

The Meaning and Measurement of Citizenship

We are bound by ideals that move us beyond our backgrounds, lift us above our interests and teach us what it means to be citizens. Every child must be taught these ideals. Every citizen must uphold them. . . . I ask you to be citizens. Citizens, not spectators. Citizens, not subjects. Responsible citizens, building communities of service and a nation of character.

If you were quizzed on who is quoted above, whom would you say? There are many possibilities. People often suggest this was something President Obama could have said—or maybe President Kennedy. A student in one of my classes even suggested President Eisenhower. In fact, it was President George W. Bush at his inauguration in 2001, who was encouraged to talk about citizenship by political scientists.¹ This ambiguity reflects the fact that citizenship is presumably a good thing, so everyone favors more citizenship.

However, the exact meaning of citizenship is open to multiple interpretations. The idea has a history dating from the first democratic polity, and theorists—republicans, liberals, neoliberals, communitarians, social-democrats, and others—differ substantially in their definitions of citizenship. Moreover, which of these meanings applies in the United States or any other nation is also a matter of much debate. Only recently has empirical research directly examined how people perceive the norms of citizenship.

This chapter begins by summarizing previous writings on the meaning of citizenship. I don't discuss the full philosophical history of the concept because this would fill a volume and many such studies are available.² Instead, I try to identify the key elements of citizenship discussed in the contemporary debates. Then, I introduce the public opinion surveys used in most of this book: the 2004 and 2014 General Social Surveys and a new 2018 survey on citizenship conducted by the Pew Research Center. These surveys determine how Americans themselves define what is important to being a good citizen and possible changes over time.

Citizenship in Theory

What makes for a good citizen? There is no single, clear answer. As a reference point, one might use examples from American popular culture. A recent book describes how citizenship was portrayed in civics texts, scouting handbooks, and other historical memorabilia from the 1940s until the 1960s.³ There are all the expected examples, such as respecting authority and obeying the laws, but also some unexpected ones. I didn't know that "eating meat," "having a good posture," or "not poisoning my neighbor's dog" were key definitions of citizenship. Such answers suggest that we should look deeper for definitions of good citizenship to guide our analyses.

Citizenship is a concept with a long history in political science. Its origins can be traced back to debates between Aristotle and Plato over how citizens of Athens should act. Through the millennia, the term has acquired multiple meanings. This may, in part, reflect the importance of the idea of citizenship so that scholars compete to define its meaning.⁴

Let's begin with an open definition of citizenship: The term refers to what people feel is expected of them as "good" citizens. Reflecting the traditional description of a political culture as a shared set of social norms,⁵ I define citizenship as a shared set of expectations about the citizen's role in politics. A political culture contains a mix of attitudes, and I believe that images of the citizen's role are central to defining a nation's culture. They tell citizens what is expected of them and what they expect of themselves. As this book will show, these expectations shape other elements of the political process.

This doesn't mean that individuals approve of these norms or that their personal values are consistent with these norms. The interaction between these norms and behavior is, in fact, an important research question to consider. For instance, someone might say that tolerance is an important norm for a democratic citizen but then not be tolerant in their own political beliefs or actions.

It's also important to identify what we are *not studying*. Sometimes citizenship is used to describe a legal status as a citizen of a nation. This book is not concerned with this specific legal definition of citizenship: Who is a citizen, how one becomes a citizen, the legal rights of citizenship. Similarly, a legal approach to citizenship sometimes examines the rights guaranteed to an individual as a function of citizenship. Again, this important topic is not the topic of this study. Citizenship is also used to describe identity with a nation, feelings of patriotism, and national pride; this is only partially related to our interests here. These legal elements of citizenship are relevant to our study only to the extent that citizens define legal rights or responsibilities as part of their expectations of citizenship.

How, then, might citizenship be defined? A starting point is Aristotle's observation that citizenship balances two contending roles: Citizens are "all who share in the civic life of *ruling and being ruled* in turn."⁶ This simple, insightful observation underlies much of the theoretical literature about citizenship to the present.

First, **public participation** in politics is an example of the "ruling" aspect of democratic citizenship.⁷ The United States was founded on the principle of citizen participation in political decision-making, even if this participation was initially limited to white, male, property owners. The principle that citizens should participate remains a defining element of American democracy and political culture (see Chapter 4).

