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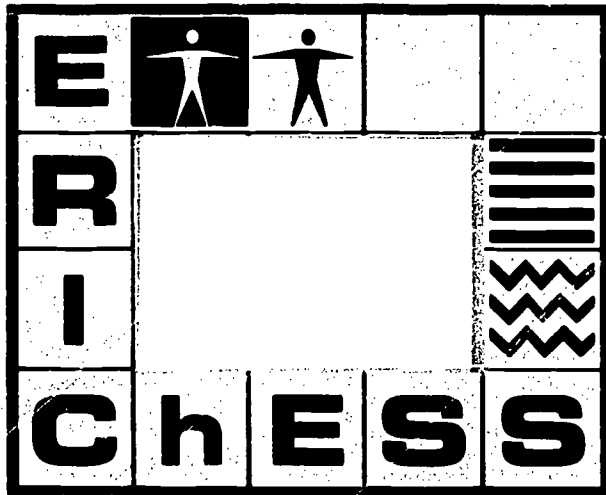
ABSTRACT

Content, classroom suggestions, and resources for preparing and motivating new young voters are the focus of this publication. The first section of the paper contains chapters on: universal suffrage (a historical and current view); whether or not public affairs should be entrusted to the people; the role of voting in a representative democracy; the role of political parties; and, practical politics. Each of these topics is followed by some suggestions of strategies and materials to use in dealing with it. The second major portion of the publication is devoted to a generously annotated list of relevant resources--institutions, books, classroom materials, and games. Throughout the paper, there is emphasis on making a relevant and realistic pitch to the new voters. (JLB)

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18, 19, 20: WILL THEY VOTE?

Suggestions and Resources

for Students and Teachers

Nicholas Helburn and Joanne L. Binkley
Interpretive Series No. 7
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ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education
855 Broadway
Boulder, Colorado 80302

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Part I:
BACKGROUND AND CLASSROOM SUGGESTIONS

INTRODUCTION

The following fifty words, the Twenty-sixth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, give teachers of 17 through 20 year olds a rare opportunity:

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States who are eighteen years of age or older to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The Twenty-sixth Amendment comes at an opportune time. Ecology, the continuation of the civil rights struggle, the growing concern about the poor in general, and our involvement in Southeast Asia are issues that have strong appeal to youthful idealism. Moreover, interest will be generated by the novelty of enfranchisement and the opportunity to participate in a presidential election.

There is a great deal of controversy not only over how the 18-20 year olds will vote, but also over whether they will vote at all. It is well known that American youth of voting age are not as likely to vote as are older persons. The Census Bureau reports, for example, that in the November 1968 presidential election, only 33 percent of the 18 to 20 year olds who lived in states where they could vote reported that they voted. The comparable figure for 21-24 year olds was 51 percent, and for persons 25 and older it was 70 percent. One of the reasons for this is economic status. There is a strong correlation between voter participation and level of affluence. Most young people are busy getting economically established, finding little energy left over for civic involvement.

In addition to this legacy of nonparticipation, the forces of alienation and discouragement with traditional politics will prevent many young people from voting. Registration requirements have in some instances operated to exclude younger voters. For example, the residency requirement in many states imposes singular limitations on this age group as they move about to pursue an education and career. Particularly in college towns where a student takeover is feared, there is often deliberate registration discrimination. College and military service take many away from home, creating the additional obstacle of absentee voting. (A chart showing the voter registration laws for the 50 states appears in the Appendix.)

There is little agreement about how the 11.5 million new voters will vote. President Nixon, in certifying the amendment on July 5, 1971, forecast that the new young voters "will infuse into this country some idealism, some courage, some stamina, some high moral purpose that this Nation always needs . . ." (Nixon, 1971) Many commentators go further and hope that a youth bloc will develop, which will revitalize politics, injecting a selfless concern for the "good of the people." Others point to past and present opinion surveys to argue that there is no youth bloc, that young people will follow the voting patterns of their parents, just as previous generations have.

Conventional wisdom holds that young people will register and vote much as their parents do. Richard M. Scammon and Benjamin J. Wattenburg, in The Real Majority, argue that the results of the 1968 election would have been the same regardless of whether the 18-20 age group had voted. Carl Gershman wrote in The New Leader that "there is no youth vote." He says, contrary to "media generated misconceptions about the generation gap . . . people that expect a cataclysmic rejection of traditions, mores, and institutions are in for a shock." (Gershman, 1971, p. 14) He pointed to a Harris poll done for Life magazine showing that 59 percent of Americans aged 15 to 21 consider themselves conservative or middle-of-the-road. Twenty-three percent say they are liberal, while only 5 percent call themselves radical. He concludes that youth is not a monolithic subculture, but a highly diversified group.

Speculating on the other side of the issue, Kingman Brewster, Jr., President of Yale University, writes, "The most fundamental challenge to the political process posed by the new student voter . . . lies in the fact that the young voter in general, the student voter in particular, cannot be appealed to in terms of short-term self interest In terms of economic self interest there is no 'youth vote' comparable to the interest groups which put farm price support, repeal of the Taft Hartley Act, or percentage depletion ahead of almost any other political consideration. This difficulty of appealing to the student age vote on any basis narrower than a comprehensive view of the public interest seems to me the most exciting and, perhaps to the politician the most terrifying potential of the lower voting age." (Washington Post, May 24, 1971, p. A20)

Writing on the basis of late 1970 Harris Surveys, Louis Harris points out: "The 18-20 year olds feel significantly more strongly than the 50-and-over group about cleaning up environmental pollution, liquidating U.S. ground troop involvement in Vietnam, speeding up racial integration, beefing up Federal

poverty programs and reaching an accord with Russia for joint exploration of outer space. By the same token, the 18-20 year olds are far less worried about campus protests and college administration permissiveness, much less distraught over the drug and pornography problem, less inclined to oppose welfare or demand that recipients be made to go to work, and significantly less inclined to give high ratings to President Nixon and Vice President Agnew." (Philadelphia Inquirer, January 7, 1971, see following table, p. 4)

He adds the caution that the differences in attitude may never be translated into political advantage. Far fewer 18-20 year olds considered themselves Republican or Democrat than older people. Forty-four percent reported that they were independent or not sure, as compared to 14 percent of voters over 50 years old. It seems impossible to predict with any certainty either the number of young people who will vote or the degree to which they will depart from the voting patterns of their parents.

In any case, the new, young voting group is going to put a potentially volatile group into politics. Their energies and convictions are a healthy transfusion into the body politic. They are better educated and more politically aware than previous generations. On balance, optimism about their performance far outweighs pessimism. No one denies that great potential is there. The only issue is whether they will take advantage of the vote and use it energetically and wisely.

Teachers of 18, 19, and 20 year olds have an opportunity they have never had before. Students in senior social science courses no longer need to play pretend politics. Courses can rise above mechanical concepts of government and get students involved in the living reality of precinct meetings, party conventions, and electioneering, as well as the overall decision-making process. Particularly during the period prior to November 1972, the first national election in which 18 to 20 year olds will vote, there is unique relevance for classes in political science, civics and government, history, geography, economics, sociology, problems of democracy, and American studies.

The materials and strategies suggested throughout this paper have been chosen for their value in getting students involved in activities of real interest to them. It is a truism in politics that the greater a person's activity, the higher the level of information will be. Encouraging students to run the show, and keeping teacher direction as subtle as possible will tend to maximize student interest and initiative.

Attitudes on Political Issues
By Age Group

	18-20 %	50+ %	Difference %
Spend more money on pollution control	90	75	+15
Help blacks achieve equality faster	60	41	+19
Get all U.S. troops out of Vietnam by end of 1971	76	52	+24
U.S. - Russia should explore space jointly	75	48	+27
Increase Federal programs to help poor	70	55	+15
Approve desegregation of schools now	60	47	+13
Student protests are healthy sign	54	21	+33
Rate President Nixon good to excellent	39	51	-12
College corrupts students on drugs, pornography	38	63	-25
Abolish welfare, make recipients go to work	37	47	-10
College presidents too lenient with protesters	34	69	-35
Rate Vice President Agnew good to excellent	27	47	-20

(Philadelphia Inquirer, January 7, 1971, p. 10)

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

A Historical Review

The extension of the franchise to 18, 19, and 20 year olds is the most recent chapter in a long epic. The ideal form of Greek democracy restricted political participation to an elite of free citizens. Participation among that elite was on an equal basis. Variations from that ideal, such as monarchy, dictatorship, and aristocracy, were common in the time of Greece and Rome. Most of European history from the fall of Rome to the 19th century was characterized by an aristocratic philosophy. Kings and noblemen were seen as endowed by divine right to rule, and commoners had little or nothing to say about government. Elites in the church worked together with the aristocracy and often the church exerted powerful secular control. The growth of towns and cities outside the control of land-owning aristocrats made for a new situation. Here control was assumed by burghers, an elite of property and wealth who controlled the commerce and manufacturing as well as the government.

The emigrants to the American colonies government recognized the sovereignty of the British king. But much of the drive for emigration was promoted by a hope to escape the excesses and oppression of the aristocratic system. Expansion of the franchise was already well under way during the colonial period in America, although both religious and property restrictions were common. The remoteness of the colonies, their lack of representation, and the extreme contrast of physical, economic, and social conditions combined to weaken the rule by the king and parliament, and to foster a sense of separateness on the part of the colonists.

The American Revolution focused attention on the radical position. Ideals such as "all men are created equal" were crucial in firing the revolutionary fervor, and in the constitutional convention it was necessary to somehow reconcile or compromise the different traditions of the several colonies. While the ideals of egalitarianism were widely expressed, control over qualification of eligible voters was left to the states. As it turned out, this was only a temporary compromise. As the new nation became more unified and the Federal government became stronger, one constitutional amendment after another established Federal control over who was eligible to vote. Special interest groups in states and localities have been ingenious in finding ways of circumventing the Federal standards. But gradually larger and larger proportions of the total population have been made eligible to vote.

A powerful influence in this evolution was the creation of new states. While these states were settled with people who shared to some degree the traditions of the former colonies, there was a mixing of traditions, a tendency for common ideals to prevail over special circumstances. The frontier economy, with little established wealth and great opportunity for growth, fostered the ideal of universal rather than restricted franchise. As these frontier states increased their influence in the nation, the nation as a whole moved toward universal suffrage. Religious and property requirements were generally eliminated by the middle of the 19th century. Slavery became a political preoccupation, and a major cause of the Civil War. Shortly after the Civil War, the 15th Amendment was passed, giving the vote to blacks.

AMENDMENT XV
(Adopted 1870)

Negro Suffrage

SECTION I. Right to vote affirmed. 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.

For a few short years blacks ruled several of the southern states. But the rest of the nation looked the other way while whites combined legal manipulation and terror to regain political supremacy. Only in the last few decades has the combination of judicial surveillance and direct action by civil rights groups begun to enforce the enfranchisement of blacks promised in the 15th Amendment. It was not until 1964, in fact, that one of the most effective barriers to Negro voting, the poll tax, was legally proscribed.

AMENDMENT XXIV
(Adopted 1964)

Right to Vote

SECTION I. The right of citizens of the United States to vote in any primary or other election for President or Vice President, for electors for President or Vice President, or for Senator or Representative in Congress shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.

