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The Role of Parents, Social Media and Materialism in Teenage Activism

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Abstract

The aim of the study was to examine the role of parents, social media and materialism in teenage activism. We surveyed 13-16 year olds (*N* = 177). We measured teenagers' activist "identity and involvement" and activist behavior, parents' activist behavior, as perceived by their offspring, media use frequency and the purpose of social media use. The results indicate that both teenage activist "identity and involvement" and activist behavior are positively related to both the mother and father's activist behavior but are negatively related to hedonic use of media. Hedonic use of media and gender are predictors of youth activist "identity and involvement" while mother's activism, hedonic use of media and the teenager's age are predictors of youth activist behavior. To sum up, the study indicates that mother's activism and the purpose of media use are related to teenage activism. It also shows that materialism and media use frequency are not significantly linked to teenage activism.

Keywords

activism, materialism, media, parents, teenagers

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Activism is behavior related to advocating goals/values aimed at changing social, cultural, political identity and improving society (cf. Corning & Myers, 2002; Yang, 2009). It is manifested by activist identity (i.e., describing oneself as an activist), activist involvement (i.e., showing willingness to engage in activist goals) and undertaking activist actions (e.g., protecting the environment, supporting human and animal rights or voluntary participation in social events) (cf. Klar & Kasser, 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Wilson, 2000). Research into teenage activism is important because adolescence is a period of shaping one's goals and values as well as developing one's identity (Erikson, 1968), which embraces an understanding of one's role and place in society. Activism brings many benefits to young people: it helps in shaping political and civic identities and allows a better understanding of the complexity of the social and political world (Flanagan & Gallay, 1995; Yates & Youniss, 1998); it is associated with a lower number of risk behaviors such as alcohol and drug abuse (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001; Eccles & Barber, 1999) and legal problems (Mahoney, 2000); it is positively correlated to better grades at school (Dávila & Mora, 2007), higher self-esteem (Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, & Alisat, 2007; Smith, 1999a) and better interpersonal relations (Maton, 1990). However, despite its numerous benefits, young people do not seem to show a keen interest in activism (Krzywosz-Rynkiewicz & Zalewska, 2010; Siegień, 2010), and, what is more, teenage concern for activism is diminishing from generation to generation (Twenge, Campbell, & Freeman, 2012). For that reason, studying the determinants of the development of youth activism is an extremely important issue.

The aim of this article was to determine the role of parents, media and adolescent materialism in shaping teenage activism.

Research carried out up to now indicates that political activism of parents is linked to political activism of their children (cf. Bloemraad & Trost, 2008; Spellings, Barber, & Olsen, 2012). Our study extends the scope of the analyses done so far. We examine how activism of the parents, as perceived by teenagers, is related to their own activism in general. We look into two dimensions of different, other than political, types of activism: "identity and involvement" (i.e., social identity and willingness to engage in activities) and activist behavior (i.e., undertaking activist activities).

Available research suggests that the use of social media can encourage activism in teenagers if used to search for information, which is not the case if media use frequency is considered (cf. Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001). The current study analyzes how both the frequency and purpose of social media use are related to activism.

Studies on adults show that the goals of activist activities tend to be in conflict with those serving to fulfill materialistic aspirations (Grouzet et al., 2005). In this study we check whether such a relationship also occurs in teenagers.

Previous research shows that there is a relationship between family income and teenage volunteering and civic behaviors. In the present study we also check whether family affluence is related to teenage activism (cf. Atkins & Hart, 2003; Lenzi et al., 2012).

The theoretical foundations and predictions of our research have been presented in the subsections of the article.

Theoretical Background of the Study

Parents and Teenage Activism

We made our prediction about the role of parents in shaping teenage activism based on social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and political socialization theory (Flanagan & Syvertsen, 2006). Social behaviors are shaped by modeling, i.e., young people learn by imitating their parents as their role models (Bandura, 1977). Teenagers observe how parents approach different social issues and political ideas and thus adopt similar behaviors (Flanagan & Syvertsen, 2006). Research into the transmission of values in family socialization shows that teenagers learn about the importance of universalism values, activism being among them, from their parents (cf. Barni, Ranieri, Scabini, & Rosnati, 2011). There are studies that confirm the relationship between parental activism and teenage activism, but they mainly deal with activism related to political activity. Bloemraad and Trost (2008) point out that children of politically engaged parents are more likely to be politically involved. Spellings, Barber and Olsen (2012) demonstrate that parental activism is the strongest predictor of youth activism; the link is both direct and indirect, through parents' expectations related to their offsprings' activism. According to Pancer, Pratt, Hunsberger, and Alisat, teen activism is positively associated with the frequency of interaction with parents (2007). Available research indicates that parents play an important role in shaping their children's tolerance (Miklikowska, 2017), empathy (Miklikowska, Duriez, & Soenens, 2011) and social trust (Wray-Lake & Flanagan, 2012), which are closely linked to activism. In light of the results of the available research presented above we put forward the first hypothesis that youth activism will be positively related to the perceived activism of teenagers' parents.

