CHAPTER TEN: ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

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LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter, students should be able to:

• Explain how elections provide regular access to political power and how the process is related to the level of political legitimacy.

• Describe procedures that permit voters to enact legislation directly, such as the initiative, petition and referendum.

• Trace the historical evolution of the American style of campaigning from 1800 to 2000.

• Identify the characteristics of voters and nonvoters.

• Explore the reasons why voter turnout has actually declined as the right to vote was extended to new groups.
• Ascertain the role that voter registration procedures and requirements have played in structuring voter turnout.

• Compare voter turnout in the United States with that of other democracies.

• Determine how policy differences and civic duty affect a person's decision to vote or not to vote.

• Explain why party identification is crucial for many voters and review the decline of party affiliation since the 1950s.

• Identify the conditions that must be present for true policy voting to occur.

• Outline the procedures of the electoral college and compare the present system with the process that was envisioned by the framers of the Constitution.

• Understand the tasks that elections accomplish, according to democratic theory.

• Establish how elections may affect public policy and how public policy may affect elections.

• Analyze how elections influence the scope of government in a democracy.

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

INTRODUCTION

Elections socialize and institutionalize political activity, making it possible for most political participation to be peacefully channeled through the electoral process. Because elections provide regular access to political power, leaders can be replaced without being overthrown. American voters rarely question the fairness of election results, allowing officeholders to govern with a legitimacy they can take for granted. This chapter focuses on how elections work in the United States, who votes and how individuals make their voting decisions.

HOW AMERICAN ELECTIONS WORK

Unlike most other democracies, the United States has three kinds of elections: those which select party nominees, those which select officeholders from among the nominees, and those in which voters engage in making or ratifying legislation. Elections in most other countries perform only the function of selecting officeholders.
A TALE OF THREE ELECTIONS

Elections have changed dramatically since 1800 when Adams ran against Jefferson. In 1800, there were no primaries, no nominating conventions, no candidate speeches, and no entourage of reporters. Both incumbent President John Adams and challenger Thomas Jefferson were nominated by their parties' elected representatives in Congress (caucuses). Once nominated, the candidates did not campaign; they let their state and local organizations promote their cause. Although the election had to be decided in the House of Representatives, the transition from Adams to Jefferson marked the first peaceful transfer of power between parties via the electoral process in the history of the world.

By 1896, national nominating conventions had become well established. William Jennings Bryan broke with tradition and actively campaigned in person, traveling through twenty-six states. William McKinley ran a front-porch campaign from his home in Ohio, and managed to label the Democrats as the party of depression. The Republicans won overwhelmingly in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, and became firmly entrenched as the nation's majority party for the next several decades.

The 2000 presidential election will no doubt go into the history books as one of the most memorable finishes in the history of democracy. The election coverage on television provided a wild night of entertainment, full of ups and downs for everyone. Because Bush’s lead over Gore in the initial count was less than one-tenth of one percent, Florida law mandated an automatic recount. Ultimately, with the margin between Bush and Gore down to 537 votes, the election hinged on whether or not the undervotes (ballots that showed no vote for president) would be examined by hand or not. As with any dispute, this one ended up in the courts, which played a pivotal role in a presidential election for the first time ever. The U.S. Supreme Court in Bush v. Gore (2000) overruled the Florida Supreme Court and held that although a recount was legal, the same (and more precise) standards for evaluating ballots would have to be applied in all counties. Most importantly, they ruled that there was not enough time to recount all the ballots in an orderly fashion by the time the electors were to vote on December 12. Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court ultimately determined that George W. Bush would emerge the winner. The 2000 election, however, showed that how candidates present themselves to the American people really matters. Had Gore been able to keep the focus on past performance, he no doubt would have done better. Instead, at the Democratic Convention he announced that he was running as his own man. George W. Bush sought to take advantage of concerns over presidential character raised during the Clinton Administration by repeatedly promising to "restore dignity and honor to the White House." While Bush and Gore debated the crucial theme of the scope of government, Green Party candidate Ralph Nader raised issues neglected by the major parties.

WHETHER TO VOTE: A CITIZEN'S FIRST CHOICE
Nearly two centuries of American electoral history include greatly expanded suffrage (the right to vote). Ironically, proportionately fewer of those eligible have chosen to exercise that right. The highest turnout of the past 100 years was the 80 percent turnout in 1896; in 2000, only 51 percent of the adult population voted for president.

