The Battle Over Voter Rights—and Wrongs by Michael Barbella

With the 2018 mid-term election, former felons in Florida regained their long-lost right to vote when 64 percent of Florida voters backed the passage of State Constitutional Amendment 4, which overturned a Civil War-era ban on ex-convicts voting.

The measure automatically restores voting rights to criminals who successfully complete their sentences, including probation and parole. Murderers and those convicted of a sex crime are excluded from the amendment.

Considered the largest U.S. electorate expansion in nearly half a century, the Floridian ballot measure essentially ended voting restrictions for roughly 1.4 million former convicts. Prior to the amendment, felons in Florida had to wait five to seven years after completing their sentences to petition the clemency board for reinstatement on the voter rolls and most were denied.

Not so fast....

The hope of adding more than a million potential voters to the rolls, however, was cut short. In May 2019, the Florida State Legislature passed a bill (SB 7066) requiring felons to pay all court-ordered fines, fees and victim restitution before registering to vote. Florida Governor Ron DeSantis signed the bill into law in June 2019 and voting rights supporters immediately

Women and the Draft, A Decades-Old Debate by Toni Sutton-Deangelico

History was made on December 3, 2015 when Defense Secretary Ashton B. Carter announced that all combat roles in the military would be open to women. This new inclusion allowed all women who were fit for combat to be assigned to those roles beginning in January 2016. It also gave women the ability to compete for spots on Navy Seal teams and other elite units.

Even though women have been able to serve in combat roles since 2016, the Selective Service System, the independent agency that maintains information on those subject to a military draft, continues only to register men between the ages of 18 and 25, leaving women out. Men must register 30 days before their 18th birthday or be subject to penalties. Today, failure to register with the Selective Service System is a felony punishable by a fine up to $250,000 or up to five years in prison or a combination of both.

Subjecting women to a potential draft has been debated for decades. In February 2019, a U.S. district court judge in Houston ruled in the case of National Coalition for Men v. Selective Service System that the tradition of requiring only men to register with Selective Service is unconstitutional.

History of the draft

The United States military draft dates back to the Civil War when it was called (and sometimes is still called) conscription. Men who were
Transgender Military Ban Tests Limits of Who Can Serve  by Maria Wood

The military stands as a model of integration, with people of all races and ethnicities serving together for the common purpose of protecting the nation. But it wasn’t always that way.

African American and white soldiers were split into separate military units until the 1950s. Gays and lesbians couldn’t serve openly until the Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell policy, initiated in the mid-1990s, was repealed in 2011. Controversy over who can and can’t serve in the military has erupted again, this time for transgender individuals. According to GLAAD (formerly Gay & Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation), transgender describes people whose gender identity differs from the gender they were assigned at birth.

After the military allowed gays and lesbians to serve openly, the Obama Administration proposed allowing transgender individuals to enlist as well. In 2016, then-Secretary of Defense Ashton B. Carter removed the ban on transgender people serving openly in the military and set a date for accepting enlistments for January 1, 2018.

In 2018, President Donald Trump reversed the Obama Administration policy and instituted a transgender military ban, which prompted a series of lawsuits claiming the ban is discriminatory. In part, the President's original tweet announcing the ban stated, “Our military must be focused on decisive and overwhelming victory and cannot be burdened with tremendous medical costs and disruption that transgender in the military would entail.”

Several LGBTQ advocacy organizations filed lawsuits on behalf of current transgender military members and also those seeking to enlist. The plaintiffs contend the ban amounts to discrimination against transgender people under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In addition, LGBTQ rights groups claim the ban will force currently serving transgender people out of the military.

In the fall of 2017, two federal judges blocked the ban, and it was put on hold temporarily. Then, in January 2019, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a 5-4 decision that the ban could stay in place as the lawsuits made their way through the lower court system.

Former Defense Secretary James Mattis had a committee of military personnel study the issue of transgender individuals serving in the military. In March 2018, the committee concluded that transgender recruits would disrupt military readiness and effectiveness.

After taking into account the recommendations of the committee, Secretary Mattis proposed an altered 2018 policy, which differed from President Trump’s initial call for a full ban of transgender military members. The new policy recommended that service members who had undergone a gender transition or were in the process of a transition prior to April 12, 2019—the date the ban was scheduled to start—could continue to serve.

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New rule for transgender military members

As it stands now, after April 12, 2019, anyone diagnosed with gender dysphoria or undergoing a transition will be prohibited from joining the military. Gender dysphoria is a broadly used medical diagnosis that involves a conflict between a person’s physical or assigned gender and the gender with which he/she/they identify.

