The Good American:
An Exploration of American Understandings of Citizenship

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Abstract

What do Americans think citizenship means, and what are the consequences of Americans' understandings of citizenship? In this dissertation I argue that citizenship is much more than just a binary, legal category. I investigate how support for rights-restricting policies is shaped by underlying structures regarding Americans' notions of "good" citizenship. I conduct thirteen original surveys and survey experiments to show that there are three important dimensions of citizenship that drive Americans' evaluations of their fellow citizens: financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes. I show that respondents are willing to assign good and bad evaluations of citizens based solely on a brief description of a citizen according to one of these three dimensions. This evaluation acts as an intervening variable that corresponds with respondent's willingness to restrict specific constitutional rights: voting, running for office, criticizing the government, practicing her religion, and buying a gun. Although each of these rights is protected by the United States Constitution and therefore should not be restricted for any citizen, my research demonstrates that Americans are willing to restrict the rights of their fellow citizens based on how financially self-sufficient or respectful they are, or whether they pay the full amount of taxes they owe. My research builds on previous literature on citizenship by demonstrating that support for rights restrictions is based, in part, on aspects of citizenship that have nothing to do with legal citizenship but are instead based on deeply held but often unspoken standards. I show that citizens who do not live up to these standards are evaluated more negatively and are subject to support for restrictions of their constitutional rights.

Keywords: citizenship, rights, good citizenship, financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, taxes

“The crickets and the rust-beetles scuttled among the nettles of the sage thicket. ‘Vamanos, amigos,’ he whispered, and threw the busted leather flintcraw over the loose weave of the saddlecock. And they rode on in the friscalating dusklight.”

-Eli Cash, *The Royal Tenenbaums*

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Chapter 1: Good Citizenship

In 2013, five homeless men sued the city of Charlottesville, Virginia to protest an ordinance that restricted them from panhandling within fifty feet of traffic crossings on the city's downtown pedestrian mall. City leaders argued that the ordinance was a necessary safety measure: they expressed concern that pedestrians would walk into traffic to avoid being asked for money. The lawsuit, backed by the ACLU, argued that the restrictions were unconstitutional because they violated panhandlers' First Amendment rights by targeting only a specific group of people: the homeless. In essence, a local lawyer representing two of the plaintiffs said, the case "comes down to whether people have the right to make others uncomfortable in a public forum."[1] Although the panhandlers' lawsuit was ultimately successful, the case raises the question of why some citizens must assert their constitutional rights while others face few, if any, impediments to exercising the full rights of citizenship.

I argue that justifications for the marginalization of certain citizens – like the Charlottesville ban on panhandling – come not from a legal conceptualization of citizenship, under which every citizen is entitled to equal rights, but from largely unspoken standards and expectations regarding citizenship. Charlottesville city leaders portrayed the panhandlers as frightening and dangerous, using public safety as a justification for restricting where they could ask passersby for money. There are many ways to interpret the stated motivations behind the panhandling ban; one way of understanding the ban is that because the panhandlers were perceived as not "earning" (in political theorist Judith Shklar's words), they were subject to unconstitutional restrictions on their right to free speech. My purpose in this dissertation is to provide evidence that arguments like the safety rationale can be understood as a cover for perceived offenses that are fundamental to American citizenship. In addition to financial self-

[1] Brashear, "Begging to Differ: Panhandling Battle Rests on First Amendment Fight and Judge's Discretion."

sufficiency, I examine how respectfulness and paying taxes serve as standards of evaluation that are used to identify and justify which citizens are required to advocate for the rights of citizenship.

Unequal and unjust allocations of rights are well-documented. What I add to the discussion is evidence that Americans have specific ways of thinking about and articulating their understandings of citizenship – especially good citizenship. I use evidence from multiple original surveys and survey experiments to show that citizens who are subject to rights-limiting policies such as the Charlottesville ban on panhandling are perceived as violating often-unspoken standards of proper citizenship that are deeply held by many Americans. I explore and investigate three of these standards: financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes. I show that these standards function as underlying structures regarding good citizen behavior. These structures can be observed by examining Americans' willingness to restrict the rights of citizens who fail to live up to the standards of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes.

Research Question and Proposed Model

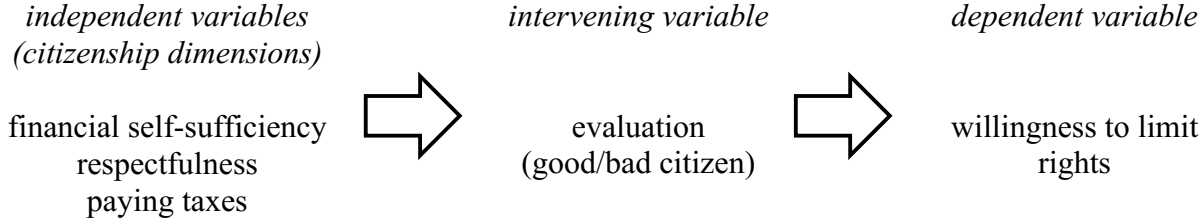
Broadly, I investigate what Americans think citizenship means – that is, what Americans expect from their fellow citizens and what consequences face those who do not meet certain standards. More specifically, my research question is: *How is support for rights-restricting policies shaped by underlying structures regarding Americans' notions of "good" citizenship?*

The dependent variable in this study – that is, the variable that will show evidence of the desire for legal boundaries within citizenship –is *willingness to restrict rights*. The independent variables are the three dimensions of citizenship behavior (financial self-sufficiency,

respectfulness, and paying taxes) that I develop and explain in detail in this chapter. The intervening variable between the three dimensions and the outcome (willingness to restrict rights) is the evaluation of citizens as good or bad. I focus on how we can use individuals' willingness to limit the rights of fellow citizens as evidence of where we can observe ideas about criteria for good citizenship.

The model I propose is illustrated in **Figure 1.1**. The model begins with the three dimensions of citizenship. Note that each of the three dimensions is understood here within the context of citizenship: for example, financial self-sufficiency refers to a financially self-sufficient *citizen*, not just a financially self-sufficient *person*. The second step of my proposed model is the intervening variable; this is the point at which individuals use one or more of the citizenship dimensions to categorize citizens as good or bad. The last step of my proposed model is the willingness to limit rights, the dependent variable in my study.

Figure 1.1. Model of Citizenship Evaluations and Willingness to Limit Rights.



Defining Citizenship

Before I explain the methods I used to address my research question, I will explain what I mean by the terms "citizenship" and "good citizenship."

Citizenship. The first formal definition of American citizenship was established in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which listed the rights of every person born in the United States,

including former slaves.[2] Some members of Congress, who feared that the Civil Rights Act could be limited or repealed, argued that a definition of citizenship should be included in the Constitution. In July 1868, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was ratified. The first clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, echoing the language of the Civil Rights Act, states that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and the State wherein they reside."

In its most basic terms, the concept of citizenship is one on which we might find general agreement: a citizen of the United States is someone who was either born in the United States (or born abroad to U.S. citizens) or who has completed the naturalization process – in other words, the basic concept of *citizenship* seems, on its face, to be both legal and binary: one either is or is not a citizen of the United States. Though this definition of citizenship seems unambiguous, questions remain about who "counts" as a United States citizen, how this judgment is made, and what rights each citizen should have, as the Charlottesville panhandling example demonstrates. There is much evidence to suggest that citizenship is not, and has never been, equal, including work by political scientists Rogers Smith,[3] Elizabeth Cohen,[4] Judith Shklar,[5] and others.

We can begin to expand on the binary understanding of citizenship by viewing it as "fundamentally, a relationship between citizens and government."[6] This relationship is not the same for every citizen: some are treated as more legitimate than others, especially when it comes to the rights each citizen is entitled to. Citizens living in poverty are commonly subject to rights restrictions due to a perception that they are dependent on the state and thus incapable of managing their own lives. Dependency, writes Iris Marion Young, leads to "the often arbitrary

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[2] History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives, "The Civil Rights Bill of 1866."
[3] Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America."
[4] Cohen, *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*.
[5] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.
[6] Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*.

and invasive authority of social service providers and other public and private administrators."[7] For example, recipients of public assistance in fifteen states are required by law to submit to regular drug tests as a condition of receiving aid,[8] a restriction that would very likely meet public resistance if it were applied to citizens who take advantage of other government benefits such as the home mortgage interest deduction. Efforts to deny citizenship to certain American-born children is another example of the link between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship: in 2015 an Illinois state legislator introduced a bill that would deny birth certificates to children born of mothers who would not provide the name of the father or "other financially responsible caregiver."[9]

Financial self-sufficiency and citizenship are tied at the federal level as well. The Republican party's efforts to repeal and replace the 2010 Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (sometimes called "Obamacare" as a reference to President Barack Obama, who pushed for the legislation), which expanded the availability of health insurance, include cuts in federal spending on Medicaid.[10] These proposed cuts would leave millions of Americans who are living in poverty without access to healthcare. Reflecting the connection between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship (along with its accompanying rights), healthcare in the United States has remained closely tied to employment. The historian Michael B. Katz, in his book on the development of the welfare state, notes that "By the 1950s, America had a nascent system of health insurance that […] tied benefits to employment."[11] Katz emphasizes that "public policy had rejected the idea of medial care as a right of citizenship. Instead, it remained a consequence

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[7] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*.
[8] National Conference of State Legislatures, "Drug Testing for Welfare Recipients and Public Assistance."
[9] Perry, "Illinois Republicans Sponsor a Bill That Denies Birth Certificates to the Children of Single Mothers."
[10] Sullivan, "Senate GOP Releases ObamaCare Repeal Bill with Deep Cuts to Medicaid."
[11] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*, 259.

of income and class."[12] Programs such as drug testing, prerequisites for birth certificates, and healthcare benefits based on employment target poor citizens and are evidence that by not meeting certain standards, the poor and unemployed became "a source of shame for society"[13] and deserve to be marginalized. When certain individuals and groups are excluded from or explicitly denied rights, writes political theorist Shane Phelan, "we may say that those persons are either 'second-class' citizens or are not citizens at all."[14]

Good Citizenship. My interest in citizenship goes beyond a seemingly binary legal definition. When I investigate evidence of underlying structures regarding citizenship, I am investigating where we can see evidence of Americans' understandings of what *good* citizenship – not just citizenship – means. I draw on multiple disciplines and research methods in my examination of good citizenship. Good citizenship is a more layered sense of citizenship, one that fits with the idea that citizenship is not and has never been equal for all citizens. By identifying some of the characteristics of good citizenship as expressed by respondents to my surveys and survey experiments, I can add a richer sense of perceived legal boundaries within citizenship to the scholarly discussion on the topic. Existing literature on citizenship sometimes refers to good citizenship explicitly and sometimes implicitly, but in most of the literature on citizenship there is an evaluative element attached. The literature I draw upon comes from a variety of perspectives, including political theory, history, and empirical research.

Political theorist Judith Shklar explicitly discusses good citizenship. For Shklar, the good citizen is "a patriot" who is informed, concerned with justice, interested above all in the public good, and eager to participate in politics and public life.[15] Shklar points out that this goodness

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[12] Ibid., 259.
[13] Kymlicka and Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Works on Citizenship."
[14] Phelan, *Sexual Strangers: Gays, Lesbians, and Dilemmas of Citizenship*.
[15] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.

extends to the private sphere: good citizens internalize the democratic order, focus on responsibility rather than obedience, and are conscientious in their jobs, neighborhoods, and communities.[16]

However, notes Shklar, the good *citizen* is not the same thing as the good *person*. One can be a good person but not a good citizen: Shklar notes that this was once the case for white American women. It was gender, along with economic dependence, that led to white women being categorized as good people but not good citizens deserving of the full rights of citizenship.[17]

Elizabeth Cohen,[18] like Shklar, looks at citizenship from a political theory perspective; she seeks to identify "gradations" of citizenship, recognizing that not all citizens are treated equally, with some citizens receiving different "bundles" of rights than others. Cohen writes that citizenship is determined not by legal status, but by "some political authority [which] must identify which acts will be privileged as acts of citizenship, and whose performance of these acts will be regarded as citizenship."[19] Citizens who do not conform to the standards set by these political authorities receive "partial bundles of rights."[20] Although Cohen does not refer explicitly to good citizenship, her notion of a political authority identifying the performance of "privileged acts" of citizenship corresponds with my argument that citizens evaluate one another and seek to penalize those who do not live up to (often unspoken) standards. My study provides insight into the political authority that identifies these acts by showing that citizens themselves help determine what behaviors and characteristics constitute good citizenship and what "bundles of rights" are assigned to those who fail to meet these standards.

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[16] Ibid., 5–7.
[17] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.
[18] Cohen, *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*.
[19] Ibid., p. 29.
[20] Ibid., p. 8.

Michael Schudson offers a historical perspective of citizenship in his book *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life*.[21] Schudson outlines the role of the citizen in the history of American democracy and analyzes the changing expectations of citizens. He writes that the ideal of citizenship today is practiced not just through political participation, but also in everyday life: citizens, especially marginalized citizens, "do politics when they walk into a room, anyone's moral equals, and expect to be treated accordingly."[22] In this sense, good citizenship has changed over time but is still dependent on who citizens are and how they move (and are allowed to move) through the political world.

Within the past decade, three political science scholars have (separately) examined the expectations Americans hold regarding citizenship using empirical research: Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, Deborah Schildkraut, and Russel J. Dalton. Each provides evidence that theories of citizenship focusing on implicit standards can be supported using survey data.

Elizabeth Theiss-Morse studies public opinion, citizenship, and the effects of American identity. She finds that Americans who have a strong American identity are more likely to insist that "true" Americans speak English, were born in the U.S., and "feel" American. Deborah Schildkraut[23] looks at citizenship in terms of immigration and American identity. She writes that norms of American identity involve thinking not only about what makes us American but also about what *should* make us American; these expectations are visible in the use of terms like *true American*, *all-American*, and *un-American*, each of which connotes varying degrees of "Americanness" and include behaviors, beliefs, and personal characteristics.

Russel J. Dalton, in his book *The Good Citizen: How a Younger Generation is Reshaping*

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[21] Schudson, *The Good Citizen*.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century*.

American Politics,[24] uses data from multiple national surveys, including the American National Election Survey (ANES) and the General Social Survey (GSS) to address the question of how the idea of what it means to be a good American citizen has changed over time. Dalton finds generational differences in understandings of good citizenship in which older Americans associate good citizenship with duty and obligation while younger Americans associate good citizenship with engagement and participation.

Theiss-Morse explicitly connects the idea of "true" Americanism and good citizenship in several ways. First, she provides examples from the buildup to the 2003 war in Iraq to show that both elites and non-elites believed that true Americans behave like good Americans by not criticizing the government during times of war.[25] Second, she argues that American identity carries with it a set of expectations about how group members should behave, one of which is individualism; this notion of individualism corresponds to my dimension of financial self-sufficiency. Along the same lines, Schildkraut finds that respect for the rights of others is a norm used to evaluate citizenship; others include adherence to a national identity (echoed by Theiss-Morse),[26] assimilation, and engagement (echoed by Dalton).[27]

Third, Theiss-Morse writes that using labels such as good and bad has been long used to justify limiting the rights of citizens perceived as bad: "Bad Americans lose their rights, not good Americans, and curtailing their rights helps the group as a whole," which is "more important than protecting the rights of bad Americans."[28] Schildkraut reinforces this idea when she emphasizes that public opinion about citizenship involves judgments regarding whether our

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[24] Dalton, *The Good Citizen*.
[25] Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, *Who Counts as an American?: The Boundaries of National Identity* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 1.
[26] Theiss-Morse, *Who Counts as an American?*
[27] Dalton, *The Good Citizen*.
[28] Theiss-Morse, *Who Counts as an American?*, 174.

fellow citizens uphold shared (but often unspoken) norms. Schildkraut establishes that "a broader range of constitutive norms define being American than has typically been studied in public opinion research."[29]

Theiss-Morse provides a framework for my own investigation of citizenship by outlining the normative and evaluative aspects of citizenship, including individualism and the need to restrict the rights of bad citizens to protect good citizens. Note the parallels here to the Charlottesville panhandling case, in which citizens perceived as dependent were restricted from asking for money to protect good citizens – who are presumably at the downtown mall to benefit from their own financial self-sufficiency – from fear (and possibly danger).

Schildkraut and Theiss-Morse both establish that individualism (in the form of "pursuing economic success through hard work") and respect for others are important elements of what makes someone a true American. By focusing on evaluative aspects of citizenship, Schildkraut reinforces the idea that Americans conceive citizenship in terms of good and bad judgments about whether fellow citizens are adhering to shared expectations.

Dalton provides a useful summary of his research on citizenship, one that I want to emphasize here: "it's not that Americans accept one set of norms and reject others – rather, all these norms are recognized as important, with some more important to different individuals."[30] My focus on three dimensions of citizenship does not exclude other dimensions that might affect Americans' willingness to limit the rights of other citizens; the choice I have made is to focus on three dimensions that, as I show in the following sections, are strongly connected to Americans' ideas about citizenship: financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes.

I arrived at these three dimensions after conducting numerous surveys and survey

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[29] Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century*, 17.
[30] Dalton, *The Good Citizen*.

experiments about American citizenship. I chose to use surveys rather than other forms of data collection (such as interviews, focus groups, case studies, or content analysis) because surveys permit me to gather data from a larger number of people in a short amount of time, build on the results from each survey, and narrow the focus of my investigation, over time, from a general view of what citizenship means to a specific experiment in which I test the conditions under which respondents are willing to limit the rights of fellow citizens. I will discuss each round of data collection and its findings throughout this dissertation; below is a brief summary.

I began my data collection with a survey that asked what respondents think American citizenship means (the response was open-ended, meaning that respondents could write their own response). The survey also contained several other, more specific (and closed-ended) questions about citizenship and rights. I did not have a strong prediction of how respondents would answer the question, but I was looking primarily for legal definitions of citizenship versus non-legal, perhaps behavior-based or characteristic-based definitions, and I did find that respondents varied in their descriptions of citizenship. I conducted a second survey in which I changed the question order of the first survey to determine whether it is possible to change respondents' considerations regarding the meaning of citizenship by leading them to think about specific qualities of citizenship beforehand (I confirmed that it is possible).

My next step in collecting data was to narrow the definition of citizenship. In separate surveys, I asked respondents to describe either a "good" or a "bad" American citizen. As I will discuss in detail in the following chapters, I used these responses, along with the responses from the "meaning of citizenship" questions, to develop a picture of what Americans think citizenship is (and what it should be). The responses I collected gave me a sense of the expectations people placed on their fellow citizens, and a pattern emerged in which ideas about financial self-

sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes were often articulated as standards of citizenship.

To confirm that these ideas are prominent in people's minds, I ran a survey experiment in which I asked respondents to select characteristics of either good or bad citizens from a 131-item checklist of items. This survey design gave me a way to objectively quantify responses (rather than coding open-ended responses) so I could run particular statistical analyses on the results, which helped me narrow the 131-item list into categories and confirmed that my dimensions were indeed "top of the head" considerations regarding citizenship, although they are not the only considerations made by respondents.

My choices for the three dimensions are supported by evidence that financial self-sufficiency and paying taxes are essential to how Americans talk about politics and citizenship, whether in terms of poverty,[31] mental health or capacity,[32] welfare,[33] or class consciousness.[34] The idea of respectfulness as a standard of citizenship is supported by literature in political theory and philosophy on dignity[35] and the politics of recognition[36] – a sense that American citizenship involves seeing and accepting other people as they are and helping everyone meet minimum standards of living. I also discuss a contrasting and inegalitarian view of respectfulness, in which people are expected to respect institutions, authorities, and laws; this view is supported in part by literature on authoritarianism.[37] The three dimensions are often intertwined, making the three concepts an appropriate trio for an exploration of citizenship standards.

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[31] Taibbi, *The Divide*; Lane, "Self-Reliance and Empathy: The Enemies of Poverty—and of the Poor"; Desmond, *Evicted*.
[32] Failer, *Who Qualifies for Rights?*; Bonnie, Freedman, and Guterbock, "Voting by Senior Citizens in Long-Term Care Facilities."
[33] Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare*; Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*; Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*.
[34] Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land*; Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment*; Isenberg, *White Trash*.
[35] Kateb, *Human Dignity*; Kateb, *The Inner Ocean*; Butler, *Precarious Life*.
[36] Honneth, *Disrespect*; Zurn, "Identity or Status? Struggles over 'Recognition' in Fraser, Honneth, and Taylor"; Deranty and Renault, "Politicizing Honneth's Ethics of Recognition"; Fraser, "Rethinking Recognition."
[37] Stenner, *The Authoritarian Dynamic*.

I build on the theoretical work of scholars of citizenship, including Shklar and Cohen, as well as the empirical research of scholars like Theiss-Morse, Schildkraut, and Dalton. What I extract and amplify from the theory-based literature on citizenship is an in-depth empirical investigation of what the specific expectations of citizenship are that result in what Cohen calls "gradations." What I add to the the empirical research by Schildkraut, Theiss-Morse, and Dalton is an explicit connection between specific underlying structures of citizenship (especially good citizenship) and Americans' willingness to punish – through rights limitations – citizens who do not fulfill the expectations created by these underlying structures.

Theory of Citizenship Evaluations

My political-psychological theory of citizenship evaluations states that Americans have ideas about citizenship, based in part on standards of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes, that guide their evaluations of fellow citizens. We can see evidence of these ideas by examining legal boundaries of citizenship rights: citizens who are perceived as being less than good citizens are subject to public support for limiting their constitutional rights.

I call my theory of citizenship evaluations political-psychological because the underlying structures of citizenship expectations I study are both political, in that they are attached to American political culture and have political implications, and psychological, in that these expectations are often deeply held and motivate specific desired outcomes, although they are not always conscious. Respondents to my surveys are not always able to articulate specific standards, but when presented with a scenario or list of standards and expectations they are able to identify which are important and what consequences should follow from a failure to meet these standards and expectations.

The assumptions behind my theory are as follows. First, there is a disconnect between

"citizenship-as-legal status" and "citizenship-as-desirable-behavior"; that is, there is much more to citizenship than a binary legal category, some based on behavior. Second, citizenship evaluations are a learned worldview, specific to time and place, which explains the constantly shifting gradations America experiences regarding "legitimate" citizenship.[38] Third, as described above, some, but not all, of people's ideas about the connections between financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, paying taxes, and citizenship are unspoken – but they can be prompted.

I find in my survey research that people might not explicitly cite financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, or paying taxes as a requirement for citizenship, but when presented with a vignette about a citizen who does not meet these standards they demonstrate a willingness to restrict the rights of that citizen, indicating that there is a boundary line being drawn between good and bad citizenship based on those concepts, even if respondents might not argue explicitly that these three dimensions are essential aspects of good citizenship.

In the next section I examine alternative ways of understanding good citizenship before outlining the three dimensions of citizenship that are the focus of my research.

Alternative Ways of Identifying and Sorting Citizens into Good or Bad Categories

The three dimensions I have identified are neither comprehensive nor do they replace current understandings of how citizens evaluate one another. There are many ways of explaining gradations of citizenship, and most of them are intertwined. Before I discuss my dimensions in more detail, I want to acknowledge some of these understandings and explanations and elaborate on how they fit into my own research on citizenship.

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[38] Cohen, *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*; Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America."

Other scholars of citizenship focus on ascriptive characteristics (defined as characteristics that arbitrarily place an individual into a particular social status). The role of gender and citizenship is addressed by scholars like Linda Kerber, who writes about the social and political history of women,[39] and Suzanne Mettler, who describes how women were marginalized as citizens during the creation of the modern welfare state through legislation that shifted benefit allocation from the federal government to the states.[40] Sexuality and sexual identity are also characteristics that have been used to define and limit citizenship and rights: Regina Kunzel illustrates how prisons became the center of modern discussion about what constitutes hetero- and homosexuality;[41] Margot Canaday provides a history of how policies regarding military service, immigration, and welfare were used to construct and marginalize perceived sexual deviance;[42] and Martha Nussbaum has written, from a legal perspective, about the debate over same-sex marriage and gay rights.[43] Undoubtedly, gender, sexuality and sexual identity intersect with my dimensions of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes: each has been used to define and marginalize citizens who are perceived as failing to adhere to standards and are at times used to determine which standards matter most.

Additional ascriptive characteristics are equally important when discussing the history and practice of citizenship. Race is a consistent dividing line concerning citizenship and rights. Manza and Uggen quantify the harm done by felon disenfranchisement laws, which disproportionately affect black Americans.[44] The impact of the criminal justice system is explored in-depth by Amy Lerman and Vesla Weaver, who describe the effects of a "carceral

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[39] Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies*.
[40] Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*.
[41] Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*.
[42] Canaday, *The Straight State*.
[43] Nussbaum, *From Disgust to Humanity*.
[44] Manza and Uggen, *Locked Out*.

state" in which black citizens are marginalized politically by a state that is punitive, surveillance-oriented, and punishment-oriented.[45] Martin Gilens and Ange-Marie Hancock each study the effects of elite, racialized discourse about welfare and poverty.[46] The continuing effects of racial perceptions on public opinion regarding policy are clear, and surely factor into the dimensions of citizenship I address here. Financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes do not replace other standards of citizenship; rather, they incorporate and complement them.

It might seem natural to attribute good or bad citizenship to duties such as military service or patriotism, both of which are behaviors performed by people generally considered good citizens, or at least – as Russel Dalton finds – citizens performing their civic duty.[47] There is undoubtedly a status assigned to those who choose to serve their country. However, only 0.5% of Americans actually serve in the military, and those who do are more likely to come from low-income areas, creating what one writer calls a "military caste."[48] The low percentage of Americans who serve in the military suggests that perhaps Americans value military service by others – and assign a high status to service members – rather than thinking of it as an obligation for themselves; as a result, they might not immediately think of or articulate military service as a standard by which to judge their fellow citizens.

Patriotism is another behavior or belief that is closely connected to citizenship, especially good and bad citizenship categories. My own survey data show that respondents differentiate between *patriotism* and *blind patriotism*, viewing the latter (in addition to *too much patriotism*) as negative. I argue that there is an additional way to think about patriotism: Schildkraut's concept of *thinking of oneself as an American*, which her survey respondents use to determine

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[45] Lerman and Weaver, *Arresting Citizenship*.
[46] Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare*; Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*.
[47] Dalton, *The Good Citizen*.
[48] Eikenberry and Kennedy, "Americans and Their Military, Drifting Apart."

the status of what she calls the "true American" and what I call the good citizen. Schildkraut found that approximately 93% of respondents said that "thinking of oneself as an American" is either very important or somewhat important.[49] Elizabeth Theiss-Morse, in her exploration of national identity, finds that the best predictor of patriotism is a sense of American identity.[50] These results suggest that thinking of oneself as American and identifying as an American have strong ties to the idea of the "true" (i.e., good) American citizen, expanding and adding to the notion of patriotism as a barometer of good citizenship.

