Ticketmaster’s Practices *Take the Spotlight*

*by Emily Pecot*

Seeing Taylor Swift live with thousands of other “Swifties” wasn’t supposed to be impossible. In November 2022, when tickets for Swift’s “Eras” tour went on sale, Ticketmaster customers encountered website crashes, sparse availability, unusable presale access codes, and outrageous prices.

Many fans, locked out of Ticketmaster, flocked to secondary sites to find tickets as high as $22,700 each, according to an article in *The Guardian*. After a flood of complaints, in January 2023 more than 300 fans (at last count) signed on to a lawsuit filed in California Superior Court against Live Nation Entertainment, Ticketmaster’s parent company. The plaintiffs allege the company engages in anti-competitive actions and predatory consumer practices, in violation of California’s Unfair Competition Law, which prohibits false advertising and illegal business practices. They are **CONTINUED ON PAGE 6**

New Jersey Considers Lowering the Voting Age for Primaries

*by Michael Barbella*

Are you itching to cast a ballot in your first election? If you’re 17, you may get the chance. New Jersey may be joining a growing number of states that are expanding electoral rights by adjusting the state voting age.

Americans have been debating the legal voting age since World War II. The dialogue intensified during the Vietnam War, and eventually culminated with the passage of the 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1971.

The 26th Amendment lowered the voting age from 21 to 18 and prevents qualified individuals from being denied the right to vote due to their age. It does not address lowering the voting age below 18, nor does it prevent individual states or municipalities from adjusting the voting age for state or local elections.

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 2**

How Young is *Too Young* to Work?

*by Maria Wood*

Faced with a nationwide labor shortage since the COVID-19 pandemic, several states, including New Jersey, have loosened their child labor laws to help employee-strapped businesses hire more staff.

According to a June 2023 report from the Economic Policy Institute, a nonprofit think tank that researches the impact of economic policies, 14 states have either passed or introduced bills in the past two years amending their child labor laws. Some states have proposed expanding the hours minors between the ages of 14 and 17 can work, as well as allowing them to work in industries previously off limits to them.

**CONTINUED ON PAGE 4**
The New Jersey Constitution grants voting rights to those aged 18 and older, but it does not prohibit extending those rights to citizens younger than 18. In a USA Today opinion piece, posted on northjersey.com, University of Kentucky law professor Joshua A. Douglas, an expert on election law and voting rights, wrote about New Jersey’s constitution.

“This state [New Jersey] constitutional language grants the right to vote instead of limiting it to certain individuals. Thus, the constitution confers voting rights to those who are 18 and meet the residency requirements, but it does not explicitly exclude anyone from voting,” Professor Douglas wrote. “The voting qualifications are a floor, not a ceiling. Those who are 18 and residents are voters in the state, but nothing in the constitutional language suggests that the state cannot confer voting rights to additional people.”

Calling all 17-year-olds
Under current New Jersey law, 17-year-olds can register to vote but they cannot legally cast a ballot in a general election or primary until they turn 18. In May 2023, the New Jersey State Assembly passed legislation, in a bipartisan 54 to 24 vote, which would allow 17-year-olds to vote in primary elections if they turn 18 by the next general election and meet all other electoral requirements (U.S. citizen, state resident). The measure now goes to the New Jersey State Senate for consideration.

“If someone is able to cast their vote in the November general election, they should be able to participate in the preceding primary election,” New Jersey State Assemblyman William F. Moen Jr., the bill’s primary sponsor, told news outlets. “It’s important to get young people involved in the political process so that our democracy can continue to thrive.”

State Assemblyman Edward H. Thomson has been the most vocal objector to the bill, specifically calling into question teenagers’ interest level in politics and their maturity. Assemblyman Thomson said he did not support the 1971 U.S. Constitutional amendment that lowered the voting age from 21 to 18, even though he had just reached the legal age that year.

“I can’t support going less than that, especially when you’re talking about a primary, which, in my opinion, is the most important part of the election process,” Assemblyman Thomson told the Trenton radio station WKXW.

