

INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

U·M·I

University Microfilms International
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313 761-4700 800 521-0600



Order Number 9030581

Televote: Expanding citizen participation in the Quantum age

Slaton, Christa Daryl Lowder, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1990

Copyright ©1990 by Slaton, Christa Daryl Lowder. All rights reserved.

U·M·I
300 N. Zeeb Rd.
Ann Arbor, MI 48106



TELEVOTE: EXPANDING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
IN THE QUANTUM AGE

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

MAY 1990

By

Christa Daryl Lowder Slaton

Dissertation Committee:

James A. Dator, Chairman
Yasumasa Kuroda
Ira Rohter
Majid Tehranian
John Wilson

© Copyright by Christa Daryl Slaton 1990
All Rights Reserved

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the product of many years of thought and research. During the course of experimentation and evaluation, I have benefited from the intellectual and moral support of many diverse individuals, who have all influenced my work. First, and foremost, is Ted Becker, my partner in the Televote design and research. His sincere commitment to the application of his democratic theories has inspired and stimulated me. My work has also been greatly influenced by Jim Dator, who not only encouraged my innovations and creativity, but rewarded them and established a model for them. My gratitude is also extended to Ira Rohter and Betty Strom, who showed me the importance and value of balancing the heart and the mind by being there for me when illness delayed my studies and by helping me learn valued lessons through my hardships. Special thanks also go to Richard Chadwick for his invaluable assistance throughout my research and to Christopher Jones and Trish Bell for their tremendous support and help through the final stages. And last, but certainly not least, I thank the Lowders and the Boans for all their love, support, and encouragement given to me over the years.

ABSTRACT

The central focus of this thesis is on citizen participation in the United States: its theoretical and historical roots and its means of evolution from the 18th Century Newtonian world to the 21st Century Quantum world. The research component focuses on twelve experiments that combine modern communications technologies and techniques designed to obtain informed and deliberated opinions of the public. These experiments, known as Televote, conducted in Hawaii, New Zealand, and California, provide critical information about the willingness and abilities of citizens to participate in decision-making at all levels of government.

Chapter 1 presents the theoretical underpinnings. It addresses the influence of prevailing physical theories on political thinking and design. As one moves from a Newtonian worldview, emphasizing certainty, discrete particles, and cause-effect determinism to a world explained by such quantum principles as uncertainty, interconnectedness, and relativity, the transition from liberalism to participatory democracy becomes more compelling.

The next two chapters trace the citizen-participation roles of American citizens from Colonial time to the present. They focus on specific periods that have seen

dramatic emphasis placed on various forms of participation: the early periods beginning with the Native American democratic models; the Constitutional Period that replaced the Confederation Period; the eras of Jacksonian, Progressive, and 1960s activism.

Based on this evidence and the works of numerous theorists, Chapter 4 presents a classification system of modern democracy. It identifies the different forms and levels of citizen involvement in five systems: (1) Limited Representative; (2) Expanded Representative; (3) Participatory Representative; (4) Representative Participatory; (5) Full Participatory.

Chapter 5 discusses a number of innovative American projects that utilized modern technological and technical support to expand the means for citizens to become informed and involved in governmental decision-making.

Chapter 6 reports on the wide range of twelve Televote experiments and relates the lessons learned about citizen participation as each was revised to respond to new knowledge gained and new questions asked about citizen interest and activity.

Chapter 7 responds to critics of Televote and other participatory democratic projects and presents the possibilities for institutionalizing Televote and other citizen participation forms consistent with the new knowledge contained in the quantum paradigm.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iv

ABSTRACT v

LIST OF TABLES xiii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xiv

PREFACE xv

CHAPTER I QUANTUM THEORY AND POLITICAL THEORY 1

 The Relationship Between Physics
 and Political Theory 1

 Newtonian Physics and Newtonian
 Politics: Liberal Democracy 4

 Major Newtonian Principles 5

 Corollaries 8

 Atomism 8

 Indivisibility 9

 Commensurability (Equality) 10

 Mutual Exclusivity (Power and
 Conflict) 10

 Sensationalism (Utilitarianism
 and Interest Theory) 11

 Political Corollaries 12

 Challenging Newtonian Politics:

 Alternative Thinking 13

 Quantum Physics and Quantum Politics 18

 Major Principles of Quantum Physics 19

 Uncertainty: Objects Defined By
 Their Environments and Their
 Relationship To Others 19

 Probability 20

 Interconnection and Interaction 21

 No Objective Reality 22

 Application to Political Theory 23

 On The Importance of Metaphors
 and Worldviews 23

 Uncertainty: Objects Defined By
 Their Environment and Relationships
 To Others 25

 Probability 26

 Interconnections And Interaction 27

 No Objective Reality 30

 Quantum Theory and Participatory Democracy 30

 Explication of Strong,
 Participatory Democracy 31

 Quantum Elements in an Emerging
 Participatory Theory 32

	Televote: Quantum Theory in the Study of Citizen Participation	38
	Conclusion	41
	Notes	44
CHAPTER II	TRACING THE PATHS OF EXPANDING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA: THE EARLY SURGES	49
	The Pre-Europeanization Period: The Roots of American Political Thinking on Citizen Participation	51
	The Confederation Period: Early American Democracy	60
	Virtual vs. Actual Representation	61
	"Instruction of Representatives".	64
	Direct Democratic Organizations	66
	Town Meetings	67
	Grand Juries	68
	Constitutional Conventions	70
	The Articles of Confederation	73
	The Constitutional Period: Re-establishing Elitism in America	75
	Enter: The Antifederalists	80
	Summary	88
	Notes	91
CHAPTER III	TRACING THE PATHS OF EXPANDING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN AMERICA: THE POST-CONSTITUTIONAL SURGES	96
	The Jacksonian Period: The Era of the "Common Man".	97
	Broadening the Presidential Pool	98
	The New "Spoils" System: Bringing the Common Man Into Other Government Positions	99
	The Social, Economic and Political Divisions in the Jackson Era	102
	Jacksonian Democracy: The Re-establishment of Antifederalist Thought and Action	106
	The Progressive Era: Re-establishing Democracy in American Government	109
	The Progressive Movement: Elitist Reforms to Maintain the Status Quo Ante?.	111
	The Progressive's Democratic Legacy	114
	Democratizing Elitist Institutions	115
	Expanding Suffrage	118
	Innovative Direct Democracy	119
	The 1960s and Beyond: Bursts of Citizen Participation	121
	The Black Civil Rights Movement	122
	Laws Alone Do Not Freedom Make	123

	Emphasis on Non-Traditional Forms of Participation	125
	The Women's Liberation Movement	130
	The Continuing Struggle for Equal Participation	135
	Expanding the Possibilities of Citizen Participation Beyond Voting for Representatives	136
	Summary	138
	Notes	140
CHAPTER IV	TOWARDS THE REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATORY STATE: A QUANTUM STEP IN IDEOLOGY AND THEORY	144
	From Limited Representation to Full Participation: Analytic Models	144
	Mainstream American Political Science and the Ideology of the Expanded Representative State	159
	Political Scientific Theories of the Participatory State	173
	The General Participatory Theorists	175
	The Institutional Participatory Theorists	180
	From Theoretical Discourse to Theory Testing	189
	Notes	192
CHAPTER V	TOWARDS THE REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATORY STATE: RESEARCH AND ACTION PROJECTS	196
	Small Scale Experiments: The Micro Dynamics of Citizen Participation	201
	Delphi	202
	Charrette	203
	Syncon	204
	Problem/Possibility Focuser	205
	Computer Conferencing	206
	Large Scale Experiments: Linking Citizens to Government	207
	Alternatives for Washington	209
	Berks Community Television	215
	Alaska Legislative Teleconference Network	218
	Alaska Television Town Meeting	221
	A Model For Citizen Participation in a Representative and Participative State	227
	Televote: Increasing Citizen Participation Through Educational Public Opinion Polling	234
	Notes	240
CHAPTER VI	THE HAWAII TELEVOTE MODEL: APPLYING TECHNIQUES, LEARNING LESSONS, REALIZING THE FUTURE	244

The Hawaii Televote Model	245
How to Recruit Representative Samples of Televoters	246
How to Support and Sustain Political Independence and Neutrality	250
How to Minimize Bias in Information Gathering and Distribution	253
How to Increase Televoter Interactivity	256
Hawaii Televotes 1 and 2: Involving Citizens in Constitutional Issues	260
Issue 1: Initiative and Referendum	261
Televote 2: Confirmation and Evaluation of the CONCON Experience	271
Confirmations	273
Evaluation of Impact	275
Hawaii Televotes 3, 4, & 5: Involving Citizens in Setting the Agenda	281
Hawaii Televote 6: A Systematic Test of the Effect of Information and Deliberation on Public Opinion	292
New Zealand Televote: Nation-wide Futures Planning	298
Hawaii Televote 7: The Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting (HETM), the "Public Budget"--Placing Televote into the Big Picture	308
Los Angeles Televote: Government and Media Promoting Public Education and Interaction on Regional Issues and State Initiatives	320
Hawaii Health Decisions 1, 2, & 3: Using Televote to Bring the Public into Health Policy Planning	326
Increasing Participation in Televote: Serendipitous Results of HHD-2 and 3	329
Measuring the Extent To Which Tele- voters Read and Discuss the Televotes	333
Summary	338
Notes	340

CHAPTER VII EVALUATING TELEVOTE: RESPONDING TO CRITICISM AND SETTING FUTURE AGENDAS	342
Responding to Critics	345
Methodological Problems in the Arterton Televote Studies	347
Inappropriate Application of Criteria	347
Improper Application of Classification System	350
Televote Is Not Instantaneous	351

Televote Is Not a Self-Selected Sample	354
Specific Criticisms of Televote	359
Restricts Access	359
Low Participation Rate	360
No Proof of Political Repre- sentativeness in Televote Sample	363
Televote is an Unrealistic Design of Politics Without Advocacy, Strong Self Interest or Leadership	365
Failure to Allow Participants to Establish the Televote Agenda and Frame the Debate	366
Televote Information is Inadequate for Deciding the Issues	369
Public Officials Not Involved in the Televote Process	373
Televote Had No Impact on Public Policy	378
Televote Should Not Have Direct Policy Impact: The Modern Version of the Madisonian Vs. Jeffersonian Debate	380
Areas for Future Televote Testing and Development	387
Sustainability	387
Lessening the Potential for Privatizing the Citizenry	388
Institutionalizing Televote's Neutrality	393
Assessing Televote's Future in Terms of Its Superstructure	396
Televote in the Expanded Representative State	404
Televote in the Representative Participatory State	406
Notes	411
APPENDIX A. Hawaii Televote-1	415
APPENDIX B. Hawaii Televote-2	419
APPENDIX C. Hawaii Televote-3	424
APPENDIX D. Hawaii Televote-4	429
APPENDIX E. Hawaii Televote-5	434
APPENDIX F. Hawaii Televote-6	439
APPENDIX G. New Zealand Televote	444

APPENDIX H. Hawaii Televote-7	450
APPENDIX I. Los Angeles Televote	455
APPENDIX J. Hawaii Health Decisions-1	463
APPENDIX K. Hawaii Health Decisions-2 and 3	470
BIBLIOGRAPHY	472

LIST OF TABLES

1	Comparative Demographics: Official Statistics & Major 1978 Surveys	268
2	Telepoll and Televote Comparative Data	296
3	New Zealand Demographic Breakdown	303
4	Comparative Results: General Election, Random Sample Televote, and TV Poll	326
5	(Amount of) Televote Read by Televoters	334
6	Discussion of Televote	335
7	With Whom Televoters Discussed Televote	336
8	Arterton's Criteria for Evaluating the Effectiveness of Teledemocracy Projects	348

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1	Continuum of Citizen Participation in Representative States	156
2	Political Underdevelopment	229
3	TCD Policy-Making Flow Chart	232

PREFACE

As I sit here and write, police states around the world are imploding and people's movements are exploding with demands for "democracy." Student protesters in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, who erected a statue of the "Goddess of Democracy" in the Spring of 1989, were asked what they wanted. They said they were not sure. The Soviet Union of Mikhail Gorbachev has constructed new forms of representation and elections in a Communist state, having no idea if or how they'll evolve. Movements in the name of democracy have toppled despotic regimes in the Philippines and Argentina in recent years, and shaken them to their foundations in Burma and throughout Eastern Europe. So, "democracy" is on the offensive throughout the world even though what it means and how it works is different from place to place. What we do know now is that something loosely lumped under the rubric of democracy seems to be making great forward strides around the globe. Once again, as often in the past, the concept and symbolism of democracy is the wave of the future.

Meanwhile, the United States of America, the country in which the modern democratic nation-state was invented, the paragon of democratic virtue that other nations are trying so hard to emulate, is having its own troubles with democracy. In recent memory, scandals involving

corruption, lawlessness, unaccountability and incompetence have made a President resign, sent numerous officials to prison, scarred innumerable public reputations, and deepened widespread citizen apathy and atipathy towards the government "of the people, by the people and for the people." All this, plus many other critical social, ecological and economic problems, have intensified the traditional and perennial debate in America over its form of democracy and its future in this nation.

That is part of what this thesis is about. It is about what democracy has meant, means and may yet mean in America. It is about discussions, arguments, and harangues over the nature of democracy-- way before the U.S. Constitution was even thought about, much less ratified. It is about the debate at the Constitutional Convention and immediately after it. It is about the spirited controversy that still wages today in the United States among philosophers, academics, politicians, activists, technologists, lawyers and, of course, the American citizenry.

This thesis is about that debate, but it is also about the heritage that includes actual changes and transitions that have occurred in American democracy over time. Yet it is more than that because its goal is to help influence the future of that debate about American democracy as well as

to serve as a guide to possible future forms of American democracy, new shapes whose contours are already visible.

The major reason why this volume can add a healthy measure to the discussion and assist in fabricating future forms of American democracy is that it is not based strictly on other people's thoughts, work and deeds, although there is some analysis and synthesis of that herein. In addition, though, there is wholly new information. For the essence of this study is a series of 12 action experiments on a novel mix of modern communications technologies and techniques, conducted by several teams of theorist-researchers (often including myself) between 1978-85, experiments designed to investigate and promote a new, evolutionary type of American democracy, one that emphasizes and increases the role of the citizen in all phases of governance.

The name of this nascent democratic communications system is Televote. The heart and soul of this study will be what the Televote projects revealed, particularly the Hawaii model of Televote--what we simply called Hawaii Televote. Nevertheless, the significance of the Televote experiences is how they help inform and enrich the ongoing debate about American democracy and how they help nurture the future of democracy in America.

The central focus of this thesis, then, is the Televote odyssey--a chronicle of the adventures of an

innovative political communications device created to serve a mediational role between citizens and their representatives and to increase citizen awareness, knowledge on issues, lateral citizen interaction, and direct public participation in governance. The dozen Televote experiments located in California, Hawaii, and New Zealand generated new insights into the political capabilities and public interests of citizens and offer new guides on how to include a more representative, knowledgeable, enthusiastic citizenry in political agenda-setting, planning, policy-making and, even, systems change.

To better grasp Televote's utility in promoting better representation in government, as well as more and better direct democracy, it will be helpful to understand some theoretical, historical, philosophical, technological and technical changes over the course of American history that together create a superstructure strongly supportive of democratic innovation and invention--a firm foundation eminently capable of reinforcing a quantum leap in democratic futures and an evolutionary step in American democracy.

The first part of this thesis, then, will detail the superstructure already in place for an institutionalization of Televote and for increased citizen participation in

various forms of democracy--whether past, present or future.

Chapter One is about some key theoretical--or metatheoretical--developments. It will not rehash the tired, ages-old arguments in the Federalist Papers (as well as contemporary American political and political science discourse) about the public-as-mob. Instead, it will take a fresh look at new thinking in physical theory (quantum) and how that may help substantiate the political theory of participatory democracy (quantum politics). So, one major feature of a new superstructure for a new democratic political theory and politics is the shift in a worldview dominated by an exclusive reliance on Newtonian physics to one enriched by quantum theory. My first chapter will examine the significance of this major 20th century development in scientific thinking and knowledge in terms of its potential impact on and relevance for social theories and political design, particularly regarding democratic theory.

Chapters two and three set forth another important segment of the superstructure for a future democratic system. This aspect has less to do with thought than it does with action. What it has to do with is the realization of democratic values and aspirations through human struggle and strife. These two chapters are a brief historical investigation of the ebb-and-flow of American

democracy, a study that zeroes in on the roles that citizens have played over time--from those of the Iriquois nation to those of the United States of America, circa the dawning of the Third Millenium. They comprise a select history of the bitter (and sometimes brutal) conflicts waged to resolve such questions as: Who should be allowed to be voting citizens? What rights should citizens have against government? What other political powers should citizens have? What new forms of citizen participation and/or protection must be added to the system to strengthen American democracy?

To my way of thinking, the next important part of a strong superstructure for a new stage or structure of American democracy needed to be philosophical. In my reading over the years, it occurred to me that the American political philosophical controversy has been devoted chiefly to argumentation over what kind or degree of democracy is best. One is hard pressed to find many modern American political philosophers debating the merits of dictatorship, anarchy, plutocracy or geriocracy over democracy.

Instead, the mainstream dispute--at least today--appears to center over the respective merits and demerits of what Americans like to call indirect democracy (or republican democracy) and direct democracy (or participatory democracy). It occurred to me that what was

needed was a new typology of American democracy, one that could help bridge the theoretical, political and philosophical disagreements about democracy of the past and present to the democratic potential of the future. Chapter four, then, is my view of what that new classification system of modern democracy would include, each category allowing for different forms and levels of citizen involvement in government: (1) the Limited Representative System; (2) the Expanded Representative System; (3) the Participatory Representative System; (4) the Representative Participatory System; and (5) The Full Participation System. The preference of this thesis is for the democratic polity that provides the greatest participatory role for citizens within a partially representative state--the Representative Participatory System.

Chapter five will discuss the last component of the Televote superstructure, the technological and technical support for Televote's role in promoting participatory democracy in the present and near-future world. Modern participatory democratic thought (discussed in Chapter four), combined with current communications technology and techniques and an extensive education system, are the necessary conditions for creating a well-informed, active and interactive citizenry on a massive scale. Several major experiments designed to promote and expand citizen

participation will be discussed as prelude to the Televote experiments. With information from these citizen participation projects, we approach the twenty-first century with new knowledge and capabilities that offer radically new possibilities for effective means to involve citizens directly in all phases of governance, even in nations comprised of hundreds of millions of people.

Having presented the superstructure for Televote's development, the second part of this thesis will focus primarily on Hawaii Televote, a political tool that combines the quantum principles of randomness, interactivity and uncertainty in a way that educates the public, stimulates lateral discussion and interaction, and promotes a more participatory state in a representative system. Each Hawaii model Televote experiment asked different questions and supplied new information about the roles citizens can and are willing to play in a modern democratic polity. That is what Chapter six is all about.

Finally, it is important to re-emphasize that quantum theory opens up possibilities inherent in reality that democratic theorists have usually ignored (the importance of randomness, interdependence and uncertainty in life). The history of citizen participation in America demonstrates the perpetual combat over the desire for more and more effective inclusion in the American political system. Televote and other participatory democratic

projects, the operational consequence of the developing theory and philosophy of participatory democracy, are the means by which to tap a responsive cord of unflagging citizen interest, enthusiasm, and insight into important decision-making in the Expanded Representative System, the impending Participatory Representative System, as well as in the possible, if not probable, Representative Participatory System of the future.

The only question left, at this point, is not what is left to be proved about the efficacy of Televote (and Electronic Town Meetings), but how can its efficaciousness and independence be maximized, and its structure best institutionalized, to insure its sustainability. Chapter seven will treat some of the recent critics of Televote and handle some of the possible avenues towards institutionalization already in the works.

Of course, it is too early to come up with any final answers. But it is not too late to stimulate some serious thought about how to best resolve these problems for posterity.

CHAPTER I

QUANTUM THEORY AND POLITICAL THEORY

American democracy, the subject of countless studies, articles, and books, has been analyzed and evaluated from a wide range of perspectives. Nevertheless, this chapter will attempt a novel approach, that is to examine the role of citizen participation within American democracy from an emerging social theory based on a shift from a science subtly, but strongly, influenced by Newtonian physics to a science enriched by quantum physics.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PHYSICS AND POLITICAL THEORY

While the natural sciences have discovered theories that supersede many of the theories and knowledge based on the Newtonian physics of the Enlightenment, most social science theorists continue to cling to concepts that fit neatly into a Newtonian worldview even when those concepts fail to explain many social phenomena. Studying politics and social phenomena within a quantum theoretical framework can produce radically different theories and hypotheses than those derived within a Newtonian theoretical framework. Indeed, as this study will demonstrate, the

study of "democracy" and "citizen participation" is enhanced by quantum principles, which provide a firmer intellectual foundation for various forms of "democracy" than the Newtonian worldview that has been prevalent for the last two centuries.

The Newtonian and natural scientific influence on the social sciences (in general) and political science (in particular) has been profound. It provides a comprehensive world view, replete with laws of nature that include: the basic nature of humans, how humans relate to their environment, and how and what kinds of socio-political structures humans create.

The Newtonian world is a mechanical world, a predictable world.¹ It is a world that is studied by breaking it down to its smallest parts. It is a world that is understood through rational inquiry based on objectivity, certainty, and chain reasoning. Newtonian physics forms the theoretical basis for liberal democracy, which has been the premier theoretical perspective of American political theory. It guided the American Founders in the 18th Century and has guided the actions of politicians and the research of political scientists up to this moment.

Although Newtonian theory had long been accepted as an "infallible world outlook,"² it is now being challenged, tested, and re-evaluated by quantum physicists and

theorists. Thus, some long-held Newtonian laws are being discarded or revised to fit within the new quantum cosmology. This cosmological shift provides a fresh approach to the study of democracy and offers a challenge to liberal democracy since it rejects the view of the world as a machine with parts that can be disassembled and studied piecemeal. Instead the universe is seen as "one indivisible, dynamic whole whose parts are essentially interrelated and can be understood only as patterns of a cosmic process."³

This chapter will explore several relationships between Newtonian and quantum physics and American political thought and behavior. First, it will examine closely the impact Newtonian theory has had on science in general and then on American political science, in particular. Second, quantum physics will be examined and its impact (or lack thereof) on political science will be explored. Third, it will discuss the theoretical foundation for liberal democracy and the theoretical foundation for participatory democracy.

The way in which quantum physics will be applied throughout this thesis is as a metaphor that can offer insights, hypotheses, and alternative explanations for political phenomena that have been studied since ancient Greece. While I am intrigued by the work of those who apply quantum theory more literally, as a social science

theorist (not a physicist) I feel more comfortable using this new information as an instrument to help me approach the study of participatory democracy without the constraints of a science seeking predictability and determinism. It seems entirely plausible to me, if not probable, that if the natural sciences can no longer rest on the security of ultimate truths and objective reality, then social scientists ought to at least consider the possibility that the same applies in their world.

While it is true that: (a) quantum mechanics looks at the subatomic world, (b) that what applies at that level may not apply at the macro level, and (c) that there are pitfalls in seeing no difference between the physical and the social world or inanimate and animate objects, I believe that quantum mechanics sheds some valuable light for social scientists. It is like the discovery of a new kind of intellectual flashlight that lets us think into crevices heretofore inaccessible to thought. In addition, I hope to demonstrate its value to participatory democrats, who advocate greater citizen participation and inclusion of all segments of society in political decision making.

NEWTONIAN PHYSICS AND NEWTONIAN

POLITICS: LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Martin Landau discusses the universal application of Newtonian physics to both natural scientific and social

scientific study. According to Landau not only did Newtonian theory provide the basis for scientific research, but "to the 18th Century the Newtonian system constituted a cosmological formula so powerful that 'Newton became not so much the name of a man as of an infallible world outlook.'"⁴

It is not surprising that Newton's comprehensive, comprehensible and predictable system, one developed through his own observations, as well as his and his predecessors research, and that was designed to explain the whole natural world, would provide the basis for social scientific inquiry. After all, such a brilliant and original explanation of the universe provided understanding that seemed entirely logical to those interested in predicting human behavior.

Major Newtonian Principles

First of all, Newton saw the world as a mechanical world--a closed system whose basic entities are discrete particles that move in orbit.⁵ The components of Newton's system have distinct properties that act in space and time according to fixed laws. The movement of bodies in the system is determined by movement of other bodies. All behavior in the system is lawful. There are no alternatives. Therefore, careful observation and study can lead to a totally predictable structure. This allows one

to simply build on prior knowledge in an attempt to reach a full understanding of the universe. The Newtonian world, then, is based on certainty, order, structure, status, determinism.

Landau describes society and politics as perceived and interpreted by Newtonian theory:⁶

(1) Social processes are seen as determined processes, directed into given paths by the action of impersonal external forces.

(2) The motion (behavior) of bodies (human) are preset and controlled according to the laws of nature.

(3) Natural man, whose properties include natural rights, was directed by natural forces to form societies.

(4) A society is no more than a sum of its discrete parts, its elemental bodies.

(5) Social and political processes result from the action of the separate parts on one another.

(6) The perfect working of a state, as of any machine depends only on the perfection of adjustment of the pushes and pulls of its constituent elements.

The American Founding Fathers accepted this image of the world as a machine and humans as material beings. Benjamin Barber makes a strong case for how liberal democracy is rooted in Newtonian theory and then argues that the fatal flaw of applying Newtonian physics to political theory is that it begins with a pretheoretical

given of a worldview.⁷ This unquestioning of the starting point led to the major axiom of liberalism (i.e., humans are material beings in all they are and all they do. Therefore, humans are governed by laws that correspond to the laws of physical mechanics.) Barber states that this non-questioning of the starting point leads liberalism to resist systems that have activity, uncertainty, spontaneity, complexity, ambiguity, and process as major components. Liberalism (Newtonian politics, according to Barber) is wrought with "pretensions to objectivity and philosophical certainty that have proved inimical to practical reason and to participatory political activity."⁸

Political theories and systems based on Newtonian theory are rife with flaws since they begin from an unquestioning starting point, which has never been proven and is currently challenged by quantum mechanics. If one starts with a major premise of liberalism, derived from Newtonian theory, that humans are material beings, then the corollaries derived from such an unproven premise are all suspect. Consistent with Newtonian thinking, the corollaries have been derived from an objective, rational, and logical process of obtaining additional knowledge and certainty by building on that which is already known. Barber metaphorically describes the process as building links in a chain.⁹

It is the flawed axiom--materialism--which has produced the equally flawed corollaries for the Newtonian politics of the liberal democratic system to operate on. These corollaries have a profound impact in the development of political theories and systems. They define the acceptable parameters for study and design. They lead to the labeling of challenges to "givens" of the materialist axiom and its corollaries as non-scientific, irrational, or impractical. Acceptance of the corollaries as "truth" has stymied political science and theory. Unanswered questions continue to be asked in the same way by most without a recognition that the framework in which they are asked is flawed, limited, and inadequate for obtaining answers.

Corollaries

In order to address the inadequacies of Newtonian politics, it is necessary to examine the corollaries which Barber states are derived from the materialism axiom, which forms the basis for liberal democratic theory.¹⁰

Atomism (Individualism)

Humans are viewed as separate, self-contained, unitary particles or atoms. Humans act as isolated individuals in a world made up of a multitude of "physical ones." This is the philosophical essence of such as Thomas Hobbes and Ayn Rand.¹¹ "I came here to say that I do not recognize

anyone's right to one minute of my life."¹² The result of this atomism, in the minds of many observers, is "alienation" and the death of community.¹³ As Robert Nozick puts it, the single most important fact of human existence is "the fact of our separate existences."¹⁴ It is the ultimate egoism.

Indivisibility (Hedonistic Psychology)

Humans are unitary wholes acting in consonance with unitary motives. The inner condition of humans is tranquil and unfragmented. There is no internal dissonance. Instead the motivations that drive humans are precise, rational, and predictable--that Everyman and Everywoman strive directly to maximize their own personal needs and to satisfy their own personal desires. Barber maintains that liberal democrats agree with Herbert Spencer's belief that "everything that is true of the higher animals at large is of course true of man."¹⁵ As a result, "complex human motives can be restated as simple motives and then, in the final reduction, as a physical mechanics of the passions."¹⁶ Political theories that attempt to predict human behavior on the basis of rational decision-making, such as Anthony Down's An Economic Theory of Democracy and John Rawls' A Theory of Justice, are derived from this corollary.¹⁷

Commensurability (Equality)

Humans are commensurable with one another. Each is governed by the same laws of behavior and is thus interchangeable. These laws are the laws of nature. There is no truly unique individual operating according to alternative laws of behavior. Accepting Corollary 2, one accepts that all humans are ruled first by their passions (self-gratification). Reason is second for all and finally will. Therefore each individual thinks and acts according to the same, predictable laws of behavior, making each interchangeable with any other and equal to one another.

For Barber, this corollary becomes justification for the competitive world of liberal democracy. Assuming that individuals are equal, assumes that the struggle for self-gratification is based on fair and equal competition. To the liberal democrat, maximization of personal needs and desires only comes through the maximization of liberty. Equality is the given. Liberty is the struggle. Attainment of safety and pleasure for the individual is the goal.¹⁸

Mutual Exclusivity (Power and Conflict)

Humans cannot occupy the same space at the same time. This leads to conflict among humans, which becomes a primary mode of human interaction. One is, more often than

not, either aggressively trying to obtain space occupied by another or defending one's space against an intruder. In American liberal democracy this becomes the struggle for the attainment and protection of private property.

This corollary is at the heart of James Madison's most famous "Federalist Paper No. 10," in which he maintains "the most common and durable source of factions has been the various and unequal distribution of property."¹⁹ It, therefore, became an important goal of the Founding Fathers, clearly influenced by John Locke's view that property ownership is power,²⁰ to protect private property, particularly from those who had none and sought to take from the "rightful" owners. As C. B. Macpherson writes, the concepts of liberal freedom and ownership of property cannot be separated. For the liberal democrat, "the human essence is freedom from dependence on the wills of others and freedom is a function of possession."²¹

Sensationalism (Utilitarianism and Interest Theory)

Humans feel, think, and imagine in response to physical causes (sense impressions or sensations). Therefore, all human behavior and thought is derived from physical sensations. As a result, theorists can develop scientifically derived explanations for all political behavior. Study is reserved for the world that we observe. This provides the philosophical basis for "interest

politics." Each individual person acts on the basis of pursuing her or his self-interest in this isolated, individualistic dog-eat-dog world.

In the liberal democratic tradition, Madison argues in "Federalist Paper No. 51" that men seek their own private interests. Therefore, "ambition must be made to counteract ambition. The interest of the man must be connected with the constitutional rights of the place. It may be a reflection of human nature that such devices should be necessary to control the abuses of government."²² He argues that the political system should promote competition among its self-interested citizenry in order to force compromise that will benefit society as a whole. A modern-day Madisonian, Charles Schultz, has argued that by aggregating private interests, government is able to attain the public interest.²³

Political Corollaries

These corollaries, Barber maintains, underlie the American liberal democratic political system. They are evident in the Founding Fathers' view of man as rational (indivisibility), competitive (mutual exclusivity), and individualistic (atomism). They also provide the justification for a system designed to maximize the opportunity for "virtuous" men to control government. After all, it was through objective knowledge that the

right paths would be seen and chosen. And finally, these corollaries have been widely accepted by political scientists regardless of their approach or specialization.

CHALLENGING NEWTONIAN POLITICS: ALTERNATIVE THINKING

The challenge to these corollaries, however, comes from several quarters. In speaking of the transition from Newtonian physics to quantum physics, Henry Margenau states, "the dazzling successes of a universal application of mechanical reasoning had blinded men's awareness to all alternative modes of understanding."²⁴ In like fashion, there are political scientists who do not necessarily agree on alternative theories, but who recognize that Newtonian-influenced political science is limited and that it is time to explore new theories that enrich or challenge the objective, rational, materialist world of Newtonian theory. These include Glendon Schubert, Ben Barber, Martin Landau, James Dator, and others who are breaking the grip of the unquestioned Newtonian paradigm, exposing the flaws and seeking alternatives.

For Landau, the object is to recognize the metaphorical nature and value of natural science utilized as a basis for models in political science, but to maintain a critical perspective in the creation and utilization of models. Models are extremely useful to help us create political science theories, develop hypotheses, and design

research. However, once we take metaphors literally and begin to uncritically accept the paradigms we have designed (which he believes occurred with the use of the classical physics paradigm in American constitutional design and study), we start to blindly accept one way of thinking and reject all alternatives.

As noted above, Barber is most concerned with the pre-theoretical component of classical physics (or any paradigm). The adherents of Newtonian physics have gone astray by starting with a premise (humans are material beings) that is accepted as "truth" by all rational beings. Since the premise is never questioned, the logical, deductive nature of Newtonian physics rejects any theory or hypotheses that is incompatible with the starting premise.

To emphasize his critique of the classical physics paradigm and its flawed axiom, Barber states that an alternative and plausible axiom is: "Humans are spiritual or psychic beings."²⁵ It is important to point out that Barber would not accept the absoluteness of this statement any more than he accepts as "truth" that humans are material beings. However, he points out that this starting point can lead us to radically different corollaries from those discussed earlier. For example:²⁶

Alternative Corollary 1: Divisibility--Human beings are contradictory, diversified, and ambivalent. Persons

may have conflicts within themselves. They are best defined by their environment and relations.

Alternative Corollary 2: Incommensurability-- Individual desires, intentions, talents are unequal. There is no objective, or predictable, reality.

Alternative Corollary 3: Mutualism--We can share common space with other beings without surrendering our distinctive abilities and freedoms.

Alternative Corollary 4: Intentionalism--Behavior is not merely determined by external stimuli, but is created out of common discourse and action. There is interconnectedness and interaction. While Barber maintains the truth is not known in politics, he believes these corollaries offer a better explanation for political behavior than the Newtonian axiom and corollaries. He admonishes us to abandon the Newtonian view that there is objective reality to be discovered that will completely legitimize and justify liberal democracy.

Schubert is far more critical than either Barber or Landau of the current, prevailing paradigms in political science. As a science, he states, "political science is best characterized as a preclassical or antiquarian discipline."²⁷ In addition, Schubert wishes to move political science beyond the metaphorical stage that Landau finds useful in order to develop an integrated political science that recognizes the essential

interconnectedness of the natural and social sciences. As an example, he states:

Brain science is of great potential importance to politics because it deals directly with what are rapidly becoming operationalized--not merely metaphorical or analogical--theories and processes of consciousness, memory, and decision-making in relation to both perception and emotionality. Psychobiological politics deals directly with the control of human behavior, including political behavior. But precisely because the relevant theories are biophysical, their consideration requires some understanding of modern physics as well as modern biology.²⁸

Schubert maintains political science must move beyond classical physics. Schubert argues (in accordance with Barber):

Classical physics defines and describes a world that corresponds closely to the sensory perceptions that human biological evolution constrains us to accept as natural...Among the principles of classical or antiquarian physics that political science continues to take for granted are those of irreversible causality, action by contact, and absolute time. All of these are incompatible with experimental observations that led to Einstein's special relativity theory.²⁹

It is not only Schubert's call for political scientists to have an "understanding of modern physics and modern biology" in order to create an integrated political science that makes many political scientists balk, but his evaluation:

our comprehension of human behavior lags by an accelerating exponential factor behind our understanding of the physical universe. Consequently our theories of politics are

going to have to be more--not less--complex than the theories and methodologies that modern physics utilizes. At the very least we must seriously consider the possibility that models of political behavior will be better informed by an awareness of what physical theory includes (and political theory doesn't) that would bring our theory closer to the facts of political life.³⁰

At the same time he cautions that "the laws of physics apply to humans, but the laws of human behavior do not necessarily apply to physical interactions."³¹

Schubert predicts that the paradigm of modern or quantum physics will become more familiar to political scientists and will gradually become a part of their training, thinking, and explication.³² A political scientist and futurist who has been influenced by Schubert, James Dator, argues that our Newtonian (and also Aristotelian) worldview has determined the technology we use and the social institutions we create.³³ For Dator, the revolution in physics through quantum theory is a clear signal that as a political scientist he needs "to understand quantum in order to see how or if it can be made an ontological basis for the design of new political institutions and/or systems (or whatever they may subsequently be more appropriately designated)."³⁴

Dator, who is at the forefront in the application of quantum theory in political design, states:

normally political institutions and behavior (and their rationale; and that of the dominant institutions and behaviors in society) are based upon a worldview which

is substantially understood and believed in by members of that society. Technology prevalent in the society is based upon that worldview, and used to construct the institutions of the society. This connection generally existed in all societies, from the earliest tribal and hunting and gathering groups, through the earliest civilizations, up to the late 19th century.³⁵

He argues that there has been a "prolonged gap" in this connection because contemporary social technologies and political institutions have not caught up with quantum theory and remain primarily stuck in Newtonian theory. He believes that the American representative and legal systems have never worked as designed and advertised. According to Dator, any political system or analysis of political systems focusing on rationality as the basis for decision-making will inevitably come up short. Newtonian thought overlooks the subjective, the "irrational," the emotional. There is no room for such in choosing representatives, in legislating, and in interpreting the positive law. The Newtonian world ignores the subjective in its search for the "truth," a complete explanation of the system, and the capacity to predict the future precisely.

QUANTUM PHYSICS AND QUANTUM POLITICS

At this point it is useful to examine quantum physics and how it differs from Newtonian physics in order to grasp the differences between these two theories and worldviews

and how they provide the foundation for radically different political theories.

Major Principles of Quantum Physics

Physicist Fritjof Capra in his book The Turning Point provides a very clear nonmathematical explanation of quantum theory and how it came to be.³⁶ He explains that as physicists in the twentieth century began atomic experiments, they found that the laws (Newtonian) they were following produced paradoxes. It eventually became clear to them that "their basic concepts, their language, and their whole way of thinking were inadequate to describe atomic phenomena."³⁷ This led physicists from all over the world, such as, Werner Heisenberg, Paul Dirac, Max Planck, Albert Einstein, Louis De Broglie, Niels Bohr, Erwin Schrodinger, and Wolfgang Pauli, to unite in developing the mathematical formulas and conceptual framework of modern day quantum theory. Four of the major quantum principles developed will be discussed since they offer such radically different interpretations and explanations of the world than does Newtonian theory.

Uncertainty: Objects Defined By Their Environments And Their Relationship To Others

One of the first principles established under quantum theory was the uncertainty principle developed by Werner

Heisenberg.³⁸ When scientists began their atomic experiments, they found that electrons, which they believed were particles, often took on the traits of waves. That defied the classical definition of electron. The scientists discovered that Newtonian notions like particle, wave, position, velocity were interrelated and could not be defined precisely at the same time, as had been assumed. The more precisely one dimension is fixed by the physicist's observation, the more another becomes uncertain. The exact relation between them is defined by the uncertainty principle. This means that in the example of the electron (or any atomic or subatomic "object") the electron has no inherent properties separate from its environmental context.

Probability

The acceptance of the "uncertainty principle," led scientists to question the "very foundation" of the mechanistic worldview--i.e., the concept of the reality of matter. As Capra explains:

At the subatomic level, matter does not exist with certainty at definite times and in definite ways, but rather show 'tendencies to exist,' and atomic events do not occur with certainty at definite times and in definite ways, but rather show 'tendencies to occur.' In the formulation of quantum mechanics, these tendencies are expressed as probabilities...We can never predict an atomic event with certainty; we can only predict the likelihood of its happening.³⁹

Seventeenth and eighteenth century Newtonian physics was based on absolutist notions, laws that were immutable and inexorable, twentieth century quantum physics is not.

Interconnection And Interaction

These two discoveries showed that particles have no meaning as isolated entities, but can only be understood as interconnections, or correlations, between various processes of observation and measurement. In quantum theory you never end up with "things"; you always deal with interconnections, interactions, and processes. Capra says "this is how modern physics reveals the basic oneness of the universe."⁴⁰ We can no longer divide the world up into independently existing smallest units. Things can no longer be defined without considering their relations to others.

This new information implied a new notion of causality. Classical science was constructed by the Cartesian method of dissecting the world into parts that were directed by causal laws. In addition, the universe was understood in terms of a machine. But to twentieth century atomic physics, such a deterministic picture is inadequate. The principles of quantum theory demonstrated that the world could no longer be analyzed as existing isolated elements. The notion of separate parts "is an

idealization with only approximate validity; these parts are not connected by causal laws in the classical sense."⁴¹

The result is that in quantum theory we cannot predict when and how a phenomenon is going to happen. This does not mean that events happen in an arbitrary fashion--only that they are not brought about by proximate, direct causes. In addition, we must understand that quantum theory indicates that the behavior of the parts no longer determine the behavior of the whole. Contrariwise, the behavior of the whole determines the behavior of the parts.

No Objective Reality

There is a major lesson derived from the discoveries of quantum mechanics. Quantum physics not only invalidated the classical ideal of an objective description of nature, it also challenged the myth of a value-free science. The patterns or processes that scientists see in nature are intimately connected with the ideas, preconceptions, and values of the scientist (in other words, things that have no meaning by themselves). As mentioned earlier, things are defined in relation to other things. If one electron behaves as either a particle or a wave, depending on how we experimentally measure it, the electron does not have objective properties independent of our mind. We can no longer pretend that our observations are totally objective

because we are to a great extent determining our findings by deciding what we choose to see.

Capra sums up the themes of quantum theory as such:

The concept of the universe as an interconnected web of relations is one of the two major themes that recur throughout modern physics. The other theme is the realization that the cosmic web is intrinsically dynamic. The dynamic aspect of matter arises in quantum theory as a consequence of the wave nature of subatomic particles, and is even more central in relativity theory, which has shown us that the being of matter cannot be separated from its activity. The properties of its basic patterns, the subatomic particles, can be understood only in a dynamic context, in terms of movement, interaction, and transformation.⁴²

Application to Political Theory

How does one take the principles of quantum theory that contradict or challenge Newtonian theory and apply them to a political theory which has been significantly influenced by Newtonian concepts?

ON THE IMPORTANCE OF METAPHORS AND WORLDVIEWS

Following in the footsteps of other social scientists, one can develop metaphors to structure inquiry and to provide an interpretive system. In doing so, it is important to heed Landau's warning not to take the metaphor too literally. Quantum metaphors can be useful in helping design hypotheses to test what is unknown to us. Yet at

all times it is necessary to keep the true nature of the metaphor in mind in order to avoid the presumption of fact that has yet to be proven.

There is more, however, to the application of quantum theory to political theory than the mere use of metaphors. Quantum theory offers a worldview, a view of the universe that can be applied to political science. While Schubert and Capra both point out that one must be careful not to treat animate and inanimate objects as though there were no difference, both are applying quantum physics in the study and analysis of social phenomena. There is no fault in using physical theory to develop a systems view that helps one understand the similarities and interconnections of the natural and social world. The failing of Newtonian politics is not that the two worlds were combined under one theory, but that Newtonian theory is too absolute, too limiting, and too simplistic. It provided, however, a very good starting point for scientific study that begins to integrate the two worlds. Quantum theory begins the next step in creating a more sophisticated, more complex, and more modern political theory.

To begin, Dator, who advocates a quantum theory worldview, states that one of the basic assumptions of quantum theory is:

Things are not what they seem. If we restrict our understanding of the world to only that narrow band which our human senses perceive, we will have only a

shallow and misleading notion of the structures and processes of the world. The assumptions, theories, and methods of positivistic science are simply too restrictive and limiting.⁴³

From that perspective, the impact of quantum theory on political science is profound. How can there be any discipline, any definitions, any causal explanations, any predictions in politics if one cannot determine absolutely from observation the realities of the situation? The following principles based on the four quantum principles discussed earlier will provide the guide to exploring some of the political implications of quantum political theory.

Uncertainty: Objects Defined By Their Environment and Their Relationships To Others

Liberal democratic political theory in America (guided by Newtonian theory) began with the assumption man had a predictable nature. He was rational and as such could be predictable. Theories abound in American politics that attempt to predict and explain man's behavior on rational grounds that man would always pursue his own self-interests.⁴⁴

When modern physicists began to see that the subatomic world acted differently than Newton's Laws predicted, they had to change their way of thinking. That is where quantum politics comes in.

A better explanation of human nature is that we are complex, contradictory creatures and we cannot be classified or identified out of our environments. We are at cross-purposes, self-promoting and self-destructive, good and bad--in short: uncertain. People are fiscal conservatives and liberal on foreign affairs. People can be cooperative and self-effacing--even while having strong egos. Individuals can be classified as more or less democratic in relation to others in the same environment. That definition changes as the environment and/or the relations change. A Quantum politics would be based on the unpredictable nature of humans and would take into account many recent findings about the human subconscious than does Newtonian politics.

Probability

Cause-effect determinism and rational decision making are not at the root of all human interaction, or even primary in human affairs. Instead, in quantum theory, as Dator states, "probability, randomness, uncertainty, and complementarity are 'normal.'"⁴⁵ The role of political science then, is to theorize and experiment with new political structures and processes based on the principles of uncertainty and probability.

Once political scientists move away from seeking absolutes, patterns of probability can be studied and used

as the basis for research and analysis. This methodology, although at first glance appears more ambiguous, would actually provide a better explanation for political phenomena than cause-effect determinism. The baffling exceptions to the rule, the apparent inconsistencies, and the random deviances could be accounted for through probability formulas, much like those used in public opinion polling. Political scientists would certainly have to be cautious not to explain too cavalierly the unexpected occurring, but a scientific utilization of probability theory could prove immensely useful in political analysis.

Interconnections And Interaction

The political system--indeed, the universal system--cannot be divided into discrete units for analysis, a la Newtonian politics. Instead political analysis focuses on the effects of interactions and process. In the case of "democracy," it cannot be adequately defined in terms of its branches of government, means for election, tenure of office, and checks and balances. As Majid Tehranian points out, democracy, above all, is a dynamic, moving process.⁴⁶ In addition, the whole of the democratic system determines its parts; the parts do not determine the whole. That explains why tinkering with the American system and altering various parts is not going to change the overall character of the system and make it truly democratic. It

also explains how political institutions, political leaders, and even political scientists are the creations of the political system and are supported by the system.

It may be argued that of course the present Newtonian mechanistic system places an emphasis on interaction among the three branches of government and that it has a "process" orientation. After all, the Senate approves treaties made by the President; the President can veto legislation passed by the Congress; the Supreme Court determines the constitutionality of laws, and so forth. The point is that the major emphasis of the Founding Fathers, a principle strongly adhered to even today, was separation of powers--to use the branches of government as checks and balances--to isolate power and function so that no one part became all-powerful. Yet the reality of application of the separation of powers doctrine proves that the ideal cannot be implemented. Indeed, controversies that have existed for quite some time focus on the overlapping of powers. Is the Supreme Court really legislating when it declares laws of Congress unconstitutional? Can Congress force the President to implement laws or to turn over presidential papers? Can the President send armed troops into a country when Congress has not declared war? A quantum approach to assigning powers to branches of government would recognize the essential need for interconnectedness and interaction

among the branches and would provide for that in determining the powers of each branch. It is conceivable that a system designed focusing on interconnection and interaction rather than separation could provide a greater check against the abuse of power.

In addition, quantum politics challenges the Newtonian influenced liberal democracy concept of individualism, with men and women pursuing their own self-interests, seeking maximization of personal power, and striving for privatization rather than community. This individualism results in the development of interest groups which are created to pursue special interests of members of the group. All too often the interest groups, whether they are unions, conservation groups, social welfare groups or whatever, become individualized themselves--with the leadership losing touch with the membership. The leaders--not the members--begin defining the interests of the group, which is done in a way that is very unconnected to the overall membership.

Quantum politics sees us all connected in the system and all affected by the decisions of that system. Rather than designing institutions that encourage us to live in private worlds pursuing narrow self interests, quantum politics would provide mechanisms and institutions that encourage interaction and broaden perspectives in how we are all connected and affected by decisions made within the

system. Quantum politics attempts to maximize participation, interaction, and a recognition that we are inalterably connected in the system. To lose track of the whole is to work against one's self-interest anyway.

No Objective Reality

The important lesson for the political scientist in quantum theory is that there is no objective real world apart from one's consciousness or as Dator states, "different observer, different world."⁴⁷ Our observations are limited to our perceptions and consciousness.

This is consistent with psychological research in the 20th century that demonstrates that "selective perception," e.g., that different people see and/or describe phenomenon differently, is a normal phenomenon.⁴⁸ It is essential to keep in mind that our observations, no matter how precise are determined by our own concepts, thoughts, and values that vary with each individual and under varying circumstances.

QUANTUM THEORY AND PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

Political scientists operating in the late 20th century should be willing to evaluate the degree to which long held beliefs and theories are compatible or incompatible with the scientific knowledge derived over the last century. They need to question whether political

institutions and procedures designed two hundred years ago with a solid foundation in Newtonian thought are effective within the context of the quantum world.

American political science has at least implicitly accepted Newtonian theories as a valid basis for indigenous American political theory, in other words, the prevailing liberal democratic model. To be consistent and up-to-date, it should develop political theories that have the potential to further an understanding of the world by constructing new theories based on modern knowledge. Quantum theory may prove in time to have as many limitations and errors as Newtonian theory. Still it offers fresh insights and plausible explanations where Newtonian theory falters. Indeed, with current knowledge, it is clear that it has much to offer in developing a heuristic framework for a new political theory.

Explication of Strong, Participatory Democracy

Barber takes a step in this direction by moving beyond Newtonian politics. After liberal democracy, he proposes a political alternative presently viewed as radical and unworkable by most American political scientists and political leaders. This alternative--participatory democracy (or to use Barber's term, "strong democracy")--is described by Barber as "dialectical, sustaining itself

while in motion, looking for conviction in the process as an unfolding logic rather than its genesis."⁴⁹

Sidney Verba and Norman Nie also emphasize the essential nature of citizen participation in democratic theory:

Participation, when and if effective, has a particularly crucial relationship to all other social and political goals. It represents a process by which goals are set and means are chosen in relation to all sorts of social issues. Indeed, this is why it is crucial to democratic theory.⁵⁰

Peter Bachrach adds that if there is not a revitalization of a broad democratic participation, then political decision-making is going to have less and less democratic control.⁵¹

Quantum Elements in an Emerging Participatory Theory

To date, political scientists who describe or favor forms of participatory democracy rarely mention quantum theory in their theoretical explorations. Yet their hypotheses, axioms, and corollaries fit well into the quantum theoretical framework and may well help develop a more systematic, emerging theory of participatory democracy.

Restating the quantum principles discussed earlier in this essay (Uncertainty--Objects Defined by Their Environments and Their Relationship to Others; Probability; Interconnection and Interaction; and No

Objective Reality), one recognizes that participatory democratic theory has these principles at its core. As a matter of fact, definitions and descriptions of participatory democracy have these principles essentially interwoven so that the principles cannot be neatly separated and examined independent of each other.

For example, Carole Pateman implicitly emphasizes the quantum nature of democratic theory when she states:

a democratic theory... is a theory of interrelationships between individuals, their characteristics and forms of social and political institutions, between concepts and social life, between concepts themselves, and between political theory and political practice.⁵²

Her criticism that liberal theory "tries to separate these things"⁵³ goes to the heart of the critique of Newtonian theory. In discussing the necessity of more emphasis on participation in democratic theory, Bachrach also implicitly addresses quantum principles by discussing the essential interconnectedness of ends and means in a democracy. As he observes, "the interaction of means and ends--of process and policy--stimulates and encourages the self-development of a free people."⁵⁴

Participatory democracy, activity, interaction, transformation, uncertainty, consciousness, and perception --all principles of quantum--come together in Peter Manicas' statement:

democracy is a process, a process of permanent revolution in which the forging

of the self-determined individual goes hand in hand with the transformation of hierarchical institutions into democratic and self-managed institutions. As so conceived, the democratic community is not merely an abstract but a mode of action, a praxis, in which persons discover their social selves as they struggle against the consciousness which binds them to the existing social order.⁵⁵

Elements of quantum theory appear throughout descriptions of the democratic process. For example, Barber's metaphor for political reasoning is "weaving" as opposed to the Newtonian metaphor of connecting links in a chain.⁵⁶ The corollaries discussed earlier--divisibility, incommensurability, intentionalism, and mutualism--that he derives from perceiving humans as psychic or spiritual beings, rather than material, are compatible with quantum theory and participatory democratic theory.

Barber does not attempt to replace the Newtonian absolute of materialism with another absolute, i.e., spirituality. He believes these corollaries offer a more accurate appraisal of political behavior than do the Newtonian axiom and corollaries. Moreover, they provide an alternative view readily reconciled with the scientific revolution created by quantum physics.

Not believing in absolutes, cause-effect determinism, and the "truth," Barber abandons liberal democracy (Newtonian politics) in favor of "strong" or participatory

democracy. The dominant virtue in strong democracy is also a key component of quantum theory--activity. Things are defined and developed through interaction and reciprocity with others. In terms of participatory democracy, this involves dialogue--receiving and giving. This process of interaction leads to transformation with others, a process that helps to redefine who we are.

It is important to re-emphasize that advocates of participatory democracy see democracy as a process--an ongoing process.⁵⁷ Manicas calls democracy a process that cannot be separated from its goal.⁵⁸ John Dewey goes even further by stating that society is a process designed to maximize personal growth through interaction with others, which evolves into the creation of the public good. In his words:

Society is the process of associating in such ways that experiences, ideas, emotions, values are transmitted and made common...Only in association with fellows does (the individual) become a conscious centre of experience. Organization, which is what traditional theory has generally meant by the term Society or State, is...subordinate because it becomes static, rigid, institutionalized whenever it is not employed to facilitate and enrich the contacts of human beings with one another.⁵⁹

Strong, i.e., participatory, democracy requires an interaction and interconnection that recognizes that there is no objective reality for wise and virtuous representatives to discover and promulgate for the

remainder of the citizenry. Every person, as a subjective and objective individual, has her/his own perceptions of reality and of what are correct paths to follow--based on their own values, backgrounds, and shifting circumstances. Barber maintains that the greatest good would be served if the American ("thin" democratic) political system would discard the Newtonian (Platonic and Burkean) ideas that virtuos men know best and adopt a strong democratic system that generates maximum support and development for and responsiveness to all citizens of the system.

In other words, strong democracy's central virtues are participation, citizenship, and political activity. Participatory democracy "may be the political answer to the question of moral uncertainty--the form of interaction for people who cannot agree on absolutes."⁶⁰ Or, as Schuman says, "Maybe we should consider more carefully the 'unreal world.'"⁶¹

Dator's political designs based on quantum account for the subjective--the "unreal world"--with the acknowledgment that there is no single reality; that we are limited or enriched by our perceptions; and that there are no absolutes. The political institutions he proposes all display the hallmark of participatory democracy.

He states that a "quantum approach to representation might be simply to use random sampling."⁶² The concept is hardly new. The Greeks used a lottery system during the

"Golden Age" of Pericles in Athens.⁶³ Other political analysts like Ted Becker, long an advocate of participatory democracy and the "random house legislature," and more recently Ernest Callenbach and Michael Phillips in the Citizen Legislature, have also discussed the merits of such a proposal.⁶⁴ However, none, from the Greeks to the modern times, have discussed the formal connection to quantum theory. Taking representative samples from a citizen universe would maximize participation in a diverse, highly populated society by increasing the chances of various groups of citizens being able to participate in key decision-making. Becker believes it is the best way to ensure the presence of more women, minorities, and younger citizens in Congress.⁶⁵ The chances would be even more increased by limiting the terms of office and rotating people in and out on a regular basis. Of course "representation," even of the random type limits the absolute number of people who can have direct power in policy-making--other than by participating in the public debate. A quantum system that maximizes citizen participation would involve direct democracy, e.g., town meetings and citizen initiatives.

Televote: Quantum Theory In The Study
Of Citizen Participation

Dator offers other political designs based on quantum theory, but his vision of a random legislature is a quantum type design that offers a means of increasing citizen participation. This essay will examine various forms of citizen participation in American democracy. It will discuss how theories and research of citizen participation are approached differently if one is guided by a belief in objectivity and predictability (Newtonian) or guided by a belief in randomness and no objective reality (quantum). It will also explore the future of citizen participation and public input in decision-making in America. This study is guided by the question: "If we are faced with radically new scientific theories and technologies, what does that mean for American democracy?"

Televote, a method of public opinion polling designed to be implemented in a participatory democratic society at the threshold of the quantum age is a polling method that is emerging in a space between the fading Newtonian predominance and the increasing quantum thought. As a result, it is a transitional tool that incorporates both Newtonian and Quantum principles. It is designed not only to measure public opinion, but unlike all conventional, Newtonian-era public opinion polling, it also stimulates

citizen interaction and participation in the democratic process.

Like all scientific polling done today, Televote utilizes random sampling based on probability (quantum). Its unique features are: (1) it provides information to respondents--undisputed facts and pro and con arguments (Newtonian); (2) it encourages respondents to discuss the facts, opinions, and issues with others--interaction (quantum); and (3) it allows time for deliberation before respondents reply (Newtonian); (4) it is designed to be used simultaneously with Electronic Town Meetings on the same subject (quantum).

Although Televote may well be a transitional tool from one worldview to another, it nevertheless has successfully operated in a predominantly Newtonian world. The current American political system is virtually the same as the Founding Fathers created with their mechanistic worldview. Although Televote seeks to transmit views of the public and their representatives through two-way interaction of knowledge and views, it is limited by a political system that frequently holds public opinion in low regard because it believes that the citizenry will never be as sufficiently informed or enlightened as their representatives. Televote seeks to alter that perspective but faces roadblocks from entrenched powers that derive benefits from the current worldview.

In evaluating Televote's role in quantum politics, a very important aspect of quantum theory must not be overlooked. Televote is merely a component of the political system within which it functions. Its role is defined by the system--it does not define the system.

Thus, it is only within the quantum worldview and a political system consistent with that whereby Televote can reach its maximum potential for helping increase public knowledge and discussion of issues, and directly linking that into decision-making processes that create public policy and law.

If indeed a form of participatory democracy were to become widespread or even predominant, Televote would only be one part in a complex, dynamic, interactive environment. In the media world, it could be an aspect of electronic town meetings, begun prior to town meetings to create public awareness, discussion, and interaction, and then completing the Televote after the multiple-way communication aspect of the town meetings in order to yield a scientific sample of informed and duly deliberated public opinion on the topic. In the legislative world, it could: (a) help develop initiatives through a consensus building process; or (b) help set legislative agendas or persuade legislators to construct alternatives to be voted on in a referendum (indirect initiative). It may even be that Televote will be overtaken by the visual media rather than

relying so heavily on the print media. In conclusion, its nature (function) would be determined by the extent of the democratic environment in which it exists.

CONCLUSION

Quantum theory and politics do not replace all that is connected to Newtonian theory and politics. There are occasions when cause-effect determinism exists; predictions are appropriate; order exists; and deductive reasoning prevails. Quantum politics does not aim to purge these concepts from the political sphere. As Tehranian points out:

New scientific metaphors do not replace, and new theories do not refute, the old ones but somehow remake them; even scientific revolutions preserve some continuity with the old order of things. This is as true of theoretical speculations about society as it is of the social system itself. No social system can be born by a fiat; the so-called revolutionary developments in society are not more than recreations of the past.⁶⁶

Quantum politics may be a recreation of Jeffersonian politics,⁶⁷ but its quantum theoretical base enriches political understanding and uncovers limitations of Newtonian thought. It provides a seriously needed new worldview that is based on 20th Century knowledge, not held hostage by slavish devotion to 18th Century theoretical thought.

As learned from quantum physics, we are limited in our understanding by the way in which we define things. When we define an object as a particle, we are stymied in our understanding when it demonstrates the characteristics of a wave. We have to expand our concept. Quantum theory helps us look at democracy as more than a mechanical system of distinct components with neatly divided functions. Quantum theory forces us to view democracy as a process--an interactive process that evolves and transforms the system and the citizens that create the system.

Rather than seeking absolutes, quantum theory finds patterns that assist in understanding and future planning. Abandoning the belief in absolutes does not necessarily create chaos and confusion. Instead, it challenges us to seek more alternatives--alternatives that may provide answers where exclusive deductive thought would never take us. Quantum theory allows us to consider the merits of intuitive thought and to expand the realm of participatory possibilities for citizens in a democracy.

The challenges for social scientists who wish to utilize quantum theory in research are many. As Landau warns, one must be forever cautious against developing a rigidity in the use of models based on the physical sciences. We cannot assume we have found the "truth" and proceed to explain all social phenomena based on mathematical formulas provided us by quantum physics.

Schubert understands the difficulties before us in his insistence that social theories must be more complex than physical theories since humans are more complex than inanimate objects and the laws that apply to human interactions do not necessarily apply to physical interactions.

All social scientists utilizing quantum theory today are novices. There are many questions being asked and debated over the extent to which quantum physics can be useful in political theory. While there is widespread agreement among many of them regarding the limitations of Newtonian theory, they are only beginning to crawl into the quantum world. One must learn to crawl, however, before one can walk or run.

The challenges and insecurities that lie ahead for the quantum political theorists are matched by the conviction that social science theory must address the radical changes in physical theory in the last century.

The following chapters in this dissertation will develop several themes in this first chapter. The next chapter will investigate citizen participation in the United States--with particular emphasis on pre- and post-revolutionary times.

NOTES

1. Martin Landau, "On the Use of Metaphor in Political Analysis," Social Research, 28 (1961): 331-363. Landau states that Oppenheimer argues that Newton's work was limited to the phenomena of motions. In addition, Newton rejected all notions of a priori certainty and believed all propositions and hypotheses were to be empirical set "firmly on the rule of observation." Nevertheless, the cosmology of the last two centuries has been categorized by natural and social scientists as Newtonian albeit distorts Newton's own worldview. (346)
2. Landau 338.
3. Fritjof Capra, The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982) 78.
4. Landau 338.
5. Landau 337.
6. Landau 338-339.
7. Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 26-27.
8. Barber 29.
9. Barber 32.
10. Barber 33-35
11. Thomas Hobbes, The Leviathan (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1968) and Ayn Rand, The Fountainhead (New York: New American Library, 1943).
12. Rand 686.
13. For example, see: David Schuman, Preface to Politics (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Co., 1986), Chapters 6 and 7. According to Schuman alienation is the result of our liberalism. There is no community, only individuals living "together apart." To be left alone, according to the liberal democrat, is to be free. Robert Nisbet, Community and Power (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962). Nisbet discusses the difference between community and the liberal individualism we adhere to in America. Philip Slater

points out the irony that Americans are encouraged to individually seek their own ends, but the society defines what is worthy of pursuit. Therefore, Americans, as individuals, compete for the same ends in a society that pushes them into conforming to the norm, thereby giving up the individualism they claim to hold so dear. Philip E. Slater, The Pursuit of Loneliness (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971).

14. Robert Nozick, Anarchy, State, and Utopia (New York: Basic Books, 1974) 33.
15. Barber 72.
16. Barber 72.
17. Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York: Harper and Row, 1957) and John Rawls, A Theory of Justice (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971).
18. Barber 78.
19. James Madison, "Federalist Paper No. 10" in Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers (New York: The New American Library, 1961) 78.
20. John Locke, Second Treatise of Civil Government and a Letter Concerning Toleration (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1948).
21. C.B. Macpherson, The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964) 3.
22. James Madison, "Federalist Paper No. 51" in Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers (New York: The New American Library, 1961) 322. Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill also sought to address the issue of maximizing the public good while protecting individual liberty in a world ruled by men seeking to promote their own self-interests. See John Stuart Mill and Jeremy Bentham, Utilitarianism and Other Essays ed. Alan Ryan (New York: Penguin Books, 1987).
23. Charles Schultz, The Use of Private Interest (Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute, 1977).

24. Henry Margenau, The Nature of Physical Reality: A Philosophy of Modern Physics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1950) 308.
25. Barber 42.
26. Barber 42.
27. Glendon Schubert, "The Evolution of Political Science Paradigms of Physics, Biology, and Politics," Politics and the Life Sciences 1.2 (1983): 98.
28. Schubert 100.
29. Schubert 101.
30. Schubert 101.
31. Schubert 101.
32. Consistent with Schubert's prediction is a panel presentation at the August 1987 American Political Science Association Convention focusing on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution entitled "Quantum Theory and Constitution Building."
33. James A. Dator, "Quantum Theory and Political Design," paper presented at the Dutweiler Institut Conference, January 1984, 2.
34. Dator 3.
35. Dator 2.
36. Capra 75-97.
37. Capra 76.
38. Capra 78-79.
39. Capra 80.
40. Capra 80.
41. Capra 85.
42. Capra 87.
43. Dator 4.
44. For examples, see: Sigmund Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents (London: Hogarth Press, 1930); Adam Smith,

The Wealth of Nations (New York: P.F. Collins and Sons, 1959) and Theory of Moral Sentiments (Indianapolis: Libery Classics, 1976); Hugo Black, A Constitutional Faith (New York: Knopf, 1968); David Hume, Philosophical Works, eds. Thomas H. Green and Thomas H. Grose (London: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1964, 1886). Also Henry S. Kariel, Beyond Liberalism, Where Relations Grow (San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp Publishers, Inc., 1977). Kariel states that "Hobbes, Locke, Smith, and Madison believed that man was also rational and could logically determine his best interests. In addition, they favored a society "in which everyone would be committed to the rational pursuit of self-interest." (Kariel 5).

45. Dator 4.
46. Majid Tehranian, "Electronic Democracy: Information Technologies and Democratic Prospects," Report, UNESCO, 1985, 52.
47. Dator 6.
48. For example, see: Janas F. Saltis, Seeing, Knowing and Believing (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1966); Marshall H. Segall, Donald T. Campbell, and Melville J. Herkovits, Influence of Culture on Visual Perception (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1966) and R.L. Gregory, Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973).
49. Barber 44.
50. Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper & Row, 1972) 4.
51. Peter Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1980).
52. Carole Pateman, The Problem of Political Obligation: A Critique of Liberal Theory (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985) 175-176.
53. Pateman 175-176.
54. Bachrach 6.
55. Peter Manicas, The Death of the State (New York: G.P. Putnam's and Sons, 1976) 256-257.

56. Barber 32.
57. Majid Tehranian points out that "democracy" is more a process than an end in itself. He warns us that "it is often lost the moment we assume we have achieved it." Electronic Democracy 52.
58. Manicas 256.
59. John Dewey, Reconstruction in Philosophy, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948) 187-213.
60. Barber 65.
61. Schuman 40.
62. Dator 8.
63. Theodore L. Becker, American Government: Past, Present, Future (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976) 468-469.
64. Becker 467-469; Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (London: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1980) 434-435; and Ernest Callenbach and Michael Phillips, The Citizen Legislature (Berkeley, Ca.: Banyan Tree Books, 1985).
65. Becker 467-469.
66. Tehranian, "Development Theory and Communications Policy: The Changing Paradigms," Progress in Communication Sciences 1 (1979): 141.
67. See an excellent presentation of Jeffersonian politics in Richard K. Matthews, The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1986).

CHAPTER II

TRACING THE PATHS OF EXPANDING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
IN AMERICA: THE EARLY SURGES

Citizen participation in America has evolved over time. Its pattern has not been linear--on a straight trajectory towards greater and greater participation. Neither has it been cyclical, which implies a continuing return to a previous starting point.

Instead the pattern has the following characteristics. First, there are waves--a pulse--that surges and recedes. Second, the intensity of each wave or pulse varies. Third, the direction of the path is sometimes erratic. We can trace its path, but not be certain of how far it will travel or where it will extend its reach. Fourth, each wave reaches a high point somewhere and then ebbs. However, the ebb at its lowest never recedes beyond the high point of the previous wave. Thus, the cumulative effect is a decidedly advancing motion with constantly expanding avenues for future movement.

Thus, Part II of this study will show how the history of citizen participation in America illustrates this wave-pulse pattern, and will survey the various eras which sought to expand and broaden participation. It will also provide an analysis of the theoretical and practical

relationship between leaders and citizens and a systematic evaluation of the extent to which political structures limited or encouraged citizen participation.

