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Oser, Jennifer, and Marc Hooghe. 2013. The evolution of citizenship norms among Scandinavian adolescents, 1999–2009. *Scandinavian Political Studies* 36 (4):320-346.

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## **The Evolution of Citizenship Norms among Scandinavian Adolescents, 1999-2009**

### **Abstract**

In the recent debate about changing citizenship norms in advanced democracies, Scandinavian countries are often considered the front-runners of developing a new kind of engaged citizenship. The majority of recent empirical scholarship in this field, however, has focused on the United States. In this article we use latent class analysis to ascertain whether the ideal types of engaged citizenship and duty-based citizenship norms are relevant concepts for adolescents in Scandinavia, and whether there are significant changes in these norms between 1999 and 2009. The findings confirm that engaged and duty-based citizens can be clearly identified and that engaged citizenship norms are becoming more prevalent. We also, find, however, that engaged and duty-based norms are not the only norms identified in the analysis, and that important differences are evident in the background characteristics of those ascribing to different citizen norms that contradict expectations in the literature. We conclude by discussing the implications of these findings for changing citizenship norms in advanced democracies, including the potential implications of these changing norms for political behavior.

**Keywords:** citizenship norms, engaged citizenship, duty-based citizenship, adolescents, value change, latent class analysis, Cived 1999, ICCS 2009

## **Introduction**

It has become conventional wisdom that traditional acts of political participation such as voting have stagnated or declined in recent years in advanced democracies. Although this trend may be less pronounced in the Scandinavian countries in comparison to other polities, citizens of Northern Europe are certainly in line with this cross-national trend (Gallego 2009; Rothstein 2002; Wass 2007). The recognition of this empirical phenomenon is often accompanied by concern for the health of representative democracy.

A recent re-interpretation of the implications of this trend, however, suggests that to truly assess the health of representative democracy we should focus on changing norms of citizenship rather than on participatory trends like voting levels (Zmerli 2010). When citizenship norms are examined, this argument continues, it is demonstrated that although citizens are voting less, they are in fact still strongly engaged in democratic life in terms of their citizenship norms. Scholars have proposed somewhat different understandings of how to best describe this new phenomenon, including ‘engaged’ (Dalton 2008), ‘critical’ (Norris 1999) or ‘monitorial’ (Schudson 1998) citizenship. These scholars generally agree, however, that citizens who do not highly value traditional political activity like voting may still be normatively engaged as ‘good’ citizens. In fact, scholars like Dalton and Norris emphasize that far from being politically apathetic or disengaged, the citizens who have these new citizenship norms are supportive of elite-challenging political activity such as protesting, and have postmodern sensibilities that support engagement on behalf of political issues like human rights and environmental protection.

Research on value change has consistently shown that the emergence of new citizenship norms has been most strongly prevalent in the Scandinavian countries (Harrits et al. 2010; Inglehart 1990; Welzel & Deutsch 2012). In the work of Inglehart and Welzel (2005) the Scandinavian countries always clearly outperform all other countries in the world with regard

to the prevalence of ‘new’ democratic norms and citizenship concepts. In fact, we would expect that if a scavenger hunt for engaged citizens were conducted throughout the globe, we would expect to find that this norm is most prevalent in the Scandinavian countries. Empirical research on this topic, however has been surprisingly scarce. Indeed, leading scholarship by Dalton (2008; 2009) has focused on engaged citizenship in the United States in a single time period, while still proposing that the findings are generalizable to advanced democracies over time. The U.S. findings have been supported by research investigating Canadian citizenship norms (Howe 2010; Raney & Berdahl 2009), but more empirical research is needed in more varied national settings to better understand the generalizability of this recent research on the evolution of citizenship norms.

The purpose of this article is therefore to examine whether an engaged citizenship norm can be found in the Scandinavian countries, and how citizenship norms have evolved among young people in these countries between 1999 and 2009. Given research on values and education systems, we expect engaged citizenship to be present in all countries in the study, though previous studies on cultural traditions and education systems would lead us to expect that Sweden and Norway may have higher levels of engaged citizenship than Denmark and Finland (Kjellin, et al. 2010; Torney-Purta 2002; Welzel & Inglehart 2010). Since Dalton’s engaged citizenship argument specifically proposes that young people are more likely to hold engaged citizenship norms in recent years, we would expect that this norm would be particularly present among adolescents, and we would expect to see changes in adolescent norms during this time period. The goal of the current study therefore is not to compare adolescents to adults, but rather to investigate whether young age groups in Scandinavian countries really are front runners in this global trend, as is often assumed in comparative political science.

We address these questions through a latent class analysis of citizenship norms among adolescents in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in 1999 and 2009. The findings do

indeed confirm that engaged citizens can be clearly identified in Scandinavian countries, and that engaged citizenship norms are highly prevalent in both time periods. The findings also indicate, however, that other citizenship norms are present as well—including fairly traditional ones—and that understanding the evolution of citizenship norms in the countries in this study requires taking these norms into account. Although the dichotomy that Dalton constructs between duty-based and engaged citizenship clearly is theoretically relevant for current debate on social and political change, it only captures part of the diversity in citizenship norms that are actually present among adolescents. The findings also indicate distinctive biases in the background characteristics of those ascribing to the different citizenship norms that contradict expectations based on prior findings in the field. In conclusion we discuss the implications of these findings for changing citizenship norms in advanced democracies in general and the role Scandinavian countries play in this process, as well as the potential implications regarding the translation of norms into political activity.

## **Literature**

As we have noted, Dalton's (2008; 2009) research on citizenship norms is among the most influential scholarship on this topic. These studies of good citizenship, focusing primarily on the United States, have been among the most boldly optimistic and intellectually provocative in this field of research for two reasons. First, he makes a clear argument about the connection between norms and behavior. Whereas Norris's 'critical citizens' and Schudson's 'monitorial citizens' could potentially be understood as interested and watchful bystanders, Dalton clearly proposes that this new form of citizenship is best understood as 'engaged' not only because these citizens place high value on democratic norms, but also because of their readiness to be politically active in new ways. Dalton's reason for optimism, then, is that scholars who study only voting and electoral-related political behavior—and subsequently bemoan citizens'

disengagement from representative democracy—are studying the wrong empirical phenomenon in order to truly understand citizens’ engagement in democracy in the fullest sense.

Relatedly, Dalton’s second bold emphasis on this topic is that young people are currently the pioneers of this new conception of good citizenship, and that generational change will impact upon future trends in political behavior (Dalton 2011). In fact, Dalton’s research suggests that values changes among young people are the driving force behind the increased prevalence of engaged citizens and the simultaneous decline in duty-based citizens. This means that for those who are concerned about the democratic engagement of mass publics, to focus only on the decline of a duty-based citizenship norm and the documented decline in voting rates (Franklin 2004; Wattenberg 2002) would be short-sighted. Rather, we should also recognize that even though today’s young citizens may have low voting rates even when they mature into middle-age adults a generation from now, they will likely be politically active in the future, but just in different ways in comparison to their parents and grandparents (Zukin et al. 2006). In essence, this argument implies that engaged citizens are expected to increase in prevalence over time for the foreseeable future among each cohort of young people in advanced democracies. Other scholars in this field have also noted this generational change dynamic, but Dalton’s empirical focus on the United States in recent research has served to highlight this point since Dalton’s conclusion contradicts scholars of American politics who are more pessimistic about young Americans’ potential for political engagement (see for example Putnam 2000; Wattenberg, 2012).

The theoretical emphasis in Dalton’s research on generational replacement as a driving force for social change suggests that an empirical focus on how adolescent norms change over time is an ideal way to assess whether the normative change Dalton describes based on cross-sectional analyses has indeed begun to take place. The concern regarding declining voting rates

is particularly keen regarding young people in the U.S. where concern for this issue was inspired by Robert Putnam's (2000) work, but young voters have been identified as the culprits behind declining voting rates in contemporary democracies writ large, including Scandinavia (Blais 2006; Gallego 2009; Wattenberg, 2012). In fact, recent research suggests that a central reason for the decline in voting rates in general is due to generational changes in values (Blais & Rubenson 2013), meaning that focused research on adolescent normative change is necessary in order to better understand this generation's future political engagement. Despite the fact that we cannot assess actual electoral engagement of those too young to vote, research has shown that conceptions of citizenship are already formed in adolescence (Eckstein et al. 2012; Hooghe & Dassonneville 2013; van Deth et al. 2011), and that adolescents' citizenship norms have a strong effect on future participatory engagement (Campbell 2006; Quintelier & Hooghe 2012).

