

## Voting and Voter Behavior

*"Nobody will ever deprive the American people of the right to vote except the American people themselves—and the only way they could do that is by not voting at all."*

—President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Radio Address, October 5, 1944

**Essential Question:** How are voting rights protected, and how have voting procedures been altered to respond to challenges?

The framers decided state governments were the best judges for determining **suffrage**, or which citizens were qualified to vote, and managing elections. (See Article I, Sections 2 and 4 and Article 2, Section 1.) In early U.S. history, only property-owning men could vote. Even when President Roosevelt addressed the nation about the right to vote (see the quote above), state legal barriers kept most African Americans from voting in the South. Today, legislation and constitutional amendments assure almost all adult citizens the **franchise**, or right to vote. In November 2016, about 138 million people, just over 60 percent of America's voting-eligible population, cast a vote, and Donald Trump was elected president. The **voting-eligible population** are citizens over the age of 18, and in nearly all states, they must also be non-felons.

### Redefining "We the People"

The most common form of political participation is voting. Every four years, a large percentage of Americans, known as the **electorate**, "go to the polls" to cast a vote for the American president and some lower offices. Elections also occur between those four years at the local, state, and federal levels. **BIG IDEA:** These elections give political scientists much data to analyze to understand factors that shape voter behavior. Over the nation's history, voter eligibility expanded, redefining "We, the People" to include the working class, African Americans, women, residents of Washington, D.C., and young adults.

### An Expanding Electorate

The franchise was extended to white working-class men in the United States much earlier than in other countries, but for decades, only property-owning white males were able to vote. The first presidential election (1788–1789)

was decided by these political elites. The Constitution originally called for state legislatures to appoint electors who then later elected the president in an electoral college. On a designated day, every state's electors met in their capitals to cast votes for president. There was no popular vote for George Washington, but every one of the 69 electors cast their first ballots for Washington. By the 1800 presidential election, five of 16 states expanded participation by using popular elections to name the electors, and by 1823 popular selection of electors was practiced nationwide.

The framers had also endorsed the elite model of democracy (see pages 6 and 15) by calling for the election of senators by state legislatures. However, with the ratification of the **Seventeenth Amendment** in 1913, popular elections for senators became the law of the land.

State governments typically did not grant suffrage equally. The Constitution forbade religious tests for federal office but did not prevent such tests in determining who could vote. In addition to religious tests, states imposed property requirements and poll taxes. They also barred women, African Americans, and immigrants from the political process. Courageous activists worked for more than 100 years to persuade states to alter voting practices and state laws and to ratify amendments to extend suffrage. Until they were enfranchised, citizens participated in politics in the only channels available to them—through protest and expression of opinion in other ways.

**Jacksonian Era** Voter participation continued to grow in the 1830s. President **Andrew Jackson**, a popular leader and advocate for expanding suffrage to all white men, was influential in increasing citizen participation. Jackson embodied the common man, the non-son-of-privilege who bravely rose through military ranks and through Congress to become the seventh president of the United States. He called for the end of the property requirement to vote. In the Jacksonian Era (1828–1848), universal male suffrage became a reality, greatly increasing voter turnout. In 1824, four candidates had tallied a collective 350,671 votes. Four years later the popular vote total reached 1,155,350. By 1830, almost all states had removed the property requirement.

The citizenry played a role in pushing to expand the right to vote beyond property owners. In 1829, a Rhode Island gathering of some 300 demonstrators petitioned the state's general assembly for the extension of suffrage. It was finally granted in 1840. North Carolina was the last state to abandon the property requirement in 1856.

### ***Suffrage by Constitutional Amendment and Legislation***

By the 1860s, America had yet to give the franchise to blacks, women, and other minorities. That situation changed with the passage of three constitutional amendments: the Fifteenth, Nineteenth, and Twenty-Sixth. Two other amendments, the Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fourth, extended suffrage further. These allowed residents of the nation's capital to vote for the president and outlawed poll taxes, respectively.

## SUFFRAGE AMENDMENTS

- **Fifteenth Amendment (1870):** Citizens shall not be denied the right to vote by the states or the United States "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."
- **Nineteenth Amendment (1920):** Citizens shall not be denied the right to vote by the states or the United States "on account of sex."
- **Twenty-Third Amendment (1961):** For presidential and vice presidential elections, "the District constituting the seat of government" shall appoint a number of electors "in no event more than the least populous State."
- **Twenty-Fourth Amendment (1964):** Citizens shall not be denied the right to vote by states or the United States "by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax."
- **Twenty-Sixth Amendment (1971):** Citizens "eighteen years of age or older" shall not be denied the right to vote by the states or the United States "on account of age."

All suffrage amendments state in Section 2, "The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." This enforcement clause has allowed Congress to assure that the spirit of the amendments is carried out. (See pages 640–644.)

**African American Suffrage** As suffrage expanded in its first phase, legislatures and groups of people discussed the potential for free blacks to vote. In the 1830s, six northern states permitted blacks to vote. After the North defeated the South in the Civil War, Congress passed the Reconstruction Amendments that freed the slaves, made them citizens, and gave them a vote. The **Fifteenth Amendment**, ratified in 1870, gave former slaves and free blacks the right to vote and was the first federal mandate affecting state voting requirements.

The Fifteenth Amendment, like the other amendments, passed through a northern-dominated Congress without southern support. The federal government enforced the amendment during Reconstruction when African Americans voted in large numbers. The Union Army's continued presence in the former Confederacy ensured that blacks could vote, and several were elected to public office. In 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes won a disputed presidential election and soon after withdrew Union troops from the South. A decade later, as the era of Jim Crow began, southern legislatures segregated their citizens and established loopholes to circumvent the Fifteenth Amendment. White citizens, including members of the Ku Klux Klan, intimidated and abused blacks to turn them away from the polls.

**Structural Barriers** Several southern states denied suffrage to African Americans as they began requiring property or literacy qualifications to vote. Several states elevated the **literacy test** into their state constitutions. The **poll tax**—a simple fee required to vote—became one of the most effective ways to discourage the potential black voter. And the **grandfather clause**, which allowed states to recognize a registering voter as it would have recognized his grandfather, prevented scores of blacks from voting, while it allowed illiterate and poor whites to circumvent the literacy test and poll tax requirements.

These state-level loopholes suppressed the black vote but never explicitly violated the letter of the Constitution because they never prevented blacks from voting, “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” Rather, these barriers placed before African Americans prevented them from registering to vote. The impact on black voting was demonstrated by the number of registered black voters in Louisiana as the state sought to alter the law. Historian C. Vann Woodward reveals that in 1896, the state had 130,334 registered black voters, and African Americans outnumbered registered white voters in 26 parishes (counties). By 1900, white voters dominated every parish, and by 1904, only 1,342 blacks were on the poll books and registered to vote.

The **white primary**, too, became a popular method for southern states to keep African Americans from voting. State Democratic Party organizations set rules for their primaries, defining their membership as white men’s clubs. By 1915, thirteen southern states had established the white primary. A generation of intimidation, lynching, and a host of public policies to prevent blacks from voting resulted in a steady decline in turnout that began as soon as the Union pulled out of the South. Black voting reached an all-time low in the 1920s.

