

Understanding Disenfranchisement in the American South

Overview

Students often have the misconception that voting was always a right for everyone over the age of 18. Further is the misconception that all former slaves were granted the right to vote following the ratification of the 15th Amendment. In this lesson, students will look at perspectives of those who, in actuality, did not receive the right to vote because of various methods of disenfranchisement. Through analysis of oral histories and other primary sources, students will understand how voting rights were taken away from African Americans in the South.

Essential/Compelling Questions

- What is disenfranchisement and how was it practiced in the American south?
- What groups of people were disenfranchised?
- What can we learn about those disenfranchised through the oral histories and other primary sources?
- Explain the political atmosphere of the American south.
- Do we see aspects of disenfranchisement in the United States today? If so, how?

Grades

9-12

NC Essential Standards for American History: Founding Principles, Civics & Economics

- FP.C&G.1.5: Evaluate the fundamental principles of American politics in terms of the extent to which they have been used effectively to maintain constitutional democracy in the United States
- FP.C&G.2.3: Evaluate the U.S. Constitution as a “living Constitution” in terms of how the words in the Constitution and Bill of Rights have been interpreted and applied throughout their existence
- FP.C&G.2.6: Evaluate the authority federal, state and local governments have over individuals’ rights and privileges
- FP.C&G.2.7: Analyze contemporary issues and governmental responses at the local, state, and national levels in terms of how they promote the public interest and/or general welfare
- FP.C&G.3.3: Analyze laws and policies in terms of their intended purposes, who has authority to create them and how they are enforced
- FP.C&G.3.6: Explain ways laws have been influenced by political parties, constituents, interest groups, lobbyists, the media and public opinion
- FP.C&G.5.1: Analyze the election process at the national, state and local levels in terms of the checks and balances provided by qualifications and procedures for voting

NC Essential Standards for American History II

- AH2.H.2.1 Analyze key political, economic, and social turning points since the end of Reconstruction in terms of causes and effects
- AH2.H.3.3 Explain the roles of various racial and ethnic groups in settlement and expansion since Reconstruction and the consequences for those groups

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- AH2.H.4.1 Analyze the political issues and conflicts that impacted the United States since Reconstruction and the compromises that resulted
- **AH2.H.4.3** Analyze the social and religious conflicts, movements and reforms that impacted the United States since Reconstruction in terms of participants, strategies, opposition, and results
- **AH2.H.5.2** Explain how judicial, legislative and executive actions have affected the distribution of power between levels of government since Reconstruction
- **AH2.H.8.3** Evaluate the extent to which a variety of groups and individuals have had opportunity to attain their perception of the “American Dream” since Reconstruction

Materials

- Understanding Disenfranchisement in the American South PowerPoint. Available in Carolina K-12’s Database of K-12 Resources, here:
https://k12database.unc.edu/files/2018/01/UnderstandingDisenfranchisement_PPT.pdf
 - To view this PDF as a projectable presentation, save the file, click “View” in the top menu bar of the file, and select “Full Screen Mode”
 - For an editable version of the PPT, email Carolina K-12 at CarolinaK12@unc.edu with the title of the PowerPoint in the subject line.
- Understanding Disenfranchisement Packet, attached or available [online](#)
- *Learning Station One: Grandfather Clause*
 - Grandfather Clause station handout, attached or available [online](#)
- *Learning Station Two: Literacy Test:*
 - Literacy Test station handout, attached or [available online](#)
 - Louisiana Literacy Test, attached or [available online](#)
 - Andrew Young interview segment from SOHP at UNC-CH, available in PPT and [online](#)
 - Video clip from the film *Selma*, linked on PPT or [available on YouTube](#)
- *Learning Station Three: Poll Tax*
 - Poll Tax station handout, attached or [available online](#)
 - “NORTH CAROLINA BOURBON PLANS.: USING THE POLL TAX QUESTION AND PROHIBITION TO FURTHER DEMOCRATIC SCHEMES,” *New York Times* article, attached or [available online](#)
 - Larry H. Gooden interview from SOHP at UNC-CH, available in PPT and [online](#)
- *Learning Station Four: Intimidation*
 - Intimidation station handout (includes [photograph](#) & [political cartoon](#)), attached or available [online](#)
 - Glennon Threatt interview segment from SOHP at UNC-CH, available in PPT and [online](#)
- Exit Ticket Document: PSA instructions with rubric
- Voting in North Carolina handout, attached (optional)
- Debate handout, attached (optional)
- Excerpt from the Oral History Interview transcript of Larry H. Gooden- Southern Oral History Program (optional)

Student Preparation

- Students should have a basic knowledge of voter qualifications and constitutional suffrage amendments before this lesson (15, 19, 26 Amendments, who can vote, who cannot vote, registration process)

