

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.

L1 Special Needs

L2 Basic

ELL English Language Learners

LPR Less Proficient Readers

L3 All Students

Advanced Students

GUIDING OUESTION

How have voting rights changed over the course of American history?

History of Voting Rights	
Early 1800s	religious, property, and tax qualifications begin to disappear
1870	15th Amendment removes restrictions based on race or color
1920	19th Amendment removes restrictions based on sex
1960s	Voting Rights Act of 1965 and other civil rights legislation enforces racial equality at polling places; 23rd Amendment enables citizens of District of Columbia to vote in presidential elections; 24th Amendment eliminates poll tax
1970s	26th Amendment sets minimum voting age at 18

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 INFERENCES 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).

The Right to Vote



Guiding Question

How have voting rights changed over the course of American history? Use a graphic organizer to take notes on the history of voting rights in this country.

History of Voting Rights	
Early 1800s	
1870	
1920	
1960s	
1970s	

Political Dictionary

- suffrage franchise
- disenfranchised poll tax
- electorate

- 1. Summarize the history of voting rights in the United States
- 2. Identify and explain constitutional restrictions on the States' power to set voting qualifications.

Image Above: A volunteer helps a voter

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

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

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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.

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

✓ Checkpoint What was the first voting qualification to disap

v. to prevent, prohibit.

The Five Stages of Expanding Suffrage

Suffrage was gradually expanded over a period of nearly 200 years. As more and more Americans gained the right to vote, how might election results have been affected?







Early 1800s Religious, property. and tax qualifications begin to disappear in every State.

15th Amendment prohibits voting restrictions based on

19th Amendment removes voting restric- Act of 1965 enforces tions based on sex

The Voting Rights racial equality at polling places.

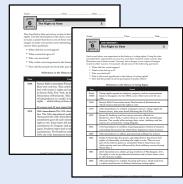
26th Amendment sets the minimum vot-

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Differentiated Resources

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

- Prereading and Vocabulary Worksheet (p. 57)
- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 61)
- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 62)
- L3 Core Worksheet (p. 63)
- L2 Core Worksheet (p. 65)
- Skills Worksheet (p. 67)
- L2 Skill Activity (p. 68)
- L3 Quiz A (p. 69) L2 Quiz B (p. 70)



BELLRINGER

Display Transparency 6A, Women's Suffrage. Write on the board: A suffragette is a woman who supports women's voting rights. In your notebook, write your answers to the questions that appear below the picture.

L1 L2 Differentiate Point out that at the time of the illustration, women were not allowed to vote in the United States.

Teach

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

DISCUSS THE PHOTOGRAPH

Discuss student response to the Bellringer photo. Explain that there appears to be a vote upcoming 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 guestions. (The office probably contains information for voters that might persuade them to support the cause of woman 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 franchise means "vote," suffrage mean "voting," and electorate means "people who have the right to

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.

² Women did vote in some elections in this country before Wyoming acted in 1869, however-notably in New Jersey, where women could and did vote in all elections from 1776 to 1807.

DISTRIBUTE CORE WORKSHEET

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.

L1 L2 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 guestion. 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.

Women's Suffrage In 1919

Interpreting Maps Before the 19th Amendment was adopted across the U.S., several States and territories had given women suffrage in various capacities. This map shows the type of suffrage granted. What observations can you make about women's suffrage in different regions?



OR WY CO OK Types of Suffrage Presidential elections only Primaries and conventions only

> 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,

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vigorous ad j. strong or powerful

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.

however, place five restrictions on the ability of the States to exercise that power:

- 1. Any person whom a State allows to vote for members of the "most numerous Branch" of its own legislature must also be allowed to vote for representatives and senators in Congress. This restriction is of little real meaning today. With only minor exceptions, each of the States allows the same voters to vote in all elections within the State.
- 2. No State can deprive any person of the right to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude" (15th Amendment).⁴
- **3.** No State can deprive any person of the right to vote on account of sex (19th Amendment).⁵
- **4.** No State can require payment of any tax as a condition for taking part in the nomination or election of any federal officeholder. That is, no State can levy any tax in connection with the selection of the President, the Vice President, or members of Congress (24th Amendment).
- 3 Article I, Section 2, Clause 1; the 17th Amendment extended the "most numerous Branch" provision to the election of senators.
- 4 The phrase "previous condition of servitude" refers to slavery. This amendment does not guarantee the right to vote to African Americans, or to anyone else. Instead, it forbids discrimination on these grounds when the States set suffrage qualifications.
- 5 This amendment does not guarantee the right to vote to women as such. Technically, it forbids States the power to discriminate against males or females in establishing suffrage qualifications.

5. No State can deprive any person who is at least 18 years of age of the right to vote because of age (26th Amendment).⁶

Beyond these five restrictions, remember that no State can violate any other provision in the Constitution in the setting of suffrage qualifications—or in anything else that it does. A case decided by the Supreme Court in 1975, *Hill v. Stone*, illustrates the point.

There, the Court struck down a section of the Texas constitution that declared that only those persons who owned taxable property could vote in city bond elections. The Court found the drawing of such a distinction for voting purposes—between those who do and those who do not own taxable property—to be an unreasonable classification prohibited by the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause.



Suffragists published newspapers and pamphlets in support of their cause. How might weekly or daily publications help in the fight for women's suffrage?



SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

 Guiding Question Use your completed graphic organizer to answer this question: How have voting rights changed over the course of American history?

Key Terms and Comprehension

- Briefly summarize the history of suffrage qualifications in this country.
- 3. (a) What is a poll tax? (b) Which amendment eliminated it?
- 4. (a) What is the American electorate?
 (b) Approximately how large is it?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Identify Central Issues (a) What was the voting experience of African Americans after the Civil War?
 (b) What does this suggest about the leaal expansion of voting rights?
- 6. Recognize Ideologies (a) What does the Constitution say about suffrage qualifications? (b) How does this reflect the Framers' ideas about the role of the Federal Government in the nation's political system?