Although current service members diagnosed with gender dysphoria can remain in the military, they must serve under the standards set for their birth gender, not the gender they identify themselves as. Military service members would not be eligible for medical services to assist in a gender transition, unless they joined while under the previous Obama Administration policy. That could mean some transgender individuals would choose to leave the military if they are not allowed to transition.

At a congressional hearing in February 2019, Congresswoman Jackie Speier, who is a member of the House Armed Services Committee and chairs the Military Personnel Subcommittee, said the ban “would cost us recruits at a time when so few Americans are willing to serve.”

Debra E. Guston, a Glen Rock attorney and past chair of the New Jersey State Bar Association’s LGBT Rights Section, says transgender individuals may not receive the medical and psychological attention they require under this new policy.

“Transgender people have to make a decision about whether they want to live their lives authentically or whether they want to hide their identity in order to serve in the military,” Guston says.

Impact on the military

Prior to lifting the ban on transgender individuals in the military, the RAND Corporation (stands for Research And Development) explored the possible impact of transgender soldiers serving. RAND is a global policy think tank financed by the U.S. government, as well as corporations, universities and private individuals, that provides research and analysis to the U.S. Armed Forces. It is hard to estimate the number of transgender individuals who are actively serving in the military since they can’t serve openly. A 2016 RAND report, however, put the number at between 1,320 and 6,630, but noted that not all seek treatment for a transition.

According to the Defense Department, there are 1.3 million active duty military. Out of a total $50 billion healthcare budget, the military estimates it spends approximately $8 million in transgender care.

RAND acknowledged that there is “limited research” on the effect of transgender service members and relied on research for foreign military outfits. It concluded that including transgender people would have “little or no impact on unit cohesion, operational effectiveness or readiness.”

With regard to costs, RAND predicted providing healthcare to transitioning soldiers would increase costs by $2.4 million each year. That amount represents a 0.4 percent to 0.13 percent jump in healthcare expenditures for active duty personnel.

Secretary Mattis disputed RAND’s conclusion, which he said largely influenced the Obama Administration’s decision to allow transgender people to serve. In detailing his policy, he indicated his belief that RAND didn’t give sufficient weight to the costs and relied too heavily on foreign military experiences with “different operational requirements than our own.”

Therefore, Secretary Mattis wrote in the new policy that the Department of Defense should “proceed with caution before compounding the significant challenges inherent in treating gender dysphoria with the unique, highly stressful circumstances of military training and combat operations.”

Still, testimony from the chiefs of the Army, Navy, Marines and Air Force seemed to contradict that conclusion. During a 2018 congressional hearing, each testified they were unaware of any negative effects in their units arising from transgender personnel, but did say some commanders had to take time to help transgender individuals through their transitions.

Deferece to the military

In the latest ruling on the ban, a U.S. Court of Appeals in the Ninth Circuit overturned a preliminary district court injunction on the ban in one of the lawsuits—Karnoski v. Trump. The decision...
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handed down by the appeals court illustrates the long-standing tradition of courts deferring to the military on personnel matters, Guston explains.

“There’s been a long history of the courts respecting Congress and the military’s autonomy in making policy for the military,” she says.

Yet the appeals court also acknowledged that the 2018 revised policy put in place by Secretary Mattis could also be interpreted “on its face as treating transgender people differently than other persons.”

In their order, the appeals court judges remanded the case back to the district court, asking them to reconsider its ruling on the ban. The panel wrote “a presumption of deference is owed [to the government], because the 2018 policy appears to have been the product of independent military judgment.”

Guston points out the U.S. Supreme Court did not rule on whether the ban was constitutional, just that it could stay in place as the lawsuits were being heard in the lower courts.

“The Supreme Court did not allow the ban to be stopped, primarily because of this deference to the military and what it believes and states is necessary for military readiness,” Guston says. 

Combat readiness was also the military’s basis for separating African Americans and white soldiers prior to the Korean War, Guston notes. That was in place until a 1948 Executive Order issued by President Harry Truman integrated the services.

Carlos A. Ball, a professor at Rutgers Law School—Newark and a national expert on LGBTQ services, agrees that the courts are usually deferential to the military, but says the ban is unconstitutional.

“The transgender ban should not survive constitutional scrutiny,” Professor Ball says. “There is no rational basis for the exclusion; instead, it is based on raw prejudice against transgender individuals. Such individuals have been serving their country for generations.” He calls the ban “an affront to equality and basic fairness.”

Guston predicts that the lawsuits will continue to be litigated through the federal court system and the ultimate outcome will hinge on the 2020 presidential election.

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filed suit in federal court, claiming the new measure is unconstitutional and discriminatory against the poor and minorities.

