

**Research Articles**

# Linking Understanding of Citizenship to Political Activism: A Comparative Study across 29 Democracies\*

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**ABSTRACT**

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Active citizenship is one of the defining features of contemporary democracies. Many empirical studies on democratic citizens emphasize their attitudinal and behavioral characteristics, such as critical citizens, monitorial citizens, and self-actualizing citizens. However, few of them deal with how citizens understand “citizenship” itself. By addressing citizens’ understanding of citizenship, this study investigates how the understanding, including civic responsibilities and rights, can inspire political activism, and examines these relationships cross-nationally.

The author employs citizenship norms and rights consciousness as individual-level notions of citizenship. These two indicate how people see civic responsibilities and rights, respectively. In terms of citizenship

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norms, since norms are able to shape role expectations that individuals believe they should satisfy, their content is expected to determine their related behavior. In this sense, duty-related norms can weaken political activism, but engagement-related ones will strengthen political activism. In addition, rights consciousness should encourage political activism, and its different domains may affect the willingness to act separately. It is because that perception represents an awareness of the need to defend one's rights, which would stimulate their willingness to act in politics. As for cross-national differences, it is expected that relationships between citizens' understanding of citizenship and political activism are generally stronger in stable democracies than in new democracies. At the national level, signs of progress in citizenship rights apparently differ between the two groups of countries. At the individual level, having more democratic experience and opportunities leads to citizens being more likely to apply their understanding in actual political activities.

The data analyzed are from the 2014 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP). The scope of this study includes 29 democratic countries, and the final pooled sample size is 42,355. The empirical analyses are divided into two parts. This study first conducts several nested multiple regression models to demonstrate the links between political activism and understanding of citizenship. Regarding citizenship norms, civil norms are found to weaken political activism, while both political and social norms have a positive effect on individuals' willingness to act in politics. As for rights consciousness, either the political or civil and social domain is able to increase political activism. The second step involves conducting a comparison between respondents in the stable and new democracies. Using multi-group analysis, this study examines how the relationships differ between stable and new democracies. The empirical results show that except for social norms, all the citizenship norms and rights consciousness have, as expected, a stronger effect on political activism in the stable-democracies samples

than in their new-democracies counterparts, whether it is negative or positive. The evidence reflects the fact that with more democratic experience and opportunities, citizens in stable democracies are more likely than those in new democracies to apply their understanding of citizenship in actual political activities.

This study demonstrates the importance of understanding of citizenship for affecting political activism and illustrates how these effects differ between stable and new democracies. The results contribute to our understanding of political behavior, democratic deepening, and democratic civic education.

**Keywords:** political activism, citizenship norms, rights consciousness, multi-group analysis

## 連結公民身份認識與政治行動主義： 29 個民主國家的比較\*

黃信豪\*\*

### 摘要

積極、有行動力的公民是當代民主國家的重要特徵。本研究探討大眾對公民身份的認識，包括公民責任與權利，如何影響其政治行動主義；此外，我們也探索公民身份認識與政治行動主義的跨國差異。透過 2014 年國際社會調查計畫（ISSP）涵蓋 29 個民主國家的資料分析，本研究首先證實公民身份認識與政治行動主義的連結：在公民規範認知方面，公民規範減弱政治行動主義，政治與社會規範則分別能強化受訪者參與政治行動的意願；在權利意識方面，社會與公民權

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利、政治權利意識分別能強化政治行動主義。其次，本研究採多群分析來檢驗穩定、新興民主國家兩群體受訪者公民身份認識與政治行動主義連結的差異。實證結果顯示，大多數公民身分認識與政治參與的關係在穩定民主國家中有顯著較強的連結，反映穩定民主國家的民眾更能將公民身份認識運用在實際的政治行動中。本文證實公民身份認識對政治行動的重要性，研究結果對政治行為、民主鞏固與民主公民教育皆有重要的意涵。

關鍵詞：政治行動主義，公民規範認知、權利意識、多群分析

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## A. Introduction

Recently, a common pattern across democratic countries is the widespread emergence of political dissent and protests, from Occupy Wall Street (the United States), and the Jasmine Revolution (Tunisia), to the Sunflower Movement (Taiwan). Many studies on this topic have been oriented towards the rise of autonomous, personalized, and individualized political actions in which well-educated and young citizens are back into politics, being active in criticizing the government or in expressing their opinions on public affairs (Bennett 2012; Norris 1999; 2011; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Schudson 1998). To better understand patterns of personalized political actions, Dalton (2008; 2016) argues the importance of changes in citizenship norms—from a pattern of duty-based citizenship to engaged citizenship, leading to young citizens acting in politics in more direct and individualized ways. With the normative consideration of civic virtues, his study on ‘good citizens’ has attracted considerable attention (Bolzendahl and Coffè 2013; Copeland and Feezell 2017; Hooghe et al. 2016; Huang 2018; Yu and Weng 2017).

Active citizenship is regarded as one of the defining features of contemporary democracies. Dalton's recent attempt that highlights citizenship norms reminds us of the importance of citizens' understanding of citizenship to their involvement in politics. The inner link between the perceptions and behavior, however, is still unclear. Conceptually, citizenship norms are the ideas that citizens hold about 'good' citizenship, related to a responsibilities-based understanding. Research on the rights-based approach of citizenship, nevertheless, remains limited. Existing studies have not yet examined how understanding of citizenship, especially considering both responsibilities and rights, can affect the willingness to act in politics. Empirically, relevant studies have mainly investigated Western industrialized democracies. Possible differences between countries must still be explored and clarified further.

To fill the conceptual and empirical research gaps, this study investigates how understanding of citizenship links to political activism and examines these relationships cross-nationally. Two related questions are addressed: first, *(how) is citizens' understanding of citizenship, including responsibilities- and rights-based approaches, linked to their political activism?* Second, *do the relationships between the understanding and political activism vary cross-nationally?* This paper elaborates on how citizenship norms and rights consciousness are linked to political activism and assesses differences in the relationships between stable and new democracies. The data analyzed are from the 2014 International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) covering 29 democratic countries. The results of this study provide new insights into citizenship research at the individual level and demonstrate cross-national differences in political activism and understanding of citizenship, contributing to our understanding of political behavior, democratic deepening, and democratic civic education.

This paper is structured as follows. The first section reviews the concept of citizenship and its empirical studies on mass attitudes and behavior, and defines citizens' understanding of citizenship according to the responsibilities- and rights-based approaches: citizenship norms and rights consciousness. After defining political activism, the second section develops and outlines the hypotheses, including the links between political activism and citizenship understanding, as well as their cross-national variations. The next section presents the research design. This is followed by the empirical analyses and a concluding discussion of the results and their implications.