Discrimination against women as voters was also inherited from the European tradition. The first significant change came when Wyoming became a state in 1890 and included women's suffrage in its constitution. The rest of the nation derided the idea of women voting. Only after a long and difficult struggle did the 19th Amendment become law.

AMENDMENT XIX
(Adopted 1920)

Woman Suffrage

SECTION I. 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.

Social mores, however, have discouraged many women so that even today their voting participation continues to be lower than that of men.

Now, half a century after the enfranchisement of women, the vote has been given to 18, 19, and 20 year olds. Georgia and Kentucky had already allowed this group to vote and the two newest states, Alaska and Hawaii, had set minimum voting ages at 19 and 20, respectively. With unprecedented speed the 26th Amendment was passed by Congress and ratified by two-thirds of the states.

How long will it be before this vote is effective: a century, a decade, or a year? The 18-20 year olds may follow the traditional pattern of nonparticipation until they are older, or they may take up the franchise immediately. Since high schools and colleges have most of these new voters under one roof, they are relatively easy to reach, to inspire, to inform, to register, and to organize. With the cooperation of all concerned, they could be an effective part of the electorate at once. American democracy has an opportunity to show its flexibility, resilience, and vigor.

Into The Present

Only recently have Negroes and women begun to extend their voting rights to more powerful forms of political participation and leadership. This lag is, of course, related to the larger issue of their roles in society. In the last few years, a broad coalition of groups that had been largely excluded from the decision-making processes in this country has begun to take shape. It is difficult to separate the reciprocal influences of the youth movement, the civil rights movement, and women's liberation. But these movements have come together to increase the involvement, recognition, and leverage of these people in the political arena.

In December 1971 more than 2500 youth met in Chicago to organize a political movement -- the Emergency Conference for New Voters. Its main purpose was to form a National Youth Caucus to cooperate with similar groups that had been formed by blacks and women. The National Women's Political caucus for example, is a bipartisan group with a major long-term goal of equal representation for women in both party conventions. "In 1968 women delegates constituted (only) 17 percent of the Republican Convention and 13 percent of the

Democratic Convention." (New York Times, December 5, 1971, p. 65) Largely as a result of the pressures brought to bear by these caucuses, both parties took steps toward fuller representation of youth, minorities, and women at the 1972 conventions.

Paralleling the entrance of these groups into the political structure has been the rising number of youth, minorities, and women running for public office. Several young people have taken advantage of their new eligibility to run for office. Yvonne Westbrook, an 18 year old black student at San Francisco State College, ran for one of the six seats on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Though she lost the election, she drew a good deal of support from youth, blacks, and other third world groups. A more successful case is that of Ron Hooker, a 19 year old student at Ashland College. In December 1971 he became the mayor of New Comerstown, Ohio. He was elected through a campaign as a write-in candidate.

At this point, the success of minority groups in politics has, for the most part, meant success for blacks. More black candidates were successful in winning election to a variety of political offices in the 1970 elections than at any other time since Reconstruction. There are 13 black members of the 92nd Congress, 12 in the House of Representatives and 1 in the Senate.

A highly successful representative of both blacks and women is Mrs. Shirley Chisholm. She is the first black woman in the House of Representatives and the highest elected woman official. Her mission is to build a grassroots coalition of women, youth, blacks, and Puerto Ricans. It is interesting to note that, according to Mrs. Chisholm, she has been discriminated against more often on the basis of sex than race.

It has long been thought that politics is too dirty a business for women. A woman politician was "unfeminine." And so it has been the tradition for a woman only to fill out an unexpired term upon her husband's death, or to run for his vacated seat. But the tradition of the widow's mandate is declining. None of the women who ran for public office in 1970 fit this pattern. In the 92nd Congress there are 12 women -- 11 in the House of Representatives and 1 in the Senate.

These successes, and the more numerous ones at the local level, signal a new political consciousness among heretofore powerless people. The gains have been the result of many forces, but they come largely from people realizing their mutual connections and interests, and coming together to accomplish common goals.

Classroom Suggestions

Vital Issues of the Constitution, a program intended primarily as supplementary enrichment material for senior high school and college students, contains a chapter that would provide a useful resource for these issues. Entitled "Slavery, Citizenship, and the Vote," the chapter contains landmark Supreme Court cases ranging from the Dred Scott case in 1864 to the approval of the 18 year old vote in 1970, and it provides a fresh chronology of the extension of the franchise. Either some or all of the cases may be used. The questions posed in the student text are intended to stimulate inquiry on the broad issues posed by the various case studies.

To encourage a different level of student involvement, a survey of community opinion might be undertaken to determine attitudes on youth, minorities, and women holding public office. Discussions of the 18 year old vote abound in popular literature, and some of the books mentioned in the resource section deal wholly or in part with the political participation of women and minority groups. Barber's Readings in Citizen Politics contains an article on women's political participation; and Shirley Chisholm's book, Unbought and Unbossed, is useful from both perspectives.

SHOULD PUBLIC AFFAIRS BE ENTRUSTED TO THE PEOPLE?

Since the birth of the Republic, politicians and philosophers have argued the question: can you trust the people to run the government? "I am persuaded myself that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for the moment, but will soon correct themselves. Do not be too severe upon their errors, but reclaim them by enlightening them." So wrote Jefferson to the other framers of the Constitution. Most of these men, however, were fearful of masses voting. Alexander Hamilton expressed their common feeling that only the superior men in society were capable of making sound rational judgments. Land owners, drawing on the ideas of Locke, proved their superiority by virtue of possessing property. They referred to Aristotle in urging that only men of reason were competent to rule. In their view, men of reason were identified with men of property.

Proponents of democracy argued largely on moral grounds, discounting contradictory evidence by alluding to the perfectability of man as articulated by Jefferson. Defects could be corrected by education. Madison shared the view that man was basically trustworthy, capable of evil, but also capable of good. Later advocates of widening the franchise included Andrew Jackson, who championed the frontier spirit of the masses. Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt showed a paternalistic, but not condescending, faith in democratic man, and reinforced attitudes persistent in American history that were sympathetic to the little man.

Throughout the evolution of American society, skeptics have pointed to apathy, ignorance, and emotionalism as reasons for the disenfranchisement of the masses and for entrusting government to elites, whose wealth and education qualified them for decision making.

Twentieth century writers have continued the debate. Graham Wallas said man was influenced by impulse, not reason. Voters act on symbols and images. Thus, the politicians must create and display an image that will persuade voters that he or she is a person who would see to their interests. Robert Michels, in Political Parties, argued that the organizing process itself inevitably produces a leadership group that acquires continually increasing expertise. Their expertise reinforces their ability to control the organization and allows them to maintain power.

Elitists such as Harold Laswell have argued that society is ruled by competing elites who seek control of the centers of power. The populace is swept along according to the currents created by the elite. Walter Lippman agreed that voters were irrational, but their main problem, he argued, was a lack of

information. He compared them to a man who sees one minute of a three-act play and then must determine the heroes and villains. Lippman drew from Hamilton, Michels, and Wallas to conclude that the populace is always divided into the few and the many, the agents and the bystanders. Policy makers or agents, because of the low level of information of the many, have to use symbols (black and white hats) to manipulate public opinion.

Recently, the growth of scientific study methods has brought a better understanding of voting activity. These methods have shown the truth of assertions about low levels of information, political interest, and activity by voters. But they have also shown in greater detail how democracy works. The first study of voting behavior and political opinion utilizing a sophisticated application of "survey techniques" was directed by Paul Lazarsfeld and reported in The People's Choice. The central interest of this study was with opinion formation and change, and from it emerged information about selective perception, cross pressures, and opinion leadership. Another major work in the quantitative tradition, The Voter Decides, was published in 1954. Two national probability samples were drawn, and respondents were interviewed prior to and following the 1952 election. The evidence indicated that the classification of voters into sociological categories may not be a totally satisfactory explanation of voter behavior. Thus, the concern with "intervening variables" makes its first appearance in the literature.

The American Voter, by Angus Campbell et al., is the first concerted effort to establish a structure for theory. Its major emphasis is on partisanship and political attitudes. Much of the evidence tends to corroborate and refine earlier findings. Another political scientist, Gabriel Almond, suggests that voters are not separate from leaders, but part of a dynamic system. Opinions are shaped and decisions are made by the continual interaction of three groupings in society -- the decision makers, the attentive public, and the mass.

While it is true that the mass of voters have a low level of specific information and the decision makers have great power and a great deal more expertise, the continual interaction of the two forces, aided by the activities of the attentive group, keeps a tenuous balance, and democracy survives the turmoil -- indeed, thrives on it.

Classroom Suggestions

One starting point might be to examine some of the classic sources on the question of who should be allowed the franchise. Works such as Aristotle's Politics, Locke's Second Treatise on Government, and Hobbes' Leviathan can provide some perspective with which students can better evaluate the more modern thinkers.

A chronology of changing attitudes from the Constitutional period, when only 300 electors were supposed to choose presidents, to the present could also be a reasonable starting point. The use of actual writings by skeptics and supporters in the Federalist Papers is better than books about them. It will emphasize that these were living men -- practical politicians arguing with the same fervor as modern proponents and detractors of the SST and welfare programs. If either this material, or the books mentioned above, are too advanced, they can easily be paraphrased by the teacher so that students still get the vitality that primary sources can offer. The writings of modern skeptics and supporters can also be used. Seymour Lipset's Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics provides a thoughtful analysis of the shortcomings of popular sovereignty, while Robert Dahl's A Preface to Democratic Theory and E. E. Schattschneider's The Semisovereign People offer some support from their individual perspectives. Constitutional and legal influences on voting might be included in such a historical approach, if not used in the section on universal suffrage.

An understanding of voter behavior surely involves the whole issue of political socialization. In addition to shedding some light on the question of the good sense of the voters, an awareness of the social origins of political behavior should help to move students toward more rational political choices. American Political Behavior, a one- or two-semester high school course, contains relevant material. Though it is sequentially structured, it is possible to use only selected chapters. The three chapters on the relationship of culture, socialization, and socioeconomic status to political behavior are particularly appropriate.

Several books and classroom materials are relevant to a study of American voter behavior. The People's Choice, by Paul Lazarsfeld and Political Behavior of the American Electorate, by William Flanigan, are representative of the behaviorist approach to voter studies. Scammon and Wattenburg, in The Real Majority, analyze voter behavior during the 1968 presidential election. America Votes is a yearly compilation of voting statistics, a useful source from which students can develop their own hypotheses about the relationship of voting behavior to variables such as age, sex, geographic location, and socio-economic

status. As in the case of political socialization, several chapters in the American Political Behavior course are appropriate here, and the recent publication by John Patrick and Allen Glenn, The Young Voter: A Guide to Instruction About Voter Behavior and Elections, have much useful material.

THE ROLE OF VOTING IN A REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY

Any intelligent view of the functioning of American democracy must include an understanding of the role of voting in the political process. It is easy to romanticize that role, over-emphasizing the power of the franchise. Likewise it is easy to play it down, asserting, "What good is one vote? All the decisions are made behind closed doors anyway."

