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Department of Politics

**Voting: Duty, Obligation or the Job of a Good Citizen?
An Examination of Subjective & Objective
Understandings of These Drivers and Their Ability to
Explain Voting Behaviour.**

Submitted by Adrian Simon Millican to the University of Exeter as a thesis for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Politics

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Abstract

This thesis explores subjective and objective understandings of civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. Despite the importance of these drivers of behaviour, a lack of empirical understanding about what these drivers are and how they are understood has left a significant gap in our understanding of voting behaviour.

My research contributes to the field by examining three central themes; Are duty, obligation and good citizenship understood the same? Are one or more of these traits suitable for cross-national research? Can a new conceptual model of civic duty help further the use of civic duty in studies of voting behaviour? In order to do this, this thesis analyses the following issues: (1) objectively exploring duty, obligation and good citizenship (2) analysing subjective understandings of these concepts (3) demonstrating individual level drivers of these concepts (4) demonstrating the impact of institutions, and cross-national differences have upon duty, obligation and good citizenship (5) showing how these concepts relate to voting behaviour (6) by testing and proving that a new approach to measuring civic duty can provide a model that explains not only long term immutable voting habits, but why individuals may vote out of duty sometimes, and abstain at others and (7) finally providing substantial evidence from what is an exploratory study to help in the formation of future representative research and to demonstrate the importance of taking civic duty seriously in forthcoming voting behaviour research.

Using the theoretical and philosophical literature, I argue that despite the empirical literature treating obligation, good citizenship and civic duty as the same concept and driver of voting behaviour, that individuals understand these traits uniquely, and that they are all separate motivators, with duty being contingent on external forces (social capital) and obligation being contingent on personal or inward pressures. I argue that given the limited literature on good citizenship, there is no clear idea of what it means and that good citizenship will be contingent on what an individual deems to be "good". Finally, I argue that old models of civic duty are outdated, and that a new conceptual framework of duty needs to be introduced to accurately demonstrate how individuals understand it, and actually demonstrate its impact upon individual level voting behaviour.

Using data from a pilot study, with an embedded survey experiment ($N=735$) collected in the United Kingdom, the United States, New Zealand, Australia and Ireland, I demonstrate that not only are duty, obligation and good citizenship understood differently, but the drivers of the concepts are significantly different. While obligation shows no relationship to voting behaviour within or across countries, good citizenship appears to be a good driver of second order elections while civic duty appears to drive first order and high saliency elections. Duty appears to be contingent upon external factors, while good citizenship appears to be contingent upon the behaviour of politicians, and citizenship education suggesting a social contract type relationship. Institutional factors appear to indirectly impact voting behaviour with a mediating effect on the strengths of duty and good citizenship. Finally, evidence suggests that previous notions of an "immutable" sense of duty are unfounded, and that an individuals' sense of duty is contingent on a range of internal and external pressures.

The first empirical chapter focuses on individual level understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship, before the second empirical chapter expands this to look at cross-national differences in the understanding of, and drivers of duty obligation and good citizenship. Finally, the third empirical analyses a new model of civic duty and suggests that its previous use has been limited by ineffective measures.

While the evidence presented in this thesis is exploratory and not generalisable or representative of any of the countries sampled, the evidence from the sample strongly suggests that future development of the study of civic duty, and further analysis of how duty, obligation and good citizenship are understood in representative samples are needed to confirm the findings presented in this thesis, and build upon what is a successful pilot study.

This research finds its limitations in the number of survey items available to build a complete picture of all drivers of individual understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship.

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Abbreviations & Acronyms

4H	Youth organisation in United States
AJPS	American Journal of Political Science
ANES	American National Election Survey
APSR	American Political Science Review
AUS	Australia
BES	British Election Study
C	Costs
CES	Canadian Election Study
CICE	Civic Identity & Civic Engagement
CID	Citizenship, Involvement & Democracy Study
D (duty)	Civic duty
EB	Eurobarometer
EFFNs	Effective Number of Parties.
EFFNv	Effective Number of Votes
EIRE	Ireland
ESS	European Social Survey
F+S	Family and Society
GC	Good Citizenship
Govt	Government
GSS	General Social Survey
ISSP	International Social Survey Programme
JOP	Journal of Politics
L	Local
N	National
N	Number of cases
NZ	New Zealand
NZES	New Zealand Election Study
O	Obligation
pB	Probable Benefit
P+F	Personal and Family
P+S	Personal and Society
PFS	Personal, Family and Society
Q	Question (survey question)
R	Rationality
RQ	Research Question
SQ	Survey Question
SES	Socio-Economic Status
VAT	Value Added Tax
UKCISA	United Kingdom Council for International Student Affairs
USNORC	United States National Opinion Research Center
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States

I Introduction

One of the key motivators of and drivers of political behaviour is often cited as civic duty (Downs, 1957; Campbell et al. 1960; Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013, to name just a few). The theoretical, empirical and economic literature have all converged to demonstrate that civic duty is able to explain behaviour from a rational choice perspective and a philosophical perspective, with a growing body of literature indicating its empirical value. Despite its ability to explain voting behaviour, and account for roughly why three out of five individuals vote in elections (Blais, 2000), the body of literature focusing on duty has not developed as quickly as the evidence suggests it should have. Civic duty seems to have been dismissed as “*Just another attitudinal phenomenon*” (Blais & Achen, 2010:4) and appears to have been taken as something that is able to explain why individuals vote, or do not vote, but cannot explain variation in voting across time, context or at an individual level.

As well as civic duty, obligation and good citizenship have also been regularly cited as motivators of political behaviour (Dalton, 2006 & 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2014). While there is a growing body of literature regarding civic duty, obligation and good citizenship in general research has been very slow to develop. The empirical literature is almost nonexistent regarding the obligation to vote, and good citizenship is reliant on a very small number of empirical papers and is almost an unknown quantity theoretically.

Civic duty has been cited as being “*The belief that not voting in elections is wrong*” (Blais, 2000:93). Compared to this, obligation is often associated with the prefix of morality, and is often associated with the phrase “ought” instead of “wrong” (Brandt, 1964) which is suggestive of obligation being something more personal than a duty, which is socially facing and socially rewarding. However, confusion still exists within theoretical literature, and there is not one agreed upon definition for either. Zimmerman & Rappaport state “*civic duty is the belief that one ought to participate in the political process as a responsibility to others*” (1988: 729). So whereas Brandt and Selbourne refer to these differences between ought and wrong, Zimmerman & Rappaport place duties as something one ought to do, suggesting there is significantly less pressure to perform a task.

This confusion (Brandt, 1964; Usher, 2011) over how to define duty and obligation has caused contention and confusion not only within the theoretical literature, but also regarding how they are viewed and utilised empirically. Are they actually very similar traits and essentially synonyms for one and other, or are they as the majority of theoretical literature would suggest unique terms that suggest very different outcomes depending on how a task is viewed? Some theorists have highlighted that what is seen occurring is no more than a misuse of language (Whitely, cited by Brandt, 1964:374). Duty and obligation have become one and the same, and modern interpretations of this have come to see them that way.

The theoretical literature has also suggested that duty involves the occupation of office, or position within a society (Brandt, 1964) so to place this in the context of elections, a voter has a duty to vote as they hold the position of "voter" within a society. As they have been given that role, they are therefore required to fulfil it. The theoretical literature also suggests that an obligation is often associated with the prefix of morality (Brandt, 1964), again enhancing the idea that an obligation is a personal undertaking rather than one that is important to the state. This suggests that individuals will feel external pressures regarding a duty, and internal pressures regarding an obligation. If these concepts are understood uniquely, and not as synonyms for one and other, there would be large implications for the interpretation of those empirical data which utilises either obligation or duty.

Further evidence demonstrates the confusion between duty and obligation; with a theoretical debate over whether voting constitutes primarily a duty (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Selbourne, 1997; Blais & Achen, 2010; Usher, 2011) or an obligation (Ewing 1953, Lomansky & Brennan, 1993; Hill, 2002). If there is an internal/external difference in the drivers of duty and obligation, and subjective understandings are contingent upon this, then whether or not voting is a duty or an obligation may be something that is individual. This raises a number of questions about how political science should measure these motivators to vote.

Good citizenship is also frequently cited as a driver of turnout and has appeared in a number of large scale quantitative studies, but despite its use, very little is known about what good citizenship is. It has been defined as "*the 'good*

citizen' is a national citizen; that is, the rights and duties that come with citizenship are the rights and duties of citizens towards the national state" Van Deth (2009:175), but even this definition is unclear as good citizenship appears to internalise duties within its own definition. Beyond this, there is little evidence of what good citizenship is or how it should be defined. Conflicting and contrasting accounts of duty, obligation and good citizenship has led to confusion over what these concepts are, how they are understood both subjectively and objectively, and how they should be utilised. This confusion is not only problematic for the theoretical literature, but problematic for empirical research. If there are no agreed upon definitions, or evidence of how they are subjectively understood, the interpretation of any empirical research that utilises one or more of these concepts will become increasingly difficult to understand and extrapolate meaning from results.

Whilst empirical research regarding duty and good citizenship has grown, it has been unable to provide any answers to these questions. Frequently, empirical research and analysis just confuses the terms, and quite often treat duty and obligation as synonyms for one and other. Amongst many examples, both Blais (2000) and Dalton (2008) talk about the obligation one feels to perform a duty, with Usher (2011) using similarly confusing language. There is a similar problem with good citizenship, it appears to be treated much the same as civic duty, with Dalton (2008) using a battery of questions that tap into good citizenship to model civic duty, and Van Deth (2009) also associating good citizenship with a sense of civic duty.

This literature raises a number of questions about what duty, obligation and good citizenship actually are. While the theoretical literature has tried to define what constitutes duty, obligation and good citizenship, there are still frequent disagreements over what they are, and there is no conclusive agreement about what each one means. Furthermore, the fact that empirical literature seems to be confusing the terms as well demonstrates that both objectively and subjectively, political studies are very unclear over what these three motivators of voting behaviour actually are.

This represents a substantial gap in the literature, both theoretically and empirically. In order to further the study of voting behaviour it is essential to

deconstruct these three concepts and increase our understanding; including how they are subjectively understood, how they relate to turnout and what drives them. The consequences of the answers to these questions can in turn have implications for theoretical literature including helping to confirm which definition is correct. There are also a number of potential implications for the empirical literature including how to interpret results and what questions to utilise in survey methods. Finally, there will be implications for previous research that has utilised one of these three concepts as an explanation of why individuals voted.

While our theoretical understanding is somewhat limited, there has been a recent push to understand duty. While it was used and analysed in a few early studies such as Campbell et al. (1960), there was very little growth in our understanding of duty initially because of the theoretical assumption that it could only explain a base level of turnout, not variation in turnout.

Early studies of civic duty tried to explore individual level drivers (Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000) by taking basic socio-demographic statistics such as age, gender, religiosity, education, income and a small number of political behavioural traits such as, enjoyment of politics and examining what differences occur between an individual who developed a sense of duty versus an individual who did not. The results were largely intuitive, with increasing income, education and age all having a positive impact upon the likeliness of an individual developing a strong sense of duty. Results also demonstrated that those who identified themselves as religious have a higher likelihood of having a strong sense of duty, as well as those who were politically interested.

Further evidence has also shown civic duty to be an intrinsic value (Blais & Thalheimer, 1997; Frey, 1997). It appears to be a value that when developed, makes individuals feel very strongly about consistently acting out of a sense of duty, which supports the initial theoretical understanding of duty. However, this evidence was undermined by further research which showed that the sense of duty individuals feel is contingent upon political context, with Thrasher & Rallings (2002) demonstrating that while duty is a better explanation of voting behaviour in second order elections, individuals still feel a lower sense of duty to vote in second order elections (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). Perceptions of the costs of an

election (Gerber et al. 2003) and the information available to individuals (Blais & Young, 1999; Kam, 2007) also appear to be important.

Civic education also appears to be important in developing a sense of duty. Youth participation appears to be central to the development of civic attitudes such as duty (Condon, 2009; Ferguson & Garza, 2010), and compliments the psychological profile of development that is often cited (Erikson, 1963). Heritability also seems to be an important driver of civic duty (Loewen & Dawes, 2012). If parents are civically minded, their dependents are also more likely to become civically minded. Whilst education is important to civic development, psychological differences also appear to account for some differences in duty. Personality traits such as altruism and positive thinking have a positive relationship with the development of duty, while traits of shyness and conflict appear to diminish the sense of duty (Blais & Labbe St Vincent, 2011). Four of the big five traits of agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion and openness also appear to have a strong relationship on the likeliness of developing civic attitudes (Weinschenk, 2014).

A number of behavioural attitudes also appear to have an impact on the sense of civic duty. Evidence from the educational literature pointed to a close link between social capital and the development of civic duty, and it appears that short term changes in social capital account for changes in civic duty (Gerber, Green & Larimer, 2008); as individuals are reminded that voting is both a civic duty, and that neighbours will be informed of whether or not they vote, their likeliness of voting rises significantly. It also appears that those who are expressive when discussing politics are more likely to develop a sense of duty (Jones & Dawson, 2008).

This evidence demonstrates some key advances in our understanding of civic duty; for instance, there are a number of educational, contextual, behavioural and psychological variables that appear to have an impact on the sense of duty to vote. Amongst the most prominent, is the link between duty and social capital, suggesting that individuals are actually trained to perform their duties because of an external force of societal pressure. Evidence also suggests that duty may not be as stable as the theoretical literature depicts. If duty varies

by political context, then there may be other causes of variance that as of yet are unknown.

The empirical understanding of obligation is much more limited, and at present there are no known papers that actively explore the obligation to vote empirically, so theoretical definitions of obligation represent all the information to base expectations upon. It is likely to be more variable than a sense of duty because of the emphasis on personal decision rather than external pressure, and it may not be related to turnout at all, however as stated, there is a lack of evidence to support or reject these claims.

There is a similar problem with good citizenship; though there are a few empirical studies that link good citizenship to turnout (Dalton, 2006 & 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2013), little is known about what drives a sense of good citizenship and how it is understood. So similarly, any expectations of how good citizenship is understood or what drives it are based upon political theory.

This literary discussion demonstrates another gap in our understanding; while we have a greater idea of what causes duty to develop or not, there is still not a clear idea of how individuals understand it, or whether it is different from obligation or good citizenship. The lack of empirical literature demonstrating what obligation and good citizenship are or what drives them, is also troubling given that as motivators they may be very influential in voting behaviour studies. Some of the evidence also suggests that our theoretical understanding of civic duty may also be flawed, with variation in duty looking more likely than the theory would suggest. There is also a lack of clarity over what motivates the sense of duty, with evidence suggesting that personal decisions and self-interest also play a part, rather than just external forces such as social capital (Bobek et al, 2009). This means re-evaluating whether intrinsic or extrinsic values play a role in civic duty, or indeed they both do.

Much of the literature starts to question the validity of the idea that civic duty is immutable. Theoretically it has typically been assumed that duty is stable and unlikely to vary (Brandt, 1964), and this has contributed to its exclusion from large scale voting surveys (Blais & Achen, 2010). However, it actually appears that duty is contingent on a number of contextual variables that cause variation

in the sense of duty an individual feels to vote in an election. Similarly, rational choice theory has viewed civic duty as a constraint on behaviour to explain why individuals vote (Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Elster, 1983; Hausman & Mc Pherson, 1996; Goldfarb & Sigelman, 2010) and has used this constraint to explain why individuals vote in elections despite the inherent irrationality regarding costs and benefits. The social capital literature and associated arguments would also suggest that social pressure is important (Gerber, Green & Larimer, 2008) in forming civic duty in line with the traditional notion of duty that it is stable and strong when social networks are also strong.

This further demonstrates the conflict between theoretical understandings of duty, as something that is highly stable, and empirical evidence that suggests duty may vary by context (Bowler & Donovan, 2013), over time (Kosmidis, 2010) and by a variety of political behavioural variables (Blais, 2000). Some individuals appear to have a sense of duty that is unstable, and contingent on a wide variety of internal and external pressures. So is duty stable in all individuals? Or does it vary in some, and what might explain the difference?

Selbourne (1997) offers some insight into this, and offers a theoretical model that might help account for variance in the stability of civic duty. Selbourne suggests that duties can fall broadly into three categories; duties to oneself (personal) duties to friends and family, and duties to society. This model of duty offers the ability for individuals to better account for what motivates their own sense of duty, for example those who feel constrained by external pressures such as social capital are likely to say they have a societal sense of duty, while those who feel personal pressures are more likely to have their sense of duty be contingent upon opportunity cost, personal feelings and pressures.

This model questions the validity of previous assumptions associated with duty in political science, and offers an opportunity to test and increase our understanding of what individuals consider when contemplating the duty to vote. Because of this, testing and evaluating this model of civic duty will be a major focus of this study, thinking about whether individuals can differentiate between types of duty, what drives each type of duty and how they relate to voting behaviour. Success in this model may lead to a need to re-evaluate how civic

duty is measured in political science, and may in part lead to civic duty explaining variation in turnout, not just an underlying constant level of turnout in elections.

While contextual, psychological, behavioural and social variables have demonstrated some differences in duty, as of yet no study has considered civic duty in a cross-national context, this may be down to the previous theoretical perspective that civic duty is perpetual amongst individuals, and unlikely to fluctuate. Given cross-national variation in turnout, there are likely to be differences in duty, obligation and good citizenship across countries; both in terms of how they are understood, and the relative strengths that are seen. Given the importance of duty in cross-sectional models of turnout, the lack of these attitudinal motivators in cross-national models of turnout is likely to damage their ability to actually explain what causes variance in turnout across countries. Limited studies have demonstrated differences in good citizenship cross-nationally (Dalton, 2006 & 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2013) but nothing is known about duty or obligation.

Institutions are understood to have an impact upon turnout cross nationally, even if the size of the effect is debated (Lijphart, 1997; Franklin, 2004; Blais & Dobrynska, Forthcoming). Despite this knowledge, no one has explored the impact that institutions have upon duty as of yet. There is a possibility that institutions have an indirect effect on turnout, being mediated through duty, as well as the direct effect that is often cited. In order to address this shortcoming in our understanding, this study aims to explore cross-national interpretations of civic duty; analysing differences in subjective understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship. It shall also seek to analyse the impact that institutions have upon the motivators of duty, obligation and good citizenship, with further consideration to individual level differences of a variety of behavioural and socio-demographic variables.

The evidence suggests that there are several gaps in our knowledge; subjective understandings of duty obligation and good citizenship; what drives them and how to measure them. There also appears to be a cross-national element to duty, obligation and good citizenship that is largely misunderstood. The research questions and gaps in our knowledge have a variety of implications, but the worth of this project is contingent upon the relation that obligation, good

citizenship and both a traditional and new model of duty have with turnout and voting behaviour.

There is evidence to suggest that duty is related to voting behaviour (Campbell et al., 1960; Blais, 2000; Thrasher & Rallings, 2002; Bowler & Donovan, 2013 to name a few), and there is also evidence to suggest that good citizenship is related to turnout (Dalton, 2006 & 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffee, 2013) but the only evidence linking obligation to voting behaviour is theoretical (Lomasky & Brennan, 2000; Hill, 2002). So far no one has explored whether they relate differently to turnout. This study will address this by linking duty, obligation and good citizenship to turnout and exploring how they impact, and how effective they are at accounting for voting in elections.

This literature demonstrates a series of substantive gaps in our understandings of these key drivers of voting behaviour. In order to address them, this thesis seeks to address three main aims: (1) To test whether duty, obligation and good citizenship are understood the same, and which is the best driver of voting behaviour, (2) to test whether one or more of these concepts can be utilised in cross-national research, and (3) To test whether a new conceptual model of civic duty can help explain voting behaviour, and be a suitable replacement to the traditional concept that appears to be flawed.

In order to address these gaps in the literature, an original dataset was compiled in the form of a pilot study. Studies that include duty, obligation or good citizenship are often scarce, and there are no known studies that include all three. The data collection utilises a survey methodological framework in the form of a pilot study. Surveys have been called the most ubiquitous technique in political science (Druckman, 2001), and as such are a widely accepted method of data collection. In order to address differences between duty, obligation and good citizenship, an experiment has been inserted into the survey to test, and account for any differences in subjective understandings of the three concepts. Survey experiments have been widely used within political science (Roth, 1995; Druckman, 2001; Morton, 2008; Gerber, 2011) and not only allow for a large amount of empirical evidence to be collected simultaneously alongside an experiment, but are a method that speaks to theorists, allowing scientists to test theoretical models. Due to financial and time constraints, the data collection

approach forms a large scale pilot study that is both cross-sectional and cross-national in nature to allow for a thorough examination of all research questions, and to provide adequate evidence to build future hypotheses and inform the future direction of empirical research. Because of financial constraints, student samples are utilised as a cheap and plentiful source of data, and while this study will not be able to generalise findings onto society as a whole, any differences between experimental treatments are still understood to be accounted for by the treatment itself because of the randomised nature of the experimental design while the survey items offer the opportunity to make initial assessments about the drivers of these concepts prior to further data collection that is representative of target populations.

While student samples are readily accepted for experimental use, their use to make generalised statements is uncertain. As a result of this, the main aim of this study is to firstly test using an experimental framework the understanding and relative strengths of the concepts, but to then go beyond this and build hypotheses and a theoretical framework that will guide future research, and predictions.

The dataset that forms the basis of this thesis is made up of 735 completed surveys that were collected at institutions in the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Ireland and New Zealand. While the data collection saw much larger returns from the UK, Ireland and New Zealand, these data still offer an excellent opportunity to start exploring institutional effects upon the drivers of voting behaviour. Around one in seven surveys were completed by a student for whom English is a second language, and whilst this has implications for the homogeneity of socialisation processes, when controlled for, still allows the study to make meaningful statements about a student group that by in large remains homogenous.

Whilst there is a growing body of literature which suggests that the fixation upon external validity and its importance may be flawed (Druckman & Kam, 2011), this study is not attempting to make generalisable statements from these data. Instead, it offers an initial glance at a previously unexplored problem, and aims to build hypotheses, and answer some research questions that have gone unanswered. The analysis itself will make statements about the nature of what

drives duty, obligation and good citizenship and test a new model of civic duty, but this analysis is only applicable and representative of the sample itself, and the analytical statements that are made can only ever be representative of this sample. As a great deal of experimental political science has demonstrated, a reliance upon small *N* studies can still offer a great insight into politics, and whilst the results are not generalisable, they still build our knowledge and provide a useful guide towards our interpretation of political phenomenon, and direct future research. This is the primary aim of this thesis.

This thesis has produced a number of substantive findings. Firstly, the study confirms that amongst the sample, there are individual level differences in the understandings of duty, good citizenship and obligation as well as what drives them. Good citizenship appears to be primarily driven by citizenship education suggesting that individual level interpretation is contingent upon effective civic education. It is also contingent upon an individuals' confidence in politicians; which is suggestive of a social contract between voter and politician. Obligation appears to have no significant drivers, demonstrating a large degree of confusion over what the obligation to vote actually is. It appears that individuals do not feel an obligation to vote or relate the term obligation to voting. A number of drivers of duty are significant, and in line with previous empirical research. Political discussion, age, media usage and ideology all appear to have an impact upon the likeliness of an individual having a strong sense of civic duty.

The differences seen in drivers seem to suggest that typically duty is related to social capital and external pressure, while good citizenship appears to be contingent upon the behaviour of politicians, and whether or not an individual thinks civically because of their educational history. It appears that good citizenship is much more open to interpretation because of this.

The study also finds differences between the concepts of duty, obligation, good citizenship and voting behaviour. Civic duty bears the biggest relationship to voting behaviour, and is the only concept that can explain voting behaviour with an aggregated measure (ignoring saliency). Good citizenship also bears some relationship when split by saliency, with good citizenship appearing to drive participation in second order (local) elections while duty better relates to higher saliency elections (national & referendum). There were no significant

relationships between obligation and voting in any context which provides further evidence of there not being an obligation to vote.

Cross-national variance in strength and understanding of duty, obligation and good citizenship is also confirmed, though the understanding of duty, good citizenship and obligation did appear constant when considering terms in a like for like manner. Only civic duty related to turnout when controlling for country level differences using an aggregated measure, which suggests that duty is understood to relate to elections in individuals cross-nationally, with results that were similar to individual level results. When controlling for saliency, the results again suggest that good citizenship relates to local elections, but duty is still related to both referendums and national elections. The results demonstrated that civic duty related to three of four electoral measures (both aggregate and accounting for saliency) suggesting it is the best concept to utilise in voting behaviour research.

When controlling for country level effects, only confidence in politicians is significant within good citizenship, which again suggests a social contract between voter and politician. Citizenship education does not hold when accounting for country level effects, suggesting that not all citizenship education is effective at identifying "good" behaviour. Political interest, political discussion, media usage and ideology all hold within cross-national models, suggesting that there are a larger number of variables that can explain the duty to vote. Obligation still sees no significant drivers, which again suggests that there is no obligation to vote for individuals.

The results also uncovered institutional effects upon civic duty and good citizenship to vote. The sense of duty appears to be contingent upon compulsory voting (negative effect) while good citizenship is contingent upon compulsory voting (positive effect), the number of elections (negative effect) and having a presidential system of democracy. Saliency also appears to play a part in institutional differences, with the duty to vote in local elections being impacted by proportionality, while duty in national elections is affected by the frequency of elections, presidential systems, and proportionality. Good citizenship only appears to be affected by compulsory voting and the number of elections at a national level only.

The new model of duty suggested by Selbourne (1997) does appear to be a very effective method of measuring civic duty. As well as the fact that individuals were able to actively differentiate between types of duty, there were also large variations in the drivers of each type of duty. Personal duty appears to be negatively related to citizenship education, which would suggest that those who are less educated on civic issues think more about personal effects, while women and those with a high media usage were also likely to hold personal duty. Societal duty on the other hand, appears to be driven by civic education, with those having received civic education being much more likely to develop a societal sense of duty. Men also appear more likely to have a societal sense of duty than women. The addition of allowing individuals to suggest that voting is not a duty also added value, with a lack of confidence in politicians causing individuals to disengage with the sense of duty completely. Personal duty appears to be related to turnout in some instances (saliency dependent) while those with a societal sense of duty were much more likely to vote in elections regardless of saliency. This is suggestive of a model of duty where the societal aspect closely matches the traditional concept of duty which is highly stable, while the personal sense of duty accounts for short term variations in voting behaviour. A societal sense of duty also appears to account for a stronger sense of duty than personal duty when compared to old methods of measuring civic duty.

The findings of this thesis have a number of implications for previous research; good citizenship does not always relate to turnout, therefore studies that attempt to link good citizenship questions to turnout in elections may need to be reconsidered if further research demonstrates these trends hold in representative samples. It also appears that duty, obligation and good citizenship are understood differently, so the use of them as synonyms for one and other would also appear to be mistaken, and whilst might also differ in representative samples, the experimental nature of this element strongly suggests that the differences are real, and while the strength of difference may differ by generation it is likely that this finding is more robust than others included. Additionally, the drivers for duty and good citizenship are different amongst the sample, whether modelling with country level fixed effects or not. These differences in motivators provide further evidence that questions what previous research has actually been telling us about any of these concepts.

There are a number of theoretical implications from this research; this study has given a much greater insight into how duty, obligation and good citizenship are viewed. Previous research advocating that there is an obligation to vote appears to be erroneous and previous theoretical arguments suggesting that duty will not vary also appears to be mistaken, with duty more likely to fluctuate depending on the primary drivers of an individuals' type of duty. Again, whilst there could be generational differences in the effect that is seen here, it still provides strong evidence that political theory at the very least needs to re-evaluate its understanding of each of these concepts.

A number of empirical implications are also evident. The evidence questions the validity of ignoring duty in studies of voting behaviour. It appears to be relevant in a cross-national context, as well as previously used cross-sectional studies. The evidence also questions how we measure duty, with a three category model of duty suggested by Selbourne (1997) appearing to much better able to account for variation in turnout, while still allowing individuals with a more traditional sense of duty to make their feelings evident. There are also implications for what countries have effective citizenship education programs, and how these impact the development of civic duty.

Finally, the thesis will consider future research, including the development of new theories, models of duty for future hypothesis testing as well as considering how this study can be expanded to give results that are representative of society. As previously suggested, whilst this study holds a number of implications for past and future research, to fully evaluate its impact further representative study is required, along with additional research items that were omitted due constraints governing the length of the survey. The use of wider surveys that have more variables, a larger *N* that is representative of society, and a greater focus on the psychological impact of civic duty are all considered.

This thesis will continue by firstly considering the wider literature and theory (Chapter 2) followed by a consideration of the methodological challenges of the study (Chapter 3). This will be followed by three empirical chapters that will analyse individual level variance in duty, obligation and good citizenship (Chapter 4) and cross-national variance in duty, obligation and good citizenship as well as institutional effects (Chapter 5). The final empirical chapter will consider how we

can test and measure civic duty with reference to Selbourne's model (Chapter 6) before the thesis ends with a concluding chapter evaluating the successes and failures of the thesis, and considering directions for future work (Chapter 7).

II Literature review

2.1 Introduction

Understanding what drives individuals to vote has been one of the big questions within political science research since the first basic studies into demographic differences between voters and non-voters were performed in the 1930s (Visser, 1994). These early studies suggested that there were specific patterns, with voters and non-voters seemingly belonging to different socio economic groups. This suggested it was possible to differentiate between voters and non-voters, and this understanding led to further questions as to what actually causes some to develop civic attitudes towards voting behaviour and why others did not. Early research by Paul Lazarsfeld (cited by Visser, 1994:43) demonstrated psychological differences between voters and non-voters could also help to explain these differences. Using evidence from the 1940 presidential election collected in Erie County, Ohio he discovered a series of relationships between psychological traits and the propensity to vote. This preliminary research began a greater discussion about what psychological factors actually had an impact, and the amount of research looking into voting behaviour grew exponentially.

Confirmation of psychological differences between voters led to further questions about whether social setting or culture could play a role in differentiating voters and non-voters. Studies started looking at why individuals became civically engaged, and why others refrained, considering whether a feeling of social pressure could explain voting behaviour. One of the troubling findings of this research was the suggestion that while civic engagement could help explain voting behaviour, civic engagement was actually in decline (Putnam, 1995a; Galston & Levine 1998). One of the key drivers of civic engagement is membership in voluntary organisations, and the number of people active within voluntary organisations has shadowed this decline (Putnam, 1995a). But does this really matter? Are democracies actually under threat because of decreases in the membership rates of voluntary organisations or are individuals just changing how they interact with society and politics (Dalton 2006, 2008 & 2009).

Regardless of the answer to this, there is a greater need to understand the different concepts that contribute and drive civic engagement including civic duty (Bobek et al. 2009).

This chapter starts by exploring some of the key theoretical models of three key concepts that are often cited as linking psychological development, civic engagement and voting behaviour: Civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. The chapter will begin by placing these concepts in the context of promoting civic engagement and framing the importance of civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. Following this, the chapter will discuss how these three concepts are understood and defined, looking at theoretical, philosophical and empirical evidence as to what constitutes them. The chapter will then focus on what drives an individuals' sense of duty, obligation or sense of good citizenship looking at contextual, social, behavioural and psychological drivers of the duty to vote. Finally, the chapter will explore evidence that suggests that our understanding of civic duty is inherently flawed, and instead provide evidence for a new conceptualisation of civic duty, and a method of measuring it.

2.2 Duty and engagement

One of the earliest cited pieces of research to consider civic engagement is Almond & Verbas "*The Civic Culture*" (1963) which explored democratic systems and civic attitudes in five countries¹. They looked at the relationship between membership rates of voluntary organisations, the ability to talk freely about politics and an emotional involvement in elections and amongst other things, trying to deconstruct their effect upon the democratic systems in these countries. Their findings strongly suggested that the UK and US were both good forms of stable democracy², and that are both able to support and foster democratic stability in the future. Americans appeared to be much more engaged with public affairs both at a local and national level than individuals in the other countries within the study. One of the main reasons for this, was that individuals in the US tended to be much more engaged with voluntary associations that are "*local, inward looking and apolitical in nature*" (Skocpol in Fiorina & Skocpol 1995:32). It

¹ These five countries are: The US, the UK, Germany, Mexico & Italy.

² However they did receive criticism for being too biased towards Anglo-American systems of society and governance.

was also noted that American voluntary associations tended to be less centralised and hierarchical than European groups, with American groups fostering greater adherence to social norms through increased pressure to act in a certain way. It also appeared that voluntary associations flourished in the US because of a lack of any strong national state, which encouraged the formation of local voluntary groups (Skocpol in Fiorina & Skocpol, 1995). This led to questions about why certain states were able to create and enable civic minded communities and why others failed.

The first research to actually define social capital in explicit terms was used to analyse dropouts from high school (Coleman, 1988). Coleman aligned social capital in a similar manner to human, financial and physical capital, with greater levels of social capital leading to individuals becoming better educated, enhanced economic efficiency and amassing even more social capital (Coleman, 1988). The research demonstrated the importance of social ties and shared norms to the creation of social capital whilst also demonstrating the importance of social capital. Three different forms of social capital were examined within the study: obligations and expectations, information and social norms, with obligations and expectations linking in closely to the context political scientists use to discuss voting behaviour.

Further evidence of the importance of social capital to political science was gathered in Italy, where research demonstrated a strong link between social capital, and differences in the institutional performances of local governmental organisations (Putnam, 1993a). Prominent differences occurred in institutional performance between the North and South of Italy, with institutions in the south being corrupt and highly unstable compared to the North where institutions appeared to run efficiently. One of the most notable differences between the North and South of Italy, were the number of voluntary social groups that existed, which reinforces the importance of social networks in enforcing civic values. Further analysis suggested that membership of voluntary groups (and not just voluntary groups that had a political attachment) seemed to correlate highly with institutional performance. The evidence strongly suggested that membership in civically engaged networks encouraged social trust and cooperation amongst individuals, and that this in turn fostered more trust in, and more effective political institutions (Putnam 1993a, 1993b).

Building upon the research in Italy, Putnam refocused to look at civic engagement in the United States, and through his book "*Bowling Alone*" (1995a) discovered some troubling problems within American society, in particular declining levels of civic engagement and social capital within American society. One of Putnam's key drivers to explain declining civic engagement were the levels of membership in voluntary associations, and his analysis demonstrated that membership numbers were dwindling with an especially high level of erosion during the 1950s and 1960s³. One of the most concerning findings linked to this, was that during this period in time turnout in the US had also been steadily declining, furthering the concern that if social capital and voting behaviour are linked, further declines could be expected as well as cementing the relationship between civic engagement and voting behaviour. This research contradicted the work of Almond & Verba (1963) which two decades earlier suggested America was socially inclusive and civically engaged. Evidence suggested that these changes could be blamed upon the process of industrialisation that was underway in the US as well as economic and geographic growth. This growth was transforming the types of voluntary groups; rather than being very small and inward looking, individuals were now members of national groups that had a much larger membership and become top heavy in comparison to the traditional social groups that used to exist. This gave individuals new identities as members of Unions for example and these large associations could not apply the same social pressure to adhere to norms as smaller community based associations (Brown, 1974; Fiorina, 1999). However, not all voluntary associations disappeared. Many organisations such as religious based groups transformed and joined larger organisations but managed to keep their strong local ties and remain community based. Further research chronicled which Americans were highly active in politics and civic life whilst exploring why they were politically motivated. Differences highlighted education, work relationships, religion as well as political participation that in itself was reinforcing (Verba, Schlozman & Brady, 1995).

The research on civic engagement and social capital demonstrates that adherence to social norms is important to create a well-functioning society, and

³ Critics have questioned the reliability of the data used by Putnam and suggested it is unreliable (Ladd 1996).

suggests that voting is a social norm. Levels of social capital and the sense of civic engagement appear to be interrelated with the act of voting. If one of these key areas starts to decline, then theoretically it appears that other areas would also start to fail. One of the key drivers of social norm adherence has often been cited as civic duty (Bobek et al. 2009). Having a sense of civic duty to perform a task increases the likelihood of an individual carrying out that task. But what exactly is civic duty? Why does a sense of duty make individuals more likely to act in a certain way? The next section is going to start to explore this issue, reviewing the theoretical literature to determine what civic duty is, why it makes individuals act in a certain way, and how it compares to an obligation to vote, or voting out of a sense of good citizenship.

2.3 What is duty? Theoretical and philosophical explanations

Whilst the previous section placed civic duty in the broader terms of civic engagement⁴, there has been no outline or definition of what civic duty is. Blais has described it as *"the belief that not voting in elections is wrong"* (2000:93), which is a widely used definition within the empirical literature. Further definitions have suggested that *"Civic duty is the belief that one ought to participate in the political process as a responsibility to others"* Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988:729), yet these definitions are brief and do not give a thorough picture of what individuals actually understand duty to be, or the theoretical basis upon which duty is built. Further definitions of duty suggest that duty is: *"The feeling that participation is to be valued for its own sake, or for its contribution to the overall health of the polity"* (Pammett & LeDuc 2003:38) and that *"Individuals who do not perform their duties change from citizens to strangers"*⁵ Selbourne (1997:252)

Additionally, some definitions have highlighted that *"The duty to vote as only being a duty if wide-spread abstention could be harmful to society as a whole"* (Usher, 2011:2), a point that is relevant of all elections when taking into account the long run success of democracy (Downs, 1957; Lijphart, 1997). Other

⁴ Klemmensen et al. (2012) describe duty and efficacy as being the main two intermediaries between genes and political participation and therefore as able to explain why some individuals vote and others do not.

⁵ Quote adapted for brevity.

definitions have sought to differentiate between a broad sense of duty that incorporates not only a decision over whether or not to vote, but whom the individual should vote for (Usher, 2011). For the purposes of this thesis, the focus shall remain on the narrower definition of civic duty and its ability to account for the motivation or abstention of an individual within the political process. While there is generally a consensus that the duty to vote exists; especially amongst political scientists, there are still a few who do not recognise the duty to vote. Lomasky & Brennan (2000) are prominent critics arguing that no sort of claim can be made that there is any duty requirement to vote in elections. Despite this assertion, and whilst it may be true that there is no firm duty to vote on the part of the state, individuals quite clearly consider voting as a duty when asked about their views in surveys (see: Riker & Ordeshook 1968, Blais 2000, Dalton 2008, Bowler & Donovan 2013 to name just a few).

The philosophical and theoretical literature examining an individuals' sense of duty is surprisingly limited, but the studies that do exist, are detailed and give clear arguments as to what a sense of duty actually is. "The Concepts of Obligation and Duty" (1964) is one of the few papers that thoroughly examines not only what duty is, but whether it is different from the concept of obligation. These two words are frequently considered within a similar context and are often used as synonyms for one and other (for examples⁶ see: Blais 2000; Dalton 2008; Gerber et al. 2008 Usher 2011).

Brandt begins with an overview discussion of two works that help frame the differences and similarities between obligation and duty. Firstly, considering the work of C.H. Whitely (Brandt, 1964:374) he frames duty and obligation from the perspective that they are approximate synonyms for one and other. Individuals have to perform a similar undertaking for either of these two concepts. In other words, regardless of whether voting is considered a duty or an obligation; individuals are required to perform this act no matter what language is used. Despite considering the two terms as being approximate synonyms, Whitely stops short of ever defining the two terms implicitly indicating that there is disparity over how these terms should be understood. Conversely, Hart argues that the concepts of duty and obligation are very different; that duties arise from

⁶ Almost all empirical research that is discussed within this thesis at some point substitutes "obligation" for duty. Often it appears to be done just to avoid repetitive wording.

an individual having a status or a role within society. Putting this in the context of voting, an individual has a status as a citizen that is legally able to vote in elections which should in turn make the individual vote out of an act of duty. However, we know that turnout in elections is never 100%, so this either means that individuals do not consider voting to be a duty, or the sense of duty is not constraining behaviour enough that all eligible individuals feel the need to vote in all elections.

Whilst there is evidence to support both these assertions, so far there has been no evidence to prove one case or the other conclusively. Brandt⁷ sees duty as being subjected to transformation and misuse of terminology, rather than duty and obligation being the same thing. He suggests that "*...rights being changed from [a] narrow definition during the time of Jon Locke to the definitive list of rights in the UN charter*" (1964:375) is a more accurate picture of what is going on and that duty is being transformed and misused rather than duty and obligation being the same. But if this is the case, what is duty, and how does it differ from an obligation? Mazzini (cited in Selbourne, 1997:252) discusses this in the "the duties of man", theorising that most of the important duties an individual has to perform tend to be positive; something they are compelled to do. An example of this could be saving someone's life, for most people, if you see an individual in trouble, you are compelled to intervene. This tends to be an instant reaction that you do not think about. This would suggest that voting may not be a duty; individuals tend to think a lot about the decision to vote (Downs, 1957; Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Sigelman et al, 1985), as well as the decision of who to vote for. This however is one of the very few texts that consider that there is no duty to vote along with Lomasky & Brennan (2000) and Hill (2002) who suggest that voting can only be considered an obligation and not a duty.

One of the explanations of the frequent misuse of terms, if it is assumed to be a misuse of language, is the psychology behind the concepts of obligation and duty (Brandt 1964:385). As individuals develop, they are socialised to the use of these terms, so if you learn a term and associate it as being one thing, it is likely that this association will form the basis of your interpretation of it in the future. This has implications when using civic duty in studies of voting behaviour. If an individual learns to associate voting with obligation, their responses may be

⁷ A sentiment shared with Usher (2011).

different than if they are asked directly about voting out of a sense of duty. Additionally, this suggests that individual' interpretations of duty and obligation will not be consistent, and instead will be contingent upon the way they were taught to understand these concepts.

Proponents that argue these terms are still distinct point to two key terms that are often used and associated with the terms of duty and obligation; the terms "ought" and "wrong" (Selbourne, 1997; Brandt, 1964). To reconsider Andre Blais' definition of duty that it is "*the belief that not voting in elections is wrong*" (Blais, 2000:93) this represents a common use of the word "wrong" in conjunction with duty; the idea that individuals believe that they have a duty to vote in an election because not fulfilling their duty would be "wrong". However, alternative definitions of duty suggest; "*Civic duty is the belief that one ought to participate in the political process as a responsibility to others*" Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988:729). This suggests that the duty to vote is something one "ought" to do which creates further confusion over whether duty and obligation are different. Theory often relates an obligation as something one "ought" to do (Selbourne, 1997; Brandt, 1964) and it is likely that individuals would see this as less strict than the definition of duty given by Blais where the pressure appears to be personal instead of civically minded. If an individual thinks that they ought to do something, they are not conclusively saying that not doing it would be wrong, it gives freedom to sometimes do something, yet abstain on other occasions and makes the decision personal. But even with this evidence, there is still no clear overview of what the concepts actually mean or how individuals would understand them. The definition of duty appears to place stronger pressure on an individual to comply; stating that a type of behaviour could be conceived as wrong gives a clear indication of what is expected. The term "ought" is much less clear and open to interpretation.

Obligation also has one other key difference from duty. Frequently, when obligation is used, it comes with a prefix of morality. Individuals often act out of a sense of obligation because of a moral need. Because of this you frequently see the use of the term moral obligation. Brandt gives one example of this; if a friend or acquaintance has you round for dinner, you have a moral obligation to reciprocate and have them round for dinner. This is much more likely to represent an obligation rather than a duty, you are not duty bound to under this scenario, yet morally you feel obliged to reciprocate in order to keep strong links between

individuals⁸. This suggests there is a difference in the relationship or setting that is required when deciding whether something is a duty or an obligation. Whilst obligation tends to represent promises or agreements and is used in this manner, duty seems to be better defined. It often relates to the occupancy of an office, or a position within an organisation (Brandt: 1964:389), though it is not limited to occupying a position, it requires performance. Whilst this suggests that duties are enforceable, this is not true in all cases. Selbourne (1997:253) uses the duty to vote in elections as an example. Individuals still have a choice to perform or abstain from voting in elections. Whilst voting in elections is a key duty within engaged citizenship and a duty towards the continuation of the civic order, it is not an enforceable duty in the same way as the duty to pay tax (Scholz & Pinney 1995). Individuals are not punished for abstaining in elections⁹, yet they may feel a sense of guilt for not fulfilling the duty. This demonstrates that there can be a moral aspect to a sense of duty rather than the fact that it is purely enforceable by a legal statute, the sense of guilt for not voting may in itself be a punishment and make duty enforceable.

The majority of the evidence seems to suggest that there are distinct differences between duty and obligation. Obligation appears to be more of a personal issue whereas duty appears to be more outward looking (considering civic issues rather than confusing with the internalised nature of the norm of duty) (Brandt: 1964:379). Yet when voting, individuals vote for both individual and social reasons, so it is hard to tell which of the two reasons is more useful for political science when trying to explain what motivates people to vote or whether there are even subjective differences in individual level understanding. There is substantial evidence to suggest that voting is a duty, given previous empirical work (to be discussed in the next section) and the theoretical arguments that are set out above including the structure of the relationship, between an individual who holds the position of a voter and a candidate that seeks support.

What is clear, is that despite the theoretical literature that both supports and questions the validity of the statement that obligation and civic duty are approximate synonyms, there is no real evidence to prove one way or another

⁸ Herman (1981) however points out that Kantian logic of morality and duty may be wrong, dutiful actions can have moral worth and are not only prescribed to actions of obligation.

⁹ Unless of course they live in a country where not voting is a sanctionable offence.

how these concepts are understood. Further evidence confirms this confusion; Ewing (1953) points towards a Kantian logic to justify an ethical obligation to vote as opposed to a duty, Meehl (1977) refers towards the ethical nature of voting without reference to a duty to vote and Lomansky & Brennan (1993) talk about the moral obligation that individuals feel to participate in consequential public issues such as elections. Herman (1981) also suggests that according to the logic of Kant, a dutiful action can only have moral worth if it is done from the motive of duty alone. Hill (2002) also states that individuals may have an obligation to vote, but not a duty, so clearly there is evidence to suggest that these terms may be considered differently by individuals. This confusion carries on into empirical literature where Blais (2000) and Dalton (2008) (amongst many other examples) frequently talk about the obligation some people feel to do something out of duty. So there is this confusion about what the terms mean both within the empirical and theoretical literature even though the latter has attempted to provide definitions and conceptual differences.

While it has said nothing about obligation or good citizenship, the rational choice literature has also treated civic duty as an immutable driver of behaviour. Originally designed to overcome the paradox of voting (Downs, 1957), Riker & Ordeshook (1968) first added the "D" term to overcome the apparent irrationality of the decision to vote. Their adjustment changed

$$R=PB-C$$

This is where = (R) citizens reward for voting (Utility), (P) probability (potential) of casting decisive ballot, (B) the individuals differential benefit and (C) the cost of voting.

To

$$R=PB-C+D$$

(D) The citizen's psychological benefit from voting (duty).

While Riker & Ordeshook treated this as a wide ranging set of psychological benefits (Blais, 2000), one of the most important psychological effects seemed to be civic duty, which would act as a constraint on individual behaviour even when the decision to vote looked irrational. Despite criticism of

tautology (Tsebelis, 1990; Hargreaves Heap et al., 1992; Dowell et al. 1998) and a debate as to whether rational choice theory could explain voting behaviour at all (Downs, 1957; Barry, 1978; Green & Shapiro, 1994), proponents still tried to further the study of voting behaviour within a rational choice model as one of the only solutions to explain individuals behaviour (Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Elster, 1983:109; Hausman & McPherson, 1996). Various adjustments to the costs and benefits were suggested (Niemi, 1976; Ledyard 1983 & 1984; Palfrey & Rosenthal 1984; Mueller, 1989) but despite these, research seems to suggest that in order to overcome the paradox, there is going to have to be some element of a "D" term left intact.

Goldfarb & Sigelman (2010) also see civic duty as a social norm that acts as a constraint on the individual as opposed to a benefit. They also state that individuals who consider voting to be a duty can also abstain based upon a feeling of guilt for not voting. The importance of separating duty from other psychological effects is clear, whereas a taste for voting can suggest an individual that derives utility from the costs of voting through enjoyment; an individual who feels it is a civic duty to vote instead faces a constraint on their utility. Rather than being free to abstain, they have to vote to fulfil their duty. They propose a method of inserting this into a rational choice model by creating a consumer choice model. They show that individuals choose from bundles of commodities or services, the only thing that can stop an individual from consuming a large amount of one good is scarcity. If the consumer cannot afford large amounts of a particular good they have a constraint placed on their maximum level of utility. Beyond this, in order to make the model allow some people to vote because of duty and others to not, they inserted an additional value. This was a binary value and within the equation when it is equal to one, the individual must vote because of the constraint, when it is equal to zero, there is no constraint so they can maximise their utility without being constrained. They argue that this removes the risk of tautology. "*Instead of complete tautology, 'they vote because they vote', we now have a slightly less tautological 'they vote because they face a civic duty constraint to vote'.*" (Sigelman et al, 2010:288) This model also allows for the costs of not voting, if an individual does feel a civic duty to vote but does not, they are liable to feel guilt from not voting.

The evidence from rational choice theory seems to support the idea that civic duty is a largely immutable concept; individuals are going to feel a constraint to act in a certain way, and while there is no way to compare against rational choice models that include obligation or good citizenship as they have not been utilised, it does demonstrate how civic duty has been viewed and utilised by political science over the past few decades, and helps explain why it has been ignored by empirical research.

One other term that is frequently used and seen as synonymous with the duty to vote is good citizenship. A number of articles that are referred to in the next section utilise a good citizenship question as a basis for their research on civic duty. Several studies including the International Social Survey Programme (2004), Comparative Index on Democracy, European Social Survey (panel 1) have asked questions about the motivation of a good citizen to vote in elections. These surveys have been utilised in studies such as Dalton (2006 & 2008) Van Deth (2009), Zmerli (2010), Klemmensen et al (2012), and Bolzendahl & Coffe (2013) which all use measures of good citizenship to discuss an individuals' sense of civic duty. One of the few attempts at defining good citizenship comes from Van Deth:

“The ‘good citizen’ is a national citizen; that is, the rights and duties that come with citizenship are the rights and duties of citizens towards the national state”
(2009:175)

To some degree this makes sense, particularly when taking into consideration the lack of questions about civic duty that exist in large scale survey datasets. However, the lack of good measurements does not validate its use for research tapping into civic duty. The main problem is the fact that what good citizenship is, is likely to be highly variable amongst individuals. There is no clear way of analysing whether the individuals understanding of good citizenship is the same as the authors, or whether individuals all understand good citizenship to be the same. Because of this, it is unclear precisely what is being measured when discussing good citizenship. Consequentially, you might expect that if survey data had been collected using a duty based question, the results could be significantly different. Because of this, making claims about the nature of civic duty seems flawed, particularly when there is no evidence demonstrating whether an

individuals' subjective understanding of these terms is consistent. This is a point shared with Dalton (2008) whose study demonstrates the differing norms of citizenship. Using the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) (2004), he shows that youths have shifting norms of citizenship that are not common with older generations. How they understand good citizenship has shifted, so it seems clear that what constitutes good citizenship is a lot more dependent upon individuals' subjective understanding than is likely to be found with duty or obligation. Whilst it must be noted that some studies use only one question regarding good citizenship and voting, Bolzendahl & Coffe (2013) note that good citizenship is actually a collection of norms (a point shared and with the work of Dalton), not just one specific issue. Looking at the ISSP 2004 it is clear that the norms they look at go far beyond voting. Because of this, asking about good citizenship might infer more than a simple question about how an individual feels about voting.

RQ: *Do individuals understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship to be the same thing?*

Combining the problems defining good citizenship, alongside the theoretical and philosophical differences between duty and obligation really does demonstrate a substantial gap in our understanding, as well as the importance of exploring how individuals understand these concepts do address these issues. The empirical testing of this question will highlight the importance of question wording as well as differences in the understanding of the terminology. Whilst in part, this will offer some evidence toward which theoretical model of duty and obligation is correct, the main aim of this research question is to analyse how individuals understand these terms, and what impact this has upon the empirical work that relies upon them. If the theoretical and philosophical arguments are correct; that duty, obligation and good citizenship are unique, the results of this research question may be damaging to previous research that has relied upon distorted definitions and understandings of these terms.

2.4 What is duty? Empirical evidence and the determinants of duty

The theoretical and philosophical literature on what constitutes a duty, obligation or good citizenship raises one further question; if we assume that the theoretical literature is correct and duty, obligation and good citizenship are unique and not simply synonyms for one and other, what exactly drives each of these different traits?

RQ: What are the main determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship?

While the theoretical literature does provide definitions of obligation, civic duty and good citizenship, it has not demonstrated whether individuals' understandings of these concepts are different, it has only provided an objective definition without confirming subjective understandings. If they are subjectively understood uniquely, it is likely that each of the three concepts will have different drivers of the type of behaviour. In order to address this research question, and understand what drives duty, obligation and good citizenship, there needs to be a wider consideration of the empirical literature, investigating what determines whether an individual develops a sense of duty (or obligation or good citizenship). This section shall proceed by examining the empirical literature that does utilise duty, obligation or good citizenship, and will consider alternative theories that relate to turnout; considering their ability to explain any differences between duty, obligation and good citizenship that may exist.

2.4.1 Historical use of civic duty in empirical research and its importance.

Empirical research investigating the importance of civic duty as a determinant of voting behaviour, or its ability to explain voting behaviour has been slow to develop. Whilst early studies such as Campbell et. al. (1960) highlighted that models of turnout including civic duty were much better able to account for and predict turnout, it was largely dismissed as just another attitudinal phenomenon (Blais & Achen, 2010) and there has been minimal innovation in terms of operationalising duty or how to use it within voting behaviour research. Given the

body of psychological, political theory literature and much of the rational choice literature it is not surprising that the study of civic duty was so slow to develop. It seemed clear that civic duty is such a stable attitude amongst individuals that it was illogical to explore it further. This is a primary reason why early studies that did include it like Campbell et al. (1960) did not pay much attention to the concept or the effect it had, as the assumptions behind duty suggested it could only explain a base level of turnout, not variation in turnout. However, concerns over declining turnout and levels of civic engagement seemed to prompt a renewed interest in the concept, and slowly more attention has been placed upon duty to try and help understand the drops in turnout that have been seen across Western society.

2.4.2 Socioeconomic variance in duty

One of the first attempts to explore the relationship between civic duty and the drivers of voting behaviour was Robert Jackson (1995). Taking civic duty as a dependent variable, the analysis focused on understanding what caused differences between those who developed a strong sense of civic duty versus those that did not. Jackson theorised that in order to promote the use of civic duty within studies of voting behaviour there needed to be a much greater understanding of what explained a sense of civic duty as well as what caused individuals to develop a sense of civic duty. His findings offered an introductory look at the primary drivers of a sense of civic duty. Amongst the most prominent findings, was the impact education had in driving a strong sense of duty. His findings also highlighted that increasing age, partisan intensity and higher income levels drive the sense of civic duty at an individual level. These results highlighted a previously unknown finding; that socioeconomic factors can account for some variation in civic duty and that it is possible to predict and explain the development of the sense of civic duty. Within a wider body of research devoted to the development of the rational choice calculus of voting model, Andre Blais (2000:98) retests and builds upon Jackson's (1995) work, reanalysing duty as a dependant variable within an OLS regression model. The results indicated that age and income were still significant drivers of civic duty, but also showed that political interest and religiosity were also able to partially explain the development of a strong sense of civic duty. The results suggested that social values such as

religion and the community based values that religion encourages were clearly related to the sense of civic duty, suggesting that social capital is likely to be a relevant driver of the development of civic duty.

These two studies demonstrated that there might be other forces that drive the sense of duty beyond the socio-economic and political behavioural variables that had already been explored. Further evidence showed civic duty is an intrinsic value within most voters and that they are pre-set to act in a specific manner (Blais & Thalheimer, 1997). However, Blais & Thalheimer also claimed that the biggest barrier to the study of civic duty was not a lack of interest as had previously been assumed, but there were difficulties in asking study participants about civic duty without alluding to desirable answers. To overcome the problem, they developed an approach that involved asking four specific questions about civic duties and the importance of voting in all elections out of a sense of duty. They then devised an analytical method of deciding what constituted a sense of duty based upon the answers to the four questions. Their experimental findings demonstrated that most individuals have an inherently strong sense of civic duty, with 85% of respondents fulfilling the conditions they laid out. Further consideration of these data confirmed the theoretical importance of civic duty to voting behaviour, confirming that for 73% of individuals, the main reason behind their decision to vote was a sense of civic duty¹⁰. This furthered the argument that political science needed to reconsider what is known about duty, and how it is understood whilst simultaneously developing its importance as a driver of voting behaviour.

Additionally, Bowler & Donovan (2013) demonstrated that civic duty appears to be contingent upon intrinsic motivations, finding similarly to Blais & Thalheimer (1997) that an individual feels a need to vote in elections, and have an interest in politics. Bowler and Donovan (2013) looked at the relationship between electoral saliency and the sense of civic duty, and found that second order elections are related to a lower sense of civic duty than elections that are considered more important. Their research highlighted a number of drivers of duty in elections of varying saliency, some that were consistent regardless of salience and others that appeared specific to certain types of elections. The evidence

¹⁰ The importance of these factors was decided by a group discussion of interview transcript material and agreeing upon the result and having a shared conclusion.

showed that age, gender, trust in politicians and interest in politics were all significant drivers in parliamentary elections, and that age and gender hold across all types of elections, while party ideology is important in assembly elections. Trust and interest in politics also seem to drive duty in all types of elections, regardless of saliency.