## **B. Citizenship and Citizens' Understanding: Citizenship Norms and Rights Consciousness**

Citizenship may be defined as the passive and active membership of individuals in a nation-state with universalistic rights and obligations at a specified level of equality (Janoski 1998; Marshall 1950). It is involved not only with the relationships between individuals and the state, but also with the relationship between individual citizens within a community (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2009: 765). Within these relationships, the balance between *rights* and *obligations* is often a source of debate (Lister 2003).

Citizenship is multilevel, existing at societal, organizational, and individual levels (Janoski and Gran 2002: 14). At the societal and organizational levels, it denotes the development of rights and obligations in countries, and their exercise and balance in public arenas. According to the liberal tradition that stresses individualism, citizenship is a legal status that ensures basic political, economic, and social conditions of life for being a citizen—three domains, including *civil*, *political*, and *social* rights, have been widely

accepted (Marshall 1950: 10–11).<sup>1</sup> Additionally, both the republican tradition and communitarianism affirm that the operation of a community requires the fulfillment of responsibilities from individuals, such as the acceptance of state authority, commitment to social order, and sympathy with others in a community (Bolzendahl and Coffè 2009: 766; Dalton 2008: 79). Some of civic responsibilities that are indispensable for the survival of a state are enacted into law and implemented for all citizens—these are termed citizenship obligations. For the micro level, the idea of citizenship involves how each person sees rights and responsibilities, as well as their reciprocal relationships. In a word, the basic work of individual-level citizenship studies is to explore people’s understanding of civil rights and responsibilities.

In empirical studies, the individual-level notion of citizenship has not received sufficient attention, leading to clearly testable hypotheses for citizenship studies still being limited. Specifically, in the scholarship of mass political attitudes and behaviors, one of the most important studies is Almond and Verba’s (1963) ‘civic culture’, which investigates people’s attitudes toward the political system and its various parts. However, it’s questionable whether the civic-culture approach can be applied to individual-level studies of citizenship: almost all of the relevant political attitudes and behaviors are part of ‘civic virtue’ (Pattie et al. 2004). As a result, many empirical studies on democratic citizens put emphasis on their attitudinal and behavioral characteristics but neglect how they understand “citizenship” itself. Recent studies, for example, have revealed that democratic citizens share similar attitudinal and behavioral characteristics—they become more autonomous,

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1 As noted by Marshall, civil rights guarantee numerous individual freedoms, political rights protect an individual’s participation in the exercise of political power, and social rights ensure a basic delivery of economic welfare and security to all citizens.

active, and critical, and also prefer direct and individual approaches to acting in politics, such as critical citizens (Norris 1999; 2011), monitorial citizens (Schudson 1998), and self-actualizing citizens (Bennett 2012). In the name of citizens, however, none of these studies includes what people see citizenship as, whether it is civil rights or responsibilities.

The concept ‘citizenship norms’ is advantageous to develop individual-level citizenship studies. As proposed by Dalton (2008: 78), it is defined as ‘a shared set of expectations about the citizen’s role in politics’. In spite of not being a direct measure for citizens’ understanding of citizenship, citizenship norms still explicitly tap into the responsibilities-based approach of citizenship, in the form of probing how people think they should behave to be a good citizen. Regarding the rights-based approach of citizenship, this study proposes the idea ‘rights consciousness’ as a proxy. Conceptually, rights consciousness can be defined as the awareness of existing rights, the willingness to assert rights, and the understanding of social relations in terms of rights (Li 2010: 53). It is built based on the beliefs about which rights people believe they should receive.<sup>2</sup> Rights consciousness, in this sense, is especially understood as individual awareness against the state. As is well-known, negative and positive rights prescribe what the state must not do to and is obliged to provide to its citizens, respectively. In this study, citizenship norms and rights consciousness are individual-level notions of citizenship, indicating how people see rights and responsibilities, respectively. The author tries to examine how people’s understanding of citizenship affects their involvement in politics.

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2 Notably, Bolzendahl and Coffè (2009) is one of the few empirical studies that covers both responsibilities- and rights-based approaches of citizenship.



## C. Linking Understanding of Citizenship to Political Activism

### 1. Defining Political Activism

There are various ways that citizens participate in politics. Based on a binary distinction between conventional and unconventional forms, scholars have presented a series of findings regarding modes of participation and a variety of socio-economic and attitudinal characteristics that affect participation (Barnes and Kaase 1979; Conway 1991; Verba et al. 1978). This distinction, however, seems to be inapplicable to studying differences or changes in levels of political participation. According to the perspective of the democratic citizenry, citizens' changes in the *type* of participation do not represent their changes in the *level* (Dalton 2008; Inglehart and Catterberg 2002). To better highlight individuals' willingness to engage in politics, this study adopts the concept 'political activism', defined as '*citizens' intentional activities affecting politics that cover various modes of participation as manifestations or expressions*' (van Deth 2014: 351). Compared to the traditional classification, it is unidimensional and more actor-centered, focusing on individuals' motivations for political action or what drives them to act, rather than their specific types of action (Norris 2007).

### 2. Effects of Understanding of Citizenship on Political Activism

Why and how can understanding of citizenship be associated with political activism? As defined before, individual-level notions of citizenship are divided into citizenship norms and rights consciousness, which refer to what people see rights and responsibilities separately. Along the two sides of

citizenship, this study then elaborates on how understanding of citizenship can encourage or hinder political activism.

First, previous studies have established a theoretical connection between citizenship norms and different types of political participation (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2013, Dalton 2008; 2016). In theory, norms can shape role expectations that individuals believe they should satisfy. Such a belief would give rise to internalized feelings of guilt or shame and fear of external judgment levied by others once their behaviors do not meet societal expectations (Horne 2003; Raney and Berdahl 2009). The greater the internalization of the norm for a person, the stronger its effect is on her related behavior (Blais et al. 2000; Horne 2003; Pattie et al. 2003). As a result, the duty-based norms of citizenship are found to increase conventional political participation such as voting in elections and campaign participation, but to decrease unconventional forms of participation like attending protests; and the engaged citizenship norms would encourage almost all types of participation (Dalton 2008). That is because the content of citizenship norms determines and shapes their related behavior. According to Dalton's framework, the duty-based norms contain actions that are duty-related and advantageous to a political community, so they would urge citizens to act, but limited to the conventional types. In contrast, the engaged citizenship norms span several different elements that jointly indicate the norm of personal autonomy and independence. Thus, they encourage almost all types of participation, from voting to attending legal or illegal protests.