In my view, there have been six major surges that yielded significant advances in the cumulative degree and forms of American political participation: the Pre-Europeanization Period; the Revolutionary and American Confederation Period; the Constitutional Period; the Jacksonian Period; the Progressive Period; and the 1960's Civil Rights Period. Chapter 2 will survey the paths of the first three, or early periods, while chapter 3 will trace developments in the more modern periods. These chapters will lay the foundation for an examination of current political science literature on citizen participation. Recent writings on citizen involvement in American democracy continue the debates that were highlighted in the Federalist-Antifederalist debates more than two centuries ago. What role should "We the People of the United States" have in government, which is based upon and legitimized by the consent of the people? As the arguments are re-examined in the modern context, the new scientific discoveries of quantum research will be added to propel the debate into the next century.

THE PRE-EUROPEANIZATION PERIOD: THE ROOTS OF
AMERICAN POLITICAL THINKING ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

In American Eurocentrist thought, most writings on the roots of American political theory focus on the influence of such philosophers as Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Hume. For example, Forrest McDonald's book Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution and Kenneth Dolbeare's American Political Thought concentrate almost exclusively on the influence of European intellectuals, primarily British and Scottish with some reference to ancient Greek philosophers.¹

McDonald does broach the topic of non-European political thinking in early times by referring to Locke's political theories wherein the great English philosopher mentions Indian life as a model of a society existing in a state of nature, in other words, living in a society with no organized political system or government.² On the other hand, this very brief tidbit about Indians, coupled with his acknowledgment that Thomas Jefferson concluded "that the primitive stages [of the Indians] produced happier and more virtuous men"³, actually trivializes the substantial knowledge gained from the political ideology and governmental practices of the American Indian and its profound and deep influence on American political thought and the building of political institutions. It has only been in

recent years that scholars have begun to acknowledge the influence of the native American Indian, particularly the Iroquois tribes, on American thinking and political design--particularly regarding the important role of citizen participation and public opinion in governance.⁴

What Indians added to the American diet--corn, potatoes, pumpkins, tomatoes, avocados, peanuts, etc.--is well known. It is the political contribution that is usually unknown, overlooked, or suppressed. Bruce Johansen sets the record straight in his book, Forgotten Founders. While not attempting to denigrate the European influence, he argues that "America has been a creation of all its peoples," most assuredly including the Iroquois.

During the fifteenth century (or earlier by some estimates) the Iroquoian governmental system was founded, which united five previously warring nations under a constitution called "The Great Law of Peace." Three centuries later, an additional nation joined the alliance to expand the Confederacy to the League of Six Nations. As Johansen points out, the Iroquoian constitution:

rested on assumptions foreign to the monarchs of Europe: it regarded leaders as servants of the people, rather than their masters, and made provisions for the leaders' impeachment for errant behavior. The Iroquois' law and customs upheld freedom of expression in political and religious matters, and it forbade the unauthorized entry of homes. It provided for political participation by women and the relatively equitable distribution of wealth. These distinctly democratic

tendencies sound familiar in light of subsequent American political history--yet few people today...know that a republic existed on our soil before anyone here had ever heard of John Locke, or Cato, the Magna Charter, Rousseau, Franklin, or Jefferson.⁵

Several other scholars have written about the democratic and participatory aspects of the Iroquois political system. Ruth Underhill, who writes extensively about the Iroquois and other Indian tribes, described the Iroquois Confederacy as an organization of nations "like that of the modern United Nations."⁶ The Confederacy allowed tribes to handle internal matters as each saw fit, but the tribes united in matters that affected them in common.

Representatives or chiefs sent to the law-making body, the Council, were chosen in two forms: (a) those nominated by women of extended, titled families (the hereditary chiefs) and (b) those elected outside of the hereditary family structure on the basis of personal leadership qualities (the pine tree chiefs). Policy discussion and decision making were divided into two phases (the equivalent of two houses), which acted as a check and balance against hasty decision making. After two of the tribes discussed and agreed on the matter before a third tribe, the third tribe took the decision to the other two tribes to accept or reject. All decisions in the

Confederacy had to be unanimously agreed to by all Council members.

There were mechanisms for removing chiefs who did not truly represent their people or who abused their power by enriching themselves. As noted above, Iroquois chiefs were viewed as servants of the people, unlike the European kings and queens of the time, and were "generally poorer than the common people, for they affect to give away and distribute all the Presents or Plunder they get in their Treaties or War, so as to leave nothing for themselves. If they should be once suspected of selfishness, they would grow mean in the opinion of their Country-men, and would consequently lose their authority."⁷

Describing the Iroquois League of Nations system of proportional representation of tribes and its "two-house legislature", Underhill acknowledges the similarity between their system of government and that created under the United States Constitution.⁸ While stopping short of making a direct connection herself, Underhill states that many believe the Iroquois government, which was the "most integrated and orderly north of Mexico," gave ideas to writers of the American Constitution and to "Franklin, Jefferson, and Washington [who] were quite familiar with the [Iroquois] League."⁹ Johansen and Felix Cohen, who also describes the system, make the connection between

Indian political culture and its direct impact on European and American political thinkers.

Cohen, who asserts that Thomas Jefferson freely acknowledged the influence of the American Indians in developing his concept of liberty, points out:

Universal suffrage for women as for men, the pattern of states within a state we call federalism, the habit of treating chiefs as servants of the people instead of their masters,...[and the] insistence that the community must respect the diversity of men and the diversity of their dreams--all these things were part of the American way of life before Columbus landed.¹⁰

Johansen discusses several areas in which Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine refer to Indian society as a model that offers lessons for Americans. Franklin, who originally became familiar with Indian culture when his print shop published the treaties between the Indians and the colonists, became a Pennsylvania commissioner in 1753 to serve as a British diplomat to the Iroquois nation. The British purpose was to establish an Anglo-Indian alliance against the Spanish and the French. However, the Iroquois required that the colonists recognize they were in a foreign nation and had to learn the native rituals in order to discuss diplomatic initiatives. To be a successful diplomat, then, one had to know and understand Indian culture. Not only did the American colonists, who were official representatives for the British with the Indians, make friendships and

alliances, but they were exposed to and learned concepts of freedom, property-ownership, liberty, and even democracy, which had no parallel in the Kingdoms of Europe. Johansen states: "These observations would help mold the political life of the colonies, and much of the world, in the years to come."¹¹

As an example, in 1744, nearly a decade before Franklin began his diplomatic service to the Indian nations, an Iroquois chief, Canassatego, urged the American colonies to form an alliance, a confederacy as the Iroquois had done three centuries earlier. He argued that an American Colonial Confederation would make it easier for the Indians in their dealings with the Colonists and would strengthen the Colonies as long as they required all action taken to be approved unanimously by Colonial representatives to the Confederacy.

Ten years later, Franklin attended a special Congress in Albany where he heard an "adopted" Iroquois, Tiyanoga, explain the Iroquois Confederacy and political life to the Colonial delegates. Franklin, who had been intrigued by the idea of uniting the colonies, offered his own plan for a Colonial Confederation at the Albany Congress, which closely paralleled the Iroquois system. While his proposal won support at Albany, it died in the various state legislatures, which were unwilling to relinquish any powers given them by the Crown.

It was two decades later, after the Stamp Act and other oppressive British measures, that the Colonists accepted a revised Franklin proposal and adopted the Articles of Confederation. On August 25, 1775, commissioners from the newly united colonies met with the Iroquois chiefs at Philadelphia and smoked a peace pipe. The commissioners told the Iroquois that they had finally taken the wise advice given to them by Canassatego thirty years earlier and had formed a federal union. In their speech they praised the Iroquois:

The Six Nations are a wise people, Let us hearken to them, and take their counsel, and teach our children to follow it...We thank the great God that we are united, that we have a strong confederacy, composed of twelve provinces...These provinces have lighted a great council fire at Philadelphia and sent sixty-five counsellors to speak and act in the name of the whole, and to consult for the common good of the people.¹²

It was not merely the political structure of the Iroquois that intrigued Franklin. As Johansen emphasizes, Franklin drew on the whole of his experiences in developing his political theories. While he was well-educated in European and Greek philosophy, the American Indian's theory and practice "affected Franklin's observations on the need for appreciation of diverse cultures and religions, public opinion as the basis for a polity, the nature of liberty and happiness, and the social role of property."¹³

For Jefferson, who was a student and admirer of Indian culture, there were two major aspects of Indian society that Americans could learn from. First, there was a lack of poverty among the Indians and virtual equality among all segments in the society. Second, there was a reliance the Indian chiefs placed upon the public opinion among their people. Jefferson saw a greater degree of happiness and contentment among the Indians based in part upon their beliefs that (a) leaders were servants who simply represented the people and (b) property should be shared equally--since unequal distribution was wasteful, frivolous, and destructive to peace and harmony. ..."[T]o Jefferson, public opinion among the Indians was an important reason for their lack of oppressive government, as well as the egalitarian distribution of property on which Franklin had earlier remarked."¹⁴

Jefferson believed that excess or uncontrolled power in the hands of leaders led to corruption and that the best means to prevent it was to retain ultimate power in the hands of an educated people. In his famous letter to Edward Carrington after Shays Rebellion, Jefferson reaffirms his faith in the masses and indicates his belief that:

the way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people is to give them full information of their affairs thro' the channel of the public papers, & to contrive that those papers would penetrate the whole mass of the people.

The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers & and be capable of reading them. I am convinced that those societies (as the Indians) which live without government enjoy in their general mass an infinitely greater degree of happiness than those who live under the European governments. Among the former, public opinion is in the place of law, & restrains morals as powerfully as laws ever did anywhere. Among the latter, under pretence of governing they have divided their nations into two classes, wolves & sheep. I do not exaggerate. This is a true picture of Europe. Cherish therefore the spirit of our people and keep alive their attention.¹⁵

The democratic nature of Indian society's influence on American politics also became evident a few years later when the debate took place over the current United States Constitution. "Agrippa," an Antifederalist from Massachusetts, used Indian society as an example of a natural and democratic system based on the principle that all powers are derived from the people. He stated:

With [the Indian tribes in America] the whole authority of government is vested in the whole tribe. Individuals depend upon their reputation of valour and wisdom to give them influence. Their government is genuinely democratical. This was probably the first kind of government among mankind, as we meet with no mention of any other kind, till royalty was introduced in the person of Nimrod. Immediately after that time, Asiatick nations seem to have departed from the simple democracy, which

is still retained by their American brethren...¹⁶

To most British subjects, such ideas on equality, liberty, and pursuit of happiness that many colonists became imbued with were heretical. Whether inspired by Indians, European philosophers, or the ancient Greeks, American colonists developed demands for input into governing structures. "The United States founders may have read about Greece, or the Roman Republic, the cantons of the Alps, or the reputed democracy of the tribal Celts, but in the Iroquois and other Indian confederacies they saw, with their own eyes, the self-evidence of what they regarded to be irrefutable truths."¹⁷

THE CONFEDERATION PERIOD: EARLY AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

The years between the Declaration of Independence (1776) and the ratification of the U.S. Constitution (1789) were ones of violent revolution, temporarily unifying all classes of society, followed by a clever, peaceful political revolution, establishing a quasi- American aristocracy that successfully deflected and then pushed back the forward thrusts of increasing democracy and citizen participation. During the period that Americans lived under the Articles of Confederation, however, the powerful surge in democratic ideals and institutions established a firm hold on American soil that continues to contribute to

the erosion of beachheads captured by opponents of democracy.

There were a number of institutions that flourished in the American Confederation Period--some involving the greater democratization of the representative system. some being direct democratic forms of governance.

Virtual vs. Actual Representation

American colonists came to think quite differently about political representation than the British. As Gordon Wood points out, English political theory of the time was almost entirely based on the theory of "virtual representation."¹⁸ This meant that elected representatives to the English House of Commons represented all the people--not particular districts, regions, or classes. All citizens--no matter where they lived--were Englishmen and were represented by those in the House of Commons. "None are actually, all are virtually represented; for every Member of Parliament sits in the House, not as a Representative of his own Constituents, but as one of the august Assembly by which all the Commons of Great Britain are represented."¹⁹

So it was truly perplexing to the English when the colonists became so inflamed by the Stamp Act in 1765 and other measures the British took to force the colonies to help pay the Crown's war debts. The colonists screamed "No

taxation without representation." They began to unite in challenging the Crown and took actions as citizens, such as the dumping of the tea in Boston Harbor in 1774 to protest British economic imperialism.

The audacity of the colonists shocked the British, who could not understand the colonists demands for consultation and participation in decision-making. The British believed that they already had a representative system of government, a system that represented the interests of all British subjects, including the colonists. Why, they asked, did the colonists demand more rights in government than British citizens who lived in Great Britain enjoyed? After all, wrote one English pamphleteer:

Nine-tenths of the People of Britain did not in fact choose any representatives to the House of Commons, (yet) they were undoubtedly a Part, and an important Part of the Commons of Great Britain; they are represented in Parliament..copyholders, leaseholders, and all men possessed of personal Property only, choose no Representatives; Manchester, Birmingham, and many more send no Members to Parliament...,yet are they not Englishmen? Or are they not taxed?²⁰

The British wondered why the colonists expected the right to elect their own representatives to Parliament when even most of those living in England did not have that right.

Many Americans, however, setting the tone for demands of responsiveness to public opinion that has been a notable

part of their own entire history, thought quite differently about representation, so much so that they were willing to oppose the British government violently if their views and concerns continued to be ignored. In fact, "no political conception was more important to Americans in the entire Revolutionary era than representation."²¹ The American idea of representation has been termed "actual representation." John Adams stated his idea of a representative assembly to be: "in miniature an exact portrait of the people at large. It should think, feel, reason, and act like them."²²

The colonists--and the early American, post-Europeanization citizenry--never accepted the idea that "virtual representation" was true representation. Instead, they advocated and waged war for "actual representation" committed to "equal electoral districts, the particularity of consent through broadened suffrage, residence requirements for both the elected and the electors, the strict accountability of representatives to the local electorate, indeed, the closest possible ties between members and their particular constituents."²³ In the years after 1776, the concept of actual representation gained more and more followers, with many Americans striving to realize its goals.

"Instruction of Representatives"

Once the states began to establish their own governments--free of British rule--the issue of the type and role of representatives began to divide Americans. One of the areas of increasing disagreement was over the degree to which the people should "instruct" their delegates to the legislature.

A nation formed after armed rebellion of a citizenry that demanded more input, more decision-making powers of the citizens, and more responsiveness of government officials was not likely, however, to readily accept aristocratic rule and the quashing of the democratic, participatory zeal aroused and nourished during the bloody, violent Revolutionary Period.

Actually, from the first years of the Massachusetts settlement, the colonists had drafted clear instructions on what they wanted their representatives to do. In other words, citizens issued written mandates of their wishes to their representatives to ensure that their local interests were heard. Elected representatives in Orange County, North Carolina were instructed by their constituents to "speak our Sense in every case where we shall expressly declare it, or when you can by any other means discover it."²⁴ Wood points out that while even the most radical citizens expressed some doubts about requiring legislators

to obey every word in the instructions, "in the eyes of most patriots the instructing of representatives have become an undoubted right. And several of the states explicitly provided for the right in their constitutions."²⁵ (Emphasis mine.)

An anonymous writer from Charleston, South Carolina in 1783 summed up the argument for instructing delegates to legislatures by stating:

...if after election, the members are free to act of their own accord, instead of abiding by the direction of their constituents, then election by districts was meaningless, for it would be a matter of indifference from what part of a Republic the Legislative body was taken...What nation in their senses ever sent ambassadors to another without limiting them by instructions?²⁶ (Emphasis mine.)

During this time, many Americans believed their representatives to be "mere agents or tools of the people who could give binding directions whenever they please to give them."²⁷ (Emphasis mine.)

This practice of instructing legislators became a very divisive issue on the American political scene, after the successful defeat of the British by the colonists in the Revolutionary War. At that point, American "aristocrats" became extremely uncomfortable with the growing democratic fervor of the masses. The concept of instructing legislators went right to the heart of one's faith and/or confidence in the average citizen's ability to have valid

opinions about what he wanted to become law. Spurred on by the spirit of the Revolution, citizens from all walks of life across the nation considered themselves competent to make governmental decisions and rebelled at the arrogance of representatives who did not adhere to their will.

It was this lack of "proper" respect for elected officials--and the practice of some citizens to disobey or nullify laws that were passed without adhering to instructions--that distressed and revulsed some more "conservative" Americans. They feared the demise of "true" republicanism, which granted only elective power to the citizenry and delegated deliberative power to the elected.

In addition, events leading up to the Revolutionary War demonstrated that even many normally law-abiding and morally upright citizens were ready to disobey laws they considered unfair. Rioting and angry protests had been a way of life for many colonists who felt oppressed and such feelings did not vanish automatically with the end of the Revolution.

Direct Democratic Organizations

Ordinary people had become accustomed to fighting for what they felt was just, even in the form of protracted armed conflict. Citizens participated in town meetings, grand juries, and conventions to handle all sorts of public matters, for example, to help regulate the economy, to

supervise elections, to keep watch over legislators and executives, and to make demands upon those in government. Over time, these activities began to irritate those who were elected to take care of public matters. After all these citizens were making demands, insisting that instructions be followed, and so forth. This "unsteadiness of the people" finally led Benjamin Franklin to write that: "We have been guarding against an evil that old States are most liable to excess of power in the rulers, but our present danger seems to be defect of obedience in the subjects."²⁸

Town Meetings

Town meetings, begun in the New England colonies in the seventeenth century, have become one of the most notable direct democratic features of American politics. While participation in town meetings was often restricted to adult males, property holders, and church members, the attendants participated equally and usually sought unanimity in their decisions rather than a mere majority.²⁹

Jane J. Mansbridge describes the extensive activities of town meetings in Dedham, Massachusetts:

The town meeting created principles to regulate taxation and land distribution; it bought land for town use and forbade the use of it forever to those who could not pay their share within a month; it decided the number of pines each family could cut from the swamp and which families could cover their houses with clapboard. The men

who went to that town meeting hammered out the abstract principles under which they would live and regulated the most minute details of their lives; the decisions they made then affected the lives of their children and grandchildren.³⁰

Grand Juries

The grand jury system began in the American colonies in Massachusetts in 1635. It had developed the reputation in England as being the only buffer between the state and the individual. Colonial grand juries performed several functions: indicting for criminal offenses; making presentments, which consisted of the grand jurors themselves initiating an investigation and offering any evidence they found; proposing legislation; and acting as a watch dog over government officials, departments, and agencies. In some colonies, such as New York, which had no representative assembly, the grand jury "actually assumed direct ordinance making powers."³¹

Although the procedure for selection of grand jurors varied--some colonies allowed sheriffs to appoint the jurors and others elected the jurors at town meetings--there was usually a requirement that the juror own property and an exclusion of all women and slaves from participating. Despite the fact that the selection process for grand jurors could be manipulated by members of the established government, during the pre-Revolutionary and

Revolutionary Periods, the grand jury developed into an institution with substantial independence and power--often opposing judges.

After the creation of the national government, the state grand juries took over the functions of the earlier grand juries. In his book, People's Panel, Richard D. Younger describes the importance of the state grand jury and the significant responsibilities assumed by citizens serving on them. He states:

While the federal grand jury, intimately involved as it was in the political and constitutional battles of the 1790's had yet to prove itself, the local grand jury remained an accepted and essential part of American government...Juries in each of the counties throughout the new nation continued to hear the complaints and protests of any and all persons, to supervise law enforcement activities of the sheriff and constables, and to keep a watchful eye on all other public officials. Grand juries became thoroughly agitated over the condition of public highways in their particular area, appeared shocked at the alarming increase in disorderly houses in towns, recommended laws for the consideration of the state legislature, and publicly rebuked those public officials guilty of laxity or corruption. Grand juries also served to educate those who served upon them, giving the jurymen valuable experience in the workings of local government as well as an opportunity to voice their own opinions. Most citizens accepted the responsibility thrust upon them by grand jury duty and rose to the occasion. For many this service on the grand inquest constituted the only active part, save perhaps for voting, they would ever take in their government.³²

Constitutional Conventions

The American Confederation Period was a tremendous surge in the American tradition of democratic innovation. In addition to those inventions already mentioned, the American political mind also dreamed up the idea of a "constitutional convention," another citizens' institution that could supercede and/or dictate to legislatures. In the emerging American style, constitutions could totally change the structure of governance and were drafted by delegates who were completely independent of and apart from elected legislatures.

Once agreed to by the people, constitutional changes controlled what legislators could or could not do. Legislators had to act within the guidelines of the constitution and could not change it at will. Of course, constitutional conventions were extraordinary occasions and opened the door for rapid, rather than slow, change. Citizens understood the importance of constitutional conventions and--particularly in post-Revolutionary America--organized a number of them on a regular basis to reduce aristocratic control of their state governments.

Perhaps the most threatening constitution of the time--to the more conservative element in American society--was the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. It (1) formalized governmental accountability to citizens;

(2) expanded their access to government leaders and records; and (3) expanded citizen participation.

In drafting this radical, new instrument, one delegate stated he "was determined not to pay the least regard to the former Constitutions, in fact it was resolved to reject everything...to clear away every part of the old rubbish out of the way and to begin upon a clean foundation."³³ Wood describes the result as "the most radical constitution of the Revolutionary Era, which everyone--supporters and critics alike--regarded as a monumental experiment in politics."³⁴

The radicals who controlled the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention opposed the new American aristocracy and blamed "mixed government" for the failures of both the British and Roman Empires. "Had the Romans been a true Democracy, without a Senate, a body different from the Plebeians, they might have avoided those... contentions which continually subsisted between those two bodies."³⁵

To avoid such perceived structural pitfalls to successful government, a number of drastic changes were made. First, the two-house legislature was abolished. In its stead was the new, one-house (unicameral) legislative body. Also, to help keep the representatives in check and to remind them constantly that they were there to serve all

the people, a broad series of "sunshine-type" laws were installed.

For example, the doors of the Assembly were always to be open, its votes were to be published weekly; the press was free to examine its proceedings or those of any part of the government. Every bill passed by the Assembly had to be printed for the consideration of the people at large before it could become law in the next legislative sessions. As one supporter of these requirements said: "You have the perusal, and the consequent approbation of every law before it binds you, so that you may consent to be slaves before you can be made such."³⁶

Because the radical pro-democrats were skeptical of an aristocratic class taking over the Assembly, the constitution not only required annual elections, but also included a four-year limit on the term of office of any legislator. Consistent with this democratic sentiment, the constitution also provided for the broadest rights of suffrage of the time. Also citizens were cautioned against "acquiescing in the sentiment of placing implicit confidence in their representatives."³⁷

The newly displaced political groups in Pennsylvania joined together in opposition to the new constitution in order to obstruct its implementation and to undermine this "radical," new government in any way possible. These

"anti-constitutionalists" or "the Gentry" (as the pro-democrats called them), argued that:

...too many ignorant persons...were meddling in business that was over their heads...undertaking things beyond their reach, and unsettling the social order by advising people to avoid electing gentlemen of the learned professions. The new men being thrown up by the Revolution... (are) like barbarians who overran Rome.³⁸

The anticonstitutionalists ultimately prevailed in their fight against the new government of Pennsylvania. But, in the process they added to the deep division in political and social thinking that was developing in the new American Confederation. This helped establish the lines for the ultimate political confrontation between the Federalists and Antifederalists over the constitution drafted to replace the Confederacy with a nation of states unified under a strong central government.

The Articles of Confederation

The Articles of Confederation established a political entity that was very favorable to the further development of democracy in the United States. Under the Articles, each state was equally represented in the national government. At the same time the state governments were superior to the central government whose powers were limited by those specifically granted by the states. The effect of thirteen independent governments uniting in a

league to deal only with matters that mutually concerned them--very much like the Iroquois League of Nations--was to allow the maximum diversity and uniqueness of each state to develop. Differences in climate, geography, backgrounds of inhabitants, and many other variables led to political systems that varied significantly in the extent to which democratic institutions and ideals could thrive.

The decentralized nature of the Confederation, however, produced government and representatives that were more closely a reflection of the values and interests of the people of each state. Power closer to the people also allowed the people to keep closer tabs on those vested with the power to govern, thereby increasing the potential for accountability. In a time when transportation and communication technologies made democracy on a large scale virtually impossible, the Articles of Confederation provided a fertile period for the expansion of citizen participation in America at the state and local level--as described above.

Opposition to the Articles of Confederation came from many quarters, but certainly included those who were alarmed by the democratic penetrations all over the nation. Many yearned for an ebbing of the democratic tide in order to firmly establish a republic ruled by men of wealth, education, and refinement. It is against this backdrop

that the United States Constitution was drafted covertly in Philadelphia in the summer of 1787.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD: RE-ESTABLISHING
ELITISM IN AMERICA

The Founding Fathers of the U.S. Constitution were men "well above the average in wealth and education."³⁹ They drafted the Constitution behind closed doors and operated in secret without any public input and without keeping an official record of the proceedings. This was done despite the fact that their legal mandate was limited to amending the existing Articles of Confederation which states:

* The Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed in every state, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every state.⁴⁰

The Founders, advocates of a strong central government who adopted the misnomer Federalists, went significantly beyond their role and created a radically new form of government. Their critics, the Antifederalists, argued that the Federalists were not federalists at all, but consolidationists who created a constitution that would eventually result in the states becoming mere administrative units, thereby diminishing republican liberty.⁴¹

Like those who saw the distortion of republican "virtue" overtaken by the overzealous democratic spirit of the 1780's, the Federalists sought to restore a social and political hierarchical system that would be based on "merit" (wealth + formal education + experience in public affairs + social refinement). Wood states that "the Federalists were filled with an enlightened zeal for energy and efficiency of government set against the turbulence and follies of democracy as expressed by the lower houses of the state legislature, the democratic parts of (state) constitutions."⁴² As several scholars have also noted, their economic interests also played an important role in their desire for a lessening of democracy through a strengthening and centralizing of the national government.⁴³

Federalist Alexander Hamilton put forth strong arguments for the necessity of "a fine union (that) will be the utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the States as a barrier against domestic faction and insurrection."⁴⁴ As he saw it, the American Confederation was insufficient to preserve the Union. The situation had "reached the last stages of national humiliation."⁴⁵ He saw the Confederation paralyzed and degraded because huge debts were owed to foreigners for their aid during the Revolutionary War; foreign powers held valuable territories in America; Spain excluded the American Confederation from freely navigating

the Mississippi; the nation had no credit; commerce was at an extremely low level; foreign governments did not respect the United States; Confederation land values were decreasing rapidly; and private credit was scarce because of insecurity about the future (rather than a paucity of money). These circumstances, he believed, were caused or intensified because there were no national troops, national treasury, nor government to enforce treaties, pay off debts, or unite states in common cause.

Merrill Jensen and James E. Ferguson argue that an assessment of the American Confederation Period does not provide proof of Hamilton's view of a crisis. Indeed problems with alternating inflation and depression during war and immediately after war is a condition faced by almost any nation, no matter what the political system. Besides, the Confederation and the states had done a great deal to stabilize the economy and handle the war debt. Contrary to Hamilton's description of the times, Jensen argues the Confederate Period was marked by extraordinary economic growth. Ferguson points out also that the states were willing to assume the war debt and had absorbed at least one third of the debt through tax credits, sale of land, outright payments, and so forth. The Nationalist Congress, however, composed largely of nationalists, not only clung to the debt, but enlarged it.⁴⁶

Even though merchants and creditors made money during this period, they desired a centralized system to regulate trade, impose national tariffs and loosen the grip each individual state had over economic policies. These concerns paralleled those of military officers who preferred treaties and alliances to be conducted on a national scale and those in Congress (Federalists) who feared the "tyranny of the masses," which seemed to be increasing in the states. From the Federalists' point of view, democratic and egalitarian principles accepted by the masses of the time were placing "Demerit on a Footing with Virtue."⁴⁷ They were appalled at the sort of people who gained positions of authority in state governments. They felt that many of the problems in the states were due to the "large number of obscure, ignorant, and unruly men occupying the state legislatures."⁴⁸ The solution to restore the stability of the government and thereby perpetuate liberty, all agreed--merchants, creditors, military officers, and other nationalists--was to replace the loose-knit, locally oriented Confederation with a strong, central government composed of men of "merit."

It was clear that the Federalists wished to discourage the growing and active participation of ordinary citizens in governance. The instruction of representatives was totally unacceptable to Federalist thinking and particularly, according to James Madison, when people feel

passionately about an issue.⁴⁹ Such inventions as citizens committees and citizens conventions--formed to investigate governmental matters and to press political demands, were to be abolished, since from the Federalist perspective, they weakened government and, therefore the nation. Indeed citizens needed to be reminded that government was deserving of "reverence."⁵⁰ Madison was also opposed to such democratic institutions because citizens will "lose their awe of government."⁵¹

Though most did not share the crisis analysis made by the plutocratic minority voices, there was a near-consensus that some changes needed to be made to the Articles of Confederation in order to ensure its strength both from within as well as outside the Confederation. Thus all the states, except Rhode Island, sent delegates to the Philadelphia Convention to revise the Articles. Out of the seventy-four delegate selected only fifty-five chose to attend the Convention. It became immediately obvious, though, that the delegates were actually a well-organized minority with a shared vision because they "promptly discarded their Congressional mandate and promptly proceeded to the discussion of an entirely new constitution."⁵² Within a few weeks, they had designed a totally new constitution, creating a central government that "in principle...was antithetical to liberty which most Americans associated with self rule."⁵³ As Peter Manicas

points out, and most writers on the subject agree, if a Gallup poll had been taken at the time, it would have indicated majority opposition to the new constitution.⁵⁴

ENTER: THE ANTIFEDERALISTS

The relatively undemocratic nature of the new United States Constitution did not escape the attention of those who opposed its ratification--the Antifederalists. The charges most frequently and forcefully made against this emergent Constitution were that it provided for an elite, centralized government that would be a threat to democracy and that it had no Bill of Rights to protect its citizenry against a powerful and potentially oppressive government.

The awe of government and of its aristocratic leaders which the Federalists wanted to inculcate in the citizenry greatly outraged many of the Antifederalists. They were keenly suspicious of the Federalists, who were willing to place so much faith in the "virtue" and "honor" of the "experienced," "educated," monied oligarchy. Had not the Federalists learned that "the Spirit of '76 was not trust in rulers?"⁵⁵

It should be pointed out that the Antifederalists themselves were often men of means and, according to some, were "as socially and intellectually formidable as any Federalist."⁵⁶ Yet, it was obvious that the Federalists, as a group, considered themselves to be superior to the

Antifederalists and even more to the masses. American society had more subtle ways to distinguish its classes than did European society--which was based on hereditary distinctions. In America, one could rise in wealth, but without the proper education or social sophistication, the Federalists would consider such people ("the nouveau riche") as incapable of ruling. Many Antifederalists were offended by a snobbery and conceit that oozed from the Federalists, whose attitudes and behaviors the Antifederalists found totally inconsistent with the spirit of the American Revolution and with the root values of the new nation itself.

Thus, it is not surprising to find a major, consistent thread throughout Antifederalist writing to be total opposition to the new governmental aristocracy that would be created under the new Constitution. Their primary, stated position against the new, powerful central government was their belief that: it would prevent representatives from responding to the multiple interests of the citizenry-at-large and would, instead, respond more quickly and most favorably to the narrow interests of the few (the Gentry).

The Antifederalists, by and large, represented the status quo, in other words, the pro-democratic, active public participation, tenor of the time. Their belief was in the common person--but it was not based on the

infallibility of the public. It was, instead, deeply nurtured in their distrust of the aristocratic ruling class. "They were inclined to think, with Patrick Henry, that harm is more often done by the tyranny of the rulers than by the licentiousness of the people."⁵⁷ This was the true lesson of the American Revolution, which seemed lost in, or degraded by, the new Constitution.

Philadelphiensis, one of the few Antifederalists who preferred direct democracy over representative government,⁵⁸ called the Framers of the Constitution the "basest conspirators that ever disgraced a country."⁵⁹ His belief was that the leading Federalists had connived and deceived the people while all the time they schemed to establish a government that "would be a compound monarchy and aristocracy" without a "tincture of democracy."⁶⁰

Particularly offensive to Philadelphiensis and many of the other Antifederalists was the secretive manner in which the new constitution had been drawn up by relatively young, well-heeled men on the move. He said that the proceedings of the convention, which took place in the "dark conclave" in Philadelphia, were a betrayal of "unsuspecting freemen of America [who] were blessing [the delegates], were praying for them in their private families and in their public churches, and looking up to them for relief."⁶¹ He believed the covert activities of the convention delegates and the pressures they exerted to rush ratification of the

constitution only added weight to his arguments that the Federalists had abandoned the democratic ideals of the new nation. Philadelphiensis wondered:

If the proposed plan be a good one upon the whole, why should its friends endeavor to prevent investigating its merits or defects? Why should they hurry it on us before we have even read it? Does not this look suspicious like? Is it not a proof that it is the works of darkness and cannot bear the light?⁶²

While the Antifederalists attacked the aristocratic backgrounds and anti-democratic ideology of the Federalists, as well as the undemocratic means of designing the Constitution, they also defined the various ways in which the new "constitution was not sufficiently democratic." For instance, the first House of Representatives would consist of only sixty-five members.⁶³ George Clinton was indignant: "...the number of senators and representatives proposed for this vast continent does not equal those of the (State of New York)."⁶⁴ How could the "middle or lower orders" in society ever be a part of such a body--with so few seats? They were certain that under such a system, "nine times out of ten, men of the elevated classes in the community only can be chose."⁶⁵

This Antifederalist position was entirely consistent with the prevailing democratic sentiment that supported "actual" representation and instruction of representatives. As Melancton Smith noted, "representatives should be a true

pictue of the people; possess the knowledge of their circumstances and their wants; sympathize in all their distresses; and be disposed to seek their true interests."⁶⁶ Another Antifederalist wrote, "It is deceiving a people to tell them they are electors, and can choose their legislators, if they cannot, in the nature of things, choose men from among themselves, and genuinely like themselves."⁶⁷

Not only were the Antifederalists aware that different classes existed and needed to be represented, but they recognized that citizens from the thirteen states would have a tendency to trample on the interests of those in smaller states. It was their view that no large, central government could fully and equally represent the people "from all parts of the union" having "different opinions, customs, and views" and "differences peculiar to Eastern, Middle, and Southern states."⁶⁸ Any system that sought to "refine and enlarge the public views" by limiting the number of views and interests that would be represented in the legislative body--as the Federalists proposed--was totally changing the nature of government in the new nation. As James Lincoln charged at the South Carolina ratification convention: "From a well-digested, well formed democracy, you are at once rushing into an autocratic government...First, a haughty, imperious aristocracy, and ultimately, a tyrannical monarchy."⁶⁹

The new government, therefore, provided for very little citizen participation in contrast to the expansion of democratic structures developed in the American Confederation Period. For example, the only federal officials elected directly by the people were members of the new House of Representatives and their terms of office were made to be the shortest of all office holders. Conversely, as the selection process became further removed from the direct control of the American citizens, the term of office became longer. By way of illustration, federal judges were appointed by the President--who was elected by electors selected by a process determined by the state legislature, composed of office holders elected by the people--and they held their positions for life.

The Antifederalists argued that even the single political office--the House of Representatives--for which the citizens voted did not allow much citizen participation. The fact that each representative would represent districts with populations of at least 30,000 people meant that most citizens would not know their representatives and would not be able to elect one of their own--one of the "middling class" (often farmers of modest means).

Murray Dry states the Antifederalists "emphasized participation in government" by the citizens, either through representation in the legislature or by

participation in local jury trials.⁷⁰ Both activities, they argued, provided citizens with familiarity with government and its operations and a knowledge of the laws, which would create more responsible citizens. In order to have an active citizenry, however, one had to have a decentralized system that maximized interaction between the political office holders and the people.

It was also astonishing to the Antifederalists that the proposed constitution, which provided for such extensive elitist government failed to provide an expressed Bill of Rights for individual citizens against potential arbitrary and ruthless central governmental actions. They argued if ever a Bill of Rights were needed, it was needed under this new government, which replaced state and local governmental supremacy. Its new powers to tax, to establish an army, and to declare wars, made them all the more concerned that precious political and civil freedoms of individual citizens would be curtailed, if not lost.

Hamilton's defense of not including a Bill of Rights in the new constitution made the Antifederalists even more skeptical. His position was that a written, expressed Bill of Rights was unnecessary under a form of government "founded upon the power of the people and executed by their immediate representatives and servants."⁷¹

Moreover, according to Hamilton, such a Bill of Rights as demanded by the Antifederalists would be "dangerous."

Why? Because they "would contain various exceptions to powers which are not granted; and, on this very account, would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted."⁷² Hamilton, putting his best civil libertarian foot forward, observed that such a Bill of Rights would actually provide a presumption that government had unlimited powers in all areas not prohibited by that very same Bill of Rights.

The Antifederalists saw these lines of argumentation as being an insidious and contorted play on thoughts. After all, this new document contained many extremely broad generalities that could throw the door wide open for governmental abuse. For example, the "necessary and proper clause," which allowed Congress to make any law in accordance with their powers to regulate commerce, declare war, support an army, and so forth, could lead to prohibiting freedom of the press or assembly and trample on many personal rights of individual citizens. The Antifederalists also pointed to the "supremacy clause" of Article VI--in fearing it could undermine already existing protections of individuals which they enjoyed under their state constitutions--particularly if the two documents came into conflict.⁷³ Vagueness and ambiguity did not work in favor of the people...and it was not something to be ignored or embraced.

John De Witt maintained that history taught that if people did not clearly define their rights and privileges, there were always individuals with "that insatiable thirst for unconditional control over our fellow creatures" who will take the opportunity to distort the meaning of powers granted them to grab as much power as they could. People should not be misled by rulers into thinking all powers not specifically granted to government would remain in their hands. That was simply a slyly disguised tool of the power-hungry to manipulate the more innocent and trusting citizenry--it was "the favorite theme of every tyrant from the origin of all governments to the present day."⁷⁴

Some Antifederalists recognized the problems of "majority faction" detailed by James Madison, while some Federalists believed that the inclusion of a Bill of Rights could protect personal liberties from the "usurpation and tyranny of the majority."⁷⁵ The Bill of Rights, finally passed as a compromise between the Federalists and Antifederalists in 1791. It was through the guaranteeing of personal freedoms, which were won by the more democratic Antifederalists, that assured an environment in which democracy could grow in the indefinite future.

SUMMARY

The struggle between the Federalists and Antifederalists was intense and divisive. Yet the well-

organized and well-heeled minority with a collective vision prevailed. It replaced a decentralized confederation of governments with the strong, central government that moved power away from the people and provided no opportunity for citizen participation at the federal level except through election of a very small number of representatives to Congress, who had the least amount of power of any government office holders at the time.

In terms of American-originated governance, the new United States Constitution was a reversal, or backward movement in the generally forward direction of democracy. Still there were gains. First, for a true, national government, this was much more "democratic" than the monarchies and hereditary aristocracies of Europe and Asia. Also, the more democratic majority scored an important victory for the future growth of democracy in America by insisting on and gaining a written Bill of Rights as a condition for acceptance of the Constitution. The Bill of Rights, which includes such specifics as freedom of the press, speech, and religion; the right to bear arms; freedom from unreasonable searches and seizures; the right to indictment by grand jury, and so forth, provided the necessary conditions for some semblance of a democratic, open governmental process at the national level. Through the Bill of Rights, which has turned out to be more than the sum of its parts, the rights and political

freedoms of the people were established and at least some part of the American spirit of 1776 was institutionalized. The Bill of Rights kept open important channels for the democratic fervor of many of American revolutionaries and Antifederalists, which has pulsed and surged at various periods throughout American history. Subsequent struggles to make American government more accessible to the public and make it more responsive to the American people have been most evident during the Jacksonian Period, the Progressive Period, and the 1960's Civil Rights and Counterculture Movements. Mini-revolutions during these periods carried on the legacy of the Antifederalists who Gordon Wood points out, "Whatever else may be said about the Antifederalists, their populism cannot be impugned. They were the true champions of the extreme kind of democratic and egalitarian politics expressed in the Revolutionary Era."⁷⁶

NOTES

1. Forrest McDonald, Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1985) and Kenneth M. Dolbeare, American Political Thought (Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham House Publishers, Inc., 1984).
2. McDonald 62.
3. McDonald 158.
4. See Bruce E. Johansen, Forgotten Founders: How the American Indian Helped Shape Democracy (Boston: The Harvard Common Press, 1982); Felix Cohen, "Americanizing the White Man," American Scholar, 21:2 (1952); and Ruth M. Underhill, Red Man's Continent: A History of the Indians in the United States (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953). Not only are the American Indians frequently overlooked in their contributions to American political design, but the fact is they educated the colonists in a variety of ways that are usually left out of the historical record. For instance, Squanto, a Wampanoag Indian, who had earlier been to England with other American Indians, not only greeted the Pilgrims in English when they arrived, but is credited with helping them survive the first winter in America. (Johansen 4).
5. Johansen xiv.
6. Underhill 92.
7. Johansen 39. Description of the Iroquois political system is discussed in chapters 2 and 3.
8. Locke's description of the Indians living in a state of nature ignores the governmental procedures that some Indian tribes designed and practiced.
9. Underhill 83-94.
10. Cohen 181.
11. Johansen 32.
12. Johansen 75-76.
13. Johansen 84.
14. Johansen 103.

15. Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to Edward Carrington," 16 Jan. 1787, Jefferson Writings (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984) 879-881. Although Jefferson admired the Indian lifestyle for its equality and simplicity, he appears to lack, as did Locke, an understanding of the governing structures of the Indians. The Iroquois had designed a system to incorporate their values and did not merely exist in an unplanned society.
16. Agrippa, address, Massachusetts Convention, 20 Jan. 1788, ed. Cecelia Kenyon, The Antifederalists (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1966) 148.
17. Johansen 117.
18. See Gordon S. Wood on "Representation" in The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969) 162-196.
19. Wood 174.
20. Wood 174.
21. Wood 164.
22. Wood 165.
23. Wood 188.
24. Wood 190.
25. Wood 190.
26. Wood 194.
27. Wood 371.
28. Wood 432.
29. Data on town meetings is derived from Jane J. Mansbridge's examination of historical records from town meetings, particularly meetings held in Dedham, Massachusetts. See Jane J. Mansbridge, Beyond Adversary Democracy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983) 130-135.
30. Mansbridge 131.
31. Leroy Clark, The Grand Jury: The Use and Abuse of Political Power (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1975) 14.

32. Richard D. Younger, The People's Panel: The Grand Jury in the United States, 1634-1941 (Providence: Brown University, 1963) 52.
33. Wood 226.
34. Wood 225.
35. Wood 230.
36. Wood 231-232.
37. Wood 367.
38. Wood 234.
39. Kenyon xcix.
40. Rawlins Lowndes, address, South Carolina Legislature, ed. Kenyon 183.
41. W.B. Allen and Gordon Lloyd, The Essential Antifederalist (Lanham, Maryland: University Press, 1985) viii.
42. Wood 474.
43. For example, see Charles Beard, An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1931) and James E. Ferguson, "What Were the Sources of the Constitutional Convention," The Confederation and the Constitution, ed. Gordon S. Wood (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1979) 1-14.
44. Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist Paper No. 9" in Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers (New York: The American Library, 1961) 71-76.
45. Alexander Hamilton, "Federalist Paper No. 15" in Hamilton, Madison, and Jay 105-112.
46. Ferguson 7-11.
47. Wood 494.
48. Wood 507.
49. Gary Wills, Explaining America: The Federalists (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1981) 26.

50. Wills 26.
51. Wills 24-25.
52. Peter T. Manicas, The Death of the State (New York: G. T. Putnam's Sons, 1974) 187.
53. Ferguson 4.
54. Manicas 188.
55. Herbert J. Storing, What the Anti-Federalists Were For (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 51.
56. Wood 484-485.
57. Storing 40.
58. Storing 39.
59. Philadelphiensis, "Letter to Independent Gazetteer," 21 Feb. 1788, ed. Kenyon 77
60. Philadelphiensis 72.
61. Philadelphiensis 77.
62. Philadelphiensis 76.
63. Kenyon li.
64. George Clinton, "Letter to the Citizens of the State of New York," 22 Nov. 1787, ed. Kenyon 312.
65. Richard Henry Lee, "Letter," 10 Oct. 1787, ed. Kenyon 216.
66. Storing 17.
67. Storing 17.
68. Lee 218.
69. James Lincoln, address, South Carolina Legislature, ed. Kenyon 184.
70. Murry Dry, "The Constitutional Thought of the Anti-Federalists," This Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle 16 (1987): 11.
71. Hamilton, "Federalist Paper No. 84" in Hamilton, Madison, and Jay 513.

72. Hamilton 513.

73. Kenyon lxx-lxxi.

74. John DeWitt, "Letter to the Free Citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," 27 Oct. 1787, ed. Kenyon 99.

75. Storing 68.

76. Wood 516.

CHAPTER III

TRACING THE PATHS OF EXPANDING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
IN AMERICA: THE POST-CONSTITUTIONAL SURGES

The strong pro-democratic spirit of 1776 has ebbed and flowed in American history and along with it the role of citizens in the United States has gone through high and low points. The Pre-Europeanization, Revolutionary, and American Confederation Periods were times of expanding citizen participation while the Constitutional Period sharply curtailed the legitimacy of citizen activity that challenged, checked or subverted government officials.

Adhering to the democratic principle that the people are the sovereign and all power springs from them, the Federalists prefaced their writings and proposals with "We the People" slogans and sentiments. Yet their distrust of the masses led them to make voting for representatives the primary (if not exclusive) activity of citizens. There would be no more legitimate citizens' conventions, instructions to legislators, ignoring laws or taking laws into the people's hands. The ballot box would select a few capable men who would weed out the "fanatical" ideas, particularly those that would expand social, economic, and political democracy. Once the vote was over, elected representatives took responsibility for decision-making

from the citizens (who were presumed to be too uneducated, uninformed, impassioned, or self-interested to know the best course for society in general.) The Constitutional Period was an ideological resistance to the expanding democratic movements of the Revolutionary and American Confederation Periods, one that blunted and diverted its forward penetrations for the next few decades.

THE JACKSONIAN PERIOD: THE ERA OF THE "COMMON MAN"

The Jacksonian Period ushered in a new surge of the irrepressible democratic energy. Like the similar-minded Antifederalists who preceded them by half a century, the Jacksonian Democrats were a diverse group who held no single ideology. Where the Antifederalists failed to unite against a government created by a minority, the Jacksonian Democrats were unified in their opposition to the government of privilege they believed to exist in America. There were diverse reasons for opposing the favor and monopolies enjoyed by those who had been running the country, but the Jacksonians were able to pierce the barrier of oligarchic control that the commercial and financial elites shared with the descendants of the "Washington dynasty" sired by the Federalists.

While solidly united in what they opposed (not what they advocated or in their reasons for opposition), the Jacksonians helped broaden democratic thinking and citizen

participation in America at the national level. They were men who believed it was important to end the aristocratic control of the country and felt it was crucial to restore a more democratic way of thought and a more democratic way of life in the federal government.

Broadening the Presidential Pool

The flow began to turn towards more democracy and egalitarianism immediately prior to and during Andrew Jackson's term of office. The mere election of Jackson as President was a significant deviation from the narrowing of political opportunity and the growth of American oligarchy, which the Founding Fathers would have called the "meritocracy." As Joseph L. Blau points out, every President after George Washington until Jackson was selected from the ranks of the Presidential Cabinet¹--a pedigreed insiders club. Both John Adams and Thomas Jefferson served in Washington's Cabinet. Madison served in Jefferson's. Monroe received his experience under Madison and John Quincy Adams was elected after serving in Monroe's Cabinet.

Jackson became the first President who was elected from outside the inner Presidential circle to receive support from all sections of the country. Former Presidents had been preferred by Northern or Southern sophisticated establishments that had developed a rivalry

which escalated over the years. Jackson was a Tennessean, a frontiersman, who served as a rallying force for ideas from all sections of the country and he was not tied to the traditional factions that had molded and run the country for the previous half century.

Another deviation from tradition in the election of Jackson as President was the fact that he was not as well-educated, or from one of the "best" families, as had been the previous Presidents. Jackson was better educated, wealthier, and more aristocratic than his foes, or even his friends, acknowledged at the time, but he was an "outsider" from the "West", not a practitioner of the social graces and customs of the Northeast and Southeast. While his predecessors, for the most part, had a distrust, fear, or even scorn of the masses, Jackson embraced an identification with the "common man." He came to symbolize for the first time for the American people the possibility that any citizen (a restrictive term at the time, since blacks and women and many non-property holders were not classified as such) could become President.²

The New "Spoils" System: Bringing the Common Man
Into Other Governmental Positions

Another important democratizing feature of the Jackson Presidency was the implementation of the "spoils system." Jackson's theory was that there was no particular education

or experience necessary for government service, but that "any citizen was competent to the performance of any duty within government."³ To his critics, Jackson was simply awarding government jobs to his friends and handing out political payoffs: merit and competence were ignored to the detriment of the nation. As others have interpreted Jackson's actions, he was not departing substantially from prior practice in rewarding political allies and discarding political foes. All Presidents had the "spoils" mentality. In actuality, however, Jackson's patronage system represented a strong ideological deviation from his predecessors that was a product of his times. It was a period in American history in which there were greater demands for universal suffrage, abolition of imprisonment for debt, and for representation of the working class in government.

Jackson also viewed the spoils system as a necessary "rotation in office" and a guarantee against bureaucratic tyranny. He rejected the Whig arguments expounding bureaucratic expertise derived from years of experience. Instead, he argued that not only could all men serve the public, but it was essential to good public service that men not remain permanently in government jobs because the longer they stayed in office the more apt they were "to acquire a habit of looking with indifference upon the public interests and of tolerating conduct from which an

unpracticed man would revolt."⁴ As Frank Otto Gatell and John M. McFaul point out, the Whig tirades against Jackson's spoils system replacing expertise with inexperience, did not dampen his egalitarian spirit. After all, he had not forgotten that "the Adams forces had called him a nonexpert in government, unfit to govern."⁵

The importance of Jackson's patronage system, as concluded in an analysis conducted by Sidney H. Aronson, was not that men from aristocratic backgrounds or prestigious occupations were all dismissed from appointed government positions in favor of uneducated and inexperienced common people. As a matter of fact, Jackson's attempt to democratize the elite fell far short of his goal, since he frequently relied on criteria used by his predecessors--education, family reputation, previous positions of political leadership, eminence--to provide a practical guide for determining talent and honesty. Jackson's spoils legacy was actually a continuation of a trend begun by Thomas Jefferson, which was to place a greater significance on education than aristocratic background in appointing government officials. Jackson was able to bring more common men into the political arena because the many egalitarian principles the Jacksonians shared led to the expansion of the educational system creating "free tax-supported schools for all Americans, and thus [making] it possible for the newly enfranchised masses

to pick up the training so essential for the performance of high political roles."⁶

The Social, Economic and Political Divisions
in the Jackson Era

The Jacksonian Movement, which dominated the second quarter of the Nineteenth Century, "was a rising of the masses in support of one who symbolized for them the virtue, the essential 'rightness' of the common man."⁷ By the time Jackson was elected to office, it was "clear that the American public would not always cling to the political guidance of an aristocratic clique...The Jacksonian struggle for power was a class struggle, and this was never far from the minds of its political and ideological leaders."⁸ (emphasis mine)

The class struggle that was fought during the Jacksonian Period was actually between two levels of the middle class: upper and lower middle class. The upper middle class, composed of industrial and commercial capitalists and financiers, benefited from the Hamiltonian program of subsidy, protection, and monopoly that had become the governmental economic policy. The Jacksonians referred to it as the politics of "privilege." The program for this group called for a high protective tariff, the building of roads and canals at government expense, and a strong central government.

On the other side was the lower middle class, composed of landowners, farmers, artisans, and mechanics, who were taxed for roads and canals built by the government and for subsidies that protected industries that they believed benefited only the industrial and commercial interests. They were joined by states rights advocates, who feared such concentration of power in the Federal Government, and those who preferred pure democracy. Their interests became represented by the Jacksonian Democrats, who called for lowered tariffs, removal of special privileges for corporations, local control over local improvements, maintenance of states rights, universal suffrage, and expanded participation of the lower middle classes in government.

Interestingly the Jacksonians were led by a nucleus of "well-educated and politically conscious group of lawyers, journalists, and skilled mechanics,"⁹ who believed it necessary to broaden the franchise in America if they wanted to avoid another violent Revolution. Blau points out that the Jacksonians were good politicians, more alert to trouble brewing than the Whigs, and aware that "laborers could not forever be excluded from representation in a country whose revolution had been inaugurated with the slogan 'No taxation without representation.'"¹⁰

The Jacksonians, and notably James Fenimore Cooper (who came from an aristocratic, land-owning family),

criticized the Whig "stake in society" principle that had widespread support throughout the short American constitutional history. This principle rested on the theory that only property owners should have the right to vote because only they had an interest or "stake" in government. The Whig doctrine exemplified the hostility towards the masses that Tocqueville found among wealthy Americans.¹¹

In describing political life in America after Jackson's "democratic party got the upper hand [and] took exclusive possession of the conduct of affairs," Tocqueville argues the wealthy tried to hide their wealth from the masses who had so much control in government and whom they had to relate to as equals in public matters. However, "beneath this artificial enthusiasm and these obsequious attention to the preponderating power, it is easy to perceive that the rich have a hearty dislike of the democratic institutions of their country. The people form a power which they at once fear and despise."¹² The Whigs, therefore, repeatedly argued, as had the Federalists before them, that self-government and popular suffrage were not natural rights, but privileges--privileges that should be exercised only by those possessed of property and intelligence.

According to Glyndon Van Deusen, many of the Whigs genuinely believed that the privileges enjoyed by

commercial and industrial interests, centralized economic planning, and exclusion of uneducated and propertyless classes in society from participation in government were all means to achieve the common weal. In order for everyone to have prosperity and better opportunities, it was necessary to have economic growth which appeared to benefit only the upper class. Their desire to restrict participation in government only to those citizens who were well-educated and proven successes due to their ownership of property (a plutocracy) was based on the view that other segments of society were either incompetent to make good decisions or too self-serving or emotional to make rational and wise decisions for the nation as a whole.¹³

The Jacksonian Democrats had a different view of prosperity and how to achieve it. Many of the Jacksonian Democrats (although not all) were truly interested "in political democracy, in social justice, and in the maintenance of a general condition of liberty and equality...They were more alive than were the Whigs to the potential menace of privilege that existed in specially chartered corporations."¹⁴ Their move towards more democracy was to attack privilege and to take up the causes of the People's Party, the Workingmen's Party, and other political movements that gained momentum in reaction to the increasing powers and abuses of the industrial and commercial capitalists.

Jacksonian Democracy: The Re-Establishment of
Antifederalist Thought and Action

Lee Benson calls the Jacksonian Period "the Transformation of American Society from the Aristocratic Liberal Republic of the Late-Eighteenth Century to the Populistic Egalitarian Democracy of the Mid-Nineteenth Century."¹⁵ Benson's ideas about a transformation or transition may be overstated, but there can be no doubt that the Jacksonian Period was indicative of a change from the predominant ideology that had been established in American government by the Federalists at the beginning of the Constitutional Period. Antifederalist thought had not died. It had laid dormant and re-emerged as a newly respected and major political perspective. The populistic and egalitarian views of the Jacksonians are frequently compared to Jefferson's political theories and views expressed by Tom Paine, Jeremy Bentham, and more radical eighteenth century democrats.¹⁶ Their ethical views had their roots in the English Enlightenment of the "moral sense" school in England and Scotland in the eighteenth century.¹⁷

Thus, Jacksonian Democracy did not spring up overnight. It was not designed by Jackson. It was a product of the political tensions between elitist and democratic thought that have always been present in

American politics. There are periods in which different sides prevail, but neither is ever completely successful or totally quashed.

While most noted for its revival in the belief in the common man, the Jacksonian Period saw substantial changes in the political equality of American citizens. For example, in many areas, suffrage was extended to propertyless white males and the "stake in society" theory became an albatross around the necks of its advocates who were defeated in election after election across the United States.

The political liberalism of the Jacksonians embraced a populism that fought not only to increase citizen participation through expanding voting eligibility, but also sought to give American voters more powers than they had under Federalist-inspired government through: (a) popular election of more government officials and (b) the popular nomination of candidates by delegated party conventions "fresh from the people."¹⁸ For example, in New York, not only was there expanded suffrage, but for the first time (in 1826) the President and justices of the peace were popularly elected by the people and nominations were no longer secured in private caucuses, but were chosen by popularly-elected delegates who attended political conventions.¹⁹ More direct accountability to the people was built into these reforms. While a far cry from

citizen-initiated conventions called to establish public policy or the instruction of representatives of the Revolutionary and American Confederation Periods, these reforms began to overcome the resistance of increased aristocratic control over American government and to regenerate the flow of the democratic wave that had been dammed up for two score years.

New calls for public education were made by Democrats (as well as by their opponents). Concerns for the rights of the "common man" received new attention. A more active, aware, educated, and informed citizenry was created. Strengthening the foothold of democratic thought in American politics built a firm foundation for the later surges.

The Civil War victory of the Union produced the next major change in extending the voting franchise. The Fourteenth Amendment, a product of Reconstruction in 1868, allowed Blacks to vote in all states for the very first time. It was a dramatic and drastic increase in the potential for citizen participation. Except for a brief period, however, in which Blacks held offices and participated in politics--while many Whites were denied these rights as punishment for trying to disband the Union--the real political effects of this constitutional change did not take place until a century later. It was left to the Progressive Era to become the next period to

produce the greatest permanent changes in citizen participation in the United States.

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA:

RE-ESTABLISHING DEMOCRACY IN AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

The Progressive Era is one of the most controversial periods in American history. Historians, political scientists, and commentators hold radically different views of the period. Was it primarily a democratic movement? Was it activated and driven by economic concerns? Did it seek to expand participation or re-establish displaced powers? Was it primarily liberal or conservative? Did it succeed or fail in its goals?

As David M. Kennedy and numerous other scholars have pointed out, many thousands of individuals called themselves Progressives during the first quarter of the twentieth century.²⁰ Can any one interpretation of who they were, what motivated them, what they sought to achieve, and what they accomplished, speak for the Progressives as a whole? What is clear, though, is that there are elements of the Progressive Era that have been present throughout American history at least since the Declaration of Independence. The democratic spirit and fervor that led to American independence has remained active and influential. However, no period in American constitutional history equals the Progressive Period in

institutionalizing democracy and expanding citizen participation in government. In their book, *The Case Against the Constitution*, John F. Manley and Kenneth M. Dolbeare point out that many historians and political scientists believe that democracy was established for the first time in the Progressive Era since the expansion of citizen participation possibilities ran counter the Constitution as originally designed--that is, to "permit political participation but prevent democracy in the United States."²¹

While the Jacksonian Period ushered in a new respect for the "common man," it was a period that focused on elites and/or holders of power. It is not noted for its emphasis on more citizen participation in government--except as it related to expanding the voting franchise. It is more renowned for its emphasis on providing the opportunity for one to achieve power in the United States (even the highest office in the nation) regardless of background, status, education, or wealth and for providing the necessary philosophical foundation for future democratic changes. In the Progressive Era, however, the American democratic wave pulsed in a totally new direction--and it was an extremely intense, strong and new course of democratic energy.

The Progressive Movement: Elitist Reforms to
Maintain the Status Quo Ante?

The Progressive Era, which focused much of its attention on limiting the ever-expanding powers of the corporations and the corporate elites in America also generated the next level of democratic change in America by increasing the means by which citizens exercised power in the United States. The growth of the Progressive Movement in the United States paralleled an era where tremendous corporate expansion was accompanied by an increasing popular awareness that government was getting further and further away from the control of the people.

It is true that many Progressive leaders were men of wealth--sometimes great wealth--and many of them sought to regain their own special status in society.²² But the period itself is celebrated for the dedication of other leaders and many rank-and-file Progressives: "intelligent, decent people who were giving their best to the (movement) without self-interest, and solely in the hope of forging a weapon with which they could fight for the things they believed in."²³ Many Progressives shared the views of Progressive newspaper editor, William Allen White, who argued that "as the state grew more powerful, it had to become a more democratic institution, more accessible to the people and more responsive to the popular will."²⁴

White's guiding ideology was the belief that the "remedy for the ills of democracy was more democracy."²⁵

There are several insightful interpretations of the Progressive Era that uncover the undemocratic and elitist motives behind many of the changes that occurred.²⁶ For example, it is viewed as a response to the challenges of the Socialist Movement and the growing unrest of the working class, immigrants, and powerless in America, who were described by Louis Brandeis as living under conditions "worse than that of the Negro under slavery."²⁷ Amos Pinchot, a very wealthy Progressive, pointed out that the working conditions of labor (the long hours, the low salaries, the black-lisiting of those with unpopular views, in other words, union organizers and socialists) were inhumane and destructive. He noted that at least under slavery," only owners of little foresight and of exceptionally brutal nature treated their property so as to destroy its value."²⁸ In America, the large corporations seemed to have no regard for the human condition of the workers. They could easily be replaced with eager new immigrants when they lost their usefulness.

Some argue, therefore, that the democratic changes that took place during the Progressive Era were clearly guided by the elites who wished to reform the American economic system so as to maintain it. This actually resulted in less equality and opportunity than a more

radical change in the economic and political system would have produced. Writings of Progressive politicians at the time lend credence to this view. Theodore Roosevelt--a paragon of patrician privilege--made careful distinctions between Socialists and Progressives. To him the Socialists promoted class-consciousness, which would certainly upset the social order, while the Progressives promoted social consciousness, which would not take away the powers of businesses but would, instead, make them more responsive to society's needs.²⁹ Roosevelt took the Progressive view--rooted in Jeffersonian thought--that assumed the "innate decency of man" and also applied it to the nature of business. His conservative, reform approach to business found him and other Progressive leaders often in partnership with business, to the detriment of more fundamental democratic change in America.

Nevertheless, as Rev. Jesse Jackson is fond of saying, "the people are usually ahead of the leaders." It may be through politicians that Americans ultimately have to effect change, but at times politicians find themselves forced to respond to the strong demands of the people. The Progressive politicians were much more conservative and far less innovative than:

public-spirited businessmen, farmers,
lawyers, college professors, instructors,
students, schoolteachers, social workers,
inconspicuous insurgent politicians,
editors, who had been carrying on losing
battles against corrupt local machines,

radical thinkers who believed in old-fashioned American ideas and objected to the inroads of plutocracy, socialists impatient with the futile tactics of their party, and a sprinkling of rash, liberal-minded clergymen on the verge of losing their pulpits through disagreements with rich parishoners.³⁰

Yet the attitudes and political climate that prevailed at the time made it clear that the politicians had to respond, not merely rhetorically, but in concrete ways.

The Progressive Movement, as the successor to the previous Populist Movement,³¹ although used in many ways to quash more radical changes, is still responsible for opening the door to more meaningful citizen participation in the United States. Citizens gained rights during the Progressive Era that have not been rescinded in any way, but have been expanded.

The Progressive's Democratic Legacy

Many of the economic reforms of the Progressive Period are well known--the federal income tax amendment, the modern national banking system, regulatory agencies to exercise some measure of control over transportation and manufacturing, and so on. Acknowledging the changes in tax laws and business regulation, however, Progressive William Allen White adds, "the important thing, the permanent thing, manifest in our growth as a people is the growth of democratic institutions - the broadening and deepening of

the power of the people."³² These democratic changes ranged from democratizing elitist institutions to expanding the voting franchise to allowing citizens to make laws directly.

Democratizing Elitist Institutions

Tied to the economic reforms was the belief that "money and aristocracy" had to be removed from controlling politicians and power had to be given to the people.³³ A number of reforms that democratized heavily elitist political institutions can be attributed to the Progressives. First, in limiting corporate power over and money in the political system, the Progressives led the successful move to establish the first mandatory record keeping of campaign contributions (1907). Next they achieved a prohibition on corporate contributions to political campaigns for federal office. Then, in 1925, Congress passed the Corrupt Practices Act which limited the amount of money that could be spent on Congressional campaigns. These alterations in campaign financing not only affected individual candidates, who had to devise campaign strategies to appeal more to the people, but began to change the relationship between political parties and the people.

Prior to the restrictions on corporations, S.J. Duncan-Clark, a particularly eloquent and insightful

Progressive Party leader, argued that corporations had established a particularly insidious plutocracy in America, one that controlled both the Democratic and Republican parties. The political parties had been used as a pretense of democracy--allowing the people a voice while the "moneyed few" controlled the leaders and therefore the party platforms and practices. Duncan-Clark described how cleverly the corporations controlled party politics in the name of democracy:

[The Plutocracy] has controlled both the dominant parties, and by keeping the people divided on false issues, has achieved its ends through the success of either. It cares little who may be the nominee so long as it is left in possession of the machinery. Indeed, if it has any preference in figure-heads, it prefers the man who can appeal to the people, conscious that it has always been able to appeal to the bosses with certainty of hearing and respectful reponse.³⁴

So, changing who controlled the political parties was considered an important priority of the Progressives. Thus, Progressives began to implement changes in the actual operation of the parties. For example, they believed it essential to the integrity of democracy that voting within party organizations be done by secret ballot. It was believed that public voting was vulnerable to manipulation by those bent on corrupting the democratic process through threat, intimidation, and bribery. Secret ballot was the best means to maximize free choice made by conscience.

After the secret ballot was instituted in party elections, the Progressives moved to make the parties more open and democratic. In many of the states, the direct primary was instituted. Party candidates were no longer selected by a tiny elite of party leaders in conventions, but were nominated directly from the people.³⁵ Minnesota became the first state to employ the direct primary, which allows for the state to finance and to determine the method for selection of party nominees for public office rather than leaving the decision to individual parties in the states.

The Progressives challenged the theory that the party convention system is necessary because there "is superior wisdom in delegated assemblies." Instead, they argued that the party convention system itself "has become the convenient tool of bosses, machines and special interests."³⁶ Their success, however, in establishing direct primaries was sporadic, with many states retaining the party convention system or instituting indirect or closed primaries. Thus, it was a Progressive reform that remained exclusively in the hands of the individual states which has produced varying degrees of success in expanding the ability of all citizens to participate in the process of nominating candidates for office.

A more dramatic and comprehensive Progressive-led move to democratize institutionalized elitism in the American

system occurred at the constitutional level with an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that required compliance by all of the states. The 17th Amendment, adopted in 1913, gave all United States citizens the right to elect United States senators directly. Prior to this change, senators were elected indirectly by being selected by the state legislatures. Amendment Seventeen was the first and last amendment that expanded the number of federal officials elected by the people.

Expanding Suffrage

The greatest expansion of citizen voting participation opportunities in American history came with the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920 giving women the right to vote. The Progressive Movement and Party were among the leading crusaders for women's rights. Even before women received suffrage in all the states, Duncan-Clark pointed out, women were included as both auditors and speakers in "all conventions, conferences and gatherings of those interested in the Progressive programme...She has been into the party councils, and has been given a position of leadership in no degree less prominent than that of men. Moreover a significant fact is that her presence and the promise of her larger participation in the duties of citizenship and of government have been greeted with greater enthusiasm than any other phase of the Movement."³⁷ The Progressive

Party professed quite strongly that it refused to recognize sex distinction in the rights of citizenship.³⁸

Innovative Direct Democracy

Progressives, however, did not limit their vision of a greater American democracy to trying only to make elitist institutions less elitist, or to get more citizens to participate in a quasi-democratic, republican system. In an historic move away from a reliance upon representative democracy towards a system with more direct democracy, the Progressives were successful in establishing reforms in several states that allowed citizens to directly make laws through initiative, approve or disapprove legislative action through referendum, and directly recall elected officials for not responding to the will of the people.

Even in the heyday of democratic activity in the American Confederation Period, where citizens in some states held their own conventions, instructed representatives, and investigated government leaders, the rights and opportunities of so many American citizens had never been as broad. Although indirect initiative was established in South Dakota as early as 1898, it was considered inadequate by most Progressives since the proposed law had to go to the state legislature first for action. If the legislature did not pass the law or enact it, it was required to refer the initiative to the people

to vote on in the next general election. However, there were no means by which to compel the legislature to observe this constitutional requirement if they chose not to place the initiative on the ballot.