Proponents of lowering the voting age, however, claim Thomson’s arguments are unfounded, referencing research indicating both 16- and 17-year-olds have the necessary civic knowledge, skills and cognitive ability to participate in the political process.

New Jersey is not the only state that is considering adjusting its voting age. Similar legislation has been introduced in Georgia, Hawaii, Massachusetts, New York, and Oklahoma, according to Vote16USA, a national campaign that supports efforts to lower the voting age at the local level. New Mexico lawmakers introduced a bill earlier this year to allow 16- and 17-year-olds to register to vote; however, action on the measure has been indefinitely postponed.

If adopted by the State Senate and signed into law by the Governor, the New Jersey bill would take effect January 1 of the next year.

Not everyone is on board
This is the Garden State’s second attempt to extend voting rights to 17-year-olds. Seven years ago in 2016, similar legislation was passed by the State Assembly and Senate, but was vetoed by then Governor Chris Christie. Not everyone is on board this time either.

State Assemblyman Edward Thomson has been the most vocal objector to the bill, specifically calling into question teenagers’ interest level in politics and their maturity. Assemblyman Thomson said he did not support the 1971 U.S. Constitutional amendment that lowered the voting age from 21 to 18, even though he had just reached the legal age that year.

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Eighteen states and the District of Columbia allow 17-year-olds to vote in primaries if they reach legal age by the next succeeding general election, according to National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) data. Ohio’s law is the oldest, enacted in 1981 and Utah’s 2018 law is the most recent.

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to vote responsibly. Youth-led group Vote16USA cites a study, published in *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, titled “American Sixteen- and Seventeen-Year-Olds Are Ready to Vote,” that found no significant differences in voting qualities—civic knowledge, political skills, and political interest—between 16- and 18-year-olds. Research also suggests that voting is habitual, and new habits are formed more easily at age 16 than at 18.

“Humans are fallible. Yes, 14-, 15-, 16-, and 17-year-olds are going to be manipulated. But I'm not sure that 18-year-olds are all that much better. I don't know that you can draw the line at 18,” says Shauna Shames, Ph.D., a political science professor at Rutgers University whose primary academic interest is American politics. “Faulty reasoning that you fear can happen in a democracy can happen at any age. People can be taught to reason well at 15, just as they can be at 30. One can argue that being given the right to vote is a good reason to pay attention more.”

Scholars and advocates argue that although maturity levels are a worthwhile barometer of voting capacity, other factors should be considered as well, including civics education improvement, voter turnout, national policy impacts, and fairness.

Perry Dane, a constitutional law professor at Rutgers University Law School in Camden, contends that in theory, some teenagers might be mature enough to vote while some 25-year-olds might not be mature enough to vote. He points out that, according to neurologists, the frontal cortex of the brain, which controls executive brain functions and limits impulsive behavior, does not fully develop until around age 25.

“But we don't try to assess individual maturity that way, nor should we,” Professor Dane says. “And we don't expect any voters to be entirely or perfectly ‘mature.’”

The legal voting age is a product of history, according to Professor Dane, and when Congress and individual states have changed the voting age in the past, they’ve relied on a variety of arguments, including some related to the ‘maturity’ of potential voters, while others were based on considerations of fairness.

“For example, a major spur for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18 [with the 26th Amendment] was that anyone old enough to fight and die in Vietnam should be old enough to vote,” Professor Dane says. He also points out that the voting age in other parts of the world has recently been lowered below 18.

“The voting age for local and Parliamentary elections in Scotland is now 16,” Professor Dane notes. “I doubt those kids are more mature or less subject to manipulation than American kids. But the Scottish government made a judgment that, in the context of their society, 16 was a sensible minimum age for voting.”

**Conflicting ideas for the national voting age**

On the campaign trail, Vivek Ramaswamy, an entrepreneur and somewhat longshot candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, has pushed his proposal for raising the national voting age for some to 25. Under Ramaswamy’s plan, as reported in *The Washington Post*, “those who serve in the military or work as a first responder in areas such as police or fire for at least six months could still vote at 18. Otherwise, to vote before turning 25, citizens would be required to pass a civics test that mirrors the exam required for naturalization.”

