would be much less meaningful without my involvement in politics; and (7) Being a politician is a deeply moving and gratifying experience for me.

-*Process incentives*: additive scale composed by three items measured in a 5-point Likert scale (1=Strongly disagree... 5=Strongly agree): (1) Being an active party member is a good way to meet interesting people; (2) The only way to be really informed is to be a party activist; and (3) Getting involved in party activities during an election can be fun. Highest scores indicate a higher perception of process incentives.

- *Ideological incentive* have been measured using two 9-point scale, where 1 indicates (extreme) left and 10 (extreme) right. The first scale refers to the respondent's self-placement and the second one to her placement of the YPO (these questions appeared in different parts of the questionnaire). Respondent whose ideological self-perception is more extreme than that of the YPO are coded with 1 (0 for the rest).

- *Education level* is a scale that measures the education level acquired by respondent. Ranges from (1) Elementary school, college and lower levels; (2) Technical School (lower and upper); (3) University degree; and (4) Master and PhD.

- *Social status* have been measured by the number of books at home, used as a proxy (Hooghe and Dassonneville 2013). This is a scale that measures the number of book at home, ranges from minus of 50 (1), from 50 to 100 (2), from 101 to 200 (3), to more than 200 (4).

- *Free time* indicates whether the respondent have a paid-job or have a job and study simultaneously (0) or not (1).

- *Civic duty* indicates whether the respondent thinking on political participation as a duty (1) or not (0). Question was stated: For some people participating in politics is a right that a citizen can exercise or not, and for others is a duty. In your opinion ¿ to take part in politics is a right or a duty?

- *Associations* indicates how many memberships in associations the respondent was member before to join their youth section. Ranges from 0 to 3 associations. Question: People sometimes join groups, associations or organizations. Are you a member or are you affiliated to a student union ? a youth organization? And cultural organization?

- *Family party member* indicates whether the someone of the family member of respondent has been member of a political party (1) or not (0).

- *Recruited* measures if the respondent was asked to join the party by a friend, family or by a classmate (1) or not (0).

- *Expected benefits of passive modalities of activism (a)* is an additive scale of their perceptions (1=Not effective at all...4=Very effective) about the fact that two particular method of participation is effective or influential for their party goals. Question was formulate: We would like to ask you how effective you think various political activities are in helping the "name political party" to achieve its goals? (1) Payment of dues; (2) Donating money to youth section or political parties.

- *Expected benefits of active modalities of activism (b)* is an additive scale of their perceptions (1=Not effective at all...4=Very effective) about the fact that three particular method of participation is effective or influential for their party goals. Question was formulate: We would like to ask you how effective you think various political activities are in helping the "name political party" to achieve its goals? (1) Participation in activities of youth section (parties, demonstrations, etc.); (2) Voluntary party work (no paid); and (3) Recruiting young people.

- *Social norms* . This is a likert scale of four items: (1) On the whole, members of a local branch association are respected figures in the local community; (2) Many people think that party activists are extremists (reversed); (3) The amount of work done by ordinary party members is very often unrecognized (reserved); and (4) The only way to change something is to participate actively.

- *Expressive attachments*: measure the strength of attachment to their youth section as a measure of identification with the political party. Respondents were asked “How identified do you feel with your youth party section?”, in a four-point scale from (1) not identified at all, to (4) very identified.
- *Gender* indicates whether respondent is a woman (1) or a man (0).
- *Age of membership* indicates the age at the time of membership. Indicator range from 14 to 30 years old.
- *In couple* indicates whether the respondent lives in couple (1) or not (0).
- *Offspring* indicates whether the respondent has offspring (1) or not (0).
- *Under 18*, indicates whether the respondent is under 18 years old (1) or not (0).