For the politically knowledgeable, voting is generally considered to be a rather minor means of influencing public choices. It is, after all, only one input among many in the political process. So the student may well ask, "Why do it?" It often comes down to the results of socialization -- it feels good to do so. Notions of civic duty, and the psychic rewards that come from performing it, are sufficient to draw many people to the polls regularly. But beyond that, are there any reasons we can give for encouraging this form of political participation?

Imperfect as it is, voting does offer a constructive resource for influencing and changing public policies. While it may be true that the general public is seldom interested or well-informed, and cannot take a continuous or active part in policy making, nevertheless the public can and does express approval or disapproval of policies made by decision makers. (Almond, 1957, p. 138) There are, moreover, many examples of elections won by a single vote or by a handful of votes. Twenty-one of our presidential elections have been won by such small margins that a shift of not more than 1 percent could have changed the outcomes (Pierce, 1968, pp. 317-321) In local elections the power of the youth vote, in particular, is just beginning to be felt. The 1970 election in Berkeley, California, in which radicals won half of the City Council seats, is a good example. Such cases should serve to reinforce a sense of political efficacy among students.

On a more abstract level, voting not only fosters the democratic goal of increased participation in the political process, it also serves to legitimize the government. It provides a means by which to control the representativeness of our elected decision makers. The potential threat that voters present acts to make our representatives considerably more circumspect. In addition, those who do not vote are, in effect, voting. Nonvoting can and does influence many elections, especially close ones. The decision to vote encourages one to become informed, a crucial step toward deeper involvement. Only when one can vote does one consider further involvement: issue-oriented campaigns, precinct meetings, caucuses, persuading others to vote, and perhaps even running for office.

To round out the picture of the role of voting, one should also be aware of factors that mitigate the importance of the vote. Voting is only the last step in the election process. Citizens who vote in the general election but do nothing more have forfeited most of their political influence. They have but a tiny voice in the final choice of candidates, for others have made most of the decisions about which party, policies, and people will have power until the next election. Such decisions are made at the county, state, and national party conventions, and delegates to these conventions are chosen at precinct meetings. Individual voters have had no voice in those decisions. They can only approve or disapprove (often by not voting at all) of decisions already made.

The whole question of who holds what kinds of power in the American political system is basic to a consideration of the role of the vote. Political analysts such as Harold Laswell argue that political power is the property of ruling elites and counter-elites. Writers like Robert Dahl and Nelson Polsby, on the other hand, represent pluralist theories of democracy, which ascribe more power to popular sovereignty.

Various other factors can act to influence the role of the vote under different circumstances. The Electoral College, for example, bears only an indirect relationship to the people's choice as shown by the popular vote. It can act to elect a candidate to the presidency who has won less than a majority of the popular votes. And, though electors usually do vote for the candidate favored by the popular vote in their states, they are not required by law to do so.

Apportionment, the basis on which legislative seats are distributed within states, is another factor that has influence on the power of each vote. Most state constitutions now follow the principle of one man, one vote, and provide for population as either the only, or the major, basis for apportionment. Although the pattern is now changing, most state legislatures have long been controlled by the rural, less populated parts of the state.

Fraudulent elections have also played their part in enhancing or detracting from the value of certain votes. The increasing substitution of voting machines for paper ballots, however, has helped to reduce election frauds.

Classroom Suggestions

In getting students to understand the power of the vote, and motivating them to exercise their franchise, several strategies, topics, and activities might be employed.

One of the most relevant topics deals with the relationship between politics and morality. Youth in general tends to think in moral rather than political terms, and this seems to be particularly true of the current generation. This difference undoubtedly contributes to the widespread alienation of today's youth. When we keep alive the fictionalized, normative description of how a democracy works rather than telling it like it is, we do nothing but widen the gap between political and moral perspectives.

In attempts to combat this alienation and motivate students to participate in the political process, it is important that students come to understand that while democracy is a moral system, its action is dependent upon the use of power, and power is the subject of politics.

One of the aims of the youth movement has been a total restructuring of the political and social system based upon moral considerations. But many now believe that it is more effective to attempt that restructuring from within, rather than from without. They have come to see the need to act politically.

Among the classic sources that deal with the subject of morality and politics are Aristotle's Politics and The Prince by Machiavelli. Although The Prince should not necessarily be construed as a statement of Machiavelli's personal philosophy, it is the first book that says, in effect, that the ends justify the means. It effectively juxtaposes personal and political "morality" and is useful in analyzing modern political values.

An interesting project for the students to investigate might be to view Senator Eugene McCarthy within this moral/political framework. Which system does he best represent? How does this relate to his appeal to certain groups and to his political fortunes?

The book, Why Vote?, by William Mitchell, includes material for motivating students to vote. It is directed specifically toward the new young voter, and it attempts to provide some elementary tools of analysis for deciding whether and for whom to vote.

Of course many students will have already made the decision to vote and will perhaps be ready to take on more involved activities. Students may want to organize their own registration drive. In this case, the booklet put out by the Student NEA, We Are America's New Constituents, will provide some useful guidelines. Other projects might involve working for a candidate and participation in district or state party conventions.

In dealing with the forces that define and shape the role of the voter, several books are useful. Those largely centering around the question of where the power lies within the American political system are: Dahl's A Preface to Democratic Theory; The Semisovereign People, by E. E. Schattschneider; Zeigler and Dye's Irony of Democracy; Polsby's Community Power and Political Theory; and Laswell's Who Gets What, When, and How. Gerald Pomper's book, Elections in America, demonstrates that the vote is an important means to achieve popular demands. Among the recent social studies project materials that are relevant are portions of the Lincoln-Filene High School Social Studies Project, and the American Political Behavior course.

The Electoral College system is the subject of Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System, by Sayre and Parris, and The People's President, by Neal R. Peirce. Again, sections of the American Political Behavior course and the Lincoln-Filene materials contain analyses of the Electoral College system.

Representation and Misrepresentation, edited by Robert Goldwin, offers a thorough analysis of legislative reapportionment. Unit 4 of The American Association of Geographers' Geography in an Urban Age contains a simulation activity that demonstrates the effects of malapportionment.

THE ROLE OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties play a crucial role in American democracy, yet they have been ignored or slighted in many school and college courses. The explanations of this oversight are several: they are not even mentioned in the constitution; early political leaders, striving for consensus, worked against this kind of factionalism; scandals from the misuse of power within the informal political structure gave a bad name to politicians and party bosses; and parties change more rapidly than the formal political structure of government, so that texts are less able to describe them accurately.

But political parties are as important a part of the American political system as the constitution and the separation of executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. Many scholars would assert that the two-party system is more responsible for the survival and success of American democracy than is our "perfect" structure of government.

Reform movements have proposed non-partisan elections in many situations to try to get away from excesses of the two-party system. Indeed, the proportion of localities using non-partisan elections has increased, largely because of their association with the popular council-manager form of local government. However, there are several difficulties with this form of election. Non-partisanship makes it more difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish, and therefore punish, the "ins" and to replace them with the "outs." During non-partisan elections there is less exposure of candidates and issues to the public, since there are no party funds to support such exposure. Nonpartisanship also makes it more difficult for citizens to know how to cast their votes. Many rely on party labels as cues to how to vote, and if these cues are absent, they don't vote at all. Finally, in some political settings, nonpartisanship is essentially nominal -- you have non-partisan Democrats running against non-partisan Republicans.

Other efforts toward reform have taken on the formation of third, or more correctly, minority, parties. The emergence of a third party is caused by intense dissatisfaction with the policies and candidates of the two major parties. Many citizens, youth among them, feel that despite the din of rhetoric demanding a reordering of basic priorities, we simply will not and cannot do anything about our most desperate problems as long as the traditional two-party system remains. Accurate as this may be, there is no reason to believe that a minority party can win a national election. At best they can hope to gain enough votes to indicate support for their views. In this role, the varieties of minority parties in our history, from international parties like the Socialists, to single-issue parties like the Prohibitionists, have been moderately

successful. Once a third-party issue gains public support, the two major parties adopt the issue, competing for and capturing many of the former supporters of the third party.

Political parties are coalitions representing a broad range of specific and general interests, and their nobility or corruption reflects the input of these interests. The function of politicians and parties must be examined in terms other than popular stereotypes that make a rigid judgment on the basis of preconceived dispositions. What are the functions of parties, then, and what is their nature?

The most important immediate function of the parties is simple. Their first and foremost interest is getting their candidates elected. Noble sentiments, selfless dedication, and great vision are impotent exercises in self gratification by a candidate if he cannot get elected to office. The power to change things rests in the office. He must capture that first, then he can use the power of office to implement policy.

Parties nominate candidates; they enable voters to indirectly influence policy; they provide responsibility; and, most important, they are a vehicle of compromise. In addition, they disseminate information, integrate diverse groups, bring in new groups such as blacks and youth, and provide an ever-present alternative (the party out of power) to current administration policy.

Information dissemination is not, of course, done in a scholarly, objective manner -- if it were, public interest might be lower than it is. But the presentations and arguments of both parties, taken as a whole, do bring to public view information that otherwise might have remained unnoticed. Each party is diligent in publicizing any attempts by the other side to cover up unpopular actions or statements. The lack of depth and objectivity with which issues are discussed may distress scholars and teachers, but at least secrets are harder to keep from voters, and the likelihood of disclosure works to keep parties aware of public opinion.

Integration of diverse interests is the major force for moderation. The two-party system constantly operates to pull extremes to the center. Moderation in all things is part of the Western tradition. To many, being a middle-of-the-road politician or voter conjures up images of calmness, responsibility, and good sense. To many of our youth, however, it evokes images of unimaginativeness, vested interests, and status quo. Moderation and the integration of diverse groups occur because each party seeks to gather together the broadest possible coalition of interests to gain their votes. Dogmatic, ideological stands are likely to alienate potential supporters. Therefore both parties seek to play down ideology for fear of offending any group.

In a larger sense, each party represents somewhat different values, priorities, and judgments about the allocation of resources. And each party has its own sense of the legitimacy of the demands from the rich and the poor, the city dweller and the farmer, the businessman and the worker. Party platforms deal not only with who should get what from government action, but also how rapidly change should take place and who should be in control. Traditionally these priorities have varied from region to region. The party representing the status quo in one region represented the underdog in another. On the national level, regional special interests have been moderated to bring together a coalition that can win.

The "out party" stands as an ever present alternative, eager to replace the "in party." The minority party gives voters a chance to show displeasure with present policy by ousting those in power. The loyal opposition reminds the ruling party that they don't represent everyone, and that they must be flexible enough to change unpopular policy or lose office. The minority party continues to debate, criticize, and seek converts.

Of greatest importance is the nominating function of parties. The nominating procedure -- convention and/or primary -- is at the heart of all party politics. It is the point at which the activities of the party organization reach a climax. Consensus within the party is intensified and the policy guidelines and values are set for the next two to four years. Here the party manufactures and packages its product -- displaying the candidates along with the platform. The nominating function of parties is the final result of the previously discussed functions: integration, information, and supplying an alternative. Nominating candidates indeed is the main function of parties.

Three other party functions are more abstract: compromise, consultation, and representation. Compromise -- eliminating extremes -- results from the need for a broad coalition of supporters. Each part of the coalition realizes it is powerless without party influence and therefore limits demands, rounding off sharp corners to gain more supporters within the party.

