

Citizenship and Constructing Sense in Voting

A Thesis
Presented to
The Academic Faculty

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In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Public Policy

Georgia Institute of Technology
April, 2004

Citizenship and Constructing Sense in Voting

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Date: April 12, 2004

Dedication

A.M.D.G.

I wish to dedicate this thesis to my family and close friends.

Acknowledgement

I wish to acknowledge Dr. Kingsley, Dr. Klein, Dr. Gaughan, and Dr. Vallas for their commentary and feedback on this thesis. Also, I wish to acknowledge Dr. Havick and Dr. Dougherty for allowing me to conduct this experiment within their respective US Government classes. Without the help of these individuals and their accommodations for the time needed to obtain IRB approval for the experiment, this thesis would not be possible.

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Summary

This is a study of the ways in which citizens construct sense in the voting booth while voting. The experimental design is a pretest – posttest control group. The driving theory is that citizens want to convince themselves that they have made sense of the information presented to them. This is their singular value. The reason why this is upheld as the singular value is because without the capacity to construct sense in the voting process, voters would otherwise feel disenfranchised (i.e. deprived of the right to vote) and subsequently feel alienated (i.e. deprived of the rewards that can come from voting). Citizens will be given an opportunity to present bills; they will evoke certain keywords and phrases. The citizen will later evoke varied terminology when confronted with voting patterns from “Senators”. The test for the citizen in this experiment will be to remove those Senators who are voting at random and provide reasons for either reelection to or removal from office. There are two anticipated results: 1) Senators voting in random patterns will be removed from office in an equal or lesser proportion than remaining Senators, and 2) responses to non-random voting patterns will evoke lesser variation in terminology employed.

Section I – Addressing Citizenship & Issues on Constructing Sense

Overview

This section seeks to present the context of citizenship and issues that are pertinent to both citizenship and the construction of sense. The following sections articulate the experiment, which I have conducted within this established context. In presenting material concerning citizenship, I have used a definition employed by Alessandro Pizzorno. In presenting the material concerning the experiment, I have appealed to the works of Harold Garfinkel as well as Arthur Lupia & Mathew McCubbins. These three main sources overlap and this area of overlap is the focus my experiment. As such, there are many aspects of Pizzorno's, Garfinkel's, and Lupia & McCubbins's respective works that I do not address.

This work does seek to focus on the importance of the lexical hypothesis, the lexicons citizens will employ in this experiment, and the aggregated voting results of the experimental population. This first section will explore aspects of citizenship that are relevant and very important to the context of citizenship, but ultimately (as I view them) tangential in concern. Furthermore, the material presented on constructing sense does not only apply to the framework of citizens, but this section will restrict discussion to the concept of citizenship. This section most importantly presents the many dimensions of citizenship and progressively seeks to eliminate those dimensions, which I view as tangential to the concern of focus.

The concern of focus in this thesis is whether or not citizens can discern differences in their two Senators if they are only presented with their Senators' respective stances "on the issues". The experiment conducted and addressed in following sections serves as an example of the "on the issues" appeal used in a voting exercise. What makes the "on the issues" appeal important is that the people who

appeal to this use it as the embodiment of a democratic ideal and this appeal is one that is pervasive in our American society. This appeal will be further articulated within this section, but if the “on the issues” appeal is considered ideal and something to therefore aspire to, I wish to examine the extent to which citizens may successfully discern between sense impressions in this environment, if at all.

The experiment presents citizens with the YEA or NAY positions of Senators “on the issues” which the citizens propose. Citizens, in turn, make a decision to either reelect or remove one or both of their Senators from office. It is my theory that citizens want to make sense of the information presented to them, and since their only tool of response made available to them (in this experiment) is the vote to reelect/remove, this desire to make sense and document the making of sense to others will manifest itself, in aggregate, as at least one Senator being reelected to office. This experiment establishes a test group wherein each citizen receives the same Senator voting in direct response to their proposals (non-randomly) and another Senator who is issuing computer generated random votes. Constructing sense will concern issues of “professional-lay” vs. “principle-agent” relationships. Additionally, citizens evaluating the voting records of their two Senators (constructing sense from their voting patterns) will concern issues of “practical” vs. “rational” actors and “sense-making” vs. “sense-discerning”. These issues are articulated later in this section.

Finally, linking the connection between the experiment and the issues presented in this section will be attempted in the sections to follow. The following Sections II-V reveal the dimensions of citizenship that were of concern (amidst the context established in this Section I) and highlights the overlapping areas from Pizzorno’s, Garfinkel’s, and Lupia & McCubbins’s respective works. The major finding in this experiment is that citizens are presenting principled positions on their bill proposals (pretest), however, in aggregate, these same citizens (posttest) indicate a preference for the unprincipled

Senator (i.e. the Senator who is voting randomly). It is not the claim that any well function democracy is one in which its citizens presenting principled positions “on the issues” would systematically prefer to reelect a Senator who is voting according to no principles (i.e. voting randomly) on those same issues. This work hopes to improve our understanding of and improve the functioning of our democratic systems.

Notes on improving the experiment and refining the findings are addressed in Section IV. Concluding thoughts are presented in Section V. The following page will now present the issues related to citizenship and constructing sense, while progressively eliminating those dimensions of consideration thought to be important to the context of discussion, but ultimately tangential to the focus of the experiment later addressed. I now begin with a definition of citizenship using Pizzorno’s characterization of citizenship and later tie in the overlapping elements of Garfinkel’s and Lupia & McCubbins’s respectively analogous works.

Defining Citizenship

Citizenship is a concept that individuals either choose to identify with or choose to ignore to differing extents. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and American sociologist James Coleman edited a text wherein Alessandro Pizzorno has succinctly characterized citizenship as follows in their work entitled Social Theory for a Changing Society:

Citizenship is a mode of identity, but, as such, it is rarely a strong one. Strong identities are those that allow an individual both to be clearly recognized and to offer recognition in return. The opportunity of offering recognition in return leads to making distinctions. One separates individuals one from the other and uses marks by which one can consider that some of them are "different." The determination of a difference is essential for the maintenance of the identity. ...By participating in the protection of common boundaries, a sort of mutual recognition emerges between the state and the citizen. (Pizzorno, 224)

This succinct characterization of citizenship notes four key aspects to citizenship. 1) The identity of citizenship is "rarely strong". 2) A strong identity with the state is the ability to offer recognition (actively) and receive recognition (passively). 3) Sense discerning in recognizing differing identities is manifested with "marks" and this is needed to sustain self-identity. 4) "Mutual recognition"¹ is emergent from partaking in the "protection of common boundaries". These four aspects to citizenship will be addressed in different ways within this text. The 3rd and 4th aspects will be examined through experimentation.

¹ In 1927 during the Stevenson Lectures on Citizenship from the University of Glasgow, L.P. Jacks, Principle of Manchester College, Oxford, also talked of the "mutual recognition" aspect of citizenship using a slightly different term, when commenting on the questioned continued participation in the League of Nations in the Post-WWI time frame, saying: "it will last just so long as the parties to it *are animated by the spirit of mutual loyalty*" (Jacks, 28).

The 1st Aspect of Citizenship: People Identified (Passively) as Citizens

Identity of citizenship is “rarely strong”. “Earning” the label of citizenship is, to the vast majority of Americans, a default assumption of the government (i.e. not necessarily a conscientious decision of the person in question), which is then formalized under the legal rhetoric of “common law”. Michael Robert W. Houston in his article entitled “Birthright Citizenship in the United Kingdom and the United States” noted, “The common law concept of citizenship by birth within a sovereign's territory (territorial birthright citizenship) is vital to the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, which confers citizenship on those born within the United States and 'subject' to its 'jurisdiction'” (page 695). Simply put, being born on US territory earns the majority of Americans their “citizenship” label and status. However, the subtitle to Houston’s work is “A Comparative Analysis of the Common Law Basis for Granting Citizenship to Children Born of Illegal Immigrants”, which notes the key word classifying the minority of Americans: immigrants. This minority must conscientiously obtain the label and status of citizen through legal channels, which are of no guarantee. The key factor uniting both the minority and majority, however, is recognition.

If the identity of citizenship is rarely strong, then there must be some alternative identity that is strong (either in America or abroad). Benjamin Barber in his article entitled “Democracy at Risk: American Culture in a Global Culture” speaks of the “McWorld”. The McWorld is the increasingly commercialized world, wherein the people involved are not citizens but rather consumers. Thus, consumerism has supplanted citizenship as a stronger mode of identification. Barber states: “The first casualty of McWorld is citizenship. The second is democracy. For a world of the ubiquitous consumer is a world of choice without power, of democracy without citizens, and in a world without citizens—although private economic choice may be maximized—there can be little real freedom and no democracy” (page 31). Barber along with many others

have addressed the consumer mode of identity as strong and supplanting that of citizenship (due to “McWorld” and the “Coca-Colonization” of the world). Others have addressed the consumer mode of identity as supplanting another mode of identity: faith or religion.

The Global Prophetic Network (GPN), a center based at the American Baptist Seminary of the West, invited South African Muslim theologian and scholar Farid Esack to present the 2002 Drexel Memorial Lecture. In this lecture, to a largely Baptist audience, Dr. Esack noted:

It doesn't help us just to be obsessed with the numbers game...who is winning the race for more converts? Deep down our kids are being converted to the *religion of the market* – my kids and your kids. They've been converted to the religion of the market, to consumerism, to the latest fashions, to the demands of their friends, and all of these are being shaped by the images and the marketing industry all around them. And, so the fastest growing religion in the world today is the religion of the market. For a long time the crucifix was the most important religious symbol recognized all over the world. In the last 12 years, it had been overtaken by the McDonald's sign. Now, I may disagree with you theologically on the crucifixion and the resurrection, but in the death of that crucifix, as the most well known symbol in the world, and its being supplanted by McDonald's, in that is the death of all of our religious communities. (Esack, 18 minutes, 48 seconds²)

This is an example where the mode of identity of consumerism is noted as strong (overwhelming), not supplanting the citizenship mode of identity, but rather supplanting the traditional religious mode of identity. The traditional religious mode of identity, once strong in the majority of American communities, (traditional as distinct from the adaptive label “religion of the market”) is currently much like citizenship in being a rarely strong mode of identity. Esack and Barber both point to the consumer as being the present strong mode of identity in America as well as in a growing number of places abroad; they

² The Drexel Lecture is only available in audio format using Real Player software. View the References for this particular file's URL (it is only the second half of the lecture). The URL for the first half is: <http://www.torridproductions.com/gpn/f-audio1.rm> (03.30.04).

arrive at this conclusion, however, from two different disciplines of study. Barber's discipline is that of policy studies, whereas Esack's discipline is that of theology. Nonetheless, this text is concerned only with the citizenship mode of identity and not alternative modes, which many sources address as weak or waning with respect to today's prevailing mode of identification: consumerism.

The 2nd Aspect of Citizenship: People Identifying (Actively) as Citizens

Wherein people may be identified as citizens by the government (a passive process on the part of the individual), the people may then, in turn, conscientiously identify themselves as citizens (an active process on the part of the individual). This adequately attests to the *label* of citizen, but as for the *status*... The status of citizenship is equal under the law (*de jure* – referencing American law), subsequently affording all citizens certain activities that they have the ability to equally engage. The importance of this distinction between passively being identified as a citizen and actively identifying as a citizen rests in specific activities in our democratic government. Peter Riesenberg in his work entitled Citizenship in the Western Tradition: Plato to Rousseau notes these actions that our actively identifying citizens can engage in today in relation to those of ancient Greece:

The citizen may be seen more clearly if contrasted with others who made up the population of the polis, and here one thinks most specifically of Athens. *Metics*, slaves, and, of course, women each had a special place in society and possessed certain rights which empowered and limited them vis-à-vis the citizen. They all lacked what Aristotle called *timai*, or political status: the ability to vote, to serve on the juries, to serve in the most prestigious military formation [true of today's American military], the cavalry [once applicable to our American military], and to participate fully in the religious life of the community, linked as it was to the polis's [metropolitan region's] political identity and its soil. (Riesenberg, 27-28)

What the "*Metics*, slaves, and of course, women" lacked under the ancient Greek identification of "citizen" are the actions that people who identify as "citizens" today may

engage in America – Aristotle’s *timai*. However, America’s citizenship in the western tradition was not too foreign to that of Ancient Greece, since *Metics* (immigrant groups), slaves (in Ante-bellum America with former slaves decades thereafter), and women (in Ante & Post-bellum America) were all once prohibited in various ways from the *timai* actions that a "citizen" today may now engage: voting, serving on juries, serving in the military, and practicing a religion of your choice within our varied metropolitan (i.e. local) governance structures.

The one activity of citizenship for focus in this text, however, is that of voting. Specifically, citizens voting for people to represent them... These representatives along with their established agencies, in turn, then constitute the “government” (i.e. the original source from which most Americans are identified passively as citizens). It is this kind of voting which makes America both democratic and republican (with emphasis on the respective lower case “d” and “r” letters). Ancient Greece is often noted as the world’s only “true democracy” where every citizen was once participant to each the above-mentioned activities. It was once small in location and population, but as the population grew in size, however, challenges of organizing the growing number of people then made this true democracy no longer practical; citizenship in the western tradition then gained a distinctive republican (representative) form of governance which was democratic (in that it aspired to the ideals of the once true democracy) as fully manifest in the Roman Republic in the early Common Era. Riesenbergr even notes: "A traditional view of citizenship could be written even in the 1750s because, as the natural philosophers put it, it still 'saved the phenomena [of true democracy],' since in many respects Western Europe was organized as it had been for thousands of years” (page 256). This republican governance then gave rise to a new aspect of citizenship: the constituent.

The 2nd Aspect of Citizenship Continued: Citizens as Constituents

Within a given jurisdiction, a citizen may be a constituent, but constituents may not practically reflect all citizens. All citizens are technically (not practically) constituents. This technical usage (not practical usage) of the term herein defines a constituent as one who authorizes another to act as agent. To this I may *practically* add, “actively authorizes” an agent (member of Congress) in the form of a positive vote in favor of that Congress member. The remaining citizens are only constituents *de jure* in so far as they tacitly concede to recognizing the winning elected official for whom they did not vote. I add this because it helps to highlight the fact that any Congress member will practically seek to initially serve that constituency which elected him or her into office and technically thereafter serve “all citizens” within a given jurisdiction. John R. Johannes notes in his text To Serve the People: Congress and Constituency Service that “Among factors previously used, with mixed results, to explain positive approaches to constituents [on the part of elected officials] are: ideology, extremism, partisanship, political ambition, role orientations, peer group influence, and attitudes toward the efficacy and deleterious effects of casework” (pages 43-44). The plurality of “approaches” is what serves to establish citizens within different constituencies.

This then serves adequately to address the second aspect of citizenship as delineated by Pizzorno: namely, the citizen’s strong identity with the state through the ability to offer recognition (actively by voting for desired representatives) and receive recognition (passively and foremost as members of that Congressperson’s constituency). The third aspect of citizenship articulated by Pizzorno concerned the citizen’s ability of sense discerning in recognizing differing identities (e.g. constituencies) as manifested through the use of “marks” and how these are needed for the citizen to sustain self-identity among fellow citizens. Whereas before I placed focus on the consideration of citizenship to that of *citizens as constituents* (the product of republican

governance), I now place greater focus on citizens as different constituents and how they methodologically effect (i.e. accomplish) the recognition of differing constituencies. This aspect of citizenship (the ability to construct sense) is the focus of the experiment I have conducted, therefore, I will now discuss the 3rd and 4th aspects of citizenship as they relate to the experiment. This experiment will be explained fully in Section II.

Examining the 3rd Aspect of Citizenship: Discerning Difference

“Marks” in the language of Pizzorno’s writings are essential to the ability of citizens to discern those who are similar from those who are dissimilar with respect to their own identifications. They are essential because they are empirical (observable), and without such identifications recognized affiliations would reflect a randomness or arbitrary nature – this is to be avoided. This study is an evaluation of citizenship insofar as people will discern differences in identification according to textual presentations of the voting patterns of their two Senators.

In other words, the research question in this study is “can citizens successfully discern between (“mark”) differing identifications as a sole function of voting patterns (presented as random and non-random)”. As such, the “marks” which are of importance in this context of citizenship are words and only words (other than the YEA or NAY votes of two Senators) put forth by each citizen. In this legislative simulation, both “citizens” and “Senators” remain anonymous (i.e. do not physically interact) with each other and this serves the purpose of removing any marks otherwise used to discern constituency membership by the citizen, leaving the sole exception of voting patterns. Because this experimental study only involves the interaction of words from “citizens” on the one hand and YEA or NAY votes from “Senators” on the other, the evaluative work in this text is all based on one overarching hypothesis: the “lexical hypothesis”.

The Lexical Hypothesis in Examining the 3rd & 4th Aspects of Citizenship

The research question (“can citizens discern between differing identifications as a sole function of voting patterns”), which is concerned with understanding the precise nature of Pizzorno’s 3rd aspect of citizenship, is predicated upon the “lexical hypothesis”. The lexical hypothesis is a framework that says that everything of importance to people has a word describing that importance. This has been cited widely in psychology literature in the area of personality/trait theory. Psychologists working in the area of personality/trait theory will assume that when people describe the personality of Person X, then the traits that are of importance will be substantiated with the words that are employed to characterize Person X’s personality.

These psychologists would, for example, survey a large number of people who interact with Person X so as to ensure that all traits (terms employed in association with Person X) are cited until they are confident (statistically) that few words are omitted³ or conversely, few people interacting with Person X are omitted from the study. Psychologists Lawrence Pervin and Oliver John in Personality: Theory and Research state that these trait terms used to describe personality “are useful because they serve the purpose of prediction and control – they help us predict what others will do and thus control our life outcomes” (pg. 259-260). Citizens strive to achieve the same purpose of prediction and control through elections. By employing lexicons, citizens identify themselves as distinct from the larger population thereby sustaining self-identity, and additionally employ these same lexicons (protecting common boundaries) to discern others as “different”.

³ This endeavor has led psychologists to develop what is called the “Big Five” Theory of personality, which accounts for trait terms which are synonymous in their characterizations falling within one of the “Big Five” traits (“emotional stability”, “extroversion”, “openness”, “conscientiousness”, and “agreeableness”) – abstracted terms characterizing consistent features of personality across people. Psychologists have come to find the “Big Five” via statistical factor analysis. I will employ a similar approach to abstracting the lexicons employed by the citizens in this experimental data.

Relating the Lexical Hypothesis & Ethnomethodology

Just as psychologists may survey co-workers of Person X who use trait terms for “prediction and control”, this study seeks to survey “citizens” of two “Senators” who seek to “predict and control” outcomes in their voting patterns (as understood through the use of basic statistics) in reference to an analogous experiment conducted in the area of ethnomethodology – to be characterized in greater detail later in Section II. However, concerning my usage of basic statistics as predicated on the lexical hypothesis and its compatibility with ethnomethodology, I will note the statements of Barry Hindess from his work entitled The Use of Official Statistics in Sociology: A Critique of Positivism and Ethnomethodology. I quote here at length because Hindess adequately summarizes the apparent history of conflict that once existed among sociologists regarding the use of statistics in ethnomethodological studies. In 1973, he states:

The chaotic and frequently incoherent state of modern sociology, reflected in its theoretical anarchy and the coexistence within it of radically heterogeneous and often incompatible positions, is now widely recognised and commonly deplored. Particularly disturbing in the present situation is that so many recent works in sociological theory and especially, but not only, in the field of deviance have developed an essentially anti-theoretical critique of the forms of proof and types of evidence used by their theoretical opponents. This tendency, which opposes concepts and rationalist forms of demonstration to human 'experience' as the foundation of knowledge, is by no means new but is carried to an extreme in modern forms of ethnomethodology and social phenomenology. (Hindess, page 9)

Hindess would later go on to state:

In the texts of 'orthodox' methodology the existence of an intersubjectively valid observation language is assumed. Descriptions in this language provide a firm basis against which theories and hypotheses may be tested. The critique that social phenomenology and ethnomethodology direct against the use of official statistics appears to ask only that this intersubjective validity be demonstrated. (Hindess, page 10)

Thus, the use of statistics in this study, as predicated upon the lexical hypothesis, and as noted by Hindess, need not be anti-theoretical or reflective of a “theoretical anarchy” (in

opposition to the lexical hypothesis) or understood to be the “true” representation of events. Sociologists have long resolved the once perceived incompatibility of the methods of study and the bases upon which I assert meaning in the experimental data obtained for this text. Thus, another aspect of statistics predicated upon the lexical hypothesis is now discussed and the 4th aspect of citizenship is addressed.

Beyond the range of descriptors (i.e. lexical “marks” or lexicons) that citizens put forth in their textual responses, we can also view the frequency of descriptors. The lexical hypothesis would presuppose that the more frequently terms are used in association with one or both Senators then the more important they must be. Alternatively, the less frequently a term is used in association with either Senator in this mock legislature, then less importance is placed upon that term as a defining feature of importance to these surveyed citizens. It is out of the lexical hypothesis that we then confront the 4th aspect of citizenship that Pizzorno delineates; namely, that “Mutual recognition” is emergent from partaking in the “protection of common boundaries”.

The 4th Aspect of Citizenship: Lexicons Used for Mutual Recognition

The experimental design allows for citizens to present their ideas for bills to their two respective Senators in a mock legislative session, and this serves as a pretest account. Citizens later view only the YEA/NAY vote responses of their two respective Senators and are permitted to 1) either reelect or remove those Senators from office, and 2) to provide a posttest account explaining why they voted the way they did. Out of the lexical hypothesis, the “protection of common boundaries” serving as “mutual recognition” can manifest itself by citizens employing the same language (lexicons) in both pretest and posttest accounts. Evoking different lexicons between pretest and posttest accounts, as based on the lexical hypothesis, would indicate that a term or series of terms of importance were omitted, and the reason why they were omitted is because of a failure to adequately “protect common boundaries” in the reelection of their

respective Senators. Namely, when a citizen provides a pretest reasoning for why they think their Senators ought to pass their proposed bills, their posttest explanation for any reelection or removal from office will either be coherent or incoherent, based on the usage of that citizen's lexicons.

If pretest reasoning and posttest responses were incoherent according to the symbolism of the lexicons employed in both, then this would be a predictor for a vote for removal. If they were coherent, then this would be a predictor of a vote for reelection. This coherence and incoherence indicate the success of mutual recognition and failure of mutual recognition, respectively. Psychologists have assessed "coherence and incoherence" through the use of statistical factor analysis. This experiment, however, will not capture the diversity and frequency of lexicons to warrant a statistical assessment of coherence/incoherence. Subsequently, a cursory overview of lexicons employed and normative assessments will establish the presence of (in)coherent use of lexicons between pretest and posttest.

Focusing on Citizenship Voting: Citizens Affecting Service

The 1st aspect of citizenship that Pizzorno noted was that the identity of citizenship is "rarely strong". Mark P. Zanna notes in his work Consistency in Social Behavior: "For most people, voting is the only behavior they are asked to perform in relation to a candidate. Moreover, the privacy of the voting context is deliberately designed to prevent interference by other factors" (pg. 5). This deliberate design to prevent interference by other factors was utilized in the context of this experimental examination of the 3rd and 4th aspects of citizenship. In America, Pizzorno's first aspect regarding citizenship could not have been any more relevant and, more importantly, accurate. However, voting is a tool used by citizens who think they can affect service by voting, and this therefore establishes two kinds of citizens (not differentiated among constituencies) but differentiated between 1) those who think they can affect service and

2) those who do not. We shall first address those who do think they can affect service through the act of voting.

Having accounted for the 3rd and 4th aspects of citizenship as noted by Pizzorno, we turn to the 2nd once more. This aspect of citizenship notes that a strong identity with the state is the ability to offer recognition (actively) and receive recognition (passively). Because this experiment is explicitly constrained only to the use of words (as opposed to physical gestures in conversation, for example), the symbolism that each word or phrase carries is critical to being able to conduct any method of interpretation. Therefore, how symbols interact between citizens and their Senators in this linguistic exchange will determine the mode of interpretation to be applied by the citizen (actively) to their Senators (passively) for any given voting pattern. Herbert Blumer in Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method notes three premises upon which symbolic interactionism rests:

The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them. ...The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters. (Blumer, 2)

If a Senator's voting pattern should conform to the reasonable interpretive process of the citizen, then this is an instance wherein the citizen may passively receive (accept) their Senator's voting pattern as in direct agreement with his or her pretest account. This acceptance is predicted, in this experiment, through the use of lesser lexicons in the posttest response as compared to the pretest reasoning. The strong ability to offer and receive recognition of interpretations must be either confirmed or falsified to normative standards of evaluating the symbolic interaction between pretest accounts and posttest accounts, wherein exposure to the two Senator's voting patterns constitutes the test and

affected source of change between accounts. The connection between Blumer's commentary on the premises of symbolic interaction and any experiment on the documentary method of interpretation rests in the third premise (concerning the handling and modification of meaning).