The first successful direct initiative process was established in Oregon in 1902. One Progressive called Oregon's initiative and referendum laws "the very foundation of progress in the state."³⁹ Not only does Oregon's initiative process apply to statutory legislation, but also it can be used to make amendments to the state constitution. Progressives praised Oregon's initiative law for the responsible way in which it involved the citizenry. Its procedures included a way to inform the public that became a model copied by other states, including South Dakota. A major aspect of this system was the voters' pamphlet:

An excellent feature...is the provision for publicity pamphlets containing the measures to be voted upon by the people, and to be mailed directly to each voter in the state by the Secretary of State. Arguments for and against the measure may be inserted by private citizens or organizations upon payment of the proportional cost per page for the space occupied. This 'voter's text book' is the chief reason why the initiative and referendum have proved in Oregon to be so useful an expression of intelligent citizenship.⁴⁰ (emphasis mine)

Benjamin Parke DeWitt, the first historian of the Progressive Movement, saw:

"Progressivism as a successful episode in the continuing development of American

democracy. In the tradition of democratic reform that stretched from Jefferson through Jackson, the abolitionists, and the Populists, Progressivism, to DeWitt, represented the latest in a series of triumphs of the less privileged over the powerful.⁴¹

Describing the change that took place in the Progressive Era and their impact on democracy in the United States, White states: "Democracy is arming itself with the full power of the ballot. It is vastly more important that it shall have weapons and equipment for the fight than that it shall have a programme."⁴² In actuality, for many Progressives the process became the program--the means as important as the ends. "The broadening and deepening of the power of the people as shown by the adoption of the secret ballot, the purification of the party system, the spread of the direct primary, and the popular acceptance of the initiative and referendum and the recall"⁴³ contributed to a society--in the eyes of most active American citizens--which would result in more equality, fairness, and justice for all.

THE 1960S AND BEYOND:

BURSTS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

The 1960's spawned perhaps the greatest and most varied increase in citizen participation in American history. Alienated, oppressed, underrepresented, ignored groups in society including blacks, women, and youth rose

to challenge the status quo and to demand effective participation in the political system of the United States. It was a time when Americans began to examine the extent to which the laws and practices of the land lived up to the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights; a time when citizens sought not only more democracy, but more equality and more justice; a time when numerous citizens actively embraced civil disobedience and confronted political leaders; a time when excluded groups came to understand that rights in America were not granted by enlightened leaders, but gained through struggle; a time when freedom was lost by some in order to obtain greater freedom for all.

The Black Civil Rights Movement

A major component of the expansion of citizen participation in the United States during the Sixties was the black Civil Rights Movement that demanded adherence to the political and legal principles established, but long ignored, in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution: "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Laws Alone Do Not Freedom Make

While the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments had abolished slavery, granted black citizens equal protection under state (as well as federal) laws, and prohibited the denial of voting privileges due to one's race, black people had made very little headway in obtaining equal political opportunity in American society. Their second class citizenship was perpetuated decades after the abolition of slavery through Jim Crow laws that segregated the Black and White races in virtually all areas of public life, through stiff voting requirements, such as the poll tax and literacy tests.

Although black Americans had struggled for parity even as slaves, it took a Civil War in America to terminate the legal right of white Americans to treat them as private property. Then, even though Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875 to provide specifics for 14th Amendment guarantees, and to forbid discrimination in public accommodations on the basis of race, the United States Supreme Court in 1883 ruled such Civil Rights legislation to be unconstitutional. Justice Bradley argued that the 14th Amendment only addressed deprivation of rights by states and did not encompass private acts of discrimination. He added ironically that black Americans could no longer be the "special favorite of the law" but

must take on the "rank of mere citizen."⁴⁴ This decision, plus the 1896 Plessy decision (which established the doctrine that as long as facilities and/or accommodations were equal, segregating blacks was compatible with the Constitution) contributed to the denial of equal rights and opportunities for black people in America for nearly a century after such rights were constitutionally granted.

Although there were many illustrations of a continuing black struggle for equality prior to the 1960's, the Civil Rights Movement did not become a cohesive force until the 1950's. Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress, is often credited for bringing the black protest movement to national attention in 1955 when she refused to give her seat to a white man and move to the back of a bus. Actually a lesser-known black woman, Linda Carol Brown, had earlier been a party to a federal suit--Brown v. Board of Education (1954)--that led to the Supreme Court's formal reversal of the "separate but equal" doctrine established in Plessy and declaration that separate educational facilities were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional.

Modern political science literature is replete with evidence that although the U.S. Supreme Court can declare a decision, it cannot enforce it.⁴⁵ Except for a few notable incidents--Dwight Eisenhower sending troops to Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957 to enforce the Brown decision; John Kennedy sending federal marshals to Oxford, Mississippi in

1962 to allow a black student's entrance into the state university; and the nationalization of the Alabama National Guard in 1963 to prohibit Governor George Wallace from blocking integration in Alabama--the Supreme Court decision remained unenforced for over a decade in the South until federal legislation was passed to deny funding to any state that ignored the civil rights acts of the Congress.

Emphasis on Non-Traditional Forms of Participation

Blacks did not sit idly by accepting unjust laws once Rosa Parks initiated the nonviolent act of civil disobedience to openly defy the segregation of buses in Montgomery, Alabama. The bus boycotts in Alabama spread and expanded into other forms of citizen defiance such as: "freedom riders" ignoring the segregation regulations on buses all over the South; sit-ins at lunch counters; and demonstrations in protest of various types of segregation in cities across the South. Various political groups, impatient with the slow progress made in Congress and the courts, formed to advance civil rights and to fight injustice--the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) led by James Farmer; and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) led by John Lewis and later by Stokely Carmichael and H. Rap Brown.⁴⁶

The work of these groups were nonviolent forms of citizen participation, in other words, protest, that often led to deliberate violation of laws (civil disobedience) that discriminated against and repressed and humiliated black Americans. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was arrested in Birmingham in 1963 for parading without a permit, echoed themes rich in American history beginning with American revolutionaries fighting oppressive British laws when he responded to critics who asked, "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" He stated:

one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that 'an unjust law is no law at all.'

...An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which that minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote. Who can say the legislature of Alabama which set up the segregation laws were democratically elected? Throughout the state of Alabama all types of conniving methods are used to prevent Negroes from becoming registered to vote despite the fact that the Negro constitutes a majority of the population. Can any law set up in such a state be considered democratically structured?⁴⁷

In August 1963, nearly a decade after the Brown decision, black leaders organized a "March on Washington" to protest the lack of federal support of civil rights. Over two hundred thousand people--both black and white--participated in the march that was highlighted by King's "I Have a Dream" speech which spoke of his vision of blacks in America being "free at last." President John F.

Kennedy sought Civil Rights legislation that same year that would provide more federal support for black equality, but Congress showed no willingness to act on the extensive Kennedy package.

Less than a year after Kennedy's assassination, however, President Lyndon B. Johnson was able to get the legislation through Congress and to sign the Civil Rights Act into law in 1964. The law prohibited: racial or religious discrimination in public accommodations; unions and employers from discriminating on the basis of race, color, sex, or religion; and, most importantly for political participation, the use of different standards for blacks and whites who attempted to register to vote. Commissions were created to ensure the law was enforced and authorization was given to the government to cut off federal funds for institutions and organizations that violated its provisions.⁴⁸

In 1965, Congress dramatically aided the black struggle for the right to participate in American politics by passing the Voting Rights Act. Federal examiners were appointed to stop discrimination in voter registration in the South. Voter registration drives were enacted and became extremely successful among blacks.

Charles Hamilton, a noted black political scientist at Columbia University, analyzed data from a 1973 Voter Education Project and concluded that black participation in

voting had more than doubled since the Voting Rights Act.⁴⁹ Hamilton also noted that the increased number of black voters in Southern states "elected many of their own race to public offices at all levels of government-- congressional, state, county, and municipal."⁵⁰ Presently there are many black mayors throughout the country, including some of the nation's largest cities, such as, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Detroit, and so forth.

While studies indicate that the Civil Rights legislation led to increased voter registration among blacks and a significant increase in the number of black elected officials,⁵¹ political scientists such as Benjamin Ginsberg and Edward S. Greenberg, point out that mere participation in electoral politics is not sufficient to provide greater opportunity for blacks or more economic equality for them. Indeed, Ginsberg provides data to demonstrate that as black registration increased and more black leaders were elected, the number of civil rights demonstrations, pieces of legislation particularly favorable to blacks, and black income ratio to white income decreased.⁵² Other data indicates that since 1969 when the black unemployment rate at 7% was double the white unemployment rate, in 1985, the black unemployment rate at over 15% had nearly tripled the white unemployment rate.⁵³ The conclusion that both Ginsberg and Greenberg derive from

black participation data is that other forms of political activity, such as boycotts, marches, demonstrations, sit-ins, and civil disobedience can be--and certainly in the black struggle were--more effective than voting.⁵⁴

Although the current participation data tends to support the view that the expansion of suffrage often paves the way for "political quiescence," it has become a necessary first step for citizens to build upon in expanding democratic participation within the system. The gains of the Civil Rights Movement were limited, as Greenberg points out, because the goals were limited--in other words, to expand civil rights and liberties. Black leaders such as King felt expanded suffrage had to be achieved before other conditions of blacks could be addressed.

The legitimacy that blacks have achieved within the system has provided the basis for Rev. Jesse Jackson, a student of King's, to carry the struggles for equal opportunity beyond the very narrow focus of voting rights. He gained prominence through founding and developing PUSH, an organization devoted to encouraging education among urban blacks. His efforts have aided in the dramatic increase in the number of blacks obtaining a high school education--nearly triple the number who reached such levels in 1960.⁵⁵ In just two decades after the King assassination, Jackson, a black Democratic candidate for the

American presidency forming a "rainbow" coalition of all races and stressing economic equality, outran five white opponents and came in second for the 1988 Democratic Party's nomination for President behind a Northeastern Greek-American liberal with financial backing more than four times greater than Jackson's. In addition, Jackson won or finished second in state primaries that were almost exclusively white.

The connection between the blacks' ability to fully participate in the American system and their ability to win positions of power that represent black (and other) citizens in governmental decision making has been dramatic. Given the opportunity to participate, they have demonstrated their eagerness, commitment, and understanding of how to convert votes into political power. Moreover, the mid-1960's ushered in a new era of citizen participation with blacks as the spearhead of a "civil rights movement" that also impacted upon and inspired other ethnic minorities and women and clearly established the effectiveness of nontraditional forms of political participation in America.

The Women's Liberation Movement

Even as the Declaration of Independence in 1776 was being drafted declaring all men to be equal, Abigail Adams wrote to her husband to remind him and other American

revolutionaries that they should not forget the women. She wrote: "If particular care and attention is not paid to the Ladies, we are determined to foment a Rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice, or Representation."⁵⁶ Not only did John Adams ignore what his wife said, but so did the Constitution and the Bill of Rights--which did not recognize women as free and equal.

During the struggle for the abolition of slavery, women involved in the freedom movement began to draw attention to their own lack of equality and denial of citizenship. It dismayed many that the 15th Amendment of 1870 granted the right to vote to black men and continued the denial of women's suffrage. A few years later, during the centennial celebration of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Susan B. Anthony, one of the leading suffragists, pointed out that "...the women of this nation, in 1876, have greater cause for discontent, rebellion, and revolution than the men in 1776."⁵⁷

The first state to grant women voting privileges was Wyoming in 1890. It was not until 1920, though, that women ultimately got the right to vote at the national level. Most women came to realize, as black males had discovered a half century before, that the mere privilege of voting fell far short of granting equality or full citizenship in America. It took the Women's Liberation Movement of the

1960's and 1970's, to pursue that equality in reality, the one that had been verbally granted in the 19th Amendment. In the same manner that blacks had to win federal legislation to enhance and ensure a constitutionally granted equality, women needed other avenues, besides voting, to gain equal political--and economic-- participation. As long as the female gender is discriminated against in hiring practices, wage scales, business and property privileges, and other areas of public and private life, the right to vote does little to enhance their citizenship potential.

Under pressure from women activists, who organized protest demonstrations and political action groups, President John F. Kennedy created a Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. The findings of the Commission indicated that women were "second-class citizens" in America and led to the establishment of similar commissions at the state level and a national advisory council to advance the equality of American women. Legislation that followed included the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the amendment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prohibit sex discrimination in private employment.

Two very important feminist political groups were formed during this period in order to mobilize women in the struggle for equality. In 1966, the National Organization for Women (NOW) was organized; its aim, to pressure

political leaders to recognize and respond to the views and concerns of women. Not content to allow the political power to legislate, enforce, and interpret laws to remain in the hands of men, the National Women's Political Caucus was founded in 1972. Its objective was to elect more women to public office, to lobby political parties and the government for action on issues important to women; and to press for ratification of an Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution assuring equality of women in all aspects of society.

Opportunities for citizen participation of women in American politics have had to be won through collective struggle--as they have been for blacks, as well as for the original founders of the nation. The fact that the Equal Rights Amendment failed to gain sufficient support for passage is an indication that women still have a long way to go in American society. While there are growing numbers of women mayors and representatives, and an occasional elected female governor or senator, none has ever been seriously considered by the American public for the United States presidency. The only female vice-presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro, concluded that the intense scrutiny she and her family received when she ran for the second highest office in the land had a lot to do with the fact that she was a woman being subjected to higher standards than her male peers.

The gains for women trail those achieved by blacks. As an example, the 100th Congress (1986-88) is illustrative of the American patriarchal political system. It is composed of 91% Caucasian males, 5% women and 4% blacks. Considering that women comprise over half of the United States population and blacks around 12%, women are underrepresented by 91% and blacks by 64%. Meanwhile, males are overrepresented by 91%. Of course, women obtained voting privileges fifty years after black males. This could be a contributing factor to the slower progress in other areas. In addition, the number and size of the civil rights sit-ins, demonstrations, and boycotts overshadow the efforts of women. Also, the public and private violence that characterized some of the black civil rights movement may have catalyzed changes more rapidly. The task for women has also been complicated by the need to unite more diverse and dispersed groups--crossing economic and racial lines in every corner of society. Nevertheless, the tide has turned for women in the United States. In just two generations polls show that the American public has gone from a 22% approval rating of women in business in 1937 to 89% in 1986. Also, in 1937, 32% said they were willing to vote for a qualified woman for President but in 1986 88% stated a willingness to vote for a qualified woman for President.⁵⁸ While women have actually not advanced much beyond tokenism in the higher

echelons of government and business, the percentage of their entries into professional schools and male-dominated occupations continue to rise. Other political changes abound--such as the Hawaii Democratic Party's rules that require half the delegates to its political conventions to be female.

The Continuing Struggle for Equal Participation

The movement towards expanding rights and opportunities for women and blacks has been joined by other ethnic minorities and young people demanding their own input into and active participation in the political system. During the Vietnam War, young people protested vehemently that a significant portion of those dying in a battle waged by this country were not even allowed to vote--due to age restrictions--for the representatives who sent them off to war. Less than two years after the eighteen-year-olds received the right to vote by way of the 26th (and last) Amendment to the Constitution in 1971, the Vietnam War, which had lasted under four U.S. presidents ended.

Fred Harris, a former U.S. Senator from Oklahoma, writes:

Equal rights and full political equality, promised in the Declaration of Independence, are still not realities, but unmistakable advances have been made in modern times. These advances have come largely because people have organized

themselves to demand equal treatment, not as charity or as a gift, but because that is what they deserve.⁵⁹

The democratic spirit born in the American Revolution has thrived in the United States. Disenfranchised, excluded, or oppressed segments of society have taken turns keeping the spirit alive through continuing demands for participation--meaningful participation, which includes more than mere voting rights. Each new manifestation of that spirit seems to bring renewed vigor to the democratic energy and provides more advanced positions for an even more inclusive and active democracy.

EXPANDING THE POSSIBILITIES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION BEYOND VOTING FOR REPRESENTATIVES

Since voting for legislators is basic to the concept of representative democracy, it is not surprising that it has been an important right fought for vigorously by those disenfranchised. Thus, American political history in the last two centuries has been characterized, in large part, by the struggle for the right to vote for governmental officials. However, while suffrage is a right fundamental to democracy, it is not necessarily the most important form of citizen participation in a democracy or sufficient to ensure that "representatives" truly "represent" the voters or the general citizenry (in other words, the public interest).

From the American Confederation Period, United States citizens have demanded more than mere voting privileges. As various disenfranchised groups in society have received the right to vote, they have also come to realize or conclude that voting alone, or the participation in other forms of electoral politics (such as contributing to a campaign, working in a campaign, attending candidate forums, and so forth), is inadequate in a nation that has long claimed its international mission is to "Make the world safe for democracy."

It seems that in the history of citizen participation in America, each movement or period builds on the former and the result is that democratic trends rarely lose the totality of gains made, although the net gains may be small indeed. For example, once the voting franchise is extended, and once powers of citizens are increased under our Constitution, citizens do not yield those gains. They (or succeeding generations) want more, demand more, and move towards obtaining more. There are periods of more or less activity of citizens, more or less rebellion against injustice and inequality, more or less energy to struggle or hope for success, but there is rarely a retrenchment to remove the legally increased powers of citizens.

SUMMARY

I believe that this "survey" of citizen participation on American soil over the past four hundred years or so demonstrates what I state at the outset of chapter 2. There have been waves or surges of the democratic energy, with a generally forward motion that eventually gets stunted, diverted and occasionally reversed.

Still, one is struck while tracing this phenomenon by the strong quantum characteristics of an often unpredictable pattern. As with the unpredictability of the stock market or the national economy, one finds it difficult, if not impossible, to find a precise cause-effect relationship as to when a burst of democratization will appear or what form it will take. A review of the past can help one develop probabilities of the next surge or to discover similar patterns, yet the randomness that crops up in our natural environment (volcanic eruptions, tornados, hurricanes) also occurs in our socio-political environment. It is with this understanding that I use the historical information to study citizen participation in the United States today and move to help design new forms of citizen participation that can continue the forward push towards a more democratic society.

Chapter 4 will examine how political scientists, theorists, and activists have defined, studied, and helped

expand citizen participation in America. As one moves from a predominantly Newtonian-influenced worldview to one that incorporates principles defined in Quantum physics, the way in which one studies, analyzes, and values citizen participation also changes. The emphasis focuses less on cause and effect than on interaction and interconnection. Thus, voting for representatives can no longer be the primary or exclusive focus of empirical study, either as the independent or dependent variable. Instead, the analysis should include a study of the various means by which citizens interact and the ways in which the environment (broadly defined) interfaces participation. The following chapters on citizen participation will place the emphasis on examining process and mechanisms designed to maximize the democratic process in a world of uncertainty.

Thus, a quantum approach expands the analysis and possibilities. It may also ask more questions, at this stage of our knowledge, than can be answered. Whatever its limitations, however, its analysis moves us beyond the limitations of a Newtonian approach and may offer new paths for blacks, women, and other minorities to follow in expanding their participation and influence in a Caucasian male-dominated society that has previously made the rules and set the agendas.

NOTES

1. Joseph L. Blau, ed., Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954) ix.
2. Blau x.
3. Blau x.
4. Andrew Jackson, "Jackson Defends the Spoils System," Jacksonian America 1815-1840, eds. Frank Otto Gatell and John M. McFauk (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1970) 122.
5. Gatell and McFauk 121.
6. Sidney H. Aronson, "Jackson's Political Appointments," New Perspectives on Jacksonian Parties and Politics, ed. Edward Pressen (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1969) 239.
7. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, "Major Party Thought and Theory," ed. Pressen 140.
8. Blau xiii.
9. Blau xxvii.
10. Blau xiv.
11. Van Deusen 143.
12. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, vol. 1 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945) 186-187.
13. This argument has existed since the first forms of government existed in America. It has had several forms, some more extreme than others. Alexander Hamilton and Ronald Reagan, who represent both the beginning and most recent molders of American economic policy, share this view. Reagan's "trickle down theory" based on the concept that as the wealthy receive tax breaks and benefits in society, they will be more productive, invest more, and thereby provide more jobs, benefits, and opportunities for those at the bottom who are dependent upon the owning class for their economic well being.
14. Van Deusen 154.

15. Lee Benson, The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961) vii.
16. Blau xi.
17. Blau xi.
18. Benson 7.
19. Benson 7.
20. For an excellent survey of historical interpretation of the Progressive Era, see David M. Kennedy, ed., Progressivism: The Critical Issues (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1971).
21. John F. Manley and Kenneth M. Dolbeare, eds., The Case Against the Constitution (Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 1987) x. The authors are quick to point out, however, the fallacy in the belief that the "political principle of democracy is complete for most Americans." They argue the Constitution itself in anti-democratic and that it is responsible for many of the problems in American governance. The Progressive Era brought a modern democratic challenge to the Constitution, but did not replace an elitist system once and for all with a democratic system. It simply revived a stream of democratic thought begun by the Antifederalists.
22. See for example, Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Robert H. Webe, The Search for Order, 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism (New York: The Free Press, 1963); and Amos R.E. Pinchot, History of the Progressive Party 1912-1916 (New York: New York University Press, 1958).
23. Pinchot 179.
24. Kennedy 19.
25. Kennedy 19.
26. See for example, Michael Parenti, Democracy for the Few (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983) and Jerold S. Auerbach, Unequal Justice (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).
27. Pinchot 168.

28. Pinchot 168.
29. Theodore Roosevelt, "Introduction," The Progressive Movement, ed. S. J. Duncan-Clark (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1972) xvi.
30. Pinchot 171.
31. The Populists formed a very decentralized movement--popular among farmers, Southerners, and advocates of states rights.
32. William Allen White, "Changes in Democratic Government," ed. Kennedy 29.
33. White 25.
34. Duncan-Clark 39-40.
35. White 25.
36. Duncan-Clark 56-57.
37. Duncan-Clark 90.
38. Duncan-Clark 42.
39. Duncan-Clark 78.
40. Duncan-Clark 79.
41. Kennedy viii.
42. White 29.
43. White 29.
44. Alan F. Westin, "Ride-ins and Sit-ins of the 1870's," Freedom Now, ed. Alan F. Westin (New York: Basic Books, 1964) 71-72.
45. See J. W. Peltason, Fifty-Eight Lonely Men (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961); Neal A. Milner, The Court and Local Law Enforcement: The Impact of Miranda (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971); Theodore L. Becker, ed., The Impact of Supreme Court Decisions (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); and Deborah Barrow, A Court Divided (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

46. Fred R. Harris, America's Democracy: The Ideal and the Reality (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1980) 109.
47. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Letter from Birmingham Jail," ed. Westin 15.
48. Harris 110.
49. Charles V. Hamilton, The Bench and the Ballot (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) vii.
50. Hamilton vii.
51. Everett Carll Ladd, The American Polity: The People and Their Government (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1987) 143 and 591- 592.
52. Benjamin Ginsberg, The Consequences of Consent: Elections, Citizen Control and Popular Acquiescence (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1982) 106-109.
53. Ladd 593.
54. See Ginsberg 109 and Edward S. Greenberg, The American Political System: A Radical Approach (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers, 1977) 428-438.
55. Ladd 593.
56. Harris 129.
57. Harris 130.
58. Ladd 373.
59. Harris 137.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS THE REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATORY STATE:

A QUANTUM STEP IN IDEOLOGY AND THEORY

As we have seen in the history of democracy on the North American continent, there has been protracted ideological struggle, theoretical disagreement and political hostility between those who favor minimizing the extent of citizen participation in government and those who favor maximizing it. As we have also noted, to some degree, whether they were aware of it or not, their views have been influenced by a deep set of beliefs about the way the universe works.

FROM LIMITED REPRESENTATION TO FULL PARTICIPATION:

ANALYTIC MODELS

In the former camp are those who share the ideology of the "Founding Fathers" of the U.S. Constitution, who established a Limited Representative State, one that placed heavy restrictions on the nature of the roles citizens could play--limiting activities to indirect means of policy-making such as voting for representatives, lobbying them, campaigning for them, and so forth.

Furthermore, as we noted in chapter 1, there is a strong attraction towards Newtonian thinking among those

who laud the Limited Representative State. Notions of mechanistic law-making lace their political thought. They think in terms of laws being made on the basis of fact through applied logic. They conjure up notions of legislators as wise men, experts in fields of knowledge who know the "objective" way to proceed towards the public good. They set up systems designed to insulate this "rational" process against the passions of the general public, for example, bicameralism.

As we have also observed, since the ratification of the U.S. Constitution in 1789, there has been a general trend towards greater participation in the American polity by more citizens (The Bill of Rights; The Civil War Amendments, Women's Suffrage, The Voting Rights Act). Now women and blacks can participate to some degree in this representative system and there are no property qualifications for voting. In addition, major improvements have been made in the quality of citizen participation in the representative system (direct election of U.S. Senators; initiative, referendum, and recall at some state and local levels.)

Even though these expansions of the Limited Representative State have cost much in blood, time, life and energy, there are few who currently advocate repealing them. The mainstream of American political science accepts (and generally applauds) this past progress in the

direction of a more participatory representative political system as being desirable and useful. The result is a present day general acceptance of what might well be called the Expanded Representative State that exists in the United States today. And, as I argued in chapter 1, the general underlying worldview of those who favor the maintenance of this type of state is also decidedly Newtonian in character and context.

This does not mean, however, that the ideological battles, theoretical infighting and political warfare have ceased in the political or academic arenas. There are still wide discrepancies in the thought of the two camps. As we have just noted, there are those who presently believe that the present contours of the expanded, yet still limited, representative polity are fundamentally sound and that only some occasional fine tuning of today's constitutional structure may still be necessary. An example of this is ex-President Ronald Reagan, who intends to spend the 1990s campaigning for constitutional amendments to eliminate the two-term limitation on Presidents, compel Congress to balance the budget, and provide the President with a "line item veto." Moreover, most American political scientists (whether liberal or conservative or Democrat or Republican) fit into this category. They have developed theories and conducted extensive studies to defend the rectitude and propriety and

prove the relative efficiency of the present expanded version of the Limited Representative State. Occasionally they, too, agree that a constitutional amendment or two might be warranted.

On the other side is a group of political theorists, researchers and activists who generally believe that the quality of the vote in the Limited and Expanded Representative State is not as meaningful as it is purported to be, and that the other kinds of roles that citizens are allowed to play in such a system remain much too narrow, constrained and unrewarding. Those in this group have different theoretical imperatives, often with ideological ties to the Antifederalists, and therefore a much different research and political agenda. They see a need for more fundamental changes in the system itself, ones that would make the state far more participatory and much more representative of the entire population.

Among the advocates of a more participatory democracy, albeit within a representative context, are those who place primary emphasis on more purposeful and more direct participation and those who place primary emphasis on true, exact representation. Those who favor an improved system of citizen participation, but one that simply evolves out of the present Expanded Representative State, can be called advocates of a Participatory Representative State. The

advocates of a more drastic shift, switch the adverbs and adjectives, and favor a Representative Participatory State.

Both of these states are based on thinking more consistent with quantum theory than the Limited and Expanded Representative States, which are more compatible with Newtonian theory. At this point, as stated in chapter 1, the quantum principles of uncertainty, probability, interconnection and interaction, and no objective reality become important considerations of participatory democrats. A few illustrations will help illuminate this point.

In a Participatory Representative State advocated by many contemporary participatory democrats, the relationship between citizens and their representatives must be stronger than it is in the Limited or Expanded Representative State of the United States. A greater proportion of citizens would be kept more and better informed and more directly involved in politics. More effective forms of participation would have to be encouraged and devised. Government officials would have to be held more strictly accountable for their behavior, which would compel them to be more responsive to the citizenry. In other words, citizen influence and/or control over representatives would be greatly strengthened in the Participatory Representative State. The emphasis, however, would remain in a system

based on elected representatives as the major policy-makers.

There are a number of factors that make increased citizen participation desirable from the point of view of most contemporary participatory democrats. In the first place, they believe that citizens know best their own needs--not representatives who are frequently far removed socially, economically, and geographically from those they represent. After all, quantum theory posits that there is no objective reality. Therefore, to apply that concept to a political theory, one might hypothesize that there is no "objective good" for representatives to discover that would provide absolute guides for the best society for all. These decisions ultimately rest on our values and varying perceptions, not objective reality. In addition, increased and improved participation should also lead to better representation of traditionally underrepresented groups in society.

Another argument of participatory democrats is that citizens generally become more self-actualized through increased participation. This increased enhancement of each participating citizen's life in turn contributes to a more advanced society through some sort of synergy, in other words, that the sum of the parts is somehow greater than the mere number of its components. In the discussion of the quantum principle of interconnectedness and

interaction in chapter 1, it was pointed out that an analysis which focuses on individual action without consideration of the interconnected and interactive components related to that action causes one to lose sight of the total picture. In quantum thought, the whole cannot be separated from its parts for evaluative purposes. From a political analytical perspective utilizing this quantum principle, one sees the political system as defining and influencing political behavior, not individual citizen behavior having much effect on influencing, changing, or altering the system. Participatory democratic theory is consistent with quantum in that it encourages, energizes, facilitates and allows the greater political activity and interacting that is already a tendency of the human social animal to reach its fullest potential.

Important also from the perspective of the participatory democrat, is the development of political community. Through increased interaction and a recognition of interdependency (the quantum principle of interconnection), citizens develop a nurturing behavior towards society and other citizens. Sharing in problem solving for society-at-large replaces isolated citizens simply pursuing self interests (which are defined in very narrow and short-sighted ways) with a more cooperative, socially-minded citizen who begins to place collective, public interests in a higher echelon of priorities.

Although participatory democrats who favor the Participatory Representative State stress the importance of increased opportunities for involvement, greater access to information, and better communication between citizens and representatives they, too, often offer only tinkering with the representative system to make it more responsive to citizens. Examples of this include calls for easing voter registration requirements, expansion of open hearings through sunshine laws, and more civic education on how to operate within the present system.

However, according to another group of participatory democrats, who are even closer to implicit expression of quantum principles in their political thought, entreaties for greater involvement in and stronger controls of representatives by a broader band of the entire citizenry are not enough. Their view is that one must also look at the possibility of inherent design problems in all elected representative systems, in other words, social and economic inequalities of opportunity and distribution that are fostered and reinforced by the elected representative system itself. What good is more opportunity for participation and control of the legislative process if that participation and control requires time, money, and resources that disadvantaged groups in society do not have and can never achieve because of the genetic, structural bias built into the system itself?

Thus, some more radical participatory democrats try to address the questions of structural inequalities in society by proposing fundamental changes in the governmental system itself. Their state, which may best be called the Representative Participatory State, goes beyond simple improvements in the representative state. In their view, what is needed are resources, incentives, and training for all segments of society in new methods of easy, effective, direct participation in political agenda-setting, planning, problem solving, issue formulation, and in the processes of lawmaking and administration.

There is no past model for this state, which requires revolutionary changes in the liberal democratic model of government that we have termed the Expanded Representative State or even the Participatory Representative State. In such a polity, the overriding emphasis would be on citizen participation. Representation would still exist, but it would be determined in large part by random selection, which would leave room for some forms of election. Clearly, adding the concepts of randomness and probability to the structures of agenda-setting and policy making are quite consistent with the quantum emphasis of randomness and probability factors in our physical universe.

A working model for the Representative Participatory State might integrate a number of proposals advocated by a diverse group of radical participatory democratic thinkers.

First, all or most citizens should be educated and trained in civic responsibility and public service. Public service might be required of all, most or randomly selected groups of citizens along the lines of military service or extended jury duty.

Rather than electing representatives, astronomical expense could be spared the taxpayer, yet representation made truly representative (of all segments of society including those based on gender, age, region, class, race, and so forth) by applying the quantum theory of randomness and selecting representatives by lot from the total citizen population. In addition to providing a means to truly attain representation of the entire citizenry, this model allows for responsible citizen behavior without requiring all citizens to become full-time actors for all policy-making on a permanent basis.

The rationale behind the model of the Representative Participatory State is that it is not practical or fair to require every citizen to keep informed and stay involved in all aspects of politics all the time. There are other personal, family, and economic activities and demands required of individuals in society. Regular rotation of all randomly selected legislators would help insure an accurate system of true representation of all interests in society (including those of blue collar workers, housewives, the unemployed, retirees, and so forth) without

requiring all of these citizens to participate in policy-making on a regular and/or daily basis. This is consistent with the ideology and practice of the German Green Party, which requires rotation for all leadership positions.

Another major aspect of a Representative Participatory State would be to require substantial direct legislative power for the entire citizenry at all levels of governance, that is initiative and referendum at the national, state and local levels. If anyone advocated a system like this--with no elected representative aspects whatsoever--she/he would be favoring what might be called the Full Participation State.

No such type of complex national polity such as the Full Participation State has ever existed on this planet. Moreover, there appear to be no advocates for such a national system of government. There have been small, utopian communities to practice such an ideology in the United States and elsewhere, such as some early European and American communes and Israeli kibbutzim. But economies of scale and function would make such a system at a national, state or provincial level a virtual impossibility.

A Representative Participatory State, however, would include a high degree of such direct democracy at all levels and for many, if not most, of the major issues confronting the citizenry. Many contemporary nation-states

already have national referenda (England, Italy, Korea); state and local initiative (USA, Switzerland); and other methods of direct democratic decision making, like the lay jury system (USA, England) or the lay judge (England, Sweden). And the Representative Participatory State would also have elements of the elective representative system in it, more than less in its transformational phases.

Thus, as stated above, it appears that the theories of those interested in developing any of the more participatory democratic systems are more in line with a quantum worldview than are those whose preference is towards elected representative systems.

As one moves from a firm and exclusive belief in certainty, predictability, rationality, and cause-and-effect determinism into a willingness to think as well in terms of uncertainty, probability, randomness, interdependency, there is less reason to rely completely on experts and assorted sages to deduce what is in the best public interest. Whereas a Newtonian view puts great stock in political expertise because of notions of the key role of "objectivity" and pure logic as major factors in establishing rational policies, the quantum view does not.

From a quantum perspective, there is evidence and reason to rely more on the political proactivity, reactivity and interaction of the general public to attain that which is probably closest to the general public

interest. Participatory democrats stress activity and interaction. Their view of politics and citizen participation is broader than that of the typical liberal democrat. Their expansive universe requires more attention to nontraditional forms of behavior, of patterns, and of interactions that can offer understanding if not absolute predictability. Their theories require attention beyond the individual decision maker and must include the effects and the results of the political community on the actor. There is often less certainty stated in the theories of the participatory democrats, who emphasize that the process cannot be separated from the end goal in political decision-making, also a principle that seems closer to quantum physics than Newtonian.

Chart 1

Continuum of Citizen Participation in Representative States*

Limited Representative State	Expanded Representative State	Participatory Representative State	Representative Participatory State
Minimum Participation			Maximum Participation

As one moves through the continuum, each state reduces restrictions on citizen participation and increases the variety of roles for citizens to participate.

* The chart is not intended to be definitive, but to establish basic parameters that distinguish the various forms of representative states as defined in this thesis. Also there may be overlap between the various states.

Chart 1 (Con't)

Limited Representative State

- (1) Voting for representatives is primary act of citizenship
- (2) Restrictions on participation by adult citizens, such as:
 - (a) Property qualifications
 - (b) Sex
 - (c) Race
 - (d) Literacy tests
 - (e) Poll taxes
- (3) Representative role frequently defined as trustee role
- (4) Political leaders selected primarily through indirect means or appointed

Expanded Representative State

- (1) Voting for representatives is primary act of citizenship
- (2) Fewer restrictions on participation by adult citizens
- (3) Representative role also seen as delegate role
- (4) More direct election of political leaders
- (5) More democratization in political parties
- (6) Sunshine laws
- (7) Broadcasts of public officials' speeches, debates, etc.

Participatory Representative State

- (1) Voting for representative an important act of citizenship
- (2) Voting on issues through initiative and referendum accompanies voting for representatives
- (3) Recall power keeps public officials more accountable to the public
- (4) Direct election of political leaders
- (5) Fewer barriers to political party participation--open primaries, presidential primaries, etc.
- (6) Sunshine laws
- (7) Use of two-way media communication between representatives and public

Representative Participatory State

- (1) Citizen participation is primary act of citizenship
 - (2) Random selection of representatives from the total adult citizenry
 - (3) Randomly selected citizens increasing roles in the legal system as well as the legislative system
 - (4) Increased use of initiative and referendum
 - (5) Sunshine laws
 - (6) Mandatory rotation of office holders
 - (7) Increased use of communication media to promote interaction among and between representatives and the public
 - (8) Public education in the functions of government, civic role, and responsibilities
-

This chapter will not attempt to prove one camp correct and the other incorrect either ideologically, theoretically or empirically. Indeed, applying a mode of analysis with a quantum perspective, I hold that there is no objective reality which allows our observations to be totally neutral because our observations, which we use to test our theories, are limited to our own perceptions and consciousness. My analysis, however, attempts to emphasize Dator's statement--"different observer, different world"--throughout the presentation of the theories and research of citizen participation. Therefore the model of democratic states developed above is simply an analytic tool that will help further develop and analyze the following statements:

First, there is a readily detectable ideological bias in mainstream American political science that favors a predominantly representative system along the lines of what we have called the Expanded Representative State. Furthermore, there is also a strong sentiment against any further movement towards a more participatory polity, not even along the lines of the Participatory Representative State.

Second, there has been and is currently an active group of American political scientists and theorists who strongly favor the development and institution of a greater participatory polity in the United States, either along the

lines of the Participatory Representative State or the Representative Participatory State. They have constructed a number of theoretical hypotheses and/or propositions, many of which are consistent with quantum theory.

Third, there has been some applied research and political action projects by those seeking to advance the cause of more participatory states. This research is innovative and future-oriented and has produced a large volume of work experimenting with new methods, technologies and techniques to assist the public in its roles of communicating with its representatives, with itself, and in making informed and deliberated opinions and decisions on major and complex public conondroms and issues. Many of these experimental techniques and methods are also consistent with quantum theory.

MAINSTREAM AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE EXPANDED REPRESENTATIVE STATE

It is neither original nor radical to say that political ideologies permeate the study, research, writing and teaching of political science, in general, or the American version thereof. Indeed, as recently as 1988, Stanford University's Gabriel Almond, an extremely well known and highly respected former president of the American Political Science Association, writing in an official organ of that organization, calmly divided all of American

political science into four warring political philosophical and methodological factions, what he calls "schools" and "sects." According to his way of thinking, they are the "hard right," "soft right," "hard left," and "soft left".¹ Words like "Marxist," "liberal," "liberal pluralist," "conservative," "neo-conservative," and "humanist moderate left" color his analysis, concepts with a decided political ideological loading.

While Almond's political analysis squares well with what most Americans and most political scientists believe to be the outer borders of the ideological factionalism in American political and political scientific life, it does not help much in our analysis. There appears to be a major ideological conflict in American politics and political science between those who favor system maintenance in American government and those who desire and strive towards substantial to radical change in that system. As has been pointed out, both sides have strongly opposed ideological positions rooted deeply in a complex belief system that links the natures of the universe and of human behavior.

Regardless of their specific content, all ideologies have a conscious and subconscious impact on how people see and interpret the world in which they live. Ideologies blot out certain aspects of reality and sharpen others from the minds and eyes of their believers. Ideologies slant perceptions and shade interpretations. And researchers,

theorists and academicians are hardly immune from this relationship, no matter how aware of it they may be, how hard they try to overcome it, or how open they are about it.

Being aware of, attempting to overcome, and conceding one's ideological prejudice(s) may help temper its effects on theoretical, research and interpretative agendas. It will also help the audience and/or consumer evaluate it more effectively. On the other hand, being unaware, not attempting to overcome, and consciously or unconsciously ignoring such creates a hidden agenda and makes it hard for the audience and/or consumer to evaluate it effectively at all.

Most mainstream American political scientists, whatever their Almondian school or sect, are grounded, to one degree or another, into the Federalist values and ideology built into the American constitutional system. This helps account for why they tend to rank voting for representatives or officials as the pinnacle of citizen participation in America--sometimes even ignoring or mentioning other forms of citizen activity only as a marginal activity. As a matter of fact, this even holds true among those American political scientists who emphasize "citizen participation" as their primary area of study.

A prominent example is Margaret Conway's *Political Participation in the United States* (1985). Despite what the title of the book might lead one to believe it contains, her attention centers almost exclusively on voting for candidates for public office. Her only reference to other forms of citizen participation appears in a three-page discussion of a 1974 study of "unconventional" political action. The "unconventional" forms of behavior she cites include signing petitions, engaging in lawful demonstrations, and participating in boycotts.² At no time in the entire book does she mention initiative, referendum, or recall--where citizens themselves pass laws--occasional processes that occur (in conjunction with elected legislatures) even in the Expanded Representative State of contemporary America.

Even when she discusses ways to influence policy and law through citizen participation, no word is uttered about the initiative process, either indirect or direct, processes that are the essence of participatory democracy. Since there is every reason to believe that Professor Conway is aware of these important American processes, it seems reasonable to conclude that an ideological filter prevents her--knowingly or unwittingly--from including such in a treatise devoted wholly to "citizen participation in the United States."

Through her narrow treatment of political participation, which focuses almost exclusively on voting, Conway reveals an ideological bias in favor of the Limited Representative State and against participatory democracy. For instance even though she cites National Election Studies survey data that indicate the following general trends in the United States since 1964: (1) increased perception of the present form of government as not responsive to citizens' views; (2) perception that government in general and Congress are not attentive to citizens' preferences; (3) perception that the present two major political party system is not an effective mechanism to force government attentiveness to citizens' views; and (4) perception that parties are only interested in obtaining votes, not reflecting citizens' opinions,³ she does not interpret this data as an indication that there is growing dissatisfaction with the overall system.

When one combines this data with such facts that: only 53% of eligible American voters actually voted in the 1984 Presidential election,⁴ and only 50% in the 1988 election⁵ and that the United States ranks 20th among the world's democracies in voter turnout,⁶ one who is not ideologically inclined to support the Limited Representative State might mention that a majority or near-majority Americans do not place the premium on voting for candidates that mainstream American political science does.

It is understandable, however, that political scientists place such emphasis on voting. As one study on political parties in the United States points out, "voting is the political activity in which the greatest proportion of the electorate participates."⁷ Furthermore, voting for candidates is the quintessential act for a citizen in the representative state.

Moreover, since it is the representatives who actually have the major power of citizenship, in other words, establishing the legislative agenda and/or passing laws, it is understandable that people who buy into the ideology of the supremacy of the representative state think that the only other major acts of citizenship must be related either to the election of the representatives or the influencing of their legislative activity and, ultimately, their votes.

This helps explain why increasing attention is being paid to the activities of lobbyists, political action committees, and special interest groups by American political scientists. These groups operate in an arena with the representative vote as their major target, and resources such as money, time, skills, and energy are utilized to influence elected representatives mostly in the way they vote. The fundamental goal of these groups is to pressure representatives to respond to their interests or to replace them with others who will.

Whether one applies David Truman's "group theory," which holds that government acts as a referee among the various and sundry competing groups in this struggle for a majority of representatives' votes (plus agreement or non-hostile action by the executive and judicial branches)⁸ or Robert Dahl's "polyarchy theory" that views citizens as being virtually represented by and in a multitude of well-organized groups that participate for them in the representative process,⁹ the focus remains almost exclusively within the indirect democratic governmental frameworks of the Limited Representative State established by the Founding Fathers, and the Expanded Representative State that exists at the present time.

Underlying all this description and analysis of the contemporary American governmental process is a generally accepted belief that its nature, and the content of the many problems that face government today, are too complicated, and take too much time, energy, and expertise for the average, everyday citizen to understand or appreciate. Thus, their participation must be confined to voting for their representatives, helping them obtain office, or letting them know their opinions (by mail, telephone, office visits, etc.) But as chapter 2 points out, these limited roles for American citizens were established by design and that ideological imprint has worked well, maintaining many adherents and true believers

in American politics, political science, and the general population to the present day.

Indeed, these ideologically based notions of the limitations of ordinary citizens also permeate the research and interpretations of political scientists who choose to focus their work directly on citizen participation. For example, Lester Milbrath, in his book Political Participation, appears to be friendly to a more participatory polity when he supports equal opportunity for all citizens to participate, but he contends that there will be varying degrees of citizen participation because the nature of the system requires role specialization--in other words, "only a few can lead while others must follow."¹⁰

Milbrath's view is that this role specialization, which some would consider anti-democratic, is desirable because it produces better ends. He warns that one should "not be trapped by the traditional exhortations of democratic theory. The only value that matters...for evaluating political systems is the quality of life of the people living in them."¹¹ Equality and citizen influence over government officials are not ends in themselves, but only means to a "happy society." If it does not produce the "happy society", then other means should be used.

Even though Milbrath advocates the removal of barriers to participation and opposes the system favoring

participation of certain groups over others, he also rejects the notion that society is better off with more participation. Indeed, he argues that for the system to be truly democratic, it must allow citizens to be uninvolved. In the debate between pluralists and participatory democrats, he sides with the pluralists and rejects the view that democracy must be highly valued as an end in itself.¹²

To take the ideological belief in, and advocacy of, limited citizen involvement a step further, another former President of the American Political Science Association, Samuel Huntington, argues that the United States is currently suffering from too much citizen participation or, as he calls it, an "excess of democracy."¹³ When the 1960s brought an upsurge in the degree and intensity of political participation by youth, ethnic minorities, and women, the increased demands created an overload on the Expanded Representative State. In Huntington's view, political leaders were faced with the public expectation that representatives were to respond to their desires or else lose legitimacy and authority. Huntington's analysis is that the attempts by political leaders to please the public led to increased government involvement in trying to solve society's problems, runaway inflation, and a severe economic and political crisis born out of too much citizen

participation in a representative system that was not designed to respond to such volume.

His solution for the survival of democracy (in other words, survival of The Expanded Representative State) rests on the belief that "the effective operation of a democratic political system usually requires some measure of apathy and noninvolvement on the part of some individuals and groups."¹⁴ Recalling John Adams statement, "There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide,"

Huntington says:

That suicide is more likely to be the product of over-indulgence than of any other cause. A value which is normally good in itself is not necessarily optimized when it is maximized...There are potentially desirable limits to the indefinite extension of political democracy.¹⁵

Thomas Dye and Harmon Zeigler are very clear about who should be the active participants and who should not. Their claim is that "the irony of democracy is that elites [those with high educational levels, prestigious occupations, and high social status], not masses, are most committed to democratic values."¹⁶ They believe that social science research backs their view that the American people are not committed to liberty and equality. Instead it is the elites in society who support free speech, free press, and "equality of opportunity." Therefore, they write, "If elites are to fulfill their role as guardians of

liberty and property, they must be insulated from the antidemocratic tendencies of the masses. Too much mass influence over elites threatens democratic values."¹⁷ The answer for the survival of democracy then is for the masses to be:

absorbed in the problems of everyday life and...involved in groups that distract their attention from mass politics. The masses are stable when they are absorbed in their work, family, neighborhood, trade union, hobby, church, recreational group, and other activities.¹⁸ (Emphasis mine)

There are other political scientists, who study citizen participation in America, however, who do not narrowly define participation, who recognize the overemphasis often placed on the mere act of voting, and who do not demonstrate a clear bias against increased citizen participation. For instance, Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie criticize "most studies of participation" for paying "little attention to the questions of the alternative ways in which citizens can participate" and for restricting their studies to representative-electoral politics.¹⁹ To focus on elections, they argue, "which simplify the participatory influence of the citizenry into a choice among candidates rather than a choice among policies" is to consider participation as a "unidimensional phenomena."²⁰

Verba and Nie's analysis of contemporary American citizen participation identifies six different categories

of citizens based on different levels of participation.

Their studies indicate the following categories:

(1) The Inactives (22%) are citizens who take no part in political life. Not only do they not vote, but they do not take part in the communal activities of their neighborhoods.

(2) The Voting Specialists (21%) are citizens who vote regularly but participate in no other political activity, either in their community or in political campaigns. They make no attempt to contact or influence government officials once they are elected. Verba and Nie point out that this group is not as large as many analyses of American politics leads one to suspect.²¹ In other words, most citizens are involved in activities that frequently get ignored in studies of citizen participation that focus exclusively on voting.

(3) The Parochial Participants (4%) are citizens who vote regularly but do not get involved in communal or campaign activities. They differ from the Voting Specialists in that they initiate contact with political leaders on matters that affect their personal lives.

(4) The Communalists (20%) are citizens with a high level of community activity but low level of campaign activity.

(5) The Campaigners (15%) are citizens who engage in almost no communal activity, but are very active in political campaigns.

(6) The Complete Activists (11%) are citizens who engage in all types of activity with great frequency.²²

For political scientists who limit their studies to voting, the activities of one third of the American public, according to Verba and Nie's classification, is being overlooked. In addition, the labeling of nonvoters as being either apathetic or immobilized by contentment ignores the increasing number of educated citizens who feel that the current contours of the American representative system do not truly represent them. As one non-voting American political scientist, Lester J. Mazor of Hampshire College, has put it:

I am not apathetic. I do not believe that people who do not vote should be labeled apathetic. Many of us, at least, do not want any of those who are elected ever to be able to say that they speak for us, that the things they do are what we authorized.²³

But voting for representatives, and centering one's participation around the election of or influencing of them, remains the official ideology of the current American polity, an ideology that is spoken, written, and ardently defended by many of its articulate citizens; almost all of its practicing politicians at all levels of government; the overwhelming majority of reporters, anchorpersons, and

commentators occupying key positions in the mass media; and most of its practicing political scientists. The Expanded Representative State is alive and well in its original, but modified, form. Those who speak out against it are far from legion, and those who theorize and research in the direction of greater citizen participation within its present structure, or who see and work towards a new kind of state in which citizen participation takes on new directions and new dimensions are small in number. But their ideas and ideals have a long history in the United States and their ranks seem to be swelling.

As the earlier chapters indicate, there have always been those in America who have attempted to make representatives more accountable and citizens more responsible for important governmental decision-making. The democratic fervor that flourished in the Revolutionary Period has never disappeared and there has always been a dream and action for more democratic citizen participation which has manifested itself in occasional movements and spurts of oratory and writing. Furthermore, there have always existed some direct democratic forms of participation in the United States to keep the passion for even more alive. The remaining sections of this chapter, therefore, will examine current theories and studies of citizen activity that promote more participatory democracy in America and offer a broad participatory civic role for

all citizens rather than the narrowly defined Hamiltonian or Madisonian roles still in vogue.

POLITICAL SCIENTIFIC THEORIES OF THE PARTICIPATORY STATE

The analytic models of types of democratic states that I constructed in this chapter are original and, as far as I know, unique. I find them useful in helping explain the ideological, theoretical and political struggles that have characterized North American politics through the centuries, to the present day, and probably into the future.

There was no problem in attempting to demarcate political science theorists who favored the Limited Representative State from those who preferred the Expanded Representative State because in this day and age, as we noted earlier, almost no one advocates a return to the original state of the Constitution and a revocation of all of the constitutional amendments that have led to the Expanded Representative State. What has been done is done and there is no call for a retreat to the past. In other words, those who favor representative government are in substantial agreement. Ideas and actions for "major" reform among them are limited to the goal of improving the representative function itself.

Trying to classify theorists, researchers and practitioners who favor greater participatory democracy in America, however, is a more challenging task.

The first key reason for this is that instead of two categories, there are three, in other words, those who favor: (a) the Participatory Representative State--who seek significant participatory reform, what could be called a major overhaul, of the Expanded Representative State; (b) the Representative Participatory State--who see a need for radical restructuring of the representative polity, what could be called revolutionary changes, that would make the system have much truer representation and increase the direct participation function; (c) the Full Participation State--who desire a complete abolition of the representative polity in all forms and degree and its replacement by a total participatory citizenry.

The second key reason is that theorists of participatory democracy do not make the distinctions I have. Most of them simply discuss the deficiencies of representative theory and the positive aspects of participatory democratic theory. The only way one can detect whether they are leaning more towards the Representative Participatory State or the Participatory Representative State is if and when and to what degree they favor particular methods of increasing and improving citizen participation in the process. This problem is even

more pronounced when one deals with researchers and those who invent and implement new methods of participatory democracy. They rarely engage in theoretical discourse. Their goal is simply to improve citizen participation regardless of the type of democratic state in which it may be applied.

The next part of this chapter, then, will deal with some major political theorists who advocate a more participatory state and discuss why. The first group of them, who will be called the general participatory theorists, are notable for their theoretical discourse on the inherent inadequacies of the representative state and why a more participatory state is necessary, that is, its individual, social and political benefits. The second group, who will be called the institutional participatory theorists, are notable for their attempts at constructing or reconstructing governmental structures that would promote direct participation in governance.

The General Participatory Theorists

To a minority of American political scientists, voting for representatives as a form of citizen participation is, as Ben Barber describes, "the least significant act of citizenship in a democracy."²⁴ To Peter Manicas, voting in the American representative process is not only

insignificant, but is deceptive in that it "deludes the powerless into thinking they had their say."²⁵

In addition, if one examines the high percentage of current members of the U.S. House of Representatives who are re-elected each voting period (over 90% since Watergate and 98% in 1988),²⁶ one is inclined to give credence to David Schuman's assertion that voting in the United States "is not action, it is not politics; it is merely reaction, simply endorsement."²⁷ Meaningful citizen participation, in the minds of participatory democratic theorists, includes at the very least the following kind of political action described by Schuman:

one must help frame the issues; one works for those issues; and finally one must help carry out the results of those issues. Ideally, this is done openly and with others. The argument, stated most simply, is that we make something legitimate, make something moral, by actively participating in it. By being political, we give meaning to what goes on. It is not a simple process of acquiescing; it is action.²⁸

A number of other important American participatory democratic theorists in the twentieth century have urged a form of politics in America that provides for the level and type of political participation advocated by Aristotle in which the individual is encouraged and supported to develop his or her capabilities to the fullest.

John Dewey was a democratic theorist who believed the primary challenge of democracy was how to maximize the

common good and personal liberty at the same time.²⁹ But he also believed that it was imperative for a democratic state to seek ways to give each individual the opportunity for release, expression and fulfillment of his/her distinctive capacities.

Through maximization of individual opportunity and growth, Dewey was convinced there would more likely develop a fund of shared values. Consistent with participatory democratic thought, Dewey viewed society as a process, with the state's role being a facilitator and enricher of the contacts human beings (citizens) have with one another.³⁰ He realized that he presented an ideal that had not been achieved at that point in American political history. Yet he sought new paths and exhorted experimentation with ways that would help achieve individual and societal political growth and fulfillment.

Carl Friedrich, a prominent American political scientist and a one time President of the American Political Science Association, maintained that the public good for society cannot be attained by disregarding the public. His advocacy of citizen participation went well beyond the voting stage and insisted on plugging citizens directly into the policy making process, not only of elected politicians but also career bureaucrats. He states that, "Democratic planning, dedicated as it must be to achieving the greatest satisfaction for as many as

possible, cannot neglect the reactions of all those whom a given policy affects."³¹ (Emphasis mine) What often happens, according to Friedrich, is that distrust of public opinion has resulted in putting "the experts on top, rather than on tap."³²

Rather than arguing for citizen participation as an essential aspect of self-actualization, Friedrich's position is that the "common man collectively is a better judge as to what is good for him than any self-appointed elite."³³ Indeed, his brief is that the average person is much more likely than the political partisan to recognize and adhere to "a working scheme of cooperation among men of different views" and that the pursuit of interests "calls for a sense of mutual obligation."³⁴

Peter Bachrach, whose advocacy of participatory democracy is consistent with Dewey's view that active participation in politics by individual citizens contributes to the individual and collective self-development among the citizenry, is also concerned with the survivability of the democratic components of the present American system. He insists that if there is not a revitalization of democratic participation, then one must accept the grim fact that future political decision-making will have even less democratic control than it has now.³⁵

Also concerned with means as well as ends, Bachrach defines political participation as:

a process in which persons formulate, discuss, and decide public issues that are important to them and directly affect their lives. It is a process that is more or less continuous, conducted on a face-to-face basis in which participants have roughly an equal say in all stages, from formulation of issues to the determination of policies.³⁶

Bachrach's criticism of the present-day American political system, i.e., the Expanded Representative State, is that it has "failed to construct channels and institutions to facilitate and encourage people from the lower strata to articulate their interests. Further, it has failed to provide participatorial structures to afford working men and women opportunity to determine who they are and what it is they really want."³⁷ (Emphasis mine) The way in which the system has functioned has resulted in dominance by elites rather than guidance by them.³⁸

At the center of the arguments made by many proponents of participatory democracy is the fundamental belief that most, if not all, decision-making ultimately rests on one's value system, not on any knowledge of absolute right and wrong or on any particular set of facts or data. In this view, the role of elites should be to provide information, a variety of viewpoints, and perhaps recommendations on alternative policies, processes, and so forth. The decision-making, however, should not be reserved to elites

because their own subjective (and perhaps class) values ultimately guide their decision-making.

Advocates of participatory democracy do not believe that "experts" or elites deserve any elevated rank in a hierarchy of decision-making based on values. In fact, Thomas Jefferson, Jeremy Bentham, Carl Friedrich, and many other advocates of a more participatory democracy were more leary of decisions made by an unchecked elite than of decisions made by the average person. Jefferson stated, "I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom."³⁹ To him, "the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army" against "tumults" in America.⁴⁰

The Institutional Participatory Theorists

Robert Dahl, whose description of the dynamics of the current processes in the Expanded Representative State is generally accepted as a potent defense of it, also has a body of work which appreciates the desirability of a more participatory polity. For example, according to Dahl, Jean Jacques Rousseau "was the last great democratic philosopher to advocate (what Dahl calls) primary democracy in a literal sense."⁴¹ Indeed, Rousseau wrote that "as soon as a people gives itself representation, it is no longer free."⁴² While Rousseau thought it appropriate that the citizens allow a small group to administer the laws they

made, it would be death to democracy and freedom to delegate lawmaking powers to any smaller group.

Dahl believes that Rousseau's vision of primary democracy is "one of the most beguiling utopias since Plato's republic."⁴³ While Rousseau's plan, according to Dahl, is completely impractical and totally unachievable, Dahl admits to being captivated by the vision of friends and neighbors settling their common affairs together. Guided by concerns of "Competence, Economy and Personal Choice," Dahl rejects Rousseau's primary democracy, yet seriously recommends the reinstitution of the lottery system in modern democracy.⁴⁴

Under this system, citizens would be randomly selected to serve as representatives on advisory councils to every elected official of the "giant polyarchy"--from mayors of large cities to governors, members of Congress as well as the President. Believing that making national decisions on complex issues on appropriations, revenues, foreign affairs, etc., requires much more thought and time than most Americans could or would apply, Dahl argues against making the randomly selected bodies more than advisory. He does not argue that elected officials are more capable to do the research or the necessary deliberations. But he does believe they are definitely more motivated. What they need, however, is much more guidance by a much more representative citizenry.

Subsequently, in 1972, three Cornell University professors (Dennis C. Mueller, Robert D. Tollison, and Thomas D. Willett) offered a design for the Representative Participatory State that also addressed Dahl's concerns about "Competence, Economy and Personal Choice."⁴⁵ They proposed a combination of an elected legislative body and a randomly selected legislative body. Under their scheme, one house would be composed of around twenty senators elected at large throughout the country. This house would only initiate legislation, which would then be passed on to the random house, chosen from the adult citizenry, to enact the legislation if it saw fit to do so.

The Mueller-Tollison-Willett system serves somewhat to institutionalize national referenda since it permits laws to be enacted from a body of citizens that truly represent all demographic and political groups in the country, because that would roughly be the consequence of a nationwide random selection process for a lawmaking body. The three professors do not choose to abolish election altogether because they wish to allow some degree of "political entrepreneurship" to flourish in the United States. Elections encourage the development of some leadership qualities, which is seen by them as having substantial value to the political system.

This dual legislative system, one house elected by the people and one selected at random from the people, was

endorsed in 1976 by Theodore L. Becker⁴⁶ and in 1985 by Ernest Callenbach and Michael Phillips.⁴⁷ Political scientist and futurist, Jim Dator, goes even further and states he believes "all political figures should be chosen by lot, as jurors are."⁴⁸ Those advocating random legislatures all agree that no other way can possibly produce a truly "representative" legislature. They take literally our second President John Adams's definition of a representative assembly, which is described in chapter 2. It "should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason, and act like them."⁴⁹

Becker wonders why there is such popular acceptance of the fact that life and death decisions can be made by randomly selected juries, yet there is such widespread incredulity over a system that would also trust citizens with legislative matters? Using 1976 data, he pointed out that 50-60% of Congressmen were lawyers, 20% were millionaires, 96% were white, and 97% were male. There is no way he believes this very homogeneous body can ever truly reflect the viewpoints of the citizenry at large or share the same values and interests.⁵⁰

Callenbach and Phillips also note that a lottery system existed for almost 200 years in Athens. Some 500 randomly selected legislators served one year terms in an

institution called the "boule." This lawmaking body also performed some judicial functions as well.

Of course, advocating a randomly selected legislature, even at all levels of government, in every state and in every city and town in the nation, is still a vote in favor of a representative polity. Yet, its goal is broader. Such an institution would emphasize participation by all segments of society in the lawmaking process, albeit through representative bodies. Advocates of random legislature, then, are moving in the direction of a Representative Participatory State because they emphasize the legislative capacity of the ordinary citizen and want new institutions that foster such.

While the actual number of citizens who would be serving as Congressmen, state legislators and city councilpersons under the random system of selection would still be only a small minority of the entire population, larger and larger numbers of citizens would become involved in these roles over the years. The level of education and awareness developed through such service would likely enhance and increase other citizen interest and involvement. Moreover, the government process would no longer appear to be so removed and alien from their own experience. And finally, the representatives of the people would more accurately reflect the people in their values and attitudes, for example, the broadest base of the

population's value system would actually be participating in the political system.

Seeking to address the dilemmas discussed earlier of a totally involved citizenry on all issues at all times, these proposals place participation of the citizenry at the center, but allow that participation to be on a rotating basis through the representative system. Hence, these proposals fit within the ideological framework of the Representative Participatory State.

National initiative, referendum and recall, or a nationwide form of the traditional American town meeting, are institutional changes that would maximize citizen participation in lawmaking throughout the nation. This concept has had several important advocates in recent years. These structural alterations would also be key components in any move towards the Representative Participatory State. Taken together they would embody a strong participatory polity with some elements of the representative state. The crucial instrumentation that would facilitate such a major structural change in this day and age is modern communications and information processing technologies.

An early advocate of such a nationwide system of direct democracy was the famous psychologist, Erich Fromm. In his book, The Sane Society, he discussed the many ills of modern industrialized society, social maladies that most

definitely included a sense of alienation and helplessness in persons about how they could control important events in their lives, including their economic and political welfare.⁵¹ This psychological malaise permeating society created, in Fromm's view, a relatively insane societal situation. Among the many methods Fromm devised to help remedy some of the sense of political alienation that characterized modern society was national electronic voting.

According to Fromm, the whole population should be divided into small groups of five hundred or so according to residence or place of work. These groups would meet regularly, such as once a month, to discuss political issues of national and local concern. In order to have meaningful discussion, Fromm argues that citizens would need to be informed. He proposes a cultural committee of outstanding individuals noted for their integrity in the fields of art, science, religion, business, and politics to provide factual information to the citizens. After the groups discussed the issues in their face to face meetings, they would vote "with the help of the technical devices we have today."⁵² Fromm states these groups would constitute "the true 'House of Commons,' which would share power with the house of universally elected representatives and a universally elected executive."⁵³

R. Buckminster Fuller, a noted thinker and inventor, agrees with Fromm that "Democracy must be structurally modernized...to give it a one-individual-to-another speed and spontaniety of reaction commensurate with the speed and scope of broadcast news..."⁵⁴ Fuller argues that America is now ready to try democracy for the first time. What makes the time right for America is not only her experience and intellectual development, but also modern technology.

Fuller calls for daily nation-wide voting on issues through the use of television, computers, and other available technology that could record votes instantaneously. He believes there are several advantages to this system, which is the product of centuries of human progress and development. Included in his list of advantages are efficiency in decision-making; popular co-operation in carrying out decisions of the public; allows for continuous correction if expenses indicate the need; makes the United States more united against foreign forces because all citizens have been allowed to take responsibility for acts of the United States; other countries will be envious of the United States democracy; and it is an evolutionary process of reform that guards against revolution. In terms of voter fraud or cheating, Fuller maintains that technology is so advanced that a system can be devised to make the "effective abuse through cheating" to be virtually nil. If this modern electronic

democracy he advocates is tried and proves to be inferior as a survival means to other methods, then citizens will learn and can turn to superior methods. However, he argues, if direct democracy is not tried now, future generations will champion it again and again and wars will be fought until it is finally given an "adequate trial."⁵⁵

Becker also advocates a national initiative and referendum process. For "highly critical and very important legislation" that deal with "society-wide problems" he calls for the use of national home-TV referendum to bring the entire population into an electronic town meeting discussion and deliberation of national issues. Becker not only addresses broadening citizen participation within the legislative branch, but also within the judicial branch. Pointing out that such disparate countries as England, Denmark, Cuba, and the Soviet Union have found ways to use nonlawyers as judges in their legal systems, Becker calls for a system of lay assessors to supplement the legally trained judges. The argument he makes is that lay persons should not be limited to finders of fact (as the jury in America is), but also should be involved as deliberators on how the facts should be interpreted according to the law. The rationale for this is his view that judges interpret the law not according to some universal standard or truth, but according to their personal view of what the law means. In

addition, these personal views are certainly influenced by one's class, education, and status in society. Although Becker does not advocate abolishing the requirement of a legal education for judges, he believes all trials in which juries are not involved should be presided by a tribunal of three judges and supplemented by two lay assessors. This system would also apply at the appellate level.⁵⁶

Alvin Toffler addresses Becker's Random Legislature plan and arguments in his book The Third Wave and offers a proposal for consideration that combines both Becker and Fuller's views. Rather than transporting the randomly selected branch of the legislature off to Washington, Toffler suggests using computers, advanced telecommunications, and polling methods to allow the Random House to operate out of their homes. This dispersal of the legislators would, he argues, "strike a devastating blow at the special interest groups and lobbies who infest the corridors of most parliaments. Such groups would have to lobby the people--not just a few elected officials."⁵⁷

From Theoretical Discourse To Theory-Testing

Thus the struggle of words, ideas, concepts, theories, philosophies and ideologies perserveres to this very day--and promises to continue into the indefinite future. As I have tried to demonstrate in this chapter, beneath the ostensibly objective theoretical position of those

antagonistic towards or in favor of a participatory-based state are beliefs about human nature. Sometimes, too, there are beliefs about the physical universe and the relationship that exists between the humans and their universe that provide a theoretical guide for political theory. Different theoretical approaches, guided by different value systems, produce different types of studies, and different answers to similar questions.

For many of the theoreticians, however, at least partial answers to many seemingly intractable social, economic, and political problems in the world and in the United States lie in the further "democratization" of political structures (towards more participatory systems). Some of them have devoted their research activities towards experimentation with and development of novel devices and approaches that are capable of promoting, stimulating, inducing--and measuring--citizen participation.

Although many of these researchers and coordinators of improved citizen participation action projects do not identify themselves as partisans of the Representative Participatory State, they are allies of those who do. For their works, whether successful or not, provide important knowledge as to what does or does not provide a greater degree or higher quality of interactive feedback among citizens and between citizens and those occupying policy-making, planning, or administrative positions.

The next chapter will select several major studies of the past few decades that have integrated modern communication and information technologies and techniques in a quest to provide the technical infrastructure of either the Participatory Representative State or the Representative Participatory State. These works were all instrumental in the development of the Televote method, which I consider to be a major, central component of a political system that successfully blends representation and participation, Newtonian theory and quantum theory.

