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Divergent Citizenship

Raimo Blom

This chapter investigates different conceptions of citizenship. The ISSP survey included a set of questions concerning the respondents' perceptions of good citizenship. (see Appendix 1, q: 29). Thinking about the question theoretically, we discover that there are many different aspects, attributes and dimensions important for the idea of citizenship. Just to mention a few, the concept of citizenship entails various rights and obligations, which frame different relations to social and political action. Citizenship can also refer to different kinds of interrelationships between resources, social position and the realisation of rights in society. These, in turn, have implications to differences in relation to the possibilities to monitor and control the use of power in society. The scale of citizens' orientations can vary significantly, too, from local to global or cosmopolitan loyalties and sense of belongingness (Merton 1957, 387-420, Delanty 2000).

Many questions concerning citizenship were first dealt with in the political theory and philosophy of the rising bourgeoisie (from Hobbes to Locke and Rousseau, and already criticised by Marx and others; Blom 1982). In practice, those questions were posed during bourgeois revolutions, especially the French Revolution. The problems of basic citizen rights surfaced in early political theories. Questions in relation to public political power, such as Hobbes' *Leviathan*, also

came into attention. The latter type of question, in fact, concerns the citizen's relation to the absolute state power and the possibilities to control it. This question found its pragmatic solutions in the form of constitutions and different Fundamental laws. It was also settled in different theories of democracy. Moving into modern times, the list of basic rights was expanded from the right to private ownership and the basic freedom and political rights to other economic rights and to social and cultural rights.

People's conceptions of citizenship do not derive from legal theory. Thus, there is more to citizenship beliefs and values than merely rights and obligations. The following pages compare the citizenship beliefs in different countries using the ten-item scale of the ISSP data from 2004 (see Appendix 1). The questions deal with what can be expected of the good citizen. In fact, the survey concentrated on the perceived importance of different aspects in being a good citizen. This is one of the focal points of the survey. Moreover, variables measuring political and social participation were also included in the analysis.

The text proceeds as follows: first, the topics and methods are described briefly. The first question is how important the different aspects are for the good citizen. The purpose here is to construct a ranking list of the importance of different aspects of citizenship. A comparison is also made on the importance of the different citizenship elements in different countries. An analysis is then conducted on the main dimension of the "good citizen". The method used is factor analysis. The main descriptive task then follows. The countries are positioned in the factor space using the citizenship dimensions as pairs in the description. In the interpretation of the comparative country results, I am mainly interested in the differences among the EU-countries. The outer reference point consists of some non-EU countries (the United States, Russia and Japan) and the average ISSP countries. The special emphasis in the country comparison is Finland, as well as the Nordic countries. Finally, it is analysed whether there is any relation between the differences in citizenship beliefs and action in the capitalism and welfare state regimes presented in the literature. The references used

are Crouch and Streeck (1997), especially Boyer (1997) on the types of capitalism, and Esping-Andersen (1990 and 1999) in the case of welfare regimes.

The basis of Boyer's classification for types of capitalism is the distinctive forms of labour market relations, their institutional characteristics, and adjustments and the consequential advantages and disadvantages, respectively. The four types of capitalism are 'market-oriented' (USA, Canada and Britain), 'Rhineland or corporatist' (Germany, Japan), 'statist' (France, Italy), and 'social democrat' (Sweden Austria) (Boyer 1997, 90; table 4.6.).

Esping-Andersen separates three welfare regimes: 'liberal' (USA as modal example), 'social democratic' (the Nordic countries) and 'conservative' (Germany, Italy) (Esping-Andersen 1999, 73-). The original basis was the de-commodification of welfare or the decrease in the commodity nature of labour power. In the liberal model, few rights and a low level of de-commodification mean that the liberal welfare regime is almost completely Anglo-Saxon: it comprises the United States, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, and Britain. The social democratic welfare regime includes the Nordic countries, and the conservative model almost all the other countries. There are different variants inside the three welfare regimes and, in some cases, the situation has changed after Esping-Andersen's latter book. Thus, a valid starting point for the interpretation of the results is Esping-Andersen's three regime model.