Noam Chomsky in his text Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin, and Use also points out the distinctive relationship between symbolic interaction and other modes of description and explanation. Chomsky states:

There is a distinction to be made between cognitively impenetrable systems that constitute what Pylyshyn (1984) calls "functional architecture" and systems that involve reference to goals, beliefs, and so forth, and perhaps inference of one sort or another. In Pylyshyn's terms, the distinction is between the "symbolic (or syntactic) level" and the "semantic (or intentional) level," each to be distinguished from a third level, the "biological (or physical) level" at which description and explanation are in terms of laws of physics, biochemistry, and so forth. (Chomsky, 262)

The difference between the "symbolic (or syntactic) level" and that of both the "semantic (or intentional)" and "biological (or physical)" levels of explanation and description enables variation in the context of the proposed experiment. Here citizens provide explanations and descriptions of their exposure to the experimental test and only the symbolic level can account for variation in meaning. Semantics account for intended meaning and this experiment is not hypothesizing that citizens change what they mean when constructing sense in voting, but quite the opposite: citizens provide variation in the symbols they employ so as to maintain the singular value of convincing themselves that they have always made sense of the information presented to them. Neither the "semantic (or intentional)" nor the "biological (or physical)" levels of description and explanation can allow for change in the maintenance of constructed sense.

The challenge of the citizen in this proposed experiment is to have to either confirm or falsify the symbolic relevance of their Senator's voting patterns as understood

to be a reflexive action. That is to say, when a citizen proposes a demand to their Senators and that same citizen is presented with the voting patterns of their Senators (YEA/NAY) on those demands, the symbolic relevance of each YEA or NAY vote has already been established in the mind of the voter. On this reflexivity, Walter Wallace in Principles of Scientific Sociology succinctly states: “[Max] Weber claims the whole discipline of sociology can perform a ‘reflexive’ role for society-at-large: ‘If we are competent in our pursuit...we can force the individual, or at least we can help him, to give himself an account of the ultimate meaning of his own conduct’” (pg. 470). This experimental study has attempted to do just that by enabling citizens to provide the account of what they mean with each bill they propose to their Senators in anticipation for a YEA or NAY response.

A note of relevance in later Sections of this text is that “for ethnomethodologists the term ‘reflexivity’ describes how the sense of a question, indicative gesture, or silence in conversation is ‘achieved’ as part of the setting in which it occurs” (pg. 35) as noted by Michael Lynch in Scientific Practice and Ordinary Action: Ethnomethodology and Social Studies of Science. Thus, in this case, reflexivity will manifest itself between the pretest linguistic/written accounts of citizens and their posttest accounts as well. Consistencies and inconsistencies in the symbolic references (as indicated through his or her chosen lexicons) presented by the citizen would be attributed to exposure to their Senator’s voting patterns. Therefore, a confirmed interpretation would be any linguistic/written posttest expression in agreement with that pretest expression. A falsified interpretation, in contrast, would not reflect an appeal to the pretest symbols in a posttest account. Thus, symbolic interaction is relevant because each citizen knows the interpretation of symbolic terms used in pretest and posttest. As an external observer to the research, I can only index symbols through the lexical hypothesis (i.e. the key words that are presented to me in the pretest and posttest accounts).

Citizen Alienation & Disenfranchisement

The other group of citizens that differ from those participating in the act of voting are those who are alienated and disenfranchised. Marha E. Gimenez in the text *Alienation, Society, and Individual* edited by Geyer & Heinz defined alienation as that which “refers to the objective and subjective (in the sense of historically specific forms of subjectivity) effects of social relations of production through which the owners of the means of production appropriate the surplus produced by the direct producers” (page 184). In short, the alienated are (either in reality or in perception) “boxed out” from the benefits of their direct efforts. Whereas alienation appeals to a more economic conception of exclusion, disenfranchisement appeals to a more social conception of exclusion, as in the case of voting rights of blacks in Post-bellum and certainly Antebellum America. Those who perceive or are in reality, excluded in all socio-economic contexts, however, are not of concern for examination in this study as I am trying to examine the methods people employ in voting in order to affect their services received.

People who engage in the act of voting exercise a reflexive statement in communicating their perception of being able to affect voting outcomes. The alienated and disenfranchised simply do not communicate such a perception, even if they hold that perception; they do not identify themselves as being able to actively “protect common boundaries” in order to achieve “mutual recognition”. Morton Kaplan further states in his work *Alienation and Identification*: “In addition to protecting influences and life styles related to the various aspects of being, thus facilitating authenticity, we require social, economic, and political arrangements that maintain the identities of the citizens. This may involve relative equality with respect to a number of things... [including] the vote” (pages 193-194). The alienated and disenfranchised, in so far as the vote is concerned, do not think they are capable of influencing what Kaplan has just highlighted.

These people, in the context of my experimental study, are the non-participants in my survey population.

Another perspective on the alienated and disenfranchised is that of a voter having an “internal locus of control” as opposed to an “external locus of control” to use terminology from the psychology literature. Also in the text, Personality: Theory and Research, Pervin and John discuss “internal and external locus of control”. This is part of Julian B. Rotter’s social learning theory of personality. An internal locus of control tends to lead one to think that they are in control of the consequences they face, whereas an external locus of control tends to lead one to think that they do not control the outcomes of events that affect them. This has many implications for voting and understanding the mindset of those who would choose not to participate in voting.

The work of Lynn M. Sanders in her paper “The Psychological Benefits of Political Participation” explored the question as to whether or not political participation confers psychological benefits. Her work appeals to a more fundamental question when she states, “confers” benefits. She presents the understanding that the choice to participate in the voting process, in and of itself, may be a mechanism whereby some citizens can alleviate “psychological distress”. The work of Sanders concludes that “controlling for internal/external locus of control sometimes dents the effect of participation, but does not eliminate it” (page 12), which serves as an indication that this aspect of personality would be important to the context of my experiment and thusly appealing the mindset of non-participants. I simply wish to focus, however, on participants.

Elections: Representation Aligning with Citizens “On the Issues”

In the best articulations of citizenship as regard republics (i.e. representative governments), nowhere is it claimed that to “judge the candidates on the issues” is a negative thing. In fact, quite the opposite, “judging the candidates on the issues” is often requested of citizens and projected to citizens as an ideal – something to which all citizens should aspire. The phrase “on the issues” itself can produce over a million online politically pertinent search results and many websites dedicated to this concept. One such web site first established for the 2000 presidential election and in support of the League of Women Voters was OnTheIssues.org (<http://www.ontheissues.org>). It states of its mission: “to provide non-partisan information for voters in the Presidential election, so that votes can be based on issues rather than on personalities and popularity”. This mission is a theme that has been projected often by political candidates themselves as they each say something to the effect of “just judge us on the issues”.

Richard J. Ellis in his work entitled Speaking to the People: The Rhetorical Presidency in Historical Perspective presents that this “on the issues” matter as an ideal was first initiated in the American public during the early 19th century presidential campaigns. He states: “Beginning in the 1820s and 1830s the traditional republican norm of candidate restraint began to be questioned by those who insisted that citizens had the right to ask presidential candidates where they stood on the issues and that the candidates had a duty to tell them” (pages 112-113). He later noted that with time, the purpose of acceptance speeches would change to “stir an audience rather than to set out in detail the nominee's positions on the issues” (page 131). Nonetheless, judging candidates “on the issues” has been established in our American culture as an ideal to strive for – avoiding the biasing effects of opinioned accusations, personality projections of the media, and presumed popularity in political campaigns can be achieved through “just evaluating the candidates on the issues” and thereby knowing where they stand.

Dennis F. Thompson in his work The Democratic Citizen: Social Science and Democratic Theory in the Twentieth Century states “an ideal in citizenship theory pictures a desirable state of affairs which is not yet realized” (page 43). Candidates for whom the biasing factors mentioned are working against them often project this ideal appeal to “just judge us on the issues”.

The experiment I have designed was in light of the “just judge us on the issues” appeal that is often called upon by would-be representatives of citizens and incumbents alike. Recently, on Thursday, March 25th 2004, Senator Zell Miller of Georgia (Democrat) appealed to this very ideal on CNN’s⁴ *Inside Politics* with Judy Woodruff as host. Senator Miller established a new organization called “Democrats for [George W.] Bush” (where President Bush is a Republican) and stated of his recent publicly announced opposition to his own party’s Presidential nominee for the 2004 campaign, Senator John Kerry:

He is an authentic hero. And let’s not anybody ever forget that. We owe him an eternal debt of thanks for what he did in Vietnam. ...See, this was before 9/11 [Senator Miller’s public words of support for Senator Kerry] and you have to look at a person’s votes. And his votes, that’s how you judge a person. And when you look at a person’s votes you’re not questioning their patriotism. You’re not trying to smear them as a great patriot. He was and is. You’re trying to point out that this man voted against the Homeland Security bill. He voted time and time against missile projects and other weapons that we need in our national defense. Most important of all, and what really got me was whenever he did not support the \$87 billion to go to Iraq for its reconstruction and for our armed services. (Sen. Miller, *Inside Politics* transcripts – see Reference section)

Senator Miller’s recent statements are only provided as evidence that the “just judge us on the issues” ideal is real and pervasive throughout our various forms of communications media.

⁴ Cable News Network’s...

By constructing an experimental setting that does away with partisanship, personalities, and popularity⁵, and only presents the issues along with positions (YEA or NAY) according to those issues, this experiment would meet that democratic ideal that is called for in the “just judge us on the issues” appeal. To restate Mark Zanna’s point, “the privacy of the voting context is deliberately designed to prevent interference by other factors” (page 5), thereby establishing this experiment as amenable to the voting context in trying to exclude all factors of elected officials, other than their positions on the issues.

Before addressing the experiment in detail, however, I must first address several issues on the construction of sense and what bearing that has on the “intersubjective validity” (reference the earlier statement of Barry Hindess) of the experimental data I have gathered. In addition, as pertains to the “findings” in my experimental data, Thompson in his work also states in general:

The justification of a value standard in citizenship theory depends not only on observational tests but also on a human decision to accept some higher-order principle, such as a presupposition, from which the standard follows. ...In justifying value standards there are *additional* principles which require a decision not based on observation – most obviously the presuppositions of citizenship. (Thompson, 33-34)

Subsequently, the conclusions formulated on my theory regarding citizenship will be largely tempered in the extent to which I can claim *proof* of anything. “Decisions not based on observation” will be assessed with confidence, however, due to the fact that this is an experimental study and all observations which do effect decisions are purposefully implemented as well as readily accounted.

⁵ It’s interesting to note that in the Senator Miller example of an appeal to the “just judge us on the issues” ideal, he speaks of smearing people as “great patriots”. This is interesting because although this “smear” is positive, the appeal to the “one the issues” ideal is used to remove biasing (be it positive or negative) and this is an example of positive biasing, the effects of which, Senator Miller wishes to remove.

Issues on Constructing Sense

My inspiration in thinking of this experiment came through reading Harold Garfinkel's Studies in Ethnomethodology. In this book, in the 3rd chapter, he addresses an experiment that he performed concerning the "documentary method of interpretation in lay and professional fact finding". In Professor Garfinkel's experiment, students were offered free advice from an "advisor" at the psychiatry department of a school, which was employing a new technique of therapy. The stipulation of this new technique was that the questions posed to this advisor could only be answered with a YES or NO response. What the students did not know was that the advice they were given was randomly generated prior to ever meeting the advisor.

Despite this random generation of response, the students found the advice to be useful and helpful. The same was true even in the presence of contradictory advice. In Garfinkel's experiment, one student asked if he should drop out of school, and the advisor said "YES". Surprised by this advice the student asked again: "Do you *really* think I should drop out of school" and was then given a "NO" response. Despite this contradiction, the student was able to make sense (construct sense) out of this senseless situation (randomly generated situation). I think a similar dynamic could take place⁶ in our democratic representative process of government and I wish to examine the extent to which citizens can, if at all, discern whether policy responses are senseless (randomly generated).

In the Legislative branch of US government, on federal and state levels, people formulate policies in anticipation for a "YES" or "NO" response (a YEA or a NAY); in much the same way the student addressed the advisor in Garfinkel's experiment. These policies are in the form of bills. The only mechanism for response in this segment of the

⁶ I stress, "*could* take place" and in no way am I claiming that this *does* take place in our democratic representative process of government.

policy process for elected officials is to issue a YES or NO (YEA or NAY). What my experiment attempts to provide is a parallel to Garfinkel's experiment in the policy arena. Do citizens walk away from what could be a senseless situation also claiming that the process they engaged was useful and/or helpful? The experiments of Lupia and McCubbins as they are more directly constructed in the framework of policy in mind are also viewed as analogous to this proposed experiment, notwithstanding their introduction of a 3rd actor called a "speaker" who mediates the view of the "agent" to the "principle".

A rephrasing of the research question could be put forth as such: do patterns in sense-making affect elected official retention? Or, does proximity to an assumed *actual* reality (constructed as non-random vs. random) mean that citizens are more or less likely to retain their elected officials? It is my view (my theory) that citizens want to convince themselves that they have made sense of the information presented to them. Due to this being their singular value, neither the randomness nor non-randomness of the voting patterns of their elected officials is the primary function (foremost value) of the retention of their elected officials. This means that when citizens (in the context of this experiment) come to decide whether to reelect or remove either of their Senators from office, they will predominately reelect one Senator as the show (as the documentary evidence) of their capacity to 1) successfully make sense of the information presented to them, and, most relevant to my theory, 2) avert the feeling of disenfranchisement and alienation, *notwithstanding* contradictory positions (YEA or NAY) from that one reelected Senator. Garfinkel's experiment provides similarities to a segment of the policy process that seem to point in this direction.

This experiment takes one slice of the policy arena and seeks to display how patterns in sense-making can affect the policy process and outcomes. Before discussing the details of this experiment, however, several distinctions must be drawn. These are distinctions between "sense-making" vs. "sense-discerning", between

"principle-agent" relationships vs. "professional-lay" relationships, and between "practical" actors vs. "rational" ones. They each have different implications with respect to presumed authority (be it political, medical, judicial, or moral), measures of political/social capital, which are critical in the process of securing/sustaining authority for possible future interactions, and the various reasons why particular choices are made. Following the articulation of these distinctions are descriptions of both Garfinkel's experiment and that of Lupia & McCubbins along with the experiment I am proposing.

Citizens Evaluating Voting Records

"Sense-making" vs. "Sense-discerning"

Harold Garfinkel's experiment seems to best highlight scenarios of sense-making, whereas Lupia & McCubbins' showcases both "sense-making" and "sense-discerning". Sense-making is the process whereby one testifies to impressions which may or may not be evidenced within those observations provided by the experimenter (since random generation of responses in the context of these experiments purposefully suggest a creation process on the part of the experimental subject who derives any sense from his or her interaction). Sense-discerning by contrast is the process that one engages so as to interpret (attribute meaning to) the reasons or underlying principles for sense impressions (be they random or non-random). Sense-discerning is a process that necessarily follows the process of sense-making, because if a series of impressions cannot produce a sense, then there is nothing to discern.

The definition of the word "sense" unto itself necessitates order (be it implicit or explicit), structure, &/or purpose, where one may have the sense that the impressions they are receiving were purposefully generated in a random fashion (e.g. the purpose of a psychological inkblot test). Thusly, sense-making constitutes one process preceding the later process of sense-discerning. The process of sense-making may exist as

testimony to non-empirical evidence⁷ (e.g. a patient response to an inkblot test). But the sense-making "process" may be trivial or trivialized (perceived as no longer problematic) if the experimental subject assumes (takes for granted) the *making of sense* as having *already been made*. The process of sense-discerning may exist as an incorrect attribution of meaning (i.e. order, structure, &/or purpose) to a given impression; the correct attribution is what Garfinkel noted as an "accomplishment".

"Principle-agent" vs. "Professional-lay" Relationships

The principle-agent and professional-lay relationships are riddled with assumptions that have *already been made* (taken for granted) between those professional and lay persons involved or between those principles and agents. Principles and agents (or other synonyms in reference to these archetypes) assume some authority &/or responsibility has been given from one to the other and may be withdrawn according to either party's determination (i.e. choice). The professional and lay relationship, however, assumes that authority &/or responsibility has been invested in or conferred on the professional (not by the lay person *per se* but) by the members of the profession. Therefore the task of withdrawing authority away from the professional is assumed to be a task reserved for members of the profession and not lay persons.

This distinction must be given careful attention when considering the effectiveness of analogs between the two kinds of relationships (principle-agent vs. professional-lay). To this extent, the principle confers responsibility to the agent and possibly authority; the principle may withdraw either responsibility or authority away from the agent as is practical. The lay person in contrast assumes the professional's authority and subsequent responsibilities are offered to assist in the process of making rational choices. The principle is here noted as a practical actor and the lay person is here noted as a rational actor. The distinction between practical and rational is as follows.

⁷ This is Thompson's noted "decision not based on observation"... see earlier quote.

"Practical" Actors vs. "Rational" Actors

Actors can be practical and/or rational. To be rational is to make a choice or a series of choices based on knowledge, which will result in the production of a desired outcome. Convenience is not the meaning of practical, although practical acts may be viewed as such. To be practical, as understood in the tradition of ethnomethodology, is to be able to be put to use or account. Therefore a practical choice is a choice wherein that act of choosing can be 1) accountable or 2) useful. The extent to which a choice can be 1) accountable, 2) useful, and 3) result in the production of a desired outcome, is the extent to which that practical choice is also a rational choice⁸; the two can overlap.

So, for example, a child learning how to read would be acting practically because reading can be useful. If that same child has no desired outcome in mind, then the child would not be acting rationally, but would still be acting practically. The extent to which that child may hold the act of reading, itself, as a desired outcome is the extent to which that practical act is also a rational act. Ethnomethodology is concerned with practical actors, whereas most voting behavior literature is primarily concerned with the rational actor and not the practical one. My theory on citizenship concerns the practical actor since that actor can make sense and discern sense accounting for why their "result in the production of a desired outcome" either 1) never existed (hence being a practical actor) or 2) was misinterpreted (hence the possible overlap with a rational actor, but lacking the stringency of definition required to establish this person as a rational actor). This lack of stringency needed to establish the practical actor as a rational actor is important, because it will manifest itself differently with respect to elected official retention rates.

⁸ A word of caution in measuring/scaling a "desired outcome"; a "desired outcome" is not to be construed as permitting a set of plural outcomes but rather each singular outcome. Without this awareness, a researcher may qualify any act as rational by setting such resulting "outcome(s)" as variable in number and confounding the unit of analysis.

Ethnomethodology & Public Policy

Ethnomethodology, as the name suggests, is the study of the ethnomethod. What is the ethnomethod? That is to say, what is the method (or compilation of methods) employed by particular folk to accomplish a given task? Folk groups are those individuals who share in the practice of a method or compilation of methods for the accomplishment of tasks. For the consideration of public policy, voting is a task presented to folk called “citizens”. How citizens actually accomplish the practice of voting entails employing methods of handling sense impressions; methods of handling sense impressions that are not shared by the group labeled “citizens” then signify a multitude of folk groupings amongst citizens – constituents.

These distinctions are noted because in creating an experimental analog of Garfinkel’s experiment, as the researcher, findings that deviate from those of Garfinkel’s experiment may be factors of these noted distinctions. The scientific approach is to establish the expectation that if I were to replicate the Garfinkel experiment exactly as he had conducted it, then the results he attained would be the results I would also attain. If, however, results were to vary, then variance would be attributed to differences in how the experiment was conducted. Since, however, I am establishing an experimental analog to Garfinkel’s experiment (i.e. one that is not exact in replication but in creating a similar approach of study), scientifically, variations between the responses put forth by the people involved may be (but need not be) attributed to these key distinctions. These distinctions are that of 1) the practice of “sense-making” as distinct from the practice of “sense-discerning”; 2) the assumptions (see again Thompson’s earlier comments regarding the “justification of a value standard in citizenship”) inherent to the “principle-agent” relationship that are not taken for granted in the “professional-lay” relationship; and 3) the practices that vary the reasoning of a “practical” actor as distinct from that of a “rational” actor.

Section II – Experiment on Constructing Sense in Voting

There are two critical works to be addressed in this problem statement. The first work is Studies in Ethnomethodology and the second is The Democratic Dilemma. These two works offer experiments that are most closely analogous to the experiment, which I am proposing. The experiment will assess the problem of citizens making voting decisions as they are specifically affected by viewing random and non-random voting patterns of their elected officials. The elected officials will be “Senators” who are providing voting patterns in direct response to the bills (totaling 10) that their constituents propose. The two works that provide the analogs to this proposed experiment deal with presenting people (either “students” or “agents”) with random and/or non-random response patterns (of either an “advisor” or a “principle”).

In the 1960’s, Harold Garfinkel (presently Professor Emeritus at UCLA) conducted his experiment concerning the *documentary method of interpretation in lay and professional fact finding* in his book entitled Studies in Ethnomethodology. In Professor Garfinkel’s experiment, students were offered free advice from an “advisor” at the psychiatry department of a school, which was employing a new technique of therapy. The stipulation of this new technique was that the questions posed to this advisor could only be answered with a YES or NO response. The students, however, did not know that the advice they were given was randomly generated prior to ever meeting the advisor. Despite this random generation of response, the students found the advice to be useful and helpful. The same was true even in the presence of contradictory advice. One important question to ask is: what went wrong in this decision-making process? How and why did the students think to avoid rejection of the advice they were given? Donald Saari in Decisions and Elections: Explaining the Unexpected noted that “A concern of modern society should be to understand what goes wrong with our decision

procedures, and why". This experiment hopes to provide explanations attesting to this appeal. In Campbell and Stanley's Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research, Professor Garfinkel's experiment would be classified as a "one-group pretest-posttest design" of order " $O_1 - X - O_2$ ", where "O" stands for *observation* and "X" stands for *exposure*⁹ to the random YES and NO responses of the "advisor".

The driving theory I am proposing in voting is that citizens want to convince themselves that they have made sense of the information presented to them. This is their singular value and it manifests itself in one vote for reelection; amidst this process they may form various sense-based constructions in the voting process. The reason why this is upheld as the singular value is because without the capacity to construct sense in the voting process, voters would otherwise feel disenfranchised (i.e. deprived of the right to vote) and subsequently feel alienated (i.e. deprived of the rewards that can come from voting). These feelings of disenfranchisement and alienation are to be avoided and it is thus thought to be an accomplishment to do so. Simply put: voting is, in and of itself, *membershopping*¹⁰ work that is not to be engaged for the express purpose of disproving membership. This theory can be closely related to that of George Homans, which theorizes voting behavior as a function of group membership/conformity (Burdick & Brodbeck, p. 163 and Gerald Pomper, p. 43). Garfinkel's experiment serves as an analogous experiment by offering "student" responses to random sense impressions provided by an "advisor"; sense impressions that come in the form of a strict "YES" or "NO" response.

⁹ To be precise, Garfinkel's experiment was a string of 10 " $O_1 - X - O_2$ " ordered interactions, because students did not ask all 10 questions to their advisor for a packed response (i.e. "exposure") to all 10 responses in a single time frame. Students would ask one question, receive one response, and proceed to their next question in anticipation for their next response; this continued for a total of 10 questions and 10 responses, which (again) were all randomly generated.

¹⁰ To borrow the term used by Garfinkel.

In 1998, Arthur Lupia and Mathew McCubbins (recently¹¹ Professors at UCSD) wrote their work titled The Democratic Dilemma: Can Citizens Learn What They Need to Know?. In this book, they present a theory of delegation and an experiment testing the conditions of principle/agent conflict. Lupia and McCubbins state that “Democracy requires successful delegation. But delegation is fraught with difficulty. If we do not exercise the utmost care, delegation can easily become abdication, where an agent takes action without regard to his principle’s welfare” (pg. 149). They conduct an experiment, which is analogous to this experiment in that their operationalization of having “no regard” for a principle’s welfare is the analog to my intent in having Senators issue random votes for their citizens. Senators voting randomly do not reflect any regard, either positive or negative, for their constituents’ welfare. Though this does not, in and of itself, constitute “abdication”, it does attest to an arbitrariness that a delegate may engage, in improving the welfare of the people represented. Lupia and McCubbins posit that their theory of delegation can “overcome” these difficulties of delegation with “knowledge and incentive conditions satisfied”.

Lupia and McCubbins assert that there are two components to delegation becoming abdication. The first is when a “principle and an agent have conflicting interests concerning the outcome of delegation”. When this happens the “agent” will likely decrease the welfare of the “principle”. The second is that a “principle” lacks needed information to assess whether the welfare of the “agent” is increased or decreased in reference to the proposal of the “agent”. This requires the principle to properly infer whether the agent’s proposal will *actually* improve the agent’s welfare. It also requires the agent to be motivated “to make a proposal that is better than the status quo for the principle”. Their specific experiment entitled *verification experiment* is most closely analogous to the experiment put forth in this text.

¹¹ Arthur Lupia, as of 2001, is a Professor at the University of Michigan.

The “verification experiment” has three actors: a “speaker”, a “principle”, and an “agent”. The “speaker” interacts with the “principle” who then has to “infer” a correct decision regarding the actual welfare of the “agent” in response to the proposal made by the “agent”. The “speaker” viewed and made a coin toss (i.e. introduced randomization) and the “principle” did not witness the results of this coin toss. Based on the usage of ten-sided die, the sides coming up as 1-7 enabled the “speaker’s” statement to be replaced with the true coin toss outcome, independent of the signal provided by the “speaker”. If the die landed up on sides 8-10, then the “speaker’s” true statement was reported to the principle. The results of these experiments indicate that as the number of proposals that an “agent” proposes increases in the presence of conflicts of interest between the “agent” and the “principle” (that is to say when your elected official consistently opposes your demands), the number of agents will decrease (i.e. constituents whose demands are in opposition to their elected officials will stop using that elected official to represent them).