**Progress Through Law** The growing quest for equality and the post-World War II Civil Rights Movement brought the greatest increases in African American turnout in a century. Some inroads to making the Fifteenth Amendment a reality had been made. In 1915, in *Guinn v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled the grandfather clause unconstitutional. In 1944, the Court declared the white primary a violation of the Constitution’s equal protection clause in *Smith v. Allwright*. One estimate of southern black registration before and after the white primary shows a statewide increase from 151,000 to 595,000 registered voters. Southern black voter turnout increased from 4.5 percent in 1940 to 12.5 percent in 1947. The Democratic Party included a pro-civil rights plank in its 1948 platform that called for equal treatment regardless of race, creed, or color. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s caused greater increases in voter participation following key congressional acts, additional Supreme Court rulings, and one more constitutional amendment.

The **1957 Civil Rights Act**, the first such bill since Reconstruction, addressed discrimination in voter registration and established the U.S. Office of Civil Rights, an enforcement agency in the Justice Department. Before World War II, about 3 percent of the South’s black voting-age populace was registered. In 1964, that percentage varied from 6 to 66 percent, averaging 36 percent.

The expansive **1964 Civil Rights Act** also addressed voting. That same year Congress proposed and the states ratified the **Twenty-Fourth Amendment**, which outlawed poll taxes in any federal elections. By the time the amendment was introduced in Congress in 1962, only four states still charged such a tax. The Supreme Court later ruled taxes on any election, such as state and local elections, unconstitutional because they violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The 1965 **Voting Rights Act** was the most effective bill to bring the black populace into the political process. This law outlawed literacy tests and put states with low voter turnout under the watchful eye of the Justice Department. The law gave the department jurisdiction over states that had any type of voting test and less than 50 percent turnout in the 1964 election. These states became subject to federal election examiners and the **preclearance** provision of the act's Section Five. If these states attempted to invent new, legal loopholes to diminish black suffrage, such as moving polling places or gerrymandering, the federal government could stop them. By 1967, black voter registration in six southern states increased from about 30 to more than 50 percent. African Americans soon held office in greater numbers. The original law expired in 1971, but Congress has renewed the Voting Rights Act several times since.

Recently, the preclearance provision landed in the Supreme Court. Shelby County, Alabama, challenged the 1965 point of law, and the Court declared in a 5:4 decision that this section of the law imposes burdens that are no longer responsive to current conditions.

**Women's Suffrage** The push for women's suffrage began in the mid-1800s. Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah were among the first states to admit women to the polls. In the late 1800s, women entered the workplace and, later, in World War I served the nation on the home front. Women's suffrage became a national reality with ratification of the **Nineteenth Amendment** in 1920.

Activists had worked hard and courageously to secure the amendment's passage. Susan B. Anthony became a leading suffragist. She spoke at political conventions and helped organize different associations. In 1872, in direct violation of New York law, she walked into a polling place and cast a vote. She was tried and convicted by an all-male jury.

Suffragists continued the fight. By 1914, eleven states allowed women to vote. In the 1916 election, both major political parties endorsed the concept of women's suffrage in their platforms, and Montana elected the first woman to Congress, Jeanette Rankin. More western states granted suffrage to women; eastern and southern states did so later. Women's groups picketed the White House to persuade President Woodrow Wilson to get behind the cause. He finally supported the amendment, and it was ratified in 1920. Females became more and more accustomed to voting and became active participants in politics.

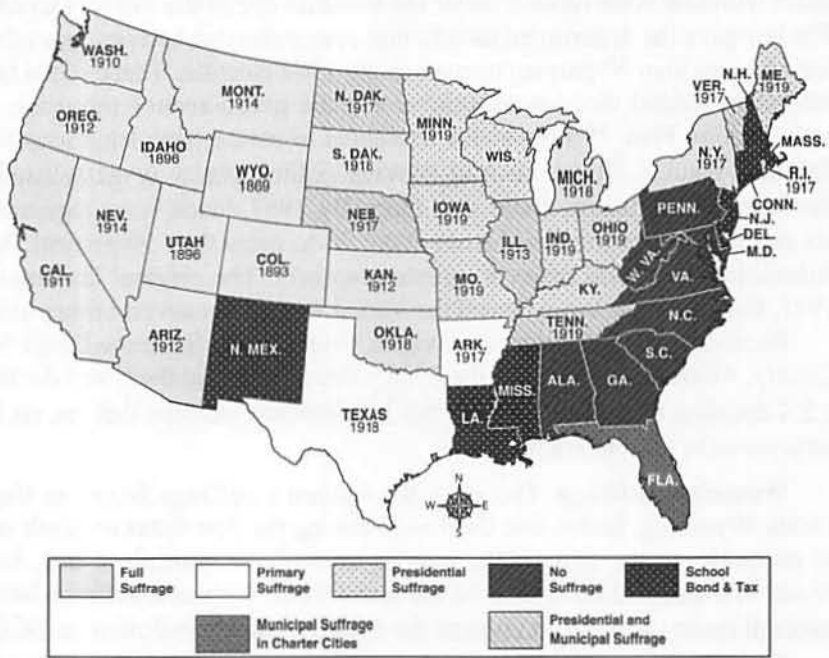


**Source:** *Library of Congress*

In July 1919, Missouri Governor Frederick Gardner signed the resolution ratifying the Nineteenth Amendment.



## WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE BEFORE THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT



**The District of Columbia** The Electoral College system awards each state the same number of electors that it has senators and representatives. Washington, D.C., is not a state and had no electors until passage of the **Twenty-Third Amendment**. The Founding Fathers were skeptical and concerned about the potential political influence of those living in and near the nation's capital. When they created the federal government, a debate ensued about the location of the national seat of government. Delegates at the constitutional convention feared the advantages a state might gain if it also housed the capital city. The Constitution therefore empowers Congress to "exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District...[to] become the Seat of the Government of the United States." After short terms of government in New York City and Philadelphia, the national capital moved to Washington, D.C., on a parcel of land (the Constitution mandated that it not exceed 10 square miles) ceded by Virginia and Maryland. The town's population remained small for decades, but as the role of government and the size of the town grew, the permanent population of citizens desired representation.

The Constitution, however, does not give this district "state" status, and therefore it has no voting representatives in the House or the Senate and no presidential electors, though it does have delegates who cannot introduce or vote on legislation but can vote at the committee level. The nation's least populous state, Wyoming, has 544,270 residents represented by three total members to Congress and three electoral votes. The District of Columbia has

599,657 residents with no voting representation in Congress. The Twenty-Third Amendment provides that the District shall appoint electors, but never more than those of the smallest state so that the District never has stronger influence than the smallest state. In 1964, the District voted for Democrat Lyndon Johnson and has voted for the Democratic candidate every year since.