Consultation with the populace and trying to stay in good favor are not direct processes. They occur as issues gain favor or disfavor. The group proposing an issue rapidly withdraws it when it meets strong disapproval. Or it may propagandize, educate, and inform to change public mood. In either case, consultation takes place.

Lastly, and obviously, the function of representation takes place. It is more than public opinion poll representation. Parties provide a means of access to the government. The people at all stages of party politics, from precinct meetings to national conventions, have a means to influence decisions

that would not exist without parties. A democracy can be measured partly by the number of access points there are for the people. There is at least some access at all levels. There are two party organizations at the national level, a hundred party organizations at the state level, and literally thousands at the county, city, and precinct levels. These all provide potential points of access for the citizen to influence the political process.

Political parties in the American system lie largely outside the formal structure of government. In order to win elections, they nominate candidates, disseminate information, integrate divided groups, compromise, and provide consultation and political alternatives.

Classroom Suggestions

Several useful books consider the nature and functions of political parties and how they might be reformed. V. O. Key's Parties, Politics, and Pressure Groups is a classic work that, in part, addresses itself to the problem of defining what a party is and what functions it serves. Voting, Interest Groups, and Parties, a collection of readings derived from a variety of sources, contains several selections on the role of political parties. John Fenton's work, People and Parties in Politics, considers the origins of political parties, broad theories of how the American two-party system functions, the ways in which the parties actually work, and some likely future directions.

The American Political Behavior course has a chapter on political party leaders that is relevant here. Students are given an opportunity to examine such questions as: Who becomes a party leader, what do party leaders do, and why do people become party leaders?

Along with these books and materials, student involvement in party caucuses and conventions, and working for political candidates will help to develop a practical sense of the functioning and influences of political parties.

PRACTICAL POLITICS

So far, we've concentrated on relatively abstract, though nonetheless significant, topics that new voters should be dealing with. Equally important are the analytic and practical skills involved in deciding how to assess candidates for political office, how to analyze political issues, and how to go beyond voting to make one's influence felt on a variety of issues. In a sense, each of us must continually call upon a variety of analytic skills in order to make sense of reality. To the extent we wish to participate in changing the reality, these skills become even more critical. It is not enough to give students a backlog of information and content. Rather, it is necessary to provide assistance in ways of interpreting data, hypothesizing from data, testing sources of information, and finally making tentative generalizations. It is these generalizations that, although always subject to change themselves, can give coherence to and make sense of any given situation.

One important focus for these skills is the analysis of both private and public decision making. By first learning how to analyze and improve upon one's own decision-making processes, perfect choices cannot, of course, be guaranteed, but the chances for more rational political behavior are greatly enhanced. Students need to know how to determine what the issues are, how to examine these issues, how to discover and evaluate alternative solutions, and how to compare their worth.

How does one identify a public, that is, a political, issue? Whether or not an issue is public or private is often a matter for debate. Looking for the issues on which there is public debate is probably a good rule of thumb, but what about those issues that should be of serious concern that, for one reason or another, have not been subjected to public examination? According to Shaver and Larkins (1967, p. 13) public issues are political-ethical disputes about the goals of our society and actions taken to attain these goals.

How does one distinguish between the "real" issue and the way it is addressed and packaged by politicians? No assessment of discussions during political campaigns can fail to take into account the ways in which politicians package their content. Perhaps students will already be well aware that campaign discussions are often better designed to subvert rather than facilitate rational decision making. Therefore, it is often necessary both to understand something of the motives and dilemmas of all politicians, to become familiar with the various forms and functions of political propaganda, to look at other sources for information about the actions and values of individual politicians.

Critical examination and analysis of public issues involves a variety of intellectual skills. One of the most fundamental skills is the need to recognize the inherent value component in controversies over public issues. There are no serious public issues on which there are no value conflicts. Students should be able to clarify and choose among the various value positions that support political decisions. Among the other elements involved in learning to analyze and to make rational choices on political issues are: understanding the role of language; the need to distinguish between factual claims and value claims; and the influence of different frames of reference in determining political choices. (Shaver and Larkins, 1969)

There are forms that the political process takes beyond voting and running for office. Many students will be interested in going into some form of community action or organizing around some issue of concern. In this case, it will be necessary first to gain an understanding of public decision makers and the processes they use in making those decisions. Stereotypes of politicians abound in our culture. Usually, the politician is pictured as a dishonest, mealy-mouthed power seeker. Although these images are not without some foundation, the evidence suggests that the majority of politicians are hard working, competent, public spirited men and women. In the instances where they may prove less than admirable, they are often elected by small pluralities, which indicate that an apathetic constituency has not functioned in its watch-dog role. By the same token, it is hard to see why the politicians' morality should be higher than that of the general public. Constituency pressure and fear of defeat at the polls is still a very meaningful way to keep the people's representatives honest and diligent.

Different issues and levels of government demand slightly different tactics and strategies; however, there are some stable patterns and processes in public decision making that can be depended upon. Many skills are needed -- knowing what tactics are likely to be effective in what kinds of situations, selecting competent leaders, forming coalitions, etc.

The concern, then, should be the acquisition of some basic tools and skills that can be applied to a wide range of political issues.

Classroom Suggestions

There are some excellent sources focusing on processes and skills that would be valuable for this unit. Decision Making in a Democracy has value clarification and analysis of public issues as the core of its curriculum, and it is designed to teach students to think reflectively about fundamental social problems facing our society. The program has a good deal of flexibility and sections of it can easily be used separately. Parts of the American Educational Publications' Public Issues Series are also relevant to a study of public and private decision making -- particularly the booklets Taking a Stand and Municipal Politics. Several other booklets are useful for the study of actual issues, such as Rights of the Accused, Race and Education, Science and Public Policy, and Privacy. Again, the American Political Behavior course has some useful chapters on political decision making and on political persuasion and the mass media. Unit 4 of Geography in an Urban Age has an activity that focuses on the development of decision-making and compromise skills. It asks students to role-play state representatives, members of an executive committee, and citizens to make decisions about the allocation of the state's budget. The Voices for Justice is specifically designed to provide students with classroom experiences in examining social issues and decision making. The program utilizes a variety of systematic approaches including debate, role playing, and the use of democratic procedures in the classroom. The Fenton material, Comparative Political Systems, has a unit on political decision making in the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Although designed for the ninth grade, it may be useful with certain senior classes. Current Affairs and the Social Studies, a program by Newsweek and the Lincoln-Filene Center, is made up of five units. One of these, Crisis in Decision-Making, takes a case study approach toward understanding of the public decision-making process. It also has a unit, Politics. Some of the books dealing with public decision-making processes are: Community Power and Political Theory, by Polsby; Mitchell's Why Vote; and The Electoral Process, by Jennings and Zeigler.

One of the SRSS Episodes, Images of People, deals with stereotypes. Although it is not set in a specifically political context, it is sufficiently flexible to allow for selection between alternative exercises to emphasize various kinds of stereotyping.

There are numerous materials that deal with a variety of topics that could be called practical politics. Unit II of the Lincoln-Filene secondary social studies materials has a very practical approach to the American political process. The program stresses student participation in politics and

suggests that the unit be timed to coincide with some form of election. The League of Women Voters is a valuable resource for both publications and speakers on a variety of topics, ranging from how a bill becomes a law to discussions and debates on local, national, and international issues. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States has produced an Action Course in Practical Politics that would be useful here. It covers many of the topics touched on in this paper from a practical perspective. Some of the books listed in the Instructional Resources section that focus on political and community activities are the Organizer's Manual, by the O. N. Collective; Huenefeld's The Community Activists' Handbook; and Walzer's Political Action.

In dealing with specific political issues, printed sources are necessary but not sufficient. A variety of arrangements for speakers and debates can also be made. Spokesmen for special interest groups can make for lively and informative sessions, though care should be taken to include representation from less popular and established points of view. Several of the institutions mentioned in the Instructional Resources section will undoubtedly have a supply of speakers, and controversial issues at the local level will make local groups eager to have their viewpoints publicized.

Part II:
INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCES

INSTITUTIONS*

Alliance for Labor Action
666 11th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

Funded by the Teamsters and UAW; working with voter registration in high schools, vocational schools, and community colleges. Projects have already been established in California, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Mexico.

American Bar Association, Young Lawyers' Section
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

Currently conducting a survey of selected election officials on policies concerning student voter registration. Interested in working on legal aspects of voter registration procedures, especially those involving residency requirements.

Americans for Constitutional Action
20 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20001

ACA Index provides voting records and ratings at the close of each congressional session. Responds to requests for information on conservative candidates, conservative analyses of issues; provides campaign assistance to conservative candidates.

Americans for Democratic Action
1424 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

ADA provides voting records and ratings on incumbent congressmen and selected issues; liberal organization.

Committee on Political Education (COPE)
815 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

The political action arm of the AFL-CIO. Pilot programs have been established to collect registration data. Conducted a registration drive in the spring among young union members and their families.

Common Cause
2100 M Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Coordinated lobbying on the 26th Amendment to the Constitution. Their Voting Rights Project collects information and prepares for litigation on aspects of laws that hinder voting rights.

*Many of the items in this list are from "Organizations Currently Active in Voter Registration/Voter Education." League of Women Voters Education Fund. July 1971.

Democratic National Committee
2600 Virginia Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20037

Plans a nationwide voter registration drive that will be coordinated on state and congressional district levels. Interested in cooperative efforts to disseminate information, channel resources, and conduct drives. A copy of the "Official Guidelines for Delegate Selection" for the 1972 convention is available from this office.

Friends Service Committee on National Legislation
1822 R Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20009

Provides analyses of statements, actions, and voting records of representatives and senators. Publishes a five-part "how-to" series that includes "How To Work In Politics" and "How To Work For The Congressional Candidate Of Your Choice."

Frontlash
Room 501
112 East 19th Street
New York, N. Y. 10003

A union-funded, broad-based organization, under the sponsorship of the U. S. Youth Council. Works with minority youth, working class youth, and career-oriented college students. Plans of work in coalitions with other voter registration groups in the field. Has assembled a large group of promotional and educational materials for voter registration drives.

Institute for Election Law Administration
The American University
Washington, D. C. 20016

An organization established recently at The American University for the purpose of conducting research in election administration. Good source of information in this field. Publishes ELECTIONews, which contains pertinent information for election officials and others interested in election laws and procedures.

League of Women Voters
1730 M Street N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Assistance to teachers is provided through the thirteen hundred local leagues, which determine their own activities at the local level. A number of these Leagues have been active in working with school administrators and teachers in the area of practical politics courses, and provide either enrichment to the regular curriculum or fully integrated elective courses. In addition, many local Leagues have Speakers' Bureaus, along with lists of topics on which League members are prepared to present programs. In the area of publications, all levels of the League can be a valuable resource. A number of local leagues have prepared or are preparing publications especially for the new young voter. A number of publications on various aspects of practical politics have been prepared by the national League office as well. A current catalog of publications is available from the above address.

BOOKS/PERIODICALS

Agar, Herbert. The Price of Union. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1950. 750 pp. This is a highly readable historical narrative of American political parties. Agar describes the party struggle emphasizing the point that compromise is the party's first and foremost need if it is to survive.