Social Media and Teenage Activism

We based our prediction concerning the relationship between social media use and activism on displacement theory/hypothesis, which holds that when people are short of time they give up one activity for another (Huston, Wright, Marquis, & Green, 1999; Larson & Verma, 1999; Lee, 2009). Previous research shows that one of the main factors related to the decrease in involvement in civic life and interest in politics is an increase in media use (cf. Putnam, 2000). Available studies on adolescents have not detected a relationship between Internet use frequency and activism (cf. Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001). They have found, however, that exposure to social media encourages activist activities in adolescents (Pasek, More, & Romer, 2009; Tang & Lee, 2013) and that Internet use to search for information is a predictor of activist behaviors (Tolbert & McNeal, 2003). Another finding is that the use of social media and the associated increase in activism in the media is not related to activist behaviors outside of the media (Yankah, Adams, Grimes, & Price, 2017). Having considered the results of research into social media and teenage activism presented above we formulated the second hypothesis that youth activism will be related to the frequency and the purpose of media use. That is, social media use

frequency will be negatively related to youth activism while their exploratory function (i.e., using media to search for information) will be positively related to youth activism.

Materialism and Youth Activism

We adopted the predictions regarding the relationship between activism and materialism guided by the concept of universal structure of goal content (Grouzet et al., 2005). According to the concept, orientation towards achieving materialistic goals (i.e., financial success, fame, physical attractiveness) entails neglecting non-materialistic goals (i.e., relationships with others and community feeling). Therefore, a focus on materialism hinders the pursuit of community goals, which benefit others. Up-to-date generation research on adults indicates negative relationships between materialism and activism. The results show that along with the growth of materialism in modern society, civic orientation (i.e., concern for social problems, taking action for the benefit of others) is diminishing (Twenge et al., 2012) and materialism is negatively linked with willingness to take action for the benefit of others (Besta & Zawadzka, 2017; Klar & Kasser, 2009). There are also studies on adolescents suggesting an indirect relationship between materialism and activism. Specifically, an increase in materialism is linked to a diminished interest in social problems, e.g., environment protection (cf. Wray-Lake, Flanagan, & Osgood, 2010).

After taking account of the results presented above we made the third hypothesis that youth activism will be negatively related to their materialism.

Family Affluence and Teenage Activism

We made a prediction regarding the relationship between family well-being and activism following Inglehart's scarcity hypothesis (Inglehart & Baker, 2000). The hypothesis is that once individuals have satisfied their needs of security and survival (i.e., when prosperity has been achieved), they tend to focus more on self-expression needs (e.g., participating in activist events). Research on correlates of families with a good socio-economic status shows that good socio-economic condition of the family fosters a sense of security since it provides necessary resources and, thus, opportunities for the young person (cf. Richins & Chaplin, 2015). Studies show that high income, often correlated with a high level of education, is positively linked to undertaking voluntary activities (Caputo, 1997), to participating in activities of community organizations (Lenzi et al., 2012) and to higher civic engagement (Atkins & Hart, 2003) on the part of teenagers. Consistent with the results presented above we constructed the fourth hypothesis that family SES is positively linked to youth activism.

Method

Participants

We surveyed 177 middle and high school students, aged 13 to 16 (($M = 14.10$, $SD = 1.20$); 13.6% 13 year olds, 57.1% 14 year olds, 26% 15 year olds and 2.3% 16 year olds). The sam-

ple included 60.5% girls and 39.5% boys from Polish families of an average living standard. 82.2% of the respondents lived with both parents, 8% lived only with the mother, 1.7% lived only with the father, and 7.9% lived with the mother and her partner. 13.8% of them had no siblings, 49.43% had one sibling, 27.59% had two siblings, 2.87% had three siblings, 4.60% had four siblings, 0.57% had five siblings and 1.14% had six siblings.