Quick Write

Narrative Essay: Choose a

Topic Choose a significant event in the history of suffrage such as the coming of women's suffrage or the abolition of the poll tax. You may want to do preliminary research online or at the library. Write a paragraph summarizing the event and its importance. Include details such as who, what, when, where, and why.

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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.**

REMEDIATION

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

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

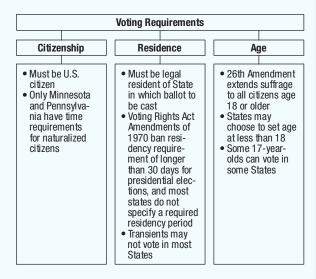
- **4. (a)** It is the potential voting population. **(b)** It is more than 230 million.
- **5. (a)** After the 15th Amendment legally enfranchised African Americans in 1870, their voting rights remained restricted until the 1960s when civil rights legislation and enforcement assured racial equality at polling places. **(b)** A good answer will recognize that expan-
- **(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 OUESTION

What are the requirements for voting, and how have they changed over time?



Get Started

LESSON GOALS

Students will . . .

- examine a political cartoon to begin a discussion of the benefits and drawbacks of voter identification
- analyze how voter qualifications have changed over time by examining a registration application from the
- 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



Guiding Question

What are the qualifications for voting, and how have they changed over time? Use the flowchart to record information about voter qualifications in the United States.

Voting Qualifications		
Citizenship	Residence	Age
•	•	
•	•	•
•	•	•

Political Dictionary

- alien
- purge transient oll books
- registration
- literacy

Objectives

- 1. Identify the universal qualifications for voting in the United States.
- 2. Explain the other requirements that States use or have used as voting qualifications.

re 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

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

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 1926. In a few States, local governments can permit noncitizens to vote in local contests-e.g., city council elections-and a handful do.

Image Above: Members of the armed forces stationed abroad vote by absentee ballot.

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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.

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

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.8 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.9

- 8 Recall from Chapter 5, 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.
- 9 Until recently, Arizona imposed a 50-day requirement period. The Supreme Court upheld Arizona's residence law in *Marston* v. Lewis in 1973, but it also declared in another case that a similar law "approaches the outer constitutional limits."

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.10 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

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

States quickly accepted that standard.

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

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Differentiated Resources

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

- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 71)
- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 73)
- L3 Core Worksheet A (p. 75)
- L3 Core Worksheet B (p. 78)
- L2 Core Worksheet B (p. 80)
- L3 L4 Extend Worksheet (p. 82)
- **L2** Extend Activity (p. 83)
- L3 Quiz A (p. 84) L2 Quiz B (p. 85)



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 6B, 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.

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.

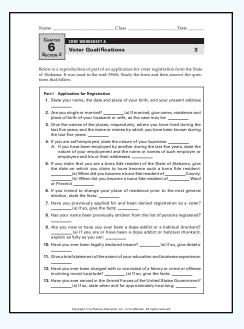
¹⁰ The Supreme Court upheld this provision in the law in Oregon

DISTRIBUTE CORE 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.

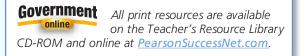
L1 L2 Differentiate Read the questions in the registration application aloud. Then ask students to choose two questions to answer at the bottom of the page.

14 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

V Checkpoint What event was significant to lowering the voting age?

infirmity
n. physical or mental weakness

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

fraudulent adj. deceitful; false

<u>eligibility</u> n. qualifications

> The service of Americans under 21 in the Vietnam War spurred the lowering of the

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

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

set at 19, and Hawaii became a State later that

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

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 the 26th Amendment? In short, not very

How have 18 to 20-year-olds responded

to fight, old enough to vote."

Efforts to lower the voting age to 18

Both Alaska and Hawaii set the age above

same year with a voting age of 20.

26th Amendment.

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 after 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



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Debate

"Disenfranchisement seems a particularly appropriate punishment for felons. The murderer, rapist, or thief has expressed contempt for his fellow citizens and broken the rules of society in the most unmistakable way."

—"Should Felons Vote?" by Edward Feser from City Journal, Spring 2005

Use this quotation to start a debate in your classroom. Ask: Should convicted felons be allowed to regain their right to vote after they serve their sentences?

identification intended to prevent <u>fraudulent</u> 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 <u>eligibility</u> to take part in closed primaries.

Requirements Forty-nine States—all except North Dakota—require that most, and usually all, voters be registered 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.¹¹ 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.



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Myths and Misconceptions

VOTING RIGHTS IN ANCIENT GREECE Ancient Greece is widely regarded as the birth-place 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.

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 counterargument. (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.

Answers

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

SHARE STUDENTS' LETTERS

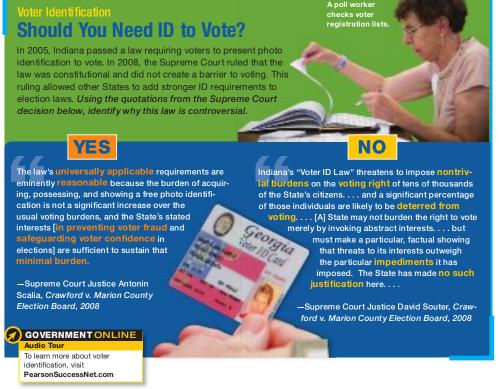
Distribute the student letters to the class, so that each student has an editorial written by another student. Have students offer a critique of the letter in which they identify what they think is the strongest point and the weakest point in the author's argument. Students should also make suggestions for improvements to the letters, using the criteria identified in the rubric.