Drawing from the above discussion, this study proposes hypotheses on effects of citizenship norms on political activism. For duty-related norms, first, this aspect represents the notion that citizens acknowledge duty-related actions are how a good citizen should behave, so it may discourage or even

hinder political activism. The reason is that these norms mainly involve personal allegiances to the political community, but without citizens' initiative to act. In other words, they may give rise to fear of external judgment levied by others and then lead to individuals going to vote or taking part in other conventional forms of participation, as found in previous studies. Their attendance, however, does not represent their intention to deal with any collective or community problems, but to do their duty only. Regarding political activism, as a result, the duty-related norms should perform negatively. In contrast, the engaged-related norms conceptually overlap with the norm of personal autonomy and independence, and are even compatible with post-material or self-expressive values that Ronald Inglehart has described (Dalton 2008: 81; Inglehart and Welzel 2005). Thus, they are reasonably able to strengthen citizens' motivations to become engaged in politics. Two hypotheses from citizenship norms are presented as follows (**H1.1 & H1.2**):

**H1.1** *Duty-related norms weaken political activism.*

**H1.2** *Engagement-related norms strengthen political activism.*

In contrast with citizenship norms, empirical studies on how people understand the content of rights are fewer. By using 2004 ISSP data from 18 Western and industrial countries, Bolzendahl and Coffé (2009) took five items to draw scales of political rights and civil and social rights, and revealed a gender gap in viewing political rights.

Then, as the other side of understanding of citizenship, how is rights consciousness able to link with political activism? Simply stated, citizens may see and understand their existing rights differently: some are more

aware of their due rights and then take them more seriously, and others are not. One can imagine that the higher their level of rights consciousness is, the more likely individuals are to feel their rights are being affected, whether they are respected, protected, or violated. Rights consciousness, therefore, represents an awareness of the need to defend one's rights and would stimulate their willingness to act in politics. For example, in numerous cases, efforts to claim lawful rights often occur with right-defense activities such as petitioning and demonstrating. For individuals, a condition to take part in these activities is feeling their rights are being infringed. In other words, those who are less aware of due rights are less likely to initiate or attend the related activities. Just because of feeling their rights are being infringed, people are acting like '*citizens*'. In that sense, the author expects that rights consciousness would encourage political activism, and its different domains may affect the willingness to act separately. The reason is that they are able to individually promote collective actions that deal with different domains of problems. We propose **H2.1** and **H2.2** for linking rights consciousness to political activism as follows:

**H2.1** *Rights consciousness encourage political activism.*

**H2.2** *Different domains of rights consciousness affect political activism separately.*

### **3. Political Activism and Understanding of Citizenship:**

#### **Cross-National Variations**

The aforementioned hypotheses link citizens' understanding of citizenship to their political activism. A pertinent research question relates to how relationships between political activism and understanding of citizenship

vary cross-nationally. At the macro level, studies on political culture have proposed congruence theory, arguing that values, cultures, and institutions in a society are congruent with one another (Almond and Verba 1963; Dalton and Shin 2006; Eckstein 1988). At the micro level, a social context perspective indicates that the information individuals can receive and access is embedded in their surrounding environment; people's external surrounding contexts, therefore, can shape their perceptions, evaluations, and behaviors (Huckfeldt and Sprague 1987). Derived from the above approaches, previous studies have found that citizens acquire and hold attitudes and behaviors that are compatible with their political systems, such as political tolerance (Peffley and Rohrschneider 2003), democratic attitudes (Huang 2016; Matte and Bratton 2007; Mishler and Rose 2007), and relationships between citizenship norms and participation (Bolzendahl and Coffé 2013).

Regarding cross-national differences in the link between political activism and understanding of citizenship, an obvious source is the contrasting political histories of established (e.g. Western European nations) versus new (e.g. Taiwan and South Korea) democracies. Signs of progress in citizenship rights apparently differ between the two groups of countries. The process of extension of citizenship rights in Western democracies, identified by Marshall (1950: 10), was a systematic sequence toward this development: *from civil and political to social rights*. In transformed and developing countries, however, the expansion of rights does not seem to follow the same sequence. What we see is that democratic elections often take place in the absence of civil and social rights (Møller and Skaaning 2010). The reason is that many countries involved in the third wave of democratization are less socio-economically developed, so it is unlikely that they will be able to safeguard nonelectoral rights (Diamond 1999: 57).

Considering signs of progress in citizenship rights, this study pays particular attention to differences between *stable* and *new* democracies regarding the link between political activism and understanding of citizenship.<sup>3</sup> Simply stated, citizens in long-established, stable democracies are better able to realize the application of abstract values and norms of citizenship and to translate their beliefs into actual behaviors, because they are afforded more opportunities to engage in the democratic process. For most of them, democratic life is continuous and democratic citizenship is inherent. By contrast, in new democracies, a large part of the people have experienced multiple forms of political life so far, from non-democratic to democratic rule. Their understanding of democratic citizenship is not necessarily lacking, but they certainly have fewer opportunities to apply abstract beliefs in specific instances in political life due to their shorter history of democracy.

Accordingly, it is expected that relationships between citizens' understanding of citizenship and political activism vary between stable and new democracies. Having more democratic experience and opportunities leads to citizens being more likely to realize the application of their understanding in actual political activities. Hence, the relationships will be consistently stronger among citizens in stable democracies than in new democracies. The author anticipates that the differences in relationships exist in all aspects of citizenship, including both citizenship norms and rights consciousness. That reflects a similar effect of the external surrounding factor on shaping individuals' attitudes and actions. The hypothesis for cross-national variations is proposed as follows (**H3**):

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3 Stable democracies are defined as countries whose democratic institutions were established before the 1950s and have remained stable to date. The countries democratized in the third wave (since the mid-1970s) are defined as new democracies in this study.

**H3:** *The links between understanding of citizenship (including citizenship norms and rights consciousness) and political activism are generally stronger in stable democracies than in new democracies.*

## **D. Data, Measurements, and Methods**

### **1. Data and Research Variables**

The data used are from the 2014 ISSP (Citizenship II module, see ISSP 2016).<sup>4</sup> The scope of this study includes 29 countries, and the final pooled sample size is 42,355.<sup>5</sup> The cross-national nature of the data enables us to not only examine the link between political activism and understanding of citizenship but also to demonstrate the possible differences between countries.

The dependent variable in this study is political activism. The ISSP provided eight types of political actions and asked respondents if they have performed them.<sup>6</sup> All eight items were recoded into binary responses: (1)

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4 The ISSP is a cross-national collaboration of surveys based upon randomly selected national probability samples with no fewer than 1,000 respondents per society (in most cases). The wave of surveys was conducted from 2013 to 2016 by trained fieldworkers who met face-to-face with the respondents and spoke to them in their native language. Complete details about the ISSP can be found at <http://www.issp.org/menu-top/home/>.

