Democracy Central

New in 2010

Melody Kahkedjian

A Teachers Guide To California's Statewide Elections

Debra Bowen
Secretary of State

MYVOTE
STUDENT MOCK ELECTION

Jack O'Connell
Superintendent of Public Instruction

www.sos.ca.gov/elections/studentmockelection.htm

Democracy Central
A Teachers Guide To California's Statewide Elections

New Lessons for 2010

Educating for Democracy

California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools

This is a publication of the California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, a collaboration of Constitutional Rights Foundation, Center for Civic Education, and the Alliance for Representative Democracy.

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Cover art by Melody Kahkedjian, a student of Ms. Stephanie Moore at Marshall Fundamental Secondary School, Pasadena Unified School District. It was among thousands of submissions by students statewide for the Constitution Day 2007 display in the state Capitol, sponsored by the California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools.

Introduction

For the 2008 presidential election, the California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools worked with Secretary of State Debra Bowen and then-Superintendent of Public Instruction Jack O'Connell to prepare a collection of lesson plans and classroom activities to help students discover the importance of elections and the power of their vote in our democracy. Called *Democracy Central: A Teachers Guide to California's Statewide Elections*, its materials were widely used by teachers across the state.

For the 2010 statewide elections, we added three new lessons in this separate companion volume. Please note that all of the lessons and activities in both volumes of *Democracy Central: A Teachers Guide to California's Elections* are suitable for use in any federal, state, or local election. While they were chosen to help teachers prepare their students to vote in the MyVote California Student Mock Election, we hope you find them useful during non-election years as well.

The Constitutional Rights Foundation, on behalf of the California Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, selected and created material that is in line with California's 8th, 11th and 12th-grade History-Social Science standards. Students in 9th and 10th grade would also benefit from the many opportunities here to develop their critical thinking and civic participation skills.

The lessons are also aligned with the Civic Mission of Schools Proven Practices. Please note that in the lessons, the term "promising approaches" is used, but in 2011, a new CMS report was issued confirming the practices as proven by research.

For young people, taking part in a mock election at school can be the first step toward becoming a lifelong voter. We encourage you to participate in the MyVote California Student Mock Election, and help your students gain further firsthand experience with elections while serving their community as a High School Poll Worker.

Overview of the New Lessons for 2010

How Women Won the Right to Vote

What the students do: Read an article about the women's suffrage movement and develop persuasive arguments supporting women's right to vote.

Fight for Your Right: A History of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment

What the students do: Explore and discuss several documents to learn about the passage of the 26th Amendment.

Elections and Public Policy

What the students do: Newspaper search to find election-related articles and discuss policies/problem/issues the candidates or ballot initiatives are addressing. After researching the candidates' views and/or ballot initiatives, students determine how they would vote.

Topic: The Voters
What the students do: Read an article about the women's suffrage movement and develop persuasive arguments supporting women's right to vote.
California History-Social Science Standards**:** 8.6, 11.5, 12.5.1, 12.6.4
CMS Promising Approaches**:** 1, 2,
Thanks to: Constitutional Rights Foundation

How Women Won the Right to Vote

Overview

In this lesson, students read about the women's suffrage movement and the passage of the 19th Amendment. Next, working in small groups, students imagine they are petitioning President Wilson to support the Anthony Amendment by developing and reaching consensus on a persuasive list of arguments.

Objectives

Students will be able to:
- Identify leaders of the women's suffrage movement.
- Explain how the women's rights movement began.
- Develop persuasive arguments.

Materials

Copies of the reading, "How Women Won the Right to Vote" – one per student

Procedure

I. Focus Activity — Rights of Women in 1800

A. Engage students in a guessing game to explore the status of women's rights before reform and suffrage. Explain that they should hold up their fingers to answer the questions and that no answer requires more than ten fingers. Ask each question below, let students guess, then supply the answer.

- In 1800, how many of the 13 states allowed women to vote?
  Answer: 1. New Jersey
- Ten years later (in 1810), how many states allowed women to vote?
  Answer: 0. New Jersey decided to change its law.
- In 1800, how many women attended colleges in the United States?
  Answer: 0. No colleges admitted women.
- In 1800, how many states allowed women to serve on juries?
  Answer: 0
- In 1800, how many women in the United States held elected offices?
  Answer: 0

B. Explain that when our nation began, women had few rights:

> Women could not vote, yet they were expected to follow laws and pay taxes created by legislatures that they could no vote for. All of a married woman's property and earnings belonged to her husband. Most jobs were closed to women. Woment were not allowed to enter professions like medicine or law.

II. Reading — How Women Won the Right to Vote

A. Tell students that today they are going to learn about how women gained rights, including the right to vote. Distribute and have students complete the reading.

B. Engage students in a discussion of the reading. The following questions could get the discussion started:

- In what ways did the role of women in American society change between 1848 and 1920?
- Do you think Alice Paul or Carrie Chapman Catt had the best strategy for winning the right to vote for women? Why?
- Why do you think women won the right to vote in 1920 after failing for over 70 years?

III. Activity — Petitioning President Wilson

A. In this activity, students will petition President Wilson to support the Anthony Amendment.

1. Form the class into small groups. Each group will write a petition to President Wilson, listing arguments why he should support the Anthony Amendment.
2. Each group should review the article to find arguments in favor of the amendment. The group should also list counterarguments against the positions taken by the "antis" who opposed the amendment.
3. Each group should only list those arguments on its petition that all members of the group agree with.
4. Each group should read its petition to the rest of the class.
5. The class members should then debate what they believe was the best argument for persuading President Wilson to support the "Anthony Amendment."

How Women Won the Right to Vote

In 1848, a small group of visionaries started a movement to secure equal rights for women in the United States. But it took more than 70 years just to win the right for women to vote.