The importance of citizenship elements

The idea of citizenship developed historically in different times. The most famous presentation of the matter is Marshall's contribution (1950). In Marshall's model, legal rights derive from the 17-18th centuries, political rights from the 18-19th centuries and social rights from the 19-20th centuries. The institutions supporting citizen's different

basic rights, such as the parliament for political rights or the welfare state for social rights developed in various historical conditions. Nowadays, cultural rights have also gained an entirely new meaning in the global world (Pakulski 1997). Marshall has also been criticized (Turner 1997). It can be criticized by stating that his framework is not sensitive enough to the consequences of citizenship at the end product level, and to the distinction between the formal and substantial rights.

The different categories of citizen rights have different functions, and the rights are also often in conflict with each other. (Tuschling 1976, Blom 1982). These basic conflicts derive from the difficulties to construct a valid concept of legal state. Another reason is the dependence of all the other rights on the economic rights and social position. Because of the economic dependence, the concept of citizenship is always incomplete and impossible to realise in practice. David Lockwood (1996) speaks about two sets of social categories that can be unequal: classes and different citizen categories. The latter are identified through “their different capacities to exercise various rights, their social categorisation by rights themselves, and their motivation to extend and enlarge them”. In an empirical study investigating the conceptions of the citizen, it is possible to see the emphases of the different aspects of citizenship and interpret the relation between different elements.

The next table summarises the perceived importance of different matters for the good citizen in the order of their importance in the entire ISSP data. The table presents the sums of the percentages of classes 6 and 7 on a 7-point scale (1-7) where 7 is “very important”. The table also includes the same percentages in the Nordic countries, the EU-countries and the non-EU-countries.

Table 1. To be a good citizen: the importance of different matters (%)

	Total ISSP	Nordic countries	EU-coun- tries	Non-EU countries
Always to obey laws and regulations	78	74	74	83
Never to try to evade taxes	73	68	70	76
Always to vote in elections	68	75	63	74
To help the people in [country] who are worse off than yourself	63	63	51	57
To try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions	62	62	59	65
To keep watch on the actions of government	56	52	48	65
To help the people in the rest of the world who are worse off than yourself	45	36	42	49
To be willing to serve in the military at a time of need	44	43	36	51
To choose products for political, ethical or environmental reasons	34	29	33	35
To be active in social or political associations	27	14	20	34

The differences between the qualities that people find important for the good citizen are substantial. This means that in people's conception of citizenship there are different fields of importance. The difference between the importance of abiding the law and being active in the civil society is over 50 percentages. Tentatively, we can find three blocks according to the hierarchy of the importance of an aspect for good citizenship. The first group of important qualities includes obeying laws, not evading the taxes, voting, as well as trying to understand other people. Another category, of relatively high importance, includes

helping people who are worse off in one's own country and the rest of the world, keeping watch on the actions of the government, and being willing to serve in the military at a time of need. Finally, there are the qualities of low importance, political, ethical and environmental reasons for choosing the products, and being active in social and political associations.

There are substantial differences in the perceived importance of the good citizen's characteristics between the countries and country groups. Some differences between the country groups are noticeable. Examples of the differences between the countries are presented in the context of the factor-score comparison of the countries.

People in the non-EU-countries and all the ISSP-countries find all studied good citizen qualities more important than the respondents in the EU-countries. In choosing products for political, ethical or environmental reasons those country groups are at the same level. The difference is the most substantial regarding the perceived importance of helping people in one's own country. The importance of this aspect is lower in the EU-countries. The other aspects, in which the EU-countries are also clearly at a lower level than all the ISSP-countries or the non-EU countries, are keeping watch on the government, serving the military at a time of need, and being active in social and political associations.

The main finding is the all-around difference between the EU-countries and the non-EU countries. We can ask what the explanation is to this cleavage in the conceptions of necessary qualities for the good citizen. One possible explanation is need based. In the EU-countries, the citizens' position and citizen rights have, on average, been relatively stable for longer than in the non-EU-countries. Citizenship in non-EU countries creates the need for almost all the qualities of the good citizen mentioned in the study. It is worth noting that, in the case of the United States, most qualities of the good citizen are also considered especially important in comparison to other countries. This implies that in addition to the perceived need for further democratic development, also normative and cultural conceptions of the nature of good citizenship play a role.