Individuals with high levels of political efficacy and civic duty are more likely to vote, as are individuals who see policy differences between the two parties. Before voting, citizens in most states must register to vote, often a cumbersome procedure. The Motor Voter Act—which allows individuals to register to vote when they receive or renew their drivers’ license—has made registration a little easier since 1993. Another reason why many people vote is that they have a high sense of political efficacy – the belief that ordinary people can influence the government.

There are several distinguishing demographic characteristics of voters and nonvoters: education, age, race, gender, marital status, mobility, and union membership.

Research suggests that some political outcomes would change if this class bias in turnout did not exist. Accordingly, it is likely that little further will be done to modify voter registration requirements and encourage turnout, as many Republicans believe that increased turnout will be to their disadvantage.

**HOW AMERICANS VOTE: EXPLAINING CITIZENS' DECISIONS**

Many journalists and politicians believe the winner of an election has a mandate from the people to carry out the policies they promised during the campaign. Conversely, political scientists know that different kinds of people vote a certain way for different reasons. Political scientists focus instead on three major elements of voters' decisions: voters' party identification, voters' evaluations of the candidates, and the match between voters' policy positions and those of the candidates and parties (known as policy voting).

Because of the importance of party identification in deciding how to vote, the parties tended to rely on groups that lean heavily in their favor to form their basic coalition. Scholars singled out party affiliation as the single best predictor of a voter's decision in the 1950s. With the emergence of television and candidate-centered politics, the hold of the party on the voter eroded substantially during the 1960s and 1970s, and then stabilized at a new and lower level during the 1980s.

Political psychologists Shawn Rosenberg and Patrick McCafferty show that it is possible to manipulate a candidate’s appearance in a way that affects voters’ choices.
Other research has shown that the three most important components of candidate image are integrity, reliability, and competence.

Policy voting occurs when people base their choices in an election on their own issue preferences. True policy voting can take place only when several conditions are met: voters must have a clear view of their own policy positions; voters must know where the candidates stand on policy issues; voters must see a difference between candidates on these issues; and voters must actually cast a vote for the candidate whose policy positions coincide with their own. One recurrent problem is that candidates often decide that the best way to handle a controversial issue is to cloud their positions in rhetoric; both candidates may be deliberately ambiguous. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the media typically focus more on the "horse race" aspects of the campaign than on the policy stands of the candidates.

THE LAST BATTLE: THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

It is the electoral vote that actually determines the outcome of the presidential election. The founders created the electoral college because they wanted the president to be selected by the nation's elite. Nevertheless, it has been customary since 1828 for electors to vote for the candidate who won their state's popular vote.

The electoral vote may distort the popular vote. All states except Maine and Nebraska have a winner-take-all system in which electors vote as a bloc for the candidate who received the most votes in the states. Furthermore, big states are likely to have big cities; thus, the big-state bias produces an urban bias in the electoral college.

UNDERSTANDING ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

According to democratic theory, elections accomplish two tasks: they select the policymakers, and they are supposed to help shape public policy. In the hypothetical world of rational choice theory and the Downs model (see chapter 8), elections do in fact guide public policy. Social science research on the question has produced mixed findings. Elections do affect public policy to some degree, and public policy decisions also partly affect electoral outcomes.

The greater the policy differences between the candidates, the more likely voters will be able to steer government policies by their choices. If elections can affect policies, then policies can also affect elections. Most policies have consequences for the well-being of certain groups or the society as a whole. Those who feel better off as a result of certain policies are likely to support candidates who pledge to continue those policies, whereas those who feel worse off are inclined to support opposition candidates. This is known as the theory of retrospective voting.
While the threat of election defeat constrains policymakers, it also helps to increase generalized support for government and its powers. Elections legitimize the power of the state, thereby making it easier to expand the size of the government. When people have the power to dole out electoral reward and punishment, they are more likely to see government as their servant instead of their master. As a result, citizens in a democracy often seek to benefit from government (rather than to be protected from it). As democracy has spread, government has come to do more and more, and its size has grown.