After male organizers excluded women from attending an anti-slavery conference, American abolitionists Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott decided to call the "First Woman's Rights Convention." Held over several days in July 1848 at Seneca Falls, New York, the convention brought together about 300 women and 40 men. Among them was Charlotte Woodward, a 19 year-old farm girl who longed to become a printer, a trade then reserved for males.

By the end of the meeting, convention delegates had approved a statement modeled after the Declaration of Independence. The Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments began with these words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal . . . ."

The declaration then listed "repeated injuries" by men against women, claiming that men had imposed "an absolute tyranny" over women." These "injuries" included forcing women to obey laws that they had no voice in passing. They included making married women "civilly dead" in the eyes of the law, without rights to property, earned wages, or the custody of their children in a divorce. The injuries included barring women from most "profitable employments" and colleges.

The convention also voted on a resolution that said, "it is the duty of the women of this country to secure to themselves their sacred right" to vote. This resolution provoked heated debate. It barely passed.

In the middle of the 19th century, most Americans, including most women, accepted the idea of "separate spheres" for males and females. Men worked and ran the government. Women stayed home and cared for the family. This notion was based on the widely held assumption that women were by nature delicate, childlike, emotional, and mentally inferior to men.

In the United States and in other democratic countries, the right to vote (also called the "elective franchise" or "suffrage") remained exclusively within the men's "sphere." The Seneca Falls declaration promoted a radical vision of gender equality in all areas of American public life, including women's suffrage. Women in most states did not gain the right to vote until 1919, after their role in society had dramatically changed.

Susan B. Anthony and the Women's Suffrage Movement

One of the main leaders of the women's suffrage movement was Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906). Brought up in a Quaker family, she was raised to be independent and think for herself. She joined the abolitionist movement to end slavery. Through her

abolitionist efforts, she met Elizabeth Cady Stanton in 1851. Anthony had not attended the Seneca Falls Convention, but she quickly joined with Stanton to lead the fight for women's suffrage in the United States.

The Civil War interrupted action to secure the vote for women. As a result of the war, however, the role of women in society began to change. Since many men were fighting, their wives and daughters often had to run the family farm, go to work in factories, or take up other jobs previously done by men.

After the war, Anthony, Stanton, and others hoped that because women had contributed to the war economy, they along with the ex-slaves would be guaranteed the right to vote. But most males disagreed.

The Republicans who controlled Congress wrote three new amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The 13th Amendment abolished slavery. The 14th Amendment awarded citizenship to all people born within the United States and granted every person "the equal protection of the laws." The 15th Amendment dealt with voting. It stated: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It failed to grant women the right to vote.

In 1869, Anthony and Stanton organized the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) to work for a federal constitutional amendment, guaranteeing all American women the right to vote. Some activists disagreed with this tactic. They believed the best way to get the vote for women was to persuade the legislatures of each state to grant women suffrage.

Ironically, the first place to allow American women to vote was neither the federal government nor a state. In 1869, the all-male legislature of the Territory of Wyoming passed a law that permitted every adult woman to "cast her vote . . . and hold office." In the West, pioneer women often worked shoulder-to-shoulder with men on farms and ranches and thus proved they were not weak or inferior.

Meanwhile, in Rochester, New York, Anthony conspired with sympathetic male voting registrars who allowed her and other women to cast ballots in the 1872 presidential election. The following year, she was put on trial for illegally voting, a criminal offense. The judge at Anthony's trial ruled that because she was a woman, she was incompetent to testify. The jury found her guilty and the judge ordered her to pay a fine of $100. Anthony told the judge she would never pay it. She never did.

In 1875 in the case of *Minor v. Happersett*, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that women were citizens under the 14th Amendment. But the court went on to say that citizenship did not mean women automatically possessed the right to vote.

The “Anthony Amendment”

In 1878, the NWSA succeeded in getting a constitutional amendment introduced in Congress. The proposed amendment stated, “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.” This became known as the “Anthony Amendment.”

While NWSA lobbied Congress for the “Anthony Amendment,” another advocacy group, the American Woman Suffrage Association, concentrated on campaigning for women’s right to vote in states and territories. Before 1900, only a few of these efforts in the western territories succeeded.

When the Territory of Wyoming applied for statehood in 1889, Congress threatened to deny it admission because its laws allowed women to vote. In response, the territorial legislators wrote Congress, “We will remain out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without the women.” The following year, Congress admitted Wyoming as a state, the first one with women’s suffrage. This set the trend for a few other Western states to pass women’s suffrage laws (Colorado, 1893; Utah, 1896; and Idaho, 1896).

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (seated) and Susan B. Anthony were two of the first leaders in the women’s suffrage movement. Neither lived long enough to see the passage of the 19th Amendment. (Library of Congress)

In 1890, the two national women’s suffrage organizations merged to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) with Elizabeth Cady Stanton as the president. Susan B. Anthony took over in 1892 and remained president until she retired in 1900.

In the late 1800s, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was actually the largest national organization promoting women’s suffrage. The WCTU led a “Home Protection” movement aimed at prohibiting “strong drink” because of its damaging effects on men and their families. WCTU leaders realized that to increase its influence and affect lawmakers, women needed to be able to vote.

White and middle-class women dominated the WCTU, NAWSA, and most other national women’s groups. The groups usually rejected black women for fear of alienating white supporters in the racially segregated South. In addition, the groups rarely recruited immigrant women. The failure to include all women in the movement, while politically expedient, undermined the cause.

Toward the turn of the 20th century, Congress dropped its consideration of the Anthony Amendment, and in the states, most attempts to grant women the right to vote failed. Heavy opposition from traditionalists and liquor and brewing interests contributed to these defeats.