Almond, Gabriel A. The American People and Foreign Policy. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. 269 pp. Almond states that there are "three publics," the leaders, commentators and spokesmen who interpret and disseminate information, and the mass. The book perceptively discusses the role of each group in public opinion formation, giving a fresh and superior view of how democratic processes operate.

America Votes. New York: MacMillan, issued biennially since 1956. A complete compilation of voting statistics.

Barber, James David. Citizen Politics: An Introduction to Political Behavior. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1969. 199 pp. Several themes treated in this book are relevant to the issues raised in this paper. The first two chapters will be useful to an understanding of who takes part in what and why. Other chapters deal with modes of political thinking, reasons why people hold and express their political sentiments, political persuasion, and power. A final discussion explores political change, how it occurs and fails to occur, and the effects of massive change on the political system as a whole.

Barber, James David, ed. Power to the Citizen. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972. 249 pp. A book of readings that covers such topics as the 18-year-old vote, Negro political organization, policy discussion in political campaigning, political persuasion, political change, and others. It can be used as a supplement to Citizen Politics. (It is a later edition of Readings in Citizen Politics, and some of the readings are the same.)

Barber, James David, ed. Readings in Citizen Politics. Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1969. 230 pp. This book of readings is structured around the same topics as Citizen Politics and is intended to be used as a supplement to it. It contains essays by Sidney Verba, Kenneth Keniston, Robert Coles, and others.

Chisholm, Shirley. Unbought and Unbossed. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1970. 177 pp. Partly biography, partly political commentary, this book by the first black woman to be elected to Congress makes highly interesting reading on both women and blacks in politics.

Colorado Commission on the Status of Women, Committee on Promotion of Qualified Women for Elective and Appointive Office. See How She Runs. Pueblo, Colorado, 1972. 30 pp. A handbook to encourage and help women to play an active role in government through elective and appointive office. The book focuses on state, county, and municipal offices in the state of Colorado; an appendix includes information on women presently in elective office and a section on "Where to go for helpful information."

- Congressional Quarterly, Inc. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report. This weekly magazine, available at most libraries, provides detailed coverage of Congress, government, and politics. It reports on activities in lobbies, in committee, and on the floor of Congress. Contains useful information on voting records of individual congressmen. Other publications of Congressional Quarterly are: Congressional Quarterly Almanac; Congress and the Nation; and Congressional Quarterly Guide to Current American Government.
- Dahl, Robert A. A Preface to Democratic Theory. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. 154 pp. This book explores some of the problems left unresolved by traditional democratic theory. Dahl examines two theories -- the Madisonian, representing the prevailing American doctrine, and its recurring challenger, the populist theory. He argues that neither of these any longer explains how modern democracies operate. He goes on to construct a model more consistent with modern political science.
- Dahl, Robert A. Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961. 355 pp. This book attempts to answer the title's question by examining the city of New Haven, Connecticut. It will be useful in shedding light on the nature of political decision-making, the modes of political power, and the role of voting in a representative democracy.
- Dye, Thomas R. and L. Harmon Zeigler. The Irony of Democracy: An Uncommon Introduction to American Politics. Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1970. 348 pp. This book challenges the prevailing pluralistic ideology and interprets American politics from the perspective of elite theory. Straightforward and very readable.
- Fenton, John H. People and Parties in Politics. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1966. 147 pp. A valuable resource for the study of American political parties, this book discusses the effects of two-party competition, two-party issue-oriented and job-oriented politics, and one-party politics.
- Flanigan, William H. Political Behavior of the American Electorate. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1968. 127 pp. Voting behavior and the political opinions of the American public, as well as some explanations of these major patterns, are the central concerns of this convenient, introductory text. Much of the analysis depends heavily on the American Voter by Angus Campbell, but this volume can much more easily be managed by the high school student.
- Goldwin, Robert A., ed. Representation and Misrepresentation: Legislative Reapportionment in Theory and Practice. New York: Rand McNally and Company, 1966. 189 pp. The essays in this book address themselves to the 1962 Supreme Court pronouncement: one man, one vote. The authors analyze the prevailing situation before the Supreme Court rulings, the theoretical principles upon which the decisions were based, and the nature of the consequences flowing from these decisions.
- Hoy, Terry, ed. Politics and Power: Who Should Rule. New York: Putnam, 1968. 340 pp. This book includes excerpts from the writings of Plato, Machiavelli, Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson, De Tocqueville, Marx, and others, on the subject of who can legitimately assume power among people. Each excerpt is prefaced by a short summary of the author's political focus. Pertinent comparisons of the various political theories are suggested.

- Huenefeld, John. The Community Activist's Handbook: A Guide to Organizing, Financing, and Publicizing Community Campaigns. Boston: Beacon Press, 1970. 160 pp. This manual will provide a useful tool for students who wish to undertake a local civic/political project, or even run for a local public office. Contents include guidelines on forming a steering committee, conducting meetings, publicity, and fund raising.
- Irish, Marian, and James Prothro. Politics of American Democracy. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1971. 755 pp. An up-to-date, comprehensive text that provides basic information on many of the issues discussed in this paper. It should not be used exclusively, but in combination with some of the other sources suggested here.
- Jennings, M. Kent, and L. Harmon Zeigler. The Electoral Process. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966. 304 pp. This book of readings focuses on three dimensions of the electoral process: a) voting behavior; b) campaigning and campaign strategies; and c) contextual or contingency factors (for example, belief systems, institutional frameworks, and political subcultures).
- Key, V. O. Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969. 783 pp. This text is a valuable reference work covering practical politics from registration to voting. It details the realities of party politics and, although written for college level courses, it would be quite suitable for senior high school students.
- Laswell, Harold. Who Gets What, When, and How. New York: Meridian Books, 1958. 222 pp. Laswell expresses a classic "elitist" view. He discusses the techniques elites use to compete for power. The book is a concise and simple statement of elitism.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul, et al. The People's Choice. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. 178 pp. This book focuses on the formulation, change, and development of public opinion. By repeated interviews during the campaign of 1940, the authors set out to determine how and why people decided to vote as they did. An old but classic work, which retains its usefulness in explaining the decision-making process. This book was one of the first behaviorist-oriented voter studies.
- Mitchell, William C. Why Vote? Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1971. 169 pp. This book is designed expressly to encourage new young voters to take advantage of their sovereignty. The author has attempted to show that the political stakes of youth are considerable; that it makes a difference to them which candidates are nominated and which party wins; and that in some circumstances one's vote may, in fact, be critical in determining election outcomes. It also helps new (and old) voters learn how to assess politicians.
- The O. M. Collective. The Organizer's Manual. New York: Bantam, 1971. 366 pp. Another how-to guide for political action. Most of the manual addresses itself to broad concerns and strategies, but one chapter is devoted to using establishment structures and covers campaigns, voter registration, letter campaigns, referenda, and lobbying. A valuable book that speaks directly to the concerns of many young people.

Peirce, Neal R. The People's President: The Electoral College in American History and the Direct Vote Alternative. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968. 400 pp. The history of the Electoral College and currently proposed alternatives for choosing the president are covered in this book by the political editor of the Congressional Quarterly.

Polsby, Nelson W. Community Power and Political Theory. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963. 144 pp. This is the second book to come out of a study on the political power structure of New Haven, Connecticut. (The first is Robert Dahl's book, Who Governs?, cited in this bibliography.) Based on the evidence from New Haven, and from studies on several other communities, Polsby argues the need for a new pluralist theory of community power.

Pomper, Gerald M. Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1970. 297 pp. This book is a study of the character and significance of our elections. It demonstrates that, despite the common cynicism concerning the efficacy of the ballot, the vote is an important means to achieve popular demands. The book's ten chapters cover political philosophy, institutional analysis, voting behavior, electoral studies, party platforms, and the history of black suffrage.

Rossiter, Clinton. Parties and Politics in America. New York: Signet Books, 1964. 200 pp. This paperback edition is a candid discussion of American party politics. The author dispels many old myths, revealing the strengths and abuses of the Democratic and Republican parties.

Sayre, Wallace S. and Judith H. Parris. Voting for President: The Electoral College and the American Political System. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1970. 169 pp. This book presents a comprehensive analysis of the existing electoral system and compares its results with the likely impact of four leading alternatives: the direct vote, the automatic plan, the district plan, and the proportional plan.

Scammon, Richard M. and Ben J. Wattenberg. The Real Majority. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1970. 347 pp. This book deals with American voter behavior in the recent past and short-term future. By focusing primarily on the 1968 presidential elections, it attempts to answer the questions: For whom did the American voter cast his vote? Why? And how will he vote in the years to come? The book sheds light on the characteristics of the voting majority, and the issues that have salience for that majority.

Schattschneider, E. E. The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1960. 147 pp. This is a book about political organization, the relation between that organization and conflict, the relation between political organizational alternatives open to people. It corrects many of the simplistic notions about the influence of public opinion on policy formulation.

Seasholes, Bradbury. Voting, Interest Groups, and Parties. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, and Company, 1966. 136 pp. This book explores the major avenues through which people can and do pursue their commitment to political participation -- voting, working as members of interest groups, and joining party-related activity. It contains very relevant material on the role of political parties.

Stone, Charles. Black Political Power in America. New York: Delta, 1970. 261 pp. This book traces the history and development of the black role in the American political system, from the local to the international level. However, it is written not as a history, but as a survey, in a journalistic style.

Walzer, Michael. Political Action: A Practical Guide to Movement Politics. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971. 125 pp. A useful guide to political participation that reflects a sense of idealism along with a sense of strategy. It covers a broad range of topics concerning politics -- defining the issues, building a constituency, leaders, women's roles, symbols, the mass media, and tactics.

Wilson, James Q. Negro Politics: Search for Leadership. New York: The Free Press, 1960. 342 pp. A study of the political and civic life of Chicago's black community through informal interviews with Chicago leaders. Part I gives an account of the political organization of the community; Part II discusses black civic life within the white community; Part III discusses the problems arising from conflicting goals among black civic leaders.

Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc. The Young Voter's Guide to Voting Rights and Residency. Washington, D. C. A valuable guide to the complex and variable set of rules.

CLASSROOM MATERIALS

Action Course in Practical Politics. Chamber of Commerce of the United States. 1972 (revised edition). Available from: the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1615 H Street N.W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Discussion Leader's Manual, \$10.00; Set of Six Pamphlets, 1-9 sets, \$3.00/set; 10-99 sets, \$2.50/set; 100 sets and over, \$2.00/set; Supplementary Material, \$6.00/set. Though this course is intended for groups of 12-20 adult citizens in the community, it may easily be adapted for use with high school seniors. It is a non-partisan course extending over seven two-hour sessions. Some of its objectives are: to explore the role of the individual in politics; to develop an understanding of political party organization and operation; to enable participants to recognize opportunities for getting started in politics; and, to help citizens learn how to work effectively for the candidates and party of their choice. The six pamphlets serve as student materials. They cover such topics as how a political party is organized, the political precinct, political meetings and campaigns, and the problems of political leaders.