**Young Adults** States used to generally require voters to be 21 years old. In the post-World War II years, however, a move to enfranchise 18-year-olds gained momentum. The president and Congress had sent scores of 18-, 19-, and 20-year-old draftees to Vietnam, most of whom had no right to vote for president or Congress. Some states, however allowed residents younger than 21 to vote, and four states allowed 18-year-olds to vote. In 1970, Congress passed amendments to the 1965 Voting Rights Act that lowered the national voting age to 18 for presidential and congressional elections. States challenged the new law in the Supreme Court based on reserved powers. The Court narrowly ruled that Congress did have the authority to set a voting age on *federal* elections but not for state and local offices. This ruling prompted Congress to propose and the states to ratify the **Twenty-Sixth Amendment** which prevents states from denying citizens 18 and over the right to vote, in July 1971.

The rapid ratification of the measure with strong majorities in each state put younger citizens on the road to voting. President Nixon proclaimed that some 11 million young men and women who “have participated in the life of our nation through their work, their studies, and their sacrifices for its defense now are to be fully included in the electoral process of our country.”

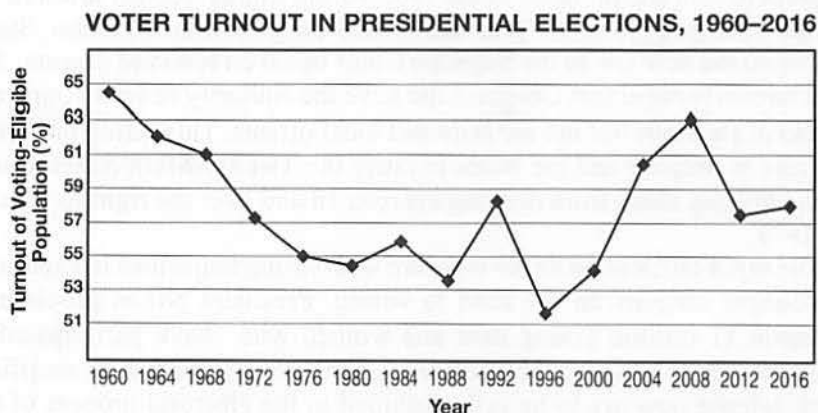
## Voting and Nonvoting

**Voter turnout** is the number of voters who actually cast votes as a percentage of the voting-age population. During the late 19th century, voter turnout was the highest in American history, though with restrictions on race, sex, and age, those eligible to vote were a minority of the population. Some estimates show that up to 90 percent of the legal electorate voted. However, manipulation of the ballot box and fraudulent practices such as voting more than once surely skewed those estimates.

From 1928 to 1968, the November voter turnout in presidential elections hovered generally over 60 percent. In 1972, an election year that embraced a new voting bloc of young voters, turnout actually dipped down to 57 percent. The anti-government feelings about the unpopular Vietnam War and later Nixon’s Watergate scandal resulted in a number of people disengaging from politics during the next two decades. Party loyalty in elections became weaker and weaker. The connection between money and elections further disturbed Americans and required Congress to regulate the flow of dollars through campaigns. From 1972 to 2000, presidential election turnout hovered just above 50 percent of the voting-age population.

According to the U.S. Elections Project, in 2016, 59.3 percent of the **voting-eligible population**—citizens over the age of 18—voted for president, while 54.7 of the **voting-age population**—everyone over the age of 18—voted. However, as a percentage of *registered* voters, voter turnout is higher. Of those citizens registered to vote, about 70 percent voted in 2016.

Turnout varies based on the type of election. More voters show and cast ballots during the presidential contest than any other. Congressional midterm elections, those federal elections that occur midway through a president's term, have lower turnout. Turnout in the 2014 midterm congressional elections was 36 percent. Turnout for county-level and municipal races is even less, ranging from 15 to 30 percent.



Some people don't vote because logistical factors interfere—they are sick on Election Day or they can't arrange childcare. Also, certain people are excluded by law from voting in some states, including felons and people determined to be mentally incompetent. Others may not have the kind of ID their states require. (See page 318.)

However, many people who have the right to vote choose not to exercise it. This **voter apathy**, a lack of concern for the election outcome, has different causes. Some citizens feel no **political efficacy**, or sense that their vote makes a difference. Voters who have supported losing candidates or did not experience the change promised during a campaign feel a lack of efficacy, and they may see little reason to participate and vote in the next election.

Also, many people are generally satisfied with the government and don't feel the need to participate. Since the United States has a high number of elections, not all citizens vote in every election, reducing turnout. Nonvoters get involved in other ways by volunteering in their communities, for example.

If we had an election and everyone showed up, would it change the outcome of elections? Many believe that Democrats would benefit if restrictions were lifted on felons and people without the required ID. Those without IDs are typically among the working poor, minorities, and transient or homeless people, who tend to be liberal. Others believe nonvoters are as different from one another as voters are.



**BY THE NUMBERS**  
**VOTER TURNOUT IN SELECTED DEMOCRACIES**

Country	Turnout
Denmark	83.2
Australia	82.7
Italy	79.1
France	76.8
Israel	71.2
Portugal	69.2
Japan	66.6
United Kingdom	58.3
<b>United States</b>	<b>58.2</b>
Switzerland	39.8

Source: *The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*

**What do the numbers show?** Which countries lead in voter turnout? Which countries have the lowest turnout? What are the different reasons why turnout would be high or low?

## Demographics

**BIG IDEA** Political scientists have long noticed the correlation between demographics and voting behavior. After elections, exit polls and other surveys are conducted to draw conclusions about which people vote and how and why they voted as they did. Age, education level, and personal income appear to correlate to rates of voting. Older, better-educated, wealthier voters show up to vote in higher numbers. Activists, people who attend church, military veterans, and members of civic organizations also turn out to vote in higher numbers. Some groups tend to vote in noticeable patterns. These are known as **voting blocs**.

### Gender

One of the easiest ways to divide and analyze voters is along gender lines. The **gender gap** is the difference in political views between men and women and how these views are expressed at the voting booth. Women tend to oppose harsh punishments and the death penalty more than men; they favor government spending on welfare; and they are less war-prone. These leanings have resulted in more women voting with the Democratic than the Republican party. Men tend to believe in harsher punishments against accused criminals and are more fiscally conservative; they have a tendency to vote Republican. In 2016, 53 percent of men voted for Trump, and 41 percent voted for Clinton. For women, 54 percent voted for Clinton, and 42 percent voted for Trump.

Since the 1980 election, women turn out to vote in slightly higher numbers than men. There is a division in voting patterns among females who are married

and unmarried. In 2000, unmarried females strongly voted with Democrats. Single women tend to care about health care, employment, education, job security, and retirement benefits. In contrast, in the 2002 midterms, 56 percent of married women voted for Republicans compared to 39 percent of unmarried women. Married women tend to be “moral traditionalists” with concerns for traditional marriage and family. In the 2016 presidential election, 56 percent of married women voters chose Trump, compared to 42 percent for Clinton. Unmarried female voters, in contrast, chose Clinton by a 62 to 35 percent margin.

## **Age**

Since ratification of the Twenty-Sixth Amendment in 1971, the nation’s youngest voters have had the lowest turnout. Reasons include their undeveloped views of candidates, lack of strong views on political issues, and mobility. Working a full-time job, owning a home, paying a substantial amount of one’s income to taxes—activities of older people—are all things that make people notice the details of public policy.

