Social capital and political participation of Facebook users

Capital social y participación política de usuarios de Facebook

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Abstract

Mexico has witnessed some social movements initiated in social networks, which foster connections that enable social capital, the latter being closely related to political participation. This citizen power linked to democracy can have repercussions on institutions and economic development. In this context, this research has as its objective to determine the relationship of the social capital of Facebook users with their political participation. This investigation uses a quantitative approach through a survey applied to 389 Facebook users in the city of Culiacán, Sinaloa, as it is one of the Mexican cities with the highest percentage of internet users in Mexico in order to explain the phenomenon supported in a statistical analysis of correlations and linear regressions from data captured in Likert scales. The findings show that social capital in its online bonding dimension, as well as its online bridging and traditional dimensions through political participation online of Facebook users, significantly influence their traditional political participation, in other words, social capital of Facebook users affects political participation offline. It is concluded that social media social capital represents an opportunity to increase political participation, online and offline, and therefore pressure the authorities to meet the needs of their population.

Keywords

Social capital, social media, political participation, internet, democracy, participatory development.

Resumen

México ha sido testigo de algunos movimientos sociales iniciados en las redes sociales, que fomentan conexiones que posibilitan el capital social, este último estrechamente relacionado con la participación política. Este poder ciudadano ligado a la democracia puede repercutir en las instituciones y el desarrollo económico. En este contexto, la investigación tiene como objetivo determinar la relación del capital social de los usuarios de Facebook con su participación política. Se realizó con un enfoque cuantitativo mediante una encuesta a 389 usuarios de Facebook del municipio de Culiacán, Sinaloa, por ser una de las ciudades mexicanas con un porcentaje mayor de usuarios de internet en el país con la finalidad de explicar el fenómeno sustentado en un análisis estadístico de correlaciones y regresiones lineales a partir de datos plasmados en escalas de Likert. Los hallazgos muestran que el capital social tradicional y en línea, en sus dimensiones *bonding y bridging*, a través de la participación política en línea de los usuarios de Facebook, influye significativamente en su participación política tradicional, esto es, se demostró que el capital social de usuarios de Facebook incide en la participación política fuera de línea. Se concluye que el capital social en redes sociales se constituye como una oportunidad para incrementar la participación política, en su forma tradicional o en línea, y con ello presionar a las autoridades a cumplir con las necesidades de la población.

Palabras clave

Capital social, medios sociales, participación política, internet, democracia, desarrollo participativo.

Introduction and state of the art

Online social networks have taken scientific relevance since the beginning of the year 2000 (Kümpel et al., 2015) with movements that followed the Arab Spring such as occupy Wall Street, the indignados and the cacerolazos revolution (Knight, 2014), as well as the Obama campaigns in 2008 and 2012, giving greater interest in civic and political life (Boulianne, 2015). Mexico has also witnessed similar movements such as the Zapatista movement, #YoSoy132, the ABC nursery, the 43 students from Ayotzinapa, to mention some of the most relevant (Cano, 2018).

Online social networks are part of the daily life of this 21st century, their variety allows their use for work, academia, romantic relationships, connecting common interests, etc. (Ellison et al., 2007); Facebook has had the highest number of users since before 2015 followed by YouTube, WhatsApp, Instagram, recently by TikTok, in addition to Snapchat and Twitter (see Figure 1).

Figure 1
Millions of users worldwide per year on social networks
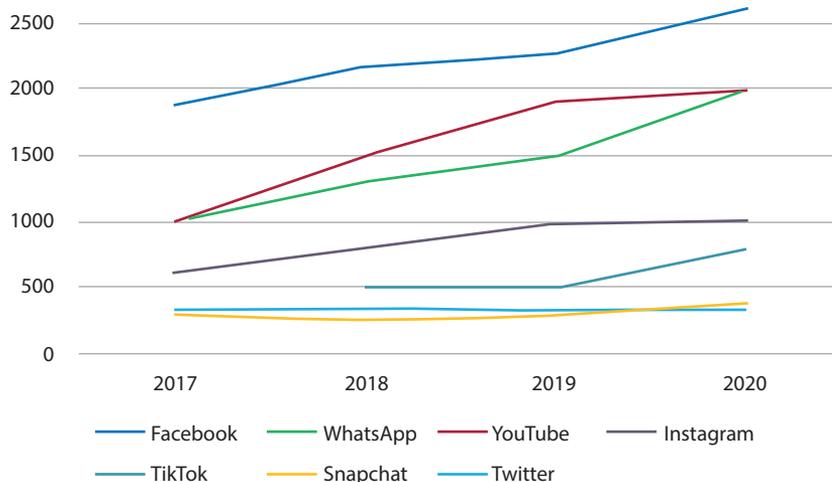
Source: Own elaboration with data obtained from each social network (DataReportal, 2020; Facebook, 2020; Instagram, 2020; Snap Inc, 2020; YouTube, 2020).