Because of this emphasis on participation, current debates on citizenship center on the concern that political involvement is decreasing. On the one hand, some analysts argue that decreasing participation in elections and other forms of political activity are eroding the very foundations of the democratic process.⁸ This is taken as a sign that overall citizenship norms are weakening. Other analysts maintain that the social transformation of society has changed the ways the average citizen is politically engaged.⁹ This position holds that people are turning to other forms of political engagement besides traditional electoral politics, and this is expanding and empowering the public.¹⁰

Thus, a central issue in the debate about democratic citizenship involves the question of how much people believe they should participate. There is little consensus on how much participation—and in what forms—is beneficial for democracy. There is even less agreement on how much participation actually occurs today.

The other part of the Aristotelian equation for citizenship is the acceptance of **the authority of the state** as part of "being ruled." Autocratic states emphasize the role of the loyal subject as the prime criteria of citizenship, and democracies also stress the importance of state sovereignty. Indeed, accepting the legitimacy of the state and the rule of law is often the implied first principle of democratic citizenship since without the rule of law meaningful political discourse and discussion cannot exist.

Many political philosophers—from Hobbes to Hamilton—emphasized the acceptance of state sovereignty even before the participatory elements of democracy. Similarly, the U.S. government presents itself in these terms to its new citizens. A U.S. Immigration and Citizenship Service's booklet for prospective citizens describes the Constitution's importance as first "everyone must follow the law."¹¹ Several pages later comes a discussion of the rights provided in the Constitution's Bill of Rights, which is paired with a discussion of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship: voting, serving in the army, and paying taxes.¹² The centrality of obedience is quite clear in what the United States tells its new citizens.

This dichotomy between ruling and being ruled is central to the definition of citizenship. Both are necessary for the modern democratic state, and the proper balance between these principles is central to the philosophical literature on citizenship. One objective of this study is to learn how the American public views these principles.

Another element of citizenship involves our relation to other citizens. T. H. Marshall described this as **social citizenship**.¹³ The historical expansion of civil and political rights generated attention to a new category of social rights, such as social services, providing for those in need, and taking heed of the general welfare of others.¹⁴ Citizenship thus includes an ethical and moral responsibility to others in the nation and beyond. The concept of distributive justice provides a theoretical base for equality as a basis of citizenship. Unless individuals have sufficient resources to meet their basic social needs, democratic principles of political equality and participation are meaningless. Although initially identified with the European welfare state and social democratic critiques of capitalism, liberal interests in America have embraced this idea of citizenship.¹⁵

Social citizenship also potentially reaches beyond the nation-state. Contemporary discussions of equality and distributive justice are often embedded in a framework of global human rights and responsibilities. Thus, a socially concerned citizen cares about those less fortunate at home, as well as issues of global inequality and the conditions of the global community. Many scholars now treat citizenship as part of a global community, with global interests and responsibilities.¹⁶

This study focuses on these different aspects of citizenship. Democratic citizenship requires a mix of all these elements, and one can easily point to examples of the detrimental effects when one element, such as state authority, is given too much emphasis over the others. Yet scholars regularly assert that all these aspects of citizenship are declining in contemporary America.¹⁷ These claims of changing citizenship norms are what gives such urgency to the study of citizenship and what prompted Bush to call for a renewal of citizenship in his 2001 Inaugural Address and today's intense debates about the health of American democracy. If the norms of citizenship are what bind Americans to their polity and each other, then a broad decline in these norms would have fundamental implications for society and politics.

The philosophical debate about contemporary citizenship is much richer and more extensive than I have briefly outlined here. Each theoretical tradition posits that a different mix of traits defines contemporary norms of citizenship or a different mix of these norms is desirable. However, this philosophical debate has lacked one component: What do the citizens themselves think of citizenship? How do Americans weigh the various elements of citizenship? Let's consult the public in the next section.

What Is a “Good” Citizen?

Several recent research projects have examined the norms of citizenship in contemporary democracies. The most authoritative American sources are the 2004 and 2014 General Social Surveys. These surveys include a set of questions assessing citizenship norms—what it means to be a good citizen.¹⁸ In addition, the Pew Research Center asked other questions tapping citizenship norms in 2018.¹⁹ The Pew survey is especially valuable because it can show whether earlier patterns have changed as a result of the social, cultural, and economic tensions displayed in the 2016 election and subsequent reactions to the Trump administration’s policies.