Yet young voter turnout and interest in politics have risen. Authors Dan Balz and Haynes Johnson found in the 2008 election that citizens in the larger bloc of 18-to-30-year-olds turned out in the highest numbers in a generation, and the group is dominated by self-described liberals, 38 percent, while only 23 percent considered themselves conservative. A U.S. Census report on the 2016 election shows the 18-to-29-year-old bloc turned out at 46 percent.

In contrast, senior citizens vote in reliably high numbers. In 2012, voter turnout among those 65 and over was nearly 72 percent. This disparity in turnout results from older citizens having more experience and understanding of the political process, regular voting habits, and likely more at stake—property, investments, and Social Security and Medicare. Senior citizens turned out at nearly 71 percent, with 52 percent voting for Trump and 45 percent for Clinton.

## **Minorities**

Minorities are increasing as a percentage of the U.S. population, and along with the increase in numbers comes an increase in political clout. However, with the exception of the 2012 presidential election in which African American voters outnumbered white voters, turnout among minorities has stalled or declined.

**African Americans** The disenfranchising and intimidation of black would-be voters in the South for generations created a consistently low voter turnout among African Americans. Because the Republican Party freed the slaves and enfranchised African Americans after the Civil War, blacks largely sided with the Republican Party during their first generation at the voting booth. By 1932, however, these voters began a relationship with the Democratic Party that only became stronger under Democratic presidents Truman, Johnson, and Obama. (See page 468.) Blacks tend to have a less favorable view of the criminal justice system than whites. A recent University of Cincinnati poll shows that African Americans favor abolishing the death penalty by 51 percent, compared with 23 percent of white respondents. They also want less attention and money focused on international affairs and foreign policy and more on Americans in need. Upon

the 2012 presidential election, the PEW Research Center estimated that 95 percent of the voting-eligible African Americans voted for Democrat Barack Obama. For the first time ever, African American turnout in 2012 surpassed that of whites; 66.2 percent of eligible blacks voted, while 64.1 percent of eligible whites did so.

**Hispanics** Hispanics are the fastest growing minority in the United States, now numbering well over 43 million. Hispanics live in large numbers in the southwestern and western states, the Sunbelt states, New York, and Florida. Hispanic turnout rose from 2.5 million nationally in 1980 to more than 11 million in 2012. Hispanics turn out in lower percentages than whites and blacks. Hispanic participation peaked at 50 percent in 2008; in 2016 it was 47.6 percent.

The Latino voting population has sided with Democrats on urban, minority, and labor issues, although Cuban Americans have a history of favoring Republicans. Also, conflict over immigration laws has created a wedge between Hispanic voters and conservative lawmakers. Heightened rhetoric and a Republican desire for strict citizenship requirements have driven Hispanics closer to Democrats.

**Asian Americans** Asian Americans come mostly from China, the Philippines, India, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam. They make up only about 3 percent of the U.S. voting population, though that figure is higher in the West Coast states. They have concerns like other minorities for civil liberties and equal protection, but for years Asian Americans have voted conservatively, probably because the Republican Party has been stronger against the repressive regimes some have departed. Also, Republican leaders have pushed for fewer regulations on business, which satisfies the Asian business community, and because conservative values often align with ethical beliefs in Asian cultures. Yet in 2012, exit polls reveal that roughly 73 percent of Asians voted for Obama, and Indian Americans, many of them in the United States for less than 10 years, voted overwhelmingly for Hillary Clinton in 2016.

VOTER TURNOUT AMONG BLOCS	
Voting Bloc	Turnout
Males	59.3
Females	63.3
Whites	65.3
Black	59.6
Hispanic	47.6
Asian	49
18 to 29	46.1
65 and older	70.9
No High School Diploma	33

Source: U.S. Census, United States Elections Project, 2016

## **Religious Affiliation**

Religions tend to share certain beliefs among their members and often tend to vote as blocs. By far the largest religious group is made up of Protestant and other Christian denominations. A majority of this group has consistently voted for Republican candidates.

**Evangelicals** White, born-again evangelical Christians have become the second largest religious group. They tend to hold conservative beliefs. They have become ardent supporters of the Republican Party and have joined Republicans to create the “religious right.” Televangelists and leaders of conservative family-oriented groups have large followings and thus great political influence. Most members of this group do not believe in human evolution and don’t want their sons or daughters to be taught this science in public schools. They are frustrated by the removal of prayer from school and the public square. They are a strong political force in the South and Midwest. Evangelicals supported Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election by 80 percent and have become one of the president’s most reliable groups within his base.

**Catholics** Catholics make up almost as large a group as evangelicals. Catholic voters have historically voted with the Democratic Party but today cast votes for both parties because they constitute such a large swath of the electorate. Catholic faith and custom is defined largely by papal decrees (the Pope’s orders) from Rome, which have established some strict rules and beliefs.

The historical alliance between Catholics and Democrats began in 1856 when the party denounced the anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic American (or “Know Nothing”) party and instead called for a “spirit of tolerance” in their platform. The relationship continued into the twentieth century, as Catholics played a large role in the politics of the urban North. According to Gallup, Catholic votes for Democrats in presidential elections peaked when John Kennedy, himself a Catholic, won in 1960 with roughly 78 percent of those voters.

Today, the Catholic vote seems to lean Democrat nationwide, but is no longer a monolith; it straddles the ideological spectrum. Roughly 25 percent of the country, Catholics overlap so many other demographics—rich and poor, young and old, white and Latino, northeast urban and Midwest suburbs—that they defy categorization. The Papacy denounces birth control and abortion, for example, thereby aligning with Republican ideals; yet the church opposes the death penalty and promotes charity, positions embraced by more Democrats than Republicans.

“Cafeteria Catholics,” those who pick and choose elements of the religion, sometimes reject the church’s teaching on abortion, birth control, homosexuality, and euthanasia. As author George Marlin explains, by 2004, approximately 70 percent of the congressional Catholic membership had cast pro-choice votes. A recent finding of the National Election Study shows that 36 percent of Catholics identify themselves as conservative, while 35 percent say they are moderate, and 29 percent claim to be liberal.

**Jews** Jews vote in large numbers and vote mainly with the Democrats. Jewish voters comprise a small fraction of the electorate, about 2 percent, but their participation in elections averages about 10 percent higher than the general population. Some estimates show that roughly 90 percent of Jews vote.

Jewish-American political history parallels American Catholic history—with ethnic, often immigrant, minorities occupying larger, northern urban centers. Subject to discrimination, Jews have developed strong concerns about the power of the state and infringements on civil liberties. Jewish voters place a high priority on privacy, on ensuring basic rights for the accused, and supporting charities. These factors have caused the Jewish vote to swing in a liberal direction.

The first measurable Jewish vote went to Woodrow Wilson with 55 percent in 1916. The 1920s Red Scare sent many Socialist Jews, fearing the “Communist” label, toward the Democratic party. When the United States entered World War II and later defeated the Jews’ worst enemy—Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany—FDR gained full backing from American Jewish voters. When his successor Harry Truman embraced the idea of creating a Jewish state in the Middle East in what became Israel, it sealed a generation of Jewish support for Democrats. From 1952 to 1968, Jewish support for Democratic presidential candidates ran 20 to 30 percent higher than that of the general population. According to exit polls, about 71 percent of Jews voted for Hillary Clinton over Republican Donald Trump in 2016.