Regarding Mexico, in 2018, 99% of Internet users in the country said they use these social networks, where Facebook represented the majority with 98% (Asociación de Internet.MX, 2018), a considerable number of citizens since the number of internet users in the country exceeds 71 million, equivalent to more than 60% of the population (INEGI, 2019); These sites are enabled as a new means of transmission for political information as well as other websites and traditional media (Bode, 2016) with the distinction that it allows information to be shared with acquaintances and strangers, being implicitly exposed to political content, enabling the generation of knowledge on these topics.

As their name suggests, these sites foster social ties, either by maintaining existing ones or generating new connections that make it possible to strengthen social capital (Ellison et al., 2007) by allowing the existence of digital communities where physical presence is not necessary (Gil de Zuñiga et al., 2012). Social capital is the reflection of the reciprocal relationship between civic commitment and interpersonal trust that derives in institu-

tions and participation (Brehm & Rahn, 1997), it is closely related to political participation (Skoric et al., 2009).

Now, citizen participation is fundamental for democracy (Arnstein, 1969; Valenzuela et al., 2016), in politics it seeks to influence government actions by affecting decision-making (Park, 2013). Based on this premise, this document contains the information derived from an investigation carried out on the behavior of Internet users who are part of the social network Facebook and how this affects political actions, both online and offline.

The support of this research lies in the relevance of citizen participation and its link with democracy (Arnstein, 1969) today. It seeks the involvement of society to avoid being passive, in order to maintain civic and political commitment (Irvin, 2004; King, 1998).

The findings of this research offer political and/or public institutions, even outside of Mexico, the elements to understand that today's society is in a transition in terms of citizen e-participation, which will allow them to redefine their policies and practices to promote this bidirectional collaboration for the sake of strengthening democracy.

Finally, studying the case in the city of Culiacán in the state of Sinaloa is justified by being one of the Mexican cities with the highest percentage of internet users among its inhabitants (INEGI, 2019) and by having limited political participation, being one of the municipalities with less participation in electoral processes and by virtue of being in a federal entity that is below the national average in said indicator. Based on the above, this research aims to determine the relationship between social capital in users of social networks and their political participation. The research was limited to the social network Facebook, because it is the most used in Mexico (98%), and because it is one of the two social networks that are most frequently associated with social movements.

Social capital and citizen participation in social networks

Social capital refers to the connections between individuals; their social networks, their norms of reciprocity and trust (Putnam, 2001). At the individual level, it is an investment in social relationships with expected returns, there are interactions and networks are formed to produce benefits (Lin, 1999), generally referred to as resources (Coleman, 1988). Those who rely

on this investment have a greater sense of belonging to their communities and take a more active role (Shah et al., 2002). The definition of social capital by Bordieu and Wacquant (1992) adds to these resources that their characteristics can be physical or virtual as they have a long-lasting network of relationships of mutual recognition (Ellison et al, 2007).

An abundant reserve of social capital supposes the production of a dense civil society, which is seen as a necessary condition for modern liberal democracy (Fukuyama, 2001); produces political consequences promoting democratic processes, the aforementioned relationship between education and political participation in the interior section can be caused by social capital (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998). Politically relevant social capital is measured in terms of communication about politics within the recurring networks of social interaction of the individual (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998).

Whether it is exercised in its direct or representative form, participation is a fundamental part of democracy (Arnstein, 1969; Bakker & de Vreese, 2011; Valenzuela et al., 2016). Without participation, democratic politics and government are not possible (Darin, 2005), it is the elixir of life for democracy (van Deth, 2014).