The lawsuit cites data compiled by the Brennan Center for Justice, a nonpartisan public policy institute committed to reforming and defending the nation’s systems of democracy. The data reveals racial and economic disparities that currently exist among Floridians. African Americans, for example, face higher unemployment rates than whites (double), and they are more likely to be arrested, charged and convicted of crimes. Accordingly, African Americans represent 33 percent of all Florida residents denied voting rights, despite constituting 16 percent of the Sunshine State’s total population.

The Brennan Center’s statistics also indicate that newly registered former prisoners earn nearly $15,000 less than average Floridian voters ($59,665), making it more difficult for them to pay off fines, which can run into tens of thousands of dollars. A University of Florida study came to a similar conclusion, finding that white ex-felons are twice as likely as their black counterparts to pay off all court-ordered fees.

“SB-7066 thwarts the will of these voters by basing voter registration on the ability to pay financial obligations,” Leah Aden, deputy director of litigation at the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, said when the lawsuit was filed. “This law will disproportionately impact black Floridians with a felony conviction who face the intersecting barriers of accessing jobs in a state with long-standing wealth and employment disparities.”

The lawsuit cites violations of the First, 14th, 15th, and 24th Amendments, and the U.S. Constitution’s ex post facto clause (Article I, Section 9, Clause 3). The clause deals with the rights of the accused or convicted and essentially says that a criminal law cannot be passed making an action illegal (in this case failure to pay fines) if those actions have already been taken.

SB 7066 took effect July 1, 2019 but the ACLU and other challengers to the law returned to court.

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drafted in the Civil War could avoid military service by paying $300 (more than $8,000 today) to the government, which bought an exemption from a particular battle. Some men who could afford it hired a substitute to take his place for the entire war. When the Selective Service Act of 1917, which established the Selective Service System, was passed during World War I, substitutions and fees to get out of battle were no longer possible. By the end of World War I, there were approximately 24 million Selective Service System registrations and nearly three million had been drafted into the army. After the war, the draft was dissolved.

In 1940, the United States instituted its first peacetime draft, which required all men between the ages of 18 and 45 to register. In 1969, during the Vietnam War, draftees accounted for 88 percent of soldiers on the battlefield. The draft was terminated in 1973 and the armed forces transitioned to an all-volunteer system of recruitment. However, in 1980, President Jimmy Carter reinstated draft registration for men and proposed requiring women to register as well. The Senate’s Armed Services Committee did not support President Carter’s proposal concerning women. To be clear, there is no draft in place, just a requirement for men to register before their 18th birthday should there be a need for a draft in the future.

Legal challenges to the draft

Even prior to the decision in National Coalition for Men v. Selective Service System, the draft has been challenged; initial claims were that it violated the 13th Amendment, which prohibits “involuntary servitude.” The U.S. Supreme Court has always determined that the draft does not violate the U.S. Constitution.

Congress has been debating the issue of women in the draft since President Carter asked Congress to include women. In 1983, the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of Rostker v. Goldberg ruled that Congress had a reasonable basis for excluding women from the draft because at that time only men could serve in key combat roles.

The decision in Rostker was 6 to 3. Justice William H. Rehnquist, writing for the majority, stated, “This is not a case of Congress arbitrarily choosing to burden one of two similarly situated groups. Men and women, because of the combat restrictions on women, are simply not similarly situated for purposes of a draft or registration for a draft.”

At the time, the Court also upheld Congress’s conclusion that including women in draft registration would create administrative and military problems.

Once those barriers for women in combat roles were lifted, however, it gave way to the National Coalition for Men lawsuit, brought in 2013, which claimed it was not fair to require men and not women to register for the Selective Service System. Judge Gray Miller of the U.S. District Court of Texas agreed with them.

In his ruling Judge Miller wrote, “While historical restrictions on women in the military may have justified past discrimination, men and women are now ‘similarly situated for purposes of a draft or registration for a draft.’ If there ever was a time to discuss the place of women in the Armed Services that has passed.”

Judge Miller noted that a group of senators who had opposed the expansion of the registration declared, “We should not hinder the brave men and women of our armed forces by entrapping them in unnecessary cultural issues.” Judge Miller said that defense “smacked of an archaic and overbroad generalization about women’s preferences.”

The ruling in the case does not require the Selective Service System to stop the requirement of all 18-year-old men to register, nor start the requirement of women to register. Judge Miller simply rejected the arguments that the agency had made for limiting the requirement only to men. For its part, the Selective Service System put a statement on its Facebook page stating that it “does not make policy and follows laws as written” and advised that the policy of only requiring men to register would remain in place until “Congress modifies the Military Selective Service Act or a court orders Selective Service to change our standing operation...”