The three dimensions I developed from my survey research represent explorations of how individual citizens think about and articulate citizenship standards rather than a grand theory of what citizenship means. There are many ways of imagining citizenship and especially good citizenship. My purpose is to illustrate three dimensions of citizenship that are articulated by survey respondents who (especially given the left-leaning samples) are unlikely to explicitly list gender, sexuality, or race as standards of citizenship; these dimensions are supported by the literature on citizenship and make sense in the context of other data on citizenship and rights.

I turn now to a discussion of citizenship, norms, and how the three dimensions of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes illustrate ways of thinking about citizenship.

Conceptualizing Good Citizenship

Drawing upon Kymlicka and Norman, I investigate how Americans structure "citizenship-as-desirable activity," which deals with "the extent and quality of one's citizenship."[51] By focusing on this aspect of citizenship, I study good citizenship as a *construct*, that is, a theoretical

[49] Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century*.
[50] Theiss-Morse, *Who Counts as an American?*
[51] Kymlicka and Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Works on Citizenship."

idea "based on observations but that cannot be observed directly or indirectly."[52] To measure good citizenship, then, I must first establish a theoretical basis for what good citizenship looks like before creating ways of measuring my dimensions of good citizenship. That is the task I undertake in this section.

Elizabeth Cohen writes that "citizenship is defined by practices associated with specific relationships of authority."[53] The authority for defining citizenship, argues Cohen, rests with the state, which confers the rights that constitute citizenship.[54] I expand on Cohen's idea that citizenship concerns the relationship of the individual to the state by focusing on what Americans think about this relationship: I want to know how Americans get their ideas about how rights should be conferred by the state – more specifically, who should have certain rights. According to the legal definition of citizenship, there should be *no* differences in who gets certain rights, but, as I will demonstrate, there are limitations within American citizenship, based on particular dimensions of good citizenship, that show a willingness to restrict the rights of Americans who fall short of established standards.

I argue that the determination of what makes someone a good American citizen is tied to specific norms. To establish the content of the good citizen category it is helpful to first establish why certain citizens fall outside this category – that is, to look specifically at the standards bad citizens are being held to. I show that these standards are observable through group norms, which "tell group members what they ought to believe and how they ought to behave."[55]

Citizens who are perceived as not living up to the standards of good citizenship are marginalized socially, politically, and economically. This is supported by research on the

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[52] Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research*.
[53] Elizabeth F. Cohen, Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 31.
[54] Ibid., p. 15.
[55] Theiss-Morse, *Who Counts as an American?*

marginalization of certain citizens, including ex-felons,[56] the mentally ill,[57] and women.[58] Norms of American citizenship, once they are established as part of the social order, determine a community's "scope of justice" and therefore establish whose assertions of rights are heard.[59] The norms of good citizenship are internalized to the extent that citizenship becomes an accepted and self-policed responsibility.[60] Citizenship, then, is a code we use when interacting with others based on a set of shared principles – as Cohen puts it, "a cloak to don in public in order to meet on level ground, as equals, to engage in collective politics."[61]

The internalization of multiple, often unspoken citizenship norms, some of which revolve around the idea of financial self-sufficiency respectfulness, or paying taxes, means that Americans can claim to promote the democratic principle of egalitarianism even as they embrace norms that conflict with egalitarianism.[62] As a result of the internalization of respectfulness-based norms, anyone accepted into the community of citizens must "adopt dominant norms … as the price of admission."[63] Those who fail to do so cannot be included in the category of good American citizens. I turn now to the three dimensions of good citizenship that I use in my Rights Survey to uncover normative boundaries within Americans' ideas about citizenship: financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes.

Financial Self-Sufficiency

The first dimension of good citizenship (a construct based on the broader concept of citizenship) that I focus on is financial self-sufficiency. Financial self-sufficiency means getting

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[56] Manza and Uggen, *Locked Out*.
[57] Failer, *Who Qualifies for Rights?*
[58] Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*.
[59] Opotow, "Moral Exclusion and Injustice: An Introduction."
[60] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.
[61] Cohen, *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*.
[62] Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.*; Marcus et al., *With Malice toward Some*.
[63] Phelan, *Sexual Strangers: Gays, Lesbians, and Dilemmas of Citizenship*.

by – paying the bills, taking care of family, being able to contribute via donations and/or volunteering time – without help, especially without help from the government. I define financial self-sufficiency as being able to manage your money effectively – that is, to pay the bills and take care of a family. This definition has a historical context in the United States. During the Founding, property-holding (and the financial self-interest that comes with it) was an early determinant of the franchise, but over time the meaning of "property" transitioned to wage work and a sense of ownership of one's skills and productivity.[64] After this transition, financial self-sufficiency no longer required the ownership of tangible property; it rested on the individual's ability to spend their earnings as they choose.

The literature on the history and experience of American citizenship shows clearly the link between good citizenship and financial self-sufficiency. Women's rights were originally associated with property ownership, which transitioned over time to status as an "earner." financial self-sufficiency means that your money comes from work, not from any kind of dependency on a spouse or on government – dependence on the government carries with it a particular stigma. The rise of the consumer culture in the United States led advertisers to target women, showing them that their role in society was not to earn money but to spend it. This is one form of contributing to society; like other forms of contributing, it requires some level of financial security.

Sociologist T.H. Marshall also connects citizenship and work, writing that a person "who has lost his job has lost his passport to society. […] His work is rejected, and that means that he himself is rejected, as a man and a citizen."[65] Work is not just something a citizen happens to do; it is a defining characteristic of the citizen.

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[64] Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*.
[65] T.H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1964), p. 234.

Deborah Schildkraut finds evidence of the strong tie between citizenship and work in her survey research on American identity. Fully 90% of over 2,700 respondents in Schildkraut's survey agreed or strongly agreed that "pursuing economic success through hard work" is "important in making someone a 'true' American."[66] Results like these can help us understand why Americans might support policies that restrict the rights of people who do not work: in the case of mental illness, one of the standards for competence – and thus full rights – is financial competence.[67] Being economically dependent, then, can include more than just not having money: it can also include being incapable of managing money, yet another example of the boundaries that are drawn regarding good citizenship in the context of financial self-sufficiency.

Judith Shklar writes that America's history of economic independence and equal opportunity became "the ethical basis of democratic citizenship," taking the place of public virtue. "We are citizens," argues Shklar, "only if we 'earn.'"[68] Beyond simply earning, Shklar points out that work itself is a requisite for citizenship; without it, one becomes dependent, a characteristic that places an individual in a lower status and thus "renders any group or individual unfit for citizenship."[69] Iris Marion Young elaborates on what these "unfit" citizens are subject to, based solely on their dependence on government assistance: "patronizing, punitive, demeaning, and arbitrary treatment by the polices and people associated with welfare bureaucracies."[70] This can include drug testing for welfare recipients, prohibitions on smoking in public housing, and limits on what can be purchased with food stamps.

Being economically dependent does two things: it places an individual in a category of

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[66] Deborah Jill Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century: Public Opinion in the Age of Immigration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 45.
[67] Failer, *Who Qualifies for Rights?*
[68] Judith N. Shklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion*, 1. ed., 5. printing, The Tanner Lectures on Human Values (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr, 2001), p. 67.
[69] Ibid., 8.
[70] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 54.

"lesser" citizens, and it leaves the individual subject to intrusive policies that violate basic constitutional rights. By taking away personal autonomy from citizens who are not working and earning, the state, through "paternalistic authority," keeps these citizens "in a perpetual state of childhood and dependence" – thus preventing those citizens from being included in the democratic process as described by Robert Dahl.[71] Dahls' fifth criterion for inclusion in the demos is adulthood[72]; therefore, by keeping dependent citizens from being considered autonomous adults, he provides justification for their marginalization into a category Cohen calls "semi-citizens."

The connection between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship has been used over time to limit or expand rights for many groups. Historian Joan Gunderson writes that as the concept of volitional citizenship emerged after the Revolutionary War, the assumption was that choosing to be a citizen required some level of economic independence; these necessary ties to work and property ownership excluded non-wage earners.[73] Taking advantage of the rights of citizenship – in particular, voting – was denied to women based on the fact that they were not financially self-sufficient. Even in New Jersey, which allowed white women to vote between 1776 and 1807, women had to meet the qualification that they owned property (and were therefore financially independent). Because growing numbers of ineligible women had begun to vote, in 1807 New Jersey redefined its voting population to associate women with economic dependency and thus justify their exclusion from the voting population.[74]

Gunderson provides one of many examples of rights being associated with financial self-sufficiency as a standard of citizenship. Economic independence and an ability to contribute

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[71] Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*, 105.
[72] Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.
[73] Gunderson, "Independence, Citizenship, and the American Revolution."
[74] Ibid., 66.

were also used to determine which Southerners would be afforded full U.S. citizenship after the Civil War. And during the debate over the 19th Amendment, *independence* was defined tautologically as *having dependents*, and this status alone made a citizen qualified to vote.[75] The "head of household" concept was deployed until fairly recently by domestic abusers to keep police from investigating complaints from their spouses, further indicating that dependence, especially financial dependence, minimizes one's citizenship in the eyes of the state.[76]

Property-holding (and the financial self-interest that came with it) was an early determinant of the franchise and other rights of citizenship, but over time the meaning of "property" transitioned to wage work – ownership of one's skills and productivity.[77] Financial self-sufficiency no longer required the ownership of tangible property; it rested instead on the individual's ability to spend their earnings as they choose. Modern conservatives in the United States, write Kymlicka and Norman, "have rejected the idea that citizenship confers a status independent of economic standing."[78]

The most important norms attached to financial self-sufficiency, I argue, are working and being productive – essentially, being able to get by on your own. This norm helps structure and stratify citizenship and rights. Individuals who are cared for by others – whether due to mental illness, poverty, or some other incapacity – are not workers, and therefore not full citizens. In the post-Reagan era, note Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman in their overview of theories of citizenship, "by failing to meet the obligation to support themselves, the long-term unemployed are a source of shame."[79] Judith Shklar adds that economic independence has

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[75] Siegel, "She the People: The Nineteenth Amendment, Sex Equality, Federalism, and the Family."
[76] Merry, "Rights Talk and the Experience of Law: Implementing Women's Human Rights to Protection from Violence."
[77] Glenn, *Unequal Freedom*.
[78] Kymlicka and Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Works on Citizenship."
[79] Ibid.

replaced public virtue as an ethical basis for citizenship; the result is that "earning" is now a requirement of citizenship.[80]

Martha Fineman writes that independence is achieved "when an individual has the basic resources that enable her or him to act consistent with the tasks and expectations imposed by the society."[81] I argue that independence, in the form of financial self-sufficiency, is understood through the lens of working, which provides citizens with the resources they need to be an essential part of American democracy.

One indicator of the importance of work-as-citizenship is that employment provides exclusive benefits. As Michael Katz observes, after World War II "America had a nascent system of health insurance that – uniquely among industrialized nations – tied benefits to employment."[82] This meant – and still means – that traditional "women's" labor such as childcare and eldercare, work that does not produce taxable income or healthcare benefits, is not considered employment. Without paid employment, there is no financial self-sufficiency; I will show that without financial self-sufficiency, individuals cannot enjoy full citizenship status.

Money alone is not sufficient to attain good citizenship status: it matters where the money comes from. As Robert Lane explains, "what one earns in the market is [perceived as] fair, but what one gets from the government is unfair."[83] However, this is not always the case – sometimes, money from the government is considered an earned benefit. Government farm subsidies, corporate tax breaks, and tax-deductible mortgages are all financial benefits citizens get from government, but they are not talked about as unfair, contrary to benefits like welfare or food stamps. Suzanne Mettler calls these less-visible benefits the "submerged state," in which

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[80] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.
[81] Fineman, "Cracking the Foundational Myths: Independence, Autonomy, and Self-Sufficiency."
[82] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*.
[83] Lane, "Self-Reliance and Empathy: The Enemies of Poverty—and of the Poor."

policymakers make government contributions more opaque when they benefit citizens with money, leaving citizens to "perceive only a freely functioning market system at work."[84]

On the other hand, what *is* perceived as unfair is for a citizen such as a single parent to depend on government benefits. While unemployment is perceived as a misfortune, long-term welfare dependence is viewed as a failure: "the people who belong to the under-class are not quite citizens."[85] The difference, I argue, is that farms, corporations, and homeowners are perceived as contributing something to society, while the single parent is perceived as giving nothing back (and having nothing to give in the first place). The explanation for the discrepancy is employment status, "the new criterion of full citizenship."[86] Means-tested programs like welfare and SNAP reinforce citizens' identity as dependent on government, while programs without means testing, such as the tax benefits associated with homeownership, allow advantaged citizens to believe they are not financially dependent on government.[87]

In spite of the limitations faced by non-wage earners and citizens dependent on government help, the rise of consumerism in the United States meant that even dependents have a means to access full citizenship. Historian Frank Trentmann observes that "In the years around 1900, 'the consumer' arrived on the political stage as the twin of the citizen, using the power of the purse to promote social reform."[88] Charles McGovern writes that between 1890 and 1930, advertisers explicitly connected citizenship, independence, and consumption by portraying consumption "as the best means for women to achieve […] their full public power as citizens."[89]

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[84] Mettler, *The Submerged State*.
[85] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.
[86] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*.
[87] Schneider and Ingram, "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy," June 1993.
[88] Frank Trentmann, *Empire of Things: How We Became a World of Consumers, from the Fifteenth Century to the Twenty-First*, 2017, 3.
[89] Charles McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 79.

Women might not be head of household, but they were in charge of spending. "By treating women as natural citizens," McGovern writes, "advertisers 'naturalized' them as citizens – spending was women's ritual of citizenship."[90] The language of advertising told women and other dependents that they could assert their power by spending money, and offered a broader form of economic participation.

An extension of financial self-sufficiency that I also explore in this chapter because of its prominence in the survey data is contributing to society.[91] Contributing, as I define it here, means volunteering for and/or donating to a cause or any community-minded activity that requires resources (time and money) that can only be achieved through financial self-sufficiency. This type of community involvement affects political participation as well: as Rosenstone and Hansen note, political representation favors citizens with more money and resources because those are the citizens targeted by campaigns.[92] Citizenship has become an achieved status that is "earned through contributions to society," marginalizing "those who do not work at regular jobs."[93] Without financial self-sufficiency, citizens are unable to contribute to society and are therefore perceived as unfairly "taking more than they get."

The importance of contributing to society, especially within the context of the welfare

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[90] Ibid., 79.

[91] The notion of being a contributing member of society may not, at first glance, seem connected to financial self-sufficiency. To find out whether respondents associate the two, in 2014 I conducted a single-question survey asking respondents to describe an American citizen who is a contributing member of society. Confirming my expectations, respondents referred most often to *taxes, work, job,* and *income* – suggesting that being a contributing member of society requires working and paying taxes as a significant part of one's contribution. Of 100 respondents, most mentioned volunteering and/or charity, working, paying taxes, and being a "net benefit" to society by giving back more than you take. A simple word count of the responses in the "contributing member" survey shows 40 mentions of the word *taxes*, 28 mentions of *means* (as in living within your means), 28 mentions of *work*, 22 mentions of *job*, and 19 mentions of *works*. Note that being a contributing member, then, is not only about volunteering or charity: it's about being a taxpayer who pays more into the system than she gets out of it. This is an important finding because it links financial self-sufficiency and contributions to society by showing that citizens are expected to contribute, in part, through their status as a worker and taxpayer. I explore the importance of paying taxes in Chapter 4.

[92] Rosenstone, Hansen, and Reeves, *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*.

[93] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*.

state, is summarized by Katz, who writes,

> "Within the welfare state, ideas about citizenship vacillate between two concepts: citizenship as a preexisting and as an achieved status. As a preexisting status, citizenship does not depend on individual virtue, good behavior, or contributions to society. It is a set of rights that derive solely from birth or nationalization. As an achieved status, citizenship deemphasizes rights in favor of obligations or merit; it is earned through contributions to society."[94]

This understanding of citizenship, says Katz, marginalizes citizens who do not or cannot work and thus creates second-class citizens. Viewing citizenship as an achieved status – and therefore a privilege – instills in citizens the idea that some citizens deserve less than others. Moving citizenship away from a preexisting status "suggest[s] that rights are contingent – they may be withdrawn as well as extended, contracted as well as expanded."[95] The connection between citizenship and contributing (and between contributing and financial self-sufficiency) is part of a broader conceptualization of citizenship not as something that belongs to every American, but as something that has to be earned and recognized as legitimate.

Paying Taxes

At first glance, it might seem like financial self-sufficiency – essentially, working – is the same thing as paying taxes: if an individual is working, he or she is paying taxes. But there are several reasons for differentiating between these dimensions of good citizenship. First, it is not always the case that working equals paying taxes. Some citizens earn too little to pay taxes; some live on income that is tax-exempt; some choose not to pay taxes. Second, paying taxes covers three important aspects of citizenship that are distinct from financial self-sufficiency: it is

[94] Ibid., 344.
[95] Ibid., 345.

required by law, it is a form of civic duty, and it is a way of contributing to society by helping people in need and providing essential services like roads and schools.

How tax dollars are collected and spent is a controversial and highly political issue. Liberals support using taxes to help citizens in need, while conservatives like Larry Arnn, on the other hand, believe that "the only real entitlement is to the money we earn for ourselves […] we have no right to anything earned by another." The debate over paying taxes has come to shape Americans' ideas about the meaning of citizenship: are we obligated to help others by paying taxes, or is it each citizens' duty to be fully independent of the need for the assistance that comes from tax dollars?

Suzanne Mettler writes that the New Deal "endowed Americans with new social and economic dimensions of citizenship," one of which is the obligation of paying taxes.[96] Michael Katz describes this obligation as a way of earning the "achieved status" of citizenship through contributions to society: "men and women do not lose citizenship" for not paying taxes, but "a definition of citizenship that rests on obligation and contribution […] creates second-class citizens."[97] Those who work in areas that do not come with taxpayer status, such as caretakers for children, the ill, and the elderly, are not considered employed and are therefore "less than full citizens of the welfare state," leaving them outside the class of citizens who are perceived as entitled to benefits.[98]

The issue of entitlement – especially entitlement as a right of citizenship – is closely intertwined with the idea of paying taxes. Historian Stephanie Coontz writes about older generations of Americans who insist that they got by without help from the government, in spite

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[96] Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 3.
[97] Michael B. Katz, *The Price of Citizenship: Redefining the American Welfare State*, 1st ed (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2001), p. 345.
[98] Ibid., p. 347.

of the fact that Americans depend on government help in many ways.[99] Suzanne Mettler calls this mistaken belief in self-reliance and independence from government the "submerged state."[100] Tax benefits that come from the submerged state, such as the home mortgage interest deduction and deductions for employer-supplied health care and retirement benefits, are "hidden" from Americans, who believe that they are benefitting from the free market rather than from heavily subsidized government programs. Mettler points out that Americans perceive benefits from the submerged state as benefits they earned as a citizen and have explicit rights to, whereas more visible support programs such as welfare or food stamps are perceived as programs for people who give less than they get from government and are therefore taking advantage of rights to which they are not entitled. The issue of healthcare has also become tied to the question of whether healthcare is a fundamental right of citizenship. Whether Americans should be forced to pay taxes for others' healthcare – especially for those who might not be as responsible in protecting their own health – is central to the debate, as is the question of whether taxpayers should pay for contraception. In addition, the tax benefits employed citizens receive for their contributions to employer-sponsored healthcare is another aspect of the submerged state Mettler discusses.

I study specific desired outcomes regarding the rights of citizens perceived as good or bad. Rights are often tied to political policy, and taxes are a significant part of that discussion. The question of "who gets what" from U.S. tax policy contributes to support for political policies that can be framed in terms of rights, such as welfare and healthcare. Schneider and Ingram describe policy in terms of perceived deservingness, in a process by which identities of certain

[99] Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*.
[100] Mettler, *The Submerged State*.

target populations (like welfare recipients) are socially constructed[101] for the purpose of justifying harsher policies (like work requirements or mandatory drug testing). Ange-Marie Hancock describes how perceptions of undeserving welfare recipients generates disgust – not just dislike – and leads Americans to support programs that offer less support to Americans in need.[102] Katherine Cramer proposes that attitudes toward taxes are driven by a sense of what she calls "rural consciousness," a senses that people in rural areas are culturally different than their urban counterparts. This consciousness, argues Cramer, explains why voters will refuse to support tax increases that would, in theory, benefit them: rural residents believe that those in power will simply take their tax money and distribute it to urban areas, leaving rural areas unsupported.[103]

Steven R. Weisman, in his book *The Great Tax Wars*, lays out the history of the income tax in the United States: he writes that the central argument over the income tax has consistently focused on its primary purpose. For those who view wealth as "a product of good luck, exploitation of others, political favoritism and predatory conduct,"[104] the purpose of the income tax is justice: the tax "is desperately needed to underscore the idea of social justice in the distribution of rewards and sacrifice."[105] For Americans who view wealth as "the logical reward for hard work, thrift, ingenuity and other admirable forms of behavior,"[106] the income tax represents an usurping of this reward; the argument is that taxing wealth based on income "has been seen over the years as a kind of punishment of virtue."[107] These same arguments show up in responses to my surveys, though I categorize them differently to capture three dimensions of

[101] Schneider and Ingram, *Deserving and Entitled*.
[102] Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*.
[103] Cramer, *The Politics of Resentment*.
[104] Weisman, *The Great Tax Wars*, 350.
[105] Ibid., 6.
[106] Ibid., 350.
[107] Ibid., 7.

paying taxes I observed in responses to open-ended survey questions. I tie the idea of the income tax as a source of justice to the idea that taxes are both a civic obligation and an act of altruism, and I tie the idea of punishment for virtue to the idea that taxes are a burdensome legal requirement – all ideas that were articulated by survey respondents.

The taxes-as-justice approach (that is, taxes as civic obligation and/or altruism) was followed by President Woodrow Wilson, who advocated for government programs that would raise revenues by taxing corporate wealth and distribute those revenues to lower-income Americans.[108] Prior to World War I, the United States had neither the public support nor the governing capacity to do so, but the war, writes Weisman, "transformed the attitude of Americans toward their entire government,"[109] and "unleashed the American willingness to use the tax system for aggressive social as well as economic ends."[110] Once financing for the war through taxes became normalized – driving tax rates from 7% at the beginning of the war to a 77% tax rate on the wealthiest citizens – "it was more possible to contemplate such an engine supporting a welfare state."[111] Wilson could have spread the tax burden among all citizens through consumption taxes, but his underlying belief that the government should provide some form of income equality led him to propose and enact the progressive tax system that would peak during Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal programs.

As Weisman points out, however, not all Americans view income taxes as a form of civic obligation or altruism. Some view it as a legally-enforced punishment of virtue, especially the virtue of hard work. Thomas Edsall and Mary Edsall note that a post-New Deal tax revolt began in 1978 with the passage of Proposition 13 in California, which held property taxes at one

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[108] Weisman, *The Great Tax Wars*.
[109] Ibid., 345.
[110] Ibid., 346.
[111] Ibid.

percent of actual value, prohibited new tax hikes, and restored real estate assessments to 1976 levels.[112] The tax revolt then spread nationwide, revealing "a new schism in American politics, pitting taxpayers against tax recipients."[113] The resulting resentment, explain Edsall and Edsall, became linked to race and focused Americans' attention on the costs of redistributive programs, which was experienced by citizens in terms of loss of control over things like school choice, employment, public safety, and social order. Edsall and Edsall write that this perceived "race and tax agenda" created a discourse in which the public's attention was focused "on what government takes, rather than what it gives,"[114] moving taxes away from a civic duty or an act of altruism to a legal burden.

This new, racialized perception of redistribution was taken up and reframed by conservatives in the 1980s, who promoted a policy of "conservative egalitarianism" with a focus on business, property, individual rights, and limited government without talking about race. As Tali Mendleberg observes, the political culture had changed after the Civil Rights era, making it no longer acceptable to employ openly racist appeals; instead, politicians and elites switched to coded language as a way to mobilize voters without giving the appearance of promoting racist policies.[115] Eliminating references or allusions to race in regard to taxes appealed to conservative voters who favored egalitarianism in principle but objected to policies that would ensure it.[116]

In 1984, during the height of the tax revolt, presidential candidate Walter Mondale proposed $30 billion in spending to "promote fairness"; voters interpreted this "as a proposal to redistribute revenues to the black and Hispanic poor […] seen by many as increasingly

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[112] Edsall and Edsall, *Chain Reaction*.
[113] Ibid., 129.
[114] Ibid., 11.
[115] Mendelberg, *The Race Card*.
[116] Edsall and Edsall, *Chain Reaction*.

undeserving."[117] Mondale's proposed transfer of wealth from working whites to specific minorities was widely rejected by voters in favor of Ronald Reagan's market-based (and ostensibly non-race-based) economic agenda. Edsall and Edsall write that the 1984 election crystallized in voters' minds the idea that taxes represent "the forcible transfer of hard-earned money away from those who worked, to those who did not."[118] This crystallization reinforced the legal dimension of taxes and rejected the idea that taxes were a form of civic duty or altruism.

Michael B. Katz elaborates on what makes a citizen "undeserving." This category of citizens, writes Katz, includes two groups: "imposters – those who supposedly fake dependence – and those who are dependent because of their own bad behavior or moral failing. The identification of fakers and frauds constitutes a perennial quest in the history of welfare reform."[119] Recent evidence of this quest can be found in the Republican healthcare reform bill passed by the House of Representatives in May 2017. Ten pages of the 60-page bill are dedicated to ensuring that lottery winners do not receive Medicaid benefits.[120]

This emphasis on fairness and deservingness raises questions about how Americans think about taxes and helps explain the often-shifting balance between the three dimensions of taxes I have identified. As Katz writes, the belief that it is acceptable for a farmer to depend on government subsidies but not for a single mother to receive benefits is tied to employment, which has become "the new criterion of full citizenship."[121] Vanessa Williamson notes that "public rhetoric about who is a 'taxpayer' reinforces stereotypes about who works hard and contributes to the community." Her survey research shows that some Americans falsely believe that there is a class of citizens who pay no taxes at all; in fact, she finds, even low-income

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[117] Ibid., 205.
[118] Ibid., 214.
[119] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*, 341.
[120] Guarino, "GOP's Obamacare Replacement Cracks down on Lottery Winners Who Receive Medicaid."
[121] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*, 348.

Americans are less likely to describe themselves as taxpayers, even if they work and own a home. Their reason, Williamson observes, is that "their idea of a taxpayer was a well-off working person."