Political participation happens with involvement in politics and government (Putnam, 2001), it refers to any action that seeks to influence the decisions of the governing officials or the policies that they create and implement, from the vote, collaborating in political campaigns, writing letters to politicians or being part of a protest (Verba et al., 2000), citizen activities that affect politics (van Deth, 2014). It is carried out by people in their role as citizens and not politicians or professional lobbyists, it must be voluntary and not required by law, rules, or threats; it involves the government, politics, or the State (Theocharis & van Deth, 2018; van Deth, 2014).

On the other hand, since the mid-90s of the last century, e-government and e-participation have become central tools of public administration and political interaction (Kneuer & Harnisch, 2016), contacting local governments, state or federal, signing a petition, writing to an editor, communicating with a political or community group, or with its members, and making political contributions are participatory actions that can be done online and offline. These activities are associated with each other, in a way, that those who participate online are very likely to do so offline and vice versa (Schlozman et al., 2010). The ways in which one can participate online create a new and different mode of participation, which conforms to the general taxonomy of political participation (Theocharis & van Deth, 2018).

Social media can provide other forms of political exposure to non-interested parties without looking for it because political stakeholders often share information with their networks on sites like Facebook and Twitter. If they operate like traditional social networks, stimulation is expected that it generates conversations and exchange of information (Graber & Dunaway, 2015). Online expressive activity may be more influential and public than its offline counterpart, as posting comments on a blog or social media page provides them with a wider audience and providing a more interactive experience than wearing a pin. or sending a letter to the editor of a newspaper (Gibson & Cantijoch, 2013).

"Likes" (or equivalent mechanisms within other social media platforms) and commenting on political content on social media requires commitment and mobilization, can be a gateway behavior to think or act on politics in other areas, and requires very little in terms of resources as it has no monetary cost (Bode, 2017). By repeatedly interacting, the probability of seeing contacts getting involved in political activities and in turn following that action increases (Halpern et al, 2017).

In this context, social capital allows the spread of political information and is essential for movements of a social nature, and in turn, these generate social capital by fostering new identities and expanding social networks (Putnam, 2001). A social capital approach deals with their individual characteristics, with the power of their social connections, friends with prestigious occupations, or acquaintances with instrumental resources such as providing assistance, influence, and information (Villalonga-Olives & Kawachi, 2015). Another approach is analyzed from the collective, that is, the resources embedded in the social structure that facilitate the actions of its members (Villalonga-Olives & Kawachi, 2015).

There are various ways of categorizing social capital, one of them refers to the existence of two types of social capital: the horizontal one that reflects the ties that exist between groups of equal or almost equal individuals; and the vertical (or linking) that derives from hierarchical or unequal relationships due to differences in power or resource base and status (Islam et al., 2006). This research is approached from horizontal social capital, which has two basic forms according to Putnam: bonding and bridging. The first describes the benefits of close personal relationships, which may include emotional support, physical relief, or other large benefits (such as a willingness to lend a substantial amount of money); while the second describes the benefits derived from casual relationships and contacts, it can also lead to tangible results, such as novel information from distant connections and broader worldviews (Elli-

son et al., 2011). Bonding consists of dense ties in a group, while bridging refers to the strength of weak ties within a broader civil society (Purdue, 2007).

Social ties play a crucial role in informing the public about politics (Bode, 2016). The lack of social networks and ties to the community makes participation undesirable and difficult (McLeod et al., 1999). While discussing politics with family and friends is considered an important factor for participation (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011). Politically relevant social capital is generated in networks of social relationships due to their size and by those who discuss politics frequently and with experience (La Due Lake & Huckfeldt, 1998). However, it cannot be expected that in a society whose civic culture is based on mistrust towards politics and politicians, a social network will suddenly become the scenario of democratic debates (Meneses, 2015).

Materials and method

This research seeks to measure the incidence between the variables: social capital in its traditional modality (offline or offline social capital) and online in its bridging and bonding dimensions, and political participation in its traditional format (offline political participation outside) and online.