American Political Behavior. Mehlinger, Howard and John J. Patrick, Directors. High School Curriculum Center on Government. 1972. Available from: Ginn and Company, 191 Spring Street, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173. Full year course: \$5.22; two one-semester courses: \$2.40 and \$2.49; Teacher's Guide: \$3.96; game package: \$49.50; two simulations: \$5.97 each. This is a one-semester or two-semester high school civics and government course. Some of the key features of this material are: 1) it incorporates insights from modern political science, anthropology, and sociology; 2) it is designed to develop the student's critical thinking and inquiry skills; and, 3) it incorporates a wide range of teaching/learning games and simulations. The sections on political socialization were mentioned in this paper as being particularly useful. Other relevant topics covered in the material deal with political decision-making, the power of citizens to influence policy, voter behavior, and the over-all political process. Using only a few chapters will not, of course, be of the same value as using the entire course. If only certain chapters are used, content of previous lessons should be reviewed. The two simulations, City Hall and Influence, are both valuable materials to use with the practical politics section. These are briefly described in the Games and Simulations section of this resource guide.

Bibliography of Materials for Preparing 18-year-olds to Vote. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Education. September, 1971. Available at no charge from: Department of Education, Division of Social Studies, Box 111, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17126. An annotated listing of print and nonprint sources. Contains items of general interest to all voters, as well as material directed specifically to young voters and activists.

Bill of Rights Newsletter. Constitutional Rights Foundation. Available from: Constitutional Rights Foundation, 609 South Grand Ave., Suite 1012, Los Angeles, California 90017. Yearly subscription rates: \$2.00 per year; single copy \$1.00. The spring 1972 issue of the Newsletter is devoted entirely to the 18-year-old vote. Addressed to teachers and students themselves, it provides an interesting discussion of various aspects of the new youth vote. It also contains a generously annotated selection of books and films on the political process.

California Council for the Social Studies Review. Available from: The California Council, 2201 16th Street, Sacramento, California. \$6.00 per year; single copy \$1.25. The winter 1971-72 issue contains articles on youth and the vote, recommended books and films for the new voter, and suggestions for voter registration activities in the high school.

Comparative Political Systems. Carnegie Mellon University Social Studies Series. Edwin Fenton, Director. 1967. Available from: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 383 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10017. Student text: \$3.56; Teacher's Guide: \$2.88; Test Booklet: \$.80; A/V Kit: \$100.00. This is a one-semester sequence for 9-12 curriculum. The text is divided into sixty readings, each of which contains at least one piece of source material. The concepts of leadership, decision-making, institutions, ideologies, and citizenship are used as the organizers to facilitate comparison of primitive and developed political systems. Civil rights, voting behavior, alienation, dissent, and participation are also examined.

Current Affairs Case Studies. Newsweek and the Lincoln-Filene Center. 1970. Available at no charge from: Newsweek Educational Division, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022. The Newsweek/Lincoln-Filene Center Program, of which the case studies are a part, is outlined in the Teacher's Manual, "Current Affairs and the Social Studies," also available at no charge. "Politics" is the fifth unit in the series of case studies. (Other units are titled "Conflict," "Protest," "Due Process of Law," and "Nationalism.") The unit consists of duplicating masters of case materials, visuals for overhead transparencies, and a Teacher's Guide. The purpose of the unit is to involve students in the structure and processes of politics. It covers a variety of issues relevant to a study of practical politics.

Decision-making in a Democracy. Utah State University Social Studies Project. James P. Shaver, Project Director. 1972. Available Fall 1972 from: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 110 Tremont St., Boston, Mass. Price not yet available. This material is intended to clarify the nature of public issues and the various positions they involve, and to help young people acquire the analytic skills necessary to make rational and knowledgeable decisions. The "Outline of Concepts" portion of the material presents a framework of ideas useful in analyzing the nature of decisions about public issues, inconsistencies among beliefs, the nature of language and semantic problems, factual claims, and ways of dealing with value conflicts. The concepts presented in the Outline are grouped in bundles. Time limitations may prohibit making use of all the concepts. If that is the case, the individual bundles may be used, as long as there is some review of the material covering closely related concepts. Even the Outline of Concepts may be used separately to help guide an analysis of public issues and acquire skill in decision making.

If it is not possible to acquire the published version of these materials, you may want to purchase a copy of the Final Report of the project through the ERIC system. Entitled The Analysis of Public Issues: Concepts, Materials, Research, it includes the Outline of Concepts, and nearly all of the teaching bundles that appear in the published version. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P. O. Drawer O, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. ED 037 045; \$.65 in microfiche, \$13.16 in hardcopy.)

Electing the President 1972. The New York Times. 1971. Available from: The New York Times, 229 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y. Complete Election Kit, \$125.00; Election Kit without optional 10-minute sound film, \$60.00. This two-part multimedia program uses filmstrips, cassettes, books, polls, and posters to expose students to the many steps leading to a presidential election. Part I, Election Background, compares the 1948 and 1968 campaigns. It covers the appeals to special interest groups, the party organization, and the influences of third parties. Part II, Before the Primaries and Conventions, covers the major campaign issues, effects of the new voters, and the role of party organization in state primaries and conventions.

Episodes in Social Inquiry Series. Sociological Resources for the Social Studies (SRSS). 1969-71. Available from: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., Rockleigh, New Jersey 07647. Images of People: \$3.63 per set of ten student texts; Instructor's Guide included with each set. The SRSS Episodes were designed to give high school students a brief but dramatic experience with social data that will place them in a position to analyze the data and draw conclusions based on a scientific process of sociological inquiry. Images of People, an Episode published in 1969, deals with stereotypes and could be used to gain a better understanding of some factors influencing personal decision-making and political propaganda. If kept fairly structured, the episode takes about five days.

Focus on Inner City Social Studies. Kent State University. Melvin Arnoff, Director. 1970. Rationale, Project Description, and Outline of Curriculum available from: Kent State Bookstore, Kent, Ohio 44242. \$1.00. The entire K-12 curriculum is a problem-oriented sequence suitable for inner city or suburban schools. Concepts like power, authority, policy, decision making, system, change, values, and dissent are utilized throughout.

Geography in an Urban Age. High School Geography Project (HSGP). William Pattison, Nicholas Helburn, and Dana Kurfman, Project Directors. 1969-70. Available from: The MacMillan Company, School Division, 866 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022. Unit 4, Political Geography. Student Materials: Resources book, \$.48; Workbook, \$1.65/set of 10; Teacher Materials: \$31.50. The materials are divided into six units, and are intended for a one-year, multi-media, 10th grade geography course, but they can be used at any point in the secondary social studies program. Unit 4, Political Geography, incorporates learning activities that are relevant to an understanding of legislative apportionment and the structure of municipal government. In addition, through role playing and other activities, students have an opportunity to develop skills in decision making, negotiation, and compromise.

Grass Roots Guides on Democracy and Practical Politics Series. Center for Information on America. Available from: The Center for Information on America, Washington, Connecticut 06793. One to nine copies, \$.35 each; 10 to 99 copies, \$.30 each. This is a series of two types of booklets: how-to-do-it guides for successful participation; and what-it-is-all-about guides, explaining and examining specific features of our self-governing process. Each guide is produced by leading authorities under the general supervision of the Center's advisory committees. Some of the relevant issues are: Lobbying; The Right to Vote; Public Office at the Local Level; Community Action; The Citizen and Political Parties; and Presidential Primaries of 1972: Where? When? What? Why?

Group Processes and Decision Making. Mary Byington, Pius X High School. 1971. Available from: the author, 6000 A Street, Lincoln, Nebraska 68510. \$10.00. Student involvement materials. There are many role-playing exercises and activities in which students learn the analytic processes and skills necessary for meaningful decision making. Among the eight packets provided are decision-making exercises for mock town meetings, city councils, Supreme Courts, Presidential Cabinets, Congress, and Congressional Committees.

High School Social Studies Program. Lincoln-Filene Center. Tufts University. John S. Gibson, Project Director. 1968. Available from: Lincoln-Filene Center, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts 02155. Student Materials: \$.50 per unit; Teacher's Guide: \$.50 per unit; AV Kit: \$5.00 rental. The program consists of ten major topics that are developed into Instructional Programs. Of those ten, probably the one most relevant to this unit is Program II, Politics and Policy Making. The student material consists of three case studies: a) Choosing a President 1968: The American Political Process; b) Gun Control: A Bill Becomes a Law; and c) The Courts Make Policy: The Story of Clarence Earl Gideon. Like other Center materials, this program leans heavily on community involvement of students as an essential part of the learning process.

Instructional Program for Student Registration, Voting and Participation in Election Activities. New York City Board of Education, Brooklyn. Bureau of Social Studies. 1971. Available from: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P. O. Drawer O, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. ED 049 975. Microfiche: \$.65; Hardcopy: \$3.29. Recommended procedures and essential facts for a planned student registration campaign in New York City Schools, as well as suggested teaching strategies and instructional aids supporting a broad-based senior year.

Materials for Civics, Government, and Problems of Democracy: Political Science in the New Social Studies. Mary Jane Turner. 1971. Published jointly by the American Political Science Association's Political Science Education Project; the Center for Education in the Social Sciences at the University of Colorado; the ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education; and the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. Available from: SSEC, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302. Clothbound: \$5.95; Paperbound: \$3.95. Contains a review of political science subject matter in 49 sets of innovative social studies curricula produced during the 1960's. It is a tool that program designers and classroom teachers should find useful in identifying and selecting materials to fit their needs.

Political Decision Making. Don Patty and Joyce Stark. 1972. Available from: the authors, Waverly High School, 1555 17th St., Waverly, Nebraska 68862. Five pieces of very flexible, action-oriented material. The process of decision making involved in such events as the Cuban missile crisis and the development of the Bill of Rights, as well as in local level law-making, is treated. Two audio tapes enhance the course.

Politics 18: A Curriculum Development Project. Lincoln-Filene Center, Tufts University. Information available from: Professor Bradbury Seasholes, 304 Lincoln-Filene Center, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts 02155. The goal of this incomplete project is to produce a curriculum unit consisting of several separate components (readings, exercises, projects, films) dealing with voting, political parties, and major national issues for the 70's. The material is being designed for flexible use in such courses as American Government and Problems of Democracy. A draft copy is expected to be available for selective classroom use in the fall of 1972, and the published form will be available in late 1972 or early 1973.

Practical Political Action: A Guide for Young Citizens. Lincoln-Filene Center, Tufts University. John S. Gibson, General Editor. 1962. Available from: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 110 Tremont St., Boston, Massachusetts. Student Text: \$3.00 (cloth); \$1.65 (paper); Teacher's Guide: \$1.20. The material was adapted directly from an earlier edition of the nonpartisan Action Course in Practical Politics, published by the National Chamber of Commerce. As the title suggests, it is concerned with the fundamental, down-to-earth details of politics: precinct work, party organization, campaigning, and political leadership. The Teacher's Guide suggests ways in which the information can be related to the political situation in the students' own community.

Project Eighteen: Young Voter Education. Lower Merion School District. Pilot course: Fall 1972. Information available from Dr. John Madden, Lower Merion School District Administration Building, 301 Montgomery Avenue, Ardmore, Pennsylvania 19003. Project 18 is developing a prototype program to prepare secondary school students to become effective members of the voting public. Tentatively titled "Contemporary American Politics: Effectively Influencing Political Decisions," its emphasis will be on practical politics at the local, county, and state levels. Though designed with the state of Pennsylvania in mind, and prepared with the assistance of several public and private agencies, the course will be generalizable to other states.