Given America's contested history regarding taxes and redistribution, one might wonder why people choose to pay taxes at all. Williamson cites research by Margaret Levi, who finds that people are willing to pay taxes (and fulfill other civic responsibilities), but only if they believe others are doing the same, which connects taxes to the idea of civic obligation. Similarly, economists refer to the concept of "tax morale," which is a shared norm of paying taxes that "plays an important role in tax compliance."[122] Yet Americans do not show much confidence in their fellow citizens. When Williamson asked her survey respondents whether they were a taxpayer, 88% said yes. But when she asked respondents what percent of U.S. adults are taxpayers, respondents "typically estimated 66.5%."[123]

Not only do Americans think they are paying taxes when others are not, but they also believe that they are paying too much in taxes. Suzanne Mettler finds that 56% of respondents to her survey said they were being asked to pay their fair share of taxes, while 40% said they were paying more than their fair share.[124] Yet many Americans benefit from "hidden" tax subsidies, such as tax exemptions for employer-provided health care and retirement plans, state and local tax deductions, charitable contribution deductions, and deductions for home mortgage interest. These benefits – what Mettler calls the "submerged state" – lead people to think they are paying more in taxes than they should, and obscure the role of government, even to the people who benefit from these programs, to the degree that a large percentage of recipients deny that they

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[122] Williamson, "Americans Are Proud to Pay Taxes — except When They Think Others Are Cheating."
[123] Ibid.
[124] Mettler, *The Submerged State*.

have ever benefitted from a government social program.[125]

The origins of the modern income tax illustrate how the tax has been portrayed by elites and perceived by Americans in various ways: as a legal burden, a civic obligation, and an act of altruism. The next step is to dig deeper into these three dimensions to further explore how Americans use the act of paying taxes as a means of evaluating their fellow citizens.

Respectfulness

The third and last dimension of good citizenship I draw from the literature on citizenship is respectfulness, a non-financial and somewhat more complex idea, but one that arises in several forms. The word *respect* is derived from the Latin *respicere*, which means "to look at" or "to look again."[126] Respect has two definitions: the first is respect as attitude, e.g., respecting the flag or respecting the electoral process. The second definition, and the one I use here, is respect as behavior, in particular behavior "which avoids violation of or interference with some boundary, limit, or rule."[127] This is why I choose to use the word "respectfulness" rather than "respect" – "respectfulness" makes clear that I am talking about behavior towards others. However, it is difficult to isolate literature that talks about respectfulness rather than respect; for that reason, at times in this section I will use respect and respectfulness interchangeably, though my research focuses on respectfulness as an other-directed behavior.

What I found in the responses to my open-ended survey questions about citizenship was that individuals talked about respect in different – and contradictory – ways. I talk about this in more detail in Chapter 3, but I provide a quick summary here. Some respondents mentioned

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[125] Ibid.
[126] "Respect, v." OED Online. September 2016. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com.proxy.its.virginia.edu/view/Entry/163780?rskey=eSsYZE&result=2&isAdvanced=false
[127] Robin S. Dillon, "Respect," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, Winter 2016, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/respect/.

respect as an open-minded attitude toward others; these respondents showed a sense of equality and unity. Other respondents referenced respect for others' rights – another indication that these respondents might have been thinking in terms of equality, or at least a libertarian notion of democracy. But some respondents wrote about respect in terms of institutions, authority, and the law. There is a difference in respect as equality and respect for authority: one proposes that respect is egalitarian, because everyone is entitled to it. But respecting authority is explicitly inegalitarian. This tension is important because, like Katz' contrasting ideas of preexisting versus achieved citizenship status, it represents opposing ideas.

The contrast between egalitarian and inegalitarian views of respect is echoed in the survey questions commonly used to identify authoritarian tendencies. Karen Stenner's authoritarianism scale includes four items regarding child-rearing and the qualities children should possess. One choice for respondents is between independence and respect for elders. The respondent who choses respect for elders as the desirable characteristic is more likely to have an authoritarian worldview, in which perceptions of threat (to things such such as employment or marriage) trigger responses and behaviors that seek to exclude others (such as immigrants or same-sex couples). This clearly represents an inegalitarian view, yet one in which respect for order and norms is prevalent. Another choice in Stenner's authoritarianism scale is between self-reliance versus obedience. Respondents who lean toward an authoritarian worldview will choose obedience as the desired quality for children, again reinforcing that the concept of respect (in this case, respect for authority) can be an inegalitarian idea.

I provide a deeper analysis of the contradictory ways respondents wrote about respect in Chapter 3, but in this chapter I talk about respect and respectfulness generally as a way of introducing the concept and some of its background. I separate my discussion of respectfulness

into two categories: inegalitarian and egalitarian.

As explained by philosopher Carl Cranor, "a principle of respect […] cannot be the *sole* principle of a normative theory. One must have some other (weightier) principle with which to resolve incompatible judgments both of which a principle of respect requires us to accept." In other words, we can be respectful toward many kinds of people in terms of citizenship while refusing to be respectful of them in other terms such as morality or personality; in this way, we can adhere to a politics of recognition while still leaving room for value judgments.

The basis for evaluation I explore here is citizenship. What is being evaluated in my study is how respectful the citizen is to others. My use of the term *respectfulness* as a standard of citizenship draws from the thesis laid out by Cranor: Respect "is a complex relationship between four elements: a person who respects (a respector), a respected object, some characteristic in virtue of which the object is respected (the basis of respect), and some evaluative point of view from which the object is respected." [128] In my study, citizens evaluate one another based on respectfulness within the point of view of citizenship. Cranor argues that the characteristic being used as the basis for respect must be something over which the person being respected has some control. To respect someone based on a characteristic is to value that characteristic which "must be believed to be a good-making characteristic of persons"; these 'good-making' characteristics are observed from an evaluative point of view.[129] To reiterate, the "good-making characteristic" I study is respectfulness (and, in other chapters, financial self-sufficiency and paying taxes); the evaluative point of view is citizenship.

Inegalitarian views of respect prioritize the social order and the rule of law. Civilized

[128] Cranor, "Toward a Theory of Respect for Persons."
[129] Ibid.

conduct, writes T.H. Marshall, is essential to the "social health of a society."[130] To ensure that citizens treat each other with respectfulness, society requires "social systems" that promote compassion and discourage cruelty.[131] These systems operate in the form of norms of respectfulness, which are necessary, writes J.S. Mill, "in order that people may know what they have to expect."[132]

Our interactions with others are bounded by notions of respectfulness. William Miller describes sociologist Erving Goffman's detailed standards for interacting with strangers and acquaintances as a form of respectfulness. Goffman writes that we adhere to strict but largely unspoken guidelines when presenting ourselves to the world around us, essentially following codes of behavior regarding our dress, behavior, and reactions to others. The goal, writes Goffman, is to keep society running smoothly by not drawing attention to oneself and by not focusing attention on others. Recall that the attorney for the Charlottesville panhandlers mentioned the right to make others uncomfortable: panhandling is an example of a behavior that violates standards for interaction. Goffman refers to the practice of adhering to codes of behavior that avoid provoking negative emotions in others as "civil inattention."[133] Miller summarizes Goffman's study of public behavior by writing that following these codes demonstrates "respect for the social and moral norms that govern self-presentation. This kind of respectability […] comes as a consequence of making a commitment to follow and then in fact following the rules of propriety […] Respect is the homage one pays to the [social] order."[134] Miller renames this behavior "civil disattendability." To respect the social order by being respectful, then, is to maintain it. This form of respect – a commitment to the social order – is closer to the hierarchical

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[130] Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development*.
[131] Bandura, "Selective Activation and Disengagement of Moral Control."
[132] Troyer, *The Classical Utilitarians*.
[133] Goffman, *Behavior in Public Places*.
[134] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*.

view of respect for authority.

Respectfulness is a behavior "which avoids violation of or interference with some boundary, limit, or rule."[135] Respectfulness works two ways: people are respectful of one another, and people are respected by others. Civic virtue – the demonstration of good citizenship – is assessed in part by whether we treat others with respect.[136] This does not necessarily refer to our equals: treating people respectfully means being "prepared to listen to what they have to say or to do what they request because they have some authority, expertise, or influence."[137] Respectfulness refers to "not just the civility that […] any speaker is entitled to, but special acknowledgement for special characters."[138]

Iris Marion Young writes that the norm of "respectability" is associated specifically with professional culture, in which respectfulness is bestowed based on someone's appearance and demeanor. This appearance-based respectability is not limited to business professionals: Congress has raised concerns about TSA employees' law-enforcement-type uniforms,[139] and research demonstrates that putting police in military-style gear makes them behave more aggressively.[140] Respectfulness, then, comes not just from expertise or specialness. Respectability requires context, and, in many cases, a relationship that invokes the power and status of one person or group over another.

Schildkraut elaborates on the egalitarian view of respect: she finds that respecting others' rights is an important aspect of citizenship. Over 86% of respondents to her survey agree or strongly agree that being a "true" American means respecting First Amendment rights by "letting

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[135] Dillon, "Respect."
[136] Volpp, "Civility and the Undocumented Alien."
[137] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*.
[138] Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders.*
[139] Rooney, Stop TSA Abuses Act.
[140] Konnikova, "Dressed to Suppress."

other people say what they want, no matter how much you disagree with them." Further, the two highest-ranked items in her survey of "true" Americanism are "respecting other people's cultural differences" (96.9% agree or strongly agree) and "respecting America's political institutions and laws" (96.8%).[141] Several aspects of respectfulness are at work here: respectfulness for everyone's constitutional right to free speech, respecting government and laws, and respecting cultural differences (the third item seems connected to Honneth's idea of recognition, which I discuss in more detail below). Schildkraut's results confirm that respectfulness is a relevant aspect of good citizenship and that respectfulness is a shared standard used to evaluate citizenship.

Another egalitarian view of respect involves the recognition of each individual's dignity. Philosopher Axel Honneth writes that our sense of moral justice "is always constituted by expectations of respect for one's own dignity, honor, or integrity."[142] Moral injustice, Honneth writes, happens when people experience "social disrespect" because they are "denied the recognition they feel they deserve."[143] I base my measurement of respectfulness – presenting respondents with a vignette about a citizen who does or does not believe that every human being deserves respect – on Honneth's conceptualization of recognition, although I choose to use the language of respectfulness rather than the (perhaps) broader concept of recognition.

The demand for respectfulness as a demand for human dignity – made, for example, in the Charlottesville panhandling case I discussed in my first chapter – has two components: an appeal for "equal respectfulness as members of our humanity, regardless of the particularities of who we are – our class, race, gender, talent, accomplishments, or moral record," and "a call for

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[141] Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century*.
[142] Honneth, *Disrespect*, 71.
[143] Ibid.

respectfulness as particular individuals."[144] The failure to be respectful of others as unique members of a broader community is an impediment to the ideal of egalitarianism in a liberal democracy. Some citizens, especially those categorized as "deviants" in Schneider and Ingram's theory of social construction, learn from experience that they deserve disrespect and marginalization because of their own failings.[145] In this context, respect has to be earned or insisted upon by some citizens more than others, again emphasizing the inegalitarian nature of respectfulness as an element of citizenship.

My survey respondents make clear that respectfulness is part of our societal structure by indicating that good citizens are those who are respected and who extend respectfulness to others, while bad citizens are those who are neither respectful nor respected. Perceptions of respectfulness, therefore, can indicate a worldview that is either egalitarian, inegalitarian, or perhaps, for some individuals, a combination of both.

Vote Choice (Placebo Condition)

To strengthen the results of my analysis, I need to show that there are aspects of citizenship that are *not* associated with a willingness to limit rights. Although these aspects might be used to evaluate citizens, these evaluations are not used to allocate "bundles" of rights in the way the other three evaluative standards are used. I argue that one of these evaluations is vote choice. Even in our strongly divided political climate, I do not expect that whether someone voted for Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump will affect what rights people think that voter should have, although it likely will affect evaluations of good or bad citizenship (which should fall along party/ideology lines).

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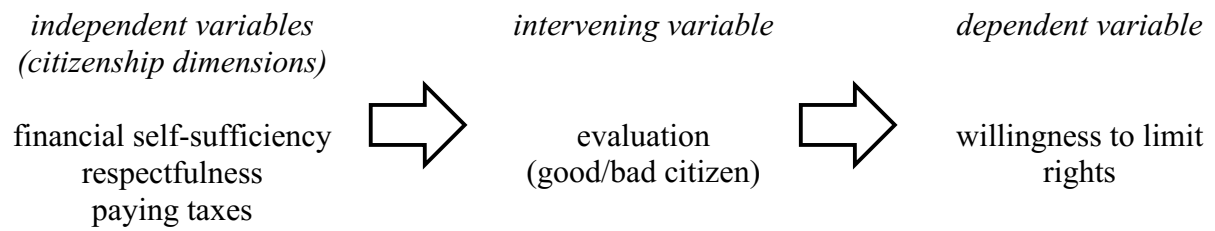
[144] Conover, Pamela Johnston, "The Politics of Recognition: A Social Psychological Perspective."
[145] Schneider and Ingram, *Deserving and Entitled*.

Table 1.1 summarizes the theoretical basis for the three dimensions of good citizenship I chose for my survey.

Table 1.1. Theoretical Evidence for Specific Dimensions of the Construct "Good" Citizenship.

concept	*construct*	*dimensions*	*theoretical grounding*
citizenship	good citizenship status	financial self-sufficiency	Shklar (earning) Young (dependency) Schildkraut (work hard) Failer (financial competence) Kymlicka and Norman (work) Marshall (work)
		paying taxes	Mettler (submerged state) Coontz (self-reliance from government) Cramer (rural consciousness) Schneider and Ingram (deservingness) Hancock (welfare) Katz (contributing)
		respectfulness	Cranor (evaluative characteristics) Marshall (civilized conduct) Goffman (civil inattention) Miller (civil disattendability) Schildkraut (culture and free speech) Marcus et al. (limits of support for rights)

To review, the model I have proposed is as follows:



In Chapter 2, I begin to address the first two columns of the model: the independent variable *financial self-sufficiency* and the intervening variable *evaluations of citizenship*. In Chapter 3 I address *respectfulness* and *evaluations*, and in Chapter 4 I address *paying taxes* and *evaluations*. In Chapter 5 I present the results of a survey experiment I designed to test this model – an experiment that brings in the third column, the dependent variable *willingness to restrict rights*, to show that the three dimensions I have proposed have two effects: they change how citizens evaluate one another, and they affect perceptions of which rights good and bad citizens should have.

Katz writes that "because citizenship is about boundaries, it is defined by exclusion as well as inclusion. Through citizenship a community defines who does and does not belong."[146] In the following chapters, I present evidence of some of the justifications used to determine where these boundaries are drawn.

[146] Katz, *The Price of Citizenship*, 345.

Chapter 2:
The First Requisite of a Good Citizen

"The first requisite of a good citizen in this Republic of ours is that he shall be able and willing to pull his weight."
- Teddy Roosevelt, 1902[1]

In the previous chapter I presented contrasting ideas about citizenship: it is sometimes talked about in legal terms and sometimes in terms of specific standards. In the remaining chapters, I focus on the latter. In this chapter I expand on financial self-sufficiency, one of the three dimensions of citizenship I explored in Chapter 1. The question I address in this chapter is how Americans express the link between good citizenship and financial self-sufficiency. I use original survey data to provide evidence that being financially self-sufficient is an essential aspect of American citizenship.

I build on existing literature on American citizenship by using original public opinion data to show that the idea of financial self-sufficiency amounts to a normative standard. The evaluations based on this standard, I argue, are not "top of the head" judgments,[2] but underlying structures that people rely on when they think about American citizenship. When good and bad citizenship are made salient, whether by providing examples or by asking outright what good citizenship entails, respondents indicate that being an American citizen means being financially self-sufficient (or, at minimum, not being fully dependent). And even when not directly articulated, my analyses reveal, norms of financial self-sufficiency structure evaluations of good and bad citizenship. Understanding gradations in citizenship – that is, why some citizens are perceived as better or worse than others – requires a close examination of the role financial self-sufficiency plays in defining good American citizenship and the consequences for those who fall

[1] Huizenga, "Sing Out, Mr. President: Teddy Roosevelt 'Pulls His Weight.'"
[2] Zaller, *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*.

short of financial self-sufficiency.

Theory of Citizenship Evaluations

To review: my political-psychological theory of citizenship evaluations states that Americans have ideas about citizenship, grounded in part on the notion of financial self-sufficiency, that guide their evaluations regarding fellow citizens.

In this chapter I derive and test two claims from my theory of citizenship evaluations. First, Americans articulate the connection between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship, explicitly or implicitly, in terms and ideas related to working and contributing to society. Second, when prompted with a checklist of terms including *financial self-sufficiency* and *being a contributing member* of society, (a) respondents consistently agree that good citizenship requires financial self-sufficiency, and (b) respondents use these same standards of financial self-sufficiency and contributing to society to evaluate bad citizens. In other words, citizenship and good citizenship are connected to things like having a job and volunteering, while bad citizenship is associated with the opposite: unemployment, failing to contribute to society, and a general lack of financial self-sufficiency.

To test these claims, I conducted a total of thirteen original surveys and survey experiments.[3] I test my first claim by analyzing the results of several open-ended survey questions regarding American citizenship to determine (a) how people define financial self-sufficiency, and (b) how often respondents refer to financial self-sufficiency when defining citizenship. I test my second claim by analyzing the results of a checklist-style survey in which participants were asked to select, from a list of 131 adjectives, which items best described either

[3] **Appendix 1** contains a table outlining the twelve surveys; details of each survey are included in **Appendix 2**. **Appendix 4** contains demographic information for the Checklist Survey sample.

bad or good American citizens. These results allow me to see which items are most commonly checked by respondents and to compare the standards used for bad citizens to the standards used for good citizens.

I expect to find that financial self-sufficiency is a core concept regarding American citizenship, one that will be associated with work and contributing and will come to mind when respondents are asked open-ended questions about what citizenship means. I also expect to find that financial self-sufficiency is used to the same degree to evaluate both good and bad citizens.

In the following sections I present evidence from my survey research to demonstrate that ideas about financial self-sufficiency are strongly tied to ideas about American citizenship: that is, bad citizens are associated with economic dependence, while good citizens are associated with employment and contributing to society – that is, giving back instead of being a "taker."

Linking Financial Self-Sufficiency and Citizenship

My first claim about the financial self-sufficiency/citizenship link is that Americans articulate the connection between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship, explicitly or implicitly, in terms and ideas related to working and contributing to society.

I used four questions from original surveys to test this claim. The responses to these survey questions illustrate how respondents articulated different aspects of financial self-sufficiency: what financial self-sufficiency means, what the meaning of citizenship is, and what good and bad citizenship look like. First, I used a single-question survey in which respondents were asked what they think it means to be a financially self-sufficient American. The responses to this question illustrate common ground in how people think about financial self-sufficiency in the context of American citizenship. Second, I used an open-ended question from the two Meaning Surveys that asks respondents to explain, in their own words, what American

citizenship means. This question allows me to see what considerations come to mind when respondents think about citizenship and the responses create an initial sense of how people divide citizens into good and bad. It also provides experimental data regarding what happens when these considerations are manipulated. Third, I used the open-ended question from the Bad Citizen Survey that asks respondents to describe a bad American citizen. Finally, I used the open-ended question from the Good Citizen Survey that asks respondents to describe a good American citizen. These questions are designed to generate explicit responses regarding good and bad citizenship to see how prominently financial self-sufficiency is mentioned.

In my survey on financial self-sufficiency, I asked respondents the following question: "In your opinion, what does it mean to be an American who is financially self-sufficient? What comes to mind when you hear an American referred to as someone who is financially self-sufficient?" Among the 99 responses to this survey question, 59% said that being financially self-sufficient means being able to provide for one's family; 49% said it means getting by with no financial help from friends or family; 47% said it means getting by without government assistance; 37% mentioned working; and 12% said that being financially self-sufficient means that one is "self-made," having achieved financial security without having to work for others.[4] These results demonstrate two important things: first, there is general agreement about what "financial self-sufficiency" means (each of the 99 responses was relevant to the question); second, there are several aspects of financial self-sufficiency, including responsibility, independence, and working, that "rise to the top" when respondents think about what being a financially self-sufficient American means.

The next step is to figure out *why* financial self-sufficiency is so closely tied to

[4] I coded the responses myself, looking for mentions of specific words. There is overlap in the percentages because I coded each response as one unit; a unit could mention multiple aspects of financial self-sufficiency, and most did.

citizenship and rights. I do this by exploring how people make explicit and implicit connections between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship. I begin this exploration using a question from the two Meaning Surveys.

An indicator of the importance of financial self-sufficiency comes from responses to a question I asked in my Meaning Surveys about the meaning of American citizenship. **Tables 2.1 and 2.2** list the order of questions in each survey. In the first Meaning Survey, respondents were asked an open-ended question about the meaning of American citizenship before answering any other questions in the survey. In contrast, one of the earliest questions for the second Meaning Survey respondents was, "How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in the United States?"[5] This question set the stage for two sets of questions about citizenship prior to the "meaning of citizenship" question being asked. The first set of questions asked respondents to indicate how important it is for good citizens to have certain characteristics such as letting other people say what they want and helping the less fortunate. The second set of questions asked for respondents' level of agreement with several statements regarding rights issues, such as whether convicted felons should be able to vote and whether sex offenders should be forced into civil treatment facilities after their prison sentence is complete.

[5] Meanings Last respondents were somewhat optimistic about respect for freedom and rights in the U.S.: 64% chose "some," 17% chose "not much," 16% chose "a lot," and only 2% chose "none." I also asked respondents to name groups who had limited rights; most respondents (25%) said LGBTQ citizens were most rights-limited (this was pre-*Obergefell*).

Table 2.1. Order of Question Blocks, First of Two Meaning Surveys

question block	*# of questions*	*content of questions*	*question type*
1	1	**meaning of citizenship**	open-ended
2	1	source of our rights	open-ended
3	3	respect for rights in U.S.	(a) none / a lot (b) open-ended
4	15	good citizen statements	agree/disagree
5	6	rights restriction scenarios	agree/disagree
6	9	demographics	PID, ideology, income, race, gender, state

Table 2.2. Order of Question Blocks, Second of Two Meaning Surveys

question block	*# of questions*	*content of questions*	*type of questions*
1	3	respect for rights in U.S.	(a) none / a lot (b) open-ended
2	15	good citizen statements	agree/disagree
3	6	rights restriction scenarios	agree/disagree
4	1	**meaning of citizenship**	open-ended
5	1	source of our rights	open-ended
6	9	demographics	PID, ideology, income, race, gender, state

The change in question order in the second Meaning Survey results in respondents being asked to define citizenship after they have answered questions about rights in the context of both good and bad citizenship. I expected that the definitions of citizenship would differ between the two surveys due to Meanings Last respondents being asked to make judgments about what makes someone a good citizen – and about which bad citizens deserve fewer rights. Specifically, I expected that mentions of financial self-sufficiency-related concepts would be higher in Meanings Last because having respondents effectively sort fellow citizens into good and bad categories beforehand should activate ideas about inegalitarianism – that is, to think about *why* some citizens are better than others.

I combined the "meaning" responses from each survey for this analysis. I also included responses to the Good Citizen and Bad Citizen Surveys, in which I asked respondents to describe

a good American citizen (in one survey) or a bad American citizen (in a separate survey). All of these questions were open-ended.

I used a simple word count to look for three concepts associated with financial self-sufficiency: working, self-sufficiency, and contributing. **Table 2.3** lists the specific search terms I used for each of the three independence-related concepts. **Figure 2.1** shows the distribution of these concepts.[6]

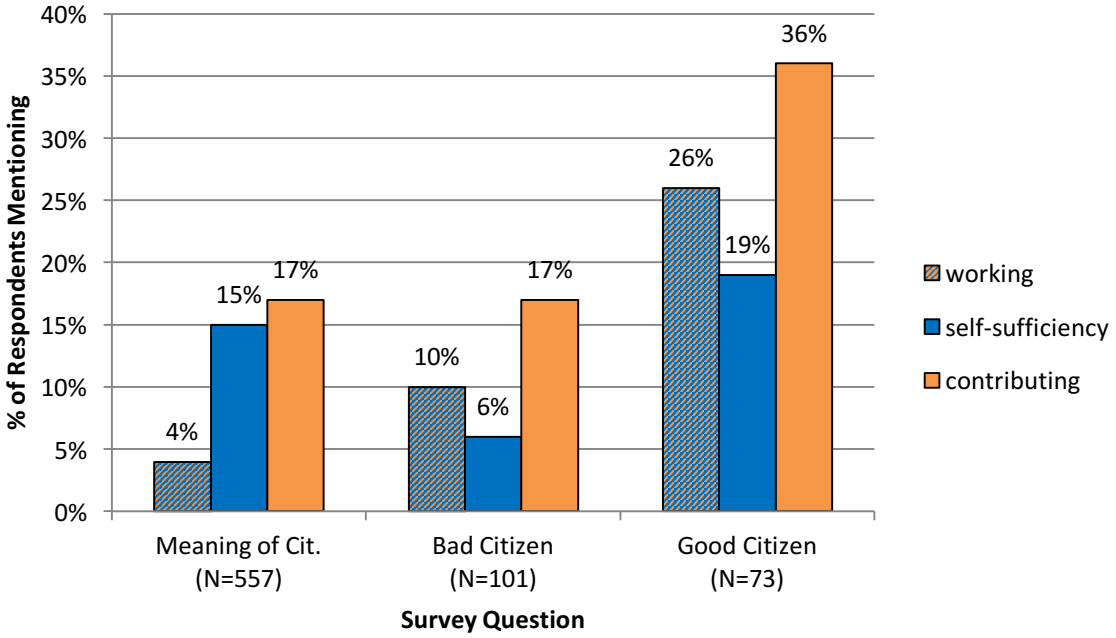
Table 2.3. Terms Used to Search for Financial Self-Sufficiency-Related Concepts.

	concepts		
	working	**financial self-sufficiency**	**contributing**
search terms	work hard work earn job	money provide taxes bills self-sufficient financial	contribut* volunteer communit* help

*Search term was shortened with a wildcard character (*) to find all possible mentions.

[6] The mentions of each category – for example, financial self-sufficiency – are compared simply by the number of mentions, not by positive or negative comments, meaning that in the "bad" condition, respondents referred to *not* contributing to society, while in the "good" condition, respondents referred contributing. Rather than coding positive or negative references, I only counted the number of times the category concept (e.g., "working/employed/job") was brought up in each condition.

Figure 2.1. Financial Self-Sufficiency-Related Concepts Are Associated with American Citizenship.



Source: Meaning Surveys (March 2013 and March 2014); Bad and Good Surveys (June 2014).