Specifically, the online bridging dimension is expected to influence online (H1) and traditional (H2) political participation, as well as the online bonding dimension (H3 and H4 respectively). In the case of traditional social capital, the theory tends to link it to traditional political participation, which is why a significant relationship is expected between them (H5) in addition to influencing online political participation (H6).

To obtain correlations in order to explain the phenomenon supported by a statistical analysis of correlations and linear regressions from data captured on Likert scales, the perceptions and motivations of the population in the municipality of Culiacán, Sinaloa were required.

Information was collected through a survey made up of control variables, independent variables related to social capital in its traditional and online modalities in its bridging and bonding dimensions, and as dependent variables political participation in its traditional format and in line.

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A composite instrument was designed divided into categories equivalent to the variables involved in the study. One of the categories measures the concept of social capital in an index used by Gil de Zúñiga et al. In 2012 (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012, 2017) based on the Williams scale (2006) who already considered its aspect on and offline under the terms bridging and bonding of Putnam (1995) and the weak and strong ties of Granovetter (1973), these last dimensions have been adapted in another index for different application locations, ranging from educational institutions to virtual spaces (Ellison et al., 2007; Lee et al., 2014; Pang, 2018; Phua et al., 2017; Shane-Simpson et al., 2018; Vanden Abeele et al., 2018; You & Hon, 2019), which, are also taken up in this research.

The next category is political participation divided into traditional and online. It is measured by the frequency of participation in political activities in both modalities and was taken from Gil de Zúñiga et al. due to its repeated appearance in various articles proving its validity (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2012, 2014, 2017).

To confirm the validity of the instrument reflected in the pilot test, a reliability analysis was performed with the total sample. The instrument, in general, showed a Cronbach's α of 0.92. As in the pilot test, the α was obtained for each category, where the highest consistencies were in traditional social capital (0.89) and online political participation (0.89) (see Table 1).

Table 1
Reliability analysis by category of the applied instrument

Category	Cronbach α
Traditional social capital	0.89
Social capital online bridging	0.86
Social capital online bonding	0.82
Traditional political participation	0.86
Online political participation	0.89

Source: Own elaboration (2020).

The three measures of social capital were factorially analyzed to ensure that there was a distinction in their dimensions: traditional social capital, bridging online social capital, and bonding online social capital, explaining 65.6% of the variance (see Table 2).

Table 2
Result of factor analysis for social capital items

	Factorial weight		
	Traditional SC	**SC online** *bridging*	**SC online** *bonding*
Traditional social capital			
In my community, people help each other when there is a problem	**.827**		
In my community, people take care of each other.	**.861**		
In my community, we talk about community problems	**.781**		
I believe that values are shared in my community	**.838**		
I feel as a family with the people of my community	**.787**		
Social capital online bridging			
I feel part of the Facebook community		**.674**	
I'm interested in what happens to my Facebook friends		**.781**	
I feel close to my friends on Facebook		**.809**	
Interacting on Facebook motivates me to try new things		**.759**	
Interacting on Facebook makes me feel like I am part of a larger community		**.723**	
On Facebook I get in touch with new people frequently		**.509**	.437
Social capital online bonding			
I know people on Facebook who can help me solve my problems			**.599**
I know people on Facebook who I can ask for an emergency loan			**.787**
There are people on Facebook who I can talk to when I'm lonely			**.816**
Is there someone on Facebook I can turn to for advice		.441	**.816**

Factor analysis of the main components with varimax rotation explaining 65.6% of the variance, factorials below 0.40 are not shown.
Source: own elaboration (2020)

This factorial analysis was also carried out on the political participation items to ensure the distinction of dimensions in their traditional and online categories, explaining 68.3% of the variance (Table 3).

Table 3
Factor analysis result for political participation items

	Factorial weight	
	Online PP	Traditional PP
Online political participation		
How often do you use the internet and social media to...		
Sign or share a petition online	**.664**	
Create an online petition	**.770**	
Write to a politician or government official	**.826**	
Write to newspaper editors	**.799**	
Volunteer for political causes	**.682**	.432
Start a political group or social media page with political causes	**.696**	.462
Traditional political participation		
How often…		
Write letters for newsgroups	.459	
Communicates by letter, call or in person with officials		**.607**
Post political ads as pins... donate money to political causes or campaigns		**.598**
Attend hearings or town hall meetings		**.788**
Attend political rallies, forums, or debates		**.851**
Attend protests or marches		**.678**
Participate in political groups or campaigns		**.790**

Factorial analysis of the main components with varimax rotation explaining 68.3% of the variance, factorials below 0.40 are not shown.
Source: Own elaboration (2020).