In short, if generational change is indeed taking place in citizenship norms, this should certainly be evident in the comparison of adolescent citizenship norms in different time periods. An additional advantage of focusing on this single age group for over-time comparison is that it is a well-defined segment of the population that can be meaningfully compared without being confounded by age-related differences in citizenship norms and behaviors. Self-evidently, this research design does not allow us to compare adolescents with adults, but that is not the goal of the current study as this would require completely different data.

The empirical analyses in this research therefore aim to address two research questions. First, can the citizenship norms proposed by Dalton of engaged and duty-based citizenship be empirically identified in Scandinavian countries? Second, do we discern any change over time and between countries in the prevalence of different citizen norms among adolescents? Given the arguments by scholars like Dalton that citizenship norms are changing rapidly in recent years, we would expect that the time period between 1999 and 2009 would be sufficient for the occurrence of meaningful changes in citizenship norms among adolescents.

The aim of investigating these two research questions in the Scandinavian context is to make an empirical contribution to the examination of contemporary citizenship norms and their recent evolution in Scandinavian countries (Amnå & Zetterberg 2010). As noted, previous research suggests that if new citizenship concepts like ‘engaged citizenship’ were to exist anywhere, they should certainly be found in the Scandinavian countries. Prior research has shown that value patterns follow a distinct geographical and cultural pattern, with the highest levels of post-materialist values recorded in the Protestant, Northern European countries that share social democratic values of social responsibility (Dalton 2009, 29; Inglehart 2008; Inglehart & Welzel 2005). Likewise, a study of thirteen Eastern and Western European countries that included three of the four countries in our study (Denmark, Norway and Sweden) found that these countries led the pack in measures of good citizenship (Denters et al. 2007, 96). In addition, we know that Scandinavian school systems generally have well-developed structures for supporting democratic participation and decision-making and hence the development of engaged citizenship norms (Gilljam et al. 2010). Based on prior research, therefore, we expect that the four Scandinavian countries in this study would exhibit an abundance of what Dalton terms ‘engaged citizenship’.

It has to be noted that especially in the work of Dalton (2008, 78) the theoretical focus is on individuals’ “shared set of expectations about the citizen’s role in politics”. The claim clearly is not about specific items, but rather on combinations or sets of norms that are being held by specific groups of individuals. In order to fully test the Dalton claim, it is important therefore to investigate not only the support for specific items of good citizenship (i.e., specific variables), but rather the way individuals combine these various indicators into citizenship norms. The individual holding a citizenship norm is therefore our unit of analysis, not the discrete survey-items of good citizenship. This forces us to use an analytical tool that is well-suited for identifying citizenship norms held at the individual level.

The literature allows us to depart from a number of expectations regarding the evolution of citizenship norms in Scandinavian countries. The most straightforward expectation would be that the proportion of those ascribing to engaged citizenship norms would increase over time, while the proportion of those holding more traditional duty-based norms would decrease. In addition to an expected baseline of similarity among the four Scandinavian countries under investigation in terms of citizenship norms, previous research on between-country variation in political culture and school frameworks in these countries leads us to expect that we may also find contextually unique citizenship norms in some of the Scandinavian countries. Given the lack of empirical research on this topic in Scandinavia, the investigation of contextually-specific norms is an empirical contribution for scholars of Scandinavian politics and society. Furthermore, the empirical study of similarities and differences in citizenship norms in these countries may also be a useful starting point for further research on the causal mechanisms at play in the development of different kinds of citizenship norms.

Regarding expected differences among these four countries, based on previous research on values and political culture we know that although all four of the countries in this study score high on different measures of postmodern values and political engagement, Sweden and Norway tend to score even higher than Finland and Denmark when data is available (Welzel & Deutsch 2012, 475). A recent study of democratic culture in Finland (Setälä 2010) reinforces the expectation that it may score slightly lower than other countries in this study, since Finns' high awareness of the imperfections of their own democracy may hamper the development of engaged citizenship.

Regarding the expected correlation with school characteristics, recent research has tested the conventional wisdom that education has a causal influence on political behavior and beliefs, with some findings in favor of a causal connection (Berinsky & Lenz 2011; Sondheimer & Green 2010) and some pointing to a spurious relationship (Green et al. 2011; Kam & Palmer

2008; Persson & Oscarsson; 2010). Since definitive conclusions have not been reached on this topic, and this discussion is not related to our central research question, we note that differences in school settings may simply be associated with differences in citizenship norms even if there is no causal relationship between them. Specifically, a study of citizenship education that included Sweden and Finland found that the Swedish national curriculum's strong emphasis on instruction of citizenship values is associated with students' high support for these fundamental values; in contrast, the Finnish curriculum places more emphasis on content and knowledge results, and Finnish students were found to be less articulate about their citizenship values in comparison to their Swedish counterparts (Kjellin, et al. 2010). In short when there are distinctions between the countries in this study we expect them to be in the direction of greater levels of engaged citizenship in Sweden and Norway in comparison to Denmark and Finland.

Along with Dalton's optimism about the implications of changing citizenship norms for democratic engagement, he adds a note of caution that engaged citizenship is a particularly demanding form of citizenship that may increase existing socio-demographic inequalities. Based on prior research on traditional stratification in citizenship norms and participation patterns, we expect that engaged citizenship norms would be strongest among the most socio-demographically privileged in the research population with an advantage for males of higher socio-economic status (Dalton 2009; Marien, Hooghe & Quintelier 2010; Oser, Hooghe & Marien 2013; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). Although the empirical focus on adolescents means there is less opportunity to analyze the classic correlates of education level and income, previous research has shown that home literacy can serve as a proxy for socio-economic status (Persson 2012, 206-207). Given the lack of recent cross-national research on citizenship norms, little attention has been paid to the effect of country of birth. Recent research has shown, however, that in Denmark foreign-born students have lower levels of trust and democratic engagement in comparison to their native-born counterparts (Dinesen 2010, 107). In this study

we therefore examine the relationship between country of birth and citizenship norms since it seems plausible that this background characteristic may affect citizenship norms in other Scandinavian countries as well.

### **Data and methods**

Although prior research has made theoretical claims regarding expected changes in citizenship norms over time, these claims have yet to be evaluated empirically with comparable data. In this study we use two strictly comparable surveys to assess changes in citizenship norms in Scandinavian countries over the course of a decade, both conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA). The IEA has conducted a variety of evaluative studies of education systems, and the subject of civic education was thoroughly surveyed in the 1999 Civic Education Study (Cived) in 28 countries and in the 2009 International Civic and Citizenship Education Survey (ICCS) in 38 countries (Schulz et al. 2011; Torney-Purta et al. 2001), and the four Scandinavian countries that are the focus of this article were surveyed in both time periods, with 12,000 to 14,000 respondents for the four countries combined. In both surveys 14 year-olds were asked the same core battery of questions regarding citizenship norms, and the surveys were conducted in the same high-quality fashion with educational authorities overseeing the survey implementation in school settings (see Appendix for question wording).

Our analysis focuses on students' response to the question of what actions are important for being 'an adult good citizen'. Twelve core behaviors are listed in both time periods that overlap to a large extent with items used in Dalton's research, including both traditional 'duty-based' political acts like voting and obeying the country's laws, as well as more contemporary 'engaged' citizenship acts like protecting human rights and the environment.