These results provide support for my first claim: respondents think about financial self-sufficiency when they are asked to define American citizenship in general *and* when they are asked about what makes someone a bad or good citizen, although mentions of specific aspects of financial self-sufficiency are different in each set of responses.

Mentions of terms related to *working* were quite low in the two Meaning Surveys: only 4% of respondents in these surveys defined citizenship in terms of jobs. In the Bad Citizen Survey, there were more mentions: 10% of respondents noted *not* working as a characteristic of bad American citizenship. Working was more often associated with good citizenship: 26% of respondents in the Good Citizen Survey mentioned concepts related to working. The implication is that financial self-sufficiency, at least in terms of work, is indeed linked to citizenship. When asked to explain citizenship in their own words, some respondents – especially those thinking

about good citizenship – did associate citizenship with work.

References to *financial self-sufficiency* follow a different pattern. Concepts related to financial self-sufficiency were mentioned by 15% of respondents in the Meaning Surveys and by 19% of respondents in the Good Citizen Survey, but by only 6% of respondents in the Bad Citizen Survey. Citizenship seems to be more about general financial self-sufficiency than working, according to these results. For bad and good citizens, evaluations based on financial self-sufficiency are different: few respondents in the Bad Citizen Survey mentioned financial self-sufficiency (even in negative terms), while the percentage mentioning financial self-sufficiency in the Good Citizen Survey was quite a bit higher.

Contributions to society played an important role in respondents' perceptions of citizenship. In the Meaning Surveys, 17% of respondents mentioned concepts related to contributing (most often *contributing* and *helping*). The percentage was the same in the Bad Citizen Survey, indicating that while working and financial self-sufficiency are not commonly associated with bad citizenship, contributions to society make a difference in how people evaluate their fellow citizens. The highest percentage of mentions across the board was in the Good Citizen Survey, where 36% of respondents mentioned aspects of contributing when describing a good American citizen. In each survey, contributing was the most-mentioned aspect of financial self-sufficiency, suggesting that the perception of bad citizens as "takers" has some merit – bad citizens are associated with getting more than they give. Good citizens contribute a lot, often (as respondents noted) through volunteering. What we can take away from these results is that doing things that are perceived as "giving back" are indicators of how good a citizen is. Bad citizens do not give back; good citizens do, in one way or another.

Figure 2.1 illustrates that although there are differences between bad and good citizens

in terms of financial self-sufficiency, both types of citizens are evaluated in the same "order." That is, both bad and good citizens are associated most with their contributions, then work, then financial self-sufficiency. Respondents who defined American citizenship more broadly prioritized contributions first, then financial self-sufficiency, then work. But no matter how the question is asked, contributions to society came to mind for many respondents.

These results support my claim that respondents to open-ended questions about citizenship will mention, in different ways, concepts related to financial self-sufficiency. These concepts reveal an underlying structure of citizenship in which financial self-sufficiency – in particular, working and contributing to society – informs Americans' perceptions of their fellow citizens and helps them evaluate and sort citizens into good and bad categories.

However, the results suggest that my second claim may not be supported: rather than describing good and bad citizens in opposite terms (e.g. employed vs. unemployed), respondents in the Bad Citizen and Good Citizen Surveys provided different standards of evaluation, as shown by the differences in the percentages for each aspect of financial self-sufficiency. For example, contrary to my expectations, *working* was mentioned by 26% of respondents in the Good Citizen Survey but only 10% of respondents in the Bad Citizen Survey. In the next section, I use additional evidence to determine whether this incongruity is repeated when the question types are changed from open-ended to checklist-style.

Clarifying the Results by Making Financial Self-Sufficiency Salient

The second claim I derive from my theory of citizenship evaluations is that when prompted with a checklist of terms including *financial self-sufficiency* and *being a contributing member* of society, (a) respondents will consistently agree that good citizenship requires

financial self-sufficiency, and (b) respondents will use these same standards to evaluate bad citizens. In other words, I expect that good citizenship is connected to things like having a job and volunteering, while bad citizenship is associated with the opposite: unemployment, failing to contribute to society, and a general lack of financial self-sufficiency.

To test this claim, I used the results of a survey designed to remove any possible coding ambiguity by presenting respondents with a list of characteristics of good or bad citizens rather than having them describe citizens in their own words. My Checklist Survey contained a list of 131 adjectives, most of which were drawn from the responses to open-ended questions in the Meaning Survey and the Good Citizen and Bad Citizen surveys. Respondents were assigned to a condition that asked them to check the items that describe either a bad or good American citizen (**Appendix 2** includes the full list of items for this survey). **Table 2.4** breaks down the number of respondents in each condition.

Table 2.4. Random Assignment of Respondents to the Two Conditions, Checklist Survey.

condition	*respondents*
bad American citizen	189
good American citizen	174
total	363

Source: Checklist Survey, November 2014.

I first looked at the differences in the number of items checked to determine whether one type of citizen (good or bad) was associated with more characteristics than the others. **Table 2.5** presents the average number of items checked in each condition; it also includes the least number of items checked by a single respondent and the highest number of items checked by a single respondent.

Table 2.5. Number of Items Checked by Respondents in Each Condition, Checklist Survey.[7]

condition	*N*	*average number of items checked*	*least number of items checked*	*highest number of items checked*
bad American citizen	189	18	2	42
good American citizen	174	28	5	85
total	363			

Source: Checklist Survey, November 2014.

The list was made up of pairs of antonyms such as *friendly* and *hostile, independent* and *dependent,* and *law-abiding* and *law-evading* (each pair was separated and randomized), so it was possible that the bad and good conditions could have a similar number of items checked. But based on the average number of items checked, it seems to have been easier for respondents to identify characteristics of good citizens (checked, on average, 28 items) than bad citizens (average 18 items). The same pattern holds true for the highest number of items checked: of the 131 adjectives, one respondent in the good condition checked 85, while the respondent who checked the most items in the bad condition chose 42. These numbers might indicate that either (a) in spite of my attempts to provide equally good and bad items, the list of adjectives is most descriptive of good citizens, or (b) it was easier for respondents to identify the characteristics of good citizens than of bad citizens, perhaps because there are prototypes for good Americans but not for bad Americans. I investigate these possibilities in the next section.

To measure which adjectives were most salient, I calculated which individual items were checked by the highest percentages of respondents. **Table 2.6** contains a summary of the results (I arbitrarily cut off the list in each condition by selecting only adjectives that were chosen by at least 25% of respondents).

[7] One observation was dropped from each condition: one respondent in the "bad" condition checked zero items, and one respondent in the "good" condition checked 113 of the 131 items.

Table 2.6. Percent of Respondents Who Checked Financial Self-Sufficiency-Related Items in Each Condition of the Checklist Survey.

bad condition		*good condition*	
doesn't contribute	63%	contributes	75%
avoids taxes	63%	financially self-sufficient	64%
		pays taxes	63%
		independent	62%
		employed	56%
		self-reliant	56%
		manages money well	43%

Source: Checklist Survey, November 2014.
All numbers are percentages of respondents who checked the item. Only items checked by at least 25% of respondents are included.

In terms of financial self-sufficiency, the list in **Table 2.6** shows that the connections to financial self-sufficiency are much more prevalent in the good condition. In the bad condition, the only frequently-checked items related to financial self-sufficiency were *doesn't contribute* and *avoids taxes*, both of which were checked by 63% of respondents (I discuss taxes in more detail in Chapter 4). Good citizens, on the other hand, were strongly associated with financial self-sufficiency: seven financial self-sufficiency-related items show up on the list of most-checked items. *Contributes* was checked by 75% of respondents in the good condition, followed by *financially self-sufficient* (64%), *pays taxes* (63%), *independent* (62%), *employed* (56%), *self-reliant* (56%), and *manages money well* (43%). It is here, in the good citizen condition, that the connection between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship becomes most apparent.

Listing individual qualities of citizenship helped respondents in the good condition better articulate their ideas about citizenship compared to respondents in the bad condition. This fits the findings outlined in **Table 2.5**: the average number of items checked in the good condition was 28; in the bad condition, it was 18. Earlier I speculated about why the average number for the good condition was higher: was my list biased toward good citizens? It was not:

every word in the Checklist Survey was paired with (but not adjacent to) an antonym, giving respondents in the bad condition just as many options as those in the good condition. I also speculated that perhaps it was easier for respondents to identify characteristics associated with good citizenship because they might be familiar with good citizen prototypes but not bad citizen prototypes. This may in fact be the case. At the end of the Checklist Survey I asked respondents whether they were thinking of any particular individuals or groups when they were checking items. In the good condition, many of the respondents said they were thinking of people like themselves – people they knew personally, such as coworkers, neighbors, friends and family. This suggests that respondents had an easier time identifying the characteristics of good citizens based on personal experience and proximity. In addition, good citizen prototypes are promoted through government programs that incentivize and reward work and financial self-sufficiency, such as Social Security and employer-paid health insurance, thus linking these characteristics implicitly to good citizenship.

The implication of my findings is that there is a delineation between bad and good citizens, especially in terms of financial self-sufficiency – but not the kind I expected. Bad citizens were, for the most part, not associated with the financial self-sufficiency-related items I included in the Checklist Survey; only *doesn't contribute* and *avoids taxes* were checked by more than 25% of respondents (the minimum threshold for inclusion on the list in **Table 2.6**). What was important to respondents, according to the most-checked items in the bad condition of the Checklist Survey, was the citizen's treatment of others. The most-checked in the bad condition were, in order, *violent, no respect for rights, hostile, threatening,* and *disrespectful* (the next item on the list is *doesn't contribute*). And although the good condition list includes seven independence-related items, it begins with *respects rights, law-abiding,* and *respectful*,

demonstrating that those characteristics may be even more important in assessing good citizenship. It is obvious that respectfulness matters quite a bit, and I discuss the importance of respectfulness in Chapter 3.

The open-ended and checklist-style surveys demonstrate that when individuals think about citizenship in terms of bad and good, many of them think about ideas related to working and contributing to society. My first claim, that when explaining bad or good citizens in their own words respondents would refer to financial self-sufficiency in various ways, was supported by evidence from the various open-ended survey responses. However, my second claim – that respondents consistently agree that good citizenship requires financial self-sufficiency, and that respondents will use these same standards to evaluate bad citizens – is only partly supported. Respondents in the Good Citizen survey did agree that financial self-sufficiency is an essential aspect of good citizenship. But the standards of financial self-sufficiency – working, financial self-sufficiency, and contributing – were not applied equally to good and bad citizens. On the contrary, bad citizens were associated with only two specific aspects of financial self-sufficiency, *contributing* and *paying taxes* (I discuss paying taxes in Chapter 4). The primary standards used to evaluate bad citizens were related to their treatment of others.

This distinction matters because it means that good and bad citizenship are not mirror images of one another. For a bad citizen to be perceived as a good citizen, she must do more than exhibit good citizen characteristics related to financial self-sufficiency.

Discussion

My findings provide evidence of the connections Americans make between financial self-sufficiency and citizenship, especially when they think about good citizenship. Using multiple samples and question types adds to my confidence in my results, but there are some

shortcomings.

First, my sample sizes were small: 557 in the Meaning Surveys, 101 in the Bad Survey, 73 in the Good Survey, and 507 in the Checklist Survey. Not only were the samples small, but recruiting through Amazon's Mechanical Turk, though efficient and inexpensive, means that I do not have a representative sample. Because my research characterizes how Americans think about citizenship, it will be important to reach a truly representative sample to re-test my claims in the future.

Second, using Microsoft Excel's word count feature may have left out mentions of financial self-sufficiency. Developing a coding scheme is feasible, but based on multiple readings of the open-ended responses I do not think it would be fruitful enough to abandon the use of the word count. I can, however, look for more ways to incorporate the language used by respondents to make sure I am capturing each reference to one or more of the financial self-sufficiency aspects.

Third, this analysis focuses on aspects of financial self-sufficiency that I claim are most important and relevant based on scholarly research and my own survey evidence. It is possible that there are aspects of financial self-sufficiency that I have left out – aspects that could affect my results. For example, debt can be a sign of financial self-sufficiency when it is attached to a mortgage or student loan, but a sign of financial dependence when it originates from a payday loan or credit card spending. During the 2008 financial crisis, some homeowners purposely defaulted on underwater mortgages, and it would be valuable to know whether Americans think this is an act of financial self-sufficiency (getting out from under a predatory loan) or dependence (an inability to manage money effectively). In addition, not working can be a sign of financial self-sufficiency when the individual is wealthy enough to live on investment income or

when the individual is a stay-at-home parent. There is a difference between not working and not *having* to work that is worth exploring further.

There are aspects of financial self-sufficiency that are, perhaps, too nuanced to be included in my analysis, and these aspects might reveal a different understanding of the financial self-sufficiency-citizenship link. Is someone who walks away from her mortgage or student loan debt a good American if the financial burden is the result of a broken or corrupt economic system? If working is a sign of good citizenship, what does wealth that results in not having to work say about a person's citizenship? A future project I have in mind is to design a survey that reveals more of these liminal aspects of financial self-sufficiency.

Conclusion

My overall argument is that Americans base their evaluations of fellow citizens using explicit and implicit standards of citizenship that are tied to the idea of financial self-sufficiency – especially working and contributing to society. I have shown evidence that good citizens are associated with financial self-sufficiency, while bad citizens are associated more with negative behavior toward others. The structure of citizenship-as-financial self-sufficiency helps inform Americans' evaluations and categorizations of their fellow citizens as good citizens, but the same standards do not apply to bad citizens.

A compelling finding from this data was how much treatment of others matters in evaluating fellow citizens. In the next chapter, I dig deeper into an important aspect of citizenship that was revealed in this analysis: respectfulness.

Chapter 3:
Find Out What It Means to Me

"R-E-S-P-E-C-T
find out what it means to me"
-Aretha Franklin (lyrics by Otis Redding)

A surprising finding from my Meaning Surveys and Checklist Survey was how much respectfulness matters when evaluating citizens. The question I address in this chapter is how respondents articulate the connection between respectfulness and citizenship. I answer this question using analyses of existing and original survey data to show evidence that respectfulness is part of an underlying structure regarding American citizenship.

I test two claims in this chapter, both based on my theory of citizenship evaluations, which states that Americans have ideas about citizenship, based in part on respectfulness, that guide their evaluations of fellow citizens. My first claim is that Americans are aware that respectfulness is an important part of citizenship, and that this connection is expressed in different and contradictory ways. Second, this connection between respectfulness and citizenship is activated – and can therefore be better articulated – when judgements about bad and good citizenship are made salient.

To test these claims, I conducted thirteen separate online surveys, using open-ended and closed-ended questions to probe Americans' understandings of the meaning of citizenship. I find that bad citizens are associated with disrespect for laws and institutions and a lack of respect for others' rights, while good citizens are associated with respectfulness and respect for others' rights, in addition to a sense of community-mindedness and tolerance.[1] These orientations toward respect are conflicting – one is inegalitarian (respect for laws and institutions) and another is

[1] Details of the data on which this chapter is based can be found in **Appendix 1** (a table outlining the thirteen surveys) and **Appendix 2** (a complete list of questions asked in each survey).

egalitarian (respect for others and for the rights of others). It is possible that respect is prominent because of its multiple meanings and applications – respondents are "talking" about respect but speaking a different language.

My results show that perceptions of fellow citizens' respectfulness for others, for others' rights, and for the United States' laws and institutions amounts to a normative standard that citizens employ in categorizing bad and good citizens. But these evaluations, rather than being widely recognized and automatically deployed, are more like normative undercurrents, clear organizing principles that people think about once they engage in a bit of mulling over the meaning of American citizenship. Getting people to articulate the connection between citizenship and respectfulness requires making good and bad citizenship salient, whether by asking a series of questions about it or by asking outright what good citizenship entails. Once that happens, people acknowledge that being an American citizen means getting and giving respect. And even when not directly articulated, my analysis reveals, norms of respectfulness still structure evaluations of bad and good citizenship – but in different ways. The importance of respectfulness as an aspect of citizenship – and its connections to social hierarchy – is in stark contrast to the American liberal tradition's emphasis on equality. Understanding differences in citizenship requires a close examination of the role respectfulness plays in defining good American citizenship.

Theory of Citizenship Evaluations

My theory of citizenship evaluations sets aside the contested legal definition of citizenship in favor of a more nuanced and behavior-oriented definition based on individual Americans' understanding of what citizenship means. The approach I take to defining citizenship and observing the implications of this definition is similar to that of Kymlicka and Norman, who

note that "we should expect a theory of the good citizen to be relatively independent of the legal question of what it is to be a citizen."[2] As with Chapter 2 and Chapter 4, I focus here on how citizenship evaluations are made (the first and second columns of my proposed model).

In this chapter, I examine how the norm of respectfulness functions to structure underlying ideas about citizenship. If respectfulness is indeed a requirement for American citizens, as I will show that it is, we should be able to measure the extent to which Americans believe this to be the case.

Two claims follow from my theory of citizenship evaluations. The first is that individuals will state their ideas about respectfulness in different ways that appear to represent different worldviews. Respectfulness has become so internalized that citizens may not realize they are using it as a standard of good citizenship. Second, when standards of good or bad citizenship are made salient, respectfulness becomes a prominent component of good citizenship, as indicated by individuals' ability to identify and articulate the importance of respectfulness. My evidence to support these claims comes from the results of thirteen online surveys I designed to find out how Americans' beliefs about good citizenship are expressed and articulated.

In the following sections I present evidence that ideas about respectfulness structure the ways in which Americans regard their fellow citizens, and I explore how we can observe these ideas being expressed.

Articulation of the Respectfulness-Citizenship Connection

I turn again to my Meaning Surveys for this analysis. Because my second Meaning Survey ("Meaning Last") prompted respondents to think about citizenship and rights before

[2] Kymlicka and Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Works on Citizenship."

defining citizenship, I expect to find that mentions of respectfulness-related concepts will be higher in the second Meaning Survey: making the good/bad judgments beforehand should have provoked deeper thinking about the meaning of citizenship because respondents in the second Meaning Survey had the time and the opportunity to think about citizenship as more than just a legal status. I specifically wanted to find out whether mentions of respectfulness-related concepts appeared more often in the second Meaning Survey definitions – and in fact they did. Before summarizing the results, I have provided in **Table 3.1** a brief glimpse into respondents' definitions of citizenship in each survey to provide some context for my discussion of the results of my analysis.

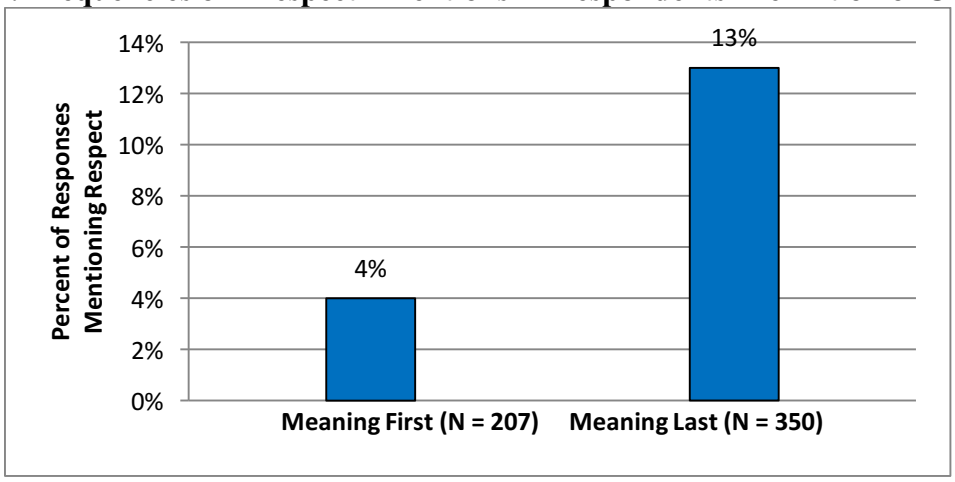
Table 3.1. Example Responses to the "Meaning of Citizenship" Question.

Meaning Question Asked First	*Meaning Question Asked Last*
Being a citizen of the United States means having a lot of rights and freedoms. This includes having the freedom to voice a thought or opinion. Even if that opinion or thought is not popular with the majority of the country. Being a United States citizen also means being free to pursue your own personal dream. This can range from getting married and having children, to starting career and launching a business.	Being a citizen of the United States should mean that a person is born in the U.S. & needs to be responsible to obey laws, such as traffic & criminal laws: no stealing, no assault against others, no abuse in any way. They need to respect others' property and work hard in school, learn respect for authorities such as teachers & police officers, become educated and self-sufficient hard-working adults to take care of themselves and their families, respecting our country's constitution and God.
It means freedom and liberty and above that respect. United states citizens are respected all over the world and along with it comes world class service.	Beyond the official status of being a citizen of the United States, I believe it means to respect the rights of other people. That could mean allowing the dissenting opinion of your neighbor to be spoken, providing financial assistance to the less fortunate (or not), choosing to pray or not pray before class, respecting all people.
It means to have the protection of the government in exchange for taxes.	Right now, it just means living here. I feel like in the past there was a lot more patriotism and pride in our country. Now, it's just a means to an end for most people living, or immigrating, here. Nobody cares what they can do for our country, just what our country can do for them.
To me, being a citizen of the United States is about adopting the culture and language of America. It means blending in while keeping your own cultural identity.	Freedom. I truly believe that if what I'm doing doesn't affect another human being I should have the right to do so. I believe that freedom comes at the cost of taxes and the removal of some freedom when it imposes on others. To me a citizen should make an effort to help the rest of the community, but if he/she is incapable the rest of us pick up the slack. Help your fellow man.

Source: Meaning Surveys (2013 and 2014)

To get the most straightforward data on mentions of respect, I used a simple word count to code responses by searching for *respect** (that is, all forms of the word *respect*) in the responses. In Meaning First (N = 207), 25% respondents referred to the legal definition of citizenship. But in Meaning Last (N = 350) this percentage was only 14%. This difference demonstrates that having respondents think about what it takes to be a good citizen and assess which groups should have limited rights led them to different considerations about citizenship – considerations that expanded their conceptualization of citizenship beyond a legal concept. Respondents in each survey used different criteria to assess the meaning of citizenship, which affected how they answered the "meaning" question. **Figure 3.1** illustrates the comparison.

Figure 3.1. Frequencies of "Respect" Mentions in Respondents' Definition of Citizenship.



Source: Meaning First (March 2013) and Meaning Last (March 2014) Surveys.
Percentages are calculated based on word counts.

Among the 207 definitions of citizenship in Meaning First were nine mentions of respect. These nine mentions defined respectfulness in several ways, including respecting others' rights, respecting the history and traditions of the U.S., and respectfulness for the law. At first glance, we might conclude from these results that respectfulness is *not* a salient characteristic of

American citizenship – after all, only four percent of respondents in Meaning First mentioned respectfulness. However, changing the context of the question – as I did in Meaning Last – makes a significant difference in how respondents use respectfulness-related concepts to define citizenship. This time, out of 350 responses, there were 45 mentions of respectfulness, including "respect for rights" and "tolerance and respect," an increase of about nine percent.

Two things are notable about these definitions (chosen randomly from the two surveys): the context in which "respectfulness" is mentioned, and the difference between legal and non-legal conceptualizations of citizenship. "Respect" is used in different ways in these responses: Americans are respected around the world, Americans should respect others' property and the authority of people like teachers and police officers, respect the rights of other Americans, and be respectful toward people. In just these few responses, it is evident that respectfulness matters and that respect means different things to different people. For some, it means having status and being respected for that status. For others, it means respecting the law and obeying authority figures. Others think about citizenship as a practice of not interfering with the rights of others. I consider all of these meanings in my analysis of respectfulness and citizenship.

As I expected, not only were the definitions in Meaning Last different – they also mentioned respect more often than Meaning First respondents, evidence that the preceding questions were prompting a different way of thinking about citizenship – not necessarily one that is more authentic than the definitions in Meaning First, but one that is more refined and articulate. What I was making salient in the Meaning Last survey were examples of civic regard and disregard: what a good citizen should be, and which citizens have forfeited their full constitutional rights. Dennis Chong,[3] in his research on responses to questions about rights and liberties, finds that the most effective questions are those that prompt respondents "to canvas

[3] Chong, "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties."

their thoughts on a subject before offering their opinions." Rather than nudging respondents toward my expected outcome – framing citizenship in terms of respectfulness – I may have presented them with enough information to "canvass their thoughts," as Chong puts it, and answer the "meaning of citizenship" question more thoughtfully.

In the Meaning First survey, some respondents defined citizenship in legal terms – being born in the U.S. or having the "official status" of U.S. citizen. But in Meaning Last, many respondents defined citizenship outside of the legal definition: having freedom to speak out and to pursue your own interests; responsibilities such as working and helping others; and assimilating into traditional American culture and language. These responses provide a sense of the similarities and differences between what individual respondents write when they are asked to define citizenship. They are also evidence that how people think about and express ideas about citizenship can be manipulated by prompting respondents to think first about citizenship and rights. This finding has implications for political discourse because it suggests that citizenship can be transformed from a legal definition that stresses egalitarianism to a behavior-based definition that stresses inegalitarianism.

Asking survey respondents to define American citizenship demonstrates that people's ideas about citizenship are not "fixed"; rather, they are affected by what respondents are asked to think about beforehand. Neither set of responses is more "real" than the other – the difference is that citizenship, with all of its complications and considerations, means different things in different contexts. In this case, the context was the second Meaning Survey's prompting of good and bad citizenship qualities and consequences. In the next section, I demonstrate that having respondents think about citizenship in terms of good and bad – and therefore in terms of better and worse – consistently results in respectfulness being considered a crucial component of

American citizenship.

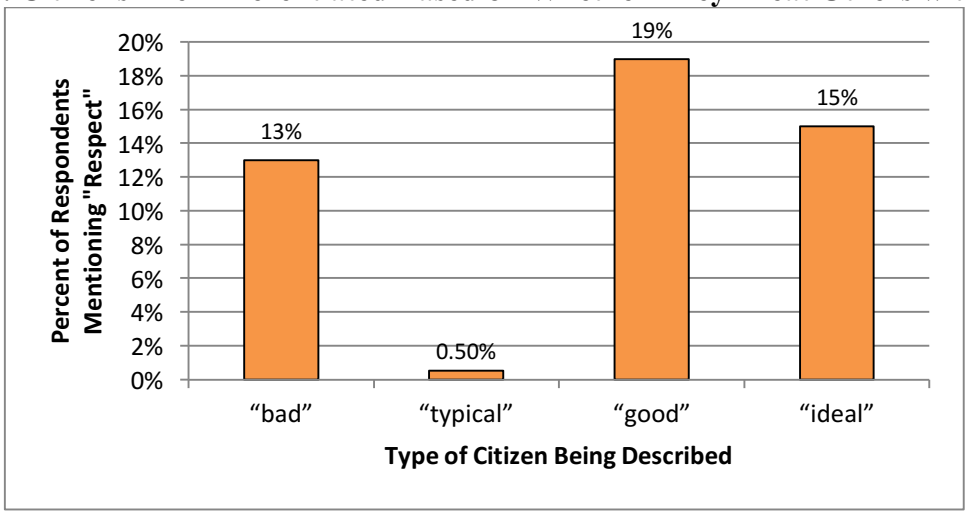
Activation of the Respectfulness-Citizenship Connection

I showed in the previous section that question order can prompt deeper thinking about citizenship, and that this deeper thinking includes a respectfulness-oriented view of citizenship. To provide further support for these results, I explain the results of several types of surveys, all of which demonstrate that respectfulness is an evaluative criterion Americans use to sort their fellow citizens into good and bad categories, which results in the negative evaluation of individuals perceived as disrespectful and therefore bad.