On the other end of the spectrum, U.S. Representative Grace Meng of New York, has reintroduced legislation in the House of Representatives to lower the national voting age to 16.

“Over the past few years, we have seen the influence young people in our nation have on trends, political movements and elections. They continue to advocate for many crucial issues which they are deeply
Work CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

published around that same time stated that factory work was not for “able-bodied men” but “better done by little girls from six to twelve years old.”

According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, roughly 18% of children ages 10 to 15 were employed between 1890 and 1910. For most of the 19th and early 20th centuries, it was common for young children—some not yet in their teens—to work on farms, in cotton mills, factories, and mines. By 1820, children made up more than 40% of mill workers in three New England states.

Many children were employed in dangerous occupations, such as mining and factory work. Stories of children suffering horrific injuries while on the job were common. While those stories failed to change child labor reforms on a national level, by the early 1900s some states had put restrictions on minors working. Alabama, for example, set a minimum working age of 12. Other states and the District of Columbia set the minimum age at 14. Public sentiment against child labor continued to grow, until federal legislation was passed in 1938.

Along comes the FLSA

President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the landmark Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) into law in January 1938. The FLSA set a minimum wage of 25 cents an hour and limited the work week to 44 hours for all workers. The law also placed restrictions on child labor, setting the minimum age for non-agricultural occupations to 14 and restricting the hours 14- and 15-year-olds can work to outside school hours.

The law stipulated that 16- and 17-year-olds could not be employed in any occupation deemed hazardous by the Department of Labor. Industries considered to be hazardous included mining, manufacturing, roofing, meat processing and commercial baking. For those jobs, a person must be at least 18 years of age. The FLSA does not set down the number of hours that 16- and 17-year-olds can work, leaving that to the states.

The U.S. Labor Bureau of Statistics points out that the FLSA only covered 6% of the 850,000 children working at the time, as many were working agricultural jobs not covered by the law. Despite the limited scope of the law, by the 1930s, labor by minors was on the decline. Carmen Martino, a professor at Rutgers University’s School of Management and Labor Relations, points out that the FLSA was passed in the middle of the Depression, a time when adults were having difficulty finding good-paying jobs. Children were seen as low-wage competition, he says.

“That was the impetus for keeping kids out of the workplace at that time,” Professor Martino says. “Years later, there is a labor shortage, so we have the rewriting of the child labor laws.”

Changes in Iowa

Iowa lost 75,000 workers during the pandemic. In May 2023, Iowa Governor Kim Reynolds signed a bill into law that the Economic Policy Institute calls “one of the most dangerous rollbacks of child labor laws in the country” and points out that some of the changes violate federal law. For example, Iowa’s law permits 14- and 15-year-olds to work in industrial laundry services and light assembly work—jobs previously off limits for that age group. Additionally, the new law increases the hours a 14- and 15-year-old can work from four to six hours a day when school is in session.

Some jobs once considered too hazardous and only open to those 18 or older are now allowable for 16- and 17-year-olds, including light assembly work in facilities that manufacture or store explosives, and commercial motor vehicle driver and helper. Teens that are 16 and 17 in Iowa can also now serve alcohol in restaurants, provided the teen has written permission from a parent or guardian. Two adults must supervise them when dispensing alcohol, and the teen must also complete a training program on “prevention and response to sexual harassment.”

If approved as a “work-based learning” or “school or employer-administered, work-related program,” 16- and 17-year-olds can operate power-driven machinery, including for woodworking, metal forming, punching and shearing. Operating power-driven bakery machines and paper product machines, such as balers and compactors, as well as circular saws and band saws are also open to this age group. All these positions fall into the hazardous work category and were previously off limits. According to the Economic Policy Institute, if employers follow the weaker state law, ignoring federal law, it will be up to the federal government to seek compliance.

Arkansas & New Hampshire

Other states are easing restrictions on how teens are hired as well. In March 2023, Arkansas Governor Sarah
Huckabee Sanders signed the Youth Hiring Act of 2023 which eliminated the requirement that teens under the age of 16 obtain an employment certificate from the state’s Division of Labor. The certificates included the child’s age, job duties, and written permission from a parent or guardian. Arkansas businesses still cannot hire a minor under 14.