The Role of Women Continued to Change

The concept of a new American woman emerged after 1900. Writers and commentators described the “new woman” as independent and well-educated. She wore loose-fitting clothing, played sports, drove an automobile, and even smoked in public. She supported charities and social reforms, including women’s suffrage. She often chose to work outside the home in offices, department stores, and professions such as journalism, law, and medicine that were just opening up to women. The image of the “new woman” also usually made her white, native born, and middle class.

By 1910, “feminist” was another term being used to describe the “new woman.” Feminism referred to a new spirit among a few middle-class women to liberate themselves from the old notion of “separate spheres.” An early feminist writer condemned this traditional view of the role of women since it prevented their full development and robbed the nation of their potential contribution.

Of course, working outside the home was nothing new for poor white, immigrant, and black women. They toiled as housekeepers, factory workers, and in other menial jobs in order to survive. Female factory workers earned only a quarter to a third of what men earned for the same job. There were no sick days or health benefits. Women were known to have given birth on the floors of factories where they worked. Since they did not have the right to vote, they had little opportunity to pressure lawmakers to pass laws that would have improved their wages and working conditions.

The Final Push for Women’s Suffrage

Western states continued to lead way in granting women’s suffrage. Washington state allowed women the right to vote in 1910. California followed in 1911. Arizona, Kansas, and Oregon passed laws the next year.

The presidential election of 1912 saw the two major parties, the Republicans and Democrats, opposing women’s suffrage. But the 1912 election featured two major independent parties, the Progressives (led by former Republican President Theodore Roosevelt) and the Socialists (led by Eugene Debs). Both the Progressives and Socialists favored women’s suffrage. And they received about one-third of the votes cast.

Alice Paul headed NAWSA’s effort to lobby Congress to consider again the Anthony Amendment. Brought up as a Quaker, Paul (1885–1977) graduated from Swarthmore College and received postgraduate degrees in social work. Traveling to Great Britain, she encountered radical feminists demanding the right to vote. She joined them in hunger strikes and demonstrations. On returning to the United States, she joined NAWSA.

In 1913, 28-year-old Paul organized a massive parade in Washington, D.C. Hostile crowds of men attacked the marchers, who had to be protected by the National Guard.

Paul and the president of NAWSA, Carrie Chapman Catt, disagreed over using public demonstrations to promote women's suffrage. Catt (1859–1947) had grown up in the Midwest, graduated from Iowa State College, and gone on to work as a teacher, high school principal, and superintendent of a school district (one of the first women to hold such a job). She worked tirelessly for women's causes, and in 1900 she was elected to succeed Anthony as president of NAWSA.

Catt's tactics contrasted sharply with Paul's. She preferred to quietly lobby lawmakers in Congress and the state legislatures. Paul favored demonstrations. Both leaders, however, were dedicated to equal rights for women.

In the election of 1916, Catt supported Democratic President Woodrow Wilson. Wilson was running on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Paul opposed Wilson. She parodied his slogan, saying, "Wilson kept us out of suffrage."

Paul broke with NAWSA and founded the National Woman's Party. Soon afterward, she organized daily picketing of the White House to pressure President Wilson to support the Anthony Amendment. After the United States entered World War I in 1917, Paul kept up the picketing. The women demonstrators silently carried signs with slogans like "Democracy Should Begin at Home" and "Kaiser Wilson." Onlookers assaulted the White House picketers, calling them traitors for insulting the wartime president.

In June 1917, police began arresting the picketers for obstructing the sidewalks. About 270 were arrested and almost 100 were jailed, including Paul. She and the others in jail went on hunger strikes. Guards force-fed the women hunger strikers by jamming feeding tubes down their throats. The force-feeding was reported in all the major newspapers. Embarrassed by the publicity, President Wilson pardoned and released them.

Meanwhile, women replaced men by the thousands in war industries and many other types of jobs previously held by men. By 1920, women made up 25 percent of the entire labor force of the country.

President Wilson was disturbed that the push for women's suffrage was causing division during the war. He was also deeply impressed by Carrie Chapman Catt. In January 1918, he announced his support for the Anthony Amendment. By this time, 17 states as well as Great Britain had granted women the right to vote. Wilson's support helped build momentum for the amendment. In the summer of 1919, the House and Senate approved the 19th Amendment by a margin well beyond the required two-thirds majority. Then the amendment had to be ratified by three-fourths of the states.

Those opposed to woman suffrage, the so-called "antis," assembled all their forces to stop ratification. The liquor and brewing industries, factory owners, railroads, banks, and big city political machines all feared women would vote for progressive reforms. Southern whites objected to more black voters. Some argued that the 19th Amendment

invaded states' rights. Others claimed that it would undermine family unity. Besides, the "antis" said, wives were already represented at the ballot box by their husbands.

But state after state ratified the amendment. With one last state needed for ratification, the Tennessee legislature voted on the amendment. The outcome depended on the vote of the youngest man in the Tennessee state legislature. He voted for ratification, but only after receiving a letter from his mother, urging him to be a "good boy" and support women's suffrage. Thus, on August 18, 1920, half the adult population of the United States won the right to vote.

Women voted nationwide for the first time in the presidential election of 1920. Among the new voters was 91-year-old Charlotte Woodward, the only surviving member of the Seneca Falls Convention. In her lifetime, she had witnessed a revolution in the role of women in American society.