The survey was applied entirely online, promoting it as Facebook advertising from September 24 to November 25, 2019, in the city of Culiacán to people 18 years old and older, 416 surveys were obtained from people without distinction of sex, educational level, employment situation or marital status. Of the total, 23 records whose age indicated to be under 18 years old were eliminated, and four more which were duplicates were also discarded, ending up with a total of 389.

The data to obtain the results were processed with the IBM SPSS Statistics version 19 software where the variables are measured from the categories

described above in a way that allows visualizing the existing correlations and determining if the theoretical approximations are congruent with the results.

Analysis and results

Of the social capital items, scaled to three and by dimensions, the dimension with the highest score was in its traditional form (m = 2.14, s = 0.76), followed by online bridging (m = 2.12, s = 0.69) and the lowest was its online bonding dimension (m = 1.84, s = 0.88) (see Table 4). This does not imply that they are high averages, only that the first two indicate greater incidences of medium-high level.

Table 4
Statistical of items in the categories of social capital

	Mean	Standard deviation	Maximum
Traditional social capital	**2.14**	**0.76**	**3**
In my community, people help each other when there is a problem	2.97	0.97	4
In my community people take care of each other	2.65	0.93	4
In my community, we talk about community problems	2.40	0.99	4
I believe that values are shared in my community	2.56	0.93	4
I feel as a family with the people of my community	2.25	0.96	4
Online social capital bridging	**2.12**	**0.69**	3
I feel part of the Facebook community	2.27	0.92	4
I'm interested in what happens to my Facebook friends	2.60	0.92	4
I feel close to my Facebook friends	2.40	0.93	4
Interacting on Facebook motivates me to try new things	2.17	0.95	4
Interacting on Facebook makes me feel like I am part of a larger community	2.12	0.98	4
On Facebook I get in touch with new people frequently	1.83	0.98	4
Online social capital bonding	**1.84**	**0.88**	**3**
I know people on Facebook who can help me solve my problems	1.69	0.94	4
I know people on Facebook who I can ask for an emergency loan	1.40	0.82	4
There are people on Facebook who I can talk to when I'm lonely	1.80	0.99	4
Is there someone on Facebook I can turn to for advice	1.70	0.99	4

Source: Own elaboration (2020).

For its part, the category of traditional political participation shows the lowest level of the study (m = 1.33, s = 0.64), and in a highly contrasting way the online modality has the highest (m = 2.27, 2 = 0.45) (see Table 5).

Table 5
Statistical of items in the categories of political participation

	Mean	Standard deviation	Maximum
Traditional political participation	**1.33**	**0.64**	**3**
How often do you …			
Write letters for newsgroups	1.19	0.53	4
Communicate by letter, call or in person with officials	1.31	0.67	4
Post political ads like pins or stickers, or donate money to political causes or campaigns	1.24	0.64	4
Attend hearings or town hall meetings	1.28	0.64	4
Attend political rallies, forums, or debates	1.49	0.85	4
Attend protests or marches	1.54	0.87	4
Participate in political groups or campaigns	1.51	0.94	4
Online Political participation	**2.27**	**0.45**	**3**
How often do you use the internet and Facebook to...			
Sign or share a petition online	2.05	1.00	4
Create an online petition	1.59	0.87	4
Write to a politician or government official	1.55	0.87	4
Write to newspaper editors	1.38	0.74	4
Volunteer for political causes	1.38	0.80	4
Start a political group or social media page with political causes	1.35	0.77	4

Source: Own elaboration (2020).

In order to fulfill the proposed hypotheses, it was necessary to find relationships between the study variables, which could not simply be identified

with the descriptive statistics and therefore the Spearman rho between the categories were calculated.

A relationship between social capital and political participation was suggested, for this reason, the categories of three dimensions of social capital were taken with the two modalities of political participation in order to observe their correlations.