A spokesperson for Governor Sanders told CBS MoneyWatch that protecting children is “most important” to the governor; however, the previous permission requirement was “burdensome and obsolete.”

In June 2022, New Hampshire Governor Chris Sununu signed a bill lowering the age a minor can bus tables where alcohol is served from 15 to 14. In addition, teens aged 16 and 17 can work up to 35 hours a week on any shift when school is in session. The previous cutoff was 30 hours. During the summer and school vacations, 16- and 17-year-olds can work 48 hours a week.

Changes in New Jersey

In New Jersey, Professor Martino says the pandemic created a severe labor shortage, especially during the summer months at the Jersey Shore. In past years, employers relied on workers from Ireland or Eastern Europe to fill summertime jobs, he says. When that labor supply dried up due to Covid, “pressure was put on the state to allow some loosening of child labor laws so minors could do those jobs,” Professor Martino says.

In July 2022, the state amended its child labor laws, expanding the time 16- and 17-year-olds can work from 40 hours a week to 50 hours when school is out. In addition, under the law signed by Governor Phil Murphy, 14- and 15-year-olds are permitted to work 40 hours during summer vacation and eight-hour shifts on holidays during the school year. The new law also increases the time a minor may work without a break to six hours instead of the previous requirement of five. The bill passed with bipartisan support and the law went into effect as of June 1, 2023.

In addition, New Jersey teenagers are no longer required to obtain working papers from their school. Instead, the state has set up a database that will be maintained by the New Jersey Department of Labor. With this new system, teens and their potential employers register with the state. Parents and guardians will receive an email notifying them of the child’s potential employment, and they have two weeks to approve or decline.

Professor Martino says he has mixed feelings about the labor law changes. While students gain valuable on-the-job experience and skills by starting work at a young age, he worries that minors and their parents may not be aware of the regulations governing child labor, and employers may skirt the laws. For example, he points out that by New Jersey law anyone, including a minor, that works more than 40 hours a week is entitled to overtime pay.

“If employers are ignoring the labor laws around child labor or low-wage workers, they may also ignore laws around health and safety and other labor standards that they should be adhering to but are not,” Professor Martino says.

Illegal child labor on the rise

Despite child labor laws on the federal and state level, there has been a 69% hike in children employed illegally since 2018, according to the U.S. Department of Labor. In the last fiscal year, the agency said it found 835 companies employing more than 3,800 minors in violation of child labor laws. The agency also noted the problem has been exacerbated by the illegal hiring of unaccompanied migrant children.

In 2022, the number of migrant children crossing the border by themselves reached a high of 130,000. In February 2023, The New York Times reported on the exploitation of migrant children who were working dangerous and demanding jobs—in violation of federal law—for such companies as Target, Whole Foods, Walmart, and Hearthside Food Solutions, which packages food for General Mills, Quaker Oats and Frito-Lay.

In the workplace, children are vulnerable to injuries. The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health estimates 160,000 children suffer occupational injuries every year, with approximately 54,800 of these injuries needing treatment at an emergency room. According to the expose in The New York Times, “a dozen underage migrant workers have been killed on the job since 2017.”

In February 2023, Packers Sanitation Services, Inc. (PSSI), which among other things provides cleaning services for meat packing plants, was cited by the U.S. Labor Department for employing more than 100 minors between the ages of 13 to 17. These
seeking $2,500 in damages for each violation of the California law.

The complaint reads, “Defendant’s [Ticketmaster] anticompetitive behavior has substantially harmed and will continue to substantially harm Taylor Swift fans, as well as competition in the ticket sales market and the Secondary Ticket Services Market.”

The Swift fans are also seeking to break up Live Nation and Ticketmaster, which holds more than 70% of the market for the $9 billion live events ticketing industry, according to a Yale University study. The U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) is investigating potential antitrust law violations related to Ticketmaster’s $2.5 billion merger with the world’s largest concert promotion company, Live Nation Entertainment, in 2010. That DOJ investigation, though justified by the Swift ticket fiasco, was already in the works.

What is antitrust law?