For Discussion and Writing

1. In what ways did the role of women in American society change between 1848 and 1920?

2. Do you think Alice Paul or Carrie Chapman Catt had the best strategy for winning the right to vote for women? Why?

3. Why do you think women won the right to vote in 1920 after failing for more than 70 years?

For Further Information

The History Channel: History of Women's Suffrage in America
http://www.history.com/exhibits/woman/main.html

Digital History: The Struggle for Women's Suffrage
http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/database/subtitles.cfm?titleID=39

PBS American Experience: Wilson -- A Portrait: Women's Suffrage
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/portrait/wp_suffrage.html

Timeline of Women's Suffrage in the United States
http://dpsinfo.com/women/history/timeline.html

Exploring Constitutional Conflicts: Women's Fight for the Vote
http://www.law.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/conlaw/nineteentham.htm

Topic: The Voters
What the Students Do: Explore and discuss several documents to learn about the passage of the 26th Amendment.
California History-Social Science Standards**:** 8.3, 11.10, 12.2.4, 12.3
CMS Promising Approaches**:** 1, 2,
Thanks to: University of Virginia Center for Politics: Youth Leadership

Fight for Your Right:
A History of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment

Purpose

The least likely group of voters is people age 18-20. This lessons seeks to change that by demonstrating to students both the power and importance of the right to vote through the history of the 26th Amendment. It will also examine the ability of interest groups to make meaningful change in the American system of government.

Objectives

1. The students will understand the different constitutional amendment procedures
2. The students will identify how the 26th amendment was the final step in the historic extension of suffrage in the United States
3. The students will describe how interest groups can influence public policy and the ability of youth to institute change
4. The students will determine why voting is an important part of effective participation in civic life

Key Words

antithesis	*desecration*	*dogmas*	*franchise*
in loco parentis	*invidious*	*pillage*	*rhetoric*
suffrage			

Materials Included

1. Copy of *An Address by Governor Blair* for each student
2. Copy of *Let My People Vote* printed out on an overhead
3. Copies of the following resources for each student: *Youth: Can LUV Conquer All?; The Vote: Youth Movement; Lowering the Voting Age to 18*
4. Copy of *Anatomy of the Movement* for each student
5. Copy of blank *The Amendment Process* flow chart for each student
6. Printout of *The Amendments* on overhead
7. Printout of *Fact Sheet: The 26th Amendment* on an overhead
8. Copy of *Frequently Asked Questions* for teacher

Procedures

1. **Warm up:** Put the following facts on the board or an overhead:
   - The average soldier fighting in the Civil War was under age 21

- The right to vote was not granted nationwide to 18-20 years olds until the passage of the 26th Amendment to the Constitution in 1970.

Distribute a copy of *An Address by Governor Blair* to each student and ask them to read it and then answer the following questions:

- What reasons does Governor Blair give in support of allowing soldiers to vote?
- Is it fair to ask people to fight in support of a country but not allow them to vote in elections?

2. Place the *Let My People Vote* sheet on the overhead projector and explain that each of the dates on the sheet represents a time when there was a movement to lower the voting age to 18. Ask the students to tell you what important events happened during or just prior to those dates. The answers you are looking for are:

   1865 – Civil War
   1942 – WWII
   1954 – Korean War
   1968 – Vietnam War - Tet Offensive
   1971 – Ratification of the 26th Amendment

   Ask the students why they think there is a connection between wartime and the demand to lower the voting age.

3. Distribute copies of the resources *Youth: Can LUV Conquer All?; The Vote:Youth Movement;* and *Lowering the Voting Age to 18* and ask students to read the articles. Then have them fill out the *Anatomy of a Movement* sheet individually or in small groups.

4. Give each student a copy of *The Amendment Process* handout and walk them through the possible steps using the overhead *The Amendments* or by having the students look up the information on their own.

5. Place *Fact Sheet:The 26th Amendment* on the overhead but cover up all but the first section titled *On the Positive Side*. After reviewing the information reveal the second section *On the Negative Side*. Finally reveal the voter rates chart at the bottom of the page.

6. The *Frequently Asked Questions* sheet can be used to answer questions that students might raise or can be passed out as addition information.

7. Ask the students to respond to the following questions is their notebooks or journals:
   - Respond to the statement: "If you don't vote, you can't complain." Do you agree or disagree? Why?
   - Should the government be allowed to tax people who work but are too young to vote?
   - Is it fair that people can vote at age 18 but can't purchase or consume alcohol until age 21?

An Address from Governor Blair of Michigan

January 19, 1864

...The volunteer army of the United States is composed of the people of the United States. They have left their various occupations in civil life and taken up arms at the call of their country, not to become professional soldiers, but to defend their country and government from destruction, and their homes and property from desecration and pillage. Not to renounce civil life and the pursuits of peace, but to establish, upon an enduring basis, the right to both, for themselves and their posterity. With a patriotism and courage of everlasting remembrance they have periled everything that their country and its free institutions may continue to exist. They are absent from the polls of the elections in their several towns and wards, beating back the power of a causeless and cruel rebellion in order that those very elections may be held in peace, and that the right to hold them and to have their results respected and obeyed shall continue forever. If these volunteer citizen soldiers should not have a voice in the civil administration of the government for which they fight, then it would be well to inquire who is worthy of it. Though soldiers, they have not ceased to be citizens and residents, nor is their stake less in the country than that of those who remain in peace at home. Surely, he who stands faithfully by his country in the shock of battle may be safely trusted at the ballot box...

Excerpt taken from: Josiah Henry Benton, *Voting in the Field: A Forgotten Chapter of the Civil War* (Boston: Privately Printed, 1915), 96.

Let My People Vote

The following dates represent times when there was a movement in the United States to extend suffrage to 18-20 year olds. What major events took place during or just prior to each of these dates?

1865

1942

1954

1968

1971

YOUTH

Can LUV Conquer All?

American youth stormed on the national political scene in 1968 with galvanic gusto. Yet for all their efforts, both creative and disruptive, the young dissidents remained on the outside looking in on the American political process. For the most part, they were not old enough to back up their beliefs with ballots. Now, displaying the same kinetic enthusiasm that the kids did during the campaign, a youthful movement called LUV ("Let Us Vote") is spear heading a drive to amend the Constitution to enfranchise 18-year-olds.