As is analogous to this experiment, Lupia and McCubbins’s *verification experiment* can attest to how *membershopping* work can be expected to taper off in the presence of continued conflict between the citizens and Senators. Originally, the design for my experiment planned for holding multiple mock legislative sessions wherein citizens would continually present bills (analogs to “proposals”) after having opportunities to “remove” Senators and replace them with random ones. The Lupia and McCubbins experiment shows that an experimental design incorporating multiple mock legislative sessions can indeed expect a decreased involvement of citizens (agents) in the presence of conflicting interests with Senators (principles) during each successive session (trial). Thus, there is no need for multiple sessions.

Also addressing the conflicts of interest, Lupia and McCubbins’ experiment is analogous to this proposed experiment, minus the 3rd actor of “speaker”, however. This

proposed experiment will have two actors: “citizens” and “Senators” (where “citizens” will be student participants). Citizens are here related to agents, and Senators are here related to principles. The Lupia and McCubbins’ experiment therefore serves as an analogous experiment with the use of both random and non-random voting patterns, whereas the Garfinkel experiment serves as the analog providing all random response patterns. The *verification experiment* addressing Lupia and McCubbins’ theory of delegation admittedly reflects realistic operations in citizen-Senator interactions, however, this experiment, in contrast, is appealing to an ideal condition of citizenship – the “just judge us on the issues” ideal spoken of earlier.

This is all worth studying because the role between citizen and elected official is and has been viewed as critical to the welfare of a society. As Michael Patton, author of Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods, stated: “Start with the premise that a healthy and strong democracy depends on an informed citizenry” (pg. 189). Garfinkel’s experiment above inspired the line of inquiry for this thesis. It presents an experiment where the information presented, beyond constructing the forum of student/advisor atmosphere, was randomly generated. Students walked away from this exchange feeling that it was useful and helpful. The unanswered question currently facing voting behavior literature is whether or not the citizen walks away from the voting booth in much the same way the student walked away from the *documentary method of interpretation* experiment.

Introducing the sociological (ethnomethodological, in this case) contribution to understanding how citizens actually go about constructing sense in the process of voting has been argued as a more appropriate level of analysis in voting behavior by Shaffer (p. 4), who noted the levels of analysis to be 1) psychological (dealing with the individual), 2) socio-psychological (dealing with interactions between individuals), 3) and sociological (dealing with pure group, aggregated, or social determinism) in his computer

simulations of voting behavior. Robert Cantor also noted similar distinctions in his work entitled Voting Behavior and Presidential Elections. The sociological level of analysis as characterized by Shaffer (i.e. aggregated) will be the governing level of analysis in assessing how citizens construct sense in the voting process within this text. The manner of this assessment will be addressed in the following section.

A mixed-methods approach to this research will incorporate both quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. The experiment concerning the *documentary method of interpretation* is seen to be more closely analogous to the daily activities of the legislative branch of US government in relation to the citizenry, as an ideal. This proposal develops and discusses a research strategy by experimentation, which will apply this sociological (specifically, ethnomethodological) experiment to the policy arena. This experiment will only employ the use of two surveys, which shall serve as the source of pretest observation and posttest observation. This experiment in the language and characterization of Campbell and Stanley is a “pretest – posttest control group design” of the following form:

Table 01: Pretest – Posttest Control Group Design	
R: $O_1 - X - O_2$	
R: O_3	O_4

The actors involved in this experiment will be 1) citizens and 2) Senators in the context of a mock legislative simulation session. The citizens from this mock legislature will be student participants. Citizens will be given the opportunity to present their demands on particular legislation to their two Senators. What the citizens (within the test group) will not know is that one of their “Senators” was predetermined to be voting according to a table of randomly generated YEA and NAY votes (generated by computer) to each bill citizens present. The other Senator will be another person external to the students

responding with non-random voting patterns (due to all the factors that entail human response to be non-random).

The test of the citizen in this experiment will be to employ a tool of control, which the student did not explicitly retain in Professor Garfinkel's experiment (perhaps due solely to the professional-lay assumptions). This tool is the vote. Thusly, it will be the test of the citizen to vote to either reelect or remove their Senators from office based on whether or not they view their Senators as voting in their best interest while balancing the views of his or her fellow constituents. Robert Bernstein views "constituency control" to be a myth and characterizes it as the assumption "that increased policy deviation from the constituency lowers the probability of a representative's election" (p. 5). The ethnomethodological approach in experimentation, as analogous to that of Garfinkel's, will be useful to determine the extent to which constituency control is indeed a myth (i.e. not a fact of the "real world").

This thesis hypothesizes that the group of non-randomly voting Senators will be removed from office in a proportion that is no different (equal to) or more than those Senators who are voting at random. This paper departs from current literature on voting behavior in one important respect. Current and past literature has highlighted a sheer volume of information that citizens cannot fully process; this then accounts for non-rational voting behaviors (be it a function of prioritization or a function of asymmetric information as Lupia and McCubbins also discuss in their work). This thesis presents an experiment that will allow citizens to present in their terminology why they voted the way they did in a context where responses are controlled across each citizen and "prioritization" may or may not be a construct in the minds of the actors involved. In addition, each citizen is exposed to all possible information, since, by design, in this experiment all information is Senators' YEA and NAY positions.

Citizens will first present bills to their Senators. They will be informed that the Senators representing them will be people who are engaging in a mock legislative simulation debating the bills that the citizens present. It will be the challenge of the citizen to assess which Senators are voting in their best interest and which ones are not. View Table 03 to follow Table 02 for a logic model of the experimental design. Table 2 below is a list of abbreviations/symbols to be used more frequently later in this text.

Table 02: List of Abbreviations/Symbols

C	Citizen(s)
S	Senator(s)
σ	sincere (<i>sigma</i> for non-random voting patterns)
ι	insincere (<i>iota</i> for random voting patterns)
S_{σ}	Sincere Senator(s)
S_{ι}	Insincere Senator(s)
C_1	Citizen(s) represented by zero S_{σ} (i.e. two S_{ι})
C_2	Citizen(s) represented by one S_{σ} & one S_{ι}
C_3	Citizen(s) represented by two S_{σ} (i.e. zero S_{ι})
V	Rate of votes for removal from office
V_1	Rate of votes for removal of S_{σ} 's
V_2	Rate of votes for removal of S_{ι} 's
\square	All other factors influencing voting (external to experiment)
R	Random group assignment (Campbell & Stanley)
O	Observation (Campbell & Stanley)
X	Exposure (Campbell & Stanley)

The experiment logic model shows the first steps where citizens present bills. The \square affecting the proposed bills are assumed and not scrutinized in the experiment. Many authors have focused on the affectations of \square (e.g. Noam Chomsky on media analysis), but this work is only concerned with the bills proposed to senators (pretest). Thereafter, the experimental logic model shows Senators issuing their non-random and random votes in response to citizen proposals (test). After Senators vote, citizens vote to either reelect or remove their Senators from office (posttest); citizens also provide their reasoning for removing their Senators. Resulting data is then analyzed.

Table 03: Experiment Logic Model in Pretest – Posttest Control Group Design

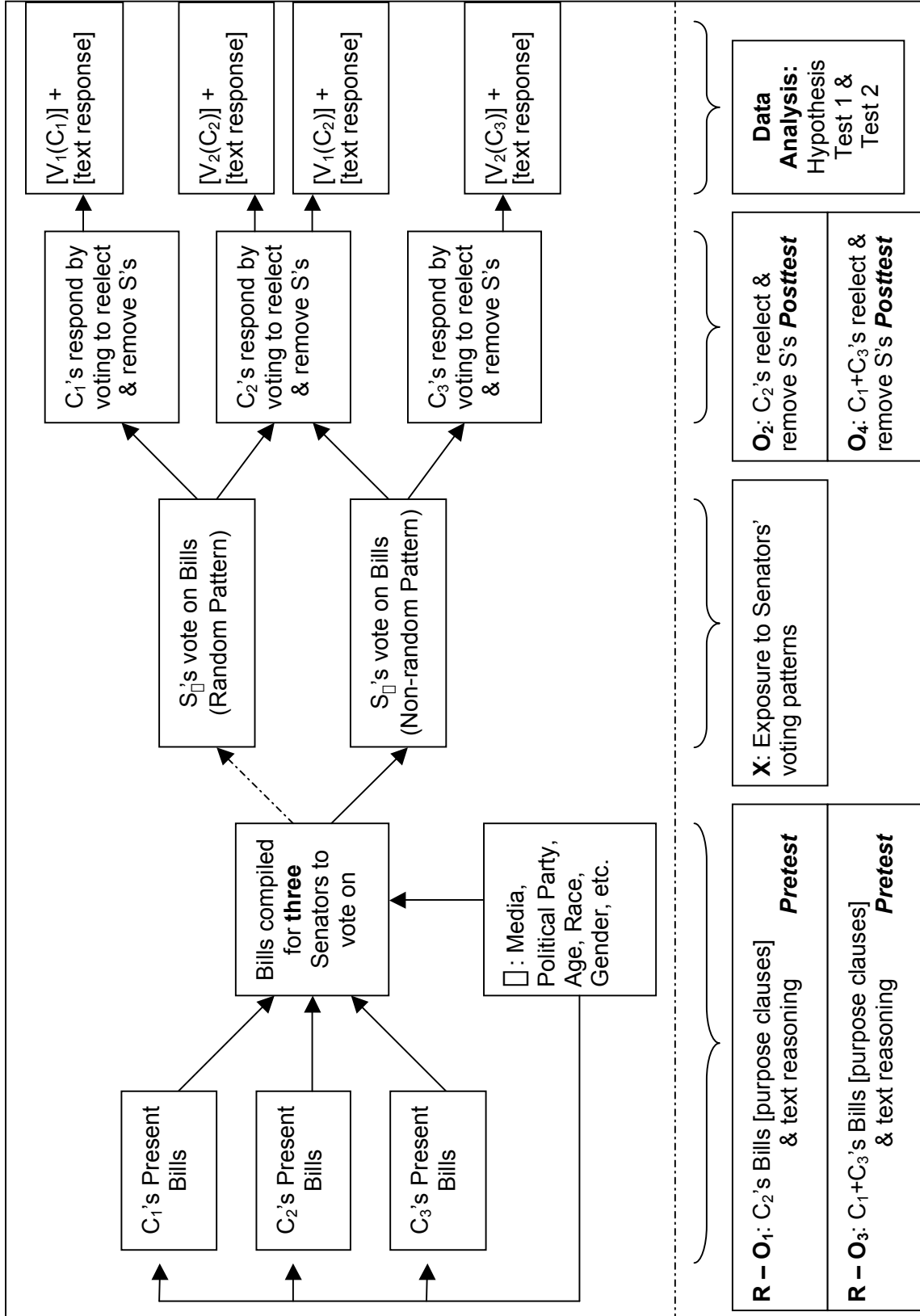
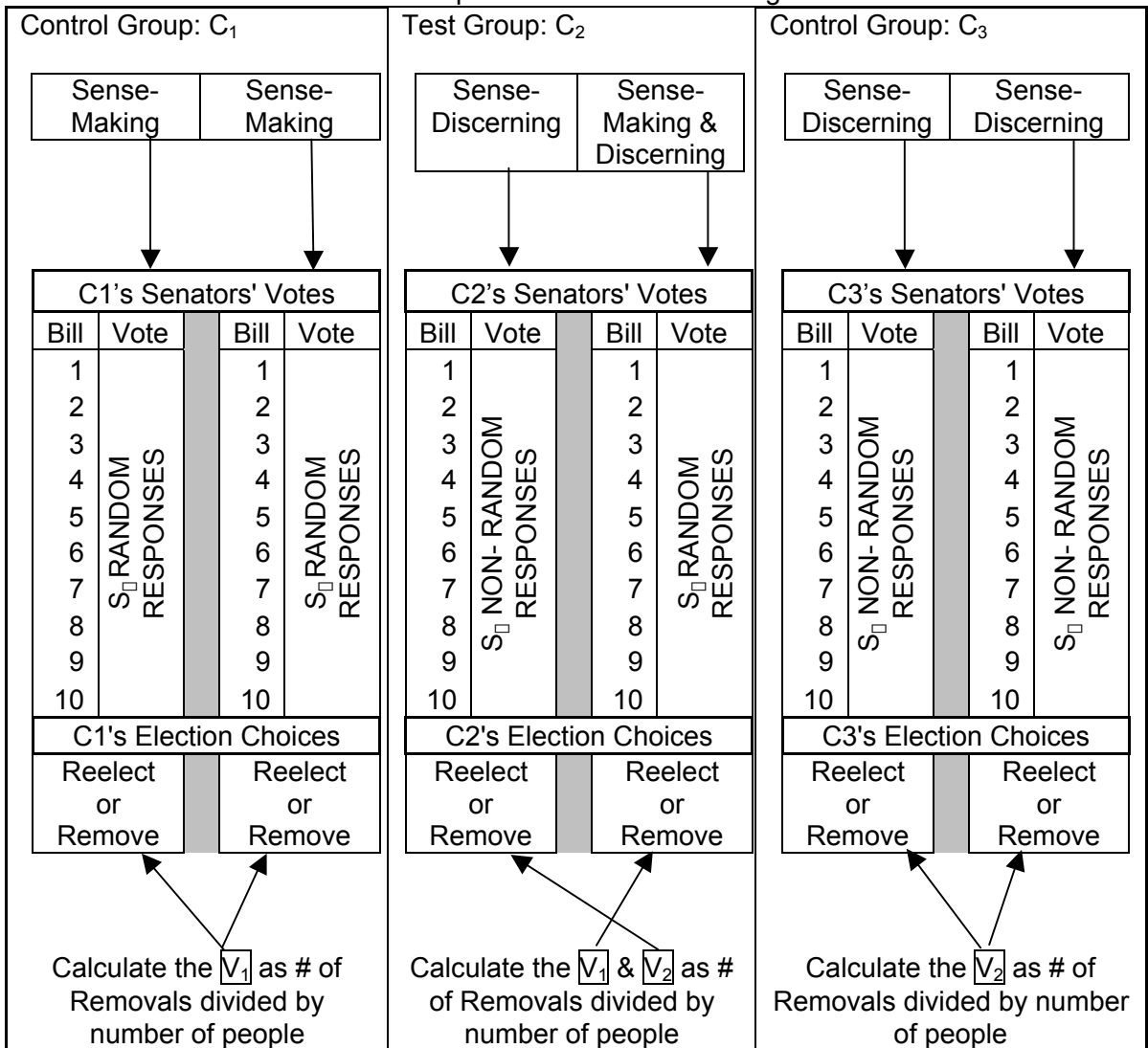


Table 04 below shows the structure of the exposure to Senators' voting patterns. The experimental data can be found in Appendix D. Except for the C₁'s, both C₂'s and C₃'s shared the exact same Senator on the left hand column (voting non-randomly). The C₃'s had another person acting as Senator voting non-randomly in the right hand column. The same Senator was used to issue the votes of the randomly generated YEA or NAY responses (according to computer generated random values) for both the control group and the test group (C₁'s). V₁ and V₂ are calculated in aggregate after citizens go through elections.

Table 04: X – Exposure to Senators' Voting Patterns



This is a study of the ways in which citizens construct sense in the voting booth while voting. This study is based off of a convenience sample and is not meant to claim that all citizens respond precisely according to the following. The Lupia and McCubbins experiment on verification is closely analogous, however, it is considered removed from the ideal referenced in the previous section by introducing an additional actor (i.e. the “speaker”) as well as presumptions regarding a principle’s having to “infer” an agent’s welfare. This experiment seeks to distill the number of actors equal to those engaging the Garfinkel experiment and explicitly divides conceptions of *inference* on the part of the Senator voting non-randomly. The Senator voting randomly is just like the “advisor” in Garfinkel’s experiment in that this Senator does not “infer” anything with respect to what the citizen proposes. The only case for there to be any “inference” in this experiment would be to account for the non-randomness in the voting of S_i ’s.

Why the Pretest – Posttest Control Group Design?

The “pretest – posttest control group design” stands in contrast to that of Garfinkel’s “one-group pretest-posttest design” because the added control group can account for correlations in the variation attributable solely to exposure to the random and non-random voting patterns of elected officials. Robert Yin, in his work Case Study Research: Design & Methods, states: “your analysis should show that you attended to *all the evidence*” (pg. 137) and by simplifying this experimental design from that of Lupia and McCubbins’ (admittedly more realistic) as well as attempting one in which all dynamics are primarily that of the citizenry and not separate actors, we may more easily attend to *all the evidence*.

Theory & Background:

Citizens when voting want to convince themselves that they have made sense of the information presented to them. This is their singular value; amidst this process they

may form various sense-based constructions in the voting process. This singular value manifests itself in one vote for reelection amongst their two Senators as a show of their achieved constituency membership. The reason why this is upheld as the singular value is because without the capacity to construct sense (and the capacity to *show* or *document* constructed sense) in the voting process, voters would otherwise feel disenfranchised and subsequently feel alienated. These feelings of disenfranchisement and alienation are to be avoided and it is thus thought to be an accomplishment to do so. Simply put: voting is *membershopping* work that is not to be engaged for the express purpose of disproving membership (voting to remove both Senators). Since citizens can only exercise their tool of the vote with respect to their representative officials, this theory suggests that *membershopping* can only manifest itself in at least one vote for reelection amongst their two Senators. A mixed methods approach will be engaged to test this theory.

Hypothesis:

If given an opportunity to present bills¹², the citizen will evoke certain terminology¹³ (or lexicons). When confronted with a voting pattern, which is presumed to be in direct response to their bills, the citizen will later evoke new/varied terminology. Citizens have been informed that other people have agreed to participate anonymously in a “mock legislative session” acting as Senators, wherein the goal is to best represent their constituents to earn reelection to office. Senators voting non-randomly were indeed told that their “goal is to best represent their constituents to earn reelection to office”. The Senator voting randomly according to computer generated random responses held “no regard” for the proposals of constituents.

¹² a set of purpose clauses and respective reasons for voting in favor of such purpose clauses

¹³ keywords and phrases

Test 1 (A Quantitative Research Strategy):

Senators will issue both random and non-random voting patterns. The first test of the citizen will be to remove Senators who are voting at random in a greater proportion than Senators voting non-randomly. The test is stated in this way because it is not the assertion of citizens providing principled pretest proposals that they would want to reelect a Senator who is unprincipled (i.e. voting randomly). [The posttest text responses will enable the factoring of those instances where preference for the randomly generated voting Senator was preferred over the non-random one (thereby passing the test)]. Those who give no such indication of preference for the randomly voting Senator (despite a “Reelection” vote) will be considered as not having passed the test. This strategy will assess the validity of this hypothesis as an equation, soon to be presented.

Control 1:

Three “Senators” will represent all citizens in this experiment – this “mock legislative simulation session”. Two Senators represent each of these respective citizens, as is the case in our American structure for the legislative branch. The control group has either both Senators voting randomly or both voting non-randomly. People in the control group will have been randomly selected among all volunteering participants; they will furthermore be randomly assigned within the control group to receiving either *two* random voting Senators or *two* non-random voting Senators. The ratio of their removal rates $V_1(C_1)$ and $V_2(C_3)$ (predicted as equal to one) addresses the hypothesis that the expected rates of removal between S_0 's & S_1 's, will not differ when controlled.

Test 2 (A Qualitative Research Strategy):

Citizens that accomplish the task of removing Senators who vote at random will evoke terminology (in pretest reasoning and in posttest response to voting patterns towards those bills). Therefore, how citizens (C_1 's that remove at least one Senator)

actually go about evoking terminology will be different from other citizens (C₃'s that remove at least one Senator).

Control 2:

Citizens who are represented by two Senators (either both voting randomly or both voting non-randomly) will serve as the control group in assessing how and to what extent citizens will differ in the terminology they evoke in response to a set of voting patterns. In other words, the test group citizens (C₂'s) offer pretest and posttest responses which confound variations in the lexicons they employ, for the differences indicated in Table 4, and thusly controlling for the testing of this qualitative research strategy must exclude the accounts of C₂'s because the results will not be distinctive and/or clear. A normative assessment of any distinctive difference between C₁'s and C₃'s will be applied.

Data Collection

The data collection will be conducted through use of two surveys to be offered to two US Government class sections. The surveys, Georgia Tech Internal Review Board (IRB) approved consent forms, and means of distribution are noted in the Appendices A, B, and C. This course is required for all students at Georgia Tech and if enough volunteers participate, then statistically significant numbers could help facilitate the argumentation for generalizability of results to the wider Georgia Tech population.

Participation was rewarded with extra credit determined by the professors for each respective course; also, according to IRB stipulations and experimental validity concerns, students were offered an alternative means to obtaining extra credit without having to participate in this experiment. The offer of extra credit is my means (as the researcher) for empirically accounting for the fact that citizens view and achieve their participation as beneficial (with the benefit now represented in the assignment of extra credit in their grade for their participation). There were a total of 86 students (33.7% of

the larger population) participating in this study in its entirety (i.e. completing the 2 surveys on two separate days). A total of 102 participated in the first survey, and therefore 14 people opted not complete the second survey.

The number of students assigned to both the control group and treatment group were at least 30 each (totaling at least 60 expected volunteers). The “X” (exposure) that is introduced to the citizen in this anonymous legislative simulation are the two Senator voting columns seen in the Survey Voting Ballot in Appendix C (also see Table 04 above). The treatment group will receive their survey voting ballot with the right hand column being a randomly (computer) generated table of “YEA” and “NAY” votes. The other column will be the non-random responses of another person external to the two US Government classes. The control groups will either receive both columns on the Survey Voting Ballot as either randomly generated or non-randomly generated, but not mixed. Therefore, the rate of removal from office amongst citizens receiving either all random votes or all non-random votes may serve as a ground value from which we may expect the same values to result in the treatment group. The variation of values in the treatment group if varied from the control group are (scientifically) attributed to the fact that the treatment group is responding to one random and one non-random voting pattern.

Rephrasing the Experiment in Short-hand Notation

Here is a rephrasing of the experiment inclusive of the shorthand notation. There are two actors in this experiment: “Citizens” (C) and “Senators” (S) in the context of a mock legislative simulation session. At least sixty (60) volunteers will be sought to engage in the experiment; more may and do in fact volunteer to participate (86 out of 255). Students participating in this mock legislature will constitute the C’s. In this legislative session, two S’s represent each of the C’s. In this legislative session, one of the S’s will vote according to a listing of randomly generated votes (YEA or NAY); the

other two Senators voting will be voting non-randomly in response to C's bill proposals. Thusly, this anonymous legislative simulation will produce votes from non-random S's and randomly generated votes¹⁴. This legislative session will produce votes on ten (10) bills for each C.

In this legislative session nine (9) bills will be on distinct issues, whereas the tenth (10th) bill in this session will be the combination of the prior nine (9). The tenth (10th) bill factors for "pork-barreling". S's will be classified as either "sincere" (σ , sigma) or "insincere" (ι iota). S's who will be S_{σ} 's will be voting non-randomly. S's who will be "insincere" (S_{ι}) will be issuing randomly generating votes via computer. C's will be classified in one of three (3) groups and distributed randomly among them:

Table 05: Classification of Citizens (Treatment & Control Groups)
C ₁ : Assigned one of fifteen (15) C's represented by zero S_{σ} (i.e. two S_{ι})
C ₂ : Assigned one of thirty (30) C's represented by one S_{σ} & one S_{ι}
C ₃ : Assigned one of fifteen (15) C's represented by two S_{σ} (i.e. zero S_{ι})
C1-X: References a specific citizen in the control group segment of C ₁
C2-X: References a specific citizen in the test group C ₂
C3-X: References a specific citizen in the control group segment of C ₃

At the end of this legislative session, C's will view the voting patterns of their representative S's. C's then have the following mechanisms of response: a vote for *removal* from office OR *reelection* to office. C's are asked to remove or reelect their respective S's. View Appendix D wherein you will find Senators of "C1's" issuing two columns of randomly generated votes and Senators of "C3's" issuing two columns of non-randomly generated votes. The "C2's" are the test group, wherein the left hand column is one Senator's non-random response to each bill proposal and the right hand column is the other Senator's randomly generated responses to each bill proposal (this

¹⁴ Note, any reference to a plurality of randomly voting Senators is a semantic indication that the one actual Senator, who is issuing the randomly computer generated votes, can be considered as multiple Senators equaling the number of citizens to whom they are responding.

is the indication in Table 04). For all C's in the tables in Appendix D, their decisions to either *reelect* to office or *remove* from office each respective S is listed below their S's voting patterns.