The first antitrust law in the United States—the Sherman Act—was passed in 1890. It was used to break up monopolies, at that time particularly in the oil industry. A monopoly is when one entity becomes the dominant option for buying a particular good or service. Little or no competition gives that entity an outsized economic power to control the availability and pricing of specific goods or services.

In 1914, Congress passed the Clayton Antitrust Act, which strengthened antitrust legislation, prohibiting anti-competitive mergers, predatory and discriminatory pricing and other forms of unethical behavior. While being a monopoly isn’t necessarily illegal, if an entity manipulates market conditions to significantly outperform its competitors, it can violate antitrust laws.

“The offense of monopolization in antitrust law requires two things: monopoly power and predatory/exclusionary conduct,” says Michael A. Carrier, a professor at Rutgers Law School in Camden and a leading authority in the music industry. “It is not enough just to be big. The company has to engage in anticompetitive conduct as well.”

The purpose of antitrust laws is to prevent monopolization by regulating mergers and breaking up companies violating these regulations. When Live Nation and Ticketmaster announced plans to merge in 2009, some lawmakers, competing companies, fans, and artists like New Jersey rock star Bruce Springsteen opposed it. The DOJ approved the merger under a consent decree, which is an order approved by a court that has been agreed to by all parties involved.

“Sometimes the DOJ has concerns with a merger, but not enough to try to block it. So, it will allow the merger to go forward on the condition that the parties comply with certain conditions,” says Professor Carrier.
The consent decree required Ticketmaster to sell some of its assets and license its software to competitor Anschutz Entertainment Group (AEG). After five years, AEG could buy the software, use different software, or join another ticketing company. The decree also blocked Live Nation from retaliating against venues for using competing ticketing services under the 10-year court order.

“The DOJ agreed to the decree because it thought it would solve the problem of Live Nation leveraging its control over artists and promotion to require venues to use Ticketmaster, or requiring artists to use certain venues or Ticketmaster,” says Professor Carrier. “The parties violated these provisions, which is why the decree was extended in 2019 until 2025.”

**Lawmakers take the stage**

After the ticketing issues for the Eras tour, a congressional hearing—*That's the Ticket: Promoting Competition and Protecting Consumers in Live Entertainment*—was held in January 2023. Led by Senator Amy Klobuchar of Minnesota, chair of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Competition Policy, Antitrust, and Consumer Rights, the inquiry into Ticketmaster garnered bipartisan support.

In testimony before the committee, Live Nation Entertainment President and Chief Financial Officer Joe Berchtold blamed a relentless onslaught of bots—automated software that replicates human activity—for the issues with the Taylor Swift Ticketmaster tickets. Ticketmaster, however, didn’t do much better with the Beyonce Renaissance tour tickets that went on sale in February 2023. Though not to the same degree, fans complained of the same issues that happened with the Swift tour. When Beyonce fans finally did score tickets from Ticketmaster, they came with hefty fees. According to an article in *Rolling Stone*, one customer took a screen shot of their Ticketmaster receipt, which showed a $43.90 service fee on a $162 ticket.

In *Rolling Stone*, Senator Klobuchar said of Live Nation, “They book the concert, sell the tickets, and own the venue. That makes for little competition. And despite the consent decree, which they agreed to extend, we don’t see the competition that we should. We’ve seen evidence of violations of them using monopoly power to cut out competition.”

**Spotlight on state and federal regulations**

The ticketing industry has been regulated by consumer protection laws in some states, as well as federal laws like the 2016 Better Online Ticket Sales or BOTS Act. The law bars secondary ticket sellers from using bots to buy up tickets and resell them at inflated prices. The law has only been used once, when the Federal Trade Commission imposed $31 million in fines against three New York ticket brokers in 2021.

State lawmakers have recently introduced legislation further cracking down on secondary sellers and excessive fees. The Save Our Swifties Act, signed in May 2023 by Texas Governor Greg Abbott, fines those using bots and hoarding tickets.

In August 2022, New Jersey State Assemblyman Craig Coughlin led hearings following complaints by Springsteen and his fans about Ticketmaster’s dynamic pricing, which resulted in some tickets selling for as high as $5,000 for the Boss’s 2023 tour. Dynamic pricing is when an algorithm determines the price of a ticket based on consumer demand. It is typically used in the airline and hotel industries.

