1	COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
2	HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
3	HOUSE STATE GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE
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5	FOX CHAPEL AREA HIGH SCHOOL
6	611 FIELD CLUB ROAD
7	BLAWNOX, PA 15238
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9	FRIDAY, MAY 9, 2008
10	PUBLIC HEARING HOUSE BILL 520
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12	BEFORE:
13	Representative Frank Dermody
14	Representative Richard Grucela
15	Representative Randy Vulakovich
16	Representative Sean Ramaley
17	Representative Jaret Gibbons
18	
19	ALSO PRESENT:
20	Rodney Oliver, Executive Director (D)
21	Matthew Hurlburt, Research Analyst
22	Michael Rish, Executive Director
23	Office of Majority Caucus Secretary
2 4	
25	Reported by Jean M. Bujdos, Court Reporter

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PROCEEDINGS

(10:05 o'clock a.m.)

MR. DERMODY: Good morning, everyone. Can you hear me? My name is Frank Dermody, state representative right here in the Allegheny Valley. I'm honored to represent at least a portion of the Fox Chapel Area School District, and on behalf of Chairman Josephs, who was not able to be with us here today -she's chairman of the State Government Committee --I'd like to welcome you all to this hearing. Representative Grucela's bill, and that is House Bill 520, is a very important piece of legislation. is the third in a series of hearings that were held and several Fox Chapel Area students have been to Philadelphia and Easton to testify at these hearings. And I believe that the members of the committee and all of us in the legislature have learned quite a bit from all of these hearings. I was unaware of the issue until a group of students came to visit me in my office, and when they explained what they were after and what the problem is, it is a serious problem, and that is, you're 17 years old during the time of the primary, but will be 18 at the general election, you can't vote on who will be the candidate in the general election. Several states have addressed the issue and

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they thought it would be important for Pennsylvania to do so, and I think it's important also.

At that point, I wasn't even aware of Representative Grucela's bill. I said we're going to get started right away, we're going to do the research on this legislation to see how we can get this introduced and passed. And when I started out, I realized that Representative Grucela had introduced it for two sessions and we spoke to him and we got the ball rolling. So we appreciate the Fox Chapel Area students for being the impetus to get going and Representative Grucela did a fine job drafting this legislation and making sure that people who are across the state know how important it is. We've seen how important it is throughout this primary season with the Democratic primary. It's interesting throughout the hearing, you've seen how it just isn't a Democratic issue, it's a very bipartisan issue. Students, 17 year olds on both sides, Republicans and Democrats, are anxious to vote, anxious to have a say.

So for me, it really is an honor to be here at the Fox Chapel Area School District, and I'd like to thank all the students that are here today from several school districts. I want to thank the administration of the school district for allowing us

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to be here today, Jen Kline for the great work she's done working with all the students to make this happen. We're looking forward to hearing the testimony today from all witnesses.

I'd like to introduce Representative Randy

Vulakovich, who's also here with us today, who also

represents a portion of the school district who's from

Shaler. Randy.

MR. VULAKOVICH: Yes, I have part of the school district. I represent O'Hara and Fox Chapel and the 30th district and this also was brought to me by some of the classmates here at Fox Chapel and Ms. Kline and they presented it to me. I also did not know that there was a bill out there that was corresponding to this issue, where if you're old enough, or you're going to be old enough on the general election date to vote, that you could vote in the primary at age 17.

When they first came to me, I used to teach -I was a policeman for 27 years, and I taught in the
schools for five and a half years, five days a week
for six years, all I did was teach in the schools and
I had a drug program called DARE, so I always made it
a point to challenge the students in a debate, and
that's pretty much what I did in my office. I think

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they left with the idea that I would be totally against this idea, but I played the devil's advocate also.

And what I did do is, I did my research on it, a lot of reading on different opinions people had on it and also discovered, I guess, as Representative Dermody did, that there was already a bill out there, so we didn't have to reinvent the wheel and it was already in there and there was a lot of thought put into it, pretty basic bill. There's not much delve in the detail and so after reading it and doing my research and, of course, the enthusiasm that the representatives displayed at my office in a debate, I thought it was worthwhile putting my name on as a co-sponsor. So I welcome your comments today.