5 There are four countries in the dataset excluded from the analysis because of the instability of democratic practice, including Georgia, the Philippines, Russia, and Venezuela. A stable democratic context is expected to play a vital role in shaping citizens' perceptions and actions in politics. According to Freedom House, these countries are rated as "partly" or "not" free in recent years. Complete details about Freedom House can be found at <https://freedomhouse.org/>.

6 These actions are as follows: sign a petition; buy or boycott goods for political, ethical, or environmental reasons; take part in a demonstration; attend a political meeting or rally; contact a politician; donate money or raise funds; contact the media; and express political views on the Internet.

they completed the action and (0) they did not. As discussed, political activism represents the degree to which citizens are willing to act politically. We first conducted an exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to confirm its unidimensionality and then formulated a standardized scale by using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA). The resulting score is normally distributed, with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.<sup>7</sup> The details of the EFA are reported in Appendix 1.

The main focus of this research is to demonstrate how understanding of citizenship links to political activism. The ISSP allows us to completely explore respondents' understanding of civic responsibilities and rights, namely citizenship norms and rights consciousness. The survey provided several items and asked the respondents to individually assess how important each item was for being a 'good citizen' and how important each item was considered for people's rights in a democracy, with a score from 1 (extremely unimportant) to 7 (extremely important). Similarly, to probe the dimensionality of the two sets of measures, we first conducted two exploratory factor analyses in which the number of latent factors increases from one to three (see Appendix 1).

First, unlike Dalton's work, the results show that the three factor-model can perform better in explaining the latent structure of the items for being a good citizen. We named the three factors civil, political, and social norms according to the latent structure: civil norms include two items highly related to citizens' allegiance to the state, political norms contain five items indicating citizens' involvement in political and public affairs, and social norms

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7 We carried out the scaling with FIML (full-information maximum likelihood) to handle missing values by Mplus 7.



cover two items reflecting citizens' kindness to others. In other words, civil and political norms involve the relationships between individuals and the state, and social norms imply the relationship between individual citizens.

As for the rights-based understanding, the results show that the two-factor model is appropriate for the six rights-related items. We also named the factors civil and social rights and political rights based on the factor loadings, representing different aspects that respondents thought were important for people's rights. Unlike citizenship norms, the results suggested that respondents did not distinguish between civil and social rights. That also implies there is still room for improvement regarding the measurement of rights consciousness. For the convenience of further analysis, this study also formulated a standardized scale for each latent factor by using CFA, generating the scores that are normally distributed with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1.

As discussed, citizens' understanding of citizenship is associated with political activism. Regarding the responsibilities-based understanding, the author extended Dalton's study and anticipated that civil norms would weaken political activism because these norms mainly involve personal allegiances to the state, without citizens' initiative to politically act (**H1.1**). Political and social norms were expected to encourage political activism due to their compatibility with the norm of personal autonomy and independence (**H1.2**). In addition, rights consciousness was expected to encourage political activism (**H2.1**), and different aspects of rights consciousness perform individually (**H2.2**). The reason is that, as expected, citizens' rights consciousness represents their willingness to assert their rights, leading them to act in politics.

Finally, how relationships between political activism and understanding

of citizenship vary cross-nationally is another research question addressed herein. By using Freedom House's dataset, this study classified the covered countries as stable democracies and new democracies.<sup>8</sup> The distinction between the two groups of countries is whether the democratization of these countries happened prior to or during "the third wave". As mentioned, considering different signs of progress in citizenship rights and citizens' experience of democratic life, it is expected that the relationships would be stronger among respondents in the stable democracies than in the new democracies (H3).

## 2. Control Variables and Descriptive Patterns

Several variables that may affect political activism were considered in the analyses. At the national level, GDP per capita and GDP growth rate, represented as economic development and recent economic performance in a country, were controlled using theories of modernization and performance evaluation.<sup>9</sup> At the individual level, social trust and organization memberships were considered for the social capital model (Putnam 1993). Political interest, internal political efficacy, and political news exposure were employed to reflect the importance of people's general involvement in politics, which encourages political engagement according to the civic voluntarism model (Verba et al. 1995). Finally, two demographic characteristics, sex and age

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8 In this study, stable democracies include Australia, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany (West), Iceland, India, Israel, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States (17 countries); new democracies include Chile, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Germany (East), Hungary, Lithuania, Poland, the Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Korea, South Africa, Spain, and Taiwan (13 countries).

9 The national economic data in this study are from the World Bank. See World Bank Open Data at <https://data.worldbank.org/>.

(including the squared term), were held constant in the following analyses. The details about measurements and coding processes for all the control variables are presented in Appendix 2.

Before testing the hypotheses, we provide descriptive patterns of the research variables, as listed in Table 1. As shown, all the variables are standardized with a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. We use one-way

Table 1 Means for Political Activism, Citizenship Norms, and Rights Consciousness<sup>a</sup>

Countries	Political activism	Citizenship norms			Rights consciousness		Obs.
		Civil	Political	Social	Civil & social	Political	
<b>Stable democracies</b>	<b>0.360</b>	<b>-0.030</b>	<b>0.007</b>	<b>-0.045</b>	<b>-0.057</b>	<b>-0.129</b>	<b>23396</b>
Australia	0.546	0.242	0.173	0.102	-0.042	-0.128	1348
Austria	0.566	-0.345	-0.091	0.035	-0.027	0.104	1019
Belgium	0.442	-0.216	-0.222	-0.346	-0.026	-0.223	2162
Denmark	0.783	-0.018	0.039	-0.042	0.014	-0.087	1746
Finland	0.315	-0.133	-0.193	-0.340	-0.018	-0.120	1495
France	0.514	-0.091	-0.075	-0.267	0.143	0.118	1197
Germany—West	0.676	-0.169	-0.931	-0.073	0.060	0.193	1149
Iceland	0.543	0.099	0.129	0.218	0.319	0.222	1456
India	0.339	-0.603	-0.170	-0.116	-0.781	-0.895	1176
Israel	-0.310	0.003	0.054	0.051	-0.024	-0.022	1200
Japan	-0.693	0.188	-0.058	-0.216	-0.385	-0.417	1526
Netherlands	0.231	-0.104	0.060	0.035	-0.144	-0.301	1584
Norway	0.510	0.049	0.135	0.157	0.002	-0.160	1445
Sweden	0.711	0.026	0.143	0.014	0.208	0.087	884
Switzerland	0.380	-0.102	0.045	0.094	-0.066	-0.365	1234
United Kingdom	0.219	0.284	0.073	-0.053	-0.098	-0.098	1513
United States	0.435	0.320	0.314	0.223	-0.084	0.024	1262