All three surveys ask about the perceived norms of good citizenship rather than personal adherence to each behavior. The surveys ask about norms that reflect the four categories theorized in recent studies measuring citizenship (Table 2.1).²⁰

Table 2.1 Categories of Citizenship

► The questions asked in the General Social Survey and Pew Survey.

Concept	General Social Survey 2004 and 2014	Pew Survey 2018
Participation	Always vote in elections	Vote in elections
	Be active in social or political associations	Protest if you think government actions are wrong
	Choose products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons	
Autonomy	Try to understand reasoning of people with other opinions	Respect the opinions of those whom you disagree with
	Keep watch on actions of government	Follow what happens in government and politics
Social order	Always obey laws and regulations	Always follow the law
	Never try to evade taxes	Pay all the taxes you owe
	Being willing to serve in the military in a time of need (asked in 2004)	Serve jury duty if called
Solidarity	Support people in America who are worse off than yourself	Volunteer to help others
	Help people in rest of the world who are worse off than yourself	

Sources: 2004 and 2014 General Social Surveys, 2018 Pew Research Center survey.

Participation is a prime criterion for defining the democratic citizen and their role within the political process. All three surveys ask about the importance of voting in elections. These studies also ask about other forms of political participation. The GSS asks about being active in social or political organizations (participating in civil society) and choosing products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons even if they cost more. The Pew survey asked if people should protest if government actions are wrong.²¹ These lists don't include all the diverse forms of political action (see Chapter 4), although they provide a range of opportunities. Moreover, the surveys don't ask if the respondent participates in these activities, the questions ask whether people recognize such norms as existing in American society.

A second category, related to the idea of participation and "ruling," taps what is called **autonomy**.²² Autonomy implies that good citizens should be sufficiently informed about the government to exercise a participatory role. The good citizen should participate in democratic deliberation and discuss politics with other citizens and ideally understand the views of others. Such items represent critical and deliberative aspects of citizenship.²³ The GSS surveys measure these orientations with questions on keeping watch on the government and understanding the reasoning of people with other opinions. The Pew survey asks about following what happens in politics and a question on respecting the opinions of others.

Social order represents the acceptance of state authority as part of citizenship. The GSS asks two items on obeying the law: never trying to avoid taxes, always obeying laws, and regulations. (The 2004 survey asked about a willingness to serve in the military.)²⁴ The Pew survey has a richer set of items: following the law, paying taxes, and serving on the jury if called.

Finally, **solidarity** is a fourth category that taps the idea of social citizenship. This idea has a long tradition in European social democracy or Christian socialism—that a concern for others should be included within the definition of citizenship.²⁵ The GSS asks about the importance of helping others in America who are worse off or helping people in the rest of the world who are worse off. The closest equivalent in the Pew survey is a question about the importance of volunteering to help others.

The Two Faces of Citizenship

Although the choice of citizen items in the survey was theoretically derived, a first question is whether people actually think of citizenship in these same four categories. Is the empirical evidence from public opinion consistent with our theoretical expectations? The chapter appendix describes the statistical methods used to identify the framework that people use in conceptualizing citizenship. While there is a distinct logic to the four separate categories of norms in Table 2.1, people's answers to the citizenship questions reflect two broad frames that organize their thinking.

One aspect of citizenship includes what I describe as the principle of **citizen duty**. The social order items—obeying the law, paying taxes, serving on a jury (Pew), and military service (2004 GSS)—are strongly interconnected in the respective surveys. In addition, respondents in all three surveys link voting turnout and social order to this general category. The fusion of these two different sets of norms suggests that some forms of participation—such as voting—are motivated by the same sense of duty that encourages individuals to be law-abiding citizens.

Duty-based citizenship reflects traditional notions of republican citizenship primarily as the responsibilities of a citizen-subject. The good citizen pays taxes, follows the legitimate laws of government, and contributes to the national need, such as serving on a jury or service in the military. In addition, previous studies of voting turnout indicate that feelings of citizen duty are a strong stimulus to vote.²⁶ Allegiance to the state and voting are linked together. As an example, the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service begins its description of the duties and responsibilities of citizens as follows: “The right to vote is a duty as well as a privilege.”²⁷ Thus, the clustering of participation and order norms into a single pattern of duty-based citizenship has a strong foundation in prior empirical research and democratic theory.