Teacher Preparation

- Prior to this lesson, the instructor should read the assigned debate article: North Carolina’s Deliberate Disenfranchisement of Black Voters, *The Atlantic*,
<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/07/north-carolina-voting-rights-law/493649/>

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- Classroom setup: Instructor should have the students placed in four different groups and the four learning stations placed strategically around the room.
- The instructor will need 3 laptop computers for the media pieces of learning stations: 2, 3, & 4. Please set this up before the students arrive.
- All of the materials to complete this lesson are attached or available online by clicking the links under “Materials”. Teachers will want to decide beforehand if they want to print the documents or have them loaded on the computers at each station. Some of the materials, such as the video and interview clips, must be accessed online.

Procedure

1. As a warm up, distribute the attached “Understanding Disenfranchisement Packet” and project [slide 2](#) of the “Understanding Disenfranchisement in the American South” PowerPoint. Instruct students to examine section 1 of the 15th Amendment and respond to the following questions in the packet:
 - According to this amendment, who is now allowed to vote in the United States?
 - What does the document mean by “previous condition of servitude”?
 - How has voting evolved in the United States since the 15th Amendment?
2. Teachers should provide 3-5 minutes for students to consider and respond to the prompt. After sufficient time has passed, ask for student volunteers to share their answers.
3. To begin lesson, move to [slide 3](#), which quickly explains the definition of disenfranchisement and the setting for when and why this practice happened. Ask the students how disenfranchisement defied the 15th amendment in the south. Make sure the students understand that they will learn about the four methods of disenfranchisement by analyzing primary and secondary sources via learning stations (if students are not familiar with primary/secondary sources, this is a good [worksheet](#)). Divide students into four groups and explain that they have ten minutes to review their learning station and complete the appropriate section of their packet before rotating. Teachers should walk around while the students are working to observe and answer any questions.
4. Station One: For the [Grandfather Clause](#) students will read a brief explanation and look at an actual voter registration card from North Carolina in 1908. This registration explains how citizens had to legally pledge that they (or family member) were able to vote before 1867.
5. Station Two ([Slide 4](#)) For the Literacy Test, students will analyze a [test](#) given to anyone in Louisiana who could not prove a fifth-grade education. They will read a quick biography about Andrew Young and listen to an oral history discussing how well-educated African Americans failed literacy tests all the time. For a visual example, students will watch a [quick clip](#) from the movie Selma.
6. Station Three ([Slide 5](#)) For Poll Taxes, students will read a [quick introduction](#) and analyze a poll tax receipt from the state of Arkansas. They will also read a quick biography about Larry H. Gooden and listen to an oral history discussing paying poll taxes in South Carolina. Lastly, students will analyze a [New York Times](#) article talking about North Carolina instituting the poll tax in 1881.
7. Station Four ([Slide 6](#)): For Intimidation, students will understand how African Americans were intimidated by various organizations in the South from voting. Students will read a [quick introduction](#) of the KKK in the south and analyze three sources. Students will listen to the oral history of Glennon Threatt, analyze a [political cartoon](#) discussing intimidation in North Carolina, and a [photograph](#) displaying voter intimidation in Miami, Florida.

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8. Following the learning stations, bring the class back together and discuss the following questions for each station:
- Station One: Why did governments of the south want voters to pledge that they or a family member were able to vote before 1867? Why do you think government officials required a signature?
 - Station Two: This literacy test was considered to be very subjective. Do you agree/disagree? In the video, Annie Lee Copper (played by Oprah Winfrey) was given an oral exam, something very common in the south. Why do think this was the case? How was this an advantage for southern white to disfranchise African Americans?
 - Station Three: Poll taxes became an issue for many southern politicians because it affected poor whites. Why was this the case? What amendment finally eliminated the poll tax in the United States?
 - Station Four: What kind of intimidation did you see in these sources? Mr. Threatt talked about how upsetting it is to see African Americans take the vote for granted today? What does he mean by this statement? Do you agree/disagree with him?

PSA Posters

9. Given the students information about disenfranchisement in the American South and the various methods (grandfather clause, poll tax, literacy test, and intimidation), students will create a PSA (public service announcement) poster detailing the importance of registering to vote and voting today. The poster should provide an example of disenfranchisement to help the audience understand why they should register and vote.
10. On the day that the posters are due, allow students to hand their posters around the class. Divide the class in half and allow one group of students to stand next to their posters, while the other half of the class completes a gallery walk. Provide the students who are completing the gallery walk the opportunity to ask their classmates questions about their posters. Once students have had time to view the posters, switch each group so that the students completing the gallery walk are now standing next to their posters, and vice versa.