I would like thank the State Government

Committee, which I'm not a member of, it's not one of

my committees in Harrisburg, but they were crazy

enough to invite me, and I deeply appreciate that. So

thank you and we'll wait to listen to everybody's

comments. Thank you.

MR. DERMODY: I would like to call our first witness, Representative Grucela, the prime sponsor of the bill. Mr. Grucela.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Representative

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Dermody. My thanks to Fox Chapel High School and the students and Ms. Kline. I'm happy to be here this morning in your beautiful school district. And I also I took a look at some of your honored graduates, both in the field of academics and athletics, and you have a very, very nice setup here and I congratulate you on that.

It's really nice to be here, because in a sense, although this bill has been around for a while, this is where it all started. To use a trite

Harrisburg phrase, the students out here sort of put this bill on the radar screen and we have received a lot of positive editorials. In fact, I haven't seen one negative editorial yet across the state, several of the state's newspapers, my own two local newspapers have both editorialized in favor of this particular concept.

Again, my thanks to Ms. Kline, her students, and you see all these students here in May, which is a short time from the end of the school year, it certainly shows you that based on academic interest, I taught seniors at Easton Area High School for 30 years, so I know what May and June is like when you have a bunch seniors in front of you and, in fact, it's very, very nice to see them still enthused. I

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try to always save my best stories and my best jokes for April and May, to keep the interest and duty subject of the units that the students also liked. That's part of the background of this bill is my teaching experience.

When I taught the unit on voting at that time, in the textbook, Nebraska was prominently mentioned. Today I believe there are upwards of 11 states that allow students, or I shouldn't say students, but they probably are students, that would allow 17 year olds to vote in the primary election. This did once pass, this is the second session, Harrisburg's legislature sessions are two years. This is the second session that this bill has been out there, I was able to get it as an amendment and pass the House as an amendment to another voting bill that went to the Senate, but the Senate never acted on it, so it died in the Senate as most good bills do. And at sometime I may want to talk to the students about a thought that I have about going to Pennsylvania unicameral -- but that's for another day and another hour.

But House Bill 520, as I mentioned, is very simple. It simply would allow a person who is eligible to vote in November at 18 to be able to vote in the primary election at age 17. They have not

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reached their 18th birthday to be eligible in the primary. As I have said in other testimony, in other hearings, personally, if I were a high school senior today, I would not have been able to vote in the primary. My birthday was five days after the primary election of April 22, so I had a political interest and a government interest obviously when I was in high school, so I would have been shut out of the primary election this year. Of course, when I was in high school, 18 year olds couldn't vote at all, the 26th Amendment had not passed. And I would mention that the 26th Amendment is not really relevant to this particular bill. As the students know, the 10th Amendment to the Constitution has reserved powers for the state and the states usually set up all their election criteria. So it's basically, it's something that a state could certainly do without any violation of the federal Constitution. Although, there is some philosophical background that is the same here, that is for the 26th Amendment, although we no longer have a draft, many of these young men and women do volunteer for the services and they certainly ought to have a say on who might be the commander in chief of their particular party to run in the November election.

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And as I mentioned, there are upwards, I'm not sure, because I think there are variations of the bill, I'm not quite sure what those variations are, because I've seen numbers like from nine to 11 to 17 states that allow this.

In conclusion, I would simply say, I'm sorry you didn't make it for this particular election, especially with the enthusiasm that I've heard from these young people, just because we got a little bit of a slow start on it, but again, my hat's off to the young people out here in Fox Chapel, not only did they sort of give this bill legs, but being all the way across the Commonwealth, we've had hearings, of course, in the eastern part of the state, Philadelphia, and just a week ago, in my own local high school, and today here at Fox Chapel, so we've sort of joined hands from east to west on this particular bill. I didn't find out until after the hearing last Friday that apparently something we didn't have when I was teaching, that there was some sort of a teleconference call between the two high schools, Easton and Fox Chapel, so the students remarked and some of the teachers remarked to me about that last Friday, but I didn't know it until after the hearing was over.