If our analytical prism were the mean importance of different elements of good citizenship in the population as a whole, the picture of the evolution in citizenship norms between 1999 and 2009 in Scandinavia is quite surprising, as shown in Figure 1. This figure shows that there are meaningful increases in respondents' attribution of importance to a range of traditional normative elements such as working, voting, watching the news, respecting government representatives and joining a party. In fact, all but two of the traditional normative indicators increased in importance over time (exceptions: obeying the law and discussing politics). At the same time, not a single element of engaged citizenship increased in importance between 1999 and 2009, with a lower proportion of respondents attributing importance to protecting rights and the environment, contributing to the local community, and protesting. These trends are all the more counter-intuitive when compared with data from all of the 21 advanced democracies included in this survey in both 1999 and 2009—a comparison that shows little change between the two time periods when all 21 countries included in both surveys are taken into account. Hence, if our analyses were to begin and end by reporting on the mean importance that Scandinavian adolescent respondents attribute to various elements of good citizenship, we conclude that between 1999 and 2009 there has been a meaningful decrease in engaged citizenship norms and a simultaneous increase in duty-based citizenship norms in the Scandinavian countries.

[Figure 1 About Here]

From a theoretical perspective, however, it is wrong to study citizenship norms only by comparing the general research population's mean attribution of importance to separate indicators of good citizenship, as we have done in Figure 1. Of interest are not the scores on distinct survey items, but rather the way actors combine these items into coherent sets of citizenship norms. The theoretical claim we want to investigate refers to the actor as a unit of analysis, not to an item in a questionnaire. Therefore, norms have to be understood as

individual-oriented concepts, meaning the specific combination of normative emphases expressed by individual respondents. The concept of citizenship norms as described in the literature does not refer to single item answers to specific questions, but rather to a specific combination of items. It is therefore necessary to use an analytical technique that can empirically capture respondents' combination of items. In this way, the item no longer serves as the unit of analysis, but rather the individual who responds with a specific combination of items.

A review of variable-oriented analyses will clarify why an individual-oriented analysis is to be preferred for the study of citizenship norms held by individual citizens. Correlation matrices of these twelve items of good citizenship show that the bivariate correlations of all of these indicators are relatively low, with most correlations less than 0.3 in both time periods. This correlation is too low to distinguish in an empirically valid manner the theoretical latent concepts as discussed in the literature, and therefore the use of traditional data reduction techniques, like factor analysis, is not appropriate in this case. While correlations can inform us about the relationship between disparate elements of good citizenship, we are unable to draw broader conclusions from these measures about holistic patterns of citizenship norms.

Furthermore, from a theoretical perspective, Dalton's engaged citizenship concept requires us to determine whether the individual respondents who value the engaged-related norms are also the very same individual respondents who do not value traditional duty-based norms, which cannot be determined from a correlation matrix. Since dimensional analysis like factor analysis identifies latent variables based on a correlation matrix it is also not useful for identifying individuals' holistic normative concepts. For example, a factor analysis of the CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 data informs us that these items of good citizenship can be reduced to three dimensions of variables, but this kind of variable-oriented data reduction does not identify patterns of individuals' holistic normative conceptions that would allow us to test the claims

made in the research literature.

Given our theoretical interest in respondent-oriented patterns, a preferable latent variable approach is latent class analysis (LCA), since this kind of measurement model identifies distinctive subgroups of the research population that share similar patterns of responses on a battery of indicators (Magidson & Vermunt 2004). This kind of analysis allows us to determine whether individuals indeed combine high scores on one specific subset of items with low scores on a different, competing subset of items, as is claimed in the literature. Since our aim is to identify groups of respondents adhering to distinct citizenship concepts, this method is to be preferred over other methods of analysis that are aimed to detect a structure within the variables. Although LCA has not, to our knowledge, been previously used in the study of citizenship norms, it is widely used in the social and health sciences when the empirical phenomenon of interest is best represented by a model in which there are distinct subgroups or types of individuals (Collins & Lanza 2010, 4). For example, when health scientists study the prevalence of clinical depression, it is not sufficient to know the mean levels of symptoms in the research population; rather, the theoretical interest of the researcher is to identify combinations of depressive symptoms at the individual level. Likewise, we contend that citizenship norms as a theoretical construct should be measured through a respondent-oriented analytical cluster technique like LCA that identifies distinctive patterns of individual normative emphases.

Using LCA, individuals holding an engaged citizenship norm would be identified if a subgroup of the research population were to place relatively low importance on traditional, duty-based elements of citizenship (like voting) while simultaneously this subgroup places relatively high importance on engaged elements (like promoting human rights). Conversely, a duty-based norm would be identified if a subgroup of the population is found to have a low emphasis on traditional elements of citizenship while highly valuing engaged citizenship

elements. Again, a purely variable-oriented approach would not help us to identify a duty-based or engaged group since it is perfectly possible for an individual to score high on both sets of variables (or conversely to score low on both sets of variables). Only a respondent-oriented technique allows us to investigate a group of the population that is characterized by the specific combination of a high score on the one set of values (e.g. engaged), and a low score on the other, opposing set (e.g. duty-based).

This description of expected findings to validate the existence of Dalton's engaged and duty-based citizenship norms clarifies that as theoretical constructs, citizenship norms can be thought of as being held by discrete groups of citizens who may score simultaneously high on certain indicators and low on others. The existence of these kinds of mixed patterns of individual responses – corresponding to what we think of in the social sciences as categorical ideal types – is precisely the kind of theoretical construct that LCA is particularly well-suited to examine empirically (Hagenaars & Halman 1989). It is also clear, however, that not all respondents will fit into these ideal types. For example, it would be possible for a group of citizens to score high on both duty-based and engaged citizenship norms. Conversely, it would also be possible for a group of citizens to have low levels of both engaged *and* duty-based citizenship norms, which would be reminiscent of what Almond and Verba (1963) described as a 'subject' political orientation that emphasizes deference while shunning meaningful political engagement of any kind. While in the literature there is a strong emphasis on the conflict between engaged and duty-based citizenship norms, other citizenship norms are theoretically possible and even likely, but they receive hardly any attention in the literature.

From a technical perspective, LCA is similar to traditional forms of cluster analysis in that it identifies distinctive subgroups of the research population. A main drawback of traditional cluster analysis is improved upon, however, in LCA's use of a probabilistic estimation method that provides objective goodness of fit indicators (like the Bayesian

Information Criterion) to provide reliable criteria for determining the optimal number of latent classes in the model. The findings reported in the next section indicate that in comparison to other measurement approaches reviewed here, a different and we believe more valid, empirical picture emerges when LCA is used to identify distinctive citizenship norms in the research population.

### **Results I: Scandinavian LCA Findings, 1999 and 2009**

We begin the latent class analysis for the pooled sample of all four Scandinavian countries in the Cived 1999 data by identifying the optimal number of classes. The preferred latent class analysis solution according to the goodness of fit statistics is the four-class model, highlighted in bold in Table 1. The percent change of the likelihood ratio chi-square statistic clearly indicates that there is minimal model fit gained in the increase from the four-class to the five-class model.

[Table 1 About Here]

The four class solution findings are plotted in Figure 2. The x-axis lists the indicators included in the analysis in order of descending means in the 1999 sample (noted in parentheses below the indicators), and the y-axis marks the conditional probabilities for each latent class. The two classes that are the most straightforward to characterize – the ‘all-around’ and the ‘subject’ classes – are represented by grey markers with no connecting lines in order to render the Figure still readable. The all-around group, including 31 percent of the population, is clearly distinctive in its high likelihood of attributing importance to every possible citizenship act. In addition to scoring higher than the sample mean on every possible citizenship act, this group also has the highest conditional probabilities on every indicator in comparison to the other latent classes identified in the analysis. In contrast, the group that best corresponds to the classic understanding of a ‘subject’ political culture (12 percent of the population) places fairly high

emphasis on obeying laws and working hard, but has the lowest conditional probabilities for every citizenship act except for one (joining a party).

The two classes that embody the citizenship norms that have received the most attention in recent research – ‘engaged’ and ‘duty-based’ norms – are represented by black markers with connecting lines. As evidenced by the crossing connective lines, the figure clearly depicts that these two groups favor opposite preferences regarding the acts considered most important for good citizenship. Namely, the engaged group is the largest (41 percent of the research population), and is the only group that scores lower than the ‘subject’ group on any indicator, namely on the importance of joining a political party. The engaged group also places relatively low emphasis on traditional activities like voting, while simultaneously supporting the importance of protest for good citizenship. The group ascribing to the duty-based norm, on the other hand, has opposite emphases on a number of key citizenship acts. This group, which includes only 16 percent of the population, places much less emphasis on the more modern sensitivities regarding rights, the environment, local community support and protest. At the same time, however, the duty-based group considers traditional citizenship activities of voting and working hard to be of particular importance.