Extension Activities:

- Have students read the attached [North Carolina's Direct Disenfranchisement of Black Voters](#) by David Graham. This article discusses how disenfranchisement is not over in the United States today. This article and questions provide a great discussion with the classroom to evaluate of state of voter suppression today. Following the discussion, have students use the attached debate materials to participate in a debate over the state of disenfranchisement in North Carolina.
- See Carolina K-12's lesson, *Preventing Voter Fraud or Encouraging Voter Suppression? Exploring North Carolina's Voter ID Law*, available in the Database of K-12 Resources:
 - Lesson Plan: <http://k12database.unc.edu/files/2016/09/ExploringNCVoterIDLaw10.pdf>
 - Accompanying PPT: https://k12database.unc.edu/files/2016/09/ExploringNCVoterIDLaw_PPT.pdf

Additional Resources

- Southern Oral History Project Website: <http://sohp.org/>
- The Living Room Candidate: <http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/>

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Directions: Complete the packet as you view each station. Use a separate sheet of paper if you need more room to complete each section.

Warm Up: 15th Amendment Analysis	
Section 1. <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 race, color, or previous condition of servitude.</i>	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. According to this amendment, who is now allowed to vote in the United States? 2. What does the document mean by <i>previous condition of servitude</i>? 3. How has voting evolved in the United States since the 15th amendment? 	
Notes	
What is disenfranchisement?	
How did disenfranchisement happen?	
What are the four types of Disenfranchisement practiced in the South?	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3. 4.
Station One: Grandfather Clause	
What is the Grandfather Clause?	
Why is the 1867 date important?	
Describe three important facts about the primary source document shown at this station.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. 3.
Station Two: Literacy Test	
What was a literacy test?	
Why was the Louisiana literacy test considered “impossible” to pass?	
In your opinion, what were the three most “impossible” questions on this exam?	

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In the video, why was the exam given orally and not on paper?	
Describe the Andrew Young interview. How was disenfranchisement discussed in this interview?	
Station Three: Poll Taxes	
What was a poll tax?	
Describe three important facts about the primary source document shown at this station.	1. 2. 3.
Describe the Larry H Gooden interview. How was disenfranchisement discussed in this interview?	
Article Analysis	
Critical Thinking Question 1: What is one major claim being made by the author of this article?	
What textual evidence supports the author's claim?	
Does the claim that is being presented appear to be fact based or opinion based?	
Critical Thinking Question 2: What are the best (most convincing or most thought-provoking) parts of the article?	
Cite textual evidence to support your opinion.	
Station Four: Intimidation	
Describe the different forms of intimidation practiced in the south.	
What role did the KKK play in these intimidation tactics?	
Describe the Glennon Threatt interview. How was disenfranchisement discussed in this interview?	
Picture Analysis	
If you had to give the picture a title, what would it be?	

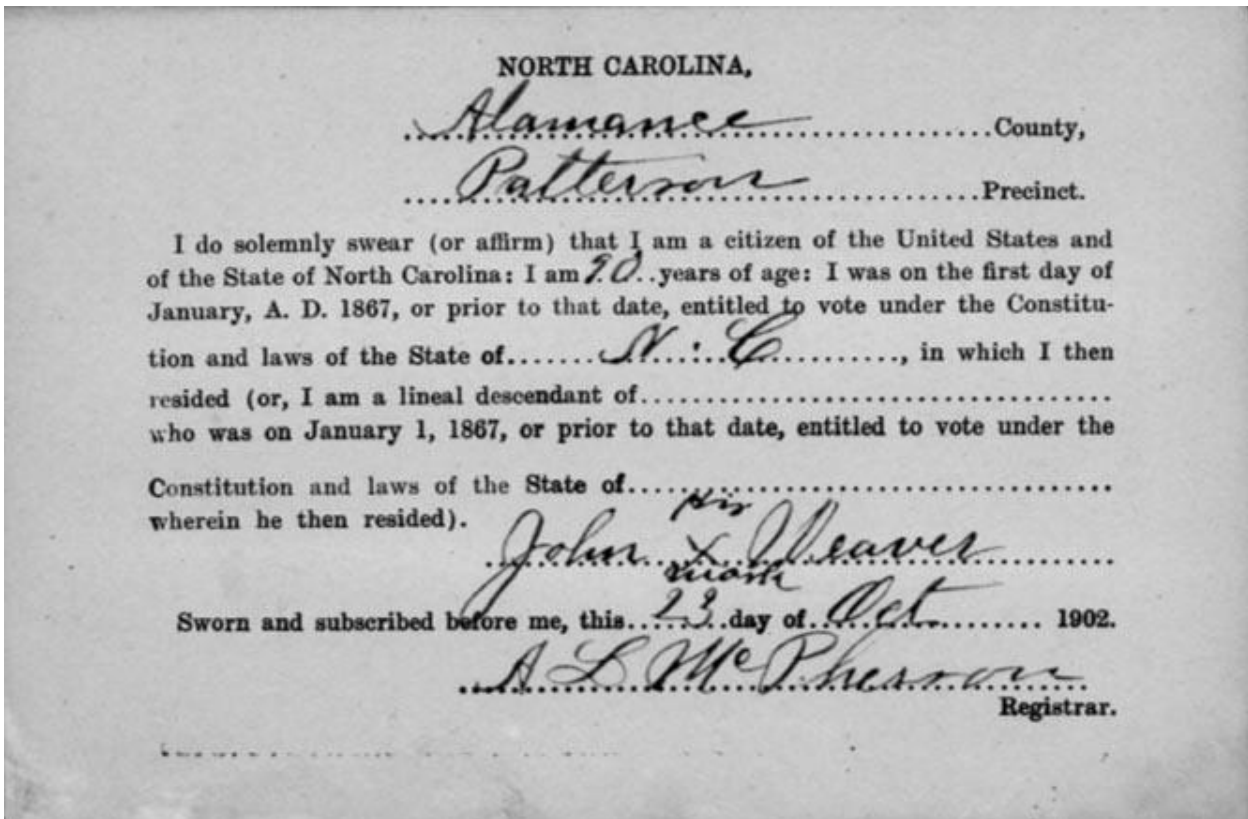
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What is the significance of the central figure and objects?	
What action is taking place in this photo?	
What mood or tone is being created by the photograph?	
What is the photograph's overall message?	
Cartoon Analysis	
What is the title of the cartoon?	
What is the significance of the central figures and objects?	
What actions are taking place in the cartoon?	
What mood or tone is being created by the cartoon?	
What is the cartoon's overall message?	