NOTES

1. Gabriel Almond, "Separate Tables: Schools and Sects in Political Science," Political Science Fall 1988: 828-842.
2. Margaret Conway, Political Participation in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1985) 53-56.
3. Conway 46.
4. Conway 5.
5. Congressional Quarterly, 21 Jan. 1989.
6. F. Christopher Arterton, Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy? (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987) 49.
7. Frank B. Feigert and Margaret Conway, Parties and Politics in America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976) 85. For comparative purposes, there is a scarcity of national research regarding other forms of political activity. Having examined citizen participation studies and published two books on the subject, Conway concluded: "Only a few studies have examined participation in and support for unconventional political activity in the United States and hardly any of them have been based on data from national samples. More research has been conducted in other countries where unconventional participation occurs more often." (Conway, Political Participation 138) Recall that Conway classifies such activity as signing petitions, engaging in lawful demonstrations, and participating in boycotts as unconventional. (Emphasis mine.)
8. David B. Truman, The Governmental Process (New York: Knopf, 1951).
9. Robert A. Dahl, Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).
10. Lester Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1977) 151-152.
11. Milbrath 153.
12. Milbrath 149.

13. Michael Crozier, Samuel Huntington, and Joji Watanuki, The Crisis of Democracy (New York: New York University Press, 1975) 113.
14. Crozier, Huntington, and Watanuki 114.
15. Crozier, Huntington, and Watanuki 115.
16. Thomas R. Dye and L. Harmon Zeigler, The Irony of Democracy (Monterey, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1984) 14.
17. Dye and Zeigler 15.
18. Dye and Zeigler 15.
19. Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) 44.
20. Verba and Nie 45.
21. Verba and Nie 79.
22. Verba and Nie 82-101.
23. Lester J. Mazor, letter, New York Times 23 Oct. 1980.
24. Ben Barber, Strong Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 187.
25. Peter Manicas, The Death of the State (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1974) 177.
26. Richard Wolf, "Incumbent Party' Keys House Seats," USA Today 27 Oct. 1988: A1.
27. David Schuman, A Preface to Politics (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath & Co., 1977) 115.
28. Schuman 113.
29. John Dewey and James H. Tufts, Ethics (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1932) 377-414.
30. John Dewey, Reconstruction in Philosophy (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957) 187-213.
31. Carl Friedrich, The New Belief in the Common Man (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1943) 217.
32. Friedrich 216.

33. Friedrich 113.
34. Friedrich 123.
35. Peter Bachrach, The Theory of Democratic Elitism (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1980) x.
36. Peter Bachrach, "Interest, Participation, and Democratic Theory," Participation in Politics, eds. J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman (New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1975) 41.
37. Bachrach, "Interest" 40.
38. Bachrach, Theory 4.
39. Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to Kercheval," 12 July 1816, Jefferson Writings (New York, Viking Press, 1984) 1400.
40. Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to Edward Carrington," 16 Jan. 1787, Jefferson Writings 880.
41. Robert A. Dahl, After the Revolution? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970) 79-80. Dahl describes "primary democracy" as governments based on the town meeting model where all citizens are allowed to participate in making laws.
42. Jean Jacques Rousseau, The Essential Rousseau (New York: The New American Library, 1974) 78-80.
43. Dahl, Revolution 80.
44. Dahl, Revolution 149-153.
45. Dennis C. Mueller, Robert D. Tollison, and Thomas D. Willett, "Representative Democracy Via Random Selection," Public Choice 7 (Spring 1972): 60-61.
46. Theodore L. Becker, American Government: Past, Present, Future (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976).
47. Ernest Callenbach and Michael Phillips, A Citizen Legislature (Berkeley: Banyan Tree Books, 1985).
48. Jim Dator, "Rethinking Honolulu City Governance," City and County Charter Commission Retreat, Honolulu, 19 Aug. 1981.

49. Gordon S. Wood, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969) 165.
50. Ted Becker, Unvote for a New America (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1976) 184.
51. Erich Fromm, The Sane Society (Greenwich, Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, 1955).
52. Fromm 297.
53. Fromm 298.
54. R. Buckminster Fuller, No More Secondhand God (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1971) 9.
55. Fuller 13.
56. Becker, American Government 488-489.
57. Alvin Toffler, The Third Wave (London: William Collins Sons & Co., 1982) 434-435.

CHAPTER V

TOWARDS THE REPRESENTATIVE PARTICIPATORY STATE:
RESEARCH AND ACTION PROJECTS

As with American political theorists, the agendas of American political scientists who engage in empirical research or research- action projects is driven, to a large degree, by their own political values and ideologies. So it is not surprising to discover that most of the American political science empirical research--is founded on a deep seated belief in, or adherence to, the values inherent in the Expanded Representative State. As goes the overwhelming majority of American political theorists, so goes the overwhelming majority of American political researchers.

Political scientists have been concerned for quite some time about the legitimacy or efficacy of American representative democracy when large numbers of American citizens choose not to vote. So it is quite understandable that one of the first modern political scientific experiment-action projects was avowedly undertaken to help improve the American representative system. A research team from the University of Chicago had an idea about how to generate greater voter turnout. Led by Professor Harold Gosnell, a field experiment was conducted whereby an

experimental group of citizens was given leaflets containing information on voter registration and a similar control group was not. The object was to see to what degree information provided in the leaflet would induce citizens to register to vote. The experiment was "successful" insofar as 9% more citizens in the experimental group registered to vote than in the control group.¹

Political scientists partial to a well-functioning, legitimate representative system have an abiding interest and concern with high voter registration and turnout. This is also consistent with the rhetoric of most government officials and many political party officials in the United States. Therefore, a great deal of study is made of who registers to vote and who does not, and who votes and who does not. Well within that tradition is the work of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan and its finding that "one of the greatest limitations of civic participation (voting) is imposed by sheer ignorance of the existence of major social and economic problems. From the viewpoint of social action (getting out the vote) the problem of creating familiarity with issues is the first task."²

A very recent American political scientific examination into why there is such a low voting turnout in the election process of the United States was also aimed at

devising a strategy to increase the number of citizens selecting representatives. Francis Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, in their Why Americans Don't Vote,³ came to the conclusion that the major factor in non-voting was impediments to registration. Looking at past American standards for registration, as well as those in current European systems, they concluded that the contemporary American process was consciously designed to discourage registration, and thus voting. Their solution: to seek political reform that makes voter registration an important public policy to be implemented by government through a variety of ways that facilitate the registration process, and to see that voter registration drives are conducted where poor people do their business so that registration efforts reach those that are the traditional nonvoters.

Recommendations for registration reform in America have been advocated for quite some time and are intended to swell the percentage of voter participation in an electoral system that falls far short of the public involvement of almost all other Western representative systems. Suspicions exist among participatory democratic theorists, however, that reforms aimed at increased citizen voting without opening other avenues for citizen involvement in decision-making are merely techniques to obfuscate the fact that the American system of representation has been

designed and redesigned to discourage participation, and has always accomplished that purpose substantially.

Therefore, over time, there has been a growing number of empirical researchers who have been developing and testing ways to improve the quality of citizen participation, in general, consistent with a wide variety of political structures. Some of the research has been designed merely to strengthen the Expanded Representative State. Other research has constructed means to provide a new level and/or new types of citizen participation consistent with developing a new form or level of representative government as well, in other words, the Participatory Representative State. In a few cases, the research and the ideas are consistent with the more revolutionary concept of the Representative Participatory State. In the latter two instances, the citizen participation projects are aimed at making the system more representative of excluded or traditionally underrepresented groups. They also are characterized by developing new ways by which citizens become more and better informed and interact more freely and comfortably with one another. In these projects, the nature of the citizen involvement is richer than a simple, silent vote for representatives and other political figures who reign rather than serve.

Defenders of the status quo, and various skeptics, belittle such efforts as being either something that the

Founding Fathers correctly dismissed (an appeal to the authority of American tradition and the tradition of American authority) or something that can not work in a nation even the size of the original thirteen states, much less the size of modern America. Today's participatory democratic researchers, however, are impressed by the potential inherent in advanced communications technology to overcome great physical distances and facilitate interaction between huge masses of people that make possible forms of participation that the Founders never could imagine. Furthermore, they are more impressed by the dynamic process of revolutionary and inventive thinking of the Founding Fathers than they are by the static, historical substance of it. For example, an ardent advocate of political innovation and change, James Madison once wrote:

Hearken not to the voice which petulantly tells you that the form of government recommended for your adoption is a novelty in the political world; that it has never yet had a place in the theories of the wildest projectors; that it rashly attempts what is impossible to accomplish. No, my countrymen, shut your ears to this unhallowed language...Is it not the glory of the people of America that, whilst they have paid a decent regard to the opinions of former times and other nations, they have not suffered a blind veneration for antiquity, for custom, or for names, to overrule the suggestions of their own good sense, the knowledge of their own situation, and the lessons of their own experience? To this manly spirit posterity will be indebted for the possession and the world for the example of the numerous

innovations displayed on the American theater in favor of private rights and public happiness.⁴

This chapter will center its attention on the inventive tradition established by the Founding Fathers of the United States Constitution and examine and analyze a number of research and action projects that have tested some technologies and techniques that could prove useful in the functioning of a Representative Participatory State. Some of them sparked and informed the development of the Televote method of public opinion polling and improved citizen participation, the major focus and final section of this volume. The first part of this chapter will analyze some "small scale" experiments that delve into the micro dynamics of citizen participation, specifically, how to develop more informed and higher quality interaction among citizens as they learn about and deliberate issues.

SMALL SCALE EXPERIMENTS:

THE MICRO DYNAMICS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

James Dator, who has written extensively on the antiquated American political system, observes that it was created in a period devoid of "the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone, automobile, airplane, television, satellite,"⁵ and that it gave little power to ordinary citizens who were considered to be "illiterate, isolated, and provincial" by the Founding Fathers.⁶ The surge into

the post-industrial society, the Information Age, the Third Wave, or the New Age has intensified the need for and constructed the instruments for an informed and involved public. Jerome Glenn voices the view of democrats through the centuries who emphasize, "the keystone of a democracy's survival is an educated public."⁷ The communication and information technologies of the twentieth century have created the possibilities for the blossoming of a "strong democracy."

Along with the quantum leaps in scientific knowledge and inventions have come a dramatic increase in alternatives available. For many of those concerned with more participatory democracy there is the concern to create "a more conscious awareness of the range of alternative futures and their implications (so) citizens (can) make better informed decisions."⁸ Glenn, whose work focuses on involving citizens in policy planning for the future, has studied a number of techniques designed to inform citizens, encourage interaction, and promote participation. Most of them are versions, or include aspects, of the twentieth century art and science of public opinion polling.

Delphi

One such technique is Delphi, a series of questionnaires sent to individuals in an effort to develop consensus. After each round of questioning, each

participant in Delphi is provided the results and is allowed the opportunity to change her/his opinion. A distinctive feature of Delphi is that it intentionally keeps the form of communication in a written medium in an effort to keep the focus on ideas rather than on the personalities of the participants. It is a relatively inexpensive and flexible method. It can, however, be tedious and monotonous to individuals who prefer person-to-person contact rather than the isolation inherent in the Delphi method. It has also been used primarily among those with a great deal of education and/or expertise in some field, which has apparently limited its contribution to more inclusive participatory democracy systems. However, the idea of a series, or rounds, of votes and/or opinions, as a method of developing consensus would seem to have a more general applicability than simply among experts.

Charrette

Another technique, Charrette,⁹ was created to bring people from various segments of society--the general public, government agencies, universities--to participate together in a series of discussions in an effort to reach a consensus. Small groups, including a wide variety of participants, talk about various aspects of a problem and then report periodically to the whole group which responds

to their ideas. The process moves back and forth from small group discussions to meetings of the entire group until a deadline is reached.

Charettes come in all sizes with the average consisting of approximately five hundred members broken up into five groups. The goal of the charrette is to eliminate distinctions between so-called experts and members of the public. What is made clear is that participation means representing oneself and that hierarchies are not to be established.

Syncon

Another technique aimed at consensus-building is the Syncon (Synergistic Convergence) created in 1971 by John Whiteside and Barbara Marx Hubbard. Its goal is to bring together people from all walks of life and professional backgrounds to discuss global policies for the future--25 to 100 years ahead. Syncon, which usually consists of about 250 persons, begins with small groups which then merge into groups of intermediate size and then into one large group. The smaller groups discuss functional areas of a culture, while the larger groups discuss areas of new potential (in other words, a merging of functional areas in new patterns).

The Syncon process is intended to be made available on television, allowing home viewers to participate by

telephone. PBS broadcasted the Los Angeles Syncon in 1971. This increased its value as an educational device for the general public, but it did not result in any legislative or policy impact. Because Syncons have not been directly related to state or local policy processes their conclusions are rarely implemented.

Problem/Possibility Focuser

One process that does not strive for consensus, but instead seeks to clarify the agreements and disagreements surrounding a specific issue, is the problem/possibility focuser created by Robert Theobald. This begins with a group delineating all the areas of agreement, and then all the areas of disagreement, on the issue at hand. The next step is to develop ideas to settle disagreements. The last step before preparing a report on the process is to list the resources that may help to clarify the nature of the disagreements listed. Theobald states:

the object of a problem/possibility focuser is to increase the agreements and to limit the disagreements surrounding an issue so that those who make policy have the best possible guides to understanding the world within which they must act.¹⁰

He views this method as a continual process, one to keep the public and policy-makers informed about new developments relating to the issue.

Computer Conferencing

Computer conferencing is a technique which allows instantaneous communication between a large number of participants all over the country. Messages are typed into a computer, which allows them to be stored and retrieved by participants at their own convenience. It provides a relatively inexpensive means of organizing a conference to discuss a topic without individuals having to travel to a meeting place from various parts of the country. As computer terminals (PCs, laptops, and so forth) become more available and accessible to the general public, computer conferencing can develop into an important component of what Ted Becker has termed the "Electronic Town Meeting."¹¹ Citizens would have rapid access to substantial data bases and could, in turn, communicate their ideas in an efficient and convenient manner, utilize Delphis and all other techniques of informed consensus building, via computer networks.

Projects designed to involve citizens in ways to improve the quality of political agenda setting and/or policy making processes, which use the techniques described above or similar activities, have been experimented with repeatedly all over the United States. The results of these studies have been overwhelmingly positive, that is, new techniques constructed to encourage informed

interactions between citizens with varying degrees of knowledge and from diverse backgrounds produce deliberative and informed judgments and occasional consensuses on important and complex public agendas and policies.

In addition, over the last two decades or so, experiments or projects involving large scale citizen participation in, with, and/or adjacent to government have been plentiful and varied. Some have been shoestring operations and privately sponsored, while others have been major undertakings with significant financial resources and governmental backing aimed at increasing the participation of citizens in a wide variety of governmental functions at all levels of governance. In all cases, the new systems have increased and improved citizen participation from what could have been expected without the use of these techniques and technologies.

LARGE SCALE EXPERIMENTS:

LINKING CITIZENS TO GOVERNMENT

Although the research being conducted on a small-scale is important and essential to an understanding of the factors leading to increased and improved citizen participation, as well as the impact of citizen participation, the emphasis of this thesis is on relatively large scale projects that have either a formal or informal relationship with governmental officials in an effort to

involve citizens in actual agenda-setting, planning and/or policy-making. The components of each of these participatory democratic projects include: (1) an initial openness to all adult citizens in the area; (2) methods to educate citizens; (3) procedures to obtain citizen views; (4) encouragement and provision of ways to interact among citizens; and (5) means to link the citizen participation to planners, policy makers, administrators, and so forth.

Since the projects I am focusing on in this work are all efforts that had direct support from and linkage to either a national, state or local government, they all have as a goal, either expressed or implied, the desire to strengthen citizen participation in an actual representative system and thus are clearly supportive of the Expanded Representative State and/or the Participatory Representative State. However, many of their techniques, technologies, and theories are compatible with the development of a Representative Participatory State, as are their findings. For example, all of them utilize interactive communications techniques and all but one (Berks County Television) utilize random methods. Finally, all try to develop new techniques to develop substantial factual and balanced information and opinion to be presented to the public.

Alternatives for Washington

One of the first and most extensive projects aimed at involving citizens in major public planning is Alternatives for Washington (AFW), which ran for two years.¹² Not only did this pioneering effort link citizens with government, but it was sponsored and funded by the Washington Governor's Office during Governor Dan Evans's tenure. Its goal was to involve as many Washington citizens as possible in a process of identifying the major problems the state needed to address and determining the preferred alternative futures to guide state policy. Strong support for participatory democracy came from the state's top official when Governor Evans initiated the program with the statement:

Our future need be imposed neither by the personal interests of an elite nor the impersonal force of history. It can be determined by all of the people of the state if they are willing to...devote the effort to the task...I believe the citizens of this state can, in an orderly and rational manner, determine their future and assure such a privilege will also be available to generations to come.¹³

The project was separated into two phases. The first year's processes sought to portray various future scenarios for the State of Washington and the preferred policies of each of those futures. The second year's processes evaluated the pros and cons of the various policies selected in the first phase.

There were many ways that this project recruited citizens from all walks of life to participate in it, to educate those involved, and to generate and expedite interaction between them. For example, the project included contributions from the state's major newspapers and public television. Activities ranged from small face-to-face group discussions to thousands of individuals responding to a questionnaire from the privacy of their own homes.

Components of the project, which were tightly coordinated and well integrated, included: (1) A statewide task force of one hundred fifty individuals, selected from four thousand nominees, to oversee the project and to identify the alternatives from the information obtained from the public. A strong emphasis was placed on choosing members of the task force who would be closely "representative" of the population in socio-economic status, geographic distribution, race, and profession; (2) A Delphi questionnaire was conducted in a three part series with twenty-five hundred citizens participating to determine trends within and outside of Washington and to judge their effects on the state; (3) Area-wide conferences took place in ten areas of the state comprised of one hundred fifty to two hundred citizens (selected by the governor) to supervise the work of the task force so as to prevent it from becoming too centralized and removed from those they

supposedly represented; (4) Television programming sought to educate the public on the evolution of the process and to obtain substantive feedback through call-ins; (5) Newspapers statewide featured lengthy mail-in questionnaires that described eleven futures and asked citizens to respond with their own preferences. Over 26,000 responses were received; (6) Random sample telephone and mail surveys were sent to 6,000 citizens to gain a representative sample of the population's views to the questionnaire published in the newspapers. Two thirds of those surveyed responded.

While there were many problems in the AFW project, including financial limitations, lack of involvement and support by the state legislature, and tensions between the governor and the legislature, the designers and organizers were able to directly involve over 60,000 citizens of the state of Washington in the various activities. They concluded the program demonstrated that the people have the capacity to participate in the development of policy whether at the local, state, or national level.¹⁴

Criticisms can be and have been made of the failure of the project to prove that all or most citizens are eager to participate or express views when given the opportunity to do so. After all, the newspaper distribution was over a million, why did only 26,000 respond? At the same time one could ask a different question: When is the last time over

60,000 citizens in any state responded to calls for participation in setting the future agenda for their state--whether the participation involves thinking through philosophical visions of one's future or responding to intensely debated questions of future public policy?

Actually, the results of AFW are quite impressive when one examines the National Election Studies survey data cited in the previous chapter that indicates that Americans are increasingly feeling as though government, politicians, and political parties are unresponsive to them. Why bother to spend your time and give your views to those who do not listen? It was particularly interesting that in Washington so much participation could be aroused even though the legislators were obviously ignoring the project. After all, if a citizen is merely using a cost-benefit analysis, what is the likely benefit of participation in a project in which his/her "representatives" are either openly hostile or noticeably aloof?

There are no scientifically determined answers to these questions about the Washington experience. However, the AFW results raise other questions. What would have been the participation rate if: (1) the legislature embraced the project; (2) the results of the two year project determined public policy; and (3) resources and means were available to all those who desired to participate?

The importance of AFW is not merely its demonstration that large segments of the population would participate in expressing their views, but that participating citizens were able to act responsibly. They listened and participated in evaluating options. There was give and take. There was attention to planning a vision for the future--an activity not often exercised in everyday politics--rather than merely reacting to an immediate crisis. It whetted the appetite of many for opportunities for more involvement, only to meet with a disinterested legislature and new governor (when the sponsoring governor declined to seek a fourth term) who turned their backs on the entire project. What comes first--apathy or being ignored?

F. Christopher Arterton, who studied thirteen "policy neutral," "teledemocracy" projects,¹⁵ criticized the AFW project for its unrepresentative samples and maintains that the participants did not necessarily reflect the views of the population at large.¹⁶ He cites the selection process for many of the groups as choosing those who are already politically active and aware and thus not including the views of the traditional nonparticipants. And even though much energy was spent on composing the Task Force group with emphasis on nonpartisanship and balance according to sex, age, race, and geographic areas, Arterton says the

average income of the members was well above the median income of Washington residents.¹⁷

In spite of these criticisms, Arterton concedes that "involving 65,000 citizens in the public policy process is quite an accomplishment."¹⁸ In fact, it is estimated that a third of the state's 3.5 million residents were contacted in some way to discuss planning goals for the state.¹⁹ Such extensive citizen awareness and participation also had long-term impact. Many of those who got involved, Arterton's study concludes:

went on to further involvement with planning, state government, and citizen activism. Liaisons that developed among citizens, community leaders, and government officials lasted well beyond the life of AFW. And the value of public input was made apparent to both citizens and the government.²⁰ (Emphasis mine)

Some other impacts of the AFW project include:²¹

(1) AFW was viewed as conveying the importance of controlled growth and conservation to citizens who were not sensitive to these issues before the project. Several conservation measures passed after the discussion of them in AFW. (2) There was a realization that the media was willing to cooperate in providing substantive information to the citizens and government on controversial issues. Many activists developed very good relations with the media during and after AFW. (3) The local NBC affiliate began to provide several programs dealing with local and national

issues and worked with the League of Women Voters and newspapers to publicize the programs. (4) The transportation authority in Seattle began a cable television program to provide information and seek call-ins from citizens. (5) Even though the legislature was unfriendly and unreceptive to the project, Arterton's study found "many of its recommendations subsequently worked their way into state policy and the project legitimized innovative ways of gauging citizen opinion to inform the policy process."²²

Berks Community Television

A project which began at the same time AFW was ending provides an excellent indication of the results that can be obtained when the "representative" body is responsive to public input. In 1976 the New York University Media Center received support from the National Science Foundation to develop a video communications network in Reading, Pennsylvania in order to promote the social welfare of senior citizens and shut-ins.²³ The system, called Berks (County) Community Television, began as a program that allowed senior citizens to communicate via video with city officials since they were unable to attend public hearings.

The participation of these citizens in the program was so much better than expected that the city government decided to try to increase general citizen participation in

government by expanding the program. All budget hearings and Community Development Block Grants hearings were then aired "live" over two-way cable television. All citizens were then able to participate on-camera by visiting neighborhood centers equipped with interactive video that utilizes a "split-screen" technique. Or citizens can simply telephone in from their homes while watching the hearings on television.

When the expansion of the project first began, the average number of citizens who attended budget hearings in Berks County was two or three.²⁴ At the first interactive television budget hearing more than fifty citizens participated in providing input either from their homes or via the video equipped neighborhood centers. The process allows citizens to propose alternatives, disagree with city-sponsored proposals, or simply to ask questions for more information.

Currently there is a weekly dialog among the mayor, one or more city councilpersons, and the public. In addition, if a major community crisis arises, electronic town meetings are established to bring citizens into the discussion of the problem and determination of how to solve it. Rather than turn their backs on the eagerness of many citizens to participate, the city officials in Reading, Pennsylvania have acknowledged its value and expanded the opportunities. Ben Barber argues that the project's

success in providing access to information and stimulating participatory debate "suggests ways to overcome the problem of scale and to defeat technological complexity by putting technology to work for democratic ends."²⁵ The results of the ongoing project are highlighted by a dramatic increase in citizen participation.²⁶

Not only did citizen participation dramatically increase in Reading, but Arterton's study reveals qualitative improvements in the participation for both citizens as well as government leaders.²⁷ As time went by, the citizens began to show a much better understanding of how city government operated. When the project first began, citizens asked questions about services the city did not provide and showed a confusion about which functions were performed by various departments. They not only began to understand more about the functions of their government as programming continued, but also began to ask follow-up questions, which demonstrated an analytical approach to the issues being discussed. The mayor and city council members also became more sophisticated in interacting with the public. Some of them showed their own lack of knowledge or understanding of political problems. Through increased interaction with citizens, they began to be less ignorant of issues and functions and more responsive to citizen concerns.

Arterton's conclusion is that "BCTV has improved the accountability of local officials to those whom they serve...BCTV has exposed city government to the real concerns of the people."²⁸ The mayor of Reading, who came to power as a strong supporter of BCTV, believes that "as citizens become better acquainted with how local government works and what it can accomplish, they have also become less cynical about local politics."²⁹

Alaska Legislative Teleconference Network

An example of obtaining input from citizens on an even larger scale than Reading, Pennsylvania, is how the Alaska legislature designed a system to allow the citizens in the nation's geographically largest state to obtain information on legislation from the government and then to communicate their ideas and views in legislative committee hearings.³⁰ Their system began in 1977 in response to the repeated complaints that Juneau, the state capital, was too isolated, which made it extremely difficult for Alaskan citizens to appear in person to speak at public hearings. An experimental statewide public hearing was broadcast live by the state's public television and radio stations, as well as by some commercial broadcasters. Citizens were given toll free numbers so they could call in with comments and questions.

Steve Smith maintains that "the success of this experiment, fear of a capital move by Southeast legislators, interest by rural legislators in connecting their constituents with the rest of Alaska, and a bulging state pocketbook (due to oil revenues) led to the formation of the legislative teleconference network (LTN)."³¹ It originally began with teleconferencing centers that connected citizens to legislative hearings. Since that time the number of teleconference sites have expanded to over sixty operating in several Alaskan cities. The LTNs are available for use 24 hours a day and not only serve citizens through increased access, but facilitate research by legislators and other government officials who can communicate more easily without having to travel as frequently to obtain information from experts and citizens.

While the LTN has been met with enthusiasm by citizens, not all legislators have been pleased with it. Prior to its existence, there was little news from remote Juneau during the legislative sessions. After a few years of the LTN and increased awareness of state functions, there were reporters from the major newspapers, television stations, and radio stations covering events all over the state capital. The watchful eyes of the media hawks made many legislators anxious. Thus at one point the State House of Representatives suspended its coverage of hearings but resumed when the senate failed to follow suit. Smith

also points out that there has been no research conducted to determine the impact of the increased citizen involvement on legislative policy-making.³²

Arterton's study demonstrates the increasing local popularity and citizen interest in the LTN of Alaska. His data shows that from 1981 to 1984 the number of teleconferences increased from 412 to 715 and the number of citizens attending the teleconferences increased from 8,745 to 17,661.³³ The LTN has become so popular that the network usage reached saturation levels during the 1984 legislative sessions, forcing the system operator to establish priorities by which to choose between competing users for the valued air time.³⁴

While many of the legislators were originally worried that the system was somehow an attempt to erode their power, most have become users of the system. They discovered in a very short period of time that "Alaskans wanted a greater voice in government and were willing to use the network."³⁵ Even though some legislators see its value as an informational tool for themselves as well as the citizens, they also recognize the political wisdom of continuing the LTV. As research indicates, the citizens want to participate and legislators fear the reaction of citizens if they are no longer included in this process.³⁶

As in Reading, Pennsylvania, Arterton's study concludes that the LTN "has exerted an important influence

on government accountability of Alaskan politics."³⁷ It has also increased the sophistication of citizens and produced the same understanding of government and complexity of issues that the BCTV programming has produced over time.³⁸ As a result, lawmakers in Alaska are now seeking opinions from a cross-section of the Alaska population.³⁹

Alaska Television Town Meeting

Another impressive citizen participation innovation in Alaska was the 1980 Alaska Television Town Meeting (ATTM). It was a series of modern day electronic town meetings sponsored by the Alaska Department of Transportation in order to determine how Alaskans wished to spend transportation tax dollars and to obtain their ideas on long-range planning and other general fiscal matters.

The ATTM was conducted over a ten-day period in seven urban centers around the state. Prior to the start of the programming, a baseline survey was conducted to provide a framework of issues for each television town meeting. The questionnaire was developed in consultation with state officials and was utilized in a survey of randomly selected homes. The purpose was to obtain data on the trends in the use of transportation and communication facilities. In addition, extensive advertising took place in order to spur interest and participation in the shows. Thirty-second

public service announcements (PSAs) were broadcast on local television stations, radio commercials were aired, and newspaper advertisements were run in local newspapers.

In order to increase participation, experiment with new forms of technology, and expand public opinion gathering capacity, the organizers felt they could also create a dynamic public hearing by designing three different groups of participants from the viewers in each urban area. The first group was a telephone group, which was randomly selected, that called certain numbers to record their vote where a computer automatically tallied the votes in two to four minutes. The second group was the consensor group, which met at a central location in each community. This group was also randomly selected from telephone listings or random digit dialing. Each participant was given a consensor, a hand-held electronic device rigged to a computer, and could respond to questions by turning to a numbered dial on the consensor. The results were tabulated by the computer in three to four seconds. Finally, the rest of the audience was encouraged to respond as individual callers to ask questions or make comments live on the air. For those whose calls were not aired live, they would receive a written reponse, if requested, from the appropriate state or local agency.

An evaluation survey conducted the day after each show in each community indicated around 95,000 people watched

the programs (attended the hearings) and over 4,000 of them participated as part of one of the three groups. Public response to the program was quite favorable. The more involved the participants were, the more they rated the experience superior to the conventional public hearings. The viewing audience preferred the television town meeting with a 66% majority and the consensor group with a 71% majority.

One of the major drawbacks of the ATTM experiment from the perspective of representative participatory democracy, however, is the overrepresentation of college-educated participants. In all cities, well over a majority of participants had some college education. In Juneau it was 87% and Anchorage had 80%. A full 59% of the participants in Juneau had college degrees.⁴⁰ It is clear that large segments of the population--the ones traditionally left out of the political process--did not get involved. Nevertheless, of those who viewed, nearly half had never attended a public hearing so this process afforded them an opportunity for involvement that increased the likelihood of their participation. The organizers of the project concluded:

The main discovery of the Television Town Meeting Project was that a new form of public participation could be produced. New technological tools were combined with television to enable more people to take part in a town meeting...The project resulted in a design for low-cost, high-efficiency public participation. The

design can now be used to procure large-scale public participation in appropriate projects.⁴¹

These participatory democratic government affiliated projects have demonstrated the following: (1) Large segments of the population are willing to participate in ways they never have before. (2) Attempts to educate the public on issues, processes, and functions of government are successful. (3) Citizens not only become better informed through attempts to involve them in public discussion and interaction, but begin to understand complexities and approach issues more analytically. (4) When legislators are involved, they become better informed on problems and issues. (5) Legislators become more accountable as public awareness and sophistication grows. (6) Citizens want more, not less, access and responsibility.

As Arterton points out, however, each project failed to significantly include the poor and uneducated. None of them came close to approaching universal participation. While the lack of participation by those who regularly are excluded or not represented in the system is a dilemma participatory democrats must face, they also have to work within a system with a structural bias against, distrust for and contempt of massive political participation. There are many obstacles participatory democrats face in demonstrating the capacities of the people and the

technology for a more representative and participatory democracy. These projects produce results that challenge the view that citizens are unable and unwilling to play a greater and more responsible role in government and provide a foundation for extending their research and designs to include even greater diversity in citizen participation.

While Arterton maintains that he uses the term "teledemocracy to refer, not to a politics that would undercut our established representative machinery, but to the use of communications technology to facilitate the transmission of political information and opinion between citizens and their public leaders,"⁴² (emphasis mine) he judges all the projects he studies by a totally different standard--in other words, the extent to which they obtain universal participation and how that participation is directly transformed into public policy. For those projects that use representative sampling, he criticizes them for not allowing everyone to participate. For those that allow anyone to participate, he criticizes them for not being representative of the population.

Arterton's apparent commitment to the Expanded Representative State appears to blind him to the intent and objectives of those who favor a Participatory Representative State or a Representative Participatory State. In no case of examination on participatory democracy is the goal of the researcher stated to be the

development of the Full Participatory State, with universal participation on all issues at all times. None of the projects Arterton studied sought to replace a representative system with a full participatory system. To judge them, as Arterton does, by that standard is to create a straw man that can easily be demolished and to portray the project designers as starry-eyed dreamers not grounded in reality.⁴³

This thesis, although very concerned with the variables studied by Arterton--access, reach, effectiveness, agenda setting, diversity of access paths, duration, initiative, individual act or group process, costs, educative value, and political competence--does not evaluate citizen participation projects by an unattainable (and probably undesirable) pure democratic utopia, but by the extent that the projects demonstrate the potential for a Representative Participatory State--a state composed of citizens who are trained and supported in substantial civic participation and governed by a representative body accurately reflecting the diversity in the society. The final parts of this chapter present a model, designed by Canadian researchers, that offers a view of how such a system might function, and introduce the Televote system, which has been designed as a tool to be utilized in a more participatory and more representative state.

A MODEL FOR CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
IN A REPRESENTATIVE AND PARTICIPATORY STATE

In 1981, a few years before Arterton conducted his study of teledemocracy projects in the United States for the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies, a group of researchers from Montreal, called the Gamma Group, was commissioned by UNESCO to conduct an international study of citizen participation projects. Their stated purpose was:

to develop a theoretical model of democratic and horizontal communication on the basis of maximum public participation in the decision making process. In effect it provides a conceptual and logical framework concerning the hypothesis that modern communication technology may lead to "telecommunitary democracy" where interactive devices will allow both intra-community and intercommunity involvement in the political process.⁴⁴ (Emphasis mine)

The Gamma Group's approach to the study and evaluation of citizen participation projects was quite different from Arterton's approach to the study of teledemocracy projects. Whereas Arterton sought to discover whether communications technology itself can encourage "more frequent, intensive, and effective citizen involvement,"⁴⁵ and evaluated that involvement against a Full Participatory State ideal, the Gamma Group began their research with a theory of political alienation and why citizens are participating less. They then evaluated projects on the basis of how well each addressed the problems of political alienation by designs

which encourage and increase citizen participation within the present confines of the representative state.

Arterton's empirical study, which attempted scientific rigor in defining a number of variables to determine levels of participation, measured the output without presenting a theory considering the variables that may have created and fostered nonparticipation.

The theory behind the design of the Gamma Group, however, is that as institutions become larger and more powerful, they also become more impersonal, which makes citizens feel smaller and less useful. This in turn leads to massive frustration and alienation. At the same time citizens are developing this "inferiority complex" they begin to pull away from accepting responsibility for human action. Big government then steps in and becomes more involved in social activities and increases its impact on the lives of citizens. The danger of this disengagement of the citizen from public affairs combined with the interference of the state in social life is the establishment of totalitarian elitism where a small minority governs all aspects of society. In addition, "advances in science and technology make it easier to centralize control and manipulate people."⁴⁶

The solution advocated by the Gamma Group is to build confidence in the individual and to promote citizen responsibility in politics. Their hypothesis is that

"increased politicization of people decreases alienation and makes far more responsible and legitimate government."⁴⁷ Rather than being ruled or controlled by modern technology, the goal is to use information and communication technologies to enhance the power of citizens. Their pursuit is what they term "Telecommunitary Democracy" (TCD), a participatory alternative to the technocracy of modern society.

Telecommunitary Democracy is seen as a prescription for the ills of modern governments--political underdevelopment. The following chart indicates the problems that may occur within governmental systems and solutions sought by TCD.⁴⁸

Chart 2

Political Underdevelopment

<u>Political Underdevelopment</u> <u>Symptoms</u>	<u>Political Development</u> <u>Cure</u>
Colonialism	Sovereignty
Elitism	Equality
Irresponsibility	Accountability
Oppression	Free Speech
Violence	Peace
Anomie	Rule of Law
Alienation	Legitimacy
Apathy	Participation
Atomism	Civic spirit
Secrecy	Knowledge

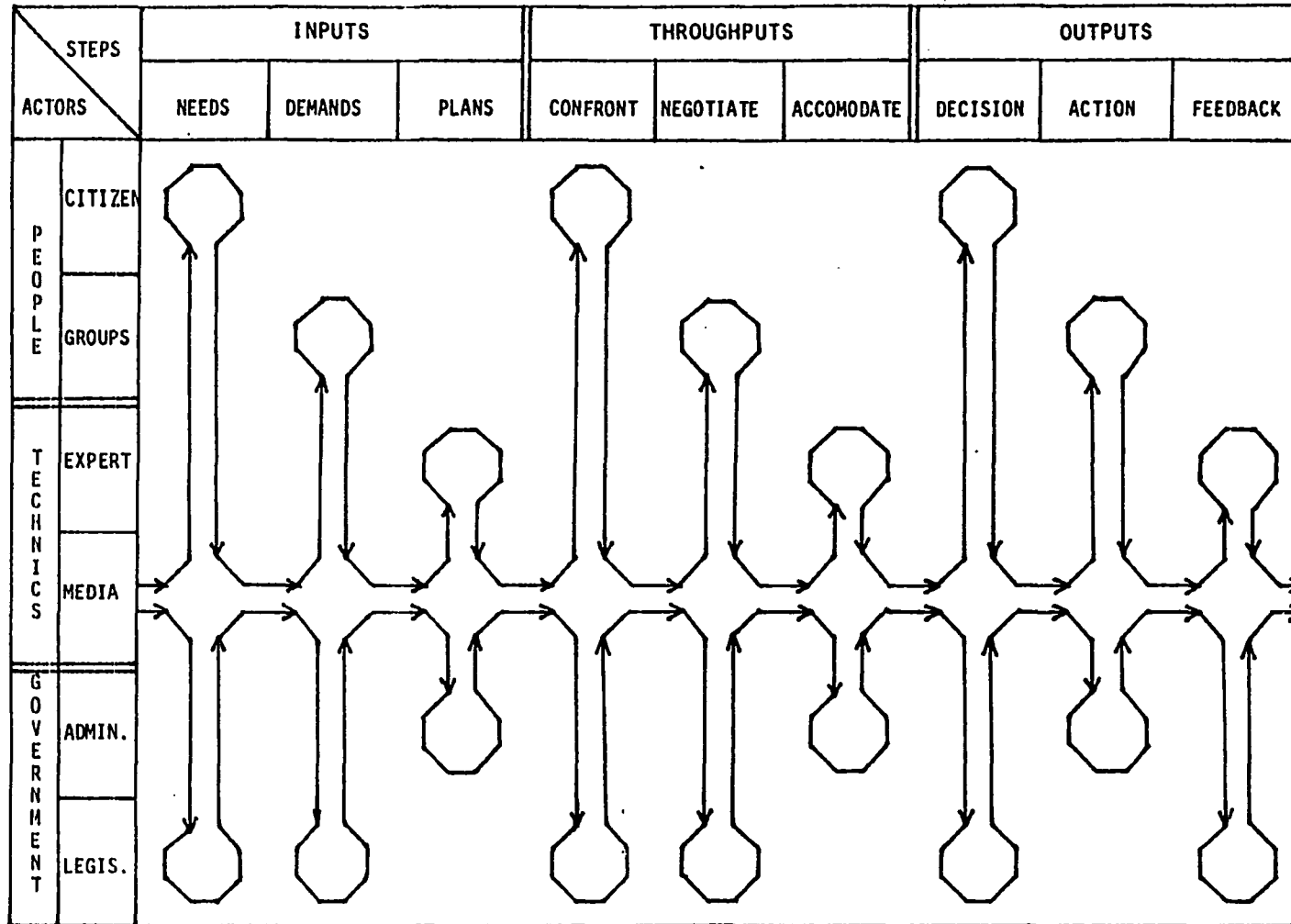
The formula for Telecommunitary Democracy is:
Political Development + Information Technology. In TCD there are three kinds of actors: (1) government officials, (2) citizens, and (3) mediators. The mediators are those individuals or groups who facilitate contact among the other actors and who produce and distribute information. Traditional mediators in society have included experts who produce or transform knowledge, such as researchers, inventors, scientists, consultants or the media communicators of information, such as journalists, publishers, broadcasters.

The crucial role of the mediators, who are labeled "technics" in the TCD policy-making flow model, is simply to distribute knowledge and information and facilitate communication between the citizens and government officials. The technics are not to make judgments. Their knowledge will be available by all to use in their own evaluations and decision-making. In the participatory democratic mode, the technics will place the experts where Friedrich says they should be--on tap, not on top.

The political process as envisioned by the Gamma Group is laid out in their policy-making flow model. Activities of the three groups in the society go through three states: inputs, throughputs, and outputs. The Gamma Group describes the political process generally as a process in which disagreements turn into agreements. The model

provides for interaction between citizens and government officials at every stage. The technics are responsible for the flow of information not only between groups, but also as the process moves from one stage to another. In the process of each stage, the technics present information, which not only includes facts that are undisputed, but also pro and con arguments. They promote debate as well as consensus building. The debate is not a means to polarize in this process, but a means used in evaluation that can lead to informed and deliberated decision-making in a participatory democratic system.

POLITICAL PROCESS



TCD Policy-Making Flowchart

Chart 3

The TCD model is not reliant upon a highly industrialized, economically-developed nation. Case studies included in the Gamma Group study include those originating in such diverse countries as Mexico, Yugoslavia, India, and Ecuador and they indicate how the educational system or elementary media devices such as newspapers or radios can function to promote participation by citizens. The model, however, is reliant upon independent mediators. If information is owned, screened, withheld, or distorted for the benefit of any group in society, this taints the entire process. The Gamma Group researchers do not provide concrete panaceas as to how mediator independence is achieved, it basically provides an ideal to be pursued and offers brief evaluations of the successes and failures of twenty TCD case studies from various nations that to some degree work towards the ideal. The two projects, which the researcher found to most closely fit the TCD model, were Televotes conducted in Hawaii and New Zealand.⁴⁹

In answering their question "Is telecommunitary democracy a utopian vision or probable future?" the Gamma Group concludes from their research that it is both possible and desirable.⁵⁰ Their study of twenty projects across the globe convinces them that the use of technology to promote democracy is already being demonstrated. They add to that the fact that the international community

through the United Nations has "implicitly or explicitly called for increased popular participation in policy-making as a fundamental aspect of the development process."⁵¹

While vested interests of powerful groups will resist efforts to increase democracy, the Gamma Group believes that the "consciousness-raising and rising expectations of people everywhere increases social demands and political pressures which cannot be ignored indefinitely."⁵² Given the demand for more participation and the technological capacities now available to facilitate it, the Canadian researchers call for serious thought about the implications and the implementation of more citizen participation, Their TCD model is their effort to address this next step. The research conducted by the Televote designers continues the research process.

TELEVOTE: INCREASING CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
THROUGH EDUCATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION POLLING

Televote is a phrase coined by Vincent Campbell, a psychologist, who places himself in the category of a "democratist" who seeks to maximize direct public control. The purpose of the Televote design was to create an innovative system of "civic communication" that could lead to the implementation of effective methods of citizen participation. Campbell received a National Science Foundation grant in 1973 to provide a means for involving

parents and students in the determination of public school policy in San Jose, California.⁵³

From the beginning stages, parents, students, and public officials participated in working with the Televote researchers to decide the issues that would be the subject of Televote questionnaires. After the key issues were determined, the Televote staff conducted research on them to obtain factual information as well as arguments for and against various alternatives in dealing with them. All the material was refined to be included as a part of each questionnaire. Campbell stresses that "the most critical function of the (Televote staff) is to insure that all sides of each issue are stated well and fairly, so that citizens' judgments are informed from all major perspectives."⁵⁴ The Televote staff was so conscientious in its task of providing unbiased information to questionnaire respondents (Televoters) that "complaints of bias in the final issue statements were almost nonexistent."⁵⁵ This is the sort of role definition that fits well within the requirement of successful "technics" in the Gamma Group model. The original Televote experiment showed that it could and did work well.

However, the major emphasis was placed on maximizing citizen participation in the project, particularly reaching out to those who traditionally were less likely to participate. For instance, Mexican-Americans were sent

Televote information in both English and Spanish. An extensive outreach campaign took place through newspapers, cable television programming, commercial television spots, and radio announcements in an effort to get citizens to become Televoters.

The process worked as follows. After citizens learned of the project through the media, which also distributed the list of issues to be voted on, anyone interested in participating--students included--registered as an official Televoter by mailing in his or her name and some personal information, sending it through the San Jose inter-school delivery system, or phoning it in.

Once registered, each Televoter received a personalized registration number and detailed information on each issue, which included the relevant undisputed facts and pro and con arguments. Televoters were given several days to think about the responses before casting their tele-ballots. The actual voting process, was a technologically sophisticated system designed to minimize the inconvenience and maximize the time efficiency for both the Televoters and Televote staff.

Televoters had two options for voting. One option was to call during an eight-hour period on weekdays and record their vote with an operator, who answered the Televote "hotline." In placing his or her vote, the Televoter provided the personalized registration number and then

reponded by stating the number of the preferred choice. (Each alternative had been assigned a number on the questionnaire that allowed for instantaneous recording of responses.) The other option made full use of the advanced technology. Citizens could place calls to the central office where an answering machine allowed them to dial their Televote registration number and then their answer numbers. A computer program was attached to the answering equipment that tallied the results automatically. Within a few days of the televoting, the results of the Televotes were mailed to the school officials, the media, and the school-parent associations. During the 1973-74 school year, nine Televotes were conducted.

In evaluating the project, Campbell examined level of participation, impact on policy-making, attitudes regarding communication, and user satisfaction with the process. While impressed with the 5,500 individuals registering to participate in the demonstration project, the actual participation in any given Televote was only about 15% of those registered. There are a number of factors that Campbell feels contributed to this low turnout, including the requirement that Televoters register and the fact that participation did not guarantee results. In other words, the vote did not carry the weight of law. Also the self selection resulted in a demographic disparity with ethnic minorities greatly underrepresented.

Did the Televotes have an impact on policy making? The results indicated if the the issue was already on the policy-agenda of the San Jose school district officials, it had a much greater chance of being dealt with. It was determined that out of seven issues already on the agenda, four apparently had some impact. However, if the issue was one initiated by students, parents, or the Televote staff, Campbell concluded there was no "tangible impact on district policy or decisions as a result of those Televotes."⁵⁶ Follow-up surveys indicated that the level of public awareness could be increased by Televote. They found that the public awareness of school issues tended to increase during the Televote period. However, level of awareness was highly correlated along ethnic and socio-economic lines. The Televote was not sufficient to overcome the feelings of approximately half the follow-up survey respondents that either government officials don't care what people think or that government is too complicated for them to understand.⁵⁷ But it did encourage 5,000 people to participate in a process of thinking about and acting on major educational issues--which is radically more than would have participated without the Televote system.

An important finding of the Televote experiment for those interested in participatory democracy is the post-test survey results that indicated 95% of the

Televoters would be interested in participating again and expanding the project to include other governmental bodies as well as the school district. In addition, a random survey of the registered Televoters found that 73% were willing to pay for the system of participation.⁵⁸

Televote is a political design that fits well within the TCD model. It offers an unbiased, independent mediating role between government and the citizens in order to produce an interactive decision-making process that offers great potential for a truly representative participatory democracy. Campbell created the design and provided essential information for those promoters of expanded citizen participation. He demonstrated: (1) citizen awareness and knowledge can be increased through the use of modern communications; (2) many citizens are willing and eager to take on more responsibility; and (3) participation can be increased. His research provided a foundation for others who adapted the Televote system to create even greater potential for citizen involvement in the United States. The next chapter will examine a series of Televotes conducted in Hawaii, Los Angeles, and New Zealand to see how Televote has been revised to expand citizen participation in a representative participatory democracy.

NOTES

1. Harold Foote Gosnell, Getting Out the Vote (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).
2. Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald Stokes, The American Voter (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968) 170.
3. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, Why Americans Don't Vote (New York: Pantheon, 1988).
4. James Madison, "Federalist Paper No. 14" in Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers (New York: The American Library, 1961) 99-105.
5. See the following articles by James Allen Dator, "Futuristics and the Exercise of Anticipatory Democracy in Hawaii," Political Science and the Study of the Future, ed. Albert Somit (Hinsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press, 1974) 187-203; Reforming American Government: Within-system Tinkerings, unpublished manuscript, 1972; and "The 1982 Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting," The Future of Politics ed. William Page (London: Frances Pinter Publishers, 1983) 211-220.
6. Dator, "Futuristics" 197.
7. Jerome C. Glenn, "Social Technologies of Freedom," People in the Politics of the Future, ed. Clement Bezold Anticipatory Democracy (New York: Random House, 1978) 251.
8. Bezold xxvi.
9. Charrette is a French word meaning "little cart." It has come to mean feverish work to meet a deadline with some public input. (Glenn 259).
10. Robert Theobald, "The Deeper Implications of Citizen Participation," ed. Bezold 314.
11. Ted Becker, "The Constitutional Network: An Evolution in American Democracy," ed. Bezold 297.
12. Information on Alternatives for Washington is obtained from Robert L. Stilger, "Alternatives for Washington," ed. Bezold 88-99.
13. Stilger 88.

14. Stilger 98-99.
15. F. Christopher Arterton, Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy? (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987). He defines teledemocracy as "the use of communications technology to facilitate the transmission of political information and opinion between citizens and their public leaders." (14).
16. Arterton 149-151.
17. Arterton 150.
18. Arterton 155.
19. B. M. Orton, "Media-based Issue Balloting for Regional Planning," diss., Rutgers University, 1980.
20. Arterton 154.
21. Arterton 154-155.
22. Arterton 158.
23. Information on the Reading, Pennsylvania project is obtained from Ted Becker and Richard Scarce, "Teledemocracy Emergent: State of the American Art and Science," Progress in Communication Sciences, eds. Brenda Dervin and Melvin Voight (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1986) 263-87 and Benjamin Barber, Strong Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984) 276.
24. Becker and Scarce 276.
25. Barber 276.
26. Barber 276.
27. Arterton 101-102.
28. Arterton 104.
29. Arterton 102.
30. Information on Alaska's LTN and Television Town Meeting from Becker and Scarce 276-77; Steve Smith, "Alaska Communications, Development and Democracy" in Majid Tehranian, Electronic Democracy: Information Technologies and Democratic Prospects (Honolulu: UNESCO, 1985) 139-172; and Alaska State Legislature, Division of Public Services Report, Providing a

Participatory Legislative Environment (Juneau: Alaska State Legislature, 1982).

31. Smith 156.
32. Smith 157.
33. Arterton 109.
34. Arterton 106.
35. Arterton 108.
36. Arterton 109.
37. Arterton 111.
38. Arterton 111.
39. Arterton 112.
40. Data from Office of the Governor, Report on Alaska Television Town Meeting of the Alaska Public Forum (Juneau: Office of the Governor, 1980) 9-11 and 44.
41. Office of the Governor 44.
42. Arterton 14.
43. In an American Political Science Review (December 1988): 1376-1377, book review, Ted Becker posits that Arterton's research design betrays his conservative bias against a more participatory democratic state. Becker compares Arterton's evaluation of teledemocracy projects by levels of citizen participation with a hypothetical study of the success of experimental theater which compares the number of those attending experimental theater with the number of those who attended Broadway plays. By placing such emphasis on quantitative measures rather than qualitative measures, Arterton can conclude that teledemocracy is not transforming democracy in America. Another set of criteria may not have produced such predictable results. From Becker's point of view, Arterton's research is just as much influenced by personal values and subjective thinking as the work of political scientists who are explicit about their personal values and biases. Arterton's research design, Becker concludes, is not value-free but indicative of conservative, status quo academics who conduct research with their own biases that confirms and justifies their cynicism.

44. P.J. Arnopoulos and K. Valaskakis, Telecommunitary Democracy: Utopian Vision or Probable Future (Montreal: UNESCO, 1982) preface.
45. Arterton 18.
46. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 1.
47. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 1.
48. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 4-5.
49. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 56.
50. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 45.
51. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 45.
52. Arnopoulos and Valaskakis 46.
53. Information on the original Televote project from Vincent N. Campbell, The Televote System for Civic Communication: First Demonstration and Evaluation (Palo Alto: American Institute for Research, 1974).
54. Campbell 8.
55. Campbell 8.
56. Campbell 17.
57. Campbell 31-32.
58. Campbell 36-37.

CHAPTER VI

THE HAWAII TELEVOTE MODEL: APPLYING TECHNIQUES,
LEARNING LESSONS, REALIZING THE FUTURE

The success of Campbell's innovative Televote system came to the attention of researchers at the University of Hawaii who were pondering how to get the citizens of the state involved in a statewide constitutional convention to be convened in the Summer of 1978. Constitutional conventions, despite their significance and revolutionary potential, are not known to stimulate much excitement--or participation--among the citizens of any polity. Ordinary exhortations and normal methods of publicity usually fail to alleviate citizen apathy towards such events. Extraordinary and novel means were needed--and Televote seemed an excellent way to go. In addition, it seemed to be an excellent prototype of technology and technique for a much more participatory government.

There were problems and/or questions we had, however, about Televote's usefulness as a technique to generate quality participation (among all segments of the state) and to deliver informed input on the public's views to the delegates of the Constitutional Convention (CONCON). First, there was the big question about how a more representative group of citizens could be induced to become

Televoters and actually participate in the whole process. Second, there was the problem of how an independent organization could be formed, trained and run without large sums of money (not easy to come by and always a problem remaining free of its influence). Third, what kind of system could be developed, with what democratically-sensitive roles, that would minimize bias in the information dispensed to the public? Fourth, would this system work? Would the provision of data and opinion actually educate the respondents and help them decide questions that were previously beyond their interest and/or understanding? Fifth, how could the information on the public's views be best distributed to the CONCON delegates, or any representative government officials, and to what extent, if any, would that information be used? And finally, how sustainable was this new system? Would the public find it satisfying enough to want to use it, participate in it, more than once?

THE HAWAII TELEVOTE MODEL

After discussing the situation, and the pros and cons of Campbell's Televote system, Ted Becker, Richard Chadwick, and myself devised a new model of Televote, which we called Hawaii Televote, and invited Campbell to Honolulu as a consultant on the project. He came and helped us revise his system.

How to Recruit Representative Samples of Televoters

Rather than rely on a self-selected group of citizens to participate in the system, as Campbell did, we chose to seek a representative sample of the population by using the conventional telephone survey method called "random digit dialing" (RDD). In addition, we applied other scientific survey methods so that our results could reflect the general population's views within a given margin of error. By doing this, we could help avoid the heavy demographic skews that characterized Campbell's Televotes.

However, even though this RDD methodology reaches a random and representative portion of the population (including those with unlisted telephone numbers), we were concerned about how to convince the people who answered the phone (or those whom we sought) to spend their time on such a lengthy and complex (Televote) process and how to increase the chances that a representative sample would complete the process. Also, how could we best ensure that citizens would actually read the material and not discard it upon reception?

It was decided that a necessary requirement was to make the Televote brochure visually attractive. We did this by using quality paper, multiple colors, an attractive logo with a catchy slogan, and artistic illustrations. We also stamped our envelopes with the slogan "Televote: Your

Hotline to Government." Another necessary component was the use of a combination of telephone and mail survey techniques in the Hawaii Televote model.

From the start, we planned to use the telephone to recruit Televoters for a number of reasons. First, with over 95% of Hawaii households having telephones it was believed that random digit dialing would offer an excellent chance of attracting a representative sample of the population without the added costs and difficulties associated with door-to-door interviews. Second, the telephone contact would offer more personal contact and better opportunity to recruit Televoters than a simple mail survey. In addition, we were aware of the advanced technology and potential of instantaneous recording of votes if one were to use the telephone, rather than mail-in questionnaires, to respond. Although the Hawaii Televote project did not have the funds or technology available to Campbell, we felt his model could be applied at basic (person-to-person), as well as sophisticated, (person-to-computer) levels.

From a computer generated list of random numbers we called to enroll Televoters. All businesses and foreign speakers were weeded out. When we found an eligible respondent, we explained who we were and what we were trying to do and asked for their help. If the individual was reluctant, we stressed the importance of his/her

participation in order to lend scientific validity to our system. Some of our efforts to solicit respondents were hindered--though not significantly--when we asked the respondents for their names and addresses in order to mail the Televote brochures to them. Most of those who objected to this request expressed suspicion that we were trying to sell them something or that we were part of a commercial gimmick.

During our initial introduction, however, we emphasized that we were university-based. Rarely, when suspicions arose, we gave our university telephone number and, if requested, the names of professors in charge. A few individuals were fearful that their responses would somehow be used against them. In those cases, if our assurances of confidentiality were not enough, we were willing to send the questionnaire to Mr., Ms., or Mrs. Resident at the designated address.

Willingness to participate varied somewhat from survey to survey. Generally, approximately 50-65% of those eligible to participate agreed to do so.¹ For most polls we sought 550 participants, expecting to "lose" approximately 25%, leaving us with around 400 who actually responded.

The instructions we gave the participants at the time of recruitment included requests to read the information we sent; talk to their friends, relatives, and others about

the issue; and to think about it before making up their minds. In our early Televotes, we told them to call our Hotline number to convey their results. We were open seven days a week for several hours a day. Those who did not call us within a week of receipt of the Televote were recalled by our office--sometimes several times--to record the responses. Only 10-15% of the Televoters actually initiated calls to our office. This small percentage is quite consistent with the initial response rate to most mail questionnaires. In later Televotes, rather than keeping the office staffed for many hours a week only to handle a few calls, we began to make appointments with our Televoters at the time we recruited them for a time to call them back for their answers that was convenient to them. Utilizing this method, we would note on the first page of their Televote the day and time we would be calling them back for their responses.

Our call back process lasted two to three weeks, resulting in an average response rate from those who had received the materials of approximately 75-80% (although we often stopped calling soon after reaching our baseline number). There were problems of incorrect addresses and questionnaires not being received or being misplaced which prevented some of the respondents from being prepared when we called. Every day of the data collection we re-mailed several questionnaires to Televoters. In each of our

Televotes, we were able to obtain the minimum number of Televoters we needed.

How to Support and Sustain Political
Independence and Neutrality

Campbell's design established a neutral, independent organization whose role was to serve as an impartial intermediary between the public and the government. The money to pay the staff to do this came from the National Science Foundation in the form of financing a pilot or demonstration project. It worked. But it was not an organization that was to continue. It had a limited time with limited funding.

So a big question remained: how can one establish an ongoing organization that would be (relatively) free of a structural bias or manipulation of the data and/or process? The Gamma Group in Montreal did an excellent job of describing the role of the "technics" in facilitating "Telecommunitarian Democracy," but they failed to explain how such an entity can be born and live in the real world of powerful competing and co-opting interests.

The Hawaii Televote group came up with a design, not a perfect one, but a design that seemed to hold substantial promise. The American-style university is, itself, one of the most independent institutions in the society--but only at the curricular level. Administratively, it is dependent

on (and strongly influenceable by) a wide variety of economic and political power sources. Due to the long tradition of "academic freedom" that pervades the American higher education establishment, professors and researchers have substantial degrees of freedom to say and do what they desire in the classroom and laboratories of the American university system.

While, admittedly, professors can be just as biased as any other individuals in society and they can feel the subtle (and sometimes not so subtle) pressures to comply with powerful political or funding interests, their training has conditioned them to a self critical approach in developing their theories and conducting their research. And if a professor should fail in seeing his or her bias or error, or neglect the standards demanded by the academic profession, it is likely that the professor's colleagues would provide the criticism to reveal the flaws. University research is usually subject to review, evaluation, and critique by skilled professionals utilizing a variety of approaches and perspectives. Trade secrets and undisclosed methodologies that may exist in private laboratories and institutes, or even some governmental institutions, are not tolerated in academia (except when research is "classified").

Of course, critiques of academic work do not end all problems of bias or misuse of information. In fact, the

critics of research may themselves be guilty of prejudices or sloppy research. The value of work that is subject to the examination of other trained professionals, however, is that information distortion and manipulation are much less likely to occur successfully than under conditions that do not lend themselves to such exposure and review.

Another advantage of the university-based Televote is the low overhead of operation if existing resources at the university are maximized. In our case, the Televotes were conducted in methodology classes that allowed students hands-on experience in all aspects of the Televote process as they learned the rigors of scientific polling methodology.² Salary costs for directors, coordinators, and staff can be greatly reduced if the Televote process is employed as an educational tool while serving an intermediary function between the public and the government. In addition, support services, such as, telephones, xeroxing, office equipment, and stationery, can be funded out of the academic instructional budget (with the cooperation of the department chair or head). Educational benefits for students are also enhanced as they interact with government officials in the designing of the Televote brochure and in distributing the results to elected representatives.

The Hawaii Televote research project did need some start-up funding in addition to regular university

resources. The Vice President for Academic Affairs at the University of Hawaii provided a small grant to cover the costs of some computers, designing and printing the Televotes, consultants (Campbell), and so forth. He was excited about the project as an innovative teaching tool. As will be discussed in greater detail later, our experiences taught us that the university is not an impermeable membrane against pressures that try to interfere with political impartiality and the sustainability of the operations. Yet after many years of experimenting with Televote, we believe that procedures can be designed and safeguards implemented that allow the university to successfully house "technics" in a Telecommunitarian Democracy.

How to Minimize Bias in Information

Gathering and Distribution

As noted in chapter 5, one of the greatest dangers in all forms of polling is the tainting effect of bias. We realized that this was something we had to take great pains to minimize and, if possible, avoid. At every stage of our process through research, design, execution, and analysis, we had to question our motives and actions, seek impartial sources of data, and obtain outside input to guard against personal views affecting the entire Televote process.

In our research stage, after an issue had been chosen, we decided to seek three kinds of information. The first was undisputed, objective information. For instance, if the issue were tenure of office for the governor, we would find out the present constitutional provision (unarguable legal data). We would also get historical facts on how long the provision existed and if it had ever been otherwise. Then we would seek comparative data from other states: How many states had the same tenure for governor? What other options were practiced in different states?

The next step would be to offer several alternatives to the current system. Finally, we would seek arguments for and against the various alternatives. In conducting the research in the last two phases we decided to be as broad based as possible. We would read social science literature, editorials, letters to the editor, and campaign materials. We would solicit ideas from politicians, organized groups, professors, and interested citizens. Ideas were to be sought from diverse political perspectives. It was not assumed that the two major political parties, Democrat and Republican, fully represented the preferred choices of the public at large. Indeed, these two parties' differences are actually the boundaries of the American political center and more innovative and/or extreme positions and alternatives must be sought out and expressed in order to minimize the

status-quo bias in any and all participatory democratic methods, including Televote.

In addition, because we were providing respondents education on the issue, we had to be extra careful that the material we chose to include did not show a prejudice in favor of one viewpoint over another. After going through our information and questions several times to correct for bias and errors, we took our draft to individuals who were advocates for various alternatives to be sure we had accurately conveyed their positions and that they also agreed that the data we included in the Televote was indisputable. We even went so far to insure that the pro and con arguments on any alternative were almost the exact size in the number of words used and appeared to be the same size and contour in the Televote brochure.

Next, our students conducted pre-tests with relatives and friends in an attempt to try to find any overlooked problems with confusing or overly complex verbiage or questions. Once we satisfied ourselves and our opinion contributors, we took the questionnaire to a respected professional polling firm, Survey Marketing Services, for a final check. We believe that this multi-stage process helped minimize the problems of providing exhaustive (but mutually exclusive) alternatives, avoiding double-barreled questions, using double negatives or confusing sentence structure, employing overly sophisticated wording;

determining appropriate question order; and making instructions clear. Eliminating these errors in questionnaire construction is closely related to minimizing bias, since it can be cloaked behind these flaws in questionnaire design.

How to Increase Televoter Interactivity

Citizen participation can be a lonely business, for example: voting in solitude; writing a letter to a Congresswoman; and reading a newsmagazine. It can also involve a great deal of interaction with others, for example: taking part in a demonstration; testifying at a hearing; and campaigning door-to-door. In the Campbell model, there was little interactivity between the Televoters and/or with any other citizens. The only interaction in the design came in the staff's distribution of the cumulative results to the San Jose school board. And that is not much interaction at the individual citizen level. We felt that we wanted to increase Televoter interactivity at least to some degree.

One of our ideas to increase citizen interaction in the Televote process was to encourage the Televoter, not only to read and think about the material in the brochure before deciding her/his opinions, but to discuss the material and the issues with others. We described this aspect of the Televote process when we recruited

participants over the phone. We also included this as an instruction in all our Televote pamphlets. The idea was to spark interaction between the Televoter and her/his family, friends, co-workers, neighbors, and so forth. It was our view that the Televoter should not only be a demographic representative, but should also enrich her/his views through interaction with others and, in a sense, represent an opinion even wider than his/her own personal perspective. We also decided to encourage Televoter interaction among other Televoters by sending the final results of the Televote to each Televoter. That would inform them of their relative position in the Televote sample and would be a necessary interactive step if we ever did a "Televote Delphi."

Another way that we decided to increase Televoter interactivity was to utilize this technique as a centerpiece in a larger, more expansive type of citizen participation--"Electronic Town Meetings" or ETMs. These projects will be described in greater detail later in the chapter. Not only did the Televote provide a scientific baseline of informed and deliberated opinion on the issues involved in the ETMs, but it also utilized the ETM as a method of involving Televoters and other citizens in a lateral information exchange, functionally equivalent to what occurs in face-to-face town meetings.

Finally, as Campbell had done before us, we conceived of a number of ways to link the information gleaned from our Televoters to government officials. A major part of that linkage was the mass media, who always published the results of the Televotes within the confines of a major news article and, also, on several occasions published the entire Televote in the newspaper and once simultaneously solicited their readers' response to the Televote. Television and radio were also very intrigued by Televote and cooperated in airing information about the ongoing Televotes (on occasion) and often aired Televote results as a major news story.

Finally, since our project, from the outset, had not been developed in collaboration with any government officials as had Campbell's, we had to think of direct ways (in addition to their learning the results from television, radio, and the newspaper) to convey Televote information to specific officials concerned about whatever issues the Televoted treated.

For our demonstration project, we discussed with a number of the newly elected CONCON delegates, the possibilities of setting up a "Televote Room" in the building housing the state constitutional convention. Fortunately, enough of them were interested and the officials in charge of the day-to-day operation of the convention provided us a Televote Room where our staff

could collate the data and route it on a regular basis to the delegates. The state legislature was not as cooperative subsequently. No such cooperation was extended to us. So, in all other Televotes done in Hawaii, we simply took the results from the Televote office at the University to the state legislature and dropped off the information in each representative or senator's office (if they were not available when we hand delivered the results). In the two Televotes that were sponsored by quasi-governmental agencies, New Zealand Televote and Los Angeles Televote, the information was relayed to responsible government officials by the agency itself.

This, then, was the Hawaii Televote model, one conceived to improve upon the pioneering work done by Campbell. The remainder of this chapter will trace the history and describe the substantive content of what each Televote experiment was about, what we learned about our process from each Televote, how we refined the instruments and model over time, and most importantly, what new questions popped up after each Televote and led us to try something new each time. This is the essence of the Televote Odyssey: techniques applied, lessons learned, and the slow but steady realization of a future feature of the participatory system I call the Representative Participatory State.

HAWAII TELEVOTES 1 & 2: INVOLVING CITIZENS IN
CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

Getting a feel for the public pulse on issues related to the Constitutional Convention in Hawaii began several months prior to the election of delegates to the convention. As indicated earlier, there was some confusion on the part of voters about the nature and function of a constitutional convention. One poll conducted for a major Hawaii newspaper, The Honolulu Advertiser, found that only 39% of the respondents felt the major purpose of the CONCON was to make changes in the basic structure of government, while 29% said its job was to solve major issues such as unemployment and crime.³ Nevertheless, as early as January 1978, the media and pollsters began to raise some major structural issues that might well be dealt with at the CONCON. Citizens were asked about their views on issues such as unicameralism; an elected attorney general; initiative, recall, and referendum; and so forth.

For many months leading up to the CONCON, issues such as these were presented and discussed in the news media; at neighborhood boards (bodies of elected citizens at the neighborhood level, who acted as advisors to city government); in public debates; in university seminars, symposia, simulations; and so forth. The low starting level of citizen awareness and the cumulative effect of

public discussion are apparent when one looks at the results of polls on two constitutional issues that were conducted in January, April, and July/August.