[Figure 2 About Here]

In sum, it is clear that two of the groups identified by the latent class analysis correspond quite closely with Dalton’s ideal type description of engaged and duty-based norms of citizenship, and together these groups represent more than half (57 percent) of the research population. It is also clear that engaged citizenship norms are much more prevalent among Scandinavian adolescents than duty-based citizenship norms. The analysis also identifies, however, two citizenship norms held by sizeable subgroups of the population that have not received scholarly attention in recent research—namely, a sizeable group of all-arounders who

consider all acts to be fairly important and a smaller group of subject-like citizens who place relatively low importance on all citizenship acts.

Following this analysis of the 1999 data, we now turn to the 2009 data. The parallel findings for these data again point to the four class solution as optimal regarding a declining BIC and minimal fit gained in the move to the less parsimonious five-class solution. Table 2 lists the model fit statistics.

[Table 2 About Here]

The findings for the four-class model in 2009, presented in Figure 3, are clearly comparable on a substantive level to those in 1999. The four latent classes in 2009 represent the same four basic citizenship norms just reviewed above. The all-around group again scores highest on all indicators, whereas a smaller subject group scores the lowest but maintains relatively high emphases on obeying the law and working hard. Likewise, the sharply contrasting preferences of the engaged and duty-based groups are evident, though with somewhat shifted normative emphases. It is rather surprising that not only the proportion of engaged citizens rises; the proportion of respondents emphasizing duty-based citizenship norms rises as well.

[Figure 3 About Here]

These findings clearly indicate that the all-around and the subject groups maintain similar normative emphases in the two time periods. The normative emphases of the engaged group also remain generally similar even though the engaged-related indicators of protecting the environment, promoting rights and supporting the local community became less prevalent in 2009 in the general sample as shown in the means comparison in Figure 1. Although the engaged group in the 2009 pooled sample still places very low emphasis on activities related to traditional party politics (e.g. joining a party and engaging in political discussion), the

normative emphasis shifts somewhat to placing higher emphasis on many indicators, including traditional acts like voting. There is some variation in the individual country findings; for example, Swedish engaged citizens are slightly more likely to emphasize the importance of protesting. In general, however, the results indicate similar normative patterns in these countries.<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to the stability of the engaged group over time, the comparison of Figures 2 and 3 shows that the duty-based group in the pooled sample becomes more distinctive in 2009 by the citizenship acts deemed to be less important. Namely, in 2009 the duty-based norm is characterized by a lower consideration of protecting rights, supporting the local community, and protesting as important elements of good citizenship at the same time that voting and respecting authorities become more highly valued. The individual country findings for the duty-based norm in 2009 show more variation between countries in their normative emphases. For example, both Sweden and Norway have less of a duty-based zig-zag of emphasis on traditional indicators and simultaneous de-emphasis on engaged ones that is present in Finland and Denmark, particularly in 2009.

To summarize the shift in normative emphases, the findings indicate that engaged citizens have become even more engaged on all citizenship acts, while the duty-based respondents became more traditional in their disregard for more modern sensibilities and emphasis on duty-oriented acts of citizenship. A final point of comparison of the findings in these two time periods is the evolution in the distribution of adolescent population in Scandinavia among various citizenship norms, as shown in Figure 4. The findings indicate that the engaged citizenship norm does become somewhat more common over time, as the literature suggests. At the same time, however, we find that the duty-based norm has also become more prevalent.

[Figure 4 About Here]

If we compare the trends regarding engaged and duty-based citizenship over time for every country separately (Table 3), it becomes clear that not all countries follow the same pattern. Finland is most in line with the trend expected in the work of Dalton, with a sharp increase in engaged citizenship and a corresponding decline of duty-based citizenship. While Finland in 1999 still could be considered quite exceptional compared to the other three countries, this difference has completely disappeared in the 2009 data. In fact, Denmark here follows the opposite trend with a sharp increase in the prevalence of duty-based citizenship norms. While in large comparative studies, the Scandinavian countries are often portrayed as all having the same characteristics, it can be observed here that trends differ quite strongly.

[Table 3 About Here]

In Dalton's theoretical framework, the finding that duty-based citizenship norms can also rise would be improbable. Since Dalton's universe of citizenship norms included only two, the working assumption in this line of scholarship is that if one of these norms (engaged) is going up, and the other (duty-based) must certainly go down. Yet, we have seen that the latent class analysis indicates that the engaged and duty-based citizenship norms are not the only norms in town. Over time, there is a decline among Scandinavian youth in both the all-around and subject norms, meaning there are fewer citizens who consider every citizen act to be relatively important, just as there are fewer citizens who consider every citizen act to be relatively unimportant.

## **Results II: Stratification of Citizenship Norms**

Given our interest in better understanding engaged and duty-based norms over time and space, we first focus on investigating the stratification of these two citizenship norms. For this purpose, we analyze the pooled sample and individual country data in both time periods to examine whether the presence of different background characteristics predicts the likelihood of adhering

to a certain citizenship norm. The most appropriate technique for this analysis is logistic regression since the dependent variable of interest is a dichotomous value of respondents' modal probability of membership in an identified latent class (i.e. 1=duty-based norm, 0=not duty-based). As already noted, the background characteristics analyzed in both time periods include sex, place of birth (native/foreign born) and a measure of how many books in the home as a proxy socio-economic status measure.

Focusing first on the engaged and duty-based norms, three conclusions emerge from the regression findings presented in Table 4. First, there is clear evidence of a gender bias: girls are more likely to have engaged citizenship norms, and boys are more likely to have a duty-based norm. For the engaged norm, this finding is significant in both time periods and in all countries, but for the duty-based it seems this bias becomes less strong in 2009, and does not hold in every country. Second, regarding whether the respondent is native born, the direction of bias is the same for both engaged and duty-based, namely that those who are native born are more likely to be both engaged and duty-based in comparison to those born in other countries. However, this relationship is not significant for the duty-based norm in 1999, and in 2009 the country-by-country analyses show that the effect in the pooled sample seems to be driven only by Denmark. For the engaged norm, on the other hand, in the pooled sample this finding holds in both time periods, though the effect in 2009 is smaller, and the country-by-country trends are mixed. Third, socio-economic status does not have a strong predictive effect on the likelihood of espousing these two citizenship norms. For the engaged norm, in 2009 there is somewhat of a tendency for those with higher socio-economic status to be less likely to have an engaged norm. For the duty-based norm, the pooled sample in 1999 shares the same tendency, that those with higher socio-economic status are less likely to have a duty-based norm. This relationship does not hold in 2009, however, and the only single-country effect in the two time periods is in the

opposite direction (in Denmark in 2009: those with higher SES are more likely to be duty-based).

In sum, regarding the distinctive background characteristics of the engaged and duty-based groups the findings indicate a clear gender bias across space and time for girls to be engaged and boys to be duty-based; a tendency for those who are native born to be engaged; and little evidence of a meaningful relationship between socio-economic status and these two citizenship norms.

Despite the emphasis in the literature on the engaged and duty-based norms, the LCA findings reviewed in the previous section suggest that it is necessary to analyze the all-around and subject norms as well to fully understand the evolution of socio-demographic correlates of citizenship norms (Table 4 continued). The findings show that the all-around group is not distinctive regarding sex, but that those who are foreign-born are generally more likely to espouse an all-around norm. The foreign-born bias can potentially be explained by an increased desire on behalf of foreign-born students to give the ‘right’ answer that all aspects of citizenship are important, particularly since the survey was administered in an institutional school setting by school authorities. When there are differences in socio-economic status, those with higher SES tend to be all-arounders. The subjects, not surprisingly, paint an opposite picture, and are clearly the lowest SES group. It is also a very gendered group, with a strong bias toward males.<sup>2</sup>

## **Discussion**

These findings answer our first research question regarding whether engaged and duty-based citizenship norms exist in Scandinavian countries with a clear positive result: these two citizenship norms are found to be present among all four Scandinavian countries in the analysis and in both time periods. Our findings differ from Dalton’s in that the latent class analysis also identifies two other distinctive citizenship norms to be present in the research population: the

‘all-around’ citizen who considers all elements of citizenship to be of high importance, as well as the ‘subject’ norm that considers most elements of citizenship to be fairly unimportant with a relative emphasis on traditional elements of obeying the law and working hard. Regarding the cross-country comparison, the expectation that Sweden and Norway may have an abundance of engaged citizenship in comparison to the other countries due to educational systems and based on previous political culture research was not supported in the findings. Similar citizenship norms were identified in all four countries in terms of their normative emphases of the different items of good citizenship. In terms of the prevalence of engaged and duty-based citizens, the main empirical trend is of convergence among the four Scandinavian countries in this study toward more similar proportions of these groups in 2009.