Table 1 Means for Political Activism, Citizenship Norms, and Rights Consciousness (Continued)

Countries	Political activism	Citizenship norms			Rights consciousness		Obs.
		Civil	Political	Social	Civil & social	Political	
<b>New democracies</b>	<b>-0.440</b>	<b>0.001</b>	<b>-0.031</b>	<b>0.040</b>	<b>0.046</b>	<b>0.140</b>	<b>18959</b>
Chile	-0.595	0.060	0.237	0.553	0.124	0.186	1430
Croatia	-0.306	0.085	0.050	0.408	0.349	0.548	1000
Czech Republic	-0.055	0.043	-0.280	-0.383	-0.422	-0.315	1530
Germany—East	0.631	-0.134	-0.206	-0.194	0.133	0.298	561
Hungary	-1.242	0.111	-0.209	-0.600	0.153	0.328	1005
Lithuania	-0.555	-0.035	-0.083	-0.089	0.145	0.249	1107
Poland	-0.959	-0.116	-0.203	-0.175	0.146	0.289	2097
Slovak Republic	-0.241	-0.373	-0.446	-0.381	-0.030	0.021	1154
Slovenia	-0.440	0.089	0.021	0.244	0.144	0.237	1004
South Africa	-0.501	-0.157	0.044	0.147	-0.139	-0.083	3087
South Korea	-0.496	0.063	0.078	-0.192	-0.187	0.027	1370
Spain	0.250	0.230	0.315	0.626	0.396	0.462	1752
Taiwan	-0.428	0.177	-0.025	0.088	0.105	0.074	1862
<b>Total mean</b>	<b>0.007</b>	<b>-0.016</b>	<b>-0.010</b>	<b>-0.007</b>	<b>-0.011</b>	<b>-0.010</b>	<b>42355</b>
Sig. Test <sup>b</sup>	***	***	***	***	***	***	

Notes: \*\*\* $p < .001$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \* $p < .05$ . <sup>a</sup> There are 42,355 individual-level observations in 30 regions. Germany is divided into the West and the East due to their different democratic history. <sup>b</sup> Significance tests were conducted using one-way analysis of variance.

Data source: ISSP (2016).

analysis of variance to show differences between countries (stable and new democracies). By and large, respondents in stable democracies exhibit higher political activism and political norms, whereas for other aspects of understanding of citizenship, the counterparts in new democracies have

higher average scores instead. Statistically significant differences were noted between the two groups of countries regarding political activism and understanding of citizenship, but no consistent pattern was observed. Our further analyses address differences between the two groups in the relationships between political activism and understanding of citizenship.

### **3. Empirical Methods**

To test the proposed hypotheses, the empirical analyses were divided into two parts. Several nested multiple regression models were used in the first part, so as to demonstrate the effects of citizenship norms and rights consciousness on political activism. The second step involved conducting a comparison between respondents in the stable and new democracies with respect to relationships between political activism and citizens' understanding of citizenship. Differences in the effects of citizenship norms and rights consciousness on political activism between the two groups of countries were tested. Methodologically, the conventional approach to testing different effects of variables between samples is to estimate their interaction terms in multiple regressions. However, the estimated models underlying this approach are cumbersome and complicated when too many variables are simultaneously considered to vary. Therefore, this study employed multi-group analysis to test whether the coefficients of interest should be held constant across the samples.<sup>10</sup>

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10 Under the framework of structural equation modeling, multi-group analysis is widely used to examine measurement equivalence across groups (e.g., different countries or cultural areas). For recent examples of the application of multi-group analysis for examining moderating effects, see Aldrich et al. (2010) and Huang (2018).

## E. Empirical Results

### 1. Linking Understanding of Citizenship to Political Activism

This study first examined the relationships between political activism and citizens' understanding of citizenship. As hypothesized, since they mainly involve personal allegiances to the state, civil norms are able to weaken political activism (**H1.1**); political and social norms can encourage political activism due to their compatibility with the norm of personal autonomy and independence (**H1.2**). Moreover, since citizens' rights consciousness represents their willingness to assert rights, right consciousness should encourage political activism and different aspects of rights consciousness perform individually (**H2.1 & H2.2**). To test the hypotheses, three nested multiple regression models were employed. Model 1 includes all the research variables and control ones, while Model 2 and Model 3 exclude citizenship norms (three variables) and rights consciousness (two variables) separately. As a result, comparing these nested models aims to examine whether and to what degree citizenship norms and rights consciousness affect political activism. Table 2 reports the empirical results provided by the three models. All control variables were held constant in the three models, but the complete results for only Model 1 are listed for the sake of brevity.

The results for citizenship norms are reported first. Three coefficients of citizenship norms are consistent across Model 1 and Model 2. With all other variables held constant, the three aspects affect political activism significantly in different directions. As shown in Table 2, civil norms reduce political activism, but both political and social norms have a positive effect on political activism. These results clearly support **H1.1** and **H1.2**. As

Table 2 Multiple Regressions Analysis for Political Activism:  
Effects of Understanding of Citizenship<sup>a</sup>

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Intercept	-2.835** (0.047)	-2.844*** (0.047)	-2.857*** (0.047)
Citizenship norms			
Civil	-0.232*** (0.009)	-0.226*** (0.008)	
Political	0.229*** (0.016)	0.238*** (0.016)	
Social	0.029** (0.009)	0.039*** (0.009)	
Rights consciousness			
Civil & social	0.041* (0.017)		0.019 (0.017)
Political	0.024* (0.012)		0.050*** (0.012)
Male	-0.071*** (0.012)		
Age	0.020*** (0.002)		
Age squared	-0.000*** (0.000)		
Educational level	0.119*** (0.004)		
Social trust	0.090*** (0.005)		
Organization memberships	0.307*** (0.005)		
Internal efficiency	0.140*** (0.006)		
External efficiency	0.037*** (0.006)		
Political interest	0.235*** (0.005)		
Political news exposure	0.050*** (0.003)		
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.319	0.318	0.305
F value ( <i>d.f.</i> )	1290.49 (15)***	1482.85 (13)***	1509.90 (12)***
Model comparison			
Model 1–Model 2	LR test: $\chi^2(2)=55.30$ ***, R <sup>2</sup> change=0.001(0.31%)		
Model 1–Model 3	LR test: $\chi^2(3)=852.82$ ***, R <sup>2</sup> change=0.011(4.39%)		

Notes: \*\*\* $p < .001$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \* $p < .05$ . There are 41, 521 observations. <sup>a</sup> Estimates for the control variables are reported only in Model 1 for the sake of brevity (The results are consistent across models).