Issue 1: Initiative and Referendum

Six months prior to the convention, a CONCON poll was conducted by a Hawaii polling firm for The Honolulu Advertiser. It asked the respondents simply: "Should initiative and referendum be included in the Hawaii Constitution?" 39% said "yes" and only 7% were opposed. But a clear majority (54%) were uncertain or had no reply! In the newspaper analysis of the poll, which was highlighted on the front page of the paper, definitions were provided as well as some historical background on these citizen law-making processes.⁴

Three months later, after increased public discussion and political campaigning on issues to be addressed at the convention, the CONCON poll was conducted again for the same newspaper. This time, however, the pollsters provided simple explanations of initiative and referendum to the respondents over the telephone. On the question regarding initiative, the respondents were told: "Initiative is a system whereby voters, by petition, can have a proposed law placed on the ballot. Some people favor this. Others say that it bypasses the Legislature and requires voters to say 'yes' or 'no' to complex issues. How do you feel?" In

spite of the clear negative weighting in the information provided, which gives an argument against initiative but does not provide an argument in favor of it, this time 53% of the respondents favored initiative. The "uncertain" or "no reply" group decreased by almost half, down to 28.5%. The "opposed" group increased to 18.5%.

On referendum, the respondents received the following information: "Referendum is a system which permits voters, at a General Election, to approve or disapprove laws proposed by the Legislature. Some people favor this. Others say this is why we elect legislators. How do you feel?" Again, with a similar negative slant evident in the question, the respondents overwhelmingly (61%) favored referendum. 16% were opposed. The "uncertain" and "no reply" group shrunk by over 50% down to 23% of the total.

As is plain to see, the second CONCON poll allowed for more informed and discriminating choices for the respondents. In his analysis, the City Editor of the Honolulu Advertiser at the time, pointed out that the results of the first poll (showing 54% uncertain or not replying), presented a picture that the public was "either confused or ignorant about the two 'populist' concepts invented early in this century."⁵ Therefore, the pollsters chose to explain the concepts and provide useful information and this probably had a marked influence on the results in the second poll. In addition, in the first

poll, initiative and referendum were lumped together into one question, allowing no distinctions to be made by the respondents. When distinctions were allowed, referendum was preferred by 8% more of the citizens than initiative. Already a picture of a more enlightened public began to emerge, their views being illuminated in part by the continuous public debate but probably moreso by the data, opinions, and greater sophistication of the polling instrument itself.

When we conducted our first Televote in July, the constitutional issues had already been a part of the public debate for six months. The delegates had already been selected and most had taken public positions on the various issues, with initiative and referendum emerging as one of the, if not the, key issue to be decided at CONCON. It had been a genuine grassroots campaign with hundreds running for office for the first time. Only one then-current legislator was elected as a delegate while several students, some retirees, and a number of community activists were elected. Although mostly political unknowns prevailed in the election, many of them were backed by labor unions or were aides to legislators or other political leaders. The perception of the public, who had favored a CONCON controlled by "ordinary working people" in an earlier poll,⁶ that they had achieved their ends was quickly altered as the political establishment rapidly

lined up a solid voting bloc among the "unknowns." Nevertheless, public interest remained strong with discussion groups being organized all over the state. Committee hearings at the convention were heavily attended by citizens and received extensive coverage by the news media.

So shortly after the CONCON began, we ran our first Televote--the first experimentation of the Hawaii Televote model. We were particularly interested in the degree to which all our information and opinions on initiative and referendum, plus the sophisticated discussion on the differences between direct and indirect initiative, would actually educate our Televoters. Much to our surprise, the final results of our sample of over 400 Televoters was 86% in favor of initiative and 14% opposed. However, in our analysis of the survey results, we discovered a major flaw in the questionnaire design. We had not put in an "Undecided" or "Unsure" box. Thus we had forced the Televoters into an actual decision and not built in an indicator of indecision. Still, with all the direct and prolonged telephone contact we had with our Televoters, we were confident that the number of "undecideds" would have been negligible. We received no complaints about our oversight from any Televoter, but we realized that we lacked scientific confirmation of our hypothesis and knew

we had to develop a better experimental design to test the actual impact of the Televote brochure in the future.

Even in this environment of widespread public interest, the most important question we sought to answer in our first two Televotes polls was: Could the Hawaii Televote method be successful in getting a representative sample of the population to participate in the process? It is one thing to call someone and ask for a response "off the top of the head." It is quite another to use the Hawaii Televote method and ask people to give us their names and addresses, to read material on an issue, to talk about it with others, to think about it before responding, and to get them to respond.

We were quite concerned as we planned our first Televote experiment that we might not be able to get certain segments of the population in Hawaii to partake in such a complicated process on an issue that was to most citizens, legalistic and remote. Would low income, not well educated citizens who agreed to participate actually complete their Televotes? Would the Japanese American citizens, frequently underrepresented in conventional polls (without "weighting"), feel even less like signing up for such an exercise?

To add to our concern, almost halfway through the first Hawaii Televote, Professor Chadwick printed out the results on the first 150 Televotes. Much to our dismay,

the sample was heavily skewed towards white males with high incomes and substantial educational levels--the worst possible scenario. What followed was a staff meeting where we decided to not panic. The sample of 150 was too small to draw any definitive conclusion, plus nearly half of the early respondents were the people who had actually called in their responses to our "Hotline"--a "self-selected" sample of our random sample. We decided to continue to call back our sample--over and over--until we got at least 400 of the Televotes completed, and then to see if we reached a fair level of representativeness.

After reaching our goal of 400 respondents, we examined our demographics again. They indicated a fairly representative sample of Hawaii's population and were as close to reflecting the citizenry as other traditional polls being conducted by political pollsters during the same period. (See Table 1 on Comparative Demographics.) It appeared that our first effort to bring a cross-section of the public into a discussion of constitutional issues proved to offer great potential for representatives wishing to have better communication with a broad base of citizens, for those concerned with ways to educate the general public, and for those looking for means to increase citizen interest and participation in all segments of the community.

Having that major question answered, we were next struck by a serendipitous finding that would please participatory democratic theorists. What we noticed was that the reponse of the 86% of the Televoters who favored initiative and referendum indicated palpably responsible and sophisticated answers--not the sort of mindless massive support for "power to the people" with no restraints on majority rule, and with no concern for the minority that many who fear greater democracy cite as problems with increased citizen involvement.

In the first place, the Televote poll on initiative and referendum (See Appendix A) provided citizens with considerably more information than they had previously received from survey researchers. Not only were they given basic definitions of initiative and referendum, but they were told of two different forms of initiative--direct and indirect. They were given data about states that used initiative and told of its use at the county levels in Hawaii. They were also supplied with several balanced arguments in favor of and opposed to initiative and referendum. Second, the respondents were given a wide range of alternatives to choose in deciding which form of initiative they would prefer if they favored initiative.

Although 86% of the sample favored initiative and referendum, the majority (56%) favored either indirect initiative or some combination of direct and indirect

Table 1

**Comparative Demographics: Official Statistics &
Major 1978 Surveys**

Background	Official Statistics						Major 1978 Hawaii Surveys			
	1	*2*		*3*	*4*		*5*	*6*	*7*	*8*
	Reg. Voters	Potential Voters	Oahu	Gen. Pop.	Tuttle 2/78	Oahu	SMS 9/78	HT-1 7/78	HT-2 8/78	HT-3 11/78
	Hi.	Hi.	Oahu	Oahu	Hi.	Oahu	Oahu	Hi.	Hi.	Hi.
SEX										
Male	49.4	50.5	50.5	49.9	50.1	50.0	49.6	51.0	59.0	52.5
Female	50.6	49.5	49.5	50.1	49.9	50.0	50.4	49.0	41.0	46.6
AGE										
18-34	29.5	42.3	43.4	45.4	43.1	42.3	44.3	38.0	36.0	40.0
35-44	16.1	16.0	17.1	17.0	20.4	20.2	23.6	17.0	17.0	19.4
45-64	36.1	32.1	32.1	37.6	35.2	36.3	29.9	37.0	37.0	33.5
65 & Over	11.0	8.9	8.0					8.0	9.0	6.1
ETHNICITY										
Caucasian	36.6	25.7	25.0	33.0	31.5	32.4	37.7	35.0	38.0	34.6
Japanese	33.9	35.5	35.8	28.8	33.4	34.1	24.6	30.0	31.0	31.3
Haw'n/Pt. Haw	5.3	16.7	16.3	11.7	7.5	6.6	12.9	11.0	11.0	7.4
Filipino	9.0	7.8	7.0	10.1	11.9	10.7	4.4			3.6
Chinese	10.2*	5.1	6.3	6.6	6.1	6.7	5.6	10.0	4.0	6.1
Mixed	NA	6.7	6.6	4.1	NA	NA	6.8	NA	NA	NA
Other	5.0	2.5	2.9	4.1	6.8	6.7	5.6	15.0	15.0	8.9
PARTY										
Democrat	73.1	NA	NA	NA	60.9	60.1	NA	59.0	58.0	59.4
Republican	13.3	NA	NA	NA	19.2	19.0	NA	16.0	18.0	15.3
Independent	13.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	25.0	24.0	18.2
EDUCATION										
Less than H.S.	NA	NA	NA	11.9	12.1	11.2	5.3	10.0	6.0	5.6
H.S. Grad.	NA	NA	NA	47.1	24.3	22.5	32.8	21.0	18.0	21.0
Bus./Trade	NA	NA	NA	NA	32.3	32.5	NA	12.0	12.0	9.0
Some College	NA	NA	NA	30.5			44.8	35.0	25.0	22.8
College Grad.	NA	NA	NA		14.5	15.2			39.0	22.0
Post Grad.	NA	NA	NA	6.2	14.0	16.2	14.6			18.7

1 Registered Voters for the State of Hawaii according to Lt. Governor's Office of Independent Data Services (11/22/77).

2 Potential Voters according to the Hawaii Department of Planning and Economic Development based on 1976 data.

3 Federal data from the Office of Economic Opportunity based on 1975 data.

4 Dan Tuttle CONCON survey of General Population conducted for the First Hawaiian Bank. N=2,405.

5 SMS survey (determining community standards on pornography) of the General Population of Oahu. N=411.

6 Hawaii Televote-1 of the General Population of the State. N=400.

7 Hawaii Televote-2 of the General Population of the State. N=401.

8 Hawaii Televote-3 of Registered Voters of the State. N=395.

* Includes Koreans.

initiative. 74% felt that getting initiatives on the ballot for the vote of all citizens "should not be made too easy", that is, they preferred a large number of citizens' names on the petition. (The Televote information had informed them that the usual range of required signatures was 5% to 15%, with the higher percentage being more difficult to obtain.) In addition, 74% felt that a certain percentage of citizens' names on the petition should come from all the islands so that the largest or larger islands could not force legislation on the smaller islands. This is significant because approximately 80% of the Televoters were from Oahu, the most populated island in Hawaii (with approximately 80% of the people of the state being located thereon). Therefore, given a range of choices from maintaining the system as it is (Expanded Representative State) to greatly expanded citizen law-making powers, most Hawaii Televoters chose increased participation with safeguards for minorities.

It is hard to comprehend how so many Televoters could construct such a refined political system without having used the information contained in the Televote. These responses are particularly interesting since the choices selected by the Televoters were not part of the public CONCON debate.

Another item of particular interest to us was to what degree the Televoters received any or some satisfaction

from participating in this process. Our first inclination was to develop a "satisfaction scale" for them to answer after we had recorded their votes, for instance, "Were you very satisfied? Somewhat satisfied? Not quite satisfied? Very unsatisfied? Not sure?" We gave this kind of measuring device some thought, but felt it was biased towards eliciting a favorable response. After all, we found that our Televoters had gone to some trouble to participate, and many had been speaking over the telephone with our staff for weeks, so we felt it was unlikely that they would then tell us over the phone that they were dissatisfied--even if they were.

We were truly interested in finding out if the Televoters were pleased and, in addition, if the process was satisfying enough that they would do it again. So our decision was to test this by being as direct as possible. Thus, at the end of the interview, when all their views were obtained, and all their demographic data was collected, we asked, "One final question: Would you be willing to participate in future Televotes?" They could respond "yes," "no," "not sure." They knew we had their names, addresses and telephone numbers. Many knew that if they did not call in their own responses, they would hear from us until they responded. But despite this, over 90% said they would participate again. This indicated to us an

overwhelming participant approval of the Televote model. We had achieved the basic ingredient for sustainability.

Televote 2: Confirmation and Evaluation
of the CONCON Experience

As we moved forward to conduct our second Televote, we were encouraged by our initial experiment that indicated the system worked. We had discovered through Televote-1 that: we got a fairly representative group of Televoters (very close to those obtained by commercial pollsters in Hawaii using conventional telephone and interview techniques); the results showed that citizens seemed to use the material and came up with reasonable and fair options; and the process seemed to satisfy the Televoters themselves, making the process sustainable.

We had previously decided that our second Televote would focus on "Selection of Judges," since this was a relatively high visibility issue in the pre-CONCON debate and was a major topic at the CONCON itself. But more important to us than the issue itself was the importance that Televote-2 would have in confirming what we found out in Televote-1 about the process. In other words, we had to replicate the experiment. We felt it was important to demonstrate that the first results were not a fluke.

As was the case with initiative and referendum, statewide public opinion had been obtained on this issue in

the same polls conducted in January and April before the summer CONCON. In the first poll, election of judges was preferred by the largest group of respondents (37%) and selection of judges by an independent commission was the choice chosen by the smallest group of respondents (29%). Those preferring the "present system" (appointment by the governor with Senate approval) were 30% of the respondents.⁷ (Note that only 8% were undecided on this issue, compared to the 55% on the initiative issue).

Only three months later, those favoring Hawaii's appointment system shrank from nearly one third of the respondents to one fifth. Election of judges decreased to 29% when respondents were also given a choice of selection by an independent commission subject to periodic voter approval (36%). The new results indicated growing dissatisfaction with Hawaii's judicial selection process and significant support for voters having some voice in making judicial appointments (nearly two thirds of the citizens).⁸

Televote-2, on selection of judges, was conducted in July and August. It provided factual information and pro and con arguments for four methods of judicial selection: (1) appointment by the governor and approval by the Senate; (2) election by the voters; (3) merit selection by an independent commission; and (4) merit selection by an independent commission with retention elections. Again, as

in the previous two polls, the desire for some form of voter involvement in determining who sits on the bench was the preferred choice of the largest group of citizens. As in the April poll, the Televote results indicated that two thirds of the respondents favored some method of selection of judges subject to democratic processes. This time, however, with information provided on the subject, only 17% preferred direct election of judges. Exactly half of the respondents favored the merit selection of judges by an independent commission with follow-up retention elections. Those preferring the appointment of judges decreased again to 16% from 20% in the previous poll. Again, as respondents were given more sophisticated options, allowing for a variety of ways to involve the citizenry in judicial selection, they were less likely to choose the extreme positions--in this case, total control of voters in the selection process (election of judges) or total exclusion of voters in the selection process (appointment of judges).

Confirmations

For Televote-2 we used our original design and operational procedures to register 550 Televoters. Once again, about 15% called back to our "hotline" on their own. And once again we had to make two or more phone calls to most of our participants to obtain their responses.

The results of Televote-2 confirmed what we had discovered in the first Televote. (1) The demographical composition of the 401 Televoters was almost a duplicate of Televote-1. Again we see our group as being slightly higher in educational achievement and Caucasians being somewhat overrepresented, but we had substantial participation from Japanese and Hawaiians, as well as from people with only elementary or secondary education. Most importantly, our results were again quite comparable with those of professional pollsters in Hawaii.

(2) Another salient point confirmed by HT-2 was the high rate of satisfaction that the Televoters themselves had with the Hawaii Televote model. As in HT-1, over 90% said they'd be willing to be recruited for future Televotes. And this was despite the fact that there was no tangible evidence that their opinions had any visible impact on the CONCON itself.

(3) Another result of HT-2 that we had also found in HT-1, was the use of information and the quality of the answers given in response to our more in depth and sophisticated questions. Given more information and varied alternatives of the issues, the Televoters began to make subtle distinctions and to refine their choices.

Evaluation of Impact

Following the final tally of HT-2, we decided to conduct an evaluation of the nature and degree of the impact of the entire process connecting Televote to the CONCON itself. The major question we sought to answer was: Would Televote results have more impact on representatives when the opinions came from citizens who had information on the issues and time to discuss it with others and think about it before responding? We tried to answer this question two different ways: first, by polling the delegates to get their evaluation of the Televote, and, second, by examining the actions of the delegates in reacting to the Televote.

Immediately following the completion of the constitutional convention, we sent surveys to all the delegates asking them to evaluate Televote. Precisely half the delegates (51) responded to our survey. Of those that responded, 85% said they felt the Televote had been either "very useful" or "somewhat useful" to them as delegates. More than three fourths of the respondents said that Televote should be useful to state legislators. When we asked them how the Televote was useful to them, the most common replies were that the results: (1) reinforced opinions they already held; (2) were used in bargaining with other delegates; (3) were used in floor debates; and

(4) were used by citizens' groups, like Common Cause, to help support their positions during their lobbying activities.

We had independently observed that the Televote poll results were used extensively in testimony at the constitutional convention. Even the president of the CONCON acknowledged privately to one of the Televote researchers that Televote-1, with its tremendous media exposure and use in testimony at the CONCON, had placed tremendous pressure on the delegates to pass initiative and referendum--a majority of whom opposed both.⁹ In addition, the Vice President of Academic Affairs of the university, who had funded the project, called Becker into his office and notified him of "heat from downtown," in the form of some telephone calls from state officials, expressing their dissatisfaction with the university "getting involved in politics" by conducting polls that had been utilized to place pressure on representatives. He said he was going to have to discontinue the funding he had awarded for graduate assistants, printing and mailing costs. However, he promised continued "moral support." Clearly, Televote proved it could have impact. It did not prove, however, that a majority of the political leaders were eager for more citizen input or participation, no matter how informed, deliberated, or sophisticated.

In determining the impact on public policy, if one were to look at the immediate results, it appears as if Televote, and public opinion in general, had little impact at the constitutional convention. As soon as the final election results were in, the well-organized, well-financed, anti-reform delegates with strong ties to Hawaii power holders began to mobilize support to include independents eager for key committee assignments. Before the first day of the convention, a solid majority of delegates united with minimal reform as their goal. The majority held secret meetings--one publicized by the local CBS affiliate (KGMB), which showed delegates arriving at an unannounced meeting one Sunday afternoon and refusing to respond to reporters' questions--and vowed to decide issues according to their best judgment, unswayed by public pressure.

While the majority of the delegates viewed their role as a trustee, the public had a different view. The media, university, and community groups had been very successful at creating an awareness of the convention and constitutional issues and stimulating interest in its deliberations and outcome. A pervasive attitude was that it was a convention "of, by, and for the people." The most controversial issue at the convention became initiative and referendum--strongly supported by a majority of the people and strongly opposed by a majority of the delegates.

Initiative and referendum failed to pass. The public was given no voice in the selection of judges, although selection was changed from appointment by the governor to appointment by a commission selected by the governor, legislators, and the Supreme Court chief justice.

In examining the impact of the Televotes, however, it is more insightful to view it as part of a continuing process of increasing public awareness and participation that has effect over time. It also does not operate within a vacuum but in conjunction with media and with other democratic processes to promote an informed and active citizenry. For instance, ever since the 1978 constitutional convention, legislators and political leaders have been faced with the public placing initiative on the public agenda. In many legislative sessions after the CONCON, the State Senate has passed bills creating statewide indirect initiative very similar to that favored by the Hawaii Televoters in 1978. The State House of Representatives blocked similar bills, largely due to committee chairmen who refused to hold public hearings on the issue or even allow the committee to vote.

Over the years, two House Judiciary Committee chairmen who became embroiled in public controversy for killing pro-initiative bills, were soundly defeated when they came up for re-election. The third chairman appointed to the committee who opposed initiative came from an outer island

noted for its allegiance to the power establishment and labor unions (who also opposed initiative). Two staff members from his office told me privately that he informed his staff that he planned to follow the same strategy for killing initiative as his defeated predecessors and that he had to make sure that this one issue did not get "blown out of proportion" and lead to his defeat. Even if he ignores the majority of the public on this particular issue, it is believed his job is secure as long as he remains loyal to the powerful interests in his district. This example illustrates that there are designs within the system to insulate representatives from responding to the people. In other words, one lawmaker, representing only a small percentage of the population (one district), can kill legislation favored by a large majority of the population of the entire state. This is not an unusual tactic of politicians in the Expanded Representative State.

The resistance of the Hawaii political leaders to initiative and referendum at the state level has also led to the development of a pressure group devoted to this as a cause. They have become a very vocal and visible lobbying organization that keeps tabs on supporters and opponents of initiative and the development of initiatives across the United States and educates the public through conferences, brochures, ads, and so forth. This group still refers to the Televote results at CONCON in making their arguments in

favor of initiative and referendum at the state level. One legislator, Senator Mary Jane McMurdo, has become their spokesperson in the legislature and fights each session for initiative legislation.

Citizen activity has also increased dramatically at the county level, which has had initiative on the books for many years, largely unnoticed by the public. Since the convention, initiative at the county level has been used to make the Honolulu prosecutor elected instead of appointed, to rezone an area designated for high rise condominiums to low rise; and to rezone development land as preservation land.

The selection of judges, while not nearly as controversial or widely debated, has also been a topic to surface again and again. While some reform took place in the method of selection, there is periodic demand for retention elections. Citizens seem to be willing to accept some form of appointment without much complaint, but regularly call for accountability to the citizens. The city prosecutor of Honolulu for eight years, Charles Marsland, fueled these feelings by accusing judges of bias and highlighting controversial decisions. There have been demonstrations at the courts when judges were perceived to disregard the public welfare in using judicial discretion to be lenient on criminals.

Therefore, in determining impact, one cannot look at the immediate results. In the same way that one would be foolish to judge the success of seed planting by returning the very next day to pick the fruit off a cherry tree, one must not restrict impact analysis to instant legislation. At the same time, one must be careful, not to overemphasize the effect of planting the seed. Without good soil, water, fertilizer, and freedom from insects, fungus, and natural disasters, the tree will not bear fruit. Televote alone would have no impact. There must be citizen interest, activists willing to keep the interest alive, and citizens willing to struggle against the elements in society opposed to increased citizen participation. Televote may serve in different capacities at different times--seed, water, fertilizer--but the response of citizens seems to indicate very good soil for the growth of increased citizen involvement.

HAWAII TELEVOTES 3, 4, & 5: INVOLVING CITIZENS
IN SETTING THE AGENDA

One of the criticisms of Televotes 1 & 2 expressed by individuals wishing to increase citizen participation, as well as by other individuals who wished to dismiss the results, was that the university researchers "created" the agenda for public discussion. From the participatory democrat perspective, the public should be the ones

determining agendas--not elites, whether professors or politicians. From the perspective of the supporters of the Limited or Expanded Representative State, professors should not be stirring up trouble, arousing the passions of the people by raising issues in areas in which the public had apparently been content or unconcerned.

We believed that this critique had some merit and it therefore influenced our design for our next series of Televotes. While an important function of "technics," the information providers and communication facilitators in the Telecommunitary Democracy model, is to help educate and to convey the latest research and knowledge to citizens and representatives, they must also be mindful to be good listeners in order to promote democratic agenda-setting in the political process of policy-making. The technics (Televote researchers) must not assume to know the public's interests or decide what should be the major public concerns. There may be times when the technics can initiate discussion in areas that the public has had little or no knowledge of in order to serve an important educational role. However, if the technics are always the decision-makers about the topic for public debate, one of the most important aspects of a political system--setting the agenda--is removed from citizen control.

Therefore, in designing the next Televote projects, we felt that the first step should be to identify which issues

the citizens considered most important for the state legislature to deal with in its impending session. Our third Televote poll, conducted during the Fall of 1978, just prior to the 1979 legislative session, became known as our "Public Agenda Televote". Not only did we conduct it in order to provide information for the consideration of state legislators and the media, but also to guide us in picking the issues to be the subject of the Televotes during the legislative session.

In designing the Public Agenda Televote, we conducted research to choose issues that had been mentioned the previous year in a variety of arenas. We found a number of published public opinion surveys that had sought to locate and measure major areas of public concern. We analyzed a large number of campaign brochures of candidates to find out what they thought were the key issues. We read letters to the editors of the two major dailies in Honolulu. We asked university students. We researched positions taken by community groups and activists. In all we identified 59 issues that seemed to arouse substantial interest or concern in the state. We placed them into eight different categories, such as transportation, education, crime, land use, and asked our Televoters to check off all those they wanted the legislature to address during the 1979 legislative session. In addition, they were asked to list any issues of concern that we may not have included in the

survey. In order to measure intensity of concern over each issue, we asked them to double-check those five they felt were most important for the legislature to handle.

As in HT1 and HT2, we used RDD and signed up 535 Televoters. Again, we stopped after we had obtained a predetermined number of responses (396). Again, we had a substantially representative sample. And again there was over a 90% rate of satisfaction. However, our results did hold one new surprise for us and taught us an important lesson.

The issue that the largest number of citizens (78%) wanted the legislature to deal with--"competency tests in reading and writing for high school"--had not been highly publicized or widely discussed. It was not an issue of primary interest to the Televote researchers or one frequently mentioned in campaign literature or speeches of political leaders. We had expected, however, that crime issues, which receive so much media attention, would be ranked high. Indeed, the next two issues in the ranking were: "prohibit parole for career or habitual criminals" (73%) and "mandatory jail sentences for certain crimes" (72%). No issue relating to tax and money (many concerned with reducing various taxes), transportation, or governmental structure made the list of the top ten issues. The intensity scale offered very little change in the rankings.

Our astonishment at the number one ranking was shared by the news anchor at the CBS television station that broadcast our results. He insisted, with no proof to support his assertion, that he knew competency testing in schools was not the major issue on the minds of most citizens. Our view was that the results were instructive for us as well as the media or legislators. In this situation, we came to the realization that the concerns of the public may be quite different from the primary concerns of the technics (whether in the media, government, university, and so forth) and that we needed to be extra careful about making assumptions that we were responding to what the public wanted.

Another television station, the local ABC affiliate, took the top five Televote Public Agenda items and featured them in a week long series on the "Public Agenda" during their evening newscasts. They not only presented the Televote results, but also provided information on each issue. The reporter, who produced the series, used a version of the Televote procedure by providing facts on the issues as well as pro and con arguments from various experts and community leaders in the state. This series provided a video preview of our legislative Televotes.

Letting public opinion be our guide, we conducted our legislative Televotes on issues ranked first, second, and third in the Public Agenda Televote. At the time that we

began soliciting Televote participation, it did not occur to us to collect data to see if agendas set by the public increased public interest and participation. Our mission for Televotes 4 & 5 was to provide a public service through a communication forum for citizens and representatives on issues of high interest to the public. It was only after we began to conduct the Televotes that we discovered that enthusiasm was noticeably higher for responding to questions on these issues than they even were on HT-1 and HT-2. Completely unpredicted by us, we found that: (1) More Televoters called us with their answers rather than us calling them; (2) fewer call-backs had to be made to get responses; and (3) respondents frequently kept us on the phone to express additional views and add other comments on the issues. We seemed to have hit a responsive cord that made our process run more smoothly and more quickly than previous Televotes.

We followed the same design procedures for these Televotes that we had used before: factual information, pro & con arguments, and discriminating options that provided more than yes/no responses. We also repeated the detailed process of review by multiple sources to check for bias and/or ambiguity. After the results were collected and analyzed, the information was hand delivered by students, who had conducted the Televotes, to state

legislators. News releases were also sent to the media and other public officials.

Again the news media was receptive to broadcasting and printing the results. The legislators, for the most part, however, were unreceptive. Students were surprised at the opinions expressed to them by many legislators that statewide public opinion polls are of no use to them. A variety of reasons were given: (1) the public does not know enough about or understand the issues; (2) our sample did not accurately reflect the views of the people in his/her district; (3) legislators are elected to use their good judgment and not bend to public pressure, which is emotional and irrational; and (4) Polls are biased and inaccurate. A common view of many legislators was the stated belief that their role is to provide leadership, not be a rubberstamp of an ignorant public.

A specific critique of Hawaii Televote 4 was made by a staff member in the Lieutenant Governor's office. He raised two questions: (1) "Should public policy be determined by the results of a public opinion poll when those who are polled have been given little information on a complex subject?" and (2) "Can the results of a poll be relied upon, when the polling methodology indicates a high degree of accuracy, if facts have been distorted?" He concludes: (1) the public has been given too little information on the issue to truly understand the

complexities; (2) the poll has distorted facts; and (3) distortion of facts has influenced the results of the poll.

Our response to the criticism was twofold. The first addressed the charge of relatively little information on complex issues. We realize that a 2-3 page information sheet cannot provide all the information relevant to deciding issues. We actually see Televote as only a part of a process of interaction between citizens and representatives. The Televote is useful for citizens as it gives them more information and a greater range of choices than they may have had before. It encourages their seeking further information on the issues, however, and asks them to discuss it with their family and friends. Televote can be useful to legislators in a representative society, not to bind the representative to a public demand, but to provide them with useful information on citizens' level of awareness, knowledge, and views on key issues. If legislators consider the views of citizens to be misguided, wrong, or inadequate, they can afford a service to citizens by supplying them or providing information that may enlighten them.

Even with its limitations, however, Televote provides a type of public opinion or public judgment that is more informed than the traditional polls which are so extensively publicized, and the many secret and private polls used by many government officials in their campaigns

when they are planning what to say to get elected. Finally, on almost every issue, there are experts and legislators on both (or many) sides. Few issues are decided on the basis of objective data. Legislators often decide how to vote on the basis of their own subjective value system and/or because of political pressure, inducement or bargaining that has nothing to do with facts or expert opinion whatsoever. To say that the Televoters did not have enough data missed the point, then. The information in the Televote was simply a stimulant to think and discuss, much as it is used in the American legislative process.

Second, the charge that the Televote distorted the facts is the most serious from our perspectives of professional integrity and being independent telecommunitarian technics. We pointed out that the critic's own subjective reading of the information led him to infer that the Televote information "implied" something which is neither stated nor intended. In fact, as mentioned before, we ardently adhere to a rigorous process of questionnaire construction in which we have experts from a variety of political persuasions review the information to check for bias and distortion and then have a reputable polling organization review the final draft to see that their own professional standards are met. In addition, for the Televote he critiqued, we had consulted a law professor

at the university to make sure that the information was clear and accurate from a legal perspective.

We learned, therefore, that no matter how conscientiously one strives to remove bias, and no matter how many individuals with different perspectives agree to the wording, the potential for misunderstanding or the reader's own subjectivity influencing his/her interpretation of the material, is always present. This happens all the time when courts interpret laws of legislative bodies. The same problems exists with any form of communication, but is minimized when the communication becomes two-way instead of one-way. Individual perceptions influence how one defines reality. Rather than dismissing the critique of distortion of fact, however, we extended an invitation to the Lieutenant Governor to have her staff included in reviewing our future Televote drafts, prior to printing, in order to help us eliminate biases, distortions, or inaccuracies. We received no response to our invitation.

In conducting the two legislative Televotes based on the Public Agenda we discovered: (1) greater enthusiasm from the public in participating than we expected; (2) general resistance and some hostility from (a) the media who felt the issues to be "unsexy" and (b) legislators who felt the Televotes were being used as a pressure device; and (3) cynicism from the Lieutenant Governor's office

about the usefulness of Televote in policy making and no willingness to improve the method of educating citizens about issues through Televote or any other extensive educational project to involve citizens from all walks of life in thinking about issues. A pattern was beginning to develop in our research that reinforced the growing public perception found in National Election Studies (referred to in chapter 4) that government is not responsive or attentive to citizens' preferences.

Only one legislative "representative" showed any interest in working with the Televote staff to improve communications between representatives and their constituents. But instead of a "public agenda," he was interested in a "hidden agenda." As we worked with him to develop other Televotes, we discovered that he wished to use Televote as a public relations vehicle in a district newsletter he was producing. He wanted to select the issues and the information to be included in the Televote. He let us know that he had already made up his mind on the issues and was quite certain the public already agreed with him. Therefore, he could appear to be soliciting public input, and following it, when in actuality he already had a position which he believed was popular. In other words, he wanted to use Televote to score some points with the voters.

Our commitment to serve as independent facilitators of two-way, interactive communication between the people and government prevented our involvement in such an enterprise. The suggestion of the legislator, however, further underscores the dilemmas that face the independence and professional integrity of telecommunitarian researchers. If Televote, or any other civic education tool, is utilized in any form of decision-making, safeguards (which Televote has built in the design through extensive review from outsiders of various political views) must be included to prevent the misuse and abuse of such a powerful technological device.

HAWAII TELEVOTE 6: A SYSTEMATIC TEST OF THE EFFECT OF INFORMATION AND DELIBERATION ON PUBLIC OPINION

After our constitutional and legislative Televotes, we decided to conduct a county poll on an issue that required local county and state cooperation--transportation. It was an issue of major concern and financial commitment to both county and state officials.

For quite some time the mayor of Honolulu (sometimes with city council approval and sometimes not) had been bickering with the state governor and state legislature over the best method for relieving Honolulu's swiftly increasing traffic woes. The mayor favored a rapid transit system connecting several outlying areas with Honolulu's

urban center. The governor favored building a four or six lane freeway across the island through the mountains that would primarily service commuters into and out of the urban core. Others were advocating an expanded city-run bus system, without involving the county or state in massive construction on the island.

Because federal funds were needed to support the projects, it was politically advantageous for the city and state to reach a compromise. The federal government, inundated with requests for transportation projects all across the nation, was reluctant to grant funds when Hawaii's political leaders were constantly squabbling. Due to a number of extraneous political factors involved in the infighting, neither side showed the slightest inclination towards compromise and both sides seemed determined to fight to the end, even if it meant losing all federal support in the process. Of course, each side chose to believe that the odds were on their side and that ultimately they would prevail. Therefore, no serious negotiation was necessary if they could eventually have things all their way.

We felt this issue was ideal for a Televote and for developing an experiment to test a major question left unanswered by our prior experiments. So we approached individuals in the mayor's office, whom we had worked with on other citizen participation projects. Their proposal

for HART, the fixed guideway, had failed to receive majority support from the public in several conventional public opinion surveys that had previously been conducted. We offered to conduct a conventional poll simultaneously with a Televote on the transportation issue asking the exact same questions. The traditional random telephone poll would provide no information or time to deliberate. The Televote would, of course, include information on the various alternatives (description, estimated costs, major beneficiaries, and so forth), pro and con arguments, and give time to talk and think about the issue. We believed that the Televote would help take the personalities and inflammatory rhetoric out of the debate and thus produce new insights into what the public thought about the various proposals.

Planners in the mayor's office embraced the project and promised their cooperation. They were willing to give us access to their data concerning costs and benefits. We informed them that the state would also have to approve the factual information included in our questionnaire and that we would be soliciting input from them and others to provide alternatives and arguments against the city's position. Being convinced that their proposal was the most meritorious, the individuals working with us from the mayor's office did not quarrel with our research theory, methods, and standards. They believed that the Televote was

a beneficial way of communicating alternatives to the public and that it would yield a public endorsement of their plan.

In the questionnaire design, rather than requiring respondents to make a forced choice between options, we sought instead to determine the level of support for various alternatives. We had two major hypotheses: (1) the traditional polling methodology, what we called Telepoll, would reveal more "undecideds" on the questions than the Televote and (2) the level of support for the various alternatives was likely to differ in the group that had been given information (Televote) from the group with no information (Telepoll).

We concluded our polling in May 1980, having gained responses from over 800 Oahu residents (over 400 in each poll). But once again, our results contained some surprises. As we had anticipated, the "undecided" groups were three to four times larger in the Telepoll than the Televote. Yet, we also discovered that the support for the several alternatives varied only slightly when information and time to think and interact were provided. What appeared to occur is that the support for substantive choices remained fairly consistent while the "undecideds" lost ground to those who did not like any of the options being discussed by the politicians and the media.

Table 2

Telepoll and Televote Comparative Data

	City-sponsored options		State-sponsored options		
	Telepoll	Televote	Telepoll	Televote	
Pro Bus	44%	48%	6-Lane Freeway	30%	38%
Pro Hart	30%	33%	4-Lane Freeway	29%	17%
Don't Know	19%	4%	Don't Know	22%	7%
Neither	7%	15%	Neither	19%	37%

Our analysis of the data led us to conclude that information provided to individuals who already have their minds made up is not likely to change their views significantly. In this case, the issue had been publicly debated extensively and heatedly argued for years. Public opinion polls had been conducted and publicized on the issue frequently. On the other hand, for those who are undecided, it appears likely, as our polls conducted during the constitutional convention indicated, that information provided in the Televote does influence and alter the outcome. In this case, the information provided on the proposed alternatives led to a reduction of the "undecideds" but a substantive increase in those rejecting both the city-sponsored and state-sponsored alternatives.

Clearly in Televote 6, the respondents were not manipulated into endorsing the plan of the mayor, who had been supportive of the poll from the beginning. The city,

however, did not conduct the poll. It was conducted by independent researchers from the university who worked with both the city and the state in designing the questionnaire. As the Gamma Group researchers indicate in their discussion of Telecommunitarian Democracy, who controls communication in a society is as important as who controls the means of production.¹⁰ Not only should the Televote poll be conducted by researchers who are not involved in policy-making, but its design should always have input and be reviewed by a wide variety of competing individuals or groups in society to insure the fair treatment of the issue and the various options presented.

The mayor did not receive the results he had hoped, and believed, he would receive. That did not deter him, however. Neither did court decisions against the state proposals deter the governor or the state legislature. Instead, the issue remained a controversial one, with escalating costs and inconvenience to the citizens. Now, nearly ten years later neither proposal has been implemented and the state and the city are still quibbling over the issue. This appears to be an example of embracing public opinion if it supports your position and ignoring it when it does not, to the detriment of the general good.

Our results showed that even after years of discussion and debate, (a) no proposal had a clear majority, much less a consensus, and (b) that the more the people who were

undecided learned about the existing proposals, the less they liked them. What this data demonstrated was that the political leaders needed to go back to the drawing board to come up with new proposals and to involve the entire public in the process of thinking it through from the outset. These lessons were not learned and, nearly ten years later, traffic in Honolulu is nearing gridlock, with no real solution in sight. All that remains constant is that the political leaders haggle among themselves and refuse to adopt processes that involve the public in resolving the issue.

NEW ZEALAND TELEVOTE: NATION-WIDE FUTURES PLANNING

In January 1981, Becker and I met with Dick Ryan, the Director of New Zealand's Commission for the Future (CFF) to discuss Televote's use as a means of involving New Zealand citizens in futures planning. We were aware that in 1980 the CFF had commissioned Brian Murphy, Director of the New Zealand National Research Bureau, to conduct nationwide surveys that would (1) measure public attitudes on living standards in New Zealand and (2) evaluate four different futures for New Zealand in terms of their respective impacts on the personal well-being of the New Zealand public.¹¹ The CFF was ready to move on to the next stage of their research--to help New Zealanders think through their own values and to select a preferred future

for the nation. Through a process of thoughtful debate and deliberation, it was hoped that New Zealanders would blaze a democratically guided trail to the future for national policy planners.

After learning of the Hawaii Televote experiments, Ryan was convinced that Televote would serve as a useful tool for his small government agency to stimulate the average New Zealander into thinking seriously and creatively about the future. Utilizing his Televote experience, Becker became the organizer of a CFF research project with the following objectives: (1) to obtain a representative sample of New Zealand's population and to have them consider and evaluate the general ideas included in the CFF's four future scenarios; (2) to stimulate public interest in reading and using a series of CFF publications on these futures; and (3) to utilize the mass media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines) in order to promote interaction between the CFF and the citizens on this subject.

With government funding and assistance from two major universities (Victoria and Auckland) and one Teachers College (Christchurch), Becker crafted a network of three centers to draw a nationwide random sample of 900-1,000 New Zealanders. The many new participants helped validate and systematize Televote's rigid standards for achieving clarity and purging for bias. After Becker and other

researchers at Victoria University worked with the CFF staff to construct and design the NZT instrument, it was sent to Alan McRobie in Christchurch and Murphy in Auckland for analysis and modification. All three research centers collaborated on the evaluation and approval of all the information, ideas and questions included in the New Zealand Televote.

To maximize public awareness, discussion, and participation, Becker weaved together a mass media network including eleven of New Zealand's major newspapers and over thirty radio stations. Television stations (there are only 2 major networks in New Zealand aptly named "One" and "Two") refused to join the Televote-related programming because they required a 6-9 month preparation period. They did, however, report on the start of the actual Televoting and became embroiled in a controversy over its "New Zealandness" as the process unfolded.

The newspapers, however, were quick to publish the entire Televote questionnaire the day before the Televote centers started the "call-outs." This became a nationwide advertising campaign for NZT--front page articles and full page NZTs--of the upcoming project and its content. But by also soliciting mail-in responses to the Televote from their readers, it was additionally a way to involve many more than the 1000 New Zealanders the centers would induce to become the NZ Televote random sample. Although the

responses to the newspaper survey were never intended to be considered adequate to determine what the general public might want or think about the future, it was seen as a means to stimulate much wider public thought about the CFF's alternative futures and to encourage general interest in participating in the poll if one was called and asked to become a New Zealand Televoter. It also presented us with some interesting comparisons between self-selected and random samples in terms of substantive results and demographics.

The radio stations also promoted a keen awareness and interest. They featured interviews, news items, commentaries, and talk-back programs about the New Zealand Televote prior to, during, and after the project.

The importance of the media participation project became clear as soon as the Televote interviewers began to recruit their randomly selected Televoters. Within the first few days of the call-outs, the interviewers detected considerable enthusiasm with a good deal of reference being made to the Televote survey published in the newspapers throughout the nation. In spite of dire predictions by many local "experts" that only Caucasian and educated citizens would participate, the New Zealand Televote was able to obtain participation from a scientifically predictable, highly representative sample of the entire adult population, including those from the lowest

educational levels as well as Maoris, who normally resisted participation in New Zealand national telephone survey polls. One of the Televote staff members (who was of Maori ancestry) hypothesized that the Maoris chose to participate in the Televote poll because of the "personal method of recruitment" and the fact the Televote staff "encouraged discussion with family and friends before answering [which] fits well within the Maori social concepts."¹² The demographics of the New Zealand Televote show that the ability of the Televote method to obtain a fairly representative sample was not limited to the Hawaii population and, indeed, worked in a non-American society--and at a national level as well.

Although the NZ Televote had been tested twice to assure that its reading comprehension level was at the level of a 14 year old, the task of reading, understanding, and filling out the Televote was time consuming and painstaking--much more so than our previous Televotes. Our most colorful, cartoon-laced Televote brochure provided descriptions of the philosophical values underlying the four different future scenarios that had been defined by the CFF through their prior research. Despite this, all kinds of New Zealanders were attracted and completed the exercise with no complaints and in representative numbers. This was not true in the self-selected newspaper sample.

Table 3
New Zealand Demographic Breakdown

Background	1976 Official Statistics	NRB Poll*	NZ Televote**
SEX			
Male	50%	49%	50.0%
Female	50%	51%	50.0%
AGE GROUPS			
15-24	25%	Weighted to Official Statistics	17.2%
25-34	21%		25.1%
35-44	15%		19.8%
45-54	14%		13.7%
55-64	12%		15.5%
65+	13%		8.7%
POLITICAL LEANINGS			
National	39.8%	35%	40.8%
Labour	40.4%	26%	22.9%
Social Credit	16.1%	9%	13.4%
Values	2.5%	2%	2.5%
Other	1.3%	1%	1.9%
None***		27%	18.5%
ETHNIC GROUP			
European	86.1%	95%	92.9%
Maori/Part	8.6%	3%	5.1%
Pacific Islander	1.8%	1%	.6%
Other	1.0%	1%	1.3%
HIGHEST EDUCATION			
Up to Sec. School	NA	44%	42.0%
Sec. School	NA	29%	24.9%
Tech. or Prof. St.	NA	7%	4.0%
Tech. or Prof. Qual.	NA	8%	13.9%
University Study	NA	5%	6.9%
University Qual.	NA	7%	8.3%

* 1980 National Research Bureau Nationwide Poll (N=2000)

** 1981 NZ Televote (N=964)

*** Includes the Don't Knows, Independents, and those who refused to state a "leaning."

In responding to the questions, the Televoters were given three "games" to play (See Appendix G). Game One was

entitled "Pictures of the Future," which consisted of the likely status of five variables (employment, environment, world scene, economic development, and government) in the four New Zealand futures. These futures included themes of "big is beautiful," "privatization is best," "small is beautiful," and "modern technology is beneficial." For each variable the Televoter had to indicate whether they liked, disliked, or were neutral about the status of that variable in each of the four future scenarios.

In Game Two the Televoter played "Your Turn to Predict." They were given fifteen possible events of the future (such as, full employment, larger cities, and greater participation by citizens in important decisions) and asked to indicate under which future scenario, guided by different philosophical points of view, the event was most likely to happen.

Finally, in Game Three, the Televoters were asked to choose their preferred future based on their own values. If they did not find one of the four futures outlined by the CFF as incorporating their range of values, they could create their own future with their own unique mixture of beliefs by choosing statements, or "building blocks", which were closest to their points of view, from the various future scenarios.

The researchers were amazed to find that the largest percentage of NZ Televoters (29%) chose to create their own

future rather than select one of the four pre-packaged futures described by the CFF! In spite of the complexity, and greater time demand required for one to read through a good bit of philosophical and policy information, the researchers concluded that a large proportion of New Zealanders demonstrated "a strong sense of individualism, a resistance to forced choices, and [willingness] to be innovative."¹³ In addition, the researchers found that those taking the extra time to create their own futures did not correlate with level of education. In other words, the educational levels of the "innovative" group were highly representative of the educational levels of the rest of the Televote sample.

It appears that the intricacy of the New Zealand Televote had no impact on the rate or quality of participation (it may even have intrigued the Televoters. With the aid of advance advertisement in the newspapers and on the radio and fewer restrictions on participation (anyone over 15 years old in New Zealand could participate, compared to registered voters in Hawaii), the acceptance rate of those asked to participate in New Zealand surpassed any of the former Hawaii experiments (slightly over 70% in New Zealand compared to 50-65% in Hawaii). In addition, 77% of those registered for Televote in New Zealand completed their questionnaire compared to 68-74% in Hawaii.

Thus, approximately 54% of all those contacted in New Zealand actually completed the Televote.

The researchers credit the media with a significant role in the high level of interest and cooperation demonstrated in this government-sponsored project of philosophical thinking and discussion of New Zealand's future. Over 4,000 individuals responded to the newspapers' requests for mail-ins of the published Televote survey. While these self-selected respondents were more likely to be highly educated, Caucasian males--not highly representative of the population--they were, nevertheless, indicative of a desire on the part of a large number of these citizens to be more involved in the complicated process of policy planning for the future of the nation.

In analyzing their data, the researchers concluded that: (1) New Zealand Televote (particularly with the help of the mass media from beginning to end) succeeded in making the public much more aware of the four development futures identified by the CFF; (2) the CFF obtained valuable public input in their work (participation by over 5,000 New Zealanders during a two-month time period); (3) the first nationwide anticipatory democracy exercise had been successfully completed; and (4) the New Zealand public is much more capable of grappling with very complex issues than many of the "experts" or conventional wisdom had predicted.

Finally, the results of the Televote indicated overwhelming majority rejection of radical new paths promoted by "growth enthusiasts" or "return-to-nature enthusiasts." The majority preferred futures that required a balancing of individualism and personal sacrifice for the common good. The researchers summed up their analysis with the following statement: "This study is a vivid demonstration that the New Zealand public is now ready, very willing, and eminently able to shoulder its responsibilities."¹⁴

The incumbent NZ political leaders at the time (The National Party), who had set out on a path of extensive growth and exploitation of natural resources, greater involvement in international affairs, and support of big business, were not inclined to agree that the public could or should be involved in planning New Zealand's future. Their own goals appeared to be radically different from those of a majority of the NZ Televote respondents. The year after the NZT, the government abolished the Commission for the Future and continued on its path to rapid growth and expansion. Three years later, however, the Labor Party wrested control of the government from the National Party and began to turn its policies more in the direction chosen by a majority of the New Zealand Televoters. Brian Murphy, one of the Televote researchers and Dean of Commerce at Auckland University, believes that the New Zealand

government of the late 1980's, under new Labor Party leadership, was responding to and advancing the future path chosen by the bulk of New Zealand Televoters in 1981. He also believes that his polls and NZT had a definite impact on their thinking. As I noted earlier, Televote's impact on policy is not immediate, but is part of a general consciousness raising experience (electronic town meetings and other activities), and its consequences take time to become apparent.

HAWAII TELEVOTE 7: THE HONOLULU ELECTRONIC
TOWN MEETING (HETM) AND THE "PUBLIC BUDGET"--
PLACING TELEVOTE INTO THE BIG PICTURE

Having received such widespread media support in developing a national dialogue on New Zealand's future, Becker returned to Honolulu with additional knowledge on ways to generate citizen participation in the age of electronic communication. From the beginning, we had envisioned Televote as a part of a much larger process of public discussion, consideration, and policy formation. Yet it had taken considerable energy, operating on a shoe string budget with no funding for staff, to develop the Televote design, research the issues, operate the surveying process, and analyze and distribute the data. It was a commitment we made to democratic research and intermediation, which required much personal sacrifice and

dedication, with very little support or encouragement from established powers in society, until New Zealand--when some true democrats in government and the media lent willing and helpful hands.

While our experience in Hawaii had taught us that Televote's success and impact resulted in funding termination (much like the Alaskan LTNs), the New Zealand experience provided a new burst of energy and creativity for us in moving Televote into the next stage. We believed that even though we had run into great resistance and hostility from Hawaii government leaders and policy makers as we developed a means to increase public awareness and participation, we thought it possible to get the same support from the Hawaii media as had been obtained in New Zealand.

Hawaii Professor Jim Dator, who was teaching courses on media and politics, as well as on designing more democratic futures, had previously worked extensively with the media in Canada and Hawaii. He agreed to join us in designing and conducting the 1982 Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting (HETM).¹⁵ While Becker and Dator developed media support and programming, I pulled together a pool of volunteers and coordinated participation in the Televote aspect of the project from students at the University of Hawaii and Joseph Lipkind's classes at West Oahu College and Leeward Community College. The result was a very

successful month-long multi-media event conducted by volunteers, who gave of their time and talents to promote a meaningful public dialogue. The response of the Honolulu media surprised us all. We received participation from both public and private television and radio stations as well as the two major newspapers. Time, equipment, and advertising were all donated in a media coordinated event that reached vastly diverse audiences at different times of the day in a variety of ways.

The topic, this time, was another type of "Public Agenda": a financial one. Ronald Reagan had been President for a little over a year and had made his economic plan, "Reaganomics," a hotly debated topic all over the country. With federal cut backs in domestic spending, Reagan's policies had every state scrambling, trying to make their own budgetary decisions--raise taxes and/or cut programs.

We utilized the Televote format to bring the public into the discussion and gave them the means to establish a "Public Budget". In the Televote questionnaire, as well as in our media programming, we provided some factual information and conflicting arguments on Reaganomics. We also analyzed the state budget and presented information on how money was raised and spent in Hawaii. We included several alternatives for raising revenue in the state and detailed arguments for and against the various options. In soliciting public response, we asked their reactions to

a number of alternatives to federal cutbacks, state spending in general, revenue-raising options, and major programs seeking public financial support in Hawaii. We also asked citizens to consider the information we furnished on the percentage of state funds going to different programs such as education, transportation, and health and asked them to respond by indicating whether they would spend less, more, or the same.

Using the same methodology we had applied in our previous Televotes, the two colleges and one university cooperated (as in New Zealand) in collecting a representative sample of Honolulu's population to participate and to give us a scientific baseline of how Hawaii's total population--including all ethnic groups and educational levels--would respond to the Reaganomics questions after reading information, discussing the issues, and thinking about them. At the same time, other information on the "Public Budget" was widely available in the newspapers, on radio, and on television in order to expand and advertise the public debate and discussion. Our larger purpose was to get as many citizens as possible to think and talk about these important and complex issues. All Honolulu residents were encouraged to become informed and involved through the following coordinated activities.

- (1) The two major newspapers published the entire Televote (information and questions) for their readers in

their joint Sunday edition at the start of the call-out (recruitment) and programming. Readers were advised to keep the newspaper questionnaire in their home as a guide to the ETM discussion and to respond to it after the conclusion of the month-long programming that would elaborate on the issues. The Honolulu Advertiser featured the Televote logo alongside a daily schedule of ETM programs and schedules.

(2) An independent commercial television station (KIKU-TV, Channel 13) provided a studio and equipment for three half-hour shows, Live Wires, produced by Dator and televised during prime time. The original plan for the shows were along the traditional lines of a televised panel discussion on Reaganomics with Dator in the role of moderator. When Dator discovered the extent to which the television station was willing to support the Honolulu ETM project, he felt the station and the public deserved something a bit more appealing. As Dator thought about his experiences working on the Futures Project for the Ontario Educational Communications Authority, he remembered an important lesson he had learned about an "information-rich environment." His media experiences had led him to conclude:

it is necessary to compete for viewers' time and attention by presenting programmes in a form that they have demonstrated they prefer. Academics and other professionals mistakenly assume...that an important topic and a thorough discussion by important

people is enough to attract an audience. In certain instances, that is enough. But generally the format of a programme is more important than the content.¹⁶

Or, in other words, the "medium is the message." And in this case the message was that we wanted citizens to participate in a comprehensive, in-depth exercise on a difficult and complicated process and we were committed to offering the material in ways that were media-competitive.

Dator also believes that if individuals in society are truly desirous of fostering citizen participation, then their schemes for reform should address a "popular dissatisfaction with governmental forms and procedures." His view is: "The obsolete, stuffy, pompous style of administrative, legislative, and especially judicial, processes is alienating in the extreme for most people - even if a few believe that to be boring and authoritarian is necessary for being taken seriously."¹⁷

Therefore, the unconventional Dator produced three educational television programs that featured a group of improvisational actors and actresses who adapted the Televote information and opinions into dramatic/satirical sketches that educated as well as entertained. The dramatic skits were presented in a clever, humorous format similar to the most popular national television comedy show at the time, Saturday Night Live. In between the comic skits on the Televote issues (that included singing and

dancing), Dator informed the audience that their input and opinions on the issues were needed. He provided telephone numbers to the viewers to call in their comments and responses to questions presented on the screen. The Televote staff, including Becker, myself, and students at the University of Hawaii, answered the telephone lines and recorded the responses.

(3) Traditional panel discussions were also provided. Oceanic Cablevision televised a series of programs on the Honolulu ETM issues on their community programming station. Becker moderated the panel discussion that featured local political and academic persons of widely diverse viewpoints.

(4) An information documentary was produced by Jonathan Peck, a graduate student, and repeated regularly for a month (twice a week) over Oceanic Cablevision's community programming channel. The documentary dealt with Reaganomic's impact on Hawaii and included interviews with the governor and other local political figures.

(5) Becker worked with a popular deejay of a local music radio station (KKUA) and produced a series of interactive radio programs. The station's musical format was "Top 40s," so it interspersed its musical programming with interviews of experts during the day and call-in discussion during the evening. Becker and I collected taped opinions of people on the street on the Televote

issue to be broadcast as well. Listeners could phone in their opinions by calling the station and talking on the air or calling the Televote office to respond in a less public way.

(6) An hour-long call-in program on public television (KHET-TV) featuring Becker, Dator, and Lt. Governor Jean King concluded the HETM after a month. The subject of the program was the Electronic Town Meeting itself. The three described and discussed the HETM project and responded to audience call-in comments and questions. Nearly 98% of all those who called in during the television program made favorable comments regarding the HETM.¹⁸ The station manager said that the call-in rate was above average despite the fact that several of the phones in the phone-bank were out-of-order.

This experiment served as the most extensive-ever employed in Hawaii to create a public awareness and involvement in a public debate on a complex set of issues. In all our media sponsored material and programs, we sought public input beyond the scientific sampling we were conducting through the Televote questionnaire. The response from the public was an impressive willingness and eagerness to participate. In fact, during our call-in periods for the Live Wires television programs, we were deluged with phone calls. Having only four telephone lines, we were unable to accomodate all those desiring to

participate and received an average of 125 calls during the 30-minute span of each show. We could have processed many more responses, but many call-ins kept us on the line expressing their views beyond the structured questions. Many enthusiastically congratulated us and thanked us for what we were doing. Dator estimates that only about 10% of those trying to reach us actually got through.¹⁹

The Honolulu ETM was remarkable in several ways:

(1) The number of individuals willing to contribute significant time, talent, and resources to expand public awareness and interaction was surprising and impressive. Professors, students, actors, video experts, cameramen, newspaper editors, TV station managers, TV and radio program directors, deejays, artists, comedians, and others worked long and energetically in a communitarian fashion with no remuneration at all other than in a belief in the intrinsic value of participatory democracy. (2) The willingness of competitive media to cooperate in a nonprofit educational endeavor was encouraging. (3) The variety and range in the forms used to communicate with the public was, as far as our research indicated, unprecedented in electronic town meetings up to that time or since. The Honolulu ETM and Televote reached very diverse audiences and generated participation by a broad-based cross section of the population. (4) The response was keen and friendly with over 80% of those replying to the various methods

expressing a willingness to join the HETM and Televote again in the future.

There was one example of someone in the media censoring our material. The program director at Oceanic Cablevision cut two segments from Peck's documentary. She removed the comments made by a state representative because she felt the representative was using the television station to promote her own achievements. She also spliced out a viewpoint of a Marxist, who stated that only a war would pull the United States out of its economic crisis, because she did not want the public to think Oceanic was endorsing his views (even though disclaimers were made at the start and end of the documentary.) It is interesting to note that the program director's previous job had been with a politician from a political party different from the two whose views she censored.

Peck was indignant over the censorship and was quite vocal about the arbitrary manner in which the program director acted. He wrote a memo stating that such action calls for renaming the Oceanic "Community Programming Channel" the "Oceanic Programming Channel."

Certainly there is reason to be alarmed by the control exercised by one member of the media in this case. It highlights the necessity of building in safeguards so that freedom of the press does not apply only to those who own and/or run the presses.

There were also other problems, but not nearly as serious as the censorship issue. The Honolulu ETM faced difficulties (many due to financial limitations) and accumulated some critics objecting to the means and/or ends of the project. For example: (1) Many of the productions were not of the quality we would have preferred. This was due to poor equipment, time constraints, or lack of the volunteers' expertise necessary to perform the needed functions at a professional level. (2) We had to rely on what the media was willing to give us for free. We had many ideas about how to promote the programming or citizen participation, but we were constrained by our inability to pay for anything. Therefore, when we would have liked for the Televote to have been published in the newspapers at the end of the HETM as well as at the beginning, we had to settle for the one-time printing that the newspapers gave us at no cost. (3) We needed far more telephone lines than we had available to accommodate those trying to get through to us for some of our call-in shows. A computer-tallying system would have helped a lot, but was unavailable in Hawaii at the time. Other components to expand participation in HETM, which were used in Washington and Alaska, were beyond the realm of possibilities for the Honolulu experiment since there was no government or financial support for the project.

The criticisms of the HETM, which will be discussed more generally later on, were similar to those made of Televote. It was argued that issues are too complex to be dealt with in a four-page brochure, half hour or hour-long radio or television programs, or hour-long documentaries. A few critics were outraged by the satirical style of Live Wires and argued that serious issues of public policy cannot be dealt with in such a flippant, ostensibly superficial style. They felt that even though facts were given, as well as pro and con arguments, the manner in which Reaganomics was presented made it appear to be the subject of ridicule rather than a subject presented objectively for "serious" public discussion.

Taking into account the limitations and criticisms of Televote and the Honolulu ETM, we concluded, however, that we had found evidence for the beneficial use of media in heightening citizens' awareness and knowledge and inducing their participation. As with every previous Televote, we learned things we had not anticipated, we discovered ways to improve our efforts, and we met new questions that challenged us. Our desire to create new designs and to continue our research was spurred once again, however, with the public's warm welcome of our work.

LOS ANGELES TELEVOTE: GOVERNMENT AND MEDIA
PROMOTING PUBLIC EDUCATION AND INTERACTION
ON REGIONAL ISSUES AND STATE INITIATIVES

A graduate student of Dator's observed the Honolulu ETM and transplanted the concept to his home state, California, by persuading the Southern California Association of Governments (SCAG) to utilize it in their planning. SCAG is a voluntary association of local governments in Southern California that work together in developing comprehensive plans ordinarily dealing with air and water quality, transportation, housing, regional growth, and economic development. Based on the low cost and success of the Honolulu ETM, SCAG embraced the idea. SCAG Executive Director Mark Pisano felt Televote and related programming was ideal for SCAG's use. He described Televote as "the best public participation tool I've seen in a long time. It puts SCAG issues before the public in an entirely new way, in a concentrated and concerted manner."²⁰ (Emphasis mine) Dator and Becker served as advisors for the Los Angeles Televote conducted in October and November of 1982.

The goals of the Los Angeles Televote, which covered six regional issues and four initiatives from the 1982 California ballot, were the same as for the Honolulu ETM: (1) increase public access to the Televote process (by

having newspapers publish the Televote); (2) increase the number and types of players; and (3) utilize other modern communication technologies to educate and involve the citizens. An additional goal of the LA Televote, however, which makes it different from the Honolulu ETM, was to promote government and planning interfaces with Televote, ensuring that Televote was linked to policy-making processes rather than separated from them. While we had no objections to such a goal in Hawaii, our previous Hawaii experiences taught us to expect resistance, evasiveness, and/or skepticism from Hawaii policy makers. While the LA Televote was sponsored and funded by government for the purposes of using public "input" for planning, we had experienced university funding being abruptly curtailed when state officials complained about public "pressure" created by the Televotes.

Even with government funding, however, the LA Televote was a very inexpensive civic program (\$23,000) because the organizers were able to obtain a similar level of cooperation and voluntary contribution from the local media. In addition, some media and communication companies contributed cash for the rental of sophisticated phone answering and call-counting equipment and to pay for telephone services.²¹

The LA Televote sought to duplicate Honolulu's variety of program formats that placed major emphasis on two-way

communication. Every form of media communication had a built-in feedback mechanism designed to obtain and measure citizen input. The California phone company's donation of a technologically advanced answering and call-counting systems allowed greater participation than the rudimentary, "bare bones" budget volunteer phone answering system utilized in Hawaii. During the ten day programming cycle, the LA Televote received over 35,000 replies. The automatic, high volume telephone system was used for almost all their programming in addition to a few programs that allowed for on-the-air comments and questions.

Programming that coincided with the random sample Televote polling, which provided informative pamphlets to Televoters, included: (1) ten 3-5 minute segments on a television evening newscast; (2) a 30-minute wrap-up television special at the end of the Televote week; (3) ten segments on a morning radio news show with ten live on-the-air opinion polls conducted; (4) ten segments on two different Spanish speaking radio news programs; (5) a 30-minute radio talk show with call-ins from listeners; (6) daily newspaper listing of all the Televote programming; and (7) information articles on the Televote issues published in the newspapers.

The LA Televote added two components not utilized in the Honolulu ETM: (1) an interactive computer network and (2) a high school Televote center. The LA Televote ballot

was entered into The Source computer data base. The Source is a computer network established and run by the Source Telecomputing Corporation, which offers over 750 programs and services to subscribers including electronic mail, news, government and politics, education, and shopping. The Televote ballot became an interactive file on The Source that provided the Televote information to users and allowed them to receive the Televote questions and offer comments and suggestions. Subscribers to the service were able to read comments of others and develop a computer dialogue on the issues.

The designers of the LA Televote felt that its educational potential is also useful in helping the educational system to train students to become politically aware and active citizens and to develop planning skills. They chose a Los Angeles high school to serve as a demonstration project for developing problem-solving skills, which they considered relevant to responsible participation in the political system. "Project Citizen," involving forty high school students, lasted for four weeks and revolved around the "Televote Game," which was a simulation designed to explore the different perspectives surrounding each of the Televote issues. For each issue, three or four students were given different roles representing different points of view on the issue, which

they then discussed and debated with the other students. Not only did they discuss these issues in the class, but each student was also responsible for distributing, collecting, and tabulating ten Televote ballots in their community. Their class assignments included watching the Televote programming on television, including one segment which featured their actual classroom debates. Students were also assigned to take their discussion out of the classroom and get their family and friends involved in the Televote activities. The organizers of LA Televote stated, "the students were actually functioning to stimulate political activity in their community and at home."²²

(Emphasis mine.)

However, the most remarkable new discovery of the Televote process in Los Angeles was how closely the results of the random sample on the four state initiative issues matched the actual voter results in the election held immediately following the Televote. As in Hawaii and New Zealand, the LA Televote sample was highly representative of the overall population, but prior to Los Angeles there had never been another indicator available to see how closely the sample actually matched the views of the larger population from which it was drawn. On all four issues, the Televote results were within plus or minus four percentage points of the actual vote in the area on the

issues and accurately predicted the results of the election on each issue. By contrast, the TV poll, which did not employ scientific random sampling, but was a self-selected group, only predicted the outcome on half the issues. The following chart demonstrates how the scientific random sampling compared to the election results and the results of the television poll.²³

Although the types of audiences reached in Los Angeles may not have been as diverse in some ways as in Honolulu, since most of its programming took place on news programs or talk shows, and since entertainment formats were not a part of the government-sponsored Los Angeles project, the raw number of citizens participating in a ten-day project was still very impressive. The Los Angeles Televote continued and expanded the development of Televote, and also demonstrated that the greater the cooperation between media, policy planners, and educators, the greater the potential for the success of Televote to achieve its participatory democratic goals.

Table 4

**Comparative Results: General Election, Random Sample
Televote*, and TV Poll**

Issue		General Election	LA Televote	TV Poll
Beverage Containers	yes	43.5%	45.2%	49.6%
	no	56.5%	54.8%	50.3%
Nuclear Weapons Freeze	yes	62.0%	66.3%	47.4%
	no	38.0%	33.7%	52.6%
Water Conservation	yes	46.5%	49.4%	59.2%
	no	53.5%	50.6%	40.8%
Handgun Ban	yes	48.5%	48.9%	34.1%
	no	51.5%	51.1%	65.9%

* Televote random sample of 408 residents of Los Angeles, 18 years or older.

**HAWAII HEALTH DECISIONS 1, 2, & 3: USING TELEVOTE TO
BRING THE PUBLIC INTO HEALTH POLICY PLANNING**

Finally, after several years of conducting Televote polls in Hawaii, we were contacted by Donald Toews and Dr. Henry Ichiho of the Hawaii Department of Health about the possibilities of using Televote to help them get more and better public input into health policy planning.

Conventional public opinion polling had been part of the health department's policy-making process for many years, but Toews and Ichiho felt the necessity for something better--and they had heard about the Hawaii Televote model and thought it would enrich the administrative decision-making process. They believed that their role as administrators was to respond to public needs and to

maintain a high-quality feedback system that allowed for effective public evaluation of their efforts.

The Hawaii Health Decisions Televotes, sponsored by the Hawaii Health Department, broke new ground again in Televote experimenting. It was the first time we had been approached by actual, practicing policy-makers, who were familiar with our work and who determined on their own that Televote was a very useful tool for their work. Also, it was the first time the Hawaii Televote model was fully funded for researchers and staff and did not have to rely on volunteers or university classes to conduct the poll. And finally, it was the first time in Hawaii that policy makers had expressed a genuine desire to be directed in their planning by the desires of the public, whom they sought to educate on the issues to be resolved.