The differences between the EU-countries and the Nordic countries are different in each issue. The Nordic countries value voting in elections and helping people in one's own country higher than the EU countries. Astonishingly, helping people who are worse off than you in the rest of the world is not seen as particularly important quality for the good citizen in the Nordic countries. This finding clearly goes against the image of the Nordic countries as exemplary and even altruistic members of the global community. In the EU-countries, serving in the military at a time of need and being active in associations are more important characteristics of the good citizen than in the Nordic countries. These results are not easy to interpret.

Dimensions of the good citizen

The dimensions and later measures (factor scores) were formed by using factor analysis. The data in the factor analysis were all the ISSP-survey respondents ($n = 52\,550$). There were 8632 missing cases, a total of 16.4%. The number of respondents in the final analysis was 43 918.

Three factors explained 57.7 percent of the variance. The eigenvalues were 3.4 (I factor) 1.3 (II factor) and 1.0 (III factor). The factor analysis of the good citizen's qualities that gave the best result in the varimax rotation was a solution of three factors.

Interpreting the factors is relatively easy, even if the loadings of two variables were split into two factors. The first factor is called **Political citizenship**. In it, the activity in associations gets the highest loading. It is, actually, a proxy for activities in the civil society. The following two variables, voting in elections and keeping watch on the government, are political obligations included in the concept of the good citizen. The last aspect in the first factor is choosing products for political, ethical or environmental reasons. The core of this variable is ethical or moral. All in all, the first factor is political citizenship with key responsibilities associated with the concept. All these variables have a strong moral ele-

ment in common with the choosing product variable. Thus, the first factor links together political and moral elements in its content. The division of a part of the loadings to the law-abiding citizen also in a way shows the importance of moral elements in the first factor.

The second factor is the dimension of **Social citizenship**. The main loadings are on the variables concerning helping those who are worse off than the respondents themselves in the rest of world or in one's own country. The variable "understanding" does not have any clear place in any one factor. For obvious reasons, it gets minor loadings both in the political citizen and in the factor of social citizen.

The third factor is **Law-abiding citizenship**. The core in it is the law-abiding person who never tries to evade taxes. Smaller and related moral loading on the third factor comes from choosing products for political, ethical or environmental reasons. It can be said that the term "subject" meaning an individual being under central state power, as opposed to an autonomous citizen subject (Althusser 1971) finds its expression here.

Table 2. Rotated factor matrix of the importance of the qualities of good citizen

	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III
Active in associations	.725		
Keep watch on government	.710		
Vote always in elections	.618		.407
Choose products for political			
ethical or environmental reasons	.587		
Help less privileged/world		.856	
Help less privileged/own country		.834	
Understand other opinions	.453	.455	
Always obey laws			.837
Never try to evade taxes			.818

Table 3. The loadings in the non-rotated factor matrix

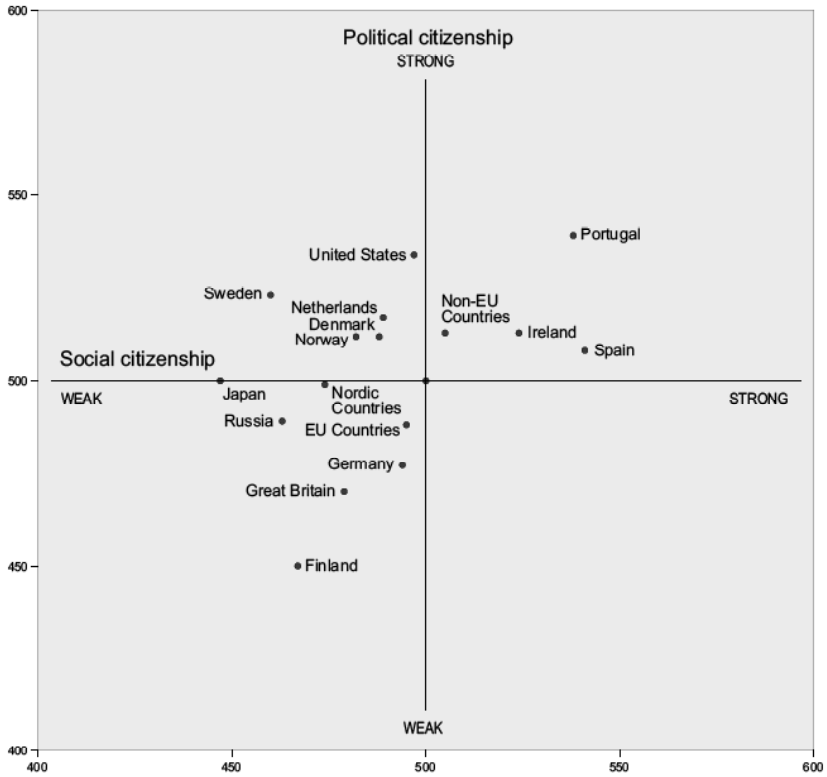
Contact with politicians	.723
Contact media	.704
Attend political meeting or rally	.697
Take part in demonstration	.680
Sign a petition	.677
Boycott certain products	.669
Donate money or raise funds	.636
Join an Internet political forum	.589