Data source: ISSP (2016).

anticipated before, individuals with a higher level of specific norms are more likely to exhibit their corresponding behavior. Political and social norms, highlighting the role of self-involvement in politics and civic groups, are positively associated with political activism. Civil norms, however, mainly involve personal allegiances and contributions to the state, but without citizens' initiative to act politically. This aspect of citizenship norms leads to citizens not engaging in politics and decreases political activism. As an extension of Dalton's 'good citizen' study, our findings on citizenship norms clearly demonstrate their different effects on individuals' willingness to act in politics.

Regarding the rights-based understanding, when all other variables were controlled in Model 1, either the political domain or civil and social domain of rights consciousness increased political activism significantly. The effect of the civil and social domain, however, turned to be insignificant if citizenship norms were excluded (Model 3). These results basically support **H2.1** and **H2.2**. As discussed, rights consciousness reflects the willingness to assert rights and, as a result, can increase political activism. Different domains of rights consciousness have separate effects. Even so, the non-robustness of the effect for the civil and social domain implies that individuals' awareness of political rights is more directly linked to their willingness to act in politics. Overall, although two hypotheses on the relationship between rights consciousness and political activism are confirmed by the empirical results, the rights-based understanding of citizenship still needs to be given more attention.

In Table 2, results from the model comparison also show the relative importance of citizenship norms and rights consciousness to political activism. First, for predicting political activism, as shown, the likelihood ratio



(LR) tests demonstrate that Model 1 performs significantly better than two nested models, namely Model 2 ( $\chi^2(2)=55.30^{***}$ ) and Model 3 ( $\chi^2(3)=852.82^{***}$ ). This means that both citizenship norms and rights consciousness are indispensable for the estimated model. Second, the adjusted  $R^2$  value in Model 1 and Model 2 was 0.319 and 0.318, respectively. The explanatory power decreased by about 0.31 percent when two variables for rights consciousness were excluded from the model. However, the  $R^2$  values of Model 1 and Model 3 were 0.319 and 0.305, indicating that when three citizenship norms were excluded from the model, the explanatory power decreased by about 4.39 percent. In other words, citizenship norms can explain more variance in political activism than rights consciousness can. By and large, the results demonstrate that citizenship norms play a more important role than rights consciousness in explaining political activism.

Last, all the remaining variables, including educational level, social trust, organization memberships, internal and external political efficacy, political interest, and political news exposure, affect political activism as expected. Regarding demographic variables, female political engagement and age differences still require more clarification in further studies.

## **2. Comparing Stable and New Democracies:**

### **Using Multi-group Analysis**

Having confirming the relationships between political activism and understanding of citizenship, this study examined the cross-national variations regarding these relationships. The **H3** suggests that relationships between citizenship understanding, including citizenship norms and rights consciousness, and political activism should be generally stronger in stable democracies than in new counterparts. If this is correct, all variables for

citizenship norms and rights consciousness can have a stronger effect on political activism in the samples of stable democracies than in the counterparts of new democracies.

The multi-group analysis is appropriate for assessing whether or not coefficients for research variables are substantially different between two groups of samples. Simply stated, multi-group analysis is used to test factorial invariance across groups (two groups in this study). The unconstrained (baseline) model allows all estimated coefficients to vary, while the constrained model fixes certain parameters of interest as being equal across groups. Comparing the unconstrained model with the constrained model enables us to test the null hypothesis that the parameters are invariant across groups (Wang and Wang 2012: 268-288).

Estimated results from the multi-group analysis are listed in Table 3. In addition to all the individual variables, two national-level variables, GDP per capita and GDP growth rate, are added in the model.<sup>11</sup> First, in the unconstrained model, there appeared to be several variables that could perform differently between the two groups of democracies (highlighted in gray color). Except for the research variables that this study focused on, being male appears to have a negative effect in the stable-democracies group; social trust and organization memberships seem to have a stronger positive effect in the stable-democracies group and in the new-democracies group, respectively; GDP per capita appears to perform differently in the two groups of countries; and GDP growth rate seems to have a negative effect in the new-democracies group. Here, for cross-national comparison, multi-group

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11 For the sake of linear estimation, this study used the log transformation to measure GDP per capita in nations.

**Table 3 Multi-group Analysis on Political Activism:  
Comparing Two Groups of Democracies**

	Unconstrained model		Final model <sup>a</sup>	
	Stable Democracies	New Democracies	Stable Democracies	New Democracies
Intercept	-2.143*** (0.140)	-4.591*** (0.136)	-2.138*** (0.145)	-4.545*** (0.125)
GDP per capita	-0.099** (0.032)	0.776** (0.041)	-0.093** (0.032)	0.750*** (0.040)
GDP growth rate	0.015 (0.009)	-0.276*** (0.018)	0.014 (0.009)	-0.276*** (0.018)
Citizenship norms				
Civil	-0.278*** (0.013)	-0.130*** (0.015)	-0.289*** (0.013)	-0.131*** (0.016)
Political	0.291*** (0.026)	0.119*** (0.023)	0.314*** (0.025)	0.111*** (0.024)
Social	0.012 (0.015)	0.066*** (0.014)	0.007 (0.015)	0.048*** (0.014)
Rights consciousness				
Civil & social	0.057* (0.026)	-0.076* (0.038)	0.053* (0.026)	-0.003 (0.035)
Political	0.090*** (0.017)	0.055* (0.026)	0.093*** (0.017)	0.000 (0.024)
Male	-0.102*** (0.018)	-0.009 (0.021)	-0.092*** (0.018)	-0.022 (0.021)
Age	0.019*** (0.003)	0.023*** (0.003)	0.022*** (0.002)	
Age squared	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)	
Educational level	0.126*** (0.007)	0.090*** (0.008)	0.108*** (0.005)	
Social trust	0.081*** (0.008)	0.052*** (0.010)	0.086*** (0.008)	0.046*** (0.010)
Organization memberships	0.264*** (0.009)	0.337*** (0.013)	0.270*** (0.008)	0.326*** (0.013)
Internal efficiency	0.137*** (0.010)	0.113*** (0.011)	0.126*** (0.007)	
External efficiency	0.013*** (0.009)	0.035*** (0.010)	0.025*** (0.007)	
Political interest	0.246*** (0.009)	0.182*** (0.010)	0.214*** (0.007)	
Political news exposure	0.046*** (0.005)	0.052*** (0.006)	0.050*** (0.004)	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.317	0.250	0.303	0.266
Wald tests	CN(3)=48.540***; RC(2)=50.597***; Male=11.427***; Social trust & memberships(2)=25.752***; GDP per capita & growth rate(2)=443.958***			

Notes: \*\*\* $p < .001$ ; \*\* $p < .01$ ; \* $p < .05$ . <sup>a</sup> Model fit Measures: Chi-squared statistics=9447.49 (d.f. =34)\*\*\*; CFI=0.993; TLI=0.965; RMSEA=0.022.