Station 1: Grandfather Clause

The Grandfather Clause in North Carolina stated that no one should be denied the right to register and vote because of the literacy requirement if he or a lineal ancestor could vote under the law of his state of residence on 1 Jan. 1867, provided that he registered before 1 Dec. 1908. The 1867 date was important because it preceded any federal prohibition of racial discrimination; therefore very few blacks were eligible to vote. In practical terms, it meant that illiterate whites were able to register because their family could vote before 1867.

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Station 2: Literacy Test

- 1) Review the literacy test
- 2) Read the short biography of Andrew Young (below)
- 3) Listen to the interview with Andrew Young
- 4) View the short clip from the film *Selma*

Andrew Young Biography

Andrew Young was the first African American Georgia congressman since Reconstruction. First elected in 1972, Young was appointed ambassador to the United Nations by Jimmy Carter. Prior to his

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career in politics, Young grew up in New Orleans, educated at Howard University, and then graduated from Hartford Seminary in the mid 1950s. Young returned to the south after seminary and became involved in the early Civil Rights movement in Georgia, where he worked as a minister for several years. In this interview, Young discusses racial discrimination in the South and his involvement in voter registration drives.

NORTH CAROLINA BOURBON PLANS. USING THE POLL TAX QUESTION AND PROHIBITION TO FURTHER DEMOCRATIC SCHEMES.

RALEIGH, N. C., Feb. 21.—The Democratic Party of this State is trying to have the Constitution amended so as to require the exhibition of a receipt for the payment of poll tax as a prerequisite to voting. A bill for this purpose passed the Senate on Saturday last. It is not probable that the bill will pass the House of Representatives, although the pressure is very great to get the bill through. The Democratic majority in November last was 6,000. It is thought by leading Democrats that they can bull-doze the people at the polls and have this amendment ratified if they can get it before the people. In this way they expect to disfranchise 40,000 Republican voters and make North Carolina a Democratic State for many years. The Republican Party will eagerly accept the issue made by this bill, if the amendment is submitted to the people, and they confidently expect to defeat and destroy the Democratic Party upon this question.