### APPENDIX 3. DESCRIPTION OF INDEPENDENT VARIABLES IN THE ANALYSIS BY SUBSAMPLES

TABLE A2. GENERAL INCENTIVES MODEL

	JSE/JSC	NNGG	Young of IU	JERC	EGI	GN	JNC	Total
<b>Individual efficacy</b>	24,16	24,44	23,58	24,51	24,54	24,4	24,37	24,1
Mean (Sd)	(3,790)	(4,083)	(3,526)	(3,057)	(3,645)	(2,988)	(3,565)	(3,759)
<b>Grupal efficacy</b>	11,46	11,03	10,65	11,64	11,88	13,19	11,44	11,03
Mean (Sd)	(1,983)	(2,344)	(2,080)	(1,888)	(2,253)	(2,019)	(1,810)	(2,149)
<b>Collective benefits</b>	4,85	6,12	1,61	1,714	1,65	0,83	2,40	4,03
Mean (Sd)	(2,339)	(2,396)	(1,833)	(1,485)	(2,020)	(1,318)	(2,834)	(2,834)
<b>Cost</b>	9,58	9,38	10,36	9,33	9,55	9,59	9,96	9,7
Mean (Sd)	(2,162)	(2,529)	(2,177)	(2,221)	(2,053)	(2,223)	(2,181)	(2,348)
<b>Outcome incentive</b>	34,95	36,08	37,32	36,39	36,31	38,50	34,21	35,86
Mean (Sd)	(10,626)	(10,701)	(8,556)	(8,011)	(8,753)	(8,116)	(9,563)	(10,046)
<b>Process incentive</b>	10,83	10,97	10,05	11,25	10,63	10,87	10,93	10,73
Mean (Sd)	(2,162)	(2,421)	(2,140)	(1,648)	(1,958)	(1,837)	(1,839)	(2,197)
<b>Ideological incentive</b>	0,63	0,62	0,48	0,58	0,40	0,45	0,44	0,57
Mean (Sd)	(0,482)	(484)	(0,500)	(0,496)	(0,494)	(0,501)	(0,498)	(0,494)

(Sd = Standard deviation)

Source: own elaboration.

TABLE A3. CIVIC VOLUNTARISM MODEL

	JSE/JSC	NNGG	Young of IU	JERC	EGI	GN	JNC	Total
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<b>Education level</b>	2,36	2,11	2,07	1,84	2,65	1,85	2,33	2,22
Mean (Sd)	(1,119)	(1,030)	(1,165)	(1,137)	(1,246)	(1,156)	(1,194)	(1,131)
<b>Social Status</b>	2,63	2,63	2,70	3,04	3,10	3,15	2,80	2,7
Mean (Sd)	(1,158)	(1,159)	(1,137)	(1,014)	(1,031)	(0,963)	(1,123)	(1,144)
<b>Free time (%)</b>	44,3	48,3	54,1	42,9	33,3	62,1	45	47,5
<b>Duty (%)</b>	40,3	36,1	70,7	55,7	40,6	62,1	36,7	46,4
<b>Associations</b>	1,60	1,53	1,92	1,88	1,49	2,14	1,76	1,69
Mean (S.d.)	(1,079)	(1,147)	(1,005)	(1,097)	(1,106)	(0,946)	(1,104)	(1,092)
<b>Family party member (%)</b>	45,8	36,3	28,8	25,7	71	35,6	34,9	39,5
<b>Recruited (%)</b>	26,3	26,9	23,2	28,6	37,7	28,7	27,5	26,4

Source: own elaboration.

TABLE A4. SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL MODEL

	JSE/JSC	NNGG	Young of IU	JERC	EGI	GN	JNC	Total
<b>Expected benefits of economic activism (a)</b>	5,02	4,18	5,76	5,39	4,757	6,23	5,29	5,04
Mean (Sd)	(1,524)	(1,641)	(1,32)	(1,274)	(1,559)	(1,287)	(1,422)	(1,602)
<b>Expected benefits of activities (b)</b>	4,63	4,70	4,92	5,1	5	5,27	4,62	4,7
Mean (Sd)	(1,397)	(1,434)	(1,177)	(1,092)	(1,218)	(1,226)	(1,349)	(1,351)
<b>Social norms</b>	12,84	13,02	12,40	12,95	12,83	13,26	13	12,83
Mean (Sd)	(2,026)	(2,038)	(2,269)	(2,195)	(1,957)	(2,372)	(1,895)	(1,097)
<b>Expressive attachments</b>	3,14	3,04	3,35	3,55	3,28	3,57	3,23	3,2
Mean (Sd)	(0,663)	(0,725)	(0,593)	(0,500)	(0,729)	(0,520)	(0,559)	(0,668)

Source: own elaboration.

TABLE A5. CONTROL VARIABLES

	JSE/JSC	NNGG	Young of IU	JERC	EGI	GN	JNC	Total
<b>Gender</b>	40,6	36,5	28	343,3	31,9	34,5	26,6	35,8
<b>Age of membership</b>	19,63	18,61	19,06	16,99	19,29	18,35	18,92	19,02
Mean (Sd)	(3,564)	(2,325)	(3,165)	(1,967)	(3,200)	(2,256)	(2,869)	(3,152)
<b>Couple (%)</b>	15,9	9,4	17,6	10	4,3	17,2	11	13,9
<b>Child (%)</b>	3,6	1,6	1,5	0	0	0	0	2,1
<b>Under 18 (%)</b>	6,7	1,4	9,5	11,4	4,3	9,2	6,4	6,2

Source: own elaboration.