Our answer to the second research question is that, as expected, engaged citizenship has become somewhat more prevalent in Scandinavia between 1999 and 2009, but the findings also indicate that the duty-based norm is on the rise as well, increasing from 16 percent in 1999 to 21 percent in 2009. This seemingly counter-intuitive finding is possible due to the decreased prevalence of the other two norms (all-around and subject) identified in the latent class analysis findings.

Regarding the socio-demographic correlates of citizenship norms, our analysis indicates some meaningful differences between these groups with little change over time. The gender bias of the groups is the most striking and consistent finding, with girls more likely to have an engaged citizenship norm, and boys more likely to have traditional duty-based or subject norms. Although this finding contradicts the expectation based on research on adults of a politically engaged bias in favor of men, this finding does support prior research on adolescents showing that girls report a high intention to participate in comparison to boys (Hooghe & Stolle 2004). It is certainly possible that this is an adolescent-specific finding, and that further research will show that girls ‘grow out of’ this kind of a participatory stage as they are confronted with

resource limitations characteristic of adult women (Burns et al. 2001; Burns et al. 1997). It is also possible, however, that as our measures of citizenship norms and political activity continue to improve, we will be better equipped to identify the kind of social-capital intensive political activity in which women seem to rival and even outperform men (Harell 2009; Lowndes 2000). Indeed, recent research has found that women are becoming even more active than men in non-institutionalized forms of participation like petitioning and political consumerism (Coffé & Bolzendahl 2010).

Regarding socio-economic stratification, the lack of meaningful distinctions between the engaged and duty-based groups do not confirm the expectation in the literature that the engaged group would be distinctly privileged in comparison to the duty-based group. This finding could be seen as corroborating prior research on adults in Scandinavia which found that, counter to expectations in the literature, citizens who can be understood as having an engaged norm in Scandinavia do not have particularly high education levels (Hooghe & Dejaeghere 2007). In contrast, it is clear even with the fairly rough home literacy measure of socio-economic status, that the all-around group in this study is distinctly advantaged while the subject group is disadvantaged. This finding emphasizes the importance of taking all citizenship groups into account in our efforts to understand the implications of changing citizenship norms for participatory inequality in advanced democracies.

Since recent research on citizenship norms has often relied on cross-sectional data from the United States, the over-time findings reported in this article based on strictly comparable data on Scandinavian adolescents shed new light on the empirical evolution of citizenship norms. Further research is necessary in order to expand upon the implications of the findings in this article for Scandinavian public policies, and for our understanding of how citizenship norms impact upon ‘making democracies work’ (Putnam 1993). Examples of fruitful areas of future investigation include further research on the impact of gender and native-born

background characteristics in different polities, and a consideration of the influence of various education systems on citizenship norms. In other research, we have taken advantage of the full range of countries surveyed in CIVED 1999 and ICCS 2009 (which include 28 and 38 countries, respectively). One of the findings of this broader cross-national research is that, as expected, Scandinavian countries lead the pack with a high proportion of engaged citizens in both time periods, but that in 2009 a broader and more varied group of countries are also contributing to the ranks of engaged citizens (Authors, under review).

Broader normative questions are also highlighted by this research, including the question of whether any of the various citizenship norms identified here are preferable for the functioning of a vibrant democracy. In particular, the very terminology of ‘engaged’ versus ‘duty-based’ norms suggests a certain normative bias in favor of ‘engaged’ norms as somehow more vibrant and free from the constraints of rote, duty-driven behavior. Further research is necessary in order to examine the political behavior and democratic engagement that result from the adherence to the different norms identified in this study.

An additional avenue of future research highlighted by the present study is the importance of gathering requisite data to tease out the differential causal impact of age, period and cohort effects. Given Dalton’s focus on the importance of the norms of young citizens and the presumed impact of these norms over time, it is clearly necessary to gather panel data in order to definitively distinguish the impact of age versus cohort effects, and to determine the relationship between these effects and socio-demographic stratification patterns. For example, panel data could be used to determine whether the increased prevalence in duty-based citizens found in this study is due to an ‘upgrade’ from subject to duty-based citizenship, or rather due to a ‘downgrade’ from those who used to be more normatively engaged as all-around citizens. In addition to the obvious importance of further studying age and generation effects, we note that period effects must also be studied closely, particularly in light of the wealth of research

demonstrating that individual socio-economic resources have an important influence on civic engagement of all kinds (Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). For example, for the time periods in this study, future research could examine whether periods of economic prosperity (as in 1999) versus financial crisis (as in 2009) have an independent effect on citizenship norms.

This call for future research on age, period and cohort effects serves as a reminder that we must be cautious in generalizing from the conclusions of this adolescent-based study to the population writ large. It is also noteworthy that the identified norms are similar in both time periods and in different countries but not identical, requiring caution in comparing across time and place. Yet, the main elements of the citizenship norms certainly remain consistent in the different contexts of this study, thereby underscoring the utility of focusing on adolescents for the purposes of identifying emerging citizenship norms. In short, the findings in this study show that even in contexts like Scandinavia where engaged citizenship norms are highly pervasive, they are still becoming more common over time. Yet, we also learn that the over-time picture is not a simple secular trend of ‘down with the bad, up with the good’. The persistence and increase of duty-based norms even among adolescents in Scandinavia suggest that, in contrast with optimistic calls to the contrary, traditional citizenship norms will not disappear from advanced democracies in the foreseeable future.

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**Table 1.** LCA Model Fit Statistics for Scandinavian Countries, 1999

|                | BIC(LL)       | L <sup>2</sup> | % change L <sup>2</sup> | Class. Err. |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| 1-Class        | 153549        | 27143          |                         | 0.00        |
| 2-Class        | 146968        | 20439          | -0.25                   | 0.13        |
| 3-Class        | 145341        | 18689          | -0.31                   | 0.20        |
| <b>4-Class</b> | <b>144810</b> | <b>18036</b>   | <b>-0.34</b>            | <b>0.24</b> |
| 5-Class        | 144448        | 17552          | -0.35                   | 0.25        |
| 6-Class        | 144318        | 17299          | -0.36                   | 0.30        |

Source: Cived 1999 for pooled sample of cases for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (n=12,209). BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; LL = log likelihood; L<sup>2</sup> = likelihood ratio chi-square statistic. LCA findings using Latent Gold software (Vermunt and Magidson). Entries are test statistics for latent class models identifying one and more clusters of respondents. Preferred model marked in bold.

**Table 2.** LCA Model Fit Statistics for Scandinavian Countries, 2009

|                | BIC(LL)       | L <sup>2</sup> | % chg L <sup>2</sup> | Class. Err. |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------------|-------------|
| 1-Class        | 180802        | 27979          |                      | 0.00        |
| 2-Class        | 167268        | 14319          | -0.49                | 0.10        |
| 3-Class        | 163969        | 10897          | -0.61                | 0.13        |
| <b>4-Class</b> | <b>162317</b> | <b>9120</b>    | <b>-0.67</b>         | <b>0.18</b> |
| 5-Class        | 161666        | 8345           | -0.70                | 0.24        |
| 6-Class        | 161201        | 7755           | -0.72                | 0.24        |

Source: ICCS 2009 for pooled sample of cases for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (n=13,927). BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; LL = log likelihood; L<sup>2</sup> = likelihood ratio chi-square statistic. LCA findings using Latent Gold software (Vermunt and Magidson, 2005). Entries are test statistics for latent class models identifying one and more clusters of respondents. Preferred model marked in bold.