These four studies demonstrate that not only is it possible to explain what drives an individual's sense of civic duty, but an individual's sense of duty may not be as consistent as previously thought. This provides further evidence of the need to re-examine what civic duty is, how it is understood and what drives it.

2.4.3 Political behaviour, personality and the duty to vote

The studies above provided enough evidence to suggest that further research is necessary to fully understand and appreciate the potential to advance electoral studies. While the study of duty had been slow, the past decade and a half have seen a substantial rise in the amount of studies that utilise duty as either a driver of turnout, or investigate how the sense of duty is driven and developed.

Previous research had inferred that social capital played an important role in the development of civic duty (Blais, 2000) and with social capital being important in explaining voting behaviour and wider civic engagement it offered a useful starting point. Initial studies looking at social capital suggested that there was a relationship between social capital and the sense of duty to vote (Gerber, Green & Larimer, 2008). Using field experimental data collected in Michigan, Gerber, Green & Larimer demonstrated that individuals were more likely to vote when prompted that they had a civic duty to vote in elections¹¹, with the social pressure of informing neighbours of their decision to vote or not proving to be a strong driver of voting behaviour. Very similar results were found in an experimental study of US high schools, with evidence demonstrating that when engagement and youth participation were emphasized, individuals were more likely to develop a duty to vote in elections (Condon, 2009)¹². One of the more unusual findings from the study of civic duty demonstrated that other behavioural

¹¹ They also find that social pressure of notifying neighbours they had not voted also had a very strong impact upon the decision to vote.

¹² Duty not measured directly, but Condon (2009) describes that duty is the obvious transaction variable between social capital and participation.

aspects beyond education could also explain participation and the development of civic duty (Ferguson & Garza 2010). Using a civic engagement framework, they showed that teenagers who play video games (even violent video games) were more likely to develop a sense of duty, contradicting previous studies such as Putnam (1995) which found these activities to be harmful to civic engagement. This study in particular started to demonstrate that there were a number of empirical factors that appeared important to the development of civic duty which are not fully understood, which again demonstrated the importance of furthering our understanding of the concept.

Beyond the particularly innovative findings of Ferguson & Garza, other studies explored the relationships between behaviour and attitudes that were already understood to have a direct impact upon voting behaviour. Some findings were particularly surprising; it appeared that civic duty is a very strong motivator of voting amongst individuals who have a weak interest in politics (Blais & Achen, 2010; Blais & Labbe St Vincent 2011). So whilst it is understood that the more politically interested you are the more likely you are to vote, it also appears that civic duty can motivate individuals who are not politically interested to vote in the first place. This demonstrates the importance of duty as a driving force behind voting even when there is no interest, and provides strong evidence that duty is a constraining force on behaviour in line with rational choice models. This evidence also suggests that there may be differences between duty, obligation and good citizenship, with duty clearly acting as constraint on behaviour versus obligation or good citizenship which may not place the same kind of pressure on an individual to act in a certain way when there is no personal interest.

Further research also demonstrated that whilst internal and external efficacy are widely used measures within electoral research, when considered in the context of civic duty, it appears that while there is a strong relationship between external efficacy and duty, there appears to be no relationship between internal efficacy and the sense of duty (Blais & Rubenson, 2013). This raises further importance on controlling for civic duty within models of turnout. If effects and drivers of turnout and duty are not consistent, omitting duty could alter the results that are found in a model of turnout or voting behaviour.

Further studies started to develop the relationship between personality and the sense of civic duty. Whilst it is understood that there is a large aspect of heritability from parents in developing a sense of civic duty (Loewen & Dawes, 2012) and genetics have a limited effect on duty (Klemmensen et al. 2012), it appears that an individuals' personality may be important to the development of civic duty as well. Findings showed that individuals who possess personality traits such as altruism and efficacy have a positive impact on duty while shyness and conflict avoidance appear to diminish the sense of duty (Blais & Labbe St. Vincent, 2011). Most importantly the results demonstrated that the effect of personality was indirect upon turnout and that it is mediated through a sense of duty or political interest (Blais & Labbe St. Vincent, 2011). Additional research analysed the effects of the big five personality traits and similarly found there was a strong relationship personality type and sense of civic duty (Weinschenk 2014) with, agreeableness, conscientiousness, extraversion and openness having a strong positive impact on duty.

There appear to be a number of drivers of duty, but so far it is unclear whether the act of duty is in itself reinforcing. Habitual voting behaviour suggests that the act of voting makes someone more likely to vote (Gerber et al, 2003), but it is known whether the same is true for duty. Galais & Blais (2014b) examined this and found that just the act of voting out of a sense of duty was reinforcing, and helped drive the sense of duty (Galais & Blais, 2014b). This suggests that the sense of duty may be similar to the concept of habitual voting; with just the act of completing a task out of a sense of duty promotes the likelihood that an individual will do it again. In itself, this suggests that voting out of a sense of duty should be immutable, and is a rare piece of evidence to support the initial concept of duty, where once a sense of duty is learnt, it should continue be immutable and drive future behaviour.

2.4.4 Information and the duty to vote

Rational choice theories of voting behaviour have regularly demonstrated that information is integral to the decision to vote, with experiments proving that individuals are poor at measuring costs (Freedman & Fraser cited in Gerber et al. 2003:541) or would have to be deluded to vote because of the potential benefit

from the decision to vote (Caplan, 2000:192). This raises further questions about whether information cues could affect an individuals' sense of duty which is often cited as the primary answer to the paradox of voting. One of the first studies to look at the impact information showed that just subjecting individuals to information on the irrationality of voting could depress not only their likeliness to vote, but also had a direct impact upon the sense of duty they felt to vote (Blais & Young, 1999) and showing that information has an impact upon civic duty. Additionally, Coleman (2004) demonstrated that when individuals saw voting as an integral part of citizenship and were made aware that other individuals would vote, they became more likely to conform and vote because of the information they had been given. This demonstrates that there are short term factors that can cause variation in the sense of duty. Information cues appear to alter how individuals perceive the act of voting, and account for variation in duty as well as voting behaviour based upon the realisation that voting is or is not as important as they had previously understood.

Jones & Hudson (2000) differentiate between the benefit of voting out of a sense of duty, and the benefit of expressing a political preference. They find that perceptions of the importance of civic duty are central to deciding whether to vote. They also find that within rational choice models, civic duty is important in explaining whether or not people will vote and find that there is intrinsic value in this. Additionally, they also find that the expressive portion of voting is mostly important in deciding who to vote for. So individuals only feel an intrinsic sense of duty over whether to vote, not who to vote for. It also appears that individuals who have a strong sense of duty care less about the costs of voting (Jones & Dawson, 2008) something again which demonstrates how duty can overcome the rational choice problems with voting behaviour.

The sense of civic duty also appears to explain why so many individuals vote, even when it is understood that large numbers of individuals voting reduces the impact that a single vote has (Gerber & Rogers, 2009). It instead appears that the sense of duty can drive an individual to vote based upon an understanding that it is the socially acceptable thing to do. This provides further evidence that civic duty is contingent upon a sense of social pressure and that individuals actively feel constrained into acting in a certain manner to meet societal expectations.

It is increasingly clear that there are a large number of drivers of the sense of duty individuals feel to vote in elections, and whilst there is still some confusion over what effect these drivers have, it is clear that traditional notions of duty may be wrong, and that duty can actually vary over time, by context and across individuals. These studies not only demonstrate gaps in our understanding, but help to build a picture of the nature of civic duty. However, none of the research covered speaks to obligation or good citizenship, and this is in turn examined below.

2.5 What are obligation and good Citizenship? Empirical evidence.

2.5.1 Obligation

Compared to the study of civic duty, research that includes good citizenship or the obligation to vote is rare. Despite being seen as synonymous with the duty to vote, only one large dataset actually analyses the obligation to vote, and this was only asked in a single wave of the General Social Survey (GSS) in 1984. Because of this, determining what drives an obligation to vote is going to rely on unproven theory unlike civic duty.

Research into duty shows several key drivers that are significant in explaining or predicting the sense of duty including age, education, gender, political interest, and religiosity. If an obligation to vote is the same as the duty to vote, then similar results should be expected, with increased age, education, political interest having a positive impact on the sense of obligation to vote, with being female or religious also having a positive impact.

However, assuming that individuals do interpret the civic duty uniquely, then different drivers and effects may be expected. If civic duty is supposed to provide more of a constraint on behaviour and be more immutable in nature then it may be harder to find drivers of the sense of obligation because whether an obligation is performed or not is contingent on personal opinion rather than constraint. This would also be the case if individuals interpret obligation as not being related to voting at all. If there is no relationship, then any question asking individuals about the importance of voting out of a sense of obligation are going

to produce very mixed results that make interpretation difficult and may produce no findings at all.

Whereas civic duty is embedded in a literature that stresses the importance of constraints on behaviour, and as such should be more stable, the same is not necessarily true of obligation which stresses morality and an individual decision rather than a responsibility that is socially outward looking. The difference appears to be internal versus external constraints. In a rational choice model, you could summarise

$$U = P_b - C + D$$

Where the probable benefit (P_b) and the costs (C) relate to whether or not an individual feels an obligation to do something, and (D) constrains the behaviour of those who believe voting to be a civic duty.

The theoretical literature does provide evidence to support the idea that voting is first and foremost a duty, that as individuals already hold a position as a "citizen" they are required to perform the duty of voting to fulfil their rights as a citizen. Obligation does not stress the same importance, so again whilst there is currently no empirical evidence to support obligation being different the theoretical literature is clear in depicting it as something that is more likely to vary because individuals have a greater degree over whether or not they perform a task without the external pressure that a duty applies.

So whether or not individuals relate the term obligation to voting in elections, the chances of finding statistically significant results should be much lower compared to civic duty. Because of this, it is expected that the evidence will support the idea that the obligation to vote is different from the sense civic duty to vote, and the term has been widely misused within political science when referenced to voting behaviour.

2.5.2 Good citizenship

Unlike the sense of obligation one feels to vote, good citizenship questions have been asked in a number of prominent surveys in recent years including the ISSP (2004) wave on citizenship, as well as the Citizenship, Involvement, Democracy (CID) survey and the European Social Survey (ESS) (Wave 1).

The empirical evidence does appear to support the claim that there is a relationship between good citizenship and voting in elections, both within and across countries (Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2013). Further evidence suggests that a large proportion (65%) of European citizens do believe that voting in elections is an important part of being a good citizen (Van Deth, 2009) which also supports the idea that good citizenship is related to voting behaviour. Russell Dalton (2008) uses the ISSP to build a model of civic duty out of questions on good citizenship, suggesting that civic duty is a broad range of activities rather than something that can just be distilled down to one variable. Whilst some might agree that "civic duty" is a broader trait, it can still be interpreted as individual duties (Selbourne, 1997) so attempting to create a latent variable of civic duty out of questions that relate to good citizenship does appear to be flawed. If however this study finds that voting out of good citizenship is the same as voting out of duty, there would be no need to critique the work of Dalton based upon the use of citizenship questions.

Subjective understandings of good citizenship have led to a greater understanding of what is considered "good" by individuals. Using four categories of representative democracy, political enthusiast, pursued interests and indifference; Theiss-Morse (1993) finds that there are only correlations between the aspect of representative democracy, party ID, and political ideology. This evidence does suggest that the importance of having representative democracy is central to good citizenship, but given the lack of other controls such as interest, efficacy, alienation or socio-demographic differences being significant is suggestive that there is little that good citizenship can tell us about why individuals sometimes participate or defect from the political process.

This also makes sense theoretically; what constitutes good citizenship as previously discussed is likely to be much more subjective than civic duty. What is "good" to some individuals' may not be good to others. Combining this evidence

with the lack of statistically significant drivers of good citizenship discussed (many untested) above does strongly suggest that while an appreciation of good citizenship does seem to compel some citizens, it is not going to be a universally accepted trait relating to voting behaviour. So again, theory suggests it should be unique and not related to civic duty or obligation.

The literature thus far provides a series of expectations for the drivers of civic duty, especially the works of Jackson (1995), Blais (2000) and Bowler & Donovan (2013) who have outlined specifically that there are a number of social and political behavioural variables that can explain the duty to vote but demonstrates significant empirical shortcomings in our understanding of obligation and good citizenship. If the empirical evidence shows that duty, obligation and good citizenship are all unique then the determinants may be different. Given the lack of empirical studies investigating obligation and good citizenship, there is not a great deal of evidence to base expectations for what the determinants of obligation and good citizenship but in order to test differences, the literature on duty provides a number of potential drivers that allow for an analysis of this and will help to fill a gap in our understanding about what drives the drivers of voting behaviour.

2.6 The psychology of becoming engaged

2.6.1 Youth civic development and the psychology of duty

So far this chapter has examined key sociological and behavioural that drive duty, obligation and good citizenship, however there has been little discussion of how individuals become engaged, or who develops a sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship. This next section is going to examine the literature on civic education and look at key approaches to encouraging the development of civic duty to participate in elections.

Much of the research looking at how individuals become engaged has focused on the psychological literature, looking at stages of development, and considering how external forces can impact upon youth development. One study that has demonstrated the importance of youth development in attaining civic minded attitudes showed that civic identity and engagement is contingent upon

four key constructs; social cohesion (i.e. trust), civic skills (i.e. ability to be involved in civil society), civic duty (commitment) and finally civic action (participation in activities for the betterment of one's community) (Bobek et al. 2009). Assuming that individuals benefit from an active citizenry (Lerner, 2004), Bobek et al. (2009) looked at youth differences in engagement between members of the 4H group (an American farm group), and a separate control group. The results demonstrated that membership of the 4H club was a significant driver of civic engagement, but in particular, membership of the 4H club was a strong predictor of civic duty unlike other youth organisations. This suggests that membership of targeted groups can increase civic engagement, and that just being a member of a group does not have the same effect on sense of civic duty¹³ and engagement in general. The results of this paper suggests that similarly to the social capital literature, not any kind of organisation promotes a sense of civic duty, horizontal networks such as the 4H club appear to be much better at fostering a civic culture and developing civic duty than other youth organisations, and suggests that creating a civic culture is more complicated than just creating a club.

The psychological literature surrounding the importance of youth development is well evolved. Research has examined what types of civic education have a positive impact upon civic engagement with findings demonstrating that some types of education are better than others. One study in Poland for example demonstrated the impact of an active learning model of education with the use of democratic games to promote civic duty, while further research conducted in Argentina demonstrated that civic education programs involving the use of school and traditional newspapers had a measureable impact upon rates of democratic values amongst students who were involved within the program (Morduchowicz, 1996). Further research showed the effectiveness of community service programs (Yates & Youniss, 1998) and of youth volunteering organisations (Kirlin, 2002) as well as the widely cited study by Verba, Schlozman & Brady (1995) that revealed a strong link between participation in high school government and future civic engagement. The evidence shows the role that active youth membership has in civic development, and despite the findings of

¹³ However their findings do not give any clear indication of what civic duty is thought to be beyond it being psychologically related to emotional aspects of psychology.

Bobek et al. (2009) suggesting that some organisations are not as effective, the evidence does seem to suggest that membership of an organisation is better than not being involved in any community group.

Individuals who are not involved in organisations however, are not destined to be unengaged. Further evidence has demonstrated friendship groups can be effective at fostering civic engagement (Settle et al., 2011). So while education and organisations are important, individuals still can still develop a sense of duty because of the company they keep.

RQ. What impact does participation in citizenship education classes have upon an individuals' sense of duty, obligation and good citizenship?

These studies all demonstrate the importance of civic education and civic participation in driving an individuals' sense of duty. Despite this, very few papers have looked at the direct impact of civic education upon obligation or good citizenship, or explored cross-nationally what constitutes the best form of civic education. Whilst education is a well utilised control variable in behavioural studies, civic education is rarely used. It is likely that civic education is going to be far more influential to voting behaviour than just a broad generic measure of high school attainment. Because of these shortcomings, this thesis intends to measure and include civic education to investigate whether it impacts on the three concepts that are being measured, and how it relates to voting behaviour.

The literature above does a lot to demonstrate the importance of voluntary group membership in driving an individuals' civic skills, identity and sense of duty but stops short of telling us fully how individuals become engaged. Instead it refers to one step in the process. Civic duty in particular has always been assumed to be developed through a linear process of socialisation:

"The 'social capital' approach makes causal and normative assumptions along what may be called neo-Durkheimian lines, stressing the socialization of individuals into shared norms and cooperative societal action" (Skocpol & Fiorina 1999:13)

The research discussed so far only elaborates on one small part of youth development, yet development occurs over a much longer timeframe, and as such these studies fail to talk about the effect the psychological “input” has on the results of their study i.e. individuals are already developing before they reach adolescence. Many of the studies discussed have based their understanding of development on Erik Erikson's (1963) ego identity theory which describes eight distinct psychological stages of development throughout life, starting from their first birthday. The stages of developed are outlined as: (1) trust v mistrust, (2) autonomy vs. shame and doubt, (3) initiative vs. guilt, (4) industry vs. inferiority, (5) identity vs. confusion, (6) intimacy vs. isolation, (7) generatively vs. stagnation and finally (8) integrity vs. despair. Whilst these stages are different, they are all interlinked, so a change at stage three would have a psychological effect on development at stage six. This means that developmental problems that cause a child to mistrust individuals from a young age could have implications for all future development so even with very effective civic education, an individual could be predisposed to be wary of trusting others, and being part of a group. The stages which outline the socialisation process towards civic norms and identity occur mainly in stage seven particularly in generatively vs. stagnation. In this stage, Erikson discusses the importance of feeling productive and being involved or active within a community. Whilst the likeliness of an individual feeling like this is embedded from their experiences in the six previous stages, it is here that individuals start to become active within their community and that they start to appreciate social values. It also appears to be a process that is consistent with developmental systems theories (Lerner, 2002 & 2006) by which individuals evolve as they grow and continually develop psychologically as individuals.

2.6.2 Continuing development and adult civic engagement

Whilst youth development is clearly very important to the creation of social capital, and civic duty in particular, empirical evidence suggests that duty may be a continually developed and variable trait. In order to address this claim, and look for further evidence, the next section is going to analyse continuing civic development. Traditionally, it is understood that future learning is inconsequential to civic duty, or as Easton & Hess say “*What is learned early in life is hard to displace*” (1962:246). Evidence also suggests that while civic attitudes change

through generational replacement (Inglehart, 1990; Dalton, 1994), change amongst individuals is generally slow and does not tend to diminish because once individuals learn a sense of civic engagement or duty, they then internalise the norm. Due to this evidence, there has been little demand to explore adult civic development and the focus has remained on your participation.

However, when you consider the effectiveness of social capital to overcome collective action problems, it is evident that social capital can vary based upon type of community and community involvement. This suggests that civic duty could also vary over time. Further evidence suggests that while youth development is important, individuals continue to develop civically throughout life, as evidenced by the “lifetime learning model” (Mishler & Rose, 1997). It appears that civic traits are continuously learned and updated depending upon an individual’s= personal situation. While the evidence does not contradict the importance of youth development in creating civically minded individuals, it does suggest that they are periodically updated throughout life.

Mishler & Rose’s (1997) theory on the importance of adult civic education is supported by a growing body of research that shows the impact adult civic education can have on civic engagement (Burt, 1990¹⁴; Barber, 2002; Wilson & Hayes, 2002; Gatsil, 2004). Gatsil (2004) for example, shows that deliberative forums which aim to enhance civic discussion are an excellent way of increasing civic education through continued education. Individuals who were part of the deliberative forums saw increased value in civic duty as well as self and group efficacy, demonstrating that conversation can act as a positive multiplier in driving civic mindedness.

Further evidence of the importance of adult education shows that discussion and social interactions (Fowler, 2005), or how a sense of efficacy (Sherrod, Flanagan & Youniss, 2002) can continue to shape individuals’ civic engagement and political behaviour throughout adulthood. Knack & Kropf (1998) also show that political participation also rises in areas where census returns are high, reinforcing the notion that social pressure and community do raise civic identity and the sense of duty. The implication of this shows that increased social

¹⁴ Burt (1990) suggests that affection for one’s country is a strong motivator of duty, not just something that it is socialised to in childhood with changes in duty being possible throughout life.

mobility would have a negative effect on civic duty and wider civic engagement, and provides further evidence of the variability of civic duty. Additionally, Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988) reinforce the idea that duty could be variable. They demonstrate that civic duty has an impact upon psychological empowerment, which in turn drives future turnout. This suggests that as individuals learn to participate, they are more likely to do so again in the future which acts as a positive multiplier. Their findings also demonstrate that civic duty tends to be higher amongst individuals who participate in community based activities, which again given that community involvement can vary, suggests that civic duty might also vary.

As well as evidence from advanced democracies, adult civic education has learnt a lot from programmes introduced in developing democracies (Finkel, 2000). Funding initiatives have proven effective in a variety of countries including: The Dominican Republic (Finkel et al, 2000) South Africa (Finkel, 2002 & 2005), Zambia (Bratton et al, 1999) and Kenya (Finkel, 2011). One additional study also showed that deliberative forums used in developing democracies could also be applied in the US and be effective in raising civic engagement and participation (Kunzman & Tyack, 2005). Finally, Butler & Stokes (1974) suggest that social psychological attachments that might foster a sense of duty, are in part developed and reinforced by being expressed, which suggests that future changes to participation in itself is likely to have an impact upon the future development of the sense of duty and engagement. These studies demonstrate that civic education programs can have an impact upon civic education, and most importantly, demonstrates that the *"[findings] lend additional credence to the growing claim that democratic values can change significantly in response to short term stimuli"* Finkel (2000:3)

Whilst Settles (2011) work on social integration and social groups was mainly aimed at demonstrating the effectiveness of social groups amongst youths, it raises significant questions about the impact social groups have amongst adults. Again as adults move between social groups would we not also expect to find that levels of engagement and sense of duty would also change along with this? Certainly the evidence of Finkel suggest that the sense of civic engagement being sensitive to short term issues.

2.6.3 Summary

It is clear that the psychological sources which have traditionally formed our understanding of civic duty as an immutable trait may be inaccurate. The developmental literature has provided substantial evidence to suggest that civic duty is subject to a number of short term stimuli (Finkel, 2000). It has also demonstrated that continued civic engagement (Kunzman & Tyack, 2005) can help shape long term political behaviour and engagement. This raises questions about whether theoretical and empirical studies of civic duty actually understand what the concept of civic duty is, and provides strong evidence to start exploring what duty, obligation and good citizenship are as well as how they are understood.

2.7 Duty, obligation, good Citizenship and turnout in elections

2.7.1 Institutional and contextual effects on duty to vote

So far the literature has shown the effect that behavioural, psychological and developmental variables have upon an individuals' sense of duty¹⁵ or their ability to develop a sense of civic duty. However, the link between duty, obligation and good citizenship as a driver of voting behaviour has not been discussed at length. Early uses of civic duty within the voting behaviour literature included the work of Campbell et al. (1960) that demonstrated possession of a sense of civic duty dramatically increased the likeliness of an individual voting in a given election, but as previously mentioned further development was slow. Recent trends of declining turnout in Western democracies (Putnam, 2000; Dalton, 2008; Wattenburg, 2011; Blais, 2000; Butt & Curtice, 2010) have reignited interest in civic duty and its ability to explain voting behaviour while recent research has demonstrated that civic duty accounts for roughly why three in five individuals vote in elections (Blais, 2000) so the importance of civic duty cannot be underestimated.

¹⁵ Though many of these could bear some relationship to generational or life cycle issues.

RQ: Are duty, obligation and good citizenship all related to voting behaviour?

This renewed interest in civic duty has fuelled further research trying to improve our understanding of the relationship between duty and voting, as well as trying to determine whether duty could explain the declining turnout seen across Western democracies. Research has started to suggest that the sense of duty is not only related to the act of voting, but is contingent on a variety of political and contextual variables related to voting behaviour. One study demonstrated that when individuals are subjected to information on the importance of voting as a civic duty (Kam, 2007); they are much more likely to vote in elections. Politicians and the media appear to be able to shape the duty to vote, a finding which has implications for studies of voting behaviour that fail to account for civic duty. This study also demonstrates that there is a social constraint attached to the duty to vote; when individuals are reminded of its importance, the likeliness of voting rises providing further evidence of the need to reevaluate the concept of civic duty. Additionally, it also provides further evidence of short term fluctuations in civic duty.

Additional evidence showed the effect information can have upon civic duty. Using an experiment Jones & Dawson (2008) demonstrated similarly to the work of Kam (2007) that when individuals vote out of a sense of duty the decision of who to vote for becomes increasingly important. Their findings also showed that voters with a strong sense of civic duty feel a greater need to be informed voters¹⁶, which demonstrate the positive effect duty can have upon elections beyond making people vote; it helps to create informed voters. Further evidence of the contextual importance of duty appears when analysing decided and undecided voters (Kosmidis, 2010). Whilst Evidence suggests that decided voters with a strong partisan alignment have a fairly constant sense of civic duty throughout an election campaign. However, individuals who are undecided until the late in the campaign actually see an increase in the importance they place on voting as a duty. Dumitrescu & Blais (Forthcoming) also look at the duty individuals feel to choose their second choice party when their first choice party

¹⁶ This result was replicated as previously mentioned in Blais (2000:98) demonstration of the determinants of duty.

is not competitive. However, an exposure to a duty prime does not seem to have any impact upon strategic reasoning or behaviour in relation to vote choice. It does however appear that agreement with the duty prime does indeed increase anxiety attached to the election.

The literature on obligation and good citizenship is again severely limited in relation to voting behaviour, and while there are no studies that demonstrate the relationship between obligation and voting behaviour, previous theoretical evidence suggests that there should be no link between the two. The evidence on good citizenship does suggest that there is a link between good citizenship and voting in elections (Dalton, 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe 2013). However, whether good citizenship is contingent on political knowledge or political context is unclear because of a lack of empirical research that considers good citizenship in the context of other determinants of voting behaviour.

2.7.2 Civic duty and electoral context

Confirming variation in duty at an individual level is likely to rely on one of the following dimensions; time, context or life cycle changes. A number of political and behavioural differences have already been discussed, but the role electoral context plays has not been discussed. Previous research into second order elections has always demonstrated that turnout tends to be higher in national elections than in second order elections (Rallings & Thrasher, 2007). The theoretical understanding of civic duty suggests that duty is created through a process of socialisation, and using this understanding of civic duty, Rallings & Thrasher (2007) look at the ability of civic duty to predict turnout in both national and local elections in the United Kingdom. Their findings showed civic duty to be a much stronger predictor of turnout at local elections than in national elections. The fact that duty is a much stronger predictor of turnout at local elections does suggest that individuals who are highly civic minded are much more likely to vote at all elections regardless of context. Individuals who vote in both types of elections have a stronger sense of civic duty than those who just vote in national elections. This does suggest that civic duty is a constant and that it may not vary by context and it is just a better predictor of turnout in second order elections because individuals that do vote in those elections have a keener sense of civic

duty in the first place. In addition, they are more likely to vote out of a sense of duty than individuals who may have differing motives in national elections. Whilst the evidence presented by Rallings & Thrasher (2007) shows duty to be a better predictor of behaviour in local elections, they are not able to decipher whether individuals feel a weaker sense of duty to vote in second order or national elections. Further research by Bowler & Donovan (2011 & 2013) investigated the immutability of duty by electoral context to test this. Using data from the National Referendum Survey (2011), they demonstrate that varying saliency also means varying duty, with first order elections driving a higher sense of civic duty than second order elections. These results differ from Rallings & Thrasher and demonstrate that actually individuals seem to denote less importance to voting out of a sense of duty in lower saliency elections. It therefore appears that individuals consider voting out of duty to be different by context. Individuals clearly see voting in national elections as more important as a civic duty, and feel less pressured to vote in low saliency elections.

RQ: Do duty, obligation or good citizenship interact differently with elections of different salience?

The Bowler & Donovan paper (2013) provides evidence that the sense of duty may not be as constant as the theoretical literature would suggest; that individuals are assigning a second order sense of duty to second order elections. Yet given the lack of data that links the obligation to vote or voting out of a sense of good citizenship, there is nothing to compare against. The sense of duty across electoral contexts may still be fairly stable when compared to an obligation or sense of good citizenship.

Theory would suggest that civic duty should still be more stable than obligation or good citizenship. Given that the obligation to vote is seen as more of a personal responsibility, and the duty to vote is seen as being a constraint on behaviour by external factors, it should be much easier for an individual to decide what is or is not important to them. Good citizenship as previously discussed is harder to interpret, although there is some empirical evidence to support these expectations. Given Bozendahl & Coffe's (2013) finding that good citizenship is

a good predictor of voting behaviour, the expectation is that there will at least be a relationship between voting behaviour and good citizenship. However, given the lack of theoretical framing of good citizenship, it is harder to interpret how this would impact upon elections of differing saliency. This is likely to be contingent on what an individual sees as being "good". Voting in national elections may be seen as more important than voting in local elections because of the prominence of national elections. If this is confirmed, it would question previous measurements that have only asked about a general sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship to vote in elections rather than focusing on the impact of electoral context. Any differences between duty, obligation and good citizenship response patterns would also confirm the importance of gaining a greater understanding of how these concepts are understood subjectively, and whether we should really consider using different terms depending on context.

As well as relating the concepts of obligation, good citizenship and civic duty to the importance of voting, it is also important to understand the relationship between these motivators of voting, saliency of election and voting behaviour. The evidence Bowler & Donovan (2013) used for research contained information on electoral context in relation to strength of duty, but not on whether or not individuals actively voted in these different elections. This study intends to address this by collecting voting habits on a variety of election types, and investigate how these three concepts interact with voting behaviour. Individuals in the referendum study may have said that their sense of duty was inconsistent, but without evidence on voting habits it is difficult to say how important these differences in duty actually are and whether individuals change their habits in line with the sense of duty they declare.

2.8 Cross-national research and the study of duty

The chapter so far has demonstrated our understanding of duty, obligation and good citizenship and individual level drivers of these concepts. Yet our understanding of turnout and voting behaviour is also contingent upon a number of institutional variables that have not been discussed so far. Though there are a small number of studies that explore good citizenship in a cross-national setting, there is virtually nothing in the way of empirical evidence to guide the impact of

duty or obligation in a cross-national context, or whether individuals across countries understand these concepts in the same way.

Whilst the cross-national use of duty, obligation and good citizenship is limited, studies of voting behaviour in a cross-national context are well developed and a great deal is understood about the direct impacts of institutions on voting behaviour. But given the number of studies that have shaped our individual level understanding of duty such as socialisation (Yates & Youniss, 1998; Kirlin, 2002; Lerner, 2004; Bobek et al, 2009); political interest (Blais, 2000) and a variety of political contextual variables (Kam, 2007; Gerner, Green & Larimer, 2008; Jones & Dawson, 2008; Condon, 2009; Ferguson & Garza, 2010; Bowler & Donovan, 2013) it is surprising that duty, obligation and good citizenship have not been utilised in cross-national surveys. The evidence suggests that many of the drivers of voting behaviour also seem to impact upon the sense of duty. Because of this, there is an expectation that cross-national variation in turnout and voting behaviour should at least be in part explained by cross-national variation in duty. One possible reason for the omission of duty, obligation and good citizenship from cross-national studies could be concerns over differences in subjective understanding across countries. Civic duty may mean something very different in one country compared to another, and this again is likely to be contingent upon the psychological and social experiences voters have had growing up. If Brandt's (1964) observation that the transformation and misuse of obligation and civic duty is correct then the transformation of what duty means cross-nationally may also be highly subjective.

RQ: Do individuals across countries understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship the same as each other?

There is clearly a strong theoretical case to expect cross-national variation in duty, obligation and good citizenship, but it is essential to address this issue and evaluate its viability as a potential indicator of variations in voting behaviour cross-nationally. One forthcoming paper does suggest that the understanding of Good Citizenship is constant across countries (Millican et al, 2012). Using the ISSP (2004), a factor analysis provided confirmatory evidence that it is

approximately understood the same across countries. Dalton (2008) also finds that there also seems to be some shared understanding of social norms across countries. This evidence suggests that certainly with regard to good citizenship, omitting motivators of behaviour from cross-national research is likely to lead to models of voting behaviour that are much less able to explain variation in turnout across countries than if these models did account for these key motivators.

Considering the subtleties that exist both within and across languages, it is reasonable to expect that the terms duty and obligation have been used in different ways (Brandt, 1964). While it is likely that good citizenship is interpretive of what an individual believes is "good" and what has been socially designated as "good", perceptions of duty and obligation are more unclear in a cross-national context. Different countries have different socialisation processes, socio-economic compositions as well as differing political contexts. Given the cross-national variation in turnout, there is a reasonable expectation that variation in the strength of duty, obligation and good citizenship could at least account for a portion of the cross-national variation that is seen.

RQ: Does the impact of citizenship education on duty, obligation and good citizenship vary across countries?

One further variable that is likely to cause variation in duty, obligation and good citizenship cross-nationally is the psychological and educational process that individuals go through as they develop. Similarly to the individual level studies discussed previously, those who have been subjected to citizenship education are much more likely to develop civic attitudes, this may also have an impact upon how individuals view duty, obligation and good citizenship. Programs in the US such as the 4H program have been proven to increase the strength of civic values (Bobek et al. 2009), whereas programs in other countries use different methods to promote citizenship (Morduchowicz, 1996; Bratton, et al. 1999; Finkel et al. 2000; Finkel, 2002 & 2005) and these have had varying success rates. An alternative approach to teaching civic education is likely to affect engagement in different ways. This suggests that citizenship education could be one variable that would help explain both the variation of duty, obligation

and good citizenship across countries as well as their understanding of these concepts. This is also supported through the idea of democratic learning theory (Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2013) which suggests that the process through which individuals learn about democracy will shape their sense of engagement.

RQ: Are there cross-national differences in the determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship?

As well as differences in citizenship education, there are likely to be a number of other explanations that could explain both variation in the strength of duty, obligation and good citizenship cross-nationally as well as how they are understood. Many are similarly related to the determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship seen earlier in the chapter.

A number of studies have attempted to ask questions about cross-national differences regarding the norm of participation. So far the main works of Dalton (2008), Bolzendahl & Coffe (2013) and Van Deth (2009) offer the best evidence to demonstrate the role of these traits in a cross-national context, though these examples all rely on good citizenship questions. Bolzendahl and Coffe (2013) demonstrate that there are some differences in citizenship values, citing major differences between new and established democracies. Van Deths work highlights the traits which make up good citizenship, but never discusses the problems of cross-national variation amongst them. Using data from the ISSP (2004), Dalton (2008) demonstrated that there were some underlying differences in how good citizenship is conceptualised cross-nationally, and used these data to also to create constructs of civic duty.

These studies have demonstrated that there are cross-national differences in the strength of good citizenship and make a strong case for further examination. However, none of these studies discuss the underlying factors that cause a sense of good citizenship to develop, or consider whether these measures are appropriate to discuss civic duty which is usually the primary interest of the research in these papers. In order to address these concerns, further investigation is required, and with no cross-national studies investigating duty

directly, or the sense of obligation, there is a need to understand whether there are differences in understanding, and whether or not these different drivers of turnout can be used in future voting behaviour.

Finally, because of differences in political behaviour, culture and social construction, it is also reasonable to expect that some of the basic determinants of duty such as age, gender, education, political interest, and media habits are also likely to vary across countries. This in turn may have an impact on cross-national variation in duty, obligation and good citizenship. If these concepts are likely to vary within countries as has been discussed at length above, there is a good expectation that there will be cross-national variation also.

2.9 Institutional effects upon duty and turnout.

As well as behavioural, psychological and social factors that drive civic duty, obligation and good citizenship, there is evidence to suggest that institutional design may also have an impact upon these concepts. If it does, it raises further questions about whether a sense of duty, obligation and good citizenship is stronger or more variable in some countries than others and what accounts for any differences that exist.

RQ: Do civic duty, good citizenship & obligation relate to turnout the same cross-nationally?

RQ: Does cross-national context change the relationship between duty, obligation or good citizenship and electoral salience?

As seen in Figure 1 these are all known to have both a direct impact upon turnout through voting behaviour, and a mediated effect on voting behaviour through civic duty.

Figure 1. Dimensions and drivers of civic duty

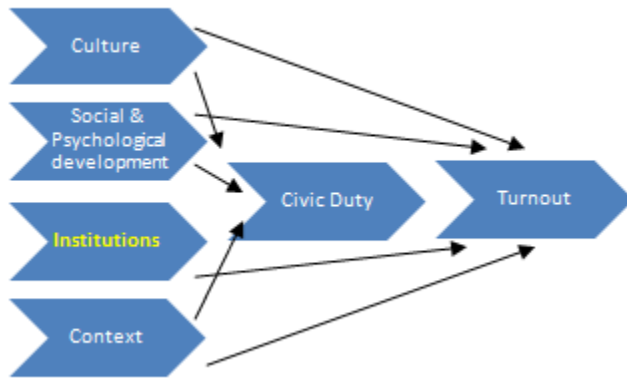


Figure 1 Duty and our understanding

Source: Own elaboration upon theoretical dimensions of duty.

Whilst there is some evidence that citizens across countries have different values of citizenship (Van Deth, 2009; Bozendahl & Coffe, 2013), so far there has been no real attempt to understand whether cross national variation in civic duty exists or whether institutional differences can explain any variation in duty, obligation or good citizenship that exists cross-nationally. For the purposes of this section that examines whether institutional factors could cause variance in civic duty, obligation or good citizenship, the studies that are referred to relate to institutional impact upon turnout directly. This is down to a lack of evidence on the nature of institutional differences in duty, obligation and good citizenship. Whilst there is evidence to support the notion that institutions play a role in civic development, it is not a universally shared view. Burt (1990) argues that civic duty is not the best approach to achieve civic virtue, and most importantly feels that the state does not have any ability to create a culture or ethic of civic duty. However, given the effect institutions have upon turnout, and taking into account the known relationship between turnout and civic duty, it is unlikely that there would be no relationship between institutions and civic duty, obligation or good citizenship.

Politics has often used cross-national studies to try and explore institutional effects. There are so few cases of electoral system change, that utilising cross-national surveys with stringent controls is the most effective approach of understanding how electoral institutions themselves can affect political behaviour. Turnout is often used as a measure of effective institutions because voting represents one of the least demanding forms of political activity; a form that is not massively dependent on individuals having advanced civic skills (Verba, Scholzman & Brady, 1995). There are some obvious patterns that emerge from an initial glance at these cross national studies. Firstly, turnout appears to be significantly higher in established democracies (Powell, 1986), which is not too surprising and may explain some of the cultural differences between countries studied as without being socialised to democracy, the value individuals place on it is likely to be lower. Further evidence to support the role of cultural norms and enhance expectations of cross-national variation in civic duty is democratic learning theory (Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2003). It is likely that individuals will learn a sense of duty differently, but if we know that costs and benefits have an impact upon turnout, it also stands to reason that we might expect to see civic duty to vary depending on the institutional arrangement employed by a given country where higher costs become associated with a depressed sense of duty.

Given the importance of civic duty in explaining voting behaviour, any impact institutions have upon duty becomes more important; "*The most striking message is that turnout varies much more from country to country than it does between different types of individuals*" Franklin (1996:217). If turnout differs more across countries than it does within countries, then there are either very big cultural differences or institutions may play a key role in explaining why turnout differs so much. Duty accounts for three in five voters according to Blais (2000), but is this the same across countries?

Initial studies of turnout in a cross national setting looked at the role of turnout in explaining or demonstrating democratic performance. The research of Powell (1986) who studied a total of seventeen countries looking for cross-national differences and institutional explanations, Jackman (1987) who looked at institutions and the role they played in determining the likely level of turnout played a key role in shaping our understanding of institutional effects. Jackman

in particular looked at the effects of compulsory voting, the role of nationally competitive districts and electoral disproportionality. These issues will each be explored below with consideration of the likely effect they would have upon the sense of duty to vote.

RQ: Does institutional setting impact upon duty, obligation, and sense of good citizenship to vote?

2.9.1 Compulsory voting

Before considering the individual elements of electoral systems and the likely effects they could have upon duty, obligation and good citizenship, it is important to reconsider the relationship of duty to voting behaviour. As previously stated, duty accounts for roughly three out of five voters (Blais, 2000) and this understanding leads to a basic assumption: Electoral systems that foster low levels of turnout should relate to lower levels of duty, and in systems that foster high levels of turnout, sense of duty on average should be higher.

Many institutions are understood to relate to higher levels of turnout, but the most prominent amongst them is compulsory voting (Jackman, 1987); in particular compulsory voting where a sanction is imposed for not voting (Blais & Carty, 1990). Numerous studies have verified the effectiveness of compulsory voting in raising turnout (Jackman & Miller, 1995; Franklin, 1996; Lijphart, 1997; Blais & Dobrzynska, 1998). When individuals are exposed to a punishment if they do not vote, it increases the costs of not voting and thus motivates individuals to vote, or at least to spoil their ballot in order to avoid the cost. Australia is a good example of this, where compulsory voting exists and a fine is levied to incentivise compliance. When compulsory voting was introduced in Australia, there were initial concerns about a bias in results because of uninformed voters would not take the decision seriously, but it actually acted as a driving force to make individuals engage with politics and make an informed decision (Lijphart, 1997). Given the link between political interest and duty, it is likely that there would be a stronger sense of duty amongst individuals voting in Australia because of the role compulsory voting plays in enforcing social norms.

2.9.2 Electoral rules

Whilst there is a clear case to be made for the role compulsory voting plays, the rules that govern an election, in particular how individuals are allowed to vote are also likely to matter. The literature within political science has often suggested that lower costs encourage individuals to vote (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980) and this is understood to be a by-product of the direct relationship between institution and voting behaviour. However, it is also likely that some of the effect seen is mediated through a sense of duty. More individuals are likely to vote out of a sense of duty if they are able to make it to the polls; therefore the easier it is to vote, the more likely it is people will vote, and vote out of a sense of duty. Globally, there are many different ways individuals can vote in elections (Franklin, 1996). The introduction of postal voting has been effective at reducing the costs to voters and raising turnout through lowering the time constraint (Karp & Banducci, 2000). As voting becomes progressively less costly, individuals are incentivised to take the time and vote, but it also has the added benefit of allowing voters a bigger window in which to vote rather than constraining them to a single day to attend a particular polling station. Karp & Banducci suggest however that the main effect of postal voting is to increase the voting rates of those predisposed to vote in the first place, so it is unlikely to create new voters. Given that there are likely to be some groups of individuals who feel a sense of duty to vote but have been limited by their ability to get to a polling station, more individuals are likely to vote out of a sense of duty if they are able to vote by post. So even though it reduces the costs of voting, by proxy it will also allow individuals to vote out of a sense of duty. The act of voting is usually contingent upon registration, and Wolfinger & Rosenstone (1980) also suggest making registration easier will increase turnout. Evidence of this can be seen in the UK versus the US where higher turnout is seen in the UK which employs compulsory registration, something which is not legally required in the US.

As well as deciding when and where an individual can vote, one key electoral rule governing future participation is the age when individuals are legally allowed to vote (Wolfinger & Rosenstone, 1980; Blais & Dobrzynska, 1998). Research suggests that as much as a seven percent drop in turnout can be attributed to the lowering of the voting age from 21 to 18 (Franklin, 1996) due to

the fact that individuals approach their first election during a time where there is lower pressure to vote. Whilst this suggests that lower voting ages would be bad, Franklin asserts that lowering the voting age to sixteen could have a positive impact, as individuals would be socialised to voting at a time when they live at home, and would be guided by parental behaviour. This is likely to drive an increase in civic duty, as evidence consistently shows that parental influence (Loewen & Dawes, 2012) has a strong impact on the likeliness of individuals voting in the future.

2.9.3 Proportionality

The proportionality of a system is also known to have an impact upon voting behaviour and turnout. The empirical evidence again demonstrates a large difference in turnout in countries with plurality systems versus those with proportional systems that see much higher average levels of turnout.

Analysing 509 elections across 20 countries, Blais & Carty's (1997) show that turnout is related to the proportionality of the system, and confirms that turnout is significantly lower amongst majoritarian systems than those that are progressively more proportional. This is a finding shared by Franklin (1996) and Lijphart (1994) who both find a strong relationship between proportionality and rates of turnout. More proportional systems increase the number of parties and increase the likeliness an individual will align with a party, which in turn increases their likeliness to vote in an election of they feel a party is likely to represent them.

Whilst this research again highlights the direct relationship between institution and voting, proportionality may influence the sense of duty one feels to vote in an election. If an individual is socialised in a system where turnout is higher, and the norm of voting is more embedded in society, it is likely that they will feel a stronger sense of duty to participate in an election. This suggests that higher levels of duty should be seen in proportional systems. However, there is also the possibility that higher costs attached to voting in elections that are governed by a plurality system make duty a more powerful predictor of voting behaviour and turnout in line with the findings of Bowler & Donovan (2013) as well as Thrasher & Rallings (2007). Individuals are able to vote because they want to vote, rather than solely because of the constraint duty places upon them.

2.9.4 Electoral disproportionality

In conjunction with electoral systems, elections that are disproportionate are understood to reduce turnout. For example, if you are resident in a district where there is majority support for a right wing candidate, and left wing candidates have no realistic chance of victory, any individual who supports the left wing candidate is going to have little incentive to vote in that election. If your candidate is not going to win, then you are just imposing costs on yourself without any hope of deriving a benefit. Empirical evidence on the impact upon disproportionality on turnout has mostly shown a positive impact when elections are close (Jackman, 1987; Blais & Carty, 1990; Franklin, 1996). The impact this would have on duty again remains unclear, whilst it could be argued that higher turnout is a by-product of higher levels of duty, the importance of duty to explaining voting behaviour may be greater in systems that are highly disproportionate. Without believing there is a benefit to be gained, the importance of psychological motivators of voting behaviour is likely to be increasingly important. So in countries that have disproportionate results, duty might be better at explaining turnout, but in systems where results are often close, you might expect turnout in elections to be higher on average.

2.9.5 Frequency of elections

How often individuals are asked to participate within the democratic process also appears to have quite a strong effect on turnout. For instance, in countries such as Switzerland where a very direct approach to democracy exists and frequent referenda take place on a variety of issues, turnout in elections is exceptionally low (Jackman, 1987). Evidence suggests that the more elections individuals have to vote in, the lower turnout goes (Boyd, 1981, 1986 & 1989). This could be seen as a symptom of higher costs (Wolfinger, 1994) or voter fatigue (Jackman & Miller, 1995; Thrasher, Rallings & Borisjuk, 2003). If individuals have to vote more often, the costs increase which would rationally make more individuals abstain and it just becomes easier for voters to get bored of voting when asked to participate regularly. Bowler & Donovan (2013) also demonstrate that individuals have a different sense of duty for different types of election, and

demonstrated that second order election equals second order turnout. On the basis of this, individuals clearly do not consider voting to be such an important duty when they are asked to do it frequently and consequently devalue elections that are less salient. Therefore in countries with more frequent elections, it is expected that the duty to vote will drop as individuals devalue the importance of voting as they are required to do it so frequently.

2.9.6 Summary

Given the understanding of duty as a driver of turnout, and the effects that institutions have on fostering social capital (see Putnam, 1995), it is likely that there is at least some mediating effect of intuitions on turnout and voting behaviour through the sense of duty. What remains unclear from this literature is the precise effect that institutions will have upon duty, obligation and good citizenship. There is evidence to suggest that institutions which are associated with higher turnout should cause a higher sense of civic duty amongst individuals, but conversely it may be the case that duty as a predictor of voting behaviour is stronger in systems with lower levels of turnout.

Any findings that do link institutions to the sense of duty though, will increase our certainty that there are factors that can cause changes in the sense of duty and substantiate the claim that manipulating institutions can have positive repercussions beyond electoral turnout through greater adherence to norms.

2.10 A new model of duty

The literature so far has examined the traditional theoretical concept of civic duty, including whether it is different from obligation and good citizenship as well as there are differences in the underlying drivers of these concepts. What has become clear is that the evidence so far points towards a model of duty that is outdated, and conceptually inaccurate. In order to address these questions and concerns, this final section addresses the conceptualisation of civic duty, and offers further evidence to support a three strand model of civic duty.

So far, the concept of duty discussed and utilised to frame this thesis is the most commonly used version within both the theoretical and empirical

literature. However, it is becoming apparent that this conceptualisation of civic duty is outdated, and subject to fluctuations rather than being an immutable trait as has often been assumed (Erikson, 1963; Yates & Youniss, 1988; Kirlin, 2002). This has impeded the development of the empirical literature because the underlying assumption suggests that civic duty should be unable to explain variation in turnout, and rather just explain an underlying percentage of turnout. However, the growing body of literature previously discussed in this chapter provides substantial evidence to question the validity of these assumptions, and it appears that civic duty varies because of a number of contextual, behavioural and cultural reasons (Bowler & Donovan, 2013; Galais & Blais, 2014 are good examples).

There are a number of factors that might explain this; the most prominent of which suggests that there are differing levels of self-interest present within models of civic duty (Burt 1990, Selbourne 1997¹⁷, Usher 2011¹⁸). It could also be due to a measurement issue with respondents misinterpreting what questions are being asked of them or it could be down to an individuals' sense of duty actually being affected by a series of external factors that were discussed in previous sections.

According to Selbourne, duties can be split into three different categories¹⁹; duties to themselves, duties to others²⁰ and duties to the civic order (society) with a mixture of enforceable and unenforceable duties within these categories (1997:250). Brandt (1964) however argues that civic duty is related to societal values rather than individual values but this is discredited by Burt (1990:25) who believes that it is possible for self-interested individuals to still have a sense of duty that is valid and aimed at improving society.

“If individuals are pursuing self-interest in a properly structured situation governed by appropriate norms and institutions, these self-interested values can transpire into politically virtuous behaviour that is good for society” Burt (1990:25).

¹⁷ Selbourne (1997) also believes that obligation and duty can be approximate synonyms for one and other.

¹⁸ Brandt (1964) however discusses that self-interest is encapsulated within the obligation to vote, not the duty.

¹⁹ Burt (1990) comes up with a very similar model which is described below.

²⁰ Selbourne refers to this within the text as duty to friends and family.

This suggests that self-interest and civic duty may not be complete opposites, but instead are trade-offs, some with a stronger sense of self interest and others with a stronger sense of civic duty.

The recent rational choice literature would also agree with this; it is noted by Goldfarb & Sigelman (2010) that an individuals' sense of duty may range from a small twinge to something more severe. Because of this, it is still possible for those that consider voting to be a civic duty, to rationally abstain from voting. This is largely dependent on how developed their sense of civic duty is. The fact that it could be anything from a small twinge to something more severe does suggest that duty is unlikely to be a binary variable, and that there are individuals who will vote out of duty sometimes and abstain at others. Edlin et al (2007) also suggests that while individuals consume civic duty, they also have an element of self-interest and will sometimes abstain and at other times rationally vote because of their sense of civic duty. This demonstrates that rational choice theory is starting to adapt to the idea of a variable sense of duty, and suggests a model such as Selbourne's (1997) could be appropriate to measure and analyse the sense of duty.

RQ: Do individuals consider the duty to vote to be personal, societal or a duty to friends and family?

RQ: Does this relate to their strength of duty to vote?

As well as the fact that this new model of duty could allow individuals to select differing levels of self-interest, it also allows for elements that are traditionally associated with obligation to be incorporated. Brandt (1964) considers that duty and obligation can be approximate synonyms for one and other because of changes in our use of the language despite the fact that there are numerous traits that make these terms unique. By having a model that is made up of three strands of duty, you can start to account for the behaviour of obligation within a model that considers duty. Obligation is a more self-interested behaviour and because of this, is likely to be associated with personal senses of

duty instead of societal senses of duty. If duty and obligation are ideologically separate concepts, then a new model like this would allow for each trait to be accounted for within one concise model. Whereas duty is considered to be outward looking, he considers obligation to be much more personal (1964:379). A societal sense of duty however, has far more in common with the traditional concept of civic duty as seen in table 1. Gerber et al (2008) note individuals who have the strongest sense of duty are those who have internalised it. This is not to be confused with the internal pressures that individuals feel when considering whether they personally have a duty to vote.

New and traditional concepts of civic duty			
Concept 1	Concept 2		
Traditional civic duty	Personal duty	Duty to family and friends	Duty to society
Stable attitude	Variable Attitude	More Stable	Stable attitude
Civic minded	Self-Interested	Self-Interest & Civic Minded	Civic minded
Developed from Childhood	Developed from Childhood		
Internalised sense of duty	Sense of duty not fully developed		Internalised Sense of Duty
Not Susceptible to External Forces	Susceptible to External Forces/ Opportunity Cost		Not Susceptible to External Forces
Cannot explain variation in turnout	Ability to explain variation in turnout		

Table 1 The concepts of duty
Source: Own elaboration of concepts of duty.

This new conceptual framework of civic duty is likely to change how civic duty is viewed empirically. Whereas previous empirical studies have relied on the traditional concept of duty, this new model of civic duty gives political science an opportunity to start considering whether some individuals have a stronger sense of duty than others, and most importantly whether some individuals' sense of duty are more likely to vary than others. Whilst it is evident that duties to society within this model are very similar to the traits and characteristics seen in the traditional concept of duty, a personal sense of duty and a duty to friends and family have very different characteristics. A duty to oneself is described as being a lower sense of duty; an individual that has a sense of duty, but this sense of duty is mediated by a level of self-interest.

"The sense of duty they experience is a duty to perform dutiless rights on his behalf no matter what the consequences to his fellows or the civic order"
Selbourne, (1997:262).

Selbourne goes further to suggest that without this self-interested aspect to duty, duties to the civic order are also likely to fail (1997:263).

RQ: How does type of duty relate to the strength of their sense of duty?

Given the theoretical literature, it is likely that someone who considers voting to be a personal duty will be far more likely to have an unstable sense of duty than an individual who believes voting to be a societal duty. This is seen in figure 2 below. A societal sense of duty in this model demonstrates the traits of an individual who has the strongest sense of duty, and typically an individual who is most unlikely to alter their decision based upon other factors such as self-interest.

RQ: What drives a personal, societal or duty to family?

As well as the fact that a personal sense of duty stresses the influence of self-interest, it is also likely that individuals who have a societal sense of duty are

much more likely to have a developed sense of duty because of stronger feelings about broader civic engagement. This introduction of external pressure makes the type of duty more constraining than a personal sense of duty.

Typically, economists would view a societal version of civic duty as conflicted with self-interest (Downs, 1957), yet according to Selbourne²¹, all individuals possess a sense of self-interest, it is just the strength of self-interest that will vary between individuals. This is a view shared by McGraw & Scholz who state "*Laws typically create a conflict between the civic duty to comply and the self-interested advantage gained by noncompliance*" (1991:471). Without self-interest, no individual would ever have a sense of duty towards society (Selbourne, 1997) This suggests that all individuals will develop some sense of duty to vote, but how strong this sense is, is mediated by the level of self-interest they have (this can be seen in figure 2). Selbourne refers to this lowest level as the moral minimum, individuals still have a sense of duty, it is just not very strong. So an individual who considers voting to be a personal duty still contains an aspect of civic mindedness, but has a stronger focus on self-interest because their sense of duty is not fully developed. This means that sometimes they will vote out of a sense of duty, and at other times will abstain from a sense of self-interest. This type of individual is less beholden to traditional notions of civic duty, but has one where the sense of duty can fluctuate, and is highly sensitive to a series of external factors that mediate an individuals' behaviour. This is a view shared by Burt (1990) who states that a love for the Fatherland, public and private ends co-mingle, which suggests that sometimes self-interest might win, and at other times civic mindedness will guide individuals' behaviour. Those who consider voting a societal duty, are much more likely to be driven by social capital factors and norms that tend to fluctuate significantly slower. As such, you would expect that these individuals sense of duty would fluctuate significantly less, or at least over a significantly longer time period as social capital tends to take time to fluctuate (Putnam, 1993a, 1993b, 1995).

²¹ Selbourne (1997) refers to personal duties as "self-regarding", and mentions voting as something that one can do either in their own interest and be 'self-regarding' or you can vote out of regard for others (e.g. stopping the collapse of democracy).

Self-interest v. type of duty

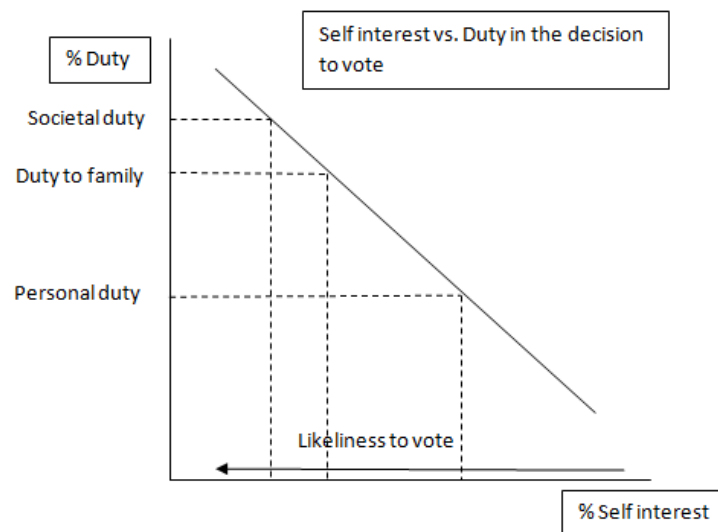


Figure 2 Self-interest & the duty to vote

Source: Own model of duty to vote.