Engaged citizenship spans several other aspects of good citizenship. It includes participation, although in non-electoral activities such as being active in civil society groups, buying products for political or ethical reasons, or protesting, as asked in the Pew survey. This dimension also incorporates the autonomy norms: One should keep watch on government and try to understand, respect the opinions of others, and follow what happens, as asked in the Pew survey. Engaged citizens also possess a moral or empathetic element of citizenship, and both solidarity items of helping others (at home and abroad) are strongly related to the underlying factor. Volunteering to help others is part of engaged citizenship in the Pew survey. This is significant because analysts typically maintain that concern about the community is an element of traditional citizenship values; all three of these surveys suggest that it falls most heavily in the engaged citizen cluster. Overall, these items reflect a pattern of the socially engaged citizen: one who is aware of others, is willing to act on his or her principles, and may even challenge political elites.

Replication of these two dimensions of citizenship across the two General Social Surveys and the Pew survey underscores the validity of these patterns. These two dimensions of citizenship are not contradictory (since all items are positively related), but they reflect different emphases in the role of a democratic citizen. Both clusters involve a norm of participation, although in different styles of political action. Both define citizenship as a mixture of responsibilities and rights—but different responsibilities and different rights. Although both dimensions are linked to democratic theory, neither completely matches the mix of norms posited in previous theoretical models.

If citizen duty captures the traditional model of democratic citizenship, then it leads to predictions about the causes and consequences of these norms. For instance, duty norms are seemingly the citizenship norms of the “Greatest Generation” that survived the Depression and fought in World War II. Perhaps the image of John Wayne or John McCain comes to mind. Previous research suggests that respect for authority and the rule of law is stronger among older Americans and weaker among the young.²⁸ Similarly, the emphasis on voting may be strongest among older generations socialized during a period when this was considered a primary duty of citizenship.²⁹ Duty-based citizenship might also promote distinct forms of political participation, images of government, and other attitudes and behavior, themes explored in more detail later.

In comparison, engaged citizenship partially overlaps with the liberal or communitarian models of citizenship. These norms stress the rights and social responsibilities of citizenship. Instead of seeing political participation primarily as a duty to vote, engaged citizenship prompts individuals to be involved in a wider repertoire of activities that give them a direct voice in the decisions affecting their lives. Lance Bennet and his colleagues described a similar contrast between dutiful citizens and actualizing citizens, which are alternative terms for the same value clusters observed here.³⁰ Engaged citizenship also overlaps with the patterns of post-material or self-expressive values in affluent societies.³¹ Engaged citizenship further includes a responsibility to others in society. The young climate activist Greta Thunberg or the anti-gun violence students from Parkland High School in Florida might illustrate these norms.

This dichotomy in citizenship norms—duty-based citizenship versus engaged citizenship—provides the foundation for the research presented in this book. Adherence to these norms should shape citizen attitudes and behavior if these are meaningful norms. Much of the rest of the book describes and then tests these distinctions.

