Lesson Goals

**SECTION 1**
Students will . . .
- examine a primary source photograph and discuss the reasons for the expansion of voting rights.
- illustrate the changing definition of the American electorate by creating a poster of the history of voting rights expansion in the United States.

**SECTION 2**
Students will . . .
- examine a political cartoon to begin a discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of voter identification laws.
- analyze how voter qualifications have changed over time by examining a registration application from the 1960s.
- evaluate and respond to an editorial about mandatory voting.

**SECTION 3**
Students will . . .
- identify historical barriers that faced African American voters by examining a political cartoon.
- analyze historical data on African American representation in Congress to understand the effects of widespread voter discrimination and its removal.

**SECTION 4**
Students will . . .
- analyze a political cartoon in order to understand the effects of and reasons for nonvoting.
- explore the factors that influence voting behavior by creating a television advertisement that encourages voter participation.

Pressed for Time

Organize the class into four groups. Assign each group a section from the chapter. (Note that Section 4 is nine pages, considerably longer than the other sections.) Have each group create a presentation detailing the main points of the assigned section. As groups give their presentations, create a study guide on the board outlining each section’s main points.

FOLLOW UP Have students create a flyer that summarizes key information about voting rights, including qualifications, history, and voter behavior.

DIFFERENTIATED INSTRUCTION KEY

Look for these symbols to help you adjust steps in each lesson to meet your students’ needs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1</td>
<td>Special Needs</td>
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<tr>
<td>L2</td>
<td>Basic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3</td>
<td>All Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L4</td>
<td>Advanced Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELL</td>
<td>English Language Learners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPR</td>
<td>Less Proficient Readers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 6  151
GUIDING QUESTION
How have voting rights changed over the course of American history?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>History of Voting Rights</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early 1800s</td>
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<tr>
<td>1870</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960s</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970s</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Get Started

LESSON GOALS
Students will . . .
- examine a primary source photograph and discuss the reasons for the expansion of voting rights.
- illustrate the changing definition of the American electorate through history by creating a poster of the history of voting rights expansion in the United States.

BEFORE CLASS
Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 61) before class.

DIFFERENTIATE Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 62)

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

DRAW INFERENCE AND CONCLUSIONS
To practice drawing inferences and conclusions in this section, use the Chapter 6 Skills Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 67). You may teach the skill explicitly either before or after reviewing the Bellringer. For L2 and L1 students, assign the adapted Skill Activity (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 68).

Focus on the Basics
Here is the information that your students need to learn in this section.

FACTS: • Expansion of the electorate occurred in five stages: elimination of religious, property, and tax qualifications; addition of the 15th and 19th amendments; passage of civil rights laws; and the addition of the 26th Amendment. • States determine voting qualifications but must not deny a person aged 18 or over the right to vote on the basis of race, color, or sex, nor may they impose a poll tax in federal elections.

CONCEPTS: rights and responsibilities as citizens, equal protection

ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS: • The history of the United States has been marked by steady expansion of the electorate. • States can set voting qualifications under various restrictions set by the Federal Government.

Soon, you will be eligible to vote—but will you exercise that right? The record suggests that while you may do so, many of your friends will not, at least not for some time. The record also suggests that some of your friends will never vote. Yet, clearly, the success of democratic government depends on popular participation and, in particular, on the regular and informed exercise of the right to vote.

The History of Voting Rights
The Framers of the Constitution purposely left the power to set suffrage qualifications to each State. Suffrage means the right to vote. Franchise is a synonym for the right to vote.¹

Expansion of the Electorate
When the Constitution went into effect in 1789, the right to vote was generally restricted to white male property owners. In fact, probably not one in fifteen adult white males could vote in elections in the various States. Benjamin Franklin often made fun of this situation. He told of a man whose only property was a jackass and noted that the man would lose the right to vote if his jackass died. “Now,” asked Franklin, “in whom is the right of suffrage? In the man or the jackass?”

Today, the size of the American electorate—the potential voting population—is truly impressive. More than 230 million people, nearly all citizens who are at least 18 years of age, qualify to vote. That huge number is a direct result of the legal definition of suffrage. In other words, it is the result of those laws that determine who can and cannot vote. It is also the result of more than 200 years of continuing, often bitter, and sometimes violent struggle over the right to vote.

The history of American suffrage since 1789 has been marked by two long-term trends. First, the nation has experienced the gradual elimination of

¹ Originally, the Constitution had only two suffrage provisions. Article I, Section 2, Clause 1 requires each State to allow anyone qualified to vote for members of “the most numerous Branch” of its own legislature to vote as well for members of the national House of Representatives. Article II, Section 1, Clause 2 declares that presidential electors be chosen in each State “in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct.”
several restrictions on the right to vote. Those restrictions were based on a variety of factors, including religious belief, property ownership, tax payment, race, and gender. Second, a significant share of what was originally the States’ power over the right to vote has been gradually assumed by the Federal Government.

Extending Suffrage: The Five Stages: The growth of the American electorate has come in five identifiable stages. The two trends described above—growing federal control over suffrage and the elimination of voting restrictions—are woven through those stages.

1. The first stage of the struggle to extend voting rights came in the early 1800s. Religious qualifications, put in place in colonial days, quickly disappeared. No State has had a religious test for voting since 1810. Then, one by one, States began to eliminate property ownership and tax payment qualifications. By mid-century, almost all white adult males could vote in every State.

2. The second major effort to broaden the electorate followed the Civil War. The 15th Amendment, ratified in 1870, was intended to protect any citizen from being denied the right to vote because of race or color. Still, for nearly another century, African Americans were systematically barred from voting, and they remained the largest group of disenfranchised citizens, or citizens denied the right to vote, in the nation’s population.

3. The 19th Amendment prohibited the denial of the right to vote because of sex. Its ratification in 1920 completed the third expansion of suffrage. Wyoming, while still a territory, had given women the vote in 1869.2

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**Checkpoint**
What was the first voting qualification to disappear?

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**Teach**

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at [PearsonSuccessNet.com](http://PearsonSuccessNet.com).

**DISCUSS THE PHOTOGRAPH**

Discuss student response to the Bellringer photo. Explain that there appears to be a vote occurring in the State in which voters—all of whom are men at this point—will have a chance to vote on a measure that would give women in Ohio the vote. Ask students to share their answers to the questions. (The office probably contains information for voters that might persuade them to support the cause of women’s suffrage in an upcoming vote. The women are taking part in public affairs by helping to educate the public and promoting a particular cause that is important to them—votes for women.)

**INTRODUCE THE TOPIC**

Tell students that today they will learn about the history of voting rights in the United States. Explain that this history has followed a clear trend—the steady expansion of the electorate.

**ELL Differentiate** Explain that the word electorate means “people who have the right to vote.”

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**Differentiated Resources**

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 6, Section 1:

- L2 Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (p. 57)
- L2 Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 61)
- L2 Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 62)
- L2 Core Worksheet (p. 63)
- L2 Core Worksheet (p. 65)
- L2 Skills Worksheet (p. 67)
- L2 Skill Activity (p. 68)
- L2 Quiz A (p. 69)  L2 Quiz B (p. 70)

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**Answers**

**Checkpoint** Religious qualifications were the first to disappear.

**The Five Stages of Expanding Suffrage** Possible response: Winning candidates would be more sympathetic to the concerns of the poor, African Americans, and women.
Distribute the Chapter 6 Section 1 Core Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 63), which lists significant events in the history of voting rights and directs students to make a poster describing one of these events and its significance. First review the events quickly as a class. Then divide students into pairs or triads and assign each group an event. Students may use information from the chapter and other sources, if they wish. Remind students to divide tasks—for example, designing the overall poster, drawing individual illustrations, writing captions for each image, and so on.

**Differentiate** Distribute the adapted Core Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 65).

**Differentiate** Have students perform research to find additional examples of events or trends in the history of the expansion of voting rights.

**REFLECT AND DISCUSS**

When completed, use the Conversation Wall strategy (p. T27) to have students display their posters. Give students time to circulate and review their classmates’ work. Ask students to choose one event (not their own) and explain in a few sentences why they think it is the most interesting. Use these reflections as a basis for a class discussion in which you focus on the Unit 2 Essential Question: **In what ways should people participate in public affairs?** Explain that these events illustrate how people participate in public affairs when denied the vote. Ask students if they see any patterns, or if some tactics seem more effective than others.

**EXTEND THE LESSON**

**Differentiate** Have students debate the following question: **Is it reasonable to require voters to be able to read and understand English?** Divide students into teams to argue both sides of the question. Students should be sure to consider the potential for misuse of such restrictions, as demonstrated by history. Have students use the Internet or other resources to find information on this topic, and use the Debate strategy (p. T25) to help them organize their thoughts before beginning the debate.

**Differentiate** Have students use the Internet or library resources to research and create a timeline that traces the women’s suffrage movement in the United States. Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to learn more about women’s suffrage.

**Answers**

**Interpreting Maps** The Western States were much more likely to have granted suffrage to women than States in the East.

By 1920, more than half of the States had followed that lead.

4. A fourth major extension took place during the 1960s. During that time, federal legislation and court decisions focused on securing African Americans a full role in the electoral process in all States. With the passage and vigorous enforcement of a number of civil rights acts, especially the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its later extensions, racial equality finally became fact in polling booths throughout the country.

The 23rd Amendment, passed in 1961, added the voters of the District of Columbia to the presidential electorate. The 24th Amendment, ratified in 1964, eliminated the poll tax (and any other tax) as a condition for voting in any federal election. A **poll tax** was a tax imposed by several States as a qualification for voting.

5. The fifth and latest expansion of the electorate came with the adoption of the 26th Amendment in 1971. It provides that no State can set the minimum age for voting at more than 18 years of age. In other words, those 18 and over were given the right to vote by this amendment.

**The Power to Set Voting Qualifications**

Again, the Constitution does not give the Federal Government the power to set suffrage qualifications. Rather, that matter is reserved to the States. The Constitution does,

**Background**

**THE FRAMERS AND VOTING RIGHTS** The Framers of the Constitution clearly had concerns about allowing voters too much power in choosing their government. The methods for electing the President were designed to limit the influence of a voting public that the Framers of the Constitution did not fully trust. In addition, the Framers originally sought to have the Senate chosen by state legislatures rather than by direct popular vote. Only the House of Representatives was to be elected by the voters directly.
Assess and RemEDIATE

- Collect the Core Worksheet and assess student performance using the Rubric for Assessing a Student Poster (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 253).
- Assign the Section 1 Assessment questions.
- Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 69)
- Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 70)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the Essential Questions Journal.

REMEDATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If Your Students Have Trouble With</th>
<th>Strategies For Remediation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The two long-term trends in the history of suffrage (Questions 1, 2, 4)</td>
<td>Write the words eliminating barriers and extending voting rights on the board, and have students find examples of each phenomenon in the section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The five distinct stages of growth in the American electorate (Questions 1, 2)</td>
<td>Have students create a timeline of the expansion of voting rights as described in the text.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ways in which government has expanded voting rights (Questions 3, 5)</td>
<td>Have students create a table of government actions aimed at expanding voting rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The constitutional restrictions on setting suffrage qualifications by the States (Question 6)</td>
<td>Have students write and exchange among themselves a quiz about the power of the States to establish voting qualifications.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answers

**Checkpoint** It effectively lowered the voting age to 18.

**Caption** Newspapers might inform voters and influence public opinion.

**Assessment Answers**

1. Originally, voting rights were generally limited to white male property owners. Over time, voting rights expanded to include all adult white men, then African American men, and finally women. Now most citizens 18 and over can vote.

2. The trend in suffrage has been a steady expansion of the electorate.

3. (a) A tax a person must pay in order to vote (b) The 24th Amendment

4. (a) It is the potential voting population. (b) It is more than 230 million.

5. (a) After the 15th Amendment legally enfranchised African Americans in 1870, their voting rights remained restricted until the 1960s when civil rights legislation and enforcement assured racial equality at polling places. (b) A good answer will recognize that expansion of voting rights by law can be frustrated if there is significant opposition of the people.

6. (a) Originally it said little, specifying only that States must allow those eligible to vote for representatives to the most numerous branch of the State legislature to vote in House elections, though later amendments ensured that people could not be denied the vote based on race, gender, age 18 or older, or payment of taxes. (b) The Framers wanted to leave the settings of voting qualifications to the States, but they also believed in democracy and equality, and that government should represent the people. The later expansion of voting rights reflects these early core values.

**Quick Write** Student summaries should include important details about their chosen event.
GUIDING QUESTION
What are the requirements for voting, and how have they changed over time?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Citizenship</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• Must be U.S. citizen</td>
<td>• Must be legal resident of State in which ballot to be cast</td>
<td>• 26th Amendment extends suffrage to all citizens age 18 or older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Only Minnesota and Pennsylvania have time requirements for naturalized citizens</td>
<td>• Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 ban residency requirement of longer than 30 days for presidential elections, and most states do not specify a required residency period</td>
<td>• States may choose to set age at least 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Transients may not vote in most States</td>
<td>• Some 17-year-olds can vote in some States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Get Started

LESSON GOALS
Students will . . .
• examine a political cartoon to begin a discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of voter identification laws.
• analyze how voter qualifications have changed over time by examining a registration application from the 1960s.
• evaluate and respond to an editorial about mandatory voting.

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

ANALYZE POLITICAL CARTOONS
To help students learn to analyze political cartoons, have them turn to the Skills Handbook, p. S22, and use the information there to complete the Bellringer activity.

SECTION 2
Voter Qualifications

Are you qualified to vote? Probably not—at least not yet. Do you know why?

In this section, you will see how the States, including yours, determine who can vote. You will also see that the various qualifications they set are not very difficult to meet.

Universal Requirements
Today, every State requires that any person who wants to vote must be able to satisfy qualifications based on three factors: (1) citizenship, (2) residence, and (3) age. The States have some leeway in shaping the details of the first two of these factors; they have almost no discretion with regard to the third one.

Citizenship
Aliens, foreign-born residents who have not become citizens, are generally denied the right to vote in this country. Still, nothing in the Constitution says that aliens cannot vote, and any State could allow them to do so if it chose. At one time, about a fourth of the States permitted those aliens who had applied for naturalization—that is, applied for citizenship—to vote. Typically, the western States did so to help attract settlers.7

States may draw a distinction between native-born and naturalized citizens with regard to suffrage. The Pennsylvania constitution says that one must have become a citizen at least one month before an election in order to vote in that State.

Residence
In order to vote in this country today, one must be a legal resident of the State in which he or she wishes to cast a ballot. In many States, a person must have lived in the State for at least a certain period of time before he or she can vote.

The States adopted residence requirements for two reasons: (1) to keep a political machine from bringing in enough outsiders to affect the outcome of an election (a once common practice), and (2) to allow new voters at least some time in which to become familiar with the candidates and issues in an upcoming election.

7 Arkansas, the last State in which aliens could vote, adopted a citizenship requirement in 1906. In a few States, local governments can permit noncitizens to vote in local contests—e.g., city council elections—and a handful do.

Focus on the Basics

FACTS: • Throughout our history, different States have imposed different qualifications for voting. • The three current universal requirements are citizenship, residency, and age. • People can be denied the right to vote based on mental incapability, imprisonment for some crimes, or dishonorable discharge from the armed forces. • Literacy tests and poll taxes used to disenfranchise certain groups have been eliminated.

CONCEPTS: rights and responsibilities as citizens, democratic values/principles

ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS: • All States have citizenship, residence, and age requirements for voting. • Other qualifications differ from State to State. • Some voting requirements used to disenfranchise certain groups have been eliminated.
Residence Requirements

Where You Live Determines Where You Vote

In order to vote in elections today, voters must be citizens with established residence in their voting locations. Why do you think some States have different residence requirements?

States require voters to be residents.

A person can have only one residence.

Some States have provided registration qualifications that require people to have lived in a place for a certain amount of time.

Naturalized citizens can vote once they become citizens.

Today’s much shorter requirements are a direct result of a 1970 federal law and a 1972 Supreme Court decision. In the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, Congress banned any requirement of longer than 30 days for voting in presidential elections. And in Dunn v. Blumstein, 1972, the Court found Tennessee’s requirement—at the time, a year in the State and 90 days in the county—unconstitutional. The Court found such a lengthy requirement to be an unsupportable discrimination against new residents and so in conflict with the 14th Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. The Supreme Court said that “30 days appears to be an ample period of time.” Election law and practice among the States quickly accepted that standard.

Nearly every State does prohibit transients, persons who plan to live in a State for only a short time, from gaining legal residence status there. Thus, a traveling sales agent, a member of the armed services, or a college student usually cannot vote in a State where he lives temporarily.

Recall from Chapter 2, the precinct is the smallest unit of election administration. The ward is a unit into which cities are often divided for the election of members of the city council.

Until recently, Arizona imposed a 50-day requirement period. The Supreme Court upheld Arizona’s residence law in Mattox v. Lewis in 1973, but it also declared in another case that a similar law “approaches the outer constitutional limits.”

Checkpoint: When and why did residence requirements begin to get shorter?

For decades, every State imposed a fairly lengthy residence requirement—typically, a year in the State, 60 or 90 days in the county, and 30 days in the local precinct or ward. The requirement was longer in some southern States—for example, one year in the State, six months in the county, and three months in the precinct in Alabama, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and in Mississippi a year in the State, a year in the county, and six months in the precinct.

Residence requirements are not nearly so long today. In fact, most States now require that a voter be a legal resident but do not attach a time period to that qualification. About a third of them say that a voter must have lived in the State for at least 30 days. In a few, the period is somewhat shorter—for example, 29 days in Arizona, 20 in Minnesota, and 10 in Wisconsin.

10 The Supreme Court upheld this provision in the law in Oregon v. Mitchell in 1970.

Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 6, Section 2:

- L3 Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 71)
- L2 Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 73)
- Core Worksheet A (p. 75)
- Core Worksheet B (p. 78)
- Core Worksheet B (p. 80)
- Extend Worksheet (p. 82)
- Extend Activity (p. 83)
- Quiz A (p. 84)  L2 Quiz B (p. 85)

Answers

Residence Requirements Possible response: States with a history of newcomers interfering in local politics might set longer residency requirements than other States.

Checkpoint Requirements began to get shorter in the early 1970s, in response to a federal law and a subsequent Supreme Court ruling.

Before Class

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 71) before class.

Differentiate Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 73)

Bellringer

Display Transparency 68, Voter Identification, a political cartoon about voter identification laws. Write on the board: Examine the cartoon and answer the questions in your notebook.

Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at PearsonSuccessNet.com.

Discuss the Bellringer

Ask students to share their responses to the Bellringer questions. (1. The cartoonist supports voter ID laws. He suggests that we willingly show photo identification in many situations, such as for bank transactions, movie rentals, proof of age at a bar, and airport check-in. 2. It makes no sense, then, to object to showing a photo ID at the polls.) Ask: What is the purpose of voter ID laws? (to prevent voter fraud by requiring voters to prove their identity) How might voter ID laws discourage voting? (some otherwise qualified voters, such as people who are elderly, poor, or disabled, may not have a driver’s license or other photo ID.) Do you think people should be required to show a photo ID in order to vote? Why or why not? Is it a concern that these requirements may prevent some people from voting?

Introduce the Topic

Tell students that today they will learn about the ways in which the Federal and State governments establish qualifications for voting. Have students scan the headings and subheadings of the section to see what these qualifications are. (universal requirements of citizenship, residence, and age; registration, and tax payment and literacy.) Tell students that literacy and tax requirements are no longer in use.
DISTRIBUTED WORKSHEET A
Distribute the Chapter 6 Section 2 Core Worksheet A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 75), which is a sample voter registration application. Have students work independently to read the application and complete the questions that follow. After students have completed the activity, review the answers as a class. Invite students to respond to each other’s answers.

L1 L2 Differentiate Read the questions in the registration application aloud. Then ask students to choose two questions to answer at the bottom of the page.

L3 Differentiate Have students attempt to fill in the application.

INVITE STUDENT REACTION
Tell students that the application was one of several available to registrars in Alabama prior to 1965, when the federal Voting Rights Act made such tests illegal. The law was aimed at breaking down barriers to voting by African Americans in the South. Tell students that parts of this application were especially aimed at African Americans. Ask Do you think the average 18 year old could pass this test? Do you think a person who could not pass this test would nevertheless be able to cast an informed vote?

Answers

Checkpoint the Vietnam War

where he or she has only a temporary physical presence. In several States, however, the courts have held that college students who claim the campus community as their legal residence must be allowed to vote there.

Age The 26th Amendment, added to the Constitution in 1971, declares,

FROM THE CONSTITUTION
The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

—26th Amendment

Thus, no State can set the minimum age for voting in any election at more than 18. In other words, the amendment extends suffrage to citizens who are at least 18 years of age. Notice, however, that any State can set the age at less than 18, if it chooses to do so.

Until the 26th Amendment was adopted, the generally accepted age requirement for voting was 21. In fact, until 1970, only four States had put the age at less than 21. Georgia was the first State to allow 18-year-olds to vote; it did so in 1943, in the midst of World War II. Kentucky followed suit in 1955. Alaska entered the Union in 1959 with the voting age set at 19, and Hawaii became a State later that same year with a voting age of 20.