L1 L2 Differentiate Create student teams to review the letters to the editor and offer suggestions.

DEBRIEF

Have students discuss what they have learned about the possible benefits and drawbacks of mandatory voting. Tell students to consider this question in light of the Unit 2 Essential Question: In what ways should people participate in public affairs? Ask: Is not voting a valid way of participating in public affairs? Should people be required to participate in this way?

Tell students to go to the Audio Tour to learn more about voter identification.



<u>buttress</u> v. to support, reinforce,

tion as a bar to voting, especially by the poor and less educated.

Those critics buttress their case by noting that voter turnout began to decline in the early 1900s, just after most States adopted a registration requirement. They also point to the fact that voter turnout is much higher in most European democracies than in the United States. In those countries, voter registration is not a matter of individual choice but is the law. Public officials must enter the names of all eligible citizens on registration lists. The United States is the only democratic country in which each person decides whether or not to register to vote.

Most people who have studied the problem favor keeping the registration requirement as a necessary defense against fraud. However, they also favor making the process a more convenient one. In short, they see the problem in these terms: Where is the line between making it so easy to vote that fraud is encouraged, and making it so difficult that legitimate voting is discouraged?

Most States have eased the registration process over the last several years. In 1993, Congress passed a law that required every State (but North Dakota) to do so. That law, dubbed the "Motor Voter Act," became effective in 1995. It directs the States to (1) allow all eligible citizens to register to vote when they apply for or renew a driver's license; (2) provide for voter registration by mail; and (3) make registration forms available at the local offices of State employment, welfare, and other social service agencies. The Federal Election Commission reported that by the year 2000, approximately 8 mil-

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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.

Answers

Voter Identification Possible answer: The requirement is controversial because, while some believe it is a reasonable effort to stop fraud, others see it as an unnecessary barrier to voting.

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 Craw fird v. Marion Count y Election Board in 2008. The Court ruled, 6–3, that the opponents of the law had not shown that it puts so unreasonable a 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 literary 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

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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.

▼ Checkpoint

What are the require-

ments of the "Motor

Voter Law Act?"

EXTEND THE LESSON

(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.)

L4 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.

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.

Assess and Remediate

- 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).
- Assign the Section 2 Assessment questions.
- Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 84)
- 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 reaisterina to vote?



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.

😘 Are you now or have you ever been affiliated with any group or organization which advocates the overthrow of the Unites 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?

Hampshire, Arizona, New York, Oregon, and Alaska. Its unfair use finally led Congress to literacy qualifications in 1970. The Supreme Court agreed in Oregon v. Mitchell, 1970:

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 in only 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

12 By that time, the poll tax had been abolished in North Carolina (1920), Louisiana (1934), Florida (1937), Georgia (1945), South Carolina (1951), Tennessee (1953), and Arkansas (1965).

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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 seri-



During the 2004 election. The Partnership for the Homeless, held a voter registration drive in New York City. Why might it be important to register the homeless in a large city?

ous 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.

Journal

To continue to build a Essential Questions response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

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?

Key Terms and Comprehension

- 2. What does the Constitution say about the voting rights of aliens?
- 3. (a) What is the purpose of laws requiring voter registration? (b) How do registration laws vary among States?
- 4. 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

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REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The universal requirements of voter registration (Questions 1, 2)	Have students create a chart that details the basic requirements for all voters in the United States.
The reasons for voter registration (Questions 3, 4, 5)	Have student pairs debate the pros and cons of voter registration.
The historical misuse of voter requirements (Question 6)	Have students make a timeline that shows the history of now-removed voting restrictions of literacy and tax payment.

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.

GUIDING OUESTION

How did the U.S. fulfill the promise of the 15th Amendment?

15th Amendment

- Ratified 1870
- 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 require-
- 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 preclearance 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

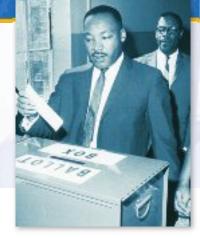
SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

ANALYZE TIMELINES

Before students study the timeline in this section, you may want to review information on analyzing timelines in the Skills Handbook, p. S29.

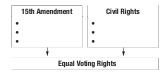


Suffrage and Civil Rights



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



Political Dictionary

- gerrymandering • injunction
- preclearance

Objectives

- 1. Describe the tactics often used to deny African Americans the right to vote despite the command of the 15th Amendment
- 2. Understand the significance of the civil rights laws enacted in 1957, 1960, and 1964.
- 3. Analyze the provisions and effects of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

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

ow important is the right to vote? For those who do not have it, that right ow important is the right to vote: For those with the Deep South of the 1960s, civil rights workers suffered arrest, beatings, shocks with electric cattle prods, even death—all in the name of the right to vote. Their efforts inspired the nation and led to large-scale federal efforts to secure that right for African Americans and other minority groups in the United States.

The 15th Amendment

The effort to extend the franchise to African Americans began with the 15th Amendment, which was ratified in 1870. It declares that the right to vote cannot be denied to any citizen of the United States because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The amendment was plainly intended to ensure that African American men, nearly all of them former slaves and nearly all of them living in the South, could vote.

The 15th Amendment is not self-executing, however. In other words, simply stating a general principle without providing for a means of enforcement was not enough to carry out the intention of the amendment. To make it effective, Congress had to act. Yet for nearly 90 years the Federal Government paid little attention to the voting rights of African Americans.

History During that period, African Americans were generally and systematically kept from the polls in much of the South. White supremacists employed a number of tactics to that end. Their major weapon was violence. Other tactics included more subtle threats and social pressures—for example, firing an African American man who tried to register or vote, or denying his family credit at local stores.