**Table 3.** Prevalence of Citizenship Norms in 1999 and 2009

|                   | Denmark | Finland | Norway | Sweden | Pooled |
|-------------------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| <i>Engaged</i>    |         |         |        |        |        |
| 1999              | 42      | 35      | 48     | 36     | 41     |
| 2009              | 39      | 51      | 38     | 48     | 44     |
| Diff.             | -3      | +16     | -10    | +12    | +3     |
| <i>Duty-based</i> |         |         |        |        |        |
| 1999              | 16      | 27      | 9      | 15     | 16     |
| 2009              | 33      | 20      | 11     | 15     | 21     |
| Diff.             | +17     | -7      | +2     | 0      | +5     |

Note: Entries are proportions of all respondents assigned to one of the latent groups, in 1999 and 2009.

Source: LCA of Cived 1999 and ICCS 2009 data

**Table 4.** Likelihood of Citizenship Norms, 1999 and 2009

| <i>Engaged</i>                      | Scandinavia (pooled) |                     | Denmark             |                     | Finland             |                     | Norway              |                   | Sweden              |                     |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                     | 1999                 | 2009                | 1999                | 2009                | 1999                | 2009                | 1999                | 2009              | 1999                | 2009                |
| Sex<br>(ref. male)                  | 1.412***<br>(0.053)  | 1.358***<br>(0.047) | 1.300***<br>(0.095) | 1.189**<br>(0.075)  | 1.783***<br>(0.145) | 1.703***<br>(0.122) | 1.339***<br>(0.096) | 1.194*<br>(0.094) | 1.381***<br>(0.107) | 1.455***<br>(0.102) |
| Native-born<br>(ref. foreign-born)  | 1.422***<br>(0.107)  | 1.254**<br>(0.094)  | 1.134<br>(0.164)    | 1.165<br>(0.156)    | 0.964<br>(0.228)    | 1.645*<br>(0.378)   | 1.964***<br>(0.309) | 1.128<br>(0.173)  | 1.523***<br>(0.190) | 1.164<br>(0.153)    |
| Home Literacy<br>(ref. 0–100 books) |                      |                     |                     |                     |                     |                     |                     |                   |                     |                     |
| 101-200 books                       | 1.060<br>(0.051)     | 1.009<br>(0.044)    | 0.919<br>(0.087)    | 0.931<br>(0.074)    | 1.010<br>(0.102)    | 0.999<br>(0.088)    | 1.150<br>(0.105)    | 1.012<br>(0.100)  | 0.994<br>(0.101)    | 1.129<br>(0.102)    |
| 200+ books                          | 0.959<br>(0.042)     | 0.915*<br>(0.038)   | 0.771**<br>(0.065)  | 0.742***<br>(0.060) | 0.963<br>(0.103)    | 0.880<br>(0.079)    | 1.037<br>(0.086)    | 0.971<br>(0.089)  | 0.876<br>(0.078)    | 1.118<br>(0.092)    |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>               | 0.0070               | 0.0049              | 0.0056              | 0.0039              | 0.0145              | 0.0140              | 0.0092              | 0.0016            | 0.0077              | 0.0075              |
| Log likelihood                      | -8044.74             | -9264.33            | -2099.64            | -2833.91            | -1757.15            | -2205.83            | -2196.47            | -1853.05          | -1915.67            | -2275.74            |
| N                                   | 11,982               | 13,583              | 3,100               | 4,248               | 2,741               | 3,228               | 3,203               | 2,794             | 2,938               | 3,313               |

| <i>Duty-based</i>                   | Scandinavia (pooled) |                    | Denmark          |                    | Finland             |                     | Norway            |                   | Sweden              |                  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
|                                     | 1999                 | 2009               | 1999             | 2009               | 1999                | 2009                | 1999              | 2009              | 1999                | 2009             |
| Sex<br>(ref. male)                  | 0.736***<br>(0.037)  | 0.911*<br>(0.038)  | 0.867<br>(0.086) | 1.025<br>(0.067)   | 0.630***<br>(0.054) | 0.726***<br>(0.064) | 0.755*<br>(0.093) | 0.792*<br>(0.095) | 0.683***<br>(0.072) | 0.924<br>(0.090) |
| Native-born<br>(ref. foreign-born)  | 0.998<br>(0.096)     | 1.331**<br>(0.128) | 0.853<br>(0.159) | 1.447*<br>(0.213)  | 1.304<br>(0.348)    | 1.096<br>(0.309)    | 0.656<br>(0.146)  | 0.847<br>(0.187)  | 0.807<br>(0.126)    | 1.484<br>(0.304) |
| Home Literacy<br>(ref. 0–100 books) |                      |                    |                  |                    |                     |                     |                   |                   |                     |                  |
| 101-200 books                       | 0.998<br>(0.063)     | 1.031<br>(0.054)   | 1.029<br>(0.133) | 1.138<br>(0.095)   | 1.172<br>(0.126)    | 1.042<br>(0.114)    | 0.960<br>(0.151)  | 1.210<br>(0.177)  | 1.258<br>(0.174)    | 1.061<br>(0.130) |
| 200+ books                          | 0.879*<br>(0.051)    | 0.941<br>(0.048)   | 0.974<br>(0.112) | 1.289**<br>(0.105) | 1.126<br>(0.127)    | 1.065<br>(0.118)    | 0.901<br>(0.128)  | 0.926<br>(0.134)  | 1.254<br>(0.152)    | 0.828<br>(0.097) |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>               | 0.0041               | 0.0012             | 0.0011           | 0.0033             | 0.0098              | 0.0041              | 0.0048            | 0.0036            | 0.0070              | 0.0030           |
| Log likelihood                      | -5323.12             | -6997.34           | -1338.10         | -2688.06           | -1596.63            | -1614.76            | -979.78           | -984.60           | -1219.88            | -1398.08         |
| N                                   | 11,982               | 13,853             | 3,100            | 4,248              | 2,741               | 3,228               | 3,203             | 2,794             | 2,938               | 3,313            |

Source: Cived 1999 and ICCS 2009 for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Entries are results of separate logistic regression, odds ratios with standard errors in brackets. Significance: \*\*\* p < 0.001; \*\* p < 0.01; \* p < 0.05.

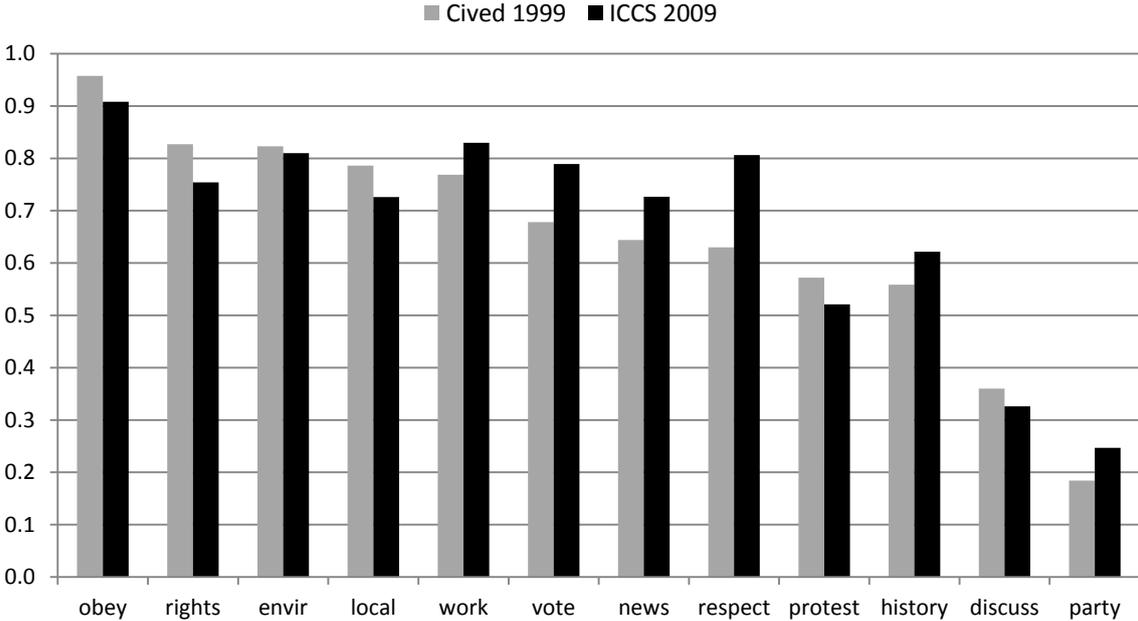
**Table 4.** Likelihood of Citizenship Norms, 1999 and 2009 (continued)