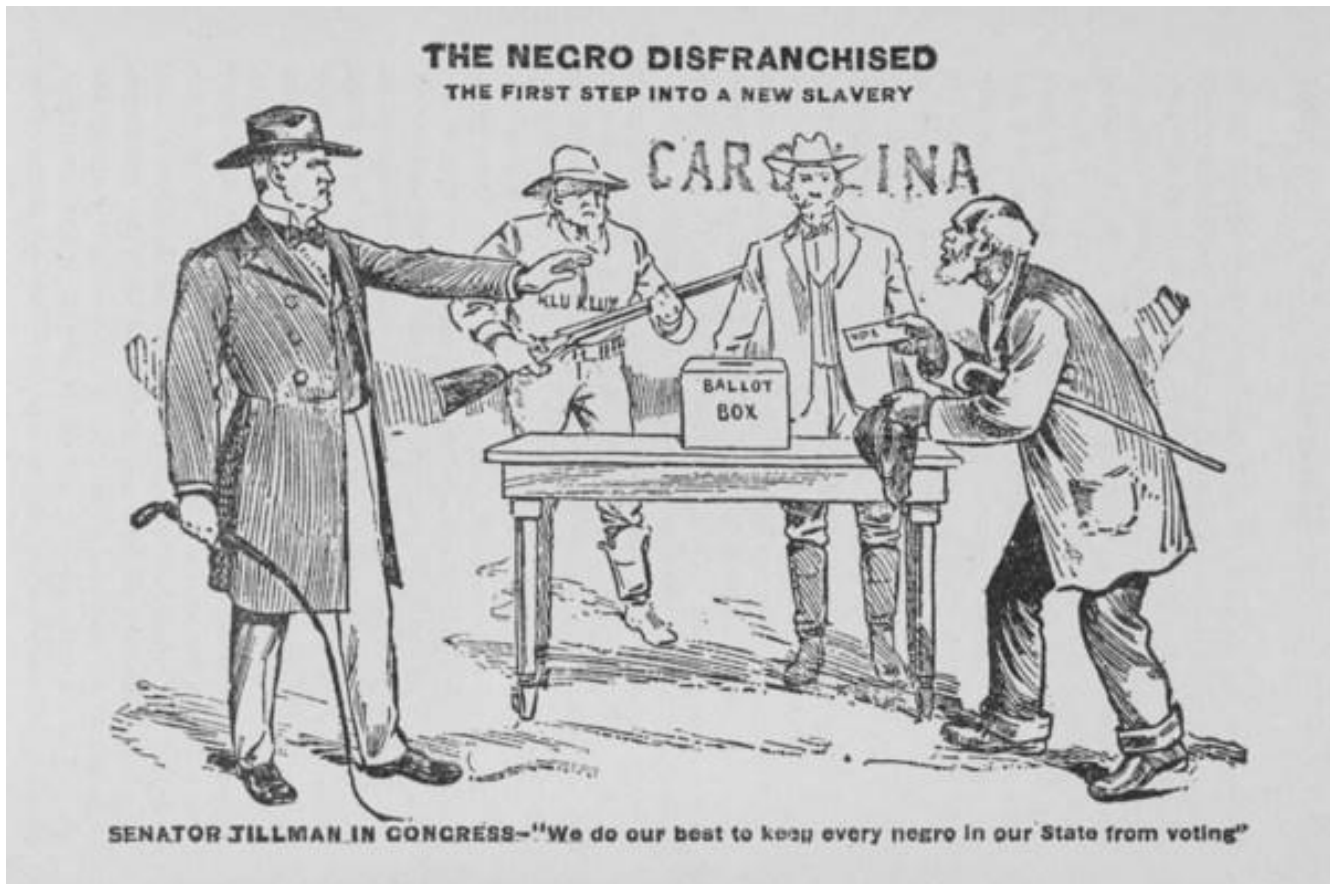
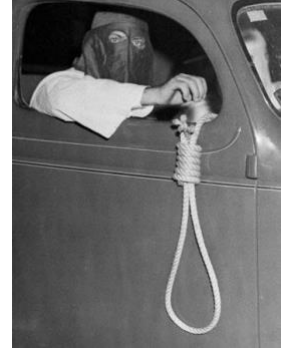
It is given out that the joint committee on prohibition will report a bill in a few days absolutely prohibiting the importation, sale, and manufacture of intoxicating liquors throughout North Carolina. Petitions containing at least 100,000 names have been presented to the Legislature, praying for the passage of this law. There is great doubt as to the passage of a bill for absolute prohibition. It will probably be submitted to the people of the State for their approval. The Democrats desire to pass this bill in order to get rid of the Internal Revenue officers apportioned to this State, and thus relieve their party of this influence, but it is not believed that they possess the backbone to vote the bill through. The Legislature has spent 50 days of the session, and there are only 10 days left, without the passage of any legislation of public importance. All legislation absolutely necessary to be enacted in order to run the State Government for another two years must be passed during the next 10 days. It looks now as if the present Legislature would prove as incompetent as its predecessors for the last 10 years.

Station 4: Intimidation

- 1) Review the description below
- 2) Analyze the political cartoon & photo below
- 3) Listen to the interview with Glennon Threatt

Klan Intimidation

The Klan's organized terrorism began most notably on March 31, 1868, when Republican organizer George Ashburn was murdered in Columbus, Georgia. Over the following months Klan-inspired violence spread throughout Georgia's Black Belt and into the northwestern corner of the state. Most Klan action was designed to intimidate black voters and white supporters of the Republican Party. Klansmen might parade on horseback at night dressed in outlandish costumes, or they might threaten specific Republican leaders with violence. Increasingly during 1868 these actions became violent, ranging from whippings of black women perceived as insolent to the assassination of Republican leaders. It is impossible to untangle local vigilante violence from political terrorism by the organized Klan, but it is clear that attacks on blacks became common during 1868.