More formal "legal" devices were used, as well. The most effective were literacy tests. White officials regularly manipulated those tests to disenfranchise African Americans. Registration laws served the same end. As written, they applied to all potential voters. In practice, however, they were often administered to keep African Americans from qualifying to vote. Poll taxes, "white primaries," gerrymandering, and several other devices were also used.

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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. Light foot, 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 outlaws 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 compels 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

Checkpoint
What is gerrymandering
and how was it used to
keep African Americans
from voting?

white supremacist n. advocate of the superiority of the white race, racist

compel v. to force, require

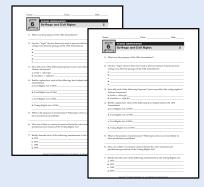
civilian
n. any person not an active member of the armed forces or having police power

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Differentiated Resources

The following resources are located in the All-in-One, Unit 2, Chapter 6, Section 3:

- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 86)
- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 87)
- L3 Core Worksheet (p. 88)
- L3 Quiz A (p. 91)
- **L2** Quiz B (p. 92)



Get Started

LESSON GOALS

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.

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.**

L1 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.) 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

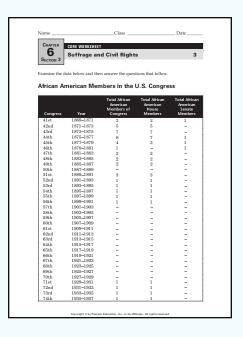
Checkpoint Gerrymandering is the drawing of district lines in ways that weaken specific groups. It was used to weaken African Americans' voting power.

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.

DISTRIBUTE 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.



Answers

Analyzing Timelines There was significant public resistance to the amendment.

African Americans and the Vote



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?

> Capitol. The nation saw much of the drama on television and was shocked. An outraged President Lyndon Johnson urged Congress to pass new and stronger legislation to ensure the voting rights of African Americans. Congress responded, and quickly.

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.

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.

Preclearance The Voting Rights Act of 1965 created a further restriction on those States where a majority of the electorate had not voted in 1964. The act declared that no new election laws, and no changes in existing election laws, could go into effect in any

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predecessor n. one who goes

before, forerunner

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
- Number of Africans Americans serving in the 110th Congress (2007–2009): 43

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.

2008 Sen. Barack Obama (D., Illinois) is the first African American to become a major party presidential candidate.

Left: Civil rights marchers approach Alabama's State Capitol during a voter registration protest march in 1965.



GOVERNMENT ONLINE

of those States unless first approved—given **preclearance**—by the Department of Justice. Only those new or revised laws that do not <u>dilute</u> the voting rights of minority groups can survive the preclearance process and take effect.

The preclearance hurdle has produced a large number of court cases over the years. Those cases show that the laws most likely to run afoul of the preclearance requirement are those that make these kinds of changes: (1) the location of polling places; (2) the boundaries of election districts; (3) the deadlines in the election process; (4) a shift from ward or district election to at-large elections; or (5) the qualifications candidates must meet in order to run for office.

Any State or county subject to the voterexaminer and preclearance provisions can be removed from the law's coverage through a "bail-out" process. That relief can come if the State shows the United States District Court in the District of Columbia that it has not applied any voting procedures in a discriminatory way for at least 10 years.

The voter-examiner and preclearance provisions of the 1965 Voting Rights Act originally applied to six entire States: Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia. They also applied to 40 counties in North Carolina.

The Supreme Court upheld the Voting Rights Act in 1966. In *South Carolina* v. *Katzenbach*, a unanimous Court found the law to be a proper exercise of the power granted to Congress in Section 2 of the 15th Amendment. That provision authorizes Congress to use "appropriate" measures to enforce the constitutional prohibition against racial discrimination in voting set out in Section 1 of the amendment.

Amendments to the Act The Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970 extended the law for another five years. The 1968 elections were taken into account in determining jurisdictions with concerns: the result was that a

Checkpoint
What provision about
literacy tests was in
the Voting Rights Act of
1965?

dilute
v. to weaken, diminish,
water down

run afoul
v. to come into conflict
with, be at odds with

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Background

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.

- L1 L2 Differentiate Help students read the table, making clear that the middle column shows totals, the second column from the right shows representation in the House, and the far-right column shows representation in the Senate.
- **Differentiate** To challenge students, have them research and provide data about the electoral success of women and other minority groups in Congress.

DISCUSS WORKSHEET ANSWERS

Review the answers to the Core Worksheet questions as a class. Make sure students correctly recognize the impact of the 15th Amendment (Question 1), the systematic effort to deny African American voting rights (Question 2), and the impact of the civil rights movement (Question 3). When discussing Question 4, point out that Senate elections are statewide and most House elections are not. Invite classroom debate of student answers to Question 5.

EXTEND THE LESSON

- Have 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.
- L1 L2 Differentiate Help students identify a possible subject for their research, and have them compile biographical information about their subject and present their findings as a list of facts and highlights about the person's career.
- **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.

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.

Assess and Remediate

- L3 Assess students' work on the Core Worksheet.
- **13** Assign the Section 3 Assessment questions.
- Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 91)
- 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.

REMEDIATION

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

Answers

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



The Voting Rights Act requires that official election materials and ballots be printed both in English and in other common languages in that community. What effect might ballots offered in different languages have on voter turnout?

number of counties in six more States (Alaska, Arizona, California, Idaho, New Mexico, and Oregon) were included in the law's coverage.

That 1970 law also provided that, for five years, no State could use literacy as the basis for any voting requirement. That temporary ban as well as residence provisions outlined in the law were upheld by the Supreme Court in Oregon v. Mitchell in 1970.