Materials and Procedure

Measuring Activism of Teenagers and Their Parents

We used two tools to measure youth activism. The first one was the Activism Identity and Commitment Scale (Klar & Kasser, 2009), which consists of 8 statements (4 for the identity activist subscale, 4 for the commitment activist subscale, e.g., "Being an activist is an important part of me", "I make time for activism, even when I'm busy"). First, the participants read the instruction, which includes a definition of activism: "The goal of activism is to advocate a social or political cause (e.g., protecting the environment, human-rights issues, opposing abortion, or preventing wars); the means of activism can vary greatly, e.g., from institutionalized acts, e.g., starting a petition, to unconventional acts, e.g., civil disobedience. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements" (Klar & Kasser, 2009, p. 21). Next, the participants responded to the statements on a five-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree* and 5 = *strongly agree*). The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = 0.91$. The second tool was a scale of frequency of teenager activist behaviors, including 11 different behaviors of young activists (e.g., "Unpaid work for non-governmental organizations, i.e., foundations or associations", "Actions for protection and preservation of the natural environment") (See Appendix A). The respondents marked their answers on a five-point scale (1 = *never* and 5 = *always*). The result was the sum of all items. The reliability of the scale was $\alpha = 0.80$.

Parental activism was measured using a scale of perceived frequency of parent activist behaviors, including 12 different behaviors of adult activists (e.g., "Unpaid work for non-governmental organizations, i.e., foundations or associations", "Actions for protection and preservation of the natural environment") (See Appendix B). Teenagers answered questions about the activism of both parents, separately for their father and mother, on a five-point scale (1 = *never* and 5 = *always*). The result was the sum of all items related to the mother's perceived activist behavior/the father's perceived activist behavior. The reliability of the tool was respectively: $\alpha = 0.83$ for mothers and $\alpha = 0.87$ for fathers.

Measuring Adolescent Materialism

We used the Aspiration Index (AI; Kasser et al., 2014, Study 4) to measure adolescent materialism. It consists of 36 goals referring to 12 categories of aspirations (Affiliation, Community, Conformity, Financial Success, Hedonism, Physical Appearance, Health, Popularity, Safety, Self-acceptance, Spirituality and Self-control/Frugality). The respondents

answered the question of "How important has each goal been to you in the past month?" using a nine-point scale (1 = *not at all important* and 9 = *extremely important*). The Relative Extrinsic-Intrinsic Value Orientation (REIVO) indicator was used to measure adolescent materialism (cf. Dittmar, Bond, Hurst, & Kasser, 2014). It is the subtraction of the sum of materialistic aspirations (i.e., financial success, popularity, appearance) from the sum of non-materialistic aspirations (i.e., relationships, community feeling, self-acceptance); a high REIVO indicator shows high materialism.

Measuring Media Exposure Frequency and the Purpose of Media Use

We measured media exposure frequency using a questionnaire inspired by Juliet Schor's (2004) tool, and implemented by Nairn et al. (2007), which is designed to examine media use frequency, including television and the Internet, at different times of the day. The respondents answered the questions of how often they watch TV/use the Internet at different times on each weekday (i.e., before school, after school, during dinner, after dinner, and in bed before sleeping) and at the weekend (i.e., in the morning, during lunch, in the afternoon, during dinner, after dinner, and in bed before sleeping). They marked their answers on a five-point scale (1 = *never* and 5 = *always*). The result was the sum of all frequencies of TV and Internet use.

The purpose of media use was measured with a questionnaire including 40 statements related to four functions of social media use: exploratory (e.g., "to look for information", "to widen the knowledge about a topic"); interpersonal (e.g., "to find out how your friends are doing", "to talk and text with friends and acquaintances"); hedonic (e.g., "for entertainment", "for pleasure"); symbolic (e.g., "to be popular", "to share your creativity with others") (Iwanowska, 2018). The respondents answered the question "What are your reasons for using social media?" using a five-level scale (1 = I *strongly disagree* and 5 = I *strongly agree*). The result for each of the four functions was the sum of all items concerning each function. The reliability of the tool was respectively: α = 0.86 for interpersonal, α = 0.74 for hedonic, α = 0.84 for symbolic, α = 0.55 for exploratory function.

Measuring the Level of Family Affluence

We measured the level of material wealth asking participants how many items, constituting 24 categories of material goods, their households had (e.g., refrigerator, washing machine, TV, summer house, computer, bike, etc.) (cf. Czapiński & Panek, 2009). The result was the sum of all household goods.