Both Alaska and Hawaii set the age above 18 but below 21 to avoid potential problems caused by high school students voting in local school-district elections. Whatever the fears at the time, there have been no such problems in any State since the passage of the 26th Amendment.

Efforts to lower the voting age to 18 nationwide began in the 1940s, during World War II. Those efforts were capped by the adoption of the 26th Amendment in 1971, during the war in Vietnam. That amendment was ratified more quickly than any other amendment to the Constitution. This fact is testament to the emotional weight of the principal argument in its favor: “Old enough to fight, old enough to vote.”

How have 18 to 20-year-olds responded to the 26th Amendment? In short, not very well. In election after election, young voters are much less likely to vote than any other age group in the electorate. In 1972, 48 percent of the 18- to 20-year-old group voted, but by 2000 that figure had plummeted to 28 percent. It rose again, substantially, in 2004 and reached even higher levels in 2008. But contrast that figure with the turnout of Americans 65 and older.

Despite the infirmity that may accompany their age, their voting rate regularly exceeds 60 percent, and it did so again in the presidential election of 2008.

In a growing number of States, some 17-year-olds can now cast ballots in primary elections. Those States allow anyone whose 18th birthday falls later than the primary but before the general election to vote in the primary election.

Several states have come very close to effectively lowering the voting age to 17 for all elections. In Nebraska, for example, any person who will be 18 by the Tuesday following the first Monday in November can qualify to vote in any election held during that calendar year.

Registration

One other significant qualification, registration, is nearly universal among the States today. Registration is a procedure of voter
identification intended to prevent fraudulent voting. It gives election officials a list of those persons who are qualified to vote in an election. Several States also use voter registration to identify voters in terms of their party preference and, thus, their eligibility to take part in closed primaries.

Requirements Forty-nine States—all except North Dakota—require that most, and usually all, voters register in order to cast ballots. Voter registration became a common feature of State election law in the early 1900s. Today, most States require all voters to register in order to vote in any election held within the State. A few, however, do not impose the requirement for all elections. Maine and Wisconsin allow voters to register at any time, up to and including election day. Elsewhere, a voter must be registered by a certain date, often 20 or 30 days before an election. That cutoff gives election officials time to prepare the poll books for an upcoming election.

Typically, a prospective voter must register his or her name, age, place of birth, present address, length of residence, and similar facts. The information is logged by a local official, usually a registrar of elections or the county clerk. A voter typically remains registered unless or until he or she moves, dies, is convicted of a serious crime, or is committed to a mental institution.

State law directs local election officials to review the lists of registered voters and to remove the names of those who are no longer eligible to vote. This process, known as purging, is usually done every two or four years. Unfortunately, the requirement is often ignored. When it is, the poll books (the official lists of qualified voters in each precinct) soon become clogged with the names of many people who, for one reason or another, are no longer eligible to vote.

Controversies There are some who think that the registration requirement should be abolished everywhere. They see the qualifica-

\[11\] In Idaho, Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Wyoming, a person who is qualified to vote but misses the deadline can register (and then vote) on election day.

Distribute Core Worksheet B

Give students copies of the Chapter 6 Section 2 Core Worksheet B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 78). This worksheet includes an excerpt from a New York Times editorial arguing for mandatory voting. Have students read the excerpt and summarize the main message. (Possible summary: Mandatory voting would be a good way to get candidates to focus on all voters rather than those people on the fringes that consistently vote.) Then ask them to underline the evidence that supports the argument and circle the portion of the editorial that addresses the counter-argument. (the last paragraph) Briefly discuss the arguments and attributes that make this an effective or ineffective editorial.

Have students write their own letters to the editor that either echo the demand in the editorial or take a contrary view. Distribute and review the Rubric for Assessing a Letter to the Editor (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 254).

L1 L2 Differentiate Distribute the adapted Core Worksheet B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 80), and have students read the summary of the editorial and answer the questions.

L3 L4 Differentiate Have students take both positions on the question of mandatory voting.

Myths and Misconceptions

Voting Rights in Ancient Greece Ancient Greece is widely regarded as the birthplace of democracy. Yet even at its height, Athenian democracy empowered only a small percentage of the population. Only citizens were allowed to vote, and only men could become citizens. In addition, voting was typically restricted to the most affluent members of Athenian society. Never in the history of Ancient Greece were any more than one out of seven Athenians able to cast a ballot.

Answers

Registering to Vote Possible answer: Concern over low turnout has spurred efforts to make registration easier.
Voter Identification

Should You Need ID to Vote?

In 2005, Indiana passed a law requiring voters to present photo identification to vote. In 2008, the Supreme Court ruled that the law was constitutional and did not create a barrier to voting. This ruling allowed other States to add stronger ID requirements to election laws. Using the quotations from the Supreme Court decision below, identify why this law is controversial.

YES

The law’s universally applicable requirements are eminently reasonable because the burden of acquiring, possessing, and showing a free photo identification is not a significant increase over the usual voting burdens, and the State’s stated interests (in preventing voter fraud and safeguarding voter confidence in elections) are sufficient to sustain that minimal burden.

—Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, 2008

NO

Indiana’s “Voter ID Law” threatens to impose nontrivial burdens on the voting right of tens of thousands of the State’s citizens… and a significant percentage of those individuals are likely to be deterred from voting… [A] State may not burden the right to vote merely by invoking abstract interest… but must make a particular, factual showing that the threats to its interests outweigh the particular impediments it has imposed. The State has made no such justification here…

—Supreme Court Justice David Souter, Crawford v. Marion County Election Board, 2008

Background

AUSTRALIAN BALLOT Although the use of paper ballots in the U.S. dates back to colonial times, the growth of political parties in the early 1800s led to widespread abuses. The law at that time allowed parties to print and distribute ballots to voters before elections. These ballots listed the party’s candidates only. To vote for another candidate, voters would have to cross out the printed name and write in another. Voting was not always secret and corruption was common. Parties often paid election officials to stuff ballot boxes. Heeding calls for reform, Massachusetts in 1888 adopted the Australian Ballot System, which originated in Australia in 1856. Under this system, ballots list all candidates and are prepared by government agencies. Voters receive one ballot at the polling place, which they mark in the privacy of a voting booth. Today, all States use a form of this system.
lion persons had registered to vote as a direct result of the Motor Voter Law.

The law also requires every State to mail a questionnaire to each of its registered voters every four years, so that the poll books can be purged for deaths and changes of residence. It also forbids the States to purge for any other reason, including failure to vote.

Several States now have so-called voter ID laws that require people to prove their identity when they seek to register or vote. Some government-issued photo ID—a passport or a driver’s license, for example—will usually satisfy the requirement to confirm their identity at the polls.

The statutes are quite controversial. Their sponsors, usually Republican State legislators, insist that the measures are intended to prevent people from voting under false identities, also known as fraudulent voting. Fraudulent voting, they argue, weakens the value of legally-cast votes by diluting them with illegitimate votes. Critics, mostly Democrats, say that they are really designed to discourage voting by the elderly, disabled, poor, and minority groups, who are less likely to have State-issued driver’s licenses or federally issued passports. They also argue that very few cases of voter fraud have been identified and prosecuted in recent years.

The Supreme Court upheld Indiana’s photo ID law in Crawford v. Marion County Election Board in 2008. The Court ruled, 6–3, that the opponents of the law had not shown that it puts an unreasonable burden on some groups of voters that it violates the 14th Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. The Court will likely hear other challenges to these laws as they are applied in future elections.

**Literacy. Tax Payment**

Suffrage qualifications based on two other factors—literacy and tax payment—were once fairly common among the States. They had a fairly long history but are no longer to be found anywhere.

**Literacy** Today, no State has a suffrage qualification based on voter literacy—a person’s ability to read and write. At one time, the literacy requirement could be, and in many places was, used to make sure that a qualified voter had the capacity to cast an informed ballot. Some States asked potential voters to prove that they could read; others asked for the ability to both read and write. And still others required those who registered to vote to show that they could read and write and also understand some piece of printed material—often, a passage from the State or Federal Constitution.

Connecticut adopted the first literacy qualifications in 1855. Massachusetts followed in 1857. Both States were trying to limit voting by Irish Catholic immigrants. Mississippi adopted a literacy requirement in 1890, and soon after, most of the other southern States followed suit. The literacy qualification in most southern States included an “understanding” clause. Often, whites were asked to “understand” some short, plainly worded constitutional provision; but African Americans had to interpret a long, complex passage to the satisfaction of local election officials.

While those qualifications had been aimed at disenfranchising African Americans, they sometimes had unintended effects. Several States soon found that they needed to adjust their voting requirements by adding so-called grandfather clauses to their constitutions. These grandfather clauses were designed to enfranchise those white males who were unintentionally disqualified by their failure to meet the literacy or taxpaying requirements.

A grandfather clause was added to the Louisiana constitution in 1898; Alabama, Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Virginia soon added them as well. These clauses stated that any man, or his male descendants, who had voted in the State before the adoption of the 15th Amendment (1870) could become a legal voter without regard to any literacy or taxpaying qualifications. The Supreme Court found the Oklahoma provision, the last to be adopted (in 1910), in conflict with the 15th Amendment in Guinn v. United States in 1915.

A number of States outside the South also adopted literacy qualifications, including Wyoming, California, Washington, New

**Extended Lesson**

**Differentiate** Distribute the Extend Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 82). Tell students that this is a copy of a standardized application that is widely accepted among States that require voter registration. Have students fill out the form to the best of their ability. Then have students write a brief paragraph that explains how this form differs from the form on Core Worksheet A. (Students should observe that the form asks only basic information necessary to confirm a potential voter’s identity and the universal qualifications of citizenship, residency, and age, whereas the form on Core Worksheet A required would-be voters to know detailed information about government and to provide personal information.)

**Differentiate** Have students use the Internet to locate the specific instructions for their State and prepare a valid registration application for themselves or someone in their family. If applicable, they can use the National Mail Registration Form, on which the worksheet is based. They should leave a blank for Social Security Number to avoid compromising their identity security.

**Differentiate** Distribute the Extend Activity “Registering to Vote” (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 83) and have students follow the instructions on it.

**Background**

**Legal Literacy Test** The use of literacy tests as a requirement for registration was brought to an end in 1970, yet some voters must still meet certain basic literacy requirements. Immigrants to the United States must demonstrate the ability to read, speak, and write English in order to become United States citizens. Since citizenship is a requirement for voting in the United States, people who are not born citizens of the United States do, in fact, face a kind of literacy test before they can cast a ballot.