In one set of open-ended, single question surveys, respondents were given an opportunity to describe either a bad, typical, good, or ideal citizen.[4] I coded each response based on whether the word respect (in some form) was mentioned. The results are outlined in **Figure 3.2.**

[4] In the "bad," "typical," "good," and "ideal" citizen single-question surveys. See Appendices 1 and 2 for details.

Figure 3.2. Citizens Are Differentiated Based on Whether They Treat Others with Respect.



Source: Single-question surveys asking for descriptions of either a "bad" (N = 100), "typical" (N = 80), "good" (N = 73) or "ideal" (N = 67) American citizen. Percentages were computed based on word counts.

The results reinforce my claim that respectfulness is a fundamental element of citizenship – so fundamental that bad and good citizens can be differentiated based upon how they are perceived to treat others. Here, respectfulness does not emerge as a characteristic of typical citizens but clearly is an evaluative standard defining good, bad, and ideal citizens.

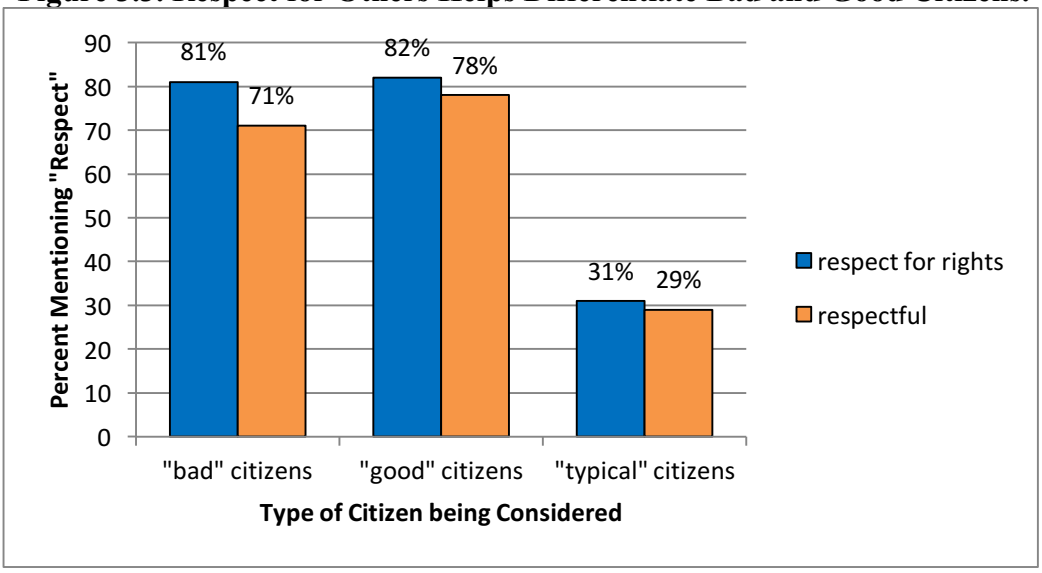
When describing bad citizens, 13% of respondents mentioned the word *respect* in some form,[5] while 19% of respondents describing good citizens and 15% of respondents describing ideal citizens referred explicitly to respect. In descriptions of the typical American citizen, the mention of respect is very low – only about 0.5% - evidence that it is at the extremes, not the center, where the importance of respectfulness is most prominent. There was little expectation expressed by respondents that typical citizens should be respectful compared to the other three types of citizens. In short, respondents easily categorized bad and good citizenship based on how much individuals respect other individuals and their rights.

In my Checklist Survey, I gave respondents a list of citizen characteristics and asked them to evaluate bad, typical, and good citizens by checking items from a list, including *respect*

[5] Mentions were calculated using a word search for all forms of the word *respect**.

for rights and *respectful*,[6] the emphasis on respect was even stronger, as shown in **Figure 3.3.**[7]

Figure 3.3. Respect for Others Helps Differentiate Bad and Good Citizens.



Source: Checklist Survey, November 2014. All numbers are percentages of respondents who checked the item; in the bad condition, the items checked were *no respect for rights* and *disrespectful.*

In the bad and good conditions, both *respectfulness* and *respect for rights* were ranked among the top five items (in the bad condition, this was represented by *disrespectfulness* and *no respect for rights*), showing that the categorization of citizens into good and bad types relies, in part, on perceptions of respectfulness, while typical citizens' interactions with others are, for the most part, left undefined.[8] Unlike financial self-sufficiency, which was used to evaluate good citizens more than bad citizens, respectfulness is cited as an evaluative criteria almost equally in the good and bad conditions of the Checklist Survey.

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[6] This was done in the 131-item Checklist Survey, which does not include an "ideal" citizen category. See Appendices 1 and 2 for details.

[7] Appendix 4 contains a complete table of the results. To avoid spurious correlations based on only a handful of responses, I cut off the list in each condition by selecting only adjectives that were chosen by at least 25% of respondents.

[8] In the "typical" condition, many respondents mentioned ascriptive characteristics: 18% wrote either "white," "Caucasian," or "European," while 10% wrote "men" and another 10% wrote "women." An interesting find here is that 10% of respondents said they were thinking about people like themselves as "typical" citizens: family, neighbors, coworkers, or themselves. As noted previously, it was much more difficult for respondents to conjure an image of the "typical" citizen and how she might interact with others.

After respondents in each condition completed the checklist of characteristics for each type of citizen, I asked an additional question: who were respondents thinking of when they checked the adjectives?[9] Respondents rarely mentioned a specific person; instead, they identified people who embody each citizen type. For example, in the bad condition, 19% of respondents reported that they were thinking of intolerant (and therefore disrespectful) citizens such as racists and homophobes when describing a bad citizen. Eighteen percent said "criminals" of different types, and 10% of this liberal-leaning sample mentioned political or religious conservatives as the citizen they associate with bad citizenship – again, all groups perceived as being disrespectful of others in some way.

Respondents in the good condition were most likely to say they were thinking of people like themselves: 16% of respondents used some form of this description. While bad citizenship is associated with specific characteristics – particularly intolerance, a form of disrespect – there are many ways to be a good citizen, so many that respondents did not consistently describe individuals or groups they associate with good citizenship. For example, in the good condition, the second-highest percentages were 8% for people who help others, 7% for personality traits like generosity and tolerance, and 7% for civic service (including military service) or having a job (such as a teacher or doctor) that benefits society. In other cases, respondents seemed to have an easier time describing a good citizen, but here that was not the case – this time, it was easier for respondents to use respectfulness to describe a bad citizen, again reinforcing the importance

[9] Respondents were provided five write-in boxes. The total number of groups and/or people mentioned in the "bad" condition is 376; in the "typical" condition, 331; and in the good condition, 374. Note the familiar pattern: respondents could name groups or people most often in the "bad" and good conditions, but had a slightly harder time identifying who might be a "typical" citizen. Because the questions were open-ended, I first coded each response to create matching categories (i.e., correcting misspellings and re-wording phrases). I also created larger categories: I put mentions of the KKK into a broader "intolerant" category along with mentions of racists, bigots, and homophobes. Even after making these adjustments, the percentages of each group were small. In total, 41% of the groups or people listed in the "bad" condition could be categorized, along with 43% in the "typical" condition and only 27% in the "good" condition. The implication is that there is small but recognizable agreement about who "bad" and "typical" citizens are, whereas "good" citizens come in many forms.

of respectfulness in evaluations of citizenship.

Having established which items were checked most frequently in the Checklist Survey, and who respondents thought of as bad or good citizens, I ran another statistical analysis to confirm that adjectives related to respectfulness were not only frequently checked, but associated with other, similar terms. Because determining associations (correlations) between 131 items is unwieldy, I chose to start mapping broader concepts underlying individuals' ideas of citizenship by running a principal components analysis (PCA) on the list of most-chosen adjectives in each condition (**Appendix 6** contains the list of items used for the PCA in each condition).[10] What I want to end up with after each PCA is a short list – only a handful of items – that effectively distills the 131 adjectives into categories that maintain the meaning of the full survey, essentially acting as shortcuts to respondents' choices on the checklist. Most important, this short list should include respectfulness as one of the most important (i.e., strongest) components.

The PCAs resulted in a total of five components[11] – that is, five concepts that capture respondents' ideas about citizenship. For example, in the good condition, the first component – recall that these components are unnamed latent variables that require interpretation – consists of the survey items *friendly, focus on community, passionate,* and *protective*. I chose to classify this group of items as *respectfulness* because they represent a way of treating others. But note that they also indicate a sense of likability and openness. As I expected, respectfulness is the first component in each condition. Of the five components I identified using the PCA, respectfulness is the only component that shows up in each condition, meaning that respondents in the bad and

[10] A PCA looks for correlations between items and sorts them into unnamed "components." Essentially, the PCA permits me to see which characteristics go together – or "what goes with what." By looking at the items in each component, I can get a sense of (and come up with a name for) the latent variable that component is capturing and find out whether *respect* is one of them.

[11] The five components, in order: *independence/respect, conformity, criminality,* and *tolerance*. Appendix 5 includes a table of the components along with the adjectives I used to identify and name each component.

good conditions were like-minded in checking respectfulness-related characteristics that they used as evaluative concepts.

These findings reinforce the connection between respectfulness and citizenship – strong enough that respectfulness is an easy way to create a contrast between bad and good citizens. Respectfulness may not always be a "top of the head" consideration regarding citizenship, but after respondents are given the opportunity to think more deeply about what American citizenship means and how it is applied to bad and good citizens, they demonstrate the importance of respectfulness as a norm of citizenship. Furthermore, the PCAs show that respondents are consistent in their beliefs regarding "what goes with what" as far as respectfulness-related characteristics are concerned. The combined results demonstrate and reinforce the fact that the multiple methods I used to question respondents and analyze results share a common conclusion: respectfulness is a fundamental, evaluative concept that Americans rely on to sort their fellow citizens into bad and good categories, thus helping to establish what good citizenship looks like.

Exploring Alternative Explanations for the Respectfulness-Citizenship Connection

Can political and demographic variables explain respondents' belief in the importance of respectfulness? There is reason to think they should. Conservatism, writes Don Herzog, "provides a robust account of high and low in its image of social order as a unified hierarchy," while liberals "disavow talk of high and low in the name of equality."[12] Likewise, Republicans emphasize duty-based aspects of citizenship and respect for the authority of the state, while

[12] Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders.*

Democrats focus on the social dimension of citizenship that protects those in need.[13]

Women might think respectfulness is important because of their continuing struggle to bridge a gender gap that favors men. Older Americans have a more obligation-oriented view of citizenship,[14] which could make them more likely to think respectfulness and citizenship are closely connected. And the more educated a person is, the more she might believe that respectfulness is important because of the social and economic benefits she gains from her status as an educated citizen.

To find out whether political and demographic variables could be behind the respectfulness-citizenship link I conducted a series of regression analyses on my Checklist Survey results. I looked for connections between the checklist items *respect* and *respect for rights*[15] to determine whether ideology, party identification, gender, age, or education are associated with a belief in respectfulness as a crucial characteristic of good citizenship; the results are presented in **Table 3.2**.

[13] Dalton, *The Good Citizen*.
[14] Ibid.
[15] In the "bad" condition, I looked at *disrespect* and *doesn't respect rights*.

Table 3.2. Political and Demographic Variables Do Not Explain Associations between Respect and Citizenship.

condition	*item*	*ideology*	*party identification*	*female*	*age*	*education*
bad	disrespectful	--	-	-	+	+
	doesn't respect rights	+	+	+	+	-
typical	respectful	-	-	++	+	+
	respects rights	--	-	+	++	+
good	respectful	-	-	-	-	-
	respects rights	+	-	+	+	-

Source: Checklist Survey. Double-plusses or minuses (++ or --) represent significance at the 0.05 level.
Ideology scale: 1-7 (conservative-liberal) Party identification scale 1-3 (Republican-Democrat).

I have simplified **Table 3.2** by indicating only the direction of each relationship (i.e., positive or negative); statistically significant relationships are indicated by double plusses or minuses. If there is a relationship between any of these variables and respectfulness, we should see an entire column of double-plusses or minuses. For example, if there were only plusses in the *female* column, it would indicate that women are more likely to categorize citizens based on respectfulness, regardless of whether they are thinking about bad, typical, or good citizens.

What **Table 3.2** shows instead is that neither political variables like ideology or party identification nor demographic variables like gender, age, and education are consistently driving respondents' evaluations of citizens. For example, the *ideology* column contains a mix of plusses and minuses, indicating that neither conservatism nor liberalism is driving respondents' categorization of bad, typical, and good citizens based on the characteristic of respectfulness. The results are the same for the other four variables: no variable is consistently connected to the concepts of *respect* and *respect for rights.* The closest connection appears to be age, with older respondents placing more value on respectfulness. This corresponds to Russell Dalton's finding that older Americans place more value on a duty- and service-oriented form of citizenship. These

results support my claim that sorting citizens into bad and good categories is based not on political or demographic variables but on the strength of the respondents' belief that good citizenship involves treating others with respect, and that bad citizens are notable for lacking these qualities.

Discussion

When respondents are asked about the meaning of American citizenship, their responses vary based on the context of the question: respectfulness shows up more often when questions about good and bad citizenship and rights are asked beforehand, perhaps generating a more complex thought process about the meaning of citizenship. But when respondents are prompted to think about citizenship in terms of bad and good, they consistently rank respectfulness as one of the most important characteristics of citizenship. This emphasis on respectfulness cannot be explained by political or demographic variables – it appears to be a solid segment of a bigger underlying structure regarding citizenship.

There are two primary shortcomings to this analysis: the small number of respondents, and the non-representative sample. Future studies would benefit from an expanded, nationally representative sample that better captures the American population. However, one of the benefits of the small samples for the open-ended questions is that it permitted deeper exploration into individual responses; those responses were used to help build the list of adjectives in the checklist survey. The checklist survey is a valuable tool for adding confirmation to the open-ended responses; it lets me prompt specific characteristics that respondents might not otherwise consider, such as caring for the environment and being mentally stable.

Conclusion

To understand American politics, it is vital to capture multiple aspects of public opinion. Asking Americans to define what citizenship means – in their own words – is much more revealing and informative than the data I would get from a structured set of questions. Manipulating the context in which the "meaning" question is asked demonstrates the various considerations respondents bring to citizenship: without the context of good and bad citizenship, respondents are much less likely to think of citizenship in terms of respectfulness. But when good and bad citizenship are prompted, respectfulness comes to the forefront.

Respectfulness functions as an underlying structure that shapes how Americans think about citizenship. Even when it is unspoken – when the standard of respectfulness is not made explicit – Americans know it exists, having internalized it, and are able to use it to evaluate fellow citizens. Most significant, I find that there are different – and contradictory – ways of thinking about and defining respectfulness. Some respondents wrote about respectfulness in terms of respect for others and their rights – an egalitarian view. Others wrote about respectfulness in terms of respect for authority – an inegalitarian view that reinforces social and political hierarchies.

These hierarchical structures appear in another aspect of citizenship as well. In the next chapter, I investigate a third dimension of good citizenship that is used to evaluate and categorize good and bad citizens: paying taxes.

Chapter 4:
The Dues That We Pay

"Taxes, after all, are the dues that we pay
for the privileges of membership in an organized society."
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt, 1936[1]

An increasing number of Americans are making the choice to renounce their U.S. citizenship. This is due, in part, to the passage of legislation designed to "detect, deter and discourage" American citizens from keeping their money in foreign bank accounts to avoid paying taxes on it.[2] In 2010, the year the legislation passed, 1,534 Americans chose to renounce their citizenship; by 2015, this number had grown to 4,279. The total number of Americans who have renounced their citizenship since 2010, according to IRS records, is 14,940.[3] The fact that an increasing number Americans would make the choice to renounce their citizenship rather than pay the full amount of taxes they owe is an indication that for them, taxes are a straightforward legal requirement – one to be avoided – rather than way to participate in American democracy or contribute to society.

I am interested in how Americans – not just those wealthy enough to keep money in foreign bank accounts – view the connection between citizenship and taxes. First, how important is paying taxes when it comes to evaluating good versus bad citizenship? Second, is paying taxes perceived as simply a legal requirement of citizenship, as a civic obligation similar to voting and jury duty, or as an act of altruism intended to help those less well-off? In this chapter I investigate the link between citizenship and taxes and examine how Americans articulate the broader significance of paying taxes.

Understanding the link between citizenship and taxes – that is, who pays them, and who

[1] Roosevelt, "Address as Worcester, Massachusetts, October 21, 1936."
[2] Mui, "Why Americans Are Giving up Citizenship in Record Numbers."
[3] Ibid.

is perceived as receiving benefits from them – reveals one way in which American citizens evaluate one another. When citizenship is associated with receiving material benefits, as is the case with social welfare programs, citizens show more of an incentive to limit who is entitled to those benefits and how those benefits are spent. These evaluations have significant political and economic consequences. For example, citizens who depend on tax-funded programs such as welfare or food stamps are subject to strict oversight including home searches and restrictions on what groceries they can purchase.[4] Americans who think of tax dollars as "our" money (i.e., money paid into the system by citizens with jobs for the benefit of citizens who are unemployed) use the "our money" language – a claim of ownership – when advocating for policies that restrict the use of "our" money, such as mandatory drug testing for welfare recipients.[5]

Citizens subject to government oversight tied to their benefits experience a different kind of citizenship, one that teaches them that they are not a client of government: in other words, they learn that "government belongs to someone else."[6] Another consequence of using taxes as a method of evaluating fellow citizens is that misperceptions of the amount of tax dollars spent on government programs can turn public opinion against that program, as Kuklinski et al. find: two-thirds of respondents to their survey on welfare spending "grossly overestimated" the percentage of the federal budget that is spent on welfare.[7]

Perceptions of taxes affect those above the poverty level as well. Because programs like SNAP and welfare are more visible, they attract political reactions, while government programs that benefit better-off Americans – such as tax exemptions and mortgage interest deductions aimed at the middle-class – remain invisible and thus promote the idea that beneficiaries of these

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[4] Taibbi, *The Divide*.
[5] National Conference of State Legislatures, "Drug Testing for Welfare Recipients and Public Assistance."
[6] Schneider and Ingram, "Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy," 1993.
[7] Kuklinski et al., "Misinformation and the Currency of Democratic Citizenship."

government programs are in no way dependent on government aid.[8] I elaborate on these perceptions in the sections that follow.

Connecting Citizenship and Taxes

I begin my analysis by revisiting my theory of citizenship evaluations, from which I draw two claims regarding taxes. First, whether someone pays taxes is an indicator of good or bad citizenship; i.e., good citizens pay taxes and bad citizens do not. Second, I claim that Americans' beliefs about paying taxes have three dimensions: some see it as simply a legal requirement, some as a civic obligation, and others think of paying taxes as an act of altruism, a way of spreading wealth to economically disadvantaged citizens.[9] I investigate each claim using original survey data and survey experiments as well as data from the General Social Survey.

Despite the fact that taxes are a common political theme and are present in the everyday lives of Americans, how Americans think about taxes is an area that would benefit from deeper investigation. Much of the public opinion research regarding taxes focuses (as least in part) on the perception that taxes are a burden[10] or on public perceptions of tax spending and tax benefits.[11] I present an additional view of citizenship and taxes, focused on two primary questions: how paying taxes influences evaluations of good or bad citizenship, and how Americans perceive the meaning of "paying taxes."

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[8] Mettler, *The Submerged State*.
[9] I recognize that these categories may overlap, but I show that they can be measured separately.
[10] Bartels, *Unequal Democracy*.
[11] Mettler, *The Submerged State*.

Theory of Citizenship Evaluations

To recap, my theory of citizenship evaluations states that Americans have ideas about citizenship, based in part on standards involving paying taxes, that guide their evaluations of fellow citizens. In this chapter I test two claims that follow from this theory: first, paying taxes is associated with both good and bad citizenship; that is, good citizens are associated with paying taxes while bad citizens are associated with avoiding taxes. Second, Americans' understandings of the purpose of paying taxes has three dimensions: some see it as simply a legal requirement, some as a civic obligation, and others think of paying taxes as an act of altruism, a way of spreading wealth to economically disadvantaged citizens. I provide more detail on each dimension of paying taxes below.

Paying taxes as a legal requirement. Aside from the fact that paying taxes is, in fact, a legal requirement, my claim that some Americans will perceive paying taxes as no more than a legal requirement is supported by research on citizenship. Searing, Conover, and Crewe conducted focus groups in which they asked participants about their perception of the duties of citizenship; participants consistently mentioned the "duty to pay taxes" as a negative, due to the "required, involuntary character of duties."[12] The rising number of Americans willing to renounce their citizenship for tax reasons suggests that when forced to make a choice between paying taxes or being a United States citizen, some will choose to avoid the duty of paying taxes by renouncing their citizenship. Paying taxes may be involuntary, but the citizenship status that requires paying taxes is a choice.

Paying taxes as a civic obligation. The rights of American citizens come with obligations. Two of these obligations, as identified by historian Linda Kerber, are paying taxes

[12] Searing, Conover, and Crewe, "Citizenship in the Age of Liberalism."

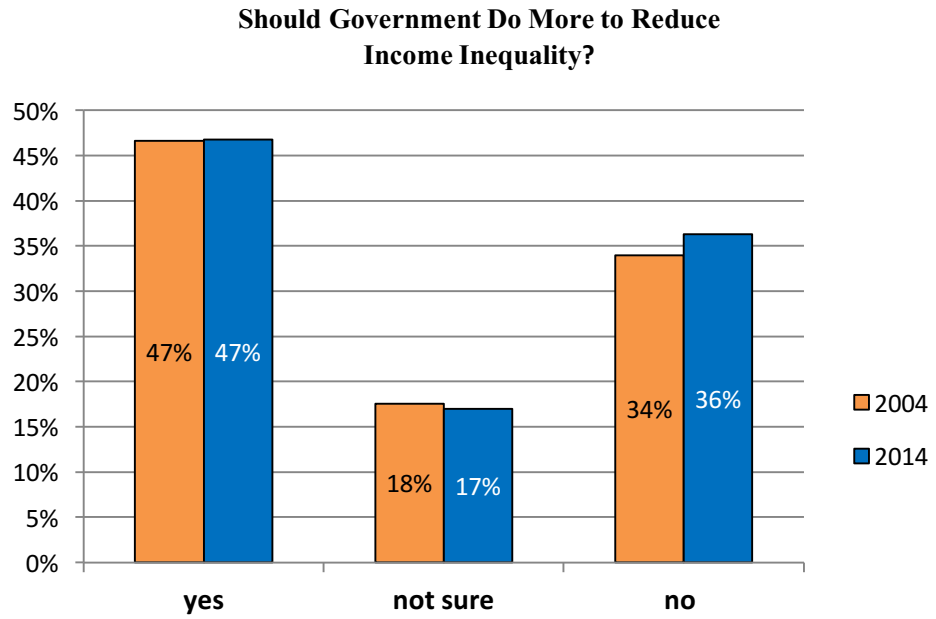
and avoiding vagrancy (that is, "to *appear* to be a respectable working person").[13] By connecting these obligations, Kerber promotes the idea that being a taxpayer is associated with a certain status: the status of a worker, or the status of what Judith Shklar calls "earning," one of two fundamental elements (along with voting) of social standing.[14] In this context, the civic obligation is to participate in political life and to forego some amount of individualism in favor of doing what is best for society at large – that is, to avoid being one of the so-called "47%" who pay no income tax.[15] Paying taxes, in this case, does two things: it gives the individual the legitimate status of a citizen who is qualified to participate in a democracy, and it indicates a willingness to benefit the community in addition to yourself.

Paying taxes as an act of altruism. Some see paying taxes as a way of benefitting others *instead* of yourself. George Kateb argues that to protect the human dignity of all Americans, we must add an amendment to the Bill of Rights declaring that it is the responsibility of the government to provide every citizen "the right to be spared from utter degradation or to be saved from material misery."[16] Kateb acknowledges that this effort would require bigger government and higher taxes (not to mention unprecedented political will). But there is evidence that an altruistic view is might not be outside the mainstream. For example, a group of over 200 Americans with annual incomes over one million dollars, which calls itself the "Patriotic Millionaires," wants the government to raise taxes on wealthy Americans like themselves for the benefit of lower-income citizens.[17] Non-millionaires also advocate a more altruistic view of taxpaying: one of the questions asked in the General Social Survey is whether respondents think

[13] Kerber, Linda K., "The Meanings of Citizenship."
[14] Shklar, *American Citizenship*.
[15] Rucker, "Leaked Video Puts Romney Campaign on Defensive Againq."
[16] Kateb, *Human Dignity*.
[17] http://patrioticmillionaires.org/about/

government should do more to reduce income inequality, even if it requires a tax increase.[18] **Figure 4.1** illustrates the results. A plurality of respondents in both 2004 and 2014 said that government should do more to help the poor.

Figure 4.1. Plurality of GSS Respondents Agree that Government Should Address Income Inequality Even if it Requires a Tax Increase.



Source: General Social Survey (variable EQWLTH).
2004 N=865; 2014 N=1671. Responses were measured on a scale of 1-7, with 1 being "gov't should" and 7 being "gov't should not."
The "yes" percentages represent responses between 1-3.

My goal is to find out how important Americans believe paying taxes is – especially as a measure of good citizenship – and to gather evidence for my claim that Americans perceive paying taxes as a legal requirement, a civic obligation, or a kind of gift. I test my claims using

[18] "Some people think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by raising taxes of wealthy families or by giving income assistance to the poor. Others think that the government should not concern itself with reducing this income difference between the rich and the poor. […] What score between 1 [government should] and 7 [government should not] comes closest to the way you feel?"

several original datasets. To test my first claim, that paying taxes is associated with both good and bad citizenship, I use original survey data from my Checklist Survey. To test my second claim about the three dimensions of paying taxes, I use four sets of original survey data: (a) responses from the Checklist Survey, (b) responses from the Meaning Surveys, (c) and responses from the Good Citizen and Bad Citizen Surveys.