Procedure

The study was conducted at schools with prior parental consent for their children's participation. The study was carried out in groups of 20 to 30 students. Before filling in the questionnaires, the students were instructed on how to complete them. The study was anonymous and each student completed the questionnaires independently. The questionnaires had been randomized.

Results

Preliminary Analyses: Correlations Among Variables

Table 1 shows the results of tested variable correlations. Both measures of youth activism ("identity and involvement" and activist behavior) held significant positive correlations with each other and with either parent's activism. Moreover, activist "identity and involvement" correlated negatively with hedonic use of media while activist behavior correlated positively with age. The analysis of differences between correlation indices showed that the correlations between teenagers' activist "identity and involvement" and mother/father's perceived activism were significantly lower than the correlations between teenagers' activist behavior and the mother's perceived activism ($z = -2.84$, $p < .002$) or the father's perceived activism ($z = -2.59$, $p < .005$). No significant relationships were observed between

Table 1

Correlations Between Tested Variables

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Adolescent activist "identity and involvement"												
2. Adolescent activist behavior	.40**											
3. Sex	-.13	-.07										
4. Age	-.09	-.22**	.10									
5. Adolescent materialism	.01	.006	.20**	-.05								
6. Mother's perceived activism	.25**	48***	.05	-.19**	-.04							
7. Father's perceived activism	.25**	.50***	.06	-.14	-.04	.89***						
8. Family affluence	.14	.05	-.002	-.21**	.19*	.17*	.13					
9. Media exposure	-.03	.11	.20**	-.02	.34**	.05	.05	.19*				
10. Media explorative function	.03	.02	-.14	.03	-.10	-.09	-.06	.03	.07			
11. Media interpersonal function	-.08	.03	-.19*	.09	.08	-.14	-.08	.13	.26***	.37**		
12. Media hedonic function	-.15*	-.10	-.15*	.05	.07	-.10	-.11	.13	.29***	.40***	.63***	
13. Media symbolic function	.04	.11	-.04	-.07	.25**	-.001	.02	.18*	.36***	.48***	.54***	.47***

Note. Sex decoded as girl – 0, boy – 1.
*$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Table 2

Summary of Linear Regression Analyses Predicting the Adolescent Activist "Identity and Involvement" and Adolescent Activist Behavior

Variable	Activist "identity and involvement"					Activist behavior				
	B	*SE*	*β*	*t*	*p*	*B*	*SE*	*β*	*t*	*p*
Sex	-2.17	1.14	-.16	-1.91	.058	-.88	1.00	-.07	-.87	n.s
Age	.20	.76	.02	.26	n.s.	-1.39	.67	-.15	-2.06	.041
Adolescent materialism	.01	.03	.03	.37	n.s.	-.003	.02	-.009	-.11	n.s.
Mother's perceived activism	.09	.15	.11	.63	n.s.	.26	.13	.31	2.02	.045
Father's perceived activism	.11	.14	.13	.74	n.s.	.17	.13	.20	1.35	n.s.
Family affluence	.06	.04	.13	1.61	n.s.	-.05	.03	-.10	-1.42	n.s.
Media exposure	.009	.03	.02	.26	n.s.	.02	.03	.05	.59	n.s.
Media explorative function	.07	.07	.10	1.05	n.s.	.05	.06	.07	.79	n.s.
Media interpersonal function	-.10	.14	-.08	-.70	n.s.	.18	.13	.13	1.40	n.s.
Media hedonic function	-.17	.09	-.20	1.90	.059	-.18	.08	-.21	-2.28	.024
Media symbolic function	.03	.05	.05	.51	n.s.	.04	.04	.08	.98	n.s.

either measure of activism and other variables - media exposure frequency, teenager's materialism[1] and family affluence.

In order to check whether parents' perceived activism, media use frequency, the purpose of media use and teenagers' materialism are predictors of teenager activist "identity and involvement" or activist behavior, two regression analyses (method: enter) were carried out (along with age, sex and family affluence as covariates). After inputting all the variables into the first regression analysis together with the first outcome variable, i.e., teenager activist "identity and involvement", we found that the tested model was significant and explained 6% of the variance related to teenage activism [$R = .36$, $R^2 = .13$; $F(11, 146) = 1.98$, $p < .03$][2]. Table 2 shows that hedonic use of mass media ($β = -.20$, $p = .059$) and teenagers' sex ($β = -.16$, $p = .058$) were significant predictors of activist identity. The remaining variables were not significant predictors of activist "identity and involvement". After inputting all the variables into the second regression analysis with the second outcome variable, i.e., activist behavior, we found that the tested model was significant and explained 28% of the variance related to teenage activism [$R = .57$, $R^2 = .33$; $F(11, 146) = 6.44$, $p < .001$]. Table 2 shows that hedonic use of media ($β = -.21$, $p = .024$), the mother's perceived activism ($β =$