**Answers**

**Checkpoint** The law requires States to allow people to register when they apply for or renew their driver’s licenses; to provide for registration by mail; to make registration forms available in certain specific places; to mail voters questionnaires for purposes of purging poll books; and to limit purging to those who have died or changed residence.

Chapter 6 • Section 2 161
Assess and Remediate

1. Collect the letters to the editor and assess students’ work using the Rubric for Assessing a Letter to the Editor (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 254).
2. Assign the Section 2 Assessment questions.
3. Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 84)
4. Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 85)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the Essential Questions Journal.

Registration Requirements

Literacy tests below were used in many places to try to deny African Americans the right to vote. The questions below are reproduced from one of the many versions of the test in circulation during that time. The tests were also changed frequently, making it impossible to study for them. How might these questions discourage eligible citizens from registering to vote?

Can you answer these?

1. If you have been employed by another during the last five years, state the nature of your employment and the name or names of such employer or employers and his or their addresses.
2. Give the names of the places, respectively, where you have lived during the last five years; and the name or names by which you have been known during the last five years.
3. Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocates overthrow of the United States Government or the government of any State of the United States by unlawful means?
4. Name some of the duties and obligations of citizenship. Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict?

Source: The Honorable Rufus A. Lewis Collection at Trenholm State Technical College Archives

Checkpoint
Which amendment outlawed the poll tax?

Primary Source

In enacting the literacy test ban... Congress had before it a long history of the discriminatory use of literacy tests to disfranchise voters on account of their race.

—Justice Hugo Black, Opinion of the Court

Some form of the literacy requirement was in place in 18 States when Congress finally banned its use.

Tax Payment Property ownership, proved by the payment of property taxes, was once a very common suffrage qualification. For decades, several States also demanded the payment of a special tax, called the poll tax, as a condition for voting. Those requirements and others that called for the payment of a tax in order to vote have disappeared over the years.

The poll tax was once found throughout the South. Beginning with Florida in 1889, each of the 11 southern States adopted the poll tax as part of the effort to discourage voting by African Americans. The device proved to be of only limited effectiveness, however. That fact, and opposition to the use of the poll tax from within the South as well as elsewhere, led most of those States to abandon it. By 1966, the tax was still in use only in Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.12

The 24th Amendment, ratified in 1964, outlawed the poll tax, or any other tax, as a condition for voting in any federal election. The Supreme Court finally eliminated the poll tax in 1966 as a qualification for voting in all elections. In Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections, the Court held the Virginia poll tax to be

Background

AFRICAN AMERICAN VOTING RIGHTS The introduction of discriminatory voter restrictions came about in the years after Reconstruction, the post-Civil War period in which the Southern states were brought back into the Union and the newly freed African Americans were granted voting and other civil rights. During that time, African American populations in some places were a majority of voters. New African American voters succeeded in helping elect representatives to local and State governments throughout the South and also to Congress. But with the end of Reconstruction in 1877, the Federal Government turned its attention away from the South—and many whites began a systematic program of terror and intimidation to drive African Americans out of the political process. That job accomplished, many southern states passed discriminatory laws, such as literacy tests and poll taxes.

Answers

Registration Requirements

Lengthy or complex test questions could intimidate and discourage registrants.

Checkpoint the 24th Amendment
in conflict with the 14th Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause. The Court could find no reasonable relationship between the act of voting on one hand and the payment of a tax on the other. Justice William O. Douglas, writing for the majority, put the point this way:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

"Once the franchise is granted to the electorate, lines may not be drawn which are inconsistent with the Equal Protection Clause. . . . Voter qualifications have no relation to wealth nor to paying this or any other tax. . . . Wealth, like race, creed, or color, is not germane to one’s ability to participate intelligently in the electoral process.

—Justice William O. Douglas, Opinion of the Court"

**Persons Denied the Vote** Clearly, democratic government can exist only where the right to vote is widely held. Still, every State does purposely deny the vote to certain persons. For example, few of the 50 States allow people in mental institutions, or any other persons who have been legally found to be mentally incompetent, to vote.

Most States disqualify, at least temporarily, those persons who have been convicted of serious crimes. Until fairly recently, that disqualification was almost always a permanent one. Over recent years, however, most States have made it possible for the majority of convicted felons to regain the right to vote, although those guilty of such election-related offenses as bribery and ballot-box stuffing, however, are still regularly banned. A few States also do not allow anyone dishonorably discharged from the armed forces to cast a ballot.

**SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT**

1. **Guiding Question** Use your completed flowchart to answer the question: What are the qualifications for voting, and how have they changed over time?

2. **Key Terms and Comprehension**
   - What does the Constitution say about the voting rights of aliens?
   - What is the purpose of laws requiring voter registration? How do these laws vary among States?
   - Why should election officials regularly purge voter lists?

**Critical Thinking**

5. **Express Problems Clearly** (a) What are the pros and cons of voter registration? (b) Do you think the “Motor Voter Law” has had a positive or negative impact on voting? Explain.

6. **Draw Inferences** (a) Why were literacy requirements originally added to some State’s voting requirements? (b) How did the establishment of “grandfather clauses” call into question the motives of States that had literacy test requirements?

**Quick Write**

**Narrative: Consider Audience and Purpose** Once you have chosen an event, think about who your audience is. Will you be writing for your fellow classmates, your teacher, or someone outside of your class? Consider how much background information you need to provide to your reader. Write a brief paragraph describing your audience.

**Answers**

**Caption** Possible answer: The homeless have a strong interest in influencing policies that might serve their needs.

**Assessment Answers**

1. Universal requirements are citizenship, residence, age. Registration is nearly universal. Use of the poll tax and literacy tests used to be widespread but have now been outlawed.

2. The Constitution says nothing that would prevent aliens from voting, though they are generally not permitted to vote.

3. (a) to prevent fraud (b) Registration laws vary by how long before an election voters must register, by what means voters may register, and even whether voters must register at all.

4. Purging prevents poll books from becoming clogged with many names of people who are no longer eligible to vote.

5. (a) possible benefit: helps reduce fraud by ensuring that only truly qualified voters actually vote, and allows officials to identify voters’ party preference, which is necessary for closed primaries; possible drawback: many qualified voters may fail to register (b) Possible response: The law has had positive effects. By making registration easier, the law has resulted in more eligible voters and, therefore, a stronger democracy.

6. (a) At one time, literacy tests were designed to ensure that a qualified voter had the capacity to cast an informed ballot. Such tests were also used to disenfranchise groups, such as Irish Catholic immigrants and African Americans. (b) Grandfather clauses showed that the governments were not truly trying to ensure the capacity to cast an informed ballot, but were instead targeting specific groups.

**QUICK WRITE** Ensure students have accurately identified their audience.
How did the U.S. fulfill the promise of the 15th Amendment?

**15th Amendment**
- Ratified 1870
- Right to vote cannot be denied any U.S. citizen because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude
- Southern whites used violence, threats, social pressures, literacy tests, poll taxes, white primaries, and gerrymandering to deny African Americans their 15th Amendment rights
- *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) banned white primaries, and *Gomillion v. Lightfoot* (1960s) banned gerrymandering for purposes of racial discrimination, but use of literacy tests and poll taxes remained into the 1960s

**Civil Rights**
- Civil Rights Act of 1957 set up commission to investigate voter discrimination and enabled attorney general to enforce voting rights
- Civil Rights Act of 1960 provided for federal voting referees to serve where voter discrimination existed and help eligible voters register and vote
- Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination in jobs and other areas and discriminatory voter registration or literacy requirements
- Voting Rights Act of 1965 prompted by civil rights march in Selma, Alabama; applied 15th Amendment to all elections, not just federal; challenged poll taxes and literacy tests; authorized voting examiners; required federal preclusion for any changes to State election laws
- *South Carolina v. Katzenbach* upheld Voting Rights Act of 1965
- Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 extended the Act for five years, banned literacy tests
- *Oregon v. Mitchell* upheld ban on literacy tests and the residency requirements in the law
- Law extended in 1975; ban on literacy tests made permanent; applied provisions to language minorities

**Equal Voting Rights**

**Guiding Question**
How did the U.S. fulfill the promise of the 15th Amendment? Use the chart to record details of the history of voting rights for African Americans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>15th Amendment</th>
<th>Civil Rights</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</table>

**Political Dictionary**
- gerrymandering
- injunction
- preclusion

**Objectives**
1. Describe the tactics often used to deny African Americans the right to vote despite the command of the 15th Amendment.

**Image Above:** Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., casts his ballot in Atlanta, Georgia, on November 3, 1964.

**Focus on the Basics**

**FACTS:**
- The 15th Amendment, ratified in 1870, forbade denial of voting rights due to race.
- Some southern whites used unfair laws, intimidation, and other discriminatory practices to circumvent the 15th Amendment.
- Supreme Court cases and civil rights laws beginning in the 1950s finally helped fulfill the purpose of the 15th Amendment.

**CONCEPTS:**
- Equal protection, rights and responsibilities of citizens, values and principles of a civil society, personal and civic rights and responsibilities.

**ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS:**
- Whites in the South and elsewhere took actions to deny African Americans their civil rights starting in the late 1800s.
- Civil rights workers, the judiciary, and Congress finally reversed these injustices.
Gerrymandering is the practice of drawing electoral district lines (the boundaries of the geographic area from which a candidate is elected to a public office) in order to limit the voting strength of a particular group or party.

The white primary arose out of the decades-long Democratic domination of politics in the South. It was almost a given that the Democratic candidate for an office would be elected. Therefore, only the Democrats ordinarily nominated candidates, generally in primaries. In several southern States, political parties were defined by law as “private associations” that could exclude whomever they chose, and the Democrats regularly refused to admit African Americans. Because only party members could vote in the party’s primary, African Americans were then excluded from a critical step in the public election process.

**Court Rulings** The Supreme Court outlawed the white primary in a case from *Texas, Smith v. Allwright*, in 1944. The Court held that nominations are an integral part of the election process. So, when a political party holds a primary, it is performing a public function and is bound by the 15th Amendment.

The Supreme Court outlawed gerrymandering used for purposes of racial discrimination in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*, 1960. There, the Alabama legislature had redrawn the electoral district boundaries of Tuskegee, effectively excluding blacks from the city limits. The Court ruled that the legislature’s action violated the 15th Amendment, because the irregularly shaped district clearly was created to deprive blacks of political power.

Led by these decisions, the lower federal courts struck down many practices designed to deny the vote to African Americans in the 1940s and 1950s. Still, the courts could act only when those who claimed to be victims of discrimination sued. That case-by-case method was, at best, agonizingly slow.