My Hypothesis Test 1 (quantitative research strategy) is

$$H : 1 = \frac{V_2(C_3)}{V_1(C_1)} \leq \frac{V_2(C_2)}{V_1(C_2)} \text{ per legislative session, where the "1" in this equation}$$

represents the equal rate of removal of both S's and S's from the control group. This serves as a "ratio measurement" that "includes the features of the other levels plus an absolute (nonarbitrary) zero point" (Singleton & Straits, pg 112). The middle term of $[V_2(C_3)/V_1(C_1)]$ is the control group in this experiment. The far right term of $[V_2(C_2)/V_1(C_2)]$ is the treatment group that is receiving voting patterns from one S and one S. The " \leq " sign before it attests to the hypothesis that *due to treatment* (i.e. exposure to mixed random and non-random responses) S's voting non-randomly may be removed from office at a rate equal to or higher than those voting randomly. The reason why the " \leq " sign is hypothesized as opposed to the " \geq " sign is based off of the fact that the non-random voting S will be asserting votes to further distinguish that S as different. That is to say, it is not simply enough to claim "conservative" or "liberal" – a 50/50 distinction that would warrant just the "=" sign in the equation¹⁵. However both conservatives and liberals use Pizzorno's "marks" to further distinguish themselves and establish identity *amongst* conservatives or liberals. Thus, not all "conservatives" will agree and not all "liberals" will agree; and those who do not wish to be labeled either "conservative" or "liberal" will not agree. In short, the " \leq " sign highlights the effect that a non-randomly voting S has on disagreeing with like minded people, but votes in opposition to maintain their identity (as Pizzorno asserts).

¹⁵ An "=" sign replacing the " \leq " sign in the hypothesized equation would simply be the null hypothesis; this would state that neither the control group, nor the test group would differ in their ratios, but the null hypothesis cannot assert the "1" preceding the equation.

Threats to External and Internal Validity

Campbell and Stanley note the “pretest – posttest control group design” to soundly control for “*all* of the seven rival hypotheses” (page 13) of history, maturation, testing, instrumentation, regression, selection, and mortality effects. However, those factors jeopardizing the external validity of the experimental results are inherent to the attempt at soundly securing internal validity. These experimental results (from the pretest-posttest control group design) cannot be *logically* generalized, according to Campbell and Stanley, beyond these two US Government classes because the results will only apply to the specific “conditions which [this] experimental and control group have in common” (Campbell & Stanley, page 17).

The first analysis to be conducted is strictly a ratio according to the hypothesized results of $H : 1 = \frac{V_2(C_3) : 15 \text{ people}}{V_1(C_1) : 15 \text{ people}} : \frac{V_2(C_2) : 30 \text{ people}}{V_1(C_2)}$. This means that after all 60 volunteers (or more) have completed the experiment, the ratio between the number of sincere and insincere Senators removed from office in the control group is expected to be equal; hence the asserted “1” in the equation above. Therefore, the first plan of analysis is quantitative in assessing whether the above-hypothesized equation remains statistically true¹⁶ (here I will adopt that to mean within 90% confidence) and calculating a confidence interval, which will merely account for the variation of the control group value (middle term value) away from the “1” in the equation above (i.e. the numerical range 0.90 to 1.10 signifying 90% confidence). The language of statistical confidence intervals is not here used to generalize to external populations, but is used as a means of accounting for intra-group variation away from the ratio of rates equal to “1” in the

¹⁶ To be more precise/technical in language, not “true” but rather “fail to reject” the stated equation.

control group. This variation can be expected because assignments to the control group were randomly generated.

The second plan of analysis is to aggregate the pre/posttest statements of those Citizens (C_1 's) who achieved the successful removal of at least one S and compare that to the pre/posttest statements of C_3 's who also achieved the removal of at least one S. These aggregated text responses will then be compared to each other to determine the range of lexicons employed, the frequency of lexicons employed, and subsequently determine how consistent pre and posttest responses are. Additional qualitative evidence in support of the quantitative hypothesis will be provided using the method of comparison of a "cross-case display" wherein the aggregated unachieved texts input will be displayed in contrast to the attributes of the aggregated achieved texts (as discussed in the text Qualitative Data Analysis by Miles & Huberman). The below table serves as an example of the results that will be analyzed – see also the earlier appeal to the lexical hypothesis in psychological studies. This table information is only provided as examples.

The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses constitutes the mixed-methods approach in analysis that will serve to better attest to the hypothesis put forth and clarify the pertinence of my theory on citizenship as well.

Table 06: Example of Expected Findings from Surveys

Test 1 (A Quantitative Strategy)

$$H : 1 = \frac{V_2(C_3) : 15 \text{ people}}{V_1(C_1) : 15 \text{ people}} \rightarrow H : 1 = \frac{7}{8} [= 0.875] \quad \frac{8}{7} [= 1.143]$$

First, verify whether the hypothesized mathematical relationship above is statistically true (at 90% confidence level)

Determine if within confidence interval from middle term and verify the right as \leq

Test 2 (A Qualitative Strategy)

Terminology (or lexicons) evoked and the number of times these lexicons are found within the text transcripts between C1's and C3's (where it is hypothesized that aggregate responses to random patterns of votes will induce greater variations as compared to non-random voting patterns). These lexicons (keywords and phrases) will be generalized into broader categories of classification for the number of instances in which each occurs; in order to articulate intersubjective validity, Appendix D offers the raw data on which I will be basing my determinations.

Lexicons (keywords & phrases)	C ₃	C ₁
"welfare"	4 Pretest, 5 Posttest	9 Pretest, 2 Posttest
"typically voting conservative"	12 Pretest, 9 Posttest	11 Pretest, 5 Posttest
"inconsistent voting on 10 th bill"	3 Pretest, 4 Posttest	0 Pretest, 7 Posttest
"priority"	18 Pretest, 19 Posttest	5 Pretest, 5 Posttest
"more liberal view"	10 Pretest, 9 Posttest	11 Pretest, 20 Posttest
"voted against my most important bill"	20 Pretest, 21 Posttest	7 Pretest, 2 Posttest

Consistency is indicated by evoking lesser variation in the terminology employed to account for why his or her bills should be passed (Pretest) and why he or she decided to reelect or remove respective Senators (Posttest).

These number values for Pretest and Posttest are expected to be inflated, but just used to better show inconsistencies.

Section III – Findings & Lessons from This Experiment

This experiment yielded 14 out of 15 participants assigned as C₁'s in the control group. C₂'s totaled 62 out of 72 assigned (more than two times the goal of 30 assignments participated). Also, C₃'s totaled 10 out of 15 participants assigned to that remaining portion of the control group. In aggregate, 86 out of a potential 255 participants in the survey population (33.7%) volunteered to take part in and complete both surveys, which constituted this mock legislative simulation. Initially, 102 out of 255 (40%) volunteered to participate, but only 86 of that 102 completed the simulation. Thus 16 people opted, either implicitly or explicitly, to end participation as is permissible under IRB¹⁷ stipulations. The 153 non-participants and 16 who opted out will be considered the disenfranchised and alienated in this larger population.

The margin of error in these results is zero, since results are only internally true to this population by design and cannot be generalized¹⁸ to a larger population. Alternatively, this may be viewed not as a “survey” but actually as a “census” of willing (voting) participants. The following table lists the rates of removal among the three groups of citizens. The data for citizen election votes indicating the number of removals for each of the three kinds of citizens may be found in the tables of Appendix D.

Table 07: Rates of Removal Among C₁'s, C₂'s, & C₃'s.

<i>Control Group</i>	
V ₁ (C ₁): 10 removals out of 14 people → 10/14 = 0.71 removals/person	□ V ₁ (C ₁) = 0.71
V ₂ (C ₃): 7 removals out of 10 people → 7/10 = 0.70 removals/person	□ V ₂ (C ₃) = 0.70
<i>Test Group</i>	
V ₂ (C ₂): 38 removals out of 62 people → 38/62 = 0.61 removals/person	□ V ₂ (C ₂) = 0.61
V ₁ (C ₂): 19 removals out of 62 people → 19/62 = 0.31 removals/person	□ V ₁ (C ₂) = 0.31

¹⁷ Internal Review Board – Human Subjects Research

¹⁸ See Section II – Threats to Internal and External Validity

Table 07 shows that average rate of removal calculated for S_1 's and S_2 's by the three kinds of citizens (C_1 , C_2 , and C_3). Subsequently, the quantitative hypothesis,

$$H : 1 = \frac{V_2(C_3)}{V_1(C_1)} \div \frac{V_2(C_2)}{V_1(C_2)}$$

results in $H : 1 = 0.99 \leq 1.97$. Because the control group

ratio of rates of removal is equal to 1 ± 0.1 (for 90% confidence), the data provides support for the hypothesis. This is the hypothesis that Senators voting at random will be removed from office at any rate different from those who are voting non-randomly in direct response to constituent bill proposals when they are “just judged on the issues” (and nothing else). The fact that (both in the control and test group) citizens, on average, will remove their two Senators at any rate < 1 (in this case < 0.71) is the theory of citizenship (i.e. exercised mutual recognition) at work and manifested desire not to be considered either alienated or disenfranchised. The disenfranchised and alienated would, by definition, have an average rate of removal between 1 and 2 for their two Senators.

In the technical language of statistics, the results from this experiment “fail to reject” the quantitative hypothesis. In colloquial terms, the quantitative hypothesis was found to be *true* in this particular experiment. The findings show that when citizens are confronted with their two Senators’ patterns of voting both random or both non-random “on the issues” (within the control group), citizens in aggregate must employ “sense-making” to one extent (for C_1 's) or “sense-discerning” to an equal extent (for C_3 's) – see Table 04 for reference. This “equal extent” is precisely what the “1” leading the quantitative hypothesis signified. The “ $= V_2(C_3)/V_1(C_1)$ ” following the “1” signified the prediction that “sense-making” and “sense-discerning” manifest themselves no

differently in terms of removal rates between S_{\square} 's and S_{\square} 's (within 90% confidence)¹⁹. The participants in the control group were either “sense-making” or “sense-discerning”, but they were not tested in doing both.

The “ $\leq V_2(C_2)/V_1(C_2)$ ” term in the quantitative hypothesis signified the prediction that “sense-making” and “sense-discerning” (i.e. performing both tasks) would manifest themselves differently in terms of removal rates between S_{\square} 's and S_{\square} 's, wherein S_{\square} 's would fare equal or worse than S_{\square} 's. S_{\square} 's were removed from office at a rate nearly 2 times that of S_{\square} 's (precisely 1.97 times). The reason for my predicting this in my hypothesis was because of the following reasoning. Pizzorno noted that citizens would use “marks” to maintain self-identity... maintaining that same principle among Senators (those elected among citizens), it would be insufficient to vote “party line” to assert self-identity. Since, for example, “Democrats” have used and do use marks of distinction among themselves²⁰ (e.g., a historical “Dixiecrat” or a present day “Blue Dog Democrat”), the non-randomly voting Senators in this experiment would vote in opposition to or in favor of different proposals which systematically remain along “party lines” but reduce the level of agreement between those of the same side of the “party line”. Therefore, it was my expectation that citizens would be in greater disagreement with non-randomly voting Senators as they could systematically *discern* their political position – discerning intra-party divisions as well as inter-party oppositions. Alternatively stated, a non-randomly voting Senator is attempting to communicate a political identity that not only marks “us” and “them, but also marks “me” amongst “us” (which would therefore establish an identity that would coincide with a minority of citizens and induce an inversely proportional rate of removal).

¹⁹ It turns out that I could have asserted within 99% confidence from these results.

²⁰ The same is true of Republicans, Greens, Libertarians, independents, etc.

As for the randomly voting Senators in the test group, I initially thought that the rate of removal would equal the rate of the control group's (C_1 's) rate of removal. I later realized that the effect of being part of the test group (i.e. having random voting patterns compared to non-random patterns) would not enable me to forecast the exact value of $V_1(C_2)$ as equal to the value of $V_1(C_1)$. $V_1(C_2)$ equaling 0.31 with $V_1(C_1)$ equaling 0.71 means that the rate of removal of a randomly voting Senator in the test group improved by a margin of 0.40, when compared to the control group rate of removal. Alternatively, $V_2(C_2)$ equaling 0.61 with $V_2(C_3)$ equaling 0.70 means that the rate of removal for non-randomly voting Senators in the test group improved from the controlled case by a margin of 0.09. So the test group, when contrasted with the control group, shows that both non-randomly voting Senators and randomly voting Senators stood to benefit from being compared to one another "on the issues". The non-randomly voting Senators face a negative 0.09 change in their rate of removal, whereas the randomly voting Senators face a negative 0.40 change in their rate of removal, when both S_{\square} 's and S_{\square} 's are compared to one another in the test group. This forces the questions: 1) why the difference in the marginal changes in rates of removal and 2) why does the randomly voting Senator's change in removal rate exceed that of the S_{\square} ?

The answer I would offer to the first question (why the difference in the marginal changes in rates of removal?) is that on the margin people would prefer to reelect their non-randomly voting Senator, favoring consistency over random sense impressions. With that said, however, this systematic preference for the non-randomly voting Senator must still incorporate the fact that voting non-randomly (i.e. making marks to establish self-identity) still appeals only to a minority of the voting population. This then leads to an answer for the second question (why does the randomly voting Senator's change in removal rate exceed that of the non-randomly voting Senator?). My answer to this question appeals to my theory; namely, if the non-randomly voting Senator (in an effort

to establish self-identity) can only appeal to the minority of the voting population, then the majority would rather remove the S_{\square} and reelect the S_{\square} because that choice to reelect communicates the voter's capacity to ultimately *make sense* of each S 's positions on their issues. This is confirmed in the data wherein from the test group, 11 out of 62 citizens²¹ removed their S_{\square} 's and reelected S_{\square} 's; in contrast, 30 out of 62 citizens²² in the test group chose to reelect their S_{\square} 's and remove S_{\square} 's.

Again, my theory regarding citizenship is stated as follows. Citizens when voting want to convince themselves that they have made sense of the information presented to them. This is their singular value. The reason why this is upheld as the singular value is because without the capacity to construct sense in the voting process, voters would otherwise feel disenfranchised (i.e. deprived of the right to vote) and subsequently feel alienated (i.e. deprived of the rewards that can come from voting). These feelings of disenfranchisement and alienation are to be avoided and it is thus thought to be an accomplishment to do so. Citizens can accomplish the task of avoiding the feeling of disenfranchisement by voting for at least on Senator who is presently in office. We can show this singular value at work by aggregating the posttest text responses of C2's who chose to reelect their S_{\square} 's and remove S_{\square} 's and finding frequent communications of compromise/marginally based decisions to reelect.

The following quotes were selected from C2's: 2, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45, 47, 50, 52, 55, 58, 59, & 62. These are all chosen as indicators of marginal decisions with additional expressions of some compromise to reelect S_{\square} 's despite their willingness to remove their S_{\square} 's and I theorize that these marginal decisions resulted in votes to reelect because of that singular value of the citizen (being the ability to make sense of the voting process). The lexicons

²¹ These were C2's 6, 29, 32, 35, 46, 48, 49, 51, 54, 56, & 60

²² See following Table for these specified C2's.

indexing marginal/compromised decision-making will be underlined. The following quotes may not be the entire posttest response; I only wish to capture relevant lexicons. By definition in being within the test group, these citizens are all making “marginal” decisions in comparing the two Senators, but these quotes highlight additional expressions of compromise. For example, voting for one S based on that S’s voting on the majority of bill proposals is a marginal decision for the above listed C’s (there’s no expression of compromise and therefore they are not quoted below). Ten of these thirty citizens (30%) were found to express compromise in reelecting their S₁ while justifying the removal of their S₂.

Table 08: Marginality & Compromised Quotes from C2’s only Removing S₁’s

<p>C2-2: “I’m glad #2 <u>at least</u> wants to help the sick. #2 <u>rejected some of my more radical ideas, but in general</u> agrees with me, especially on pts. 1 + 3.”</p> <p>C2-14: “Reelect Senator 2 because he supported my overall Bill, <u>even though</u> he only voted yea for 3 Bills”</p> <p>C2-18: “I would like to reelect the second senator because <u>although</u> they didn't support my main causes they did agree with a combination of all 9 bills.”</p> <p>C2-22: “Senator 2 [Reelect] - like I said, <u>I wouldn't pass all my bills.</u>”</p> <p>C2-23: “I reelected the second Senator because he supported the majority of my bills. <u>True, he did reject 2, but</u> the drug bill was a little extreme. <u>I'm disappointed</u> that he's for affirmative action, <u>but other than that</u>, I like his voting record.”</p> <p>C2-24: “<u>True, he rejected 3 bills, but</u> that is to be expected as we all have some different views”</p> <p>C2-25: “he second, <u>although not doing anything for education</u>, supports enough bills regarding transportation to make a significant improvement.”</p> <p>C2-26: “<u>Even though Senator 2 turned down #3</u>, passage of the others guarantees reelection. <u>Senator 2 has reasons for disagreeing</u> with other bills, while supporting others.”</p> <p>C2-40: “Senator #2, <u>although not completely supportive</u>, did support a majority of bills and yes to Bill #10.”</p> <p>C2-45: “I decided to keep the second senator <u>even though</u> they wouldn't remove some dams.”</p>
--

The above table is a “cross-case display” in the language of Miles and Huberman in their text Qualitative Data Analysis but is useful in that it helps us “pin down the specific conditions under which a finding [of compromise] will occur” (page 173). This value of 30% of C₂'s expressing compromise, admittedly subjectively determined in my ability to evidence compromise in language, is about right in expectation. If citizens weigh each bill and the 10th bill equally, then the probability that the randomly voting Senator should support any given bill is 0.5 times the chance of supporting the 10th bill, also 0.5. Thusly, 0.5 times 0.5 = 0.25 or a 25% probability. The “specific conditions” (employed lexicons) underlined in the table above show how marginality *and* compromise manifest themselves, not rejecting the theory that citizens only value their ability to make sense of the information presented to them. In this case, a citizen's only means of being able to express this ability is through using their only tool (voting) by issuing one reelection vote despite, even though, or although disapprovals are present in each Senator.

Only 8 participants out of 62 in the test group (about 13%) decided to remove both Senators from office. In Appendix D, these citizens are C2-7, C2-8, C2-17, C2-20, C2-27, C2-31, C2-43, and C2-53. The table below aggregates their post-test responses. From Table 08, we find that the citizens who voted to remove both Senators in the test group all cited (reference the underlined rationales) that they decided to vote both out either because they voted 1) in opposition to their most important bill (if they prioritized) or 2) in opposition to the majority of their bills (not choosing to prioritize amongst bills). Although, it is interesting to note that for citizens C2-8 and C2-17 the “pork-barrel” bill (the 10th bill combining their previous nine proposals) almost earned the randomly voting Senator a reelection to office *despite* voting against the majority of their bills.

The below table shows those citizens who had to combine sense-making and sense-discerning in order to come to the conclusion that their Senators simply do not share their views. Not sharing views, in and of itself, is not grounds for removal (other

citizens indicate this, e.g. see C2-37's posttest response in Appendix D), but these citizens decided that their way of valuing was not shared (communicating disenfranchisement or alienation).

Table 09: Aggregated Posttest Text Responses of C₂'s Removing Both Senators

C2-7: I want to remove them because they don't support the most important bill. Supporting for research program for AIDs, which is the biggest problem of [the] whole world.

C2-8: Both the senators didn't say "yea" to the bills that I really wanted. I, for some reason, do not feel confident about their judgments + reasoning behind their votes. Although I am a little partial to senator #2 b/c of a combination.

C2-17: These Senators should help to get bill proposals passed for those who live in their state. The 2nd Senator was closest to being reelected because of his yes on the combination. There were just too many nays for either to be reelected.

C2-20: senator A seemed to share my views as far as making public education the best it can be (state universities primarily) at first, but then it seems that the senator changed his (her) mind and threw out all of my proposals. Senator B appreciated the need to relocate and find funds for college students, but (s)he overlooked the first 2 which I think are vital.

C2-27: Both Senators failed to vote for my two most important bills, bills 1 & 2. I felt that bill 2 & 3 are attacked, 4 & 5 are attacked, and only the second senator voted for it. Obviously, both Senators don't have similar views as me, so I find no point voting to reelect any one of them.

C2-31: I removed senator #2 b/c he said nay for everything. It doesn't seem like he even read them. Also, b/c why would I want to elect people that don't agree with my views

C2-43: Although both senators voted for the bill I most wanted to pass, Bill #1, they voted nay on many of the other bill[s] I felt strongly about, such as Tort Reform, Increasing the military budget, and Social Security Reform.

C2-53: I chose to remove both senators because (based on their responses) they do not seem to support notions of improving education and the quality of life. Overall, my questions dealt with these two subjects, and I believe it would be interesting to know the reasoning behind my senators' decisions. The Senators answered NAY to 7 out of my 10 proposals. These Senators obviously do not have the same concerns as I do.

The reason why C2-8 and C2-17 had to reconsider their decision to remove their S_□ from office is because they had to make sense and discern the closely approximated value system that voting in favor of the pork-barrel bill entails. That is to say, if a

Senator votes in favor of pork-barrel legislation that is inclusive of proposals they oppose, then they must either 1) be in weak opposition to those proposals or 2) be overwhelmingly in favor of one proposal that cancels out whatever opposition existed for the NAY-voted proposals. The above citizens did not find the calculation/interpretation of values for either Senator satisfactory. This serves to provide adequate qualitative data in support of the failed rejection of the quantitative hypothesis. Now, I will present the table concerning the qualitative hypothesis, which asserts that there is lesser consistency in terms of the lexicons employed when responding to random votes as compared to responses of non-random votes. For this I turn to the control group, because, there, citizens were exposed to either random votes or non-random votes.

The lexicons used in the table below are all underlined in Appendix D and only use those cases wherein that citizen has removed one or both Senators. These are citizens C1-1, C1-3, C1-5, C1-6, C1-8, C1-10, C1-11, C1-12, C1-13, and C1-14 among those receiving all randomly generated votes. The remaining are C3-1, C3-3 (who opted not to respond with posttest reasoning), C3-7, C3-8, C3-9, and C3-10 among the citizens receiving all non-randomly generated votes. I have subjectively grouped these lexicons to attest to the number of instances in which these citizens employ accounts similar to pretest and posttest.

Table 10: Qualitative Hypothesis Dependent upon the Lexical Hypothesis

Pretest Lexicons (keywords / phrases)	C ₃ (from 5 people)	C ₁ (from 10 people)
"All of the 9 bills proposed"	4 Pretest, 0 Posttest	7 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"better quality of life" (community, citizens, and country)	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	6 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"then you support"	0 Pretest, 7 Posttest	1 Pretest, 2 Posttest
"equal opportunities"	1 Pretest, 2 Posttest	2 Pretest, 1 Posttest
"you probably hold conservative views"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"#(s)_ is(are) the most important bill(s)"	2 Pretest, 9 Posttest	4 Pretest, 12 Posttest
I am presenting "liberal ideas"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	2 Pretest, 1 Posttest
My ideas are "conservative"	2 Pretest, 1 Posttest	2 Pretest, 1 Posttest
"If you must pick"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 1 Posttest
"minors"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"financial difficulties"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"restoration of order" or maintaining it	2 Pretest, 1 Posttest	2 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"economic improvement"	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"American values"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	2 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"supported without difficulty" / logical	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 1 Posttest
"cut in defense spending"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"anyone who is a parent"	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"together" _____ achieve X	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"have the details worked out"	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	0 Pretest, 3 Posttest
Support 10 th bill – "make them into one bill and pass it"	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"obey our own morals"	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"but they'll really work"	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest
"one of the better ways"	1 Pretest, 0 Posttest	0 Pretest, 0 Posttest

As these findings are subjectively determined, I am of the impression that these results succeed in rejecting the qualitative hypothesis that greater inconsistency exists in the lexicons employed in response to random patterns of votes as compared to consistency in response to non-random patterns, comparatively. The biggest shared inconsistency was the extent to which both C1's and C3's cited their prioritization of bills posttest, but did not mention that pretest. These inconsistencies seem equally shared by both groups of citizens, and this finding would in fact support the quantitative hypothesis, because if inconsistencies were found to be skewed in one group, then the quantitative hypothesis in conjunction with the qualitative hypothesis would suggest that the lexicons do not matter. But by definition, the lexicons the citizens chose to employ, under the lexical hypothesis, were chosen because they do matter.

Section IV – Recommendations for Future Experimental Studies

In future experimental studies adopting this experimental design, I would recommend that researchers ask the citizens to not explain their decision for reelection or removal, but rather ask citizens (pretest) “What are the words you would use to characterize someone who passes your bill proposals”. In the posttest, I would recommend asking citizens “Please provide words that you think characterize the traits in your respective Senators who you would reelect”. The questions posed in this study were useful for establishing these suggested pretest and posttest questions as appropriate; for future studies, however, by not restricting citizens to singular words (as opposed to phrases) the citizens in aggregate had too much freedom in response to produce results that could enable the assessment of a distinctive difference in lexicons employed (pretest and posttest).

One thing that this study could benefit from is developing some calculation for which the differing citizens weighed their considerations of pork-barrel legislation support. The text responses in the posttest suggest that it was a careful consideration by a number of the citizens. The “10th bill” or the presentation of “pork-barrel” legislation more accurately mimics the sort of legislation that actual US Congresspersons must face and so this experiment on the democratic “ideal” could reflect reality more by being able to factor for this.