| <i>All-around</i>                   | Scandinavia (pooled) |                     | Denmark             |                     | Finland          |                    | Norway              |                  | Sweden              |                     |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                     | 1999                 | 2009                | 1999                | 2009                | 1999             | 2009               | 1999                | 2009             | 1999                | 2009                |
| Sex<br>(ref. male)                  | 1.050<br>(0.042)     | 0.980<br>(0.038)    | 1.060<br>(0.083)    | 1.081<br>(0.084)    | 1.020<br>(0.094) | 0.875<br>(0.079)   | 0.974<br>(0.073)    | 1.044<br>(0.079) | 1.172*<br>(0.091)   | 0.927<br>(0.074)    |
| Native-born<br>(ref. foreign-born)  | 0.642***<br>(0.047)  | 0.621***<br>(0.048) | 0.930<br>(0.143)    | 0.560***<br>(0.080) | 0.779<br>(0.198) | 0.584*<br>(0.144)  | 0.612***<br>(0.091) | 1.080<br>(0.160) | 0.665***<br>(0.077) | 0.560***<br>(0.076) |
| Home Literacy<br>(ref. 0–100 books) |                      |                     |                     |                     |                  |                    |                     |                  |                     |                     |
| 101-200 books                       | 1.072<br>(0.055)     | 1.133*<br>(0.056)   | 1.178<br>(0.122)    | 1.142<br>(0.112)    | 1.045<br>(0.120) | 1.264*<br>(0.140)  | 0.978<br>(0.094)    | 0.954<br>(0.092) | 0.927<br>(0.095)    | 0.970<br>(0.101)    |
| 200+ books                          | 1.265***<br>(0.058)  | 1.369***<br>(0.063) | 1.388***<br>(0.125) | 1.316**<br>(0.124)  | 1.058<br>(0.127) | 1.383**<br>(0.153) | 1.133<br>(0.097)    | 1.135<br>(0.101) | 1.051<br>(0.093)    | 1.187<br>(0.109)    |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>               | 0.0040               | 0.0050              | 0.0037              | 0.0057              | 0.0004           | 0.0050             | 0.0033              | 0.0010           | 0.0047              | 0.0056              |
| Log likelihood                      | -7415.70             | -7854.63            | -1886.74            | -2107.27            | -1457.39         | -1569.79           | -2070.01            | -928.60          | -1922.56            | -1896.73            |
| N                                   | 11,982               | 13,853              | 3,100               | 4,248               | 2,741            | 3,228              | 3,203               | 2,794            | 2,938               | 3,313               |

| <i>Subject</i>                      | Scandinavia (pooled) |                     | Denmark             |                     | Finland            |                     | Norway              |                     | Sweden              |                     |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|                                     | 1999                 | 2009                | 1999                | 2009                | 1999               | 2009                | 1999                | 2009                | 1999                | 2009                |
| Sex<br>(ref. male)                  | 0.600***<br>(0.035)  | 0.469***<br>(0.031) | 0.580***<br>(0.066) | 0.429***<br>(0.052) | 0.709**<br>(0.077) | 0.503***<br>(0.062) | 0.550***<br>(0.074) | 0.446***<br>(0.093) | 0.541***<br>(0.064) | 0.484***<br>(0.057) |
| Native-born<br>(ref. foreign-born)  | 1.212<br>(0.143)     | 1.017<br>(0.133)    | 1.064<br>(0.236)    | 0.918<br>(0.210)    | 1.036<br>(0.330)   | 0.690<br>(0.221)    | 0.970<br>(0.257)    | 0.553*<br>(0.165)   | 1.403<br>(0.275)    | 1.574<br>(0.374)    |
| Home Literacy<br>(ref. 0–100 books) |                      |                     |                     |                     |                    |                     |                     |                     |                     |                     |
| 101-200 books                       | 0.753***<br>(0.058)  | 0.654***<br>(0.055) | 0.847<br>(0.127)    | 0.626**<br>(0.100)  | 0.703*<br>(0.102)  | 0.600**<br>(0.097)  | 0.707*<br>(0.121)   | 0.751<br>(0.189)    | 0.909<br>(0.140)    | 0.718*<br>(0.107)   |
| 200+ books                          | 0.798***<br>(0.054)  | 0.657***<br>(0.052) | 0.973<br>(0.122)    | 0.624**<br>(0.098)  | 0.821<br>(0.119)   | 0.712*<br>(0.111)   | 0.678*<br>(0.104)   | 0.609*<br>(0.150)   | 0.918<br>(0.121)    | 0.676**<br>(0.091)  |
| Pseudo R <sup>2</sup>               | 0.0121               | 0.0250              | 0.0113              | 0.0295              | 0.0077             | 0.0243              | 0.0170              | 0.0284              | 0.0153              | 0.0246              |
| Log likelihood                      | -5323.12             | -3782.69            | -1136.38            | -1128.21            | -1130.35           | -1022.20            | -872.35             | -447.36             | -1054.51            | -1116.81            |
| N                                   | 11,982               | 13,853              | 3,100               | 4,248               | 2,741              | 3,228               | 3,203               | 2,794               | 2,938               | 3,313               |

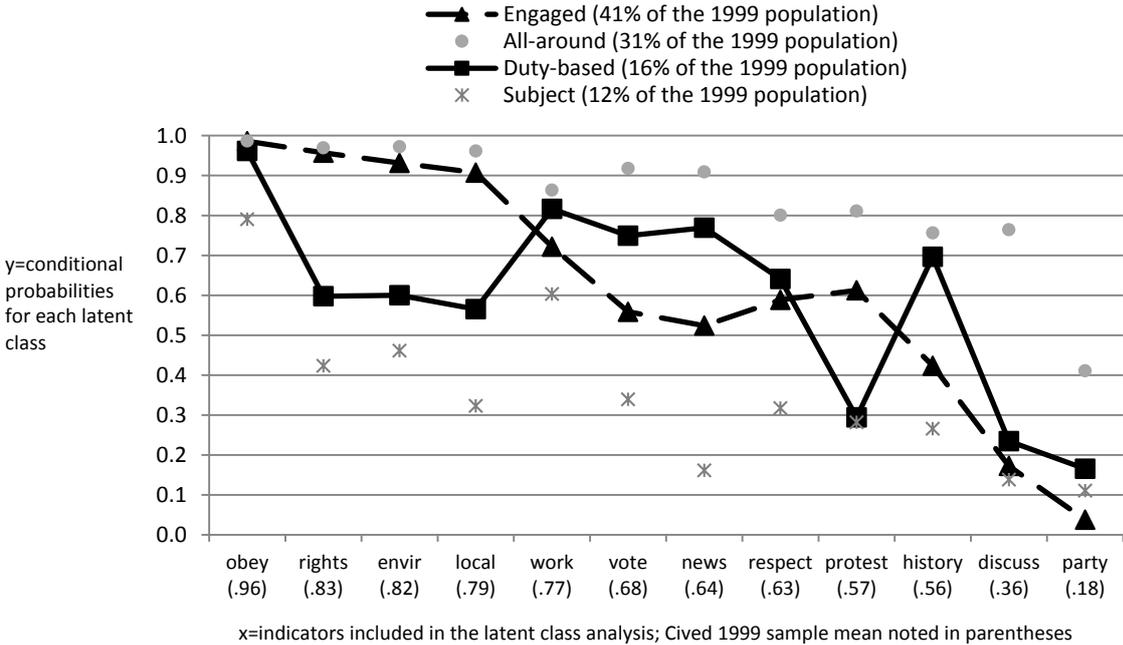
Source: Cived 1999 and ICCS 2009 for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. Entries are results of separate logistic regression, odds ratios with standard errors in brackets. Significance: \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; \*\*  $p < 0.01$ ; \*  $p < 0.05$ .