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[1] We also analyzed correlations between each of the materialistic aspirations (i.e., financial success, popularity and physical appearance) and the two measures of activism. However, they turned out to be statistically insignificant.
[2] The highest VIF (variance inflation factor) for independent variables was not higher than 5, which means that correlations between variables were low to moderate, which does not suggest that corrective measures be used (cf. Hair et al. 1995).

.31, p = .045) and teenagers' age (β = -.15, p = .041) were significant predictors of activist behavior. The remaining variables were not significant predictors of activist behavior.

Discussion and Conclusions

The aim of this article is to present our study on the role that parents, the media and adolescent materialism play in shaping teenage activism. The results obtained in the study are consistent with our hypothesis concerning a positive relationship between adolescent activism (including both "identity and involvement" and activist behavior) and parental activism (as perceived by the teenager). The obtained correlations broaden the existing research showing a relationship between the political activism of parents and teenage activism (Bloemraad & Trost, 2008; Spellings, Barber, & Olsen, 2012). Other hypotheses, concerning significant correlations between teenage activism (i.e., "identity and involvement" and activist behavior) and media exposure frequency, exploratory function of the media and teenage materialism, have not been confirmed.

We found that while the tested variables (i.e., the mother's activist behavior and father's activist behavior as perceived by the teenager, family affluence, teenage materialism, the frequency of media usage and the purpose of media use) significantly accounted for activist behaviors of teenagers (28%), they accounted for the variance in the dimension of teenage activist "identity and involvement" to a small extent only (6%). This means that the tested predictors account for activist behaviors of teenagers to a higher degree than they do for "identity and involvement". What is more, the results indicate that the mother's activist behaviors, as perceived by the teenager, are a predictor of her offspring's activist behaviors. Similar results indicating mothers' role in shaping the political activism of teenagers were obtained in previous studies. Specifically, it was found that political activism of teenagers is related to social beliefs of their mothers (Jessor & Jessor, 1974) and mothers' political involvement is a predictor of their teenage daughters' political involvement (Gidengil, O'Neill, & Young, 2010). It must be noted, however, that the result indicating that it is the mother's, and not the father's, activism that is a significant predictor of the teenager's activism should be taken with a dose of caution since mothers' activism was strongly correlated with fathers' activism.

Furthermore, while interpreting the result concerning the relationship between parents' activism and youth activism the fact that parents and children share the same genes should also be taken into account. This approach appears to be supported by research done on Canadian twins. It showed that genes are responsible for a substantial part of political attitudes and behaviors (Bell, Schmermer, & Vernon, 2009).

The obtained results show that parents' activist behaviors, as perceived by the teenager, are not a predictor of his/her activist "identity and involvement". Thus, we may conclude that activist "identity and involvement" and activist behavior of teenagers have different predictors. For example, according to a previous study, formation of activist identity may be affected by relationships with peers and development of social awareness (cf. Traff, 2017). Subsequent studies should look into these variables as predictors of activist "identity and involvement" of teenagers.

The results obtained in this study did not indicate any link between media exposure frequency (i.e., television and the Internet) and youth activism. This may mean that the assumptions of the displacement hypothesis (Huston et al., 1999; Lee, 2009) do not apply to the current generation of teenagers. Present-day teenagers have been growing up in an era of the rise of new technologies and new media and thus they use media far more often than other generations (cf. Subrahmanyam & Greenfield, 2008). Therefore, the fact that they spend a lot of time using media does not necessarily mean that they have to give up other activities since these activities can be done through media (e.g., activism) (cf. Pasek et al., 2009; Tang & Lee, 2013).

Our hypothesis concerning the relationship between the exploratory function of media (i.e., using media to search for information) and teenage activism has not been confirmed. This may be due to the fact that we used a different method of measuring the purpose of media use from that used by our predecessors. The research referred to in our assumptions dealt with the search for specific information in media necessary to undertake political activism (Tolbert & McNeal, 2003), while in our study we focused on the purpose of social media use (exploratory use of media). Nevertheless, it should be noted that our research does show a relationship between the purpose of media use, other than their explanatory function, and teen activism. Specifically, hedonic use of media has a negative relationship with youth activism (both with activist "identity and involvement" and activist behavior). Specifically, pursuit for pleasure and entertainment in media may reduce youth activism. This result corresponds to the findings of research into adults indicating that there is a link between hedonic function of traditional media and reluctance to spend time with others (cf. Bruni & Stanca, 2005).