Additionally, I would recommend that future experiments test for the strengths to which people felt committed to their 9 bills (and 10th overall). This can be qualitatively assessed from the posttest data contained in the appendices; however, future experimental studies may also assess this explicitly in the pretest by having citizens indicate the strength of their commitment to proposals on a 10-point Likert scale (1 being the weakest and 10 being strongest). This would enable both a quantitative and qualitative assessment of which proposals citizens were compromising on and

subsequently provide a clearer indication of ideological commitment to particular proposals. This would establish the expectation that citizens would seek to compromise on proposals that rank lower on the Likert scale and do not compromise on higher-ranking proposals.

Finally, the last recommendation would offer for future experimental studies is to ensure that future experiments are not performed on student populations. It would be helpful to know, empirically, if different demographic groups can actually achieve rejection of the quantitative hypothesis. However, I would hypothesize that there would not be variations from the results found in this study. With usage of services, such as TESS (Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences – <http://experimentcentral.org>) I believe it is possible to achieve results that can be generalized to the actual population of American voters.

Additionally, there may be the critique that the Senators issuing non-random votes are just incapable of securing *actual* elected office. To this response, I would suggest that future studies based on this experimental design seek the YEA/NAY positions of *actual* US Senators. If *actual* US Senators (or more practically their aides and staff speaking on behalf of their office) respond to a truncated list of citizen bill proposals (reducing redundancy), then this quantitative test may be more robustly tested. And with these recommendations, I present my concluding thoughts.

Section V – Concluding Thoughts

The research question in this study is “can citizens successfully discern between (“mark”) differing identifications as a sole function of voting patterns (presented as random and non-random)”. These experimental findings show that citizens can, indeed, discern between differing identifications as a sole function of voting patterns. The quantitative hypothesis provides support for my theory on citizenship and constructing sense in voting, whereas the qualitative hypothesis provided results, which are at best inconclusive. These findings can assert a few statements with regards to elected official retention.

The first assertion from these findings is that there was little to no deviation from Garfinkel’s experimental results. Garfinkel’s documentary method of interpretation experiment produced student responses that did not question whether the advice they were given was sincere, genuine, authentic, or actually in direct response to their proposals. The citizens in this experiment also did not question the sincerity of the voting patterns presented to them. Even citizens voting to remove both Senators were able to construct sense from their interaction, and the same was especially true of citizens (in the control group) who were represented by two Senators issuing random votes.

The second assertion is that when sense-making is a process that is divided from the process of sense-discerning (as evidenced in the control group), the extents to which the both are exercised do not manifest themselves differently in terms of elected official retention. The is to say that the rates of removal between C_1 ’s and C_3 ’s produced a ratio approximately equal to 1 (in this case, 0.99). This assertion favors neither sincere Senators nor insincere Senators in terms of official retention in elections.

The next assertion is that when citizens are engaged in both sense-making and sense-discerning processes (confounded), the Senator voting randomly is favored to the

Senator voting non-randomly in aggregate. The reason for this is that Senators voting non-randomly will systematically vote in such a manner that characterizes their individual identity rather than just “party line” distinctions and the resulting effect is to align your interests with fewer citizens by alienating citizens on your side of the “party line”. The citizen viewing the voting pattern of a Senator voting randomly cannot readily discern what side of the “party line” s/he stands on, and will (as my theory asserts) vote to reelect if the other Senator’s voting pattern is undesirable. This vote to reelect, despite the inability to readily discern sense from the randomly voting Senator, provides the opportunity for the citizen to make sense (and show their capacity *to have made sense*). It is this show of making sense that I assert is of singular importance to citizens.

The next assertion is that citizens voting to remove both of their Senators, whether patterns are random or non-random, do so on the grounds of *having made sense* of the information presented to them. That is to say, these citizens are not claiming to remove both of their Senators because they simply don’t understand their reasoning. Rather, they are making their choice precisely because of their claim of being able to make sense of the information presented to them. This supports my theory of citizenship. Furthermore, these citizens do express lexicons that are symbolic or representative of disenfranchisement and alienation; these are manifested in such terms as “although”, “despite”, “however”, and other terms of compromise in their text responses.

Finally, these findings can only hold true for this specific population and under this specific experimental design. Perhaps other citizens outside of the demographic of students can provide results that are contrary to my theory of citizenship and constructing sense in voting. It is for this reason that it is recommended that future studies based on this experimental design allow for 1) populations that are generalizable and 2) voting patterns (YEA/NAY) of *actual* elected officials.

In meeting the democratic ideal, as is called for in the “just judge us on the issues” appeal, this experiment shows that these citizens were able to both make sense and discern sense from the voting patterns presented to them. The equivalent extents to which sense-making and sense-discerning (separately) affect elected official retention as well as their differing extents (when confounded) can provide greater insights on how this democratic ideal is both influenced and achieved. The participants to this experiment took part in one example of this democratic ideal in action. Neither this experiment nor any of the assertions put forth in this text claim that this democratic ideal, as articulated in this text, ought to be implemented in lieu of any of our current processes for representation; rather they serve the purposes of exploration and comparison. This experiment was concluded with Appendix E, which presents the IRB approved debriefing text distributed to the experiment participants. Suggestions for actual policy implementations can only be made after generalizable results are made from future studies.

APPENDIX A – Consent Form

Georgia Institute of Technology

Project Title: Surveys for Distribution in 2 US Government Classes

Investigator: Donald Changeau

Research Consent Form

You are being asked to be a volunteer in a research study.

Purpose:

This is a study of the ways in which citizens construct sense in the voting booth while voting. Volunteers will be participating in a mock legislative simulation session, affecting the role of "citizens". Citizens will have the opportunity to anonymously present their ideas in this simulation to other people who are serving the role of "Senators". The names of citizens will only be noted in the recording of extra credit, meaning citizens will remain anonymous to their Senators and vice-versa. The goal for Senators is to gain a vote for reelection from their citizens in this mock legislative simulation. This study hopes to improve our understanding of voting behavior.

Procedures:

If you decide to be in this study, your part will involve:

- Spending about 15 minutes writing out your ideas for bills to be supported by your Senator in this simulation. This will be an out of class homework assignment due next class period. You will need 9 separate ideas for bills; your 10th bill will be the combination of all 9 of your bills. The bills are only a short purpose clause with about 3 sentences stating why your Senator should vote in favor (YEA) for each of your bills.
- Following your submission of bill ideas in the next class period, your bills will be sent anonymously to your respective Senators in this mock legislature. They will look over the demands (bills) they have for all their constituents (citizens) and vote in response to each of your bills.
- You will later have the opportunity to review their voting responses (YEA or NAY) to each of your 10 bill ideas.
- Upon viewing their voting responses, you'll decide to remove or reelect your Senators. You will be assigned 2 Senators.
- Citizens will be randomly assigned to Senators to form their constituency in this mock legislative simulation.
- After voting to reelect or remove your respect Senator, you'll be given the opportunity to explain why you voted the way you did (about 3-5 sentences). This in-class exercise is expected to be about 15 minutes in length.

Risks/Discomforts

The risks involved are no greater than those involved in daily activities such as writing a letter or typing an e-mail.

Benefits

The following benefits to you are possible as a result of being in this study:

- You are not likely to directly benefit in any way from joining this study. But it is hoped that your participation can help shed light on voting behaviors of actual citizens.

Credit to Subjects

- Your participation in this study will offer extra-credit in this US Government class.
- The amount of extra credit given to all participants will be determined by the Professor.
- Students wishing not to participate in this study and wishing to receive extra-credit in this course will be assigned a task as determined by the Professor.

Confidentiality

The following procedures will be followed to keep your personal information confidential in this study: The data that is collected about you will be kept private to the extent allowed by law. To protect your privacy, your records will be kept under a code number rather than by name. Your records will be kept in locked files and only study staff will be allowed to look at them. Your name and any other fact that might point to you will not appear when results of this study are presented or published.

- The Georgia Institute of Technology IRB has the right to review study records.

To make sure that this research is being carried out in the proper way, the Georgia Institute of Technology IRB will review study records. Members of the Food and Drug Administration may also look over study records during required reviews of IRB. The Office of Human Research Protections may also look at study records.

Costs to You

- There is no financial obligation to participate in this study.

Subject Rights

- Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to be in this study if you don't want to be.
- You have the right to change your mind and leave the study at any time without giving any reason, and without penalty.
- Any new information that may make you change your mind about being in this study will be given to you.
- You will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.
- You do not waive any of your legal rights by signing this consent form.

Questions about the Study or Your Rights as a Research Subject

- If you have any questions about the study, you may contact Mr. Donald Changeau, at telephone (###) ###-#### or Dr. Gordon Kingsley at (###) ###-####.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact Ms. Alice Basler, Georgia Institute of Technology at (###) ###-####.

If you sign below, it means that you have read (or have had read to you) the information given in this consent form, and you would like to be a volunteer in this study.

Subject Name

Subject Signature **Date**

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent **Date**

APPENDIX B – Materials Distributed to Experiment Participants

Survey Overview

This survey is part of an anonymous legislative simulation session. Your task will be to propose 9 bills (that is 9 purpose clauses and a few words stating why your 2 Senators in this legislative simulation should vote in favor of each purpose clause). There will be a 10th bill that is only a combination of each of the 9 bills that you have proposed. After submitting your bills, they will be anonymously sent to 2 Senators in this legislative simulation session. Your 2 Senators will vote YEA or NAY to each bill you propose. After they have voted, in an upcoming class you will have an opportunity to review their voting responses to your bill ideas and decide whether you would like to reelect or remove either or both Senators from office.

Your homework assignment (for extra credit) is to write your own ideas for 9 bills. The next sheet is an example of how to prepare 9 bills in this homework assignment. Please use ideas of your own that you care about not mentioned in the example to follow. This homework assignment will be one page in length and is expected to take about 15 minutes. Next week you will be given 15 minutes in class to 1) view the voting patterns of your Senators in response to your bill ideas, 2) decide whether to reelect or remove them from office, and 3) provide your explanation on why you decided to vote for reelection or removal from office.

Example Responses to Survey of Bill Proposals

Enter your name here: _____

Please list below purpose clauses for bills you would like to propose.

1	To spend two billion dollars in debt for parks and conservation...
2	To establish a nationwide monorail system at ninety billion dollars...
3	To legalize the use of marijuana; not just for medicinal purposes...
4	To allow for school boards to divert public funds to pay for private school vouchers...
5	To allow the President to commit troops to Sudan as he sees fit...
6	To mandate 25 years to life in prison for federal convictions of 3 or more...
7	To tax car manufacturers 1% on all sales for mass transportation alternatives...
8	To legalize physician assisted suicide with family consent...
9	To imprison for 30 days corporate officers hiring illegal immigrants...
10	COMBINATION OF ALL 9 BILLS ABOVE

Please list below text statements for why your 2 Senators should vote in favor of your above proposed bills (purpose clauses); about 3-5 sentences is enough.

1	Currently parks and conservation efforts are under spent. By voting in favor of this bill, my Senators will clearly indicate their support for this critical issue. Voting against this bill would be a vote to allow parks to deteriorate and that's not acceptable.
2	The US needs better public transportation. Instead of just expanding deficient train systems in separate cities, we should build a modern national transit system. This will reduce our need for cars. Europe is far better than the US in ease of travel. The US should aspire to that in interstate travel.
3	This is obviously a good thing. Conservatives need to work with liberals in controlling the use of marijuana. By controlling its use, our government can curb harmful effects.
4	It is important to give students choice in the schools they may attend. By giving vouchers, we can provide that choice to students who otherwise wouldn't have it.
5	The Sudan should be the next place where we commit our troops. Now that Iraq is becoming more stable, we can now focus on other treats. The Sudanese government has consistently brutalized and enslaved its own people in the south of the country. It is time we stopped this.
6	It is time that we stopped letting people who commit serious crimes out of prison. This should be an obvious bill to vote for
7	In order to better aid mass transit alternatives, there should be a tax on auto manufacturers. By taxing them, we can improve air quality through mass transit. This is pretty clear.
8	Physician assisted suicide with family consent is very important to legalize. This is because we can not penalize families by forcing them to suffer through government sanctioned pain. By legalizing the practice, we give the people involved in the painful circumstances a choice.
9	Corporate officers knowingly hiring illegal immigrants need to be punished by the law enforcement. They have been given far too many leniencies. By voting for this law, we can better maintain work options for our legal citizens.
10	You should vote in favor of all the nine bills above. If you vote against all nine, then I figure it's because conservatives would typically vote against #9, but my most important bill is #2. We really need an up-to-date mass public transit system, and that bill could do it.

APPENDIX C – Example Survey Voting Ballot with Senators’ Responses

Name: _____
 Please review the voting responses of your 2 Senators and mark an “X” beneath each to either reelect OR remove from office.

Bill No.	Vote	Bill No.	Vote	Bill No.	Purpose Clause
1	YEA	1	NAY	1	To spend two billion dollars in debt for parks and conservation...
2	NAY	2	YEA	2	To establish a nationwide monorail system at ninety billion dollars...
3	YEA	3	YEA	3	To legalize the use of marijuana; not just for medicinal purposes...
4	YEA	4	YEA	4	To allow school boards to divert public funds for private school vouchers...
5	YEA	5	NAY	5	To allow the President to commit troops to Sudan as he sees fit...
6	NAY	6	NAY	6	To mandate 25 years to life for federal convictions of 3 or more...
7	YEA	7	NAY	7	To tax car manufacturers 1% on all sales for mass transportation alternatives...
8	NAY	8	YEA	8	To legalize physician assisted suicide with family consent...
9	NAY	9	NAY	9	To imprison for 30 days corporate officers hiring illegal immigrants...
10	NAY	10	YEA	10	COMBINATION OF ALL 9 BILLS ABOVE
Reelect []		Reelect []			
Remove []		Remove []			
Please provide an explanation of your decisions for either reelection and/or removal:					

APPENDIX D – Raw Data: Pretest Conditions, “X” Treatment, & Posttest Results

Pretest Conditions (the 10th bill for each citizen is the combination all proposed bills)

C1-1

1. To mandate at least 15 years imprisonment for rapists
2. To tax gasoline companies 1% on all sales for environmental issues
3. Music and movies may be reproduced freely as long as it is not being sold for profit
4. Publishers should not be allowed to release new versions of textbooks without significant changes
5. To place a 5% tax on tobacco products for lung cancer research
6. To mandate sex education in schools that includes not only abstaining from sex before marriage, but also safe sex practices
7. Cities with significant air pollution problems would be required to submit reports of their progress in alleviating the solution + future plans
8. All tests for a driver's license must be given in English
9. Persons over 65 must be re-tested for a driver's license

Pretest Reasoning: All of the 9 bills proposed will cause only a better quality of life if passed.

C1-2

1. Legalize use of all substances...
2. 10% of federal budget to go to schools...
3. Everybody has to go at least the speed limit on all roads...
4. Minimum of 10 years in prison for criminals convicted of same crime 2 times...
5. No government money to go to private schools...
6. Differing amounts for cities wishing to improve/build a mass transit system...
7. Creation of NCPOL (National Council for Protection of the Ozone Layer)...
8. Allow president to send troops wherever he wants for up to 2 years...
9. No more use of fossil fuels by year 2020...

Pretest Reasoning: All 9 of the above bills will make the USA a better place to live. People will be healthier, the environment will be cleaner, be safer, and more highly educated. You should vote to pass all 9 of these bills.

C1-3

1. To create incentives to reduce US reliance on non-renewable energy.
2. To increase federal money for schools.
3. Legalization of marijuana for other than medicinal use.
4. To increase Homeland Security
5. Legalize homosexual marriages
6. Secure the borders of our nation and make immigration more efficient and safe.
7. Increase the budget for protecting our environment.
8. To increase penalties for criminals, especially violent crimes.
9. To create more funding for college education so high school graduates can attend.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all my bills. If you do vote then you support equal opportunities for everyone. If you don't then you probably hold conservative views. #2 is the most important bill because education is the basis for America's future.

C1-4

1. To make steroid use for non-medicinal purposes totally illegal.
 2. To ban gay/lesbian marriages.
 3. To ban human cloning.
 4. To modify the Hope scholarship so it is harder to receive.
 5. To raise the driving age to 17 instead of 16.
 6. To lower the legal drinking age to 18.
 7. To raise \$1 billion in order to drastically improve run down schools.
 8. To make it tougher to become a sports official.
 9. To raise money for improvement in college housing.
- Pretest Reasoning: Every one of my bills should be passed. It is obvious the state of GA will be improved with the passage of these Bills. If you only pick 1, however, then please pass Bill #2. It is the one I am most passionate about.

C1-5

1. To spend more money building better public roads + highways
2. To standardize in each state the terms of imprisonment
3. Establish better requirements for the Hope Scholarship in GA.
4. Mandate a law for national age to drop out of school
5. To increase amount of money to clear up air pollution
6. To fix traffic problems in major cities such as Atlanta.
7. To spend more money on child welfare issues.
8. Get rid of a grading system at the college level
9. Lower costs of college education

Pretest Reasoning: You should consider each bill but number 1 + 8 are my biggest issues.

C1-6

1. To require companies to pay immigrants min. wage.
2. To create a national school voucher system
3. Hacking crime sentences to be reduced
4. DMCA to be overturned
5. P2P Networks should not be illegal
6. Give George W. Bush the ability to kill anyone who is anti-American
7. Conservative propaganda displays across the nation at \$100 million
8. \$100 billion to increase super-broadband to the nation.
9. Wardriving should be legal

Pretest Reasoning: A few liberal ideas from a conservative

C1-7

1. Ban death penalty
2. Attempt to balance the budget
3. Promote more non-lethal weapon use among the police.
4. Promote fuel economy by granting rebates on hybrid cars.
5. Give states grants to improve education
6. Grant NASA \$50 billion to start a replacement program for the space shuttle.
7. Give more money to states to improve teacher pay.
8. Promote research in alternative energy
9. Increase efficiency in government bureaucracy.

Pretest Reasoning: I believe these bills will help move the country to a better level of standing in concern with these issues. I believe that if the budget is balanced the country would be in better shape.

C1-8

1. To provide a national version of the Hope Scholarship
2. To raise the driving age to 18 & learners @ 16
3. Have stricter sentences for convicted murderers.
4. Make it illegal for vendors to sell non-FDA approved drug & food items.
5. Improve highway safety - raise speeding fines
6. To make all those under 18 exempt from taxes.
7. Increase awareness of US need for education reform
8. Stricter gun laws
9. Harsher punishment for parole violators

Pretest Reasoning: Vote in favor of all these bills. If you must pick one, please make #6 a priority, as I believe minors shouldn't be taxed if they're not even treated as full citizens with voting rights.

C1-9

1. Revoke the federal income tax and replace it with a national sales tax
2. Legalize the use of marijuana
3. Legalize physician assisted suicide with family consent
4. Eliminate the line "under God" from Pledge of Allegiance.
5. To reform social security, allowing people to opt out of it altogether
6. To make it a federal crime to hire illegal immigrants
7. To legalize same-sex marriages
8. To allocate two billion dollars to non-fossil energy research
9. Eliminate welfare, and offer 1-for-1 tax credits on private charity donations

Pretest Reasoning: All 9 of these bills need to be passed for vital reasons enumerated individually above. Any one would be a tremendous step forwards for the government; all together, even better. While many go against the conventional platforms of both major US parties, they offer the best hopes for a better America.

C1-10

1. To be against the legalization in use of marijuana.
2. To establish a strong law which would prohibit some lawyers from taking advantages of the illegal immigrants.
3. To give a tax break to citizens who own electric vehicles.
4. To promote the higher education...
5. To promote the number of young voters...
6. To legalize the minimum age of obtaining a driver license to age 21.
7. To control dietary supplements.
8. To legalize the minimum age of marrying to age 21.
9. To legalize the animal abusers to be penalized the same as the other civil cases.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all the nine bills above. Specifically, #4 is very important. Citizens must not stop to achieve their goals because of their financial difficulties.

C1-11

1. To create limitations on the transmission of unsolicited commercial electronic mail
2. To reduce free trade barriers such as tariffs and subsidies
3. To prohibit the procedure commonly known as partial-birth abortion
4. To provide for a reduction in the backlog of claims for benefits pending with the Department of Veteran Affairs

5. To modernize and reform Social Security through individual accounts
6. To limit the liability of gun manufacturers and dealers for misuse of firearms by criminals
7. To eliminate preferential treatment based on race in public education admissions
8. To remove price caps on housing
9. Tort reform

Pretest Reasoning: All of these proposals are beneficial to the country and its economy. They promote the restoration of order and bring about economic improvement. This legislation caters to American values and should be supported without difficulty.

C1-12

1. To spend \$6 billion to provide health care for uninsured kids.
2. \$12 billion to rebuild education over 10 years.
3. \$10 billion to decrease dependence on oil.
4. Create commission for centralized development
5. Give tax breaks to people that drive hybrid cars
6. Gradually eliminate the use of Styrofoam
7. Convert to the metric system
8. Give organic farmers tax breaks
9. Decrease defense spending \$60 billion

Pretest Reasoning: The cut in defense spending should allow for the funding of most if not all of these programs. Most of these bills concern the future of America and our children. Working to make their lives better should be a concern of anyone who is a parent.

C1-13

1. To ban affirmative action in university's selection processes
2. To decrease spending on welfare programs
3. To increase funding to the military
4. To protect a business the right to choose whether or not to allow smoking on its property
5. To legalize gay marriage.
6. To reinstate capital punishment in states where it has been outlawed
7. To enforce stricter immigration laws and return illegal immigrants to their home countries.
8. To increase taxes on foreign goods
9. To increase funding to schools in urban areas

Pretest Reasoning: Though the bills above span from very liberal to very conservative, together they form a good plan for building a more productive society while still providing equality, order, and freedom.

C1-14

1. Spend two billion dollars on water clean up
2. Establish a strict jail time punishment for those selling cigarettes to minors.
3. Raise spending on national defense.
4. Public vouchers for schools.
5. Tax break for middle class families.
6. Establish and enforce more strict animal rights laws.
7. Give tax breaks to parents with students in college.
8. Establish strict laws on what colleges/universities can spend student's money on.

9. Establish laws that do not allow multiple count sex offenders to receive anything less than life in prison.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all 9 bills above. It's important that we do what is right for our community, our citizens, and most of all our country.

C2-1

1. Make all cars have car insurance at all times, if not they must be fined.
2. Raise taxes on cigarettes
3. Increase driving age to 18.
4. Increase spending on financial aid for students
5. Spend 10 million to solve traffic problems
6. Increase tariffs on imported goods.
7. Make the requirement that all abortions of teens of ages 18 and under must be accompanied by a biological/adopted parent.
8. Provide national healthcare to all United States citizens.
9. Decrease the standards of the current prison facilities.

Pretest Reasoning: As a representative, you should vote on all 9 bills above. My most two important bills are 7 and 8. Parents of teens who get abortions should be informed and help the teen in deciding to get abortions or not. Health care to all would benefit the whole nation decreasing the worries of fellow citizens and their health.

C2-2

1. All non-classified programs written for federal gov't to be public domain
2. Federal block grants to states removed, equivalent federal tax removed
3. Copyrights reduced to 7 years
4. Patents reduced to 10 years and patentable things not to include business processes.
5. Increase medical research
6. Increase foreign aid
7. Increase scientific research, supplement DARPA with ARPA
8. Ban all corporate contributions to campaigns
9. Lower congressional salary

Pretest Reasoning: These are all good ideas. Together, they are a decent platform to run a campaign on.

C2-3

1. To decriminalize small amounts of marijuana
2. To give tax breaks to companies with good environmental records.
3. To fund liberal democratic causes in the Middle East.
4. To raise taxes on sprawling developers and their properties.
5. To tax American companies the same despite where their money is located.
6. To give tax breaks to companies who promote American energy sources.
7. To outlaw clear-cutting in National Forests.
8. To prevent media company consolidation by raising taxes on larger conglomerates
9. To spend \$1 billion on promoting immigrant education.

Pretest Reasoning: The majority of these policies will deal in taxes. Almost all of these bills will result in a stronger America with a higher quality of life.

C2-4

1. To promote tax benefits for consumers who buy environmentally sound transportation...

2. To add a 1% sales tax to certain consumer goods from which profits will go directly to conservation of national and state parks...
 3. To allow for a higher tax rate for those citizens worth over \$5 million...
 4. To allow for free person to person sharing of files, music, pictures, & other media...
 5. To mandate that building accent lights be turned off for a period of time each night...
 6. To mandate that cellular phone services cannot charge such high rates for service...
 7. To mandate that convicted murderers in cases with 3 or more credible witnesses be put to death within 6 months of conviction...
 8. To allow for greater scholarship for students from low income families...
 9. To allow for higher standards when hiring grammar school teachers...
- Pretest Reasoning: My senators should vote on all of the above bills because they are all in the best interest of the nation as a whole. To vote against them would be denying growth and health of the nation. If one of them is voted against I think it will be #4 under the reasoning that the industry must take control of the situation. The other bills are necessary to our nation's future well-being.

C2-5

1. To decriminalize possession of small amounts of controlled substances...
 2. To legalize the use of embryonic stem cells in medicine...
 3. To allow public primary and secondary schools to distribute condoms...
 4. To implement electronic stamps on email...
 5. To require in-depth defensive driving for owners of trucks, vans, & SUVs...
 6. To build bicycle lanes along all non-residential city streets...
 7. To require disclosure of the crimes of enemy combatants...
 8. To increase minimum wages for high school graduates...
 9. To allow controversial content on radio and television...
- Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all the nine bills above. Voting against 2, 3 or 6 would show a lack of concern for the advances made in recent science. My most important bill is clearly number 5, as it has the most potential to prevent bad things from happening to good people.