In the Fall of 1983, I served as consultant for the first Hawaii Health Decisions poll (HHD-1) utilizing Televote methodology. The Family Health Services Division, through the Maternal and Child Health Branch of the Department of Health, had received a federal grant to develop policies and programs for dealing with teen pregnancies, unmarried mothers, adoption, and health problems of infants born to teenagers. The broad guidelines of the grant mandated the health department to: (1) look into societal causes for the growing number of births to unwed teenage mothers; (2) identify the major

reasons that adoption was an option so seldom used; (3) establish innovative, comprehensive and integrated approaches to the delivery of care services for pregnant adolescents, particularly unwed mothers; and (4) to assist families of adolescents to understand and resolve the societal causes which are associated with teenage pregnancy.

The HHD-1 Televote included facts on adolescent health problems in general as well as on teenage pregnancy and adoption in particular. It also contained a variety of ways to cope with adolescent problems, along with arguments for and against each. Questions were posed to discover: (1) the extent to which the respondents felt that the health problems specified were problems facing Hawaii's teenagers; (2) their views on adoption; (3) the advice they would offer to unwed pregnant teenagers; and (4) their level of support for an array of methods to convey health services to Hawaii's youth. Relatively unconventional concepts, like community health organization (CHOs), were on the menu.

The Televote results indicated majority accord on the causes, but no clear majority on any conventional solution. However, for new ideas, such as CHOs, there appeared to be strong community support (69%), although a significant minority (23%) did not know how they felt about them. We interpreted the large "not sure" group to the fact that

CHOs were an unfamiliar notion in Hawaii and a number of citizens felt they needed more information before forming a definite opinion.

Toews is currently analyzing how these findings impacted the decision-making in the Department of Health and whether and to what extent it influenced actual public policy. The initial reaction of the policy makers in the health department, however, was satisfaction. They were pleased and impressed that the representativeness of the sample was comparable to the more conventional polling they had done. And they viewed Televote as an efficient and effective approach to educating a representative sample of Hawaii's population about original thinking on health care delivery.

Increasing Participation In Televote:

Unexpected Results Of HHD-2 And HHD-3

Two years later, the health department utilized Televote again, this time conducting two simultaneously on wholly different issues involving entirely different populations. HHD-2, sponsored by the Crippled Children's Branch, addressed a primarily philosophical issue: Children's Rights and Parents' Rights (more specifically, who should provide and fund medical services for children when parents are unable or unwilling to do so). HHD-3, sponsored by Maternal and Child Health, dealt with a

specific community health program: the future of the Waimanalo Health Clinic, which dispensed prenatal care, maternity services, and care of children.

The sample for HHD-2 was randomly drawn from all adult residents on Oahu, whereas the sample for HHD-3 was randomly selected from the much smaller Waimanalo community on Oahu. Whereas the residents of the island of Oahu are extremely diverse in ethnicity, level of income and level of education, the Waimanalo residents included a greater percentage of lower income families with less education than the average population of the state. We were quite sure from past experience that we would get a highly representative sample of all Oahuans for HHD-2, but we were worried that the complexity and difficulties inherent in the Televote method might pose some problems for obtaining a representative sample of the citizens of Waimanalo.

As had happened so often in our previous experiments, what actually transpired caught us off guard. Not only did we receive a representative sample of the population involved in both surveys, but our Waimanalo Televote demographics on ethnicity and income levels were a closer representation of the Waimanalo population than were the demographics of the Oahu Televote for Oahu's population on the same variables!

One demographic, that was significantly skewed in the Waimanalo Televote was sex--36% male respondents and 64%

female respondents. The actual population is about evenly divided. Our analysis of this tremendous discrepancy, which is not at all apparent in the Oahu Televote, is that this project focused on a health clinic that specialized in services for women and children, and thus it was of more interest to women, overwhelmingly the principal patrons of the clinic. Also in HHD-3, unlike our procedures in many other Televotes, we did not ask to speak to the head of the household (to help compensate for the fact that in Hawaii women are more likely to answer the phone than men). Finally, the sponsors of the survey believed that women would be more likely to know about the services of the clinic and be better able to evaluate its merits. Therefore, an overrepresentation of women in the survey was not a negative factor to them.

Actually, we began to suspect that our fears of not obtaining a representative sample in Waimanalo were groundless after we did our recruiting for that Televote (HHD-3). In HHD-2 we were able to recruit 58% of those we asked to participate--well within our range of 50-65% in previous Hawaii Televotes. In HHD-3, however, we were astounded to receive our highest participation rate out of all Televotes we had ever conducted--nearly 75% of those we asked to participate agreed to do so.

In analyzing how we could have been so far off base in our predictions about the participation of the residents

of Waimanalo, we were led to the following conclusion: HHD-3 hit a sensitive nerve. It touched something direct, real, and of tangible relevance to the people of the community--its health clinic. By contrast, HHD-2 was of a more philosophical and abstract interest to the citizenry. Thus, we believe that this experiment (serendipitously) demonstrated that when a public opinion survey or citizen participation project concerns an issue or issues that people think is vitally important to them, and they are convinced that their opinion is needed and can make a difference, that this overcomes the socio-political tendencies to abstain from civic participation so deeply rooted in contemporary American society.

Furthermore, since we chose the same size sample from the small community of Waimanalo as we did from the much larger area of Oahu, we discovered that as we did our recruiting, many of those we contacted had already heard of the Televote from their neighbors and relatives, whom we had contacted earlier. They had already begun a discussion on the subject even before they agreed to receive our Televote in the mail. Several expressed gratification that they were now to be a part of the project. It was our first experience in recruitment where a substantial number of potential Televoters already had heard of our project from Televoters we had signed up to participate. It certainly made our survey efforts easier and more

enjoyable. It also showed that if Televote is widely distributed in an area (about 20% of the households were involved), it can generate an intensive, interactive dynamic in that community.

Measuring The Extent To Which Televoters

Read And Discuss The Contents

In all our previous Televotes, we were not so naive to believe that all our Televoters read all our information and all Televoters discussed the Televote with someone else. Indeed, we had assumed that some undetermined number of Televoters read all, most, some, or none of the material presented in the Televote brochures. Our first two Televotes on initiative and on selection of judges had indicated sophisticated responses very different from the responses of conventional polls conducted during a reasonably close time period. Also in the New Zealand Televote, the results indicated that a large percentage of the respondents chose the more complicated and difficult choice of creating their own future from the information provided rather than choosing one of the pre-packaged futures (which did not require integrating any other data from the questionnaire). We also believed that some other undetermined number of Televoters discussed the material with others. We had been satisfied with the belief that whatever number read the material and discussed it with

others, it was more than any conventional public opinion poll, since none encourages or allows for discussion and deliberation in the systematic way as does Televote.

In HHD-2 and HHD-3 we decided to try to gain some insight into how many respondents read how much of the material and discussed it with others. Also since the two Televotes were conducted concurrently, and were targeting very dissimilar samples, we were able to gain a clearer notion about the extent that this number might vary from survey to survey and population to population.

Thus, after our Televote interviewers had obtained the responses to the substantive and demographic questions on each Televote, they asked each Televoter: (1) "Other than the questions, how much of the Televote did you read?" (2) "Did you discuss the Televote with anyone else?" (3) If yes, "With whom?"

Table 5
(Amount of) Televote Read by Televoters

Response	HHD-2	HHD-3
All	77.3%	65.2%
Most	11.2%	16.7%
Some	6.0%	9.8%
None	5.5%	8.3%

The general level of those who reported they read all the Televote was quite high. Nearly four out of five (77.3%) of the Oahu Televoters said they read all, while nearly two out of three (65.2%) of Waimanalo Televoters said they read all the material. We interpreted the 12% disparity to be due in part to the generally lower level of education in the Waimanalo sample (there were twice as many college graduates and people with some post graduate education in the HHD-2 sample) and in part to the firsthand knowledge many of the Waimanalo Televoters had about the subject of HHD-3. The number of those who said they read no material other than the questions was uniformly low (less than 10% in both Televotes).

Table 6

Discussion of Televote

RESPONSE	HHD-2	HHD-3
Yes	51.9%	50.4%
No	48.0%	49.5%

More than half of the Televoters in both surveys reported they discussed the Televote with someone else. Still, the reported level of discussion was substantially less than the reported level of reading all, most and some of the Televote. It is also interesting to note that factors which we believe helped explain the different

samples (lower level of education and more direct knowledge of the issue) had no significant effect on the reported amount of discussion the Televote generated.

Table 7

With Whom Televoters Discussed Televote*

	HHD-2	HHD-3
Spouse	41.1%	33.4%
Kids	4.6%	12.3%
Parents	5.9%	9.6%
Friend	15.1%	10.3%
Other**	32.4%	34.4%

* Some Televoters spoke with more than one person.

** Includes Relatives, Neighbors, Co-workers

By far, Televoters in both surveys preferred to discuss the Televote with their spouses. The Waimanalo Televoters (disproportionately female) had a slightly lesser tendency than the Oahu Televoters to do so. Instead, they had a slightly greater inclination to discuss the brochure material and issue with their children. This is understandable, since the clinic served women and their children.

We would expect that there would be a certain inflationary factor in Televoters' responses to these questions (akin to the inflationary factor that most pollsters expect in response to questions about income and

education level). Some people are embarrassed by their low income or low educational level, and we believe that some Televoters were reluctant to admit that they did not read or discuss the Televote.

We believe, however, that there are factors in the results that indicate a minimal degree of inflation. For example, the substantial difference in the percentage of Televoters who said they read all, most or some of the Televote (90-95%) and those who said they discussed the Televote (50-52%) shows that approximately 40% of the Televoters who claimed to have read at least some of the Televote, were not hesitant to tell our interviewers that they did not follow our instructions to also discuss the issue with others.

Then, there are a number of internal consistencies to indicate that most Televoters in both surveys were being frank. For example, lesser educated Televoters were less likely to say they had read all the Televote.

Even discounting for some inaccuracy in the responses, we believe our data indicates a moderately high level of reading and discussion of the Televote and its contents. Not only do we believe this adds a certain quality of thought and deliberation to the opinion data gathered, but that the Televote method increased the level of public education in the community quite unlike conventional methods of public opinion polling.

SUMMARY

This chapter has detailed the Televote odyssey from its early beginnings in a school district of California to its final experiment in a small Hawaiian community. Televote has been tested in California, Hawaii, and New Zealand on a variety of issues and for a variety of purposes. With each Televote we advanced our knowledge, improved our techniques, and asked new questions. And from the first design of the Hawaii Televote model to the last experiment we are convinced that the basic approach weaved together the Quantum qualities of randomness and interactivity in a way to increase citizen involvement in government--whether representative or participatory democracy. We also came to understand that Televote's efficiency was especially enhanced when made a part of a wider, more complex democratic process like the Electronic Town Meetings.

The final chapter will look closely at critiques that have been made by others of Televote and corresponding Electronic Town Meetings. It will also present a concluding analysis of how Televote can be best institutionalized in the future so as to maximize its effectiveness in helping develop a more Participatory Representative State or the more radical Representative

Participatory State--the polity most compatible with the principles of Quantum Politics.

I am attaching the "HAWAII TELEVOTE HANDBOOK" as Appendix A. While a number of changes have been implemented since we wrote the handbook early in our experimentation, the handbook describes the entire process by which a university curriculum can be employed as a relatively inexpensive and independent "mediator" between the public and government in participatory democratic systems. It is important to note, however, that this model can also be utilized by community or volunteer organizations devoted to the concept of a "strong democracy," and which exhalt the process of participatory democracy over any particular policy interests.

NOTES

1. Earl R. Babbie, Survey Research Methods (Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1973) 165-166. Babbie states that response rates of 50% for mail questionnaires are adequate for analysis, 60% is good, and 70% is very good. He also notes that in computing response rates, the "accepted practice" is to omit all those that could not be delivered for various reasons. Although he acknowledges this does not produce a pure random sample of the total population, it is common practice. Also he states the researchers must be careful to compare their results with other data such as demographics to examine how closely their sample reflects the population at large.
2. The texts that we used for our methodology training were: Kenneth Webb and Harry P. Hatry, Obtaining Citizen Feedback: The Application of Citizen Surveys to Local Governments (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1973); Charles H. Backstrom and Gerald Hursh-Cesar, Survey Research (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1963); and Earl R. Babbie, Survey Research Methods (Belmont, Ca: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1973).
3. Gerry Keir, "Con Con Poll," Honolulu Advertiser 19 Feb. 1978: A1.
4. Keir, "Laws for Action by Public Favored," Honolulu Advertiser 25 Feb. 1978: A1.
5. Keir, "Most Favor Initiative, Referendum," Honolulu Advertiser 10 May 1978 A1.
6. Ted Becker and Dick Chadwick, "Problem-Solving CONCON Desired, Says University Poll," Honolulu Advertiser 17 May 1978: A1.
7. Keir, "Change in Judge Selection Favored," Honolulu Advertiser 25 Feb. 1978: A1.
8. Keir, "Most Favor Initiative, Referendum," Honolulu Advertiser 10 May 1978: A1.
9. Statement of William Paty, 1978 Hawaii Constitutional Convention President, made to Ted Becker, professor in charge of the Televote project.

10. P.J. Arnopoulos and K. Valaskakis, Telecommunity Democracy: Utopian Vision or Probable Future (Montreal: UNESCO, 1982) 46.
11. Details on the New Zealand Televote are found in Ted Becker, Alvin Clement, Alan McRobie, and Brian Murphy, Report on New Zealand Televote (Wellington: The Commission for the Future, 1981).
12. Becker, Clement, McRobie, and Murphy 11.
13. Becker, Clement, McRobie, and Murphy 13-14.
14. Becker, Clement, McRobie, and Murphy 33.
15. For Jim Dator's description of the project, see: Jim Dator, "The 1982 Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting," The Future of Politics: Governance, Movements and World Order, ed. William Page (London: Frances Pinter, 1983) 211-217.
16. Dator 214.
17. Dator 214-215.
18. Dator 216.
19. Dator 215.
20. Report on the Los Angeles Televote (Los Angeles: Southern California Association of Governments, 1983).
21. Report on the Los Angeles Televote 4.
22. Report on the Los Angeles Televote 9.
23. A similar comparative data chart appears in Ted Becker and Richard Scarce, "Teledemocracy Emergent: State of the American Art and Science," Progress in Communication Sciences, eds. Brenda Derwin and Melvin J. Voight (Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1986) 281.

CHAPTER VII

EVALUATING TELEVOTE:

RESPONDING TO CRITICISM AND SETTING FUTURE AGENDAS

Chapter 6 was devoted to the contributions in data and theory of a dozen Televote experiments. As I noted, the Televote researchers, throughout the series, were open to serious and thoughtful critiques from others--as well as themselves--in a continuing attempt to assess and improve the process. I am well aware that the system is still not perfect, and never will be. Indeed, many important questions remain to be tested--and answered.

I realize, too, that it has taken a long time to compile, evaluate and present a comprehensive explication of the Televote experiments--the philosophy and theory behind them, the discussion of all the data, and a detailed interpretation. Up to this point, there have been three published articles by various members of the Televote research staff (Becker and Slaton, 1981; Becker, 1981; Becker and Scarce, 1986). They have discussed various aspects of Televote and have presented some of the data and some analysis of the Televote findings. However, Chapter 6 is the first comprehensive presentation of Televote up to this time.

The early reports of Televote, however, have attracted some attention, as I mentioned in the previous chapter. The Gamma Group, at McGill University in Montreal, was favorably impressed and considered Televote to be the closest approximation to their ideal model of Telecommunitarian democracy.¹ Their positive reaction was encouraging. On the other hand, they presented no critique and, thus, did not stimulate us to re-examine our design.

Benjamin Barber also presents Televote as a positive example of the democratic experimentation being conducted across the country in his book Strong Democracy. Again, no specific critique is presented of Televote.

There has been an intensive, itemized evaluation of Televote in a comparative study of teledemocracy projects. This critique emanates from a small group of analysts led by F. Christopher Arterton: formerly a political science professor at Yale, a research fellow at the Roosevelt Center in Washington, D.C., and currently the Dean of the Graduate School of Political Management (of the State of New York) in New York City.

Unfortunately, despite spending numerous pages and sections of chapters in two recent books (Arterton, 1987; Abramson, Arterton, & Orren, 1988) evaluating Televote, the data they set forth is so inaccurate that the assessment offers very little insight into ways to redesign Televote. As I will demonstrate, Arterton is a devoted adherent to

the Expanded Representative State. In his attempts to justify the current political system, he misrepresents Televote to those who read his work and finesses the major issues of system change that the Televote experiments treat seriously.

The first part of this final chapter will address these specific critiques of Televote and highlight the myriad distortions of the Televote process and goals. Arterton has established quite a professional reputation, lately, as a thorough evaluator of teledemocracy projects. His charges against Televote are numerous and severe. But they are, at heart, ideologically driven. He and his colleagues make this clear and I will portray this, I hope, with equal clarity.

The second part of this chapter will discuss some real shortcomings in the Televote experience to date. There are truly important things to know that we have yet to address, that we have yet to study, that need to be known so that we can better comprehend how to develop better systems for citizen participation in planning, problems-solving, policy-making, and implementation in a future system of more effective democratic governance.

The last part of this chapter will be my conclusion, my summing up, my integration of all that has gone before in this work. I believe there is a unity here--one that I have tried to illucidate throughout.

We live in a new age--one characterized by rapid technological developments; great expansions in our knowledge of physical and human behavior; potential manmade cataclysms of unprecedented magnitude; numerous democratic revolutions of one kind or another. This study has made the point--over and over again--that the Televote experiments (as well as other participatory democratic theories and projects) are an amalgamation of key aspects of these technological, theoretical, scientific, and political changes of the twentieth century.

The concluding part of this final chapter will make my final statement as to how these merge and, therefore, lend even greater credibility to the potential for a new form of participatory democracy, in other words, the Representative Participatory State.

RESPONDING TO THE CRITICS

F. Christopher Arterton has spent a good portion of two books critiquing Televote. His evaluation and analysis is based on a visit to Hawaii in 1985 where he interviewed Becker and Dator (but not Chadwick or Slaton) as well as the articles that have been published on or about the Hawaii model of Televote.

Arterton commences his study by defining "tele-democracy" as "the use of communications technology to facilitate the transmission of political information and

opinion between citizens and their public leaders."² He says unequivocally at the outset that he does not view teledemocracy as "a politics that would undercut our established representative machinery."³ (Emphasis mine.)

In selecting Televote for study, Arterton found that it fit his pre-requisite that it be in a category of "policy-neutral projects" designed by disinterested democrats. As he describes the role of the organizers: "They merely provide greater opportunities for citizens to exert influence, while they try to avoid influencing the outcomes of the process they set in motion."⁴ (Emphasis mine.)

Unfortunately, though, for purposes of effective and useful independent evaluation, Arterton's information on Televote was incomplete and much of what he adduces is either incorrect or misrepresented. In addition, there are two major defects in Arterton's research design that weaken its capabilities to identify and assay Televote's merits and demerits. First, I will address the problems with his methodology and then I will look at the specific critiques made about the Hawaii Televote model to consider their value and their potential for the upgrading and sustainability of Televote for the future.

Methodological Problems in the Arterton Televote Studies

Inappropriate Application of Criteria

In his 1987 book, Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy?, Arterton exposes his personal bias in favor of the presently constituted American representative system. His own definition of teledemocracy indicates a lack of interest in, or concern about, any reforms that may fundamentally affect the existing structural relationship between citizens and representatives--for example, to make representatives more strictly accountable to the democratic controls of the citizenry. Placing his definition of teledemocracy within the confines of my own typology, Arterton's criteria for evaluation are to determine if teledemocracy projects (like Televote) strengthen the representative function in the Expanded Representative State--in other words, he asks to what extent do the teledemocracy projects facilitate communication between citizens and public officials through the use of modern technology?

The first major methodological problem arises with his list of eleven criteria (Table 8) created to evaluate the projects.

Table 8

Arterton's Criteria for Evaluating
the Effectiveness of Teledemocracy Projects*

- 1) Access--the range of citizens able to participate in a teledemocracy project.
- (2) Reach--the percentage of those citizens able to participate who actually do become involved.
- (3) Effectiveness--whether or not citizen participation can have a direct influence upon public policy.
- (4) Agenda setting--the level of control citizens are able to exercise over the issues to be decided , the alternatives to be considered, the timing of and order of participation, and so forth.
- (5) Diversity of access paths--the number of ways through which citizens can learn about and participate in a project.
- (6) Duration--the length of time and number of iterations over which an institution for citizen participation lasts.
- (7) Individual or group based--whether citizens can participate as individuals or as members of organized interest groups.
- (8) Initiative--the degree to which citizens must discover and generate for themselves opportunities to become involved and the information upon which that involvement is based.
- (9) Costs--the burdens, financial and otherwise, imposed on citizens in connection with their participation.
- (10) Educative value--the degree to which participants learn about the subject matter or policy area under consideration.
- (11) Political competence--through their participation in a teledemocracy project, the skills and confidence to become more generally politically active.

* F. Christopher Arterton, Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy? (Newbury Park, Ca.: Sage Publications, 1987) 63.

As actually applied by Arterton, however, these criteria are primarily relevant to a Full Participation State since he uses them to measure the extent to which all citizens are fully involved in decision-making that has a "direct influence upon policy,"⁵ Arterton evaluates thirteen projects, including Televote, frequently using the terms "direct democracy," "plebescite," and "universal participation" as standards by which to evaluate the success of the projects--despite the fact that none of these (particularly Televote) state this to be their goal. Thus his criteria for evaluation, as applied, are (1) inconsistent with his own definition of teledemocracy; and (2) inapplicable to the goals of all the project organizers of the projects he evaluates. It is hardly surprising, then, that Arterton finds none of the projects to succeed on all the dimensions by which he measures citizen participation. Indeed, the conclusion of his 1987 book that "teledemocracy offers us improvements in democracy, not a major transformation nor a final fulfillment,"⁶ should be seen as success in terms of his own definition (and the criteria of the project organizers) even though he seems to be saying, by his inappropriate applications, that they have been unsuccessful. (Emphasis mine.)

In dealing with Hawaii Televote specifically, Arterton credits the model with responding to two major problems of modern survey research by: (a) allowing respondents time

to think about the issue and (b) encouraging them to talk about it with others. He states that requesting respondents to reflect on the issues with others in a social context is an "achievement [which] is a major virtue of Televote."⁷ (Emphasis mine.) He further points out that Becker has written that Televote is "one step along the path toward teledemocracy."⁸ (Emphasis mine.) Therefore, Arterton acknowledges some Televote success and realizes that the Televote designers do not claim it to be the ultimate form of, or as the path towards, a full participatory democracy in America.

On the other hand, when we address certain of Arterton's specific criticisms of Televote, we will see how this methodological flaw of utilizing criteria that do not match the goals of the projects affects his conclusions of success or failure. It will also provide insight into how and why Arterton and two co-authors of a 1988 book, The Electronic Commonwealth, pronounce a harsher verdict on Televote and conclude that rather than enhancing democracy, Televote "shortchanges the democratic process."⁹

Improper Application of Classification System

The 1988 study of Televote includes another serious methodological shortcoming, in other words, misclassifying the project under analysis. Referring to "the shallowness of polling as a form of democratic participation,"¹⁰

Arterton determines that Televote is a "foe of democracy,"¹¹ "trivial,"¹² and "superficial."¹³ Yet he and his collaborators arrive at such a harsh judgment only because they fail to make pivotal distinctions in their own classification scheme. Worse yet, they present incomplete, as well as erroneous, information that makes their classification scheme appear to be appropriate.

Televote Is Not Instantaneous. A particularly glaring illustration of improper classification is how they lump Televote together with Warner Communications' QUBE system and AT&T's "900" system. In the QUBE system, viewers vote instantly on their own initiative, using an interactive voting device attached to their television set, during or after programming on a local cable television station which the viewers pay to receive.¹⁴

The AT&T "900" system is a computer tally system used by many in the media to receive instantaneous telephone responses by citizens to questions posed by a television or radio show. Once again, citizens must pay to give their opinions.

Under the section titled "Participation by Electronic Plebiscite: The Case of Hawaii Televote,"¹⁵ Arterton and his colleagues devote five pages out of ten presenting the problems with QUBE, various users of the "900" voting, and other "instant" pollings of citizens in their homes. At one point, they refer to interactive cable television

programming as presenting a "televote ballot."¹⁶ (Emphasis mine.) In a footnote they acknowledge that Televote differs from these forms of polling in "one important respect--speed"¹⁷ (Televote allows time for deliberation). In the body of the section critiquing Hawaii Televote, they emphasize swift response as well as other problems with instant voting that are all irrelevant to a discussion of Televote.

While acknowledging the speed factor as a difference between Televote and the media-designed methods of obtaining public opinion, albeit in a footnote with little elaboration, Arterton chooses to ignore the difference completely in his conclusion. Televote makes a major point of giving respondents a few to many days to think and talk about the issue, whereas the other forms of electronic vote tallying usually require immediate responses or responses within one day. The Televote evaluators go into a lengthy description of the ABC network's use of the "900" number to determine who won the debate between Reagan and Carter and decry the lack of public deliberation. This long description of the ABC poll is within the same paragraph beginning with a two-sentence statement about Televote allowing time for deliberation, but pointing out that Televote allows only "token" time and can fall victim to "automated politics."¹⁸

The lumping of Televote in this discussion with the "900" polling on candidates is like mentioning the limitations of an information pamphlet designed by neutral technics, but making the case against it by describing a slick campaign brochure produced by a public relations consultant. To question the amount of time for deliberation given in the Televote process is legitimate (but it should be acknowledged that the deliberation is far greater than conventional polls offer, which is none). But to lump the Televote practice of deliberation time on complex substantive issues, which is an essential feature of the design, with instant polling to determine a winner in a televised political debate with all its hype, slogans, and personality differences, is to take two diametrically opposed goals and call them the same. Even worse, the evaluators refer to AT&T and Warner Communications' instant pollings as Televote's "progeny."¹⁹ Instant self-initiated polling is not a progeny of Televote. They are both the children of modern technology, to be sure. But as frequently is the case with siblings, they have travelled in two different directions--Televote seeking to integrate the lessons of life into a mature and wise development and the other to indulge in quick and instant gratification. Televote is still immature and has many important lessons to learn. But, it is nevertheless unfair to compare it to those who do not aspire to similar aims.

Televote Is Not a Self-Selected Sample. As I have emphasized in chapter 6, one of the most significant changes we made in adapting Campbell's version of Televote to the Hawaii model was to switch from a self-selected to a random sampling of the population. We learned from Campbell's experiment that reliance on a self-motivated and/or self-selected sample has a significantly skewed bias in favor of well-educated Caucasian males (similar to, but less than, that which exists in the United States Congress). We wanted to broaden the diversity and have a much more representative image of the entire population. Results of other activities conducted coincident with many of the Televotes, which relied on self-appointed participants, indicated a similar slant to that found in the Campbell experiment.

As discussed earlier, when we conducted our first Hawaii Televote, we found that those who called back their responses without our prompting (approximately 15% of the sample) were weighted heavily in favor of well-educated Caucasian males. These results resurfaced in New Zealand. Comparing respondents who filled in New Zealand newspaper ballots (N=4,018) with the scientifically chosen group (N=964), we found that the Televoters closely resembled the composition of the New Zealand population (See Table 3 in the previous chapter) while the newspaper set were 69% male, 98% Caucasian, and 42% college-educated (15% in NZ

Televote). The Los Angeles Televote project also revealed similar warpage in the self-initiators. What is more, the results of the actual election indicated that the randomly selected Televote respondents provided an accurate picture of the election outcome, being within the scientifically determined 5% margin of error range on every issue (ranging from .4% to 4.3% variation from the true vote), whereas the unrepresentative newspaper sample predicted the actual vote in only half the cases. Even on those issues in which the final outcome was forecasted by the newspaper sample, the responses were still 6% to 15% off the mark in reflecting the levels of support for and opposition against the issues. These results of the Los Angeles Televote also offers a challenge to Arterton's rhetorical query: "One can question, however, whether a group that is demographically representative of the general population is indeed politically representative."²⁰

The Hawaii model of Televote designers, as well as other earnest pollsters utilizing scientific methodology, understandably bristle when distinctions are not made between scientific sampling and the self-selected voting done with increasing frequency in the American commercial news media. It is particularly disturbing to have the media acknowledge that their polling is not scientific, yet introduce their stories (and often present them as lead stories) with phrases such as "The Public Favors" or "The

Public Opposes." The Televote experimentation has demonstrated time and again that "the public" is not represented in these self-selected samples, but a very biased result is evident in every self-selected sample we obtained.²¹ It does a grave disservice to Televote, and makes doubtful the credibility and integrity of an evaluation of Televote, to fail to make such important distinctions, ones we have been making since our first experiment.

Arterton also ignores the initial preparations we made for assuring a representative sample. In one of his evaluations, he points out that only 15% of the Televoters responded within the allotted time and states that "the televote managers then departed from their own design and, like conventional pollsters, called participants and solicited an on-the-spot response from them."²² (Emphasis mine.) We understood, however, from our own familiarity with the literature on mail surveys that a very small percentage of individuals actually respond to mail surveys without subsequent rewards, reminders and/or prompting. We always had planned a system of call-backs for a majority of our Televoters. Also, it was never a part of our methodology to obtain "on-the-spot responses." If Televoters did not have their questionnaires already filled out when we called (as many did), we set up an appointment, usually two to three days hence to call them again. We

also re-emphasized our desire to have them discuss the Televote with others.

Our design to obtain a representative sample of the population stands in contrast to the the Televote evaluators' faith that "Democracy thrives on self-initiated participation in civic concern and civic education."²³ On the contrary, it appears from our empirical research that elitism thrives on self-initiated participation. The data consistently indicate radical demographic skews in self-initiated participants, while there is no evidence to witness self-initiators as greater promoters of democracy for others, as possessing a greater public conscience or more civic concern, or being less self-interested in their participation.

While clearly some self-motivated actors are more politically alert and are knowledgeable on particular issues, one of the purposes of Televote is to elevate individual levels of awareness and information. Having a superior data base does not necessarily make one less subjective and more objective, particularly on issues grounded in value judgments. Yet Televote can play a part in heightening civic education and broadening the political discourse well beyond that taught in public schools. For instance, no civic courses were taught at the public school I attended in South Carolina, very few high schools in Hawaii offer any government or civics courses, and

education majors in both states can graduate from universities and colleges without having taken a single course in American government. The general paucity of civic education opportunities in America makes it clear that for many to learn how to effectively participate in the system, they have to be self-initiators, making them a part of a select group. That we take such great pains to avoid this mistake, makes it particularly disturbing to be cavalierly and carelessly lumped together with projects that rely on self-selection (because it is cheap and easy).

Recognizing the methodological problems in Arterton, Abramson, and Orren Televote studies, there are many Televote-specific criticisms that also need to be addressed and evaluated. These judgments fall under two general categories. The first attempt an objective analysis that concludes: Televote does not live up to its own ideals and fails to elicit significant changes and impact in citizen participation. The second unveils the subjective perspective underlying the former analysis--in other words, even if Televote increases participation, that participation is not beneficial to the present American representative system of government. As will be clear in the explication of the "objective" critique, Arterton and his colleagues' study of Televote is overshadowed by the underlying prejudice against one of Televote's goals--to lend aid and assistance to the development of a

representative system that is truly representative of the economic, ethnic, and political diversity present in the American citizenry, that is: the Representative Participatory State, a representative system in tune with the technology and knowledge of the 20th century, informed by the quantum perspective.

Specific Criticisms of Televote

Restricts Access

One of Televote's major failings (according to Arterton's eleven standards for evaluation) is the way by which it restricted those who can participate: by using only random samples. The Televote experiments were not developed, however, with the goal of reaching the Full Participation State. Instead, we sought to obtain in-depth, thoughtful opinion from a more informed representative sample of the population that could serve as a useful guide for representatives who are inundated with pressures from well-organized, wealthy, and/or powerful special interests. Televote was seen as a useful means to communicate the views of the citizenry (by way of scientific random sampling) to the representatives and to provide a clearer view of the entire range of citizen opinion than they receive from a small, but vocal and organized minority or from random samples using

conventional polling techniques that elected representatives routinely discount as being superficial and thoughtless.

While that remained our target throughout all our experiments, we felt that Televote's educational potential could germinate much broader public consciousness of and discussion on issues, particularly if the material were disseminated widely. In later Televotes, therefore, we expanded our distribution system (having to rely on the media's donation of time and space due to a lack of funding), but we always maintained our randomly selected group, which we felt offered a valuable scientific baseline of the the views of a "silent majority." Clearly our ideal scenario would be universal distribution of the Televote material to aid in universal public debate. But we know that would be extremely expensive and virtually impossible to accomplish, given our meager resources.

Low Participation Rate

Participation also fell short in Arterton's eyes because, according to him, only 50% of those contacted agreed to participate. Actually, data available to Arterton shows the rate ranged from 50-65% in our early Televotes but improved in our later Televotes--for example, over 70% in New Zealand and 75% in Waimanalo agreed to participate. He continues the discussion of low

participation rates by noting that only 72% of those who agreed to participate eventually did so. In fact, the completion rate ranged from 70-83%. Multiplying the percentage of those who agreed to participate by the percentage of those who completed their Televote, Arterton announces that this participation rate is lower than Presidential elections and about the same as Congressional elections.²⁴ To bolster his brief, Arterton used our lowest figures to claim that only 36% of those contacted finally participated when those who agreed to and did participate were sometimes as high as 54%--greater than the voter turnout in the 1988 Presidential election and much superior to the percentage of eligible voters who cast ballots vote for Congresspersons.

We would agree that we have not demonstrated an overwhelming demand from citizens eager to participate. In fact, we expected resistance, particularly from the poor, uneducated, and ethnic minorities, so we designed our recruiting system to coax participation from those we contacted who often lamented, "The politicians don't care what I think" or "My opinion doesn't count for anything." From surveys conducted of citizens' views on government leaders' responsiveness to public opinion (see chapter 4), we realized that there was significant citizen cynicism about the value of using their time to express their views. Rather than falsely assure the skeptics that politicians

really cared about their views, we stressed that we needed their participation in order to lend validity to our claim that the Televote responses represented the views of a representative sample. Although cynicism was the most common resistance we found, others expressed inadequacy and lack of knowledge. We particularly encouraged them at this point to discuss the issue with family, friends, and co-workers and to take their time to think about the issue. We also emphasized that their opinions were extremely important--to us. Very few citizens were rude or uncooperative. Of course, there were those who simply were suspicious that Televote was another gimmick used by telephone hucksters and charlatans.

While not satisfied ourselves with the participation rates, and while we continue to look for ways to spur greater participation, we were pleased that from the outset we were able to obtain a representative sample of the population or at least as good a representative sample as conventional polls, which require much less time and commitment from their participants. In terms of increasing the participation rates, we are hindered by the larger problem inherent in the American political system itself: meager civic education in public schools; representatives who show and/or express disdain for public opinion; and processes designed to allow wealthy and powerful minorities greater and more effective access to policy makers. Our

Televotes were conducted in an environment that is less than hospitable to citizen participation in policy-making.

Nevertheless, we found, through experimentation, ways to increase participation: (1) combine Televoting with Electronic Town Meetings over an extended period of time; (2) let the public determine the issues to be included in the Televotes; (3) select issues in which the Televoters have first hand knowledge; (4) publicize the Televote process; (5) conduct Televotes in smaller areas where there is greater opportunity for participants to interact with each other. We plan to continue to explore this issue and to analyze participation rates, but we believe that our relatively low participation rate is more of an indictment of the American representative system and its resistance to enlightening and engaging an informed citizenry.

No Proof of "Political" Representativeness
in Televote Sample

Arterton argues that the demographics of the Televote participants, although close to the demographics of the full population (with the exception of educational levels), is no proof that Televoters are politically representative of the total population. He speculates that Televoters are more likely to be joiners and already active and therefore their opinions may differ from the nonparticipants who resemble them in other ways. To support this view he

points out that the educational level of Televoters tends to run ten points higher for Hawaii Televoters.²⁵

Indeed the educational levels of Hawaii Televoters were higher than the general population, as is the case in most conventional polls and in all other American teledemocracy projects that have recorded demographic data on their participants. I do not claim to know the views of the nonparticipants, nor can I claim unequivocally that the Televote results are the same results that would be achieved if every single citizen voted on the issues.

Our goal with Televote, however, as Arterton himself acknowledged, is to broaden the opportunity for citizens we called upon to participate. We made great efforts to ease the burdens of those not normally accustomed to participation through our information presentation, packaged in a "user friendly" format and through our initiating a low-key, friendly, sympathetic contact. Considering that we obtained a close approximation of the public, and certainly a greater diversity than found in any of our elected representative bodies, I would have to concur with Lester Milbrath and M.L. Goel's belief that in a representative democracy citizens should have the right not to participate if they so choose.²⁶

This attitude is not to dismiss criticisms that Televote may not sufficiently involve the traditional nonparticipant. On the contrary, we have demonstrated

success with obtaining demographically representative samples, some progress with achieving greater involvement of those with low educational levels (New Zealand and Waimanalo), and a desire to learn more about nonparticipants who may want to be heard, but have inadequate means for being heard. We recognize that some citizens have different values, goals, and agendas that do not include political participation. Arterton's utopian criticism on this point that Televote's "representative participation' constitutes a major retreat from the plebiscitory, direct democracy principle of universal involvement,"²⁷ is totally irrelevant to the Televote goal.

Televote Is an Unrealistic Design of Politics Without Advocacy, Strong Self Interest, or Leadership

Arterton also describes our even-handed, telecommunitarian approach of presenting issues in our Hawaii Televote model, demonstrating no intent to "stack the deck' on one side of an issue,"²⁸ as being unrealistic and, despite our best intentions, as tending to limit political information to our Televoters. He points to the lessons learned from American broadcast law, which tries to mandate fairness but which has had limited success in such an endeavor. To Arterton's way of thinking, trying to be neutral and provide balance in information may tend to limit political information.

As I noted in my discussion of the results of the Televote projects, what we found was a more informed and sophisticated public opinion after Televote information was supplied. Arterton has no data to support a view that supplying balanced arguments limited, rather than increased, political facts and opinion readily available to Televoters.

While clearly there will be problems with maximizing the "policy-neutral" stance of Televote organizers, it is not an impossible task. Arterton himself has identified twelve recent experiments across the United States in addition to Televote that he maintains reach such a high standard. Institutionalizing such a system is much more difficult, and will be discussed in greater depth in the discussion of Televote's future later in this chapter.

Failure to Allow Participants to Establish the Televote Agenda and Frame the Debate

In both of his studies, Arterton faults Televote for not allowing the Televote participants to participate in setting the agenda for discussion. In 1988, three years after the last Televote experiment, he and his collaborators wrote: "Even more damning is that televoters played no role in deciding which issues ought to be the subject of the plebiscite, which issues ought to be placed

on the public's agenda for constitutional action."²⁹

(Emphasis mine.)

In truth, the subject of the first two Televotes was determined by the Hawaii Televote organizers, primarily due to the time constraints of funding that started approximately the same time as the constitutional convention, thereby allowing no time for advance planning. However, it is incredible that Arterton and his colleagues fail to acknowledge what was in much of the information provided to them in 1984, in other words, that we recognized the problem ourselves and remedied it. In fact, as detailed in the last chapter, we developed the "Public Agenda" Televote as our third experiment--one that determined the issues for our legislative Televotes. Furthermore, the public was also allowed to establish its financial agenda and priorities in our seventh Televote--"The Public Budget." Every other Televote was done in cooperation with official policy-makers who said they wanted to use Televote as an aid to getting public input for specific problems they had to resolve. All of this data was available to Arterton in a published article that he cites, one in which we explain the public agenda and our rationale for developing it. Arterton excluded acknowledgment of it in both studies.

He continues to lambast the Televote planners because they did not allow the Televoters the "opportunity to frame

the 'pro' and 'con' arguments about the issues under discussion; once more this was the exclusive province of the televote staff."³⁰ (Emphasis mine.) While the Televoters did not contribute to the "pro" and "con" arguments in the brochure, they were certainly encouraged to think about the issue and to discuss it with others, thereby extending the debate.

Also, whenever compatible interactive programming was taking place coinstantaneous with the Televote, such as in the Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting, we notified the Televoters and encouraged them to watch and to call-in their questions, ideas, and views, which included the opportunity to enlarge the scope of the debate. In addition, Arterton ignores the painstaking process we went through (detailed again in the very articles he cites) to obtain the "pro" and "con" arguments from those most vocal or active in making them. We did not create the arguments in ivory tower isolation. Not only did we seek input for the arguments, but we returned to the various individuals or groups for their review of our presentativon of their arguments. That entire process hardly makes the development of the arguments the "exclusive province" of the Televote staff.

Televote Information is Inadequate for Deciding the Issues

Televote was never intended to provide comprehensive, exhaustive information on issues. Instead, the idea was for it to be a means to convey some useful factual data and to serve as a catalyst for further interaction. Nevertheless, Arterton judges that the Televote information is "inferior in fact to current press coverage of issue politics,"³¹ and that it provides more "caricature than the curriculum of a civic education."³² To make his point, he presents the entire Televote argumentation on election of judges produced in the brochure on judicial selection. (See Appendix B.) He acknowledges the information is "accurate, impartial, and objective," but says it "trivializes the nature of democratic deliberation" and ignores the classic arguments against the election of judges found in the Federalist Papers.³³

What Arterton totally fails to grasp, however, is that the Televote questionnaire actually expanded the scope of the debate on selection of judges that had been the subject of public discussion and polls for months, that is from a simple dichotomy between election or appointment to offering four alternatives for selection of judges. In addition, after receiving the Televote material, the sentiment of Hawaii respondents changed from favoring outright election of judges to a preference for merit

selection with subsequent retention elections. On this issue, as well as all the other issues, Televote disseminated details and alternatives not covered by the press and obtained responses that indicated the new information aided in the development of opinions that displayed more refined intellectual distinctions than those gathered by the conventional polls conducted during the same time period. (See the detailed description of the Televote on initiative and referendum in the previous chapter where indirect initiative became the preferred choice of Televoters.) How, then could this be said to "trivialize...democratic deliberation?" And in what curriculum of "civic education" available to most citizens are there discussions of indirect initiative and four choices of judicial selection?

The other example used to demonstrate the alleged mundane presentation of information in the Televotes is the New Zealand Televote that allowed respondents to choose their own future based on their values and policies consistent with those values. Arterton selectively quotes from the information provided from one scenario and deprecates as follows:

It is difficult to see how anyone could dissent from such a future, worded as it is, though of course in real life the politics of free enterprise are a source of intense controversy. The text for education here is so short, conclusory, and leading in tone that it could educate New Zealanders only in the crudest of ways.

Once again, it was no advance over the education delivered by the organized press.³⁸

What Arterton fails to mention is that only 12% of the Televoters chose the future (he states hardly anyone could resist) after reading all the materials related to that scenario. Furthermore, the Televote had been criticized by New Zealand media and methodology pundits stating the material was too complex for a public opinion poll and that New Zealanders would not complete it. Of course, that Televote proved to be among the most successful in participation rates and representativeness of the sample.

Actually, these criticisms were the indirect result of Arterton's misapplication of his own criteria--the extent to which Televote achieves full direct democratic participation. Even if he did not omit and distort the information on Televote he would still have said that Televote failed to live up to his criteria. Instead, Televote has been very successful in attaining the goals of the teledemocratic definition offered by Arterton himself--use of communication technology to facilitate the transmission of political information and opinion between citizens and their public leaders--and offers the potential for even more service in a Representative Participatory State.

This latter point really presents the greatest problem for Arterton--to what extent do the teledemocracy projects

(particularly Televote, seen by Gamma as being the closest proximity to a telecommunitarian system) seek to change the existing political system? He makes it clear he wishes to see no major change in the established representative system and argues throughout his books against direct democracy. When he then judges the projects by direct democratic standards, he sets up a failsafe, shifty way to condemn the projects for either their failure or their success in achieving their goals.

Arterton's misunderstanding and/or falsification of the Televote design and practices, and his own partisanship in favor of the established system, lead him to be particularly critical of Televote's relationship with elected representatives and leaders. His oversimplification and/or mislabelling of Televote as a plebiscite produces another set of criticisms that he has with the Televote efforts to increase public input in decision-making. Arterton, like Michael Malbin, who expressed his opposition to teledemocracy in an article entitled "Teledemocracy and Its Discontents," is opposed to changes in America to give ordinary citizens more control of the political process. Adopting the Madisonian perspective, Arterton correctly labels the teledemocracy projects as following in the divergent Jeffersonian tradition.³⁵ The following section will bring the Madison-Jefferson differences into the 20th Century as I

discuss Arterton's and Malbin's fundamentalist objections to Televote goals and practices.

Public Officials Not Involved in the Televote Process

Arterton acknowledges in neither of his studies the persistent efforts we made to get political leaders involved in the Televote process. He states that in interviews he conducted, "Becker and Dator were somewhat disdainful of politicians and the current political processes."³⁶ He adds that if a mayor or governor staged a Televote, participation rates may be higher because there would be legitimacy added to the process.

Arterton makes no attempt to explain or explore why two political science professors might exhibit disdain for politicians since his personal observations and impression of teledeomcracy projects that included politicians led him to conclude that "the public officials involved were genuinely open to citizen participation."³⁷ Of course, he barely touches upon the strong resistance and pronounced hostility of numerous politicians in the Washington, Pennsylvania, and Alaska projects he studied (which are discussed in chapter 5) and that their eventual support for the projects was a result of tremendous citizen pressure, not any original eagerness and openness on the part of most politicians, although there were a few notable exceptions.

Again ignoring information readily available to him, Arterton misinterprets the Televote procedure and agenda. From the outset we tried to work co-operatively with political leaders. We saw Televote as a useful means of communication between government officials and citizens. We felt politicians could (1) provide information to educate citizens on issues through the Televote and (2) be enlightened by the better informed public opinion conveyed directly to them at no cost to them.

At the orientation for Hawaii CONCON delegates, Becker introduced the Televote program and offered to assist in trying to obtain a more informed public opinion for the delegates' consideration. We were granted an office at the convention site, which was staffed by someone from Hawaii Televote in order to increase the contact with and usefulness to the delegates. Many delegates used our Televote results in the ensuing public debates. We polled the entire delegation after the convention to obtain their evaluation and feedback and to solicit their views on Televote's future usefulness for state legislators. As noted in chapter 6, only half the delegates responded to our questionnaire, but over three-fourths of those indicated that Televote was useful to them and would also be useful for state legislators.

When we conducted our "Public Agenda" Televote, we also sent the questionnaire to all state legislators to

identify issues that topped their list, as well as the public's, for legislative action. The response from the legislators was so insignificant (two replied) that it made any effort to mediate between them and the public impossible. Nevertheless, we dispatched the results of all our Televotes to them and other political leaders and tried to enlist their input in developing the information and arguments in the Televote brochure.

As discussed in the previous chapter, we were open to advice on the design of Televotes from politicians who expressed problems with the information provided. After a critique of a Televote, we invited the Lt. Governor and her staff's advice on our Televote design, to no avail. A couple of years later, however, after the termination of the widely heralded Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting and its associated Televote, the same Lt. Governor appeared on a PBS program with Becker and Dator and lauded both projects. She was running for governor at the time.

When Arterton makes the argument that if a mayor or governor sponsored the Televote, participation may be higher, he again overlooks the Televote we managed in cooperation with the mayor of Honolulu (HT-6 on transportation). The notable feature of those Televote results is that the mayor was displeased that the results did not endorse his plan and chose to ignore the Televote results as quickly as he got them.

Also disregarded is the fact that the New Zealand and Los Angeles Televotes were both sponsored by governmental bodies with the official sanction of political leaders. In addition, the last three Televotes were underwritten by the Hawaii Department of Health.

Arterton's implication is that no effort was made to work with political leaders. There is extensive evidence to the contrary. What did occur is that we often ran into stone walls in the person of political leaders who did not want to be involved with, or subjected to, greater involvement of the public. Their reasons were usually cloaked in the usual Madisonian and Burkean lingo that representatives are better informed and more capable of necessary compromise and that the public is incapable of the wise judgments made by erudite and altruistic representatives. On a couple of occasions, observed in the last chapter, we happen upon some political leaders raring to work with the Televote staff, but not in earnest to create a genuine dialogue with the people. We were disillusioned to learn that they simply wanted to identify with Televote for public relation purposes.

Also we discovered the heavy price to be paid when politicians feel the heat of public pressure via democratic technics. Our funding was unceremoniously cut at the University of Hawaii when "downtown" complained to the

university administration about the intense public pressure exerted on them from the first two Televotes.

As already noted, our record on working with government leaders was not a complete zero, but we had enough experience with their turning their backs on our results or dragging their feet to conclude that our representative system is sorely lacking in means by which unorganized individuals without significant resources (time, money, political connections, etc.) can impact policies or planning. Our experiments repeatedly reinforced the notion held by a majority of citizens that have been repeatedly expressed in public opinion polls: politicians don't really care what they think. Arterton admits his observations of political leaders may be naive and that maybe they really express interest in participatory democracy in order to coopt or manipulate the process. He quickly dismisses the probabilities, however, and challenges those who make such assertions to "specify concretely the mechanisms of collusion and suppression and to document empirically their strength."³⁸ There is significant documentation in the history of Televote, as well as other projects, to underscore Arterton's naivete. More serious, however, than his self-proclaimed innocence is his highly selective and fallacious presentation of the Televote design and practice that leads him to conclude that Televote is a foe of democracy while he ignores the

animosity of political leaders to increased citizen participation and lauds their genuine concern for increasing citizen participation.

Televote Had No Impact on Public Policy

Arterton also argues that Dator and Becker were not interested in Televote or the Honolulu Electronic Town Meetings having direct impact upon policy.³⁹ Instead, he says they justify "their project in terms of psychological rather than political benefits."⁴⁰ This attitude, he maintains, trivializes participation because participation is not coupled with action. What occurs, according to Arterton, is that citizens are reduced to the humble status of appealing to the representatives to "consider" their views and are not empowered to have any more effect on public policy than if they had not participated.

Again, Arterton twists the true purpose of Televote. It is not that we had no desire for Televote having direct repercussions on policy. We were not that naive to expect that it would. What we do argue, however, is that to judge the success of the project only by the degree to which it leads automatically to specific legislation is to perform a superficial analysis of impact. To study Televote's effects at CONCON, Arterton simply asked the Hawaii governor's "chief political aide" (unnamed) and his press secretary if they had heard of the results from any of the

Televotes or the Electronic Town Meetings. They said, "no." Therefore, Arterton concluded that impact on public policy was "almost nonexistent."⁴¹

In his 1988 study, Arterton and his fellow researchers added additional proof of "no impact" by using HT-1 as an example. They state that the first Televote found "a whopping 86% of televoters favored the adoption of some sort of referendum process in Hawaii, but the convention made no proposal for one."⁴² As previously discussed, while Televote (and many other kinds of public and political pressure) did not influence enough delegates to vote for initiative, it was the first indication that the public was overwhelmingly in favor of initiative. Each state legislative session since that Televote has had to contend with strong and growing support for initiative that has taken the form of a unified lobbying organization in the state. Two key House committee chairs, as previously noted, have been defeated after refusing to hold public hearings on initiative. Even today, the Televote results (HT-1) are featured in a videotape shown around Hawaii to educate others on initiative and its near consensual public support.

Televote alone cannot guarantee political impact. It itself is not a plebiscite. It is, however, an effective device to increase political cognizance in its participants and to discover the depth and breadth of thoughtful public

sentiment. Citizen activism on issues is stimulated by the knowledge gained that public opinion can be mobilized so solidly on an issue. Representatives can pay attention or shunt it aside. They are wise to pay attention, to respond, to interact, to continue to educate and inform where they feel the public is uninformed or misinformed. To turn their heads away or to show contempt for widely shared and deeply felt public opinion may be their own undoing as indicated by the defeated legislators in Hawaii and the defeated political party in New Zealand.

Televote Should Not Have Direct Policy Impact: The Modern Version of the Madisonian Vs. Jeffersonian Debate

This is the point where we get to the heart of Arterton's dissatisfaction with Televote. Arterton sees Televote as a foe of "democracy" because he views it as an attempt to replace the democratic process with pure majoritarianism, seeking to make representatives slaves to public opinion. In his view, this is antithetical to the extensive and complex deliberation process that our representative system was designed to employ. "Such a tyranny of the majority," he argues, "cannot encompass the whole of democratic participation."⁴³

To this he adds that democracy is not necessarily harmed because the CONCON delegates ignored the Televote indicating 86% of the population favored initiative. "If

the delegates are not to deliberate but only to record majority opinion," he argues, "then there is no need to convene political assemblies or constitutional conventions at all."⁴⁴

How is it that Arterton presumes that representative bodies deliberate, but that the public does not? Does he assume that citizens form their opinions in a vacuum with no give-and-take from others? Why in dismissing public opinion for its lack of deliberation (which, by the way, has not been proven) does he completely overlook the many ways in which American representative bodies are woefully lacking in utilizing deliberation in their decision-making. For instance, committee chairs are allowed to kill bills with no consultation with others simply by refusing to hold public hearings or refusing to hold votes on certain bills. Furthermore, representatives often make decisions on the basis of trade-offs for votes on other issues ("logrolling"); because their party leaders tell them to vote in a certain way (party discipline); because some major campaign contributor applies pressures (the increasing power of money in campaigns and in lobbying); and because they are ignorant of riders that have been placed on bills to sneak through legislation that would not stand up under public scrutiny. All of these practices, as well as many others, are not uncommon features in the American legislative process at all levels. They refute

the assumption or ideal that representatives' opinions and votes are mainly based on unbiased data, unanimous expert opinion, and the give-and-take of public debate.

The point is that Arterton's methodology, research, analysis, and interpretations are all clouded by his ideological bias, a prejudice contrary to that of the Televote organizers. The fact that they both are guided by ideological leanings is not necessarily bad--as chapter 4 points out. The problem arises when the bias taints research and evaluation that is cloaked in the pretext of "scientific objectivity." Quantum theory makes us more aware of such pitfalls.

Arterton's political bias is purely Newtonian--a philosophical worldview at the heart of the design and development of the American political system. Madison's famous propaganda in favor of such a system, written over two hundred years ago, argues that the American republican system was intended to place representatives in power who are more likely to be patriots and lovers of justice using their wisdom to determine the true interest of their country and to guard against majority passion and faction.⁴⁵

Michael Malbin offers additional arguments against teledemocracy that fit comfortably into the Madisonian and Newtonian mold. He states emphatically, as though it was fact, that, "There is no conceivable way the public could

'refine and enlarge' its own views in a manner that would be conducive to sound legislation. The public is, and necessarily will remain, poorly informed on most issues."⁴⁶

Calling legislators who read issue polls "with jaundiced eyes" as possibly a "democratic republic's best friends,"⁴⁷ Malbin makes the following case against a greater role for citizens in America. First, the system was wisely designed for the following reasons and goals. (1) To the framers, "democracy was less basic to them than liberty."⁴⁸ (2) Personal rights granted in democracies are endangered by majority tyranny. (3) Majority tyranny is most likely to occur if the people get swept up by a common, single special interest or passion. (4) Representatives from the vast, complex republic are more likely to represent different interests and therefore make compromises through give and take. Malbin states the process was designed "to force legislators to deliberate and to think of the needs of others."⁴⁹

Second, the mechanisms designed to give citizens more power--initiatives, polls, and direct democratic activities--have the following defects. (1) Too much power is placed in the hands of those who frame the issues. (2) Citizens providing responses in the isolation of their own homes are not contributing to the very important deliberative process--"Opinions only become refined through

the give and take of discussion with people whose backgrounds and opinions differ from one's own."⁵⁰

(3) Citizens are unable to participate effectively in the types of discussions that representatives engage in because they are ill-informed or uninformed on most issues.

While Malbin accurately conveys the arguments of the Framers of the Constitution, he fails to address the perspective of Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, who Malbin credits as listing the inalienable rights the Constitution was most concerned with protecting. Jefferson, argues that the "mass of the citizens is the safest depository of their own rights and especially, that the the evils following from the duperies of the people, are less injurious than those from the egoism of their agents."⁵¹ (Emphasis mine) He also maintained that the framers designed a system that was not sufficiently republican and accountable to the people. He did not fear majority tyranny nearly as much as elite abuse. In fact, he believed that "the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors."⁵²

Jefferson offers an excellent argument that can be used to support Televote when he states:

Cherish therefore the spirit of our people, and keep alive their attention. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them. If once they

become inattentive to public affairs, you and I, and Congress and Assemblies, judges and governors shall all become wolves.⁵³
(Emphasis mine)

Clearly, there is a fundamental tension between the teledemocracy projects, Televote included, that share Jefferson's sanguine and positive views of the citizenry and the Madison, Arterton, Malbin perspective that fears and loathes it. At least, the modern day Madisonians should acknowledge where their ideal fails in many ways to be attained. To continue the extremist diatribe against the masses while ignoring the palpable inadequacies and failures in the American representative system weakens their own arguments.

For instance, Malbin argues against public opinion polls because they do not add to the deliberative process--in other words, "the give and take of discussion with people whose backgrounds and opinions differ from one's own." In a Congress overwhelmingly consisting of wealthy or upper-middle class, white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant males, over 50, the occupational mode of which is lawyers, exactly where is the discussion taking place between people whose backgrounds differ? In arguing against paying attention to public opinion polls of an uninformed public, are we to accept that our representatives, bombarded with money and pressure from powerful lobbyists and Political Action Committees, really

have a balance of information that produces policies that are best for society as a whole?

Malbin patronizes public opinion in America when he considers its role in making law, for example, referenda and initiatives:

Referendums may be useful in small countries, or on statewide constitutional issues, or in local areas in which citizens may know almost as much as their representatives about the issues. But on complicated legislative matters, referendums merely give special interest groups an opportunity to use demagogic advertising appeals to frustrate the legislative will.⁵⁴

How can Malbin denigrate citizen decision-making because of its vulnerability to the manipulators of special interests, but applaud the representatives, who are at least as vulnerable (if not moreso) to the wiles and direct power of special interests?

In designing Televote, we shared the Jeffersonian view that all powers in America derive from the people and should remain there--by and large. We did not start with an idealized notion of representatives whose knowledge, deliberation, and wisdom lead to the best decisions for the good of the total citizenry. Instead, we sought ways (1) for both the people and the representatives to become more enlightened and to work together and (2) to help develop ways for an educated and deliberative public to play a more direct role in planning and policy-making so as to increase

its role in a future, more democratic polity. As democratic designers, we do not want our fear of technology to paralyze and victimize us. We want to learn to adapt it so as to help attain our participatory democratic goals. The next section will take a look at areas that Televote needs to explore in moving towards that end and will place Televote in the bigger picture of democratic trends in the Quantum Age.

AREAS FOR FUTURE TELEVOTE TESTING AND DEVELOPMENT

Sustainability

Arterton correctly notes that each Televote has been a "one-shot endeavor, lacking the cumulative presence or follow-through that would be necessary to document the continued attractiveness of this form of participation or to experiment fully with their consensus-building conception of participation."⁵⁵ From the outset we had seen the value of studying the extent to which participation in Televote would change if Televoters were asked to participate in a series of Televotes. One of the ideas behind asking Televoters if they would be willing to participate again was to develop a Televote advisory group along the lines proposed by Robert Dahl.

We envisioned a comprehensive study to test the following: (1) Could interest in Televote be sustained

over time? (2) Would responses continue to indicate a more sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of the issues? (3) Could consensus-building effectively take place over time through a Delphi adaptation of Televote? (4) Would legislators show as little interest in an on-going project as in a one-time presentation of public opinion? (5) How would continued participation affect the degree to which (a) Televoters discussed the issues with others, (b) deliberated before responding, and (c) sought additional information to enrich the deliberative process? It is a study that needs to be done, but will require greater resources than we have had available in running our previous experiments.

Lessening the Potential for Privatizing the Citizenry

Jean Beth Elshtain has written a critique of the QUBE system in which she argues that QUBE's tactics of gathering instant opinion is merely "a compilation of opinions [that] does not make a civic culture; such a culture demands a deliberative process in which people engage one another as citizens."⁵⁶ She adds that QUBE "has nothing to do with promoting civic culture or rousing social conscience."⁵⁷

Arterton applies Elshtain's critique to Televote even though there are fundamental differences, as discussed earlier, between QUBE and Televote. In fact, Elshtain's critique is not about public opinion polling, but is about

interactive television "polls" which dupe citizens into believing they are participating in the political system. Her argument is that "interactive television embraces a view of human nature and the human condition that is opposed to the view that people are social beings who require certain conditions for the development of their capacities."⁵⁸

While Televote is clearly distinct from QUBE, and while I believe Elshtain's critique of all interactive television based on a QUBE analysis is unfair and inaccurately portrays the intent and method of many forms of interactive television, Elshtain's argument against interactive television might be applied to Televote. It could be argued that Televote privatizes citizens since they act in their individual homes rather than in a public arena with the other Televoters (individuals unrelated to themselves), which may help citizens determine their own collective identity and collective good that Elshtain feels is necessary in a "real democracy."⁵⁹

I am sympathetic to Elshtain's concern. Before I accept that face-to-face assemblies are superior to other forms of communication, however, I believe such needs to be studied. While we have been surprised at the extent to which Televotes have obtained responses that indicate concerns for the larger community, not mere self or narrow interests, it is possible that those opinions could become

even more refined with a view towards the common good with face-to-face interaction with other Televoters.

This is an area we have also wanted to explore since our first Televotes, but lacked the necessary resources to subsidize the experiment. Our design was to conduct the Televote in the usual way and then to bring the Televoters, or a random sample of them, together in a face-to-face assembly. We intended to allow public testimony and additional expert opinion to be a part of the Televote Assembly. Not only would we compare the difference in the Televote opinions obtained through each process, but we would conduct a follow-up study to allow Televoters to contrast and evaluate the two methods of participation from their own perspectives.

In developing an in-person assembly project, it is very useful to keep in mind Jane Mansbridge's study of town meetings in a small town in Vermont. Mansbridge found that the face-to-face, one-person/one-vote style of the town meetings gave an inaccurate impression that a democracy of equal opportunity existed. As she conducted her interviews after her observations, she had citizens confide their reasons for either not attending the meetings or failing to speak up. Included in their reasons are: (1) feeling inarticulate and lacking verbal and legal skills of others; (2) fearing ridicule if they make a mistake; (3) being bullied by those with more power (for example, a lawyer

telling a farmer to shut up or he would have a lawsuit filed against him); (4) feeling the real decisions are made in private caucuses outside the assembly; (5) fearing personal criticism if disagreement is expressed; (6) fearing that enemies would be made; (7) experiencing headaches and other physical symptoms due to the stress of participation; (8) disliking the constant arguing; and (9) being ignored if you bring up matters others do not want to discuss (for example, a woman asked a question about the budget four times before she was finally answered). Mansbridge found a great deal of empirical evidence to support all these reasons for such anxiety and the reluctance of some to participate.⁶⁰

In fact, Mansbridge discovered that those traditionally lacking in power in the American political system--uneducated, poor, inarticulate--did not fare any better in the town meetings. In addition, the personal sacrifices were greater when public ridicule and attack coincided with lack of power. While the townspeople were very kind towards those in the inner circle, being careful to save face for them despite palpable incompetence and/or corruption, they were not empathetic to the powerless, whom they perceived to be outspoken and thick-skinned, not needing the same emotional protection granted to the inner circle. Yet great empathy was extended to the members of the established powers in town, which led to many relevant

issues being shielded from public discussion. Instead, the issues were swept aside when raised by someone excluded from the informal decision-making process. Mansbridge's conclusion is that the democracy in the town meetings--"the mechanism of one-citizen/one-vote, majority rule in an open assembly...consistently overrepresents certain interests. This pattern persists even when overt conflict erupts."⁶¹

While Mansbridge has no quarrel with the articulate, educated, and/or established individuals being the spokespersons or decision-makers when all those affected by the decisions have common interests, she is correct in pointing out that the interests of the inarticulate, uneducated, poor, and/or newcomers are not always in line with those exercising power. It is important, she argues, to not pretend common interests exist when they do not and that mechanisms must be designed to represent the interests of those traditionally alienated from power.⁶²

Therefore, I believe that Elshstain makes too much of face-to-face assemblies and ignores their dangers. It is possible that Televote's design helps alleviate some of the problems, by allowing for anonymity in interaction, deliberation and judgment. When part of an Electronic Town Meeting, the Televoter can view face-to-face discussions--and even participate via call-ins with no fear of ridicule, reprisals, and so forth. Obviously, though, there needs to be substantial comparative study of the dynamics and

results of face-to-face assemblies and the relative anonymous systems of Televote and Electronic Town Meetings. This, too, will require significant financial backing to accomplish.

Institutionalizing Televote Neutrality

I believe the Televote university-based model contains many safeguards to reduce manipulation and control by those wishing to obtain certain results. Our method of review from diverse individuals and inspection from professional survey firms helps uncover most biases that may influence the results of the Televote. In addition, the work of academics is subject to a high level of professional critical scrutiny, and the tenure system will help insulate any "tenured" technics against outside or topside pressures. This does not guarantee that bias may not creep in or that the politics within the university may not lend themselves towards manipulative practices. The necessity, then, is that academics, critics and outside observers must keep a keen eye on projects designed to educate and involve the public and hold them to a high level of objectivity and impartiality.

While I believe that the university-based model of Televote, with its standards of open inspection, offers the least likely chance for abuse, I am troubled by the eagerness of others--using other models--to turn Televote

and Electronic Town Meeting style formats into public relations and/or profit-motivated enterprises. An example is former Hawaii Congressman and gubernatorial candidate Cec Heftel, a multi-millionaire who lent his campaign the money to produce a series of electronic town meetings as a major part of his 1986 campaign for governor of Hawaii.

Several individuals who worked in his "town meetings" were disturbed when the candidate seemed to follow the same agenda and pattern for each meeting, showing no effort to incorporate the citizen concerns and views expressed if they were contrary to his pre-established positions. While significantly outspending his opponent in the gubernatorial race, Heftel lost and left Hawaii to establish his new business--Quick Tally. The new venture, in collaboration with his campaign media consultant (the person who had produced the Alaska Television Town Meeting) endeavors to sell the "electronic town meeting" expertise to other candidates to utilize in their campaigns for various offices. Very sophisticated tabulating devices are utilized in the Quick Tally "town meetings" that obtain instant citizen opinion on issues dealt with in the candidate's "meet-the-public" forum. It offers a novel gimmick that draws citizens into alleged "interaction" with candidates.

Unfortunately, those seeking to profit financially from the sincere effort of those wishing to design more and

better ways to involve the public in decision-making seem to be making great strides while the genuine advocates of a more participatory democracy scrounge for resources and have to contend with ideological antagonists of participatory democracy. For instance, a group called "Choosing Our Future" in San Francisco has modeled itself after the Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting. After many years of research and coalition-building with community groups, Choosing Our Future produced an interactive television program on ABC that was called "The Electronic Town Meeting." Currently working with an NBC affiliate in San Francisco to produce another ETM on the future of the Bay Area (but now within a new, community-based organizational structure called "Bay Voice"), they have been notified by Quick Tally's lawyers that since Quick Tally has legally protected the term, "Bay Voice" can no longer use the term "Electronic Town Meeting." It would seem that the term "electronic town meeting" is generic, and this is an attempt to trademark something like "electric waffle iron." Besides, the term "electronic town meeting" was used by others before Quick Tally entered the picture.⁶³

While Quick Tally may have questionable legal standing, their financial reserves are much richer than those of Bay Voice, a primarily volunteer, low-budget organization. In addition, Quick Tally has a contract with

the national NBC organization to televise a national electronic town meeting in the Fall of 1989 and that may intimidate local affiliates which do not want to get embroiled in such a controversy.

This example is indicative of the manifold dangers facing Televote if it is not institutionalized in some fashion that separates the honest effort to involve citizens from attempts to profit from citizen involvement or to use it simply as a ploy to bolster the existing representative system--one that cares little to nothing about increasing citizen participation. As cynics criticize without offering constructive adjustments, profiteers barge ahead and deform the intent and purpose of participatory democratic designs. That does not mean that the future of Televote is bleak. In fact, the contrary is just as likely to be true. A short review of the nature of Televote's superstructure will explain why this is so.