### ***Business, Labor, and Unions***

Entrepreneurs, leaders in the business community, CEOs of companies, shareholders, and much of the upper class tend to embrace a conservative political philosophy and capitalist principles. Small business owners also want less regulation and interference by the state in the business world. They want lower taxes and an ability to make more profits. This voting profile usually results in their voting Republican.

In contrast, the wage earner, the craftsman, and the factory line worker tend to view politics through the lens of the workplace and often in line with their labor union. Since their rise in the late 1800s and early 1900s, labor unions such as the American Federation of Labor have supported government-mandated fair wage laws, child labor laws, safety regulations in the workplace, and fairness on the job. Aligned with Socialists in their earlier years, the labor unions struck a tight relationship with FDR’s party during the implementation of New Deal policies. Unions have lost much of their influence today, and membership is down from the prior generation. The decline is explained in part by laws in 28 states that prohibit making union membership mandatory in places of business that have voted to unionize. In the 2016 election, estimates show that the Democratic presidential candidate still carried the union vote, by perhaps 16 percentage points, but by 2 points less than four years ago and a noticeable drop from the prior generation.



## Voting Models

In addition to demographic influences, many other factors help explain voting behavior. One is the decision-making process voters use when choosing a candidate. All of these models play into voters' decision-making process with various levels of influence.

### *Rational-Choice Voting*

**Rational-choice voting** takes place when a voter has examined an issue or candidate, evaluated campaign promises or platform points, and consciously decided to vote in the way that seems to most benefit the voter. What matters most to one rational-choice voter might mean much less to another voter. One voter might be approaching the voting booth with her own individual interest atop her priority list—who will help me obtain medical care, for example—while another could be acting out of concern for a larger group, posing such questions as, “What is best for America?” or “What is best for our schools?”

Either way, the rational-choice voter has consciously decided what would be the best choice and votes accordingly. A retiring citizen about to collect Social Security votes for the candidate promising to protect the Social Security system. A young voter might have a genuine interest in securing retirees' quality of life, and though this issue has little direct implication on this voter's life, he or she may rationally choose to vote with that issue as a priority.

Analysts point out that sometimes people vote against their self-interest to support larger issues. For example, Donald Trump gained much support from the non-college educated, wage-earning voters. Critics point out that the president's policies of lowering the marginal tax rate and deregulating businesses will possibly harm these voters. If those voters made their choice over concerns about immigration and protecting the Second Amendment rather than their economic interests, they still made their own rational choice.

### *Retrospective Voting*

Citizens who apply the **retrospective voting** model look backward to consider candidates' track records. If the race for local office includes an incumbent, the voter will assess the official seeking reelection and her accomplishments while in office before deciding. If the race is for an open seat, the voter will likely consider the respective parties' recent track records, or maybe the candidates' accomplishments or shortcomings in other, prior offices. If Republicans are in control of Congress and the White House, and a bad economy ensues on their watch, a retrospective voter will likely cast his vote for the Democrats.

### *Prospective Voting*

In contrast, using **prospective voting**, citizens anticipate the future. They consider how candidates or proposed ballot initiatives might affect their lives or the operation of government. For example, casinos and gambling companies

have recently backed efforts to alter gambling laws and to legalize casinos in several states. Prospective voters, looking ahead, see the prospect of new jobs and increased tax revenues and decide on that basis to support legalizing gaming.

Barack Obama campaigned on the chief promise of a comprehensive government health care program. Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT), seeking the Democratic nomination, campaigned on working toward free tuition at public colleges and a \$15 minimum wage. Both gained millions of backers who were trying to choose the candidate with a vision for the future they supported.

### ***Party-Line Voting***

Citizens who affiliate with a political party or hold a strong party loyalty will more than likely vote with that party at most opportunities. In some states, voters register with a party; in others there is no legal state-level affiliation. All partisans have various levels of loyalty or strength of relationship with their party, but when one “self-identifies” with a party, acknowledging their membership or openly referring to themselves as a Democrat or Republican, then chances are good they will vote for that party. This **party identification**, rather than party registration, is the easiest way to predict a voter’s habits. According to the 2016 CNN exit poll, 89 percent of Democrats voted for Clinton; 90 percent of Republicans voted for Trump.

### ***Other Factors: Candidates and Issues***

Party loyalists are occasionally drawn to a candidate from the other team. A voter may consider the track record of the incumbent while simultaneously considering the promises of the challenger, using both retrospective and prospective thinking.

Another impact on the voter’s selection is the personality, integrity, or competence of a candidate. In fact, candidate-centered campaigns (as opposed to those focusing on party loyalty) will often forgo the party label or refrain from printing “Democrat” or “Republican” on their yard signs or including such information in their commercials and instead emphasize the candidate’s military service or successes at managing a business before entering a campaign. (See pages 462–463.)

The candidate’s character may also be a factor in how a voter decides to cast a ballot. In 2017, for example, Alabama held a special election to fill a Senate seat left vacant when Jeff Sessions was appointed attorney general by Donald Trump. The Republican candidate, Judge Roy Moore, received an endorsement from President Trump, and the state of Alabama had voted solidly for Trump in the 2016 election, and solidly Republican for 20 years. However, Moore’s past defiance of court orders, remarks denigrating people of color and the LGBT community, allegations of sexual abuse, and an effort to paint his accusers as accomplices to his opposition and spreaders of “fake news” turned public opinion against him. Even the other Republican Senator from Alabama, Richard Shelby, said he would not vote for Moore. Democrat Doug Jones, with an exemplary character and a strong record—including convictions against Ku Klux Klan members responsible for the 1963 church bombing in Birmingham that killed four children—won a close victory. The Alabaman African American vote played a decisive role.

The most important political issues of the day also have an influence on how citizens choose to cast their votes, and the economy is often at the top of the list. If the nation is in an economic downturn, the incumbent is usually held responsible for it, so votes tend to go for the challenger. If a challenger from a party other than a voter's preference has a good idea for improving the economy, the candidate's position on that issue can sway the vote.

## **Government Policies and Voter Participation**

Although states have the authority to administer elections, the federal government has passed election laws that the states must follow. For example, Congress passed the **National Voter Registration Act (NVRA)** in 1993 to increase citizen participation and to alleviate the burden of having to make a special effort to register to vote. Also known as the **motor-voter law**, it addresses national standards and enforcement of voter registration, mail-in registration, and government agency-based registration. The law requires states to offer citizens a chance to register at state-run agencies, such as the bureaus of motor vehicles (hence the "motor-voter law" nickname). The NVRA increases the number of eligible citizens who register to vote, expands the number of locations where voters can register, and protects the integrity of elections by ensuring that accurate voter rolls are maintained.

A recent U.S. Census Bureau report shows that 21 percent of voters registered at a county registration office; another 21 percent did so at a motor vehicle agency. More than 13 percent mailed in their registration, and 6 percent reported registering at the polls on Election Day (15 states allow that) at a school, hospital, campus, or registration booth.