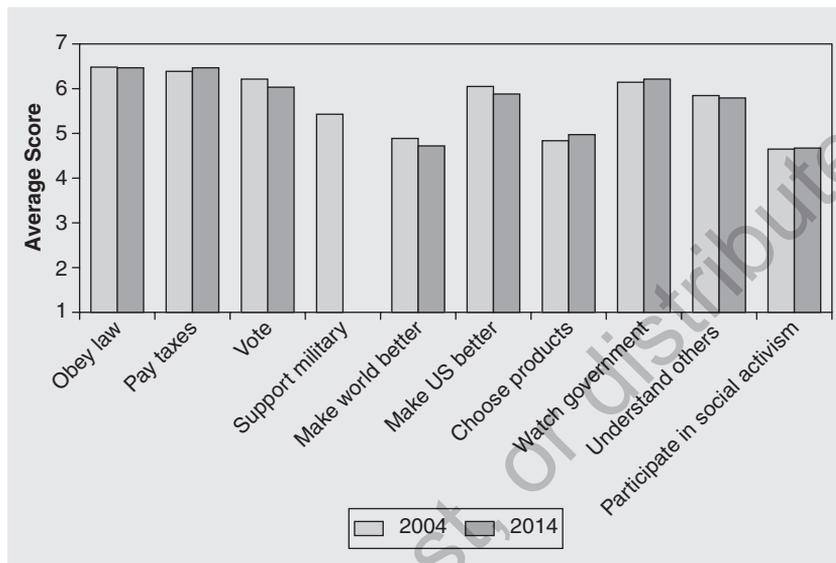
The Distribution of Citizenship Norms

Like various types of apple pie, the various citizenship norms receive broad support from the public. Figure 2.1 presents the average importance score for each norm in the two General Social Surveys. Although there is some variation, on the 7-point GSS scale, all the items score well above the midpoint of the scale (3.5); several display means above 6.0. Thus, it's not that Americans accept one set of norms and reject others, rather all these norms are recognized as important, with some more important to different individuals.

The items on the left of the figure are the norms most closely identified with duty-based citizenship. Nearly everyone agree that these are important elements of citizenship. Using the 2004 survey as an example, obeying the

Figure 2.1 The Importance of Citizenship Norms, 2004–2014

- The importance Americans attach to each of the different aspects of citizenship; the higher the bar the more important the item is.



Source: 2004 and 2014 General Social Survey.

Note: Figure entries are mean scores on the 7-point importance scale: 1 = *not at all important* to 7 = *very important*.

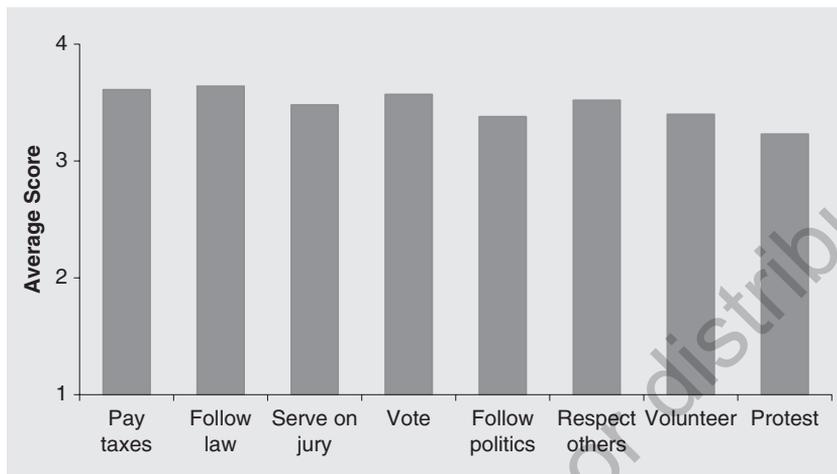
law receives the highest importance rating of any of these ten items (mean = 6.5), closely followed by paying taxes (6.4) and always voting (6.2). The sense of duty is deeply embedded in Americans' notions of citizenship.

The items on the right of the figure are more closely linked to engaged citizenship. Although we have described these as recently increasing norms, these are also ranked as important by most people. In 2004 the solidarity norm of helping those worse off in America receives a relatively high rating (6.0), as does the norm of understanding others (5.8). The norms of engagement receive less attention from the public, but the differences in importance between both sets of norms are fairly modest.

Figure 2.2 displays the importance attached to the citizenship norms in the 2018 Pew Study, using a different 4-point scale. A large majority of Americans rate all of these items as very or somewhat important. All of the Pew items average scores are well above the midpoint of the scale (2.5). The duty items on the left of the figure average slightly higher, although the engaged citizenship items on the right of the figure are also endorsed by most people.

Figure 2.2 The Importance of Citizenship Norms, 2018

- ▶ In 2018, most Americans still consider each citizenship norm as important; the higher the bar the more important it is.



Source: 2018 Pew Center Survey (January–February).

Note: Figure entries are mean scores on the 4-point importance scale: 1 = *not at all important* to 4 = *very important*. The items are ordered from most duty based on the left to most engaged on the right.