This leads to questions about what forces explain the differences between someone who has a societal sense of duty to vote and others who have a personal sense of duty to vote beyond social capital. Psychology has clearly defined two types of individual; those who rely on internal control, and those who rely on external control. Individuals who rely on internal control are said to be self-determined, and wish to have control over their own fate (Rotter & Mulry, 1965; Julian & Katz, 1968). This links into arguments of self-interest, as those who wish to have self-determination want to make decisions on their own terms and have control of their own fate. One argument against this is individuals who have a low sense of internal efficacy might decide to abstain from voting as their self-interest is best served by others (Sherrod, Flanagan & Younis, 2002). It is also apparent that participation can have an impact upon this. Those who have voted in previous elections develop a sense of psychological empowerment (Levens, 1968; Zurcher, 1970; Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988) which in itself is reinforcing and makes individuals more likely to want to trust their decision to participate in the future. So despite the argument of Sherrod et al, for a majority of citizens it does include decision making and deciding whether voting is in their best interest. This suggests that individuals who have a sense of internal control, are far more

likely to have inconsistent voting patterns, and this will be contingent on the opportunity cost of voting.

Type of duty and outside pressures on voting behaviour

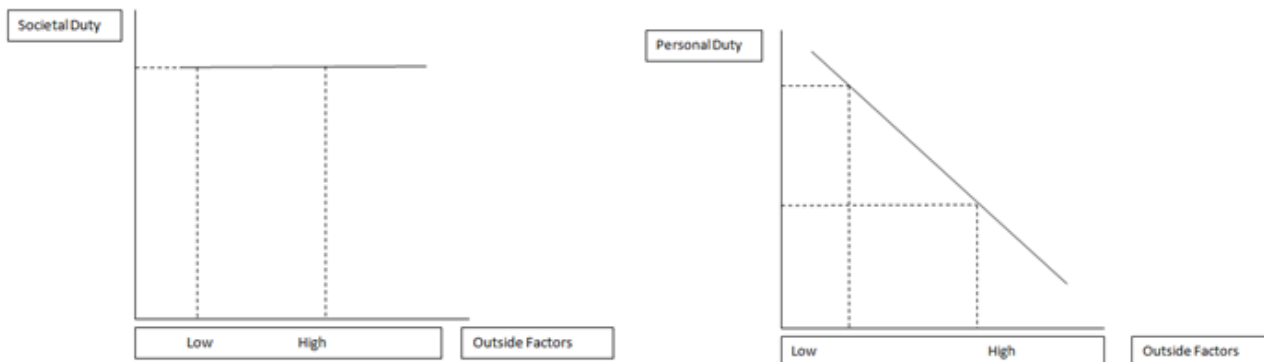


Figure 3 Personal & societal duty and external impact
Source: Own models of duty

Another explanation that might explain why some people vote sometimes and abstain at others is the sanctions that are present. Sanctions can be split into both internal and external forces (external could be for example compulsory voting). Internal forces include feelings of guilt for not participating, or the shame or fear of getting caught having not participated and the potential shame that this might bring (Knack, 1992; Horne, 2003; Raney & Berdahl, 2009). The sense of shame is likely to differ depending on whether you consider voting to be a personal duty or a societal duty. Those that vote out of a sense of societal duty have already internalised the act of voting but still feel a sense of social pressure to conform and vote, because of pressures they feel as a member of society. However, for an individual with a personal sense of duty to vote, whether or not these external sanctions exist they are going to make a decision based upon their own self-interest, If the opportunity cost of voting is high, they abstain, if the opportunity cost is low, or they feel that their interest is best served by voting, they will vote. Individuals who have truly internalised the norms of voting out of a sense of duty still receive a benefit though. Gerber et al. (2008) point to two potential benefits; an intrinsic benefit that is the personal satisfaction of doing something out of a sense of duty, and the extrinsic benefit; doing something

because you derive pleasure from individuals seeing you perform a civic act. The benefit for individuals with a strong civic sense of duty is an intrinsic sense of joy at having completed the task out of a sense of duty. Those individuals who consider voting to be either a personal duty or a duty to friends and family are far more likely to consider the extrinsic benefits of voting out of a sense of duty, these do include elements like the value derived from individuals' noticing them do something civic minded, and the praise that is associated with this²². Therefore, depending on the situation, this trade-off between self-interest and duty may be swayed by whether an individual believes they are going to derive any satisfaction from other individuals acknowledging them vote. Bowler & Donovan (2013:268) link the idea of intrinsic and extrinsic motivators of duty, citing Frey (1997) and suggest that outside interventions undermine the actor's intrinsic motivation. If an actors' intrinsic motivation is not acknowledged. Bowler & Donovan suggest that whilst the socialisation processes an individual go through produce a baseline of duty, this baseline of duty is subjected to a series of external factors that cause it to rise and fall depending on situation. However, not all individuals are likely to be as affected by external pressures, so some individuals may find external pressures change their voting behaviour a great deal, while others maintain an immutable sense of duty that has always been assumed to exist.

There are a number of factors that could help explain why individuals vote out of a personal sense duty sometimes, and abstain at others. Individuals who are more self-interested are more likely to vote when they consider that there is an important issue at stake in an election that they perceive has a large impact on them. At this point their personal duty and self-interest converge to make them vote. Because of this you might expect to see a spike in these individuals voting when they consider there to be a salient issue at stake. While this helps explain why they might vote, the times when they abstain are most likely explained by the opportunity cost of voting. Rather than their behaviour as a rational individual being completely constrained by duty, it is dependent upon the extrinsic benefit they receive and the benefit they could have obtained doing something else.

If the new model of civic duty that Selbourne proposes is accurate, there are a number of implications on the relationship between duty and voting

²² Lomasky & Brennan (2000) point out that duties should be purely intrinsic in terms of value, so the dilution of duty to having extrinsic value is no longer a pure civic duty.

behaviour. It is expected that individuals who have a strong societal sense of duty are unlikely to change their behaviour based upon external factors such as social capital, and the internalised nature of their norm. They may see duty as a constraint on behaviour, much like it is viewed in rational choice literature. Individuals who have a personal or a sense of duty to act on behalf of their family they are much more likely to have a variable record of voting behaviour.

RQ: Can personal, societal or a duty to family explain voting behaviour?

The implications of this new conceptual framework of civic duty for studies of voting behaviour would be significant. Typically, the usual methods of measuring duty have been unable to account for the primary motivators of civic duty. With this model, individuals are able to suggest whether they have a sense of duty or not, but additionally will they be able to select the primary motivator of their sense of duty. Civic duty would be able to help explain variation in voting behaviour amongst those whose sense of duty is contingent on the opportunity cost, and those whose personal sense of duty means they feel no social or external pressure to conform their behaviour one way or another. If they feel that voting is in their best interest, they will vote. If they feel that they stand to gain more from abstaining, they will abstain.

RQ: Does a personal sense of civic duty better explain variation in strength of duty by saliency than a societal sense of duty?

The relationship between type of duty and voting behaviour is likely to be contingent on the saliency of an election. Thinking back to the discussion of saliency in the context of duty, obligation and good citizenship, the papers of Rallings & Thrasher (2007) as well as Bowler & Donovan (2013), both demonstrated that duty was a better predictor of voting in second order elections while Bowler & Donovan demonstrated that second order elections led to a second order sense of duty. These two articles lead to the following theoretical expectation; those who have a societal sense of duty should be more likely to

vote in all types of elections, and those with a personal sense of duty should be more likely to vote just in first order elections.

It is noted that often first order elections are perceived as being more important (Reiff & Schmitt, 1980; Rallings & Thrasher, 1990), therefore the chances of an individual who has a personal sense of duty of voting should increase, as the perceived value of their vote increases. An individual with a societal sense of duty should experience the same external constraint to vote in all elections, even if they perceive that it is less important.

2.11 Linking the objective and subjective

Whilst the theoretical framing of the thesis has relied heavily upon theoretical and philosophical works, it is important to clarify the main aim of this research, which remains to subjectively examine how individuals' understand duty obligation and good citizenship, to test a new conceptual model of duty and, to determine whether this model can increase our empirical understanding of individuals' political behaviour. The theoretical and philosophical literature has provided a great deal of evidence to support the claims and research questions posed, but while it is a good opportunity to test theoretical claims it is more important to discover what impact these findings have upon our empirical analyses of voting behaviour. As previously stated empirical studies often poorly state how issues are defined, but even when they do these definitions are not backed up with any real knowledge of how the subjects of studies understand terms which has a large impact upon the results, and most importantly how results are interpreted. There are a number of limits and difficulties in answering all these questions with data are not representative, but it is important to start to explore these research questions, and build expectations and an argument for further research.

2.12 Rationale

This chapter has reviewed a number of diverse subject areas within political science, political theory, psychology and sociology. It has developed a number of areas and research questions that are of significant interest, but for which the answers do not yet exist.

Below is a summary of the research questions that were posed in the literature review chapter:

- RQ1. Do individuals understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship to be the same thing?
- RQ2. What are the main determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship?
- RQ3. What impact does participation in citizenship education classes have upon an individuals' sense of duty, obligation and good citizenship?
- RQ4. Are duty, obligation and good citizenship all related to voting behaviour?
- RQ5. Do duty, obligation or good citizenship interact differently with elections of different salience?
- RQ6. Do Individuals across countries understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship the same as each other?
- RQ7. Are there cross-national differences in the determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship?
- RQ8. Does the impact of citizenship education on duty, obligation and good citizenship vary across countries?
- RQ9. Do civic duty, good citizenship & obligation relate to turnout the same cross-nationally?
- RQ10. Does cross-national context change the relationship between duty, obligation or good citizenship and electoral salience?
- RQ11. Does institutional setting impact upon duty, obligation, and sense of good citizenship to vote?
- RQ12. Do individuals consider the duty to vote to be personal, societal or a duty to friends and family?
- RQ13. Does this relate to their strength of duty to vote?
- RQ14. What drives a personal, societal or duty to family?
- RQ15. Can personal, societal or a duty to family explain voting behaviour?
- RQ16. Does a personal sense of civic duty better explain variation in strength of duty by saliency than a societal sense of duty?

One of the main aims of this study is to support the creation of a new model of civic duty. This research should help build a picture about what causes drives an individuals' sense of duty, and whether or not we need a new model of duty to further its use in electoral studies. One of the main contributions of this study is to understand how individuals personally interpret civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. The literature demonstrated that the theoretical and empirical understandings of civic duty seem to contradict one and other. This study should be able to provide evidence as to whether individuals respond to these questions as synonyms or whether they understand them differently. This has three implications for the study of politics as a whole; (1) To support the theoretical literature in demonstrating how we understand civic duty, (2) Demonstrate

whether there is an appropriate use of language within empirical studies' discussion of civic duty, (3) Demonstrate whether previous studies of civic duty that have relied upon survey data gathered using questions of obligation or good citizenship actually tell us what we think they do. If individuals understand these terms differently and for example understand good citizenship in different ways (e.g. some might not think of voting as part of good citizenship) then the results of these empirical studies may be inaccurate, which would question the validity of the papers discussed in this literature review.

It is not just a question of understanding however. The psychological, sociological, theoretical and empirical evidence from this chapter points towards a situation where the traditional concept of civic duty is inaccurate. Given the traditional concept suggests a sense of duty that is unlikely to fluctuate, there is clear evidence that suggests a sense of duty is likely to be contingent on a number of short term stimuli including adult development, political behaviour, contextual, cultural and institutional variables. The empirical literature has already explored the importance of context (Rallings & Thrasher, 2008; Bowler & Donovan, 2013), political behaviour (Blais & Achen, 2010; Blais & Labbe St Vincent, 2011), individual level differences (Blais, 2000; Jackson, 1995) and the role of adult development (Finkel, 2000; Kunzman & Tyack, 2005). It has additionally demonstrated that there is significant evidence to refute the claim that civic duty is a binary variable, something that is either developed or not and is unlikely to vary.

This gives the opportunity to test a new model of duty based upon a review of the theoretical literature and supported by recent studies that have been discussed above. A model of civic duty that offers individuals the opportunity to demonstrate whether issues are personal, or societal, when taken with the context of the importance they give to voting, will demonstrate whether individuals relate less important duties with a personal sense and more important duties with a societal sense. If this model is able to differentiate between types of duty, this study will be able to recommend a new model of civic duty, that will not only allow for individuals to either have a sense of duty or not, but individuals whose sense of duty is contingent on a number of external factors. This allows for individuals to vote sometimes out of a sense of duty, whilst abstaining at other times depending upon the context. It has the benefit for including the traditional sense

of duty, but allows for the fact that some individuals who vote out of a sense of duty sometimes may have other motivators that are concurrent with the duty to vote and may override that duty at certain times.

This has implications not only for furthering our empirical understanding of civic duty, and the ability to produce more accurate models of voting behaviour, but also implications for the theoretical study of rational choice theory. As was seen previously, civic duty is generally seen as the only fix to the paradox of voting created from rational choice theory models of voting behaviour. It will also act as a test of political theory, demonstrating whether the traditional concept of civic duty is true, or whether the sense of duty appears to be more malleable than previously thought.

Beyond this, this study offers an exploration of the effects that institutions might have upon an individual's sense of duty to vote, after a review based upon the institutional effect upon turnout. This will help explain cross-national variance in civic duty, while demonstrating what institutions appear to foster a sense of duty and wider civic engagement amongst individuals. The study also offers an insight into the relationship between political efficacy and interest in relation to the civic duty to vote, which as the literature demonstrated is still not entirely clear.

Whilst this study is not able to provide definitive answers to these questions through the use of representative cross-national cross-sectional research, the evidence provided to attempt to answer these questions will not only help to start framing the issues, but will provide further evidence to support the creation of substantial cross-national survey research. It will help to focus on important areas of research, and help suggest new avenues for exploration. There are such a great deal of unknowns that have been highlighted in this study, that just providing an introductory glance to a previously unexplored issue offers a great deal to the study of elections and voting behaviour.

III Research design and methodology

3.1 Introduction to research design

The previous chapter raises a number of research questions. In order to answer such a large number of diverse, but interrelated research questions requires a methodological approach that allows a large amount of information to be collected within a relatively short amount of time, and is relatively inexpensive, but allows for statistical analysis in line with methods typically used in political behaviour research. The diversity and number of research questions makes any attempt to produce a representative cross-national survey prohibitively expensive. Because of this, the research design of this thesis is going to be based on a pilot study. This will allow this thesis to produce a series of preliminary findings to improve and inform future research. Effective pilot studies are essential in driving change in our understanding of voting behaviour, and with niche issues such as duty, the success of funding and changing the approaches taken by large scale surveys requires a convincing pilot study to demonstrate the benefits. This next chapter is going to outline a research design, and methodological approach that allows this thesis to achieve these goals.

Surveys have been an essential tool of political science since its emergence in the 1930s and 1940s through the early Columbia studies (Lazersfeld et al, 1948; Berelson et al, 1954 cited in Johnston, 2010:388) and are a mainstay of electoral studies. Early political research utilised surveys to identify socioeconomic differences between voters and non-voters and provided an initial glance at an unexplored topic. However, these studies were introductory and basic, and further research was required to really understand why people vote. Further developments of survey techniques led to the expansion of survey methodologies to examine psychological differences between voters, and build upon the socioeconomic differences that had been previously examined. These included research included questions tapping into personal prompts of behaviour and traits that might explain differences (Visser, 1994).

Survey research has been said to be "*The most ubiquitous product of political science research*" (Johnson 2008:385). A large percentage of articles that get published in the American Political Science Review (*APSR*), American Journal of Political Science (*AJPS*) and the Journal of Politics (*JOP*). Most other

political science journals also publish a large amount of research that relies on secondary sources such as the BES, or as is becoming more common, primary data that is collected to examine specific research questions. The recent expansion of companies offering cheap data collection services has caused a surge in the number of papers that utilise bespoke data (Chang & Krosnick, 2009) with companies such as YouGov offering cheap and quick data services which have reduced the barriers to entry.

As discussed in section 2.11 (linking the objective and the subjective) the main aim of this thesis is to empirically explore how we understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship, what drives these concepts, how they are developed and whether we need to consider a new model of civic duty to further the role duty can play in studies of voting behaviour. This research fits well within voting behaviour research, and its main contributions relate heavily to this field. As a result of this, the research design will utilise quantitative methods to address the research questions that are posed. Whilst this study does not aim to make generalisable statements and instead offers an exploratory glance at a series of previously unanswered questions, the utilisation of quantitative methods allows the opportunity to examine these research questions within a large pilot study. Successful pilot studies aim to be as realistic as possible, and as such this chapter aims to replicate the considerations that one would have in a full generalisable study. This is to make sure that the results that are produced from this research can be as informative as possible for future hypothesis building, and the creation of new, innovative survey items.

The majority of our understanding about civic duty comes from the empirical literature, and whilst in the previous section the theoretical contributions to the study of civic duty were examined, what matters most is to explore why individuals vote and how civic duty is subsequently understood. Objective understandings can guide expectations of how of concepts are subjectively understood but objective definitions and conceptualisations are not always accurate, and it is important to test these thoroughly. Empirical research utilising large *N* studies have greatly enhanced our understanding of civic duty, and started to question the validity of the assumption that civic duty is an immutable trait. Studies have utilised a variety of approaches including cross-sectional

approaches that date back to 1944²³ in conjunction with the study of turnout (Gaines et al. 2007). Further research has also utilised cross-sectional data to advance our understanding of civic duty, both in terms of how stable it is, as well as whether it can explain variation in turnout (Blais, 2000; Thrasher & Rallings, 2002; Dalton, 2006; Jones & Dawson, 2007 & 2008; Ferguson & Garza, 2010²⁴; Bowler & Donovan, 2013). Researchers have also exploited longitudinal data to investigate variation in civic duty, both at an aggregate level and an individual level through the use of basic descriptive data (Butt & Curtice, 2010) as well as more complex statistical analysis including various regression techniques (Kosmidis, 2014²⁵; Blais & Galais, 2014a). Beyond large *N* studies, our understanding of civic duty has been shaped through the use of both field (Gerber et al., 2008; Condon²⁶, 2009; Gerber & Rogers, 2009) and lab experiments (Blais & Young²⁷, 1999; Kam, 2007; Dumitrescu & Blais, forthcoming). These have tested various theories and also provided an opportunity to test whether short term stimuli can have an effect on civic duty. Only one notable study has approached this question from a more qualitative approach using structured interviews to investigate the strength of civic duty (Chareka & Sears, 2006).

These studies are indicative of how our understanding of duty has been built, and whilst there are arguments in favour of utilising qualitative techniques, in order to address the voting behaviour literature, quantitative methods are the most suitable technique to achieve the aims of this thesis. Even without having representative samples, a large scale pilot study is going to be more relatable to previous research and better at guiding future research than any qualitative study. Voting behaviour research benefits much more from a successful pilot study to inform and guide future research than qualitative methods that will be much harder to relate to, and in turn would need to be tested in a pilot study before being utilised.

²³ National Opinion Research Center's 1944 survey looking at social attitudes.

²⁴ Used telephone interview approach rather than internet surveys that have become the norm of original data collection.

²⁵ Rolling cross-section approach vs. panel data.

²⁶ Whilst this study is relevant to civic duty, again there was no implicit mention of civic duty within the experiment and was used to describe the relationship between civic engagement and participation.

²⁷ Ten groups split between two universities with one control group and one treatment group.

3.1.1 Outline of research design

There are a number of considerations to address in order to answer the research questions in this thesis. For example, as discussed there are a large number of studies that have relied upon the use of secondary data sources to investigate civic duty, but given the questions and aims of this study, there are currently no datasets that exist which can address these research questions. It is apparent that whatever analytical approach is used, it is necessary to collect original data to address these research questions.

There are several considerations to determine the best approach to data collection. The first consideration is what dimensions need to be collected (e.g. cross-section, panel etc.). Given the costs involved with data collection (even with the reduction in price that comes with the growth in internet surveying techniques), an approach such as a panel data series is to be too expensive and time consuming for the purpose of this thesis. Given that this thesis aims to produce a pilot study, and build hypotheses for future research, the best approach is to collect cross-sectional data which allows all research questions to be addressed. Finally, a number of research questions address the role of institutions (RQ 11), culture (RQs 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5) and context (RQs 7, 10 & 18). Because of this, it is necessary to collect evidence from more than one country (RQs 6-11) to gauge the impact that institutions and differing context may have upon the sense of duty. The best approach to address all these issues is a cross-section cross-national dataset where a number of countries are sampled. The choice of countries is important to the outcome of the study due to the sensitivity of question wording when discussing civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. Using countries that do not have English as a first language could cause errors in translating questions and scales into other languages which may not have comparable terms. For example, there may not be separate words for duty and obligation in all languages. This also helps to avoid cultural issues, and whilst it is impossible to completely control for all cultural effects, homogenised language should help minimise problems (Hoffmeyer-Zlotnik & Harkness, 2005). To avoid these issues, the target countries for data collection will be those who have English as a first language (see Section 3.6.1 for a greater discussion of this) in order to limit cultural and translation issues.

Previous studies have demonstrated the effectiveness of experiments to answer theoretical questions (Roth, 1995; Druckman, 2001) and also to make observations within a randomised environment (Morton, 2008; Gerber, 2011). Experiments offer a unique opportunity to test question wording, and examine whether individuals understand different concepts uniquely (e.g. duty, obligation or good citizenship) (RQs 1 & 6). In order to fully address these questions an experiment will be embedded within the survey. The use of lab and field experiments has grown significantly over the past six decades as can be seen in figure 4

Lab and Field experiments published in top journals.

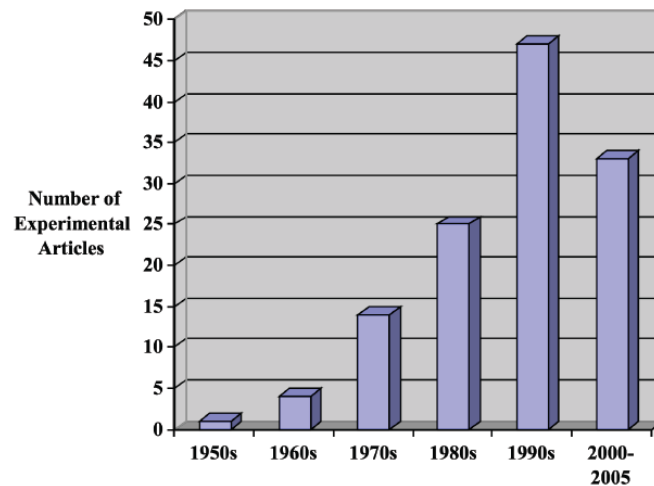


Figure 4 Prevalence of experimental design
Source: Morton (2008)

Experiments are a widely accepted approach to investigating the effects of certain stimuli upon randomised groups of individuals, and because of this they offer the best approach to analyse whether duty, obligation and good citizenship are considered to be the same phenomenon.

In summary, this thesis will rely upon the collection of primary data, in the form of a cross-national cross-sectional study with an embedded survey experiment to create a large scale pilot study. Whilst this section has offered only a brief introductory outline of the research design, the issues and implications will be explored in much greater detail in the rest of this chapter. This chapter will

explore these issues in the following order: (1) A broader look at the survey design and associated questionnaire. (2) The approach to testing previous measures of duty, and the approach to designing a new measure of civic duty. (3) Methodological considerations with survey experiments. (4) Methodological issues with cross-national research. (5) The use of student cohorts. (6) Data collection. (7) Analytical techniques and finally, (8) An outline of how the research questions will be addressed and a brief outline of the empirical chapters that will address them.

3.2 Survey design & questionnaire

As discussed in the outline of the research design above, it is necessary to collect original data to address the research questions of this thesis and lead to a successful pilot study. This section starts by providing a broad overview of the survey, considering design issues within the survey. Following this, there will be a consideration of the specific questions that are most important to answering the research questions. This will then be followed by a discussion of the control variables that will be included within the survey. The discussion of the field experiment that will be embedded within the survey is discussed in section 3.4 and a detailed outline of the need for and approach to creating a new measure of civic duty can be seen in section 3.5.

3.2.1 Survey outline

In order to answer the research questions, a total of fifteen different surveys are required. It will require three surveys per country to account for the field experiment, and five countries need to be sampled to give institutional, cultural and contextual variation. One consideration with the surveys is getting a balance between gathering enough evidence to support the research versus making the surveys short enough that people will be willing to participate. Because the aim of this thesis is to act as a pilot study, it is much more important to gain an adequate sample for analysis than it is to ask a similar number of questions to the BES for example. Each of the surveys consists of eighteen questions. Amongst these questions, three are battery questions which give a total of 31

data collection points²⁸. The questions in the survey aim to give a general overview of the participants understanding of politics, their political behaviour and what motivates them in order to control for biases and drivers within the sample. The Survey has two main focuses; the survey experiment that is embedded within the survey (see SQs 5a, 5b & 5c) which tests the consistency of subjective understanding of the concepts of duty, obligation and good citizenship²⁹. The second focus of the survey is the creation and testing of a new measure of duty (see SQ 13) based upon the theoretical literature. To support these two primary aims, there are a number of questions relating to political behaviour, interest, trust and media habits that are all designed to try and differentiate between individuals who have a high sense of duty and those who have a low sense of duty to vote. This enables the study to offer analysis similar to that seen in a generalised representative study and to provide a pilot study that is realistic as possible.

3.2.2 Focus questions

Beyond the survey experiment and questions looking at a new concept of duty, there are a number of questions asked that support the two main research aims, but also speak to a number of the other research questions posed about what drives civic duty, obligation and good citizenship.

One of these questions looks at the main motivator behind an individuals' decision to vote (see SQ 9). This gives the opportunity to link participants' actual behaviour (i.e. the decision to vote) to the main motivator of this behaviour (e.g. duty or importance of an election). It also enables an analysis of whether these motivators are linked to any differences in duty, obligation and good citizenship (e.g. individuals might have different motivators to vote based on the question treatment). It also allows a secondary look at whether individuals actually consider duty, obligation and good citizenship differently. Within survey question 9 they are able to differentiate and choose between these terms as motivators³⁰, so an individual might choose that they feel an obligation to vote, but not a duty providing further evidence that they are able to differentiate between these concepts. It enables us to see whether there is any sort of alignment between the

²⁸ See appendix for the full survey.

²⁹ See section 3.4 for a more detailed overview of the survey experiment.

³⁰ Though individuals will only be aware of the single option they were presented in Q5.

phrase chosen, and the treatment they were given in the experiment (such as aligned with the terminology in SQ 5) or whether they select a particular phrase that best sums up their motivation (a phrase different from the terminology they received in SQ 5). Additionally, the question also allows an examination of alternative drivers of voting such as the perceived importance of the election, the closeness of the election or specific issues that the individual cares about. These are included because whilst it is understood that duty is a good driver of behaviour (Blais, 2000) there are other drivers of behaviour that are contingent upon the election itself and need to be included as options for those who do not feel a sense of duty to vote in elections. In order to investigate the link between perceptions of duty, obligation, good citizenship and actual voting behaviour, respondents are asked whether they have participated in a variety of elections. They are asked a question about the different types of elections they may have voted in, and also what the last election they voted in was (see SQ 8 & 9). As will be discussed in section 3.7 the survey respondents in the pilot study consist of university students, some of whom may not have been eligible to vote in previous elections due to their age. For this reason, a "not eligible" answer is available for this predicted small number. Table 2 below demonstrates recent elections within the countries that are being sampled, and there are a large number of very recent elections. As university students generally start at the age of eighteen³¹, even if they are in their first or second year of university, most should have had some exposure to voting in elections.

³¹ In Ireland, many students typically start university before the age of 18.

Recent elections in sample countries		
UK	European election	May-14
	Local election	May-14
	Scottish referendum	May-14
	Local elections	May-13
	Mayoral election	May-13
US	Presidential	Nov-12
	Congressional	Nov-12
	Referendums	Nov-12
	State Assembly	Nov-12
Australia	Federal Election - house	Sep-13
	Federal Election Senate	Sep-13
	ACT Assembly	Oct-12
New Zealand	General election	Nov-11
	Local elections	Oct-13
	Referendums	Nov-13
Ireland	European election	May-14
	Local elections	May-14
	General election	Feb-11

Table 2 Recent elections in sample countries

Source: Global Elections Database

The table shows that there have been very recent elections in the UK, US, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland, so it is likely that individuals from these countries will have voted or had the opportunity to vote in at least one type of election. This justifies the inclusion of survey questions 8 and 9 examining actual voting behaviour, and giving the opportunity to analyse what shapes their voting behaviour and address several of the research questions.

Individuals are also asked about whether they believe that voting makes a difference (see SQ 12). As discussed by Blais (2000), individuals who believe voting to be a duty should vote regardless of whether they think their vote is likely to make a difference. Controlling for this will give an opportunity to assess whether there is any relationship between how important an individual believes their vote to be, and the type of duty that they have. It is likely that individuals' who have a weaker sense of duty are likely to believe that their vote does not matter in line with previous research (Blais & Young, 1999)

3.2.3 Political and social explanatory variables

The questions discussed so far form the substantive elements of the study, however there are a number of drivers and control variables that need to be accounted for within the study.

A number of questions are asked that tap into an individuals' political knowledge and habits, and whilst they are broad, they tap into some key issues that are known to affect the likeliness of an individual to participate in and are also understood to relate to civic duty (see section 2.4). Because these questions are not the main focus of the thesis, they have been carefully chosen from a selection of high-profile surveys including the BES, ESS, and the ISSP (2004)³². These studies utilise these questions as widely accepted measures of political behaviour and allow some expectations of the outcomes to be formed.

Amongst these survey items, individuals are asked to assess their trust and confidence in both the institution of government as well as politicians (SQs 15 & 16). Whilst previous research has suggested a link between voting and perceptions of trust and confidence³³ (Anderson & Tverdova, 2003; Kostadinova, 2003) there has been limited use of these within studies of civic duty, obligation and good citizenship, though it was noted in a working paper by Millican et al. (2012) that there was a relationship between perceptions of corruption and good citizenship with greater perceptions of corruption depressing an individuals' sense of good citizenship. However, there is little in the way of understanding about whether there is a difference between trust in politicians (see Bowler & Donovan, 2013) and the institutions that they represent and adding these into the survey allows for an analysis of this and any differing effects they have on voting behaviour.

Individuals are also asked to reflect on their interest in politics. Two survey items (SQs 6 & 7) ask individuals about their frequency of political discussion and their personal interest in politics are included to tap into this. This allows an exploration of whether political interest relates to duty, obligation or good citizenship and allows a confirmatory view of previous research that has suggested that interest is related to duty (Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013).

³² Except Q11 which does not appear in any of these studies.

³³ Karahan & Coats (2006) refute this with evidence based on corruption and voting patterns in Mississippi during 1987.

Using political discussion as an indicator also allows for some analysis of the habits of individuals, and whether they are members of social groups that frequently discuss and analyse political events, suggesting both engagement and an underlying level of social capital. Additionally, individuals will be asked about their media habits, focusing on how often they read or watch the news. The findings of this may be similar to interest in politics (Norris, 1996) but media habits have also been cited to depress social capital (Putnam, 1995), so it may have a negative relationship with civic duty.

In order to investigate individuals' political views and opinions, a number of questions are included. Firstly, respondents are asked to place themselves on a left-right scale (See SQ 14) (10 point scale). Limited evidence has suggested that right leaning voters are less likely to feel a sense of duty to vote (Bowler & Donovan, 2013) and further evidence has suggested that decided voters develop their sense of duty before undecided voters (Kosmidis 2013), so it may be the case that there is a relationship between place on an ideological spectrum, with more extreme views being associated with a stronger sense of duty.

Finally, one last question that has not previously appeared in any studies of voting behaviour as far as I am aware, asks about participation in youth groups and civic education classes (see SQ 11). Whilst civic education has been part of the curriculum in the UK and other countries surveyed (see section 2.6), there is little evidence to demonstrate the success of these civic education classes regarding voting behaviour, and whether its effect is direct or indirect. As with most of these issues, it is also unclear whether the effect will differ between duty, obligation and good citizenship. The inclusion of this question is one of the highlights of this survey and will hopefully demonstrate a significant relationship between receiving civic education and an increase in the sense of duty to vote with variation in obligation and good citizenship.

3.2.4 Control variables

Modelling duty, obligation and good citizenship requires a series of control variables to make sure that the parameters of the research design are met. One key parameter of this research is to sample individuals from English speaking countries. However, because this pilot study is utilising student cohorts at a series

of top academic institutions in these countries, there is a good chance that a number of foreign students will receive the survey (UKCISA, 2014). In order to account for this, a series of control variables are essential to make sure that the study can identify responses from students that may have been socialised under different conditions and retain the homogenous sample that this pilot study relies upon. One question designed to control for respondent differences (SQ 18) asks: *“Finally, could you state whether you are a home student or normally reside outside out of the UK³⁴”*. Whilst it is impossible to stop exchange or international students from answering the survey because of its design and data collection technique, this question should act as an effective control. The inclusion of survey question 18 facilitates this by asking students to formerly declare their status within the university environment. Those that are paying home fees have been resident in the country for an extended period. Additionally, while all countries sampled recognise English as a main language (Sheffield University, 2014), many of these countries have diverse populations and recognise more than one language. The US for example has a large Latino population, and the UK, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand do have large immigrant populations that may not recognise English as their first language. In order to control for this, one further question is included in the survey. Whilst this is not entirely a fool proof approach, when taken in conjunction with survey question 3 (*Is English your first language?*) it does increase the ability of this study to identify cases that may not fit the homogenised sample that is the aim of the pilot study. Whilst this may not fully cover all potential outcomes (e.g. someone who immigrated to Australia from the UK yet is still a home fees student because of the length of time spent in Australia before starting university³⁵), it does substantially reduce the possibility of contaminated results. The question on language also has the benefit of separating (for example) UK students who are British citizens yet do not speak English as a first language (such as the sizable Pakistani, Indian, and Eastern European communities within the UK) who are likely to still have a very different sociological process of development to those that have resided in the UK for several generations (Ulhaner et al., 1989; Leighley & Vedlitz, 1999; Tam Cho, 1999)

³⁴ This question is adjusted depending on the country being surveyed.

³⁵ Given the constraints on the size of the survey, this reduces uncertainty greatly.

Because the data collection approach is targeting university students, there are not many additional socioeconomic control variables that need accounting for (e.g. income and education should be relatively homogenous within this group), but age and gender are collected to control for mature students whose sociological upbringing may have been different (Abramson, 1974 & 1976; Miller 1992) and may affect their views on civic duty in particular (Butt & Curtice, 2010). Gender is also controlled for based upon the evidence that men and women are socialised in different ways, and their political behaviour and responses to politics are also understood to be different (Inglehart & Norris, 2000³⁶).

3.3 Examining previous measures of duty

3.3.1 Traditional measures of duty and their limitations

The previous chapter demonstrated a number of short-comings in our empirical understanding of civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. One of the key reasons for this is a lack of studies that ask respondents about their sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship. This lack of operationalised questions has severely limited our ability to further our understanding of what these concepts are, and how they are subjectively understood. The measures that existing studies have used have been varied. Early uses of civic duty questions within political survey research can be traced to the US National Opinion Research Center (1944) survey where individuals were asked "*Do you regard voting more as a duty you owe your country, or more as a right to use if you want to?*"³⁷(Dennis 1970:827) and while this question gives respondents only a binary choice to believe voting is a duty or not, it did provide an opportunity to start exploring civic duty. Interest in duty and voting behaviour was not just limited to the US; it was also used in survey research in France (Stoetzel 1955) where respondents were asked about why they vote, and whether it is out of a sense of duty. This approach was also

³⁶ Women found to be more left wing in UK, Australia more right wing in USA. No data for New Zealand or Ireland.

³⁷ Similar versions of this question now appear in the CES (after 2008) as can be seen in appendix table 1.

utilised in the United Kingdom, with a very similar question utilised to tap into how Britons viewed civic duty³⁸ (Rose & Mossawir 1967:189³⁹).

These studies helped to demonstrate the importance of civic duty, with 82% of respondents in UK considering voting to be a duty (Rose & Mossawir 1967:189) 59% of US respondents considered voting to be a duty (Dennis 1970:827) and in France 55% of Men and 64% of women considered voting to be a duty (Stoetzel 1955:120). Despite such strong levels of duty being detected, it did not motivate much further research. One reason behind this may be the difficulty in tapping in, and choosing how to ask survey respondents about the duty to vote (Blais, 2000). Each of the examples above discuss duty in a different context, some looking at rights versus duties (Dennis, 1970; Stoetzel, 1955) whilst the UK study focused on the importance of duty without consideration of other motivators. Despite the differences, both approaches are relatively standard methods of measuring strength of duty, or whether individuals actually believe duty is a reason to vote.

Table 1 in the appendix outlines some of the most recent approaches that have been used to measure civic duty. Methodological approaches to measuring civic duty have become increasingly varied, and as the table shows approaches now include asking about good citizenship, civic duty and obligation, and within each concept measurement techniques are not consistent. These measurement issues become more significant based upon the evidence presented in chapter two that suggests these questions will all measure different things despite empirical literature treating them as synonyms (see; Blais, 2000; Dalton, 2008& 2009; Van Deth, 2008 for just a few examples of the use of these terms). Whilst there may still be some empirical value to having these questions versus having no evidence at all, the varied nature and inconsistent approaches to dealing with these three concepts makes any comparative research across studies impossible (Bishop et al, 1978).

³⁸ Respondents asked 'where you do not have to vote unless you feel like it, or whether it is a duty. 82% respond importance as a duty.

³⁹ Rose & Mossawir discuss voting as a "*minor social duty*" (1967:184).

3.3.2 The problems with existing measures

Clearly, the main criticisms of current approaches to the empirical studies of civic duty, is an inability to compare phrases that are frequently used as synonyms (civic duty, obligation and good citizenship) for one and other and a lack of understanding about how to conceptualise any of these concepts. If the theoretical versions of these concepts are true, and individuals understand these terms to be unique then it will invalidate a number of studies that use good citizenship or obligation to analyse civic duty because the questions do not match the theory, it is an example of poor operationalisation.

One further problem with cross-survey comparison is that even when comparing questions that specifically ask about civic duty, responses to duty questions can be different depending on question wording. Table 3 presents evidence taken from a single wave of the British Election Study. Individuals are asked two versions of a civic duty question (see appendix table 1 for exact question wording) and despite them discussing civic duty, the mean values and the number of individuals that "strongly agree" with the statements varies.

British election study duty questions		
	Pre Election 1	Pre Election 2
Mean	1.9687	2.3368
	Duty	Duty
Strongly agree	44.4	30.9
Agree	31.5	33.2
Neither agree Nor Disagree	12.9	17.2
Disagree	6.7	11
Strongly disagree	3.2	5.7
Do not know	1.3	2.1
N	7793	7793

Table 3 BES duty question manipulation

Source: BES, 2009

This table demonstrates the need to make sure that the approach to measuring duty, obligation and good citizenship is consistent, and that the only word that should vary is the treatment term (obligation, good citizenship and civic duty). Additionally, the experimental design needs to use a consistent scale to make

sure the results of the experiment are comparable, and that the response options for participants are consistent.

One of the more recent approaches to measuring civic duty is demonstrated in the CES run by Andre Blais, and has appeared as the preferred approach to measuring civic duty since 2008. One of the key problems with studies of civic duty is the consistently high rates of those who consider voting to be a duty. Individuals always appear to agree with something being a duty, even if their voting behaviour does not always match their answer. Blais tries to address this by creating a two stage question; the first asking individuals first and foremost whether they think voting is a choice or a duty (Blais considers choice to be the polar opposite of a duty), those who select duty as the primary reason for voting, get a scale variable to demonstrate their strength of duty towards voting in elections. Whilst this approach is an innovative attempt to stop individuals who primarily view voting as a choice from suggesting they have a sense of duty to vote, it limits their ability to suggest that they have at least a partial sense of duty to vote; there could be a trade-off between these concepts similar to the idea of self-interest vs. duty. Even if it is only a weak sense of duty, they are stopped from declaring this as they do not get access to the second question. Any new approach to measuring duty needs to allow for individuals to declare a degree of duty, rather than treating it as a binary variable. These issues will be explored below in relation to the new model of civic duty proposed by Selbourne (1997) and will demonstrate how this thesis will operationalise duty, and justify the approach.

3.4 Survey experiments

3.4.1 Survey experiments in political science

Studies of voting behaviour have traditionally relied upon a positivist quantitative methodology, with a large proportion utilising cross-sectional survey data (Druckman & Kam, 2011). Generally, surveys have tried to tap into citizens' attitudes and behaviour concerning political events such as elections. Survey (field) experiments have been used within political science since the 1920s (Gosnell, 1927) though the first randomised field experiments measuring stimuli

on voter turnout did not appear until the 1950s⁴⁰ (Eldersveld, 1956). Despite these early studies, field experimental approaches were slow to develop into an accepted political methodology. Growth in survey experiments in political science has slowly emerged "*from an intellectual climate of growing concern about the validity of key assumptions supporting observational research designs*" Gerber (2011:209). Survey experiments are based upon the idea that questions tapping into economic and psychological issues can be embedded within surveys to form a large scale experiment with results that can be extrapolated and representative of society as a whole. The research design of survey experiments have a lot in common with lab experiments (Morton, 2008), in particular both need a multiple group design to allow for control and treatment groups and random assignment is an integral part in both to allow for the assumption that groups are essentially the same (Gerber, 2011).

Whilst early studies using survey experiments in political science tended to focus on campaign effects (Eldersveld, 1956) and voter mobilisation (Gerber & Green 2000), they have in recent years been used to explore a variety of political phenomena that had previously been hard to test or measure (examples include influence of the media on politics, Gerber et al. 2010, effect of mass media campaigns, Gerber et al. 2009; effect of partisan political campaigns, Wantchekon, 2003; or party cues Brader & Tucker, 2009). Their use has become more varied over time as political scientists have realised the value of these techniques to create new and innovative research designs and answer questions that traditional surveys are unable to. Additionally, they have substantially increased our understanding of civic duty (see Blais & Young, 1999; Kam, 2007; Gerber, Green & Larimer, 2008; Condon, 2009; Gerber & Rodgers, 2009⁴¹) and allow an opportunity to identify and test causal relationships (Barabas & Jerit, 2010).

⁴⁰ The first study looked at various methods of canvassing and their ability to raise turnout.

⁴¹ These studies were discussed in greater detail in section 3.3.

3.4.2 Why use a survey experiment for this study?

The expansion in the use of survey experiments has led to them becoming a much more accepted research method in political science. They offer a good methodological approach to answering two of the primary research questions posed in this thesis.

Survey experiments have the ability to evaluate causal mechanisms, and in particular to test issues such as question wording (see: Sniderman & Piazza, 1993; Sniderman et al. 2000; Druckman, 2001; Yeager et al. 2011). Given that there is a precedent for the use of survey experiments to test question wording, this offers an ideal way to test research questions 1 and 6.

Research into question wording usually relates to testing of specific theories. It has been repeatedly highlighted that experiments offer three non-exclusive roles:

"search for facts, speaking to theorists (where the goal is to test predictions [or assumptions of well articulated theories and other types of theories])" or whispering in the ears of princes" Roth (1995:22).

Morton also states that experiments do not just talk to theorists, but also empiricists (2008). This offers an opportunity to bridge the gap between political theory and political science because while it is important to promote the use of theory within political science, it is important to make sure that these theories hold empirically and contribute towards our understanding.

Unlike lab experiments, survey experiments can achieve high levels of internal and external validity, but this is not necessarily always desirable *"The experiment should be judged by the lessons it teaches about the theory and not by its similarity with what nature might have happened to have created"* Plott (1991:906; Mook, 1983). So whilst it can be desirable to create a study that has a high level of external validity, it is not always necessary. This is especially true if the main aim is to test a theory where you are looking at the difference between control and treatment groups. Additionally, as the aim of this thesis is to act as a pilot study and explore previously unasked research questions, the pressure to have a representative sample is considerably lower. Similarly to an experiment, what is more important to the outcome of a successful pilot study is a

homogenous test group, where there are limited cultural differences that would have a significant impact not just on the results of the experiment, but would provide a platform to analyse the drivers of the concepts that are being tested within the experiment.

3.4.3 Research design of survey experiment

Using a pilot study with an embedded survey allows analysis of key differences between the treatments, but also allows for a thorough examination of how a new model of duty would perform in full scale representative samples, and what improvements need to be made before it is effectively implemented in these representative sample surveys. The survey experiment itself will be made up of three separate treatments that are listed in the box below:

Experimental treatment within survey
1. Please say how far you agree or disagree with the following statement with regard to the following types of election: It is every citizen’s duty to vote
2. Please say how far you agree or disagree with the following statement with regard to the following types of election: It is every citizen's obligation to vote
3. Please say how far you agree or disagree with the following statement with regard to the following types of election: It is the responsibility of a good citizen to vote

Table 4 Experimental treatment

Source: Original work

Respondents are asked to answer the treatment question, using a five-point scale asking how much they agree or disagree with the statement they receive. Respondents will also have the option to declare that they do not know or do not wish to answer the question to make sure the answers that are provided are accurate, and that non-respondents do not create a bias by inaccurately reporting information. To maintain some comparability with previous studies, the question wording chosen has been taken from a previous study (BES 2005-2009 – see appendix for complete wording), with the only change in wording relating to the treatment (e.g. duty, obligation or good citizenship). Whilst the obligation question is exactly the same as the civic duty treatment in terms of wording, it is necessary to alter the wording of the good citizen question slightly in order to make sure that

the question was coherent and grammatically correct. The change in language for this treatment has been carefully considered to try and minimise the impact of wording, and keep the focus on the treatment

3.4.4 Random assignment to treatment

One further consideration for the experiment is random assignment. Random assignment allows statements about cause and effect to be made much more coherently, and helps to make sure that any differences in the treatment are in fact causal, and not just the result of accidental causation. To achieve this, individuals are randomly assigned to each treatment. This makes sure that each group should be exactly the same as any other and that results from each group are directly comparable (Morton, 2008; Gerber 2011). Whilst random assignment to treatment groups is important to this study, random selection is not a factor. While random assignment allows for the assumption that all groups are equal in terms of makeup, random selection involves picking a number of individuals from a larger group. But because of the data collection strategy and the use of student samples to complete the field experiment, there is no need to employ a random selection strategy, unlike if you were conducting a study that is designed to be representative of society as a whole. The use of using student cohorts will be discussed in more detail in section 3.7, with evidence demonstrating the validity of using student cohorts within experimental research and pilot studies in general.

Administering random assignment is a straight forward process for the surveys being administered in the UK, as well as surveys that are being administered in the US, New Zealand, Australia and Ireland (See section 3.6 & 3.8 for cross-national research considerations). In all cases of data collection, surveys will have been pre-randomised in order to make sure that there is no response bias introduced by the individual that distributes the surveys. This maintains the assumption that all groups should be similar in make-up, and that with control variables collected within the wider survey, that the only reason for differences between treatment groups is the treatment itself.

3.4.5 Criticisms of survey experimental approach

Despite experiments seeming to be the best methodological approach to investigating differences between subjective understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship, there remain a number of prominent criticisms of the methodological approach of experiments. It is generally thought that survey experiments offer a unique opportunity to combine the internal validity of lab experiments with the external validity of surveys, meaning results can be generalised to society as a whole while maintaining a set of stringent controls to shape the experiment (Morton, 2008). However, the external validity of survey experiments has increasingly come under pressure, with a variety of criticisms levelled against them as listed below:

1. Individuals in survey experiments tend to adjust political beliefs and integrate new information more than they do in natural experiments (Barabas & Jerit, 2010)
2. Survey experiments generate effects that are observable among particular subgroups, not necessarily the entire population (Barabas & Jerit, 2010)
3. In survey experiments, treatments are made overly strong or atypical. This leads to individuals over-reporting a phenomenon (Chong & Druckman, 2007; Kinder, 2007)
4. Effects from survey experiments are generally short lived. Not a problem for psychologists, but can be more problematic for political scientists (Gaines et al. 2007)
5. Lack of control groups stop survey experiments from being accurately compared. Political scientists tend to just apply treatments without an adequate control group against which to compare treatments. (Barabas & Jerit, 2010)

These criticisms are valid, and do suggest that there is a need to be cautious when designing a field experiment. However, a number of these critiques are invalid in relation to this study. Because this study represents a pilot study, the aim was never to be able to generalise results to society as a whole, but to test how new questions were responded to, test a new model of duty and to test subjective understandings of three concepts. In addition, while there are strong arguments supporting the limited ability of experiments gaining high levels of external validity because of the trade-off with internal validity, the other elements

within this study that do not directly relate to the experiment do not require a high level of external validity because the primary aim is not to generalise, but to provide a stable environment to perform research to inform future research.

3.4.6 Overcoming the critics

Whilst a number of criticisms can be immediately rejected, some do require further consideration. Firstly, individuals' awareness and ability to adjust their political beliefs in relation to a specific treatment (more commonly referred to as the Hawthorne effect) is likely to be a problem across treatments (Granberg & Holmberg, 1992). Therefore, whilst it does constitute a problem, the problem is more likely to lead to a consistent bias pushing up responses to all treatments rather than having an individual effect on one treatment over others. However, there are ways of minimising this systematic bias. For example, burying the experimental question within the survey can stop individuals from identifying it easily. One approach is to bury sensitive survey items deep within the questionnaire, with the aim being to trick the participant into believing that you are actually interested in a different topic or issue. Whilst this has been achieved to a degree within the questionnaire that individuals will receive, there is no way of truly eliminating the Hawthorne effect and associated risks. Further controls such as random assignment make sure that any Hawthorne type effect should be consistent across treatments, and simply leads to a problem of over-reporting (Karp & Brockington, 2005) rather than a problem that invalidates the results from this survey.

The second criticism levelled against experimental design also focuses on external validity (See section 3.4.8 for full outline of external validity), and is unlikely to be a cause for concern in the context of this study. Even if it was a concern, external validity is a problem that affects all survey based research. There are a number of issues that can affect external validity such as; selection bias, spurious correlation, correlated measurement errors, censored data, the lack of true counterfactuals and mutual causation, all of which call into question the validity of any cross-sectional research that has ever been conducted. Gaines et al. (2007). O'Keefe (2007) also suggests that a lack of generalizability can be overcome by having significantly larger N within studies to increase the

representativeness of the sample, and while this study is targeting a large sample, it is still only a student sample so this critique is equally invalid. The fourth criticism is similar to the third, and is based upon an understanding of external validity. Whilst effects within an experiment are short lived, this is again a problem that affects all cross-sectional research in general and Gaines dismisses this concern, as if it was taken seriously there would be virtually no empirical research in politics. The third criticism also relates to external validity and the ability to make inferences that are generalisable. Whilst some experiments do enhance the treatment in order to generate an effect, this is not a consideration for this study. Most experiments rely on a control and treatment group design whereas this experiment has three different treatments, with no baseline or control group to compare against. Each group has a very similar treatment, and the main focus of this survey experiment is in differences between treatments, rather than comparing against a control group which would be difficult to do with the research question. Because of this there is no concern over whether one treatment is stronger than the others as the design has made them equal. This does not discount all concerns of external validity within the study, but as has been previously mentioned, the main research design is not aimed at trying to maximise external validity.

Despite the criticisms levelled against experimental design, a large number of these criticisms do not apply to this study. Most relate to external validity, and given the focus of this thesis is to test a number of research questions in a controlled setting, with a relatively homogenous sample, external validity is not a consideration. Even if the considerations were taken seriously, the majority of those who have critiqued experimental design methodology believe that they offer warnings to those who attempt to run survey experiments. Rather than suggesting that they are not a valid research approach suggests that individuals need to be aware of the criticisms when designing experiments. Gaines et al (2007) states that despite the criticisms, survey experiments should be considered "*a methodological breakthrough of great importance to public opinion and political psychology research*" (2007:17) while Barabas & Jerit are strong advocates of survey experiments, believing that they offer a valuable avenue of research possibilities (2010)

3.4.7 Internal validity

While considerations relating to external validity are minimal, internal validity and controls are a significantly more important element of this research. The following section outlines the controls employed within the survey experiment and how they affect internal validity. Trochin (2006) discusses a series of points that are central to internal validity in relation to experimental methods. These are discussed in turn below.

- **Maturation** - This is unlikely to be an issue in this research as it is cross-sectional in nature and there is no period of maturation. This is further enhanced by the limits on the data collection window, with all data being collected in a short period to make sure that maturation does not become a problem. This helps limit the effects that external factors have upon the experiment itself. The experiment will also collect all data cross-nationally in a similar period, which helps to limit maturation effects further. Additionally, the fact there are so few stories on duty limits the external factors that could play a role in prejudicing results means it is unlikely that maturation would play a role if these data were collected over an extended period.
- **History** – Again refers to possible external effects that may influence the participants in the experiment. One potential effect is the role that citizens' education may play upon perceptions of duty. Because of this, individuals are asked to declare any previous civic education they have received in order to control for it in the analysis. Additionally, a series of other controls are implemented to account for differences in the enjoyment of politics, understanding of politics and frequency of political discussion (for a full list see appendix). This study also asks respondents to declare their native language, and also whether they are citizens of the country of the host institution in order to control for different socialisation processes that may occur in foreign exchange students.
- **Instrumentation** – Assess whether measurements are consistent within the experiment. As previously stated, the data collection is cross-sectional and the method of measurement is consistent across countries. Because of this, there are unlikely to be any instrumentation concerns. Although the study is being carried out cross-nationally, it targets other English

speaking countries in order to avoid any bias or changes to the treatments caused by ineffective translating to another language or the lack of representative terminology in other languages.

- Mortality - Mortality is generally only an issue in time-series experiments. This is due to the fact that a longer a study is running, the more likely it is individuals will stop their involvement within it. As there is only one point of measurement, there will be no risk of participant mortality within this study.
- Selection - Refers to the choices of participants within the experiment made by the researcher. Whilst the study makes use of random assignment in distributing versions of the questionnaire, it does not use random sampling and will rely on the use of student subjects. See section 3.7 for an argument of the acceptability of the use of student subjects in experiments.

3.4.8 External validity

Whilst internal validity is concerned with controlling for different design aspects that might impact upon the respondents and validity of the research design, external validity is "*the extent to which causal relationships holds over variations in persons, settings, treatments and timing as well as outcomes*" Shadish et al. (2002:20).

The relationship between internal and external validity is often viewed as a trade-off, but the size of the trade-off can be inconsequential. Some suggest that whilst a lower level of external validity seems to preoccupy critics of experiments (McDermott, 2002), it is not as problematic as is suggested, and the criticisms should often be dismissed (McDermott, 2002). This study cannot achieve, and does not aim to get a high level of external validity. Firstly, the experimental element of this study is interested solely in the differences between treatment groups. External validity is not a common goal of experimental designs, and in line with this, this study is utilising student samples. The analysis is looking for differences in treatment strengths, not whether or not this research is representative of society as a whole. Additionally, this experiment is embedded in a survey, and while survey research usually looks to be representative, in this

case representative samples would harm the effectiveness of this to act as a pilot study that is utilising a homogenous group within society to analyse the effects to guide future research. This research is here to help test theoretical questions, to test methodological innovations in survey research and to better understand how three concepts can be utilised to improve voting behaviour research.

3.5 A new measure of duty

So far this chapter has looked at a general overview of the survey design, and the survey experiment embedded within it. The next stage of this chapter is to outline the creation of a new measure of civic duty based upon the theoretical evidence presented in the previous chapter. The literature has already discussed at length the necessity for a new model and measure of civic duty, but so far there has been no discussion about how to approach measuring a new model of duty, and how to operationalise this new conceptual model of duty for use in survey research. This next section addresses these issues and outlines the approach taken within this study to create and test a new model of civic duty.

3.5.1 New measurement for a new concept

There are several considerations when creating a new measure for a political attitude, what has been attempted before (see section 3.3), what the failings of these approaches were, and whether there is a theoretical justification for a new approach. One recent attempt to model civic duty focused upon the idea that civic duty is made up of a series of different responsibilities, not just the act of voting (Dalton, 2008). This approach gave a broader overview of what individuals considered duty to be and identified relationships between types of duty based activities. Many studies often use just a single measure of duty regarding voting behaviour but Dalton (2008) used evidence from the ISSP (2004) on Citizenship to demonstrate the key fundamentals of civic duty versus his newly coined term of engaged citizenship. Whilst as seen in the literature review, there are some fundamental problems with the approach used by Dalton, it is important to recognise that this approach was innovative. The battery of questions used in the ISSP shown below offers a broad range of activities that represent some of the activities that are related to civic mindedness. The battery offers an opportunity

to test an innovative approach to measuring a new model of civic duty that asks individuals to select what type of duty they see a series of activities to be.

Survey question 13 text
<p>There are different opinions as to what it takes to be a good citizen. As far as you are concerned personally on a scale of 1 to 7 (1 being of top importance and 7 being of very little importance) how important is it to:</p> <p>Always vote in elections</p> <p>Never try to evade taxes</p> <p>Always to obey laws and regulations</p> <p>To keep watch on the actions of government</p> <p>To be active in social or political associations</p> <p>To try to understand the reasoning of people with other opinions</p> <p>To choose products for political, ethical or environmental reasons, even if they cost a bit more</p> <p>To help people in your country who are worse off than yourself</p> <p>To help people in the rest of the world who are worse off than yourself</p> <p>To be willing to serve in the military at a time of need</p>

Table 5 Survey question 13
Source: Original survey

The battery of questions above forms the basis of the empirical approach to framing and testing the new concept of civic duty. Whilst this is based on the questions used in the ISSP, there are a number of differences between the version used by the ISSP, and the version that will be utilised to test the new approach to measuring civic duty. The biggest change is in the choices respondents have to each question. Whereas in the ISSP respondents are asked to say how strongly they relate to each activity based upon a ten-point scale (strongly disagree to strongly agree). For the purposes of this study, this has been adapted to allow the dimensions of duty to be tested. Rather than giving individuals the opportunity to state how much they agree with these statements, they will instead be asked to indicate whether or not they believe any of the activities listed constitute a duty, and if so what type of duty they believe them to be (Selbourne, 1997). This helps address the following research questions:

RQ 12. Do individuals consider the duty to vote to be personal, societal or a duty to friends and family?