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Glennon Threat Biography

Glennon Threatt describes his experiences with racial segregation in his hometown of Birmingham, Alabama. Threatt, a lawyer in Birmingham, was one of three gifted African American students who integrated an all-white elementary school gifted class. His presence at the school both helped propel him to academic success and made him a double target for violence and intimidation. Threatt discusses his opinions about the lack of African American voter participation in elections today.

Directions: You will create a Public Service Announcement (PSA) in a form of a poster. This poster must focus on voting or registering to vote.

What is a Public Service Announcement?

Public service announcements, or PSA's, are short messages produced on film, videotape, DVD, CD, audiotape, poster, or as a computer file and given to radio and television stations. Generally, PSA's are sent as ready-to-air audio or video tapes, although radio stations (especially community or public stations, such as campus radio or National Public Radio affiliates) sometimes prefer a script that their announcers can read live on the air. They can be done very simply with a single actor reading or performing a message, or they can be elaborate, slickly produced messages with music, dramatic story-lines, and sound or visual effects.

Requirements

- 1) Tagline/headline - words or slogan meant to capture the viewer's attention and creative typography.
- 2) Body Copy - message that further explains or sells the product or service or idea. Usually a couple of sentences.
- 3) Image or illustration – Original image or illustration created in Photoshop and/or Illustrator that catches the viewer's attention, represents the product's image, and persuades the consumer to buy, take action, or change a behavior.
- 4) Disenfranchisement - The poster must include a form of disenfranchisement to help the audience understand how far the voting privilege has come.

Rubric

Purpose The purpose of the poster is clearly accomplished with examples of disenfranchisement	_____/25
Drawings and Illustrations All illustrations, photographs, and drawings add to the purpose and interest of the poster.	_____/10
Mechanics (C-U-P-S) There are no errors in capitalization, usage, punctuation, or spelling.	_____/10
Layout and Design The overall organization, design, use of color, and use of space help to make the poster interesting and to communicate the message.	_____/10
Creativity The poster is highly original and creative.	_____/10
Neat and Presentable The poster is very neat and presentable.	_____/10
Total (out of 75)	

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Voting in North Carolina Article

DURHAM, N.C.—The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals struck down key portions of North Carolina’s strict 2013 voting law on Friday, delivering a stern rebuke to the state’s Republican General Assembly and Governor Pat McCrory. The three-judge panel in Richmond, Virginia, unanimously concluded that the law was racially discriminatory, and it blocked a requirement that voters show photo identification to vote and restored same-day voter registration, a week of early voting, pre-registration for teenagers, and out-of-precinct voting.

“In what comes as close to a smoking gun as we are likely to see in modern times, the State’s very justification for a challenged statute hinges explicitly on race—specifically its concern that African Americans, who had overwhelmingly voted for Democrats, had too much access to the franchise,” wrote Judge Diana Gribbon Motz.

North Carolina’s law, often described as the strictest in the nation, passed shortly after the Supreme Court struck down Section 5 the Voting Rights Act in *Shelby County v. Holder*. That section required states with a history of voter discrimination to “preclear” any changes to voting laws with the U.S. Department of Justice. Freed from that requirement, the General Assembly passed a slate of changes, including the photo-ID requirement. Both sides effectively agreed that these changes disproportionately affected poor, elderly, and African American voters, who were less likely to hold the required forms of photo ID, more likely to move frequently, and more likely to take advantage of early voting. These voters also vote overwhelmingly Democratic.

“In North Carolina, restriction of voting mechanisms and procedures that most heavily affect African Americans will predictably redound to the benefit of one political party and to the disadvantage of the other,” Motz wrote. “As the evidence in the record makes clear, that is what happened here.”

A range of plaintiffs, including the North Carolina NAACP, the Advancement Project, and the Department of Justice quickly sued the state over the law. In April, [federal district-court Judge Thomas Schroeder upheld the law](#), finding that plaintiffs had “failed to show that such disparities will have materially adverse effects on the ability of minority voters to cast a ballot and effectively exercise the electoral franchise.”

Echoing Chief Justice John Roberts’s opinion in *Shelby County*, Schroeder stated that while the Old North State had a shameful history of racial discrimination, it was just that—history. “There is significant, shameful past discrimination. In North Carolina’s recent history, however, certainly for the last quarter century, there is little official discrimination to consider,” he wrote.