The hypothesis that materialism is negatively linked to adolescent activism has not been confirmed. Such a negative relationship between materialism and activism was confirmed in research on adults only (Besta & Zawadzka, 2017; Klar & Kasser, 2009). The reason as to why a link between materialism and activism in teenagers has not been established can be explained by the developmental difference in the significance of values in adults and adolescents. Research demonstrates that adult self-enhancement values (focusing on self-interest) are in opposition to self-transcendence values (focusing on the interest of others) while in teenagers the importance of these two categories of values increases in parallel until reaching the age of 18 (cf. Cieciuch, 2013).

The results also showed that activist behaviors of teenagers decrease with age. The explanation for this finding may be found in the developmental tasks that young people have to face in adolescence. Teenagers form their identity through intensive exploration of their surroundings (cf. Erikson, 1968). They acquire knowledge about the social and political world and become more and more critical and skeptical about the possibility of change. What is more, older teenagers have negative perceptions of volunteering activities (cf. Commission on the Future of Volunteering, 2008; Smith, 1999b), which in turn may result in reluctance to undertake activist activities.

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The study also indicates that activist identity may be applicable to girls rather than boys (Wymer & Samu, 2002). Girls may have declared higher activism than boys since activism concerns activities for the benefit of others and these are associated with stereotypical roles of women, e.g., helping others, feeling concern and having empathy for others (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Królikowska, 2011).

We also checked whether there is a link between family affluence and teenage activism, yet the results do not show any significant relationship between these variables.

Certainly, our study is not without limitations. The exploratory function of the media had low α. Further studies should be carried out to look more closely into the nature of the relationship between the use of media to search for information and activism. Although, in this study, we did examine parents' activism as perceived by their children, it would still be a good idea for further research to take into account both intergenerational transmission of attitudes and self-reported parental activist behaviors. Further research is also needed to analyze the relationship between adolescents' activist "identity and involvement" and parents' activist "identity and involvement", which we have not covered in this study.

Despite its limitations, the study shows that using media for hedonic purposes, mothers' activism, and age do play a significant role in teenage activism.

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Competing Interests

The authors have declared that no competing interests exist.

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Appendix A

Items of the Scale of Frequency of Teenagers' Activist Behaviors

Indicate, on the scale, how often you participated in the following activist activities in 2017.

1. Unpaid activity in non-governmental organizations (i.e., foundations or associations)
2. A fundraiser or charity collection for those in need
3. Voluntary work during cultural events
4. Voluntary work during educational events
5. Voluntary work during sporting events
6. Political actions
7. Actions for protection and preservation of the natural environment
8. Voluntary work abroad (i.e., participation in international programs of voluntary activities abroad)
9. E-volunteering (i.e., voluntary activities online, without expecting any payment, guided by a social goal, e.g., searching for information, creating websites, establishing support groups, moderating discussions on Internet forums, etc.)
10. Supporting an idea through activities in social media, e.g., using a special frame and changing the profile picture on Facebook, signing a petition, publishing a post on your profile
11. Supporting an idea by wearing badges, rubber bracelets or shirts with a specific social slogan

Appendix B

Items of the Scale of Perceived Frequency of Parents' Activist Behaviors

Indicate, on the scale, how often your mother and your father participated in the following activist activities in 2017.

1. Unpaid activity in non-governmental organizations (i.e., foundations or associations)
2. A fundraiser or charity collection for those in need
3. Voluntary work during cultural events
4. Voluntary work during educational events
5. Voluntary work during sporting events
6. Political actions
7. Actions for protection and preservation of the natural environment
8. Voluntary work abroad (i.e., participation in international programs of voluntary activities abroad)

9. E-volunteering (i.e., voluntary activities online, without expecting any payment, guided by a social goal, e.g., searching for information, creating websites, establishing support groups, moderating discussions on Internet forums, etc.)

10. Supporting an idea through activities in social media, e.g., using a special frame and changing the profile picture on Facebook, signing a petition, publishing a post on your mother/father's profile

11. Supporting an idea by wearing badges, rubber bracelets or shirts with a specific social slogan

12. Activities in PTAs or Parents' Councils, etc.