**Early Civil Rights Legislation**

Finally, largely in response to the civil rights movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Congress was moved to act. In the late 1950s, it began to enact civil rights laws specifically intended to implement the 15th Amendment.

**Acts of 1957 and 1960** The first of the laws Congress passed to enforce the 15th Amendment was the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which created the United States Commission on Civil Rights. One of the Commission’s major duties is to inquire into claims of voter discrimination. The Commission reports its findings to Congress and the President and, through the media, to the public. The 1957 law also gave the attorney general the power to seek federal court orders to prevent interference with any person’s right to vote in any federal election.

The Civil Rights Act of 1960 added an additional safeguard. It provided for the appointment of federal voting referees. Those officers were to serve anywhere a federal court found voter discrimination. They were given the power to help qualified persons to register and vote in federal elections.

**The Civil Rights Act of 1964** The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is much broader and more effective than either of the two earlier measures. It outlawed discrimination in several areas, especially in job-related matters. With regard to voting rights, its most important section forbids the use of any voter registration or literacy requirement in an unfair or discriminatory manner.

The 1964 law continued a pattern set in the earlier laws. It relied on judicial action to overcome racial barriers and emphasized the use of federal court orders called injunctions. An *injunction* is a court order that either *compel* or restrains the performance of some act by a private individual or public official. The violation of an injunction amounts to contempt of court, a crime punishable by fine and/or imprisonment.

Dramatic events in Selma, Alabama, soon revealed the shortcomings of this approach. Dr. King mounted a voter registration drive in that city in early 1965. He and his supporters hoped that they could focus national attention on the issue of African American voting rights—and they most certainly did.

Their registration efforts were met with insults and violence by local white *civilians*, by city and county police, and then by State troopers. Three civil rights workers were murdered, and many were beaten when they attempted a peaceful march to the State Capitol.

Get Started

**LESSON GOALS**

- Identify historical barriers that faced African American voters by examining a political cartoon.
- Analyze historical data on African American representation in Congress to understand the effects of widespread voter discrimination and its removal.

**BEFORE CLASS**

Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 86) before class.

**Differentiate** Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 87)

**BELLRINGER**

Display Transparency 6C, Voting Rights, a political cartoon that symbolizes the challenges to African Americans’ voting rights. On the board, write: Examine the cartoon and record the answers to the questions in your notebook.

**Differentiate** Review the explanations of literacy tests, poll taxes, and grandfather clauses. (Literacy tests were tests of people’s ability to read and write, which a person had to pass in order to vote. Poll taxes were taxes required as a condition for voting. Both limited the ability of African Americans to vote, since most had little money or education. However, some white males could not pass the literacy test or pay the poll tax. Grandfather clauses were designed to allow these white males to vote anyway.)

Teach

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at PearsonSuccessNet.com.

**DISCUSS**

Ask students to share their Bellringer answers. (1. The African American voter faced barriers that the white voter did not. 2. These included poll taxes, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, and intimidation. 3. Explain that students will learn about how African Americans and sympathetic whites responded to this reality. Ask: How can people who cannot vote still take part in public affairs? (They can protest, they can seek to influence lawmakers, they can try to get courts to take action.)

**Answers**

**Checkpoint** Gerrymandering is the drawing of district lines in ways that weaken specific groups. It was used to weaken African Americans’ voting power.
EXPLORE THE TIMELINE
Ask students to examine this section’s timeline. Have them create titles for each of the three colored segments. (Possible title for the green section: “High Hopes—and Disappointment”; for the blue section: “Some Barriers Fall”; for the orange section: “Victory at Last.”) Be sure students recognize that the history of African Americans and voting rights included a long period of rights denied, followed by gradual progress toward the successes of the 1960s.

DISTRIBUT CORE WORKSHEET
Distribute the Chapter 6 Section 3 Core Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 88), which asks students to examine data and draw conclusions about African American representation in Congress. Help students recognize the general pattern in the data—a brief period of modest success at electing African American candidates following the 1870 ratification of the 15th Amendment, followed by a long period in which there were very few candidates elected, followed finally by a steady trend upward, beginning in the 1960s. Explain that the data reflect representation from all the States, including those in the North.

African Americans and the Vote

1800s
1870 The 15th Amendment declares that the right to vote cannot be denied on the basis of race.

1896 First literacy tests and grandfather clauses enacted in some southern States, soon driving down African American registration rates to below five percent in four years.

1871 For the first time, African Americans, including Senator Hiram R. Revels (R., Miss.), shown at right, serve in Congress.

Analyzing Timelines The 15th Amendment did not really become an effective part of the Constitution until the 1960s. Why do you think the 15th Amendment took almost a century to fully enforce?

1915 The Supreme Court rules an Oklahoma grandfather clause unconstitutional in Guinn v. United States.

1944 In Smith v. Alwright, the Supreme Court finds that the Texas white primary—which excluded African American voters—was unconstitutional.

The 1965 law directed the attorney general to challenge the constitutionality of the remaining State poll-tax laws in the federal courts. That provision led directly to Harper v. Virginia Board of Elections, 1966, as you may recall from Section 2.

The law also suspended the use of any literacy test or similar device in any State or county where less than half of the electorate had been registered or had voted in the 1964 presidential election. The law authorized the attorney general to appoint voting examiners to serve in any of those States or counties. It also gave these federal officers the power to register voters and otherwise oversee the conduct of elections in those areas.

Voting Rights Act of 1965
The Voting Rights Act of 1965 made the 15th Amendment, at long last, a truly effective part of the Constitution. Unlike its predecessors, this act applied to all elections held anywhere in this country—State and local, as well as federal.

Originally, the Voting Rights Act was to be in effect for a period of five years. Congress has extended its life on four occasions, in the Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, 1975, 1982, and, most recently, 2006. The present version of the law was made effective for 25 years; its provisions will not expire until 2031.

Fast Facts
- Number of African Americans who have been members of Congress: 123 (118 in the House and 5 in the Senate)
- Number of African American members of Congress by party: 96 Democrats and 27 Republicans
- The first African American woman in Congress: Shirley Chisholm, who served from 1969 until 1983
Today

1965 The Voting Rights Act protects African Americans against various tactics intended to prevent them from voting.

1966 Edward W. Brooke III (R., Mass.) becomes the first African American elected to the Senate since the 1870s.

2006 Sen. Barack Obama (D., Illinois) is the first African American to become a major party presidential candidate.

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Chapter 6 • Section 3 167

EXTENDING THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

The Voting Rights Act was reauthorized in 2006. This action extended the basic features of the law for 25 years. The reauthorization was named in honor of three leading women of the civil rights movement—Fannie Lou Hamer, Coretta Scott King, and Rosa Parks. Yet during the debate, some lawmakers argued that the original Voting Rights Act had already achieved its purpose. In addition, others objected to provisions that required bilingual ballots or interpreters for voters who do not speak English well.

Answers

Checkpoint The act suspended the use of literacy tests in places where less than half of the electorate was registered or voted in 1964.

EXTEND THE LESSON

L3 L2 Differentiate Help students use the Internet to research the life of one African American who served in the United States Congress. Students may choose a subject from the post-Civil War era or a more contemporary example. Using the information they collect, students should create a brief biographical sketch of their subject. The sketch should specifically address what kind of obstacles—if any—the politician experienced as an African American candidate, and how he or she overcame those challenges.

L4 Differentiate Have students research and report on the 91st Congress, which featured a dramatic jump in the number of African American members over the 90th Congress.

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to learn more about African American voting rights over time.
Assess and RemEDIATE

L2 Assess students’ work on the Core Worksheet.
L3 Assign the Section 3 Assessment questions.
L2 Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 91)
L2 Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 92)

Have students complete the review activities in the digital lesson presentation and continue their work in the Essential Questions Journal.

REMEDITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If Your Students Have Trouble With</th>
<th>Strategies For Remediation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The many legal means of denying African Americans the vote (Questions 2, 4)</td>
<td>Have students create flash cards with definitions of the terms gerrymandering, grandfather clause, white primary, poll tax, and literacy test.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The key Supreme Court rulings that helped end voter discrimination (Questions 1, 5)</td>
<td>Have students pairs write quiz questions for each other on the major cases mentioned in this section.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The key features of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Questions 3, 5)</td>
<td>Have students create a table that lists the key features of each law and its impact.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Answers

Caption: It might increase turnout by making it easier for people whose main language is other than English to take part.

Assessment Answers

1. After the 15th Amendment passed, widespread resistance to African American suffrage in the South led to effective limits to African American voting, but legal rulings and legislative action overcame these barriers.

2. Gerrymandering has been used to create electoral districts that weaken the voting strength of African Americans.

3. (a) Certain States could not institute or alter election law without prior approval of the Department of Justice. (b) The denial of voting rights to government action

4. (a) violence, threats, social pressures, literacy tests, poll taxes, white primaries, and gerrymandering (b) They kept many African Americans from voting and may have prevented the election of African American candidates.

5. (a) The Voting Rights Act applied to State and local elections, not just national elections. The Act did not rely on injunctions to stop illegal practices, but instead involved the federal government proactively in registering voters, monitoring elections, and challenging discriminatory laws and practices. (b) South Carolina v. Katzenbach upheld the act. Oregon v. Mitchell upheld the act’s ban on literacy tests and its residency requirements. Later amendments extended the life of the act, banned literacy tests permanently, and broadened voter-examiner and preclearance provisions to include language minorities.

QUICK WRITE Students should gather enough details to support a strong essay.
Casting Your Vote

Casting your vote in an election requires two different kinds of preparation. First, you must become aware of the rules and procedures concerning registering to vote and submitting your ballot where you live. Beyond that, you must consider several factors and examine the issues and candidates involved in the election in order to make an informed decision.

1. Understand Eligibility Rules In order to vote, you must be a United States citizen. You must of age. This generally means being 18, though some States allow people to vote at a younger age in some circumstances. Be sure to find out what the rules are where you live. Also find out about residence requirement. You must be a resident of the place where you plan to vote, though how you prove residency does vary.

2. Register to Vote You can register to vote by visiting the city or town election offices, or when you get or renew a driver’s license. You may also be able to register by mail or even online. Find out what you must do in your State to register as well as how soon before the election. Pay close attention to whether or not you will need to declare a political party when registering.

3. Educate Yourself As the election approaches, research the candidates and issues that will appear on the ballot. Read newspaper and online news coverage. Watch televised debates. Review candidate websites to learn about views and positions. By doing these things and thinking critically about what you learn, you are closer to being an informed voter.