**Chapter Outline**

I. **How American Elections Work**
   A. Elections serve many important functions in American society, including legitimizing the actions of elected officials.
      1. They socialize and institutionalize political activity, making it possible for most political participation to be peacefully channeled through the electoral process.
      2. Political legitimacy means that the people within a nation accept the procedures by which rules and transfers of power are made.
      3. American voters rarely question the fairness of election results, allowing officeholders to govern with a legitimacy they can take for granted.
   B. Some unique American electoral features.
      1. Unlike most other democracies, the United States has three kinds of elections: those which select party nominees, those which select officeholders from among the nominees, and those in which voters engage in making or ratifying legislation.
      2. Elections held for the purpose of picking party nominees are called primaries.
      3. The initiative petition enables voters in twenty-three states to place proposed legislation on the ballot if they gather the required number of signatures on a petition (usually a number equaling 10 percent of the voters in the previous election).
      4. The referendum is a form of direct legislation in which voters are given the chance to approve or disapprove some legislative act (such as school bonds) or constitutional amendment.

II. **A Tale of Three Elections**
   A. Elections have changed dramatically since 1800 when Adams ran against Jefferson.
      1. By 1896, it was acceptable for candidates to campaign in person, as William Jennings Bryan did.
      2. Today, campaigns are slick, high-tech affairs.
B. 1800: The first electoral transition of power.
   1. In 1800, there were no primaries, no nominating conventions, no candidate speeches, and no entourage of reporters.
   2. Both incumbent President John Adams and challenger Thomas Jefferson were nominated by their parties' elected representatives in Congress (caucuses).
   3. Once nominated, the candidates did not campaign; they let their state and local organizations promote their cause.
   4. The focus of the campaign was on state legislatures (not the voters), which had the responsibility for choosing members of the electoral college.
   5. Most newspapers of that time were openly partisan and made no attempt to be objective.
   6. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives through an error when all of Jefferson's electors also voted for Aaron Burr. At that period of history, each elector cast two ballots; the winner would be president and the runner-up would be named vice president. The result in 1800 was a tie vote, and the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives took thirty-six ballots before electing Thomas Jefferson.
   7. The transition from Adams to Jefferson marked the first peaceful transfer of power between parties via the electoral process in the history of the world.

C. 1896: A bitter fight over economic interests.
   1. By 1896, national nominating conventions had become well established.
   2. The election was fought primarily over economics.
   3. Bryan broke with tradition and actively campaigned in person, traveling through twenty-six states. McKinley ran a front-porch campaign from his home in Ohio, and managed to label the Democrats as the party of depression.
   4. The Republicans won overwhelmingly in the industrial Northeast and Midwest, and became firmly entrenched as the nation's majority party for the next several decades.

III. 2000: WHAT A MESS!

A. The 2000 presidential election will no doubt go into the history books as one of the most memorable finishes in the history of democracy.
   1. Because Bush’s lead over Gore in the initial count was less than one-tenth of one percent, Florida law mandated an automatic recount.
   2. Ultimately, with the margin between Bush and Gore down to 537 votes, the election hinged on whether or not the undervotes (ballots that showed no vote for president) would be examined by hand or not.
   3. As with any legal dispute, this one ended up in the courts, which played a pivotal role in a presidential election for the first time ever.
a. The U.S. Supreme Court in *Bush v. Gore* (2000) overruled the Florida Supreme Court and held that although a recount was legal, the same (and more precise) standards for evaluating ballots would have to be applied in all counties. Most importantly, they ruled that there was not enough time to recount all the ballots in an orderly fashion by the time the electors were to vote on December 12. Thus, the U.S. Supreme Court ultimately determined that George W. Bush would emerge the winner.

B. For academic voting behavior specialists, Bush’s election came as quite a surprise.

1. With the economy rolling along, and with Bill Clinton’s job approval rating hovering around 60 percent, it seemed like a no-brainer for them to project that the Democrats would retain the White House.
2. The 2000 election, however, showed that how candidates present themselves to the American people really matters.
   a. Had Gore been able to keep the focus on past performance he no doubt would have done better. Instead, at the Democratic Convention he proudly announced that he was running as his own man.
   b. George W. Bush sought to take advantage of concerns over presidential character raised during the Clinton Administration by repeatedly promising to "restore dignity and honor to the White House."
3. While Bush and Gore debated the crucial theme of the scope of government, Green Party candidate Ralph Nader raised issues neglected by the major parties.