RQ 13. Does this impact upon the strength of their sense of duty to vote?

This approach to measuring civic duty is similar to the approach taken by Andre Blais in the CES. Blais suggests that duty can be seen as a binary variable, in the sense that individuals can have two opposite reactions to voting and the sense of duty⁴². Voting can either be seen primarily as a duty or a choice, therefore an approach that sees duty reduced to a binary variable in the sense that a task either is a type of duty or not is not problematic to the research aim⁴³.

Using the ISSP question battery also allows the research to generate a bigger picture of what constitutes a personal duty, a duty to family and a societal duty. Broadening the study to consider issues beyond voting allows for greater analysis of where voting sits within the context of civic duty. Some activities may be viewed in a different way to others as seen in Dalton's work (2008), and this allows for observation of any similarities between groups of activities, and gives a comparative approach to analysing the duty to vote.

While removing the ten-point scale utilised by the ISSP on various citizen related activities does reduce the amount of data points that can be collected, it is not essential to collect such detailed information at this stage. For the success of the survey, it is desirable to have some evidence regarding the strength of an individuals' sense of duty, both to support the arguments that differentiate internal and external motivators of duty, and the likeliness that individuals will have a sense of duty that varies. In order to overcome this problem, one further question (see SQ 17 below) is included in the survey to tap into the individuals' strength of duty to vote.

⁴² See the CES of 2008 for more information.

⁴³ Though it should be noted that amongst those that view voting primarily as a duty can have different strengths of duty to vote.

Q17 Considering the duty to vote, whether you think about it as a personal duty, duty to friends and family or duty to society, how important is it that you vote out of duty? (“1” very important to “10” not at all important)

This question gives individuals the opportunity to demonstrate their strength of duty to vote, and will help show whether different types of duty relate to the strength of duty individuals feel about voting. The text of survey question 17 also represents a common approach to measuring civic duty in large scale datasets, and because of this, it offers a comparison between the effectiveness of this measure, versus the new conceptual framework of civic duty that is being tested. Survey questions 13 and 17 provide a good opportunity to answer several research questions (RQ 13 & 14) with a great deal of information looking at the dimensions of duty and also the strength of duty. If these data demonstrate that individuals are clearly able to differentiate between different types of duty, it will provide strong evidence to support the necessity of a new model of duty, as well as help us understand whether some individuals’ sense of duty is more predisposed to fluctuations and short term stimuli than others.

3.6 Methodological and analytical issues with cross-national research

3.6.1 Introduction to cross-national research

Cross-national research has been a growing area in political science over the past few decades, and it has opened up opportunities to comparatively explore political phenomena, and ask new types of questions relating to voting and voting behaviour. Questions about cultural, contextual or institutional differences and drivers of behaviour have substantially increased our knowledge of what makes people vote. As John Curtice states:

"If we want to understand why people vote the way that they do in US Presidential elections, a survey based on a random sample of the population of the US is likely to be perfectly adequate.... But the study of political behaviour has loftier ambitions than simply explaining behaviour in a particular countries, it wishes to be able to make statements about behaviour in general" (2007:897).

Even amongst issues that only affect one country, it is desirable to have something to compare it to, but for institutional impacts it is essential to use a

comparative framework. This is because it is impossible to test the effects that cultural or institutional differences have upon electoral turnout⁴⁴ (Blais & Dobryznska, 1998; Franklin, 2002). In order to further the study of civic duty which is known to be an important driver of voting behaviour, there is a need to look beyond studies that focus on one country, and to understand how civic duty is viewed cross-nationally, as well as whether there are differences in its effect, or what drives it. This is a fundamental gap in our knowledge and understanding of what causes variation in turnout across countries (Blais 2000, Dalton 2008).

Whilst there are complexities in collecting cross-national data as part of a doctoral thesis, in order to address a number of the research questions, it is important to do so. Research questions 6 to 11 are all directly reliant upon cross-national research. There are however a number of issues that need addressing in order to make the research design successful. The following issues will be discussed, analysing how they will affect the study; (1) Sample size and language. (2) Institutional differences (3) Cultural and contextual differences. (4) Data sources for cross national research.

3.6.2 Sample size and language

The choice of countries is a primary concern when conducting cross national research. This study will comprise of five countries; the UK, US, New Zealand, Australia and Ireland. The first noticeable trait of these five countries is the homogeneity of the language⁴⁵. Whilst some of these countries have multiple languages, English is the primary language across all of them. Whereas traditional cross-national research would be looking for greater levels of social differences amongst their samples, in this case the homogeneity of the language is essential. If other languages were included within the study, and there was a translation requirement, it is likely there would be problems effectively translating the survey. The survey experiment would be of particular concern as it is contingent upon the understanding of three different concepts. Heath et al. (2005) highlight three problems with the use of language; the issue of whether there is a common concept to measure, whether language can account for common

⁴⁴ Apart from the rare occasion where electoral systems change such as Italy in the mid 90's or New Zealand in the 1990s also.

⁴⁵ This is not to discount other languages, but they are predominantly English speaking countries.

concepts where interpretation differs by context and the issue of poor translation introducing errors⁴⁶. So in a study that is focused on subjective understandings of concepts, having the commonality of language is a positive trait rather than a problem. A limited sample of countries is also not a problem to the success of the study. The sample provides institutional variance and a large number of countries are not always desirable in cross-national research.

"In short it could be argued that the approach of the first ever major piece of comparative opinion research, Almond and Verba's Civic Culture study which confined its attention to five countries chosen for their theoretical interest provides a model as to how comparative survey research should be conducted" Curtice (2007:901).

A small sample of countries can still provide the institutional and cultural variance that is necessary, without causing many of the problems associated with large cross-national research projects such as inconsistent data collection and sampling methods, leading to results that may just represent errors in methods (Jowell, 1998). Finally, as this is only aiming to act as a pilot study to drive future research, a five country sample provides a great enough opportunity to test the research questions posed to gain an understanding over whether future research is necessary, and any adjustments that need to be made for the success of future research.

3.6.3 Institutional considerations and differences

The five countries sampled provide a number of institutional differences for examination. This provides a number of opportunities to explore whether institutions have some sort of impact upon civic duty. Whilst there are no papers that directly look at duty in a cross-national setting, there are a large number of papers that directly examine institutional effects on turnout and voting behaviour. But, before discussing these, table 6 gives an overview of the institutional variance that exists within this pilot study. Whilst it is clear there is more variance in some categories than others, there is a great enough degree of variance across

⁴⁶ Heath et al. use an example from Sinnot (1998) the English version asked the equivalent of "Are you close to a political party?" The French version asked "Are you closer to one party than the others? (Eurobarometer).

these countries to provide an opportunity to link institutional design to the sense of duty.

A number of prominent explanations of turnout across countries are included. Electoral systems are included because of the link between proportionality and turnout (Blais & Dobryzyska, 1998). Other variables include the frequency of election to control for voter fatigue, a problem caused by high frequency of elections and disengagement with the process (Rallings et al. 2003).

Further controls are included for unicameralism and its reported positive impact on turnout amongst unicameral systems (Jackman, 1987; Jackman & Miller, 1995), though this effect is not always significant (Blais & Carty, 1990; Radcliff & Davis, 2000). The study also controls for the competitiveness of the election (Franklin, 2004) and the closeness of the election (Blais, 2000).

Institutional setting in sample countries					
Country	Australia	Ireland	New Zealand	United Kingdom	United States
Electoral system	FPTP	PR	MMP	FPTP	FPTP
no. of seats lower house	150	166	121	650	435
compulsory voting	Yes	No	No	No	No
Federal?	yes	No	No	No	Yes
Bicameral?	Bicameral	Bicameral	Bicameral	Bicameral	Bicameral
Frequency of elections	3 years	5 years	3 years	5 years	2 years
Date of last lower house election	2013	2011	2011	1010	2012
Effective no. of parties (EFFNs measure)	3.23	3.52	2.98	2.57	1.99
Effective no. of parties (EFFNv measure)	4.26	4.77	3.15	3.59	2.13
Presidential system?	No	Yes	No	No	Yes
Time until next election (Parliamentary)	Jan-17	May-15	Sep-14	May-15	Nov-14
Turnout in last parliamentary election	93.23%	69.90%	74.21%	65.10%	53.60%
Age to vote	18	18	18	18	18
population	22,507,617	4,580,000	4,401,916	63,742,977	318,892,103

Table 6 Institutional setting in sample countries

Sources: Gallaghers Index & Parline

The sample contains good variation of federal and non-federal systems, though it is unclear what affect federal systems will have. Previous research has demonstrated that turnout tends to be lower amongst federal systems, yet why this is true remains unclear (Blais & Carty, 1990). Compulsory voting is also known to have a significant effect on turnout (Jackman 1987), and as can be seen in table 6 turnout is significantly higher in Australia than any of the other countries sampled. Even New Zealand with nearly 75% turnout is almost 20% lower than Australia. It is not hard to analyse why this is true, given the potential for fines

affecting the cost benefit analysis of voting in an election. Finally, this study includes district magnitude in line with theories of the calculus of voting (Downs, 1968; Riker & Ordeshook, 1968).

3.6.4 Cultural settings

Whilst it is impossible to effectively control for all cultural issues in cross-national research, this pilot study has aimed to reduce cultural effects as seen through the choices of countries that have commonality of language.

Shared language does lead to a certain degree of shared culture, however there are always going to be differences. Even though the countries sampled do have a large degree of shared cultural homogeneity, there are some differences that occur amongst them. Some of these relate directly to the institutional variables mentioned above, and it is understood that institutional setting does have a direct impact on the cultural interactions between individuals (Blais, 2006). There are some prominent considerations in the countries sampled such as the differing cultural groups that exist within Australia and New Zealand such as aboriginal and Maori groups (McAllister, 1988; Vowles & Aimer, 1993; McAllister, 2010). Australia, as a relatively new country is formed of many different social groups⁴⁷ (Van Den Berghe, 1983) which includes not just a large number of aboriginal descendents, but a multitude of ethnicities; many from Asian and UK backgrounds. New Zealand has a similar culturally diverse makeup with regard to a large number of Maori background (Karp & Banducci, 1999) as well as substantial numbers from Pacific Island settlements (Aimer & Vowles, 2003). Similarly, the US and UK also have large immigrant populations which need to be considered. Controlling for these issues is difficult given the length of the survey, but cross-nationally, using fixed effects does account for cultural variation within countries in cross-national models. Additionally, because this is a pilot study it is not looking to answer all questions about culture and institutions, but to demonstrate that it is important in future research to control for duty in cross-national models of turnout. Therefore, whilst it is good to control for as much as possible, there are always limits on what information can be gathered. In this case,

⁴⁷ Because of compulsory voting, it is unlikely that this information will have a great impact upon turnout, but it could affect the sense of duty individuals feel.

cultural setting is going to be hard to effectively control for in its entirety. Whilst as noted it is not possible to collect data on all SES variables, given their age and the relevant laws in each of these countries, it is likely they have all received a similar civic upbringing, and will have been subjected to similar civic education within their educational lives. Finally, if all cross-national research was ignored because of the inability to effectively control for all cultural heterogeneity then our understanding of voting behaviour would not have evolved the way it has. Politics is a complex discipline, and it is generally impossible to control for all differences. The use of country level dummies within models however should in part account for unobserved heterogeneity, which in part helps to deal with these types of effects.

3.6.5 Data sources for cross-national research

The institutional variables have been collected from a number of prominent sources that are widely used within political science. Below is a list of sources that were used to create the institutional variables for analysis.

Data sources for cross-national research
1. www.ipu.org (Inter-Parliamentary Union) Parline database
2. Parlgov.org Database of parliamentary elections
3. Polity IV Database on political trust and corruption
4. Trinity College Dublin (www.tcd.ie) Michael Gallagher's website on comparative electoral systems

Table 7 Institution data source
Source: Websites known to author

Cross-national research has been heavily criticised by some academics, for being allowed to deviate from the high standards expected of national level research (Scheuch, 1990; Teune, 1990), however there are a number of shared problems that are often forgotten when these criticisms are being made. "*No nation is homogenous with respect to vocabulary, modes of expression, levels of education and so on*" (Jowell, 1998:169). Whilst there are problems with cross-national research, these problems tend to exist in all research so should not discourage or dent the possibilities of cross national research. There are a number of cultural issues and interpretation issues on top of this, but as previously stated, this study has aimed to reduce the risk of this by selecting

countries that have cultural similarities, and has been careful to control the distribution of the survey to limit any bias caused by data collection. This suggests that even without the cross-national element that exists within this pilot study, or if this design was for a full scale representative sample, there are always going to be problems controlling for social and cultural heterogeneity.

3.7 Use of student cohorts

3.7.1 Problems of using student cohorts

One of the main criticisms of experimental research is the use of student samples to perform experiments (Druckman & Kam, 2011). Generally, this is a bigger problem for lab experiments where students are used because they are cost effective and willing to participate in experiments, but can also be a problem for survey experiments such as those carried out by Condon (2009) Blais & Young⁴⁸ (2009) or Dumitrescu & Blais (forthcoming) to name a few.

"If one seeks to understand how the general public responds to social cues or political communication, the external validity of lab studies of undergraduates has inspired scepticism" Gerber & Green (2008:358)

In the case of this research, the variety of research questions, and requirements of cross-national research has meant that to perform a full scale pilot-study that is representative would incur substantial costs. For the purpose of a doctoral thesis, this is too big an undertaking, and is not possible. Because of this, student samples are required in order to allow this pilot study to collect enough evidence to start understanding whether duty, needs to be controlled for in cross-national surveys, as well as whether individuals understand duty to be the same thing across countries.

The biggest criticism of using student samples is the impact it has upon external validity. Whilst lab experiments generally do not aim for high levels of external validity, it is suggested that survey experiments can actually achieve high levels of both internal and external validity (Morton, 2008). Whilst generally speaking the external validity can be a problem, some studies that are broadly

⁴⁸ Whilst this is often described as a lab experiment, the methodology was based upon a survey.

representative can still struggle with external validity. Whilst a cross-sectional study could be seen as representative, it can be argued that because of a lack of time dimension they are only representative at a certain point in time. Druckman & Kam (2011) suggest that studies are only truly externally valid if they take place over an extended period of time, and account for a series of political and contextual effects that would impact upon the reliability of a purely cross-sectional study. Even if it is possible to control for these issues and have a panel dataset that is largely representative there are still problems given that individuals outside experimental settings have more choices open to them than individuals do within an experimental setting, which also harms the external validity of the study (Arceneaux & Johnson 2008). McDermott (2002) explains that “*External validity... tend[s] to preoccupy critics of experiments. This near obsession... tend[s] to be used to dismiss experiments*” (2002:334) which highlights the damaging effects that focusing on external validity can have for research.

Whilst this pilot study was never aiming to achieve a high level of external validity, it is important to consider the likely impacts that a low level of external validity will have on how this study is perceived, and the claims that it can make. Using a student sample is going to diminish the external validity of this study, as it does limit the ability of the research to make claims that are generalisable to society as a whole. There are a number of reasons for this; typically students tend to be less politically engaged (Blais, 2000), and are less civically engaged (Putnam, 1995). Given how individuals develop over time, the use of student samples would be inadequate for a large proportion of studies of voting behaviour.

The impact of low levels of external validity varies across different sections of the research agenda put forward within this thesis. The experimental element is not troubled by a low level of external validity. As mentioned, experiments frequently rely on student participants, and this is not damaging when the aim of the experiment is to analyse differences across treatments, especially when the aim is to test theories (McDermott, 2002; Morton, 2008). Whether or not this experiment was being conducted in isolation of other research, or as part of a pilot study as is the case here, there would never be a strong argument to aim for a high level of external validity as this comes at the expense of internal validity. Strong internal controls and a homogenous test sample are going to be important to the outcome of the experiment in any circumstance.

However, the rest of the pilot study that answers a significant number of other research questions is subject to concerns over the external validity that this study will generate. Questions that tap into what drives duty, obligation and good citizenship in this instance are only able to infer what drives individuals behaviour within the sample, there are limited abilities to generalise from this sample. Therefore the survey element of this research design is only able to test new ideas, and infer how future research should approach the study of civic duty through the testing of new models of duty, and analysing their effectiveness based upon the sample collected.

It is clear that while considerations of external validity would be damaging if the aim of this study was to provide representative and generalisable findings, where the aim is to create a pilot study and test ideas for future research it becomes a much smaller issue. Even if this study did attempt to generalise, there is evidence to suggest that individuals are preoccupied with the importance of external validity (McDermott, 2002; Druckman & Kam, 2011) and that student cohorts can be more useful than previously assumed. However, for the purpose of this study, the analysis will only refer to differences in the sample, and not infer that any differences found are representative of society as a whole.

3.7.2 Benefits of using student cohorts

While there are a number of concerns when using student samples for political research, there are also a number of benefits associated with using student samples for experiments. The first benefit of student samples is that they are cheap. In many cases, students are willing to participate because they are enrolled at a university and when they are asked to participate in research they are generally willing to do so. Having this on site resource is one reason that makes student samples hard to ignore for experimental researchers (Kam & Druckman, 2011). In relation to this survey experiment, the fact that it has a cross national element makes the use of a student sample highly desirable because of the high costs involved in running basic internet surveys. For example, a survey by YouGov consisting of an N of 2000, and 20 questions costs in the region of eight thousand pounds⁴⁹ including VAT for a single country sample, without even

⁴⁹ This figure is based on a quote obtained in April 2014.

considering the costs of applying this survey to a cross-national setting. When running initial tests on research questions, and survey items, high costs are problematic, and the low costs of a student sample are ideal for running pilot studies.

Students also have an interest in the creation of novel and innovative research, they are typically happy to be involved in research which will see them manipulated for the sake of knowledge, a trait which can be a lot harder to find amongst the general public (Druckman & Kam, 2011). But as has frequently been mentioned, when the aim of an experiment is theory testing the use of student samples is generally not constrictive to the completion of a study.

3.7.3 Publishing with student samples

Student samples are also not restrictive to publishing in top political journals. Between 1990 and 2006 a quarter of experimental articles in general political science journals relied upon student subjects, while over seventy percent did so in more specialised journals (Kam et al., 2007). So whilst the use of students has been a concern for some researchers, it has not stopped a large amount of evidence being collected through the use of students from being published. In relation to studies of civic duty and civic engagement, Blais & Young (1999) offered evidence of the rationality behind the decision to vote using duty as an explanation with the use of students. Similarly, Kam (2007) used student experiments to determine whether people were more likely to develop a sense of duty to vote when prompted by politicians. Hence, the use of student samples is becoming more and more accepted and is a typical, effective and low-cost approach taken by political scientists. The main constriction that using student samples have on publishing is the claims that you are able to make. This study cannot make claims that are generalisable, but can demonstrate the results that were found within the pilot study, and help to drive future research based upon this.

3.8 Data collection

Given the ambitious nature of the data collection strategy of this pilot study, the success of this project has been contingent upon the helpful individuals that offered to facilitate the data collection process.

In order to address the cross-national aspect of the study, data has been collected in six institutions across five countries. These institutions are listed below in table 8.

Data Collection Locations
University of Exeter, UK
University of Sheffield, UK
University of Victoria, Wellington, NZ
Australian National University, Canberra, AUS
University of California, Riverside, US
University College Dublin, Ireland

Table 8 Data collection locations

Source: Original research.

The aim of the data collection strategy was to gather around 150 to 200 responses from each institution, to give a total of between 900 to 1200 respondents in total. As can be seen in the table 9 below, this target was not quite reached, but with a total of 735 cases, it is still a large sample to run basic descriptive statistics and various types of regression to answer the research questions that are posed within this thesis.

Questionnaires by Country		
Country	Freq.	Percent
UK	278	37.82
US	56	7.62
NZ	106	14.42
AUS	46	6.26
EIRE	249	33.88
Total	735	100

Table 9 Questionnaires collected by country

Source: Original data

As can be seen, a large number of the surveys were collected in the UK, Ireland and New Zealand. The samples returned from the US and Australia were minimal,

but still provide a good descriptive basis to explore the experimental treatment where minimal samples are required to analyse differences in treatment patterns.

Data collection method

Because of the large geographic area that these institutions cover, data collection was carried out by former colleagues, academics and supervisors who are based at the institutions listed above. The method of data collection utilised paper surveys, which students were asked (but not required) to fill in at the start of lectures that they attended. In order to make sure that survey responses were not duplicated, large modules were targeted amongst first and second year students, and only one class targeted per year group. Year groups were noted down so that they could be controlled for in case of any differences in political attitudes between them. Having surveys filled in by hand has three big benefits; firstly the cost of distributing the surveys was low, secondly because students have free time at the start of lectures to fill in the survey, the response rate was significantly higher than if it had been collected using a survey tool like Survey Monkey. Finally, it enabled the randomisation of surveys before being distributed, as discussed below.

Random assignment

In order to make sure that the survey distribution was random within the study, before surveys were posted, the three versions of the survey were randomised prior to distribution. This ensured that when the results were returned, it can be assumed that each treatment group is the same.

One potential problem with the random assignment of treatments prior to sending surveys was the possibility that the number of surveys completed of each treatment could have been uneven. However as can be seen in table 8 below, the numbers of completed surveys per treatment are relatively stable. With the duty treatment receiving only 15 more completed surveys than good citizenship, which was the treatment with the lowest number of completed surveys.

No. of each treatment	
Duty	254
Obligation	241
Good Citizenship	239

Table 10 Number of surveys completed per treatment
Source: Original data

Time frame

Whilst there were some issues with collecting these data in a specific time frame (i.e. term dates differing from institution to institution), data was collected within a four month period to try and make sure there were no external events that could contaminate the responses given. These data were all collected between April 2014 and August 2014 which allowed for term dates to overlap at each institution and meant that these data could be collected in a concise manner to limit any external effects that could affect the responses to the survey.

Descriptive survey data

As has been discussed in this chapter, there were a number of concerns about controlling for mature students, and individuals with English as a first language. The tables below demonstrate that in general these were relatively small issues. In terms of the age of respondents, only 26 individuals in the study were aged over 30, suggesting that age should not be an issue for the internal validity of the study.

Age of respondents	
18-29	709
30-39	7
40-49	4
50-65	9
65+	6

Table 11 Age of respondents in study
Source: Original data

Along with the age of respondents, the gender of respondents was also relatively similar, with a slight spike in the number of males completing the survey, but not by a huge margin. 3 respondents failed to declare their gender, which is again a small number for survey research.

Gender	
Male	385
female	347
No answer	3

Table 12 Gender of respondents

Source: Original data

The number of students who do not have English as a first language is also relatively low. Whilst 137 do not speak English as their first language, given the reputation of the institutions that were sampled for being internationally renowned universities, only around 1 in 7 failing this test is not a particularly troubling result, and still leaves a large number of responses for analysis.

English as first language	
Yes	594
No	137

Table 13 Language of respondents

Source: Original data

These descriptive statistics for the dataset suggest that on the whole, there is enough, evidence available to answer the research questions posed within this thesis, and whilst the number of non-native English language speakers is 1 in 7, there is still more than enough data to complete the analysis, which often takes place with samples far lower than this study is able to use.

3.9 Analytical techniques

A number of different analytical techniques are utilised to answer the variety of research questions that have been identified within the literature. The use of descriptive statistics and inferential statistics is used initially to give some context about what these data can tell us about each research question. It also facilitates choosing the correct statistical method for further analyses of these data.

Most of the research questions rely upon either analysis of a dependent variable of duty, obligation or good citizenship (RQs 1-3, 6-9 & 12-14) or actual voting behaviour (RQs 4, 5, 10, 11, 15 & 16). The shape of the dependent variable gives an insight into the types of methods that are going to be appropriate.

Models that consider duty, obligation or good citizenship as a dependent variable used data that are scaled between (1) strongly disagree and strongly agree (5) (see SQ 5). Because of this an ordered logistic regression models is the best approach to understand what accounts for, and drives a sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship. Regression models also allow relevant controls to be included to account for any cultural or socio-demographic differences that may affect the relationships that are being tested.

Models of turnout behaviour are similar, but because individuals only have the opportunity to select whether they have voted or not (see SQ 8) there are only two outcomes meaning the dependent variable will be binary in nature. As a result of this a binary logistic regression model can be utilised to test the determinants of voting behaviour, and to assess what relationship duty, obligation and good citizenship have with voting behaviour. Whilst this is a brief overview of the types of methods that will be used to answer the research questions within this thesis, each empirical chapter will include a methodological overview to each set of results, demonstrating individual issues with models and differing measurement issues. This section is intended to offer a brief overview of the considerations that data analysis places on the creation of the survey, and how these data can be utilised to effectively answer the research questions.

3.10 Empirical chapter outlines

This chapter has explored the research design of the thesis, investigating methodological approaches, and justifying the appropriate approach to researching and answering the research questions. While there are many uncertainties about what the results will be, and what these data will tell us about duty, obligation and good citizenship, it is important to frame how and in what order the research questions will be addressed. This next and final section of the research design and methods chapter will give a brief outline of what each empirical chapter will focus on; which research questions will be addressed and a brief overview of the structure of each chapter.

Although there are a number of research questions asked within this thesis, there are three main aims that form the basis of the three empirical chapters that shall investigate the research questions.

1. To test how individuals understand duty, obligation and good citizenship
2. To investigate how individuals understand duty, obligation and good citizenship cross-nationally
3. To test a new model of civic duty and evaluate its appropriateness for political science research.

These three aims provide a foundation for each empirical chapter, with the first looking at individual level understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship, the second looking at cross-national differences in the understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship while the final chapter looks at the ability of a new conceptual framework of duty. Each of the chapters follow a similar structure; looking first at descriptive understandings of the research questions, followed by further statistical analysis and finally with a conclusion and discussion of the successes of each chapter, the failures of each chapter and any improvements that can be made to future research. The research questions also follow a similar pattern, firstly looking at individuals' ability to understand the concepts, then investigating what drives the concepts, before looking at the impact of political context on these drivers, before finally evaluating their ability to explain actual voting behaviour. A greater outline is provided in the introductory section of each empirical chapter.

IV Duty, obligation and good citizenship: how do we understand these concepts and what explains them?

4.1 Introduction

One of the central themes of this thesis is to explore individual level understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship and how they are subjectively understood. There are a number of contributions that this chapter will make to our understanding of these motivators of voting behaviour. Primarily, it provides an analytical overview of whether individuals understand duty, obligation and good citizenship as the same concept, or understand them uniquely. As previously discussed, despite a complex theoretical literature that suggests they are unique terms which should be understood differently, it seems that political science has forgotten that they could be understood uniquely and not just as approximate synonyms for one and other. This has huge implications for political science; if we are not sure what these terms mean and use them as synonyms, and survey respondents do understand them differently, previous theoretical claims would diminish in value. If this was the case then there would be a need to rethink how we conceptualise these motivators of behaviour, and a revaluation of previous research that has relied upon any of these motivators.

While a few studies give expectations about what drives a sense of duty (see: Jackson, 1985; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013), and a selection of studies that link good citizenship to turnout (see Dalton, 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2014), there are no empirical studies on which to base the expectations of what drives good citizenship and the obligation to vote. However, the theoretical literature examined suggests that good citizenship and obligation should be understood very differently to the duty to vote. This study will help to fill this gap in our knowledge. Whilst it cannot make generalised statements, any differences in the drivers of these three concepts not only help to reinforce the argument that they are subjectively understood differently, but helps to direct future research into each of these concepts.

Beyond these two big contributions of understanding how individuals interpret obligation, civic duty and good citizenship as well as what drives them, the chapter will explore whether there are any differences between responses to duty, obligation and good citizenship in relation to voting behaviour. As previously

noted, the only research that can help answer this question is a paper that showed that duty was a better explanation of local turnout than general election turnout (Thrasher & Rallings, 2002) and further research that showed whilst this is true, that individuals consider voting to be less of a duty in second order elections than first order elections (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). These data collected allow for three contextually unique elections to be explored: Local, national and referendum elections. An analysis of three different electoral contexts gives an opportunity to explore whether all individuals are motivated to vote in all types of election, or whether for example the sense of good citizenship to vote is only related to one specific type of election, suggesting that the determinants and understanding of it differ from a duty or obligation.

This chapter will proceed by: (4.2) Exploring descriptive statistics and regression analyses investigating individual level understanding and variation of duty, obligation and good citizenship (4.3) Analysing what drives duty, obligation and good citizenship and whether they support differences in individual level understanding (4.4) A collective discussion the implications of individual level understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship as well as the impact of differences in drivers (4.5) Which includes looking at the impact civic education has upon forming civic values through these conceptual drivers of turnout, before (4.6) Finally focusing on the role of duty, obligation and good citizenship in explaining variance in voting behaviour. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a discussion and overview of key successes and failures as well as any recommendations for future research.

4.2 RQ1. Do individuals understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship to be the same thing?

4.2.1 Background, theory and descriptive data analysis

The first and arguably most important research question to address in this chapter is to gauge whether individual level understanding of civic duty, obligation and good citizenship are understood similarly, or have different characteristics. Traditionally these concepts have been used as synonyms within empirical research, and are regularly substituted for one and other to suit a research agenda without consideration of whether they are appropriate concepts to substitute. They are also frequently employed as a method of stopping the repetition of language (see Blais, 2000; Dalton, 2008 for a few examples of this). As discussed in chapter two, the theoretical and philosophical literature tends to suggest that the empirical use of these concepts is flawed and that individuals should be able to actively differentiate. Without an empirical exploration of individual level understanding, it is hard to judge whether previous survey studies and the research that has utilised these measures is reliable, or able to tell us anything about the subject that is being explored.

Before looking at statistical models of duty, obligation and good citizenship the chapter shall give a descriptive overview of key trends in these data. As was discussed in the research design, individuals were randomly allocated to one treatment, meaning that any differences between treatments should be a direct result of the treatment itself. Table 14⁵⁰ below provides an introductory glance looking at the strength of, and mean averages of duty, obligation and good citizenship at local, national and referendum elections.

⁵⁰ The data presented within this table is aggregated up, with no consideration of country level differences and no controls included.

Survey experiment results (%)⁵¹

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither	Agree	Strongly agree	Mean	N
Local	Duty	4.33	7.48	14.17	45.28	28.35	3.8	253
	Obligation	4.98	4.98	18.26	41.49	29.88	3.8	240
	Good citizenship	3.77	1.26	12.13	47.28	34.73	4.1	238
National	Duty	4.33	3.94	8.27	34.65	48.43	4.2	253
	Obligation	4.98	3.32	7.88	38.59	44.81	4.1	240
	Good citizenship	3.35	1.26	6.28	31.8	55.65	4.4	236
Ref	Duty	2.99	5.56	10.26	33.33	47.44	4.17	233
	Obligation	4.04	3.59	12.56	34.08	45.29	4.1	222
	Good citizenship	4.5	1.35	6.76	27.48	58.56	4.4	219

Table 14 Survey experiment statistics

Source: Original data collection

The evidence from local elections shows a large spike amongst respondents who consider voting in local elections to be important to good citizenship. It is 5% higher than obligation, and almost 6% higher than civic duty. This effect is not just prominent in the top category with 47% of respondents agreeing and a total of 82.01% of individuals who agree to some extent that voting in local elections is an important aspect of good citizenship. This compares to 73.63% for civic duty and 71.37% for obligation. This initial evidence does suggest that individuals are interpreting the concepts differently, with more individuals seeing local election participation as intrinsic to a sense of good citizenship. There also appears to be less uncertainty amongst those who received the good citizenship treatment, with only 12.13% being unable to make up their mind whether voting in local elections constituted a part of being a good citizen, compared to 14% for civic duty, and 18% for obligation. This would suggest that individuals are finding it easier to decide whether something is "good" in their own mind. Duty and obligation across all electoral contexts seem to leave respondents feeling more indecisive about whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement.

It is not possible to make conclusions this early in the chapter, but the early evidence has some unexpected implications. The theoretical expectation was that was that good citizenship would be seen as a vague treatment, and that

⁵¹ The US is omitted from the Referendum data column, as this question was not asked of US respondents.

individuals would not be sure about what it is. However, these data suggest that individuals clearly have a strong opinion over voting out of a sense of good citizenship as evidenced by high rates of strong agreement, and the low numbers of uncertainty. Clearly, voting is the job of a good citizen.

The local data however does confirm theoretical expectations regarding duty and obligation. The high number of individuals that are uncertain over whether or not voting is an obligation (18%) suggests that individuals are having trouble interpreting what an obligation is, with almost 1 in 5 of those sampled being unclear over what constitutes an obligation. Although the number for duty is 14%, this is still lower, suggesting more individuals are clear about what a duty is, and how it relates to voting behaviour.

The evidence for national elections appears to share many similarities with the local election results. Amongst the good citizenship treatment results, 55.65% of respondents agree with the sentiment that it is important to vote in national elections as part of being a good citizen. This is 7% more than respondents who received the duty treatment, and 11% stronger than respondents who received the obligation treatment. The combined figures also show that good citizenship gets the strongest sense of agreement (87.45%) followed by obligation (83.4%) and civic duty (83.08%). The evidence is starting to show that despite differences in electoral saliency, good citizenship prompts the strongest response. Individuals seem to understand that voting in all types of elections is an important aspect of good citizenship.

Expectations suggested that obligation and good citizenship would be associated with higher rates of agreement in elections of higher saliency, and this is certainly true with regard to good citizenship. Given the extra coverage that national elections get, it was expected that more people would feel that voting in these elections was more important than local elections. There are of course a number of reasons that make people more likely to vote in national elections (Reif & Schmitt, 1980; Rallings & Thrasher, 1990; Thrasher & Rallings, 2002), but it appears that individuals also do feel in general a stronger sense of obligation, duty or vote to be a good citizen in national elections. The results also suggest that the initial theoretical model of civic duty is flawed. It has previously been assumed that the sense of duty is immutable and should not fluctuate by context,

civic duty should remain largely constant across both types of election, according to traditional conceptions of duty (see Elster, 1983; Hausman & McPherson, 1996; Selbourne, 1997; Blais & Achen, 2010; Goldfarb & Sigelman, 2010) though previous research had already disputed this (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). Within this study, only 73.63% feel it is important to vote in local elections out of a sense of duty compared to 83.08% of individuals who feel that it is a duty to vote in national elections. This discrepancy adds further credibility to the idea that duty is not immutable, and that individuals are able to discriminate between elections based upon context.

The referendum results also appear to be very similar to the results regarding national elections which is surprising given previous research that has shown referendums to be second order (Bowler & Donovan, 2013⁵²), and closer to local elections. Differences between treatments appear to be roughly in line with what is seen in both local and national elections, with good citizenship placing stronger emphasis on the importance of voting in referendums in comparison to the other two treatments. A total of 58.56% strongly agree that voting in referendums is part of good citizenship which is 13% higher than the number who strongly agreed it was an obligation and 10% higher than those that received the civic duty treatment. It appears that good citizenship provokes a lot less uncertainty in line with local and national elections. Only 6.7% declare that they neither agree nor disagree with the idea that voting in referendums is part of good citizenship compared to 10% and 12% for duty and obligation respectively. However, unlike in national or local elections, the good citizenship treatment seems to promote stronger disagreement in relation to voting in referendums. This suggests that there is something about referendums that provokes strong attitudes about whether it is important to participate or not but it is unclear why this is the case, and further data analysis is necessary to confirm why.

So far there appear to be a number of differences between the experimental treatments, both within elections and across electoral context. Good citizenship within the context of this pilot study seems to provoke a much stronger sense of agreement across all contexts, but the results do not provide definitive evidence that concepts are understood differently. Whilst it is likely that the

⁵² Data for this study gathered in only one country so there may be a country level effect causing this.

differences in treatments are due to varying understanding of what the concepts are, it could be possible that the differences are the result of response bias. It could be that individuals are provoked into agreeing with the good citizenship treatment more often because of the phrase "good" which places added pressure onto the individual to agree with the statement. This may also be a demonstration of the Hawthorne effect where individuals are trying to select socially desirable responses rather than giving an honest opinion about how they feel about voting in elections. However, this argument is mediated by the results from the referendum data which demonstrates that good citizenship provokes the strongest disagreement that voting in referendums is an important component of good citizenship. This suggests that differences in response patterns appear because of the differing understandings of the concepts. Obligation and civic duty should also be impacted by the Hawthorne effect, so that should also mediate the effects as well. Figure 5 below expands upon the evidence presented in table 14, and provides visual evidence of mean figures across experimental treatments.

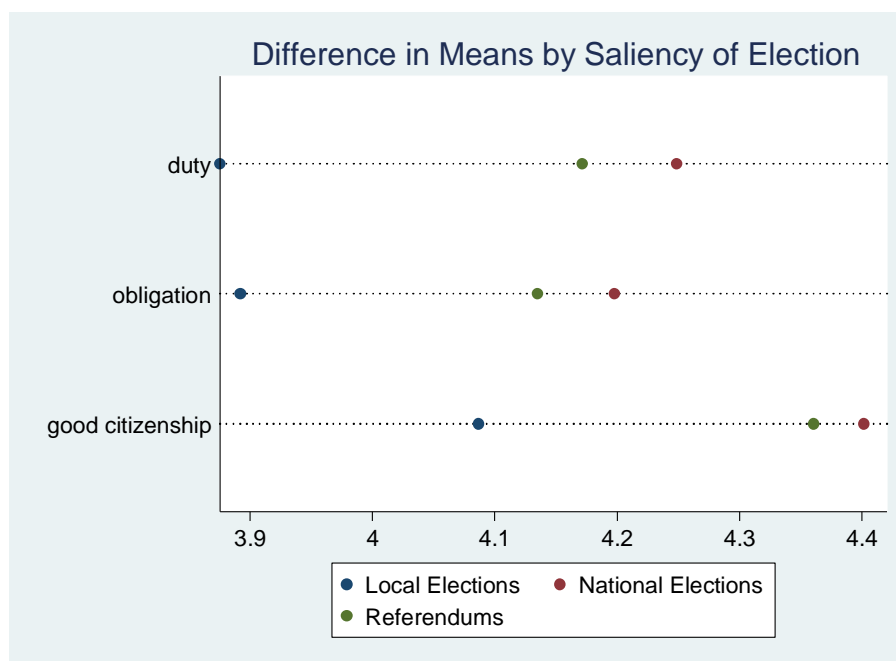


Figure 5 Mean differences in drivers by electoral saliency
Source: Original data

This graph confirms earlier results and visually demonstrates the strength of good citizenship over the other two treatments. The main interesting finding within this graph is the fact that while obligation is higher on average in local elections, it is weaker than duty in national and referendum elections. This

contradicts theoretical expectations, which suggested the obligation to vote would be stronger in high salience elections. Additionally, it appears that duty is unstable, and contingent upon political context, confirming previous findings (Bowler & Donovan, 2013).

The evidence also demonstrates consistence in the rank order of types of elections regardless of experimental treatments. Local elections are always weakest, and national elections are always strongest. This suggests that individuals are understanding the concepts similarly to a degree, however the variation in strength of agreement still suggests that there may be differing interpretations.

The evidence above, while convincing of differences does not provide a conclusive answer to the research question. To expand upon this, a cross-tab exploring differences between treatment groups, and the primary reason behind an individuals' voting behaviour is presented below. This will help demonstrate whether treatments are consistent with main vote reason. Survey respondents were given a series of options to explain why they voted, including obligation and civic duty. The question also included the importance of a specific issue, or closeness of the election. Good citizenship was intentionally omitted in order to provide an analysis of what options individuals chose if their treatment is not available as an option.

Cross-tabulation of vote reason and experimental treatment (%)						
	Duty	Obligation	Other option	Duty+ obligation		<i>N</i>
Duty	25.2	11.02	32.28	31.5		127
Obligation	16.1	20.34	33.05	30.51		118
Good citizenship	26.55	12.39	29.2	31.86		113
Total	22.63	14.53	31.56	31.28		358

Table 15 Main vote Reason by experimental treatment

Source: Original data

Amongst those who received the civic duty treatment, 25.2% of individuals declared that the main reason behind their vote was a sense of civic duty. This compares to just 11.02% of individuals who received a duty treatment but chose obligation instead of civic duty. This suggests that at least some respondents are able to differentiate between concepts. Among those who received the duty

treatment, the highest percentage is a sense of civic duty, however 32.28% chose options that were not linked to traditional motivators of voting behaviour, and 31.5%⁵³ of individuals declared that they felt a sense of duty and obligation to vote as the main reason behind their vote. The fact that such a large number of individuals within the pilot study were unable to choose between the terms does suggest that these individuals are just using duty and obligation as synonyms for one and other, which contradicts the expectations of this study. However, it could also mean that individuals are feeling both a social and personal pressure to conform and vote in an election based upon theoretical understandings of duty and obligation.

A similar pattern is observed amongst those who received the obligation treatment in the experiment. Roughly one fifth of respondents chose obligation as the primary motivator behind their decision to vote in an election, compared with 16% who chose civic duty. This provides further evidence that some individuals sampled are able to actively differentiate between the concepts. If they were not able to, the obligation column should be significantly higher because of the priming effect that the experimental treatment has on their interpretation of future questions. The results also show a similar number of respondents who declare that they vote out of both a sense of obligation and duty which suggests some individuals are unable to differentiate between the phrases.

Finally, those respondents which received the good citizenship treatment seem to respond strongly out of a sense of duty with over one quarter of respondents declaring their primary reason to vote was a sense of duty. Given that there was no option of good citizenship; individuals were not primed in any way to pick a particular response to this question, so the fact that so many people selected civic duty (compared to 14% that chose obligation) as the primary motivator suggests that duty is strongly associated in people's minds with the act of voting. However, even amongst this group of respondents, a total of 31.28% declared they felt both a duty, and obligation to vote as well as other alternative reasons. This suggests that there is still some uncertainty over whether individuals are actively able to differentiate between terms.

⁵³ This figure also includes individuals who ticked more than two boxes, E.g. it is a duty, obligation, importance of issues, closeness of race etc. This makes the figure inflated as it includes many combinations. Only 19 (4.99%) individuals chose that it was just a duty and obligation.

Vote reason by electoral salience					
Last vote	Duty	Obligation	Other	Duty + Obligation	<i>N</i>
second order	24.56	15.79	29.39	30.26	228
first order	19.42	13.59	29.13	37.86	103

Table 16 Last vote reason in 1st & 2nd order elections

Source: Original data

Table 16 examines this relationship further, considering how the reason behind the vote changes depending on the saliency of the election. The results suggest that individuals within the pilot study are much more likely to consider voting a civic duty in relation to local elections with nearly 25% suggesting that the reason they voted in a second order election was out of a sense of civic duty. This compares to just 15% of respondents who suggested they felt obligated to vote in a second order election. First order elections also seem to be driven by individuals feeling a sense of duty rather than a sense of obligation, though there is a much smaller difference of just 6%. This does support the theoretical expectations that civic duty should be a bigger driver of behaviour in lower saliency elections, and replicates results seen in Thrasher & Rallings (2001) earlier study. It also demonstrates that obligation is much more likely to be associated with higher saliency elections, suggesting that obligation is much more interchangeable and more likely to vary by context than civic duty. The increased number of individuals within the sample who selected both obligation and duty as the driver behind their voting behaviour in national elections also suggests that political sophistication could be a factor, with those who vote in 2nd order elections being much better able to differentiate between terms rather than highlight both.

4.2.2 Summary

The evidence so far has given a very unclear picture. It appears that some respondents sampled have been actively able to differentiate between concepts and identify that there are key differences between duty and obligation. But it does not appear that all individuals within this pilot study can differentiate, and the evidence is not strong enough yet to claim that individual level understandings are all different. There are a number of unknowns that need to be considered, and whilst the descriptive data does suggest that a number of individuals can

differentiate, this needs to be confirmed with further statistical testing. In addition, this pilot study can only provide evidence to further future research, and these findings may not be repeated within representative samples. To address some of the uncertainties, the next part of this chapter is going to discuss a methodological approach to investigating what drives each of these concepts, and test whether there are shared political, behavioural, and socio-demographic drivers of each concept. This evidence should provide a much more conclusive answer to individual level understand. Following on from this, the study will analyse the ability of each of the three concepts to relate to, and explain voting behaviour. If the evidence carries on as it has so far, it strongly suggests that future studies need to consider the importance of question wording. Even if only 30% actively differentiate between concepts, this is still a high enough number to have a dramatic effect on results from quantitative research.

4.3 RQ2 What are the main determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship?

Whilst previous studies have started to dissect what drives the sense of duty to vote (Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013; Kosmidis, 2014) and have shown a variety of socio-demographic drivers, as well as political interest, there is still little known about what drives the sense of obligation or good citizenship. This part of the chapter utilises our base understanding of duty to provide a comparative framework with which to analyse the sense of obligation and good citizenship. If understandings are consistent, based upon the methodological framework of the experiment, it should mean the drivers of each concept are similar. However, if drivers of voting behaviour are unique, it should be demonstrated by differences in the drivers of these concepts. Based upon the evidence so far, it appears likely that at least some individuals within this pilot study will be able to actively differentiate between concepts, and this should be confirmed in this next section of the chapter.

4.3.1 Method

In order to analyse the drivers of these concepts within the context of this sample, a series of regression analyses will be used to separate out the concepts, and allow for comparability of independent effects. The dependent variables for the models are based upon the concepts measured in the experiment, with three demonstrating the differences between the concepts, and one additional question on duty acting as a control variable. These models represent a series of ordinal logistic models, with the dependent variables keeping the five-point scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree" that was used to collect data in the original questionnaire. The control model utilises a question that was asked of all respondents (see SQ 17) and offers a chance for comparison. In line with the control model which utilises a five-point scale (reduced from initial 10-point scale), which asked individuals whether they had a sense of duty to vote, without placing any emphasis on electoral context; the three models representing the treatments have been created from additive scales that utilises all three types of election that individuals were asked about in relation to the treatment. These initial fifteen point scales have then been reduced back to a five-point scale. This allows the best chance of making comparisons between the control (which did not ask about saliency) and the treatments. Whilst not a perfect measure, it is important to try and demonstrate results that are in line with previous approaches to studying duty, obligation and good citizenship.

A number of independent variables are included within these models to try and tap into the key drives of duty, obligation and good citizenship. These independent variables are comprised of all measures asked within the survey. This limits the likelihood of results that are biased by model specification issues, or have problems associated with omitted variable bias. Three control variables are included within this study. Age and gender are included and are known to explain differences in duty (Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013), as well as wider voting behaviour and typically appear in all social survey research. Additionally, a control variable on language is included to try and control for foreign students that were captured in the survey collection process and to maintain the homogeneity of the sample that may come from varying social backgrounds and may have difficulties interpreting the language.

Along with this, a number of potential drivers are presented. Citizenship education is accounted for to try and understand differences that targeted education has upon civic values. Political interest is also included to tap into the enjoyment individuals have for politics (Blais, 2000), as well as political discussion to measure the frequency that political discussion occurs within social groups. Social media usage is included to measure respondents' media habits, and to determine whether there is any relationship between media usage, and developing civic attitudes. The study also includes an ideological scale to determine whether there are any differences between concepts and political ideology. Finally, trust in politicians is included to look for a social contract type relation. Full codings for all variables included can be found in the appendix.

4.3.2 Results

Ordered logit models of duty, obligation and good citizenship⁵⁴				
	(4.1)	(4.2)	(4.3)	(4.4)
	Duty	Obligation	Good citizenship	Duty Scale
Citizenship education	0.201 (0.59)	-0.134 (0.37)	0.870** (2.01)	0.094 (0.55)
Political interest	0.389 (1.37)	0.008 (0.03)	0.323 (0.85)	0.155 (1.05)
Political discussion	0.464** (2.4)	0.072 (0.35)	-0.324 (1.00)	-0.123 (1.23)
Gender	0.585* (1.71)	0.071 (0.21)	0.69 (1.31)	0.24 (1.43)
Age	0.442** (2.44)	0.197 (0.74)	-0.388 (0.70)	0.002 (0.02)
Language	-0.124 (0.32)	-0.127 (0.28)	-0.097 (0.16)	0.223 (1.17)
Media usage	0.093 (1.23)	0.004 (0.05)	0.023 (0.24)	0.090** (2.43)
Ideological scale	0.026 (0.27)	-0.042 (0.49)	0.137 (0.98)	-0.092* (1.91)
Confidence in Politicians	0.081 (0.54)	0.01 (0.06)	0.456** (3.04)	0.066 (0.97)
Confidence in Govt.	-0.073 (0.58)	0.045 (0.27)	-0.131 (1.05)	-0.052 (0.87)
<i>N</i>	159	150	147	502
Pseudo R2	0.0364	0.0044	0.1031	0.0154

* p < 0.10, ** p < 0.05, *** p < 0.001

Coefficient Values; t statistics in parentheses

Table 17 Ordered logistic: The drivers of aggregate motivators of behaviour

Source: Original data

⁵⁴ Model with combined Local, National, Referendum data.

The table shows a number of significant differences in the drivers of each concept, and certainly initially suggests that these differences in drivers are being caused by a difference in interpretation of what the dependent variable is. Looking at the results in model 4.1, it is noticeable that political discussion has a positive impact upon the likeliness of an individual having a stronger sense of duty. This reinforces the idea that civic duty is reliant on a number of sociological and psychological developmental variables and also demonstrates the intrinsic value of duty as well as the extrinsic value that is known to exist (Blais & Thalheimer, 1997; Frey, 1997). The significance of political discussion also suggests that social capital has an impact. As social capital increases, frequency of political discussion should also rise (Putnam, 1995). This again reinforces the importance of extrinsic drivers upon civic duty as well as intrinsic motivators and suggests that civic duty will vary over time. If social capital has an impact upon political discussion, it is plausible that as social capital fluctuates, civic duty will fluctuate as well.

Model 4.1 also shows that gender is significant in line with previous research on the drivers of civic duty (Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013) and suggests that women within the sample are more likely to have a stronger sense of duty to vote than men. This may be as a result of differences in the socialisation process (Blais, 2000). Age also appears to be a significant variable in deciding the likeliness of an individual to develop a strong sense of duty which is again a finding that is identified in previous research (Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000; Curtice & Butt, 2011; Bowler & Donovan, 2013). . Given that the results being analysed are the result of student responses, there must be an exceptionally strong age effect in order to see a level of significance in this category, which was included to account for outliers rather than expecting to find any actual significant effects.

So far the results of this section of the study have mirrored results from previous studies such as Jackson, Blais and Bowler & Donovan. Whilst Blais uses student data, so there is an expectation of similar findings, those data used in the studies of Jackson and Bowler & Donovan all utilised data that was much more reflective of society as a whole. This suggests that there is a similarity of understanding of duty across studies, which provides a strong platform against which to analyse models 4.2 to 4.4. If there are no differences between studies,

then any differences within studies should be accounted for by alternative understandings of obligation and good citizenship versus civic duty.

Initial evidence in model 4.2 on obligation does suggest that there are substantive and significant differences between duty and obligation. There appears to be no variable within model 4.2 that can explain any variation in the sense of obligation to vote with any level of statistical significance. Whilst the survey was limited in the number of behavioural and social variables that can be included, the fact that nothing can explain the obligation to vote, really suggests that individuals are quite unsure about what an obligation to vote actually is. So the results make it difficult to make any conclusions about what may contribute towards the sense of obligation as nothing appears to.

There are two possible explanations for these results; firstly, it could be because the individuals sampled genuinely do not understand what a sense of obligation is, secondly it could just be that obligation really does bear no relationship to voting as was suggested by the theoretical evidence in chapter two (Zimmerman & Rappaport, 1988; Selbourne, 1997). But, whichever of these two explanations is true, the evidence here strongly refutes the theoretical arguments that voting is primarily an obligation, and is not related to civic duty (Ewing, 1953; Lomansky & Brennan, 1993; Hill, 2002) and suggests that the idea of an obligation to vote is misguided. While this is based upon the results of a pilot study, if confirmed, there are a number of implications for the theoretical literature, and to any studies that have utilised the 1984 wave of the GSS. Model 4.3 examines what drives a sense of good citizenship and unlike the model of obligation, there are some significant factors that contribute towards a sense of good citizenship. In this model, it is evident that both a prior history of citizenship education and confidence in politicians contribute towards an individual developing a higher or lower sense of good citizenship in relation to voting behaviour.

Looking first at the effect of citizenship education, the relationship suggests that individuals sampled who have had some form of citizenship education actually develop a stronger idea of what good citizenship is compared to those who have no previous history of citizenship education. Whilst this finding matches theoretical expectations, it is surprising that citizenship education only

has a significant impact on good citizenship, and not on civic duty. Many of the studies cited referred to citizenship increasing civic duty (Morduchowicz, 1996; Bobek et al, 2009), but in this study the results suggest it is only related to good citizenship within this sample.

One explanation of this effect may be that individuals who have taken citizenship education have a clearer idea of what constitutes being a good citizen. Through their learning of social interaction and the importance of political participation, they are able to form a clearer idea about what citizenship and good citizenship actually are. As a result of this, when individuals are asked if voting is part of good citizenship, those that have been subjected to citizenship training are much likely to agree that it is. In contrast, the individuals in the sample who have no history of citizenship education however never gain the same understanding of what "good citizenship" is and are therefore unable to decide whether voting is part of being a good citizen or not. Amongst this group, respondents are less likely to truly understand what good citizenship is, or have been socialised to the value that their vote has. For them, good citizenship is likely to be much more subjective, and subject to their own personal thought and opinion, whereas those who have had citizenship training are significantly more likely to have an objective view of good citizenship, that has been developed through a stricter learning environment.

The consequences of this are important to the future of voting behaviour; instilling a sense of good citizenship through citizenship education appears to be a very important mechanism to make people understand why voting is important. It also demonstrates that in future research, it is important to account specifically for citizenship training, not just general academic performance. Even amongst a homogenous sample, there is still a clear citizenship effect.

In addition to civic education, it also appears that confidence in politicians drives an individual's likeliness to think voting is a part of good citizenship. This suggests that similarly to the findings of Bowler & Donovan⁵⁵ (2013) that good citizenship is also conditional upon the behaviour of politicians through a social contract type relationship with poor behaviour by politicians depressing the sense of good citizenship individuals feel to vote. These results suggest that contrary to

⁵⁵ Bowler & Donovan (2013) find this result with a measure of duty rather than good citizenship.

some economic voting studies, voters are likely to reward good behaviour (through no depression in the sense of good citizenship), but fail to punish and withdraw from political engagement as they see bad behaviour diminishing their sense of good citizenship (Rosenstone, 1982; Radcliff, 1994).

The variables that are significant within good citizenship paint a mixed picture. While it is unlikely that citizenship education would be variable over time, confidence in politicians is likely to vary a great deal and be dependent on situations such as the expenses scandal that took place in the UK (Pattie & Johnston, 2012). So there is no clear pattern that says that good citizenship should be more or less variable than civic duty. It could be argued that it is likely to be more variable, as the behaviour of politicians is likely to fluctuate more than political interest, so good citizenship might explain variation in turnout better than civic duty just based upon this fact. However, as was seen in the Bowler & Donovan (2013) article, they did find that this was the case in civic duty also.

Finally, model 4.4 which acts as a control to the experimental treatments that have been discussed so far, shows that there are again further significant drivers of the duty to vote. The results for this model should also be more reliable due to the greater *N* present within the model, though of course it is still only possible to analyse these results in the context of the sample collected. The model shows that there are two significant contributors to civic duty; media usage and ideological scale. It is immediately noticeable that these drivers differ from the drivers of the duty treatment within the experiment but it is hard to assess why at this stage. It could be due to a difference in the wording of the question⁵⁶ but further analysis is required to confirm or reject this assertion.

The results that are seen in this model do again reflect previous research that Bowler & Donovan (2013) conducted. They also found that ideological scale had an impact on the sense of duty individuals feel to vote in assembly elections, with those identifying themselves as conservative subsequently feeling a lower sense of duty to vote in English London Assembly elections. The findings in this study goes further than to just say that conservatives do not have such a strong sense of duty, as it provides a scale variable rather than the inclusion of two

⁵⁶ The question acting as a control was also used to ascertain the strength of duty individuals feel in relation to the idea of personal, societal or duty to friends and family to vote in elections as will be explored in chapter five.

dummy variables (representing labour and the conservatives). It appears that based upon this information, the more extreme left an individuals' ideology the stronger their sense of duty to vote. This suggests that individuals with extreme views appear to have a stronger sense of duty, which might be a side effect of increased apathy amongst voters of central parties, and amongst seats which were considered highly safe (Norris, 2001). However, within such a young sample, it is conceivable this could be different within a representative sample. But, the evidence does strongly suggest that there are key differences between the three concepts tested.