ASSESSING TELEVOTE'S FUTURE IN TERMS OF ITS SUPERSTRUCTURE

This study has focused on Televote as a form of citizen participation designed to utilize modern communications technologies to facilitate citizen involvement in present and future representative systems. The discussion of Televote was preceded by a presentation of the theoretical and historical superstructure, which

places Televote in the context of a continually evolving American representative system. As I believe I have made clear, radical changes have occurred in the world since the creation of the American representative system, all of which are favorable to the future development of Televote--and the Representative Participatory Polity.

First, our understanding of the physical world is extremely different. Whereas the Newtonian worldview was perceived as an objective means to reveal certainty, predictability, and absolutes, our quantum world teaches us the limitations of such thought when applied to the study of all phenomena, whether in the natural or social sciences, or in personal or social life. Barber showed how a Newtonian scientific approach to studying social phenomena provided the theoretical guide for American liberal democracy. Whether formal students of Newton or not, American political practitioners, theorists, and researchers have usually operated on the basis of scientific laws handed over to us during the Enlightenment.

Sixty-two years ago, however, in his Presidential address before the American Political Science Association (APSA), Professor William Bennett Munro of Harvard University called to political scientists to move beyond their "bondage to the Eighteenth-Century"⁶⁴ and look to the new discoveries of quantum theory for new ways to think

about politics, political theory, and political institutions. He stated:

The general acceptance of the quantum theory has wrought a revolution in all the exact sciences...All things in the physical universe are relative to all things else.

It has been said that no metaphysical implications are necessarily involved in the quantum theory or in the doctrine of relativity, but it is difficult to believe that this can be the case. A revolution so amazing in our ideas concerning the physical world must inevitably carry its echoes into other fields of human knowledge. New truths cannot be quarantined. No branch of knowledge advances by itself. In its progress it draws others along. By no jugglery of words can we keep Mind and Matter and Motion in watertight compartments; hence it is inconceivable that a greatly changed point of view, or a series of far-reaching discoveries, in any one science can be wholly without influence upon the others, even upon those which are not closely allied.⁶⁵

The twentieth century revolution in scientific thinking, quantum theory, presents natural and social scientist with evidence that the path of objectivity leading to fundamental truths that we have been following for over three hundred years may not be leading us to the most realistic and useful understanding of our reality. In fact, there may be no "reality" as we have previously defined it. Subjectivity, and the impossibility of complete objectivity, must be accounted for in our research and analysis and in our institutions. Probabilities not predictability; interdependence not independence; and

interconnection not separation must become meaningful components of our theory, study, and practice of life in all its complexities.

While it can be (and frequently is) argued that natural and social phenomena are different and to seek a theory that adequately explains both is misguided, it can also be argued that there is good reason for political theorists and scientists to recognize the way they approach their work is similar to that of natural scientists. When a revolution in scientific thinking occurs in either field, it is useful to reexamine the assumptions of the theory and methodology. In doing so in this thesis, I have concluded that the quantum revolution offers useful guides for the development of a participatory democratic theory, which is the theoretical base for Televote design and development. As discussed in chapter 1, the use of quantum theory can lead to significant changes in one's view of human nature as well as political processes and systems. Quantum perspectives open up political institutional possibilities not available through a Newtonian perspective. Televote is a form of democratic participation that is a product of revolutionary changes in the scientific knowledge of the eighteenth century. It utilizes probability theory to randomly select participants. This method of selection produces a highly representative sample of the relevant population. The rationale for Televote

fits within the quantum worldview: the perspective that our subjectivity influences our objectivity and the two cannot be separated. Therefore, all policy discussions involve a complex intermingling of the values, attitudes, and perceptions of all those decision-makers. Thus, decisions in a democratic representative system should incorporate the opinions of the full range of the diversity of the citizenry, not merely the views of a select, likeminded elite whose views of justice and the good of society are colored by their similar life circumstances and the realities of their world, which are substantially different from the daily realities of those they claim to represent.

Quantum theory has also enriched our understanding of one of Televote's essential ingredients--the emphasis on and importance of interdependence and interaction. When we first designed the Hawaii Televote model, we felt the interactivity we encouraged would aid in our recruitment of those who felt inadequate. If they were told they could talk about the issue with others, maybe they would not feel so intimidated by the Televote process. As I began to learn more about quantum theory and to see its parallels with my developing participatory democratic theory, I obtained a greater appreciation for the intrinsic value of the interactive component of Televote. Rather than focusing primarily on our initial concerns of obtaining informed and deliberated opinion from a representative

sample (our first Televote), we began to build in more interactive components (various forms of interactive media). We also began to appreciate the importance of moving away from views of democracy that focus on individual rights and opportunities to participate and move towards a view of democracy that develops greater understanding, consideration, and ways to stimulate and encourage the essential interconnectedness of individuals in a society (our last Televote).

The scientific knowledge of the eighteenth century could not, and did not, lead to democratic theories that centered on probability and randomness. In fact, it sought to reduce subjectivity from decision-making and to promote objectivity rather than seeing the two practicably inseparable. It focused on separating units and observing their behaviors, rather than understanding the inadequacy of that mode of analysis. Televote, therefore, is more a product of twentieth century thought than a descendant of eighteenth century thought. While it remains connected in many ways to ideas of the past, its full development and its uniqueness is attributed to the radical new scientific knowledge of the present.

Second, dramatic changes in American democratic history have created a favorable climate for the present and future development of Televote. Women, Blacks, eighteen-year-olds, and the propertyless have obtained full

citizenship rights since the United States Constitution was created. The diversity of the citizenry, including the explosive increase in the population of those of Asian, Hispanic, and Jewish ancestry, has revolutionized the concept of American representation. As long as propertied, Caucasian males were just about the only citizens, those attributes in representatives did not distinguish them so dramatically from those they were to represent. Although the diversity in the United States citizens has changed significantly in the last two hundred years, there is little diversity among the "representatives."

The democratic spirit cherished by the eighteenth century revolutionaries is also treasured by the twentieth century advocates for more democracy. The irony is that the revolutionaries of yesterday became the perpetuators and ancestors of the status quo and that the democrats of today often represent values and goals that status quo defenders of the American representative system abhor. It seems to be an inevitable tension in a democratic system designed by a small elite for a small elite that has withstood two hundred years of change because it was able to open up, to expand and to grow. It's survival, therefore, has been predicated on its ability to modify itself.

Televote is a natural outgrowth of these historical changes in American society. It aids the unrepresented in

their quest to be heard. It broadens the political discourse to include their views. It is a proven way to contribute to the growth of a more participatory democracy. If the American system of democracy is to continue to change itself in order to accommodate greater diversity, it is difficult to see how the Televote and Electronic Town Meeting structures are not viable future options.

Third, technological revolutions since the late eighteenth century have fundamentally altered the number of citizens who have the ability to be well-informed and directly involved. Satellites, computers, airplanes, telephones, television, and automobiles are inventions since the United States Constitution was written that have radically transformed our world. We no longer need days or weeks away from our homes to meet with others, leaving our affairs untended or tended by slaves or hired hands. Participation in public affairs and public discussions no longer need be reserved to those who have the economic means to travel great distances and be away for long periods of time. Information is also available to us instantly through "live" broadcasts, computer mail, telephones.

For all of its pitfalls and the anxieties expressed by so many about the "Big Brother" potential of modern technology, it remains a part of our lives, used by its advocates and critics alike. Very few critics refuse to

use the modern technologies as they continue to revolutionize their own personal and political lives. It is my belief that for all its problems, it helps, more than it hinders, the promotion of democratic values and possibilities. Right now, its power is mostly directly controlled by those who own the large communication industries and is in service to the maintenance and hegemony of the Expanded Representative State and its dominance by that small, wealthy elite and those beholden to them.

However, Televote, itself, is a product of the same technological revolution in many respects. Its democratic goals do not derive from technological advances, but the means to achieve those goals are better advanced through this very same technology. Televote and town meetings on a national (or state) scale were not possible prior to this century. Now they are. When the time is right, they will be ready to be put to their more democratic utilization.

Televote in the Expanded Representative State

The twelve Televote experiments detailed in the last chapter indicate Televote's capabilities for integration into the current American representative system. It can obtain representative samples of public opinion. It can obtain informed and deliberated opinion. It works most effectively with other uses of modern communications

technology that contribute to the education and interaction of citizens.

Televote's cost for statewide samples ranged from \$20,000-\$30,000--when volunteers were not utilized. With volunteers, it was much less (\$5,000-\$10,000). Thus, it is not too costly to implement if governmental priorities shift from promotion of capitalism to promotion of democracy. This last year we have seen the United States government currently deciding to spend a minimum of at least \$50 billion to bail out a corrupt and incompetent American savings and loan industry; spend \$6 billion to develop the prototype for the stealth bomber (anticipated cost of future bombers is \$500 million for each), whose use is now questionable, and on and on. With these examples of astronomic waste or misuse of taxpayers' money, quibbling over the very low costs of promoting democracy, educating the public, and being more responsive to the total citizenry seem absurd indeed.

Advocates of more democracy in our representative system from Jefferson through Dewey to the current time have wondered how to enlighten the public, to educate them, to involve them in responsible decision-making. Televote is only one of many democratic tools designed to increase the participation of an informed public. It is not a question of whether it is possible; it is simply a question of priority.

Televote in the Representative Participatory State

While designed for, and utilized in, the Expanded Representative State, we see Televote's potential as even greater--an instrument to be used in a radically new type of representative system, where representatives are chosen randomly from the citizenry at various levels of government. The idea is not novel, although it has been slow in moving into the current discussion of representative systems. Our Televote experiments spur our visions of truly representative bodies, not obtained through multi-million-dollar electoral campaigns, PAC control, restrictive election procedures, incumbent advantages, and glittery public relations. We see the possibilities of civic-minded citizens acting responsibly in a multitude of legislative activities to gain control of their destiny.

Since 1984 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, an institute called the Jefferson Center (with Robert Dahl on its Advisory Council) has conducted experiments with "policy juries" to advise representatives on public policy.⁶⁶ The policy jury is composed of twelve individuals of diverse viewpoints chosen from a randomly selected group of one hundred. Based on the concept of the jury system, the policy-jurors attend public hearings, discuss the issues at hand, and make policy recommendations. Depending on the

size of the area covered, the representatives may be sent from a policy jury at the local level to serve on a county or statewide policy jury with representatives from other local areas.

The "policy juries" of the Jefferson Center have been utilized in conjunction with the Minnesota Senate. At the current time the League of Women Voters is showing interest in co-sponsoring policy juries in their 1989 activities.

As radical as the concept of randomly selected legislative assemblies appears in contrast to the adulated and venerated American electoral representative system, the scientific theory, the historical developments, the modern technologies, and the massive experimentation with democracy in so many aspects of our modern lives--through co-ops and workplace democracy and through increased representation in policy development arenas once left exclusively to a narrowly defined elite--the political superstructure for radical democratic structural change in our political institutions is emerging rapidly.

How and when the next dramatic surge for more democracy will take place in America is unclear. Neither the most knowledgeable sources and observers in the Philippines, the Soviet Union, and China--nor America's vaunted Central Intelligence Agency or National Security Council--could predict the circumstances or the timing of the political changes in the direction of massive public

demand for more democracy in those countries. The random occurrence of catastrophes and crises in our universe could spur the next great democratic revolution in the world. Whether it is environmental, political, social, or economic disaster that strikes next, or some combination of them, there are alternatives available to advance democracy as a solution that have been studied long and hard by many desiring to bring the American political system in line with changes in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In discussing the Chinese students and workers massive demonstrations and demands for more democracy in Tiananmen Square and other areas of China, political observers, like Cyrus Vance, Henry Kissinger, and John Chancellor used the metaphors "the genie is out of the bottle" and "the toothpaste is out of the tube" to describe the impossibility of the Communist system placing a cap on democracy. The spirit is out. The passion remains. Repression demolished the "Goddess of Democracy" in the bloody end to the pro-democracy demonstrations in China in June of 1989, but it only strengthened the desire for more of what the "Goddess of Democracy" stood for.

The 1989 Chinese demands for democracy also demonstrated that modern technology through telephones, facsimile machines, video, radio, and "live" telecasts can be essential ingredients for democratic struggle. It magnified the brutality of Chinese leaders and united the

oppressed people. It unified the world community in moral support for the struggle for democracy.

My point is that for all the present day unlikelihood of change from an Expanded Representative State to a Representative Participatory State, recent political turmoil throughout the world should caution those in favor of the status quo from thinking that the unthinkable does not happen. In fact, expecting the unexpected seems to be a more accurate predictor of trends. Whenever the time for real democratic change in America arrives, there are the theorists, researchers, and practitioners I have discussed in this treatise who have devoted their lives to answering the question that baffled the Chinese students: "What would your democracy look like?"

Televote is a citizen participation tool designed in this Quantum Age to expand and promote a more representative democracy. It is a result of the fundamental changes in America and in the world that have led to radical new ideas, tools, and designs. It is born of the American democratic spirit and belongs to the American inventive tradition.

Over a half century ago, APSA President Munro bemoaned the lack of advancement made in our political system when he stated:

If the Fathers of the Republic were to return to life, after their long sleep of a century [now nearly two centuries], they would be equally appalled by the stupendous

progress of the American people in all material things and by the relative lack of it in the art of government.⁶⁷

The endeavor of this thesis is to contribute to the progress of the American people in the development of their democratic system and to advance greater and more meaningful citizen participation in the Quantum Age.

NOTES

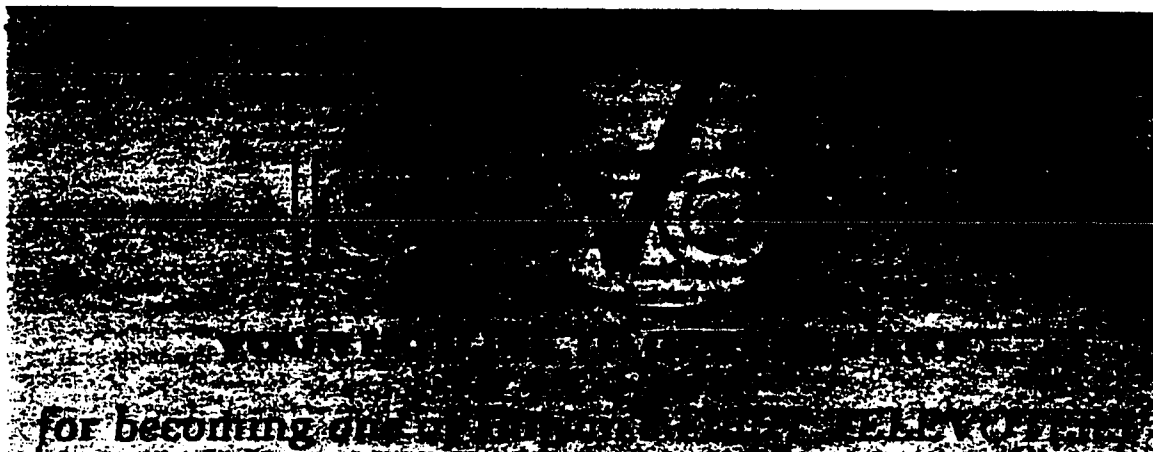
1. P.J. Arnopoulos and K. Valaskakis, Telecommunitary Democracy: Utopian Vision or Probable Future? (Montreal: UNESCO, 1982) 56.
2. F. Christopher Arterton, Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy? (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1987) 14.
3. Arterton 14.
4. Arterton 44.
5. Arterton 63.
6. Arterton 204.
7. Arterton 77.
8. Arterton 77.
9. Jeffrey B. Abramson, F. Christopher Arterton, and Gary R. Orren, The Electronic Commonwealth: The Impact of New Media Technologies on Democratic Politics (New York: Basic Books, 1988) 177.
10. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 165.
11. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 22.
12. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 170, 172, & 174.
13. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 173.
14. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 164-177. Also see a detailed explanation of QUBE in Ted Becker and Richard Scarce, "Teledemocracy Emergent: State of the American Art and Science," Progress in Communication Sciences, eds. Brenda Dervin and Melvin Voight (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing Corp., 1986) 274-275.
15. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 166.
16. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 168.
17. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 168.
18. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 175.
19. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 170.

20. Arterton 162.
21. While self-selected groups tended to produce samples heavily weighted with well-educated males, we found examples in other experiments we conducted with the ABC television affiliate in Honolulu that indicated for issues that dealt primarily with Hawaiians or some other segment of the population, there was usually an overrepresentation of that segment in our sample. For instance, on the issue of Reparations for Hawaiians, Hawaiians felt passionately about the issue and participated in much greater percentages than in any other poll or for any other segment of the population.
22. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 169.
23. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 170.
24. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 169.
25. Arterton 79.
26. Lester W. Milbrath and M.L. Goel, Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1977) 144-155.
27. Arterton 80.
28. Arterton 81.
29. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 174.
30. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 174.
31. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 173.
32. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 173.
33. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 174.
34. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 174.
35. Arterton 195.
36. Arterton 82.
37. Arterton 199.
38. Arterton 200.
39. Arterton 82.

40. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 172.
41. Arterton 91.
42. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 171.
43. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 165.
44. Abramson, Arterton, and Orren 171.
45. James Madison, "Federalist Paper #10 in Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, The Federalist Papers (New York: The American Library, 1961) 77-84.
46. Michael Malbin, "Teledemocracy and Its Discontents," Public Opinion June/July 1982: 59.
47. Malbin 59.
48. Malbin 58.
49. Malbin 59.
50. Malbin 59 .
51. Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to John Taylor," 28 May 1816, eds. John Somerville and Ronald E. Santoni, Social and Political Philosophy (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963) 251-254.
52. Thomas Jefferson, "Letter to Edward Carrington," 16 January 1787, Jefferson Writings (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1984) 879-881.
53. Jefferson, "Letter to Edward Carrington" 879-881.
54. Malbin 59.
55. Arterton 82.
56. Jean Beth Elshtain, "Democracy and The Qube Tube," The Nation July 7-14, 1982: 109.
57. Elshtain 109.
58. Elshtain 110.
59. Elshtain 108.
60. Jane J. Mansbridge, Beyond Adversary Democracy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1983) 59-76.

61. Mansbridge 76.
62. Mansbridge 60-61.
63. Personal correspondence with Duane Elgin of Bay Voice and On the QT 1.1 (1989).
64. William Bennett Munro, "Physics and Politics-An Old Analogy Revised," The American Political Science Review 22.1 (1928): 3.
65. Munro 2.
66. Information on the Jefferson Center obtained from Health and Human Services Committee, Minnesota Senate, Final Report: Policy Jury on School-Based Clinics (St. Paul: Minnesota Senate, 1988) and "The Missing Voice in Presidential Contests," Star Tribune 4 January 1989.
67. Munro 10.

APPENDIX A
Hawaii Televote-1



Please read the contents of this TELEVOTE. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the ballot on the back page and call us back within 3 days after receiving this TELEVOTE. You can reach us at the following Hotline Numbers:

Our office at the University of Hawaii: 948-6877; 948-6878; 948-6879; 948-6880

Monday through Friday—8:30 A.M. until 8:30 P.M.

Saturday: 9 A.M.-5 P.M. Sunday: 10 A.M. to 2 P.M.

Remember: Your answers will be completely confidential and used for statistical purposes only. Hawaii needs your opinions.

This TELEVOTE wants your opinions on:
“INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM”

What is Initiative? This is a method by which private citizens propose laws and amendments to the State Constitution and put them on the ballot for approval or rejection by the voters.

What is Referendum? This is a method by which voters approve or disapprove at the ballot box a law or constitutional amendment passed by the State Legislature.

Your Televoter-ID Number is HT1-_____

INFORMATION ON INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM:

Initiative is found in 26 states. Twenty-one of them allow a certain number of citizens to sign a petition proposing a new law for the state. Their recommendation for law then goes on the ballot for all voters to vote on. And, if the majority says “yes”—it becomes law. The State Legislature has nothing to do with it. This is called **DIRECT INITIATIVE**. (The recent Proposition 13 in California was of this kind.)

But five states (including Massachusetts) do it slightly differently: once a certain number of citizens sign a petition that proposes a new law, it must first go to the State Legislature for consideration. The State Legislature discusses it, holds hearings, etc. The State Legislature can then pass it, or a very similar one and it becomes law. Or it can refuse to pass it, and then the proposed Initiative goes on the ballot as is for the voters to decide on. This is called **INDIRECT INITIATIVE**.

Most states that have Initiative also have

REFERENDUM

where the State Legislature itself can put a measure on the ballot for the public to approve or disapprove at an election.

DID YOU KNOW?

Currently, three counties in Hawaii (The Big Island, Maui, Kauai) all have Initiative at the county level. They are occasionally used. For example, this year (1978) enough citizens of Kauai signed a petition to limit all future construction on Kauai to no more than four stories tall. Being of the "indirect" type, the petition then went to the Kauai County Council, which rejected it. So, this November the citizens of Kauai can vote for or against this proposal.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM:

FOR

- ... causes more people to vote in elections
- ... stimulates interest in politics and elections
- ... gives the people their rightful voice in government
- ... causes legislatures to be more knowledgeable about what the people want and more responsive to their wishes
- ... gives citizens a greater sense of their responsibility in government
- ... lessens the chance that important public issues will get buried in legislative committees or deadlocked in legislative debate

AGAINST

- ... keeps people away from polls because they feel confused about measures they know little about
- ... the news media cannot be depended upon to provide good and fair coverage of the issues
- ... the side spending more money will probably win
- ... unnecessary because we already have a legislature that is supposed to pass laws. Thus it is a waste of public money.
- ... does not allow the clarification of issues and compromise provided by discussion in the legislature

NOW... WE WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION!

QUESTION I: Are you in favor or opposed to adopting Referendum in the State of Hawaii?

- 86Z In favor of Referendum
14Z Opposed to Referendum

QUESTION II: After what you have read, are you in favor or opposed to adopting Initiative in Hawaii at the State level?

- 86Z In favor of Initiative
14Z Opposed to Initiative

As we mentioned, there are two kinds of Initiative, **Direct** and **Indirect**. The **Direct** goes immediately before the voters and the **Indirect** must make a stop at the State Legislature for their consideration.

QUESTION III: Which would you like to see adopted in the State of Hawaii, Direct Initiative or Indirect Initiative? (Check one box below)

- 46Z In favor of Direct Initiative
33Z In favor of Indirect Initiative
22Z In favor of both Direct and Indirect Initiative

SOME MORE FACTS ABOUT INITIATIVES OF ALL KINDS

If you are in favor of some kind of Initiative for Hawaii, please voice your opinion on how it should work here.

- ... to put a measure up to a vote of the citizens, states usually require signatures from between 5% and 15% of the people who voted in the last election. The lower the required percentage, the easier it is to get an Initiative put before the voters. The higher, the more difficult it is.
- ... in some states there are no geographical requirements as to where signatures must come from. This has good and bad aspects: (1) requiring that a certain percentage of signatures come from counties (like Maui, Kauai, etc.) insures that the proposal has statewide support; (2) on the other hand, widespread county requirements may prevent proposals of vital concern to cities (like Honolulu) from qualifying because of lack of interest in rural areas.

NOW, JUST TWO MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT HOW THE INITIATIVE SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT: (Check appropriate boxes below):

- QUESTION IV: Initiative should be made easy, therefore it should only take a small number of citizens' names on the petition. 26%
- Initiative should not be made too easy, therefore it should take a large number of citizens' names on the petition. 74%
- QUESTION V: It is alright if all names on petition for Initiative come from Oahu. 26%
- A certain percentage of citizens' names on petitions come from the Outer Islands in addition to Oahu. 74%

QUESTION VI:

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN, A DEMOCRAT, AN INDEPENDENT, OR OTHER? (Please check one box)

REPUBLICAN (12) 16%

DEMOCRAT (13) 59%

INDEPENDENT (14) 20%

OTHER (15) 5%

AND WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND? (Please check one box)

JAPANESE (28) 30%

CAUCASIAN (29) 35%

CHINESE (30) 10%

FILIPINO (31)

HAWAIIAN/PART HAWAIIAN (32) 11%

PORTUGUESE (33)

KOREAN (34)

OTHER (35) 15%

WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES INCLUDES YOUR AGE? (Please check one box)

UNDER 25 (36) 10%

25 TO 34 (37) 28%

35 TO 44 (38) 17%

45 TO 54 (39) 20%

55 TO 64 (40) 17%

65 OR MORE (41) 8%

ARE YOU ... (Check one box)

MALE (42) 51%

FEMALE (43) 49%

WHAT IS THE LAST YEAR OR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED? (Please check one box)

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL (44) 10%

HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE (45) 21%

BUSINESS OR TRADE SCHOOL (46) 12%

SOME COLLEGE (47)

COLLEGE GRADUATE (48) 35%


POST-GRADUATE STUDIES/DEGREE (49)

HAWAII TELEVOTE IS A PUBLIC SERVICE PROJECT SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AND WAS FUNDED BY A GRANT FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.

APPENDIX B
Hawaii Televote-2

HAWAII
Televote

YOUR HOTLINE TO GOVERNMENT
THANK YOU
for becoming one of Hawaii's FIRST TELEVOTERS
 Your TELEVOTE ID No. is HT2 001



Please read the contents of this TELEVOTE. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the ballot on the back page and phone us back

within 3 days after receiving this TELEVOTE. (No need to mail.) You can reach us at our Hotline Numbers:

Our office at the University of Hawaii:

948-6877; 948-6878; 948-6879; 948-6880

Monday through Friday—8:30 A.M. until 8:30 P.M.

Saturday: 9 A.M.-5 P.M. Sunday: 10 A.M.-2 P.M.

Outer Island Residents: Yes! Please call us collect.

Remember: Your answers will be completely confidential and used for statistical purposes only. Hawaii needs your opinions.

**THIS TELEVOTE WANTS YOUR OPINION
 ON HOW TO SELECT THE BEST JUDGES FOR HAWAII:**

As you know, the courts are an important part of government and affect us personally. Sooner or later most of us get involved in some kind of law case: traffic tickets, divorces, landlord-tenant disputes, automobile accidents, and the like. It is

the duty of the judge to be fair and just in making decisions in these, and all, legal disputes. Therefore, selecting professional and fair judges is necessary if we are to have a good court system.

**THERE ARE THREE BASIC WAYS
TO PICK JUDGES:**

(1) Appointment (2) Election (3) Merit Selection



APPOINTMENT (Hawaii's Present System)

Here is how it works: The governor can select anyone to be a judge of the Supreme or Circuit Courts who has been licensed to practice law in Hawaii for at least 10 years. His choice, however, must be approved by the State Senate.

For the lower courts, the Chief Justice appoints the judges without approval by anyone. Some type of appointment method is currently used in 11 states.

ELECTION

This is the most frequently used system for selecting judges in the United States. However, the number of states using this method has decreased from 31 in 1968 to 24 states in 1978.

Some of these states have elections where candidates for judge cannot run as a member of a political party but must run for office on their own.

MERIT SELECTION ("The Missouri Plan")

This method is being used more frequently. In 1968, only 7 states used it. Today, some 15 states have adopted it. It works something like this:

- (a) A committee of citizens & lawyers chooses from a long list of candidates for judge and sends a very short list of the top candidates to the governor—who then picks *his* top choice.
- (b) The committee itself might have 1/3 of its members picked by the Governor; 1/3 by the Legislature; and 1/3 by lawyers licensed to practice law. Also, many states require that approximately *half* the members of such a committee be *non-lawyers*.
- (c) In some Merit systems, the new judge serves an initial term in office. Then his name goes on the ballot so the voters can decide if he should be kept on as judge or not.

Some observations about the different methods of picking judges

- ... in February 1977, President Carter created a committee to fill vacancies in (U.S.) federal courts.
- ... though each method of selecting judges has its advantages and disadvantages, there is no one method that is guaranteed to produce "better" judges. Studies indicate that there is little difference in the ability of judges chosen by any of the three major methods.
- ... it has not been proven that the various methods choose judges that differ in their experience or are more representative of the people.

**Arguments FOR and AGAINST
the three methods**



APPOINTMENT:

FOR

The governor has the information and the ability to make intelligent choices for judge.

The governor is responsible for the quality of judges. Bad appointments can be politically damaging, so it is important for the governor to make good choices.

AGAINST

There is too much politics in the appointment system. For example, around 90% of the federal judges come from the same party as the President who appointed them.

An appointed judge may become a political puppet of the governor.

ELECTION:

FOR

The election system makes sure that the judges are directly responsible to, and representative of, the people.

The election of judges makes sure that the court system is an independent branch of government, separate from the governor and the Legislature.

AGAINST

The election method encourages judges to become politicians. The judge's main interest is to stay in office—which may affect his fairness.

Poorly qualified persons could run for office and win.

MERIT SELECTION

FOR

The Citizens & Lawyers Committee would take the politics out of selecting a judge and seek persons who are excellent lawyers.

Merit selection with a later election gives the people a chance to rate the judge's performance. If a judge's record is poor, the people can remove him. If it is good, they can keep him in office.

AGAINST

Citizens & Lawyers Committees emphasize legal-technical ability which is not as important as some other qualities—like social consciousness.

Politics will still enter the selection of judges by way of a "preferred" list of those chosen. In Missouri, which uses Merit Selection, about 70% of the judges selected are still from the same party as the governor who chose them.

QUESTION A:

Now, on the basis of what you have just read (and what else you may know or believe), which method do you think is best for Hawaii?

- 16% : Appointment (Hawaii's present system).
- 17% : Election of judges (who must run on their own and not as a member of a political party)
- 17% : Merit Selection with no later election to keep or get rid of the judge.
- 50% : Merit Selection with a later election to keep or get rid of the judge.

FOR THOSE OF YOU WHO CHOSE EITHER METHOD OF MERIT SELECTION (Box 3 or 4) WE WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION IN MORE DETAIL—AFTER YOU CONSIDER A FEW MORE BRIEF FACTS AND ARGUMENTS.

TWO OTHER IDEAS ABOUT THE SELECTION OF JUDGES

It has been said that if we are serious about selecting judges on merit and keeping politics to a minimum, we need to staff the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers with some experts from the Mainland. These would be widely-respected Fed-

eral judges, deans of top mainland law schools—people who are unaffected by local politics. The argument against this is that Mainland experts would be ignorant of Hawaii's customs and would not know what is important to the people of Hawaii.

QUESTION B:

- 42% : I am in favor of including Mainland experts on the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers
- 58% : I am opposed to including Mainland experts on the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers

Another idea is that instead of letting the Governor and Legislature pick the non-lawyer members of the Selection Committee, the public should elect them. This would make part of this committee directly responsible to the public. The argument

against this is that since there would be no issues involved in such an election, and almost no campaigning, most voters would be unable to make good choices.

QUESTION C:

- 55% : I favor election of the non-lawyer members of the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers
- 45% : I oppose election of the non-lawyer members of the Committee of Citizens and Lawyers

QUESTION D:

DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY. (Please check one box)

ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN, A DEMOCRAT, AN INDEPENDENT, OR OTHER?		AND WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?	
18% <input type="checkbox"/> 9 Republican	21% <input type="checkbox"/> 11 Independent	31% <input type="checkbox"/> 25 Japanese	<input type="checkbox"/> 30 Portuguese
58% <input type="checkbox"/> 10 Democrat	3% <input type="checkbox"/> 12 Other	38% <input type="checkbox"/> 28 Caucasian	<input type="checkbox"/> 31 Korean
WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES INCLUDES YOUR AGE?		4% <input type="checkbox"/> 27 Chinese	<input type="checkbox"/> 32 Mixed
10% <input type="checkbox"/> 13 Under 25	21% <input type="checkbox"/> 18 45 to 54	<input type="checkbox"/> 28 Filipino	15% <input type="checkbox"/> 23 Other
26% <input type="checkbox"/> 14 25 to 34	16% <input type="checkbox"/> 17 55 to 64	11% <input type="checkbox"/> 29 Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian	
17% <input type="checkbox"/> 15 35 to 44	9% <input type="checkbox"/> 19 65 or more	ARE YOU	
WHAT IS THE LAST YEAR OR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED?		59% <input type="checkbox"/> 34 Male	41% <input type="checkbox"/> 33 Female
6% <input type="checkbox"/> 19 Less than High School	25% <input type="checkbox"/> 22 Some college	HAWAII TELEVOTE IS A PUBLIC SERVICE PROJECT SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AND WAS FUNDED BY A GRANT FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.	
18% <input type="checkbox"/> 20 High School Graduate	3% <input type="checkbox"/> 23 College Graduate		
12% <input type="checkbox"/> 21 Business or Trade School	39% <input type="checkbox"/> 24 Post-Graduate		
	Studies/Masters or Doctors degree		



APPENDIX C
Hawaii Televote-3

HAWAII
Televote

YOUR HOTLINE TO GOVERNMENT
THANK YOU

for becoming a Hawaii TELEVOTER

Your TELEVOTE ID No. is HT3 _____

Please read the contents of this TELEVOTE. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the

ballots and phone us back within 3 days after receiving this TELEVOTE. (No need to mail.) You can reach us at our Hotline Number:

Our office at the University of Hawaii:

948-6877

Monday through Friday—3 P.M. until 9 P.M.
 Saturday: 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Sunday: 12 Noon-6 P.M.
Outer Island Residents: Yes! Please call us collect.

Remember: Your answers will be completely confidential and used for statistical purposes only. Hawaii needs your opinions.



**THIS TELEVOTE WANTS YOUR OPINION
 ON WHAT THE STATE LEGISLATURE
 SHOULD CONSIDER IN 1979.**

DIRECTIONS

Below are 8 boxes. Each represents a major area of public concern ("Crime," "Education," etc.) as measured by radio, newspaper, and university polls in 1978.

Inside each box is a list. This list includes a number of ways many people believe would best solve problems in that area.

Look at those areas of your concern. Next, read the list of possible ways to solve problems in those areas. Then check those you think are very important for the 1979 State Legislature to consider as laws to pass.

Check as many or as few items in each area that concerns you.

Note: If you have one or more other ways you think would be even better for the State Legislature to consider in 1979, please write them in on those lines labelled as "Other." Then read them to us on the phone when you call in Televote answers.

TRANSPORTATION

- 52 1 Develop a general aviation airport for small airplanes on Oahu
- 33 2 Establish or support a State inter-island ferry system
- 60 3 Reach a decision about whether Hawaii should have Fixed Guideway-TH3-or expanded Bus system
- 25 4 Limit the number of motor vehicles on Oahu
- 42 5 Develop road system for bikes and mopeds
- 10 6 Increase gasoline tax and use money to improve public transportation
- 53 7 Reduce rush hour traffic (by encouraging more carpooling and changing work hours of government, etc.)



GOVERNMENT

- 38 8 Give counties more power to make their own planning and land use decisions ("home rule")
- 60 9 Require voter approval of all pay raises for legislators
- 33 10 Require a cut in the present number of state government employees
- 21 11 Give more power to the neighborhood boards
- 47 12 Provide initiative, referendum, and recall at the state level
- 49 13 Make the State Attorney-General an elected official
- 58 14 Put a limit on political campaign spending



GROWTH

- 58 15 Make sponsors of foreign immigrants responsible for supporting them for 5 years after they come to Hawaii
- 12 16 Increase money already authorized for the improvement and beautification of Waikiki
- 58 17 Establish new and clearer standards for the Land Use Commission to make sure that existing agricultural lands and open spaces are preserved
- 15 18 Impose special taxes on new residents
- 42 19 Limit welfare payments to newly arrived persons to how much they received on welfare in their last place of residence
- 37 20 Limit the growth of hotels and mass tourism
- 10 21 Establish an Exit and Entry State Census Bureau to better understand who is coming to and leaving Hawaii and for what reasons

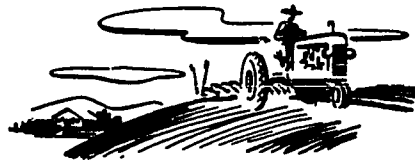
CRIME

- 72 22 Have mandatory jail sentences for certain crimes
- 55 23 Continue the Crime Commission and expand its powers to investigate organized crime
- 72 24 Prohibit parole for career or habitual criminals
- 56 25 Have the death penalty for certain crimes
- 31 26 Repeal laws against marijuana
- 38 27 Stop plea bargaining by prosecutors and defense lawyers
- 41 28 Expand size of police department and increase police patrolling
- 15 29 Repeal laws against cockfighting
- 23 30 Provide better recreational and rehabilitation facilities for prisoners
- 47 31 Establish more courts and hire more judges to speed up criminal justice system



TAX AND MONEY

- 38** Put limit on the percent of personal income any resident must pay in state taxes
- 57** Pass a hotel room tax
- 36** Give greater tax credits to residents who install solar heating or windmills in their homes or businesses
- 58** Repeal the 4% tax on food and medicine
- 18** Reduce or eliminate all state taxes on small farms
- 23** Change the income tax laws
- 48** Do not allow State government spending to go up unless or until the sum total of personal income of all state residents goes up



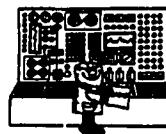
LAND USE

- 62** Increase research and development to help diversified agriculture and aquaculture
- 41** Change zoning laws to slow down urban growth
- 29** Have the state buy more land for recreational use
- 52** To make Hawaii more self-sufficient, have tax incentives to encourage those who want to go into small farming
- 37** Provide state guarantees of bank loans to lower income people who want to improve their land or homes
- 41** Establish a State Land Bank (State purchases prime agricultural land threatened by development and rents to those who want to farm small tracts.)



EDUCATION

- 78** Require competency tests in reading and writing for high school graduation
- 27** Give local communities and parents more say in the high school curriculum
- 9** Cut the University of Hawaii budget
- 69** Have more vocational training in high school system
- 32** Increase police protection in the high schools
- 27** Permit school-by-school budgeting
- 37** Encourage and develop the teaching of Hawaiian language and culture throughout the school system
- 57** Increase special education programs (for gifted and handicapped children)
- 23** Build new school facilities ("capital improvements")



MISCELLANEOUS

- 62** Put ceiling on all health and hospital costs
- 49** Repeal laws which make people retire at a certain age
- 25** Develop nuclear energy for Hawaii
- 48** Require deposits on all bottled beverages to reduce litter
- 21** Increase state funding of low and moderate-income public housing
- 50** Find more and better ways to encourage new industry to come to Hawaii

Now ... for Your Ideas

Other

<input type="checkbox"/> 60 _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 63 _____
<input type="checkbox"/> 61 _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 64 _____
<input type="checkbox"/> 62 _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 65 _____



ONE FINAL DIRECTION

Please go back and look over those items you have already checked as being very important. Now we want to know which of them are the most important in your mind. Select up to 5 of them as being the most important for the 1979 State Legislature to consider passing as laws. Then put an extra checkmark in those boxes only.

Sample:

Suppose one of your areas of concern was Education and you believe it is very important for the 1979 State Legislature to consider: (a) the competency tests; (b) more police patrolling in schools; and (c) expanded vocational training. You would have checkmarks by those choices. If you think competency tests are the most important thing the State Legislature can do about education or one of the 4 or 5 most important things it could do in 1979, then your TELEVOTE form would look like this:

EDUCATION

Require competency tests in reading and writing for high school graduation

Give local communities and parents more say in the high school curriculum

Cut the University of Hawaii budget

Have more vocational training in high school system

Increase police protection in the high schools

MAHALO FOR YOUR KOKUA.

DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. ARE YOU A REPUBLICAN, A DEMOCRAT, AN INDEPENDENT, OR OTHER?

- | | |
|---|--|
| 16% <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Republican | 18% <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Independent |
| 59% <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Democrat | 4% <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Other |

B. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES INCLUDES YOUR AGE?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> 1 Under 25 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 45 to 54 |
| 40% <input type="checkbox"/> 2 25 to 34 | 34% <input type="checkbox"/> 3 55 to 64 |
| 19% <input type="checkbox"/> 3 35 to 44 | 6% <input type="checkbox"/> 5 65 or more |

C. WHAT IS THE LAST YEAR OR HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION YOU COMPLETED?

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| 6% <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Less than High School | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Some college | 23% <input type="checkbox"/> 3 College Graduate |
| 21% <input type="checkbox"/> 2 High School Graduate | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Post-Graduate Studies/ Masters or Doctors degree | 22% <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Post-Graduate Studies/ Masters or Doctors degree |
| 9% <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Business or Trade School | | 19% <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Post-Graduate Studies/ Masters or Doctors degree |

D. AND WHAT IS YOUR ETHNIC BACKGROUND?

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 31% <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Japanese | <input type="checkbox"/> 6 Portuguese |
| 35% <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Caucasian | <input type="checkbox"/> 7 Korean |
| 6% <input type="checkbox"/> 3 Chinese | 9% <input type="checkbox"/> 8 Mixed |
| 4% <input type="checkbox"/> 4 Filipino | <input type="checkbox"/> 9 Other |
| 8% <input type="checkbox"/> 5 Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian | |

E. ARE YOU

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 53% <input type="checkbox"/> 1 Male | 47% <input type="checkbox"/> 2 Female |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|

HAWAII TELEVOTE IS A PUBLIC SERVICE PROJECT SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AND WAS FUNDED BY A GRANT FROM THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT.

APPENDIX D
Hawaii Televote-4

HAWAII



Televote

YOUR HOTLINE TO GOVERNMENT

THANK YOU

for becoming a Hawaii **TELEVOTER**

Your **TELEVOTE ID No.** is HT# _____

Please read the contents of this **TELEVOTE**. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the

ballots and phone us back within 3 days after receiving this **TELEVOTE**. (No need to mail.) You can reach us at our *Hotline Number*:

Our office at the University of Hawaii:

948-6877

Monday through Friday—9 A.M. until 9 P.M.

Saturdays and Sundays: 10 A.M.—8 P.M.

Outer Islands Residents: Yes! Please call us collect.

REMEMBER:

Your name will be *completely confidential* and your answers used for statistical purposes only. The results of this survey will be widely reported in newspapers, radio and TV and will be distributed to all of our State Legislators.



**THIS TELEVOTE WANTS YOUR OPINION
ON WHAT THE STATE LEGISLATURE
SHOULD DO ABOUT CRIME IN HAWAII.**

BACKGROUND:

In a recent poll, 72% of a sample of Hawaii's population favored the idea of making judges send persons convicted of certain crimes to prison—no matter what! This "get tough" attitude was also behind another idea: no parole for career or habitual criminals—favored by 73% of the same group.

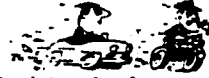
However, DID YOU KNOW?

Mandatory minimum sentencing (the state legislature telling judges that they must send persons to prison once they are convicted of certain crimes) is not new in Hawaii. According to the present criminal code, a judge must give a prison sentence to anyone convicted of:

- (1) using a gun in a crime for the second time;
- (2) committing any one of a number of other serious crimes for the second time (including: murder, rape, robbery, burglary, pushing hard drugs, etc.);
- (3) certain first-time murders, like killing:
 - (a) a policeman in the performance of his duties;
 - (b) a person by using a hired killer;
 - (c) a fellow prisoner.

In all other cases than those mentioned above, the judge can do a lot of other things:

For example, suppose John is convicted of beating



someone to death in a fit of anger (manslaughter). The judge could (1) put John on probation, or (2) make him pay a fine; or (3) send him to jail (for under 1 year), or (4) send him to prison (for over 1 year), or (5) any combination of these.

If the judge decides to send John to prison, the judge does not set the specific length of time. It is the Hawaii Penal Code that sets the maximum time in prison. And it is the Hawaii Board of Parole that sets the minimum.

So, if the 1979 State Legislature were to add manslaughter to the above list of crimes requiring the judge to sentence a person to prison for some fixed minimum time, the judge would have to sentence John to prison—no matter what led John to beat that person to death. The maximum length of time John would spend there is already set by law. And the parole officers could not let John out early.

**FOLLOWING ARE SOME FACTS ABOUT CRIME IN THE USA AND HAWAII
AND SOME OF THE MAJOR PRO AND CON ARGUMENTS ABOUT CHANGING
THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF SENTENCING IN HAWAII:**

In the U.S.A.

From 1960 to 1977, reported crime in America went up approximately 150%. However, there seems to be some leveling off. And rape, assault, burglary and auto theft are reported to have begun to decline recently. *(Footnote: Reports of crime are very unreliable and we don't know for sure what the trends in actual crime are.)*

The F.B.I. estimates that bank officials and employees steal 3 times as much money from banks as do bank robbers.

A number of big cities have Career Criminal Programs which single out habitual criminals for special attention when re-arrested. A recent study claimed these programs have an 89% conviction rate, averaging 15 years behind bars for each convict.

Studies indicate that the longer one remains in prison, the more likely he will commit a crime when he gets out.

California recently passed a law requiring prison sentences for anyone convicted of: using a gun, selling heroin, or causing great bodily harm to someone who is blind or aged.

Massachusetts recently passed a law requiring anyone convicted of carrying a gun without a permit to go to prison. The results: (1) assaults with a gun went down 25%, but the total number of assaults stayed the same (a different weapon was used); (2) the number of robberies with a gun stayed the same; (3) the number of licenses to carry a gun went up tenfold (1000%).

In Hawaii

According to the State's Statistical Analysis Center: from 1977 to 1978:

- Murder went down 18%
- Aggravated assault went down 3%
- Rape went up 6%
- Robbery went up 36%

In 1977, Hawaii ranked third in the USA in crimes against property but was very low nationally in violent crimes.

A recent study in the *Honolulu Advertiser* stated:

- Putting violent criminals on probation does not keep them from committing crimes again. This holds particularly true for robbers.
- 20% of repeat offenders commit much more new crime than most other repeaters. In fact, 80% of new crimes committed by all repeaters is done by this small group.
- In 1973, 1,161 violent crimes were reported to the police. 396 arrests were made for violent crimes in that year. However, 167 (42%) of these arrests led to dismissed charges because the police and prosecutors felt their evidence was not good enough to get a conviction.

Hawaii has just begun a Career Criminal Program. Special Prosecutors will be assigned to all cases concerning career or habitual criminals and they will pay special attention to such cases. These Special Prosecutors will help speed these cases through the system and will push for harsher sentencing.

SOME ARGUMENTS ABOUT WHETHER TO CHANGE HAWAII'S PRESENT SYSTEM OR NOT

I. The Criminal Justice System Can't Reduce Crime. Solutions Lie Elsewhere.

The real causes of crime lie in poverty, unemployment, a poor school system, and the belief that crime prevention is the job of experts. Crime will not stop growing until private citizens take an active, personal role in solving local social problems and resolving community conflicts.

II. The Less Mandatory Minimum Sentencing—The Better.

Judges should be allowed to take special facts into account. Justice is never automatic.

Judges, prosecutors, and juries can easily get around mandatory minimum sentencing if they think it is unfair. They can charge or convict someone of a lesser crime—or just let him off completely.

Mandatory sentencing doesn't deter people from committing crimes, it only creates more prisoners. And building and maintaining prisons and prisoners is extremely expensive for taxpayers.

Bigger and Tougher Criminal Justice System is Needed to Reduce Crime.

Poverty and broken families don't produce crime, since most poor people and those from broken homes don't commit crimes (only a few do). Criminals must know with certainty that they will not have it easy in our criminal justice system. We need a bigger and tougher system.

The More Mandatory Minimum Sentencing—The Better.

Judges are too soft. They think about justice more from the criminal's point of view than from the victim's. They need strict guidance from the Legislature.

If people are certain they will go to prison when they commit a certain crime, they will be less likely to try it.

Judges have different ideas about sentencing which result in very unjust sentencing: different people get much different sentencing for committing the same crime.



HAWAII TELEVOTE QUESTIONNAIRE

NOW, ON THE BASIS OF THE BACKGROUND, FACTS, ARGUMENTS (AND WHAT ELSE YOU MAY KNOW OR THINK), PLEASE TELL US YOUR OPINIONS



QUESTION I: How do you feel about mandatory sentencing. Please check one box below:

- 9 I think we should have no mandatory minimum sentencing (repeal laws already on the books).
- 14 I think we have enough mandatory minimum sentencing already (keep present laws and add no more).
- 75 I think we need more mandatory minimum sentencing laws (add it for other crimes and other criminals).
- 3 Undecided



QUESTION II: There is a Hawaii law on the books (Sec. 706-820) that informs judges of a general legislative policy against sending persons convicted of a crime to prison. Judges are told by this law to consider imprisonment as a last resort. Please give your opinion about this law by checking one box below:

- 80 I think this is a good law and should be kept.
- 57 I think this is a bad law and should be repealed.
- 12 Undecided

QUESTION III: Some people think parole is good because it allows officials to reward prisoners who see the error of their ways—and motivates them to reform and to become better citizens. Others think that parole officers are often fooled and that is why so many who are paroled end up back in jail. Almost all states maintain a state parole system, but California recently all but did away with its parole system, allowing for no early out. Please give your opinion on parole by checking one box below.

- 9 I favor keeping Hawaii's present system that allows for parole and early release (to be determined by The Board of Parole).
- 62 I favor some change, like no parole for career or habitual criminals.
- 26 I favor major change: no parole for anyone convicted of committing any major crime.
- 2 Undecided

QUESTION IV: Here are some other ways that many other people believe would help lessen crime in Hawaii. Which, if any, do you favor? Check as many boxes as you like.

- 59 11 Death penalty for certain crimes
- 38 13 Provide public service jobs to all unemployed (but particularly young people).
- 48 14 Continue development of statewide Career Criminal Program
- 47 15 Develop massive educational program showing individual citizens how they can help prevent crime
- 33 16 Increase number of judges to hear criminal cases
- 67 17 Increase power of Crime Commission to fight white collar crime, political corruption, and organized crime
- 18 (Other) _____

FOR THOSE OF YOU IN FAVOR OF MORE MANDATORY MINIMUM SENTENCING (CHECKED BOX 3), WE WOULD LIKE YOUR OPINION ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS:

Check the box (or boxes) next to the crime(s) for which you'd want to see our State Legislature make judges sentence *first-time offenders* to at least 1 year in prison, no matter what the circumstances of the case. A star (★) next to the crime means that that Hawaii Penal Code already requires a prison sentence for anyone convicted of any of these crimes a second time.

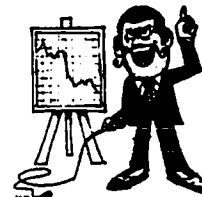
- 76 21 Innocent victim crippled by bad beating.★
- 66 22 Showing gun while robbing someone.★
- 84 23 Rape.★
- 62 24 Burglarizing and vandalizing a private home.★
- 64 25 Burning down building to collect insurance.
- 59 26 Elected official taking bribe.
- 84 27 Premeditated murder.★
- 68 28 Fraud by corporate executive where many people lose money.
- 81 29 Selling hard drugs to anyone under 18.★
- 70 30 Bombing a public building.
- 31 Other _____

DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

- A. Which of the following categories includes your age?**
- 10% Under 25
 - 27% 25 to 34
 - 20% 35 to 44
 - 45 to 54 31%
 - 55 to 64
 - 65 or more 11%
- B. Level of education:**
- 8% Less than High School
 - 20% High School Graduate
 - 13% Business or Trade School
 - Some college 22%
 - College Graduate 23%
 - Post-Graduate 14%
 - Studies/Masters or Doctors degree
- C. Ethnic background:**
- 27% Japanese
 - 35% Caucasian
 - 5% Chinese
 - 5% Filipino
 - 13% Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian
 - Portuguese
 - Korean 7%
 - Mixed
 - Other

- D. Income Level:**
- 9% Less than \$5,000
 - 15% \$5,000-\$9,999
 - 17% \$10,000-\$14,999
 - 22% \$15,000-\$19,999
 - 13% \$20,000-\$24,999
 - 10% \$25,000-\$29,999
 - 11% \$30,000 and over
 - 3% Not Sure



- E. Party (Repub., Dem.):**
- 17% Republican
 - 58% Democrat
 - 20% Independent
 - 6% Other
- F. Sex:**
- 53% Male
 - 47% Female

APPENDIX E
Hawaii Televote-5

HAWAII



Televote

YOUR HOTLINE TO GOVERNMENT

THANK YOU

for becoming a Hawaii TELEVOTER

Your TELEVOTE ID No. is HTS _____

Please read the contents of this TELEVOTE. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the

ballots and phone us back within 3 days after receiving this TELEVOTE. (No need to mail.) You can reach us at our Hotline Number:

Our office at the University of Hawaii:

948-6877

Monday through Friday—9 A.M. until 9 P.M.

Saturdays and Sundays: 10 A.M.-8 P.M.

Outer Islands Residents: Yes! Please call us collect.

REMEMBER:

Your name will be *completely confidential* and your answers used for statistical purposes only. The results of this survey will be widely reported in newspapers, radio and TV and will be distributed to all of our State Legislators.

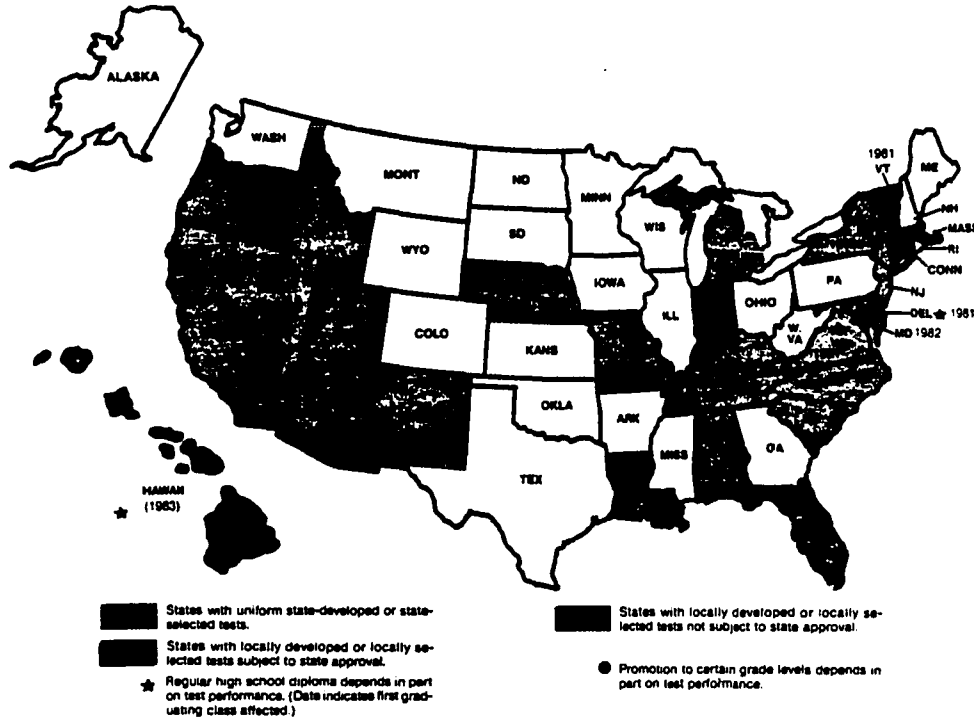


In a recent poll, 78% of a sample of Hawaii's population felt it was important for the State Legislature to consider passing the following law: high school students must pass a special exam designed to test their "competency in reading and writing"—before they can graduate from high school. However, there are a number of ways to measure competency, and there are many opinions about what students should learn and how they should learn it.

HAWAII TELEVOTE wants your opinion on which solutions you think are best for Hawaii.

SOME FACTS

STATES WITH MANDATORY COMPETENCY TESTING PROGRAMS



IN THE USA

Many mainland districts requiring competency tests for graduation found thousands of seniors failing. An example is Florida, which established statewide competency tests for students in the 3rd, 5th, 8th, and 11th grades in October, 1977. 37% of the students in the 11th grade failed. Among blacks, 75% failed.

On the other hand, Oregon, the first state to use the basic competency test approach in its educational system (1972), has had no massive failures among its high school students. Instead of a statewide set of standards, Oregon allows each school district to set up and measure its own minimum standards for how well students "Read, write, speak, listen, analyze, and compute."

ARGUMENTS FOR COMPETENCY TESTS

Points out those who need remedial help as well as those advanced students who could benefit from other educational activities.

Determines what basic skills the students should learn so that teachers can better determine class goals.

IN HAWAII

Hawaii's Department of Education (DOE) has developed a statewide minimum competency test that must be passed by high school students graduating in 1983. In the meantime, this test is being given as a model of what students are expected to learn before they can graduate from high school. During the Fall of 1979, this test was given to all public high school sophomores (grade 10): 65% passed; 35% failed.



ARGUMENTS AGAINST COMPETENCY TESTS

Many students fail because they "tense up" on exams, not because they lack the basic skills.

Competency tests rely too much on the multiple-choice method of exams. This penalizes students who are more imaginative and individualistic.

SO, HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT COMPETENCY TESTING?

Question I: (Check one box)

- 5% 1 I am opposed to competency tests entirely. (If you check this box, skip questions II and III and go to question IV.)
- 33% 2 I favor competency tests only as a guide to find the students' weak spots.
- 30% 3 I favor requiring students to pass competency tests before they can graduate from high school.
- 31% 4 I favor competency tests in grades 3, 5, 8, and 11, with students staying in each grade until they pass at that level.
- 4% 5 Undecided.


Question II: (Check one box)

- 54% 6 I favor a uniform state-developed test.
- 30% 7 I favor a test developed by each local school district (for example, Honolulu, Leeward, Maui, etc.), but subject to DOE approval.
- 7% 8 I favor a test developed by each local school district (for example, Honolulu, Leeward, Maui, etc.), not subject to state DOE approval.
- 4% 9 Undecided.



Question III: (Please check those areas you feel should be covered in any required competency testing. If there is any single item you believe should be given extra emphasis over all others, please place a double-check in that box .)

- 38% 10 Health and Nutrition Skills
- 16% 11 Arts and Handicrafts
- 67% 12 Everyday Skills (read signs, fill out forms)
- 90% 13 The Three Rs (reading, writing & arithmetic)
- 42% 14 Citizenship Skills
- 24% 15 Scientific Skills
- 7% 16 Other _____



TYPES OF COMPETENCY TESTS

Opinion varies about what "skills" should be tested:

- ★ Most competency tests measure skills in elementary reading and arithmetic. Skills in such areas as science, history, music, and art are seldom tested.
- ★ The Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) rates the students' performance in reading, math, and mechanics of writing. In the 1977 SAT given to local 10th graders throughout the USA, Hawaii students ranked below average in reading and writing—and about average in math.
- ★ The Hawaii DOE "minimum competency test" scheduled to take effect in 1983 is designed to measure the skills high school graduates should have to function in society. It tests for such skills as simple math; the ability to know the difference between fact and opinion; knowledge of American and local government; and ability to fill out commonly used forms, like personal checks and job applications.

NOW WE'D LIKE YOUR OPINION ON 3 PROGRAMS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE STUDENT PERFORMANCE. EACH OF THEM IS ACTUALLY IN USE, RIGHT NOW, IN THE USA.

Plan A	<p>An inner-city school (once ranked near the bottom out of 26 local high schools in reading) improved its class attendance, its students' reading skills, and its college enrollments after starting the following program:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. forced teachers to take courses on how to teach reading 2. students had to read television scripts, listen to tapes, and act out scripts 3. had teachers develop individual summer-study program for students and work with parents so they could help their children learn.
Plan B	<p>Two schools in a medium-sized city have been experimenting with a program called "Project Follow Through". It aims to get parents involved in helping their children learn basic skills by:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. putting them on school "advisory committees" 2. getting them to attend meetings for "self-improvement." 3. training them as "instructors at home."
Plan C	<p>17 states have laws that require teachers to take exams to test their skill at teaching the basics—before they are hired. In one large city, where there are far more teaching applicants than teaching jobs, the Wessman Personnel Classification Test is given. This tests teachers skills with the use of words and numbers and a certain minimum score must be made before a teacher will be hired to teach any course.</p>

Question IV: Which of these three programs do you like best for Hawaii? (Please check one box)

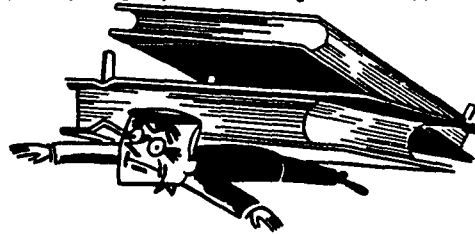
- 38% 17 Plan A
- 16% 18 Plan B
- 43% 19 Plan C

Question V:

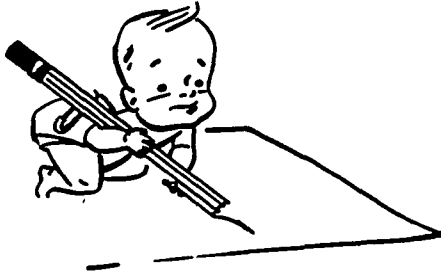
- A. How do you rate Plan A as a program for Hawaii?**
 41% 20 excellent 27% 21 good 14% 22 fair 8% 23 poor 10% 24 undecided
- B. How do you rate Plan B as a program for Hawaii?**
 16% 25 excellent 30% 26 good 34% 27 fair 11% 28 poor 9% 29 undecided
- C. How do you rate Plan C as a program for Hawaii?**
 51% 30 excellent 31% 31 good 7% 32 fair 8% 33 poor 3% 34 undecided

Question VI: Following are some other methods suggested as ways of improving the performance of high school students. Check as many as you like.

- 43% 35 Provide extra funding for more remedial training
- 35% 36 Hold parents legally responsible for students who cut school regularly (fine, imprisonment)
- 46% 37 Require annual evaluations of teachers by students, parents and fellow teachers
- 80% 38 Develop work-study programs for students to help them relate school subjects to real-life activities
- 5% 39 Pay parents for learning how to teach fundamentals to children
- 83% 40 Require teachers to take periodic courses to add fresh ideas and techniques to their teaching



Question VII: Who do you feel should be responsible for the education of our children? (Check all those which apply; double check the one you feel is most responsible for education.)



- 94% 41 Parents
- 54% 42 The children
- 90% 43 The teachers
- 68% 44 The school
- 15% 45 The church
- 65% 46 The State Department of Education
- 51% 47 The Board of Education
- 41% 48 The State government
- 31% 49 The Federal government
- 50 Specify others _____
- 51 I am undecided right now

DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. Which of the following categories includes your age?

- 35% Under 25 45 to 54
- 25 to 34 55 to 64 35%
- 22% 35 to 44 65 or more 7%

B. Level of education:

- 5% Less than High School Some college 24%
- 20% High School Graduate College Graduate 21%
- 11% Business or Trade-School Post-Graduate 18%
- Studies/Masters or Doctors degree

C. Ethnic background:

- 29% Japanese Mixed 7%
- 38% Caucasian Other 3%
- 7% Chinese
- 6% Filipino
- 9% Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian

D. Income Level:

- 7% Less than \$5,000 \$20,000-\$24,999 16%
- 14% \$5,000-\$9,999 \$25,000-\$29,999 9%
- 21% \$10,000-\$14,999 \$30,000 and over 14%
- 17% \$15,000-\$19,999 Not Sure 3%

E. Sex:

- 44% Male Female 55%

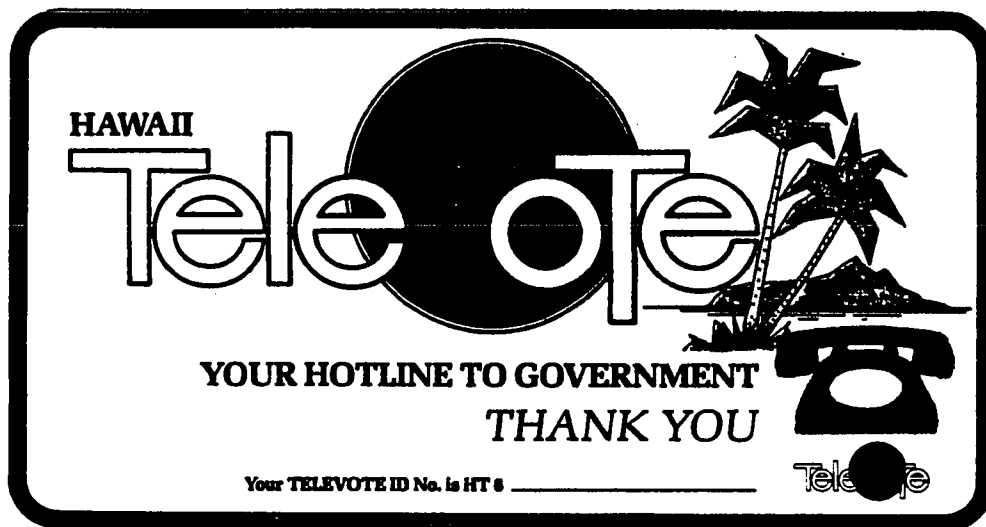
F. Do you have any children currently in Grades K through 12?

- Yes No

G. If yes, do they attend public or private school?

Public Private Both

APPENDIX F
Hawaii Televote-6



Please read the contents of this TELEVOTE. Take a day or two to think about it and talk about it with your friends. Then fill out the ballots and

phone us back within 3 days after receiving this TELEVOTE. (No need to mail.) You can reach us at our Hotline Number:

Our office at the University of Hawaii:

948-6880

Monday through Friday—4:30 P.M. until 9:00 P.M.
 Saturday: 9 A.M.—6 P.M. Sunday: 10 A.M.—8 P.M.

Remember: Your answers will be completely confidential and used for statistical purposes only.

**THIS TELEVOTE WANTS YOUR OPINION
 ON THE FUTURE OF HAWAII'S TRANSPORTATION:**

As you know, we on Oahu are facing some serious problems about how we will transport ourselves in the future. Gas prices will continue to rise; our population of people and cars will continue to grow. Oahu will get more and more crowded. So what should we do?

We have been hearing about several major projects for the past few years. One is a new highway (TH-3 or H-3). Another is a modern rapid transit system (HART). A third is to improve and expand our bus system. And there are other ideas too. Which one or ones should we choose?

Those who are to make these decisions need to know the opinion of Oahu's citizens on the future of our island's transportation. Following is some important information and the main arguments in favor and opposed to each major alternative. Please read it, think about it, and then pick up the telephone, call us and "vote".

Yes, we need your opinion. It is necessary for us to get an accurate, scientific sample of Oahu's population. After you do that, we'll make sure that public opinion on this issue reaches those who are going to make the decisions... and reaches the public's ear as well.

...in case you were wondering, here is
SOME BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Price of Gasoline (Regular)*

1973	45¢ per gal.
1975	69¢ per gal.
1978	77¢ per gal.
1979	\$1.14 per gal.
1980	\$1.30 per gal.



*Hawaii State Energy Office

Number of Cars on Oahu*

1970	285,259
1975	297,435
1980	332,119



*City and County of Honolulu, Motor Vehicle Agency


Parking Meter Rates (Downtown Honolulu)*

1969	10¢ 1hr./5¢ ¼hr./1¢ 15 mins.
1975	20¢ 1hr./10¢ ¼hr./5¢ 15 mins.
1979	40¢ 1hr./20¢ ¼hr.




THE 3 MAIN IDEAS

Following are three brief paragraphs that describe three proposed transportation systems being considered by government officials as solutions to Hawaii's future transportation problems.




H-3/TH-3
H-3 is a freeway similar to the present H-1 and H-2 freeways. H-3 will be a 4-lane high-

way, from Halawa to Kaneohe, connecting Windward and Leeward Oahu. TH-3 would follow the same route but it would consist of 2 more lanes, for carpools and buses. TH-3, then, is a 6-lane highway. Either H-3 or TH-3 would be a third highway and tunnel through the Koolaus and is hoped to ease traffic congestion on the Pali and Likelike routes.



HART
HART (Honolulu Area Rapid Transit) would be a rubber-wheeled, electric powered rapid transit rail-line running on raised and under-

ground concrete tracks. HART, running between the airport and the university, would directly serve the Honolulu urban core. It would also include a special city bus network (feeder bus system—express and local) linking outlying sections of the city and county with new HART stations, terminals, and parking lots—and it would provide generally improved bus service.