A National Coalition. Next week, forming a coalition aimed at attaining those goals, LUV plans to join with the National Education Association, the A.F.L.-C.I.O., the National Student Association, the national Young Republican and Young Democratic clubs, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the U.S. Youth Council. Though other groups have tried in the past to lower the voting age in individual states, the coalition will mark the first time that students will have merged with other interest groups to achieve the goal on a national basis.

LUV's founder and moving spirit is Dennis Warren, 21, a prelaw student at the University of the Pacific in Stockton, Calif. The very antithesis of the stereotype student radical, Warren wears his hair closely cropped, dresses in conservative pinstripe suits and black shoes. As a sophomore, he won two gold medals at the Pi Kappa Delta national debating tournament.

Warren uses all of his forensic skills as he goes about advocating the lowered voting age. Only four states now allow voting before age 21: Georgia and Kentucky at 18, Alaska at 19 and Hawaii at 20. Yet, contends Warren, "the average age of those who fight and die in war is under 21. These men and women rightfully deserve a voice in selecting the government that determines whether there should be a war."

In the six weeks since he organized LUV, Warren has seen it expand from a campus-wide drive at his own college into a nationwide movement that now has 327 college chapters and 3,000 high school divisions. More than 20,000 letters inquiring about LUV have flooded into Warren's busy headquarters on the Stockton campus. Only three of these have been critical-and only one contained a contribution, for $1.23.

Reforms Proposed. LUV's labors are coming at a time when support is gathering for broad-based reform of the nation's electoral process, including lowering the voting age and abolishing the Electoral College. Richard Nixon repeatedly advocated lowering the voting age requirement during the campaign, and both Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and Senate Minority Leader Everett McKinley Dirksen are on record as supporting the move. Recently, Mansfield and Vermont's Senator George D. Aiken co-sponsored a resolution to lower the voting age to 18 and introduce a system of direct election that would put the President in office for a six-year term. Last week the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments began to review proposed alternatives to the Electoral College formula.

Nonetheless, the advocates of reform still must overcome Capitol Hill's longstanding reluctance to change the electoral process. A total of 153 congressional resolutions (including the Mansfield-Aiken proposal) to amend the Constitution to allow 18-year-olds to vote have been introduced in Congress since 1943. All have failed. Today, moreover, many middle-class voters are disillusioned with the militant youths who fought the police in Chicago during the Democratic Convention and turned college campuses into battlegrounds. LUV Leader Warren is not concerned, however. He is confident that LUV will conquer all.

**Time Magazine*, Vol. 93, No. 5 (January 31, 1969): 20.
Youth Leadership Initiative

THE VOTE

Youth Movement

For a nation that has historically concerned itself with enlarging the electorate, the U.S. has always treated one large group of citizens with curious neglect. Over the years, five major groups have been added to the voting ranks: the landless (under the Constitution), Negroes- (1870), women (1920), Washingtonians (1961) and refugees from the poll tax (1964). Yet America, a nation obsessed with youth, with nearly half its population under 25, does not let a citizen vote until he is 21.* An 18- year-old can be drafted, and he can be held fully responsible before the law, can even be given the death penalty in some states, but he cannot cast a ballot except in Kentucky and Georgia. An Alaskan can vote at 19, a Hawaiian at 20. Last week Lyndon Johnson moved to enfranchise all the 10 million Americans between 18 and 21.

The President's proposed 26th constitutional amendment is not a new notion. The idea first reached Capitol Hill in 1942, and Eisenhower lost a 1954 bid to lower the nation's voting age by a mere five votes. But the idea seems to be gaining favor. In recent years, polls have found that the majority of the population favors giving 18-year- olds the vote, and L.B.J.'s proposal joins more than 50 similar submissions that have been made to the 90th Congress. The opposition is typified by such stands as that of the New York Daily News, which facetiously urged that the voting age be raised to 30, or lowered to two. Johnson sees today's 18-year-olds "prepared by education, experience and exposure to public affairs. "Letting them vote would be a signal that they are trusted." This trust will have to permeate Congress and the legislatures of 38 states before the electorate gets its infusion of youth.

- By common law, 21 is the voting age in most of the English-speaking world; France also makes it 21, Japan and Germany 20, Russia and some Latin American nations 18, Norway and Sweden 23, and Denmark 25.

*_Time Magazine_, Vol. 92, No. 1 (July 5, 1968): 20.

LOWERING THE VOTING AGE TO 18

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I strongly favor lowering the voting age to 18. I will support either a constitutional amendment or an amendment to the Voting Rights Act to accomplish this objective.

Congress, if it wishes, has the power to set the voting age at 18 by statute. Under the 14th amendment, Congress has the power to find that a distinction between those who are 18 to 21 and those who are over 21 is an invidious classification and, therefore, a denial of equal protection under the law.

I believe that this discrimination against 18- to 21-year-olds is invidious and that Congress should so find.

The reasons why the minimum voting age should be lowered to 18 are familiar to us all. Young people today are better educated, more mature, and more sophisticated than ever before. At 18 they can be drafted to fight for their country, marry, make a contract, and are legally responsible for their actions-both criminal and civil. But because of tradition going back to 21-year-old maturity of feudal times, they cannot vote.

Giving 18-year-olds the vote will not close the generation gap, but it can help. Young people will have more reason to concern themselves with the issues that plague their parents.

Moreover, setting the voting age requirement at 18 will make our electorate more truly representative of our society.

Unjustified discrimination in determining who may participate in political affairs or in the selection of public officials undermines the legitimacy of representative government.

As I said, these are familiar arguments which need no elaboration. Their logic is irrefutable. But why then, has nothing been done? Why are millions of qualified voters still without the franchise?