C2-6

1. Constitutional amendment to ban gay marriage
 2. Move drinking age back to 18
 3. Constitutional amendment to ban abortion
 4. Pass laws reinforcing 2nd amendment rights
 5. Pass budget increases for military and NASA
 6. Get rid of Social Security
 7. Get rid of graduated income tax
 8. Get rid of affirmative action
 9. Grant all funding needed for the rebuilding of Iraq
- Pretest Reasoning: All of these bills are not PC, but are essential for our country to continue to prosper.

C2-7

1. Spend \$3 billion in public transportation
2. Funding for the ethical oversight of passenger screening programs
3. To increase tax to reduce national deficit
4. To fund the research program for AIDS
5. Provide funds to the state gov't to enact scholarships for poor students
6. To enact tax shelters for young people for retirement purposes

7. To increase the age limit for dependent qualification
8. To increase the penalty for environmental pollution
9. To increase fines for TV stations for inappropriate programs.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all nine bills, if you consider yourself a responsible and ethical citizen of the country.

C2-8

1. Give students more money thru scholarships
2. No taxes to on-campus jobs for college students
3. A stricter point system for driving tickets.
4. More strict penalties for hiring illegal immigrants.
5. Constraints on outsourcing for businesses.
6. Better education law for K-12
7. College tuition greatly decreased.
8. Electricity made free of charge
9. Uphold Christian ethics in gov.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all 9, but if not, #7 + #9 are the most important to me. We need to uphold Christian ethics + lower costs of colleges/universities!

C2-9

1. A Flat Tax bill
2. A bill that would eliminate the 40% tax bracket
3. A tax cut to people that drive eco-friendly cars
4. Social security bill reform
5. Reduction in funds that promote equality
6. Bill to eliminate affirmative action
7. More public school funding
8. Budget reform bill
9. Bill to increase wages for policemen, firemen, teachers

Pretest Reasoning: If we spend less money to directly promote equality, and direct funds towards programs that benefit everyone, society as a whole will be able to help itself more. People will be better educated to be able to help themselves.

C2-10

1. To increase the Space Program's Budget by 5-10% more, giving them about 5-10 billion dollars more.
2. Lower the drinking age to 18.
3. Grant automatic citizenship to permanent residence that came to the US before 18, and lived here for 10 years or more.
4. Stricter punishment for serious traffic violations such as DUI or excessive speeding.
5. Stop any taxation on purchases of the internet now and in the future.
6. Legalize the downloading of music for a very small fee to the user.
7. To stop capital punishment and change the punishment to life in prison with no parole.
8. Provide tax reduction to people who produce and purchase environmentally safe products and/or recyclables.
9. To make affirmative action illegal.

Pretest Reasoning: I know some of these bills sound harsh such as illegalizing affirmative action, but a lot of my bills will help everyone get along better and live in a better world.

C2-11

1. Establish national car emissions standards
2. Establish more frequent emissions testing
3. National cigarette tax
4. Larger tax breaks for farmers
5. Establish a nationally funded transit system
6. A national gasoline rate
7. Revoke license for 6 months for people with 2 DUI's
8. Tax breaks for people with electric cars
9. No taxes for students

Pretest Reasoning: All of these proposed bills are reasonable, and look out for private business, the consumer, and the American dream

C2-12

1. To remove the death penalty as a form of punishment...
2. To make social security available only for U.S. citizens...
3. To provide better insurance coverage for elderly...
4. To spend \$75 billion on roads and sewer systems...
5. To require people to learn English (national language) before becoming U.S. citizens...
6. To make same sex marriages illegal...
7. To alter the requirements to receive welfare...
8. To enforce laws preventing illegal immigrants...
9. To allow life support to be cut off at the family's request...

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote for all nine of my bills. My #6 bill is the most controversial, but #4 is very important because our roads and sewer systems are so poor.

C2-13

1. To spend \$10 billion for supporting public education.
2. To loosen Immigration law
3. To spend \$50 billion for infrastructure.
4. To legalize televising a lascivious seal during daytime.
5. To legalize gay marriage
6. To lower pension rate
7. To legalize showing ingredients and calories on outside of fast food wrap.
8. To legalize the use of tobacco.
9. To create public information organizations against commercial company.

Pretest Reasoning: These are all important issues, especially #7 and 9. We really need some law and an organization that can help inform us.

C2-14

1. To not allow school boards to divert public funds to pay for private school vouchers
2. To tax car manufacturers 1% on all sales for mass transportation alternatives
3. To legalize physician assisted suicide with loved ones consent
4. To make the short term capital gains tax 20% the same as long term capital gains
5. To increase the tag fee by \$50 to fund transportation improvements
6. To lower the drinking age to 18
7. To make a nation wide recycling program
8. To update the air traffic system with \$4 billion.
9. To repeal the income tax, go to a use fee system.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of my entire nine bills above. If you vote against all nine, then I figure you're a typical politician who doesn't care about things after you're gone from office, but my most important bill is #4. We really don't need to be encouraging a particular personal investment strategy over another, and investment would increase as a result of passing this bill.

C2-15

1. To raise the bar in terms of clean air and water
2. The lowering of funds towards Homeland Security
3. Infrastructural improvements within metropolitan areas (\$20 billion to it)
4. An equal tax for all US citizens
5. More funding towards NASA space program
6. Funding towards stem cell research
7. More funding towards speeding up of genetic research and uses
8. A national raising of speed limits (55mph to 65, 70mph to 80)
9. Lowering, nationally, of gasoline costs

Pretest Reasoning: All those should be voted for, with the most important ones being #'s 1 and 6. These would allow for a much better America, though there would be much conflict with stem cell research. Legalization of its properties should be a large part of it.

C2-16

1. Money towards new forms of non-oil energy
2. More spending on Medicare
3. Set a limit for health costs.
4. Get rid of HMO's and all that, make it just one insurance category.
5. Raise the minimum wage to \$6.00
6. Do not send out refund checks, use the money to stimulate government programs.
7. Delete the school voucher system.
8. Add clean-energy incentives like tax reductions.
9. Allow same sex marriage.

Pretest Reasoning: These are my current concerns that are running around in this country. If these problems are solved, the country could be on a path to a more successful country rather than a country that seems to have a volatile infrastructure.

C2-17

1. Increase Defense Budget
2. Repeal 16th Amendment and implement a national retail sales tax
3. Tort Reform
4. No Homosexual marriages
5. Foreign Policy to do with aid to foreign countries
6. Enforce Illegal Immigration Laws and deport illegal immigrants
7. Special Interest funding cap
8. Setting the Presidential terms to one of 6 years
9. Term limits for Congressmen

Pretest Reasoning: Voting in favor of all these proposals would be great for the US. They would greatly improve the government and make the lives of Americans much better.

C2-18

1. Allow for civil unions.
2. Raise emission standards.

3. Raise teacher salary.
4. Increase public school funds.
5. Increase funds for road/interstate travel conditions and planning.
6. Harsher punishment for animal injustices.
7. Prohibit use of tanning beds.
8. Increase in AIDS research.
9. Increase prices of cigarettes.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote for my nine bills. Each is an issue that needs greater attention and will be beneficial in the future.

C2-19

1. Open NASA Research to corporations with programs...
2. Increase NASA Budget spending to boost the commercialization
3. Require citizens to carry fire arms based on job
4. Have speed lanes with no speed limit
5. Increase tax on cigarettes
6. Tax people with high fuel consumption cars
7. Promote school vouchers for private schools
8. Research for nuclear powers budget increased
9. Gov. research for hydrogen fuel cells

Pretest Reasoning: The first two bills are the most important

C2-20

1. Access to voting registration on campus at all state universities.
2. Disability education for elementary school children, & for young teens also
3. Redistribution of lottery funds to educational programs.
4. State universities must receive a discount from Napster (or another music downloading source) if the school requires students to pay for music downloading.
5. Bikers who ride on campus sidewalks should be fined.
6. Companies should only be allowed to come to college campuses for PR if they are collaborating with one of the school's organizations.
7. State Schools which impose a Student Activities Fee must cap that fee at 0.5% of the year's in-state tuition.
8. Universities should be required to hire students before outside workers for certain jobs.
9. Janitor and service workers in the public school systems cannot be hired if they have any mental illness.

Pretest Reasoning: While funding is not a recent issue for education, there are ways to save parents and professional students some money; the redistribution of lottery funds, offering discounts to universities that allow access to the students, looking for news ways to ticket students other than absurd parking prices, selling companies places on campus to advertise through student organizations, and requiring universities to hire students are all examples of ways to improve the educational system reasonably.

C2-21

1. Allow gambling nationwide
2. Legalize marijuana
3. Reduce drinking age to 18
4. Punish DUI offenders more seriously
5. Replace more than one life term with the death penalty
6. Allow prostitution nationwide

7. Punish drug offenders more seriously
8. Punish misdemeanors of the President more seriously
9. Pay the President more

Pretest Reasoning: You need to vote in favor of all 9 of my bills. Most of these bills are socially oriented and will boost the morale of many Americans.

C2-22

1. \$1 billion nuclear power implementation
2. Immediate end to social security, people on benefits remain
3. 20% withdraw of funds to foreign nations
4. 30% increase in National Defense
5. Tort Reform
6. Seizure of oil fields in Iraq
7. No Homosexual marriages
8. Life insurance for everyone
9. End speed limit

Pretest Reasoning: I write good bills pass them

C2-23

1. To make abortion, in all its forms, illegal and punishable by death
2. To completely legalize oil drilling in Alaska + open the Alaskan Pipeline
3. To legalize, in every way, prayer in schools
4. To put a minimum charge on drug possession -- 25 years for the 1st offense, life without parole for any following offenses after released
5. To make affirmative action policies illegal
6. To raise the pay of teachers
7. To make cigarette smoking illegal in public places
8. To completely sever all ties with the United Nations
9. To establish the Yellow Jacket as the national U.S. mascot

Pretest Reasoning: I feel that my bills touch on controversial, but important, issues that we like to avoid. I feel that #1 + #3 are the most important, but the rest are also very significant.

C2-24

1. Abortion should be made legal no matter what the situation
2. Gay marriages should be legalized in every state.
3. \$3 billion should be spent on new bus and train systems
4. Allow Medicare to pay for all health insurance and prescription drugs
5. Legalize physician-assisted suicide with family consent.
6. Reduce the amount of power the President has over our troops
7. Eliminate the death penalty
8. Have only an income tax instead of a sales tax in all states
9. Increase the number of welfare programs to create more jobs

Pretest Reasoning: The most important bill here is #9, because I believe it is the most pressing issue. If you do not support these bills, I assume you want less government which brings market failure into play.

C2-25

1. Increase schooling required to become a teacher.
2. Increase wages of public school employees.
3. Create a standardized test to qualify teachers.

4. Require reapplication for driver's license for senior citizens every two years
 5. Require driver's tests to be conducted in stick shift vehicles.
 6. Require an 8 weekend course to be passed for receiving a driver's license
 7. Subsidize bus tickets by 50% of evaluated cost
 8. Provide \$25 billion dollars to states who initialize a more comprehensive busing system
 9. Train teachers to qualify as legal officers
- Pretest Reasoning: These all improve the always ignored agenda, very essential needs. I would vote for anyone who truly improves society in this fashion.

C2-26

1. To decrease the full social security retirement age by 5 years...
 2. To institute a better standardized test other than the SAT and ACT...
 3. To allow the Hope to cover graduate expenses, not just undergraduate...
 4. To appropriate more funds to NASA to support the space Hubble telescope...
 5. To expand on the space program, promoting more space exploration.
 6. To fund research and universities for educational purposes...
 7. To establish a better agency in controlling and monitoring air transportation to ensure safety...
 8. To establish equal wage for males and females...
 9. To allow research on human cloning...
- Pretest Reasoning: A vote in favor of all above would be great but not required. My main ones are #3 and #1. Education is important and money shouldn't be a factor. Early retirement is great too.

C2-27

1. Disallow American troops to be sent to other nations to interfere with their politics.
 2. Increase the driving age to 18 or even 21.
 3. Improve public transport system.
 4. Increase taxes for the richer people
 5. Increase funding to social programs.
 6. Restructure the bureaucracy to cut spending.
 7. Increase tax for gas.
 8. Withdrawing the right to bear arms
 9. Prohibit gay marriages
- Pretest Reasoning: Young drivers are too dangerous to be allowed to drive, so transport systems are needed to handle these young individuals. A few of the bills deals with this issue either directly or indirectly, so they should all be passed to have the most effective solution to unsafe young drivers.

C2-28

1. To legalize the downloading of music.
2. To legalize gay marriage.
3. To lower the drinking age to 18.
4. To have government offered pre-K programs
5. To require that each person should get at least one day where he or she doesn't have to work
6. To require that all gun manufacturers sell their guns with lock mechanisms on triggers.
7. To require that all gun owners have a safe for their guns.
8. To impose mandatory jail time for those who have illegally obtained firearms.
9. To require childproof lids for containers be on all household containers.

Pretest Reasoning: A few of these bills are in favor of those who are more liberal politically, but there are also some bills that should appeal to the entire range of the political spectrum.

C2-29

1. To legalize civil unions...
2. To implement capital punishment in all cases of murder...
3. To end the use of putting race/ethnicity questions on job & college applications...
4. To put a cap on immigration...
5. To federally regulate electronic commerce of information
6. To national ban smoking
7. Lower the drinking age to 18
8. Offer financial aid to any student at GT who gets a job with the federal government
9. Create national area codes for cell phones

Pretest Reasoning: N/A

C2-30

1. All states should implement a Hope scholarship program
2. Each state is required to set land aside for a national park
3. Allocate money for physical education programs in public school
4. Allocate money for music programs in public schools
5. Raise pay in the military
6. Price cap on college textbooks
7. Companies should be charged for non-recyclable products
8. Make abortion illegal
9. Define marriage as a union between a man and a woman

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all 9 bills. If you vote against all nine it is probably most liberals would not vote for #8 and #9. But #1 is really important because it is necessary to have a college diploma to get a good job.

C2-31

1. Fund research for more energy efficient vehicles
2. Spend a billion dollars to clean up subway systems
3. Provide insurance for prescription drugs for the elderly
4. Funding for students in state to go to college
5. Give money to transportation to fill pot holes
6. All restaurants must put their grade level on view for the public
7. Increase funding to law enforcement
8. Increase funding to NASA
9. Cannot take money away from Medicare to balance budget

Pretest Reasoning: I think you should vote for all my bills. I think out of all of them #9 would be hard to pass depending on which party you are in, but I think it is also one of the most important.

C2-32

1. Impose tariffs on steel imported to the United States.
2. Amend the Constitution to ban gay marriage.
3. Place the Columbian guerrilla group ELN on the terrorist groups list.
4. Change the process by which U.S.A. goes to war by creating a list of checks including intelligence info review.
5. Create motor vehicle tax cuts for those who own hybrid/electric cars.

6. Create penalties in motor vehicle taxes for those vehicles that have an efficiency of less than 20 mi/gal.
7. Create motor vehicle tax cuts for vehicles that are a mix of gasoline/ethanol.
8. Limit monetary compensation by suing that imposes limits to intangible damages.
9. Motion to declare the death penalty unconstitutional.

Pretest Reasoning: The combination of these 9 bills will serve as a platform for a cleaner, safer, and righteous society.

C2-33

1. Encourage the use of mass transportation vehicles such as buses, by reducing the taxation on its gas.
2. Driving without having the physical drivers license card on person should not be illegal.
3. Restrict the use of cigarettes & other tobacco products with restaurants.
4. Eliminate the black/white factors in determining a person's eligibility for Medicaid.
5. Increase the taxation of cigarettes & other harmful tobacco products by 100%.
6. Encourage the use of alternate forms of energy (such as electricity for cars) by reducing taxes on products which utilize these forms of energy.
7. A fine for each act by teacher or student inducing fear or intimidation in public schools.
8. Law requiring commercial programs to meet a standard involving quality & security.
9. Filter jaded phrases such as "lol" and "^_^" from the internet to significantly reduce traffic.

Pretest Reasoning: Voting in favor of all nine bills will improve the status of America. Bill #8 is my most realistic bill -- as of now the computer world seems to be an open ungoverned space. There should be standards as to the way software should work, which ensures security and reliability.

C2-34

1. The United States signing the Kyoto Treaty
2. Campaign Finance Reform standardizing the amount of money each candidate can spend.
3. Standardizing emissions for cars.
4. Banning of all handguns.
5. Setting up a National Health Care program.
6. Lowering the drinking age to 18.
7. Outlaw of Partial Birth abortions, except in the cases of rape, incest, or other extreme situations.
8. An outlaw of full human cloning.
9. Lifting of the trade embargo with Cuba.

Pretest Reasoning: These bills span a number of issues, but all promote the ideas of justice, freedom, order, and morality. They are essential and decent ideas to keeping the nation on the right track.

C2-35

1. Mandatory breathalyzers in new cars
2. Lower speed limit on Interstate Highways
3. Higher punishment for not wearing seat-belts
4. Increase punishment for rapists; max 15 years
5. Increase budget spending toward disease cures
6. Ban death penalty
7. Increase in use of non-lethal weapons in Police force

8. Increase budget towards research in city traffic problems

9. Increase wages for teachers

Pretest Reasoning: All 9 bills should be passed. They are all logical + are all major issues today. #9 is the most important.

C2-36

1. Enable police to use non-lethal weapons.

2. Require mandatory defensive driving courses offered in school

3. Increase consequence/punishment for not wearing a seat belt.

4. Fines for outrageously loud music

5. Increase teacher pay for teachers

6. Provide funding to better the communities - parks, roads, etc.

7. Increase spending for research on cancers (colon, breast cancer...)

8. Enforce more strict laws on cell phone use while driving

9. Give more grants to improve education.

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all 9 Bills to help out and be for the people.

C2-37

1. To get more funding for alternative energy sources

2. Increase "gas guzzler" tax by 5%

3. To impose higher taxes on imported goods

4. Make life imprisonment what it is supposed to be, no chance of parole.

5. Commit more funding to Defense industries.

6. Make it harder to sue for malpractice (Protect our doctors).

7. Start a national lottery.

8. Increase pay on public service (teachers, policemen, firemen, etc...)

9. Increase funding for the space program

Pretest Reasoning: You shall vote for all 9 bills because they would only help our nation to prosper and endure for the years to come.

C2-38

1. Develop government licensed gambling facilities and divert their profits to public schools.

2. Legalize the use of fireworks.

3. Ban gay marriage.

4. Ban assault weapons sales to the general public.

5. Spend \$10 million dollars to tighten border between the U.S. & Canada.

6. Lower the legal blood alcohol of a driver to .05.

7. Provide increase federal financial aid to college students.

8. Legalize the use of Marijuana

9. Require murderers and sex offenders to undergo psychotherapy.

Pretest Reasoning: Each of the nine bills has its own benefit to society. Bill number three would most likely draw the most criticism. That most important bill of the nine is the last though. Our current prison system does not rehabilitate criminals and it does so at a high cost to society. The proposed bill could improve our current, failing prison system.

C2-39

1. Revote the law that special ed. Students have to pass standardized tests

2. Increase national park funding by 10%

3. More education funding for underperforming states
4. Allow more pharmaceutical testing on terminal patients
5. Nationwide lottery to subsidize higher education
6. Increase social security taxes
7. Give college students break on sales tax for textbooks
8. Enact salary cap on pro baseball
9. Allow same sex marriage

Pretest Reasoning: Vote for all, but conservatives wouldn't go for #9 + #6.

C2-40

1. To establish a National Center for Social Work research
2. To establish a n initiative for insurance companies to take an active role in healthy decisions
3. To create National Donor Day
4. Increase funding for Type I Juvenile Diabetes research
5. To establish an agency to create safety on the Internet
6. To increase funding to schools for mental health programs.
7. To give incentives to companies who offer reduced rates to military personnel.
8. To enforce prison sentences to 75% of total time
9. To increase standards for pharmaceuticals sold online

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all 9 bills above. If you vote against all 9, then I figure its because you're against #2, but my most important bill is #1. More research need to be conducted to solve social work ills.

C2-41

1. Make LEV (Low Emission Vehicles) a standard by 2006.
2. To hold 16 year olds accountable for their own car accidents.
3. To tax owners of high polluting vehicles.
4. To legalize euthanasia with family or friendly consent.
5. To mandate that the death penalty be given within a year of conviction.
6. To reestablish that the death penalty be required for all who are convicted of treason, even in civilian cases.
7. To spend an extra \$30 million to reinforce the borders into the U.S.
8. To allow vehicles that fail emissions standards into the US with a tax...
9. To define a zygote as having a unique genetic code as it does.

Pretest Reasoning: I implore Senators to pass these bills. If not all, vote for two, as I am tired of people acting like teenagers don't know what they are doing. You may not like #9, but pass #2.

C2-42

1. To remove the tax cuts introduced by President Bush...
2. To tax tobacco sales by 1% to help pay for improved health care...
3. To spend 2 billion on mass transit incentives such as car pool lanes...
4. To commit 30 billion dollars to missile and air defenses...
5. To allow for marriages between same-sex partners...
6. To spend an additional 3 billion dollars on rebuilding efforts in Iraq...
7. To spend 2 billion in programs for gifted K-12 students...
8. To imprison someone for up to a year after a second DUI offense...
9. To use budget surpluses to decrease the national deficit...

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all nine bills above. If you do not vote for all nine, you should vote for bills 5 and 9. We need to ensure equality and reduce the burden imposed on the national budget by the deficit.

C2-43

1. Repeal the 16th Amendment and institute in its place a national retail sales tax
2. Increase the military budget
3. Decrease the budget for social programs
4. Tort Reform
5. Term limits for Congressmen
6. Social Security Reform
7. Foreign Policy with respect to aiding other nations
8. Foreign and Domestic Policy with respect to energy
9. Enforce Illegal Immigration Laws and deport illegal aliens

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor for all nine bills above. These could greatly improve the government and better the lives of Americans, in particular Bill #1.

Instituting this bill would eliminate the dreaded tax season and would be able to drop the costs of consumer goods drastically.

C2-44

1. To gradually end affirmative action over the next 20 years
2. To declare a federal law concerning the definition of marriage unconstitutional
3. To direct federal gov't investigation of steroid use in professional sports
4. To amend the No Child Left Behind Act to limit the number of so-called failing schools
5. To lower the nationwide drinking age to 18
6. To enact an increased sales tax on tobacco + alcohol products
7. To allow all who have maintained citizenship for a minimum of 20 years the right to run for president
8. To monitor citizens on welfare for a period of 9 months of longer
9. To mandate driver's tests every 5 years for citizens over the age of 65 + holding driver's licenses

Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all 9 bills above. However, the most important bill is #7. Currently we discriminate against U.S. citizens who are foreign born. They should have the same opportunity to run for President as all other citizens.

C2-45

1. The removal of all dams on rivers deemed "wild & scenic"
2. Increase spending on education one billion dollars
3. Increase spending on international relations, decrease on national defense (\$5 Billion)
4. Improve welfare programs & cut welfare handouts (use the same money (1 Billion))
5. Allow some social security money to be personally invested
6. Increase funding for alternative energy using increased taxes on fuel (3 Bill)
7. Increase benefits for manufacturing employers inside the U.S.
8. Increase controls on \$ coming from interest groups
9. Fund projects to decrease traffic (city light timing, carpools)

Pretest Reasoning: Because they are all good bills.

C2-46

1. To legalize gay marriage...
2. To extend tuition breaks to out of state students after 1 year of in-state education...
3. To extend tax breaks to parents of private-schooled kids...

4. To aid immigrant workers in getting U.S. citizenship...
5. To make it easier for single-parent households to adopt...
6. To decide once and for all the new GA State flag...
7. To extend HOPE scholarship to all GA State college students...
8. To reform campaign finance in the state of Georgia...
9. To lower the driving age to 18...

Pretest Reasoning: N/A

C2-47

1. To drop the drinking age to 18 or even lower.
2. To label tobacco a drug as to place it under regulation of the FDA.
3. To give federal aid to those companies seeking alternatives to fossil fuels.
4. To keep national forests clean of pollutants and encroaching civilizations.
5. To take our troops out of Iraq.
6. To put in to effect a national regulation for traffic lights to show red and amber when a walk signal is given.
7. To allow same sex civil unions, not marriage.
8. To stop all further inquiries into the legality of owning firearms: no restrictions past those that are already on affect.
9. To make it illegal for companies to install "spy ware" on a consumer's computer so as to collect information with the knowledge of the consumer

Pretest Reasoning: A combination of all of the above takes into account the moral, physical, ethical and social health of the American people and all therefore should be voted in favor of.