In 1975, the law was extended again, this time for seven years, and the five-year ban on literacy tests was made permanent. Since 1975, no State has been able to apply any

sort of literacy qualification to any aspect of the election process. The law's voter-examiner and preclearance provisions were also broadened in 1975. Since then, they have also covered any State or county where more than 5 percent of the voting-age population belongs to certain "language minorities." These groups are defined to include all persons of Spanish heritage, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Alaskan Natives.

This addition expanded the law's coverage to all of Alaska and Texas and to several counties in 24 other States, as well. In these areas, all ballots and other official election materials must be printed both in English and in the language of the minorities involved.

The 1982 amendments extended the basic features of the act for another 25 years. In 1992, the law's language-minority provisions were revised: they now apply to any community that has a minority-language population of 10,000 or more.

Over the years, several States and a handful of counties in a few other States have been removed from the law's coverage, through the "bail-out" process. Today, eight entire States remain subject to the Voting Rights Act: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Texas. At least some counties in six other States are also covered by the statute: California, Florida, New York, North Carolina, South Dakota, and Virginia, as well as two townships in Michigan and ten towns in New Hampshire.

Essential Questions Journal SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

1. Guiding Question Use your completed chart to answer the question: How did the United States fulfill the promise of the 15th Amendment?

Key Terms and Comprehension

- 2. How has gerrymandering been used to prevent the fulfillment of the 15th Amendment?
- 3. (a) What is preclearance? (b) What is the process meant to prevent?

Critical Thinking

- 4. Synthesize Information (a) What tactics were used in the South to prevent African Americans from voting after the passage of the 15th Amendment? (b) What effect did these tactics have on elections?
- 5. Make Comparisons (a) In what key way did the Voting Rights Act of 1965 differ from earlier civil rights laws? (b) How have more recent legislation and court decisions helped further refine that Act?

Quick Write

Narrative: Gather Details Gather any additional details about the event vou chose in Section 1 that may be important to your essay. List details in order of importance.

To continue to build a

response to the chapte Essential Question, go to your Essential Questions Journal.

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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 through 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 discrimi-

natory 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 voterexaminer and preclearance provisions to include language minorities.

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

CITIZENSHIP 101

Casting Your Vote

Voting is one of the greatest privileges a citizen enjoys. It means that you have a role in deciding who your elected officials will be. Yet voting is a big responsibility. It takes some planning to ensure your eligibility, prepare yourself to become an informed voter, and eventually cast your vote.

asting 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 be 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 require-

ments. 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 Votingrequires 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
- 2. Why is it important to be an informed voter?
- 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.

GOVERNMENT ONLINE

For an activity to help you learn more about voting, go to PearsonSuccessNet.com

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Citizenship Activity Pack

L1 L2 If your students need extra support, use the Citizenship Activity Pack lesson How to Cast Your Vote. It includes a lesson plan for you, a poster offering a brief history of voting in the United States, and a fill-in-the-blank activity to test students' basic voting vocabulary. Students will complete a sample voter registration card. Then they will consider and vote on three ballot initiatives related to the classroom. Students may also access the Citizenship Activity Pack online for activities on How to Cast Your Vote at PearsonSuccessNet.com.

LESSON GOAL

 Students will analyze the process for casting a vote, including identifying the specific rules for their State and community.

Teach

READ

Have students read the introduction to Citizenship 101 aloud. If students have computer access, you may have them search for information about the registration and voting rules for their State.

DISCUSS

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 can 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.)

EXPLORE THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING AN INFORMED VOTER

Explain to students that voting is a responsibility and that voters have an obligation to cast an informed ballot. Ask: What might happen if voters did not have adequate knowledge of the candidates or issues being contested in an election? (They could not make wise choices that served their own or the public interest.)

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 OUESTION

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.

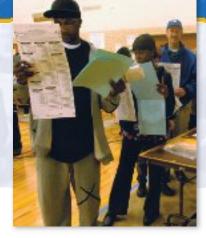
Differentiate Reading Comprehension Worksheet (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 95)

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. S23, for information on innovating and thinking creatively. SECTION 4

Voter **Behavior**



Guiding Question

What factors influence voter behavior? Use the outline to record details about voter behavior.

Factors that Influence Voters A. Sociological B. Psychological

Political Dictionary

- off-vear election
- ballot fatique
- political . efficacy
- political socialization
- · gender gap
- party identification
- straight-ticket voting split-ticket
- voting
- independent

Objectives

- 1. Examine the problem of nonvoting in this country.
- 2. Identify those people who typically do not vote.
- 3. Examine the behavior of those who vote and those who do not.
- 4. Understand the sociological and psychological factors that affect voting and voter behavior.

Image Above: Reviewing a ballot on election day

our vote is your voice. Use it." That's the advice of Rock the Vote, an organization that encourages young voters ages 18 to 25 to participate in the election process. In the United States, and in other democratic countries, we believe all voices should be heard. That is, we believe in voting.

Most elections in this country are built around two-candidate contests. How many choices does a voter have in a two-candidate race? More than most people think. Not just two but, in fact, five options. He or she can (1) vote FOR Candidate A, (2) vote AGAINST Candidate A, (3) vote FOR Candidate B, (4) vote AGAINST Candidate B, or (5) decide not to vote for either candidate.

Over the next several pages, you will look at voter behavior in this country-at who votes and who does not, and at why those people who do vote cast their ballots as they do.

Nonvoting

The word idiot came to our language from the Greek. In ancient Athens, idiots (idiotes) were those citizens who did not vote or otherwise take part in public life.

Tens of millions of Americans vote in presidential and congressional elections; in State elections; and in city, county, and other public elections. Still, there are many millions of other Americans who, for one reason or another, do not vote. There are some quite valid reasons for not voting, as you will see. But this troubling fact remains: Most of the millions of Americans who could—but do not-go to the polls cannot claim any of those justifications. Indeed, they would have been called idiots in the Greece of 2500 years ago.