C. There were sharp regional divisions in the vote in 2000.

1. Bush ran strong in the South and Mountain West, whereas Gore turned in a good showing in the Northeast and the Pacific Coast states.

D. Although Bush won in the Electoral College by 271 to 266 (one elector from Washington, D.C. abstained in protest), Gore narrowly won the popular vote by 48.4 to 47.9 percent.

1. This marked the first time since 1888 that the winner of the popular vote lost the decisive electoral college count.
2. As a result, serious discussion is now being given to changing the electoral college system, but it is likely that reform proposals will encounter strong opposition from senators who represent small states.

IV. WHETHER TO VOTE: A CITIZEN'S FIRST CHOICE

A. Who votes and who stays home?

1. Nearly two centuries of American electoral history include greatly expanded *suffrage* (the right to vote).
   a. As the right to vote has been extended, *proportionately fewer of those eligible* have chosen to exercise that right.
b. The highest turnout of the past hundred years was the 80 percent turnout in 1896; in 2000, only 51 percent of the adult population voted for president.

2. A policy approach to deciding whether to vote.
   a. In his model of democracy, economist Anthony Downs argues that people who see policy differences between the parties are more likely to join the ranks of voters.

3. Another reason why many people vote is that they have a high sense of political efficacy — the belief that ordinary people can influence the government.

4. Those who vote out of a sense of civic duty are people who vote simply to support democratic government (even if they are indifferent about the outcome).

B. The registration system.
   1. States adopted voter registration around the turn of the century, largely to prevent corruption associated with stuffing the ballot boxes.
   2. Registration procedures differ greatly from one state to another.
      a. States in the upper Great Plains and the Northwest make it easiest to register; there is no registration at all in North Dakota; and four states permit registration on election day.
      b. States in the South still face the most difficult forms of registration (and they also record lower voter turnout rates).
      c. This changed somewhat when the 1993 Motor Voter Act went into effect in 1996. The act requires states to permit people to register to vote at the same time citizens apply for driver’s licenses. The Motor Voter Act makes voter registration much easier by allowing eligible voters to simply check a box on their driver’s license application or renewal form.

C. Social science research points to several characteristics of voters and nonvoters:
   1. Voting is a class-biased activity. People with higher than average education and income levels have a higher rate of voting. This is the most important factor affecting turnout.
   2. Young people have the lowest turnout rate.
   3. Whites vote with greater frequency than members of minority groups (but blacks and other minority groups with high levels of income and education have a higher turnout rate than whites with comparable socioeconomic status).
   4. Southerners are less likely to vote than northerners.
   5. Government employees are heavy participators in the electoral process.
   6. Voting is not very strongly related to gender.

D. The political consequences of class bias in turnout.
   1. Research suggests that some political outcomes would be different if there was no class bias in turnout.
2. Future reforms oriented toward increasing turnout will likely be minimal, because Republicans will likely block such changes, believing they will be disadvantaged by them.

V. HOW AMERICANS VOTE: EXPLAINING CITIZENS' DECISIONS

A. Mandate theory of elections.
1. Many journalists and politicians believe the winner of an election has a mandate from the people to carry out the policies they promised during the campaign.
2. Conversely, political scientists know that people rarely vote a certain way for the same reasons. Political scientists focus instead on three major elements of voters' decisions: voters' party identification, voters' evaluations of the candidates, and the match between voters' policy positions and those of the candidates and parties (known as policy voting).

B. Party identification.
1. Because of the importance of party identification in deciding how to vote, the parties tended to rely on groups that lean heavily in their favor to form their basic coalition.
2. With the emergence of television and candidate-centered politics, the hold of the party on the voter eroded substantially during the 1960s and 1970s, and then stabilized at a new and lower level during the 1980s.
3. Scholars singled out party affiliation as the single best predictor of a voter's decision in the 1950s. Voting along party lines is less common today, particularly in elections for the House of Representatives, where incumbency is now of paramount importance.