Claim 1: Paying Taxes as an Evaluative Criterion

My first claim is that paying taxes is associated with both good and bad citizenship; that is, good citizens are associated with paying taxes while bad citizens are associated with avoiding taxes.

To test this claim, I use data from my Checklist Survey, in which I asked respondents to select, from a list of 131 characteristics, which items best describe either a good or a bad American citizen. The survey contained a simple checklist of adjectives (**Appendix 2** includes the full list of items for this survey). **Table 4.1** breaks down the number of respondents in each condition.[19]

Table 4.1. Random Assignment of Respondents to the "Bad" and "Good" Conditions, Checklist Survey.

condition	*respondents*
bad American citizen	189
good American citizen	174
total	363

To measure which adjectives were most salient – that is, which adjectives came to

[19] **Appendix 3** includes a list of demographics for the Checklist Survey sample compared to an ANES sample.

respondents' minds most often in each condition – I calculated which items were checked by the highest percentages of respondents.[20] If I am correct in claiming that paying taxes is an important evaluative criterion for distinguishing between good and bad citizens, I expect to see *taxes* ranked highly in both conditions – that is, *paying taxes* should rank highly in the good condition while *avoiding taxes* should rank highly in the bad condition.

The results support my first claim. In the bad condition, *avoiding taxes* is near the top of the list.[21] It ranks at number seven, checked by 63% of respondents. In the good condition, the same percent of respondents checked *paying taxes* – but in this condition, *paying taxes* ranks at number sixteen. When measured simply by the percentage of respondents who checked *avoiding taxes* and *paying taxes*, the significance of taxes as an evaluative criterion is the same. But there is a caveat: when compared to other criteria used to evaluate good and bad citizenship, failing to pay taxes is more of an indicator of bad citizenship than paying taxes is of good citizenship. In other words, respondents were quick to identify bad citizens as tax-avoiders, but paying taxes was not a primary criterion for good citizenship evaluations.

What these results confirm is that citizens are evaluated based on whether they pay taxes. However, good citizens are evaluated by more criteria than are bad citizens, possibly because respondents have a better sense of what a good citizen is and does. It may have been easier for respondents to conjure an image of the good citizen prototype, leading them to check more items on the good citizen list than the respondents checked in the bad condition.

My first claim is supported: both good and bad citizens are evaluated based on whether they pay taxes, but bad citizens are more likely to be evaluated on their taxpayer status, while

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[20] To avoid spurious correlations based on only a handful of responses, I arbitrarily cut off the list in each condition by selecting only adjectives that were chosen by at least 25% of respondents. **Appendix 4** contains the list of most-checked items.

[21] With the 25% threshold in place, the bad-condition list contains 28 items, while the good-condition list contains 43 items.

good citizens can meet several other criteria before paying taxes becomes a consideration.

Next, I divide my second claim into two parts to establish the three dimensions of paying taxes and to provide context regarding how respondents articulate their ideas about paying taxes as an aspect of citizenship.

Claim 2, Part 1: Establishing Three Dimensions of Paying Taxes

My second claim is that Americans' understandings of the purpose of paying taxes has three dimensions: some see it as simply a legal requirement, some as a civic obligation, and others think of paying taxes as an act of altruism, a way of spreading the wealth to economically disadvantaged citizens.

To add specificity to these dimensions, I used data from my Checklist Survey to run a series of analyses on related concepts I can use to measure my three dimensions of paying taxes. I have listed the full set of related concepts I used to measure each dimension in **Table 4.2**. What I expect to find, based on my second claim, is that the checklist items *paying taxes* and *avoiding taxes* are correlated with at least one concept from each of the three dimensions.[22]

[22] For most concepts, I included a pair of antonyms, but because I limited my analysis to items checked by more than 25% of participants in each condition, some concepts in **Table 4.2** do not have a corresponding adjective in both conditions. For example, although more than 25% of participants in the bad condition checked *disobedient*, its antonym *obedient* did not meet the minimum 25% threshold in the good condition, so it has been left out.

Table 4.2. Checklist Survey Concepts Related to Obeying the Law, Civic Duty, and Altruism.

dimension	*related concepts*
obeying the law	law-abiding/law-evading disobedient*
civic duty	politically active* politically informed/not politically informed patriotic* mentally stable/mentally unstable
altruism	cooperative/competitive generous/greedy selfless/selfish compassionate /uncaring trustful/distrustful wasteful* focus on community* passionate* protective*

*no antonym in top 25%.
Source: Checklist Survey, November 2014, N=507.

<u>*Obeying the law.*</u> To measure this dimension I included in my analysis the items *law-abiding* from the good condition and *law-evading* and *disobedient* from the bad condition.

<u>*Civic duty.*</u> I used a total of eight items to measure the civic duty dimension of paying taxes. Measuring *civic duty* using the checklist item *politically active* gets at the importance of participation, which for older Americans is more likely to mean voting and military service, but for younger Americans means community engagement.[23] I expect there to be correlation here, especially if respondents consider paying taxes to be a way of participating in political life. *Politically informed* and *not politically informed* capture the idea that one of the responsibilities

[23] Dalton, *The Good Citizen*.

of citizenship is keeping up with politics.[24]

I added *cares about environment* and *doesn't care about environment* for two reasons: first, they were cited more often that I expected, and second, because of their implicit connections to citizenship. For example, city-run recycling programs indicate that caring about the environment is tied to the responsibilities of citizenship. Stanley Cohen writes that the "moral panic" of climate change forces good citizens to conform to behaviors, such as recycling, that "demand a monopoly on what constitutes 'ethical living.'"[25] Caring about the environment, in this context, is more of a duty than a choice, and respondents indicated that it is relatively important in the context of citizenship.

I included *patriotic* as an element of civic duty as well; this choice is supported by Deborah Schildkraut's finding that "feeling" American is one of the primary indicators of "true" American citizenship.[26]

It may seem, at first glance, that mental stability (as measured by the items *mentally stable* and *mentally unstable*) has little to do with citizenship, much less civic duty. However, there is an explicit reference to mental stability as a prerequisite for political participation in Robert Dahl's list of criteria for democracy: he writes that "the demos must include all adult members of the association except transients and persons proved to be mentally defective."[27] Mental stability relates to civic duty in the sense that one must be mentally capable of performing civic duties such as voting and jury service. The mental stability citizenship requirement is at the root of the argument over involuntary commitment of individuals with

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[24] Lippmann, *Public Opinion*.
[25] Cohen, "Whose Side Are We on? The Undeclared Politics of Moral Panic Theory."
[26] Schildkraut, *Americanism in the Twenty-First Century*.
[27] Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*.

mental illness[28] and by the fact that residents of long-term care facilities are often disenfranchised based on the assumption that they are not cognitively able to exercise their right to vote.[29]

Altruism. I use a total of fourteen items to measure *altruism* as a dimension of paying taxes: *cooperative* and *competitive*, *greedy* and *generous*, *selfish* and *selfless*, *uncaring* and *compassionate*, *distrustful* and *trustful*, *wasteful, focuses on community, passionate,* and *protective.* Each of these items represents a way of demonstrating a desire (or lack of desire) to help others.

To reiterate: my second claim – that individuals think about paying taxes in three distinct ways – will be supported if I find correlations between *paying* or *avoiding taxes* and any of the related concepts for each dimension shown in **Table 4.2**.

I conducted my analysis of the bad condition first, using the negative concepts from **Table 4.2**. For this analysis, rather than *pays taxes*, I am looking for concepts correlated with *avoids taxes* (checked by 63% of respondents in this survey). I use Pearson's correlations as an indicator of the strength of each correlation. Pearson's correlations can range from 0-1; anything below 0.29 is considered a small correlation, between 0.30 and 0.49 is a moderate correlation, and anything over 0.50 is considered a high correlation.

[28] Failer, *Who Qualifies for Rights?*
[29] Bonnie, Freedman, and Guterbock, "Voting by Senior Citizens in Long-Term Care Facilities."

Table 4.3. Correlations between "Avoids Taxes" and Concepts Related to Obeying the Law, Civic Duty, and Altruism, Bad Condition.

characteristic	*corr.*
obeying the law	
law-evading	**0.36**
disobedient	**0.15**
civic duty	
not politically informed	0.14
doesn't care about environment	0.13
mentally unstable	0.12
altruism	
greedy	0.10
selfish	-0.01
uncaring	0.08
distrustful	**0.19**
wasteful	**0.29**

Source: Checklist Survey, bad condition.
Coefficients in **bold type** are significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

The results presented in **Table 4.3** show that concepts related to two of the three dimensions are statistically significantly correlated with avoiding taxes: *law-evading* and *disobedient* (not obeying the law) and *distrustful* and *wasteful* (altruism). The correlation between *avoids taxes* and *law-evading* is moderate, at 0.36, indicating that respondents who checked *avoids taxes* are more likely to have checked *law-evading*.

These results from the bad condition offer mixed support for my first claim: I found statistically significant, positive relationships between two of the three dimensions – evidence that, for these survey respondents, there is an association between paying taxes and obeying the law and between paying taxes and altruism. However, I did not find strong evidence in this analysis of my proposed connection between paying taxes and civic duty, suggesting that respondents in the bad condition who checked *avoids taxes* did not associate bad citizenship with a lack of civic-minded behavior.

Having found partial evidence for my second claim with the analysis of the bad citizen condition of the Checklist Survey, I turned to the results of the good citizen condition, this time including in the analysis *paying taxes* and the positive characteristics from **Table 4.2. Table 4.4** shows the results.

Table 4.4. Correlations between "Avoids Taxes" and Concepts Related to Obeying the Law, Civic Duty, and Altruism, "Good" Condition.

characteristic	*corr.*
obeying the law	
law-abiding	**0.32**
civic duty	
politically active	**0.19**
politically informed	0.14
patriotic	0.14
mentally stable	0.13
cares about environment	0.13
altruism	
cooperative	**0.16**
competitive	0.11
generous	0.02
selfless	-0.09
compassionate	0.06
focus on community	0.10
passionate	0.03
protective	0.03
trustful	**0.23**

Source: Checklist Survey, "good" condition.
Coefficients in **bold type** are significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

Here I find full support for my second claim: all three dimensions are represented at a statistically significant level, meaning that respondents made relatively strong associations between *paying taxes* and obeying the law, civic duty, and altruism. The correlations were strongest between *paying taxes* and *law-abiding* ($r=0.32$, $N=174$, $p=0.000$) and between *paying*

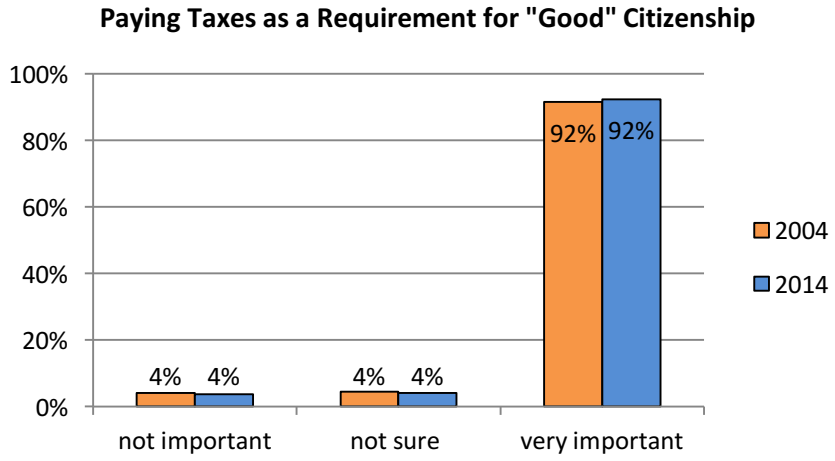
taxes and *trustful* (r=0.23, N=174, p=0.0019).

Comparing the results of the bad and good conditions suggests that civic duty is not associated with bad citizens' avoidance of paying taxes. This may be because not paying taxes is associated more straightforwardly with breaking the law and failing to contribute than with the more imprecise concept of political participation – or it could be an issue with my sample. My results from the bad and good conditions, although encouraging, are somewhat limited by the fact that I used a small sample and recruited online. I have strong evidence that taxes are considered important for good citizenship and that they are associated with specific aspects of citizenship – obeying the law and altruism – but I need more evidence for my claim that taxes are connected to civic duty.

To test my first and second claims on a large, nationally representative, randomly-selected sample, I used data from the General Social Survey ("GSS"), which contains a set of questions about what it takes to be a good American citizen. This set of good citizenship questions was only asked in 2004 and 2014; I include both years in my analysis to (a) make sure that neither year was an anomaly and (b) look for changes in public opinion of good citizenship over time. Among the questions asked by GSS were three that fit my dimensions: whether it is important for good citizens to obey laws, be active in social or political organizations, and help the worse-off in America.

The importance of paying taxes was also asked as part of this set of good citizenship questions; the results are shown in **Figure 4.2**. I found results that strongly support my first claim: 92% of respondents in both 2004 and 2014 agreed that paying taxes is an important part of being a good citizen.

Figure 4.2. GSS Data Shows Near-Unanimous Agreement that Paying Taxes is "What it takes to be a Good Citizen."



Source: General Social Survey (variable PAYTAXES). 2004 N=1461; 2014 N=1230. Responses were measured on a scale of 1-7, with 1 being "not important at all" and 7 being "very important." The "very important" percentages represent responses from 5-7.

As an additional test of my second claim about the three dimensions of citizenship, I looked for correlations between the *paying taxes* question and the questions about obeying the law, participating, and helping the worse-off. I have provided detailed results in **Table 4.5**.

Table 4.5. Paying Taxes Is Correlated with Legal, Civic, and Altruistic Qualities of American Citizenship.

	2004	2014
obey laws	**0.37**	**0.37**
be active in social or political organizations	**0.15**	**0.17**
help worse off in America	**0.16**	**0.12**
N	1445	1170

Source: General Social Survey questions about "what it takes to be a good citizen."
Coefficients in **bold type** are significant at the $p<0.05$ level.

As **Table 4.5** shows, I found positive, statistically significant relationships between paying taxes and each the three dimensions. The correlation coefficient between *paying taxes* and *obey laws* is moderate (0.37 in both 2004 and 2014) and is the highest correlation among the three dimensions. In addition, the results are consistent in both years: the correlation between *paying taxes* and *obey laws* is the same in both years, while the correlation with *politically active* rose and the correlation with *helping* decreased. It is possible that the changes in these dimensions changed after the election (and re-election) of President Obama and the economic crisis of 2008. It makes sense that the Obama campaign's push for public service would have increased the correlation between *paying taxes* and *participation*. On the other hand, the economic crisis – in particular the resulting Emergency Economic Stabilization Act of 2008 (commonly referred to as the bank bailout) – could easily have diminished Americans' sense that tax money benefits individuals who are worse off, especially because the bailout did not provide tangible benefits to individuals (unlike, for example, social welfare programs or tax rebates).

The findings from the GSS data strongly support my own evidence and provide further support for each of my two claims. I have found evidence using multiple datasets to support both of the claims that derive from my theory of citizenship and taxes. Americans (1) associate paying taxes with good citizenship and not paying taxes with bad citizenship, and (2) they make connections between paying taxes and obeying the law, civic duty, and altruism.

Next, I test part two of my second claim: how respondents describe the meaning and significance of paying taxes.

Claim 2, Part 2: Contextualizing "Paying Taxes"

After finding strong evidence of the significance of paying taxes as an evaluative criteria as well as finding support for my claim regarding the three dimensions of paying taxes, I wanted more detail about exactly how respondents describe paying taxes in their own words. I turned to a set of data I collected that includes questions from four surveys: a question about the meaning of American citizenship (from the two Meaning Surveys), a prompt to describe a good citizen (from the Good Citizen Survey), and a prompt to describe a bad citizen (from the Bad Citizen Survey). In total, these questions generated 734 individual open-ended responses; I combined these responses into a single spreadsheet.[30] Using Microsoft Excel's word search function, I searched for *tax*, which generated a list of 71 individual responses – ten percent of the total. To obtain details about how taxes were described within these responses, I coded each response according to what else the respondent mentioned. If the respondent mentioned paying taxes and obeying the law, I coded the response as *legal*; if the respondent mentioned paying taxes and duties or responsibilities of citizenship, I coded it as *civic*; and if the respondent mentioned paying taxes and helping others, I coded the response as *altruistic* [31] **Table 4.7** provides examples of responses assigned to each category.

[30] 557 from the two Meanings Surveys, 104 from the Bad Survey, and 73 from the Good Survey.
[31] Seven of the 71 respondents mentioned more than one concept, for example, "follows laws, *votes*, pays taxes": in these cases, I coded according to the concept that was nearest the word "tax," ensuring that the responses were coded into only one of the three categories.

Table 4.7. Examples of Responses Representing *Legal, Civic,* and *Altruistic* Dimensions of Paying Taxes.

dimension	*percent of responses*	*representative response*
legal	38%	"You are a citizen of the United States when you can clearly speak the English Language, pay taxes and abide by the law."
civic	46%	"[A good citizen is] Someone who votes, someone who performs his or her civic duty as part of a jury, and someone who pays his or her taxes dutifully."
altruistic	13%	"Being a citizen of the United States means […] being willing to help your fellow citizens when they need help also, by either paying the appropriate taxes to fund social safety-net programs or donating to charity or volunteering yourself."

Source: Meanings Surveys (March 2013 and March 2014) and Good Survey (June 2014). N=71.

Of the ten percent of responses in which paying taxes was mentioned, 38% referred to paying taxes in the context of obeying the law, 46% referred to paying taxes in the context of civic duties, and 13% referred to paying taxes in the context of helping fellow citizens in need (the other 3% could not be categorized; for example, one response consisted entirely of the words "paying taxes"). These findings provide additional support for my two claims: respondents use paying taxes as a criterion for evaluating fellow citizens, and there are three distinct, identifiable dimensions of paying taxes. Among the 734 total responses, the small number of responses that mention taxes indicates that *paying taxes* is not necessarily at the forefront of respondents' minds when they are asked to think about and articulate the concept of citizenship. However, as the Checklist Survey results show, when *paying taxes* and *avoiding taxes* are included as evaluative criteria, respondents strongly associate *paying taxes* with good citizenship and *avoiding taxes* with bad citizenship. The open-ended responses, though relatively small in number, provide insight into how respondents articulate the connection between paying taxes and obeying the law, civic duty, and altruism.

Discussion

My results confirm the importance of paying taxes as a characteristic of good citizenship and illustrate three dimensions that reflect how Americans perceive the act of paying taxes. What is absent from this analysis is any indication that Americans connect taxes and political representation. Although 14% of the respondents to my open-ended survey question described taxes as transactional, they presented the transaction as one between the individual and the state (i.e., you pay taxes to get protection under the Constitution, or you pay taxes to fund the military) rather than a transaction or agreement between the people and the representatives of government. It would be interesting to know whether citizens make – or care about – the connection between taxation and representation given its prominence in American history. I would expect that, no matter how they view paying taxes, citizens want to be able to hold someone accountable for how tax money is spent, yet I found no evidence of this in my analyses.

There are two possible lines of research stemming from this study that I find particularly interesting. First, although I have a preliminary answer here, I would like to investigate *why* people pay taxes, along the lines of Tom Tyler's *Why People Obey the Law.*[32] Tyler finds that it is not fear of punishment but belief in the legitimacy of authorities and the law that leads people to obey the law. Investigating whether legitimacy is a factor in paying taxes (and if so, legitimacy of what, exactly – the government, the IRS, the American people?) would be a fitting follow-up to this study.

The second compelling line of research concerns how bad is bad when it comes to evading taxes, and which groups are most marginalized as a result. I have evidence that avoiding taxes is a sign of bad citizenship, but I want to know whether individuals differentiate between types of tax evasion. For example, I could explore whether the 47% of Americans who,

[32] Tyler, *Why People Obey the Law*.

according to Mitt Romney, pay no income tax are perceived as "worse" citizens than Americans who hide their taxable assets in offshore accounts. In addition, I could examine more precisely what Americans consider "avoiding taxes" to be – that is, whether mortgage interest deductions and student loan subsidies, for example, are perceived as means of "avoiding" taxes, or whether they are perceived as an earned benefit of contributing to the economy. If Americans do differentiate between ways of avoiding taxes, it would be beneficial to know which methods of avoidance, if any, are considered characteristics of good rather than bad citizenship.

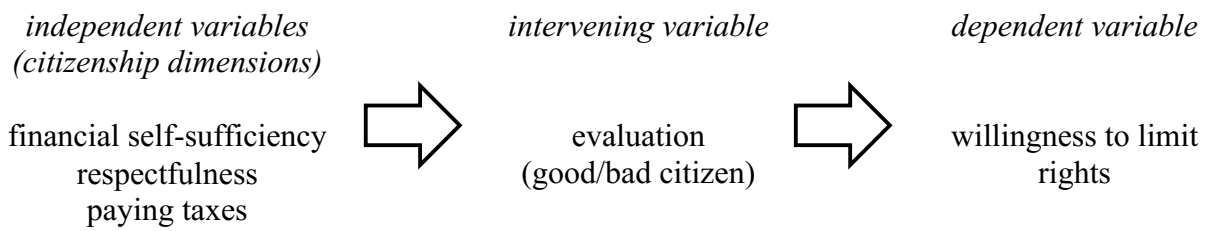
Conclusion

My theory of citizenship and taxes is that Americans perceive the act of paying taxes as a fundamental characteristic of citizenship. I derived two claims from my theory, and have presented evidence that supports each claim. First, I have shown that Americans use paying taxes as a shortcut for sorting fellow citizens into good and bad categories (but especially bad). Second, I have demonstrated that Americans think about taxes along at least three distinct dimensions of paying taxes: a legal requirement, a civic duty, and an act of altruism.

I opened this chapter with a quote from Franklin Delano Roosevelt describing taxes as the "dues that we pay for the privileges of membership in an organized society." These dues, and the organized society that results, are connected to three distinct ideas about why taxes are important. Despite the frustrations of dealing with taxes each year, Americans recognize the importance of paying taxes, even if they perceive the purpose of paying taxes in distinct ways.

In this chapter and the previous two chapters, I have dedicated each chapter to establishing evidence of the connection between citizenship and financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and taxes. These chapters have laid the groundwork for the next chapter, in which

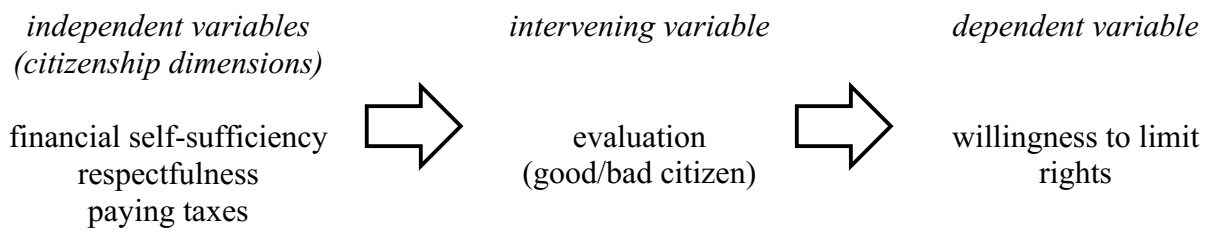
I demonstrate, using the results of an original survey experiment, that the model I proposed in Chapter 1 has significant merit. To review, the model looks like this:



In the next chapter I turn to the last column in my model: the dependent variable *willingness to restrict rights.* I show that the evaluations used to categorize good and bad citizens carry consequences in the form of support for restricting the constitutional rights of citizens who fail to live up to the standards of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes.

Chapter 5:
Connecting Good Citizenship and Willingness to Limit Rights

The model I proposed in Chapter 1 illustrates the process by which Americans use specific standards of citizenship to evaluate fellow citizens and decide which rights those citizens deserve. So far I have spent time illustrating the first two columns of the model: the independent variables *financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness,* and *paying taxes*, and the intervening variable *evaluations*.



In this chapter I test the full model using a survey experiment designed to confirm that the three dimensions are linked to evaluations of citizenship and that these dimensions are linked to respondents' willingness to limit the constitutional rights of citizens who do not live up to the expectations of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, or paying taxes.

I briefly review the findings from each chapter before presenting the hypotheses derived from my theory of citizenship evaluations. I then discuss the results of the survey experiment, which confirm that citizenship and rights are contingent upon specific standards of citizenship.

Review and Hypotheses

In Chapter 2, on financial self-sufficiency, I presented the results of my analysis of data from several surveys to confirm two claims: first, that respondents would articulate financial self-sufficiency in terms related to work and contributing to society (they did); and second, that the Checklist Survey would confirm the importance of work and contributing (it did) and that these two factors would be applied equally in evaluating good and bad citizens (they were not).

Building on those results, I hypothesize that financial self-sufficiency will be revealed as a standard of good citizenship and that citizens who are not financially self-sufficient will be identified as bad citizens – i.e., citizens who deserve fewer rights than those who are financially self-sufficient.

> *H_{1A}: Respondents' willingness to restrict rights will be higher for citizens described as not financially self-sufficient.*
>
> *H_{1B}: Respondents will rate citizens described as not financially self-sufficient lower than citizens described as financially self-sufficient.*

In Chapter 3, on respectfulness, I tested two claims. First, I confirmed that respondents wrote about respect in ways that reflect two contradictory worldviews: some focused on respect for others and for others' rights (an egalitarian conceptualization of respectfulness), while others focused on respect for laws, institutions, and authority (an inegalitarian conceptualization of respectfulness). As with my other chapters, I also found evidence for my claim that making this dimension salient using the Checklist Survey would prompt respondents to rank it as very important.

Respectfulness, as I will demonstrate, provides a structure for evaluating fellow citizens, giving people a way – even unconsciously – of categorizing and thus marginalizing citizens who

do not live up to societal expectations. Based on the implications of respectfulness for democracy and its role in both public and private life, I hypothesize that respectfulness will be revealed as a contributor to standards of citizenship, as shown by respondents' willingness to limit the constitutional rights of citizens who do not believe that everyone deserves respect.

> *H_{3A}: Respondents' willingness to restrict rights will be higher for citizens described as not respectful of others.*
>
> *H_{3B}: Respondents will rate citizens described as not respectful of others lower than citizens described as respectful of others.*

I tested two claims regarding paying taxes in Chapter 4. First, I confirmed that paying taxes is a standard applied to good *and* bad citizens. Second, I presented evidence of three aspects of paying taxes that might motivate citizens to evaluate others based on this dimension: paying taxes as a legal obligation, a civic duty, or an act of altruism. I confirmed these findings using my own data as well as data from a nationally representative random sample (for the General Social Survey).