The circuit court rebuked Schroeder, saying that the district court had “fundamentally erred” and “seems to have missed the forest in carefully surveying the many trees.” For example, Friday’s decision noted, black participation in elections had been rising steadily in the year before the law passed, periodically bolstered by federal intervention. “Not coincidentally, during this period North Carolina emerged as a swing state in national elections,” Motz drily noted. She also wrote:

The General Assembly enacted [these changes] in the immediate aftermath of unprecedented African American voter participation in a state with a troubled racial history and racially polarized voting. The district court clearly erred in ignoring or dismissing this historical background evidence, all of which supports a finding of discriminatory intent.

In 2008, Barack Obama narrowly won North Carolina in the presidential election. But in 2010, Republicans captured both houses of the legislature, and two years later McCrory defeated Lieutenant Governor Walter Dalton, as Mitt Romney edged Obama. The GOP [undertook a program of conservative reforms](#), overturning a tradition of bipartisan moderation in the state. Among those changes was the voting law. While a bill had been under consideration, the *Shelby County* decision led state Senator Tom Apodaca to comment, “Now we can go with the full bill.” Though commonly referred to as a voter-ID law, similar to those passed or considered in other states, many advocates saw the other provisions as equally or more important.

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In the end, it was Schroeder’s lengthy work on the case—a nearly 500-page opinion, plus 25,000 pages of record—that seemed decisive in the circuit-court decision. The panel of judges ruled that there was so much information in the record that they did not need to remand the case to the district court, and could determine that Schroeder made an erroneous factual finding on their own.

For example, the circuit-court decision makes much of the fact that legislators requested relevant data before passing the bill.

“Before enacting that law, the legislature requested data on the use, by race, of a number of voting practices. Upon receipt of the race data, the General Assembly enacted legislation that restricted voting and registration in five different ways, all of which disproportionately affected African Americans,” Motz wrote. “Although the new provisions target African Americans with almost surgical precision, they constitute inapt remedies for the problems assertedly justifying them and, in fact, impose cures for problems that did not exist.”

For example, the voter-ID law was both “too restrictive and not restrictive enough.” The circuit court found that the law harmed African American participation, but did little to combat fraud, the stated purpose, because fraud was more common in mail-in absentee voting, which was not affected.

The decision is a huge win for civil-rights advocates, who have argued in cases around the nation that voter-ID laws and other similar truncations are fighting a problem that does not exist—there is minimal evidence of voting fraud, despite insistence that such laws are essential to maintaining the sanctity of the vote—and are in fact designed to limit turnout among traditionally Democratic voters, and therefore help elect Republicans. (On occasion, [voter-ID advocates trip up and say the same publicly](#).)

Because North Carolina’s law was among the nation’s most sweeping, and because it came so quickly after *Shelby County*, it has been watched as a bellwether for voting-rights cases nationwide. A favorable outcome for the state would likely embolden other conservative states to undertake similar overhauls, while a negative one would force them to take another tack, and encourage voting advocates.

Plaintiffs always expected to have a tougher hearing from Schroeder, a George W. Bush appointee, than from the Fourth Circuit, which is stocked with Obama appointees. Motz was appointed by Bill Clinton, while the other two judges on the panel, James Wynn Jr. and Henry Floyd, are Obama appointees. Many voting-law experts expect the final decision in the case to be rendered by the Supreme Court. The state is likely to appeal the decision. While the justices would be unlikely to render a decision before the November election, the state could request an injunction to keep the law in place as is.

“We are beyond happy that the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals exposed for the world to see the racist intent of the extremist element of our government in North Carolina,” the Reverend William Barber II, president of the N.C. NAACP, said on a press call Friday afternoon. “The ruling is a people’s victory, and it is a victory that sends a message to the nation.”

Conservative groups, meanwhile, blasted the law. J. Christian Adams, who is president of the Public Interest Legal Foundation and a [longtime voter-ID advocate](#), criticized the panel of judges for overreaching.

“Normally, appeals courts remand to trial courts to review the evidence with the guidance of the appeals court. The Fourth Circuit undertook the job of a trial court and the integrity of the upcoming election is worse off because of it,” Adams said in a statement. “This case was brought to extract partisan advantage using the Voting Rights Act and sadly the plaintiffs were successful in turning that important civil rights law into a political weapon.”

McCrory criticized the ruling on Facebook and suggested the state might seek to appeal the ruling or have it stayed. “Three Democrat judges are undermining the integrity of our elections while also maligning our state. We will immediately appeal their decision to strike down our voter ID law and also review other potential options,” [he wrote](#).

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Jay DeLancy, who leads the Voter Integrity Project, which seeks to find and prevent voter fraud, also criticized the decision.