4. Vote Voting requires that you make the effort to come to the polling place on election day and cast your ballot. Find out ahead of time when the polls will be open, and make plans to take the time necessary to meet this responsibility. If you think you will not be present on election day, find out about absentee voting. If advance voting is used where you live, be sure you understand the rules and procedures for casting a ballot.

What do you think?

1. Of the steps listed, which do you think is most important to casting a vote?
2. Why is it important to be an informed voter?
3. You Try It Follow the steps above and write a step-by-step description of how you would cast a ballot, using details specific to your community.

EXPLORE THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING AN INFORMED VOTER

Discuss the importance of advance preparation to vote. Ask: What factors make it necessary to begin planning to vote well in advance of an election? (Local laws about registration and establishing residency may vary, so it is important to investigate voting procedures well ahead of the actual election. You should plan ahead if you will be away from home on Election Day. Advanced planning can also ensure that you can make it to the polls on Election Day or that you obtain and properly submit an absentee ballot.)

Assess and Remediate

Have students answer the What Do You Think questions at the bottom of the page. Collect and assess student plans for registering to vote.

Answers

1. Registration is a prerequisite to voting, so it is most important.
2. Being informed is necessary for making wise choices.
3. A strong plan will identify where the student can register, what is needed in order to register, when to register to ensure participation in any upcoming election, when and where voting will take place, and what is needed to cast a ballot.
GUIDING QUESTION
What factors influence voter behavior?

I. Factors That Influence Voters
   A. Sociological
      1. Income
      2. Occupation
      3. Education
      4. Gender
      5. Age
      6. Religion
      7. Ethnic background
      8. Geography
      9. Family and other groups
   B. Psychological
      1. Party identification
      2. Views on candidates
      3. Views on issues

Get Started

LESSON GOALS
Students will . . .
- analyze a political cartoon in order to understand the effects of and reasons for nonvoting.
- explore the factors that influence voting behavior by creating a television advertisement that encourages voter participation.

BEFORE CLASS
Assign the section, the graphic organizer in the text, and the Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 93) before class.

DIFFERENTIATE Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 95)

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

INNOVATE AND THINK CREATIVELY
In this section, students will create a television advertisement to encourage voter participation. You may want to refer them to the Skills Handbook, p. 523, for information on innovating and thinking creatively.

Focus on the Basics

FACTS: • Many eligible voters do not vote for reasons ranging from illness to lack of interest. • Sociological factors such as income, occupation, education, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, and family and other group affiliation influence voting behavior. • Psychological factors such as a person’s party identification and perception of candidates and issues affect voter behavior.

CONCEPTS: values and principles of a civil society, rights and responsibilities as citizens, personal and civic rights and responsibilities, democratic values/principles

ENDURING UNDERSTANDINGS: • Nonvoting affects election outcomes. • Voting behavior results from a combination of several psychological and sociological factors.
Several facets of the nonvoter problem are not very widely known. Take, for example, this striking fact: There are millions of nonvoters among those who vote. Nearly 10 million persons who voted in the last presidential election could also have voted for a congressional candidate, but they did not choose to do so.

“Nonvoting voters” are not limited to federal elections. In fact, they are much more common in State and local elections. As a general rule, the farther down the ballot an office is, the fewer the number of votes that will be cast for it. This phenomenon is sometimes called ballot fatigue. The expression suggests that many voters exhaust their patience and/or their knowledge as they work their way down the ballot. More votes are generally cast for the governorship than for other Statewide offices, such as lieutenant governor or secretary of state. More voters in a county usually vote in the races for Statewide offices than vote in the contests for such county offices as sheriff, county clerk, and so on.

There are other little-recognized facets of the nonvoter problem, too. Turnout in congressional elections is consistently higher in presidential years than it is in off-year elections. That same pattern holds among the States in terms of the types of elections; more people vote in general elections than in either primary or special elections.

**Why People Do Not Vote**

Why so many nonvoters? Why, even in a presidential election, do as many as half of those who could vote stay away from the polls?

Clearly, the time that it takes to vote should not be a significant part of the answer. For most people, it takes more time to choose a DVD to watch than it does to go to their neighborhood polling place and cast a ballot. So we must look elsewhere for answers.

“Cannot-Voters” To begin with, look at another of those little-recognized aspects of the nonvoter problem. Several million persons who are regularly identified as nonvoters can be much more accurately described as “cannot-voters.” That is, although it is true that they do not vote, the fact is that they cannot do so.

The 2008 data support the point. Included in that figure are more than 80 million who did not vote in the last presidential election. One out of 10 million who are resident aliens. Remember, they are barred from the polls in

**BELLRINGER**

Display Transparency 6D, Voters, a political cartoon about nonvoters. Write on the board: Study the cartoon and write your answers to the questions in your notebook.

**L4, L2 Differentiate** Explain to students that the image in the cartoon is a scale, with voters on one side and nonvoters on the other.

**Teach**

To present this topic using online resources, use the lesson presentations at PearsonSuccessNet.com.

**REVIEW BELLRINGER ANSWERS**

Discuss the cartoon used for the Bellringer. Ask students why the artist included a scale in the cartoon. (The scale measures the impact of the two groups, voters and nonvoters.) Students should recognize in answering Question 1 that the nonvoters are basing their decision not to vote on their belief that their vote will not make a difference. The overall message of the cartoon (Question 2) is that the nonvoters’ choice does, in fact, have a big impact and actually threatens to outweigh the influence of people who do vote. Have a few students share their titles with the class. Discuss which proposed title best conveys the meaning of the cartoon.

**L4, L2 Differentiate** Organize a group of students to explore the meaning of the cartoon by acting out a brief skit in which a growing number of voters declare, “My vote won’t make a difference,” eventually overwhelming a smaller group of voters.

**L4 Differentiate** Have students create their own political cartoon that expresses the importance of voting.

**Differentiated Resources**

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 6, Section 4:

- L3 Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 93)
- L2 Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 95)
- L3 Core Worksheet (p. 97)
- L3 Quiz A (p. 98)
- L2 Quiz B (p. 99)
- L3 Chapter Test A (p. 100)
- L3 Chapter Test B (p. 103)

**Answers**

**Checkpoint** voters who do not vote in every election on the ballot

**Analyzing Graphs** It represents voters who vote in the presidential race and not in the congressional race, and it illustrates the practice of nonvoting voting.
INTRODUCE THE TOPIC OF NONVOTING

Tell students that this section is about the behavior of the American electorate. Explain that voting is considered a central right of citizenship—and a key responsibility, as well. Voting is the main way that people make their wishes known and have a say in their government. For this reason, a particular concern is the behavior of nonvoting. Direct student attention to the graph on voter turnout. Ask students to react to the information presented there. Does it surprise them to see the turnout for presidential elections? What about off-year elections?

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**Answers**

**Analyzing Political Cartoons** Some voters incorrectly question whether their vote has any impact on the outcome of elections.

**Checkpoint** possible answers: because they think it makes little difference which candidate wins an election; because they feel alienated; because they have no sense of political efficacy; because of cumbersome election procedures; because of time-zone fallout; because of lack of interest

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**Actual Nonvoters** Even so, there are millions of actual nonvoters in the United States. Thus, in 2008, more than 80 million Americans who could have voted in the presidential election did not. There are any number of reasons for that behavior. As a leading example: Many who could go to the polls do not because they are convinced that it makes little real difference which candidate wins a particular election.

That fairly large group includes two quite different groups of nonvoters. On the one hand, there are many who generally approve of the way the public’s business is being managed—that is, many who believe that no matter who wins an election, things will continue to go well for themselves and for the country.

On the other hand, that group also includes many people who feel *alienated*—that is, many who deliberately refuse to vote because they don’t trust political institutions and processes. They either fear or scorn “the system.” To them, elections are meaningless, choiceless exercises.

Another large group of nonvoters is composed of people who have no sense of *political efficacy*. That is, they lack any feeling of influence or effectiveness in politics.

Other factors can also dictate whether voters show up at the polls or not. Cumbersome election procedures—for example, inconvenient registration requirements, long ballots, and long lines at polling places—discourage voters from turning out on election day. Bad weather also tends to discourage voter turnout.

Another possible, though somewhat controversial, factor is the so-called “time-zone fallout” problem. This expression refers to the fact that, in presidential elections, polls in States in the Eastern and Central time zones close an hour or more before polls in States in the Mountain and Pacific time zones. Based on early returns from the East and Midwest, the news media often project the outcome of the presidential contest before all voters in the West have gone to the polls. Some people...
fear that such reports discourage western voters from casting their ballots.

Of all the reasons that may be cited, however, the chief cause for nonvoting is purely and simply, a lack of interest. Those who are indifferent, who just cannot be bothered, are usually woefully uninformed. Most often, they know little or nothing about the candidates and issues in an election. There are many who argue that the democratic process is well served by the fact that most of these people do not go to the polls.

**Comparing Voters and Nonvoters** One useful way to get a handle on the problem of nonvoting is to contrast those persons who tend to go to the polls regularly with those who do not.

The people most likely to vote display such characteristics as higher levels of income, education, and occupational status. They are usually well integrated into community life. They tend to be long-time residents who are active in, or at least comfortable with, their surroundings. They are likely to have a strong sense of party identification, and to believe that voting is an important act. They are also likely to live in those areas where laws, customs, and competition between the parties all promote turnout.

The opposite characteristics produce a profile of those less likely to vote. Nonvoters are likely to be younger than age 35, unmarried, and unskilled. More nonvoters live in the South and in rural locales. Men are less likely to vote than women—a fact that first became apparent in the 1980s.

A few of the factors that help determine whether or not a person will vote are so important that they influence turnout even when they conflict with other factors. For example, those persons with a high sense of political efficacy are likely to vote—no matter what their income, education, age, race, and so on may be. The degree of two-party competition also has an extraordinary impact on participation. Thus, the greater the competition between candidates, the more likely people will be to go to the polls, regardless of other factors.

Despite the greater weight of some of these factors, however, note this point: It is the combined presence of several factors, not one of them alone, that tends to determine whether a person will or will not vote.

**Voters and Voting Behavior** As you have read, tens of millions of potential voters do not go to the polls in this country. But many millions more do. How do those who do vote behave? What prompts many to vote most often for Republicans and many others to support the Democratic Party? Research has produced a huge amount of information about why people tend to vote as they do.

**Studying Voting Behavior** Most of what is known about voter behavior comes from three sources.

1. The results of particular elections. How individuals vote in a given election is secret in the United States. However, careful study of the returns from areas populated largely by, say, African Americans or Catholics or high-income families will indicate how those groups voted in a given election.

2. The field of survey research. The polling of scientifically determined cross sections of the population is the method by which public opinion is most often identified and measured. The Gallup Organization and the Pew Research Center conduct perhaps the best known of these polls today.