Paying taxes is an important dimension of good citizenship because it reveals ideas about obligations and status and because taxes address questions of "who gets what" that are fundamental to understanding hierarchies within citizenship that benefit some more than others. Therefore, I hypothesize that paying taxes will be an indicator of good citizenship, as shown by a willingness to restrict the rights of citizens who do not pay the taxes they owe.

> *H_{2A}: Respondents' willingness to restrict rights will be higher for citizens described as not paying taxes.*
>
> *H_{2B}: Respondents will rate citizens described as not not paying taxes lower than citizens described as paying taxes.*

I added a placebo condition to my survey experiment to strengthen my results. I used 2016 vote choice, assuming that whether someone voted for Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton would likely affect the evaluation of that citizen but not the willingness to restrict the constitutional rights of that citizen. This finding would be evidence that there are characteristics and behaviors that may generate a negative evaluation, but that evaluation does not extend to a willingness to restrict rights – further confirmation that the three dimensions in my proposed model are significant in their effects on evaluations and rights.

> *H_{4A}: Respondents' willingness to restrict rights will not be affected by citizens' vote choice in the 2016 presidential election.*
>
> *H_{4B}: Respondents will rate Trump voters lower than Clinton voters.*

Finally, I expect to see differences between the three standards I have outlined here (I do not include the placebo condition in this set of hypotheses). Because financial self-sufficiency is such a strong part of the Protestant work ethic that drives views of Americanism, I expect that the biggest differences in the willingness to limit rights will be between financially self-sufficient and not financially self-sufficient Americans, followed by taxpayers and non-taxpayers. I expect that respectfulness will show the smallest difference in willingness to limit rights due to the fact that it is a "softer" concept than being financially self-sufficient or paying taxes, in the sense that it is less of an either/or concept – as described above, despite its importance, there are multiple understandings of what "respectfulness" can and should mean in a democracy.

> *H_{5A}: Financial self-sufficiency will show the largest differences in willingness to restrict rights, followed by paying/not paying taxes, then respectfulness/lack of respectfulness.*

H_{5B}: Financial self-sufficiency will also show the largest differences in ratings, followed by paying/not paying taxes, then respectfulness/lack of respectfulness.

Survey Experiment Design

Having established that financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes all play a role in conceptualizing good citizenship, I turn now to the experiment I designed to measure respondents' willingness to restrict the rights of citizens described as bad citizens. **Table 5.1** lists how I will manipulate each dimension and what effects (dependent variables) I am looking for; **Table 5.2** contains a sample vignette and rights questions.

Table 5.1. Indicators for each of the Dimensions of Good Citizenship.

dimensions (independent variables)	*manipulation*	*intervening variable measures*	*dependent variable measures*
financial self-sufficiency	is financially self-sufficient / is not financially self-sufficient	evaluation of the person in the vignette as a good or bad citizen	[Should the person described in the vignette be able to…] vote criticize the government run for office practice his/her religion buy a gun
paying taxes	pays taxes / does not pay taxes		
respectfulness	believes that every human being deserves respect / does not believe that every human being deserves respect		
vote choice*	voted for Clinton / voted for Trump		

Each respondent viewed four of the eight vignettes (chosen at random) and then completed a series of demographic questions.
**This item is a control and should have little to no effect on respondents' willingness to restrict rights for the individual described in the vignette.*

Table 5.2. Sample Vignette and Accompanying Questions.

Citizen A is financially self-sufficient. Which of the following things do you think **Citizen A should be able to do?** _____ should be allowed to vote[1] _____ should be allowed to criticize the government _____ should be allowed to run for office _____ should be allowed to practice his or her religion _____ should be allowed to buy a gun

The purpose of this section is to explain how I conceptualize and operationalize citizenship. To address my research question I created a survey (the Rights Survey) that provides evidence of perceived legal boundaries within citizenship. In simplest terms, the Rights Survey allows me to demonstrate the effects of three dimensions – financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes – that individuals employ when categorizing good and bad citizens. Using the data from the Rights Survey, I show, first, that respondents are willing to assign good and bad evaluations of citizens based solely on a brief description of a citizen according to one of these three dimensions (for example: "Citizen A is not financially self-sufficient"). Second, I show that this evaluation acts as an intervening variable that corresponds to respondents' willingness to restrict the rights of that citizen.[2]

The dependent variable in this study – that is, the variable that will show evidence of the desire for legal boundaries within citizenship – is *willingness to restrict rights.* The independent variables are the three dimensions of citizenship behavior (financial self-sufficiency,

[1] This list of rights was randomized for each vignette.
[2] I do not consider these evaluations causal variables because I asked the evaluation questions *after* the questions about respondents' willingness to restrict rights. The question order was intentional: I did not want to influence respondents' answers on the rights questions by first asking them to explicitly evaluate the citizen as good or bad.

respectfulness, and paying taxes) that I develop and explain in detail in this chapter. The intervening variable between the three dimensions and the outcome (willingness to restrict rights) is the good/bad evaluation. I focus on how we can use Americans' willingness to limit the rights of fellow citizens as evidence of where we can observe individuals' ideas about good and bad citizenship.

The goal here is transparency and face validity. I want to ensure that respondents understand the concept that I am measuring and that I am measuring the concept effectively. To measure financial self-sufficiency, I presented respondents with a short vignette describing "Citizen A," who is either financially self-sufficient or not financially self-sufficient. I included no other information to avoid introducing bias regarding gender, race, or other characteristics other than American citizenship. I measure paying taxes by stating that "Citizen B" either "pays the full amount of taxes owed each year" or "does not pay the full amount of taxes owed each year" to differentiate between choosing not to pay taxes and not paying taxes for other reasons such as low income or investment-based income. For respectfulness, I draw on Honneth's idea of recognition[3] by describing "Citizen C," who either thinks every human deserves respect or who does not think every human being deserves respect. Using the term "respect" in this context is a way of being as clear as possible about respectfulness as a way of treating other people. As a control, I have added vote choice as a dimension; I manipulate the vignette to describe "Citizen X" as having voted for either Hillary Clinton or Donald Trump in 2016.[4]

I expect to find that the citizens I have manipulated to be good citizens (financially self-sufficient, pays taxes, respectful) will face few objections to exercising several constitutional

[3] Honneth, *Disrespect*.
[4] I might call this variable "partisanship," but the presidential candidates in both parties in 2016 were both controversial within their own party, so much so that I prefer to measure vote choice at the candidate level than at the party level.

rights: being able to vote, criticize the government, run for office, practice their religion, or buy a gun, while the manipulated bad citizens (not financially self-sufficient, doesn't pay taxes, not respectful) will generate more willingness to limit the same constitutional rights. For the control, the vote choice of the individual in the vignette should have little to no effect on respondents' willingness to restrict rights; this result will strengthen my findings that financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes are effective measures of the good citizenship concept because they are correlated with a willingness to restrict the legal rights of citizens who fail to live up to the standards of good citizenship while vote choice is not.

Results

The findings I present in this dissertation come from a series of studies I conducted using the online survey recruiting tool Mechanical Turk ("MTurk").[5] A comparison to a nationally representative ANES panel and face-to-face ANES sample shows that the MTurk sample skews younger, more liberal, and less religious. On other demographics, such as gender, education, and region of residence, the MTurk sample is quite similar to nationally representative samples.[6]

I surveyed 973 respondents; each respondent was presented, randomly, with one vignette from each of the four conditions (financial self-sufficiency, taxes, respect, and vote

[5] Demographics of the largest sample from the Checklist Survey are presented in **Appendix 4**.

[6] MTurk is an online platform that links "workers" (study participants) and "requesters" (researchers). Workers are paid through MTurk for each survey they take and are rated based on the number of completed surveys that are approved by requesters. Workers who chose the survey were provided a link to the University of Virginia's Political Cognition Laboratory. I limited my survey to residents of the United States. The primary advantages of MTurk over other types of survey administration are the ease of recruitment and payment, the low cost per participant (I paid less than a dollar for each completed survey), and the rate at which data can be collected – the bulk of responses come in within 8-24 hours of the study being posted. Berinsky, Huber, and Lenz (2012) address concerns about the representativeness of MTurk samples. Ultimately, Berinsky and his colleagues conclude that although researchers should use caution given the demographics of the MTurk worker community, MTurk "provides an important way to overcome the barrier to conducting research raised by subject recruitment costs and difficulties by providing easy and inexpensive access to nonstudent adult subjects."

choice). **Table 5.3** presents the number of responses in each condition.

Table 5.3. Number of Respondents Per Condition in the Rights Survey Experiment.

condition	*N*
financially self-sufficient	485
not financially self-sufficient	488
pays taxes	484
does not pay taxes	489
respects others	486
does not respect others	487
voted for Clinton	483
voted for Trump	490
total respondents (each respondent was assigned to four conditions)	973

The dependent variable in this study is the willingness to limit rights. I measured this variable by asking respondents whether the citizen described in the vignette should be able to vote, run for office, criticize the government, practice her religion, or buy a gun. Each of these rights is constitutionally protected, meaning that there is no legal justification for limiting them in any way. The right to vote is protected by the 15th Amendment, the qualifications for federal office are described in Article I, Section 2 (for Congress) and Article II, Section 1 (for President) each state also has eligibility requirements for local and state-level offices. The right to criticize the government and practice one's religion are protected by the First Amendment, and the right to purchase a gun is protected (with some federal and state limitations) by the Second Amendment.

I intentionally chose rights that are unambiguous: every citizen is entitled to them.[7] Therefore, any willingness to limit these rights reflects an understanding of citizenship that is based on something other than a legal status. For each of the five rights measures, respondents

[7] One exception is that convicted felons in most states lose three of these rights, another indicator of their importance to citizenship: voting, running for office, and buying a gun.

were asked to indicate their level of agreement with which items each citizen should be allowed to do on a 1-4 scale of strongly agree (1), agree, disagree, or strongly disagree (4). I combined these five items into an additive scale score, which I call the "willingness to restrict rights scale." Scoring 4 on the willingness to restrict rights scale means that the respondent disagrees with the citizen's ability to have any of the five rights listed, while scoring 1 means that the respondent fully agrees with upholding the rights of the citizen.

I also included a measure – added after the set of rights questions, to avoid priming respondents regarding the quality of each citizen – that asked respondents to evaluate the citizen from each vignette they saw, according to a scale where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen (these numbers correspond to the willingness to limit rights scale, where 1 is associated in both rights and evaluations with good citizenship, and 4 with bad citizenship). Having this added measure strengthens my findings by demonstrating the connection between willingness to restrict rights and the respondents' evaluation of each citizen, though I emphasize that because of the way the survey was set up, I do not make any causal claims regarding evaluations and willingness to restrict rights. I can, however, demonstrate that based on my manipulations of the three dimensions, (a) there are clear differences in how citizens are evaluated, and (b) there is evidence of respondents' willingness to restrict rights based on simple statements about financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes, confirming the connection between evaluations and a willingness to restrict rights.

Before moving on to my hypotheses, it is important to determine whether the five items in my willingness to restrict rights scale are actually related beyond their connection to one another as constitutional rights. For each condition (financial self-sufficiency, taxes, respect, and vote choice), I looked at Cronbach's alpha, a measure of internal consistency among scale items.

An ideal alpha would be above 0.90. For my measures, the average across all four conditions is relatively close to the ideal, at 0.86, with the highest alphas in the vote choice and respectfulness conditions (0.89), followed by the tax condition (0.84) and the financial self-sufficiency condition (0.80). These results signal that the five scale items are measuring a similar concept.

As an additional check on the relationship between the five scale items, I ran Pearson correlations within each of the four conditions. **Table 5.4** contains the results for the respect condition; **Appendix 5** contains the results for the other three conditions. If the items are in fact related, I should find moderate to high correlations between the five dependent variable measures that make up the additive scale score. I did find that in all cases, the majority of items are strongly correlated, with statistically significant coefficients ranging from 0.30 (in the financial self-sufficiency condition) to 0.76 (in the respect condition). The average coefficient in the respect condition is 0.63; in the tax condition the average is 0.52; and in the financial self-sufficiency condition the average coefficient is 0.49. The results of the Pearson correlation tests demonstrate that these items do fit together quite well, reflecting what Kinder and Sanders call "an empirically coherent outlook."[8]

[8] Donald R. Kinder and Lynn M. Sanders, *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals*, American Politics and Political Economy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 110.

Table 5.4. Pearson Correlations between Items in the "Willingness to Restrict Rights" Scale (Respect Condition).

	vote	*run for office*	*criticize gov't*	*practice religion*	*buy gun*
vote	--				
run for office	0.70	--			
criticize gov't	0.76	0.68	--		
practice religion	0.71	0.57	0.67	--	
buy gun	0.56	0.65	0.53	0.46	--

Source: Rights Survey. N=973. All correlations are significant at $p < 0.001$ level.
Pearson correlations for the other conditions are listed in **Appendix 5**.

Regarding my hypotheses, I found strong support for my hypotheses regarding the three dimensions but no support for my hypotheses about which dimension would have the largest effect. **Tables 5.5** and **5.6** contain summaries of the results of my experimental survey.

Table 5.5. Summary of Experiment Results: Willingness to Restrict Rights.

Hypothesis	*Vignette*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Difference*	*p-value*	*T-Statistic*
H_{1A} Financial Self-Sufficiency	is fss (1)	485	1.41	0.51	0.14	0.000	4.42
	is not fss (0)	488	1.55	0.50			
H_{2A} Taxes	pays (1)	484	1.43	0.50	0.64	0.000	15.85
	does not pay (0)	489	2.06	0.73			
H_{3A} Respectfulness	respect (1)	486	1.42	0.53	0.53	0.000	12.34
	no respect (0)	487	1.95	0.79			
H_{4A} Vote Choice	Clinton (0)	483	1.45	0.56	-0.10	0.010	-2.58
	Trump (1)	490	1.55	0.67			

Source: Rights Survey.

Table 5.6. Summary of Experiment Results: Evaluations.

Hypothesis	*Vignette*	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*Difference*	*p-value*	*T-Statistic*
H_{1B} Financial Self-Sufficiency	is fss (1)	485	1.49	0.64	0.54	0.000	12.37
	is not fss (0)	488	2.03	0.72			
H_{2B} Taxes	pays (1)	484	1.32	0.50	1.64	0.000	38.93
	does not pay (0)	489	2.96	0.78			
H_{3B} Respectfulness	respect (1)	486	1.31	0.58	1.85	0.000	39.25
	no respect (0)	487	3.15	0.86			
H_{4B} Vote Choice	Clinton (0)	483	1.68	0.77	-0.53	0.000	-9.24
	Trump (1)	490	2.21	0.99			

Source: Rights Survey.

My first hypothesis was that respondents would be more willing to limit rights for a citizen described as not financially self-sufficient versus a citizen described as self-sufficient. I found support for this hypothesis. Of the 973 participants in this condition, participants who read about a citizen who was not financially self-sufficient were more likely to express a willingness to restrict that citizen's rights (M=1.41, SD=0.0.51) than those who evaluated a financially self-sufficient citizen (M=1.55, SD=0.50), t(971)=4.42, p=0.000. Based on these statistically significant results I can reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference in willingness to restrict rights for citizens based on financial self-sufficiency. Recall that the rights I used for this survey experiment are each constitutionally protected: there is no legal justification for restricting them for any citizen. Yet respondents were willing to restrict the rights of citizens based on nothing more than a description of that citizen as not being financially self-sufficient.

The second part of my first hypotheses focuses on evaluations: I expected that citizens who are not financially self-sufficient will be rated poorly compared to financially self-sufficient citizens, and I found that this is the case. Citizens described as not being financially self-sufficient received worse ratings on the 1=good, 4=bad scale (M=2.03, SD=0.72) than citizens described as being financially self-sufficient (M=1.48, SD=0.64), t(971)=12.37, p=0.000. The disparity between the evaluations in this condition was stronger, with a difference in means of

0.54, compared to willingness to restrict rights, where the difference in means was 0.14. It appears that evaluating citizens negatively based on a lack of financial self-sufficiency was more compelling for respondents than the desire to limit their rights.

I found strong support for my second hypothesis, that respondents would be more willing to limit rights for citizens described as not paying taxes (versus paying taxes) and would evaluate non-taxpayers more negatively. Among respondents in the taxes condition (N=973), there was a statistically significant difference between the "pays taxes" vignette (M=1.43, SD=0.50), and the "does not pay taxes" vignette (M=2.06, SD=0.73), t(971)=15.85, p=0.000. Keeping in mind that the scale ranges from 1-4, with 1 indicating no willingness to limit rights and 4 indicating a strong willingness to limit rights, the results show that respondents were more willing to restrict the rights of citizens who do not pay the taxes they owe. I found similarly strong results regarding evaluations. Respondents who saw the vignette about the non-taxpayer rated that citizen more poorly (M=2.96, SD=0.78) than respondents who saw the taxpayer vignette (M=1.32, SD=0.50), t(971)=38.93, p=0.000. Here, the difference in means was larger than in the financial self-sufficiency condition: for willingness to restrict rights of taxpayers versus non-taxpayers, the difference is 0.64; for evaluations, it is 1.64, again suggesting that evaluations are much "easier" (and obviously less consequential) for respondents to make than decisions about restricting rights. These results demonstrate that describing a citizen as paying taxes or not paying taxes affects respondents' willingness to restrict the constitutional rights of that citizen and their evaluation of that citizen, supporting my claim that paying taxes is one of the standards used to evaluate good citizenship.

I also found support for my hypothesis regarding respectfulness. Among respondents in the respect condition (N=973), there was a statistically significant difference between the

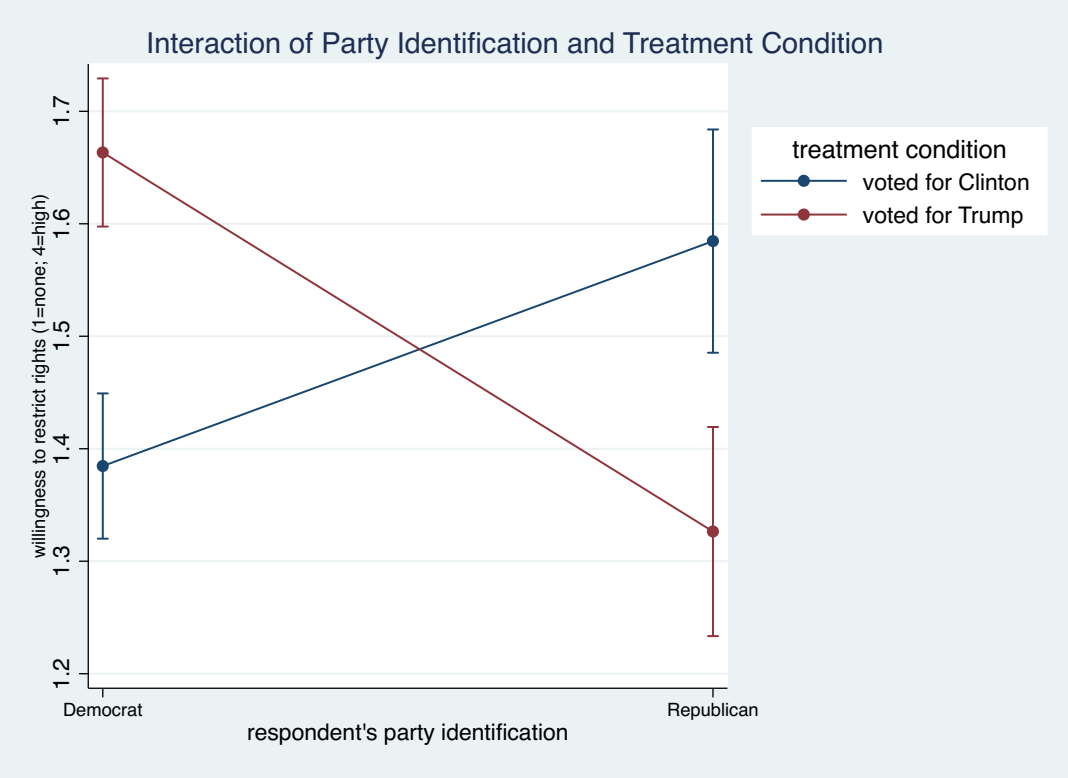
vignette in which the citizen is described as believing that every human being deserves respect (M=1.42, SD=0.53) and the vignette in which the citizen is described as not believing that every human being deserves respect (M=1.95, SD=0.79), t(971)=12.34, p=0.000. In addition, I found a large and statistically significant difference in evaluations of citizens described in terms of respectfulness: citizens described as not believing every human being deserves respect (M=3.15, SD=.86) were rated much lower on the evaluation scale (where 4 is a bad citizen) than citizens described as believing that every human being deserves respect (M=1.31, SD=0.58), t(971)=39.25, p=0.000. This provides clear evidence that being respectful is part of Americans' understandings of good citizenship – the citizens described as not believing that others deserve respect faced less support for exercising their full constitutional rights.

I included a control in my study – a pair of vignettes that, I hypothesized, should result in a lower rating for citizens who voted for Trump (instead of Clinton) in 2016 but would show no relationship between vote choice and respondents' willingness to limit rights. I found support here as well: willingness to limit rights was close for citizens described as having voted for Clinton (M=1.44, SD=0.56) versus citizens described as having voted for Trump (M=1.55, SD=0.67), t(971)= -2.58, p=0.0101. The fact that the mean for each scale score is slightly above one indicates that there was *some* willingness to limit the rights of citizens described only in terms of their voting choice; however, the willingness in each case is roughly the same with a (small) statistically significant difference, providing weak support for my hypothesis that voting choice does not affect the dependent variable, willingness to limit rights.[9] I also found what I expected regarding evaluations. Trump voters were rated lower on the good-bad scale than Clinton voters (Trump M=2.21, SD=0.99; Clinton 1.68, SD=0.77), t(971)= -9.24. p=0.000.

[9] In a pilot test I ran on May 3, 2017, the vote choice condition showed similar results but with no statistically significant difference regarding willingness to limit rights for Trump voters versus Clinton voters: N=201, Trump (M=1.55, SD 0.77), Clinton (M=1.46, SD=0.60), t(199)=0.99, p=0.32.

Because the vote choice results were closer than I anticipated, I ran additional analyses on the data. I suspected that the statistically significant difference was likely due to party identification: that is, respondents' willingness to restrict rights based on vote choice is driven by partisanship rather than by underlying standards of good citizenship. To confirm this, I ran a two-way ANOVA. This analysis compares the outcome variable – the willingness to limit rights scale – based on two independent variables: treatment (vote choice) and the respondent's self-reported party identification. **Figure 5.1** illustrates the results of the interaction.

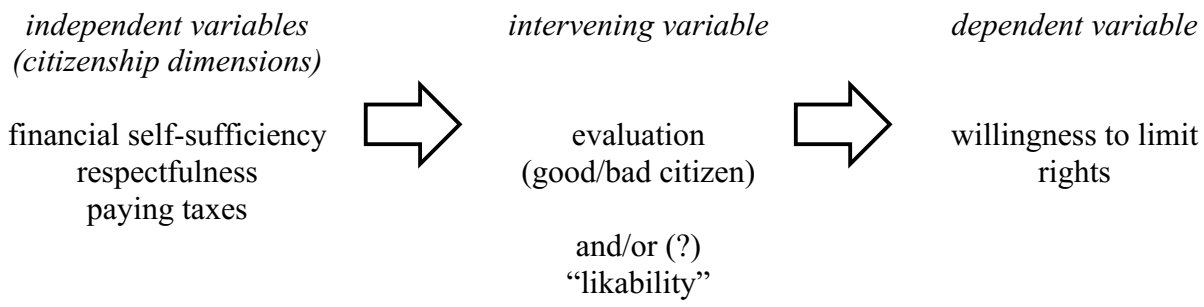
Figure 5.1. Respondent's Party Identification Affects Willingness to Restrict Rights (95% Confidence Intervals Included).



Source: Rights Survey.

The results of the ANOVA confirm that the effect on willingness to limit rights comes not from the treatment (a vote for Clinton vs. Trump) or from party identification alone, but from the interaction between the two independent variables (as illustrated in **Figure 5.1**). Democrats were very willing to limit the rights of Trump voters and less willing to limit the rights of Clinton voters, while Republicans were very willing to limit the rights of Clinton voters and less willing to limit the rights of Trump voters. These results provide further evidence that although willingness to restrict rights turned out to be a statistically significant finding in the case of vote choice, contrary to my fourth hypothesis, the effect is driven by party identification *and* vote choice together, not by a sense of what good citizenship is. Additional analysis on the other three conditions shows that party identification was *not* an influence on those conditions, either by itself or as an interaction with the treatment, again clarifying that there is a distinction between what is motivating willingness to restrict rights in the treatment and control conditions.

However, this result cannot be easily discarded. There is something going on here, even if willingness to restrict rights is not driven entirely by vote choice. The vote choice result might indicate that there is another way to get from step one of the model (dimensions) to step three (willingness to limit rights) that is separate from, but perhaps related to, evaluations. The adjusted model that accounts for the vote choice results might look like this:



In my chapter on respectfulness, I noted that the first component created from the Principal Components Analysis of the Checklist Survey included the items *friendly, focus on community, passionate,* and *protective*. I chose to label this component "respectfulness" because each item is connected to one's treatment of others. But it is possible that this component is something separate from respectfulness – something akin to likability. If that is the case, future research should include a test of the alternate model and should include likability both as a dimension of citizenship and as a form of evaluation to determine where and how it functions. For now, however, I will simply acknowledge that what I intended to be a placebo condition turned out to reveal something very interesting that I did not anticipate.

My final set of hypotheses was that financial self-sufficiency would show the largest differences in both willingness to restrict rights and evaluations, followed by paying taxes and respectfulness. I was wrong in each case. As far as willingness to restrict rights, the biggest difference was in the taxes condition, followed by respectfulness, then financial self-sufficiency. Regarding evaluations, the biggest difference was respectfulness, followed by taxes, then financial self-sufficiency. Contrary to my expectations, describing citizens in terms of financial self-sufficiency did not provoke strong negative reactions or a willingness to limit rights. On the other hand, respectfulness had a significant impact on how respondents perceived and evaluated the citizen being described. The bad citizen – the person who does not believe that every human being deserves respect – was ranked just above 3 on a scale that tops out at 4 (with 4 being a bad citizen), and respondents showed a strong willingness to limit the rights of citizens who do not believe in respecting others. These results make a compelling case that respectfulness, though largely unspoken in discussions of citizenship, plays a significant role in how Americans think about the standards and expectations of citizenship.

The results of the Rights Survey experiment confirm that financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes are effective measures of good citizenship, as indicated by the willingness of respondents to limit the rights of citizens described as not meeting these standards and by the evaluations made regarding citizens who fail to live up to them.