Partly because things move slowly around here. But the main reason why the voting age has not been lowered, in my opinion, is fear. Too many entrenched establishment oldsters fear change, any change. Perhaps they fear that the slogans and rhetoric of the past will not carry the day with a new group of voters. Perhaps they fear an electorate that questions old dogmas.

Perhaps there are other reasons of self-interest for opposing the 18-year-old vote. But I suspect opposition is based on emotion-a gut fear.

These fears should be discussed, but they should also be exposed. Exposed so that young people may know who and what is blocking change.

As with the question of in loco parentis and student participation in the university decision making process, it comes down to a matter of trust. These young people do not want to take over the country, they simply want to be adult citizens rather than dependent children. Either we trust young people and give them responsibilities commensurate with their maturity or we continue to treat them like children-although many of them already have children of their own. To treat our 18-, 19-, and 20-year-olds like children, not to trust them-can only deepen their alienation and drive the generations further apart.

***These remarks by U.S. Senator Moss were reprinted in *The Congressional Record,* March 5, 1970, pg. 6142.**

The Amendment Process

There are two steps for getting an amendment to the Constitution passed. First it must be officially proposed by one of two methods and then it must be ratified again by one of two methods. Using your textbook, fill in the following chart of the amendment process.

Methods of Proposal	Methods of Ratification
Or	**Or**

Fact Sheet: The 26th Amendment

On the positive side:

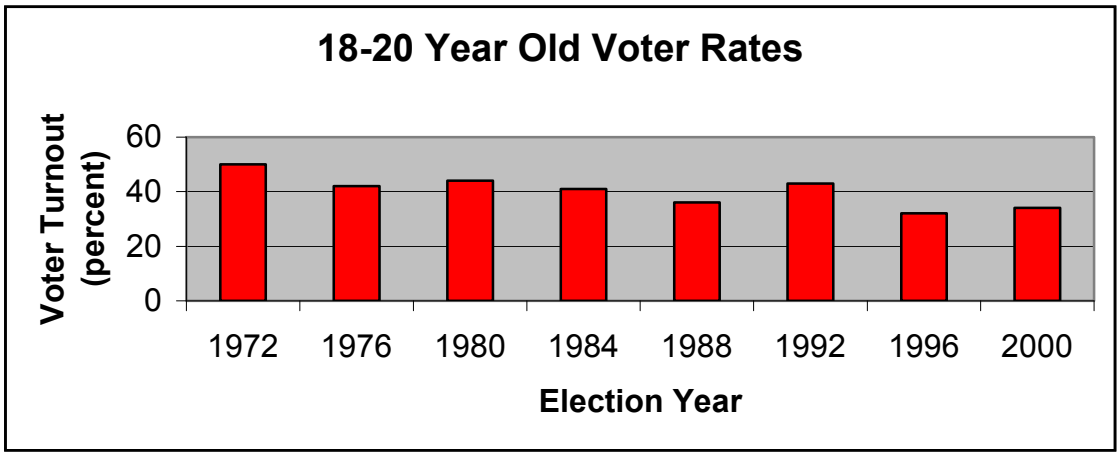
- **Ratification of the 26th Amendment only took 99 days (from March 1971 to June 1971).**

- **It took 11 months to ratify the 15th Amendment, 15 months to ratify the 19th Amendment, and 200+ years to ratify the 27th Amendment.**

On the negative side:

- **In 1972 – 50% of people ages 18-24 voted**
  In 2000 – 35% of people ages 18-24 voted

- **There are eight states that never ratified the 26th Amendment: Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah**



Frequently Asked Questions

1. Why did governments use age 21 as the cut-off for voting rights?

- In the Middle Ages it was assumed that soldiers had to be at least 21 to fight in a war. Men younger than that were often not strong enough to wear the heavy armor used at that time. Thus you were considered an adult when you were old enough to fight.

2. Which state was the first to ratify the 26th Amendment?

- Minnesota completed ratification of the amendment at 3:14 PM on March 23, 1970. However, the amendment was not *officially* proposed by Congress until 3:40 PM that day so Delaware is considered the first state to have ratified the amendment correctly.

3. How many states had to ratify the amendment for it to become a part of the Constitution?

- 38 states

4. Which state was the 38th? Did states continue to ratify the amendment after it was officially adopted?

- Ohio was the 38th state. Oklahoma, Virginia, Wyoming, and Georgia all ratified the amendment after final adoption had already taken place.

5. What rights do citizens have when they reach age 18 today?

- They have the right to vote, enter into marriage (sometimes earlier if permitted by state law), buy property, and enter into a contract. They can also be tried for federal criminal acts as an adult.

6. Why didn't Congress just pass a law to reduce the voting age? Was an amendment to the Constitution really necessary?

- Many people in Congress argued that a law would be sufficient and one was passed in 1970 but the Supreme Court ruled that the law only applied to federal elections not state elections. In order to extend suffrage to 18-20 year olds in **all** elections, the Constitution had to be changed.

Anatomy of the Movement

After reading the primary and secondary sources listed on the *Youth Movement* handouts, fill in the following chart by answering the questions about the movement to grant suffrage to 18-20 year olds.

Who?	What individuals were instrumental? What groups and organizations supported it?	
What?	What did they hope to accomplish?	
Where?	Where did the movement start? Where did it spread?	
When?	When did the movement start? How long did it take?	
Why?	Why did people think that 18-20 year olds needed the right to vote? Why did they deserve the right to vote?	
How?	What methods did individuals and groups use to convince people to support their movement?	