The loadings were very even. The factor explained 45.3 percent of the joint variance of the variables. Contact with politicians variable is slightly higher than the other variables, and donating money and especially joining an Internet forum are lower than the loadings of the other variables. The factor score scale of these items is called **Participation**.

The comparison of countries

The factor scores above presenting three dimensions of good citizenship and the factor of Participation are used in the comparative analysis. The theoretical background for the analysis and interpretation of the comparative results is the differentiation between countries according to the types of capitalism and the welfare state regimes. The results are presented in the following figures. The factor scores for each country are marked in a two-dimensional space. The constant dimension in the country comparisons is Political citizenship. It is the dimension that explains the greatest part of the joint variance of “What it takes to be good citizen” variables. Each of the three other dimensions is presented in turns, paired with it one by one. The main purpose is to

Figure 1. Political citizenship and social citizenship (means of factor scores; central point = total ISSP)



investigate how the countries' position changes depending on the two dimensions used at a time.

If we start with the viewpoint of Finland, we can see that the country is different from any other country in the analysis. The main reason is the low importance of the political citizenship in the Finns' conceptions of the good citizen. The importance of the political citizenship is lower in Finland than in other countries. Finland is, in large part, below the other Nordic countries. Among the other Nordic countries, the distinctions are not substantial. Sweden is slightly above

Denmark and Norway. Nearest to Finland, then, are Great Britain and Germany.

Despite Finland, Great Britain and Germany being on the weak side and Portugal and the United States on the strong side of the political citizenship, the differences in the strength of the political citizenship between countries are not extensive. Ireland and Spain, as well as the entire group of the non-EU countries are at the same level with the Nordic countries other than Finland.

As regards social citizenship, a small group of countries is considerably nearer to the strong end of the social citizenship than the others. All the other countries are more or less at the same level. The exceptions are Spain, Portugal and Ireland in which the social citizenship is at a higher level than in the other countries. The totality of the non-EU countries is mildly on this side of the average of the ISSP countries. In the dimension of social citizenship, Finland is above the weakest countries. In this respect, Russia, Sweden and Japan are even slightly weaker than Finland.

What do the results in figure 1, then, reveal about different larger 'citizenship regimes'? The two-dimensional picture refers to the following conclusion. First, there is the block of countries in which Sweden and Denmark are together with the Netherlands. United States is also close to this group. The latter result is slightly difficult to understand from the point of view of welfare regimes or types of capitalism as the Nordic welfare state regime differs remarkably from the Neo-liberal US model.

A group slightly less tight than the one mentioned above consists of Japan, Russia, Germany and Great Britain. The entire group of the EU-countries, on average, belongs in this category. Of the remaining countries Portugal, like Finland in the opposite direction, is clearly distinct from the other countries. The closest neighbours of Portugal are Ireland and Spain which are relatively close to each other. The entire group of the non-EU countries is relatively close to Ireland and Spain.