C2-48

1. To decriminalize marijuana, lessening criminal charges to simple warning
2. To cut back spending for War on Drugs
3. To redefine the DMCA of 1998 to allow copying digital media for personal backups
4. To allow marriages between any two people without prejudice to either person.
5. To completely deregulate telephone cabling, making leasing the lines hassle-free
6. To change laws to allow anal & oral sex between consenting adults on private property
7. To allow anyone carrying an ice cream cone in their back pocket if it is Sunday.
8. To end private school vouchers & instead use the money to better fund public schools
9. To lessen criminal charges for marijuana to a simple warning, decriminalizing it

Pretest Reasoning: N/A

C2-49

1. Eliminate Social Security
2. Increase government funding to the Armed Forces
3. Do away with the McCain-Feingold Election Bill
4. Increase funding to inner-city schools
5. Take Welfare, Medicaid, & Medicare from the National level to the states'
6. Remove race from any and all employment requirements
7. Cap university tuition
8. Enforce un-biased teaching in our public schools
9. Work towards improved public transportation

Pretest Reasoning: All the changes would improve the overall efficiency, racism, and moral value of the United States. It will provide people with greater control in our government and allow for more differentiation

C2-50

1. To give \$5 million to each of the 20 most populous U.S. cities for mass public transit
2. To increase time before eligibility of parole by 50% for convicted felons
3. To deregulate the federal financial constraints of congressional elections
4. To increase federal budget for public education by 10%
5. To create commission to investigate and eliminate financial fraud in major U.S. corporations
6. To mandate an increase in environmental research and development for U.S. car companies
7. To decrease federal spending on welfare by 5%
8. To mandate qualification testing among government officials
9. To increase budget for military by 5%

Pretest Reasoning: All of these bills are important and voting for them will better society and protect our values. Support our children, our job force, our citizens, and our country by voting for all of these.

C2-51

1. Repeal the 17th amendment
2. Establish the Constitution as the supreme law of the land
3. End eminent domain abuse
4. Ban gay marriages
5. Abolish media censorship
6. De-criminalize drugs.
7. Abolish social security
8. Create stricter punishments for repeat traffic offenders.
9. Abolish public education

Pretest Reasoning: All nine bills above would help the nation in numerous ways.

C2-52

1. To increase funding for food in educational centers...
2. To increase funding for housing in educational center...
3. To develop more financial aid programs including scholarships for economically challenged students...
4. To provide job opportunities based on skills and education rather than legal status...
5. To stop sending marines to Haiti...
6. To remove drinking age law...
7. To cut funding for political campaigns and candidates...
8. To increase the number of institutions available for poverty...
9. To create governmental car insurance...

Pretest Reasoning: I would understand about not voting for 9 because it could have other negative effects. As a student, I feel that bills 1, 2, and 3 are most important. Bill number 7 could cut back on the government expenses and later this money could be used on other issues.

C2-53

1. To spend 2 billion dollars nationwide to increase the quality of high schools and high school teachers...
2. To invest in more programs for the educational and social enrichment of minorities...
3. To offer better protection for victims of domestic abuse...
4. To offer easier ways for qualified students to acquire financial aid...

5. To mandate psychological programs to help rehabilitate certain prisoners...
 6. To establish more federally funded programs to feed and house homeless...
 7. To establish a national lottery...
 8. To minimize the involvement of the US in international affairs...
 9. To mandate a better consistency of enforcing laws and passing judgment...
- Pretest Reasoning: You should vote in favor of all nine above bills. However, the most important ones deal with the combination of education and minorities. The government should take a stand as far as strengthening our weak areas, and those are two that need much attention.

C2-54

1. To limit commercials to 16 minutes per hour of TV program...
 2. To make abortion illegal (even abortion on demand)...
 3. To allow matching money in Congress...
 4. To limit news leaks from members of Congress...
 5. To have no limit on campaign contributions...
 6. To have no ban on soft money...
 7. To return control of parks system to state governments...
 8. To require campaign money to be reported on internet...
 9. To limit Congress members to a 12 year service limit...
- Pretest Reasoning: Mainly a single-use bill --> Stop Abortion!

C2-55

1. Separate speed limits for different lanes of all interstates, and add a minimum to each lane accordingly.
 2. Create a separate highway for all 18 wheelers.
 3. Regulate gas and oil prices nationally.
 4. Create a tournament system for the NCAA Division 1 College Football finals.
 5. Limit the amount of money a professional athlete can make.
 6. Regulate the amount of money a private vendor can charge for a product.
 7. Abolish all types of abortion.
 8. Do not allow gay marriages. (Already working on it)
 9. Remove age of legally purchasing and consuming alcohol.
- Pretest Reasoning: Allow the younger generation to out and have fun legally without restricting all of their action. Reduce taxes on gas and other things in order to give them back the money they earn. Still restrict their ability to make stupid mistakes. (Going out on a limb here).

C2-56

1. More funding for mass transit in construction areas
 2. Stop abortion completely
 3. Get rid of death penalty
 4. Larger tax breaks for students
 5. Legalize marijuana
 6. Full prescription drug coverage for senior citizens
 7. Harsher punishment for repeating DUI offenders
 8. More money for student loans/financial aid
 9. Federal speed limit for highways/residential areas
- Pretest Reasoning: I think my bills should pass because they would make our country a safer place. Less lives would be lost if these bills were passed.

C2-57

1. To limit the three strikes law to only two strikes
 2. To make abortion illegal
 3. To make the speed limit on interstates universal throughout the country
 4. To increase gas prices by 5 cents a gallon to fund alternative fuel research.
 5. To increase jail time for drug dealers
 6. To have harsher penalties for corporate frauds
 7. To have government control over cloning
 8. For more lenient editing on Television
 9. To make downloading music for free legal
- Pretest Reasoning: Vote in favor of these bills because all of them will help to create a safer, more efficient, and environmentally friendly future. If you disagree with anything, I'll assume #9, but I love music and I'm broke. #2 is my most important issue.

C2-58

1. Establish a federal holiday on election day.
2. Commit an additional \$5 Billion to the National Park Service
3. Allow each state an additional seat in the Senate.
4. Place a 3% tax on auto purchases to be given to the Department of Transportation
5. Appropriate more funds to mass transit companies
6. Administer the death penalty to sex offenders with more than three charges against them.
7. Limit political campaigns on television networks
8. Give amnesty to immigrants from Mexico.
9. Change the legal drinking age to 16, and the driving age to 18.

Pretest Reasoning: These bills combined would help the country because these are the issues that I hear most people complaining about. Changing things like this would make Americans for the most part happier.

C2-59

1. Grant homosexuals the right to gain a marriage license.
2. Requiring all registered voters to vote (except felons, prisoners, and aliens) Also, automatically register voters when they are of age...
3. Grants intended to be used to teach sexual education...
4. Mandatory recycling for all people w/ \$20 million to institute this bill
5. Nationalize healthcare.
6. Businesses, colleges, and households paid a flat rate to use email... money directed to government.
7. A second violation of DUI result in a federal conviction of 5 years
8. No additional manufacture of gas cars... grant of \$15 million to further research electric energy and efficiency of electric cars
9. Illegalize the use and purchase of cigarettes.

Pretest Reasoning: You should pass vote in favor of the nine bills because I think that all these bills would benefit Americans as a whole.

C2-60

1. To provide funds to create more of a handicap accessible country (beyond just the minimum standard) or to increase the minimum standards.
2. To establish more government funding for cancer & AIDS research facilities
3. To reduce, eliminate or at least standardize sales taxes especially on large items such as homes and cars

4. To increase tax on tobacco products and use money for more Truth campaigns
5. To give federal funds to creating or improving mass transportation
6. To decrease the drinking age to 18
7. To provide more school options for teen mothers
8. To require drug related criminals to go through rehab and to create more rehab and housing options in typically "bad" areas
9. To provide more funding for no kill animal shelters

Pretest Reasoning: These bills reach a wide variety of constituents from young people, to people in bad neighborhoods, to the working class for transit, to adults or elderly with cancer problems.

C2-61

1. To offer federal funds to major cities to promote mass transit
2. To mandate that a judge appointed life sentence will not allow parole.
3. To increase penalties on DUI offenders
4. To make teenager curfews earlier.
5. To raise taxes on cigarettes by a constant amount each year.
6. To increase funding for cancer research.
7. To limit funds candidates can spend on presidential elections.
8. To change the driving age to 17, requiring 2 years of having a learner's permit.
9. To outlaw abortion unless the mother is at great risk.

Pretest Reasoning: All of the 9 bills are important changes that should be made. Some may vote against 4 and 9 for the rights of the people, but 3 is a great solution to one of our biggest problems. #8 is also a clever way to save lives.

C2-62

1. To legalize assisted suicide in cases where the individual has a terminal, incurable disease...
2. To limit the amount of money a PAC can donate to one candidate's campaign...
3. To limit the use of school vouchers for private education...
4. To limit military spending in order to reduce the escalating deficit...
5. To allow for civil unions between homosexual couples...
6. To amend or repeal the Patriot Act...
7. To spend \$1 billion on fortifying the border with Mexico...
8. To stiffen penalties for those convicted of Insider Trading and other White Collar crimes...
9. To abolish the color code system for Terrorist Alerts...

Pretest Reasoning: All of the above bills are important to support. The Conservatives have taken hold of legislation in the wake of recent events, and have reversed many important ideals of American Society, such as Freedom of Speech, which is why Bill 6 is so very crucial.

C3-1

1. Increase financial aid for college students.
2. Provide \$1 billion dollars for Urban Development
3. Eliminate the Death Penalty
4. Provide stricter processes for obtaining handicap parking permits
5. Provide nationwide personal care help for people with disabilities
6. Create better transit systems in suburban communities
7. Limit the cost of college educations
8. Provide more money for armed forces

9. Expand multi-cultural awareness throughout local communities

Pretest Reasoning: You should support all the nine bills above. All of these would help the services that people need the most. My most important bill is number 7 because college costs need to be capped.

C3-2

1. Increased funding for higher salaries to military personnel
2. Less taxation on inheritance money.
3. Lower taxes on money withdrawn early from retirement accounts.
4. more funding for national security in airports + other public places
5. Ban busing to public schools.
6. Increased funding to lower income public schools to pay for better teachers
7. Increased funding for supplies + equipment in public schools.
8. more pay for firefighters + police officers
9. less funding for less important aspects of government...

Pretest Reasoning: Combining all of these bills would better society, but focusing on the bills concerning public schools would be a good start because our society hinges greatly on the education of its citizens.

C3-3

1. A national health care
2. increase taxes on alcohol and cigarettes
3. suppression of affirmative action
4. standard tuition for all colleges
5. Repeal Patriot Act
6. Withdrawal of our troops from foreign countries
7. Abolition of death penalty
8. legalizing drugs
9. suppression of housing projects

Pretest Reasoning: N/A

C3-4

1. To require public school districts with multiple schools at each level to rotate teachers and principles among locations every two years.
2. To require annual academic placement tests of public school students to separate students by achievement level.
- 3 To allow a 10% tax cut from the percentage of state and local taxes allotted to education from families whose children are currently private or home school students.
4. To provide safe conditions for cyclists by requiring bicycle/running lanes on all new or expanded non-residential roads.
5. To mandate felony status and 10 years minimum imprisonment to any person, driver or passenger, of a motor vehicle who seeks to inflict physically, mental or emotional harm by words, sounds, gestures, or physical contact to any cyclist, runner, or pedestrian on any road.
6. To provide funding for FDA approved weight loss measures taken by obese US citizens so long as they are actively losing weight and report official weight every 45 days and to provide information on ways to improve/maintain good health and why it is important.
7. To replace Affirmative Action quotas with race, sexual orientation, religion, and gender blind hiring and acceptance assessments pertaining to achievement and responses.

8. To require state and local agencies to compensate paid emergency personnel with overtime pay.

9. To tax a minimum of 3% of revenue of corporations who participate in offshore job outsourcing.

Pretest Reasoning: Voting in favor of the nine bills above would encourage quality of education, quality of national health, and improve national and local economies.

C3-5

1. Eliminating mandatory sentencing on minor drug offenses

2. Approving marijuana for recreational as well as medicinal use.

3. Eliminate the return of drug money seizures to the department that makes the seizure.

4. Increase taxes and permitting fees for residential builders developing green fields.

5. Place maximum amount on malpractice lawsuit awards

6. Eliminate the earned income credit from the tax law.

7. Limit the three strikes law to violent crimes

8. Provide additional tax benefits to builders who develop brown fields

9. Subsidize drug companies that are doing research work to improve medicinal efficiency

Pretest Reasoning: N/A

C3-6

1. Allocate \$2 billion for the Atlanta City School System

2. Tax break for registered gun owners

3. \$90 million spent on cleaning of Alaskan wilderness

4. Harsher penalties for parole violators

5. Raise teacher's salaries

6. Allocate \$90 billion to fix the roads.

7. Harsher punishment for animal injustices

8. Harsher penalties for DUI crimes

9. Increase in Senator's pay

Pretest Reasoning: This is a combination of all of the bills. They should all be passed because they all are important.

C3-7

1. To make the legal drinking and purchasing of alcohol age 20.

2. To make the legal purchasing age of tobacco 19.

3. To lower the age for buying high power rifle bullets to 18.

4. To make the age allowed to go into a "bar" or "club" 18 nationally.

5. To get rid of affirmative action.

6. To get rid of public institutions using class ranking systems as a method to determine admittance.

7. To make more affordable trade between Japan and the United States.

8. To make gas taxes cheaper.

9. To allow future financial aid without grade restrictions upon the notifying of the student of his/her first financial aid.

Pretest Reasoning: These bills will help bring our country back to a period of conservative life. Where we work hard and obey our own morals to lead to an end of happiness and equality.

C3-8

1. Legalize same-sex marriage.

2. Implement stricter gun control laws at gun shows.
 3. Completely abolish U.S. military draft.
 4. Lower drinking age to 18.
 5. Lower required age to own a handgun to 18.
 6. Raise the driving age to 17 (16 for a learner's license).
 7. Legalize marijuana for medicinal purposes.
 8. Abolish the electoral college.
 9. End college scholarships + establish system more like a retirement account in nature.
- Pretest Reasoning: All of the aforementioned proposals are logical in nature. They all need to be expanded and have the details worked out, but they should all be passed individually. So, save some time + make them into one bill and pass it.

C3-9

1. To institute school vouchers to all tax-paying parents
 2. To make abortion a capital offense
 3. To greatly restrict the distribution of welfare
 4. To increase the tax on cigarettes.
 5. To prohibit gay couples from adopting children
 6. To increase oil drilling with the continental US
 7. To drop out of the United Nations
 8. To declare Affirmative Action illegal
 9. To officially declare Israel our ally and declare war on all nations at war with Israel
- Pretest Reasoning: All my bills would make a better America. I know they are conservative, but they'll really work. Trust me. Especially vote for bills 7, 3, 4, 6, 1, 2, 5, 9, + 8.

C3-10

1. To ban all "soft money" campaign contributions
 2. To immediately open up the Alaskan reserves to oil exploration/exploitation.
 3. To implement a balanced budget over three years with escape clause if there is a Congressional Declaration of War.
 4. To declare the "improper solemnizing of a marriage" a federal offense.
 5. To institute further testing for teachers and students.
 6. To further tax break incentives for alternative energy technologies.
 7. To implement a rule change that requires a vote of cloture to require a simple majority.
 - 8 To guarantee that funding to Israel will continue at the current level or more for 10 years.
 9. To submit a Constitutional amendment defining marriage as between a man + a woman.
- Pretest Reasoning: These bills address important domestic and foreign policy issues of today. Simply, these may be one of the better ways to address today's problems.

Table 11: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C1-1 thru C1-9)

C1-1's Senators' Votes				C1-2's Senators' Votes				C1-3's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	YEA	1	NAY	1	NAY	1	NAY
2	YEA		2	NAY	2	YEA	2	YEA	2	YEA	2	NAY
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	YEA	3	NAY	3	NAY	3	YEA
4	YEA		4	YEA	4	NAY	4	NAY	4	YEA	4	YEA
5	YEA		5	YEA	5	YEA	5	YEA	5	YEA	5	NAY
6	YEA		6	NAY	6	NAY	6	YEA	6	NAY	6	NAY
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	YEA	7	NAY	7	YEA	7	NAY
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY	8	YEA	8	YEA	8	NAY
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY
10	YEA		10	YEA	10	NAY	10	YEA	10	YEA	10	YEA
C1-1's Choices				C1-2's Choices				C1-3's Choices				
Reelect			Remove	Reelect			Reelect			Remove		
C1-4's Senators' Votes				C1-5's Senators' Votes				C1-6's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	YEA	1	YEA	1	YEA	1	NAY
2	YEA		2	NAY	2	YEA	2	YEA	2	YEA	2	NAY
3	YEA		3	YEA	3	NAY	3	YEA	3	YEA	3	YEA
4	YEA		4	YEA	4	YEA	4	NAY	4	YEA	4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA	5	NAY	5	NAY	5	YEA
6	YEA		6	NAY	6	YEA	6	NAY	6	NAY	6	NAY
7	YEA		7	NAY	7	YEA	7	NAY	7	YEA	7	YEA
8	YEA		8	NAY	8	NAY	8	YEA	8	NAY	8	NAY
9	YEA		9	YEA	9	NAY	9	NAY	9	YEA	9	YEA
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY	10	YEA	10	NAY	10	NAY
C1-4's Choices				C1-5's Choices				C1-6's Choices				
Reelect			Reelect	Reelect			Remove	Reelect			Remove	
C1-7's Senators' Votes				C1-8's Senators' Votes				C1-9's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	YEA	1	NAY	1	YEA	1	YEA	1	YEA
2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY	2	YEA	2	YEA	2	YEA
3	YEA		3	YEA	3	NAY	3	NAY	3	NAY	3	NAY
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY	4	NAY	4	NAY	4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA	5	NAY	5	YEA	5	YEA
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY	6	YEA	6	NAY	6	NAY
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	YEA	7	NAY	7	NAY	7	NAY
8	YEA		8	YEA	8	NAY	8	YEA	8	YEA	8	YEA
9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA	9	YEA	9	YEA	9	NAY
10	YEA		10	YEA	10	NAY	10	NAY	10	YEA	10	YEA
C1-7's Choices				C1-8's Choices				C1-9's Choices				
Reelect			Reelect	Remove			Reelect	Reelect			Reelect	

Table 12: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C1-10 thru C2-4)

C1-10's Senators' Votes					C1-11's Senators' Votes					C1-12's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	YEA		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA
6	YEA		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	YEA		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	YEA		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY
C1-10's Choices					C1-11's Choices					C1-12's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Remove	
C1-13's Senators' Votes					C1-14's Senators' Votes					C2-1's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	YEA		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	YEA		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY
5	YEA		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	YEA
6	YEA		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	YEA		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	YEA		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	NAY
C1-13's Choices					C1-14's Choices					C2-1's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Remove		Reelect			Reelect	
C2-2's Senators' Votes					C2-3's Senators' Votes					C2-4's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	YEA	4	YEA		4	YEA
5	YEA		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	YEA
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	NAY
9	NAY		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	NAY
C2-2's Choices					C2-3's Choices					C2-4's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect	

Table 13: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-5 thru C2-13)

C2-5's Senators' Votes					C2-6's Senators' Votes					C2-7's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA	6	YEA		6	YEA
7	YEA		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	NAY
9	YEA		9	NAY	9	YEA		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-5's Choices					C2-6's Choices					C2-7's Choices				
Reelect			Reelect		Reelect			Remove		Remove			Remove	
C2-8's Senators' Votes					C2-9's Senators' Votes					C2-10's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	YEA		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	YEA	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	YEA		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA
6	YEA		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA	6	YEA		6	NAY
7	NAY		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	YEA		9	NAY	9	YEA		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	YEA
C2-8's Choices					C2-9's Choices					C2-10's Choices				
Remove			Remove		Reelect			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect	
C2-11's Senators' Votes					C2-12's Senators' Votes					C2-13's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	YEA		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	YEA		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY
8	YEA		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-11's Choices					C2-12's Choices					C2-13's Choices				
Reelect			Reelect		Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect	

Table 14: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-14 thru C2-22)

C2-14's Senators' Votes					C2-15's Senators' Votes					C2-16's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	NAY		3	YEA	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	YEA
6	YEA		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-14's Choices					C2-15's Choices					C2-16's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect	
C2-17's Senators' Votes					C2-18's Senators' Votes					C2-19's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	YEA		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	YEA		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	NAY		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	NAY
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-17's Choices					C2-18's Choices					C2-19's Choices				
Remove			Remove		Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect	
C2-20's Senators' Votes					C2-21's Senators' Votes					C2-22's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	YEA		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	YEA		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	NAY		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	NAY
9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-20's Choices					C2-21's Choices					C2-22's Choices				
Remove			Remove		Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect	

Table 15: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-23 thru C2-31)

C2-23's Senators' Votes				C2-24's Senators' Votes				C2-25's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		
1	NAY		1	YEA		1	YEA		1	NAY		
2	NAY		2	YEA		2	YEA		2	NAY		
3	NAY		3	YEA		3	YEA		3	YEA		
4	NAY		4	NAY		4	YEA		4	NAY		
5	YEA		5	NAY		5	YEA		5	NAY		
6	NAY		6	YEA		6	NAY		6	NAY		
7	NAY		7	YEA		7	YEA		7	NAY		
8	NAY		8	YEA		8	NAY		8	NAY		
9	NAY		9	YEA		9	NAY		9	NAY		
10	NAY		10	NAY		10	YEA		10	NAY		
C2-23's Choices				C2-24's Choices				C2-25's Choices				
Remove			Reelect	Remove			Reelect	Remove			Reelect	
C2-26's Senators' Votes				C2-27's Senators' Votes				C2-28's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		
1	NAY		1	NAY		1	NAY		1	YEA		
2	NAY		2	NAY		2	NAY		2	YEA		
3	NAY		3	NAY		3	YEA		3	YEA		
4	NAY		4	NAY		4	YEA		4	YEA		
5	NAY		5	NAY		5	YEA		5	NAY		
6	YEA		6	NAY		6	NAY		6	NAY		
7	NAY		7	YEA		7	NAY		7	NAY		
8	NAY		8	YEA		8	YEA		8	NAY		
9	NAY		9	YEA		9	NAY		9	YEA		
10	NAY		10	YEA		10	NAY		10	NAY		
C2-26's Choices				C2-27's Choices				C2-28's Choices				
Remove			Reelect	Remove			Remove	Remove	Remove			Reelect
C2-29's Senators' Votes				C2-30's Senators' Votes				C2-31's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		
1	NAY		1	NAY		1	NAY		1	NAY		
2	NAY		2	NAY		2	NAY		2	NAY		
3	YEA		3	YEA		3	NAY		3	NAY		
4	YEA		4	NAY		4	NAY		4	NAY		
5	NAY		5	NAY		5	YEA		5	YEA		
6	NAY		6	NAY		6	NAY		6	NAY		
7	YEA		7	YEA		7	NAY		7	YEA		
8	NAY		8	YEA		8	YEA		8	NAY		
9	NAY		9	YEA		9	NAY		9	NAY		
10	NAY		10	YEA		10	NAY		10	NAY		
C2-29's Choices				C2-30's Choices				C2-31's Choices				
Reelect			Remove	Reelect			Reelect	Remove	Remove			

Table 16: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-32 thru C2-40)

C2-32's Senators' Votes				C2-33's Senators' Votes				C2-34's Senators' Votes					
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	YEA	1	YEA	1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	YEA	2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY	3	YEA	3	YEA		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA	4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY
5	YEA		5	NAY	5	NAY	5	NAY	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	YEA	6	YEA	6	YEA		6	YEA
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY	7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY	8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY	10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-32's Choices				C2-33's Choices				C2-34's Choices					
Reelect			Remove	Reelect			Reelect	Remove			Reelect	Remove	
C2-35's Senators' Votes				C2-36's Senators' Votes				C2-37's Senators' Votes					
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	NAY	1	YEA	1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	NAY	2	NAY	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY	3	YEA	3	YEA		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY	4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY
5	YEA		5	NAY	5	NAY	5	YEA	5	YEA		5	NAY
6	YEA		6	NAY	6	NAY	6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	YEA		7	NAY	7	YEA	7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY	8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY	10	YEA	10	NAY		10	NAY
C2-35's Choices				C2-36's Choices				C2-37's Choices					
Reelect			Remove	Remove			Reelect	Reelect			Reelect	Reelect	
C2-38's Senators' Votes				C2-39's Senators' Votes				C2-40's Senators' Votes					
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY	1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	YEA		2	YEA	2	NAY	2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY	3	YEA	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY	4	NAY	4	YEA		4	YEA
5	YEA		5	YEA	5	NAY	5	NAY	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY	6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY	7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA
8	YEA		8	NAY	8	NAY	8	YEA	8	NAY		8	NAY
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	YEA	9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY	10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-38's Choices				C2-39's Choices				C2-40's Choices					
Remove			Reelect	Remove			Reelect	Remove			Reelect	Remove	

Table 17: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-41 thru C2-49)

C2-41's Senators' Votes					C2-42's Senators' Votes					C2-43's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA
2	YEA		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	YEA		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-41's Choices					C2-42's Choices					C2-43's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect		Remove			Remove	
C2-44's Senators' Votes					C2-45's Senators' Votes					C2-46's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	NAY	1	YEA		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	YEA	4	YEA		4	YEA
5	YEA		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA	5	YEA		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	YEA	6	YEA		6	YEA
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	NAY
8	YEA		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA
9	YEA		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA	10	YEA		10	NAY
C2-44's Choices					C2-45's Choices					C2-46's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Remove	
C2-47's Senators' Votes					C2-48's Senators' Votes					C2-49's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	YEA		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	NAY
4	YEA		4	YEA	4	YEA		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA	5	YEA		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	YEA		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	NAY
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	YEA
9	YEA		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-47's Choices					C2-48's Choices					C2-49's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Remove		Reelect			Remove	