On election day in 2008, there were an estimated 227.8 million persons of voting age in the United States. Yet only some 127 million of them-only 61 percent—actually voted in the presidential election. More than 100 million persons who might have voted did not.

In 2008, some 114 million votes were cast in the elections held across the country to fill the 435 seats in the House of Representatives. That means that only 50 percent of the electorate voted in those congressional contests. (Notice the even lower rates of turnout in the off-year elections—that is, in the congressional elections held in the even-numbered years, between presidential elections.)

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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 <u>facets</u> 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 TK 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.

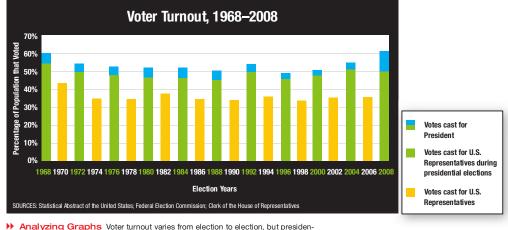
Why People Do Not Vote

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 of more than 100 million who did not vote in the last presidential election are at least 10 million who are resident aliens. Remember, they are barred from the polls in



r Arialyzing Graphis voter lumbout varies from election to election, but presidential elections always draw more voters than off-year elections. What factor does the blue at the top of each bar represent, and what is this factor called?

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▼ Checkpoint

What are "nonvoting

n. side or aspect

voters"?

<u>facet</u>

Differentiated Resources

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

- Reading Comprehension Worksheet (p. 93)
- 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)
- L2 Chapter Test B (p. 103)



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.**

L1 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

L1 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.

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?

Government All print resources are available on the Teacher's Resource Library CD-ROM and online at <u>PearsonSuccessNet.com</u>.

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

Analyzing Political Cartoons Until the 2008 election, voter participation had not broken the 60 percent mark since the 1960s. What does this cartoon suggest about voter apathy?



▼ Checkpoint Why do people choose not to vote?

alienate vt. to feel unfriendly or hostile to, isolated from

<u>idolatry</u> n excessive devotion to some person or thing

every State. Another 5 to 6 million citizens were so ill or otherwise physically disabled that they simply could not vote in an election. An additional 2 to 3 million persons were traveling suddenly and unexpectedly, and so could not vote.

Other groups of cannot-voters can be discovered in the nonvoting group. They include some 500,000 persons in mental health care facilities or under some other form of legal restraint because of their mental condition; more than 2 million adults in jails and prisons; and perhaps as many as 100,000 who do not (cannot) vote because of their religious beliefs—for example, those who believe that acts such as voting amount

Racial, religious, and other biases still play a part here, too-despite the many laws, court decisions, and enforcement actions of the past several years aimed at eliminating such discrimination in the political process. An unknown but certainly significant number of people cannot vote today because of (1) the purposeful administration of election laws to keep them from doing so, and/or (2) various "informal" local pressures applied to that same end.

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 alienatedthat 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. They do not believe that they or their votes can have any real impact on what government does or does not do.

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

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Teacher-to-Teacher Network

ALTERNATE LESSON PLAN Ask students to research voting requirements in their State and in five others of their choosing from various parts of the country. Have them create a graphic organizer to compare and contrast these requirements. Then ask them to write a brief essay summarizing their results and explaining how State control of voting requirements reflects the principle of federalism. They should conclude their essays with their opinion as to whether the States or the Federal Government should control voting requirements and explain the reasons for their choice.

To see this lesson plan, go to



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 <u>indifferent</u>, who just cannot be bothered, are usually weefully 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 feld 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.

Checkpoint
What three sources are used to gather data about voter behavior?

indifferent adj uninterested, uncaring, not concerned

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.)

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.

L4 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.

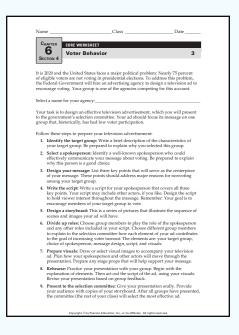
Answers

Checkpoint results of elections, the field of survey research, and studies of political socialization

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.

L1 L2 Differentiate Allow students to choose roles at which they may excel or feel most comfortable.



broad kinds: (1) a voter's personal characteristics-age, race, income, occupation, education, religion, and so on; and (2) a voter's group affiliations-family, co-workers, friends, and the like.

Psychology is the study of the mind and individual behavior. The psychological factors that influence voter behavior are a voter's perceptions of politics—that is, how the voter sees the parties, the candidates, and the issues in an election.

The differences between these two kinds of influences are not nearly so great as they might seem. In fact, they are closely related and they constantly interact with one another. How voters look at parties, candidates, or issues is often shaped by their own social and economic backgrounds.

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 highschool 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 a similar edge. In 2008, however, President Obama won 56 percent of all votes cast by women, while men's votes were evenly split between the candidates.

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 restored the Democrats' claim to those voters in 1992 and 1996.

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Debate

"In this country, you are free to vote or not vote. And Americans want it that way.... Our right not to vote is sacred, too."

—"Crock the Vote" by Knute Berger from the Seattle Weekly, June 23, 2004 Use this quotation to start a debate in your classroom. Ask: Would a legal requirement to vote violate our basic freedoms?