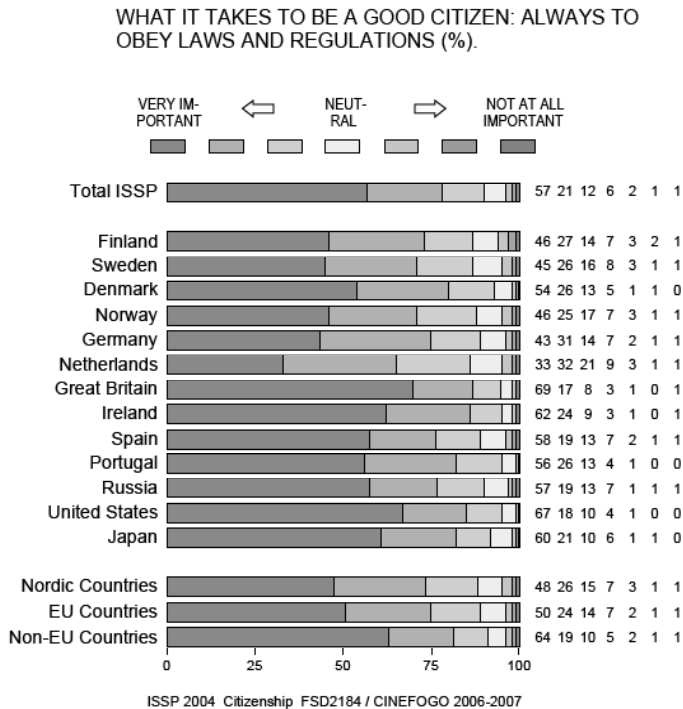
All in all, the clearest result can be seen in the group of the Nordic countries, excluding Finland. It makes sense that the Netherlands is

a part of this group. The opposites of the Nordic group are Germany and Great Britain, and on the other side, Ireland and Spain. Finland and Portugal, as each other's opposites, are the lone ones in terms of the political and social citizenship.

It is also possible to provide an example of the difference between the countries. For this purpose, I use the variable "Keep watch on government" from the first factor. It has a high factor loading and is seen as relatively important for the good citizen.

Using two classes in the "very important" end of the variable, we see that there is a clear differentiation between countries. At the top, there is the United States. Other countries that perceive keeping watch on the actions of the government more important than other coun-

Figure 2. Good citizen obeys laws

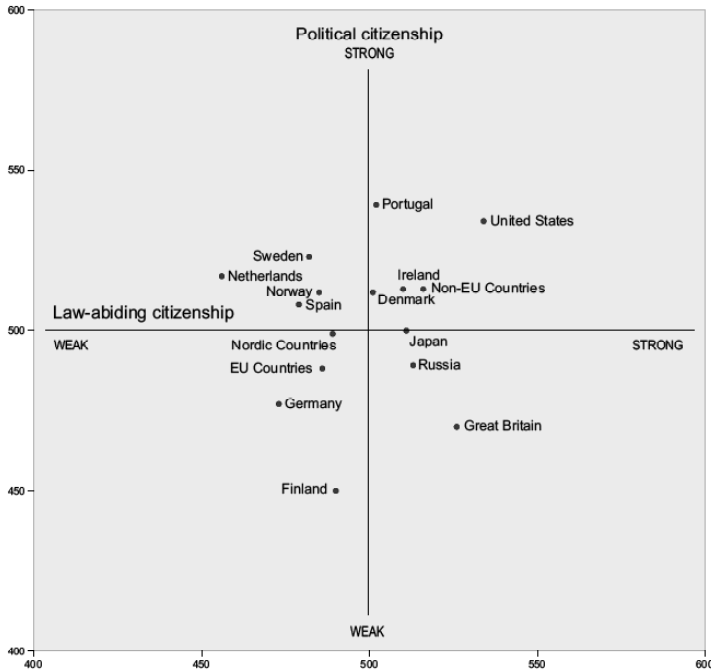


tries are Sweden, Ireland, and Portugal. USA is 19 percent above the average in the ISSP countries and the other top countries mentioned some ten percent above the average. The clearly lowest figure (nearly a half below the average) is in Finland. Finland is also clearly below the Nordic countries, especially Sweden.