Data source: ISSP (2016).

analysis can provide more credible and rigorous tests. By comparing the baseline model with the constrained model that restricts the three citizenship norms to being invariant, a Wald test rejected the null hypothesis that the coefficients are set as equal across the two groups ( $\chi^2=48.540$ , d.f.=3,  $p<0.001$ ). This indicates that the three effects of citizenship norms are significantly different between the samples for stable democracies and for new democracies. We also examined the remaining variables using the same procedure. The results show that rights consciousness ( $\chi^2=50.597$ , d.f.=2,  $p<0.001$ ), male ( $\chi^2=11.427$ ,  $p<0.001$ ), social trust and organization memberships ( $\chi^2=25.752$ , d.f.=2,  $p<0.001$ ), and GDP per capita and growth rate ( $\chi^2=443.958$ , d.f.=2,  $p<0.001$ ) perform significantly differently across the two groups of countries.

After conducting the series of tests, the final model that compares political activism across the two groups is shown in the right part of Table 3. This model is more parsimonious because it only allows some variables that have been tested as not being equal to vary while setting the remaining variables to be equal across the two samples. To more precisely demonstrate the varying influences, the estimated effects of the variables are illustrated in Figure 1 (based on the final model), including point estimates and 95% confidence intervals.

Figure 1 is divided into four parts: those from up to down are coefficients of citizenship norms, rights consciousness, and individual- and national-level control variables for the stable-democracies and new-democracies groups, respectively. First, the upper chart clearly indicates how the three citizenship norms in the two groups affected political activism differently. More accurately speaking, they differed in the *level*, but not in the *direction*. With all other variables held constant, civil norms and political norms have

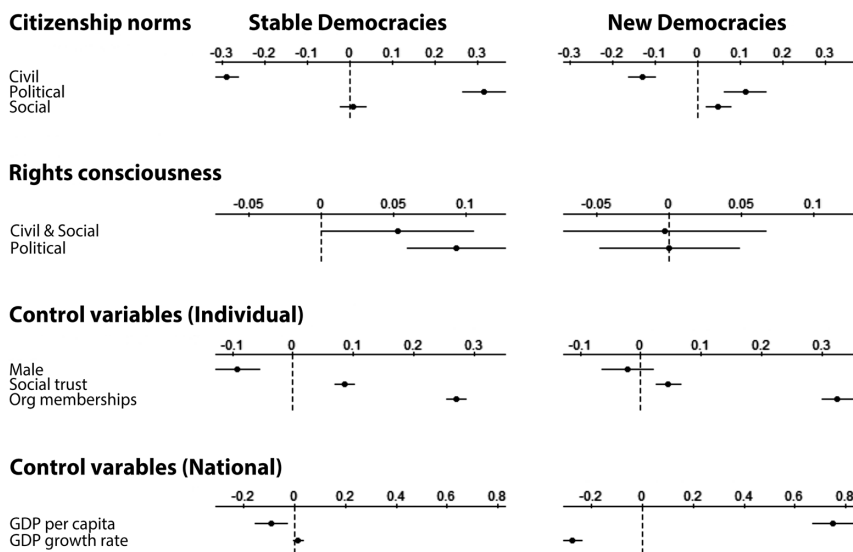


Figure 1 Estimated effects and 95% CI for Citizenship Norms, Rights Consciousness, and Control Variables in the Two Groups of Democracies

a stronger effect on political activism in the stable-democracies group than in the new-democracies group, whether it is negative or positive. Differently, social norms urge political activism in the new-democracies group only. Since social norms refer to citizens' kindness to others in a community, that effect on political activism probably comes from the legacy of communist institutions in some of the new democratic countries. Second, two domains of rights consciousness affect political activism positively in the stable-democracies group, but not in the new-democracies group. As discussed before, with more democratic experience and opportunities, citizens in stable democracies are more likely than those in new democracies to realize the application of their understanding of citizenship in actual political activities. Totally speaking, the results from the multi-group analysis basically support

**H3**, except for social norms.

The consistently stronger relationships between political activism and understanding of citizenship found in the stable democracies probably result from their similar development of citizenship rights: from civil and political to social rights. At present, these domains of citizenship rights have been accepted widely by ordinary citizens. In new democracies, however, political rights are often acknowledged in their newborn constitutions and electoral laws, but civil and social rights are not sufficient due to their poor socio-economic conditions. As a result, a stable democratic context helps citizens to realize the application of their understanding of citizenship in actual political activities.

The lower two charts demonstrate coefficients of individual- and national-level control variables that perform significantly differently across the two groups. At the individual level, female political engagement and the stronger positive effect of social trust in the stable-democracies group might come from the rising awareness of gender equality and civic cooperation. The greater positive effect of organization memberships in the new democracies group could be attributed to the legacy of communism in some countries. As for the national economic condition, GDP per capita decreases political activism in the stable-democracies group but has a positive effect in the new-democracies group, and its growth rate reduces political activism in the latter group. The current findings are not enough to say whether or not the modernization paradigm fits into this study because of the limited quantities of countries included. To sum up, in addition to understanding of citizenship, there are still several meaningful variables that play a significantly different role in explaining political activism across the two groups of democratic countries.

## F. Conclusion

An effective and efficient democracy relies on citizens' active engagement in politics. This study has discussed how citizens' understanding of citizenship, including civic responsibilities and rights, can influence their political activism, and also investigated the possible differences in the relationships between stable and new democracies.

By analyzing the 2014 ISSP covering 29 democratic countries, this study first demonstrated how understanding of citizenship can link to political activism. As a responsibilities-based understanding, citizens' citizenship norms shape their related behavior. As a result, civil norms weaken political activism because they mainly involve personal allegiances and contributions to the state, while both political and social norms have a positive effect on political activism based on their compatibility with the norm of personal autonomy and independence. As for the rights-based understanding, either the political or civil and social domain is able to encourage political activism. Second, using multi-group analysis, this study examined how the relationships differ between stable and new democracies. The empirical evidence demonstrated that except for social norms, all the citizenship norms and rights consciousness have, as expected, a stronger effect on political activism in the stable-democracies samples than in the new-democracies counterparts, whether it is negative or positive. With more democratic experience and opportunities, citizens in stable democracies are more likely than those in new democracies to realize the application of their understanding of citizenship in actual political activities.