Where do we go from here?

The Trump administration is appealing the federal court ruling and defends the male-only military draft. The Justice Department says that it would be “particularly problematic” to order women to register for the draft.

In news reports, Justice Department lawyer Michael Gerardi argued, “It would impose draft registration on all eligible American women by judicial fiat before Congress has considered how to address the matter. No party before this court represents the interests of those who would be impacted by this change.”

Jill Hasday, a professor at the University of
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in August 2019 to block its enforcement until a judge can rule on its legality. In addition, Gov. DeSantis has asked the Florida State Supreme Court for help in interpreting specific language within the law, namely whether the phrase “completion of all terms of sentence” includes fines, fees and victim restitution. With SB 7066 bogged down in court, prosecutors in Florida are considering ways to work around the law’s restrictions. The Palm Beach County State Attorney’s Office, for instance, is working on an alternative that would allow felons to repay their financial obligations through community service.

“I’m not surprised that the [state] legislature passed an implementing bill for Amendment 4,” Palm Beach County State Attorney Dave Aronberg told online news source theintercept.com. “I always knew there would be pushback because I’ve always felt the requirement to make ex-felons go through the difficult process of rights restoration was partly about voter suppression.”

Making it harder to vote

Voter suppression is the discouragement or prevention of citizens from voting and is a strategy often used to influence the outcome of an election. Florida is just one of 25 states that have implemented voter restriction efforts over the last nine years. Fifteen states have more restrictive voter ID laws in place (including six with strict photo ID requirements), 12 have more stringent registration requirements, 10 have more difficult early/absentee voting measures, and three make it harder for convicted felons to vote, according to the Brennan Center.

Though there are many reasons for this increase in voter restriction efforts, some legal experts believe it was triggered by the 2008 presidential election. “In 2008 our country elected a man named Barack Obama as president. Part of the reason he got elected was because communities that had not been participating in the voting process supported him in really large numbers and he also appealed to a large percentage of people in communities that had been voting,” says Myrna Pérez, director of the Voting Rights and Elections Program at the Brennan Center.

A 2013 US Supreme Court decision made it easier to pass those laws. In a 5-4 ruling, the court struck down a key part of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) of 1965, deciding that states with a history of voter discrimination no longer needed their balloting rules approved by the federal government. Chief Justice John Roberts declared that the country had changed since the VRA’s passage in 1965.

Changes in voting practices or requirements to vote often seem minor. But those minor changes can have a big impact and are, in fact, examples of voter suppression.

For instance, one voter suppression tactic is closure of polling places. Is that a big deal? Voters are not being told they can’t vote, just not at the polling place where they have voted for years. But, what if you don’t have a car and the nearest polling place to you, which used to be down the street, is now five or 10 miles away (in rural areas it can be even farther)? Odds are that you won’t vote.

Another tactic is decreasing early voting. Again, voters are not being denied the vote outright, but that decision has consequences. Being able to vote early cuts down on the long lines seen on Election Day. Statistics have shown that it is also a benefit used more often by minority voters. Voting early can also eliminate the need for voters to take off of work, possibly losing income.

“Those officials slyly mask their assaults through criteria that appear neutral on the surface but nevertheless target race, gender, language and economic status,” Stacey Abrams wrote in a New York Times opinion piece. Abrams is the founder of Fair Fight 2020, a voting rights group that fights voter suppression efforts.

Many believe that Abrams would have been elected Governor of Georgia in 2018 if not for voter suppression tactics. During the campaign, her opponent retained his position as Georgia’s Secretary of State. Part of that job is to oversee the state’s voter rolls. During the campaign, his office closed polling places in predominantly African American areas and also held up more than 50,000 voter applications. These irregularities prompted a lawsuit and a delay in declaring a winner of the race, but it was finally decided in mid-November.

“I acknowledge that former Secretary of State Brian Kemp will be certified as the victor of the 2018 gubernatorial election,” Abrams said in a speech given on November 16, 2018. “But to watch an elected official—who claims to represent the people of this state—boldly pin his hopes for election on the suppression of the people’s democratic right to vote has been truly appalling. So, to be clear, this is not a speech of concession.”

Components of voter suppression

Abrams now devotes her time to fighting voter suppression and gives interviews, speeches and writes on the subject. In one interview she said...
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and cited the election of an African American president as proof.

Since the Court’s decision, more than a dozen states have passed voter restriction measures, Brennan Center statistics show. The laws vary, with some allowing for voter purges, a few addressing voter registration efforts, and others regulating polling times/locations. Kansas, for example, moved the only polling place in Dodge City outside of town, about a mile from the nearest public transportation. Similarly, North Carolina lawmakers in 2018 mandated uniform hours for early voting sites, a decision that led to a 20 percent decrease in early voting locations.