The Amendments

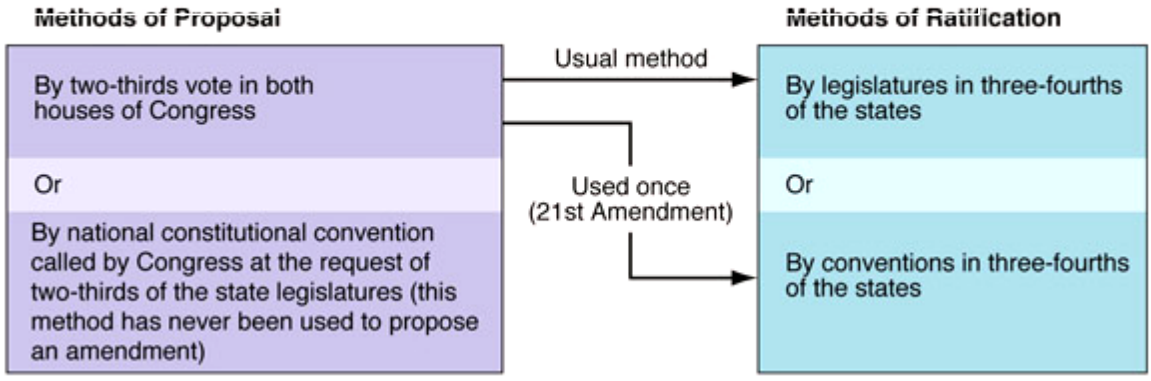
What are they?

An amendment is the process of formally altering or adding to a document or record. **Article V** of the United States Constitution specifies how amendments can be added to the Constitution.

How do they become law?

Figure 2.3 Methods of Amending the Constitution

THE TWO METHODS FOR PROPOSAL AND RATIFICATION OF AMENDMENTS



*Note that the second method has never been used for a proposed amendment

Why did the founding fathers create them?

The framers of the constitution understood that society would alter and therefore they wanted to create an avenue providing for change.

James Madison wrote in Federalist #43 concerning the amendments,

"That useful alterations will be suggested by experience, could not but be foreseen. It was requisite, therefore, that a mode for introducing them should be provided. The mode preferred by the convention seems to be stamped with every mark of propriety. It guards equally against that extreme facility, which would render the Constitution too mutable; and that extreme difficulty, which might perpetuate its discovered faults. It, moreover, equally enables the general and the State governments to originate the amendment of errors, as they may be pointed out by the experience on one side, or on the other."

(*The Federalist* was a series of essays supporting adoption of the *United States Constitution*)

Questions to consider:

Why was it important that the founding fathers account for change?

Madison believes that the amendments guard against the Constitution being changed too often and not modified when necessary. Do you believe this is true? Why or why not?

How does the amendment process protect the rights of the people?

Topic: Democracy
What the students do: Newspaper search to find election-related articles and discuss policies/problem/issues the candidates or ballot initiatives are addressing. After researching the candidates' views and/or ballot initiatives, students determine how they would vote.
California History-Social Science Standards**:** 8.3.6, 11.11, 12.2.4, 12.7.5
CMS Promising Approaches**:** 1, 2,
Thanks to: Constitutional Rights Foundation

Elections and Public Policy

In this lesson, students explore the connections between elections and public policy, as well as deepen their understanding of the connection between policy and problems. First, students read and discuss a short article defining policy. Then they discuss policy and its connection to problems. They do a newspaper search to find election-related articles, columns, and editorials and identify policies, issues, and problems in the articles. Finally, students select one of the policies, issues, or problems and research the candidates' views and/or related ballot initiatives to determine how they would vote in a mock election.

Objectives

Students will be able to:
- Define public policy.
- Explain that public policies are created to address problems and needs.
- Explain that a policy itself may sometimes be considered a problem.
- Find and identify problems and policies in a newspaper.
- Discuss the role that public policy plays in elections.

Preparation & Materials

- Newspapers: 1 per 2–3 students
- **Handout A: What Is Public Policy?**—1 per student
- **Handout B: Newspaper Search**—1 per student

Procedure

I. Focus Discussion—What Is Public Policy?

A. Distribute **Handout 2A: What Is Public Policy?** to each student. Ask students to read the handout and look for the following:
   - What public policy is.
   - Why it is made.

B. When they finish, hold a discussion by asking the questions at the bottom of the handout:

   1. What are some examples of policies that you can think of? Which of these are private policies and which are public policies?

2. What are some institutions that create public policy? What levels of government are these institutions?

3. Read below different definitions of public policy written by political scientists. Which do you think is the best definition? Why? How would you define public policy?

II. Connecting Policy and Problems

A. Provide students with simple examples of policy/problem connections such as:

1. Policy: In the last few years, at least six states have enacted laws restricting cellphone use while driving.

   What **problems** do you think these state laws (which are policies) are trying to address?

   (Prevent accidents. Accept other reasoned responses.)

2. Problem: People who are extremely overweight are more likely to have serious health problems. More children than ever before are being diagnosed with diseases, like diabetes, related to being overweight.

   What **policies** might a school district enact (which is a government agency) to address this problem?

   (Ban on vending machines, cafeteria requirements to offer healthy food, mandatory P.E. classes. Accept other reasoned responses.)

3. Policy = Problem: A school has a policy of leaving four minutes between classes, which many students feel is not enough time and results in many students being tardy.

   What is the problem?

   (The policy.)

   What can be done about the problem policy?

   (It can be eliminated, changed, or replaced with a new policy allowing greater time between class periods.)

   Explain that policies are often controversial and viewed as a problem by some people. So in some circumstances the problem may be a policy.

III. Newspaper Search: Problems and Policies

A. Divide the class into groups of 2–3 students. Provide each group with a recent local newspaper and explain that newspapers are one of the best places to begin exploring issues and problems. Add that newspapers are also great sources for learning about government and public policy particularly before an election since candidates discuss and debate them and ballot initiatives directly impact and create public policy. (If necessary, remind students about the differences between articles, columns, editorials, and letters to the editor. Discuss how it is important to make the distinctions.)