If citizenship norms strongly reflect the politics of the day, we might expect to see signs of change over time. The first GSS in 2004 occurred while America was still in the shadow of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the overthrow of Saddam Hussein's Iraqi government, when George W. Bush was president. The 2014 survey occurred as Barack Obama was stressing more engaged norms of citizenship. And yet, none of the differences in Figure 2.1 are substantively large.³²

Because of the different question format, direct comparisons to 2018 are not possible. However, the broad support for all citizenship norms suggests that Americans' basic values haven't changed significantly despite the polarized political environment during Trump's administration and the hostile climate on social media. Moreover, in striking contrast to the negativity in politics today, 92 percent of Americans say the good citizen respects the opinions and beliefs of those you disagree with, and 90 percent say it's important to help others. More of these good citizens are needed in Washington and on the news talk shows.

It appears that citizenship norms are deeply embedded in the nation's political culture. They don't shift significantly in a short period of time in reaction to one election or the ebb and flow of normal political events. Change is more likely to evolve over a longer time span. For instance, the American National Election Study regularly asks whether it matters if one

votes, which is widely interpreted as a measure of the civic duty to vote. This has slowly trailed downward over time, paralleling the decline in turnout. More generally, respect for authority has also decreased over the past several decades, eroding the foundation of duty-based norms of citizenship.³³

What Kind of Citizenship?

If we return to President Bush's call for citizenship at the start of the chapter, how should it be interpreted based on our findings? Rather than a single model, Americans define citizenship in two different ways. **Duty-based citizenship** evokes images of a civic republican model of the good citizen, with some variations. Duty-based citizenship stresses the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, with a modest participatory role. This model of citizenship reinforces the existing political order and existing authority patterns. It's consistent with what is generally described as an elitist model of democracy, which implies the limited role of the citizen. This is also close to Almond and Verba's classic description of a subject-participant political culture that combines a strong identification with the nation-state and a propensity to obey the laws, with limited political activity.³⁴

In contrast, **engaged citizenship** has a more expansive view of the citizen's role in a democracy. The engaged citizen stresses participation, and this includes direct-action and elite-challenging activities that go beyond voting in the next election. Participation isn't just an expression of allegiance and duty but includes attempts to influence policy outcomes and address social need. Significantly, engaged citizenship also includes a concern for the opinion of others, potentially an expression of support for a more deliberative style of political activity. Thus, engaged citizenship contains elements that are part of the liberal and social traditions of citizenship.

Both of these citizenship norms have a long tradition in American politics and political thought. Recognizing this potential duality of citizenship provides a way to understand recent political trends. I have suggested that the social transformation of society—rising educational levels, spreading cognitive mobilization, distinct generational experiences—are shifting citizenship norms among Americans. Adherence to citizen duty is gradually eroding as attachments to norms of engaged citizenship increase. Other research shows similar patterns in other affluent democracies.³⁵

I suspect that President Bush thought of duty-based citizenship when he called for the renewal of citizenship. Duty-based norms would encourage Americans to vote, to obey the law, and respect their government. He would be surprised and possibly concerned to find that a new form of engaged citizenship may be increasing over time. This was probably not what he had in mind.

President Obama often stressed different norms. At a citizenship naturalization ceremony in 2015, he said that America is

a place where we can be a part of something bigger. A place where we can contribute our talents and fulfill our ambitions and secure new opportunity for ourselves and for others. A place where we can retain pride in our heritage, but where we recognize that we have a common creed, a loyalty to these documents, a loyalty to our democracy; where we can criticize our government, but understand that we love it; where we agree to live together even when we don't agree with each other; where we work through the democratic process, and not through violence or sectarianism to resolve disputes; where we live side by side as neighbors; and where our children know themselves to be a part of this nation, no longer strangers, but the bedrock of this nation, the essence of this nation.³⁶

Donald Trump's Inaugural Address in January 2017 was an ode to duty-based citizenship: "At the bedrock of our politics will be a total allegiance to the United States of America, and through our loyalty to our country, we will rediscover our loyalty to each other. When you open your heart to patriotism, there is no room for prejudice . . . A new national pride will stir our souls, lift our sights, and heal our divisions." Typically missing from Trump's presidential tweets are the norms of engaged citizenship and the policies that follow from these norms.

To give further perspective on the debates over citizenship, I cite an example from a well-known observer of American society and politics who was asked by a young child what defines a good citizen.