3. Studies of political socialization. Political socialization is the process by which people gain their political attitudes and opinions. That complex process begins in early childhood and continues through each person’s life. Political socialization involves all of the experiences and relationships that lead people to see the political world, and to act in it, as they do.

**Factors That Influence Voters** Observers still have much to learn about voter behavior, but many sociological and psychological factors clearly influence the way people cast their ballots. Sociology is the study of groups and how people behave within groups. The sociological factors affecting voter behavior are really the many pieces of a voter’s social and economic life. Those pieces are of two

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**Background**

**UNCOUNTED VOTES** Today, elections regularly feature complaints from people who want to vote but who are unable to for some reason. Problems range from unopened polling places to malfunctioning voting equipment to charges of intimidation. While many complaints lack merit, it is a fact that many people cast votes that are not counted due to voter error in marking a ballot or using equipment or equipment malfunction. Most famously, the 2000 presidential election shined a light on this problem. In Florida, thousands of voters entered polling booths and tried to cast a vote, only to have their ballots rejected by vote-counting machines. The presence of these unread ballots created controversy with the extremely close returns in that State and in the presidential election nationwide.

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**CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES**

Ask students what, if any, problem they see with low voter turnout. Ask: **Is it a bad thing? Why or why not?** Point out that many countries, including many democracies, have considerably higher turnout of 80 or even 90 percent or more. Some countries also have laws that require people to vote. Ask: **Should voters be required to take part in elections? What are the possible benefits and drawbacks of such a step?** (A possible benefit would be that all people would feel a greater sense of responsibility for their government, and government would feel responsible to a greater range of people. A drawback might be that many uninterested and uninformed voters might make poor choices at the polls.)

**Differentiate** Provide assistance in reading the graph. Explain what each bar on the graph measures (The combined green and blue bars represent voter turnout in presidential years, with the blue portion showing the larger vote for President than for members of Congress. The yellow bar represents turnout in national elections in years where there is no presidential race.) Check student understanding of the graph by having them identify the voter turnout for selected years.

**Differentiate** Have students research turnout for statewide elections, such as those for governor and state legislator. Students should use this data to create their own graph.
Distribute Core Worksheet

Distribute the Chapter 6 Section 4 Core Worksheet and the Rubric for Assessing a Television Advertisement (Unit 2 All-in-One, pp. 97, 255). Have students work in small groups to create a television advertisement to encourage voter participation among a nonvoting group. Students can work collaboratively on all aspects of the presentation, or they may divide up the tasks among themselves. The entire group, however, is responsible for the group’s presentation. If possible, have students create a multimedia presentation, incorporating video, sound, and Web pages. All groups should also make a storyboard that outlines each portion of the advertisement. The frame should include a sketch of what would appear on the screen, with the text of the message written below. On the reverse side of the paper, students should explain the intended message and how the frame accomplishes it.

**Differentiate** Allow students to choose roles at which they may excel or feel most comfortable.

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**Sociological Factors**

Using data from past elections, you can draw a composite picture of the American voter in terms of a number of sociological factors. A word of caution here: Do not make too much of any one of these factors. Remember, each voter possesses not just one, but in fact several of the many characteristics involved here.

To illustrate the point: College graduates are more likely to vote Republican. So are persons over age 50. African Americans, on the other hand, are more likely to vote for Democrats. So are members of labor unions. How, then, would a 55-year-old, college-educated African American who belongs to the AFL-CIO decide to vote?

**Income and Occupation**

Voters in lower income brackets are more likely to be Democrats. Voters with higher incomes tend to be Republicans. This pattern has held up over time, no matter whether a particular election was a cliffhanger or a blow-out. The 2008 election proved to be an exception, however. In that contest, those making under $50,000 did favor Democrat Barack Obama by an overwhelming majority. However, those with incomes of $50,000 and up were fairly evenly divided between the two candidates, and President Obama made significant inroads among those who make over $200,000, winning 52 percent of their votes.

Most often, how much one earns and what one does for a living are closely related. Professional and business people, and others with higher incomes, regularly tend to vote for Republican candidates. Manual workers, and others in lower income groups, usually vote for Democrats. Thus, with the exception of 1964 and 2008, professional and business people have voted heavily Republican in every presidential election in the modern era.

**Education**

Studies of voter behavior reveal that there is also a close relationship between the level of a voter’s education and how he or she tends to vote. College graduates vote for Republicans in higher percentages than high school graduates; and high-school graduates vote Republican more often than those who have only gone through grade school. Again, however, the 2008 election proved an exception to this trend.

**Gender, Age**

There are often measurable differences between the partisan choices of men and women today. This phenomenon is known as the gender gap, and it first appeared in the 1980s. Women generally tend to favor the Democrats by a margin of five to ten percent, and men often give the GOP the vote. In 2008, however, women overwhelmingly voted for Barack Obama. The difference was 12 percent. When the vote was broken down by age, the gender gap was even more pronounced. By 2012, the gender gap was 15 percent. This trend is expected to continue in the years to come.

A number of studies show that men and women are most likely to vote differently when such issues as abortion, health care or other social welfare matters, or military involvements abroad are prominent in an election.

Traditionally, younger voters have been more likely to vote Democratic than Republican. Older voters are likely to find the GOP and its candidates more attractive. Thus, in every presidential election from 1960 through 1980, the Democrats won a larger percentage of the votes of the under-30 age group than of the 50-and-over age bracket. That long-standing pattern was broken by Ronald Reagan’s appeal to younger voters in 1984, and by George H.W. Bush in 1988.

However, Bill Clinton reversed the Democrats’ claim to those voters in 1992 and 1996.
And John Kerry won the major slice of the votes of that age group—54 percent—in 2004. The 2008 election upheld this tradition of younger voters favoring the Democrats, and in a big way, with Barack Obama winning 66 percent of the under 30 vote.

**Religion, Ethnic Background** Historically, a majority of Protestants have most often preferred the GOP. Catholics and Jews have tended to be Democrats. The 2008 elections supported this trend, with President Obama winning just 45 percent of the votes cast by all Protestants and only 34 percent of those cast by white Protestants. Fifty-four percent of Catholics backed the President, and he won a huge 78 percent of the ballots cast by Jewish voters.

Moral issues—in particular, same-sex marriage—were unusually prominent in 2004. Church attendance has also lately emerged as a significant indicator of partisan

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**Myths and Misperceptions**

**Turnout Among Young Voters** It is true that young people historically have been poor participants in the electoral process. Yet recent elections suggest that the trend may be turning around. Display Transparency 6E, Reported Rates of Voting, Citizens Aged 18-24. It gives data about the voting rates of young people in recent elections. The percentage of eligible voters age 18 to 24 jumped sharply in the 2004 presidential election to 47 percent. Though still below the turnout of older voters, the increase in this age group was larger than in any other group. The 2006 mid-term elections also saw an increase in voter participation among younger voters. And, early results indicated increased young-voter turnout in 2008, as well.

**Answers**

**Checkpoint** Sociological factors include income, occupation, education, gender, age, religion, ethnic background, geography, family, and other groups. Any of these factors can influence people in how they make voting decisions.

**Analyzing Charts** Possible answer: The person may vote based on family history or on the tendencies of her peer group.
EXTEND THE LESSON

ELL Differentiate For students who have recently lived in other countries, have them instead interview family members and write a brief report about voting procedures and behaviors in that country and compare it to behaviors here.

Differentiate Have students pool the class’s findings and organize and present the information in a graph.

Differentiate Display Transparency 6F, Voting by Groups in Presidential Election 2008. Have students select one voting group and create a pie chart or bar graph that represents the percentage of Republican and Democratic voters. Have them draw a conclusion based on their chart or graph and share it with the class.

Preference. Fifty-five percent of voters who go to church at least once a week marked their ballots for Mr. McCain in 2008.

For decades now, African Americans have supported the Democratic Party consistently and massively. They form the only group that has given the Democratic candidate a clear majority in every presidential election since 1952. There are now more than 40 million African Americans, and they make up the second largest minority in the country.

In the North, African Americans generally voted Republican until the 1930s, but, with the coming of the New Deal, they moved away from the party of Abraham Lincoln. The civil rights movement of the 1960s led to much greater African American participation in the politics of the South. Today, African Americans vote overwhelmingly Democratic in that region, too.

The United States is now home to more than 45 million Latinos, people with Spanish-speaking backgrounds. Until now, Latinos have tended to favor Democratic candidates. Note, however, that the label “Latino” conceals differences among Cuban Americans, who most often vote Republican, and Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans, who are strongly Democratic. While the rate of turnout among Latinos increased significantly in the historic election of 2008, it was still comparatively low—well below 50 percent.

Geography Geography—the part of the country, State, and/or locale in which a person lives—also has a measurable impact on voter behavior. After the Civil War, the States of the old Confederacy voted so consistently Democratic that the southeast quarter of the nation became known as the Solid South. For more than a century, most Southerners, regardless of any other factor, identified with the Democratic Party.

The Solid South is now a thing of the past. Republican candidates have been increasingly successful throughout the region over the past half-century. The GOP now carries at least most of the Southern States in the presidential contest every four years, and it is now widely successful at the State and local levels across the region, too.

Those States that have most consistently supported Republican candidates over time have been Idaho, Wyoming, and Utah in the West and Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas in the Midwest. The Democrats have made significant inroads in former Republican strongholds in New England, over the past two decades or so.

Voters’ attitudes also vary in terms of the size of the communities in which they live. Generally, the Democrats draw strength from the big cities of the North and East and on the Pacific Coast. Many white Democrats have moved from the central cities and taken their political preferences with them, but Republican voters still dominate much of suburban America. Voters in smaller cities and rural areas are also likely to be Republicans.

Family and Other Groups To this point, you have seen the American voter sketched in terms of several broad social and economic characteristics. The picture can also be drawn on the basis of much smaller and more personal groupings, especially such primary groups as family, friends, and co-workers.

Typically, the members of a family vote in strikingly similar ways. Nine out of ten married couples share the same partisan leanings. As many as two out of every three voters follow the political attachments of their family and closest friends.
Parents. Those who work together and circles of friends also tend to vote very much alike.

This like-mindedness is hardly surprising. People of similar social and economic backgrounds tend to associate with one another. In short, a person’s group associations usually reinforce the opinions he or she already holds.

**Psychological Factors**

Although they are quite important, it would be wrong to give too much weight to the sociological factors in the voting mix. For one thing, these factors are fairly static. That is, they tend to change only gradually and over time. To understand voter behavior, you must look beyond such factors as occupation, education, ethnic background, and place of residence. You must also take into account a number of psychological factors. That is, you must look at the voters’ perceptions of politics: how they see and react to the parties, the candidates, and the issues in an election.