C. Candidate evaluations.
1. Political psychologists Shawn Rosenberg and Patrick McCafferty show that it is possible to manipulate a candidate's appearance in a way that affects voters' choices (even by substituting a good picture for a bad one).
2. Research by Miller, Wattenberg, and Malanchuk shows that the three most important components of candidate image are integrity, reliability, and competence. However, integrity (where Jimmy Carter scored high) is not enough; a candidate must also be seen as being dependable and decisive. (George Bush's image of reliability suffered when he broke his "no new taxes" pledge prior to the 1992 campaign.) The personal traits most often mentioned by voters involve competence (which played a major role in 1988 when a majority of voters were more impressed with Bush's wide experience in office than with Michael Dukakis' stance).

D. Policy voting.
1. Policy voting occurs when people base their choices in an election on their own issue preferences.
2. True policy voting can take place only when several conditions are
a. Voters must have a clear view of their own policy positions.
b. Voters must know where the candidates stand on policy issues.
c. Voters must see a difference between candidates on these issues.
d. Voters must actually cast a vote for the candidate whose policy positions coincide with their own.

3. One recurrent problem is that candidates often decide that the best way to handle a controversial issue is to cloud their positions in rhetoric; both candidates may be deliberately ambiguous.

4. The media also may not be helpful, as they typically focus more on the "horse race" aspects of the campaign than on the policy stands of the candidates.

5. Although it is questionable whether voters are really much more sophisticated now about issues, policy voting has become somewhat easier than in the past. Today's candidates are compelled to take clear stands to appeal to their own party's primary voters. Thus, it is the electoral process that has changed rather than the voters.

VI. THE LAST BATTLE: THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

A. It is the electoral vote rather than the popular vote that actually determines the outcome of the presidential election.

1. Because the founders wanted the president to be selected by the nation's elite—and not directly by the people—they created the electoral college.

2. Political practice since 1828 has been for electors to vote for the candidate who won their state's popular vote.

B. Mechanics of the electoral college system.

1. Each state has as many electoral votes as it has U.S. senators and representatives. Today, state parties nominate slates of electors.

2. All states except Maine and Nebraska have a winner-take-all system in which electors vote as a bloc for the candidate who received the most popular votes in the states.

3. Electors meet in their respective states in December and mail their votes to the president of the Senate (vice president of the U.S.). The vote is counted when the new congressional session opens in January, and the result is reported by the president of the Senate.

4. If no candidate receives an electoral college majority, the election is thrown into the House of Representatives, which must choose from among the top three electoral vote winners. The unit rule is used, which means that each state delegation has one vote (not each member).

5. If the election is not thrown into the House, the system gives extra clout to big states. The big-state bias also produces an urban bias in the electoral college.
VII. UNDERSTANDING ELECTIONS AND VOTING BEHAVIOR

A. According to democratic theory, elections accomplish two tasks: they select the policymakers, and they are supposed to help shape public policy.

1. In the hypothetical world of rational choice theory and the Downs model [see Chapter 8], elections do in fact guide public policy.
2. Social science research on the question has produced mixed findings. Elections do affect public policy to some degree, and public policy decisions also partly affect electoral outcomes.

B. Democracy and elections.

1. The greater the policy differences between the candidates, the more likely it is that voters will be able to influence government policies by their choices.
2. As long as politicians can take refuge in ambiguity, the possibility of democratic control of policy is lessened.
3. When individual candidates offer a clear choice, voters are more able to guide the government's policy direction.
4. Most policies have consequences for the well-being of certain groups or for society as a whole. According to the theory of retrospective voting, voters essentially ask the question, "What have you done for me lately?"
5. Public policy—especially the perception of economic policy impacts—can affect elections. In presidential elections, people who are unhappy with the state of the economy tend to blame the incumbent.

C. Elections and the scope of government.

1. While the threat of election defeat constrains policymakers, it also helps to increase generalized support for government and its powers. Elections legitimate the power of the state, thereby making it easier to expand the scope of the government.
2. When people have the power to dole out electoral reward and punishment, they are more likely to see government as their servant instead of their master. As a result, citizens in a democracy often seek to benefit from government (rather than to be protected from it). As democracy has spread, government has come to do more and more, and its scope has grown.

KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

Civic duty: a belief in the obligation to vote.
Electional college: the institution designated in the Constitution whereby a body of electors select the president and vice president.

Initiative petition: direct democracy technique that allows proposed legislative items to be placed on a statewide ballot when enough signatures are obtained.