Table 18: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-50 thru C2-58)

C2-50's Senators' Votes					C2-51's Senators' Votes					C2-52's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	YEA
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	YEA
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	YEA
9	YEA		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	YEA
C2-50's Choices					C2-51's Choices					C2-52's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Remove		Remove			Reelect	
C2-53's Senators' Votes					C2-54's Senators' Votes					C2-55's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	YEA		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	YEA	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	YEA		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	NAY
5	YEA		5	NAY	5	YEA		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA
7	NAY		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	NAY
8	NAY		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	NAY
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	YEA	10	NAY		10	NAY
C2-53's Choices					C2-54's Choices					C2-55's Choices				
Remove			Remove		Reelect			Remove		Remove			Reelect	
C2-56's Senators' Votes					C2-57's Senators' Votes					C2-58's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA
2	YEA		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	YEA		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	YEA
4	YEA		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY
5	YEA		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	YEA
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA	9	NAY		9	YEA
10	YEA		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	NAY
C2-56's Choices					C2-57's Choices					C2-58's Choices				
Reelect			Remove		Reelect			Reelect		Remove			Reelect	

Table 19: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C2-59 thru C3-5)

C2-59's Senators' Votes					C2-60's Senators' Votes					C2-61's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	NAY
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	YEA
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY	3	NAY		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	YEA
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	YEA		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA
7	NAY		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA
8	NAY		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	NAY
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	YEA
C2-59's Choices					C2-60's Choices					C2-61's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Remove		Reelect			Reelect	
C2-62's Senators' Votes					C3-1's Senators' Votes					C3-2's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY
3	NAY		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	YEA	4	YEA		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	NAY	5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	YEA		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	YEA	6	YEA		6	YEA
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	YEA
8	YEA		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	YEA	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	YEA		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	YEA		9	YEA
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	YEA	10	YEA		10	NAY
C2-62's Choices					C3-1's Choices					C3-2's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect	
C3-3's Senators' Votes					C3-4's Senators' Votes					C3-5's Senators' Votes				
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	YEA	1	NAY		1	YEA	1	YEA		1	YEA
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	YEA		2	NAY	2	YEA		2	YEA
3	YEA		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	YEA		3	NAY
4	NAY		4	NAY	4	NAY		4	YEA	4	YEA		4	YEA
5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	YEA	5	NAY		5	NAY
6	NAY		6	YEA	6	NAY		6	NAY	6	NAY		6	NAY
7	YEA		7	YEA	7	YEA		7	NAY	7	YEA		7	YEA
8	YEA		8	YEA	8	NAY		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	YEA
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY
C3-3's Choices					C3-4's Choices					C3-5's Choices				
Remove			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect		Reelect			Reelect	

Table 20: Experimental Treatment w/ Posttest Citizen Election Votes (C3-6 thru C3-10)

C3-6's Senators' Votes				C3-7's Senators' Votes				C3-8's Senators' Votes			
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote
1	NAY		1	NAY	1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY
2	NAY		2	NAY	2	NAY		2	NAY	2	NAY
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	YEA		3	NAY	3	YEA
4	YEA		4	NAY	4	YEA		4	NAY	4	YEA
5	NAY		5	YEA	5	YEA		5	NAY	5	NAY
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA	6	YEA
7	NAY		7	YEA	7	NAY		7	YEA	7	YEA
8	YEA		8	NAY	8	YEA		8	NAY	8	NAY
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	YEA	9	NAY
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	YEA		10	NAY	10	NAY
C3-6's Choices				C3-7's Choices				C3-8's Choices			
Reelect			Reelect		Reelect		Remove	Reelect		Remove	
C3-9's Senators' Votes				C3-10's Senators' Votes							
Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote	Bill	Vote		Bill	Vote		
1	YEA		1	NAY	1	NAY		1	YEA		
2	NAY		2	YEA	2	NAY		2	NAY		
3	NAY		3	YEA	3	NAY		3	YEA		
4	NAY		4	YEA	4	NAY		4	NAY		
5	NAY		5	YEA	5	YEA		5	NAY		
6	NAY		6	NAY	6	YEA		6	YEA		
7	NAY		7	NAY	7	NAY		7	NAY		
8	YEA		8	NAY	8	NAY		8	NAY		
9	NAY		9	NAY	9	NAY		9	NAY		
10	NAY		10	NAY	10	NAY		10	NAY		
C3-9's Choices				C3-10's Choices							
Remove			Reelect		Remove		Remove				

Post-test Responses

C1-1

Posttest Response: The first senator voted yea on many issues I felt were important so I've chosen to re-elect him. The second senator voted nay on a few proposals I thought were very important, such as bills 1 and 2

C1-2

Posttest Response: I chose to reelect both senators because they both support different but essential parts of my bill proposal.

C1-3

Posttest Response: I would reelect the first senator because he agreed with several of my plans, and although he does not agree on all of them, he does have a similar sense of what issues need to be addressed.

I would not reelect senator #2 because he did not agree with very many of my ideas and he appears to be very conservative. I feel more liberal on issues than he does, and I would not support someone who votes against my ideas.

C1-4

Posttest Response: I want to reelect the first senator b/c he/she only rejected 2 of my bills. I have to say that I want someone in office who agrees with my opinions.

The reason I picked to reelect the 2nd senator is b/c I understand that some of my bills are a bit drastic, so I didn't really [expect] many of them to get passed. The 2 bills that I am the most passionate about he voted yae.

C1-5

Posttest Response: for the 1st senator, I'd like to re-elect because I feel they accepted my major bills + ones I cared most about.

-for the 2nd senator, I'd like to remove them because I feel like they are opposite of what I stand for + don't share my views.

C1-6

Posttest Response: It is clear that the first senator is a conservative but has my same ideas.

It is clear that the second senator is a conservative but disagrees with specific ideas of mine.

C1-7

Posttest Response: The combination for all 9 bills were approved.

C1-8

Posttest Response: Senator 1- He /she stuck to some of the larger issues, Highway Safety & education, but they did not approve any of the minor issues that I feel are important.

Senator 2- I feel that he/she voted yea for the two bills that affect those under 18

C1-9

Posttest Response: Both agreed with what I think are the larger, more important parts of my bill- including all 9 of them, strongly. I would note that whether I would vote for them depends strongly on their opposition, though.

C1-10

Posttest Response: My biggest concern was the education. Without promoting higher education, the number people with college education would decrease.

C1-11

Posttest Response: Voting was very similar and I was inclined to re-elect both Senators. However, I think that proposal 6 was too important to allow a nay. We don't hold manufacturers or dealers of other products responsible for criminal misuse of their products. Why this industry? If a gun fires, it does exactly what it is supposed to do. It is not illegal to sell or make guns. Where does this perception of responsibility come from?!

C1-12

Posttest Response: I am willing to compromise some of my beliefs to find someone who will represent most of what I think. I tried to write generally toned down bills in relation to

what I think. I would not vote for the second senator because he did not agree overall with me.

C1-13

Posttest Response: The first senator did not agree with many of my values and, hence, would not represent me well, while the second senator supported my ideas.

C1-14

Posttest Response: I want to reelect senator #1 because they agree with the majority of my proposals. He or she agrees with the majority of the things that are important to me and how my money is spent.

I want to remove senator #2 because he or she does not agree with two of my most important proposals - #3 and #9. I do not want someone representing me that does not represent my beliefs and/or votes.

C2-1

Posttest Response: I would reelect both because they voted on my important bill.

C2-2

Posttest Response: I'm glad #2 at least wants to help the sick.

#2 rejected some of my more radical ideas, but in general agrees with me, especially on pts. 1 + 3.

C2-3

Posttest Response: I chose re-election because both senators passed important bill proposals that will help strengthen the country.

C2-4

Posttest Response: I felt that I should reelect both Senators because though they did not, either one, pass some of the important bills, collectively both backed most of the important bills. Keeping both in office would ensure at least some support for the important issues.

C2-5

Posttest Response: I would re-elect the first senator because he is open to a more free, less controlled system of law enforcement; he wants the people to have control of their decisions and the enforcers to be very clear in every action. I would re-elect the second senator because his agenda is oriented at the well-being of the people.

C2-6

Posttest Response: One voted mainly w/, other didn't

C2-7

Posttest Response: I want to remove them because they don't support the most important bill. Supporting for research program for AIDs, which is the biggest problem of [the] whole world.

C2-8

Posttest Response: Both the senators didn't say "yea" to the bills that I really wanted. I, for some reason, do not feel confident about their judgments + reasoning behind their votes. Although I am a little partial to senator #2 b/c of a combination.

C2-9

Posttest Response: It seems both of my senators seem to favor my beliefs, I would reelect both because they are representing me well and also seem to represent the ideologies I believe in.

C2-10

Posttest Response: Even though there is a little difference of opinion, it seems like the senators and I share a common interest of a weaker government that doesn't control everything.

C2-11

Posttest Response: Being that the environment remains my number one concern with respect to the government, I am happy how both of my senators approved my most important proposal, which related to the environment

C2-12

Posttest Response: I based my decisions on the votes against the bills that were most important to me.

C2-13

Posttest Response: The most basic reason why I remove [the] first Senator from office and reelect another is based on how many times they vote in favor of my Bill suggestions. I personally prefer to regard representatives as trustees instead of delegates. I think Senators should listen to people's suggestions and they have to vote in favor of constituents, even if they, Senators personally think that is wrong.

C2-14

Posttest Response: Remove Senator one because he only voted for one bill, thus he does not represent my opinion as a constituent.
-Reelect Senator 2 because he supported my overall Bill, even though he only voted yea for 3 Bills.

C2-15

Posttest Response: The first was deemed removable because of clearly disagreeing on every bill presented.
The second was deemed reelectable due to his agreement with generally all of the bills presented.

C2-16

Posttest Response: I chose to remove the first and reelect the second because it went along with my bills. Since he passed my bills (the second senator) it means he has the same type of values as I have. I would want a person representing me who is going to vote for what I want and believe.

C2-17

Posttest Response: These Senators should help to get bill proposals passed for those who live in their state. The 2nd Senator was closest to being reelected because of his yes on the combination. There were just too many nays for either to be reelected.

C2-18

Posttest Response: I would like to remove senator 1 because they disagreed and did not support some of my most important issues such as civil unions, raising teacher salary, etc. I would like to reelect the second senator because although they didn't support my main causes they did agree with a combination of all 9 bills.

C2-19

Posttest Response: I chose to reelect the second senator because they voted in favor of most of the key issues that are important to cure, and most of the bills they rejected would involve heavy government spending which many people want to keep down and so I can somewhat understand why they were voted against
I chose to remove the first senator because their views seem so different than mine, and I would want people in government whose views are similar to mine.

C2-20

Posttest Response: senator A seemed to share my views as far as making public education the best it can be (state universities primarily) at first, but then it seems that the senator changed his (her) mind and threw out all of my proposals.
Senator B appreciated the need to relocate and find funds for college students, but (s)he overlooked the first 2 which I think are vital.

C2-21

Posttest Response: I chose to remove senator #1 from office because he/she chose not to approve many of my more important bills. Senator #2 did allow my more important bills, so I feel he/she will be in my best interest to govern me and my family.

C2-22

Posttest Response: Senator 1 [remove] - I personally would pass all the bills I proposed. However I would pass some of them so this senator doesn't have the same political beliefs as me. And since I have no idea how this senator performed in office, I would Remove him
Senator 2 [Reelect] - like I said, I wouldn't pass all my bills. This Senator seemed to agree with me on the bills I agreed with. So since he feels as I do I'll reelect him.

C2-23

Posttest Response: I chose to remove the first Senator because he apparently hates babies being healthy, and hates prayer... well, okay, so maybe that's a little strong, but this guy is way too liberal.
I reelected the second Senator because he supported the majority of my bills. True, he did reject 2, but the drug bill was a little extreme. I'm disappointed that he's for affirmative action, but other than that, I like his voting record.

C2-24

Posttest Response: I chose to remove the first senator because he only supported one of my bills, and I do not want a senator in office if he does not support my beliefs. The other senator will be re-elected by me because he supported a majority of my bills, and voted for the combination of all the bills together. Because I want representation in the Senate and Congress, I am going to reelect the guy who understands me. True, he rejected 3 bills, but that is to be expected as we all have some different views

C2-25

Posttest Response: My bills center around two issues: improved education + driving safety. The first senator only agrees with the cheapest and least effective bill when it stands alone. The second, although not doing anything for education, supports enough bills regarding transportation to make a significant improvement.

C2-26

Posttest Response: There is not much of an agreement with Senator 1, which results in a removal. The Senator turns down all of my important ones including #9, 8, and #3. Senator 2 is easier to negotiate. 4 of 10 bills can be passed. Support of human cloning and wage equality are a must. Even though Senator 2 turned down #3, passage of the others guarantees reelection. Senator 2 has reasons for disagreeing with other bills, while supporting others.

C2-27

Posttest Response: Both Senators failed to vote for my two most important bills, bills 1 & 2. I felt that bill 2 & 3 are attacked, 4 & 5 are attacked, and only the second senator voted for it. Obviously, both Senators don't have similar views as me, so I find no point voting to re-elect any one of them.

C2-28

Posttest Response: I voted to reelect senator 2 and remove senator 1 because senator 2 supported more of my proposed legislation than senator 1. Senator 2 also supported gun control in some way, which is better than senator 1 (who doesn't support any of my gun control measures)

C2-29

Posttest Response: I would remove the second senator because of the bills I proposed, the less series of the bills were accepted, but those of greater importance I would keep the first because of his response to bills 3 + 4. I feel for the most part this senator is very conservative, + voted how I would have for my bills.

C2-30

Posttest Response: Both seemed to here reasoned through what they felt was important and seemed neither to be too lenient nor too strict.

C2-31

Posttest Response: I removed senator #2 b/c he said nay for everything. It doesn't seem like he even read them. Also, b/c why would I want to elect people that don't agree with my views

C2-32

Posttest Response: The most important bill, in my views and interests, is the 3rd, that talks about Colombian guerrillas. Senator 1 agreed, senator 2 didn't. This is the reason for my vote.

C2-33

Posttest Response: Satisfying results.

C2-34

Posttest Response: The two Senator's voted basically the same. The major difference between the two was their votes on the Kyoto treaty and their stances on the

combination of bills. Senator 1 seems less intended on what I feel are the most important issues.

C2-35

Posttest Response: He or she agrees with most of my Bills

C2-36

Posttest Response: My decision is based upon the amount of Bills passed which I have presented

C2-37

Posttest Response: I voted to reelect both senators because they both voted for the two most important bills I proposed; increasing funding for alternative energy sources, and increasing funding for defense industries. I would have liked all of my bills to pass, but I know that there is no way that would ever happen in real life. We need a diverse group of senators so I decide reelect both so we can have different political views in Congress.

C2-38

Posttest Response: The first senator disagreed with many of my bills that would have benefited public safety such as banning assault weapons sale to the public and lowering the legal blood-alcohol rate for drivers. Both of these signified to me that the first senator is not concerned with public safety. The second senator agreed with many of these and definitely showed through his/her voting that he/her cares for the public rather than big business. I reelected the second senator and removed the first.

C2-39

Posttest Response: Senator #1: Shot me down on all counts except for same sex marriages. He/she even voted against providing different criteria for special ed students
Senator #2: Has a strong stance on education. I like that.

C2-40

Posttest Response: By not voting on Bill no. 10, senator #1 seems unsure of him/herself and I was looking for someone with strong stances, either for or against my bills. Only 2 bills were supported which isn't giving me the support needed. Senator #2, although not completely supportive, did support a majority of bills and yes to Bill #10.

C2-41

Posttest Response: First senator only passed 4 of my bills, and wasn't for taxing people of high polluting vehicles. Senator two is being re-elected because he passed 6 of my bills. He is also in favor of not depriving this country of fine vehicles because of a little emission problem.

C2-42

Posttest Response: I reelected the second senator because they passed the combination of all 9 bills, and seem to agree with most of my bills. I also reelected the first senator, despite the fact that they voted nay on many taxation bills that I felt strongly about because they did show support for the same-sex marriage bill that I really think needs to be passed to protect our nation's equality.

C2-43

Posttest Response: Although both senators voted for the bill I most wanted to pass, Bill #1, they voted nay on many of the other bill[s] I felt strongly about, such as Tort Reform, Increasing the military budget, and Social Security Reform.

C2-44

Posttest Response: The first Senator did not approve of my most important bill, granting the right to run for president to all who have maintained citizenship for 20 years. He/She also does not approve of a federal law concerning the definition of marriage, an issue which should be left to the states. However, the second Senator is more consistent with my views on these issues, which are important to me. Therefore, I vote to remove the first senator and reelect the second.

C2-45

Posttest Response: I decided to remove the first senator because they aren't forward thinking enough.

-we are allowing ourselves to be dependent on oil when we should spend a little money and use our best resource (people/intelligence/creativity) to find a different energy source. I decided to keep the second senator even though they wouldn't remove some dams.

C2-46

Posttest Response: I voted for #1 because he supported bills #1,3,5,7,10, which were more important to me. Senator #2 didn't -his ideals were more conflicted with my own, so I opted to remove him from office.

C2-47

Posttest Response: The first senator seems to be for gun control to protect the people, yet s/he does not care if a pedestrian is hit by a car (shown in #6)

S/He also seems not to care for the environment (#3)

The second senator is a little more realistic, troops cannot be just taken out of Iraq, that's impossible, s/he does care for the well being of people and their rights though.

C2-48

Posttest Response: Senator 1 agreed with my major points, while Senator 2 disagreed with almost all of my proposals, with the exception of a few minor ones. Also senator 2 said NAY to #1 while he said YEA to #9, the same proposal worded differently

C2-49

Posttest Response: The first senator voted for most things individually and so it didn't matter that he didn't vote for the combination of all 9. The only thing that worried me was the lobe against college issues.

The second senator seemed inconsistent. They voted against most of my bills but for a combination of all 9, which makes me wonder what they really think. This senator reminds me of John Kerry. They vote inconsistently.

C2-50

Posttest Response: I chose to remove senator number 1 primarily for his vote on not increasing the federal budget for public education. His decision against the future of America is striking and I vote to remove him from office. I choose to re- elect the second senator for his decisions on my major bills, most especially education.

C2-51

Posttest Response: Senator 1- reelect because his/her decisions on my major bills show a close connection to some of my major views + shows a possibility towards seeing my way on other issues

Senator 2- remove because their votes show me that they're weak and closed to ideas differing from theirs. Their vote on bill #3 surprised me however because this is not a liberal view as their rejection of my other bills are.

C2-52

Posttest Response: Senator #1 was voted to be removed because we showed little interest in areas that I consider important.

Senator #2 was voted to be reelected because he agreed with most of the bills proposed.

C2-53

Posttest Response: I chose to remove both senators because (based on their responses) they do not seem to support notions of improving education and the quality of life. Overall, my questions dealt with these two subjects, and I believe it would be interesting to know the reasoning behind my senators' decisions. The Senators answered NAY to 7 out of my 10 proposals. These Senators obviously do not have the same concerns as I do.

C2-54

Posttest Response: First Senator was sympathetic to the abortion bill, the second Senator was not. Also, First Senator took a solid approach to many of the proposed bills, meaning he/she did not simply try to appease the citizen with selective votes.

C2-55

Posttest Response: Remove first senator b/c didn't vote on any laws that I strongly believe in. Some laws were simply ideas, but #2,3,6, + 8 are strong beliefs of mine. Reelect second senator b/c he believes in major ideas that I believe in.

C2-56

Posttest Response: I chose to reelect senator one because he agreed with the bills I thought were more important. It seems we have some of the same views and I would wish for him to represent me. I chose to remove the second senator because he did not agree with my more important bills.

C2-57

Posttest Response: I'm reelecting both senators because they both agreed on my main issues, like abortion and music downloading. I like Senator #2 because he agreed with my gas price idea, and Senator #1 because he agreed with my cloning stance. Overall, I feel that with the two of them my views are heard well.

C2-58

Posttest Response: I chose to remove the first senator because opposed everything I proposed.

I chose to reelect the second Senator because he obviously has several views in common with me.

C2-59

Posttest Response: He didn't vote for any of my bills... Therefore, I don't want him.
Senator 2: reelect b/c he supported some bills that were most important to me.

C2-60

Posttest Response: I would re-elect Senator #1 because he/she voted for # 1,2,7, + 8 which well the bills of more importance but also mostly because he/she voted for #10. I would remove Senator #2, because they turned down all but 2 of my bills. Bills 1 + 2 were the most important

C2-61

Posttest Response: I would reelect this senator #2 because he/she was in favor of Bill #5 + 6. The bills that I thought were most important + because 10 was voted for. His/her vote for 10 makes up for his vote against #8, another of my important bills. I would also reelect #1 because he/she voted for 6 + 8 and voting for 10 made up for #5.

C2-62

Posttest Response: Removal: I feel like if something is not done about the escalation of the deficit, the US economy may suffer irreparably.

Re-election: Hoping to become a Dr., legalizing suicide is an issue of interest to me and in the most extreme cases I believe it is a valid option.

C3-1

Posttest Response: Remove senator 1 because didn't vote for most issues, keep senator 2 because voted for most issues.

C3-2

Posttest Response: I would reelect both senators for different reasons. The first senator agreed with my opinions for lower taxes while the second senator disagreed. I would keep the second senator as well because he/she agreed with the importance of more funding for public schools.

C3-3

Posttest Response: Should be removed because Healthcare Should be accessible to everyone; just like in most European Countries.

We are involved in too many nonsense conflicts and sort of dictating other countries what to do, which in fact increases our vulnerability to terrorists

C3-4

Posttest Response: While I am not especially happy with the way the senators voted, I think their views balance each other out. The first seems more concerned with advancement in career and education based on achievement while the other more concerned with fairness and equality. I am choosing to reelect them solely because I am ignorant of better candidates.

C3-5

Posttest Response: The first Senator eliminated only minor portions of my purpose clauses, but agreed with major portions, especially bill 3. Conversely, the second senator voted "nay" on bill 3 which was truly important. Although the second Senator voted against bill 3, the Senator voted "yea" on bill 1, which was important. Senator 1 voted in the combination so I am pleased with that.

Senator 2 Voted out the combination, but agreed on all but one (bill 3) of what I considered more important, so I would still reelect Senator 2

C3-6

Posttest Response: I would re-elect both of these Senators because they passed a combined total of 5 of my proposed bills. That's better than 50% if you don't count the last one! So, if I keep both senators in office I get more of my legislation passed and that's awesome.

C3-7

Posttest Response: The Senator that I chose to reelect obviously shares my same views. He voted very predominately in favor of my bills, why wouldn't I reelect him/her? I choose to remove the other Senator in hopes of replacing him/her with a Senator that shares my views, and votes accordingly

C3-8

Posttest Response: I chose to re-elect the first Senator because he/she seems to value personal freedom and equality, which is important in our nation. I made this assumption based on their vote in favor of same-sex marriage, against stricter gun control laws at gun shows, by voting to abolish the military draft, and lowering drinking age and hand gun ownership age to 18.

I chose to remove the second Senator because he/she first off imposes personal values on other people, directly affecting their freedom + equality. This Senator voted against legalizing same-sex marriages. Also, by voting to not implement stricter gun control laws at gun shows and by then voting to lower the age to own hand guns, this Senator appears to be inconsistent. this is not a quality I want in a representative.

C3-9

Posttest Response: I chose to remove the first Senator because he seems to be opposed to most of my ideas in general. I chose to reelect the second Senator because he voted YEA for a number of bills and seemed to somewhat agree with my general train of thought.

C3-10

Posttest Response: Both of my Senators did not pass many of my bills. As such, they do not share my views on the role of government, and I do not want them creating public policy that I disagree with so completely. Simply, both of my Senators are far too liberal for this conservative.

Debriefing of Study Participation

Project Title: Surveys for Distribution in 2 US Government Classes

Investigator: Donald Changeau

Thank you for participating in this study. If you recall, you were told that your “Senators” would look over your bills and vote on them. However, the votes of one of the two “Senators” were pre-determined before you ever submitted your bills to them.

This experiment was done to test whether or not the voting pattern of the elected official, whether random or non-random, makes any difference to the voter when it comes to reelection of that official. In other words, does it really matter how your elected official votes as long as it makes sense to you? It is thought that without the capacity to construct sense in the voting process, voters would otherwise feel disenfranchised (i.e. deprived of the right to vote) and subsequently feel alienated (i.e. deprived of the rewards that can come from voting.)

The results of voting patterns can be reviewed in the publication of the Investigator’s Master’s Thesis to be entitled *Citizenship and Constructing Sense in Voting* while maintaining all of the confidentiality stipulations noted on the Consent Form. Attached is your copy of the consent form with the investigator’s signature. With your help, we are helping better understand how voting behavior is affected by one slice of the policy process.

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