Public Issues Series. Harvard Social Studies Project. Fred M. Newmann and Donald W. Oliver, Project Directors. 1967-70. Available from: American Education Publications, Education Center, Columbus, Ohio 43216. Student materials: \$.35 per copy in quantities of 10 or more of one title; Teacher's Guide: no charge with order of 10 or more unit books. The project developed curriculum materials, teaching approaches, and evaluation devices based on the conviction that the analysis of public controversy should command primary attention in the teaching of social studies. The materials, intended for use as supplementary material, consist primarily of 24 unit books and teaching guides. Although many of these books could be used, two of them have direct relevance for this unit. Taking a Stand, a unit book often used to introduce the series, is a guide to clear discussion of public issues. It includes two major cases for discussion, with examples of good and bad discussion practices. Other topics include: purposes of discussion, clarifying the issues, proof strategies, and avoiding roadblocks. Municipal Politics is a unit book that explores such issues as: How are political decisions actually made? What tactics and methods in politics are fair and "democratic?"

Social Studies: Politics and You: Division of Instruction, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida. 1971. Available from: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P.O. Drawer 0, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. ED 061 129. Microfiche: \$.65; Hardcopy: \$3.29. This course of study was written as part of a curriculum revision effort to adapt the curriculum to a quin-mester administrative organization. Broad goals and objectives, a content outline, teaching and learning strategies, and suggested materials are included. The principal goals of the course are to: 1) motivate students, soon able to vote, toward political participation, and 2) teach them the workings of the American political process.

Teacher Resource Syllabus in Government. Cedar Rapids Community Schools. 1971. Available from: The School District, 346 2nd Ave., S. W., Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52404. \$7.00. Contact Charles Lingren, Social Studies Coordinator, for information. This syllabus was developed for an American government course to be taught at either eleventh or twelfth grade level. Included in the materials are seven packets: 1) Political Thought and Political Patterns; 2) Government Organizations and Change; 3) Liberty, Justice and Order; 4) U. S. Politics and the Political Process; 5) Priorities -- Decision-Making; 6) Cities -- Urban Government; 7) Revolutionary Movements -- Leadership, Authority, and Change.

Urban Problems. Center for Education and Social Studies, University of Colorado. John Haas and Matthew Downey, Directors. Available in field test version at no charge from the Center for Education and Social Studies, 970 Aurora, Boulder, Colorado 80302. A one-semester course treating various aspects of urbanization and twentieth-century life. The course is divided into eight units, one of which deals with political power.

Vistas for Voters Service. "Youth: The New Electorate." Issue 4. Publication #690. League of Women Voters Education Fund. September 1971. Available from the League of Women Voters, 1730 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. \$.50. A publication designed for state and local Leagues, suggesting ways in which Leagues can work with young people, but offering a useful perspective to all those interested in the youth vote. It includes a general outline for a high school practical politics course, and annotated list of sources and resources, includes teacher aids, how-to publications, books by young people, political commentary, and selected League publications.

Vital Issues of the Constitution. 1971. Available from: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 110 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. Student materials: \$3.20; Teacher's Guide: \$2.20. This is part of the Trailmarks of Liberty series, a phased program of supplementary texts that can significantly enrich basal courses in civics, government, political science, and problems of democracy. The fundamental goals of the Trailmarks series are to lead the student to: 1) an acceptance of value conflict as a normal facet of our pluralistic society and 2) a commitment to reason and compromise, through the process of justice, as the best and sanest way to resolve conflict in the dangerous world ahead. It is based on analysis of Supreme Court cases on issues and problems that have figured prominently in the American past. Vital Issues attempts to promote critical thinking through a problem-solving methodology. The chapter "Slavery, Citizenship, and the Vote" should provide a useful resource for new voters.

Voices for Justice. Quigley, Charles N., and Richard P. Longaker. 1967. Available from: Ginn and Company, 191 Spring Street, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173. Student Materials: \$1.58; Teacher's Guide: \$1.68. This material, or portions of it, makes an excellent resource for a unit on decision making. The main goal of the curriculum is to facilitate a thorough understanding of the conflicts related to individual rights and the policy process; the need for balance between these rights; and the recognition that conflict is central to democratic decision making. Instructional strategy is based on discussion and role playing in actual case studies involving issues for which there are no ready answers. The cases contained in the materials may be used, or you might devise other materials and use the book mainly for its inquiry strategy and instructions for role playing. The role-playing situations in this book center on two factors that are basic to the examination of a political system. First, they show the decision-making process at work (through actual involvement of the student); second, each of the role-playing episodes takes place in a different institutional setting. Thus the student is allowed to learn about the operation of different American institutions, such as courts, deliberation by a commission, decision by the President, debate in Congress, and mediation of an industrial dispute by arbitration.

The Vote as a Measure of Participation in American Society. Teacher and Student Manual. Joseph La Valley, Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts. 1969. Available from: ERIC Document Reproduction Service, P. O. Drawer O, Bethesda, Maryland 20014. ED 041 804. Microfiche: \$.65; Hardcopy: \$3.29. One of a number of units prepared by the Amherst Project, this unit invites students to consider what the vote means to Americans, and challenges them to see it as a measure of their own political identity and of their association with or alienation from political society. Students are led to investigate the reasons for alienation and non-voting in the United States. A subsequent section surveys the history of the struggles of people involved in the extension of the franchise to women and blacks. Designed primarily for slower learners at the high school level.

We Are America's New Constituents: Our Guide to Voter Registration. Student National Education Association. 1971. Available from: Student National Education Association, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Single copy: \$1.75; quantity discounts. (Shipping and handling charges are added to billed purchase orders.) A how-to-do-it guide for those interested in mounting youth voter registration campaigns. It discusses the nuts and bolts of voter registration and outlines a model for proceeding with the campaign.

Who Rules? Introduction to the Study of Politics. Dick Simpson. 1970. Available from: Swallow Press, 1139 S. Wabash, Chicago, Illinois 60605. \$3.00. This is a guide for students and teachers to a 10-week course on three aspects of the study of politics: political analysis (who rules?); political philosophy (who should rule?); and political action (how to maintain or change rulers?). The course is organized into eight modules, and strongly utilizes a multi-media approach. The guide, by itself, is not very useful. Access to the numerous media presentations, films, and suggested reading is essential to full use of this guide. Depending on the time available, you may wish to utilize only selected modules. Some of the most relevant are: Political Analysis, Political Philosophy, Political Action, Local Elections, and Presidential Elections.

You and the System: an Alternative to Revolution. Nebraska State Dept. of Education and League of Women Voters. 1972. Available from: The State Department of Education, Lincoln, Nebraska 68509. Written by three high school students and their teachers and designed for the purpose of providing eighteen year olds with some options for becoming involved and working within the system. The material is divided into theoretical and practical components. In the first, broad philosophical questions are posed, and a general framework for understanding political activity is developed. The second portion deals with "the realities of involvement -- procedural requirements, strategies, and tactics of campaigning, etc." The course could possibly be taught in three weeks, but could be expanded to one semester.

The Young Voter: A Guide to Instruction About Voter Behavior and Elections. John Patrick and Allen Glenn. 1972. Available from: National Council for the Social Studies, 1201 16th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 20036. \$3.25. This book addresses the topics of voter behavior and elections from these perspectives: questions that teachers should consider in the classroom; relevant data and interpretations from the social sciences; and sample lessons that the teacher might use in the classroom. An annotated guide to books, periodicals, and audiovisual material on voter behavior and elections is contained in an appendix.

GAMES/SIMULATIONS

This short, selective list of games and simulations seems relevant to many of the topics discussed in this paper. More detailed descriptions and suggestions regarding use of these and other games may be found in the Social Studies Curriculum Materials Data Book, published by the Social Science Education Consortium, 855 Broadway, Boulder, Colorado 80302.

Campaign. Instructional Simulations, Inc., 2147 University Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota 55114. \$125.00. Intended for 23-40 players, Campaign is a sophisticated simulation game that deals with the American political campaign. Among the elements of the political process simulated are precinct workers, pressure groups, nominating conventions, political platforms, and vote-switching. Campaign is a high-powered game with a great deal of instructional potential, but it requires that the instructor be willing to do quite a bit of preparation, and that students are motivated to tackle the challenges involved in playing the game. Ten to fifteen hours are required to play the game.

City Hall. Ginn and Company, 621 Spring Street, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173. \$5.97. (Published as part of the American Political Behavior course; also separately available.) City Hall is a simulation game that deals with the problem of electing a mayor in a fictional city in the Midwest. The purpose of the game is to demonstrate how citizens make voting decisions in choosing their elected officials. It is recommended for 14-48 players, and takes 4-5 class periods.

Democracy. Western Publishing Company, Inc., School and Library Department, 850 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10022. \$6.50. This is actually a set of eight games that develop from simple to complex. The set represents various stages of decision making in a representative democracy. It is designed so that students will see how decisions are made, and how individual citizens influence the democratic process. In Game 1 participants play the roles of legislators; in Game 2 they play the part of citizens; and Game 3 links the two roles to show their relationship. The game is intended for 6-11 players. The first three games can be played in 3 class periods, if students have been briefed beforehand. The more advanced games probably require two or more class periods.

Influence. Ginn and Company, 621 Spring Street, Lexington, Massachusetts 02173. \$5.97. (Published as part of the American Political Behavior course; also separately available.) Influence focuses on policy making in American government. Participants play the roles of the President, congressmen, Federal bureaucrats, and unofficial political specialists. By working together to formulate policy, the players can see the different influence relationships that develop. The game explores two fundamental questions about policy making: 1) who is influential? and 2) how is influence exercised in different political situations? The game takes 4-5 class periods, and is recommended for 21-51 players.

Propaganda. Wff 'N Proof Company, Box 71-BA, New Haven, Connecticut 06501. \$6.00. Propaganda is based on approximately 50 propaganda techniques. It is designed to develop clear thinking. Participants learn propaganda techniques and then apply them to examples prepared by the developers. Once students become familiar with the examples, they can be played by students who read at a seventh grade level. Since opinions

and decision making are often influenced by propaganda, the citizen needs to be aware of the various techniques and how they operate to influence one's thinking. Students may work individually, or in teams of two or three. Beyond the one hour necessary for learning the techniques, the amount of time required for playing the game is determined by setting a terminal score or arbitrary time limit.

Sitte. Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, 1150 Silverado, La Jolla, California 92037. \$3.00. (Classroom set of 25, including Coordinator's Manual, \$35; Classroom set of 35 including Coordinator's Manual, \$50). Sitte (pronounced city) is a simulation game designed to develop understanding of the dynamics of municipal government. Participants play the roles of members of one of five special interest groups and attempt to influence decisions regarding city planning and government. Eight-grade reading skills are required for this game. It requires 3-4 class periods to play, and is intended for 20-40 players. The level of understanding of city problems will depend on how extensively the teacher debriefs.

Science Research Associates, Inc., 259 East Erie Street, Chicago, Illinois 60611, publishes several games that may be relevant for a unit for the new voters. Among these are: The American Constitutional Convention; Congressional Committees; Congressmen at Work; Budgetary Process; and Presidential Election Campaign. Further information should be obtained from the publisher.