**Party Identification** A majority of Americans identify themselves with one or the other of the two major parties early in life. Many never change. They support that party, election after election, with little or no regard for either the candidates or the issues involved in a particular election.

The hefty impact of party identification—the loyalty of people to a particular political party—is the single most significant and lasting predictor of how a person will vote. A person who is a Democrat or a Republican will, for that reason, very likely vote for all or most of that party’s candidates in any given election. The practice of voting for candidates of only one party in an election is called **straight-ticket voting**.

Party identification is, therefore, a key factor in American politics. Among many other things, it means that each of the major parties can regularly count on the votes of millions of faithful supporters in every election.

Several signs suggest that, while it remains a major factor, party identification has lost some of its impact in recent years. One of those signs is the weakened condition of the parties themselves. Another is the marked increase in **split-ticket voting**—the practice of voting for the candidates of more than one party in an election. That behavior, which began to increase in the 1960s, is fairly common today.

Another telling sign is the large number of voters who now call themselves **Independents**. That term is regularly used to identify those people who have no party affiliation. It includes voters who are independent of both the Republicans and the Democrats (and of any minor party as well). “Independent” is a tricky term, however. Many who claim to be independents actually vote most often for the candidates of one or the other of the major parties.

The loose nature of party membership makes it difficult to determine just what proportion of the American electorate is independent. However, the best guesses put the number of independents at somewhere between a fourth and a third of all voters today. The role that these independent voters play is especially critical in those elections.

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**Background**

**Voting a Straight Ticket** Straight-ticket voting technically involves voting for all the candidates of one party. But in a number of States, voters have the option of casting a straight-ticket vote with a single mark or punch on the ballot. That is, by responding in one specific spot on the ballot, the voter casts a ballot for every single candidate of the designated party that appears on the ballot. The option was available in 17 States in 2008, though its use was limited in some cases—for example, to only primaries or only general elections. The number of States offering the option has declined in recent years.

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**Answers**

**Checkpoint** voting only for members of a single party
where the opposing major party candidates are more or less evenly matched.

Until fairly recently, the typical independent was less concerned, less well informed, and less active in politics than those voters who identified themselves as Republicans or Democrats. That unflattering description still fits many independents.

However, a new breed of independent voter began to appear in the 1960s and 1970s, and their ranks have grown over the years since then. Largely because of the political events and personalities of that period, these “new” independents preferred not to join either of the two major parties. Today, these independents are often young and above average in education, income, and job status.

Candidates and Issues Party identification is a long-term factor. While most voters identify with one or the other of the major parties and most often support its candidates, they do not always vote that way. One or more short-term factors can cause them to switch sides in a particular election, or at least vote a split ticket. Thus, in 2008, exit polls indicated that 6 percent of those persons who usually vote Republican voted for John Kerry for President, and 11 percent of those who normally support Democratic candidates marked their ballots for the President. Ten percent of those who identify themselves as Democrats picked Republican John McCain in 2008, while 9 percent of Republicans chose Democrat Barack Obama.

The most important of these short-term factors are the candidates and the issues in an election. Clearly, the impression a candidate makes on the voters can have an impact on how they vote. What image does a candidate project? How do the voters see that candidate in terms of personality, character, style, appearance, past record, abilities, and so on?

Just as clearly, issues can also have a large impact on voter behavior. The role of issues varies, however, depending on such things as the emotional content of the issues themselves, the voters’ awareness of them, and the ways in which the contending candidates present them to the electorate.

Issues have become increasingly important to voters over the past 40 years or so. The tumultuous nature of politics over the period—highlighted by the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, the feminist movement, the Watergate scandal, economic problems, and, over recent years, such critical matters as a severe economic recession and the ongoing wars in Iraq and Afghanistan—is most likely responsible for this heightened concern.

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Assessment Answers

1. Sociological factors include income, occupation, education, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geographic location, and family and other group affiliation. For example, people from suburbs and with high incomes and education tend to vote Republican. African Americans, Catholics, and women favor Democrats. Psychological factors include the voter’s party affiliation and views on the candidates and issues.

2. elections in which there is no presidential race

3. (a) A person who lacks any feeling of influence on politics is less likely to vote. (b) Possible response: Inconvenient registration requirements, long ballots, long lines at polling places, and bad weather can cause people to not vote.

4. Women and men differ in their voting behavior, with more women today favoring Democrats and more men favoring Republicans.

5. (a) Possible answer: Mandatory voting would be very unpopular. (b) The lack of popular support would make mandatory voting unworkable.

6. (a) Wealthier and better educated voters tend to vote in higher numbers. (b) Wealthy people are more likely to have a sense of political efficacy because they have been successful in the system. They also have a high stake in keeping politicians in power who will support favorable policies.

Quick Write Students should identify the chronology and the beginning, middle, and end of their story.
Have students download the digital resources available at Government on the Go for review and remediation.

**STUDY TIPS**

**Short-Answer Tests** Explain that when preparing for a short-answer test, students should focus on key terms, dates, and concepts. Flashcards are a good way to study for this type of test. Stress that simplicity is the rule for short answers. Introductions and conclusions are not necessary; instead, answers should be brief and to the point. It may help students to focus their thoughts if they underline key words in the question. For each statement they make, they should provide an example, reason, or explanation. Short-answer tests usually ask questions that begin with such words as list, define, name, or identify. Students might think in these terms as they study for the test.

**ASSESSMENT AT A GLANCE**

**Tests and Quizzes**
- Section Assessments
- Section Quizzes A and B, Unit 2 All-in-One
- Chapter Assessment
- Chapter Tests A and B, Unit 2 All-in-One
- Document-Based Assessment
- Progress Monitoring Online
- ExamView Test Bank

**Performance Assessment**
- Essential Questions Journal
- Debates, pp. 158, 174
- Assessment Rubrics, All-in-One

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**For More Information**

To learn more about voting, refer to these sources or assign them to students:

Chapter Assessment

COMPREHENSION AND CRITICAL THINKING

SECTION 1

1. (a) The States have the primary role of setting voter qualifications, within basic guidelines set by the Federal Government. (b) In some cases, States have been unwilling to observe the basic principles that the Constitution lays down—for example, by denying African Americans the vote in spite of the 15th Amendment.

2. (a) Restrictions include property ownership, religion, age, race, gender, and taxes. (b) possible response: greater federal involvement in removing restrictions, such as by constitutional amendment along with active federal enforcement (c) Possible answer: Federal action or a constitutional amendment all at once affects practices across the entire country, and it effectively overcomes local or State resistance to basic principles of the Constitution.

SECTION 2

3. (a) to prevent a political machine from bringing in outsiders to vote in local elections and to allow time for new voters to become familiar with the candidates and issues (b) The trend is to require shorter residency requirements. (c) Court rulings found that periods longer than 30 days were unreasonable for accomplishing the objectives and so an unnecessary hindrance to voting.

4. (a) The argument was “old enough to fight, old enough to vote.” (b) They tend to vote in smaller numbers than older groups. (c) Possible answer: Young voters don’t see politics as relevant to their lives.

5. (a) Originally, literacy tests were used to make sure that a voter had the capacity to cast an informed ballot. (b) Some whites, especially in the South, used difficult literacy tests as a means of unfairly preventing African Americans from voting.

SECTION 3

6. (a) to ensure that freed African American men would not be denied the vote on the basis of race (b) There was strong resistance among some white southerners, who used discriminatory laws and practices as well as intimidation to prevent African Americans from voting.

7. (a) Laws such as literacy tests and poll taxes were used to block access to the polls. (b) Would-be African American voters were kept from the polls through threats and violence. (c) Over time, the courts struck down many legal barriers, and strong federal laws, a constitutional amendment, and active federal enforcement also helped.

SECTION 4

8. (a) A nonvoting voter is a person who casts a ballot but does not make a choice in every race. (b) People exhaust their patience or knowledge as they work through the ballot.

9. (a) older, higher levels of income, education, and occupational status; long-time residents who are well integrated into the community (b) darker races tend to produce more turnout.

10. (a) Split-ticket voting is voting for candidates of more than one party on the same ballot. (b) differing opinions on individual candidates and issues

11. (a) Individuals fought and sacrificed for the United States and its way of life, and therefore people should not say that they are “too busy” to vote. (b) The soldier represents the ultimate sacrifice of giving one’s life for one’s country.
Document-Based Assessment

The American Electorate

Since the nation’s founding, the size of the electorate has grown remarkably. Much of that growth has involved extending the right to vote to such originally disenfranchised groups as African Americans and women. To many, efforts to expand the electorate represent the highest ideals of the American system of government, as illustrated by the documents below.

Document 1

This was the first nation in the history of the world to be founded with a purpose. The great phrases of that purpose still sound in every American heart, North and South: “All men are created equal.” “Government by consent of the governed.” “Give me liberty or give me death.” Well, those are not just clever words, or those are not just empty theories. In their name Americans have fought and died for two centuries, and tonight around the world they stand there as guardians of our liberty, risking their lives.

Those words are promised to every citizen that he shall share in the dignity of man. This dignity cannot be found in a man’s possessions. It cannot be found in his power or in his position. It really rests on his right to be treated as a man equal in opportunity to all others. It says that he shall share in freedom. He shall choose his leaders, educate his children, provide for his family according to his ability and his merits as a human being.

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument: every American citizen must have an equal right to vote.

—President Lyndon Johnson
Address to Congress, March 15, 1965

Use your knowledge of voting rights and Documents 1 and 2 to answer Questions 1–3.

1. Which answer best summarizes the point of Document 1?
   A. Voting rights are only one of the many important civil rights guaranteed to the American people.
   B. The right to vote is one of the most basic rights possessed by the American people.
   C. Only those people who are well informed should be allowed to vote.
   D. More people will have to fight and die in order to secure voting rights.

2. What are the people celebrating in Document 2, and what does the picture suggest will result?

3. Pull It Together Why do you think that securing voting rights for African Americans was essential to securing equal rights as citizens of the United States?


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Chapter 6 Assessment 181

Writing About Government

12. In their essays, students should provide background for their chosen event and include key details, organized in chronological order.

Apply What You’ve Learned

13. (a) A good answer will include all the necessary steps for the student’s community. (b) Students should identify any requirements, such as proof of residency or citizenship or identification, that may require advance planning by a person wishing to register. (c) A good answer will give specific suggestions, including explanations for how they would improve the process and prevent misuse.

14. The brochure should carefully list all the steps. Students should consider how registration requirements in the community either help or hinder voter participation.