### ***Federal Response to the 2000 Election***

The 2000 presidential election between Texas Governor George W. Bush and Vice-President Al Gore was one of the closest and most controversial elections in U.S. history. The outcome was finally decided by a Supreme Court ruling that the recount procedures violated the equal protection clause. As a result of the decision, George W. Bush became president. This unusual election focused great attention on voting processes and heightened concern for election reform.

Florida's vote in that election was extremely close. A confusing punch-card ballot, which allowed for fragments of paper called "chads" to remain partially attached to the ballot even after a voter punched the hole, made vote counting complicated. Some voters erroneously punched more than one hole, making accurate vote counting difficult. Similar voting problems had occurred in previous elections but none had received this level of attention.

Congress responded by passing the national **Help America Vote Act (HAVA)** in 2002. HAVA imposes a number of requirements on states, mostly to create national standards for voting and election management. All states had to upgrade their voting systems to an electronic format. The law required states to replace punch card and lever systems and provided funds for the changeover. HAVA also addresses voting for people with disabilities. States

and counties must make polling places accessible for blind people and those with physical handicaps to “ensure full participation in the electoral process.” Largely due to the confusion among Florida’s voters in 2000, the law requires states to use a voting system that allows the voter to glance at his or her choices before confirming the vote. Through this provision, voters have an opportunity to change their vote if they make a mistake.

To prevent voter fraud, registering voters must provide a driver’s license or the last four digits of a Social Security number that they must verify at the polling place on Election Day. The law also makes sure that military personnel serving overseas are provided with absentee ballots, registration forms, and election information.

Since the “hanging chad” debacle, 75 percent of the nation has changed the way it votes. Elections are now more accurate. There is less chance that voters will make mistakes and more safeguards in place if they do. Access has been expanded, and millions now vote by mail.

### ***Voter Registration***

Election schemes during the age of organized corruption in politics at the end of the nineteenth century brought the need for **voter registration**. Registration enables governments to prepare for an election, verify voter qualifications, and assign a voter to only one polling place to prevent repeat voting. In some places, the process for registering to vote became a barrier to would-be voters.

Though registration systems and requirements vary slightly, most states require a voter to be 18 years old, a U.S. citizen, and a resident of the state. A criminal record can effect one’s voting right. All but two states prevent felons from voting while in prison. Most states, however, reinstate felons’ voting rights after they are paroled. Twelve states deny felons who committed severe crimes the right to ever vote again.

Many states allow 17-year-olds to vote in primary elections if the voter will be 18 by the November general election. The Supreme Court has ruled that no state can require registration more than 30 days before an election.



Source: *Voice of America*

Washington University in St. Louis students register people to vote in the 2016 election.

Citizens can register to vote in a few ways. At a local board of elections, any adult resident can walk in during business hours with ID and Social Security number and register. The laws discussed earlier require states to offer opportunities by mail as well. In most cases, voters can find a printable form online, complete it, and mail it in. Because of the motor-voter law, registration forms are also available at public libraries and where motorists obtain a drivers' license.

Nearly 40 states allow citizens to register online. One of the first studies examining online registration showed a per-registrant cost to the state dropping from 83 cents to 3 cents. These savings do not take into account the expensive implementation costs, but considering those will diminish over time, it is no wonder so many states have made this possible. A handful of states offer Election Day registration at the same polling places where voting takes place.

### **Types of Ballots**

Not only registration but also voting has been upgraded in an effort to increase accuracy and voter participation.

**Election Day Ballots** The ballot used today, known as the **Australian ballot** since a version of it was first used in Australia in 1872, helps make elections fair. Some form of the Australian ballot is used in all U.S. states. The ballot must 1) be printed and distributed at public expense, 2) show all qualifying candidates' names, 3) be available only at the polling places, and 4) be completed in private.

Other administrative procedures are followed to make the ballot and voting legitimate. Candidates can list their names how they wish on the ballot, with a familiar nickname instead of full legal name. Election officials in some states will rotate the order in which the candidates' names appear, precinct-by-precinct, so no one candidate is always atop the list.

Sometimes registration records can be incomplete or incorrect. Citizens' names may be purged from voting rolls after years of inactivity. Voters move residences from one precinct to another and forget to change their registration. When discrepancies like these occur at the polling place, states offer **provisional ballots**. These are set aside until election officials investigate to make certain that the voter voted at the correct polling place based on the voter's registration address. When these controversies of residency or registration come up, citizens may feel questioned or partially disfranchised. But these modern procedures afford a greater chance of a fair and accurate election.

On Election Day, officials update the media as they count the votes. Toward the end of the evening, when a large majority are counted, the media will likely "call" the winner, but elections are not officially over until the elections officials count every vote—provisional ballots included—and certify the election. Most states provide for a 7- to 21-day period to complete the process.

**Absentee Ballots** Voters can also vote by **absentee ballot**. If a voter cannot make it to the polls, he or she can mail a completed ballot instead. In the past, voters needed an excuse, such as illness or travel, to vote absentee.



But states have embraced no-excuse absentee and early voting. Thirty-seven states and D.C. allow any qualified voter to cast a ballot in person during a designated period before the election. Early voting is not only convenient to the voter—it also makes for easier management and vote counting on Election Day. Voting lines decrease, and fewer poll workers are needed. In the 2012 election, one-third of Americans had already voted when Election Day arrived. Today, only 15 states require in-person Election Day voting.

These convenience voting changes usually bring noticeable increases in participation, followed by a leveling out of turnout. As ProPublica reported in 2016, the research on how convenience voting has increased turnout is mixed. Some research shows that early voting has increased turnout by 2 to 4 percent. One report shows that early in-person voting actually *decreased* voter turnout. More consistent findings are that African American turnout has increased with early, in-person voting, and that same-day voting and registration has increased turnout. Oregon's automatic registration process may have been the key factor in a 4-point increase in participation and one of the top turnout states in the United States.

**Online Voting?** Scholars, technology specialists, and fiscal conservatives have put forth good points in favor of using the Internet to conduct elections online or at least as an alternative to traveling to a voting booth. Voting online would be easier for some, could lower the administration cost of elections, and could propel younger tech-savvy voters into an influential and formidable force. However, Internet users tend to be white, wealthy, well-educated, and male. The difference between that constituency and those without Internet access is known as a “digital divide,” and that divide would disadvantage voters without Internet access. Online voting also opens the door to hacking and other manipulation, so paper receipts are important.

### ***Voter ID Laws***

State laws requiring voters to present some form of identification at the voting booth have passed in 34 states, generally put forth by Republican majorities. Like other election laws, they vary in detail from state to state. Some states accept multiple forms of ID, including a utility bill or a paycheck stub. Others require government-issued photo identification. Some allow citizens to cast provisional ballots if they don't have their ID with them. If they return with the necessary ID, their provisional ballots can be cast.

These requirements have brought criticism and constitutional challenges. Some conservatives say the IDs are necessary to decrease the chances of voter fraud and to further guarantee accuracy in elections. Liberals and progressives, in contrast, believe Republicans are trying to set up barriers to those voters less likely to have an ID, most of whom tend to vote Democratic.