While this chapter is not dealing with institutional setting (see chapter 5) these results do suggest that individuals with extreme ideologies appear to promote a greater sense of duty to vote than those who have fairly centrist ideologies. This makes sense theoretically; voters with fairly centrist ideological considerations are less likely to care about the outcome of an election, whereas a voter that has an extreme ideology is far more likely to consider anything but a result for the left (in this case) to be satisfactory. The link between ideology and duty should also increase the pressure on them to vote out of a sense of duty to promote their political agenda. This again fits into a rational choice model of decision making as someone with an extreme ideology is likely to find poor substitutability with alternatives, which is something a moderate may have less of a problem with. Evidence of this can be seen in the current UK polls in the run up to the 2015 general election. Recent polls have demonstrated a rise in those who say they will vote for fringe parties in the general election with two surprise parties in the form of the UK Independence Party and the Green Party seeing their vote share grow to 14.3% and 6.5% respectively⁵⁷. These parties typically saw very low levels of turnout in national elections, and whilst it is impossible to assess whether this pattern is representative of society as a whole due to the age of the sample (Abramson, 1987), it clearly demonstrates that individuals are interpreting duty differently to obligation and good citizenship and provides strong evidence to further our understanding of these three concepts for future research. The model also shows that media usage has an impact upon the duty to vote. This suggests that individuals who use a variety of print and digital news-based media are more likely to have a stronger sense of duty to vote. When comparing

⁵⁷ Data from electoral calculus.co.uk correct as of 2nd March 2015.

this to model 4.1 which demonstrated that political discussion had an impact upon the duty to vote, this is an unsurprising finding. It is intuitive to expect that as individuals' political discussion rises, they are more likely to spend more time reading about current affairs and politics in general. This does suggest that we are seeing similar patterns between the duty treatment and the duty control. One further consideration to explore is the type of media that individuals are reading. Individuals who read media sources more often are likely to read positive as well as negative news about politicians. Because of this, if the evidence provided by Bowler & Donovan (2011, 2013) of the social contract is to be believed, you would expect that those with a high level of media usage should be more likely to have variability in their sense of duty. However, these data do not currently allow this to be tested.

4.4 RQ3. What impact does participation in citizenship education have upon an Individuals sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship?

To re-emphasize the role of civic education on the treatments as seen above in relation to the third research question that looks implicitly at the effect of civic education, it appears that civic education does have an impact upon the drivers of voting behaviour, but only on good citizenship. However, the research question initially focused on civic duty, and whilst previous evidence had suggested that civic education was important to shaping civic duty, there appears to be no evidence of that within this study. The major contribution of civic education appears to be in shaping how individuals define "good" behaviour within civic society. The results have indicated that there are differences between individuals who have received citizenship education and those who have not, and the main effect does seem to be shaping what is believed to be "right" and "wrong". This suggests that civic education is successful at pushing some understanding of what "good" is, but fails to explain why individuals should feel a sense of duty to conform and act in certain ways.

4.5 Discussion of RQ1, RQ2 & RQ3

This chapter so far has provided a great deal of evidence to suggest that individuals do not understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship as the same thing. The basic cross-tabulations of these data demonstrated differences in means, and in general the percentage scores of each treatment also suggested some differences in understanding.

The initial statistical models on the drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship also help confirm this finding. Firstly, there were no significant drivers of obligation, which suggests that individuals have trouble understanding what an obligation is. The findings of civic duty have a great deal in common with previous studies that have analysed civic duty as a dependent variable. Interestingly, good citizenship appears to be conditional on citizenship education, which suggests that education is important in shaping what individuals think of as good citizenship.

The differences in these drivers are highly suggestive of unique individual level understandings. Whilst there are some further elements that could point towards differences in understanding (such as whether they can actually explain voting behaviour), the evidence is clearly starting to suggest that there is at least an element of difference in how these concepts are understood, and whilst not everyone might be able to differentiate between them, there is a large enough number within this sample that makes the use of language within political surveys inherently important.

There are a number of implications from the research so far, most notably that duty, obligation and good citizenship should not be treated as synonyms for one and other. This has an impact on a great deal of previous research on civic duty. Even though there has to be caution in analysing the drivers of duty, the evidence amongst this particular sample suggests that future research looking at representative samples would be highly beneficial to further our understanding, and the differences in the drivers really help to answer one of the primary aims of this study; to demonstrate that duty, obligation and good citizenship are not the same. In addition, it will be necessary to revisit theoretically how these concepts are understood, and to think forward about how future surveys may need to be adapted to best utilise these drivers of voting behaviour.

There are of course many unanswered questions at this stage; firstly, can these three concepts all explain voting behaviour? Does institutional setting make a difference? Would a sample of data that are more representative of society lead to different outcomes? However, it is important to stress that what this study provides is clear evidence of a difference in the understanding of the concepts of duty, obligation and good citizenship. At this stage with no comparable studies, this analysis provides a first glance at what is a previously unexplored issue, and provides at the very least a good basis to further this study of how duty, obligation and good citizenship are understood.

The next stage of this chapter, will start to explore whether there are differences in whether duty, obligation or sense of good citizenship can explain voting behaviour; firstly looking at additive models of voting behaviour, then moving on to look at the role of political context.

4.6 Duty, obligation, good citizenship and voting behaviour.

4.6.1 RQ 4. Are duty, obligation and good citizenship all related to voting behaviour?

So far it is becoming clear that at the very least a number of individuals are able to actively differentiate between the three concepts within this study. However, the true value of any research involving duty, obligation or good citizenship is in relation to voting behaviour, and explaining to improve our understanding of why individuals vote. Previous evidence has suggested that both good citizenship (Dalton, 2006, 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2014) and duty (Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013) relate to voting behaviour, but which is better at explaining it? Based upon the results above, they are made up of different key drivers, so their relationship to voting behaviour is likely to differ. This next section is going to start to explore this relationship and analyse which is a more appropriate measure to include in studies of voting behaviour. Whilst as in previous sections no claims can be made that generalise to society as a whole, the answers to these questions based upon the sample will build an understanding of how they should be utilised in the future, as well as building upon the evidence already established on how individuals understand duty, obligation and good citizenship.

4.6.2 Methodological approach

In order to test whether the treatments have any relationship with voting behaviour, a series of models will be created that examine voting behaviour as a dependent variable, and includes the experimental treatments being included as independent variables.

The dependent variables within these models are additive variables created in a similar manner to those utilised in the previous section. However, in this case, the dependent variable measures voting behaviour. The variable utilises a six-point scale, ranging from (-3) “never voted in any election” to (3) “have voted in three elections”. The reason for this approach is that respondents were asked about whether they have voted in any of the following types of elections; local, national and referendum. For each election type of election they have voted in, they receive one point and for each type of election they have not voted in they receive minus one point. This additive approach has two big advantages; firstly it allows for the control of elections where individuals have been ineligible to vote. For example, an individual may have been eligible to vote the last time there was a national election but ineligible during the previous local election. If individuals selected that they were ineligible for a certain type of election, this is then left blank and they do not receive a plus one or minus one within the scale. It is important to allow for ineligibility in the scale, as a number of students will not have had the opportunity to vote based upon their age during the election cycle. Secondly, the actual nature of the limits on the number of elections individuals have voted in suggest that having a model where more individuals’ have voted will increase the *N* and give a better picture of what drives voting behaviour within the sample.

The independent variables all utilise a five-point scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, in line with the treatment they received in the experiment. Four separate models are created, one for each experimental treatment, and one for the control variable of duty that was asked of all respondents⁵⁸. The fourth control model is a recoded version of the scale duty (SQ 17) that all respondents answered and has been reduced from a ten-point scale to a five-point scale in line with the experimental models. This is again

⁵⁸ It would not be possible to run all treatments in one model because only one third of respondents received each treatment.

based upon a scale from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. The independent variables within the study also utilise additive scales similar to those in the previous section that add up, and then average the sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship an individual feels in a series of different elections. Whilst this does not make the study comparable to generalised studies, it does give the greatest possible opportunity to make comparisons to research that has been conducted previously. The reason for this approach is that almost every other study (except Bowler & Donovan, 2013) utilise a duty/obligation/good citizenship question that never discusses the saliency of the electoral context. Individuals are instead asked on balance to declare how important it is to vote in elections because of one of these conceptual reasons. This approach is also necessary to match the approach taken in the dependent variable where additive scales are also utilised to ensure a higher number of individuals in the sample are able to declare some form of voting behaviour Table 18 below demonstrates these relationships⁵⁹.

4.6.3 Results

Ordinal logistic models of voting behaviour⁶⁰				
	(4.5) Voted?	(4.6) Voted?	(4.7) Voted?	(4.8) Voted?
Civic duty	0.308* (1.76)			
Obligation		0.084 (0.51)		
Good citizen			0.054 (0.27)	
Scale duty				0.261*** (4.06)
<i>N</i>	134	125	135	426
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.0087	0.0007	0.0002	0.0114

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 18 Ordinal logistic aggregate drivers of turnout

Source: Original data

⁵⁹ The US does not appear in this data because of the fact there is no referendum question.

⁶⁰ Combined local, national, referendum data.

Table 18 outlines the relationship between individuals' actual voting behaviour, and the experimental treatments. The most striking finding here is that the only significant variables within the models are the two duty based models. The experimental treatment of duty is significant to the 0.1 level, and has a positive impact upon the likeliness of an individual to vote, while the control model of duty that all respondents were asked is significant to the 0.001 level and is again positively related to voting behaviour. The Pseudo R2 results also suggest that the models of civic duty are much better placed to explain variation in the dependent variable.

Models 4.6 and 4.7 which represent obligation and good citizenship seem to suggest that neither obligation nor good citizenship can explain why individuals voted within this sample of electoral data. There are two possibilities that could explain the differences seen between duty, obligation and good citizenship in the models above: The differences could be explained in part by a response bias; that there just happened to be a greater number of individuals who had voted in the duty treatment group than any other groups. However, with the assumptions attached to the random assignment of the surveys, this can be ruled out as all groups should be statistically similar. In addition, the dependent variable was created to control for ineligibility to account for why respondents wouldn't have voted. This appears to be further evidence of the difference in understanding of the various treatments, with duty being strongly relating to voting, while good citizenship and obligation appear to be unrelated based upon these results. Secondly, the descriptive data demonstrated that there was a significant spike amongst individuals who received the good citizenship treatment, and this might explain the lack of significance when looking at the statistical relationship between voting behaviour and the treatments. Individuals might state that they feel something is important as part of good citizenship, but good citizenship in itself does not place any pressure on an individual to conform. Simply agreeing that something is important does not suggest that an individual will conform to that behaviour. This alone makes the validity of asking individuals about good citizenship problematic. It appears that response patterns to good citizenship do not mirror actual behaviour, making good citizenship a difficult question to utilise in future voting behaviour research. No such argument can be made to account for the lack of significance of obligation, this appears to be just misunderstood or

unrelated to voting behaviour completely and based upon the lack of drivers of obligation, this is not a surprising finding. The discovery that only one of the three measures actually bears a direct relationship to voting behaviour has significant consequences for several large survey datasets and the research that has relied upon them. For example, the ISSP (2004 & upcoming 2014 release) the ESS (round 1) and CID have all relied upon a good citizenship question to operationalise a variable to represent the reason an individual might vote in an election. So any articles that have used those data to make assertions about the duty to vote appear to be measuring something completely different. The evidence here also has a series of consequences for future research if these preliminary findings are confirmed in representative samples. But at the very least, the experimental evidence does provide strong evidence that these concepts have been misused in political science for a long time.

Relating these results to the theoretical expectations, it was noted by Selbourne (1997) and Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988) that voting was first and foremost a duty for citizens and that it could not be considered an obligation. It was also suggested that good citizenship was a vague term that was open to interpretation. These data so far appear to support the theoretical and philosophical literature that first and foremost, individuals consider voting to be a duty, or at least civic duty is the only explanation present that can explain why any individual is more likely to vote (or have voted) in an election. The literature consistently suggested that voting was associated with the more formal traits of a duty, and less in common with an obligation which in turn places significantly less pressure on the individual to reciprocate a certain type of behaviour, or to put another way not carrying out a duty is wrong whereas you "ought" to carry out obligations (Brandt, 1964) and this study certainly adds weight to those expectations. There were some theorists who suggested that voting was first and foremost an obligation and had nothing in common with civic duty (Ewing, 1953; Lomansky & Brennan, 1993; Hill, 2002), but the evidence presented so far strongly suggests that there is no such thing as an obligation to vote, or at least individuals are unsure of how to interpret an obligation.

This section has provided further evidence of the misuse of duty, obligation and good citizenship within the theoretical and empirical literature, but has not yet

taken into account electoral context. This is going to be explored in the following section.

4.7 RQ 5. Do duty, obligation and good citizenship interact differently with elections of varying context?

So far this chapter has looked at aggregated levels of duty, obligation or good citizenship to vote in any type of election. This gave the opportunity to maximise the number of individuals within the sample who had a history of voting behaviour and further the analysis that could be made within the confines of this pilot study. However, this approach ignored the intricacies of voting behaviour within different electoral contexts. This will be the focus of these final sections of the chapter, exploring duty, obligation and good citizenship in differing electoral contexts; both what drives them and how they relate to voting behaviour in a variety of electoral contexts.

Frequently, civic duty has only been analysed as a driver of variable that is constant, and only one previous piece of research has accounted for varying levels of duty based on context (Bowler & Donovan, 2013) which showed second order elections lead to a second order sense of duty. However, this study failed to test whether this second order sense of duty had a tangible effect on actual voting behaviour. This study is going to build upon this, and whilst the analysis is only representative of the sample, will provide evidence to help build future hypotheses and suggest whether further investigation into the nature of duty, obligation and good citizenship is necessary. The work of Thrasher & Rallings (2007) has already suggested that duty is a better explanation of voting behaviour at local elections over national elections because those with a strong sense of duty to vote should be motivated to vote in all elections but, it is still unclear whether there is any link between the second order effect found by Bowler and Donovan, and the earlier work of Thrasher & Rallings.

These two pieces of evidence raise two possibilities; that duty is still the main explanation of voting behaviour, and will explain voting behaviour at national and local levels, or that civic duty will explain voting behaviour at national level, but that there are other motivators that drive the decision to vote in second order

elections. A lack of previous research limits the expectations for the obligation to vote and voting out of a sense of good citizenship.

The evidence so far has already suggested that there is good reason to believe that obligation, duty and good citizenship should all relate to elections differently, but it is important to account for electoral context to really push our understanding about how these three concepts relate to voting behaviour.

4.7.1 Method

Whereas the methodological approach utilised so far has relied upon additive scales to give an aggregated view of duty, obligation and good citizenship, the focus now shifts to view them separately, and account for electoral context. This involves two methodological changes: Firstly, the dependent variables in table 19 rely on two different measures; individual level voting behaviour in national elections, and individual level voting behaviour at local elections. These variables are now binary and coded (0) no or (1) yes. Individuals who were ineligible to vote in these elections are omitted from the analysis. Because of the change in the dependent variable, the tables below represent binary logistic regression models rather than the ordinal logistic models that have been used thus far.

The independent variables have also changed; they are now just single measures of duty, obligation and good citizenship which are related directly to the saliency of the election. These are coded on a five-point scale ranging from (1) "strongly disagree" to (5) "strongly agree". Finally, for comparative purposes, the scale duty question that acts as a control is included, though the details from this will not be discussed at length as the same analyses exists above. For full codings, see appendix table 5.

4.7.2 Results

Binary logistic Models of turnout by electoral context							
	(4.9)	(4.10)	(4.11)	(4.12)	(4.13)	(4.14)	(4.15)
	Vote	Vote	Vote	Vote	Vote	Vote	Vote
	Local	National	Local	National	Local	National	
Duty local	0.171 (1.02)						
Duty National		0.361** (1.98)					
Obligation local			0.160 (0.87)				
Obligation national				0.284 (1.17)			
GC local					0.458* (1.83)		
GC national						0.893** (2.21)	
Scale duty							0.261*** (4.06)
<i>Adjusted R-Square</i>	0.0063	0.0320	0.0042	0.0138	0.0281	0.0831	0.0114
<i>N</i>	134	104	128	84	133	89	426

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 19 Binary logistic: drivers of voting behaviour by saliency

Source: Original data

The results in table 19 offer some surprising findings. It appears that amongst civic duty measures, duty is only a significant contributor towards voting in national elections within the sample; it appears that it bears no relationship to local elections in this sample. This is an interesting finding for a number of reasons. The research of Thrasher & Rallings (2002) indicated that civic duty was a better explanation of turnout at low saliency elections, even though it appears that individuals do assign a lower sense of duty to local elections than elections of a higher degree of saliency (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). In Addition, if theoretical perspectives of duty are to be believed, an individual's sense of duty should not fluctuate. Given that it is understood that turnout is consistently higher in elections of higher saliency the theory would suggest that in local elections duty would be a better predictor because individuals are motivated for a lot more reasons to vote in high saliency elections beyond having a sense of duty.

These results may provide evidence of shifting interpretations of what civic duty actually is and while it is impossible to directly compare these results to representative samples used in previous research that has been highlighted, it is never the less an interesting finding to help guide future research. One possible explanation to consider is that civic duty is no longer seen as a trait that is lifelong and immutable, or at least the youth sample collected do not see it in this way; it appears that short term motivators may be more likely to cause an impact and explain the sense of duty to vote amongst young cohorts which raises interesting questions about whether this would be confirmed and found in a representative sample as well.

The results for obligation mirror the evidence that has been discussed so far in this chapter. It appears that no matter what the electoral context, obligation cannot explain voting behaviour. This result is also seen in relation to referendums (see table 20). So the first actual conclusion that can be drawn from this chapter, is that no matter whether considering voting in general, or by political context, there is no such thing as an obligation to vote in an election, with it being unable to explain any measure of voting behaviour. Again, this finding can only be said to be true of this particular sample, but it strongly suggests that further representative research needs to be carried out to confirm the validity of this finding.

This has a series of potential implications if preliminary results are confirmed; firstly, any studies that have used a question on the obligation to vote may not be measuring what they think they are and secondly, it would have implications for any analyses that accompany its empirical use. However, as previously mentioned, the number of studies that use the concept of obligation in the context of voting are small so the implications are going to be limited. What it does demonstrate though, is despite the theoretical justification of voting being related to obligation and not to civic duty (Lomasky & Brennan, 2000; Hill, 2002), there are considerable reasons as to why more studies may not have utilised the term obligation within survey research. One further implication to consider is that linguistically it suggests the use of obligation as a synonym for duty is inaccurate and needs to be avoided. Given that there is no evidence now to suggest that obligation is in anyway associated with voting behaviour, the use of it to explain why an individual might vote is invalidated. This confirms the theoretical perspective that suggests that obligation and civic duty are unique, and that there

are theoretical and subjective differences in understanding between the two concepts. These results also help confirm the work of Bowler & Donovan (2013), and suggest that second order senses of duty lead to second order pattern of voting behaviour, with duty unable to explain local election voting behaviour within this sample.

The only substantive difference between these results and results in previous sections are the results for good citizenship. No previous evidence in this chapter has suggested that good citizenship is linked to voting behaviour, with civic duty being the main driver of voting behaviour (both control and treatment versions). However, it appears that when controlling for electoral context, good citizenship is positively and significantly related to voting behaviour in local and national elections. After so many insignificant results it is surprising that it should now be an effective measure and does suggest that future confirmatory, representative research needs to be carried out to analyse this finding, and to better understand whether going forward the sense of good citizenship one feels to vote needs to be accounted for, either instead of the duty to vote or alongside it.

One possible explanation is that individuals have different ideas of what good citizenship is, and using a different measure that is contingent on electoral context enables individuals to select the sense of citizenship they feel to vote in different types of elections. The consequences of this are clear; any study that asks one single question on the duty, or sense of good citizenship to vote, but does not specify an electoral context is going to misrepresent the actual feelings individuals have towards the main motivators of voting in an election.

Binary logistic: Drivers of referendum voting			
	(4.16)	(4.17)	(4.18)
	Vote Ref	Vote Ref	Vote Ref
Duty ref	1.445*** (3.87)		
Obligation ref		0.239 (1.08)	
GC ref			0.193 (0.89)
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.2032	0.0140	0.0089
<i>N</i>	77	63	72

Coefficient values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 20 Binary logistic: Drivers of voting in referendums

Source: Original data

Whilst the previous model demonstrated voting behaviour in relation to local and national elections, table 20 explores the voting habits of individuals in the sample in relation to referendum elections. The results in table 20 demonstrate that only a sense of duty is positively and significantly related to voting in referendums. In the context of earlier findings, this makes sense. These descriptive data suggested that national and referendum elections were viewed similarly, and both seen as very important by the sample. As a result of this, it appears that civic duty is a much better driver of elections that are more salient than they are at driving behaviour in lower saliency elections. This contradicts the work of Thrasher & Rallings (2007) who have previously demonstrated that civic duty is a better explanation of voting behaviour in less salient elections. This has implications for voting behaviour studies if these initial findings are confirmed in future research; it appears that theoretical understanding of civic duty is flawed, and questions the validity of the traditional conceptual framing of duty that was discussed in chapter two. It provides further evidence that political science needs to rethink what is understood by civic duty, and what actually determines whether an individual is likely to develop it or not. Even if future research that was representative of society did not match these exact findings, the fact that a relatively large youth sample seems to be viewing duty so differently to the original concept is strongly suggestive that as life cycle effects develop, this may become the new paradigm of duty in the near future.

One explanation of why good citizenship cannot explain voting behaviour in referendums within the sample is as follows: Individuals are subjected to regular local and national elections, therefore it is likely to be a greater norm to vote in elections of these types, and norms are contingent on individuals being socialised to understand a behaviour as one. Given the earlier relationship between citizenship education and good citizenship, the low frequency of referendums may signify that individuals are not being socialised in the same way, and do not perceive voting in referendums to be an important aspect of good citizenship. There could also be a social contract argument; it appears that citizens within the sample place trust in politicians to vote and act on their behalf, a referendum in effect is a politician passing the buck on a decision that they do not wish to make without the approval of the public. It could be argued that by not taking the tough decisions they have broken the social contract that bonds

electee to elector. Therefore, individuals do not feel the need to vote in referendums out of a feeling of good citizenship, because they believe the reason they voted in national or local elections is to have a politician make decisions on their behalf. Finally, it could be due to the fact that the behaviour of politicians which drives good citizenship is not a factor in referendums at all. Referendums are generally issue based, and remove the behaviour of politicians from the context. Therefore, in an election that is not contingent upon the behaviour of the politician, there may not be a social contract explanation of voting behaviour.

Finally, the control measure for civic duty is again significant, which suggests that when all individuals are asked about the duty to vote, they are at least understanding that it is related to voting behaviour, even if they are not given an option to declare separate levels of duty by the saliency of an election. This does tend to suggest that given the limited amount of questions that are often asked of the motivators of voting behaviour, that political science studies are better off relying upon a civic duty based question to demonstrate the psychological reason why individuals vote in elections.

4.7.3 Discussion of RQs 4 & 5.

The results here do seem to support the idea that civic duty is more associated with elections that are perceived as more important, but the models split by electoral context do not give such a clear picture in whether duty and good citizenship are the same and suggests strongly that further representative research is required to confirm any findings within this pilot study. It appears that good citizenship may be able to explain voting behaviour in elections that occur regularly, alluding to the importance of citizenship education in developing the idea that voting in elections is important. However, the evidence still suggests that civic duty is a very good predictor of voting behaviour, both at an aggregate level within the experiment, as a control variable and in the context of national and referendum elections. This success suggests that it is still the best measure to use, unless future studies afford the opportunity to ask battery of questions on the duty to vote.

To answer the two research question implicitly; only duty and good citizenship appear to be related to voting behaviour within this sample, and while

duty is the only additive (aggregate) significant driver of behaviour, it appears that when split by saliency, both duty and good citizenship are still related to voting behaviour. This creates a number of expectations to take forward for future representative studies and suggests that further research is required to really confirm what approach is best utilised by future large scale studies.

Whilst this section raises a number of questions that require further data collection are required to answer, it is becoming very clear that based upon the results of the experiment, individuals do not see duty, obligation and good citizenship to be the same, and this has a number of implications for past, and future research. One final consideration to guide future research in this area is to understand whether there could be differences in the drivers of these concepts when they are split by saliency, which will offer one final source of confirmatory evidence for one of the major themes of this thesis.

4.7.4 What contributes towards a strong sense of duty, obligation or good citizenship to vote in elections of varying saliency?

So far this chapter has started to demonstrate how duty, obligation and good citizenship are understood in the context of this sample, and has provided direction for future research to confirm the preliminary findings that the pilot study has provided. One final element that has not been explored, are differences in the drivers of these concepts by electoral context. The penultimate section of this chapter is going to explore different drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship by electoral context, and to start to understand whether differences in these drivers can in part explain their relationship with voting behaviour.

4.7.5 Method

The methodological approach to exploring differences in the drivers of the experimental treatments by context is very similar to the approach to the one utilised to examine the relationship between the experimental treatments and voting behaviour when split by political context (see section 4.6.2).

Ordinal logistic regressions are used as the method best suited to the dependent variables. The dependent variables consist of a five-point scale between (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. The same independent

variables and control variables are utilised to allow for the examination of behavioural, socio-demographic explanations of what drives voting behaviour. The independent variables included are the same as seen in section 4.3 to allow for comparison to the aggregated measures of duty, obligation and good citizenship that have previously been examined. Full codings of variables are available in appendix table 5.

4.7.6 Results

Binary logistic models of the drivers of voting behaviour							
	(4.19)	(4.20)	(4.21)	(4.22)	(4.23)	(4.24)	(4.25)
	Duty	Duty	Obligation	Obligation	GC	GC	Scale
	local	national	local	national	local	national	duty
Citizen education	0.005 (0.02)	-0.235 (0.78)	0.490 (1.64)	0.103 (0.32)	0.314 (0.93)	0.943** (2.50)	0.094 (0.55)
Political interest	0.288 (1.05)	0.714** (3.02)	-0.194 (0.78)	0.253 (1.05)	0.300 (0.89)	0.585 (1.63)	0.155 (1.05)
Political discussion	0.410** (2.17)	0.351** (1.99)	-0.059 (0.33)	-0.033 (0.16)	-0.251 (1.13)	-0.295 (1.06)	-0.123 (1.23)
Gender	0.676** (2.17)	0.508* (1.66)	0.667** (2.01)	0.324 (1.00)	0.096 (0.28)	0.806** (1.98)	0.240 (1.43)
Age	0.337** (2.72)	0.342* (1.71)	0.428** (2.02)	0.232 (0.93)	0.089 (0.30)	-0.319 (0.81)	0.002 (0.02)
Language	0.657 (1.62)	-0.399 (1.10)	-0.025 (0.06)	-0.306 (0.82)	0.856 (1.58)	-0.127 (0.29)	0.223 (1.17)
Media usage	0.062 (0.80)	0.079 (1.10)	0.018 (0.24)	-0.037 (0.47)	-0.012 (0.15)	0.044 (0.50)	0.090** (2.43)
Ideological scale	0.057 (0.62)	-0.001 (-0.01)	-0.119 (-1.44)	-0.087 (1.05)	0.038 (0.42)	0.150 (1.31)	-0.092* (1.91)
Confidence in Politicians	0.030 (0.25)	0.202 (1.34)	0.112 (0.68)	0.063 (0.34)	0.157 (1.33)	0.272* (1.87)	0.066 (0.97)
Confidence in Govt.	-0.137 (1.12)	-0.113 (0.79)	-0.077 (-0.52)	0.044 (0.26)	-0.189* (1.72)	0.123 (1.10)	-0.052 (0.87)
<i>N</i>	175	175	164	164	162	160	502
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.0366	0.0417	0.0326	0.0243	0.0382	0.1241	0.0154

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 21 Ordinal logistic: Determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship by saliency

Source: Original data

When looking at models 4.19 and 4.20, it appears that the drivers that make up the duty to vote at local and national level are quite similar. The only difference between the two is that political interest is a significant driver of the duty to vote in national elections, but not in local elections. Whereas discussion of politics was a significant driver of behaviour in the combined models, it appears that political interest is only a relevant driver in national elections along with political discussion.

This suggests that individuals within the sample who claim to have a sense of duty to vote in national elections also have a significant interest in politics as well; which again demonstrates that civic duty includes an element of intrinsic value as well as extrinsic value. This further questions the validity of the theoretical literature that suggests that civic duty is born out of a process of socialisation and that it cannot vary across context or time, it also suggests that civic duty is seen as something that is related to personal interest, it is not a selfless trait, and is much more likely to represent a trade-off between self-interest and national interest (see Burt, 1990; Selbourne, 1997). Again, whilst this finding only relates to the sample, it is suggestive that in the future the paradigm of what constitutes duty is going to change based upon shifting youth understandings of what constitutes the duty to vote.

Looking at the duty to vote in local elections, discussion gender and age are all significant, and the only difference between them is that political interest is insignificant. Whilst none of the other variables included are able to explain civic duty (and a larger more diverse dataset might help solve this problem), the fact that political interest is absent does suggest that the reason civic duty is unable to explain behaviour in relation to local elections is because the individuals' sampled are not interested in local elections. Again this is a finding shared with Bowler & Donovan (2013), but the fact that it can be narrowed down to a lack of political interest is an interesting finding, and suggests that political science may need to rethink what civic duty is, as well as how we approach measuring it, as it appears that there are different explanations of what causes a sense of duty to develop depending on the saliency of an election. This again provides further evidence that civic duty is driven by intrinsic value derived from an act and that self-interest is a main motivator of behaviour. Civic duty amongst young cohorts certainly appears to be much more self-interested than previous research has suggested. If intrinsic value is derived from an activity, individuals feel a sense of duty to fulfil this role, if it is not, then they disengage with the concept. However, it is difficult to say if this is the case for everyone, without separating out the motivators behind civic duty as it is near impossible to say whether there are different types of duty. This evidence supports an exploration of a new concept of civic duty that will be analysed in chapter six. Again, these findings might differ when utilising a representative sample, but the evidence presented here provides at the very least a strong case for further research looking at whether these

findings can be replicated or are applicable in a sample that broadly represents society.

Model 4.21 provides the first significant drivers of the obligation to vote, but there is little to analyse as the drivers are limited to gender and age, and the lack of any relationship to voting behaviour dismisses the value of discussing the obligation to vote further.

Models 4.23 and 4.24 look at voting out of a sense of good citizenship in local and national elections respectively. The sense of good citizenship to vote in national elections has a number of statistically significant drivers with citizenship education, gender and confidence in politicians all contributing towards an individual developing a sense of good citizenship to vote. These results are very similar to those that have been seen throughout the chapter. Confidence in politicians has been significant throughout, and citizenship education was found to be significant in model 4.7. It appears that in national elections, having been taught what good citizenship is shapes the importance of voting out of a sense of good citizenship.

Strangely, there only seems to be one significant driver of the sense of good citizenship to vote in local elections; confidence in government and unlike many of the other variables that have been discussed, its relationship is negative. It appears that individuals who have a negative view of government feel less inclined to vote in local elections out of a sense of good citizenship, which again suggests that perceptions of mismanagement and a lack of trust in institutions makes individuals disengage with voting behaviour. Finally, table 22 outlines what drives the duty, obligation or sense of good citizenship to vote in referendums.

Ordinal logistic regressions of the drivers of referendums			
	(4.26)	(4.27)	(4.28)
	Duty ref	Obligation ref	GC ref
Citizenship	0.199 (0.59)	-0.255 (0.70)	0.362 (0.97)
Political interest	0.465* (1.83)	0.262 (1.07)	0.177 (0.39)
Political discussion	0.321 (1.64)	0.129 (0.61)	-0.282 (0.97)
Gender	0.751** (2.27)	0.144 (0.41)	0.190 (0.43)
Age	0.183 (0.85)	0.238 (0.91)	-0.095 (0.19)
Language	0.017 (0.04)	-0.012 (0.03)	-0.041 (0.07)
Media usage	0.077 (1.06)	-0.026 (0.33)	-0.047 (0.45)
Ideology	0.037 (0.41)	0.029 (0.35)	0.098 (0.83)
Confidence in Politicians	0.002 (0.02)	-0.040 (0.26)	0.265* (1.73)
Confidence in Govt.	-0.030 (0.24)	0.056 (0.37)	-0.111 (0.84)
<i>Adjusted R2</i>	0.028	0.009	0.032
<i>N</i>	159	150	147

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 22 Ologit: Determinants of experimental treatments regarding referendum elections

Source: Original data

Model 4.26 offers the only meaningful results as there were no statistically significant links between the obligation or sense of good citizenship to explain voting behaviour. It appears again that political interest is the main driver of the sense of duty to vote in referendums, so it seems that actually being interested in politics is much more likely to cause an individual to vote in a referendum. This makes logical sense, given referendums occur on specific issues; an individual who takes an active interest in politics is much more likely to form an opinion and care about the outcome of the election. Therefore, it is much more likely that they will feel a sense of duty to vote in that election in order to contribute towards the desired outcome. This also reinforces the idea that there is an intrinsic benefit within duty as well as extrinsic benefits derived from carrying out a duty.

4.8 Discussion

There has been a lot of evidence explored in this chapter, including a variety of cross-tabulations and graphs, and a total of twenty eight regression analyses, and whilst there has been a lot of evidence to digest, some clear findings have emerged that suggest our understanding of duty, obligation and good citizenship may be flawed, and provide substantial evidence of the need for further representative samples to build upon this pilot study and really examine what these concepts are, and how they are understood. Amongst the most interesting findings, it appears that obligation does not make an appropriate measure of the motivation to vote, and is indeed not a synonym for civic duty. While good citizenship did bear some relation to voting behaviour, it is not as good as civic duty at explaining voting behaviour. It appears that the three terms are independent and unique of one another, and that individuals understand them differently.

This in itself has implications for the study of politics, beyond linguistic reasons as it questions the validity of claims that have been made in studies using data that have relied upon good citizenship or obligation terms as a substitute for civic duty.

It also questions approaches such as Dalton (2008) that uses good citizenship questions to create a variable that is then called civic duty, it appears that good citizenship and civic duty are entirely different concepts and there is a need to be careful when considering how the two interact.

When considering the results that are split by saliency, the picture is less clear. Whereas the aggregate information demonstrated that civic duty was the only appropriate motivator of turnout behaviour from a psychological stance, it appears that good citizenship is able to explain turnout in local elections and national elections. However, civic duty is better able to explain turnout at national elections and referendums, typically high saliency elections. This leads to the question of whether there need to be different questions in the future for differing levels of turnout. It may also be beneficial to consider this question in two stages; do you have a duty, obligation or sense of good citizenship to vote in elections? You would then follow up with another question asking how they would rank their duty, obligation or good citizenship on a 10 point scale. This would allow individuals to choose the main motivator for them, and political science would be able to distinguish between the different causes of these psychological motivators

leading to more accurate models.

The results from civic duty also have further implications as it appears that our understanding of civic duty is fundamentally wrong, and needs to be re-examined. Civic duty appears to be much more contingent upon factors that can vary over time and this would immediately discount the first conceptual model of duty offered in the literature review and theory chapter. This chapter so far has not provided evidence yet on whether different individuals understand civic duty differently, it has just offered it in the context of a comparison between duty obligation and good citizenship. To explore this further, there is a need to test a new model of civic duty and a new way of measuring it. The evidence in this chapter provides strong support to test the claim that civic duty can be split into the three distinct strands as identified by Selbourne (1997). It may be that some individuals do still understand duty in a traditional way, but for others it is now a more dynamic and interchangeable concept that can explain behaviour sometimes, but not always. Therefore, it is important to test this model and see if it can help differentiate between these types of individuals. This of course is going to be explored in chapter six, but provides a good justification for the inclusion of this chapter within the thesis.

Whilst only a limited number of findings have strong value without further research (and these relate directly to the experiment), this chapter has discovered a number of potential leads for future research, and has examined a number of relationships that if confirmed in future representative samples, could have big implications on how voting behaviour studies utilise duty, obligation and good citizenship, and also how political theory objectively defines these concepts.

V Duty obligation and good citizenship: Exploring and explaining cross-national variation

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation has so far provided substantial evidence to suggest that our understanding of obligation, duty and good citizenship is flawed, and strongly suggests that further research is needed to further representative research to confirm these findings.

However, so far these data analyses have only examined individual level patterns and responses, yet a great deal of voting behaviour research utilises a cross-national framework to analyse differences in patterns across countries to expand our understanding of what makes people vote. Cross-national research has typically ignored the traits of duty, obligation and good citizenship, and this is not surprising. Firstly, there are only a limited number of studies that have included any of these terms in national or local surveys and there has never been a significant drive to push these concepts into cross-national studies. Secondly, it may be due to a lack of faith that duty could explain variation in turnout, but it is likely that the complexity of translating these phrases into different languages may cause some difficulty in interpreting the results they produce, especially if there are significant differences in the understanding of each concept across countries.

While language is not a big problem for this study with countries chosen specifically for the homogeneity of the language, there are a number of issues that need to be overcome to make these concepts attractive for future cross-national research. Currently, there is no evidence to suggest whether or not there is a shared understanding of what duty is cross-nationally, and if there are differences in understanding, whether these can be overcome to allow for its use in cross-national research. While there are limited examples of good citizenship being utilised in cross-national research, there is nothing that I am currently aware of on duty or obligation. This chapter will explore some of these issues, and think about the consequences that any findings have upon future cross-national research. If civic duty is known to vary amongst individuals, then its repeated exclusion from cross-national surveys suggests that researchers are missing out on a fundamental explanation of voting behaviour. In addition to analysing the

experimental treatment with controls for cross-national understandings, this chapter will also start to explore whether there is a case for measuring a motivator to vote such as these, and whether there are problems with interpreting results. Finally, this chapter will provide an introductory glance at whether institutional arrangements can have any impact on these experimental concepts.

5.2 RQ6. Do individuals across countries understand civic duty, obligation and good citizenship the same as each other?

Political science has made a lot of progress in exploring cross-national variation in turnout. There are a number of different factors that help explain cross-national differences in turnout, but one prominent avenue of research has been the ability of institutions to explain why individuals are more or less likely to vote (Rosenstone, 1980; Jackman, 1987; Wolfinger & Lijphart, 1997; Franklin, 1996; Blais & Dobrzynska, 1998). Given the relationship between turnout and civic duty, as well as the growing body of evidence that suggests civic duty is contingent on a number of psychological, behavioural and socio-demographic traits, it is likely that civic duty may vary across country, and in addition that institutions have a direct impact upon the sense of duty individuals feel to vote. Some might argue that differences in civic duty are already being accounted for within cross-national models of turnout through omitted variable bias, however, if rates of turnout vary cross-nationally, and the size of the effect civic duty has upon voting behaviour is not consistent, other variables within models may be over-reporting effects that are related to the duty to vote. This means that the lack of civic duty within models could be plaguing studies through the over or under reporting of other variables within statistical models. This pilot study offers the opportunity to start exploring these issues and provide preliminary evidence about whether the inclusion of duty or other drivers of voting behaviour should be seriously considered. To begin with, this will involve establishing a preliminary idea about whether cross-national understandings of the concepts are consistent, and secondly whether there are differences in the relative strengths of duty, obligation and good citizenship within these countries. Finally, the study will consider whether differences in understanding of these concepts inhibit their use in cross-national turnout and voting behaviour research, and if there are ways of remedying any problems.

Similarly to the first empirical chapter, the first step in exploring individual level understandings will be to look at basic relationships between variables in the form of cross-tabulations and graphs. This chapter will begin by examining the respective strength of duty, obligation and good citizenship across countries to establish whether there appear to be any shared understanding of these concepts. After all three experimental treatments have been discussed in a cross-national context the chapter shall focus on differences within each country. Table 23 starts by outlining the relative differences of the civic duty treatment across countries.

Duty treatment by country (national elections) (%)					
	UK	US	NZ	AUS	EIRE
Strongly disagree	4.08	20	0	5.56	2.41
Disagree	4.08	5	0	16.67	2.41
Neither	12.24	10	5.71	11.11	3.61
Agree	32.65	30	42.86	33.33	34.94
Strongly agree	45.92	35	51.43	33.33	56.63
Mean	4.15	3.55	4.45	3.72	4.4
<i>N</i>	97	20	35	18	83

Table 23 Cross-national strength of duty in national elections

Source: Original data

The most striking finding in table 23 is the significant variation in the sense of civic duty individuals feel to vote across countries. The samples from the US, and Australia appear to have relatively weak levels of duty with only 35% and 33.33% respectively in the strongly agree category. Even when combining the top two categories, only 65% and 66.66% of individuals in the samples from these two countries feel some sort of agreement that voting out of a sense of duty is important. Compared to the aggregate data in chapter 4, this is very low. It appears that there is something depressing the sense of duty within these countries. The Australian case is particularly surprising when considering that they employ compulsory voting and individuals are incentivised to vote in order to avoid financial punishment. Additionally, it is understood that higher turnout usually relates to higher rates of civic duty (Blais, 2000) which makes a low level of duty in a country with such high turnout even more surprising. It appears that

there may be other factors that are more important than duty in explaining voting behaviour within the Australian sample. In contrast, the US typically has very low levels of turnout, so it is less surprising to see a depressed sense of duty within that sample. The samples collected in New Zealand and Ireland however appear to have very strong senses of civic duty to vote. In New Zealand not a single person within the sample disagreed or strongly disagreed with the sentiment that it is important to vote out of a sense of duty and even in Ireland the combined total for those who disagreed to some extent was still below 5%. The evidence thus far demonstrates big differences between the strength of the sense of duty that appears in Australia and the US when compared with New Zealand and Ireland. Whilst this sample is not representative, it is still striking to see the size of the differences in the strength of duty across countries, and suggests that there may be some factors that are working to enhance, or reduce the sense of duty individuals within the samples feel to vote in elections.

Obligation treatment by country (national elections) (%)					
	UK	US	NZ	AUS	EIRE
Strongly disagree	4.35	11.11	2.63	16.67	3.7
Disagree	5.43	0	5.26	0	1.23
Neither	9.78	16.67	7.89	0	4.94
Agree	32.61	61.11	26.84	33.33	41.98
Strongly agree	47.83	11.11	47.37	50	46.91
Mean	4.14	3.61	4.2	4	4.3
<i>N</i>	92	18	38	12	80

Table 24 Cross-national Strength of Obligation in National Elections
Source: Original data

There is similar variation in the samples across countries when looking at the sense of obligation in table 24, with only 11.11% of individuals saying they strongly agree it is an obligation to vote in the US compared to 47.37% of New Zealanders. Interestingly, the Australian cohort seems to have a much more positive feeling towards the obligation to vote when compared against the duty treatment. It also appears that New Zealand and Ireland see large drops in the importance of voting out of a sense of obligation compared to duty which suggests that there are differences in the understandings of these concepts cross-nationally. The UK sample however, sees almost identical figures in both obligation and duty which suggests a similar understanding of the concepts in

comparison to the other countries that are sampled. The US sample sees a large decline of 24% in obligation compared to civic duty, which again suggests that individuals are interpreting the concepts differently. It also appears that on average, the obligation to vote is lower than the duty to vote that was discussed above, though this trend is not true in all countries.

Good citizenship treatment by country (national elections) (%)					
	UK	US	NZ	AUS	EIRE
Strongly disagree	2.27	0	3.03	6.25	4.71
Disagree	1.14	0	3.03	0	1.18
Neither	2.27	29.41	9.09	0	5.88
Agree	32.95	35.29	39.39	18.75	26.41
Strongly agree	59.09	29.41	45.45	75	57.65
Mean	4.5	4.11	4.21	4.5	4.37
<i>N</i>	86	16	33	16	84

Table 25 Cross-national strength of good citizenship in national elections
Source: Original data

The results for good citizenship treatment displayed in table 25 above also show some surprising results. Other than the United States and New Zealand, which appear to have a stronger sense of duty, most of the samples suggest that good citizenship is stronger than either civic duty or obligation. The Australian sample for example sees 75% of respondents in the top category compared to 33.33% and 50% for duty and obligation. Clearly individuals within these countries understand the treatments uniquely. The figures above have only explored national elections in relation to the experimental treatments, and given the results in the previous chapter it is likely that these results will vary by political context. However, in order to systematically analyse all of these, a further six tables would be required. In order to reduce this, the graph below demonstrates differences in the means of experimental treatments both cross-nationally, and by electoral context as a way of reducing these data to give an overview of the effect of political context upon the experimental treatments.

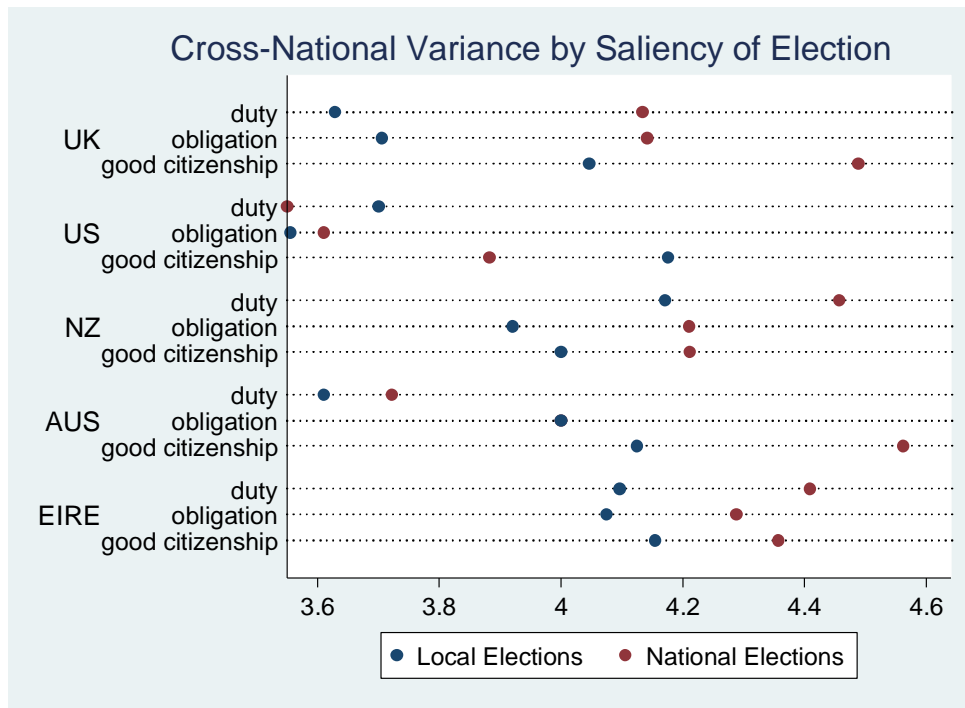


Figure 6 Cross-national variance in treatments by saliency of election
Source: Original data

Looking at the general patterns of the treatment samples first, good citizenship appears to promote a strong sense of agreement in the samples from the UK, US, Australia and Ireland in relation to local level elections. Good citizenship is also higher than both obligation and civic duty. However, it is also evident when looking at national elections in New Zealand and Ireland that civic duty is higher than good citizenship. It is also noticeable that in the samples from Ireland, New Zealand and the US that obligation is the weakest of the three treatments, but again this is not a consistent finding. The UK has a weaker sense of duty in local elections and the US also has a weaker sense of duty in national elections. The evidence does not demonstrate any single clear pattern in how these concepts are being understood cross-nationally, and this is suggestive of cross-national differences in the understandings of the concepts. This could be because of differing senses of importance placed upon types of elections but it could also just be that different countries are socialised to think about elections differently and have different understandings of what duty, obligation and good citizenship are. The lack of generalised trends does suggest that there are different ways of interpreting the concepts, but this will require further investigation and analysis to confirm, and explain. In essence, this evidence does suggest that further

investigation is required, both utilising these pilot study data in this study, and further investigation within a representative sample. But, it is too early to claim one way or another whether these patterns suggest differences in understandings amongst the samples, or just that we are seeing differing strengths of feeling caused by a variety of social and institutional variables. What is noticeable is the substantial differences that exist within the country samples, and this shall be briefly reviewed below.

Ireland

Looking first at the case of Ireland, all three of the treatments are relatively stable. There are some fluctuations, with duty being stronger in national elections, and weaker than good citizenship in local elections. This is surprising, the theoretical expectations suggested duty should be stronger amongst local elections than the sense of good citizenship, and would replicate the findings of Rallings & Thrasher (2007) that portrayed civic duty as a better explanation of turnout at local elections than it is at national elections. This is also a theoretically expected finding if the first concept of duty is true. When comparing the strength of duty across countries, it is noticeable that Ireland believes voting to be more important regardless of treatment, so there is likely to be a cultural or institutional reason that is driving strong levels of duty, obligation and good citizenship amongst their citizens.

United States

The most noticeable finding in the US data are that those who received the good citizenship treatment appear to feel voting is much more important as an aspect of good citizenship than those who received the duty or obligation treatments. This demonstrates again that there is either an issue of increased response bias with good citizenship, or individuals are genuinely responding differently to the good citizenship treatment. Whilst this is interesting, it is not the most important finding within the US data. Looking at the duty, obligation and good citizenship scores, it is evident that within the obligation treatment, individuals feel a stronger need to vote in national elections than they do local elections in line with the other countries sampled. But when looking at the good citizenship and civic duty data, individuals appear to place more importance in voting in local elections. This finding contradicts many previous studies which suggest that second order elections have lower turnout (Reif & Schmitt, 1980; Rallings & Thrasher, 1990;

Thrasher & Rallings, 2002) but also contradicts research that says second order elections have a second order sense of duty (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). It also suggests that individuals understand the terms differently, and it appears that individuals in the US feel that good citizens should place more emphasis on voting in local elections and that it is a greater duty also to vote in local elections. Only obligation of the three treatments sees individuals placing a greater level of emphasis to vote in national elections. When thinking about the theoretical expectations, this makes sense. If obligation is something one thinks they ought to do, then you might expect to see people feeling obliged to vote in national elections, given that they are often perceived to be the most important type of election to vote in. Given this, you would expect duty to be higher in local elections as there is less incentive to vote because of external pressures and perceptions of ineffective local government. However, even within a pilot study, the US sample is small, so these findings may be inaccurate. What it suggests is further study is needed to actually investigate how these concepts are viewed within the United States.

Australia

The first noticeable point in the Australian results is that it appears there is only one mean value in the obligation data. The reason behind this is that the two values matched up exactly, with local and national elections appearing to promote exactly the same sense of obligation, which suggests that the sense of obligation in Australia is immutable, and does not vary by context. Individuals in Australia also appear to feel a stronger sense of good citizenship to vote than those who received the obligation or duty treatments. The duty treatment in Australia is fairly weak for both types of election, suggesting that within the one country that has compulsory voting, being forced to vote does not drive a sense of duty. The other noticeable finding in the Australian results is the size of gaps between saliency scores in each treatment. Obligation has no gap at all in the means, duty has a small gap and good citizenship has a large gap between the importance of voting in local and national elections out of a sense of good citizenship. This is very noticeable when compared to Ireland, New Zealand and the UK, as the gaps between saliency scores in each treatment appear to be relatively stable. One final point to mention is that Australia is the only country sampled that employs compulsory voting. Whilst this will be explored in detail in the institutional section

near the end of the chapter, it has to be considered that when exploring these basic relationships, compulsory voting is highly likely to have some sort of impact upon what Australians consider as the most important motivator behind the decision to vote.

New Zealand

Compared to Australia, New Zealand appears to be relatively stable, particularly with regard to good citizenship and obligation. Like most countries sampled, it also appears that national elections seem to be the most important type of election regardless of the treatment individuals received. The strongest of the treatments in New Zealand is civic duty. Civic duty seems to induce a much stronger sense of agreement than the other two measures, which is surprising when considering the findings that did not control for country level differences. The duty to vote is so strong in New Zealand that the level of duty in local elections is close to the mean scores in national elections for obligation and good citizenship. The gaps between elections of different saliency are relatively stable across the treatments, so it appears that people consider that the difference in importance between saliency is the same no matter what treatment is used.

United Kingdom

Finally, looking at the UK it is noticeable that good citizenship promotes a strong sense of agreement with the importance of voting than obligation or good citizenship. The differences between obligation and duty are minimal at national elections, but do appear to cause a minor gap in local elections. It also appears that the obligation to vote is stronger than the sense of duty in national elections which is theoretically expected, but has not been evident in much of these data.

Those data above demonstrate some interesting patterns within countries, most notably the United States, New Zealand and Ireland. But whilst there are interesting findings, there are not many clear patterns across countries, or at least none that are consistent in all countries with the strongest patterns emerging in a maximum of four out of five countries. This suggests that individuals across different countries are interpreting and understanding the terms differently. The figure below expands upon the evidence above, with the inclusion of referendum

election data that was previously omitted because of a lack of data in the US sample.

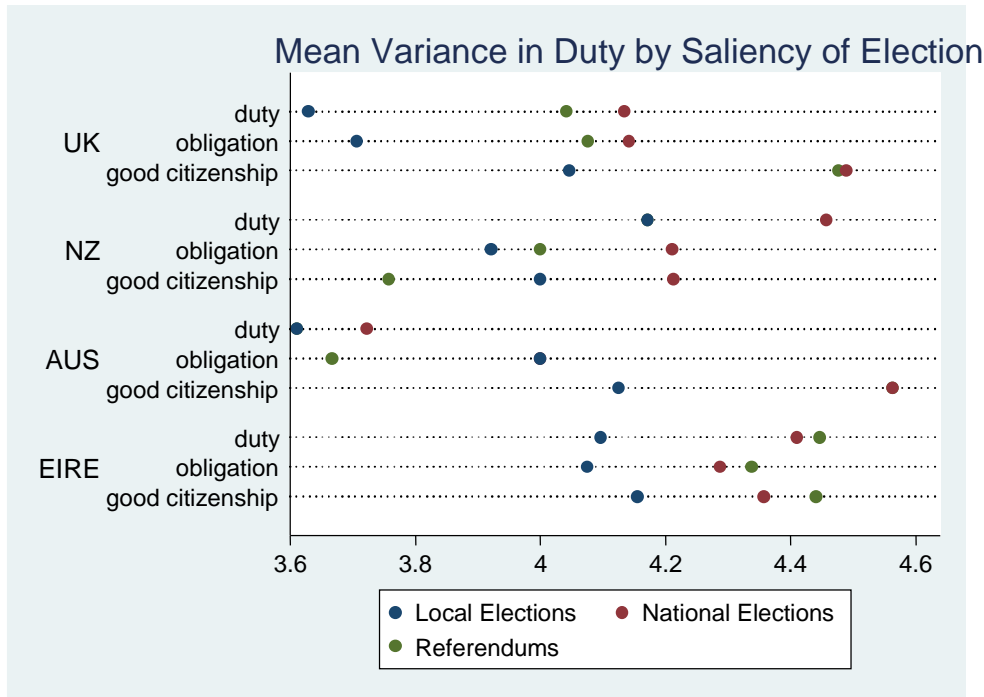


Figure 7 Cross-national variance in treatments by saliency of election inc. referendums
Source: Original data

Figure 7 above replicates many of the results seen in figure 6, but also includes referendum data that was absent from the previous graph because no results on referendums were collected in the US. These data show some interesting trends, most notably in Ireland, where referendums are rated the most important election to vote in across all treatments. This is unusual, as referendums are often viewed as second order elections (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). This might be a reaction to an electorate in Ireland seeking to right what it sees as several social injustices in relation to upcoming referendums on same sex marriage and a reduction in the age of candidacy for the presidency⁶¹.

Typically across the other countries sampled, it is evident that referendums are seen as more important than local elections, but not quite as important as national elections. There are two further exceptions; the good citizenship treatment in the UK suggests that those sampled believe it is almost as important to vote in

⁶¹ Other issues including voting age have been considered for referendums in the future.

referendums as it is in national elections, which could be a result of recent referendums on voting systems and the possibility of an upcoming referendum on European membership.

New Zealand referendums seem to relate differently depending on treatment, with those receiving the good citizenship treatment failing to see them as important as they are in the UK and Ireland. However, obligation and duty treatments do appear to be much higher in comparison to other countries sampled. These data again demonstrates some interesting points, but does not leave a clear enough image. Whilst there are some interesting points within these data, there are no clear results or patterns, and it is impossible to tell whether there are differences in interpretations of the treatments within the pilot study sample. The differences observed could be because of small sample sizes, bias in the sample based upon the student cohorts (though the experimental design helps to control for this) or it could be that there are genuinely different interpretations about what these terms mean. It could of course be that the differences observed are merely evidence of institutional effects on the relative strengths individuals feel and nothing else. But without further investigation, it is hard to identify which of these causes is most likely.

To try and tap into how individuals across countries are understanding these concepts, tables 26 and 27 below start to explore the treatments against the primary reasons behind the individuals voting behaviour. An analysis of this should confirm whether or not individuals across countries have different preferences in terms of how they view voting behaviour, and provide further evidence about whether they can actively differentiate between the concepts.

Most important reason to vote by experimental treatment (%)					
Treatment	UK	US	NZ	Aus	Eire
	Duty	Duty	Duty	Duty	Duty
Duty	23.81	16.67	25	27.78	27.66
Obligation	12.82	15.38	25	9.09	19.15
Good citizenship	31.03	20	25	7.14	26.92
<i>N</i>	24	6	6	9	36

Table 26 Vote reason by experimental treatment

Source: Original data

Table 26 shows the percentage of individuals who highlighted duty as the most important reason they voted in an election, split by country and experimental treatment. Interestingly, it appears that those who received the duty treatment are more likely to declare duty as the primary reason behind their decision to vote when compared to obligation in every country except New Zealand. This is expected, given that there is likely to be a degree of bias because of the treatment they received. Surprisingly though, amongst those who received the obligation treatment, up to 25% (in New Zealand) still chose duty as the primary motivator behind their decision to vote which suggests these individuals are actively differentiating between concepts.