Conclusion

Much of the research on American citizenship concerns the relationship between the individual and the state: how the state constructs citizenship identities,[10] the creation of policies that limit the rights of citizens,[11] and the broader history of inequality.[12] I add to citizenship research by moving away from the realm of government and policy to the realm of public opinion to illustrate how "ordinary" Americans' understandings of the specific norms and behaviors of citizenship can be observed and what consequences come with those understandings of citizenship.

This project tests my theory of citizenship evaluations: that Americans hold deeply embedded structures of citizenship they use to evaluate other citizens. I have outlined my methods for conceptualizing and operationalizing good citizenship through the use of three dimensions of citizenship. My Rights Survey provides support for the hypotheses I am using to test my theory and shows that manipulating descriptions of citizens affects how respondents evaluate those citizens as well as how respondents think about whether those citizens should enjoy the full rights of American citizenship.

I used Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump votes for my control condition in part

[10] Canaday, *The Straight State*; Kunzel, *Criminal Intimacy*.
[11] Failer, *Who Qualifies for Rights?*; Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust*.
[12] Shklar, *American Citizenship*; Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America."

because of the unusual nature of the 2016 presidential campaign. Like most presidential campaigns, it was about the connection between the individual and the state, raising questions about who is entitled to what. Essentially, this question boils down to evaluations of good and bad citizenship. Presidential campaign discourse often focuses on each of the three standards I investigate in these essays: financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes. My research can help illuminate campaign discourse and how it is received and acted upon by citizens.

Candidates talk about financial self-sufficiency often, especially their desire to help as many Americans as possible achieve and sustain it (and, for conservatives, to punish those who are perceived as taking more than they give). Paying taxes is an issue in every campaign: candidates are expected to release their tax returns and are accused of hiding something when they refuse. A big focus of the 2016 elections was the extreme disparity between taxes paid by the rich and the poor, and the judgments regarding the programs and policies the candidates planned to implement ultimately came down to how much it will cost taxpayers. Finally, respectfulness was also a big issue during the campaign, mostly because there was so little of it. Candidates talk about respectfulness as a standard of citizenship when they talk about social order, the "rule of law," the need to obey the rules (and abide by pledges made during the primary season), and their misguided desire to stop individuals from voting illegally.

Politicians and political bodies communicate and enforce standards of citizenship, especially standards regarding financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes. What's missing is how the American public applies these standards of citizenship and what consequences face those who fall short of expectations. As Searing, Conover, and Crewe note,

we still know "much less than we think we do about citizenship."[13] This dissertation helps fill that knowledge gap.

In this chapter, I have presented evidence for the importance of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes in evaluations of citizenship. I have also demonstrated that these evaluations correspond to specific political consequences: a willingness to limit the constitutional rights of citizens who fail to fulfill the expectations of each dimension. These limitations are not legally justifiable but make sense when we think of citizenship as a more nuanced concept. My manipulations provided no information other than citizenship status and financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, or taxpayer status. Respondents were willing to support rights limitations based on this information alone, an indicator of the strength of these standards as underlying structures of good citizenship.

My Rights Survey data provides evidence that citizenship and rights are contingent upon perceptions and evaluations based on specific standards. These results, along with the results from the previous chapters, are an additional lens through which scholars of citizenship can understand why some citizens have fewer rights than others.

[13] Searing, Conover, and Crewe, "Citizenship in the Age of Liberalism."

Chapter 6:
Conclusion

The idea that the United States follows a liberal democratic tradition in which all citizens are equal is not – and has never been – correct, as scholars such as Gunnar Myrdal[1] and Rogers Smith[2] have observed. Although egalitarianism continues to be an ideal, political outcomes that marginalize certain American citizens demonstrate that the United States does not adhere to an egalitarian political philosophy. To help explain what Smith refers to as America's illiberal tradition, I have shifted my focus on citizenship away from the realm of government, policy and history and into the realm of public opinion. I argue that public opinion is an important area of citizenship scholarship because it illustrates how people articulate their understanding of what citizenship means. I use original public opinion data to examine what Canaday[3] calls "threshold questions" regarding access to the full rights of citizenship by asking survey questions designed to expose "levels" of citizenship that are accompanied by different sets of rights.

I add to the literature on American citizenship by examining it from a public opinion and political psychology perspective to explain how Americans' ideas about financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes provide justification for the marginalization of certain groups such as the Charlottesville panhandlers I described in my first chapter. Americans use these criteria to sort fellow citizens into good and bad categories. Based on these evaluations, citizens perceived as bad (such as panhandlers) are subject to marginalization, public support for discriminatory policies at the local, state, and federal level and, often, a lack of political representation. I have provided evidence to explain how specific structures underlying these good and bad categories fits these kinds of political outcomes.

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[1] Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy.*
[2] Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal, and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America."
[3] Canaday, *The Straight State*.

Research on American citizenship commonly takes a top-down approach, viewing citizenship as something constructed and enforced by the state; in other words, citizenship is something that is done *to* individuals.[4] While useful, this literature does not fully address what "average" Americans think about citizenship and how they articulate these beliefs. I explore citizenship as something that is created in part by individuals rather than by the state by showing that there is public support behind rights restrictions, and that this public support is related to evaluations of citizenship. More specifically, I have examined three standards regarding good citizenship and how those standards are used to evaluate and categorize fellow citizens.

This dissertation research has resulted in a robust research agenda that will follow up on and clarify several aspects of citizenship evaluations. The goal is to build a broader picture of the underlying structures of good citizenship and the consequences for not upholding citizenship standards. The first step in this process is to get access to a nationally representative sample so I can replicate the findings from my Rights Survey and generalize to the population of adult Americans. I plan to submit my survey experiment as an application for a TESS[5] grant within the next year.

I also want to investigate other aspects of citizenship in addition to financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes. Each of my surveys revealed multiple aspects of citizenship that are worth elaborating on and pursuing further, such as caring for the environment, friendliness, political activity, and violence or threat. In addition, changing the evaluation scale from a 4-step scale to a two-step ("bad citizen" or "good citizen") scale will allow me to determine whether respondents are willing to explicitly call certain citizens "bad."

I asked about five constitutional rights in my Rights Survey: voting, running for office,

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[4] Cohen, *Semi-Citizenship in Democratic Politics*; Canaday, *The Straight State*; Mettler, *Dividing Citizens*.
[5] http://www.tessexperiments.org/

criticizing the government, practicing one's religion, and buying a gun. It would be useful to expand this list of rights to determine which rights are associated with which dimensions of citizenship. I could stick with constitutional rights by adding search and seizure, assembly and free speech, or cruel and unusual punishment. I would also like to find out whether there is any willingness to *revoke* the citizenship of citizens who fail to live up to certain standards. In addition, I could ask about state-level rights such as getting a driver's license, running for local or state offices, or possessing marijuana or other drugs. Adding to the list of rights would provide a richer understanding of where the limits of citizenship are drawn, and on what basis.

Each of the dimensions I wrote about can be expanded into an article by adding more detail and background; for example, by expanding on the differences in Americans' understanding between respectfulness as a behavior/attitude, respect for rights, and respect for political institutions. I am interested in exploring taxes further as well by conducting surveys that are designed to reveal what "paying taxes" means to Americans and why they do it (or whey they don't). My research on financial self-sufficiency fits into a larger narrative about economic insecurity and class resentment; making that connection would allow me to apply my research to politics, past and present.

I chose to study public opinion for this project using survey data, but there are other sources of data that would enrich my findings. One option is to look at policy outcomes during elections by studying state referenda. I would do this by identifying which referenda fit my evaluation dimensions (or add to them), what kind of rhetoric is used to support or oppose them, and how much public support they receive. I could also add to my research by conducting a content analysis of elite sources of public opinion, using Twitter, campaign advertising and speeches, and party platforms. This would add a missing piece to my research by providing

insight into how politicians and parties talk about (and imply) standards and expectations of citizenship, and how these standards and expectations become public policy.

Finally, my research has benefitted from a changing political climate. I conducted my studies between 2013 and 2017, so I have some evidence of citizenship before and during the Trump administration. It will be interesting to conduct similar studies post-Trump to see how opinions about citizenship and rights change over time and under different political and cultural circumstances.

I have provided support for my political-psychological theory of citizenship evaluations, demonstrating that Americans have a sense of financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes so deeply embedded in their thoughts about what it means to be an American citizen that they use these standards, consciously or unconsciously, as a means to evaluate fellow citizens and sort them into bad and good categories. I argue that the justification for marginalization and rights restrictions, such as the Charlottesville ordinance that banned panhandling in certain areas of downtown, comes not from a legal conceptualization of citizenship (under which their rights would not be questioned and they would not have to sue to maintain them) but from largely unspoken yet deeply held standards and expectations regarding citizenship.

My research question concerns how support for rights-restricting policies is shaped by underlying structures regarding Americans' notions of good citizenship. By using data from thirteen original surveys as well as data from the General Social Survey, I have provided evidence for underlying structures regarding good citizenship that carry significant consequences – especially regarding which citizens should have fewer rights.

Appendix 1. Summary of Survey Data Collection.

#	*date*	*description*	*DV*	*IVs*	*N*
1	March 2013	**Meaning Surveys:** Respondents were asked to explain what it means to be an American citizen either before (survey 1) or after (survey 2) being presented with a series of questions about what it takes to be a "good" citizen and a series of questions about rights restrictions.	(a) how citizenship is defined (b) agreement with "good" citizenship statements (c) willingness to restrict rights	(a) open-ended request to define citizenship; (b) list of "good" citizenship qualities; (c) scenarios of rights restrictions	207
2	March 2014				350
3	June 2014	**Bad, Good, Typical, and Ideal Surveys:** Series of single-question, open-ended surveys. Asked respondents to describe an American citizen who is (3) bad (4) good 5 (typical) or (6) ideal. Survey (7) asked respondents to name an ideal citizen and explain their choice.	how citizenship is defined	prompt asking about "types" of citizens	101
4					80
5					73
6					67
7					108
8	June 2014	**Type of Citizen Surveys:** Series of single-question, open-ended surveys. Asked respondents to describe an American citizen who is (8) able to blend in (9) mentally stable (10) financially self-sufficient or (11) a contributing member of society.	whether specific aspects of citizenship are defined in terms of dependence	prompt asking about an aspect of citizenship connected to dependence	100
9					100
10					99
11					100
12	November 2014	**Checklist Survey:** Checklist-style survey. Respondents were assigned to one of three conditions: bad, typical, or good. In each condition respondents saw the same 131 adjectives and were asked to choose which adjectives applied to that type of citizen.	which aspects of citizenship are checked in each condition	list of 131 adjectives	507
13	May 2017	**Rights Survey:** Survey experiment in which respondents were asked which rights citizens should have based on financial self-sufficiency, respectfulness, and paying taxes.	willingness to restrict rights	survey experiment: vignettes followed by agree/disagree questions, plus an evaluation question	973

Appendix 2. Details of Surveys 1-13

Meaning Survey (#1):

(meaning of citizenship) Please briefly explain what you think it means to be a citizen of the United States.
Please write your answer here: 500 character maximum

(source of rights) In your opinion, what is the primary source of our rights as American citizens?
Please write your answer here: 140 character maximum

(respect) How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in the United States?
Please choose only one of the following:
1. a lot of respect
2. some respect
3. not much respect
4. no respect at all

(group) In your opinion, is there currently a group (or groups) in the United States whose freedoms or rights are limited in some way?
Please choose only one of the following:
1. Yes
2. No

(groupfollowup) [IF YES] Which group or groups do you think experiences limitations on their freedoms or rights?
Please list between one and five groups you think experience limited freedoms or rights.

(goodcit) People have different opinions about what it takes to be a good citizen.
As far as you are concerned personally, how important is it for citizens of the United States ...

good_cit_1	to be able to speak and understand English
good_cit_2	to keep fully informed about news and public issues
good_cit_3	to always obey laws and regulations
good_cit_4	to blend in to the larger society
good_cit_5	to be financially self-sufficient
good_cit_6	to be mentally stable
good_cit_7	to be heterosexual
good_cit_8	to be Christian
good_cit_9	to be white
good_cit_10	to be a contributing member of society
good_cit_11	to always vote in elections
good_cit_12	to serve in the military when needed
good_cit_13	to help worse off people in America
good_cit_14	to let other people say what they want, no matter how much others may disagree
good_cit_15	to be active in social or political organizations

(limits) Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.
Please choose the appropriate response for each item:

1 completely agree	2 somewhat agree	3 neither agree nor disagree	4 somewhat disagree	5 completely disagree

limits_1 the Westboro Baptist Church wants to hold a protest at the funerals of military men and women, they have the right to do so.

limits_2 eople who commit felony crimes have opted out of civil society and deserve to lose their right to vote.

limits_3 exual assault between male prisoners is a violation of prisoners' rights, and every effort must be made to prevent it from happening.

limits_4 ame-sex couples should not have the right to marry because legal marriage only applies to heterosexual couples.

limits_5 eople with severe mental illnesses should be forced to take medication even if they believe it is a violation of their rights.

limits_6 onvicted sex offenders have their rights violated when they are moved to civil commitment facilities after finishing their prison sentence instead of being released.

Meaning Survey #2 placed the meaning/source questions here:

(meaning) Please briefly explain what you think it means to be a citizen of the United States.
Please write your answer here: 500 character maximum

(source) In your opinion, what is the primary source of our rights as American citizens?
Please write your answer here: 140 character maximum

Demographic Questions:
(anespid, anespidr, anespidd, anespidi) party identification
(ideology)
(age)
(gender)
(education)
(income)
(race)
(stateicpsr) state of residence

Bad Citizen Survey (#3)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be a "bad" American? What comes to mind when you hear someone described as a "bad" American citizen? [open-ended, 1500 character limit]

Typical Citizen Survey (#4)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be a "regular" or "typical" American? What comes to mind when you hear someone described as a "regular" or "typical" American citizen? [open-ended, 1500 character limit]

Good Citizen Survey (#5)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be a "good" American? What comes to mind when you hear someone described as a "good" American citizen? [open-ended, 1500 character limit]

Ideal Citizen Survey (#6)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be an "ideal" American? What comes to mind when you hear someone described as an "ideal" American citizen? [open-ended, 1500 character limit]

Individual Ideal Citizen Survey (#7)
What particular person, past or present, do you think best represents the "ideal" American citizen? If the answer is "no one," please write that in the text box.
You mentioned [X]. Why did you choose [X] as an example of the ideal American citizen?

Type of Citizen Survey: Blending In (#8)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be an American who "blends in"? What comes to mind when you hear an American referred to as someone who blends in?

Type of Citizen Survey: Mentally Stable (#9)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be an American who is "mentally stable"? What comes to mind when you hear an American referred to as someone who is mentally stable?

Type of Citizen Survey: Financially Self-Sufficient (#10)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be an American who is "financially self-sufficient"? What comes to mind when you hear an American referred to as someone who is financially self-sufficient?

Type of Citizen Survey: Contributing Member (#11)
In your opinion, what does it mean to be a "contributing member" of American society? What comes to mind when you hear an American referred to as "contributing to society"?

Checklist Survey (#12)
[Respondents were assigned to one of three conditions: bad, typical, or good citizen.]
In this study, you will be asked to give your opinion about specific social groups. We are interested in your personal opinion about the group, so please give your answers *based on your own beliefs about this social group*. Please check the box next to every adjective you would use to describe [bad/typical/good citizens].
First screen [adjectives are randomized]: active, ashamed, born in U.S., Christian, conformist, dependent, disrespectful, doesn't contribute to society, down-to-earth, employed, financially self-sufficient, follower, generous, heterosexual, hostile, law-abiding, male, mentally unstable, non-religious, not homophobic, ordinary, patriotic, not politically active, protective, rational, respectful, selfish, sophisticated, threatening, uncaring, unmarried, violent
Second screen [adjectives are randomized]: agreeable, avoids paying taxes, can't manage money, closed-minded, conservative, dependent, dissatisfied, doesn't respect others' rights, educated, European ancestry, flexible, free-thinking, greedy, homeowner, independent, law-evading, manages money well, non-Christian, nonviolent, not racist, outspoken, flag-waving, politically informed, proud, reckless, respects others' rights, selfless, stands out, tolerant, uneducated, unpatriotic, wants less/smaller government, welcoming, wealthy
Third screen [adjectives are randomized]: alienating, blends in, cares about environment, compassionate, contributes to society, disobedient, distinctive, doesn't care about environment, egalitarian, female, focuses on community, friendly, has children, homophobic, intolerant, leader, married, non-conformist, non-white, obedient, passionate, pays taxes, not politically informed, quiet, religious, rigid, self-reliant, supports higher taxes, traditional, unemployed, unsophisticated, wants more/bigger government
Fourth screen [adjectives are randomized]: argumentative, blindly patriotic, cautious, competitive, cooperative, dispassionate, distrustful, doesn't have children, elitist, financially dependent, focuses on individual, frugal, healthy, homosexual, irrational, liberal, mentally stable, non-European ancestry, not born in U.S., old, passive, politically active, poor, racist, rents, satisfied, snobbish, supports lower taxes, trustful, unhealthy, untraditional, wasteful, young, white

When you were thinking about the characteristics of [bad, typical, or good citizens], did you have any particular individuals or groups in mind? If so, list them below. [five short text boxes]

Same demographic questions as Surveys 1 and 2

Rights Survey (#13)

fss Citizen "A" is financially self-sufficient.
nfss Citizen "A" is not financially self-sufficient.

fss_rights Which of the following things do you think Citizen "A" should be allowed to do?

	strongly agree (1)	agree (2)	disagree (3)	strongly disagree (4)
should be allowed to vote (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to run for office (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to criticize the government (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to practice his or her religion (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to buy a gun (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍

tax Citizen "B" pays the full amount of taxes owed every year.
notax Citizen "B" does not pay the full amount of taxes owed every year.

tax_rights Which of the following things do you think Citizen "B" should be allowed to do?

	strongly agree (1)	agree (2)	disagree (3)	strongly disagree (4)
should be allowed to vote (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to run for office (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to criticize the government (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to practice his or her religion (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to buy a gun (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍

respect Citizen "C" believes that every human being deserves respect.
norespect Citizen "C" does not believe that every human being deserves respect.

resp_rights Which of the following things do you think Citizen "C" should be allowed to do?

	strongly agree (1)	agree (2)	disagree (3)	strongly disagree (4)
should be allowed to vote (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to run for office (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to criticize the government (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
	❍	❍	❍	❍

should be allowed to practice his or her religion (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to buy a gun (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍

clinton Citizen "X" voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016.
trump Citizen "X" voted for Donald Trump in 2016.

pid_rights Which of the following things do you think Citizen "X" should be allowed to do?

	strongly agree (1)	agree (2)	disagree (3)	strongly disagree (4)
should be allowed to vote (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to run for office (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to criticize the government (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to practice his or her religion (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍
should be allowed to buy a gun (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍

Display This Question:
If Citizen "A" is financially self-sufficient. Is Displayed
fss_eval Citizen "A" is financially self-sufficient.How would you rank Citizen "A" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- ❍ 1 (good citizen) (1)
- ❍ 2 (2)
- ❍ 3 (3)
- ❍ 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "A" is not financially self-sufficient. Is Displayed
nfss_eval Citizen "A" is not financially self-sufficient.How would you rank Citizen "A" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- ❍ 1 (good citizen) (1)
- ❍ 2 (2)
- ❍ 3 (3)
- ❍ 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "B" pays the full amount of taxes owed every year. Is Displayed
tax_eval Citizen "B" pays the full amount of taxes owed every year.How would you rank Citizen "B" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- ❍ 1 (good citizen) (1)
- ❍ 2 (2)
- ❍ 3 (3)
- ❍ 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "B" does not pay the full amount of taxes owed every year. Is Displayed
ntax_eval Citizen "B" does not pay the full amount of taxes owed every year.How would you rank Citizen "B" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- 1 (good citizen) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "C" believes that every human being deserves respect. Is Displayed
resp_eval Citizen "C" believes that every human being deserves respect.How would you rank Citizen "C" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- 1 (good citizen) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "C" does not believe that every human being deserves respect. Is Displayed
nresp_eval Citizen "C" does not believe that every human being deserves respect.How would you rank Citizen "C" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- 1 (good citizen) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "X" voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016. Is Displayed
clinton_eval Citizen "X" voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016.How would you rank Citizen "X" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- 1 (good citizen) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (bad citizen) (4)

Display This Question:
If Citizen "X" voted for Donald Trump in 2016. Is Displayed
trump_eval Citizen "X" voted for Donald Trump in 2016.How would you rank Citizen "X" on a scale of 1-4, where 1 is a good citizen and 4 is a bad citizen?

- 1 (good citizen) (1)
- 2 (2)
- 3 (3)
- 4 (bad citizen) (4)

pid Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent?

- Republican (1)
- Democrat (2)
- Independent (3)

Condition: Republican Is Selected. Skip To: Would you call yourself a strong Repu....Condition: Democrat Is Selected. Skip To: Would you call yourself a strong Demo....Condition: Independent Is Selected. Skip To: Do you think of yourself as closer to....

Display This Question:
If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent? Republican Is Selected
pid_rep Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
- strong Republican (1)
- not very strong Republican (2)

Display This Question:
If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent? Democrat Is Selected
pid_dem Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very strong Democrat?
- strong Democrat (1)
- not very strong Democrat (2)

Display This Question:
If Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent? Independent Is Selected
pid_ind Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?
- Republican (1)
- Democratic (2)

ideology We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
- extremely liberal (1)
- liberal (2)
- slightly liberal (3)
- moderate, middle of the road (4)
- slightly conservative (5)
- conservative (6)
- extremely conservative (7)

age What is your current age?
- 18-24 (1)
- 25-34 (2)
- 35-44 (3)
- 45-54 (4)
- 55-64 (5)
- over 65 years of age (6)

gender What is your gender?
- female (1)
- male (2)
- other (3)

income What is your annual household income?
- under $10,000 (1)
- between $10,000 and $25,000 (2)
- between $25,000 and $50,000 (3)
- between $50,000 and $75,000 (4)
- over $75,000 (5)

education What is the highest level of school you have completed?
- some schooling, no high school diploma (1)
- high school graduate - high school diploma or equivalent (GED) (2)
- some college, no degree (3)
- associate degree (4)

- ❍ bachelor's degree (5)
- ❍ master's degree (6)
- ❍ professional or doctorate degree (7)

race Please check one or more categories to indicate what race(s) and/or ethnicity you consider yourself to be.

- ❑ White (1)
- ❑ Black or African American (2)
- ❑ American Indian or Alaska Native (3)
- ❑ Asian (4)
- ❑ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (5)
- ❑ Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish (6)

Appendix 3. Rights Survey Demographics

Party Identification		
Democrat	663	68%
Republican	306	31%
N	973	

Self-identified independents were categorized according to the follow-up question "Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party?"

Ideology		
extremely liberal	138	14%
liberal	283	29%
somewhat liberal	129	13%
moderate	193	20%
somewhat conservative	109	11%
conservative	94	10%
extremely conservative	26	3%
N	972	

Gender		
female	430	44%
male	532	55%
other	5	0.5%
N	967	

Race		
white	737	76%
African-American	64	7%
Asian	97	1%
Hispanic	66	10%
Other	8	0.7%
N	972	

Age		
17-24	137	14%
25-34	455	47%
35-44	204	21%
45-54	94	10%
55-64	57	6%
65+	19	2%
N	966	

Education		
some high school, no diploma	5	0.5%
high school diploma or GED	95	10%
some college	253	26%
associate's degree	108	11%
bachelor's degree	377	39%
master's degree	98	10%
professional or doctorate degree	32	3%
N	968	

Household Income		
under $10,000	52	5%
between $10,000 and $25,000	164	17%
between $25,000 and $50,000	298	31%
between $50,000 and $75,000	218	23%
over $75,000	237	24%
N	969	

Appendix 4. Demographics of Checklist Survey MTurk Sample Compared to 2008 ANES Sample

	*MTurk**	*ANES***
age < 29	37%	57% (<= 33)
age 30-49	49%	26% (34-49)
age > 50	14%	17%
female	45%	55%
white	81%	74%
college degree	48%	28%
Democrat	42%	51%
liberal	53%	22%
N	507	2311

*Source: Survey 12.
**Source: http://electionstudies.org/nesguide/nesguide.htm

Appendix 5. Pearson Correlations for "Willingness to Restrict Rights" Scale.

Financial Self-Sufficiency Condition

	vote	*run for office*	*criticize gov't*	*practice religion*	*buy gun*
vote	--				
run for office	0.48	--			
criticize gov't	0.68	0.58	--		
practice religion	0.72	0.43	0.59	--	
buy gun	0.32	0.43	0.35	0.30	--

Source: Rights Survey. N=973. All correlations are significant at $p < 0.001$ level.

Taxes Condition

	vote	*run for office*	*criticize gov't*	*practice religion*	*buy gun*
vote	--				
run for office	0.65	--			
criticize gov't	0.69	0.61	--		
practice religion	0.53	0.32	0.59	--	
buy gun	0.56	0.43	0.43	0.40	--

Source: Rights Survey. N=973. All correlations are significant at $p < 0.001$ level.

Vote Choice Condition

	vote	*run for office*	*criticize gov't*	*practice religion*	*buy gun*
vote	--				
run for office	0.75	--			
criticize gov't	0.79	0.72	--		
practice religion	0.78	0.69	0.75	--	
buy gun	0.52	0.53	0.48	0.51	--

Source: Rights Survey. N=973. All correlations are significant at $p < 0.001$ level.

Appendix 6. Items Checked by at Least 25% of Respondents in Each Condition of the Checklist Survey.

"bad" condition		*"good" condition*	
violent	83%	respects rights	82%
no respect for rights	81	law-abiding	80
hostile	77	respectful	78
threatening	77	contributes	75
disrespectful	71	rational	72
doesn't contribute	63	friendly	72
avoids taxes	63	generous	69
uncaring	62	cooperative	68
racist	62	down-to-earth	67
doesn't care about environ.	58	tolerant	67
intolerant	58	financially self-sufficient	64
greedy	57	freethinking	64
not law-abiding	54	welcoming	64
selfish	53	compassionate	64
reckless	50	politically informed	63
irrational	49	pays taxes	63
closed-minded	48	independent	62
homophobic	47	educated	59
wasteful	46	cares about environment	57
snobbish	45	patriotic	57
alienating	40	employed	56
disobedient	40	self-reliant	56
elitist	35	not racist	51
blindly patriotic	31	focus on community	51
not politically informed	29	active	51
distrustful	28	proud	49
uneducated	26	politically active	46
mentally unstable	25	flexible	45
		trustful	44
		manages money well	43
		agreeable	42
		mentally stable	42
		selfless	41
		passionate	40
		protective	39
		non-violent	36
		healthy	35
		not homophobic	34
		satisfied	32
		competitive	31
		born in U.S.	30
		sophisticated	29
		frugal	25

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