When talking about online communities and online activities, it was anticipated to obtain the best relationship between online political participation and the dimensions of online social capital, mainly bridging ($\varrho = 0.27$; $p < 0.01$) (H1) followed by bonding ($\varrho = 0.26$; $p < 0.01$) (H4). As for traditional political participation, it only showed a moderate relationship with online bonding social capital ($\varrho = 0.17$; $p < 0.01$) (H3).

That is, the online bridging social capital did not show to be significant for traditional political participation (H2). Nor was a significant relationship found between social capital and political participation in its traditional forms ($\varrho = 0.07$; $p > 0.05$) (H5). Traditional social capital was only moderately related to online political participation ($\varrho = 0.15$; $p < 0.01$) (H6).

It is worth mentioning that the relationship between the two types of political participation (traditional and online) is good ($\varrho = 0.54$; $p < 0.01$), allowing the traditional to be influenced indirectly through online. Even greater were those found among the social capital dimensions, where the highest was between the bridging and bonding online dimensions ($\varrho = 0.47$; $p < 0.01$), followed by bridging and traditional ($\varrho = 0.32$; $p < 0.01$; regarding traditional social capital and the bonding dimension, although significant, the relationship was lower ($\varrho = 0.10$; $p < 0.05$) (see Figure 2).

Linear regressions not only show a correlation between variables, but also try to predict the influence of one variable on another. Therefore, the calculations were made to complement the approval of the aforementioned hypotheses.

Bridging online social capital was the most influential variable in the study for online political participation ($\beta = 0.17$, $p < 0.01$) (H1), although it did not show to be significant for traditional participation ($\beta = 0.09$, $p > 0.05$) (H2). In the case of the other dimension of social capital, bonding was significant both for online participation ($\beta = 0.13$, $p < 0.01$) (H3), and for traditional participation ($\beta = 0.13$, $p < 0.01$) (H4).

Figure 2
Diagram of correlations between variables
of social capital and political participation
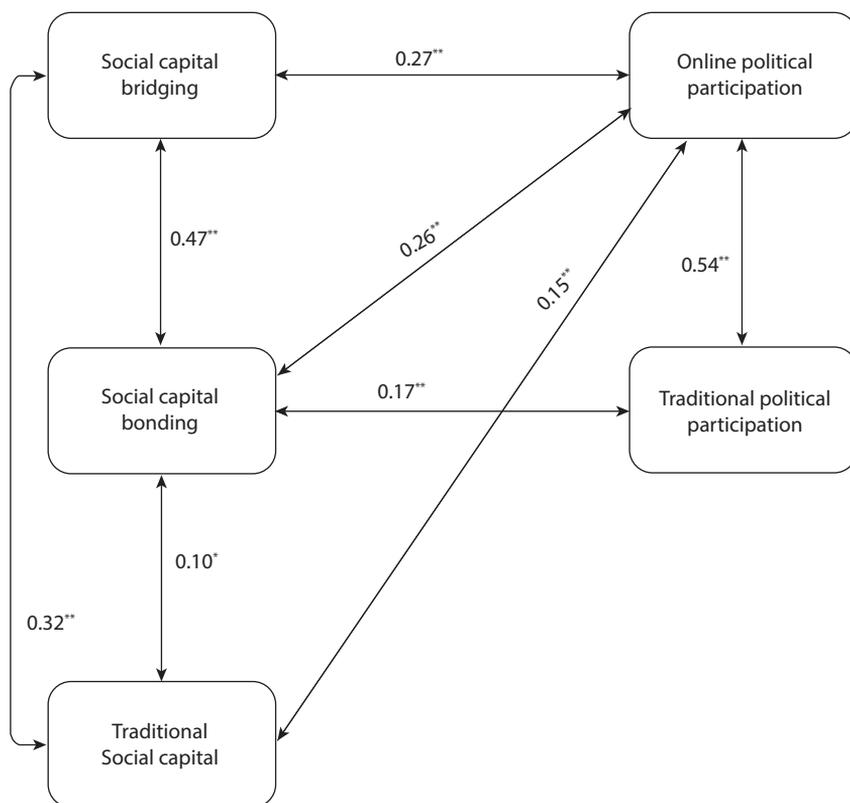
The numerical data correspond to Spearman's rho correlation coefficients (ρ) obtained by bilateral correlations. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$
Source: Own elaboration (2020)

Regarding traditional social capital, it was not influential for traditional political participation ($\beta = 0.06$, $p > 0.05$) (H5), but it was for online political participation ($\beta = 0.09$, $p < 0.01$) (H6) (see Table 6).