“In America, the right to vote is a fundamental right,” Pérez notes. “It is the way people in our country decide tough questions to which there is disagreement, like who should be elected president and what our laws should look like. There have always been some people in this country who would benefit from preventing or making it more difficult for people that they think will vote differently than them from voting. So we see voter suppression efforts.”

To combat voter suppression, Representative Terri Sewell, of Alabama, and Senator Patrick Leahy, of Vermont, introduced the Voting Rights Advancement Act in February 2019. The legislation would reinstate part of the 1965 VRA, requiring states (and political subdivisions) with voting rights violations to obtain approval from the federal government before changing their election laws.

Upon introducing the proposal, Congresswoman Sewell said the Act would “empower the Justice Department to stop voter suppression tactics before they go into place.”

1. What do you think about felons who served their time regaining the right to vote?
2. In 2019, felons in Florida were required to pay any unpaid fines, fees or victim restitution before getting their right to vote back. Do you think that is a fair requirement as a condition of restoring a person’s right to vote? Why or why not?
3. How do you think felons feel when they have served their time and made efforts to change their lives, but aren’t allowed to vote?

1. What are some tactics used to stop people from voting? In what way is each tactic successful in suppressing votes?
2. Which election will be the first one in which you will be able to vote? How do you feel about this? Do you plan to register to vote? Why or why not?
3. Which issue do you look forward to having a vote on and why?
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Minnesota Law School, who teaches a course on sex discrimination and has testified before Congress on this issue, agrees with the district court’s decision and feels if Congress wants to continue with military registration for the next generation, women should be included as well as men.

“Military registration and the draft would have to operate according to sex-neutral rules,” Professor Hasday says. “In other words, the same rules and requirements would apply to men and women.”

Military and public service

In 2017 Congress created the National Commission on Military, National and Public Service (NCMNPS) to review the Selective Service System and decide whether the draft should be expanded to include women or possibly be eliminated all together. The NCMNPS was also charged with suggesting ways to increase participation in public service.

“For some of our younger Americans, the draft is just something you hear discussed on TV,” Joe Heck, NCMNPS chairman and an Iraq War veteran, told Military Times. “There is no widely held expectation for service in our country today, and we need to look at that.”

In April 2019, the Commission held two public hearings and sought comments on the U.S. military service system. Professor Hasday testified during these hearings, saying, “When you exclude people from a group, you lead others to believe that they are not equal.” As it stands now, Professor Hasday says the message the government is sending is: “Women are not equal to men when it comes to a constitutional duty to protect our nation.”

The Commission has spent months evaluating the U.S. draft policy including the possibility of including women in required draft registration. It is also focused on promoting national service as well. Some have suggested requiring a year of mandatory public service after graduating high school, but that does not necessarily mean joining the military.

NCMNPS will continue to hold public hearings, conduct research and seek comments from the public on the U.S. military system before turning in its final report to Congress in March 2020. At that point, it will be up to Congress to decide what to do, if anything, with the recommendations.

1. Do you think women should be required to register with the Selective Service System when they turn 18, just as men are? Why or why not?
2. In other countries, such as Israel, China, Norway and Sweden, women are required to serve in the military (in non-combat roles). What do you think of this?
3. Do you think it is fair that, prior to World War I, men could buy their way out of serving in a certain battle or pay someone to substitute for them? Why or why not?
4. The point was made in the article that there is no “expectation for service in our country.” What ways can you think of to serve the country that doesn’t involve joining the military?
5. What do you think of requiring all high school graduating seniors to serve a year of mandatory public service to our country?

Glossary

clemency — leniency or mercy.  
conscription — historically, the practice of drafting men into military service.
electorate—people in a country or area who are entitled to vote.  
ex post facto—with retroactive effect or force.
felon—a person who has been convicted of a felony.  
felony — a serious criminal offense usually punished by imprisonment of more than one year.  
fiat—a decree.  
injunction — a judicial order that requires halting a specific action.  
integrated — something that has been made available equally to all races.  
nonpartisan — not adhering to any established political group or party.
overturned — to void a prior legal precedent.  
parole — a conditional release from prison which allows a person to serve the remainder of his or her sentence outside of an institution but under state supervision.  
plaintiff — person or persons bringing a civil lawsuit against another person or entity.  
probation — a non-jail sentence that judges can impose on someone who has been convicted of a crime.  
remand — to send a case back to a lower court.  
repealed — revoked. A law that is repealed has been withdrawn or canceled and is no longer a law.