There is a change in the composition of the citizenship groups when Law-abiding citizenship is substituted for Social citizenship. The group around the Nordic countries (excluding Finland) changes its form. Thus, Spain joins Sweden, Norway and the Netherlands in their category. Denmark is now further from the group than earlier. It can still, however, be said to have stayed in the near neighbourhood. The

Figure 3. Political citizenship and law-abiding citizenship

Figure 3. POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP AND LAW-ABIDING CITIZENSHIP (means of factor scores; central point = total ISSP).



average of the EU countries is, in fact, almost within the same distance from the Nordic cluster as Denmark, while Ireland and the average of the non-EU countries are relatively close to these countries.

What is left of the countries after the large Nordic group? Germany remains in its old place, alone. Great Britain has changed its position because of the greater Law-abiding citizenship than in Germany. Finland also stays in its place far from the other countries. Portugal and the United States are at the opposite end from Finland in the high Political citizenship and higher Law-abiding citizenship. In the Law-abiding citizenship, the United States together with Great Britain are the law-abiding countries. On the same side with them are also Russia and Japan with their position changed to the right compared to the earlier country picture.

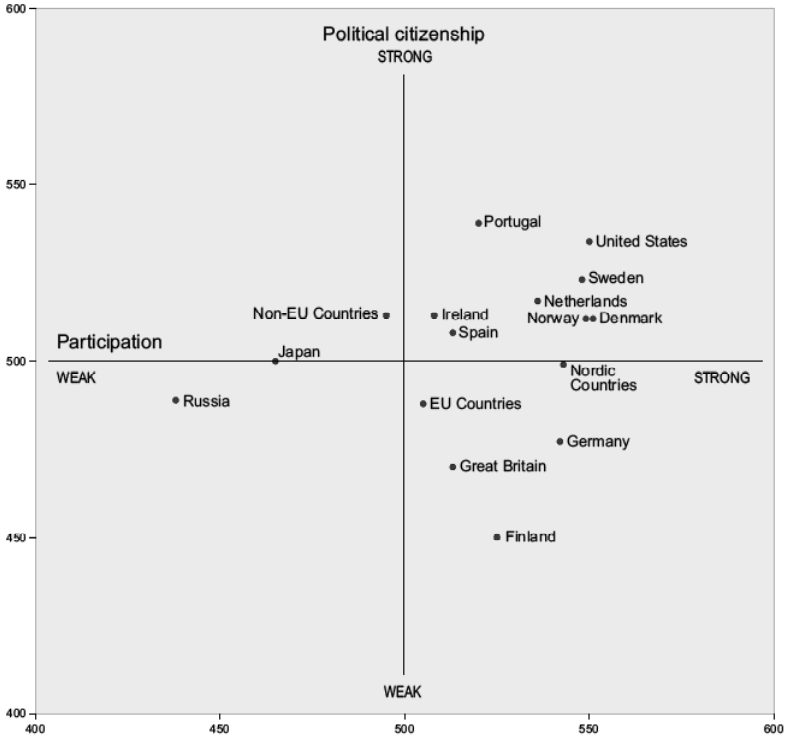
The formation of the country categories is not very different compared with the country groups in the picture above where the Social and Political citizenship were the axes. Replacing Social citizenship with Law-abiding citizenship provides a manner of opposite picture on country groups and positions.

The last picture of the country groups is the Political citizenship examined together with the more action oriented measure of Political and Social Participation.

The comparative positions are now different compared to the earlier analysis. Russia and Japan are far from the other countries. The average of the non-EU countries also relocates to this side. The distance between Japan and Russia is also relatively long. The group of Nordic countries including the Netherlands is very clear. Spain, Ireland and United States can also be seen as a part of this county category in a larger sense. Finland, Great Britain and Germany are relatively far from the Nordic group, Finland of course being the most distant country. Still, it should be remembered that in Participation, Great Britain, Finland and Germany are relatively close to the large Nordic group of countries. The demarcation line is between Russia, Japan and the non-EU countries, in this order, and all the other countries.

Figure 4. Political citizenship and participation

Figure 4. POLITICAL CITIZENSHIP AND PARTICIPATION (means of factor scores; central point = total ISSP).