Table 6
Prediction of political participation based on social capital

Independent variables	Dependent variables	
	Political participation	
	Traditional	Online
Traditional social capital	0.06	0.09**
ΔR^2 (%)	0.5	2.2
Online social capital by bridging	0.09	0.17**
ΔR^2 (%)	0.9	7.1
Online social capital by bonding	0.13**	0.13**
ΔR^2 (%)	3.3	6.8
Total of R^2 (%)	4.7	16.1

The data contained in the cells correspond to the Beta (β) coefficients obtained by ordinary least squares regression. ** $p \leq 0.01$; * $p \leq 0.05$.
Source: Own elaboration (2020)

Discussion and conclusions

The results suggest that as the citizens of Culiacán learn about public affairs, either through shared publications or by participating in calls that arise from Facebook, as an example of a social network, optimal decisions will be made for their own benefit and despite not being a formal participation mechanism, interacting on social networks can pressure political institutions to make decisions that they might not otherwise make. It should be remembered that political participation in social networks, even without having a physical form, complies with being a voluntary act carried out by people who do not belong to the political sphere, but are located in it, which qualifies said activities as a valid form of participation.

The social capital analysis considered three dimensions, the traditional and online by bonding and bridging, these dimensions were shown to be related to each other, this correlation between online and offline had already been found in other investigations (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2017) although it did not consider the bridging and bonding dimensions.

Regarding its relationship with traditional political participation, and in contrast to what is regularly established in the social sciences, no significant

relationship was found with traditional social capital (Gil de Zúñiga et al. 2017). A strong correlation was found between both modalities of political participation (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011), those who usually do or do not participate in the traditional format also participate or not online, this correlation was the one that presented the greatest strength.

Specifically, it was found that the variable that most influences traditional political participation is its online modality. This online political participation is mainly influenced by online bridging social capital, and this, in turn, by online bonding social capital. In other words, online relationships with familiar people, those with greater trust, influence people to politically participate, but this influence increases with the existence of casual online relationships in the case of the use of Facebook.

These findings also translate into the fact that the information published and shared on social networks such as Facebook by family and friends, but especially by indirect relationships, influence the motivation to participate politically online, which makes the individual prone to repeat that face-to-face behavior, that is, online forms of participation are influencing a new form of political participation (Theocharis & van Deth, 2018).

The research fulfills its objective by demonstrating that social capital, in its traditional dimensions, online bridging and online bonding (by socializing information, which may contain public issues), affects traditional political participation. Mainly for the activities that are carried out online.

The traditional concept of social capital was not predominant in the correlations as commonly indicated by theories, which may be due to the low level of face-to-face participation and which can be explained by the differences in effort with respect to online activities.

As political participation increases, whether in its traditional form or online, the authorities are pressured to meet the needs of the population, with local institutions being the most prone and, in turn, those indicated to make decisions that differ, perhaps, with federal guidelines and allow endogenous development, or that contribute to the creation of public policies that are adequately adjusted to the locality.

This study manages to guide the introduction of new lines of research that include other variables that seek to explain, for example, if those who do not participate are disoriented by the phenomenon of fake news, or if factors such as the perception of corruption or violence cause this effect since Culiacán has a stigma related to drug trafficking. Not only in participation

but also its effect on social capital, as well as deepening through virtual ethnography methods, also called digital ethnography.

Among the limitations of the study, it should be noted that the results are based on Facebook users since it was the platform used to advertise it and that presented the largest number of users, it would be pertinent to know if different correlations are presented in other social networks and in other more participatory states. The existing and exercised participation mechanisms in the place where they are applied can be used to support the study information to strengthen the data and not only conclude with citizen perceptions, which, despite not having been collected at electoral times, can be influenced by some expectation on the part of the respondents of being perceived as good citizens.

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