The findings of this study have crucial implications. First, this study

has further explained the link between understanding of citizenship and political participation—not only citizenship norms but also rights consciousness is vital in explaining people's engagement in politics. Therefore, people's understanding of citizenship does matter substantially. For the purpose of increasing individuals' willingness to act in politics, this study suggests that finding ways to imbue people with political and social norms or helping them understand the meaning of rights are crucial, whereas more duty-related norms are inclined to undermine active citizenry. The study contributes to research on political behavior and democratic civic education.

Second, our findings show the stronger links between political activism and understanding of citizenship in the stable than in the new democracies, confirming how a lasting, stable democratic context matters. Accordingly, it is not sufficient for citizens to simply learn and acquire related beliefs and values. Scholarship on democratization should pay more attention to how people apply their abstract ideas and beliefs practically in political life.

By focusing on citizens' understanding of citizenship, this study may provide new insights into citizenship research at the individual level. In addition to the respective understanding of citizenship responsibilities and rights, further research is required to clarify how people view the balance between these two approaches to citizenship. In addition, methodologically speaking, it is evident that conventional cross-national surveys do not allow an examination of causal relationships due to data limitations. This study addresses the link between political activism and understanding of citizenship and may provide possible reasons for further studies to trace a causal dynamic by using either time-series data or an experimental design.



## Appendix 1

### Exploratory Factor Analysis on Research Variables

*Political activism*

Survey items/Factors	Factor loadings
Sign a petition	0.722
Buy or boycott good for public reasons	0.726
Take part in a demonstration	0.715
Attend a political meeting or rally	0.719
Contact a politician	0.723
Donate money or raise funds	0.644
Contact the media	0.728
Express political views on the Internet	0.620
Model Fit information	
Eigenvalue	4.356
Variance explained	54.5%
CFI	0.961
TLI	0.946
RMSEA	0.064***

*Citizenship norms*<sup>12</sup>

Survey items/Factors	Civil	Political	Social
Vote in elections	0.323	0.410	-0.065
Never evade paying taxes	0.708	0.037	0.004
Obeys laws and regulations	0.775	-0.022	0.020
Keep watch on government	0.228	0.554	0.009
Active in associations	-0.011	0.632	0.106
Understand others' opinions	0.138	0.343	0.250
Political, ethical or environmental consumerism	-0.010	0.376	0.302
Help people in the country	0.099	-0.008	0.770
Help people in the rest of the world	-0.013	0.030	0.764
Model Fit information			
Eigenvalue	3.312	1.383	0.993
Variance explained		63.2%	
CFI		0.987	
TLI		0.961	
RMSEA		0.048***	

12 It is worth noting that, for explaining the latent structure of the items for being a good citizen, the three-factor model is preferable to the two-factor model (applied by Dalton's work). The model-fit information of the two-factor model is as follows: CFI/TLI=0.889/0.790, RMSEA=0.111( $p < 0.001$ ).

***Rights consciousness***<sup>13</sup>

Survey items/Factors	Civil and social	Political
Have an adequate standard of living	0.770	-0.093
Respect and protect the rights of minorities	0.686	0.017
More opportunities to participate in public affairs	0.357	0.433
Civil disobedience	-0.002	0.589
Respect democratic rights	0.419	0.274
Health care for everyone	0.431	0.059
<b>Model Fit information</b>		
Eigenvalue	2.606	0.956
Variance explained	60.2%	
CFI	0.990	
TLI	0.963	
RMSEA	0.051***	

Note: All results are generated in Mplus v7. using the WLSMV estimator. Mplus can be used to estimate a model in which some of the variables have missing values using full information maximum likelihood (FIML). The coefficients represent the factor loadings evaluated by the geomin rotation method. The criterion for an acceptable model fit comes from several indicators, including chi-squared statistics ( $p \leq .05$ ), CFI ( $> .90$ ), TLI ( $> .90$ ), and RMSEA ( $\leq .05$ ). \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

Source: ISSP(2016).

13 The ISSP contained 9 items asking respondents to assess their importance to democratic rights. We excluded 3 of them from the analysis because they are not associated with others statistically. The selected 6 items can be used to construct two factors for theoretical reasons.

## Appendix 2

### Operationalization for All Control Variables

(1) *External efficacy & internal efficiency*

**Q.** To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

**no.37.** People like me don't have any say about what the government does

**no.38.** I don't think the government cares much what people like me think

**no.40.** I think most people in (COUNTRY) are better informed about politics and government than I am.

**Coding:** These three items range from 1-5, and higher scores refer to higher levels of efficacy (1. Strongly agree; 2. Agree; 4. Disagree; 5. Strongly disagree; 3. Other). External efficacy is the average of nos. 37 and 38 (Cronbach's alpha value is 0.662); no.40 indicates internal efficacy.

(2) *Educational level*

**Q.** Highest completed education level: Categories for international comparison.

**Coding:** The original variable that ranges from 0-6 is used in the analysis.

(3) *Social trust*

**no. 48.** Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

**Coding:** The item ranges from 1-5, with higher scores indicating higher levels of trust (1. You almost always can't be too careful in dealing with people; 2. You usually can't be too careful in dealing with people; 3. People can usually be trusted; 4. People can almost always be trusted; 3. Other).

(4) *Organization memberships*

**Q.** People sometimes belong to different kinds of groups or associations.

For each type of group, please indicate whether you belong and actively participate, belong but don't actively participate, used to belong but do not any more, or have never belonged to it.

**no. 23.** A political party; **no. 24.** A trade union, business, or professional association; **no. 25.** A church or other religious organization; **no. 26.** A sports, leisure or cultural group; **no. 27.** Another voluntary association.

**Coding:** The five items are recoded as binary outcomes: (1) belongs and (0) does not belongs to it. Then a continuous scale of organization membership is created by summing these items, ranging from 0 to 5.

(5) *Political interest*

**no. 43.** How interested would you say you personally are in politics?

**Coding:** The item ranges from 1-5, and higher scores are higher levels of interest (1. Not at all interested; 2. Not very interested; 4. Fairly interested; 5. Very interested; 3. Other).

(6) *Political news exposure*

**no. 21.** How often do you use the media, including television, newspapers, radio and the internet, to get political news or information?

**Coding:** The item ranges from 1-7, with higher scores referring to higher levels of exposure (1. Never; 2. Less than 1 day a week; 3. 1-2 days a week; 4. 3-4 days a week; 5. 5-6 days a week; 6. Once a day; 7. Several times a day).

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