Liberal critics say these laws create a structural impediment and unfairly disenfranchise the lower socioeconomic groups—minorities, workers, the poor, and immigrants. Those voters are less likely than others to have IDs. Liberals point out that very little coordinated voter fraud actually goes on in

the United States. A 2007 Justice Department study issued as these laws began to sprout found virtually no proof of organized skewing of elections as a result of voter fraud. A 2014 Loyola Law School study of elections since 2000 found just 31 examples of voter impersonation.

In the courts, legal challenges to photo-ID policies emphasize the way these laws disproportionately impact people of different classes. In 2008, the Supreme Court upheld an Indiana voter-ID statute that requires a photo ID, but since then, federal appeals courts have struck down similar laws from other states.

What is the practical impact of these measures? Are these voter ID requirements suppressing the vote? The Brennan Center for Justice reports that about 25 percent of eligible black voters and 16 percent of Hispanics do not have IDs compared to 9 percent of whites. It's likely that at least some of the 33 to 35 percent of eligible African-American voters who did not participate before the voter ID requirements are among those without IDs. Participation among these groups has generally grown in recent years, and voter ID laws could interfere with that growth. At the same time, voter ID laws seemed to serve as a rallying cry against voter suppression and actually help increase turnout of the groups claimed to be suppressed.

**Long Lines at the Polls** Most voters wait an average of 14 minutes to cast their votes. However, 5 percent of voters—which amounts to several million people—have to wait much longer, up to two hours. Minority voters are six times as likely as whites to wait more than an hour to vote. Since their historic turnout rates have been lower than those of whites, they may have fewer voting machines and poll workers in their precincts, and those deficits slow down the voting process. For hourly workers, long wait times result in lower wages for the day. However, these long waits in line have a significant consequence beyond lost wages. One study estimates that for every hour spent in line, a voter is 1 percent less likely to vote in the next election. Long lines, then, are a voter suppression mechanism.

#### REFLECT ON THE ESSENTIAL QUESTION

**Essential Question:** *How are voting rights protected, and how have voting procedures been altered to respond to challenges? On separate paper, complete a chart like the one below to gather details to answer that question.*

Protections for Voting Rights	Responses to Challenges



## THINK AS A POLITICAL SCIENTIST: DEVELOP AND SUPPORT AN ARGUMENT TO AN ELECTED OFFICIAL

When you **develop an argument**, you go through several processes of refinement. For example, you might have a general feeling that your city council should not vote to close the local branch of your library, as it is considering. From that general feeling, the first step in developing an argument is to articulate a **claim**, a statement you assert to be true: The library is too important a public facility to be closed. Then you look for **appropriate evidence** to support your claim, to prove that it is true. You might begin researching the benefits of libraries on the performance of children in school or the relationship between branch libraries and the level of teenage crime. You may also find that the city council is experiencing a budget shortfall and cannot both keep the local branch of the library open and support the public health clinic. Your research leads you to examine your original claim and refine it based on your new information. Maybe your refined claim is “City council should actively seek alternate funding for the clinic and continue to keep the branch library open.” Now the evidence you provide to support your claim can be very focused and should show that other funding is available for the health clinic and that the benefits of the branch library are worth city funding.

**Practice:** Write an elected official expressing your reasoned position on an issue of concern. Formulate and refine an argument for or against a law or policy or governmental action or inaction and support it with appropriate evidence. Follow the process below.

- Find a public issue that concerns you. It could be the nation's most recent involvement in the Middle East or the potholes in your local streets.
- Become well acquainted with the issue through research in a variety of print and online sources. If appropriate, talk to local experts or perhaps contact local offices.
- Find a poll or some measure of public opinion on the issue. What do other citizens, constituents, and your neighbors think? How are they affected? How do their views and the impact of the issue on your neighbors affect your argument?
- What specific position do you take? Develop a well reasoned claim, refined through research, and support it with relevant and sufficient evidence appropriate to the topic.
- Select the appropriate public official and present your argument in a formal letter.

## KEY TERMS AND NAMES

absentee ballot/442	(motor-voter law) (1993)/440	Twenty-Fourth Amendment/428
apathy/432		
Australian ballot/442	Nineteenth Amendment/429	Twenty-Sixth Amendment/431
Civil Rights Act (1957, 1964)/428	party identification/439	Twenty-Third Amendment/430
Fifteenth Amendment/427	political efficacy/432	voter apathy/432
franchise/425	poll tax/427	voter registration/441
gender gap/433	preclearance/429	voter turnout/431
grandfather clause/427	prospective voting/438	voting-age population/432
Help America Vote Act (2002)/440	provisional ballots/442	voting blocs/433
Jackson, Andrew/426	rational-choice voting/438	voting-eligible population/425
linkage institutions/424	retrospective voting/438	Voting Rights Act (1965)/429
literacy test/427	Seventeenth Amendment/426	white primary/428
National Voter Registration Act	suffrage/425	

## MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS

Questions 1 and 2 refer to the following table.

TOP REASONS FOR NOT VOTING	
Too Busy	17.5%
Illness/Disability	14.9%
Not Interested	13.4%
Didn't Like Candidates/Issues	12.9%
Out Of Town	8.8%
Registration Problems	6.0%

Source: U.S. Census, 2010

- Which of the following is an accurate conclusion based on the data in the table?
  - Voter registration problems have become the chief deterrent to full participation in U.S. elections.
  - Not having enough time leads the reasons for not voting.
  - Lack of political efficacy is the chief reason people do not vote.
  - Voter identification laws have reduced voter turnout.

2. How have states responded to the reasons offered for non-voting?
- (A) States have required more accurate media coverage of candidates and issues.
  - (B) States have switched to online voting.
  - (C) States have moved Election Day to Saturdays and Sundays.
  - (D) States have provided for early voting and no-excuse voting by mail.

Questions 3 and 4 refer to the Supreme Court opinion below.

A photo identification requirement imposes some burdens on voters that other methods of identification do not share. For example, a voter may lose his photo identification, may have his wallet stolen on the way to the polls, or may not resemble the photo in the identification because he recently grew a beard. Burdens of that sort arising from life's vagaries, however, are neither so serious nor so frequent as to raise any question about the constitutionality of SEA 483 [the Indiana law requiring photo IDs]; the availability of the right to cast a provisional ballot provides an adequate remedy for problems of that character.

—Justice John Paul Stevens, Majority Opinion, *Crawford v. Marion County Elections Board*, 2008

3. Which of the following statements best summarizes the Supreme Court's opinion?
- (A) Election Day burdens on citizens are acceptable if there are comparable burdens placed on the government to guarantee fair elections.
  - (B) As long as a citizen can cast a temporary vote to be checked later, the citizen need not prove his or her identity on Election Day.
  - (C) A state's goal to conduct an accurate and legitimate election does not outweigh the citizen's burden to show photo ID to cast a vote.
  - (D) The burdens of providing photo-ID are so frequent that they make the provision unconstitutional.
4. Which of the following constitutional provisions did the Supreme Court follow in letting states implement the policy referred to in the opinion?
- (A) Article I, Section 4
  - (B) Suffrage Amendments
  - (C) Necessary and Proper Clause
  - (D) Commerce Clause



5. Which of the following constitutional amendments did Congress seek to enforce when it passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965?
- (A) Fifteenth Amendment  
 (B) Twenty-Third Amendment  
 (C) Twenty-Sixth Amendment  
 (D) Twenty-Seventh Amendment
6. Which of the following statements best summarizes the voter registration process in the United States?
- (A) Voter registration is a national process that is uniform among the states.  
 (B) States can require citizens to register to vote as much as one year in advance of an election.  
 (C) Voter registration helps assure accuracy in the elections process.  
 (D) Efforts to ease registration have increased voter turnout.
7. A wage-earner who identifies as a political independent has heard a Senate candidate promise to push for an increase in the national minimum wage while her opponent does not support that. The citizen votes for this candidate primarily for this reason so his own pay might increase. Which of the following models best explains this citizen's voting behavior?
- (A) Rational-choice voting  
 (B) Retrospective voting  
 (C) Prospective voting  
 (D) Party-line voting
8. Which of the following is an accurate comparison of the National Voter Registration Act and the Help America Vote Act?

	NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT	HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT
(A)	Allows for absentee voting	Makes punch cards more reliable
(B)	Addresses voting for people with disabilities	Allows military personnel to return home to vote
(C)	Allows voter registration at state agencies	Requires systems for voters to confirm vote
(D)	Requires voter ID at the polls	Requires states to pay for upgrades

9. Which of the following demographic voting blocs has the most identifiable partisan voting behavior?
- (A) African Americans
  - (B) Jewish voters
  - (C) Catholics
  - (D) Voters aged 18 to 24 years old
10. Both state and federal governments are involved in elections and make and enforce election law. Which is a responsibility of the federal government?
- (A) Setting times and locations for voting
  - (B) Assuring groups are not prevented from voting
  - (C) Determining the format of the ballot
  - (D) Establishing voter registration procedures

## FREE-RESPONSE QUESTIONS

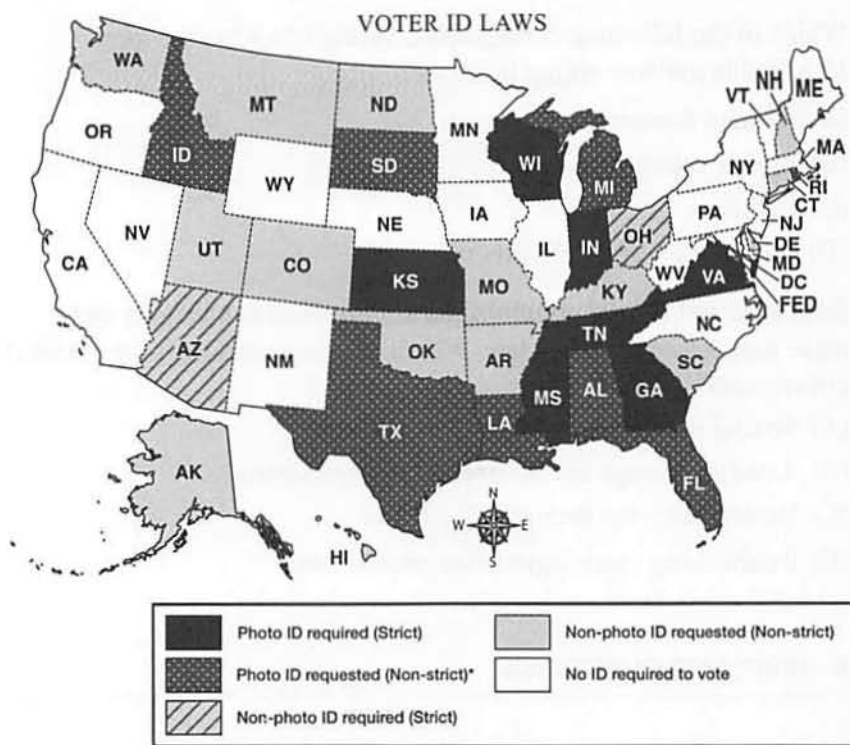
---

1. "It is well established that minorities turn out less than whites in most elections in the United States. Our research shows that the racial turnout gap doubles or triples in states that enact strict ID laws. Latinos are the [most disadvantaged]. Their turnout is 7.1 percentage points lower in general elections and 5.3 percentage points lower in primaries in strict ID states than it is in other states. Strict ID laws lower African American, Asian American and multi-racial American turnout as well. In fact, where these laws are implemented, white turnout goes *up* marginally, compared with non-voter ID states."

—Zoltan L. Hajnal, *Los Angeles Times*, September 8, 2016

After reading the above scenario, respond to A, B, and C below.

- (A) Describe an action Congress can take to address the comments in the scenario.
- (B) In the context of this scenario, explain how the use of congressional power in part A can be affected by interactions between Congress and the state legislatures.
- (C) In the context of this scenario, explain how voter ID laws affect democratic representation.



Source: National Conference of State Legislatures, 2018

2. Use the information in the map to respond to the questions..
  - (A) Identify the voter ID policy in Michigan.
  - (B) Describe a similarity or difference in voter ID laws by state or region, as illustrated in the information graphic, and draw a conclusion about that similarity or difference.
  - (C) Explain how voter ID laws as shown in the information graphic demonstrate a principle of federalism.
  
3. Virginia Minor, a leader in the Missouri women's suffrage movement, tried to register to vote in Missouri in 1872 as part of a nationwide civil disobedience effort but was denied because she was female. In a lawsuit asserting that as a citizen she had the right to vote, Minor argued for being registered as a legal voter based on constitutional protections as a citizen. The case, *Minor v. Happersett* (1875), reached the Supreme Court, which upheld the state supreme court's determination that the litigants failed to show that anything in the Constitution called for the federal government to take away from states the right to define voting qualifications. The Court ruled that citizenship conferred "membership of a nation and nothing more." States would still have the authority to define suffrage.

- (A) Identify the constitutional clause that is common to both *Minor v. Happersett* and *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). (See page 305.)
- (B) Based on the constitutional clause identified in part A, explain how the facts of the case led to a different holding in *Brown v. Board of Education* than the holding in *Minor v. Happersett*.
- (C) Describe an action supporters of women's suffrage in the 1870s could take to further their cause after the court defeat.
4. Develop an argument that explains whether voting in the United States should be mandatory, as it is in Australia, Belgium, Mexico, Singapore, and 18 other nations.
- In your essay, you must:
- Articulate a defensible claim or thesis that responds to the prompt and establishes a line of reasoning
    - ♦ Support your claim with at least TWO pieces of accurate and relevant information:  
At least ONE piece of evidence must be from one of the following foundational documents:
      - Article I of the Constitution
      - First Amendment of the Constitution
    - ♦ Use a second piece of evidence from the list above or from your study of modern voting and voter behavior and elections
  - Use reasoning to explain why your evidence supports your claim/thesis
  - Respond to an opposing or alternative perspective using refutation, concession, or rebuttal



#### WRITING: CONCLUDE WITH STRENGTH

Follow the line of reasoning you establish in your introduction all the way through your argument essay. After you have responded to an opposing or alternate perspective with refutation, concession, or rebuttal, take your argument to its logical conclusion. Your concluding paragraph should not simply restate your claim or thesis. Instead it should summarize how your evidence and your response to an opposing or alternative view demonstrate the soundness of your claim.