Conclusion: Divergent Citizenship

The results reveal two points. First, there is a clear, relatively consistent ranking as regards the characteristics expected from the good citizen by the respondents. Secondly, almost all characteristics are perceived as more important in the countries outside the EU. The possible interpretation here is the longer stable period in the citizenship position in

the EU countries than in the other parts of the world. The perceived importance of the citizenship characteristics depends on the need. This can mean that there is more willingness to make an effort for the better realisation of citizenship in the countries outside the EU.

The dimensions of the good citizen's qualities are relatively clear. The main dimension is the Political citizenship. It is followed by the Social citizenship and the Law-abiding citizenship. The first dimension is very wide. It includes moral demands for the good citizen's action. The second factor is about helping people in more disadvantageous position than the respondents themselves. This factor reflects the feeling of collective responsibility, whereas the third factor concerns the respect for law. Considering the historical layers of the citizenship rights, the third dimension refers to the historically oldest layer. The second factor is associated with newest developments, and the first dimension has some connotations of the moral kind, together with the Law-abiding citizenship

When the countries are positioned in the space in which the axes are the factor score of the political and social citizenship, the main result is distinguishing the block of Nordic countries (excluding Finland). In the neighbourhood of this larger 'Nordic' group we can find the United States, Japan and Russia, i.e. all the countries selected to be the criteria for the analysis of the EU-countries. Portugal and Finland, the countries on the opposite sides of the factor space, are clear non-members of the Nordic group. Ireland and Spain are also relatively far from the group of Nordic countries. The reason for Finland's separate position is the low scoring in the Political citizenship and, for Ireland and Spain, the high scoring in the Social citizenship. Portugal is also higher in the Political citizenship than other countries.

Combining the law-abiding citizenship with the political citizenship in the picture, the positions do not change considerably from the earlier findings. Now, the United States are farther than Portugal from the Nordic group of countries, and there is a longer distance between Germany and Great Britain than in the earlier picture. This is due to Great Britain's higher score in the Law-abiding citizenship. Finland is relatively low on both axes.

Adding Participation to the analysis transforms the country positions. The larger and tighter collection of countries is now around the Nordic countries and the Netherlands. Farthest from them, due to a low scoring in participation are Japan and Russia. Russia is the most distant country in low participation. Germany, Finland and Great Britain are close to the main group of countries in participation but due to the low scores in political citizenship they do not belong in the group around the Nordic countries. In Participation, Finland is slightly above the weakest countries. The participation is slightly higher in Finland than in Ireland, Spain, Great Britain and Portugal, as well as in the EU countries on average.

It could be asked, what the results reveal about the unity of the EU countries. The main result is that there is a relatively clear block of countries around the Nordic focus. The political citizenship, which is also the most important dimension of the 'good citizen', results in a tight group of Nordic countries in connection with the social citizenship. The other two analyses of country positions, the Political citizenship with the Law-abiding citizenship, and the Political citizenship with Participation, refer to an even larger gathering of countries around the Nordic focus.

The analysis of countries with the main citizenship axes as coordinates do not provide any clear groups of countries other than the Nordic group. The comparison of the results to the types of capitalism or welfare state regimes weakly refers to some new developments. The Netherlands is very clearly at the centre of Nordic group of countries. Finland does not belong in the group. Great Britain and Germany are a possible example of a conservative block. The United States as the modal type of liberal welfare regime is relatively separate. Portugal is also separate because of the strong commitment to social citizenship.

The EU countries differ from the non-EU countries. In the non-EU countries, the Social citizenship is more important than in the EU countries. The same is true also with the Law-abiding citizenship. The results also show the special status of participation as action-bound criterion of citizenship. Here, the difference between Russia

and Japan is clear. In these countries, political and social activity is not considered important. In Finland, the participation is at the level of the other countries.

All in all, the results reveal many differences between countries with different welfare regimes. However, much depends on the criteria of citizenship. From the European point of view, and especially in the Nordic countries, a critical question is the low perceived importance of Social citizenship and helping people worse off. The EU countries are weaker in Social citizenship than the non-EU countries, and in the Nordic countries, the situation is worse than in the other EU countries.

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