Legitimacy: widely-shared belief that a democratic government was elected fairly and freely.

Mandate theory of elections: the belief that the election winner has a mandate to implement policy promises.

Motor Voter Act (1993): this legislation requires states to let people register to vote at the same time they apply for a driver's license.

Policy voting: occurs when people base their choices on how close a candidate's issues positions are to their own issue preferences.

Political efficacy: the belief that ordinary people can influence government.

Referendum: direct democracy technique that allows citizens to approve or disapprove some legislative act, bond, issue, or constitutional amendment proposed by a state legislature.

Retrospective voting: voting theory that suggests that individuals who feel that they are better off as a result of certain policies are likely to support candidates who pledge to continue those policies, and those who feel worse off are inclined to support opposition candidates.

Suffrage: the legal right to vote.

Voter registration: a requirement that citizen register to vote before the election is held.

TEACHING IDEAS: CLASS DISCUSSION AND STUDENT PROJECTS

- It is common to hear people in public life say, "Vote any way you want, but VOTE." Have your class consider the following question: Do people in an election campaign organization really want to increase voter turnout, or are they interested in types of people who they think will vote for their party or candidate? Small groups of students could interview local officeholders and
ask for their "realistic" opinions. Are "get out the vote" campaigns geared primarily to a party's (or candidate's) supporters? Compare their responses to similar questions asked of campus student leaders.

- Divide your class into two sections and ask them to take opposing positions on the following question: *Is it reasonable for a voter to look at personality and "character" traits as a basis for judging candidates for public office?* Class discussion on this topic is often animated and responsive.

- Ask students to research the legislative history of the Motor Voter Act. Who supported the act? Who opposed it? Why? Has "motor voter" had any effect on voter registration? Turnout?

- Bring information to class on procedures for voter registration. Consider using your class as the basis for a voter registration drive on campus. Information, publicity, and transportation are often problems for students who would like to vote.

- Ask students to debate the relative value of voter registration. Although voter registration is designed to minimize corruption or cheating in the election, what other possible reasons could be underlying the voter registration system? How do other democratic countries control corruption without voter registration? What other possible mechanisms exist which could control corruption and cheating equally well or better? What issues are raised by current proposals for on-line voting?

- For a reading and writing connection (and if the course is being taught in an election year), have students keep a clipping file on candidates for an office of their choice. Using broadcast and print media sources and descriptive journal entries for each item, have students identify the policy positions of the candidate from these sources. In a short analytical essay, have them compare the information they obtained through news coverage of their candidates with information they obtained in campaign advertisements about the candidates' issue positions. Alternatively, students could compare media images between competing candidates using the same format.

- Ask students to debate (or write an analytical essay) on the desirability of having a tax on non-voting. What would be the benefits? What would be the costs? Does the Constitution protect citizens' right to abstain from voting?

- For a lively and entertaining classroom activity, announce that students must elect an official notetaker. Advise students that this official notetaker will provide you with a copy of the class notes so that you can weigh your exam on the basis of what students are able to glean from the lecture. The election should be held with a primary, if necessary, for nominations. Then have each nominee give an election speech, complete with issue positions and
qualifications. This exercise addresses a variety of concepts. It addresses democratic decision making by allowing students to inform you as a policy maker. It addresses problems of selective perception in individual attention to details. It provides a practical example of policy voting. Do not be surprised if students pick someone who is not the best student in class. Because students will compare their capacity for notetaking with the nominee's, students often will pick the least qualified or an average student to minimize the chance that they will miss something important in the lecture. Thus the exercise reinforces the problem that elections do not always result in the best, most qualified person winning.

**BACKGROUND READING**


**MEDIA SUGGESTIONS**

Price of Power: Money in Politics. A 1993 program by Insight Media which examines the role of money in influencing electoral outcomes.

Vote: A Right and Responsibility. 1995. This film examines the fundamentals and structure of voting in America, including information on registration, filing an absentee ballot, and opportunities for voting at each level of government. Insight Media.

Voting: A Right and a Responsibility. This show demonstrates how elections are central to democracy in the U.S. and beyond; includes discussions on candidate evaluation, and direct democracy mechanisms such as the initiative and referendum. Films for the Humanities & Sciences.