The good citizenship data also appears to suggest that respondents who received the good citizenship treatment see civic duty as the primary reason to vote in a number of cases. 31% of UK respondents who received the good citizenship treatment selected duty as the primary reason to vote. If you exclude Australia, of the respondents who received the good citizenship treatment, at least a fifth of individuals highlighted the duty to vote as being the primary explanation of their voting behaviour.

Most important reason to vote by experimental variable					
Treatment	UK	US	NZ	Aus	Eire
	Obligation	Obligation	Obligation	Obligation	Obligation
Duty	7.14	0	37.5	22.22	8.51
Obligation	23.08	23.08	12.5	9.09	21.28
Good citizenship	13.76	10	12.5	7.14	13.46
<i>N</i>	16	4	5	6	21

Table 27 Vote reason by experimental treatment

Source: Original data

The results amongst those who chose obligation as the primary motivator of their behaviour are slightly more mixed. Surprisingly, 37.5% of New Zealanders and 22.22% of Australians within the pilot study said that obligation was the main reason behind their voting in an election despite the fact that they received duty as their treatment. This suggests that some individuals within the pilot study are clearly differentiating between the terms of obligation and good citizenship and does a lot to support the theoretical view that individuals do understand the terms differently. The number of individuals sampled who see obligation as the primary reason to vote is surprisingly low, especially compared to the number that declared it to be a civic duty. This suggests that more individuals do consider voting to be a duty than an obligation which again is a theoretically driven expectation as discussed in chapter two.

The evidence so far is creating a mixed picture, and some of the samples are small because of the limitations of the pilot study. However, the results suggest that at the very least further investigation is required to establish whether there is a strong case in the future to incorporate one, or more of these concepts into cross-national research and to consider what impact they would have. Further evidence on the drivers of these determinants in a cross-national setting should help suggest whether there is a case for further examination in representative samples, or whether there are too many obstacles to make one of these concepts work within a cross-national context.

5.3 RQ7 Are there cross-national differences in the determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship?

The next stage of this chapter is going to build upon the previous discussions of the drivers of the experimental concepts, and further consider whether or not they can be used effectively in cross-national research. For consistency, the potential drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship match those that were utilised in the models presented in chapter four. In order to test for cross-national effects, in addition to the variables that were utilised in chapter four, a series of country level dummies are utilised within the models to account for any unobserved heterogeneity. The next stages of the chapter proceed by analysing a series of models utilising additive variables, followed by further analysis of their relationship to voting behaviour before finally considering models split by electoral context.

5.3.1 Methodological approach

The methodological approach taken here is very similar to the approach seen in sections 4.2.2 and 4.6.2. The dependent variables utilise the same additive scale seen in section 4.2.2 which allows for comparison between models with and without fixed effects. In line with this, the dependent variables are ordinal, consisting of a five-point scale from (1) "strongly disagree" to (5) "strongly agree"⁶². As well as the three models representing the experimental treatments, a further model is also utilised a control model. To maintain some comparability and in line with the method in chapter four, the scale of the control model has been altered to be a five-point scale that is also scaled from (1) "strongly disagree" to (5) "strongly agree". All codings for independent variables also remain the same as in the previous chapter. In order to account for country level differences, dummy variables have been created for the countries presented in the study. Because the aggregate level variables were created using combined results for national, local and referendum elections, the US has been omitted as no data were collected on referendums. Australia is also omitted from the model, to act as a baseline against which to compare other country level results. Full variable codings can be found in appendix table 5.

⁶² See chapter three for a more detailed picture of variable coding.

5.3.2 Results

Determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship with fixed effects				
	(5.1)	(5.2)	(5.3)	(5.416)
	Civic Duty	Obligation	Good Citizenship	Duty Scale
Citizenship education	0.059 (0.16)	-0.131 (0.35)	0.680 (1.54)	0.080 (0.44)
Political interest	0.532* (1.73)	0.138 (0.49)	0.261 (0.65)	0.191 (1.25)
Political discussion	0.367* (1.74)	0.046 (0.23)	-0.476 (1.38)	-0.125 (1.20)
Gender	0.497 (1.36)	0.038 (0.11)	0.773 (1.42)	0.250 (1.47)
Age	0.223 (1.15)	0.067 (0.25)	-0.596 (1.03)	-0.033 (0.31)
Language	0.403 (0.94)	-0.083 (0.18)	0.196 (0.29)	0.275 (1.34)
Media usage	0.107 (1.23)	0.009 (0.10)	0.003 (0.03)	0.090** (2.35)
Ideology	0.070 (0.63)	-0.004 (0.04)	0.176 (1.15)	-0.082* (1.69)
Confidence Politicians	0.084 (0.50)	0.030 (0.18)	0.475*** (3.30)	0.075 (1.07)
Confidence Govt.	0.006 (0.04)	0.039 (0.24)	-0.109 (0.84)	-0.057 (0.95)
UK	0.635 (0.84)	-0.177 (0.22)	-0.556 (0.56)	-0.188 (0.56)
NZ	1.214 (1.46)	0.743 (0.71)	-0.947 (0.86)	0.058 (0.14)
Eire	2.458** (2.96)	0.422 (0.52)	0.446 (0.45)	0.089 (0.25)
<i>Adjusted R2</i>	0.098	0.015	0.127	0.17
<i>N</i>	159	150	147	502

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 28 Determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship with fixed effects
Source: Original data

The findings in table 28 seem to be fairly consistent with the findings presented in table 17, with only limited differences occurring because of the introduction of fixed effects including the apparent significance of political interest as a driver of civic duty. This suggests that there is an element of shared understanding within concepts cross-nationally based upon these pilot study data, with duty being understood similarly across countries, obligation being seen similarly across countries etc. Focusing first on model 5.1, it appears that political interest and political discussion are the key drivers of civic duty cross nationally, with both interest and discussion having a positive impact upon the sense of duty to vote.

Compared to model 4.1 (in Chapter 4), there are very similar results regarding the impact of political discussion, which again appears to be very important to the sense of civic duty someone feels to vote. The major difference between model 5.1 and 4.1 however is the role that political interest plays. Previous research has consistently highlighted the role that political interest plays in driving civic duty (Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013) with those who have a strong interest in politics also having a very strong sense of civic duty.

The country level fixed effects also provide interesting findings, especially in relation to the Irish sample which appears to have a very large and significant effect upon the likeliness of an individual to develop a sense of duty. This suggests that the Irish pilot sample have a significantly stronger sense of duty than individuals in the other samples. While it is not immediately clear why this is, one possible explanation could be institutional setting, but this will be explored later in chapter five.

The results in model 5.1 also confirm the likeliness of a social capital element to civic duty as evidenced by the significance of political discussion as a driver of civic duty. This provides a strong justification for further research to thoroughly test what drives civic duty, especially as social capital is something that may fluctuate and may further signal the changing dynamics of civic duty. In line with model 4.2 in chapter four, it is also evident that there are no significant drivers of obligation when controlling for country level fixed effects. This again provides further evidence that obligation is not fully understood, or not related to voting behaviour.

The drivers of good citizenship in model 5.3 are also similar to the findings seen in chapter four, with confidence in politicians having a strong effect upon the importance someone feels to vote out of a sense of good citizenship. As confidence in politicians increases, the likeliness that someone will consider voting to be an important part of good citizenship also increases. This finding suggests that regardless of country level effects, there is still a strong relationship between the behaviour of politicians and perceptions of good citizenship. The similarities between the models with and without fixed effects suggest that good citizenship is reasonably well understood the same cross-nationally, and provides good evidence to suggest that it is a valid concept to measure and utilise in cross-national surveys. Of course, as with all the findings in this thesis, this requires

further representative samples to confirm, but this evidence is encouraging and suggests that it could be utilised in future research.

The control model (5.4) also shows very similar results to those seen in chapter four, with the main substantive findings holding regardless of the addition of country level fixed effects. Model 5.4 still demonstrates that similarly to model 4.4, media usage and ideological scale are both significant drivers of the likeliness of an individual developing a strong sense of civic duty to vote in elections. This provides further justification to support the use of civic duty in cross-national research, and subject to confirmation of the preliminary findings from this pilot study suggests that cross-national research is missing an exceptionally important driver through the omission of civic duty.

5.3.3 Discussion of RQ 6 and RQ7

This section has explored two research questions; firstly to understand whether individuals in different countries see civic duty, obligation and good citizenship as the same trait, and secondly, whether there are any differences in what drives duty, obligation and good citizenship cross-nationally.

There are a number of substantive findings within the chapter so far that can help to inform future research, but the main finding within this chapter so far suggests that both duty and good citizenship may be appropriate concepts to utilise in cross-national research. Whilst this finding does need to be confirmed in a full-scale study based upon the pilot study presented here, the findings give some strong ideas about how duty, obligation and good citizenship may be viewed, and provide a number of potential avenues of research to exploit to really grow our understanding of these concepts, and to realise how best to utilise them in voting behaviour research.

The most interesting is the finding is clearly that while individuals do not understand the concepts of duty, obligation and good citizenship to be synonyms for one and other, though they do seem to have a relatively stable understanding of each concept cross-nationally. This means that duty is understood to be the same cross-nationally, as is good citizenship. This provides a strong justification for further exploration to determine which of these could be the best concept to utilise in cross-national research, as well as to continue to understand why differences appear in the drivers within this pilot study.

This chapter has also highlighted the differences between duty, obligation and good citizenship in terms of what actually causes these motivators of voting behaviour. Amongst these findings, it appears that good citizenship is contingent upon a social contract, even when considering cross-national attitudes. Civic duty however, appears to be contingent on interest in politics and political discussion, which suggests that it is likely to be more variable than the original concept that was outlined in the literature review and theory chapter. Finally, the idea that ideological scale has an impact upon civic duty has implications for the future of turnout in elections, however this may be mediated by the fact that civic duty appears to be much more contingent upon personal benefits rather than the need to fulfil a civic requirement.

There are a number of potential implications that arise from these findings if they are confirmed in a future representative full scale study. Below is a brief outline of the findings and their potential implications:

Political theory and rational choice theory implications

These sections make a number of claims that have an impact upon the theoretical thought behind civic duty, obligation and voting behaviour and in the absence of any empirical evidence cited by political theorists, even in pilot study form this does provide the strongest evidence available to date to analyse theoretical claims and models against. Whilst the evidence cannot yet fully establish whether there are problems with using these concepts within cross-national research as the pilot study is too limited, and there has been no established relationship between the experimental treatments and voting behaviour accounting for cross-national differences, it is still evident that based upon these samples, at least a portion of individuals in a cross-national setting do understand duty the same and suggest that it could be utilised. In terms of political theory, the preliminary results provided by this pilot study so far strongly suggest that the concepts are not understood to be synonyms for one and other, with cross-national differences in duty, obligation and good citizenship being evident which has implications for previous theory that suggested voting was first and foremost an obligation (Ewing, 1953; Brandt, 1964; Lomasky & Brennan, 2000; Hill, 2002) and supports theory that has suggested it is first and foremost a duty (Selbourne, 1997; Blais & Achen, 2010; Usher, 2011). The results for duty

in particular are starting to suggest that the previous conceptual understanding of duty is flawed, and there is mounting evidence to support the idea that civic duty can vary over time, and is contingent upon a range of short term stimuli. This chapter has also explored at depth the cross-national drivers of civic education, which has never previously been done.

Political science implications

There are a number of potential implications from the findings in this chapter that impact upon political science research. Firstly, as mentioned, both duty and good citizenship appear to be good candidates for inclusion in future cross-national research based upon the fact that there is a chance they are understood the same cross-nationally, yet the differences in the strength of these concepts cross-nationally suggests they may offer a really interesting way of improving our understanding of what causes cross-national differences in turnout.

There are also a number of implications based upon these findings for previous research that has used each concept in previous research. As has been mentioned, the ISSP has been widely utilised to measure civic duty, despite the fact that the questions relate to good citizenship. Based upon the preliminary evidence presented here, it appears that whilst good citizenship is understood cross-nationally to be the same, it does not appear to have anything in common with civic duty. So studies that have utilised those data to describe civic duty are flawed and are not measuring the concept they think they are. To some extent, the results may still be accurately portraying an effect; however it is not the effect of civic duty. Some political scientists may say that the results are what matters and the definitions are not as important, but in driving future research the definitions are very important to allow for comparison of these studies.

While the pilot study has confirmed that there is a need for further research, and a plausible case for using duty or good citizenship in cross-national research, the drivers of these concepts appear to be significantly different, and suggest that there also needs to be a thorough examination about what drives these concepts, and how variable they are amongst individuals. Some of these are especially important to examine within a cross-national context. For example, while chapter four demonstrated a strong link between citizenship education and the sense of good citizenship someone feels to vote in an election, it appears that when

controlling for country level fixed effects this disappears. Table 28 above demonstrates no statistically significant links between civic education, and any of the motivators of voting behaviour that are measured. This is a surprising finding, given the wealth of literature discussed in chapter two that suggests civic education is an essential driver of the development of civic attitudes, finding no effect is very unusual. The fact that a result is found without controlling for country level fixed effects, and when controlling the result disappears, suggests that there are differences within countries that are overpowering the importance of civic education. This could be a cultural variable that is not be accounted for within these models. Regardless of this, it is very hard to make any assessment of cross-national civic education based upon those data available. Table 32 in section 5.6 however, does suggest that when split by saliency, and controlling for fixed effects, the relationship between good citizenship and civic education does reappear in national elections, which suggests that there is a saliency effect that is different across countries, and explains why there are no effects in data that does not control for varying salience in elections. It appears that civic education is good at stressing the importance of voting in national elections, but not very good at stressing the importance of voting in elections of lower salience, local elections and referendums do not appear to be important to individuals, even when they have had citizenship education. It also suggests that as the aggregated motivators, models were not related to civic education when controlling for countries, that differing countries view elections of varying saliencies uniquely. This again stresses the importance of controlling for salience when conducting research in either a cross-national or just a cross-sectional setting; individuals appear to react very differently through civic duty and good citizenship to elections depending on the saliency. The tables above that have attempted to imitate some of the questions seen previously in published empirical research cannot account for some of the intricacies that appear when controlling for saliency.

5.4 RQ. 9: Duty, obligation and good citizenship: Do they relate to turnout cross-nationally?

So far there has been strong evidence presented that demonstrates the need for further representative research to establish the validity of using good citizenship or civic duty within cross-national research. However, to really confirm this argument, it is important to establish whether there is any relationship between these concepts and voting behaviour within the pilot study. If no patterns appear, it may dent the value in further exploration of these concepts in representative studies. The theoretical and empirical literature has already suggested how they should relate to turnout and guided expectations of the pilot study, with evidence suggesting that duty relates to turnout very well traditionally (Blais, 2000; Thrasher & Rallings; 2002; Butt & Curtice, 2012; Bowler & Donovan, 2013), while there is some evidence that good citizenship also relates to turnout (Dalton, 2006 & 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2014). Chapter four has already suggested that while there is no relationship between voting behaviour and obligation, despite theoretical evidence suggesting there should be (Ewing, 1953; Lomankys & Brennan, 1993; Hill, 2002), duty remains the best driver of turnout, followed by good citizenship, though this has been proven to be context dependent. This next section is going to start exploring cross-national relationships between duty, obligation, good citizenship and voting behaviour. Any differences that occur in the models below when controlling for country level effects should indicate that there are differences in the understandings of the concepts and provide further evidence to establish these relationships in full scale studies. Otherwise, you would expect to find the same result whether or not you control for country level differences. If there are no differences, controlling for them would not change the outcome.

5.4.1 Methodological approach

The methodological approach taken here is almost identical to the approach seen in section 4.6.2, with the models representing an additive scale of voting behaviour to increase the number of participants in the pilot study that have voted in at least one form of election and can be included in the analysis. Because the dependent variable has been coded from (-3) “have voted in no elections” to (3) “have voted in three types of election”, an ordered logistic regression is again the

most appropriate model. The codings of these models consider utilise responses to survey question 8, where individuals were asked if they have voted in local, national or referendum elections. The main difference between the models seen in chapter four and the models seen below is the inclusion of dummy variables for countries to account for unobserved heterogeneity, with Australia omitted as the baseline, and the USA absent because no data were collected on referendum elections. Each independent variable is coded from (1) “strongly disagree” to (5) “strongly agree” with scale duty included to act as a control model against which to analyse the experimental treatments.

5.4.2 Results

Ordered logistic model of voting behaviour				
	(5.5) Voted?	(5.6) Voted?	(5.7) Voted?	(5.8) Voted?
Civic duty	0.313* (1.72)			
Obligation		0.071 (0.42)		
Good citizenship			-0.019 (0.11)	
Scale duty				0.270*** (4.29)
UK	-1.659*** (3.90)	-1.240** (2.08)	-1.342*** (4.21)	-0.338 (0.66)
NZ	-1.319** (2.00)	-1.306 (1.60)	-1.610** (3.25)	-0.323 (0.57)
Eire	-0.460 (0.94)	-0.770 (1.25)	-0.766** (2.15)	0.342 (0.65)
<i>N</i>	134	125	135	426
<i>Adjusted R2</i>	0.0484	0.0138	0.0216	0.0279

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 29 Logistic: Drivers of Voting behaviour with fixed effects

Source: Original data

The results presented in table 29 above are again very similar to the results in chapter four, with civic duty appearing to be the only predictor that is both significant as a treatment within the survey experiment and also as a control variable. This provides further evidence that individuals interpret civic duty as something that is related to voting behaviour. The results also suggest that both obligation and good citizenship are not able to predict voting behaviour at an

aggregated level, with results demonstrating no statistical level of significance. Whilst it appears that individuals understand duty similarly across countries, the results strongly suggest that either individuals do not understand obligation and good citizenship to be related to voting behaviour, or they are unsure about what the concepts mean.

The implications suggest that while future research is needed to confirm these findings, civic duty may provide the most fruitful opportunity to political science to really understand what drives cross-national differences in both turnout, and voting behaviour.

Further research is also necessary to understand whether studies such as the ISSP which have relied upon good citizenship questions on voting behaviour are as useful as a question on civic duty. If the preliminary results from this pilot study are correct, measuring good citizenship does not appear to be a good concept to relate to voting behaviour. Good citizenship may be unrelated due to the fact that some individuals can declare that yes, voting might be a good act to perform, but they do not feel pressured into performing the act personally as there is no internal or external pressure in the term good, and individuals can simply state they feel something is good without implying they would feel any pressure to actually perform a task. This is unlike a duty which is supposedly performed because of the risk of external punishment or an internal sense of shame at not having carried out what you consider to be a duty.

The pseudo r-square figures also demonstrate that the two duty models are a much better fit, and interestingly the duty treatment model appears to get almost double the score of the scale duty model. Finally, one interesting point to raise is that the UK appears to be significant in turnout figures across all treatments. While New Zealand also appears to be significant in the models that contain duty and good citizenship, Ireland and Australia are significant amongst good citizenship and scale duty respectively.

The evidence in this section provides further proof that duty is understood differently to obligation and good citizenship in relation to voting behaviour even with the addition of country level fixed effects. The evidence has also suggested that whilst strength of duty is different across countries, broadly speaking it appears to be understood to be the same, and while further research is necessary

to confirm these findings in representative samples, the evidence here establishes some expectations, and suggests that duty might be the most successful avenue to explore going forward. The next section of this chapter is going to examine whether political context has any impact upon the three concepts, both in how they are understood and how they relate to voting behaviour.

5.5 RQ10. Does cross-national electoral context change the relationship between duty, obligation & sense of good citizenship to vote?

In order to fully utilise the pilot study, two final elements are necessary to fully explore the differences between the experimental treatments and voting behaviour, and that is to examine them while accounting for electoral context and controlling for cross-national differences. These following two sections are going to examine the relationship of the experimental treatments as independent variables within models of voting behaviour, and then finally to consider them as dependent variables in models that examine the drivers of the experimental treatments.

5.5.1 Methods

In order to explore the relationship between saliency, the motivators of voting behaviour and actual voting behaviour, a very similar set of models will be produced to those seen in section 4.7.2. A series of binary logistic models are utilised to demonstrate differences in voting behaviour, split by saliency of election whilst accounting for country level fixed effects. The dependent variables are all binary in nature, so the models change from ordinal logistic to binary logistic. The dependent variables are all valued (0) "did not vote" and (1) "voted". Ineligible voters are excluded from the analysis because there is no voting behaviour to explain. In line with previous sections in this chapter, four models are presented; one for each experimental treatment and one to act as a control model based upon the duty question that was asked of all respondents at the end of the survey. A series of dummy variables to represent countries are included to add fixed effects to the model, with Australia omitted to act as the baseline. The

models in table 30 also include the United States as they focus on national and local electoral voting habits. However, in table 31 analysing voting behaviour in referendums, the United States is omitted as there are no relevant data for inclusion.

5.5.2 Results

Cross-national determinants of voting behaviour							
	(5.9)	(5.10)	(5.11)	(5.12)	(5.13)	(5.14)	(5.15)
	Voted	Voted	Voted	Voted	Voted	Voted	Voted?
	Local	National	Local	National	Local	National	
Duty L	0.168 (0.85)						
Duty national		0.435* (1.65)					
Obligation local			0.166 (0.79)				
Obligation national				0.348 (1.11)			
GC local					0.409* (1.65)		
GC national						0.665 (1.61)	
Duty scale							0.270*** (4.29)
UK	-15.515*** (34.72)	-17.421*** (26.52)	0.031 (0.04)	-0.341 (0.25)	-15.303*** (31.06)	-17.405*** (24.28)	-1.23*** (5.71)
US	-15.219*** (22.57)	-17.023*** (21.07)	-1.844* (1.89)	-2.303* (1.79)	-17.201*** (26.79)	-18.485*** (21.61)	-0.900* (1.70)
NZ	-15.210*** (17.27)	-16.856*** (13.22)	-0.416 (0.40)	-1.713 (1.21)	-15.443*** (18.81)	-19.072*** (15.50)	-1.22*** (3.78)
Eire	-15.042*** (29.12)	-16.837*** (22.18)	-0.679 (0.82)	-1.613 (1.27)	-15.710*** (40.13)	-17.154*** (35.58)	-0.55** (2.40)
<i>PseudoR2</i>	0.061	0.139	0.059	0.097	0.124	0.230	0.028
<i>N</i>	134	104	128	84	133	89	426

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 30 Logit: Drivers of turnout by salience with fixed effects

Source: Original data

Table 30 demonstrates results that are again broadly representative of the findings from chapter four (section 4.7.2), with one substantive difference; good citizenship appears to only be able to explain turnout in local elections, not national elections when controlling for country level fixed effects. Generally it

appears that controlling for country level effects only has a minimal impact upon the relationship between the treatments and voting behaviour. Beyond the differences in good citizenship, the fact that civic duty is still unable to account for voting behaviour in second order elections does confirm the work of Bowler and Donovan (2013), which demonstrated second order election equals second order duty. The weaker sense of duty appears to translate into less individuals voting out of a sense of duty.

These results add further weight to the claim that the sense of duty is not as straight forward as is traditionally thought; it would appear that it cannot always account for why individuals will vote in elections of all saliency which in itself immediately dismisses the idea that the sense of duty is immutable. Whilst both Bowler & Donovan (2013) and Thrasher & Rallings (2007) have identified that civic duty is lower in second order elections, but duty still remains the best predictor of turnout at local elections. Neither had been able to uncover a finding like this due to a lack of good civic duty questions in relation to voting behaviour data. While these results are still only representative of those sampled within the pilot study, it suggests that future research should strongly consider focusing on civic duty as the variable which is most likely to be consistently understood in a cross-national context, and provide the best possibility of expanding our understanding of why individuals voting behaviour varies cross-nationally.

These results reinforce the importance of revisiting and reconsidering the concept of civic duty, especially in relation to how it is measured and what is being measured. These data appear to show that amongst young cohort sampled, civic duty is now contingent on enjoyment and interest. Whilst it is understood that there are strong generational effects on issues such as civic duty (Butt & Curtice, 2010) and that further research is needed to really confirm these findings, these preliminary results do suggest that there may be a change in the dynamic of how duty is understood. It would also appear that this lack of interest at a youth level leads to a significantly lower interest in second order local elections with respondents sampled disengaging from participation in low saliency elections which increases the importance of investigating the concept of duty with a full scale study based upon this pilot study.

The results for obligation are similarly non-existent in line with all other evidence presented within this thesis, and confirm the idea that obligation is not related to voting behaviour. Model 5.14 however, does show that the sense of

good citizenship to vote in a national electoral context is insignificant, which represents a substantive change from the models that did not account for unobserved heterogeneity. This reinforces the idea that good citizenship is just a series of traits that individuals feel are "good" for society, but do not emphasise any internal or external pressures to make individuals conform and carry out the act of voting. Based upon these very preliminary findings, it appears that good citizenship may be subjective and that agreeing with the sentiment does not guarantee commitment to vote in elections. However, good citizenship might be able to explain voting behaviour in local elections. This is surprising, it appears that individuals within the pilot study in the context of local elections appear to understand what good citizenship is, and actually respond to the question in a manner that bears some relationship to their voting behaviour.

This is the first piece of evidence that has suggested that good citizenship may relate to voting behaviour in a cross-national context. Up until this point the only variable that has proven to have any link to voting is civic duty. The results from this pilot study do seem to indicate that when controlling for context, civic duty is far better at explaining voting behaviour in high salience and aggregated electoral data, whilst good citizenship appears to be able to explain voting behaviour in second order, low salient elections. When considering the results discussed earlier in the chapter, it was noted that the respondents who received the good citizenship treatment were much more likely to agree strongly with the experimental statement than those who received the duty or obligation treatments. Because of this, it could be argued that the higher level of agreement with the statement is indicative of the respondents understanding of the importance of voting in local elections. On the other hand, it would appear that based upon the explorations of duty so far, that duty is contingent upon a sense of enjoyment of politics and an interest in politics. These preliminary findings in the pilot study suggest that there may be no "one case fits all" approach to measuring the drivers of voting behaviour, and suggest that it is important to explore good citizenship and civic duty in much greater detail to establish their impact on, and relationship with voting behaviour. If electoral contexts make one measure more effective over others, then it needs to be established what the best approach is going forward.

Finally the in table 31 demonstrate the ability of the experimental treatments to drive voting in referendum elections while controlling for country level fixed effects.

Logistic regression: drivers of referendum voting behaviour			
	(5.16)	(5.17)	(5.18)
	Vote referendum	Vote referendum	Vote referendum
Duty	1.327*** (3.44)		
Obligation		0.199 (0.90)	
Good citizen			0.193 (0.83)
UK	-17.577*** (19.00)	-0.205 (0.18)	-14.218*** (12.03)
NZ	-17.077*** (16.13)	-0.654 (0.59)	-13.888*** (11.09)
Eire	-15.684*** (21.31)	0.317 (0.32)	-13.555*** (12.86)
Pseudo R2	0.3238	0.0373	0.0310
N	77	63	72

Marginal effects; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 31 Logit: Referendum voting with fixed effects

Source: Original data

The results of these referendum data again broadly represent the results that were seen in chapter four. Only civic duty can explain the likeliness of an individual to vote in a referendum, which supports the idea, that duty is a better predictor of voting behaviour in high saliency elections, and is likely to be the best measurement to take forward for further research.

5.5.3 Discussion of RQs 9 & 10.

A number of the findings here are comparable to the findings in chapter four, and the addition of fixed effects seems to have had little impact on the overall results. The main finding from this chapter is to establish a preliminary answer to the overall chapter aim; to understand whether studies have been damaged by their omission of the drivers of voting behaviour that were tested within the experiment. The findings represent a clear need to better understand the concepts of good citizenship and civic duty, both in relation to what drives them

and to assess their applicability for use in cross national studies. This study represents a brief glance at a previously unexplored issue, and the findings really do suggest that political science needs to be more cautious in the claims it makes about duty and good citizenship, and reconsider how they are approached in surveys.

5.6 Cross-national variance in the determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship by saliency of election

Before moving onto analysing the effects of institutions on the drivers of voting behaviour, this chapter will explore the determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship in local, national and referendum elections whilst controlling for country level fixed effects.

5.6.1 Methods

The methodological approach again mirrors the approaches that have been commonly used in the thesis up until this point. The dependent variables utilised to explore the determinants of the experimental treatments again form a five-point scale ranging from (1) "strongly disagree" to (5) "strongly agree". The models utilise an ordinal logistic regression technique which is appropriate, based upon the values of the dependent variable. A number of independent variables are included that mirror the independent variables used in all models that explore the drivers of the experimental treatments within this chapter and the previous chapter. All variable codings are available in appendix table 5.

5.6.2 Results

Cross-national differences in the drivers of voting behaviour by electoral context							
	(5.19)	(5.20)	(5.21)	(5.22)	(5.23)	(5.24)	(5.25)
	Duty	Duty	Obligation	Obligation	GC	GC	Scale
	Local	National	Local	National	Local	National	Duty
Citizenship education	-0.095	-0.479	0.454	0.011	0.268	0.784*	0.080
	(0.30)	(1.40)	(1.49)	(0.03)	(0.79)	(1.90)	(0.44)
Political interest	0.382	0.794**	-0.092	0.201	0.374	0.456	0.191
	(1.39)	(2.98)	(0.34)	(0.77)	(1.10)	(1.22)	(1.25)
Political discussion	0.295	0.256	-0.002	-0.019	-0.274	-0.331	-0.125
	(1.49)	(1.29)	(0.01)	(0.10)	(1.19)	(1.12)	(1.20)
Gender	0.608**	0.501	0.619*	0.240	0.097	0.880**	0.250
	(1.98)	(1.57)	(1.80)	(0.70)	(0.28)	(2.07)	(1.47)
Age	0.155	0.153	0.354	0.156	-0.035	-0.331	-0.033
	(1.13)	(0.79)	(1.54)	(0.60)	(0.11)	(0.86)	(0.31)
Language	1.132**	0.046	0.133	-0.030	1.168*	0.219	0.275
	(2.57)	(0.12)	(0.30)	(0.07)	(1.92)	(0.41)	(1.34)
Media usage	0.073	0.105	0.003	-0.014	-0.005	0.069	0.090**
	(0.94)	(1.35)	(0.04)	(0.16)	(0.06)	(0.78)	(2.35)
Ideology	0.097	0.021	-0.097	-0.095	0.037	0.155	-0.082*
	(0.99)	(0.19)	(1.11)	(1.10)	(0.39)	(1.34)	(1.69)
Confidence in Politicians	0.055	0.201	0.117	0.090	0.163	0.268*	0.075
	(0.42)	(1.23)	(0.74)	(0.50)	(1.34)	(1.83)	(1.07)
Confidence in Govt.	-0.099	-0.044	-0.109	0.049	-0.175	0.145	-0.057
	(0.78)	(0.28)	(-0.75)	(0.29)	(1.56)	(1.27)	(0.95)
UK	0.081	0.474	-1.518*	0.289	-0.287	-0.128	-0.387
	(0.11)	(0.70)	(1.79)	(0.38)	(0.47)	(0.14)	(1.02)
USA	0.651	-0.227	-1.528	-0.507	-0.090	-0.971	-0.199
	(0.69)	(0.28)	(1.58)	(0.62)	(0.09)	(-0.80)	(0.41)
NZ	1.448*	0.909	-0.843	0.731	0.290	-0.255	-0.141
	(1.84)	(1.22)	(0.77)	(0.73)	(0.31)	(0.23)	(0.30)
EIRE	1.627**	1.897**	-0.991	0.658	0.526	0.349	-0.110
	(2.15)	(2.69)	(1.19)	(0.87)	(0.87)	(0.40)	(0.27)
<i>N</i>	175	175	164	164	162	160	502
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.0779	0.0853	0.0465	0.0354	0.0525	0.1357	0.0173

Coefficient Values; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 32 Determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship by saliency with fixed effects

Source: Original data

Similarly to a number of the findings in this chapter, the results in table 32 suggest that the understanding of these concepts is fairly stable cross-nationally, with only minimal changes to the drivers of the experimental treatments. This again provides further evidence that it could be possible to utilise duty or good citizenship in future cross-national research. The absence of substantive

changes is indicative of shared understandings, and this is really the biggest obstacle to overcome in order to justify their inclusion in future research.

One of the few substantive differences occurs in model 5.19. It appears that when controlling for countries, only gender and language are able to explain variation in civic duty at a local level. However, based upon the fact that there was no significant link between duty at the local level and driving turnout, this is not a particularly surprising finding. It could be that the pilot study is failing to account for all drivers of duty at the local level, but based upon the substantial weight of results that suggest duty is a good driver of voting behaviour, this small blip in results is largely inconsequential for the recommendations about how to proceed with future research.

Model 5.20 tells us a much more familiar story, with the key substantive findings in the equivalent model in chapter four holding. This again provides confirmatory evidence that in relation to national elections, respondents within the pilot study do seem to understand duty as related to voting behaviour, and the drivers appear to relate strongly to political interest. This result reinforces the idea that duty and interest may be closely linked, and raises questions about whether there is a difference between the definition of duty, enjoyment or consumption benefits; especially amongst the young sample that this study has relied upon. It clearly seems that those with an interest in politics develop a duty to vote, but those who do not have an interest appear to withdraw from having a sense of duty to vote all together. As with all of the findings within this pilot study, further confirmatory research is required, but it is certainly suggestive of a cross-national shared norm of duty, and also suggests that the shared norm of duty is shifting in what it means to individuals.

The drivers of good citizenship at a local level are surprisingly limited, and the only variable that is significant is language, again suggesting that those sampled who have English as a foreign language have a better understanding of the importance of voting out of a sense of good citizenship in local elections. The pilot study in itself is not able to offer a substantial explanation of this, but given the link between good citizenship and voting behaviour in local elections it does seem relevant to explore this further in future studies.

National good citizenship offers more explanations of what drives good citizenship, but the lack of a link between good citizenship and voting behaviour in national elections does limit the importance of these drivers within the context

of this study. The main substantive effects are political discussion, confidence in politicians and a history of citizenship education. Confidence in politicians fits well into an argument of social contract theory, and again is a finding that appears with or without controlling for fixed effects. It appears that actually having faith in politician's drives the likelihood of individuals wanting to act in a way that would be described as "good citizenship". If they perceive that politicians are not acting in a manner befitting of the role, they disengage. This strongly suggests that good citizenship can be in part driven by short term stimuli as was discussed in the previous chapter. Citizenship education also appears to be significant which is a fairly intuitive finding, and is a consistent finding throughout the last two chapters. The fact that it is only significant amongst national elections may be down to the fact that a greater degree of focus is always placed on national elections because of their perceived importance. But the fact that this is significant amongst citizenship and not in duty, still suggests that duty is much more likely to fluctuate across time and amongst individuals than the sense of good citizenship to vote in elections. This reinforces the idea that these are two conceptually different and unique terms that need to be considered individually. It also reinforces the idea that what is considered "good" is heavily formed through citizenship education, with those who have received it being far more likely to see voting in elections as something that is both "good" and that they should do.

Determinants of experimental treatments (referendums)			
	(5.26)	(5.27)	(5.28)
	Duty ref	Obligation ref	GC ref
Citizenship	-0.046 (0.12)	-0.345 (0.91)	0.153 (0.39)
Political interest	0.722** (2.49)	0.348 (1.32)	0.013 (0.03)
Political discussion	0.255 (1.21)	0.073 (0.35)	-0.347 (1.18)
Gender	0.705* (1.94)	0.122 (0.35)	0.224 (0.48)
Age	-0.032 (0.18)	0.065 (0.25)	-0.163 (0.32)
Language	0.626 (1.47)	0.050 (0.12)	0.035 (0.06)
Media	0.096 (1.12)	-0.026 (0.31)	-0.064 (0.63)
Ideology	0.035 (0.34)	0.054 (0.64)	0.119 (0.96)
Confidence in Politicians	-0.002 (0.02)	-0.012 (0.08)	0.283* (1.92)
Confidence in Govt	0.094 (0.70)	0.070 (0.50)	-0.110 (0.84)
UK	0.920 (1.35)	0.272 (0.29)	-0.907 (0.93)
NZ	0.802 (1.10)	0.568 (0.51)	-1.867* (1.69)
Eire	2.986*** (4.02)	0.989 (1.04)	-0.507 (0.52)
Pseudo R2	0.110	0.020	0.050
<i>N</i>	159	150	147

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 33 Determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship in referendums with fixed effects

Source: Original data

The results from table 33 also seem to be consistent with the findings from chapter four. Political interest and gender are both significant drivers of the duty to vote in referendums which again supports the idea that civic duty is no longer a trait that is reliant upon a process of socialisation and can be explained by an underlying interest in politics. Again, this suggests that future research will be much better off relying on duty over good citizenship and obligation to further improve our understanding of why individuals vote, and while the understanding of duty may not be consistent across generations, it does seem to be worth further investigation based upon these preliminary results.

5.6.3 Discussion

This chapter has explored subjective understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship cross-nationally, looking at their ability to explain voting behaviour, and what drives them. The results have suggested that whilst there are large differences in the level of duty, obligation and good citizenship felt across countries, understanding each term tends to be consistent across countries, with duty being the same in the UK as it is in all other countries sampled. This confirms the findings in chapter four and suggests that these concepts are not synonyms for one and other, and are understood uniquely. One of the main aims of this chapter was to establish whether there was a case for including one or more of these experimental treatments in cross-national survey research. These findings strongly suggests that there is a strong case for the inclusion of civic duty in future research, and provides some evidence to suggest that further consideration of good citizenship may lead to improved models of voting behaviour also.

This chapter has tested the experimental treatments in a number of ways, and has considered their relationship to differing electoral contexts, aggregated models and examined them as both dependent and independent variables in models of voting behaviour, and examined their core drivers. The results from this section have the potential to shape our future use of, and understanding of these concepts. If any of these findings are confirmed, there are a series of potential implications for both the political theory literature, and the political science literature on voting behaviour. Below is the summary of the potential impact of these findings.

Political Theory Implications

First and foremost, this study provides strong evidence that voting is first and foremost a duty based activity a claim that was suggested by Selbourne (1997) and Zimmerman & Rappaport (1988) and contravenes the theory put forward by Ewing (1953) & Lomansky & Brennan (1993) that suggest that voting was not a duty at all. The empirical evidence here strongly supports the claim that voting is a civic duty, and therefore supports the theoretical expectations of Selbourne (1997) and Zimmerman & Rappaport (1998). An experimental design was chosen because of the value it has in testing theory, and in this case both this chapter and the previous chapter, have made a valuable contribution in testing three

different motivators to vote, and finding that voting is first and foremost a duty. The implications of this to political theory are mostly confirmatory, in actually demonstrating which theories have empirical value and which theories appear to fail. However, political theorists may well state that these findings could be contingent upon the misuse of language. However, political theory is of little use if it is not able to explain anything. Creating a theory and then stating that because individuals misuse concepts it is still valid is not a strong argument either theoretically or empirically.

The study also finds that these terms are not synonyms for one and other, and provides a clear answer as to how individuals relate these concepts to voting behaviour. This suggests that there is a value to theoretical definitions of these concepts; however it also suggests that further theoretical considerations are required to actually formulate how these concepts are understood. Whilst the results here have confirmed the validity of the theoretical literature that sees voting as first and foremost a duty, the results in this thesis have added further empirical weight to the idea that individual level understandings of duty are very different from how duty is conceptualised. So whilst voting is related to duty, theoretical models of civic duty appear to be flawed, with there being little evidence of a civic duty being a constant driving force in individual behaviour as theory has suggested. This suggests that there is a theoretical need to reconsider how duty is thought of, analysed and what drives it. This provides further evidence for the third and final empirical chapter that explores a new concept of duty and provides a new framework by which to measure it. All of these implications are contingent upon future confirmatory research, but the experimental element does suggest quite strongly that individual level understandings of these concepts are different, and really suggests a need to theoretically redefine what these concepts are.

Political science implications

There are also a number of potential implications for future political science research if these findings are confirmed in future studies that are representative, and externally valid. Firstly, it has demonstrated empirically that individuals understand the three experimental treatments to be different, but it has also gone further to start to explore how these traits are understood, what drives them and

whether they have any practical application for the study of voting behaviour. Whilst there were a number of studies to guide expectations about what drives the sense of duty to vote, there was little in the way of empirical evidence about what drives good citizenship or obligation. This study has started to demonstrate that there are a number of differences in the drivers, and evidence that suggests that each concept has a fundamentally different driving force. The results from the links to voting behaviour suggest that obligation has no empirical value to studies of voting behaviour, whilst good citizenship only appears to have limited application in second order elections. Civic duty however seems to be a good driver of turnout at both an aggregate level, and in relation to national and referendum elections. It appears that this is by far the most appropriate driver of voting behaviour and its use in political behaviour research should be strongly encouraged.

There several other potential implications to the study of political science, ranging from the language used in describing these motivators to vote, to how we measure them and what they can explain. Amongst these findings, it appears that future studies of voting behaviour need to be very careful about using obligation and duty as synonyms, although in many respects this is a minor point, this study has provided evidence that obligation has nothing to do with voting behaviour, or motivating individuals to vote, so authors need to be more careful over their choice of wording when referring to the duty to vote.

The bigger implication than the language political scientists use to describe these concepts in academic papers is the way those behind large scale surveys use and understand them. If the terms are misused in data collection, then the descriptions used by academics are irrelevant. Whilst it is important to learn from these preliminary findings, and consider how we can best adapt future research to account for any differences in the understandings of these concepts, there are also a series of implications for established research that may need to be reevaluated. For example, studies like Dalton (2008) and Bolzenthall & Coffe (2014) need to rethink how they use data from the ISSP and ESS surveys which utilise a good citizenship question as a way of measuring the duty to vote. The preliminary results from this pilot study suggest that there is no clear rationale for doing this, and they are not actually seeing results that are applicable to the sense of duty.

Finally, there is a need to revisit the question of who develops a sense of duty, and most importantly why. The preliminary results presented here do suggest that amongst those sampled, there is a link between duty and enjoyment of politics. There are a number of potential reasons for this, and further research needs to confirm this finding. If it does hold in representative samples, it is important to reevaluate how duty is developed, and what drives it.

This pilot study is of course not conclusive in terms of the potential drivers of these concepts, and of course in the samples that it was able to carry out. All of the results can only be directly attributed to the thoughts of those sampled. However, it is still important to consider the potential impact of these findings if they are confirmed in future research. Whilst there is a strong case for omitting obligation from future research, both duty and good citizenship appear to be strong candidates for future research.

5.7 Institutional effects on duty, obligation and good citizenship.

5.7.1 RQ. 11 Does institutional setting impact upon duty, obligation and sense of good citizenship to vote?

Up until this point, the focus has been on interpreting individual level understandings of duty within a cross-national framework. However, cross-national research gives one set of possibilities that are not available to national studies of voting behaviour. This final section of the chapter is going to start to explore this, and attempt to understand whether there is any relationship between the political institutions that exist within a country, and the strengths of duty, obligation and good citizenship that they feel. The final part of this chapter is going to explore the relationship between institutional context, and the development of the sense of duty, obligation and good citizenship. To my knowledge there has been no study that has considered these concepts in a cross-national context, other than a working paper by Millican et al. (forthcoming) that started to explore cross-national differences in good citizenship using institutions as control variables.

This pilot study offers a limited opportunity to test institutional effects, and as was seen in chapter three (methodology), there are a series of institutional differences that can be tested to give a preliminary glance at any interactions that

exist. Given the number of factors that have demonstrated an ability to drive or impede the senses of duty and good, there is a strong theoretical case that institutions will play a role in driving (or lack of) these concepts. Social capital theory has been proven to be contingent upon effective institutions (Putnam, 1993) and with the understanding that civic duty is driven in part by social capital, there is an expectation that institutions could also play a part in the formation of civic values and driving civic participation. As previously discussed, there is also an understanding that institutions play a role in driving turnout across elections, and given that there is a well understood link between turnout and the sense of civic duty (Campbell et al, 1960; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013 to name a few), there is a further expectation that some of this effect will be indirect and mediated through these concepts as well as having a direct effect upon turnout.

This section of the chapter is going to start by exploring the different impacts of institutional design upon the three treatments from the survey experiment. Initially, as with earlier sections of this chapter, the data shall explore these relationships with the use of additive scores of duty, obligation and good citizenship to try and recreate the type of responses you get to questions in large scale surveys. Following this, the research will refocus and consider whether there are any differences between electoral contexts.

5.7.2 Methods

The methodological approach in this final section of the chapter is very similar to the other models that utilise the experimental treatments of duty, obligation and good citizenship as dependent variables. The models below all utilise the same ordinal logistic regression technique seen previously with the dependent variables ranging from (1) "Strongly disagree" to (5) "Strongly agree". For table 34, this is based upon a mean score of the treatments across the three types of elections, while table 35 accounts for differing electoral contexts. Whilst the dependent variables are similar, the independent variables represented in the models below are no longer based upon the survey that has been the focus of the analysis up until this point. Because the focus has switched from behavioural, cultural and psychological determinants of the treatments to institutional effects, the independent variables have now been incorporated from a range of sources

that are frequently used in political science research. The figures on compulsory voting are taken from Idea International, which lists only Australia as having the trait of compulsory voting of the countries sampled. This variable is coded (0) "not compulsory" and (1) "compulsory". Additionally, a variable related to the number of elections is also taken from Idea International, and is based upon a cumulative number of national elections over the period from 1945, so the higher the number, the higher the number of elections that have been held within that country. A variable on Presidentialism has also been created from the Idea International database. This is again coded (0) "not presidential" and (1) "presidential". Finally, proportionality is based upon the Gallagher Index, and is coded positively so that increased proportionality should lead to a positive impact upon the experimental treatments.

5.7.3 Results

Additive models of experimental treatments and institutional effects				
	(5.29) Duty	(5.30) Obligation	(5.31) Good citizenship	(5.32) Scale duty
Compulsory	-1.377** (2.00)	0.180 (0.21)	2.195** (2.47)	-0.179 (0.44)
Number of elections	0.098 (1.21)	0.015 (0.17)	-0.211** (2.21)	0.008 (0.39)
Presidential	-0.161 (0.20)	0.246 (0.27)	2.497** (2.55)	-0.127 (0.47)
Proportionality	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.002 (0.12)
<i>Adjusted R2</i>	0.028	0.004	0.021	0.000
<i>N</i>	233	222	219	712

Coefficients; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 34 Institutional drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship (aggregate measures)

Source: Original data

Table 34 offers some interesting initial findings. Looking first at civic duty treatment (5.29), the only significant determinant of duty in an institutional context appears to be compulsory voting. And what is most surprising about this result is it appears that compulsory voting has a strong negative impact upon the sense of duty to vote. This is surprising, one would consider that the sense of duty to vote would increase when institutions add an external constraint, and increase the emphasis on voting as a social norm. The results appear to suggest that individuals disengage when they are forced into voting. Of course, the findings here need to be considered carefully as there are only a limited number of countries in the study in order to make sure that the language is homogenous, and the sample sizes within the pilot study are also small, and unrepresentative of these countries as a whole.

While it is important to analyse these results with caution, it is an interesting finding, especially when comparing this against the corresponding result for good citizenship. The relationship between compulsory voting and good citizenship seems to suggest that there is an opposite and significant effect, with good citizenship being positively driven by compulsory voting. So why does compulsory voting decrease duty, but increase good citizenship? Compulsory voting may provide an opportunity for individuals to form a better idea of what good citizenship entails and provide clearer expectations for a good citizen to follow, yet at the same time compulsory voting reduces the need to vote out of a sense of duty. In a rational model, this would suggest that these results demonstrate the cost of not voting is more important to determining voting behaviour than the sense of duty. Individuals do not have to adhere to duties like individuals in countries where non-voting carries a financial penalty. What this study is not able to say however, is how important this finding is. In terms of studies of civic duty cross-nationally, it should not have a big impact upon the ability of cross-national studies to include civic duty, so long as the study also accounts for institutional setting, or allows it to be included through unobserved differences in each country. It is also important to reemphasise that the results here are only relevant to the sample, and not of the societies that these institutions govern, so the results could differ in a representative sample, but these results do suggest that further research could be important to really confirm the relationship between institutions and the drivers of voting behaviour. .

Unlike duty which only has one significant determinant, and obligation which has no apparent drivers, good citizenship appears to be affected within this sample by institutional context. Amongst these preliminary findings, it appears that the number of elections an individual is subjected to has an impact on good citizenship, with an increase in the number of elections causing good citizenship to diminish. Voting out of a sense of good citizenship appears to be contingent upon the size of the commitment they are being asked to make; when increasingly large numbers of elections take place and the cost to the voter increases, they no longer appear to place the same emphasis on voting out of a sense of good citizenship. Again this is an interesting finding; rationally it suggests that as the costs get too high, citizens no longer feel that they need to vote as part of good citizenship. This again demonstrates that the main determinants of voting behaviour are contingent on institutional context, and as the state requires a more valuable social contract through increasing the frequency of elections, citizens appear to disengage. It appears that the increased cost of the social contract makes individuals within this sample want to withdraw. Finally, it appears that presidential elections also have an impact on voting out of a sense of good citizenship. It seems that residing in a country with a presidential system increases the sense of good citizenship individuals within this sample feel. One reason for this may be that presidential systems instil a greater sense of good citizenship because elections are given a figure head. Rather than elections being linked to figures that are local (e.g. constituency linked or sub-constituency), individuals gain a sense of good citizenship because they feel more of a contract with a president, a figure they know something about, whereas they are less likely to be informed on the actions of their constituency level representative.

In line with all findings within this study, these would of course need to be verified in a full scale study, but the evidence from the pilot study so far does suggest that further research is necessary, and provides a glimpse into the relationship that might exist between the key drivers of turnout, and the electoral institutions that are implemented in different countries. One final set of analyses below explore these relationships while controlling for electoral saliency, and gives one last opportunity to assess how the experimental treatments are affected by institutional arrangement.

Electoral context and the impact of institutions on experimental treatments						
	(5.33) Duty Local	(5.34) Duty National	(5.35) Obligation Local	(5.36) Obligation National	(5.37) Good Citizen Local	(5.38) Good Citizen National
Compulsory	0.096 (0.15)	-0.162 (0.28)	1.374* (1.92)	0.600 (0.86)	0.367 (0.76)	1.159* (1.74)
Number of elections	-0.043 (0.90)	-0.103** (2.41)	-0.071** (2.39)	-0.093*** (3.34)	-0.018 (0.44)	-0.067* (1.80)
Presidential	0.718 (1.36)	1.172** (2.32)	1.016** (2.46)	0.935** (2.26)	0.544 (1.07)	0.778 (1.56)
Proportionality	0.073** (2.90)	0.052** (2.06)	0.042 (1.61)	0.027 (1.02)	-0.000 (0.01)	-0.024 (0.86)
<i>Adjusted R2</i>	0.021	0.020	0.013	0.013	0.003	0.021
<i>N</i>	253	253	240	240	237	235

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 35 Institutional determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship by saliency with fixed effects

Source: Original data

An initial glance suggests that the impacts of institutional arrangements appear to be quite unstable and dependent on the saliency of the election. In terms of explaining variation in the duty to vote, it is initially evident that in both local and national elections proportionality has a positive significant effect. The more proportional elections are, the higher the sense of duty to vote. Theoretically this makes sense when considering the rational framework of voting behaviour. Proportional elections tend to lead to closer results, and this suggests that the probable benefit of voting should increase, and make an individual more likely to conform and feel a stronger sense of duty to vote. This finding also highlights the need to better understand the concept of duty, and that a new model based upon variance rather than immutability might be required. A new concept of duty that is open to short term fluctuations and is contingent on political interest and personal gain helps explain a link between proportionality and variation in the sense of duty. As perceptions of proportionality increase and the ability to align and vote for a candidate you like increases you would expect to see an increase in civic duty. This subsequently offers one additional preliminary finding. It is clear that the relationship between turnout and proportionality holds a similar pattern

to that of civic duty, but a degree of the variation in turnout appears to be contingent on variation in civic duty that is caused by institutional differences. The impact of institutions on turnout is in part indirect; it is mediated through the sense of duty to vote. This again has potential consequences for cross-national studies if these findings are confirmed in future representative studies. Previously our understanding of institutional differences suggested they had a direct impact upon turnout, but this is may not be the case. This is certainly an interesting finding, and demonstrates the need to understand civic duty better.

In addition, the results for the sense of duty to vote in national elections also appear to be contingent upon Presidentialism. This again suggests that duty can be directly affected by institutional setting, and impresses the importance of further investigation.

While there are some factors that seem to drive the obligation to vote, the significant number of null findings so far suggest that these are not relevant findings to the field of voting behaviour. Good citizenship however also seems to be driven in part by institutional arrangement. At a national level, compulsory voting, the frequency of elections and presidential systems, have a significant effect. Again whilst it is difficult to generalise these findings, it suggests that future research to confirm might be necessary to really understand what good citizenship is. Of these drivers, the compulsory voting data relates to Australia which is the only country sampled with that institutional arrangement. It appears that compulsory voting causes a strong positive increase in the importance of voting out of good citizenship within this sample. Making voting a legal requirement appears to have an impact upon citizen values, and changes what individuals believe to be good about good citizenship. The number of elections again has a negative impact upon good citizenship similarly to civic duty. If there are too many elections, individuals do not see the need to vote out of good citizenship. This could be down to a decrease in the perceived importance of elections, or that the personal costs become too high. It may also be suggestive of the fact that the constant need to vote places too much pressure on the social contract between elector and electee.

Further research is clearly necessary to confirm these preliminary findings, as the evidence within this pilot study may not be replicated within a full scale

study. However, these preliminary findings do suggest that future research might be fruitful, and the possibility of institutions having a direct impact upon the drivers of voting behaviour raises a number of possibilities about how we understand these drivers, and most importantly how respondents understand these concepts.

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed a substantial amount of evidence; descriptively interpreting differences in duty, obligation and good citizenship, before looking at cross-national differences in their drivers and analysing how they relate to voting behaviour. The majority of these findings reflect those seen in chapter four, but there are some key differences.

Before reflecting on the significant amount of new information that can help to frame future research, it is important to reflect on the main aim of the chapter: To determine whether there is a case for including duty, obligation or good citizenship in future cross-national studies.

The results from this pilot study strongly suggest that there is a case for accounting for one or more of these concepts in future cross-national research, with civic duty again appearing to be the variable suited best to cross-national voting behaviour research as it appears to relate to a number of different electoral contexts, and has consistently appeared to be the most strongly related of the experimental treatments throughout this chapter.

This does suggest that the main aim of the chapter has been achieved, and the preliminary evidence does suggest that the shared understanding of the concept of duty makes it a prime variable to increase our future understanding of why turnout varies within a cross-national framework. While as with all findings, there is a need to really confirm this in a representative study, it does strongly suggest future research could help establish a better model of voting behaviour that is able to account with greater certainty why some individuals vote and others do not. Attached to this central finding within the chapter, were a large number of findings that helped to confirm this central aim, and also provide a great deal of information about how to go forward with the study of civic duty, obligation and good citizenship. These are outlined below.

As discussed, the most prominent finding is that despite the big cross-national differences in the strength of duty, obligation and good citizenship, they do appear to be understood similarly across countries based upon the pilot study results, with duty being understood the same in the UK as it is in Ireland, the US, New Zealand and Australia. So while there are fundamental differences between duty, obligation and good citizenship when considering each term independently, cross-national understandings are similar. The aggregate drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship also appear to hold, when compared to the corresponding models seen in chapter four. Duty appears to be strongly related to social capital, with political interest and discussion having a strong impact upon the likeliness of an individual developing a strong sense of duty. Media usage and political ideology also appear to be important to the sense of duty. Good citizenship on the other hand, appears to represent a social contract. The only significant driver of aggregate good citizenship is the behaviour of politicians, so as an individual's perception of behaviour declines, they are less likely to feel voting is an important part of good citizenship. Again, similarly to chapter four, it appears that there is no such thing as an obligation to vote, disproving the theoretical literature that suggested there was (Lomasky & Brennan, 2000; Hill, 2002). These preliminary findings on the drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship provide valuable evidence to allow for further hypothesis testing in the future. While these preliminary findings cannot be confirmed at this stage, it suggests that when future research is carried out, it is important to think about the dimensions of each independently.

The drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship also appear to vary depending on electoral saliency. While the drivers of duty to appear to be relatively stable across contexts, with gender and political interest driving duty in national and referendum elections, good citizenship does have different drivers depending on electoral saliency. While local elections appear to only be driven by language, which is suggestive of some misunderstanding in what good citizenship is, the sense of good citizenship to vote in national elections appears to be driven by civic education, gender and confidence in politicians. In the context of the results from the pilot study, these findings do make sense. Civic education is far more likely to be effective at explaining the need to vote in national elections than it is in relation to other types of election. The behaviour of

politicians is also more likely to have an impact at a national level, as greater levels of media exposure enhance the understanding of how politicians are behaving.

The chapter has also uncovered evidence to suggest that institutional setting may have an indirect impact upon turnout through the senses of duty, and good citizenship as well as the direct relationship that is already understood.. While the institutional impacts need further exploration, this preliminary evidence does suggest that not accounting for this indirect relationship may be harming the validity of current models, and understandings of cross-national differences in turnout and voting behaviour. This evidence should be considered going forward with future research, but it also suggests a need to reevaluate research that has previously relied upon what might now be considered as flawed measurements, with a strong focus on those that have used good citizenship questions to frame civic duty (Dalton, 2006 & 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2013).