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. ¹⁴ 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, samesex marriage—were unusually prominent in 2004. Church attendance has also lately emerged as a significant indicator of partisan



oting by Gro	ups in President	tial Elect	ions	Update Check out recent voter data at PearsonSuccessNet.com
Analyzing Charte This	chart reports the voting behavior of sev	veral major segments	of the	
	nost recent presidential election. As you			
that every voter belongs to	not just one, but all of these groups. Ho	w might a 45-year-o	ld, college-	
educated, Hispanic woma	n who makes \$60,000 per year vote?	Explain your reason	ning.	
	GROUPS (percentage of total)	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRA	ATIC
	All voters (100%)	45%	53%	·····c
GENDER	741 101010 (10070)	1070	0070	
Women vote Democratic	Men (46%)	48%	49%	
nore often than men.	Women (54%)	43%	56%	
nore orten utan men.				
RACE	White (74%)	55%	43%	
African Americans vote	African American (13%)	4%	95%	
neavily Democratic.	Latino/a (9%)	31%	67%	
	Asian (2%)	35%	62%	
	10.00 (100)	200/	000/	
AGE	18–29 years (18%)	32%	66%	A COLUMN
Older people vote more	30-44 years (29%)	46% 49%	52%	A A A
neavily Republican.	45-64 years (37%)	53%	50% 45%	201920
	65 years (16%)	3376	43/0	4000
NCOME				Parameter Services
People with higher	Less than \$50,000/year (38%)	38%	60%	
ncomes tend to vote	\$50,000 or more/year (62%)	49%	49%	To the same
Republican.	\$50,000 or more/four (62%)	1070	1070	1 200
				THE PARTY OF THE P
DUCATION	No high school (4%)	35%	63%	A McA
Republican voting in-	High school graduate (20%)	46%	52%	
republican voting in- creases with education,	Some college (31%)	47%	51%	/SCY
ip to a point.	College graduate (28%)	48%	50%	THE PARTY NAMED IN
ap to a point.	Postgraduate study (17%)	40%	58%	
				E Wasterless Avenue
PARTY IDENTIFICATION	Democratic (39%)	10%	89%	S Comment S
Most significant predic-	Republican (32%)	90%	9%	
tor of how one will vote.	Independent (29%)	44%	52%	

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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.

REVIEW PRESENTATIONS

Have groups deliver their presentations to the class. Presentations should begin with an explanation of how the advertisement contributes to the goal of increasing voter turnout. Presentations should end with a skit in which the spokesperson (and possibly students playing other roles) act out the television script for the ad or present their storyboards. After each group presents, ask the other class members to write their evaluations on a sheet of paper, using the rubric provided with the activity. Evaluations should also address the following questions: What is most effective about the advertisement? What is least effective? After all groups have presented, ask the class to vote on which advertisement would be most effective in increasing voter turnout, and discuss why.

Tell students to go to the Online Update to check out recent voter data.

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.

¹⁴ In 1960, John F. Kennedy became the first Roman Catholic President. His election marked a sharper split between Catholic and Protestant voters than in any other recent election.

EXTEND THE LESSON

Have students design and carry out a survey of at least five adults that assesses voting attitudes and participation. Students should seek information about past participation in voting and about what factors influenced their interviewees' political views and affiliations. Be sure students understand that it is not appropriate to ask subjects to reveal certain personal information, such as income. Students should also respect subjects' wish not to share information about specific candidates supported. Once students have collected their data, they should write a brief summary of their findings.

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.

14 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.



nalyzing Political Cartoons Is it really true that only those persons who vote have a right to complain? Why or why not?

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 Spanishspeaking 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

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Background

NIXON AND THE SOLID SOUTH. The decline of the Solid South is often traced to the 1968 election and the so-called "southern strategy" of Republican candidate Richard Nixon. Nixon and his team tried to take advantage of public reaction among some whites in the South against Democratic support for major civil rights laws in 1964 and 1965. The southern strategy stressed "states rights" and is thought to have succeeded in attracting many long-time Democrats to the Republican Party.

Answers

Analyzing Political Cartoons Possible answer: All citizens have the right to complain because participation in public affairs is not limited to voting alone.

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, those 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. ¹⁵ 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

15 Note that the term "independent" is sometimes mistakenly used to suggest that independents form a more or less cohesive group that can be readily compared with Republicans and Democrats. In short, independents in American politics are not only independent of Republicans and Democrats; each of them is also independent of all other independents.

Checkpoint
What is straight-ticket
voting?





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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.

Assess and Remediate

- L2 L3 Grade students' work according to the rubric for the Core Worksheet activity.
- Assign the Section 4 Assessment questions.
- Section Quiz A (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 98)
- L2 Section Quiz B (Unit 2 All-in-One, p. 99)

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

Answers

Checkpoint voting only for members of a single party

REMEDIATION

If Your Students Have Trouble With	Strategies For Remediation
The size of the nonvoting problem (Questions 2, 3)	Have students review and summarize the graph on Voter Turnout.
Why people do not vote (Questions 1, 2, 3, 6)	Have students create a web diagram that identifies and describes the major reasons for nonvoting.
The sociological factors that affect voting behavior (Questions 1, 3, 4, 6)	Have students create a sociological profile of a "typical" Democrat and Republican.
The psychological factors that affect voting behavior (Questions 1, 3)	Create a table that lists the major psychological factors affecting voting behavior. Ask students to explain how each factor listed might influence a potential voter.

Answers

Checkpoint the candidates and issues involved in the election

✓ Checkpoint What additional factors impact voter behavior closer to election time?

tumultuous

agitated

adj. chaotic, stormy,

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

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Essential Questions response to the chapter response to the chapter Essential Question, go to your To continue to build a Essential Questions Journal

1. Guiding Question Use your completed outline to answer this question: What factors influence voter behavior?

Key Terms and Comprehension

- 2. What are off-year elections?
- 3. (a) How does a person's sense of political efficacy affect voting behavior? (b) What other factors affect how a person will vote?
- 4. What is the meaning and significance of the gender gap?

Critical Thinking

- 5. Predict Consequences (a) In some democracies, voters are required to vote. Do you think such mandatory voting would work in the United States? (b) Why or why not?
- Draw Inferences (a) How do factors such as income and level of education impact rates of voter participation? (b) Why do you think this is the case?