“Today’s 4th Circuit decision makes it easier for criminal enterprises to exploit North Carolina’s fraud-friendly election laws,” [he wrote in a statement](#). “The court scoffed at the heartfelt concern for election integrity; and instead, demanded further proof that vote fraud exists before they will allow preventative laws to survive. To that we say, be careful what you ask for!”

If the law is not in effect in November, it could have a major impact. McCrory is locked in a tight reelection race against Democrat Roy Cooper. Senator Richard Burr is expected to face a tight battle to hold his seat against Democrat Deborah Ross. And Hillary Clinton’s campaign has targeted the Old North State as a key swing state, hoping that a win here would block any path to victory for Donald Trump.

Debate Handout

Debate Instructions: Civics and Economics

Topic: Does disenfranchisement exist in American politics today?

Overview: Throughout the semester, this class will participate in debates concerning various topics dealing with civics and economics. For the debates, the class will be divided into three separate groups:

1. Debate Team One: disenfranchisement exists
 2. Debate Team Two: disenfranchisement does not exist
- a. These groups will participate in the debate arguing for or against the topic question. It is the student's responsibility to review the articles assigned to the topic and prepare an opening statement **before the debate**. Both teams must also be prepared for cross examining questions (questions they will ask the opposing team) and have enough understanding of the topic to skillfully present a rebuttal (answering the cross examining questions).
3. Jury
 - . Students not participating in the debate will be on the jury. It is the jury's responsibility to listen to the debate and decide the winner. During debate preparations during class, the jury will create a grading rubric to use during the debate (finding one online is okay but it must be edited to fit the topic). **Important:** students on the jury are not allowed to talk during the debate. When the debate is over, the jury will discuss the debate and vote for the winner.

Debate Preparation Materials: Research articles and material to help you execute your arguments.

Debate Timeline:

1. Opening Statement: Each team will have two minutes to present their opening statements to the jury. The teacher will keep time throughout the debate. (Debate Team Two will go first).
Total Time: 4 minutes
2. Cross Examination: Debate Team Two will ask Debate Team One questions concerning the topic. These questions should be prepared ahead of time should try to help the argument.
Total Time: 5 minutes
3. Cross Examination: Debate Team One will ask Debate Team Two questions concerning the topic. These questions should be prepared ahead of time should try to help the argument.
Total Time: 5 minutes
4. Five minute break to discuss next round of questions.
5. Cross Examination: Debate Team One will ask Debate Team Two questions concerning the topic. These questions should be prepared ahead of time should try to help the argument.
Total Time: 5 minutes
6. Cross Examination: Debate Team Two will ask Debate Team One questions concerning the topic. These questions should be prepared ahead of time should try to help the argument.
Total Time: 5 minutes
7. Closing Arguments: Each team will have two minutes to present their closing statements to the jury (Debate Team One will go first). These statements will summarize the entire debate in attempt to persuade the jury to side with your argument.
Total Time: 4 minutes
8. Jury Deliberations: Members of the jury will discuss and vote for winning team.
9. Announcement of winner

This lesson plan was completed in collaboration with teacher Brantley Barrow as part of the 2017 Carolina Oral History Teaching Fellows Program in Civil Rights, sponsored by UNC-Chapel Hill's [Southern Oral History Program](#) and [Carolina K-12](#).

Excerpt from the Oral History Interview transcript of Larry H. Gooden- Southern Oral History Program

June 19, 2011

Interviewer: Stella Smalls

Transcriber: Mark Schultz

Stella Smalls: "Did your parents vote?"

Larry H. Gooden: "Yeah. My daddy was a strong person. But it used to be different getting people to vote and stuff like that. He would be down at the voting place, so that when people come, they wouldn't be afraid to vote. A lot of people afraid to vote because the white folks told them they had to pay a poll tax. Also told them that if you vote, they'll take your land from you. So them people were afraid to vote. So they got my father to show them how to vote."

Smalls: "Did anybody try to persuade your father to vote a certain way or to try to keep him from voting?"

Gooden: "Yeah."

Smalls: "Who? Do you know who it was?"

Gooden: "Strom Thurmond."

Smalls: "Approached your father?"

Gooden: "Right. Strom Thurmond used to be a Democrat. And my father was a democrat. Well, Strom Thurmond had black folk in communities that were in church and the community center and get the people to vote for him. What he would do was, he had people situated in the black neighborhoods with money. He gave a fellow one time some money to give my dad."

Smalls: "Did your dad take it?"

Gooden: "Yeah he took it. Because he wouldn't know how my daddy voted no way. That's what I'm saying back in those times you had some white politicians that were slick now. Strom Thurmond at the end, he was a hard, hard nut to crack. But he was passing out a lot of money in black neighborhoods."