On the federal level, in May 2023, two representatives from the Garden State—Congressmen Frank Pallone Jr. and Bill Pascrell Jr.—introduced the BOSS and SWIFT Act. Among other things, the legislation would require mandatory all-in pricing, where the price consumers see upon selecting tickets reflects the final price with all fees included. The legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives in May 2023 and referred to the Subcommittee on Innovation, Data and Commerce.

Amid mounting pressure, Live Nation countered with its own proposed legislation—FAIR (Fans & Artists Insisting on Reforms) Ticketing Act. The FAIR Act calls for more stringent oversight on scalpers, increased transparency, and gives artists more control over secondary ticket sales. So far, no one in Congress has taken up the legislation; however, it does have the support of several entities in the entertainment business, including Universal Music Group and the four major music talent agencies.

**Artist and consumer opposition**

Taylor Swift and her fans are not the first to challenge Ticketmaster’s practices. In 1994, Seattle-based rock band Pearl Jam confronted Ticketmaster, drawing attention to its dominance in the live music industry and its business practices. Following
a charity concert in Chicago, the band discovered Ticketmaster added fees, cutting into charitable profits.

Pearl Jam challenged Ticketmaster in a 14-month boycott during their much anticipated “Vs.” tour, seeking alternative venues and ticketing companies; they capped their ticket prices well below Ticketmaster’s pricing. This prompted a DOJ investigation, and band members testified before Congress in 1995 in support of a bill dubbed “The Pearl Jam Bill.” The legislation would have required service fees to be printed on tickets by Ticketmaster and other ticketing services. The bill never passed, and the DOJ investigation closed with no action taken.

The show goes on

Despite calls for breaking up Ticketmaster and Live Nation, Professor Carrier says that is unlikely. “It is hard to break up a company, but if the DOJ is convinced that no other remedy would work, it could try to do this,” says Professor Carrier. “It also could keep extending the consent decree or impose penalties for violating the decree.”

In his February 2023 State of the Union address, President Joe Biden called out Ticketmaster’s so-called “junk fees,” miscellaneous fees added to ticket prices revealed just before a customer completes their purchase. Biden’s comments prompted Live Nation to announce it would be instituting a new all-in pricing policy.

Live Nation’s grip on ticketing via Ticketmaster shows no signs of loosening. Ticketmaster reported revenue of $16.7 billion in 2022, with more than 550 million tickets sold, according to the trade magazine Variety. For fans and artists, the show must go on.

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Voting Age

continued from page 3

passionate about,” Representative Meng said in a press release. “It is time to give them a voice in our democracy and reward their passion so that their voices are heard at the ballot box. Sixteen- and 17-year-olds are legally permitted to work, drive and they also pay federal income taxes. They are contributing members of our society, and I believe it is right and fair to allow them to vote in our elections.”

Both proposals at the national level are unlikely to gain traction as they would require a constitutional amendment. In order to amend the U.S. Constitution, two-thirds of both the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate would need to approve the amendment before sending it to the states for ratification. Three-fourths of state legislatures need to ratify a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Constitution has not been amended since 1992.

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DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. What do you think of New Jersey attempting to lower the voting age (for primaries) to 17?

2. Review the national voting age proposals mentioned in the article. Would you advocate for lowering the national voting age or raising it? What voting age do you think is appropriate? Explain your answer.

3. Are you eager to vote? Why or why not?

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GLOSSARY

algorithm—a set of rules to be followed in calculations.

bipartisan—supported by two political parties.

minor—a person under 18 years of age.

naturalization—attaining citizenship to a country someone was not born in.

plaintiff—person or entity that initiates a civil lawsuit.

predatory pricing—a strategy used to drive out competition by undercutting prices.

ratification—the action of formally signing a contract or agreement to make it official.

ratify—to approve or endorse.

veto—to refuse approval or passage of a bill that has been approved by a legislative body. The executive branch of government has the power to veto, but that power may be overridden with enough support.