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Appendix

THE FIFTY STATE VOTER REGISTRATION LAWS 1972*

*Reproduced in Rolling Stone, March 30, 1972, p. 7 from The Young Voter's Guide to Voting Rights and Residency, by the Youth Citizenship Fund, Inc.

The State Where You Want to Vote *	Register By This Deadline, Or You Can't Vote In Your Primary Election. RD=Registration Deadline P=Primary Election (all dates for 1972)	Register By This Deadline Or You Can't Vote In The Nov. 1972 General Election. (all dates for 1972)	Here's How Long You Have to Live In Your State, County and Precinct Before They'll Let You Vote. *	You Have To Be 18 By This Date to Vote In The Primary and General Elections. ** P=Primary G=General	Can you Register "Absentee" By Mail? ...	If All This Looks Weird and You Want To Know MORE, Here's Who You Write Or Phone For Information From Your State.
Alabama	RD=Apr. 21 P=May 2	October 27	1 yr. in State, 6 mos. in county, 3 mos. in precinct.	By date of registration.	No	County Board of Registration in County Seat
Alaska	RD=Aug. 7 P=Aug. 22	October 23	1 yr. in State, 30 days in precinct.	P=Aug. 22 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Lt. Governor, Juneau
Arizona	RD=Jul. 12 P=Sep. 12	September 18	1 yr. in State, 30 days in precinct.	P=Sep. 11 G=Nov. 6	Yes	County Recorder or Justice of the Peace
Arkansas	RD=Jun. 6 P=Jun. 27	October 17	12 mos. in State, 6 mos. in county, 1 mos. in precinct.	P=Jun. 26 G=Nov. 6	No	County Clerk in County Seat
California	RD=Apr. 13 P=Jun. 6	September 14	90 days in State and county, 54 days in precinct.	P=Jun. 5 G=Nov. 6	Yes	County Clerk in County Seat or Registration of Voters in Large Cities
Colorado	RD=Aug. 11 P=Sep. 12	October 6	3 mos. in State, 32 days in precinct.	P=Sep. 12 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Clerk in County Seat; Denver Election Commission
Connecticut	Nominations made by convention, not primary	October 14	6 mos. in city or town	Nov. 6	No	Town Register, Town Clerk
Delaware	RD=May 23 P=June 13 (may be changed)	October 21	1 yr. in State, 3 mos. in county, 30 days in precinct.	Nov. 7 for both Elections	No	Department of Elections in County Seat
D.C.	No Primary	October 7	No durational requirements	Nov. 7	Yes	D.C. Board of Elections
Florida	RD=Feb. 12 P=Mar. 14 (Pres. only) RD=Aug. 12 P=Sep. 12	October 7	1 yr. in State, 6 mos. in County.	P=Sep. 13 Mar. 13 G=Nov. 6	No	County Supervisor of Elections in County Seat
Georgia	RD=Jun. 19 P=Aug. 8	September 18	1 yr. in State, 6 mos. in County.	P=Aug. 8 G=Nov. 7	No	County Registrar in County Seat
Hawaii	RD=Aug. 23 P=Oct. 7	October 12	1 yr. in State	P=Oct. 6 G=Nov. 6	Yes	County Clerk, County Seat
Idaho	RD=Aug. 5 P=Aug. 8	November 4	6 mos. in State, 30 days in County.	P=Aug. 8 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Clerk, County Seat
Illinois	In Doubt	In Doubt	6 mos. in State	Nov. 7	In Doubt	County Clerk or Election Commission
Indiana	RD=Apr. 3 P=May 2 (Pres. only)	October 9	6 mos. in State, 60 days in township, 30 days in precinct.	P=May 2 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Clerk of Circuit Court or Board of Registration in County Seat
Iowa	RD=May 27 P=June 6	October 28	6 mos. in State, 60 days in County.	P=Jun. 6 G=Nov. 7	Yes	City Clerk or County Auditor
Kansas	RD=Jul. 11 P=Aug. 1	October 17	6 mos. in State, 30 days in township or Ward.	Nov. 6 for Primary and General	Yes	County Clerk or County Election Commissioner

Kentucky	RD=Mar. 28 P=May 23	September 9 60 days in Precinct.	1 yr. in State, 6 mos. in County.	P=May 23 G=Nov. 7	No	County Clerk in County Seat; Board of Registration Commissioner in City
Louisiana	RD=July 20 P=Aug. 19	October 7	1 yr. in State, 6 mos. in County, 3 mos. in Precinct.	P=Aug. 19 G=Nov. 7	No	Parish Registrar Parish Seat
Maine	RD=varies from June 9-16 P=June 19	Deadline varies from Oct. 27 to Nov. 4.	6 mos. in State, 3 mos. in County.	P=Jun. 19 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Registrar of Voters Board of Registration in Towns and Cities
Maryland	RD=Apr. 17 P=May 16	October 9	6 mos. in State, 28 days in County.	P=May 16 G=Nov. 7	No	Board of Registry in County Seat
Massachusetts	RD=Mar. 25 P=Apr. 25 (Pres. only) RD=Aug. 19 P=Sep. 19	October 7	6 mos. in City or Town	P=Apr. 25 and Sep. 19 G=Nov. 7	No	City Election Commissioner or Board of Registration in Towns
Michigan	RD=Jul. 7 P=Aug. 8	October 7	6 mos. in State, 4 weeks in township, city or village.	P=Aug. 7 G=Nov. 6	Yes	Township, City, or Village Clerk
Minnesota	RD=Aug. 22 P=Sep. 12	October 17	30 days in precinct	P=Sep. 12 G=Nov. 7	Yes Yes	City, Village, or Town Clerk
Mississippi	In Doubt	July 7	1 yr. in State and County, 6 mos. in General precinct.	Nov. 7 for	No	Clerk of Circuit Court in County Seat
Missouri	RD=varies from Jul. 12 to Jul. 15	Deadline varies from Oct. 11-14 (only in some counties)	1 yr. in State, 60 days in County, 10 days in precinct	P=Aug. 8 G=Nov. 7	No	Board of Election Commissioners in Large Cities and some Counties; County Clerk in other Counties.
Montana	RD=Apr. 26 P=Jun. 6	September 27	1 yr. in State, 30 days in County, 30 days in Precinct, 6 mos. in City.	P=Jun. 6 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Clerk and Recorder in County Seat
Nebraska	RD=Apr. 28 P=May 8 (Pres. only)	October 27	6 mos. in State, 40 days in County, 10 days in Precinct.	P=May 8 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Election Commission- er or County Clerk in County Seat
Nevada	RD=Jul. 22 P=Sep. 5	September 30	6 mos. in State, 30 days in County, 10 Days in precinct.	P=Sep. 5 G=Nov. 7	No	County Clerk in County Seat
New Hampshire	RD=Mar. 4-Mar. 13 P=Mar. 14 (Pres. only) RD=Sep. 2-11 P=Sep. 12	October 28 to November 6	6 mos. in State	P=Mar. 13 or Sep. 11 G=Nov. 6	No (except those out- side U.S.)	Board of Super- visors of the Check List in Town Town
New Jersey	RD=Apr. 27 P=June 6 (Pres. only)	September 28	6 mos. in State 40 days in County	Nov. 7	No	Superintendent of Elections or Secty. of County Election Board in County Seat
New Mexico	RD=Apr. 25 P=June 6 (Pres. only)	September 26	12 mos. in State 90 days in County 30 days in Precinct.	P=June 6 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Clerk in County Seat
New York	RD=June 9 P=June 20 (Pres. only)	October 14	3 mos. in State, County or Village; 10 days in Precinct.	P=June 20 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Inspector of Election in County Seat
North Carolina	RD=Apr. 3 P=May 2 (Pres. only)	October 9	1 yr. in State 30 days in County	P=May 2 G=Nov. 7	No	Registrar in County Seat

North Dakota	P=Sep. 5	No registration in North Dakota	1 yr. in State 90 days in County 30 days in Precinct.	P=Sep. 5 G=Nov. 7	—	—
Ohio	RD=Mar. 22 P=May 2 (Pres. only)	September 27	6 mos. in State 40 days in County 40 days in Precinct	Nov. 7	No	County Board of Elections in County Seat
Oklahoma	RD=Aug. 11 P=Aug. 22	October 27	6 mos. in State 2 mos. in County 20 days in Precinct	P=Aug. 22 G=Nov. 7	No	County Election Board in County Seat
Oregon	RD=Apr. 22 P=May 23 (Pres. only)	October 7	6 mos. in State	P=May 23 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Registrar in County Seat
Pennsylvania	RD=Mar. 4 P=Apr. 25 (Pres. only)	September 16	90 days in State 60 days in County and Precinct	P=Apr. 26 G=Nov. 8	No	County Commission in County Seat or Registration Commission
Rhode Island	RD=Feb. 10 P=April 11 (Pres. only)	September 7	1 yr. in State 6 mos. in Town or City	P=April 11 G=Nov. 7	No	Town Canvassing Authority
South Carolina	RD=May 13 P=June 13	October 7	1 yr. in State 6 mos. in County 3 mos. in Precinct	P=June 12 G=Nov. 6	No	County Board of Registration in County Seat
South Dakota	RD=May 22 P=June 6 (Pres. only)	October 23	5 yrs. in U.S. 180 days in State 90 days in County 30 days in Precinct	P=June 6 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Aud. in County Seat
Tennessee	RD=Apr. 4 P=May 4 (Pres. only) RD=July 3 P=Aug. 3	October 6	No durational requirements	P=Nov. 6 G=Nov. 7	Yes	Registrar-at-Large in County Seat
Texas	RD=Apr. 6 P=May 6	October 7	1 yr. in State 6 mos. in County, City or Town	P=May 6 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Tax Assessor Collector in County Seat
Utah	RD=Sep. 1 P=Sep. 12	October 27	6 mos. in State 60 days in County	P=Sep. 12 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County Clerk in County Seat
Vermont	RD=Sep. 2 P=Sep. 5	November 4	1 yr. in State 90 days in Town	P=Sep. 5 G=Nov. 7	No	Town, City or Village Clerk
Virginia	RD=May 13 P=June 13	October 7	6 mos. in State 30 days in Precinct	Nov. 7	No	General registrar of County or autonomous Town
Washington	RD=Aug. 19 P=Sep. 19	October 7	1 yr. in State 90 days in County 30 days in Precinct	P=Sep. 19 G=Nov. 7	Yes	County auditor in County Seat
West Virginia	RD=Apr. 8 P=May 9 (Pres. only)	October 7	1 yr. in State 60 days in County	P=May 10 G=Nov. 8	Yes	Clerk of County Court in County Seat
Wisconsin	RD=Mar. 15 or 22 (varies) P=Apr. 4 (Pres. only)	October 18 or 25	6 mos. in State 10 days in Precinct	P=April 4 G=Nov. 7	Yes	City or County Board of Election Commission or Town, Village or City Clerks or Election Commission
Wyoming	RD=Aug. 7 P=Aug. 22	October 23	1 yr. in State 60 days in County 10 days in Precinct	P=Aug. 22 G=Nov. 7	Yes	City or County Clerk

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