I think it is more difficult these days to define what makes a good citizen than it has ever been before. Certainly, all any of us can do is follow our own conscience and retain faith in our democracies. Sometimes it is the very people who cry out the loudest in favor of getting back to what they call "American virtues" who lack this faith in our country. I believe that our greatest strength lies always in the protection of our smallest minorities.³⁷

First, I should note that this letter was written in 1970—our concerns about good citizenship in America come in phases. Second, the author was Charles Schultz, the artist who drew the Peanuts cartoon. Perhaps it is Schultz's level-headedness that is in short supply today.

This book's challenge is to describe how the norms of citizenship are actually distributed within the contemporary American public and the consequences—both positive and negative—of these norms. Integrating both perspectives should produce a more accurate image of democracy in contemporary America.

Appendix

I used a statistical technique called principal components analysis to identify the structure of citizenship norms. The method determines if opinions on different survey questions reflect a smaller and more fundamental set of political orientations. In other words, are the specific questions examples of broader citizenship orientations?

This method first calculates the relationship between opinions on each of the possible pairs of questions and then looks for patterns among these correlations. The larger the correlations, the more the two items tap a common underlying “component.” The method also determines how many underlying components are necessary to reasonably represent the interrelationship among the items. In all three surveys, two components yielded a parsimonious and realistic representation of the patterns of citizenship.³⁸

Table 2.A presents the empirical results from the two GSS surveys. Each of the values in the table is the relationship between the individual

Table 2.A Dimensions of Democratic Citizenship, 2004–2014

Variable	2004		2004 and 2014 Combined	
	Engaged Citizenship	Duty-based Citizenship	Engaged Citizenship	Duty-based Citizenship
Active in associations	.54	.39	.52	.39
Keep watch on government	.40	.51	.39	.54
Understand others	.59	.28	.59	.26
Political consumerism	.59	.22	.57	.22
Help worse off in world	.77	-.02	.77	-.14
Help worse off in America	.77	.02	.78	.02
Vote in elections	.17	.65	.14	.65
Obey the law	.10	.51	.09	.49
Never evade taxes	-.01	.65	-.01	.64
Serve in the military	.07	.54	.08	.53
Eigenvalue	2.37	1.95	2.33	1.93
Variance explained	23.7	19.5	23.3	19.3

Source: 2004 and 2014 General Social Surveys.

Note: Table entries are coefficients from rotated principal components analyses.

survey question and the two broader dimensions of citizenship. The 2004 results show a clear separation between duty-based norms and engaged norms. For example, the “obeying the law” item has a strong .51 relationship with the duty-based component but only a .10 relationship with engaged citizenship. Conversely, “helping others in the world” and “political consumerism” are strongly related to engaged citizenship but marginally related to duty-based citizenship.

The second panel in the table combines the 2004 and 2014 GSS surveys.³⁹ Never evading taxes and always obeying the law clearly define the duty-based view of citizenship. The duty to vote is modestly related to these two items. Engaged citizenship reflects the same traits as in the 2004 survey.

Table 2.B presents the comparable results from the 2018 Pew survey. Two dimensions capture the essential aspect of citizenship norms. The first duty-based dimension is comprised of paying taxes, following the law, serving on a jury, and voting. The second dimension of engaged citizenship includes participation in protest and helping others, as well as the autonomy norm of respecting others. The changes in methodology make it difficult to directly compare levels and exact relationships between GSS and Pew results. However, the similar pattern between these two projects—despite

Variable	Citizen Duty	Engaged Citizen
Pay the taxes you owe	.83	.14
Always follow the law	.74	.08
Serve on jury if called	.70	.21
Vote in elections	.65	.42
Protest if government is wrong	-.03	.78
Volunteer to help others	.20	.71
Respect others who you disagree with	.31	.62
Follow politics	.44	.57
Eigenvalue	2.48	2.07
Variance explained	31.20	25.80

Source: 2018 Pew Center survey.

Note: Table entries are coefficients from rotated principal components analyses.

differences in survey methodology, the selection of citizenship norms, and the formatting of the questions—is evidence of the persistence of this two-dimensional structure in citizenship norms.

This grouping of items and their interpretation as engaged or duty-based citizenship provide the empirical base for studying the norms of citizenship throughout the rest of this book. I used these dimensional analyses to create component scores that are the indices of citizenship norms. These scores are constructed so they are empirically uncorrelated and have a standardized distribution; the average citizen gets a 0.0 score with a normal-curve distribution around this value.

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