Quick Write

Narrative: Select a Narrative Structure Using your research and the list of details, identify what the climax, or most interesting and vivid part of your story, is. Narratives are usually told in chronological order with the climax near the end. Organize the details you collected for your essay into a beginning, middle, and end.

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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

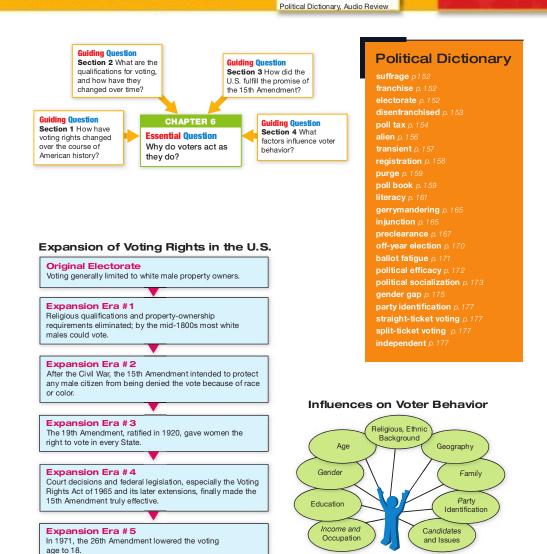
tend to vote in higher numbers. **(b)** Wealthy people are more likely to have a sense of political efficacy because they have been successful in the system. They also have a high stake in keeping politicians in power who will support favorable policies.

QUICK WRITE Students should identify the chronology and the beginning, middle, and end of their story.

Quick Study Guide

On the Go
To review anytime, anywhere, download these online resources at PearsonSuccessNet.com





Chapter 6 Assessment 179

For More Information

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

- De Capua, Sarah. Voting. Children's Press, 2002.
- **Adams, Colleen.** Women's Suffrage: A Primary Source History of the Women's Rights Movement in America. Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 2002.
- Laney, Garrine P. The Voting Rights Act of 1 965: Historical Background and Current Issues. Novinka Books, 2004.
- **Kaufmann, Karen M., Petrocik, John R., and Shaw, Daron R.,** *Unconventional Wisdom: Facts and Myths About American Voters.* Oxford University Press, 2008.

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 Ouizzes

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**

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

Chapter Assessment

To test your understanding of ke terms and main ideas, visit PearsonSuccessNet.com

Comprehension and Critical Thinking

Section 1

- 1. (a) Which level of government is primarily responsible for establishing voter qualifications in the United States? (b) Why has the Federal Government gradually assumed a larger role in the setting of those qualifications?
- 2. (a) Identify the restrictions that prevented some citizens from voting in the past. (b) What has been the most effective and common way to overturn those restrictions? (c) Why do you think this is?

Section 2

- 3. (a) Why do States set residence requirements? (b) How have those requirements changed over time? (c) Why have those changes occurred?
- 4. (a) What was the primary argument made in favor of lowering the voting age to 18? (b) How has youth participation in elections changed since then? (c) Why do you think this is?
- 5. (a) What was the original purpose of literacy tests? (b) What prompted the removal of literacy requirements?

Section 3

- 6. (a) Why was the 15th Amendment adopted? (b) Why was that amendment largely ineffective for nearly a century?
- 7. (a) What were some of the legal means used to keep African Americans from voting? (b) What were some of the illegal means used? (c) How were the efforts to disenfranchise African Americans finally overcome?

Section 4

8. (a) What is a nonvoting voter? (b) What is the cause of

- 9. (a) What are some of the characteristics of a likely voter? (b) How does a closely contested race usually affect voter turnout?
- 10. (a) What is split-ticket voting? (b) What psychological factors tend to produce split-ticket voting?
- 11. Analyzing Political Cartoons Study the cartoon below that references a World War II monument. (a) What is the message of the cartoon? (b) Why does the cartoonist use a soldier as the voice of this cartoon?



Writing About Government

12. Use your Quick Write exercises from the chapter to write a narrative essay about an important event in the history of suffrage. You should review the paragraph you wrote

Apply What You've Learned

- 13. Essential Question Activity Conduct research on voter registration and participation in your community. Find out what a person who wishes to vote must do in order to cast a ballot, and what may disqualify a person from voting. Then interview friends or relatives about why they do or do not vote. Ask:
 - (a) What must a person who wishes to vote do?
 - (b) How easy or difficult is the registration process? If it is difficult, how might it be made easier?
 - (c) If the friends or relatives you interviewed do not vote, ask what, if anything, might be done to encourage voting.

14. Essential Question Assessment Based on your research and what you learned in this chapter, create a brochure explaining the registration process for someone who has recently moved into your community. You might also include statistics or some information about why people do or do not vote. Your brochure should help you to answer the Chapter Essential Question: Why do voters act as they do?

Essential Questions
Journal
To respond to the chapter Essential
Question, go to your Essential
Questions Journal.

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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, educa-

- tion, and occupational status; long-time residents who are well integrated into the community (b) Tighter 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

Document 2



Cartoon by Thomas Nast,
 published November 22, 1869

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

- Which answer best summarizes the point of Document 12
 - **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?
- 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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Go Online to PearsonSuccessNet.com for a student rubric and extra documents.

DOCUMENT-BASED ASSESSMENT

on the page to support their thesis.

on true equality.

2. They are celebrating universal suffrage, and they

are suggesting that the result will be greater har-

mony among different racial and ethnic groups.

3. A good answer will explore how freedom depends

Differentiate Students use all the documents

Differentiate Students include additional infor-

mation available online at PearsonSuccessNet.com.

textbook, the online information at PearsonSuccess

Net.com, and do additional research to support their

Differentiate Students use materials from the

1. B

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.

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