Finally, this chapter has also provided strong evidence to support the need for a reevaluation of how civic duty is measured. A number of the variables that appear to drive duty within the context of the pilot study suggest it may not be immutable, and that it is contingent upon a variety of unstable traits such as media exposure, political interest and ideology. The current conceptual framing of civic duty does not account for this, and this provides strong evidence to support a testing of a new model of duty, which is demonstrated in chapter six.

Despite the limitations of these data, this chapter has provided an initial glance at a relatively unexplored area of voting behaviour. It has demonstrated that there are big differences in the drivers of duty, obligation & good citizenship, and demonstrated that intuitions have a much greater impact than previously thought. Further work is required to reconfirm the findings in a dataset that is broadly representative of society, but this provides a good basis to carry out future work.

VI Measuring a new concept of civic duty

6.1 Introduction

So far, the majority of this thesis has focused on exploring how individuals subjectively understand duty, obligation and good citizenship as well analysing the drivers of these concepts. One of the key substantive findings of the thesis so far has been the confirmation of the fact that whilst civic duty is an excellent driver of voting behaviour within the context of this sample, how civic duty has previously been understood is flawed. A number of the drivers of civic duty uncovered within the context of this pilot study, and previous research (Jackson, 1995; Blais, 2000; Bowler & Donovan, 2013) have suggested that duty is no longer immutable, and because of this there is a need to re-examine how civic duty is measured and utilised by survey research.

This chapter is going to attempt to do this, and offers a preliminary test of a new model of civic duty which is built upon the theoretical review of the dimensions of civic duty that was discussed in chapter two. The previous two empirical chapters have demonstrated that duty is the best driver of voting behaviour, but so far the chapter has not dealt with the archaic nature of the duty measurements that are commonly relied upon.

As was highlighted in chapter two, the literature on civic duty has remained surprisingly underdeveloped. Apart from the early research of Campbell et al. (1960) that demonstrated that civic duty was an excellent predictor of the likeliness of an individual to vote in a given election, our understanding of civic duty has barely changed for four decades. One of the key reasons behind this is the types of questions posed by political science research. Rather than just focusing on who voted, research was becoming increasingly interested in why people vote sometimes, but not at others. The historical understanding and interpretation of civic duty suggested that because of the underlying assumptions of immutability, civic duty could only explain an underlying level of turnout, and could not predict variation in turnout from one election to the next.

The lack of interest in civic duty has limited its evolution as a survey item, and little has changed from the early questions utilised in the 1940s. The only big change in the approach to measuring civic duty appeared in the CES which asks individuals whether they believe voting is first and foremost a duty or a choice, which was designed to remove those who do not actually believe voting to be a

duty at all. Beyond this there has been little in the way of methodological or theoretical innovation. Most surveys rely on a five or ten point scale asking how strongly an individual agrees with a statement on the importance of voting out of a sense of duty. This gives very little information to the researcher, and asking individuals to agree with a statement is quite leading, so individuals may not always give a truthful response and instead seek to give a response that is socially desirable. Blais & Thalheimer (1997) also attempted to overcome this by using a combination of survey items to distil a sense of duty based upon the answers to four questions, and while this appeared to be useful, it is not always desirable or possible to ask a large number of questions because of the inherent costs of survey research.

The basic conceptual understanding of civic duty suggested that individuals would develop a sense of civic duty, and this would not fluctuate over time. Similarly to the idea of habitual voting, if an individual votes out of a sense of duty to begin with, they are likely to continue this pattern of voting out of a sense of civic duty in the future. It has also been highlighted that civic duty acts as a constraint upon behaviour, and explains human behaviour in what would otherwise be seen as irrational patterns of behaviour (Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Blais, 2000). Because of this conceptual understanding, there was little to justify developing civic duty as it should only be able to predict those individuals that would vote in every election, and would not be able to predict variance in elections over time or across contexts.

In the late 1990s and the first decade of the twenty first century, there has been a renewed drive to understand civic duty. This has been motivated by the declining rates of turnout that have been seen across Western democratic elections. Political scientists have started to question whether civic duty could help explain this declining rate of turnout, and whether the changes were associated with generational or life cycle effects.

Early contributions by Jackson (1995), Blais (2000), Butt & Curtice (2011) and Bowler & Donovan (2013) outlined some of the basic underlying factors that affect civic duty, with studies utilising it as a dependent variable for the first time and analysing what drives civic duty rather than just focusing on its relationship with voting. These studies also demonstrated that there might be a link between

declining turnout and a declining sense of civic duty⁶³, particularly amongst younger cohorts, with results suggesting that young voters were disengaging with the political process.

Despite the link between declining turnout and declining civic duty being better understood, there was still little evidence to suggest that there was anything different about the underlying concept of civic duty with most research focusing on socio-demographic statistics that generally do not suggest that duty is contingent upon a variety of short term stimuli. Whilst civic duty was seen as an important driver of turnout, there had been very little done to explore civic duty as a concept or to test the theoretical assumptions that underpinned our understanding of civic duty. A small number of papers did start to explore the theoretical underpinning; Kosmidis (2014) for example noted there were short term changes in duty depending on whether voters were decided or undecided during an electoral cycle, while Bowler & Donovan (2013) demonstrated that civic duty varied by electoral context, and that second order elections leads to a second order level of civic duty. Galais & Blais (2014) also explored civic duty within a panel dataset looking at the relationship between economic conditions and sense of duty. They found little in the way of relationship. However, a paper by Katz & Millican (forthcoming) using the BES did find that there was a group called switchers whose sense of duty did appear to be contingent upon economic conditions. There were also a number of other papers that demonstrated that civic duty was contingent upon a number of political behavioural, psychological and social variables (Blais, 2000; Thrasher & Rallings, 2002; Dalton, 2006; Jones & Dawson, 2007 & 2008; Kam, 2007; Ferguson & Garza, 2010; Bowler & Donovan, 2013; Kosmidis, 2014; Blais & Galais, 2014a)

This evidence started to suggest that civic duty could explain variation in turnout, not just a base level of turnout, and that a new conceptual framework of civic duty might be necessary. Using the theoretical model created by Selbourne (1997), this chapter aims to test the idea that civic duty is not a single concept, and that in fact civic duty can be contingent on a variety of political, social and contextual drivers which will have a varying impact upon an individuals' likeliness to vote out of a sense of duty.

⁶³ This is disputed by Dalton (2008) who suggests that the method of interaction was just changing, rather than younger cohorts not engaging with society at all.

The model presented tests Selbourne's assertion that duty is split into three distinct stands; a duty to family, a duty to society or a personal duty. This chapter will offer a preliminary look at whether individuals are able to distinguish between them, what drives these different senses of duty, and whether they can explain voting behaviour. Previous research by Dalton (2008) has highlighted that there appears to be a divergent split in how citizenship is understood, and whilst he discusses a model of duty created from good citizenship, this approach now appears to be inappropriate based upon the preliminary findings of previous chapters. Because of this, testing a new model of civic duty offers the possibility of a better way of measuring duty that allows some individuals to have a very stable, immutable sense of duty similar to the traditional concept, yet also allows a new generation of individuals who interpret civic duty to be something inherently more personal.

This chapter shall proceed with an initial descriptive analysis of those survey data collected on different types of duty, and proceed by creating more complex models that utilise duty as both a dependent variable to assess their key drivers and as an independent variable to assess its relationship to voting behaviour within the sample. The chapter will end with a concluding section analysing the successes and failures of the model, and considering the implications for future research and any changes that could improve the quality of future research.

6.2 RQ12. Do individuals consider the duty to vote to be personal, societal or a duty to friends and family? And what drives each type of duty?

In order to address the first research question and understand whether or not individuals can differentiate between the type of duty they feel to vote in an election, it is important to start by looking at the results to survey question 13, and descriptively interpret whether there is evidence that individuals can actively choose between the type of duty they feel to vote in an election. Table 36 provides evidence of the responses.

Duty to vote (%)	
Personal	25.1
Family	0.56
Society	59.27
Personal & family	0.42
Personal & societal	6
Family + societal	0.28
All	2.37
Not a duty	6
<i>N</i>	717

Table 36 Type of duty to vote (%)

Source: Original data

At a first glance, these data do provide evidence that suggests individuals are able to differentiate between types of duty. It appears that a majority of individuals within the pilot study see the duty to vote as being a societal duty (59.27%), which if the theory is correct would be largely similar to the original highly stable version of civic duty. It is also noticeable that despite nearly 60% choosing societal duty to explain their feelings on voting, there are a large number of individuals who choose another type of duty to explain why they vote. Roughly 25% of individuals sampled chose a personal sense of duty behind their reason to vote. Theoretically it would be expected that these individuals would be the most likely to have a variable voting patterns over time or by context. These individuals should be far less likely to feel a pressure to vote that civic duty is usually associated with providing. Instead, if they feel that the duty to vote is personal, then the only person they stand to disappoint if they do not vote is their self.

Very few individuals declared that their primary duty to vote was based upon family. However, this low percentage may be explained by the fact that the pilot study utilised student respondents, and they may feel less pressure to do anything on behalf of their family as they generally unlikely to have families of their own that they are responsible for. Despite this, half a percent still do choose this as the primary duty behind voting, and this suggests that at least some individuals sampled do see family as being an important reason to be a dutiful voter.

6% of voters sampled declared that they do not see voting as a duty at all, suggesting that even when a model of duty allows choice about the primary motives behind a sense of duty, some individuals still do not see voting as any type of duty. Galais & Blais (2014b) analyse the opposite of duty to be choice,

and the theoretical underpinning of this model suggested that choice should be built into the framing of a personal duty, but even with this it still appears that some individuals do not relate duty and voting at all. One of the most interesting findings in these data are that despite the fact individuals were given the opportunity to select multiple types of duty, very few actually chose to do so. Only a total of 9.07% of the sample selected more than one type of duty as the reason behind their vote. This suggests that individuals within the sample were generally very clear about what type of duty they see voting to be, and this should give an insight into the primary motivators of their voting behaviour. One point to note is that of the 9% that choose multiple types of duty, 6% choose that they feel both a personal and societal duty to vote. This suggests that some individuals are either unaware of the difference between a societal or personal sense of duty or that the theory underpinning the different duties is flawed. These data alone do not offer a great enough insight to fully interpret which of these two possibilities is most plausible, but given that over 90% of individuals sampled were able to effectively choose one type of duty, it does seem more likely that there is just some misunderstanding amongst the individuals that chose both. If there is a problem with the theoretical underpinning it may be that some individuals see voting as a personal duty sometimes and a societal duty at others. This would be problematic for the theory underpinning the model as those that are most likely to vary their vote are thought to be more likely to choose a personal duty to vote.

If this did turn out to be the case, the literature on pocketbook versus sociotropic voting may offer a plausible explanation. In economic voting, those who have a sociotropic (outward) (Lewis-Beck, 1988) view of the economy tend to be much more sophisticated, whereas those who have a pocketbook (personal) (Kramer, 1971) view of the economy have a tendency to be less sophisticated when it comes to analysing and deciding how to vote (Kinder & Kiewet, 1979; Godbout & Belanger, 2007). To put this in the context of the conceptual framework of duty, it could be argued that the more sophisticated voters are, the more likely they are to have a societal view. While lower sophisticates tend to rely on their own personal opinion, they are more reactive to their own situation rather than the situation of a community, which may act as a better indicator for what is best.

So far these data have been analysed without consideration for country level differences. For the purposes of investigating whether there is any reason

to believe that there might be differences between countries that need to be accounted for in future research, table 37 offers a preliminary glance at differences between types of duty in a cross-national perspective.

Cross-national type of duty to vote									
	Personal duty	Duty to family	Duty to society	P + F	P+S	F+S	PFS	Not duty	N
UK	23.79	0.37	59.48	0.74	6.69	0.37	2.97	5.58	26
US	32.73	0	54.55	0	5.45	0	1.82	5.45	9
NZ	22.86	0	62.86	0	5.71	0	2.86	5.71	55
Au	17.39	2.17	60.87	0	0	0	2.17	17.39	10
s	27.27	0.83	58.26	0.41	6.61	0.41	1.65	4.55	5
Eir									46
e									24
									2

Table 37 Type of duty to vote by country

Source: Original data

Within the context of this pilot study, it seems that there are large cross-national differences in how duty is viewed with big differences in the categories of personal duty and societal duty. It is also noticeable that there is an unusual spike in the number of individuals who do not consider voting to be a duty within the Australian sample.

Australia provides further interesting preliminary evidence, whilst there are a pretty standard number of individuals who believe that voting is societal, the number of individuals who believe the duty to vote is primarily personal is significantly lower. It appears that there is a trade-off with individuals either seeing duty as a societal issue, or not believing that there is a sense of duty to vote at all. This is surprising, as participation is thought to be a driver of the sense of duty (Galais & Blais, 2014b).

The results from the US sample also seem to support the idea that societal duty would be related to turnout. Given that turnout in the United States is significantly lower on average than the other countries sampled, if the theoretical framing of a societal duty is correct, there should be fewer individuals who feel a societal sense of duty to vote in the US. Of the countries sampled, the US has the lowest level of societal duty, which suggests that the theoretical link between diminishing levels of voting behaviour and lower levels of societal duty may be accurate. The US results also show that compared to other countries, a

significantly higher number of individuals believe that voting is a personal duty. Given the findings of Putnam (1995) and his study of civic culture in the US, these results are not too surprising; it does suggest that there is something about US culture that is depressing a traditional sense of civic duty to vote in the United States. However, the US sample is small, and in the context of a pilot study it is only possible to view these statistics as something to guide future research, but the evidence does suggest further research could be fruitful.

While there are differences in the levels of duty in the other countries sampled, there do appear to be more similarities. If we consider the results without Australia and the US, the difference in rates of personal duty drops from 15.34% to 4.41%. Similarly the difference in societal duty drops from 8.31% to 4.6%. Whilst this does reduce the size of the differences that are seen, there is still variance that needs to be explained. The cause of this variance is still unclear and would require further analysis within the context of this pilot study and in representative samples, but if the theoretical expectations are correct, there should be a relationship between turnout and the number of individuals that declare they have a societal sense of duty⁶⁴, and given the exceptionally high rates of turnout in Australia, and low rates in the US, seeing this drop in the difference between levels of societal duty would surely be expected when these two cases are taken out of consideration.

If the assumptions underpinning the societal sense of duty are correct, there should be a relationship between societal duty and turnout because the societal sense of duty invokes a consistent sense of duty, and this consistency should be detectable and mirror turnout levels. In order to analyse the relationship between turnout and rates of civic duty, figure 8 below compares rates of societal duty from the pilot study sample with turnout cross-nationally.

⁶⁴ It is acknowledged that the relationship between the two might be slightly different as the turnout figures relate to a generalised look at society as a whole whereas the data collected for this study relates only to student samples. However, it is assumed that student participation should be consistent across countries and therefore some relationship may still exist.

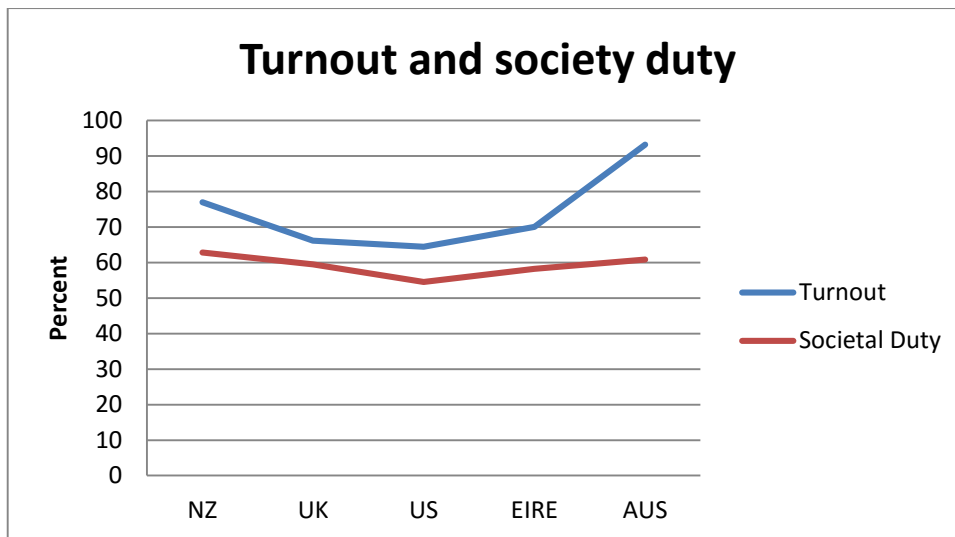


Figure 8 Turnout Vs. societal duty
 Source: Original data and turnout data from ParlGov

In general, the graph does appear to suggest that there is some sort of relationship between levels of societal duty and turnout cross-nationally. While there are slight variations, it does appear that as turnout rises, you also see the level of societal duty rising. Australia represents a slight outlier within this graph, with the institutional rule of compulsory voting pushing up turnout rates. While this is a nice visual demonstration of the potential relationship, this could be coincidence. Given that the samples acquired are non-representative and part of a pilot study, it cannot be claimed that this would be found in future research, but it does indicate that future research should examine this relationship, and provide a better understanding of the link between this new model of duty, and cross-national variation in turnout.

If future evidence does find this relationship, it would be a strong sign of the applicability of this model for future use. The societal sense of duty should act as a baseline like the traditional concept of duty discussed in chapter two. These are the individuals that should vote regularly and rarely miss an election. The difference between turnout and the societal rate of duty, would be explained by individuals who either do not see voting to be a duty, those who believe voting is a personal duty, or those who consider voting to be a duty to family. These groups would account for the variability in models of turnout and voting behaviour, and could help explain these fluctuations.

Whilst there is good evidence so far to support a new conceptual model of duty, it is also important to see if there is any relationship between traditional

models of duty, where individuals place themselves on a scale that shows how strongly they feel about the sense of duty. If theoretical expectations are correct, those who have a societal sense of duty to vote should have a stronger sense of duty to vote than those with a personal sense of duty.

How important is the duty to vote⁶⁵?					
	Personal	Family	Societal	Not Duty	<i>N</i>
Very	30.5	60	27.79	2.33	201
Somewhat	23.72	20	26.19	16.28	174
Neither	18.07	20	18.81	16.28	126
Not much	19.77	0	22.38	25.58	152
Not at all	7.9	0	4.28	39.54	54

Table 38 Strength of duty by type of duty

Source: Original data

The evidence in table 38 does not show any clear patterns between the strength of duty respondents declared, and the type of duty they believe voting to be. It is evident that there is a large spike in the number of individuals who feel that it is very important to vote amongst those who believe voting to be a personal sense, though the "somewhat" category is noticeably weaker than societal duty. Even when combined these figures still provide very similar results, with 53.98% of individuals selecting a societal duty feeling it is important to vote in an election out of a sense of duty, versus 54.22% who feel a personal sense of duty. The only clear finding from this table is that there is a relationship between those who selected that voting is not a duty, and the decreasing importance they place on voting out of a sense of duty. This highlights the importance of including a "not duty" option in any eventual model of duty as not all individuals have selected the bottom category of duty despite the fact that they have stated they do not believe voting to be a duty. This may impact upon the ability of duty to explain voting behaviour because of inaccurate opinions being recorded.

There are a number of reasons that could explain why the figures for personal and societal duties are so similar within these data; firstly, it could be down to the fact that these data include all respondents, no matter what treatment they received earlier on in the survey. So there could be some response bias caused by the experimental treatment they received. Secondly, it could also be due to the fact that individuals can still think it is personally important to vote in

⁶⁵ This table is constructed using data from the 10-point scale question.

an election, but not follow through on the action because of a lack of external pressure to enforce a type of behaviour. For example, if you ask individuals how important it is to always pick up litter if they see it on the floor, a large number are likely to agree with the sentiment, but when actually asked if they would, they become less likely to follow through on the sentiment they display. They would like other people to pick up litter, just as long as they do not actually have to do it themselves.

These data do not portray much of the evidence that has been seen so far. To try and determine whether there is an issue with treatment bias, the series of graphs below demonstrates the relationship between the importance of voting as a duty, and the type of duty individuals select. These data have been separated and only include data from individuals who were given a duty experimental treatment. These data have also been split down by saliency in order to analyse whether there are any specific differences in the relationship between the importance of voting out of a sense of duty, and the type of duty an individual has selected. If there is a treatment effect, it would be likely that there would be a bigger gap between personal and societal duty in the graphs.

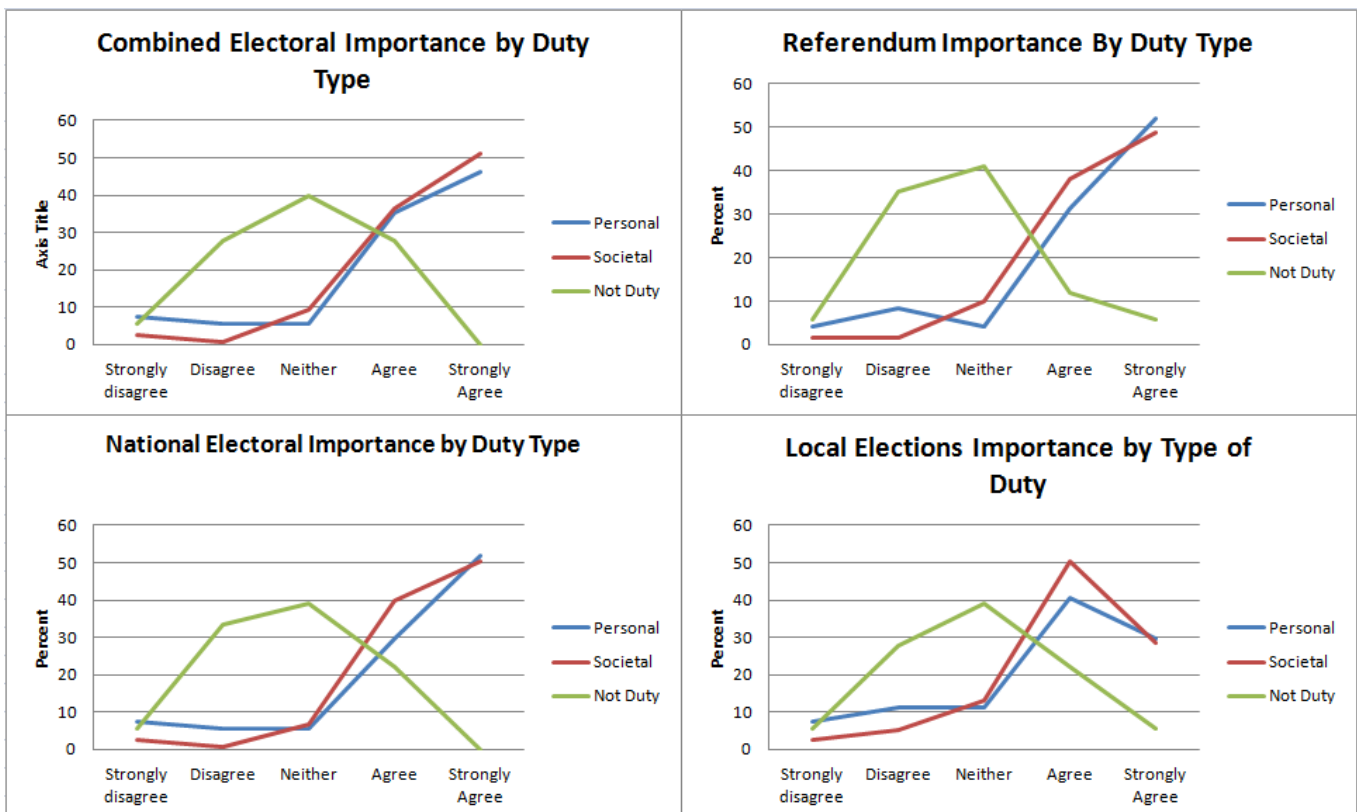


Figure 9 Strength of duty by electoral saliency (duty treatment only)

Source: Original data

These graphs do provide a much clearer image of the relationship between the importance of voting out of a sense of duty, and the type of duty that an individual selects voting to be within the context of this pilot study. The most obvious pattern within these data is the relationship between individuals who believe voting is not a duty, and the stronger sense of disagreement that it is important to vote out of a sense of duty. This seems to be strong pattern that holds across all electoral types, as well as within these aggregated data. This is a finding that is relatively intuitive; if one does not believe voting to be a duty they are also not likely to believe it is important to vote out of a sense of duty.

The results for personal and societal duty are more interesting however. Societal duty does seem to foster a stronger sense of agreement in all elections. These graphs clearly demonstrate that those who have a personal sense of duty, are more likely to disagree with the statement it is important to vote out of a sense of duty, and those who have a societal sense of duty are more likely to agree that it is important to vote out of a sense of duty.

The only real anomaly within these graphs relates to the results from the referendum graph. Despite the fact that the personal duty scores are lower than societal duty in the "neither" and "agree" categories, it appears that a larger percentage of individuals who feel a personal duty to vote in elections think it is very important to vote in referendums, while the figures for local and national elections remain close. There are a number of possible explanations for this. Within a rational choice framework, a direct democratic decision where there are only two possible outcomes increases the possibility that an individual has a pivotal role in an election. Referendums also often involve questions on highly salient issues, so there is a greater chance that issue salience will drive the duty to vote as well with individuals thinking less about the costs, and more about how the issue might affect them personally. However, it is possible that some individuals who have a personal sense of duty are just saying that they feel it is very important to vote in elections but feel no pressure to follow through and vote because of a lack of pressure, and the opportunity cost that voting entails.

The top categories are relatively close in all other elections, though within this sample, it appears that more people on average are likely to agree with voting being an important duty amongst those that believe voting is a societal duty, and more likely to disagree with the statement if they chose personal duty. When the scale is reduced to a three point scale, with agree and strongly agree reduced to

one value, and strongly disagree and disagree also being combined into one value, the story does seem to demonstrate that societal duty fosters greater agreement, and personal duty fosters disagreement as seen in the graphs below.

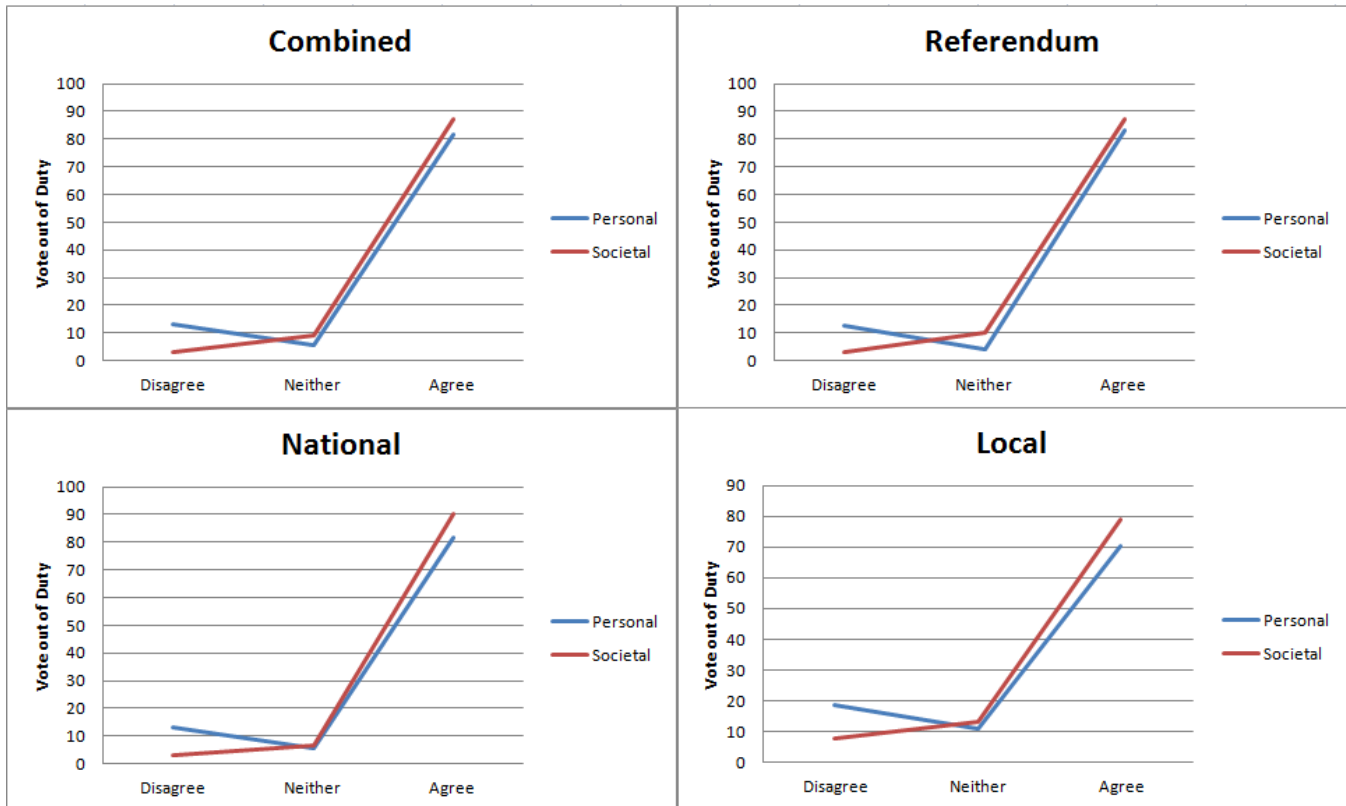


Figure 10 Strength of duty by salience (3 point scale)
Source: Original data

These data do seem to validate the theoretical framework where a societal duty is more likely to represent civic values, and a personal duty is more likely to be contingent on personal perceptions and gains. When considering the Selbourne (1997) model, these expectations do fit very well. Despite the fact that very few individuals have selected a duty to family as being important (though there are demographic reasons within the dataset that may explain that), there is a big difference between personal duty and societal duty and it does appear that there is a strong relationship between the type of duty an individual feels to vote, and how important they feel it is to vote out of a sense of duty.

In terms of the relationship between duty and voting behaviour, a stronger sense of duty generally leads to a greater likelihood of an individual voting in all elections, therefore with these data suggesting that those who have a societal sense of duty are more likely to agree with the sentiment that it is important to vote out of a sense of duty across elections, it is likely that those with a societal

sense of duty should also be more likely to vote than those who feel a personal sense of duty to vote.

One other noticeable difference in these graphs is that the strength of duty does seem to vary by saliency. Considering the narrowest gap between those individuals who agreed with the importance of voting out of a sense of duty, those who believe voting to be a societal duty were 3.75% more likely to agree that voting in a referendum is important compared to those who believe it is a personal duty. That gap grows to 8.44% and 8.59% for local and national elections respectively.

These data suggest that there is something about referendums that individuals with a personal sense of duty respond to; it appears that they are far more likely to agree that it is important to vote in referendums out of a sense of duty than they do for local or national elections. This again may be explained by the fact that in referendums, individuals are more likely to cast a decisive ballot, with fewer choices increasing the importance of their vote as well as the fact referendums tend to focus on contentious issues so again there may be a stronger personal stake e.g. on referendums over gay marriage, or independence from a State.

Local and national elections appear to cause a larger difference in how much individuals agree that voting out of a sense of duty is important. Those who feel a personal sense of duty to vote are far less likely to agree that voting in national and local elections is important. One possible explanation is the regular nature of these elections increases the cost of voting, as individuals have to perform the task more often. Another possibility would suggest that individuals are more likely to consider the opportunity cost of voting in an election, if they care less about the outcome it is going to depress the sense of duty to vote in that election. However, in order to test these further data collections is necessary.

The results amongst those who disagree with the sentiment that it is important duty to vote in elections appear to disagree just as strongly with the sentiment regardless of the type of election. This again demonstrates that within the context of this study, societal duty is stronger across the board, and individuals who disagree that voting is a duty are more likely to be consistent in their responses. It also demonstrates that those respondents who have a personal sense of duty are equally likely to dismiss the importance of voting in all elections. This fits the theoretical expectations well, and demonstrates that those

with a personal sense of duty should be less likely to agree that voting is always a duty.

Focusing on just the personal data, there are some interesting differences. There is a 6% difference between the lowest category of referendums and the figures for national and local elections. Many more individuals believe there is no need to vote out of a sense of duty (18.52%) in local elections compared to referendums and national elections (around 12.5%). Again, while the differences are relatively constant between dismissing the importance of voting out of a sense of duty between personal and societal duty, within personal duty there is a real saliency effect. This is highly suggestive of a second order duty effect that was demonstrated by Bowler & Donovan (2013). Their results showed that second order elections lead to a second order sense of duty. Despite being less likely to agree with the statement to begin with, local elections really do appear to depress the sense of duty amongst those who consider voting to be a personal duty.

The corresponding results for the societal sense of duty show a smaller gap. There is only a 5% difference between the importance of voting in national elections and local elections. These data also show that far fewer individuals are likely to disagree with the sentiment that voting is important out of a sense of duty in all contexts. However, the fact that there is a minimal gap between electoral contexts suggests that individuals feel a stronger need to consider all elections equally. This is far more indicative of a traditional concept of duty, with the societal sense of duty appearing to be more stable.

The results tell a similar story when looking at the results of those who agree that voting is an important duty. These data on personal duty show a difference of 13% between the election seen as most important and least important, with referendums and national elections being seen as far more important than local elections. This result again demonstrates that individuals with a personal sense of duty to vote are prioritising voting in certain elections over others. In this instance, these data again confirm findings that are very similar to the work of Bowler & Donovan (2013) and it appears that individuals that consider the duty to vote as personal are assigning a second order level of duty to local elections.

Societal duty sees a significantly bigger difference between the most important and least important type of election when looking at how strongly they agree with the statement that it is important to vote out of a sense of duty. National

elections are again seen as primarily important, while local elections foster a weaker sense of duty amongst those with a societal sense of duty to vote. Whilst this is a larger difference than was expected, when you analyse these data and see the rates of agreement, they are still significantly higher than those who declared a personal duty to vote. However, the gap still suggests that individuals with a societal strength of duty feel slightly less inclined to vote in some elections than others.

Despite this not being as consistent as was expected, the figures are very high across all types of election, and even at their lowest, the sense of agreement is still strong. Very few individuals who chose a societal sense of duty feel that it is not a duty to vote in elections and only a small percentage are indifferent to voting out of a sense of duty. This suggests that it is still likely that the individuals sampled who feel a societal duty to vote are more likely to be consistent in their voting behaviour.

All of these data in the graphs and tables do seem to suggest that there are big differences between a personal and a societal sense of duty regarding the vote within the context of this pilot study. Not only do these data demonstrate key differences, and link the types of duty to the importance individuals place on voting out of a sense of duty, but the results are indicative of a conceptual model of duty that is surprisingly similar to what was outlined at the beginning of the chapter and in chapter two.

Before moving on to analyse the drivers of these different duties and analyse who is likely to develop each sense of duty, there is one final consideration. The research of Dalton (2008) looking into the dimensions of citizenship placed a focus on duties, rather than just solely considering the duty to vote⁶⁶. Dalton's (2008) models of traditional duties and engaged citizenship found specific groupings of activities with traditional duty relating to voting, paying taxes, serving on juries and engaged citizenship relating to boycotts, protests and helping others. In order to assess how these activities fit into the new model of duty, table 39 offers a preliminary look at the relationship between type of duty, and civic activity.

⁶⁶ Though as previously mentioned the ISSP use good citizenship questions which now appear to be inappropriate to analyse as "duty".

Citizen activities and type of duty									
	Person al duty	Duty to family	Duty to society	P + F	P+S	F+S	PFS	Not duty	N
Vote	25.1	0.56	59.27	0.42	6	0.28	2.37	6	717
Tax	12.92	1.69	74.58	0.14	2.53	0.7	1.97	5.48	712
Law	18.23	1.82	64.38	0.14	5.19	0.7	4.35	5.49	713
Watch	21.04	1.3	54.32	0.14	4.03	0	2.59	16.57	694
Association	38.36	0.99	24.54	0.71	4.37	0	1.69	29.34	709
Listen	54.83	4.76	20.28	1.26	4.2	0.7	4.06	9.79	715
Products	32.96	1.97	30.99	0.56	6.48	0.14	2.25	24.65	710
Help Country	27.49	0.98	50.77	0.28	7.99	0.14	1.82	10.38	713
Help World	34.64	0.56	41.48	0.28	6.28	0	1.12	15.5	716
Serve	10.53	2.33	35.57	0.55	1.92	0.27	2.05	44.46	731

Table 39 Citizen activities and type of duty

Source: Original data

The results show a large amount of variation within the pilot study in relation to the numbers of individuals choosing either a personal or societal duty for each type of activity. There are number of variables that appear to be predominantly considered a personal duty, and amongst these it is noticeable that joining voluntary associations, listening to other opinions and boycotting products are all particularly strong. In addition, helping those in your own country and helping those abroad also seem to be reasonably high. In contrast, societal duty sees particularly high rates in activities including; paying taxes, obeying laws, voting in elections and keeping a watch on Government. Those least likely to be considered a duty of any type include serving in the military and joining voluntary associations.

Looking at these data, there are patterns within the types of activities and the categories they seem to most strongly link to, for example the personal duty data seems to group activities that are non-traditional. These are what Dalton (2008) has previously classified as new methods of participation. Amongst the most surprising results, is the inclusion of voluntary associations. The work of Putnam demonstrated the importance of voluntary associations in fostering social capital, which is known to be a driver of civic duty. Theoretically, it was expected that voluntary associations would be closely associated with a societal sense of duty. However, while membership of voluntary associations might drive social capital and civic duty, it could be that individuals join voluntary associations not because of external pressures, but instead because of the personal pressure that they feel. They may feel the pressure to join because of what they can gain. For

example, if you move to a new location, then voluntary associations offer an opportunity to meet new people, so the act of joining a voluntary association could be primarily seen as being selfish rather than a community based act even if the spill over effect is positive for society as a whole. This again fits with Selbourne's (1997) discussion of duty, whereby it was understood that whilst there might be a trade-off between self-interest and duty, all individuals maintain a degree of self-interest when it comes to duty (Burt, 1990; Edlin et al, 2007)

The other two activities that are strongest within personal duty; listening to other opinions and boycotting products also fit into the personal model of duty. Boycotting products may have a personal impact upon an individual, and individuals may feel that boycotting a product does not make a difference, and because of this they fail to make a societal link. Boycotting a product may also incur a charge, which acts as a disincentive to change products because of the cost incurred. Alternatively, they may feel a personal sense of importance in boycotting a product because it is a cause they feel strongly about. A personal sense of duty does not always mean a negative view on an issue, it just gives an insight into the underlying factors that shape an individuals' sense of duty.

Looking at those data on societal duties, it is noticeable that helping those at home and abroad is largely considered to be a societal duty. Dalton (2008) had typically suggested that these were new duties that were associated with engaged citizenship (his new model of citizenship). In this model, the evidence suggests that individuals feel a societal pressure to help others which contradicts Dalton's model. What is most interesting about the results on helping others is the difference between helping those at home versus helping those abroad. Around 50% of individuals feel that helping those at home is a societal duty, compared to just 41% when helping those abroad. Conversely, individuals suggest that there is a stronger personal duty to help those abroad (35%) than there is to help those at home (27%). This suggests that while more individuals do still think that both of these are societal duties, more individuals place importance in terms of societal importance to help those at home than help those abroad. It appears that when considering helping others in the world, individuals feel a stronger sense of personal duty. Social capital theory again offers one analytical explanation for this finding. Helping those within the immediate country is likely to have a bigger societal impact, whereas helping those abroad is less likely to be seen as a direct benefit to the immediate society an individual belongs

to. Rather, they are likely to feel a stronger personal sense of achievement to actually help those abroad. These data again demonstrate that individuals within this pilot study are clearly differentiating between these new types of duty although the precise reasons behind the differences are still unclear.

The other main societal duties are more in line with previous evidence and expectations. Paying taxes and obeying laws are civic values, and as such it was expected that individuals would feel a societal sense of duty to carry them out. Voting also appears to be mostly seen as a societal duty, but it is still evident over a quarter of respondents see voting as a personal duty.

There are a number of trends and relationships within table 33, but the most noticeable of all the results is that none of the activities are exclusively linked to one type of duty or another. If individuals are seeing duties as being different, it provides a strong case for the introduction of a model of duty similar to what Selbourne (1997) suggested, and this pilot study provides strong evidence to support the use of this model. Individuals clearly have different factors motivating their sense of duty, and this model allows them to express this in a concise manner.

The other noticeable benefit from this approach is it becomes clear that not all individuals believe activities are duties. Asking individuals on a scale how important it is to carry out an activity does not leave the opportunity to select that an individual does not believe it is a duty. If they do not feel something is a duty then the results are likely to become less significant, as they will be thrown off by weaker results amongst those who just do not classify an activity as a duty.

While the descriptive analysis here does provide strong evidence to support a new way of measuring and thinking about duty that allows individuals to select what motivates their sense of duty, it is important to consider what drives a personal or societal sense of duty and how we explain differences between each type of duty. The results of further statistical analysis should provide a more conclusive answer as to how individuals understand personal and societal duty, and confirm whether they are indeed unique of one and other, but the preliminary evidence strongly supports that individuals are actively able to differentiate between them.

6.3 RQ14. What drives a personal and societal sense of duty?

So far this chapter has explored descriptive statistics and graphics to demonstrate that differences between types of duty do exist, and while the pilot study only offers a preliminary glance at trends, and the ability of individuals to differentiate between types of duty, the evidence is strong. However, without investigating what drives these types of duty with statistical models it is hard to give a definitive answer about whether there are fundamental differences in how these different types of duty are understood. This next section of the chapter is going to utilise a series of regression analyses to look at differences in the drivers of personal, family, and societal duty as well as considering what drives an individual to disengage with duty completely.

6.3.1 Methodological approach

Similarly to the analysis in the first two empirical chapters, these data are well designed to utilise a binary logistic regression approach. For the purposes of relating this pilot study to voting behaviour, the analysis will only consider the duty to vote. The results presented in the tables below are made exclusively from respondents that selected only one form of duty. Individuals who selected multiple types of duty regarding voting are not included in the analysis as they were not able to clearly differentiate between each type of duty. In order to give a complete overview, models are created for those who picked a societal sense of duty, a duty to friends and family, a personal duty as well as a model for those who feel that voting does not constitute any type of duty. The values of the dependent variables are coded (0) “did not pick this type of duty” and (1) “did pick this type of duty”.

The models include a range of demographic, social and political independent variables which should help demonstrate any differences that exist between these types of duty, and those who do not believe that voting is a duty at all. Amongst the most important of these, are the relationships between citizenship education, political interest and discussion as well as the role of media habits and their relationship with each type of duty. Gender and age are also included to account for the limited socio-demographic differences that exist within the pilot study, and language is included in order to account for those that have

been socialised in different contexts. Full codings of the variables used can be found in appendix table 5.

6.3.2 Results

	The drivers of duty			
	(6.1) Personal	(6.2) Family	(6.3) Society	(6.4) No Duty
Citizenship education	-0.508** (2.37)	0.991 (0.83)	0.500** (2.62)	-0.167 (0.40)
Interest	-0.198 (1.06)	0.481 (0.48)	0.151 (0.90)	-0.161 (0.41)
Discussion	-0.079 (0.57)	-0.069 (0.09)	0.313** (2.56)	-0.247 (-0.91)
Gender	0.446** (1.99)	-0.424 (0.40)	-0.327* (1.65)	-1.878** (2.92)
Age	0.173 (1.12)	0.000 (.)	0.036 (0.23)	0.000 (.)
Language	0.087 (0.33)	1.508 (1.36)	-0.088 (0.37)	-0.316 (0.54)
Media usage	0.085* (1.66)	-0.792* (1.79)	-0.033 (0.74)	-0.141 (1.39)
Ideology	-0.003 (0.05)	-0.170 (0.53)	-0.005 (0.10)	-0.037 (0.35)
Confidence in Politicians	-0.043 (0.50)	-0.458 (1.01)	0.099 (1.31)	-0.364** (2.02)
Confidence in Govt	0.025 (0.31)	-0.015 (0.04)	-0.021 (0.31)	0.019 (0.12)
<i>PseudoR2</i>	0.024	0.218	0.029	0.125
<i>N</i>	504	484	504	484

Coefficient Effects; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 40 Drivers of types of duty

Source: Original data

Preliminary analysis of the results outlined in table 40 suggests that there are some key differences between the types of duty, and helps to confirm the earlier evidence in this chapter, those individuals within this pilot study are able to actively differentiate between, and understand these types of duty to be different. This further supports the validity of this new model for future research, and suggests that at a minimum further research to confirm the applicability of the model should be carried out using a representative sample. One of the most prominent findings is the different effect that citizenship education has on a personal duty versus a societal sense of duty. These results show that those

within the pilot study who received citizenship education earlier in life are likely to develop a sense of societal duty, while those who have not received citizenship education are more likely to develop a sense of personal duty.

This result suggests that there is a strong link between citizenship education and an individual's preconceptions about what constitutes a duty within the context of the pilot study. In terms of the wider literature, this makes sense. Previous research has suggested that individuals who go through citizenship education are much more likely to develop a keen understanding of what a civic duty is, and are also likely to think more about the impact their actions have upon civic attitudes (Condon, 2009; Ferguson & Garza, 2010). The theoretical conceptualisations of both personal and societal duty fit well within the context of these results. For example, a societal sense of duty is much more likely to be enforced through a series of external forces, in line with a social capital explanation of behaviour which is also demonstrated by the positive impact political discussion has upon the societal sense of duty. The results in relation to a personal sense of duty confirm the idea that individuals are more likely to care about their own personal situation when considering duty. This is seen through the citizenship education effects, where those with citizenship education are far more likely to develop civic attitudes, and those who did not are less likely to develop civic attitudes. This suggests that those with a personal sense of duty are less likely to be civic minded than those with a societal sense of duty, and demonstrates the importance of citizenship education in shaping our understanding of duty, and how we view the duty to vote in particular.

While there are a number of other prominent findings in relation to this pilot study, the results strongly suggest that citizenship education is very important in shaping behaviour and individual level understandings of duty. Whilst this may not be a surprising finding on its own when considering the links between education and duty discussed in chapter two, it does suggest that the new model of duty is important in helping us better understand duty, and offers a new way to operationalise it for future use that accounts for the different motivators of duty that appear to exist based upon these preliminary findings. It does appear to effectively separate those who have an understanding about what a good sense of civic duty is from those who are less sure about the concept. This conceptual approach to modelling duty has picked up on a number of underlying issues that traditional models would have missed. For example, individuals are likely to

receive varying levels of citizenship education, and traditional models would not have been able to detect this within a single model asking about an individual's strength of duty. As has been seen, an individual who feels a personal sense of duty still believes they feel a sense of duty to carry out a task, but their understanding is different from other types of duty and this needs to be accounted for. If they had just been asked how important it was to vote out of a sense of duty, they may well have still suggested it was important, which would have decreased the value of the statistic as a high sense of duty in terms of actually regularly conforming to a behaviour is much more likely to be caused by societal pressures.

Whilst political discussion does have a relationship with the societal sense of duty, it does not appear to have an impact with a personal sense of duty. It would not be unreasonable to believe that some individuals who feel a personal sense of duty to vote would participate in political discussion, but there does not appear to be a statistically significant relationship within the context of this pilot study. If we consider what the figures say, it does appear that there is a negative relationship between discussion and the personal sense of duty to vote, but based on the lack of statistical significance, it is important to be cautious in how this is analysed.

While political discussion does not have a statistically significant relationship with personal duty, media usage does appear to drive it. As media usage rises, the likeliness of an individual developing a personal sense of duty increases. The theory underlying this relationship is conflicting, and while Putnam (1995) has suggested that increasing media usage has a negative impact upon social capital, Keum et al. (2004) have suggested that media usage does not diminish participation. Considering the theoretical framing of personal duty, Putnam's evidence of diminishing rates of social interaction caused by media usage does fit these data and theoretical framing well. Not only does an increased amount of time spent on media diminish the amount of time spent socialising and building social capital, but there is evidence to suggest that heavy media users become more likely to politicise their own personal concerns (Mutz, 2004) and therefore begin to focus inward rather than thinking about societal problems. However, in the context of this pilot study the questions are far too limited to make strong conclusions about the relationship between each type of duty and social capital. To investigate this further, it would require not only a representative

sample, but a much longer survey that can deal with complex latent variables like social capital.

In addition, media usage also has a negative relationship with a sense of duty to the family to vote in elections. This result also fits the theoretical expectations nicely, where a sense of duty to family is the median type of duty between societal and personal. These individuals would be governed by both inward notions of duty as well as some external pressures.

The evidence for a gender effect also shows some real differences between how men and women view the duty to vote. It appears that women are far more likely to develop a personal sense of duty, while men are more likely to either have a societal sense of duty, or believe that voting is not a duty at all. This represents a polarisation of views based upon gender, and is rather surprising. The literature from political behaviour has never found a statistically significant difference between men and women when it comes to switching vote intention (Dassonneville, 2014; Dassonneville & Dejaeghere, 2014; Carrubba & Timpone, 2005) but it appears that their sense of duty is different. If the theoretical framing of duty is correct, women appear to be much more likely to switch whether or not they vote based upon a series of personal issues, and the opportunity cost of voting, but as with many findings, this would require more research to confirm.

Finally, confidence in politicians appears to depress civic duty entirely. Individuals who have no confidence in politicians appear to be more likely to believe that voting is not a duty within this pilot study. This provides further evidence of a social contract between voter and politician; if politicians are seen to be misbehaving and not representing voters effectively, voters no longer feel beholden to vote in elections. This relationship clearly demonstrates that recent events like the expenses scandal in the UK can have a detrimental impact upon the sense of duty to vote, and in turn may disengage citizens from political participation. This finding may have implications for research on economic voting which has typically seen conflicting results between the likeliness of individuals feeling motivated to vote because of poor economic performance, and the counter argument that suggests individuals are mobilised to vote when economic performance is considered to be poor (Arceneaux, 2003). The evidence from this pilot study strongly suggesting that individuals are likely to demobilise under conditions where politicians' behaviour has been poor rather than to mobilise and punish (Rosenstone, 1982; Radcliff, 1994).

The evidence presented above has given an insight into the makeup of societal duty, personal duty; the duty to family and started to explore why some individuals believe voting is not a duty at all. It is evident that there are some clear differences between the societal and personal duty to vote within the context of this study. In particular, the impact of citizenship education appears to have a direct effect upon individuals understanding of duty which is something which needs to be accounted for, especially given the differences between the types of duty that have been discussed. It also seems that societal duty is likely to be externally looking and contingent upon social capital while the personal duty does appear much more likely to be associated with an individuals own personal situation. The evidence also strongly suggests that there is a sociotropic vs. pocketbook type difference between the two duties. Following on from this section, these data shall be re-examined within a cross-national context, using a fixed effects model to demonstrate whether there are any significant differences between personal and societal duty across countries. While these findings will all require further research to confirm within representative samples, this preliminary study has started to uncover some trends and will help a great deal to further the theoretical framing of this new conceptual model of civic duty.

6.3.3 Modelling duty with fixed effects

In order to reconfirm the findings above, the next section is going to rerun the analysis with fixed effects to control for unobserved heterogeneity which might occur because of the variety of countries that were sampled as part of the data collection strategy. In order to account for unobserved heterogeneity and analyse any impact this has upon the results, the next part of answering the research question is to analyse whether or not there are any country level differences that have a direct impact upon how the sense of duty is understood, and what drives each sense of duty. Implications of this section should help to gauge whether or not this new conceptual model of civic duty can be utilised for future cross-national research.

6.3.4 Methods

The main elements of the model are the same as those seen in section 6.3.2, with dependent variables utilising results from survey question 13a. Each model represents individuals who have selected one type of duty over all others, with those who selected multiple types of duty omitted from the models. The independent variables are also consistent to analyse any potential changes that occur because of unobserved heterogeneity. The main change in the models is the inclusion of dummies representing each county sampled. Australia is removed as it represents the baseline within the models. Any difference between the models in table 40 and the models in table 41 below will be the direct result of unobserved heterogeneity.

6.3.5 Results

The drivers of different types of duty (fixed effects)				
	(6.5)	(6.6)	(6.7)	(6.8)
	Personal	Family	Societal	No Duty
Citizenship	-0.570** (2.57)	0.739 (0.56)	0.519** (2.63)	-0.050 (0.11)
Interest in politics	-0.228 (1.18)	0.578 (0.51)	0.159 (0.91)	-0.117 (0.29)
Political discussion	-0.123 (0.88)	-0.050 (0.06)	0.357** (2.85)	-0.155 (0.54)
Gender	0.429* (1.89)	-0.662 (0.55)	-0.299 (1.49)	-1.880** (2.87)
Age	0.126 (0.79)	.	0.073 (0.45)	.
Language	0.186 (0.65)	2.409* (1.85)	-0.131 (0.52)	-0.499 (0.78)
Media Usage	0.094* (1.79)	-0.892* (1.70)	-0.038 (0.82)	-0.151 (1.47)
Ideology	-0.010 (0.17)	-0.153 (0.44)	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.015 (0.14)
Confidence in Politicians	-0.054 (0.61)	-0.346 (0.87)	0.106 (1.38)	-0.328* (1.89)
Confidence in Govt	0.061 (0.75)	-0.150 (0.39)	-0.047 (0.66)	-0.059 (0.38)
UK	0.834 (1.44)	-3.252* (1.76)	-0.704 (1.60)	-1.035 (1.49)
USA	0.667 (0.98)	.	-0.696 (1.27)	-0.536 (0.57)
NZ	0.608 (0.91)	.	-0.694 (1.31)	-0.680 (0.69)
Eire	1.108* (1.87)	-1.437 (0.89)	-0.881* (1.94)	-1.295* (1.70)
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.033	0.309	0.034	0.140
<i>N</i>	504	401	504	484

Coefficient Effects; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 41 Drivers of types of duty with fixed effects

Source: Original data

The results here are similar to the results without fixed effects which suggests that there is little in the way of cross-national variation of these traits, and suggests that there is a shared understanding of these concepts cross-nationally. The key findings of citizenship, political discussion, media usage and confidence in politicians hold. Though controlling for fixed effects does have an impact upon gender, and it appears that language does have an impact upon voting out of a duty to family, however because of the limited number of individuals within the

pilot study who selected the duty to vote as a family based duty, it is very hard to analyse that result.

6.3.6 Summary

The results in this section of the chapter have shown some clear differences between a societal and personal sense of duty, and even when accounting for country level fixed effects, the substantive effects still hold. It appears that citizenship education, political discussion, gender, media usage and confidence in politicians all appear to have a large impact on shaping the type of duty that an individual develops. While not conclusive in the number of social and political issues measured within this pilot study, it is suggestive that a new model of civic duty is required in order to account for individual level understandings of civic duty, and to account for the primary drivers of their own type of duty. This chapter confirms that a rethink of how duty is utilised in surveys is required, and it appears that based upon the preliminary evidence presented here that the Selbourne model could be very useful. While the evidence in this chapter has demonstrated the validity of this new conceptual framing of duty, there has been little attempt to interpret this new model against previous conceptualisations of duty, or attempts to link it to voting behaviour to interpret whether or not this new model of duty can help explain voting behaviour in elections of various contexts.

In order to address these issues, the chapter shall now move on to consider these questions, firstly looking at whether or not there is a statistical link between type of duty and the strength of their duty to vote, differences in type of duty and the saliency of electoral context and finally will analyse the link between type of duty and actual voting behaviour.

6.4 RQ13. Does this relate to their strength of duty to vote?

Whilst much of the chapter so far has focused on determining whether individuals are able to differentiate between the types of duty analysed, there has been little in the way of discussion to determine whether there is a link between the type of duty individuals have to vote, and the strength of their sense of duty to vote. Whilst there was a limited analysis of this in figures 9 and 10, it has not been explored in any great detail.

This next section is going to address this, and consider whether there is any relationship between these new types of duty, and the control scale duty that all individuals within the pilot study were asked. In addition, the analysis shall also consider whether there is any relationship between the type of duty chosen, and the strength of duty individuals feel in relation to a variety of electoral contexts.

The theoretical expectations of this study suggest there should be a strong link between the importance of duty from the scale variable and societal duty. This is based upon the principle of social capital which appears to be a strong driver of the societal sense of duty within this pilot study. Expectations also suggest that those who do not believe voting is a duty, should have very low levels of duty, based on their belief that it is not one anyway.

The theoretical predictions for the personal sense of duty are mixed. It is possible that a number of people will say that voting out of a sense of duty is important, but others may feel it is less important. Given the expectations of a personal sense of duty are that individuals are going to vote based upon a duty to themselves, they could feel that voting is important, yet not vote anyway. Equally, an individual could say their duty to vote is weaker, which would also fit well into the model where a personal duty represents a weaker sense of duty than those who possess a societal sense of duty. This again would be suggestive that they would vote in some occasions out of a sense of duty, but abstain at others.

6.4.1 Methodological approach

The methodological approach of exploring this is almost identical to the one seen in section 6.3.4. The dependent variable that is of primary interest remains type of duty, and because of this the same logistic regression models are utilised. The model contains country level fixed effects, and the same control and political variables are also included.

Consequentially the analysis of these data is largely going to be similar, except with the addition of the variable "scale duty", which asks individuals to select on a scale of one to five how important their sense of duty to vote ranging from (1) not at all important to (5) very important.