Distribute **Handout 2B: Newspaper Search** and review it with students. Tell the groups that their challenge is to find as many election-related articles as they can that discuss at least two of the following:

- Government
- Policy(ies)
- Problem(s)

Give them time to complete part 1 of the search.

B. When groups have completed part 1 of the search, ask them to quickly review all of the articles they found. Then have them do part 2 of the search. Each group member should:

- Choose one article that describes an interesting/compelling problem.
- Make sure the article selected mentions at least one public policy.
- Answer the questions on Handout 2B.

IV. Research Activity and Voting

A. Point out to the students that one of the most important responsibilities we have as members of a democracy is to vote, and it is even more important to be an informed voter.

Tell the students that they are going to become even more informed about the issue or policy they chose by researching where candidates stand on it. Even if the newspaper article discusses this, it is important to check other sources, including the candidates' web sites and non-partisan sources.

If the issue or policy students selected is related to a ballot initiative, they should research the initiative, including who is opposed and in favor and their reasons.

Students should make a reasoned argument for the candidate and/or ballot initiative they would vote for (or against).

B. Participate in the California Secretary of State's Mock Election or hold an election in class.

What Is Public Policy?

You've heard the word "policy" many times:

"Honesty is the best policy."

"It's the store's policy only to give credit and not refunds on returned merchandise."

"Three tardies and I'll see you after school—that's the tardy policy."

Policies are established ways of doing things. You have ways of doing things and so do businesses and government. The policies that individuals and businesses adopt are **private policies**. Even so, these policies may affect the community. A fast food restaurant, for example, may have a policy of serving drinks in Styrofoam containers, which can harm the environment.

Public policies are those that governments adopt to address problems. For example, every state government has adopted the public policy of banning the sale of alcohol to minors. This public policy addresses the problem of teenage alcohol abuse. It is expressed in the body of laws, regulations, decisions, and actions of government.

Policies differ from goals. "Teenagers should not drink," "everyone should have a home," "people should be able to walk the streets at night safely." These statements are goals, not policies. Policies are the means of achieving goals. If the goal is to provide homes for people without homes, a policy might be a plan to build 1,000 units of low-income housing. If the goal is to fight crime, a policy might be to put 200 more police officers on the streets of the city.

Many policies are translated into law by government action. For example, to control drunk-driving deaths, a state may pass tougher drunk-driving laws. Or to improve the environment, the federal government may pass an air-quality law. Or to raise money for public libraries, a city may enact a tax increase.

When public policies go into effect, they can deeply impact people's lives. People can gain or lose significant things, such as jobs, services, and equal treatment. Changes in economic policies can affect whole countries or regions. Changes in education policies can affect whole generations.

Questions

1. What are some institutions that create public policy? What levels of government are these institutions?

2. What are some examples of policies that are being discussed by candidates or are addressed in ballot initiative? Choose one and describe the problem or issue the policy is meant to address.

3. Read below different definitions of public policy written by political scientists. Which do you think is the best definition? Why? How would you define public policy?

Political Scientists Define Public Policy

Public policy is integral to the study of government. Scholars who study government are known as political scientists. In his book *An Introduction to the Policy Process*, political scientist Thomas A. Birkland outlines a few definitions of public policy from other texts on political science:

• Clarke E. Cochran, et al.: "The term public policy always refers to the actions of government and the intentions that determine those actions."

• Clarke E. Cochran, et al.: "Public policy is the outcome of the struggle in government over who gets what."

• Thomas Dye: Public policy is "Whatever governments choose to do or not to do."

• Charles L. Cochran and Eloise F. Malone: "Public policy consists of political decisions for implementing programs to achieve societal goals."

• B. Guy Peters: "Stated most simply, public policy is the sum of government activities, whether acting directly or through agents, as it has an influence on the life of citizens."

Newspaper Search

Part 1

Your team should search your paper for election-related articles that discuss **at least two** of these three things:

1. Problem. As a starting point, think about problems, issues or needs that people are concerned about in the categories of health, environment, social problems (crime, drugs), safety, or education. Problems might also be focused on people (government officials, police, unemployed, workers, etc.) or places (building being torn down, housing, certain streets/neighborhoods, parks). Or, a policy itself may be a problem.

2. Policy. Look for mandates, rules, laws, regulations, ordinances, etc. An article may be discussing policies that are being considered, policies that need to be changed, or the need for new policies. One article might discuss more than one policy. (Ballot initiatives are public policies in and of themselves.)

3. Government. Are candidates running for office discussing the issues? What about ballot initiatives? Remember: There is a broad range of government agencies. Public schools, public transportation, streets, city services (like trash pickup, water, and other utilities), airports, county/public hospitals and clinics, and prisons are all connected to government agencies.

Articles might include columns or editorials, too.

Part 2

After you have found as many articles as you can, **each member of your team** should:

1. Select one article that is interesting.

2. Write on this handout a sentence or two about each of these things:

    A. The election (candidates, ballot initiatives, or other issues). Is the article reporting news or is it editorial (stating an opinion)?

    B. The **problem**(s) described by the article.

C. **Policy** connection(s).

D. In addition to the election, other **Government** connections(s).

Part 3

1. Using the policy or problem that interests you, find out how it is being discussed by the candidates or addressed by any of the ballot initiatives. How do different candidates stand on this? What are the key points being discussed or voted on in an initiative? Who favors/opposes the initiative and why?

   (See below for websites to help you research.)

   Summarize your research findings:

   Based on the problem/policy that interests you, how would you vote? (List candidate(s) you would vote for and/or ballot initiatives you would vote for or against.)

2. To help you with your research:

   California Secretary of State: http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/

   League of Women Voters California: http://ca.lwv.org/

   Easy Voter Guide: http://lwvc.convio.net/site/PageServer?pagename=easyvoter_home

   Smart Voter: http://www.smartvoter.org/ca/state/