**Figure 1.** Mean Importance of Good Citizenship Acts in Scandinavia, 1999 and 2009



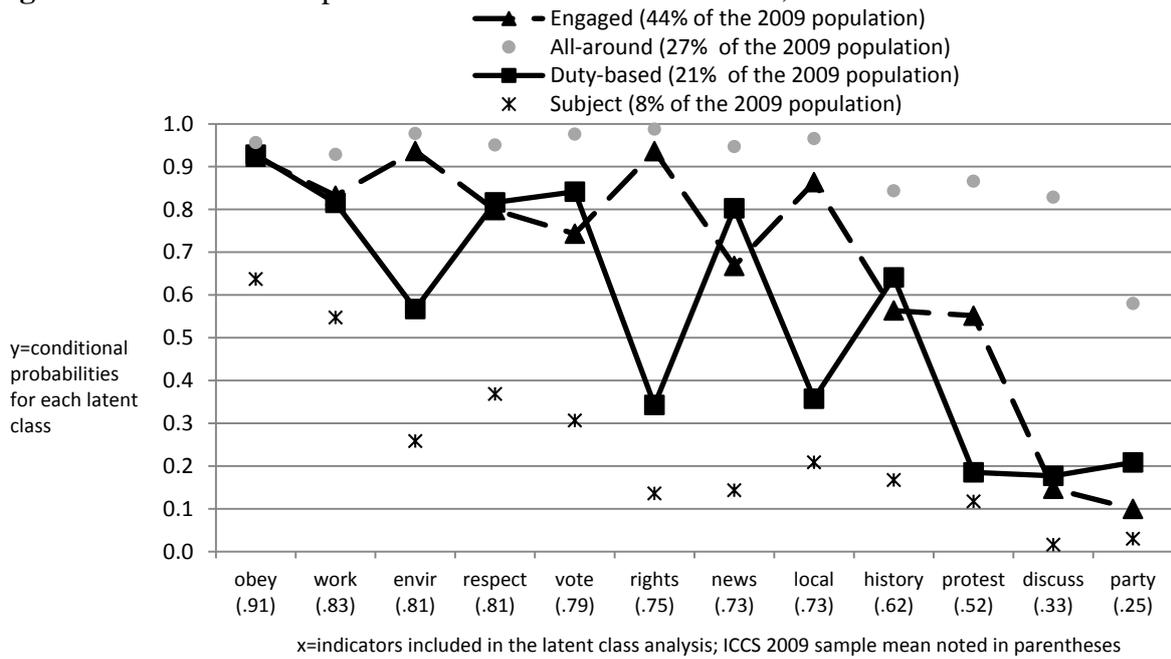
Source: Cived 1999 (n=12,209) and ICCS 2009 (n=13,927) for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden. The y-axis marks the proportion of respondents who considered each act to be (very) important for being a good adult citizen. Indicators ordered from left to right in descending means of the 1999 sample. See appendix for exact question wording. Abbreviations on x-axis correspond to: obey the law, promote human rights, protect the environment, acts to benefit people in the local community, works hard, always votes in national election, follows the news, shows respect for government representatives, participates in peaceful protests, learns the country’s history, discusses politics, joins a political party.

**Figure 2.** Four Citizenship Norms in Scandinavian Countries, 1999



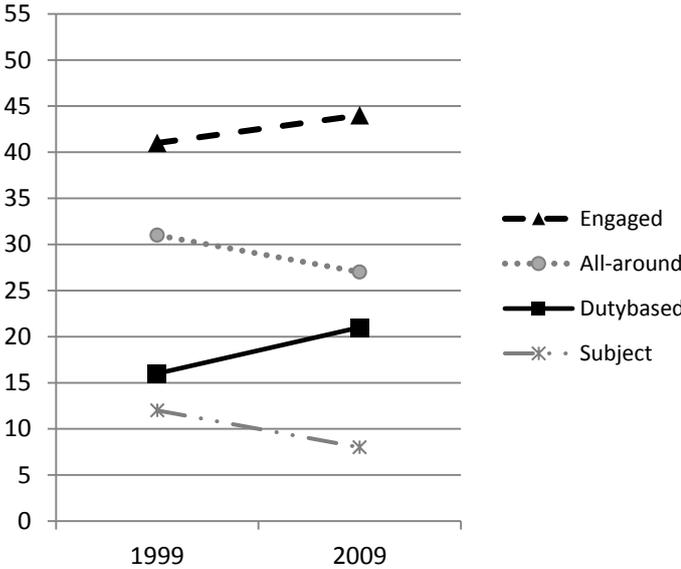
Source: Cived 1999 for pooled sample of cases for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (n=12,209). Indicators on x-axis ordered in descending order of the 1999 sample mean.

**Figure 3. Four Citizenship Norms in Scandinavian Countries, 2009**



Source: ICCS 2009 for pooled sample of cases for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden (n=13,927). Indicators on x-axis ordered in descending order of the 2009 sample mean.

**Figure 4.** Evolution of Citizenship Norm Distribution in Scandinavia



Sources: Latent class analysis results for Cived Cived 1999 (n=12,209) and ICCS 2009 (n=13,927) for pooled sample of cases for Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden in each time period.

## Appendix

### Survey Questions

CIVED 1999:

“In this section there are some statements that could be used to explain what a good adult citizen is or what a good adult citizen does. There are no right and wrong answers to these questions. For each of these statements, tick one box to show how important you believe each is for explaining what a good adult citizen is or does. An adult who is a good citizen ...”

ICCS 2009:

“How important are the following behaviours for being a good adult citizen?”

Notes:

- In both surveys, respondents were given four parallel response categories that we dichotomized into not important (0) and important (1).
- Three items in the 1999 survey were not repeated in the 2009 survey and were therefore omitted from the analysis: willing to serve in the military to defend the country; patriotic and loyal to the country; would be willing to ignore/disregard a law that violated human rights.
- In the 2009 survey the item regarding following the news added the option of following news on the internet.

**Table A1. Variables Used in Logistic Regression Analysis\***

|                                               |                            | Frequency  |           |
|-----------------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------|-----------|
|                                               |                            | 1999 Cived | 2009 ICCS |
| Citizenship Norms                             | Engaged                    | 4,973      | 6,088     |
|                                               | All-around                 | 3,816      | 3,745     |
|                                               | Duty-based                 | 1,997      | 2,925     |
|                                               | Subject                    | 1,423      | 1,169     |
| Gender                                        | 0 Male                     | 5,935      | 6,755     |
|                                               | 1 Female                   | 6,189      | 7,124     |
| Native-born                                   | 0 Foreign-born             | 11,230     | 12,966    |
|                                               | 1 Native-born              | 874        | 820       |
| Home literacy<br>(number of books<br>in home) | 1: 0-100 books             | 5,609      | 7,155     |
|                                               | 2: 101-200 books           | 2,729      | 3,077     |
|                                               | 3: 201+                    | 3,722      | 3,529     |
| Sample size                                   | Pooled DEN, FIN, NOR & SWE | 12,209     | 13,927    |
|                                               | Denmark                    | 3,156      | 4,344     |
|                                               | Finland                    | 2,762      | 3,272     |
|                                               | Norway                     | 3,269      | 2,905     |
|                                               | Sweden                     | 3,022      | 3,406     |

\*The frequencies in the table are subsequent to dropping cases that were missing data on all of the citizenship indicators in the survey. This excluded 175 cases in 1999 (1.4% of the total) and 365 cases in 2009 (2.6% of the total). These excluded cases were not characterized by bias on the variables of interest.

## Endnotes

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<sup>1</sup> Complete country-specific findings and figures for the LCA results in both time periods are available from the authors.

<sup>2</sup> The findings reviewed in this section hold when country interactions are added into the model in both time periods, and when more fine-grained background variables available only in the 2009 analysis are included (like age of oldest living parent and expected years of education).