6.4.2 Results

Drivers of duty including scale duty				
	(6.9)	(6.10)	(6.11)	(6.12)
	Personal	Family	Societal	Not Duty
Citizenship education	-0.590** (2.65)	0.792 (0.59)	0.527** (2.65)	0.052 (0.11)
Interest	-0.206 (1.06)	0.609 (0.52)	0.138 (0.78)	-0.110 (0.25)
Discussion	-0.128 (0.91)	0.203 (0.24)	0.371** (2.93)	-0.274 (0.87)
Gender	0.443* (1.95)	-0.657 (0.54)	-0.337* (1.66)	-1.895** (2.76)
Language	0.150 (0.52)	2.114 (1.61)	-0.127 (0.49)	-0.337 (0.48)
Media usage	0.095* (1.80)	-0.909* (1.79)	-0.042 (0.91)	-0.153 (1.41)
Ideology	-0.007 (0.11)	-0.162 (0.47)	0.009 (0.18)	-0.096 (0.79)
Confidence in politicians	-0.048 (0.55)	-0.382 (0.90)	0.104 (1.35)	-0.344* (1.78)
Confidence in Government	0.052 (0.64)	-0.182 (0.46)	-0.040 (0.56)	-0.063 (0.37)
Scale Duty	-0.055 (0.67)	0.617 (1.01)	0.166** (2.26)	-0.781*** (-4.29)
Uk	0.810 (1.40)	-3.168* (1.71)	-0.665 (1.51)	-1.133 (1.44)
USA	0.687 (1.01)	.	-0.678 (1.23)	-0.498 (0.45)
Nz	0.612 (0.91)	.	-0.657 (1.24)	-0.562 (0.53)
Eire	1.119* (1.90)	-1.582 (0.95)	-0.845* (1.86)	-1.279 (1.52)
<i>N</i>	502	416	502	502
Pseudo R2	0.032	0.339	0.042	0.246

Coefficient Effects; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 42 Drivers of duty (with fixed effects) & scale duty

Source: Original data

The results of the control variables are very similar to the results seen in previous models with the only difference relating to gender in the context of societal duty.

The results for the scale duty variable show that the stronger the sense of duty one feels, the more likely they are to have a societal sense of duty. The results also demonstrate that there is a strong negative relationship between the importance of voting out of a sense of duty and believing that voting is not a duty. The results for personal and family duties suggest that there is a negative relationship with personal duty, and a positive relationship with the duty to family.

Whilst this does fit the theoretical model, the lack of statistical evidence in relation to personal duty and duties to family mean it has to be concluded that there is no statistically significant link between personal duty or the duty to family and the strength of duty.

The implications of the results in this section suggest that the theoretical expectations of societal duty are correct within the context of this study, and there is a strong link between societal duty and individuals who have a sense of duty very similar to the original conceptual framing of duty. It appears that those individuals within this sample who have a societal duty are much more likely to feel that voting out of a sense of duty is very important. The evidence also suggests that theoretical expectations in relation to those who do not believe voting to be a duty are also correct. Theoretically it is intuitive to think that if an individual does not believe voting is a duty they would place little emphasis on believing it is important to vote out of a sense of duty and this is what the evidence in this pilot study shows.

The results for personal duty are more mixed. The lack of statistical significance suggests that there is probably no relationship between having a personal sense of duty and having a consistent sense of duty. The results suggest that there is probably wider variation amongst those individuals who choose a personal sense of duty, with some feeling voting out of a sense of duty is important, whilst others place much less importance on it.

This varying degree of importance being placed upon voting also suggests that individuals who have a personal duty are more likely to vote sometimes and abstain at other times depending on a variety of internal preferences and opportunity cost. For example, if an individual feels that participating in an election is beneficial to them and there are no alternatives considered to be more personally valuable, then they will vote. Those who find alternatives to be more beneficial are less likely to vote, and because of the lack of external pressure upon the decision they make, they feel able to make a decision that is personally acceptable rather than one that is socially acceptable.

These results further demonstrate the validity of the new model of duty. Based upon the strength of duty individuals feel, it does appear that a societal sense of duty closely matches a traditional sense of duty while a personal sense of duty is more open to interpretation and more likely to vary across individuals. A model that allows for these differences is going to give a much clearer idea of

the impact of duty upon turnout and voting behaviour. Further analysis of the personal duty to vote may lead to a model of civic duty that is not only able to explain a base level of duty that traditional models of duty are able to, but instead be able to explain a degree of variation in turnout by isolating those that are most likely to have a variable sense of duty. While further research is needed to fine tune these preliminary findings, so far the main aim of testing a new model of civic duty is appearing successful, and the pilot study is providing a strong justification to incorporate a model similar to this in future research.

6.5 RQ16 Does a personal sense of civic duty better explain variation in strength of duty by saliency than a societal sense of duty?

The evidence above demonstrated that while there is a relationship between the importance of voting and societal duty within this study, results were mixed regarding the personal sense of duty. What was not explored was the relationship between saliency, the type of duty individuals have and the strength of their sense of duty. This next section explores whether there is a relationship between saliency and type of duty. Figures 9 and 10 have already given a preliminary glance at the relationship between the likeliness of an individual to have a variable sense of duty and the type of duty they have and this has suggested that individuals who believe voting is a personal duty were more likely to have a greater degree of variance in duty by saliency than those who have a societal sense of duty. However, this was purely descriptive and did not control for a number of variables that may also influence this relationship.

6.5.1 Methods

In order to confirm the validity of these effects, this next section is going to use further statistical analysis to confirm the findings of the descriptive data. Similarly to the previous methodological approaches taken in this chapter, and because the dependent variable remains the same, a logistic regression approach is still the preferred method for data analysis. The models also contain the same political and control variables as previous models. Whilst the previous set of models contained the scale duty variable, this has been removed and replaced with three variables that measure responses to the following survey question

“Some individuals feel that it is important to vote in [election type], how much do you personally agree with this?” Individuals respond to the question on a five point scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree to (5) strongly agree. In order to avoid interference because of the similarity of the terms, scale duty has been removed from these models.

The new questions that have been included on saliency of electoral context mean there is a decrease in the number of cases that can be used within the models. In order to make sure that there is no bias by experimental treatment, the only cases that are utilised are from those who received the duty treatment. Given the evidence presented in the previous two chapters, the inclusion of responses from the good citizen or obligation treatments would dilute the effect that we find, as neither appears to have any similarity to civic duty.

6.5.2 Results

Drivers of duty with electoral context of duty included			
	(6.13)	(6.14)	(6.15)
	Personal	Societal	Not Duty
Citizenship	-0.963** (2.00)	0.943** (2.33)	-0.291 (0.29)
Interest	0.027 (0.06)	-0.452 (1.25)	-0.169 (0.22)
Discussion	-0.050 (0.18)	0.253 (1.06)	0.371 (0.63)
Gender	0.935* (1.87)	-0.568 (1.43)	-1.195 (1.14)
Language	0.601 (0.97)	-0.138 (0.27)	.
Media usage	0.207* (1.77)	0.006 (0.06)	-0.058 (0.27)
Ideology	-0.160 (1.16)	0.125 (1.11)	-0.381 (1.39)
Confidence Politicians	0.049 (0.29)	-0.078 (0.54)	-0.093 (0.30)
Confidence Govt	-0.005 (0.03)	-0.064 (0.47)	0.024 (0.08)
Duty Local	-0.190 (0.54)	-0.173 (0.61)	1.151 (1.37)
Duty National	-0.445 (0.99)	0.722** (2.09)	-1.921* (1.79)
Duty Ref	0.278 (0.71)	0.226 (0.77)	-0.345 (0.48)
Uk	0.248 (0.21)	-0.922 (1.05)	1.069 (0.81)
Nz	-0.450 (0.33)	-0.735 (0.73)	0.276 (0.13)
Eire	0.871 (0.71)	-1.673* (1.75)	0.518 (0.32)
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.099	0.118	0.414
<i>N</i>	159	159	133

Coefficient Effects; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 43 Drivers of type of duty with saliency of duty included

Source: Original data

The results in table 43 demonstrate two key findings in relation to this pilot study; that the sense of duty to vote in national elections has a strong positive relationship with societal duty, and the duty to vote in national elections has a strong negative relationship amongst those who think voting is not a duty at all.

While there are only a limited number of significant results linking saliency and the new model of duty, it still demonstrates that those with a societal sense

of duty are far more likely to vote in national elections. This is a very expected result, and given the evidence in figures 9 and 10 that demonstrated the basic relationship between saliency and behaviour, it still appears to hold when subjected to more complex statistical testing. It is surprising that there are not more significant findings amongst the societal sense of duty, where referendum and local elections were also seen as very important within the descriptive statistics. The results regarding the personal sense of duty show nothing that is statistically significant in relation to the importance of voting in elections of any saliency.

There are many potential explanations of this lack of results, but primarily there is one main factor that is likely to explain it. Previous models have relied on a sample of around 300 to 500 individuals, but because of the experimental nature of these data that are being used within this model, and the fact that only a third of the data is relevant (responses from those that received the duty treatment), the sample is reduced to between 130 and 160. For statistical analysis this is quite low, and statistical relationships would have to be incredibly strong to show up.

Whilst it is surprising not to find more results regarding a societal sense of duty, the lack of statistically significant results in relation to the personal sense of duty is less surprising. Given that it was expected that individuals with a personal sense of duty should have greater degrees of variance in their strength of duty to vote depending on electoral context, it is unsurprising that there is a lack of statistically significant data regarding the personal duty to vote. However, even with a larger sample the results may have been very similar.

While these data are not as conclusive as would have been liked, the weight of the descriptive data plus the few statistically significant results that exist within this pilot study still suggest that those with a societal sense of duty are going to feel a stronger drive to vote in all elections. This section on the whole has provided further evidence to support this new conceptualisation of duty, and suggests that this methodological approach to measuring duty is likely to substantially enhance our understanding of duty, and enhance our ability to use duty to explain variation in patterns of voting behaviour.

6.6 Voting behaviour and a new concept of duty

6.6.1 RQ. 15. Can personal, societal or a duty to family explain voting behaviour?

Despite some limited results in section 6.5, a vast majority of the evidence in this chapter has supported the need for a new model and statistical approach to addressing and measuring civic duty. Apart from one brief graph that looked at the relationship between actual turnout and levels of societal duty across countries, there has been little discussion about whether there is an actual link between this new model of duty and voting behaviour.

This final section of the chapter will address this issue. The primary reason to create a new model of civic duty is to expand its use within voting behaviour. As has been discussed at length throughout the thesis, its use in voting behaviour studies is limited, so the introduction of a new model that can explain variation in voting behaviour rather than a baseline of voting behaviour would significantly increase its use and value within voting behaviour studies.

In order to test the ability of this new concept and model of civic duty to explain and predict voting behaviour, this section of the chapter shall explore the relationship between actual voting behaviour of respondents that participated in the pilot study, and the type of duty that these individuals selected as explaining their decision to vote. It is expected that individuals who have voted in at least one type of election should be more likely to have a societal sense of duty. It is also expected that individuals who have a societal sense of duty should also be more likely to vote in elections regardless of saliency. Individuals who have a personal sense of duty on the other hand are expected to vote less of the time and in fewer types of elections, with concentrations on national elections and referendum elections which are seen to be more important than local elections.

6.6.1 Methodological approach

The methodological approach for this section of the chapter is again similar to the approach utilised in sections 6.5.1 and 6.4.1. The main difference is the change in the dependent variable, with the dependent variables from earlier sections now being utilised as independent variables within models of voting behaviour. The dependent variable in the models below relates directly to the pilot study respondents actual voting behaviour.

A total of four models are presented below with three looking at variation in electoral context, and a final model that utilises an additive measure. Using an additive model is important within the context of this panel study because of the age of survey respondents. In order to increase the likeliness of individuals having a history of voting behaviour, an additive model means that individuals who have voted in at least one election can be added to the model, and this will increase the number of respondents that appear in the model. Despite the model utilising an additive formula, this has been reduced into a binary measure, where individuals have either voted in at least one type of election or none at all.

The first three models look at voting rates amongst local, national and referendum elections and are coded so that (0) means an individual has not voted in that specific type of election, and a (1) shows a respondent has voted in that type of election. Individuals who were ineligible to vote because of age are omitted from the analysis as there is no record of voting behaviour to test against. The final model also relies on this same coding, but instead of focusing on a single type of election, it utilises an additive measure based on whether individuals have voted in any type of election. This is again coded (0) if they have not voted in a single election and (1) if they have voted in at least one type of election. Individuals who were not eligible to vote in any type of election are also omitted from this model as there is also no voting behaviour to be explained.

The independent variables focus on the type of duty that an individual has declared they have. For an inclusive analysis, the dependent variables also include those who do not believe voting is a duty. The coding for each of the independent variables are (0) to indicate a lack of the trait and (1) to indicate that an individual has that type of duty. The model also includes country level fixed effects in order to account for any unobserved heterogeneity that exists across countries.

6.6.2 Results

Binary logistic models of voting behaviour				
	(6.16)	(6.17)	(6.18)	(6.19)
	Vote local	Vote national	Vote ref	Voted? (Binary)
Personal duty	-0.669 (1.48)	-0.526 (0.92)	-0.530 (0.90)	-1.370** (2.13)
Societal duty	-0.497 (1.17)	-0.888* (1.65)	-0.649 (1.21)	-1.282** (2.06)
No duty	-1.427** (2.43)	-2.089** (2.83)	-1.852** (2.51)	-2.167** (2.90)
Uk	-1.859** (2.42)	-3.214** (3.00)	-1.897** (2.15)	-2.357** (2.25)
USA	-2.849*** (3.53)	-4.131*** (3.80)		-3.080** (2.86)
Nz	-1.769** (2.06)	-3.450** (2.98)	-1.595* (1.73)	-2.646** (2.41)
Eire	-2.024** (2.66)	-3.084** (2.92)	-0.682 (0.80)	-2.470** (2.38)
<i>Pseudo R2</i>	0.052	0.120	0.080	0.060
<i>N</i>	399	281	215	442

Coefficients; *t* statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.10$, ** $p < 0.05$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 44 Logistic: voting behaviour and type of duty

Source: Original data

The most prominent results for these data come in model 6.19, which represents the binary additive model with a larger *N* of 442, compared to 399, 281 and 215 for the other models. These data indicate a statistically significant relationship with the personal sense of duty, the societal sense of duty and those who do not believe that voting is a duty at all. Model 6.17 also shows a statistically significant link between voting in national elections and the societal sense of duty while there is also relationship between rates of voting in national elections and believing that voting is not a duty at all.

The strongest results across all models are the results between voting behaviour and those who do not believe voting is a duty. It appears that not believing voting is a duty makes individuals significantly less likely to vote in all elections regardless of electoral context. This is a relatively intuitive result; if an

individual does not believe that voting is a duty they should be significantly less likely to vote given our understanding of duty as a driver of turnout.

The remainder of the figures are hard to interpret as coefficient results, and while these data confirm some relationships within the models are statistically significant, it is impossible to relate these figures to one and other and analyse the size of the effects. In order to do this, table 45 below shows the marginal effects of each variable and gives a series of results that can be interpreted in relation to one and other. For the purpose of this table, all results were taken from the logistic regression models above, but marginal effects for country level fixed effects have not been calculated and included in the model, though they were present in the logistic models that was utilised to create the marginal effects figures.

Marginal effects of voting behaviour models				
	(6.20)	(6.21)	(6.22)	(6.23)
	Vote local	Vote national	Vote ref	Voted? (Binary)
Personal duty	<i>N.S.</i>	<i>N.S.</i>	<i>N.S.</i>	63%
Societal duty	<i>N.S.</i>	64%	<i>N.S.</i>	72%
No duty	44%	34%	27%	41%

Marginal effects; *N.S.* = Not. Significant

Table 45 Voting (by saliency) with marginal effects

Source: Original data

Looking at model 6.23 first which analyses the differences between those that have not voted, and those that have voted in at least one type of election, it is clear that an individual who possesses a societal sense of duty to vote is much more likely to vote in an election than an individual that does not. Those individuals in the pilot study that have a societal sense of duty are 9% more likely to vote than those with a personal duty, and 31% more likely to vote than those who do not consider voting a duty at all.

These results suggest and confirm that in the context of this pilot study, possession of a societal sense of duty is far more likely to make individuals vote in elections. The results from model 6.22 show that respondents in the pilot study

who have a societal sense of duty are also 30% more likely to vote in national elections than those who do not believe voting is a duty.

The strongest results in this preliminary study excluding those associated with the societal sense of duty are the results relating to those who do not believe voting is a duty. Those who do not believe voting is a duty appear to be significantly less likely to vote in all types of elections. Interestingly, they appear to be most likely to vote in local elections (44%) while they only appear to have a likeliness of 27% to vote in referendums. These are intuitive results given our understanding of duty and its ability to drive voting behaviour and the fact that these individuals do not believe voting to be a duty does appear to depress the likeliness of them voting.

The figures for societal and personal duty are not too surprising either, as previously stated the expectations were that an individual with a societal sense of duty should be more likely to vote than those with a personal sense of duty, and the results in model 6.23 confirm this. The lack of any other statistically significant figure for a personal sense of duty is likely to be caused by one of three potential issues; (1) The sample sizes are too small in the pilot study to detect any patterns within the personal sense of duty (2) the age of respondents sampled in the pilot study mean not enough individuals have voted in a variety of elections, or (3) there is no statistically significant relationship between the individuals sampled that declared a personal sense of duty to vote and voting in elections.

It is difficult to assess which of these reasons is the primary cause or whether these results would be different in representative samples, but the general success of the model suggests that building a full scale representative sample based upon the results of the pilot study could be useful to help refine our understanding of this new model of civic duty. Of course, it may be that voting rates amongst those with a personal duty are just more variable, and because of this there is no clear statistical relationship. Theoretically, this would fit expectations; if individuals who have a personal duty to vote are more likely to have more variable rates of voting behaviour than those who have a societal sense of duty the lack of significance relating to the personal sense of duty may actually indicate this result. Whatever the answer to this question, this section has provided substantial evidence to support further investigation and testing of this new model of civic duty.

6.7 Conclusion and Discussion

This chapter has analysed a substantial amount of data to try and answer the main aim of the chapter; to understand whether a new conceptual model of civic duty has the potential to advance the use of civic duty in studies of voting behaviour. Generally, the evidence presented in this chapter has supported the new model of civic duty that has been tested, and strong results within the pilot study have provided a strong justification to pursue this new model of civic duty further. A series of research questions were asked to try and unpack this central aim, with models looking at its relationship with voting behaviour, what drives each type of duty and to understand whether they interact differently with elections of varying saliency. The remainder of this chapter is going to explore these substantive findings, and reflect upon what these results mean for future research.

Firstly, the main finding in the chapter is that individuals are able to actively differentiate between types of duty, and this was demonstrated in the descriptive data and supported by the quantitative models. If there had been no evidence of different interpretations of each type of duty, then the model would have failed before there was any real attempt to unpack it as a concept. However, the fact that individuals were actively differentiating between types of duty meant that the rest of the chapter could help to build the case for its use in future research.

There have been a number of successes in this chapter relating to the primary aim, and one of the most important findings was the demonstration that a new model of duty can effectively project who is likely to vote in elections, especially amongst those with a societal version of duty. While the results for a personal sense of duty were less clear because of a lack of statistical significance in relation to actual voting behaviour, the fact that individuals still indicated that they feel a personal sense of duty to vote is important to account for.

This chapter has also demonstrated some key differences between the drivers of the societal sense of duty, and the personal sense of duty which will help frame this model for future research. While the societal sense of duty seems to be heavily related to social capital, with a focus on external pressures driving

the societal sense of duty and constraining individuals who feel a societal sense of duty to act in certain ways, it appears the personal sense of duty is primarily inward facing with individuals feeling pressured by their own personal reasoning rather than acting because of external influences and pressures.

These differences again highlight the need for a new model of duty because traditional models of duty would not have tapped into these key differences. Without accounting for these differences by modelling duty in this manner, results may be misrepresentative of what duty is to individuals, and may also have an impact on the ability of duty to contribute towards voting behaviour research.

These data also suggest that a "one question fits all" approach to civic duty in relation to saliency and voting behaviour does not work. It appears that different types of duty cause different rates of voting behaviour in a finding that builds upon the findings of Bowler & Donovan (2013) where the personal sense of duty appears to represent a second order sense of duty. Again, this suggests that when asking survey respondents about the duty to vote it is important that electoral context is taken into account. Simply asking individuals whether they think it is important to vote out of a sense of civic duty is not going to give an accurate picture of what individuals actually think and may dilute the value of civic duty in the context of voting behaviour.

Previous measures of civic duty do not usually give respondents the option to state that they do not believe that voting is a duty., With the exception of the CES (see Galais & Blais, 2014b), respondents are usually asked how much they agree with a statement, or how important it is to vote out of a sense of duty, where a low score indicates strong disagreement or unimportance and a high score indicates strong agreement or importance. This new model of civic duty demonstrates the importance of giving individuals the opportunity to state that they do not believe voting is a duty. The results amongst those who stated that voting is not a duty clearly demonstrates differences between them and those who believe voting is a duty in one form or another. These findings have all contributed to what has been a successful chapter, which has demonstrated the applicability of a new concept of civic duty and established an effective way of operationalising it. While there are limitations on these findings because of the

constraints of the pilot study, it is clear that a new concept of civic duty can be beneficial to voting behaviour research, and that future research to confirm and build upon these preliminary findings may help us to increase our understanding of why individuals vote.

VII Conclusion

This thesis set out to examine three central research aims; whether individuals understand duty, obligation and good citizenship as the same, whether duty, obligation or good citizenship were viable for cross-national research and to test a new model of civic duty that is more representative of how individuals understand and utilise civic duty. To address these three central aims, a total of sixteen research questions were examined, providing a great deal of evidence to further our knowledge and understanding of the main drivers of voting behaviour, why individuals develop civic attitudes in form of duty, obligation and good citizenship, as well as operationalising a new model of civic duty. This preliminary pilot study has offered substantial answers to each of the main aims, and each of the associated research questions.

These three aims formed the basis for each of the empirical chapters, and the evidence from the pilot study provided substantial support in each case to suggest that subject to further research, it appears that each aim can be answered. Firstly, it appears that individuals are able to actively differentiate between duty, obligation and good citizenship; they do not appear to be synonyms for one and other and suggests that previous empirical research has been wrong in its interpretation and use of these concepts. Secondly, it appears that amongst these concepts, civic duty could be a very useful driver to explain variation in turnout within a cross-national setting. Preliminary evidence appeared to demonstrate that while there were differences in the average strength of duty cross-nationally, individuals do appear to understand civic duty the same, which suggests it could help build our understanding of why turnout varies. Finally, this thesis set out to test a new model of civic duty based upon new research that suggests duty is no longer the immutable trait it has long been considered to be. The preliminary results in this thesis suggest that a new conceptual model of duty can account for key differences in the drivers of individuals sense of duty, and if utilised in full studies it may be able to help explain variation in voting behaviour rather than the baseline of voting behaviour the traditional concept was able to provide.

This final chapter is going to conclude the study, considering what has been learnt, and what the impact of the evidence presented within this thesis is upon the wider political literature. It will also consider the shortcomings of the

research, and what could have been done better. Finally, it will consider future research with suggestions pointing towards where gaps in our knowledge still exist, and what can be done to fill them.

7.1 Summary of key findings

This thesis has provided a number of preliminary answers to previously unexplored gaps in our understanding about what drives voting behaviour, what drives these drivers. Looking at the main findings, it is evident that individuals' subjectively understand duty, obligation and good citizenship to be unique, and not just synonyms for one and other. This appears to be true both at an individual level, and cross-nationally. Evidence of these differences in understanding can be seen when looking at the key differences in the drivers of these concepts, the relative strengths that an individual feels of each of these, and the differences in the relationship between the conceptual drivers of voting behaviour and actual voting behaviour. The experimental framework and randomised allocation of respondents to each experimental treatment has allowed this study to be as sure as possible that any differences between the experimental treatments must be explained by differences in individual level interpretations of the treatments. If the results relating to these treatments are stable, it is unlikely there are differences, but as demonstrated in this thesis, the treatments seem to be driven by very different variables, and each related differently to voting behaviour. Cross-nationally, a similar pattern of differences in the drivers of these concepts suggests that duty is understood similarly in one country to another, but relative strengths of duty, obligation and good citizenship are different across nations. So there is evidence to support the use of the concept of duty in cross-national studies of voting behaviour.

In addition to different drivers, the three experimental concepts tested in this pilot study also appear to relate to voting behaviour very differently. Firstly, it appears that obligation has no empirical relationship to voting behaviour, and individuals do not understand what an obligation to vote is. Secondly, good citizenship does have some relationship to voting behaviour, but the study has consistently identified civic duty as the best measure and psychological driver of voting behaviour. This was in line with theoretic expectations, which outlined

obligation as unrelated to voting behaviour, and suggested that good citizenship was largely open to interpretation and the response to the question would largely depend on what a citizen understood "good" to be.

The study looked at a variety of different measures of duty, obligation and good citizenship, with both additive measures utilised to replicate responses to questions typically seen in survey research, as well as a series of models that took electoral salience into consideration. The drivers of duty, obligation and good citizenship at an aggregated level showed several key differences. Based upon the preliminary results of the pilot study, good citizenship appears to be driven primarily by confidence in politicians which suggests that good citizenship is contingent upon the behaviour of politicians, which in itself implies a social contract type relationship between voter and politician. Good citizenship was also driven by civic education, suggesting that determining what is "good" about good citizenship is contingent upon the understanding an individual develops through civic education. Nothing appears to drive obligation, which further suggests that it is not related to voting behaviour in any way. Civic duty was primarily driven by political discussion, age, media usage and ideology, and it appears that social capital and external perceptions are the primary drivers of civic duty.

In relation to voting behaviour, civic duty was the only experimental treatment that could account for voting behaviour at an aggregate level. There were no statistically significant relationships between voting behaviour and good citizenship at an aggregate level, while there were also no links between obligation and voting behaviour.

Cross-national drivers of the experimental concepts appeared to be very similar at an aggregate level, which strengthens the argument that duty is understood similarly across countries, as is good citizenship while obligation seems to confuse individuals regardless of their country of origin. There were some minor differences in the drivers of these concepts cross-nationally. One minor change occurred in the drivers of good citizenship, where it appears that when controlling for unobserved heterogeneity, only the behaviour of politicians was a significant driver of good citizenship and civic education was no longer able to explain good citizenship. This may be because of differences over how civic education is utilised. Drivers of civic duty remained largely consistent with political

interest, political discussion, and ideological view all being significant drivers of an individuals' sense of duty. These results help to confirm the validity of civic duty as a cross-national driver of voting behaviour through the consistency of results, but also suggest that there are shared drivers cross-nationally of civic duty which helps to increase its potential impact. The study also investigated differences between electoral salience, and the impact that electoral salience has on these drivers of voting behaviour. While not all of these measures had a significant relationship to voting behaviour, there were a number of interesting findings that provided further evidence to support the new conceptualisation of civic duty, and to suggest that good citizenship was a useful driver in certain electoral contexts. Civic duty appears to be largely contingent upon political interest in higher saliency elections, while there was a noticeable gender effect in relation to the duty to vote in referendums. However, the inability of civic duty to predict voting behaviour in relation to local elections, and the absence of interest within local elections does suggest that duty is primarily driven by political interest which is a finding that needs to be reviewed within a representative sample as it is unlikely that this will be a shared understanding amongst all generational cohorts. Good citizenship on the other hand appears to be contingent on language at a local level which suggests that having English as a first language is important in shaping what individuals within the study understood as "good". In relation to national elections, good citizenship is driven primarily by civic education and confidence in politicians. The absence of civic education as a driver at referendum and local elections is suggestive that civic education is not effective at stressing the importance of voting in all elections which suggests future research might need to consider the cross-national impact of civic education on voting behaviour and the drivers of voting behaviour. Beyond the analysis of the significant drivers of civic duty and good citizenship, there were some insignificant results that were particularly interesting. The lack of any significant drivers other than gender at a local level suggests that obligation is really poorly understood, and interpreted differently by individuals. The inability of the study to find any drivers of obligation suggests that individuals really do not know what a sense of obligation is, no matter what the context and suggests that there is no such thing as the obligation to vote based upon the results of this pilot study.

This thesis has also provided a preliminary demonstration of the roles that institutions can play in shaping these drivers of voting behaviour. Within the additive models, duty appears to be shaped by compulsory voting (negative effect), while good citizenship is also contingent upon compulsory voting (positive effect), the number of elections a country has, and whether or not there is a presidential system in place. Similarly to other determinants looked at, there were also differences in the drivers of these concepts when split by electoral saliency. The sense of duty to vote in national elections appears to be driven by the number of elections, Presidentialism, and the proportionality of the electoral system. National good citizenship was also driven by compulsory voting, and the number of elections. Generally, these figures all suggest that individuals' sense of duty is contingent upon what is required of them (how many elections they have to vote in), how fair they perceive the election to be (proportionality) and whether they are forced to vote (compulsory voting). While in line with all findings within this preliminary study there is a need for caution in the interpretation of the results, these findings do indicate that future research may need to think about the indirect effect that institutions have in mediating civic duty and good citizenship rather than just focusing on the direct effect that institutions are known to have on voting behaviour.

The main value of investigating these concepts is to test understandings in order to prove models of voting behaviour, and the real test of each concept was to test them against respondents' actual voting behaviour. These traits are only interesting to political science if they can help explain voting behaviour in elections, or to help explain variation in voting behaviour, either over time or across contexts. The results of the additive models of duty, obligation and good citizenship were conclusive. Of the three concepts, only civic duty appears to have any relationship with voting in elections within the context of this pilot study. Both good citizenship and obligation were unable to account for why any individuals voted within this study. When taking into account varying electoral saliency, the results still suggest that civic duty is the best driver of turnout, with a strong sense of duty significantly driving individuals to vote in referendum and national elections. One big change was the ability of good citizenship to explain voting behaviour in local level elections. Individuals with a keen understanding of what "good" citizenship is seemed to relate to voting in local elections and place

importance on voting in them. The sense of obligation however, remains unable to account for voting behaviour in any type of election measured which further demonstrates that there is no such thing as an obligation to vote based upon these preliminary results.

These results did not change significantly in the models with fixed effects, and it appears that civic duty is still the best driver of voting behaviour and is able to account for voting in both national and referendum elections, while good citizenship maintained an ability to account for voting behaviour in local elections. Obligation was still unable to account for voting behaviour of any kind. These results were significant in terms of building a case for using one or more of these concepts in cross-national research, and based upon the preliminary results of this pilot study, it is clear that civic duty is the best and most useful concept to utilise in cross-national models of voting behaviour or turnout to account for and explain why individuals vote in elections. The results have consistently suggested that civic duty is the best of these attitudinal concepts to use and enhance studies of voting behaviour, it has been the only variable to explain behaviour at an aggregate level, as well as explaining why individuals vote in two out of the three types of election that data was collected for when taking into account electoral context.

While there was significant theoretical and empirical literature to justify testing a new conceptual model of civic duty prior to the results of this preliminary study being analysed, the results of this study have also consistently suggested that previous approaches to measuring civic duty may be flawed, and provided further evidence to justify the final part of this thesis that introduced, and tested a new model of civic duty.

The new model of civic duty appears to work very well, and individuals within this pilot study were clearly able to differentiate between a personal, societal and duty to family. Only 10% of the sample suggested they felt more than one type of duty, which suggests there is only minimal confusion over the different types of duty. The new model of civic duty appeared to fit the theoretical framework very well, with societal duty appearing to be more consistent across contexts, and invoking a stronger sense of duty on average. In addition, individuals within the pilot study who selected that they felt a societal sense of

duty appear to be more engaged with voting in all contexts and their sense of duty does appear to be more stable. A personal sense of duty on the other hand seems to be more variable which matches theoretical expectations. Individuals' who declared a personal sense of duty to vote had on average a lower sense of duty, and were less likely to vote in various types of elections. The relationship between personal duty and voting in elections was insignificant in all election types except in relation to the additive measure that included anyone who had voted in at least one type of election. Societal duty however, was able to significantly explain voting behaviour in this additive model and was also able to explain voting in national elections. Neither measure was able to explain voting in referendums or local elections, though this may be because of the limited sample of individuals that had a history of voting in multiple types of election. The results for those who declared that they do not believe voting to be a duty of any kind were also strong and significant across all electoral contexts. Individuals who do not believe voting is a duty within the context of this study were significantly less likely to vote in any election, which suggests that asking individuals explicitly to declare whether they believe voting to be a duty or not is an important aspect of actually determining what duty is amongst those who actually have a sense of duty.

Among these new concepts of duty, there were a series of different drivers which helped to demonstrate that they were being understood uniquely. For example, the personal sense of duty appears to be primarily driven by gender differences, with women being more likely to have a personal sense of duty while a personal sense of duty is also driven by a high level of media usage, suggesting that individuals are more interested in personal issues. In addition to these drivers, it also appears that a lack of effective citizenship education makes individuals more likely to feel a personal sense of duty, which suggests that individuals do not have a complete understanding of what duty is and see duties as being personal issues rather than related to society or civic issues. The drivers of societal duty on the other hand were very different, with citizenship education and political discussion both having a significant positive effect. Unlike a personal sense of duty, citizenship education has a positive impact on the likeliness of an individual developing a societal sense of duty in relation to voting, which suggests they view the duty to vote as more outward looking, and important to society as

a whole. This suggests that individuals with a societal sense of duty are much more likely to have higher levels of social capital, and be actively involved in community. Those who declared that they did not have a sense of duty were driven by a lack of confidence in politicians which strongly suggests that there is a social contract relationship between voter and politician, where bad behaviour on the part of the politician disengages the voter from wanting to play a role in society.

7.2 Implications of this thesis on previous and future research

This thesis has highlighted a number of previously unknown traits about duty, obligation and good citizenship. There are a number of potential implications to be drawn from the results, and future studies of voting behaviour may need to be reconsider their use of duty in light of these results. While these findings are all preliminary, and further research is required to really confirm the validity of them, these preliminary findings do have a series of implications for previous and future research and should be considered carefully.

7.2.1 Implications for theoretical literature

A survey experimental approach was chosen specifically as a method that could address theoretical preconceptions of what duty, obligation and good citizenship are, and compare them against individuals' subjective understanding of them. These preliminary pilot study results have demonstrated that individuals do not understand, or relate the concept of obligation to voting behaviour. Not only were there no statistical links between obligation and actual voting behaviour, but there were virtually no drivers of obligation either. Theorists might argue that this is just because of a misinterpretation of what an obligation is by the cohort sampled and argue that to base this claim on a pilot study is misleading. However, theoretical models that suggest obligation is related to voting behaviour add nothing to political science if they are proven to be unrelated empirically, even within the context of an experiment based upon a youth cohort. So even if the major cause of this is misuse or misinterpretation of the concept of obligation, it is really inconsequential to studies of political science. This finding disputes a number of previous theoretical papers that address the obligation to vote (Ewing,

1953; Brandt, 1964; Lomasky & Brennan, 2000; Hill, 2002) and has implications relating to how theorists might consider the causes of voting behaviour in the future. While this finding may change when subjected to a more complete survey test, this sample was sufficiently large enough to guide future research and suggest that it is unlikely to be a useful concept in future empirical research.

The study has also addressed the concepts of good citizenship and civic duty. Regarding good citizenship, this study has demonstrated that there is a tentative link between good citizenship and voting behaviour. The theoretical literature was largely unclear as to what constitutes good citizenship, and this study has suggested that it does appear to be largely subjective in the context of this sample which is what was expected. The fact that it does relate to voting behaviour suggests that political theorists may need to address what good citizenship is in more detail, as at the moment there is a lack of conceptual clarity over what good citizenship is, and while this study does start to give a preliminary framing to it, it really needs to be addressed further if it is to be developed into a useful empirical tool. Civic duty was also tested thoroughly with analysis looking at previous measures and new measures of civic duty. The evidence has suggested that it relates strongly to voting behaviour, and this confirms a number of theoretical studies that suggested individuals should feel a sense of duty to vote in elections (Selbourne, 1997; Blais & Achen, 2010; Usher, 2011). It also confirmed a number of theoretical expectations from the rational choice literature with duty being seen as something that ranges from a small twinge to something more severe (Goldfarb & Sigelman, 2010), and whilst these findings question the validity of the statement that all individuals are likely to see duty as a constraint on behaviour (Riker & Ordeshook, 1968; Elster, 1983; Hausman & McPherson, 1996; Goldfarb & Sigelman, 2010), it has demonstrated that individuals view the duty to vote differently; with some seeing it as an inherently personal decision and others seeing it a societal duty. This in itself demonstrates that there is likely to be self-interest trade-off with duty (Burt 1990; Selbourne, 1997; Usher, 2011). The preliminary evidence provided here questions our theoretical understanding of what drives duty, and why it varies over time or by political context. Similarly to a number of previous studies that have suggested empirically that duty is not immutable and varies both by context (Bowler & Donovan, 2013) as well as over time (Kosmidis, 2010); this study has demonstrated that how an individual

understands duty has an impact upon the likeliness of them voting in an election. As such, this thesis has provided confirmatory evidence of model proposed by Selbourne (1997) who suggested that duty falls into three strands. Personal and societal duty appear to be clearly defined, and while there was little in the way of evidence to support a duty to family, this may be because of the age of the subjects who participated in the survey experiment. However, the differences between personal duty and societal duty were profound, with societal duty showing individuals are much more likely to vote in elections, while personal duty was related in some contexts, but not all. The differences in key drivers also demonstrated the validity of the new approach to measuring and operationalising the sense of civic duty, with societal duty appearing to be related strongly to social capital, while personal duty did appear to relate more to concepts that have been linked to self-interest.

7.2.2 Implications for Political Science

There are a number of empirical implications for future studies in political science based upon these preliminary findings. Firstly, this study has addressed subjective understandings of duty, obligation and good citizenship. The results have indicated that the previous assumption that they are just synonyms for one and other is incorrect; for example, studies that utilise a good citizenship question to tap into civic duty appear to be flawed, and the variable does not match the concept that the researcher believes is being shown. Previous research needs to re-examined to assess what the data was actually telling them (Dalton, 2008; Van Deth, 2009; Bolzendahl & Coffe, 2014). These findings suggest that political science needs to be much clearer about what it is trying to measure and tap into in the future as misinterpretation may hinder and damage the validity of any future research. These results also suggest it is important to pursue civic duty as the main motivator and driver of voting behaviour, and suggest that utilising it as a driver of voting behaviour may help to explain variation in turnout, and not just the baseline of turnout that it is understood to explain traditionally. This study has offered one further advancement to what we know about civic duty; it is understood that political context causes variation in duty, with second order elections relating to second order duty (Bowler & Donovan, 2013). This study has built upon this evidence and demonstrated that this second order sense of duty

appears to lead to lower levels of voting behaviour, and in cases is statistically insignificant and unable to explain voting in second order elections, contradicting previous research by Thrasher & Rallings (2007) which suggested duty was a better explanation of turnout at second order elections than it is of first order elections.

As was highlighted in the literature review, large amounts of our understanding of what makes individuals vote has been built on studies that have completely ignored all three of concepts. This evidence suggests that research that has ignored these concepts, particularly the concept of civic duty are flawed based upon its omission. Future research needs to start accounting for civic duty to actually deepen our understanding of voting behaviour. To paraphrase the title of Blais & Achens (2010) paper, it is time to take civic duty seriously.

It is not just research generated from these large scale studies that is questioned based upon these preliminary results, but the survey studies themselves. Large scale data projects like the ISSP, CID and ESS need to rethink their use of good citizenship questions, and determine what value there is in asking about good citizenship instead of civic duty. The results here suggest that in order to tap into civic values, a duty question would have had much greater empirical value.

The study has also demonstrated that civic duty is a useful concept to consider in relation to cross-national models of voting behaviour and turnout, with duty again being an effective indicator of the likeliness of individuals to vote in a variety of elections. The results for good citizenship and obligation again suggested they were not as effective, and duty was the measure that would be of most interest for political studies.

The cross-national element of this study also confirmed for the first time that a sense of duty might be contingent upon institutional setting. It appears that the rules of the election may also have a direct impact upon the sense of duty, and an indirect effect on turnout through civic duty. This leads to questions about how great the impact of electoral setting is upon wider civic engagement; if individuals disengage from one social norm, does this have a knock-on effect? Would a change of electoral rules help raise the average sense of duty amongst voters and have an impact upon the wider context of civic duties?

This study has also confirmed that the senses of duty and good citizenship vary depending on electoral context, with differences in their drivers and their ability to account for voting behaviour. Very few previous studies have accounted for varying duty by electoral context (except Thrasher & Rallings, 2007; Bowler & Donovan, 2013), and this study provides further evidence that future studies need to account for electoral context. This is true both within and across countries.

Perhaps the biggest contribution of this thesis is providing and testing a new model of civic duty, one which accounts for different types of duty and the outcome of this may have a substantial effect on how duty is utilised in future research. The model was also successful at demonstrating differences in what drives personal and societal duty, and implies that future studies would benefit from considering this new model of civic duty. It appears that allowing individuals to stress societal values or personal values, whilst also allowing individuals to declare that they do not have a sense of duty to vote at all can have a positive impact on the ability of civic duty to relate to voting behaviour. This model appears to allow for variation in civic duty, and as such may help explain variation in voting over time, which is something that previous models and operationalisations of duty have been unable to do. The new model also questions how we have previously viewed civic duty and the suggestion that duty can vary is in itself is important to redefining what duty actually is.

There are a further two considerations for future studies of voting behaviour; the confirmation of good citizenship, obligation and duty being understood as different suggests that future empirical studies need to be careful about using them as synonyms for one and other, and while this is less important than accurately measuring these traits, it is still important to make sure that terms are referred to adequately using language that is appropriate to the topic and concept.

Finally, the cross-national element of this study has suggested that not all forms of civic education are equal. The addition of cross-national controls eliminated the ability of civic education to drive good citizenship, suggesting that not all forms of civic education are actually helping individuals interpret what is "good". It appears that only some civic education programs are actually able to

do this. This has implications for the future of civic education and suggests a greater need to explore how civic values can be promoted through civic education.

These potential implications are all based upon preliminary findings, and because of the limits on the external validity of this study, it is important that these implications are considered as guidance rather than actual verified effects. However, the potential implications that arise from this thesis strongly suggest that further research is necessary, and a large number of the findings will help to build and guide future research on civic duty and good citizenship. Even though these are only preliminary findings, the potential implications are significant in a number of areas, and it would be wise for future studies to take into account these findings, and consider how their research can be adapted to help control for the impacts that these preliminary findings suggest.

7.3 Shortcomings of Thesis

Whilst this thesis set out to explore a large number of aims and research questions within the context of a pilot study, it is the pilot study itself that provides the biggest shortcoming of the thesis. While the pilot study was very successful in the findings that it produced, and the recommendations for future research that have been created, it does limit the way these results can be described. The pilot study approach to examining such a large number of research questions and aims meant that there were a number of limitations on the number and types of questions that could be asked within the survey, as well as the number and type of respondents that would be accessible to me in order to implement the pilot study. These two issues alone constitute the basis for a number of the shortcomings, which shall be discussed in more detail below. A number of other shortcomings will be highlighted alongside these.

One of the big shortcomings of this thesis was the number of questions that could be asked, which limited the potential explanations that could be explored in the event of any differences between the experimental concepts. But, it was not just the number of questions that were asked that could be improved, but the types of questions. A number of the determinants that were included alongside the main experiment were already understood to drive civic duty, and these were chosen for inclusion to give a baseline against which to judge the

results from this pilot study. While this did allow for comparability, it was limiting, and there were a number of other variables and concepts that could be included in future research. The results gathered in relation to the sense of obligation and good citizenship still represent original research, as these variables have never been utilised in this context, but the repetition of findings in relation to civic duty does decrease the value of the civic duty aspect of chapters four and five. Increasing the survey in length could have helped this, and the results of this pilot study have given a number of avenues to explore in future research.

Based upon the findings of this pilot study, a larger study that incorporates representative samples and a larger number of psychological, behavioural and social variables would help to provide greater context for a discussion of internal vs. external determinants of duty, obligation and good citizenship. This would also help with the development of the new model of civic duty that was addressed in chapter six.

While the *N* of this pilot study was large for a pilot study, future research could do with an increased sample size. Whilst the sample was large enough to find statistically significant results, a larger *N* may have helped to find further significance in relation to voting behaviour. But the biggest flaw in the data collection was the number of samples returned from the US and Australia, which were very small. Increasing these samples would have helped with the cross-national elements of this thesis.

This study also utilised student cohorts to facilitate the completion of this pilot study. One big criticism of this is the impact it has on external validity, and as such it is hard to generalise any findings from this thesis onto society as a whole. However, the cost would have been increased significantly to get a sample that was representative. In the context of a pilot study, student samples are adequate, and the findings here can help guide future research even if they cannot be treated as findings on their own. While external validity is a consideration for the survey elements of this study, the experiment itself is not subject to the same concerns, and a great deal of experimental research does utilise student cohorts. Despite this, future research with a representative sample would be beneficial to confirming these preliminary findings. The cross-national element could have also been improved. The countries sampled were specifically

chosen for the homogeneity of their language and given the sensitivity of wording in relation to the survey experiment, this was desirable. However, limiting the study to just English as first language countries meant losing out on a great deal of institutional variance, as well as social and cultural variance. Increasing the number of countries included would have given a greater ability to analyse the impact of institutions, as well as the impact that cultural differences have upon duty, obligation and good citizenship. This is something that future research into these concepts should consider, and a better cross-national sample is needed to confirm that concepts like civic duty can be utilised effectively in future research.

There are also a number of changes that could be made to the survey. Survey questions 5 and 8 asked individuals about their voting behaviour and sense of duty/obligation/good citizenship to vote. For the US sample, the decision was taken to measure presidential elections rather than referendums as had been done in other countries. However, because of the limited *N* received in the US, the data was not usable. It also meant the US had to be excluded from models on referendums. A further change would be made to survey question 9 that asked individuals to identify the primary reason behind their decision to vote. It was decided to omit good citizenship as an option, to see what individuals would choose in its absence, however, in hindsight I believe it would have been better to include it and see what percentage of individuals who received the good citizenship treatment in the experiment, would still choose it as the primary reason behind their decision to vote. Finally, survey question 13 which asked individuals about the type of duty they felt in relation to a variety of social issues should have asked about their strength of feeling in relation to how important these activities were. Because of space, it was decided it could not be done, but in future collecting this data would have increased the value of the battery of questions.

7.4 Directions for Future Research and Discussion

The implications of this thesis point towards a number of areas for future research, both to confirm the preliminary findings of this thesis, and to explore other areas that this thesis did not address. There were a number of variables that could not be included because of space issues in the survey. An expanded survey looking at a larger range of political, cultural and psychological questions would provide

a much greater insight into what causes variance in civic duty. Whilst this study does explore these to a degree, more variables looking at internal and external efficacy, enjoyment of politics, religious identification, political activism and wider media habits would be of great value as would questions on personality, which may well be good explanations of internal vs. external pressures upon the duty to vote. There is also value in using more survey experiments to tap into political psychological differences, such as what impact do politicians have? And do they all have the same impact on an individuals' sense of civic duty?

Further information is needed to investigate and explore personal pressures on the duty to vote. One potential approach would be to ask individuals about a series of activities, and ask whether they would still vote or not. For example, they have to wait in for an electrician, they need shopping from supermarket, or they need to visit the doctor. This would demonstrate just how variable a personal sense of duty is.

Despite some of the limitations of this thesis, it has still provided an introductory glance of a wide range of previously unexplored issues, and provided evidence that suggest political science needs to take civic duty seriously.

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Appendix

Table 1.

Survey	Question	Key
ANES time series 2012	Does R consider voting a duty or a choice? - Does R consider voting a choice or a duty?	
	Responses: Mainly a duty, Mainly a choice, neither a duty nor a choice..... Followed by	
	How strongly does R feel that voting is a duty? - How strongly does R feel that voting is a choice?	Duty
	Very strongly, moderately strongly, a little strongly	
ANES 2008 panel	Generally speaking, do you believe that you have a duty to vote in ever national election, or do you believe that you do not have a duty to vote in every national election?	Duty
	Yes, have a duty... No, do not have a duty	
BES Panel #1	I would seriously be neglecting my duty as a citizen if i did not vote	Duty
05-09 6 wave panel	Strongly agree - Strongly disagree 5 point scale	
BES Panel #2	It is every citizen's duty to vote in an election	Duty
05-09 6 wave panel	Strongly agree - strongly disagree 5 point scale	
CES2011	People have different views about voting. For some, voting is a duty. They feel they should vote in every election. For others, voting is a choice. They only vote when they feel strongly about that election. For you personally, is voting first and foremost a duty or a choice?	Duty
	Duty, Choice, Do not know	
CES2011	Did you vote mainly because you felt it is your duty, because your vote could make a difference or because you liked a particular party leader or candidate?	Duty
	Duty, R volunteered duty and difference, difference, duty and leader, party, leader or candidate, all of the above, right or privilege, do not know	
CES 2008	It is every citizens duty to vote in federal elections. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree	Duty

CES 2004-2008	Did you vote mainly because you felt it was your duty, your vote could make a difference because you liked party, leader or candidate	
CID	To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to.... vote in elections?	Citizen
	Also support worse off, obey laws, form opinions, active in voluntary organisations, active in politics, jury service, report crime, military serve	
	0-10 scale 10 being extremely unimportant	
ESS1	To be a good citizen, how important would you say it is for a person to... vote in elections	Citizen
	Battery inc. Support worse off, obey laws, form own opinion, active voluntary groups, active politics,	
	0-10 scale 10= extremely important	
EB52 1999	What were the two main reasons why you voted in the EP Elections? I consider voting a civic duty and vote in every election, be it local national or European 8 Alternative options given	
GSS72-06 cumulative file	as an American citizen, do you feel any obligation to vote in elections?	Obligation
	Very important, somewhat important, not obligation	
	Asked only in 1984	
ISSP 2004	There are different opinions as to what it takes to be a good citizen. As far as you are concerned personally, how important is it to always vote in elections?	Citizen
	0-7 Scale 7= Very Important	
NZES 2008	How much do you agree or disagree with these opinions? It is a citizens duty to vote	Duty
	Strongly agree - Strongly disagree 0-5 scale	
Referendum survey	Do you agree or disagree with the statement: It is every citizens duty to vote when applied to the opportunities to vote in the list below?	Duty
	UK, Assembly, local, European, Referendum on 0-5 scale 5 = strongly disagree	

Table 2.

British Election Study		
	Pre Election 1	Pre Election 2
Mean	1.9687	2.3368
	Duty	Duty
Strongly agree	44.4	30.9
Agree	31.5	33.2
Neither Agree Nor Disagree	12.9	17.2
Disagree	6.7	11
Strongly disagree	3.2	5.7
Do not know	1.3	2.1

Table 3.

Country	Australia	New Zealand	United Kingdom	United States
Electoral system	FPTP	MMP	FPTP	FPTP
No. of seats lower house	150	121	650	435
Compulsory voting	Yes	No	No	No
Federal?	yes	No	No	Yes
Bicameral?	bicameral	unicameral	Bicameral	Yes
Frequency of elections	3 years	3 years	5 years	2 years
Frequency of total elections				
Date of last lower house election	2013	2011	1010	2012
Effective no. Of parties (EFFNs measure)	3.23	2.98	2.57	1.99
Effective no. Of parties (EFFNv measure)	4.26	3.15	3.59	2.13
Presidential system?	No	No	No	Yes

Table 4.

Elections in Recent Years		
UK	European election	May-14
	Local election	May-14
	Scottish referendum	May-14
	Local elections	May-13
	Mayoral election	May-13
US	Presidential	Nov-12
	Congressional	Nov-12
	Referendums	Nov-12
	State Assembly	Nov-12
Australia	Federal Election - house	Sep-13
	Federal Election Senate	Sep-13
	ACT Assembly	Oct-12
New Zealand	General election	Nov-11
	Local elections	Oct-13
	Referendums	Nov-13

Figure 1. Questionnaire

Q1 For purposes of monitoring the composition of our sample, please indicate if you are

1. Male 2. Female 3. Prefer not to say

Q2 Please indicate which age group you belong to.

1. 18-29 2. 30-39 3. 40-49 4. 50-65 5. 66 or older 6. Prefer not to say

Q3 Is English your first language?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Prefer not to say

Q4 Many people use print, electronic and digital media to find out information about the news. How often do you access these resources to find out about the news in an average week?

- 1-2 times 3-4 times 5-6 times 7-8 times 9-10 times 11-12 times
13+

Q5a Please say how far you agree or disagree with the following statement with regard to the following types of election:

It is every citizen's duty to vote.

****Or****

It is every citizen's obligation to vote

****Or****

It is the responsibility of a good citizen to vote

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree
County council					
Parliamentary					
Referendum					

****Referendum Replaced by Presidential in US****

****County Council=Local Election in Other Samples****

****Parliamentary=National Election in Other Samples****

Q6 When you get together with your friends, relatives or fellow workers how often do you discuss politics?

1. Very often 2. Quite often 3. Occasionally 4. Not very often

Q7 How interested are you personally, in politics?

1. Very interested 2. Fairly Interested 3. Slightly Interested 4. Not at all interested

Q8 Did you vote in the following types of election last time they were conducted? (If not eligible for any, please tick boxes then proceed to question 11)

	Yes	No	Not eligible
County council			
Parliamentary			
Referendum			

****Referendum Replaced by Presidential in US****

****County Council=Local Election in Other Samples****

****Parliamentary=National Election in Other Samples****

Q9 If you were eligible to vote at the last election and did vote, what were the main reasons behind your decision to vote? (tick all that apply)

1. Sense of Duty 2. Moral Obligation 3. Importance of election 4. Closeness of election
5. Specific issues you care about

Q10 What type of election was this? Please write here _____

Q11 Prior to University, did you receive any citizenship education?

1. Yes 2. No 3. Do not know

Q12 Where 1 means that voting will not make any difference to what happens and 5 means that voting can make a big difference, where would you place yourself?

1. Voting will not make any difference
5. Voting can make a big difference

Do not Know

Q13 There are different opinions as to what constitutes duty. As far as you are concerned personally, are the following; either a personal duty, a duty to society, duty to friends and family or not a duty.

	Personal duty	Duty to family	Duty to Society	Not a duty
Vote in elections				
Never to evade taxes				
Always obey laws				
To keep watch on Govt				
Be active in social or political associations				
To listen to other opinions				
To choose products for political, ethical or environmental reasons. Even if they cost more				
To help people in (Country) who are worse off than yourself				
To help people in the rest of the world who are worse off than yourself				
To be willing to serve in the military at a time of need				

Q14 Where would you place yourself on this scale? (circle appropriate value)

Left

Right

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q15 On this scale, please indicate how much trust and confidence you have in politicians to act in your interest? (Circle appropriate value)

No trust

Full trust and confidence

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q16 On this scale, please indicate how much trust and confidence you have in government (Circle the appropriate value)

No trust

Full trust and confidence

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q17 Considering the duty to vote, whether you think about it as a personal duty, duty to friends and family or duty to society, how important is it that you vote out of duty? (circle the appropriate value)

Very important

Not at all important

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Q18 Finally, could you state whether you are a home student or normally reside outside out of the UK

UK citizen

Not UK Citizen

Prefer not to say

****Insert Country of Survey****

Table 5.

Variable Codebook			
<u>Country</u>	1. Uk 2. US 3. NZ 5. Aus 6. Eire	<u>Voted National</u> <u>Voted Referendum</u> <u>Voted?</u>	0. No 1. Yes 0. No 1. Yes 0. No 1. In at Least One Election
<u>Gender</u>	1. Male 2. Female	<u>Citizenship Education</u>	1. No 2. Yes
<u>Age</u>	1. 18-29 2. 30-39 3. 40-49 4. 50-65 5. 65+	<u>Vote Matters</u>	1. Makes no Difference 5. Makes Big Difference
<u>English First Language?</u>	1. Yes 2. No	<u>Personal Vote</u> <u>Societal Vote</u>	0. Other 1. Personal 0. Other 1. Societal
<u>Media Usage</u>	1. 1-2 Times 2. 3-4 Times 3. 5-6 Times 4. 7-8 Times 5. 9-10 Times 6. 11-12 Times 7. 13+	<u>Family Vote</u> <u>Ideology</u>	0. Other 1. Family 1. Left 10. Right
<u>Strength of Duty, Obligation & Good Citizenship Applies to All Saliency</u>	1. Strongly Disagree 2. Disagree 3. Neither 4. Agree 5. Strongly Agree	<u>Confidence in Politicians</u> <u>Confidence in Government</u>	1. No Confidence 10. Confident 1. No Confidence 10. Confident
<u>Discussion</u>	1. Not Very Often 2. Occasional 3. Quite Often 4. Very Often	<u>Scale Duty</u> <u>Citizen of Nation</u> <u>Compulsory Voting</u>	1. Low Duty 5. High Duty 0. No 1. Yes 0. No 1. Yes
<u>Political Interest</u>	4. Very Interested 3. Fairly Interested 2. Slightly Interested 1. Not At All Interested	<u>Number of Elections Presidential</u> <u>Voted? (Logit Models)</u> <u>Voted Local (Ologit Models)</u>	Per Decade 0. No 1. Yes 0. No 1. In at Least One Election -3. Voted In No Elections 3. Voted In 3 Elections