Expanded Bus System
According to a consultant's study, the Expanded Bus would be an all-bus system pro-

viding comparable service to the HART bus-rail system. It would include: (1) a greatly enlarged bus fleet (1978: 350 buses/1995: 900 buses); (2) a great increase in the number of hours in use and locations serviced; (3) much street widening and construction of roadways and facilities.

SOME COMPARISONS

	H-3 or TH-3	HART	EXPANDED BUS SYSTEM
How many miles?	(already partly built) 10.7 miles (to be built)	8.4 miles	All major highways and throughways & many secondary streets on Oahu
Governmental Share of Cost City State Federal	— 10% 90%	20% } (LOCAL) 80%	20% — 80%
Estimated Cost to Build	Formal estimate: H3: 483 million TH3: 747 million Local share: H-3: \$46 million 1980 dollars TH-3: \$74 million 1980 dollars	Formal estimate: \$734 million 1980 dollars. (This does not include the cost of trains, parking facilities and feeder bus system) Local share: \$150 million (apprx.)	No formal estimate at present. (some experts say it would cost at least as much as TH-3 or HART) Local share: Estimated same as HART
Physically Displaced Persons	No one.	According to studies: about 150 households in Mollili-McCully area & 170 businesses in Iwilei, downtown and Kakaako.	No reliable estimates yet.
Major Beneficiaries	Windward and Leeward residents, particularly commuters	Urban Commuters (who want to use it)	All residents and visitors on Oahu (who want to use it)
When will it be operational?	5 years after construction is started again (estimated mid-late 1980s)	1989 (estimated) (5-6 years after construction begins)	1995—Estimated full operation (but would come into full use gradually)
What's Holding it up?	Legal challenges in Federal Court	State Legislature for release of funds and continued availability of federal funds	Final decision on HART

... and now for some pro and con arguments on each plan ...

	H-3 or TH-3	HART	EXPANDED BUS
PRO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decrease travel time and traffic congestion between Windward and Leeward sides Link major military bases like Kaneohe Marine Base and Pearl Harbor Promote individual freedom of mobility through use of the automobile. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Modern design would be asset and attraction to City of Honolulu Very energy efficient and relatively non-polluting form of mass transit Reduce the number of private vehicles and travel time in City. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increase service to all parts of the Island Reduce the need for private vehicles throughout Oahu More than double present capacity of passengers.
CON	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Would lead to urban development on the Windward side. Disruption to existing natural environment and historical conservation land. Does not promote alternative energy sources for transportation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Honolulu too small for such a fancy system—only much larger cities can afford it. Increase noise and disruption for years throughout City—due to construction. Over-estimation of ridership will result in heavier financial burden to taxpayers and riders than now forecasted. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maintenance costs very high. Does not promote alternative energy sources for transportation. Would require extensive construction work on existing major streets.

NOW... THE QUESTIONS:

I. FROM THE ABOVE INFORMATION AND DEBATE, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHICH SYSTEM, IF ANY, YOU PREFER FOR HAWAII'S FUTURE.

(A) Please check one of the following four boxes:

- H-3 (4-lane) Don't know
- TH-3 (6-lane)
- Neither

(B) Please check one of the following four boxes:

- HART Don't know
- TSM Expanded Bus
- Neither

(C) If you checked "Neither" in (1) and (2)

- Other

II. WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT THE HART SYSTEM RIGHT NOW?

(A) Do you think the State should contribute 1/2 of the local share (10% of total cost) for HART?

- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

(B) Do you think the State should put up \$500,000 for a study to answer the remaining questions about HART?

- Yes
- No
- Don't Know

(C) If the State does not contribute a share of the local funding, what should the City do about HART?

- Scrap the whole idea
- Try to convince the State Legislature again next year
- Raise whole 20% of local share on its own
- Other
- Don't know

(D) If the City raises money on its own, which of the following ways for the City to raise funds would you prefer? Please check box of any method you would favor. (Check as many as you like)

- Raise property tax Don't know
- Raise passenger vehicle weight tax
- Raise city parking rates
- Raise tax on fuel
- Other

III. WHAT IF THE COURTS ALLOW THE STATE TO BUILD H-3 or TH-3?

(A) Which method of raising funds presently available to the State would you prefer to raise the local share of constructing the highway? (Check as many as you like)

- Raise motor vehicle registration tax
- Raise state income tax
- Raise general excise (sales) tax
- Raise gross vehicle weight tax
- Sell general obligation bonds (State must pay interest for many years)
- Use tax surplus
- Other
- Don't know

IV. What kinds of sacrifices would you be willing or not willing to make personally in the future in order to lessen traffic and transportation problems in Hawaii? (Please check one box)

- A. Not drive private auto on weekends Definitely Maybe Never
- B. Ride in a carpool Definitely Maybe Never
- C. Pay higher taxes Definitely Maybe Never
- D. Use mass transit Definitely Maybe Never
- E. Do more work at home Definitely Maybe Never
- F. Buy smaller car Definitely Maybe Never
- G. Buy or use bike more Definitely Maybe Never
- H. Buy moped Definitely Maybe Never
- I. Use the Bus more Definitely Maybe Never
- J. Walk to many places you now drive to Definitely Maybe Never
- K. Other

DEMOGRAPHICS

A FEW BACKGROUND QUESTIONS. YOUR ANSWERS WILL BE COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND ARE FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

A. Which of the following categories includes your age?

- Under 25 45 to 54
- 25 to 34 55 to 64
- 35 to 44 65 or more

B. Level of education:

- Less than High School 4 yr. College Graduate
- High School Graduate
- Business or Trade School Post-Graduate Studies/Masters or Doctor degree
- Some college (incl. Community College)

C. Ethnic background:

- Japanese Portuguese
- Caucasian Korean
- Chinese Mixed
- Filipino Other
- Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian

D. Income level:

- Less than \$3,000
- \$3,000-\$9,999
- \$10,000-\$14,999
- \$15,000-\$19,999
- \$20,000-\$24,999
- \$25,000-\$29,999
- \$30,000 and over
- Not Sure

E. Party (Repub., Dem.):

- Republican Independent
- Democrat Other

F. Sex:

- Male
- Female



Comparative data provided on page 296

APPENDIX G

New Zealand Televote



OFFICIAL ID No

New Zealand in the Future World

Right now New Zealand is at a crossroads. New inventions and technology and a quickly changing world scene will mean a future quite different from New Zealand as we know it now.

In the next few years a lot of decisions are going to be made which will shape our country in the next century. So now's a good time for people to be thinking and talking about what they want for themselves and for their sons and daughters (and perhaps grandchildren too).

We've got plenty of resources — in our land and in the sea around us — as well as in our people too. So New Zealand has a lot more choices than most other countries.



What New Zealand Televote is all about

NEW ZEALAND TELEVOTE is a public opinion poll which will:

1. Show you four Points of View of possible New Zealand Futures.
2. Help you express your feelings about them.
3. Help make your thoughts about them clear.
4. Help you choose or build your own future for New Zealand.

You've got plenty of time to look through the four Points of View and to play two interesting future games before deciding what future you want for New Zealand.

How New Zealand Televote works

Below are four Points of View that we think include many of the main ways people think on these subjects. To be neutral, we call them ONE, TWO, THREE, and FOUR. Obviously none of them will suit anyone perfectly. But one of them probably will come closer to your own personal Point of View than the other three. Please read them through, think about them... BUT DON'T MAKE UP YOUR MIND YET AS TO WHICH YOU LIKE BEST.

The Four Points of View

1.

As well as being individuals, all humans (other than hermits) live in social groups. People need support from one another to grow.

The world around us is to be used. New inventions will make some resources (like sun and wind) useful before or after others (coal and gas) are used up.

Central government should be strong and guarantee a job for all with equal pay for equal work. It must also allow people to develop private business too.

New Zealand's geography still favours agriculture, and land will be put to many new uses. Maximum effort will be made to free ourselves from importing foreign fuel.

A free enterprise society in which major economic growth provides greater economic benefits for all.

2.

The people of any country benefit more where there is equal opportunity for each person to seek their own best interest. Government must not tell them what to do or not do.

The land and sea around us are full of riches. They should be used to the fullest in making us all happy and prosperous.

Central government should play a very limited role in our lives. Its main jobs are to keep the peace at home and protect us from attack.

Large scale industry can best use and process the natural resources of our land and oceans. They are most fit to make the most wealth for New Zealand in a world eager to buy our products.

A free enterprise society in which major economic growth provides greater economic benefits for all.

3.

People must co-operate, not compete. They must blend their own self-interest into that of the greater good.

It is vital to preserve the balance between ourselves and the land and sea around us. They belong not only to us but to those who come after us.

Attention should be turned away from central government and towards local community. Smaller units aid social and natural harmony.

Economy should grow in areas like the arts, crafts and the pursuit of knowledge. All who work should share in the decisions of the workplace.

A society in which people limit personal ambition and build communities that are in harmony with nature.

4.

The best society is where free and well-informed persons can satisfy their own interest. This will make great wealth for all.

The land and sea around us is not a bottomless well. It is full of riches, but if we are not careful, it can run dry.

Central government should give some support to its citizens. It should provide education and information and protect our natural resources.

New industries with advanced equipment should be encouraged as well as new uses for our farmland. All new industry must be responsible for using our resources with care.

A society where independent people are given opportunities to develop themselves without harming the environment.

The "Pictures of the Future" Game

In the diagram below are word pictures of the future that strong supporters of ONE, TWO, THREE and FOUR say will happen if they have their way. We don't know whether these pictures will really come true or not. We simply want to

know whether you LIKE the future pictures they see, or whether you DONT LIKE them. Read below and place a tick in one of the four circles in each square to tell us whether you generally like that picture or not.

- ☺ = Like
- ☹ = Neutral
- ☹ = Don't Like
- ❓ = Not Sure

	1	2	3	4
A Employment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Full employment Government provides socially useful work Ample leisure time <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>63 18 15 45</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Large private companies manage profitable economy 100% employment <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>22 22 20 7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Personal skills key to quality production Sharing leads to creative work for all <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>50 22 11 9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unemployment unknown as new uses for time develop Part-time work more common <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>53 20 18 9</p>
B Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government runs large-scale projects (energy, paper mills) Full use of resources <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>27 18 49 7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some resources are used up New resources discovered <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>21 27 31 11</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conservation of present natural resources Only technology that conserves resources is used <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>61 10 14 6</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government policies carefully balance production and protection of resources <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>76 11 7 6</p>
C World Scene	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N.Z. trades a lot with other countries Foreign investment in N.Z. discouraged N.Z. neutral in world politics <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>47 20 24 9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N.Z. totally involved in world economy Strong military alliances <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>25 20 46 10</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N.Z. withdraws from world trade N.Z. withdraws from all military alliances <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>5 10 79 7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> N.Z. trades on world market in N.Z. specialties only N.Z. remains basically independent, but some alliances <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>57 18 17 6</p>
D Economic Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Greater emphasis on agriculture Wide range of manufacturing and industry encouraged <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>70 14 6 9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Larger, more modern, active cities Growth of range in goods and services <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>24 20 40 7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Small scale economy using own energy Population shift to country and town areas <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>88 24 20 11</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maximum use of modern, low-energy technology Computers and telecommunications more important in daily life <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>47 25 20 9</p>
E Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reformed Parliament more representative of the people More power to regional and community councils. <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>57 20 16 7</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bill of rights to protect individual liberty Private enterprises controls more public services <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>53 20 18 9</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The public votes directly on major national issues MPs selected at random for short terms <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>24 15 51 11</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government provides new educational system that stimulates and rewards original thought Increased citizen participation with aid of new technology <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> ☺☹☹❓ </div> <p>60 20 9 10</p>

- KEY: (1) Number beneath each face is the percentage of sample that checked that face. Each percentage has been rounded to its next highest number
- (2) Pictures emphasized by dark borders mean that they were the top choice of the sample in that area, e.g., Employment, Environment, World Scene, et.

The "Your Turn to Predict" Game

Listed below are a number of possible things that may happen in the future (around the year 2001). Which Point of View do YOU think is MOST LIKELY to make each thing happen?




Tick only one point of view for each item **1** **2** **3** **4** **Not Sure**


A. Real growth in your personal income	28 31	30 32	7 13	26 30	9 10
B. Fewer government services	12 14	43 47	27 30	13 15	7 8
C. Greater emphasis on a more spiritual life	13 15	7 8	46 50	11 12	23 25
D. Preserving our natural resources	19 21	6 7	41 45	31 35	2 3
E. Full employment	49 53	18 20	8 9	16 18	8 9
F. Decent standard of living available to all N.Z. citizens	37 41	17 19	14 15	24 26	8 9
G. No need to import energy into N.Z. from foreign countries	45 49	13 14	17 18	17 18	17 18
H. Larger cities	15 16	44 48	13 14	10 11	15 16
I. Racial minority cultures become stronger	16 17	12 13	35 38	16 17	23 25
J. Greater participation by citizens in important decisions	19 21	14 15	45 49	16 17	6 7
K. The kind of work you want for your children	25 27	17 18	15 16	8 9	17 18
L. Less violence	26 28	10 11	39 43	13 14	11 12
M. Greater equality among the sexes	31 33	17 18	21 22	16 17	7 8
N. More co-operation among New Zealanders	26 28	9 10	46 50	13 14	7 8
O. A more important role for N.Z. in the world	25 27	36 40	6 7	17 18	15 16

KEY: Numbers equal percentage of entire sample, rounded to next highest percentage.


Choose your own future





Now it is up to YOU to decide which way YOU want NEW ZEALAND to go. We know it may be a hard choice to make, but who said the Future will be easy?





Please tick the box by the Point of View closest to your own beliefs and thought.
If you feel that none of the four Points of View is close enough to your own personal view of the future, tick Box FIVE.
















Please tick single box only

22	12	10	27	29
156	157	158	159	160






KEY: Numbers equal percentage of entire sample, rounded to next highest percentage.



For those of you who ticked Box FIVE you can build your own Point of View. However, we need to limit you a bit. As you can see, each Point of View (ONE, TWO, THREE & FOUR) is made up of four building blocks.

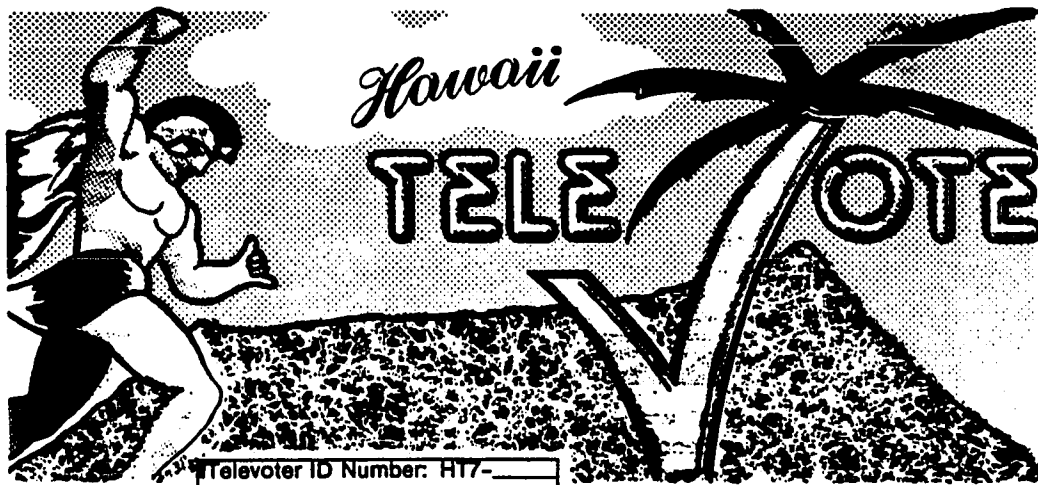
One has the symbol of  another has the symbol of 
 a third has the symbol of  and the fourth has a symbol of 

Your own Point of View must also be built of four building blocks, one with each symbol. Please tick your four boxes below as directed.

		2	3	4	
	<input type="checkbox"/> 93	<input type="checkbox"/> 88	<input type="checkbox"/> 59	<input type="checkbox"/> 45	There must be only 1 tick in this row.
	<input type="checkbox"/> 39	<input type="checkbox"/> 22	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 50	There must be only 1 tick in this row.
	<input type="checkbox"/> 78	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 55	<input type="checkbox"/> 106	There must be only 1 tick in this row.
	<input type="checkbox"/> 108	<input type="checkbox"/> 26	<input type="checkbox"/> 15	<input type="checkbox"/> 37	There must be only 1 tick in this row.
	161	162	163	164	
	165	166	167	168	
	169	170	171	172	
	173	174	175	176	

KEY: Numbers in boxes are raw numbers, not percentages.

APPENDIX H
Hawaii Televote-7



“Reaganomics and Government Spending in Hawaii”

As you may know, President Ronald Reagan is trying out a different economic approach, a theory known as “Reaganomics.” Last year the President got Congress to agree to his program. The result is less money for some domestic spending in each state, including Hawaii.

We want to know what you think about the President’s program and what you think we in the State of Hawaii should do, if anything, about having less U.S. government money to spend on various projects and programs here.

How This TeleVote Works”

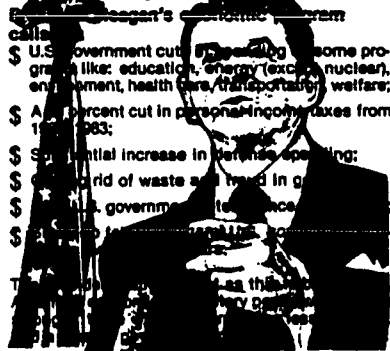
As we talk to you on the telephone, we would like you to read through this pamphlet once. That should take around 20 minutes or so. Then think about it. Talk about it with your friends, family, and the folks at work.

Finally, when you are ready, fill in your Televote. We will call you on the phone when you told us to call:

_____ Day _____ Date _____ Time _____
 AM
 PM

If you are not ready with your opinion at that time, you can set another time, and we will call you then. Take all the time you want or need.

What do you think about REAGANOMICS?



Some arguments against President Reagan's program:
 * It will drive the economy deeper and deeper into debt.
 * The cost of the program to the poor and the middle class will be enormous.
 * It will build bigger deficits, bigger ships, bigger wars, and more problems for Russians.
 * The U.S. can't back Russia's spending.
 * The burden of U.S. government programs on the states will mean higher taxes on the states.
 * Critics say the President's economic plan is a prescription for a less healthy economy, more debts owed by our government, and a weaker America on the world scene.

Question 1: In general, what do you think the chances are that President Reagan's economic program will have the results he says it will?

1 Excellent
 2 Good
 3 Fair
 4 Poor
 5 No Chance
 6 Not Sure

Some important information about government spending in Hawaii

The State Surplus: Over the past few years, the State of Hawaii has taken in more money than it has spent. As of early 1982, the State had an extra \$230 million dollars in its bank account. This extra money is called The State Surplus.

Due to severe circumstances, this year the Surplus will shrink. Also, since every resident (including children) will get \$100 back from the State this year, the Surplus will lose another \$95 million or so.

Some people think the Surplus will disappear next year and that if we don't watch our spending, the State will go into debt soon.

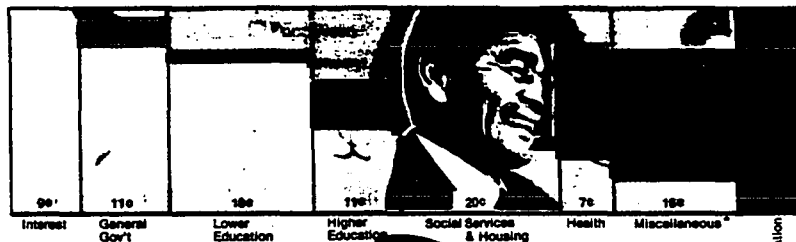
The Spending Limit: In 1978, voters in Hawaii decided to make our State Legislature keep a lid on the amount it spent. So our State lawmakers cannot spend more than a certain amount unless 2/3 of the State Senate + 2/3 of the State House of Representatives vote to spend over that limit.

Where the money goes and where it comes from

Take a look at the Dollar Bill and the Silver Dollar. The Dollar Bill shows you (a) how much the State spends to run itself and its programs and (b) what percent of that money comes from either the State's "General" pocket, from its "Special" pocket, or from the U.S. Government (the "Federal" pocket).

The Silver Dollar will tell you how much of your money goes into the State's "General" and "Special" pockets. Of course, that "Federal" money comes from you too.

HOW YOUR MONEY IS SPENT TO RUN THE STATE GOVERNMENT (1982)



WHERE THE STATE GOT ITS MONEY FROM (1981-82)



The cutbacks in U.S. government money

The cuts in U.S. government funds to Hawaii amounted to about \$25-\$40 million dollars in 1981-82. Since the total amount of U.S. government money coming to Hawaii in 1980-81 was \$323 million dollars, this was about a 8-12% cutback in Federal funding. There may be more cutbacks from the U.S. government in the near future.

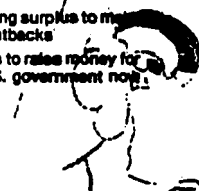
Question II: Hawaii: To spend or not to spend?

We would like your opinion on how you think the State of Hawaii should deal with the cutbacks in U.S. government funding of state programs and State spending in general.

A
What to do about U.S. government cutbacks

Check one box that is closest to your own point of view

- 7 State should do nothing to replace the money lost because of U.S. government cutbacks
- 8 State should use any existing surplus to make up for U.S. government cutbacks
- 9 State should find new ways to raise money for State programs cut by U.S. government now and in the future
- 10 Not Sure



B
What to do about State spending in general

Check one box that comes closest to your own point of view

- 11 Cut back State spending
- 12 Keep State spending at present level
- 13 Increase State spending, but only to keep up with inflation
- 14 Increase State spending as much as is necessary to develop important new programs — even if that means raising the spending limit
- 15 Not Sure

THOSE WHO CHECK BOX 9 IN COLUMN A, OR BOXES 13 OR 14 IN COLUMN B, GO TO QUESTION III. ALL OTHERS, SKIP QUESTION III AND GO TO QUESTION IV.

Question III: How can Hawaii raise money?

Below are several ideas suggested by some people as good ways for state and local government to raise more money to pay for social programs cut by the U.S. government—or for other new and important purposes.

Next to these ideas are some arguments made either for or against each idea. And next to them is a rough average of how much money some experts think each method of raising money might actually raise in a year.

Please read this information and tell us whether you are for or against each idea.

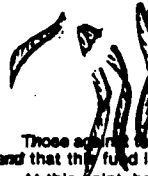
IDEA	FOR	AGAINST	\$ RAISED (Estimate)
(1) Raise State Sales Tax From 4% to 5% <input type="checkbox"/> 16 For <input type="checkbox"/> 17 Against <input type="checkbox"/> 18 Not Sure	It's not a big burden on anyone and it can raise a great deal of money.	The main burden of paying such a tax falls on those least able to pay: the poor.	\$60 Million (per year)
(2) A New 1% County Sales Tax <input type="checkbox"/> 19 For <input type="checkbox"/> 20 Against <input type="checkbox"/> 21 Not Sure	Money would be used only for needs of each county, and would take heavy tax load off of property owners.	Neighbor Island counties, with fewer residents, may not be able to raise enough money to support worthy programs.	\$30 Million (Honolulu) (per year)
(3) Start Hawaii State Lottery <input type="checkbox"/> 22 For <input type="checkbox"/> 23 Against <input type="checkbox"/> 24 Not Sure	Many states use this as way to fund special programs or to get a lot of money in State bank account. Also, people put money in voluntarily.	A small state like Hawaii would not make much money from a lottery and lotteries will encourage and help organized crime.	\$10-20 Million (per year)
(4) Tax Hotel Rooms Used By Tourists <input type="checkbox"/> 25 For <input type="checkbox"/> 26 Against <input type="checkbox"/> 27 Not Sure	Most other popular resort areas have such a tax and that does not seem to have hurt them.	It will deter some tourists from coming to Hawaii and might keep local folks from visiting neighbor isles.	?
(5) Legalize Gambling and Tax Profits <input type="checkbox"/> 28 For <input type="checkbox"/> 29 Against <input type="checkbox"/> 30 Not Sure	It will attract many tourists from U.S. and Japan and can replace funds lost from Hawaii industries that are in trouble.	It will change Hawaii's image and lose as many tourists as it gets. It would also make Hawaii a haven for big time crime.	?
(6) Tax Big Industry & Business More Heavily <input type="checkbox"/> 31 For <input type="checkbox"/> 32 Against <input type="checkbox"/> 33 Not Sure	It can raise a good deal of money from pockets already full. Hawaii's ordinary taxpayer is one of the most heavily taxed in America.	Large industry already pays their fair share of taxes. Besides, they would just pass their extra tax burden on to the consumer.	?
(7) <input type="checkbox"/> 34 (Other) _____			

Question IV: Your choice?

Below are a number of State programs we mentioned on the "Dollar Bill." Since it is your money being spent on them, we want to know whether you'd cut back on them, spend about the same, or spend more on them. Please check the boxes closest to your point of view.

PROGRAM	Cut-back	Spend Same	Spend More	Not Sure
LOWER EDUCATION (Elem. & H.S.)	<input type="checkbox"/> 34	<input type="checkbox"/> 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 36	<input type="checkbox"/> 37
HIGHER EDUCATION (UH & CCs)	<input type="checkbox"/> 38	<input type="checkbox"/> 39	<input type="checkbox"/> 40	<input type="checkbox"/> 41
SOCIAL SERVICES & HOUSING	<input type="checkbox"/> 42	<input type="checkbox"/> 43	<input type="checkbox"/> 44	<input type="checkbox"/> 45
HEALTH	<input type="checkbox"/> 46	<input type="checkbox"/> 47	<input type="checkbox"/> 48	<input type="checkbox"/> 49
TRANSPORTATION	<input type="checkbox"/> 50	<input type="checkbox"/> 51	<input type="checkbox"/> 52	<input type="checkbox"/> 53
OTHER _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 54	<input type="checkbox"/> 55	<input type="checkbox"/> 56	<input type="checkbox"/> 57
OTHER _____	<input type="checkbox"/> 58	<input type="checkbox"/> 59	<input type="checkbox"/> 60	<input type="checkbox"/> 61

In the Legislature Today



Question V: Hawaii's sugar industry?

Hawaii's sugar industry employs about 8,000 workers, with many other residents and businesses depending on it. The sugar industry reported losses of \$83 million in 1961 and several sugar companies are beginning to close down and lay off workers.

Sugar industry leaders want the State to place \$50 million into a special fund. The companies could use that money to help them stay in business and to continue Hawaii's agricultural lifestyle.

Those against this idea say the State should not "play favorites" by trying to save a particular business or industry and that the fund is actually an interest-free or low-interest loan to big business, with no security.

At this point, how do you feel about the sugar industry's proposal?

66 For 67 Against 68 Not Sure

Question VI: Other new programs

Are there any other new programs you would like to see the State of Hawaii spend money on? If yes, please list them below.

69 Yes 70 No 71 Not Sure

If yes, please list (1) _____
 (2) _____
 (3) _____



(A) SEX:
 1 Male
 2 Female

(B) AGE:
 1 18-24 4 46-55
 2 25-35 5 56-65
 3 36-45 6 66 or over

(C) POLITICAL PARTY:
 1 Democrat 4 None
 2 Republican 5 Other
 3 Independent

(D) ETHNIC BACKGROUND:
 1 Caucasian 5 Mixed (Non-Hawaiian)
 2 Chinese 6 Samoan
 3 Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian 7 Korean
 4 Japanese 8 Other

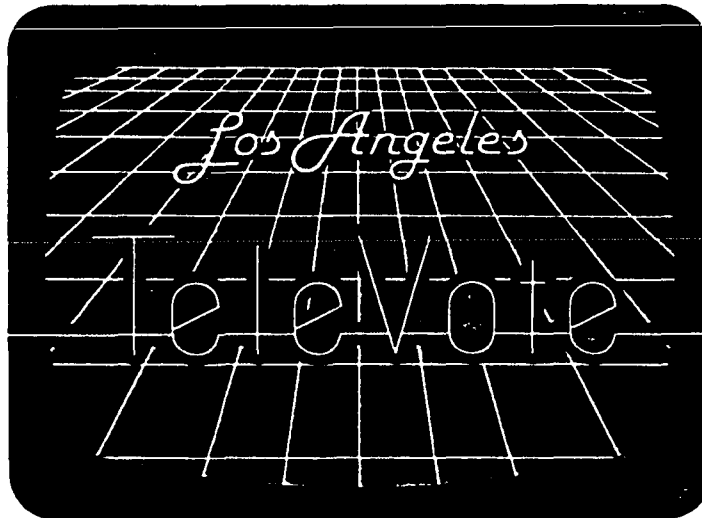
(E) HIGHEST GRADE (EDUCATION):
 1 Elementary 5 College graduate
 2 High school (attended) 6 Graduate - professional school
 3 High school (graduate)
 4 Some college

(F) INCOME LEVEL:
 1 Under \$10,000 4 \$20,000-\$24,999 7 \$35,000-\$49,999
 2 \$10,000-\$14,999 5 \$25,000-\$29,999 8 \$50,000-\$99,999
 3 \$15,000-\$19,999 6 \$30,000-\$34,999 9 Over \$100,000

THIS TELEVOTE WAS PAID FOR BY THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

Data not used for analysis

APPENDIX I
Los Angeles Televote

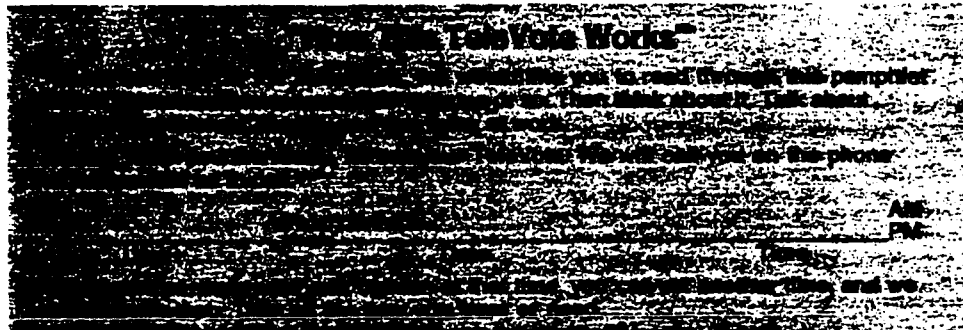


Los Angeles in the Future

Right now the Southland is going through a period of great change. Experts say that 3 million more people will be added to the Los Angeles region over the next 18 years. New inventions and a quickly changing world will mean a future quite different from the one we know today.

Now is the time for you to be thinking and talking about what you want for yourself and your children. Creative ideas can help meet the needs of people throughout the Southern California region.

The Los Angeles TeleVote is your chance to voice your opinion on various issues and take part in shaping the future.



ON THE BALLOT IN NOVEMBER

Below are four propositions that will appear on your official ballot on November 2, 1982. Please read this information and tell us whether you plan to vote YES or NO on each proposition.

PROPOSITION 11... Beverage Containers



Proposition 11 would set up a money-back deposit system for beverage cans and bottles in California. Consumers would be required to pay a deposit of at least 5 cents on any beer or soft drink container. Retail stores or collection centers would refund the consumers deposit when the empties were returned. The stores or centers would then get back the deposit — plus a 20 percent handling fee — when they return the bottles and cans to wholesalers or bottlers.

Supporters Say:

1. Money-back laws in other states have proved to be workable, with over 90% of the bottles and cans in those states being returned.
2. This would eliminate 80% of the bottle and can litter.
3. This would promote energy and natural resource savings by encouraging recycling.
4. This would create new jobs handling, trucking, and recycling bottle and cans.

Opponents Say:

1. This would raise beverage prices like it has in the states that have money-back laws.
2. This does not address 83% of the total litter in the state.
3. This would remove most cans and bottles from voluntary recycling programs, which may mean a loss to charity groups and volunteer recycling programs.
4. Skilled jobs in bottle and can manufacturing would be lost.

Question 1:

SHOULD MONEY-BACK DEPOSITS BE REQUIRED FOR BEER AND SOFT DRINK CANS AND BOTTLES?

45% Yes
1

55% No
2

PROPOSITION 12... Nuclear Weapons



Proposition 12 would require the Governor to send a letter to the President of the United States asking that the United States propose to the Soviet Union that both countries agree to stop testing, producing, and distributing all nuclear weapons in a way that could be verified by both countries.

Supporters Say:

1. The survival of human life is at stake in the nuclear arms race. This would be a first step in lessening the danger of nuclear war.
2. The U.S. and Russia are about equal in nuclear weapons. A freeze now would help both countries settle differences by negotiating rather than war.
3. The freeze would have to be accepted by both sides. Safeguards against cheating would have to be approved by our government.

Opponents Say:

1. A freeze would weaken the bargaining position of the U.S. in trying to gain real reductions in nuclear arms from the Soviets.
2. A freeze would lock in place a Soviet advantage in certain types of nuclear weapons.
3. The Soviets could not be trusted to agree with a freeze. Actual checking could only be done by on-site inspections which they have not permitted in the past.

Question 2:

SHOULD THE GOVERNOR URGE U.S. OFFICIALS TO PROPOSE THAT OUR COUNTRY AND THE SOVIET UNION PUT A FREEZE ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS?

Yes 66%
3

No 34%
4

PROPOSITION 13...Water Resources


Proposition 13 would change state water laws to encourage water conservation and require plans to manage water supplies. Federal, state, and local agencies would have to prepare and put into effect plans for conservation of water. These plans would have to be approved by the State Water Resources Control Board before any water could be transferred from one area to another.

The cost of this new program has been estimated to be \$1.48 million per year for six years. There would also be added costs to local agencies. Officials point out, however, that conservation could mean long-term savings if less facilities were built to transport water.

Supporters Say:

1. This would establish goals to end wasteful and inefficient uses of water.
2. This would protect rivers and streams from harmful damming and diversions for private use.
3. This would require plans to protect groundwater supplies that are being overpumped in many areas.
4. This would create fair water pricing to replace monies given to big agricultural water users.

Opponents Say:

1. This would place controls in the hands of a state appointed board that has never had such powers.
2. This would make water more expensive for residential, industrial, and agricultural users.
3. This would set a water policy that would give a higher priority to fish and wildlife than to people's needs.
4. This would delay the full use of a completed dam that could be supplying more water and water-generated power.

Question 3:

SHOULD OUR STATE WATER LAWS BE CHANGED TO REQUIRE THE CONSERVATION OF SURFACE AND GROUNDWATER SUPPLIES?

Yes 49%

5

No 51%

6

PROPOSITION 15...Handguns

This proposal would:

- require owners of handguns to register them by November 2, 1983;
- limit the number of handguns in California to those in circulation on April 30, 1983. After that date, only registered handguns could be sold and mail order sales would not be allowed;
- provide required jail sentences of six months for anyone carrying an unregistered handgun and one year for anyone selling an unregistered handgun;
- restrict the Legislature from taking away the right to own registered handguns, rifles, and shotguns.

Supporters Say:

1. This would permit all law-abiding handgun owners to keep their handguns simply by registering them and would guarantee that these guns would never be taken away from them.
2. This would be tough on criminals by making it harder for them to get guns, and putting those in jail who don't have registered handguns.
3. Without any regulation, the number of handguns in California would double by 1990.
4. The costs of this program would be covered by the \$10 registration fee and would not place added tax burdens on the public.

Opponents Say:

1. This would impose a burden on law-abiding citizens rather than on criminals.
2. Criminals would ignore this law. Instead of registering their guns, they would buy them illegally.
3. The freeze on the number of handguns would drive up the price of handguns so that only a few could afford them.
4. This measure would increase costs to handgun owners by requiring them to pay a registration fee.

Question 4:

SHOULD HANDGUNS BE REGISTERED AND THE NUMBER OF HANDGUNS BE FROZEN?

Yes 49%

7

No 51%

8

YOUR FUTURE IN LOS ANGELES

Each of the following problems has been hard to solve in the Los Angeles area. Please read through the information and check the response that is closest to your opinion.



During the 1984 Summer Olympic Games, increased tourism may crowd our roadways. No one knows the exact number of visitors that will come into the area for the Olympics, but it is expected to run into the millions. Special shuttle buses and trams for Olympic visitors may not reduce traffic unless we agree to change our working hours.

Question 5:

SHOULD LOS ANGELES AREA RESIDENTS, AS OLYMPIC HOSTS, WORK FLEXIBLE HOURS DURING THE OLYMPIC GAMES?

Yes 62%
9

No 38%
10



Our region's air currently does not meet clean air standards set by the Federal government. Air pollution is bad for the health of all area residents, especially children and the elderly.

Most of Southern California's air pollution is caused by cars and factories, each being responsible for about one half of the Southland's air pollution. Additionally, more than 90% of California's air pollution problems are in one way or another connected with the use of oil.

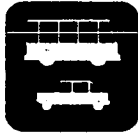
Different fuels have been suggested as a way to reduce our air pollution problem. While automobiles that use fuels other than oil (methanol, electric, etc.) are now on the market, these cars are not yet mass produced nor proven to be economical. Some people think a switch to different fuels is our best long-term strategy against air pollution. Some people think it is too early and expensive to be a sensible changeover.

Question 6:

SHOULD LAWS BE CHANGED TO REQUIRE A GRADUAL SHIFT TO THE USE OF NON-PETROLEUM FUELS BY AUTOMOBILES AND INDUSTRY?

Yes 67%

11 No 33%



The way we travel in Southern California is mainly by cars. About 80% of the cars on our roads carry only one person. Mass transportation is limited to a bus system which accounts for about 3% of the trips taken in Los Angeles.

Our region's business centers are growing rapidly. Rising population could mean a 30% increase in daily trips in Los Angeles, perhaps doubling the time it takes to get into and out of the region's business centers during rush hours. This inability of our roads and freeways to handle the traffic of the future is seen as one of the most serious problems facing Los Angeles.

While other types of transportation are being developed (rail, trams, etc.), different solutions may need to be found. Some people think we need to change our driving habits in order to prevent greater traffic problems. It has been suggested that ride sharing (van pools, car pools, etc.) be encouraged by charging higher parking fees at business centers to employees who drive alone. Of course, this may penalize people who want or need to drive alone.

Question 7:

IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE RIDE SHARING, SHOULD EMPLOYEES IN MAJOR BUSINESS CENTERS PAY HIGHER PARKING RATES IF THEY DRIVE ALONE?

22X Yes No 78X
13 14



Affordable housing is difficult to find in the Southern California region. Costs are among the highest in the nation. Many people believe that current housing prices are more than many residents can afford. With the area's population expected to grow by 3 million people, housing demands will become serious.

In the past, new housing in the Los Angeles region has been built in outlying areas, away from the business centers where many residents work. Today, there is little land remaining. With less land and high costs, new housing developments would need to make better use of space. This would require new designs that could support more people on less land area (condominiums, townhouses, high-rises, etc.).

People who have already bought their homes dislike the idea of added building and more people in their neighborhood. On the other hand, first time buyers with a limited income (young adults, the elderly, etc.), find it increasingly difficult to locate affordable housing.

Some people think we should limit new housing in order to restrict the growth of our region, even if it means higher prices for existing homes. Others say that growth will occur anyway, and we should plan responsibly for it.

Question 8:

SHOULD THE LOS ANGELES AREA LIMIT NEW HOUSING IN ORDER TO RESTRICT THE GROWTH OF OUR REGION, EVEN IF IT MEANS HIGHER PRICED HOMES?

23X Yes No 77X
15 16



Many people are concerned about the ability of our public schools to prepare students for the future. Graduating students are entering a more complex world demanding new attitudes and skills.

Some people think that computer training must now be considered among the goals of a basic education. Certain supporters of this idea say schools should give special attention to technical studies (math, science, computers, etc.). Other people say that this places machines above people. First, they say, we must learn to live and work with each other.

Computers in education would require new priorities in our public school system. In order to train teachers, buy computer equipment, and design courses, schools may need to cut existing programs or raise more money. In a period of rapid change, it is important to carefully consider the effect of inventions on the way we want to live.

Question 9:

SHOULD COMPUTER TRAINING BE AN EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS?

Yes 65%
17

No 35%
18



Our region's economy is facing a period of change in which critical choices need to be made about the future. The quality of our environment, way of life, and economy depend upon our ability to understand our economic potential and develop clear strategies.

In the coming years, business and industry is expected to go through some changes.

Like the rest of America, Southern California will see some of its old industries slow down (like the auto industry), and some new industries grow (like electronics, computers, etc.).

While encouraging growth in these new "high technology" industries may be one way to create added jobs, there could be an imbalance between employment opportunities and the skills of many residents. Some people think high technology industries are most capable of creating new jobs. Some people think we should place our emphasis on maintaining existing jobs before we try to create new ones.

Question 10:

SHOULD SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA OFFER SPECIAL TAX BREAKS TO ATTRACT HIGH TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRY TO OUR REGION?

Yes 56%
19

No 45%
20

RANDOM SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

<u>Sex</u>		<u>Ethnic Background</u>		<u>Income Level</u>	
Male	45.5%	White	47.5%	Under \$10,000	29.0%
Female	54.5%	Black	30.7%	\$10,000 - \$14,999	17.2%
		Hispanic	13.7%	\$15,000 - \$19,999	17.2%
		Asian	4.5%	\$20,000 - \$24,999	11.3%
<u>Age</u>		American Indian	1.2%	\$25,000 - \$29,999	8.7%
18-24	15.7%	Other	2.2%	\$30,000 - \$34,999	5.6%
25-35	26.6%			\$35,000 - \$49,999	6.2%
36-45	18.7%	<u>Education</u>		\$50,000 - \$99,999	3.3%
46-55	18.2%	Elementary	5.5%	Over \$100,000	1.5%
56-65	13.2%	High School Attendee	6.7%		
66 or over	7.7%	High School Graduate	21.9%		
<u>Political Party</u>		Some College	35.4%		
Republican	21.6%	College Grad	18.5%		
Democrat	58.7%	Prof. School	12.0%		
None	11.4%				
Independent	7.0%				
Other	1.2%				

LIKE TO PARTICIPATE AGAIN

Yes	95.3%
No	4.2%

APPENDIX J

Hawaii Health Decisions-1

General Health Problems of Young People Parental Skills
 Community Health Organizations Job Training Spirit
 Adoption Health Education Education
 Parental Skills General Health Problems People
 Contraception Adolescent Service Health Services Adoption
 Aloha State Health Organization Job Training
 Adoption Teenage Pregnancy Aloha Adolescent Service
 General Health Problems of Young People Health Education
 Community Health Organizations Health Services Adoption
 Job Training Contraception Adolescent Service Parental



Hawaii Health Decisions '83

Your Hawaii Health Decisions '83 No. is HHD83-_____

HOW HAWAII HEALTH DECISIONS '83 WORKS

As we told you on the telephone, we would like you to read through this pamphlet. That should take around 20 minutes or so. Then think about it. Talk about it with your friends, family, and the folks at work.

Finally, when you are ready, fill in HAWAII HEALTH DECISIONS '83. We will call you on the telephone when you told us to call:

_____ AM/PM
 DAY DATE TIME

REMEMBER Your answers will be completely confidential and used for statistical purposes only

HOW OFTEN HAVE YOU HEARD THESE KINDS OF COMMENTS FROM YOUNG PEOPLE?

"The other kids use drugs . . . not me."

"We're going to get married before graduation."

"To get help . . . they told me I needed permission from my parents."

"I can't tell them I'm pregnant."

"Why should I finish high school . . . I can get a good job now."

The years 12-17 are a difficult time. As concerned adults, what can we do to help them? How can we best help them make the right decisions? What programs are available or should be available in our community to help us understand and help our young people? What is more, who should provide the services?

There are 4 areas of services for Hawaii's young people that we want your opinions on:

- General Health Problems of Young People
- Adoption
- Teenage Pregnancy
- Community Health Organizations

ADOPTION


96% of unmarried teenagers keep their children. However, this frequently causes great difficulties for them and their children. The other 4% allow their children to be legally adopted or placed with family or friends.

Why do you think so many single teenage mothers keep their children? Check as many as you want.

<table border="0"> <tr><td>A Family willing to support child</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>B Family against adoption</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>C Her religious beliefs</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>D Her cultural values</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>E Her emotional attachment to child</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	A Family willing to support child	---	1	2	B Family against adoption	---	1	2	C Her religious beliefs	---	1	2	D Her cultural values	---	1	2	E Her emotional attachment to child	---	1	2	<table border="0"> <tr><td>F Government aid to support child</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>G Shame</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>H Likes being single parent</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>I Makes her feel grown up</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>J Other _____</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	F Government aid to support child	---	1	2	G Shame	---	1	2	H Likes being single parent	---	1	2	I Makes her feel grown up	---	1	2	J Other _____	---	1	2
A Family willing to support child	---	1	2																																						
B Family against adoption	---	1	2																																						
C Her religious beliefs	---	1	2																																						
D Her cultural values	---	1	2																																						
E Her emotional attachment to child	---	1	2																																						
F Government aid to support child	---	1	2																																						
G Shame	---	1	2																																						
H Likes being single parent	---	1	2																																						
I Makes her feel grown up	---	1	2																																						
J Other _____	---	1	2																																						

Suppose an unmarried teenager close to you becomes pregnant and is asked for your advice. What would you recommend?

<table border="0"> <tr><td>A Raise the child herself</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>B Marry the father</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>C Get family to raise the child</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	A Raise the child herself	---	1	2	B Marry the father	---	1	2	C Get family to raise the child	---	1	2	<table border="0"> <tr><td>D Get an abortion</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>E Legal adoption</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>F Other _____</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	D Get an abortion	---	1	2	E Legal adoption	---	1	2	F Other _____	---	1	2
A Raise the child herself	---	1	2																						
B Marry the father	---	1	2																						
C Get family to raise the child	---	1	2																						
D Get an abortion	---	1	2																						
E Legal adoption	---	1	2																						
F Other _____	---	1	2																						



Follow my "footprints." Please tell us what you think are the two main reasons unmarried teenage mothers do not put their children up for adoption. (Circle #1 for the most important and #2 for the second most important.)

WHAT ABOUT COMMUNITY HEALTH ORGANIZATIONS?

Community health organizations could be set up by the State in local communities. They would train local volunteers to cope with the problems we discussed above. The citizen volunteers would then deal with these problems locally and train other local citizens.

<p style="text-align: center;">Pro</p> <p>Programs can be tailor-made for each community to reflect its particular needs.</p> <p>It is cheaper for the State to teach local citizens the skills to handle their own problems rather than establishing new State programs and hiring more people.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Con</p> <p>The health of Hawaii's children is too important to be left in the hands of citizen volunteers.</p> <p>Volunteers do not have the time necessary to run the community health programs.</p>
--	--

Now, how do you feel about these community health organizations?

___ Strongly in favor ___ Favor ___ Not sure ___ Oppose ___ Strongly oppose

What do you think are the two best things the State could provide to help set up such community health organizations? Circle 1 for the one you think is most important, 2 for which you think is the second most important. (If you are opposed to the whole idea, check the box (X) next to "None of the Above.")

<table border="0"> <tr><td>Buildings/Rooms</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Equipment</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Information/Education</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Money</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> </table>	Buildings/Rooms	---	1	2	Equipment	---	1	2	Information/Education	---	1	2	Money	---	1	2	<table border="0"> <tr><td>Training/Skills</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Other _____</td><td>---</td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>None of the Above</td><td>(X)</td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>	Training/Skills	---	1	2	Other _____	---	1	2	None of the Above	(X)		
Buildings/Rooms	---	1	2																										
Equipment	---	1	2																										
Information/Education	---	1	2																										
Money	---	1	2																										
Training/Skills	---	1	2																										
Other _____	---	1	2																										
None of the Above	(X)																												

DEMOGRAPHICS

A few background questions; your answers will be completely confidential and are for statistical purposes only.

A. Which of the following categories includes your age? (Circle one for your decision)

Under 25	35 to 44	55 to 64
25 to 35	45 to 54	65 or more

B. Level of education

Less than High School	Some College (include community college)
High School	4 Year College Graduate Studies/Masters or Doctorate Degree
Business or Trade School	

C. Which ethnic background do you identify with?

American Indian	Filipino	Mixed
Black American	Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian	Other Pacific Islander
Caucasian	Japanese	Portuguese
Chinese	Korean	Southeast Asian (Thai, Vietnamese, Laotian, etc.)
		Other

E. Sex: Female
Male

We'd also like to know

F. 1) Do you have children?
Yes _____ No _____

2) How old are they?
0-3 4-8 9-12 13-17

G. Do you work or take care of children as a profession?
Yes _____ No _____

D. Usual household income level:

\$10,000 and less	\$30,000-\$50,000
\$10,000-\$20,000	\$50,000-\$100,000
\$20,000-\$30,000	\$100,000 and over

**General Health Concerns of Young People by:
Percent Level of Seriousness**

Issue	No Problem	Not Serious	Serious	Very Serious	Don't Know	No Response
Death Rates	4%	16%	39%	21%	19%	1%
Child Abuse	1%	5%	35%	54%	5%	1%
Use of Alcohol	1%	5%	44%	46%	4%	1%
Cigarettes	3%	18%	48%	23%	6%	1%

**General Health Concerns of Young People
How Important?**

Issue	Most Important	2nd Most Important
Death Rates	12%	16%
Child Abuse	46%	28%
Use of Alcohol	34%	37%
Cigarettes	6%	16%

Teenage Pregnancy By: Grouped Results

Issue	No Problem Not Serious	Serious Very Serious	Don't Know	No Response
Dropping Out of School	9%	79%	10%	Less than 1%
Infant Deaths	19%	53%	28%	1%
Sex Education	11%	78%	10%	1%

Teenage Pregnancy by: Percent How Important Problem

Issue	How Important?	
	#	%
Dropping Out of School	1	43%
Infant Deaths	3	15%
Sex Education	2	38%

Who Should Provide the Services?

Issue	Govt. Only	Govt. & Comm.	Community Services	The Family	Don't Know	Other	No Resp
General Health Problems of Young People	9%	40%	7%	38%	3%	2%	1%
Death Rates	14%	42%	10%	17%	13%	2%	1%
Child Abuse	11%	54%	11%	17%	2%	3%	1%
Use of Alcohol	12%	34%	16%	30%	3%	3%	1%
Cigarettes	12%	22%	15%	42%	4%	4%	1%
Teenage Pregnancy	3%	33%	18%	38%	3%	4%	1%
Dropping Out of School	10%	29%	11%	42%	3%	4%	1%
Infant Deaths	10%	42%	12%	19%	12%	4%	1%
Sex Education	9%	37%	12%	32%	3%	5%	1%

Adoption by Options

Options	Percent of Total
Family willing to support child	17%
Family against adoption	11%
Her religious beliefs	12%
Her cultural values	12%
Her emotional attachment to child	19%
Government aid to support child	11%
Shame	5%
Likes being a single parent	4%
Makes her feel grown up	7%
Other	3%

What About Community Health Organizations by:
Percent Responses

Strongly in Favor	Favor	Not Sure	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	No Response
35%	34%	23%	6%	1%	1%

Support for Community Health Organizations by:
Percent Level of Importance

Issue	#1	#2
Buildings/Rooms	9%	13%
Equipment	3%	8%
Information/Education	41%	17%
Money	25%	1%
Training/Skills	11%	30%
None of the Above/Other	3%	5%

APPENDIX K

Hawaii Health Decisions-2 and Hawaii Health Decisions-3

!

Questionnaires and substantive data presented and
analyzed in forthcoming dissertation by Donald Toews,
University of Hawaii.

Selected Comparative Demographics

Income	HHD-2	HHD-3	Age	HHD-2	HHD-3
Under \$10,000	14%	28%	18-24	16%	10%
\$10,000-\$19,999	20%	25%	25-34	33%	27%
\$20,000-\$29,999	28%	26%	35-44	23%	27%
\$30,000-\$39,999	15%	11%	45-54	12%	15%
\$40,000-\$49,999	11%	6%	55-64	10%	14%
\$50,000 +	12%	3%	65 +	6%	7%
Ethnicity	HHD-2	HHD-3	Education	HHD-2	HHD-3
Caucasian	39%	28%	1-7	2%	2%
Japanese	26%	8%	8	1%	2%
Hawaii/Part	10%	45%	9-11	5%	10%
Chinese	4%	2%	12	27%	48%
Filipino	11%	12%	13-15	34%	21%
Black	2%	---	16 +	31%	17%
Other	7%	5%			

Gender	HHD-2	HHD-3
Male	49%	36%
Female	51%	64%

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramson, Jeffrey B., F. Christopher Arterton, and Gary R. Orren. The Electronic Commonwealth: The Impact of New Media Technologies on Democratic Politics. New York: Basic, 1988.
- "Agrippa." Address. Massachusetts Convention. 20 January 1788. Kenyon 131-160.
- Alaska State. Report on Alaska Television Town Meeting of the Alaska Public Forum. Juneau: Office of the Governor, 1980.
- Alaska State Legislature. Division of Public Services. Providing a Participatory Legislative Environment. Juneau: Alaska State Legislature, 1982.
- Almond, Gabriel. "Separate Tables: Schools and Sects in Political Science." Political Science (1988): 828-842.
- Allen, W.B. and Gordon Lloyd. The Essential Antifederalist. Lanham: University P, 1985.
- Arnopoulos, P.J. and K. Valaskakis. Telecommunitary Democracy: Utopian Vision or Probable Future. Montreal: UNESCO, 1982.
- Aronson, Sidney H. "Jackson's Political Appointments." Pressen 233-254.
- Arterton, F. Christopher. Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy? Newbury Park: Sage, 1987.
- Auerbach, Jerold S. Unequal Justice. London: Oxford University P, 1976.
- Babbie, Earl R. Survey Research Methods. Belmont: Wadsworth, 1973.
- Bachrach, Peter. "Interest, Participation, and Democratic Theory." Participation in Politics. Eds. J. Roland Pennock and John W. Chapman. New York: Lieber-Atherton, 1975. 39-55.
- _____. The Theory of Democratic Elitism: A Critique. Lanham: University P, 1980.

- Backstrom, Charles H. and Gerald Hursh-Cesar. Survey Research. Evanston: Northwestern UP, 1963.
- Barber, Benjamin. Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.
- Barrow, Deborah. A Court Divided. New Haven: Yale UP, 1988.
- Beard, Charles. An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution. New York: Macmillan, 1931.
- Becker, Theodore L. American Government: Past, Present, Future. Boston: Allyn, 1976.
- _____. Rev. of Teledemocracy: Can Technology Protect Democracy? by F. Christopher Arterton. American Political Science Review (1988): 1376-1377.
- _____. "The Constitutional Network: An Evolution in American Democracy." Bezold 289-302.
- _____, ed. The Impact of Supreme Court Decisions. New York: Oxford UP, 1969.
- _____. Unvote for a New America. Boston: Allyn, 1976.
- Becker, Theodore L. and Richard Chadwick. "Problem-Solving CONCON Desired, Says University Poll." Honolulu Advertiser 17 May 1978: A1.
- Becker, Theodore L., Alvin Clement, Alan McRobie, and Brian Murphy. Report on New Zealand Televote. Wellington: The Commission for the Future, 1981.
- Becker Theodore L. and Richard Scarce. "Teledemocracy Emergent: State of the American Art and Science." Progress in Communication Sciences. Eds. Brenda Dervin and Melvin Voight. Norwood: Ablex, 1986. 263-287.
- Benson, Lee. The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy. Princeton: Princeton University P, 1961.
- Bezold, Clement, ed. Anticipatory Democracy: People in the Politics of the Future. New York: Random, 1978.
- Black, Hugo. A Constitutional Faith. New York: Knopf, 1968.
- Blau, Joseph L., ed. Social Theories of Jacksonian Democracy. Indianapolis: Bobbs, 1954.

- California. Southern California Association of Governments. Report on the Los Angeles Televote. Los Angeles: SCAG, 1983.
- Callenbach, Ernest and Michael Phillips. A Citizen Legislature. Berkeley: Banyan Tree, 1985.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald Stokes. The American Voter. New York: John Wiley, 1968.
- Campbell, Vincent N. The Televote System for Civic Communication: First Demonstration and Evaluation. Palo Alto: American Institute for Research, 1974.
- Capra, Fritjof. The Turning Point: Science, Society, and the Rising Culture. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1982.
- Clark, Leroy. The Grand Jury: The Use and Abuse of Political Power. New York: Quadrangle/NY Times, 1975.
- Clinton, George. "Letter to the Citizens of the State of New York." 22 Nov. 1787. Kenyon 307-312.
- Cohen, Felix. "Americanizing the White Man." American Scholar 21.2 (1952): 48-52.
- Congressional Quarterly. 21 Jan. 1989.
- Conway, Margaret. Political Participation in the United States. Washington: Congressional Quarterly P, 1985.
- Crozier, Michael, Samuel Huntington, and Joji Watanuki. The Crisis of Democracy. New York: New York UP, 1975.
- Dahl, Robert A. After the Revolution? New Haven: Yale UP, 1970.
- _____. Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition. New Haven: Yale UP, 1971.
- Dator, James A. "Futuristics and the Exercise of Anticipatory Democracy in Hawaii." Political Science and the Study of the Future. Ed. Albert Somit. Hinsdale: Dryden P, 1974. 187-203.
- _____. "The 1982 Honolulu Electronic Town Meeting." The Future of Politics. Ed. William Page. London: Frances Pinter, 1983. 211-220.
- _____. "Quantum Theory and Political Design." G. Duttweiler Institut Conference, January, 1984.

- _____. "Reforming American Government: Within-system Tinkerings." Unpublished ms., 1972.
- _____. "Rethinking Honolulu City Governance." City and County Charter Commission Retreat. Honolulu, 19 Aug. 1981.
- Dewey, John. Reconstruction in Philosophy. Boston: Beacon, 1948.
- Dewey, John and James H. Tufts. Ethics. New York: Holt, 1932.
- DeWitt, John. "Letter to the Free Citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." 27 Oct. 1787. Kenyon 96-102.
- Dolbeare, Kenneth M. American Political Thought. Chatham: Chatham House, 1984.
- Downs, Anthony. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York: Harper, 1957.
- Dry, Murry. "The Constitutional Thought of the Antifederalists." This Constitution: A Bicentennial Chronicle. 6 (1987): 10-14.
- Duncan-Clark, S.J. The Progressive Movement. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1972.
- Dye, Thomas R. and L. Harmon Zeigler. The Irony of Democracy. Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1984.
- Elshtain, Jean Beth. "Democracy and the Qube Tube." The Nation (July 7-14, 1982): 108-110.
- Elliot, Jonathan. The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution as Recommended by the General Convention at Philadelphia, in 1787. 2nd ed. 5 vols. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1896.
- Feigert, B. Frank and Margaret Conway. Parties and Politics in America. Boston: Allyn, 1976.
- Ferguson, James E. "What Were the Sources of the Constitutional Convention." The Confederation and the Constitution. Ed. Gordon S. Wood. Lanham: University P, 1976. 1-14.
- Freud, Sigmund. Civilization and Its Discontents. London: Hogarth, 1930.

- Friedrich, Carl. The New Belief in the Common Man. Boston: Little, 1943.
- Fromm, Erich. The Sane Society. Greenwich: Fawcett, 1955.
- Fuller, R. Buckminster. No More Secondhand God. Garden City: Doubleday, 1971.
- Gatell, Otto and John M. McFauk, eds. Jacksonian America 1815-1840. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice, 1970.
- Ginsberg, Benjamin. The Consequences of Consent: Elections, Citizen Control and Popular Acquiescence. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1982.
- Glenn, Jerome C. "Social Technologies of Freedom." *Bezold* 251-275.
- Gosnell, Harold Foote. Getting Out the Vote. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1927.
- Greenberg, Edward S. The American Political System: A Radical Approach. Cambridge: Winthrop, 1977.
- Gregory, R.L. Eye and Brain: The Psychology of Seeing. New York: McGraw, 1973.
- Hamilton, Alexander, James Madison, and John Jay. The Federalist Papers. New York: NAL, 1961.
- Hamilton, Charles V. The Bench and the Ballot. New York: Oxford UP, 1973.
- Harris, Fred R. America's Democracy: The Ideal and the Reality. Glenview: Scott, 1980.
- Hays, Samuel P. Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1957.
- Hobbes, Thomas. The Leviathan. Middlesex: Penguin, 1968.
- Hume, David. Philosophical Works. Eds. Thomas H. Green and Thomas H. Grose. London: Scientia Verlag Aalen, 1964.
- Jackson, Andrew. "Jackson Defends the Spoils System." Jacksonian America 1815-1840. Eds. Frank Otto Gatell and John M. McFauk. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice, 1970. 118-129.
- Jefferson, Thomas. Jefferson Writings. New York: Literary Classics, 1984.

- Jefferson, Thomas. "Letter to John Taylor." 28 May 1816. Social and Political Philosophy. Eds. John Somerville and Ronald Santoni. Garden City: Doubleday, 1963. 251-254.
- Johansen, Bruce E. Forgotten Founders: How the American Indian Helped Shape Democracy. Boston: Harvard Common P, 1982.
- Kariel, Henry S. Beyond Liberalism, Where Relations Grow. San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp, 1977.
- Keir, Gerry. "Change in Judge Selection Favored." Honolulu Advertiser 25 Feb. 1978: A1.
- _____. "Con Con Poll." Honolulu Advertiser 19 Feb. 1978: A1.
- _____. "Laws for Action by Public Favored." Honolulu Advertiser 25 Feb. 1978: A1.
- _____. "Most Favor Initiative, Referendum." Honolulu Advertiser 10 May 1978: A1.
- Kennedy, David M., ed. Progressivism: The Critical Issues. Boston: Little, 1971.
- Kenyon, Cecelia M., ed. The Antifederalists. Indianapolis: Bobbs, 1966.
- King, Martin Luther Jr. "Letter from Birmingham Jail." Freedom Now. Ed. Alan F. Westin. New York: Basic, 1964. 12-19.
- Kolko, Gabriel. The Triumph of Conservatism. New York: Free, 1963.
- Ladd, Everett Carl. The American Polity: The People and Their Government. New York: Norton, 1987.
- Landau, Martin. "On the Use of Metaphor in Political Science." Social Research 28 (1961): 331-353.
- Lee, Richard Henry. "Letter." 10 Oct. 1787. Kenyon 215-233.
- Lincoln, James. Address. South Carolina Legislature. Kenyon 183-186.
- Locke, John. Second Treatise of Civil Government. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1967.

- Lowndes, Rawlins. Address. South Carolina Legislature. Kenyon 178-183.
- Macpherson, C.B. The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism. New York: Oxford UP, 1964.
- Malbin, Michael. "Teledemocracy and Its Discontents." Public Opinion (June/July, 1982): 58-59.
- Manicas, Peter. The Death of the State. New York: Putnam's, 1976.
- Manley, John F. and Kenneth M. Dolbeare, eds. The Case Against the Constitution. Armonk: Sharpe, 1987.
- Mansbridge, Jane J. Beyond Adversary Democracy. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1983.
- Margenau, Henry. The Nature of Physical Reality: A Philosophy of Modern Physics. New York: McGraw, 1950.
- Matthews, Richard K. The Radical Politics of Thomas Jefferson. Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1986.
- Mazor, Lester J. Letter. New York Times 23 Oct. 1980.
- McDonald, Forrest. Novus Ordo Seclorum: The Intellectual Origins of the Constitution. Lawrence: U of Kansas P, 1985.
- Milbrath, Lester and M. L. Goel. Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics? Chicago: Rand, 1977.
- Mill, John Stuart and Jeremy Bentham. Utilitarianism and Other Essays. Ed. Alan Ryan. New York: Penguin, 1987.
- Milner, Neal A. The Court and Local Law Enforcement: The Impact of Miranda. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1971.
- Minnesota. Health and Human Services Committee. Senate. Final Report: Policy Jury on School-Based Clinics. Aug. 1988.
- "The Missing Voice in Presidential Contests." Star Tribune 4 Jan. 1989.
- Mueller, Dennis C., Robert D. Tollison, and Thomas D. Willett. "Representative Democracy Via Random Selection." Public Choice 7 (Spring, 1972): 60-61.

- Munro, William Bennett. "Physics and Politics-An Old Analogy Revised." The American Political Science Review 22.1 (1928): 1-11.
- Nisbet, Robert. Community and Power. New York: Oxford UP, 1982.
- Nozick, Robert. Anarchy, State, and Utopia. New York: Basic, 1974.
- On the QT 1. 1 (1989).
- Orton, B.M. "Media-based Issue Balloting for Regional Planning." Diss., Rutgers, 1980.
- Parenti, Michael. Democracy for the Few. New York: St. Martin's 1983.
- Pateman, Carole. The Problem of Political Obligation: A Critique of Liberal Theory. Berkeley: U of California P, 1985.
- Peltason, J.W. Fifty-Eight Lonely Men. New York: Harcourt, 1961.
- Philadelphiensis. "Letter to Independent Gazetter." 21 Feb. 1788. Kenyon 76-80.
- Pinchot, Amos R.E. History of the Progressive Party 1912-1916. New York: New York UP, 1958.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. Why Americans Don't Vote. New York: Pantheon, 1988.
- Pressen, Edward, ed. New Perspectives on Jacksonian Parties and Politics. Boston: Allyn, 1969.
- Rand, Ayn. The Fountainhead. New York: NAL, 1943.
- Rawls, John. A Theory of Justice. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1971.
- Roosevelt, Theodore. Introduction. Duncan-Clark. ix-xvii.
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques. The Social Contract. New York: NAL, 1974.
- Saltis, Janas F. Seeing, Knowing and Believing. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1966.

- Schubert, Glendon. "The Evolution of Political Science Paradigms of Physics, Biology, and Politics." Politics and the Life Sciences 1.2 (1983): 97-124.
- Schultz, Charles. The Use of Private Interest. Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1977.
- Schuman, David. Preface to Politics. Lexington: Heath, 1986.
- Segall, Marshall H., Donald T. Campbell, and Melville J. Herkovits. Influence of Culture on Visual Perception. Indianapolis: Bobbs, 1966.
- Slater, Philip E. The Pursuit of Loneliness. Boston: Beacon, 1971.
- Smith, Adam. The Theory of Moral Sentiments. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1976.
- _____. The Wealth of Nations. New York: Collins, 1959.
- Smith, Steve. "Alaska Communications, Development and Democracy." Tehranian, Electronic Democracy 139-172.
- Steiner, Max. The Ego and His Own. New York: Libertarian Book Club, 1967.
- Stilger, Robert L. "Alternatives for Washington." Bezold 88-99.
- Storing, Herbert J. What the Anti-Federalists Were For. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1981.
- Tehranian, Majid. "Development Theory and Communications Policy: The Changing Paradigms." Progress in Communications Sciences 1 (1979): 120-166.
- Tehranian, Majid. Electronic Democracy: Information Technologies and Democratic Prospects. Honolulu: UNESCO, 1985.
- Theobald, Robert. "The Deeper Implications of Citizen Participation." Bezold 303-314.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. Democracy in America. Vol. 1, New York: Knopf, 1945.
- Toffler, Alvin. The Third Wave. London: William Collins, 1980.

- Truman, David B. The Governmental Process. New York: Knopf, 1951.
- Underhill, Ruth M. Red Man's Continent: A History of the Indians in the United States. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1953.
- Van Deusen, Glyndon G. "Major Party Thought and Theory." Pressen 138-158.
- Verba, Sidney and Norman H. Nie. Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality. New York: Harper, 1972.
- Webb, Kenneth and Harry P. Hatry. Obtaining Citizen Feedback: The Application of Citizen Surveys to Local Governments. Washington: Urban Institute, 1973.
- Webe, Robert H. The Search for Order, 1877-1920. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.
- Westin, Alan F., ed. Freedom Now. New York: Basic, 1964.
- White, William Allen. "Changes in Democratic Government." Kennedy 19-30.
- Wills, Gary. Explaining America: The Federalists. New York: Doubleday, 1981.
- Wolf, Richard. "'Incumbent Party' Keys House Seats." USA Today, 27 Oct. 1988: A1.
- Wood, Gordon S. The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1969.
- Younger, Richard D. The People's Panel: The Grand Jury in the United States, 1634-1941. Providence: Brown UP, 1963.