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Again, finally, I would say any time we can enlarge the electorate is a good thing. And this bill certainly should enlarge the electorate. It's not a mandate, we're not forcing people to vote. We don't force people to vote now. If anything, if some of the older folks who may be afraid of these young people that aren't voting, they may start to register and actually take part in the process, so we've doubled the electorate in that capacity.

But again, I would like to hope that this bill would move out of the committee, that we would move it to the House floor, perhaps get it passed this session, have the Governor sign it. I've heard that the Governor is in favor, I haven't had a chance to speak to him personally, but I was told he does favor the bill, so if we can get it past the House and the Senate and into the Governor's hands, then in the 2009 election, we may be able to allow 17 years old to vote in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Thank you, Representative Dermody. And I would certainly answer any questions anyone may have on the bill.

MR. DERMODY: Thank you. I'd also like to announce that Representative Sean Ramaley is here from Beaver County. Are there any questions?

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MR. OLIVER: Representative, you talked about the fact that this a bipartisan bill, it has both Republican sponsors and Democratic sponsors. So for the record, it's not a bill that would favor one party over another?

MR. GRUCELA: No, it isn't. And I actually asked that question to students previously at the hearing when I met with them, one of the young people who testified last Friday did an excellent job in showing, and if I can remember his quote, it may be one of the students here, but it was something like this bill is not about party, it's about youth, it was something like that. That's true, and I think it crosses party lines where many Republican, co-sponsors of the bill, it has -- in my opinion, it has nothing to do with political party.

MR. DERMODY: Representative Grucela, as
I recall at the first hearing in Philadelphia, a
representative from the Department of State testified,
I believe they indicated the administration supported
this; is that right?

MR. GRUCELA: I think so, I think that's where I got the idea, the Governor himself supported it.

MR. DERMODY: There was another

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discussion at that hearing, the last one, about a possible Constitution problem. Do you have any thoughts on that at all?

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MR. GRUCELA: Yes, I do. I don't believe there's any Constitutional problem. As I mentioned, the states are empowered and several of the other states are certainly already doing it. I don't think it conflicts with the federal Constitution.

The one thing that did come up, and I believe since that time, there's been more research on it, and that is the question whether or not a 17 year old would be then allowed to vote for the questions that might appear on the ballot, the referendum question, and apparently that can't be done, apparently they would have to be separated. I forget the ruling, but they would have to be separated from voting on the In my opinion, I would let them vote on questions. the questions. Again, you don't have to vote on the questions on the ballot. If you want to think about it, you can certainly skip the questions. And I think we can certainly design in this day and age a way to do that. Some people think, well, how are you going to do that? We can't design an election that separates questions from a person's name, I think we could do that, so I don't believe there's any

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Constitutional conflict at all.

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MR. DERMODY: Are there any other questions? Representative Grucela, thank you very much.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: The next witnesses are Luke Secosky from Fox Chapel Area High School and Julia Hazlet from Fox Chapel Area High School. Start when you're ready in any order.

MR. SECOSKY: I would like to thank you all once again for allowing me the opportunity to speak before you today in support of Pennsylvania State House Bill 520 regarding voting rights in primary elections for those old enough to vote in the corresponding general election.

I'd also like to extend a special thank you to Representative Frank Dermody whose efforts have been outstanding for us throughout this legislative process.

Just this Tuesday, the states of Indiana and North Carolina conducted their primary elections.

Though much of our nation's attention was focused on these states' Democratic primary returns for the presidential race, there were countless other contests

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for lesser offices that occurred in these states as well. While the primaries of Indiana and North Carolina do not seem very different from Pennsylvania's own primary election of less than a month ago, there is one obvious difference. Indiana and North Carolina both permit voters who will be eighteen years of age by the general election to vote in the corresponding primary, whereas Pennsylvania does not. The disparity in the voting age requirement in Pennsylvania as compared to Indiana and North Carolina is an issue that could be resolved by House Bill 520.

Throughout this hearing process, many people spoke with regard to the bill with both positive and negative opinions. And some chose to use personal stories to convey their thoughts, while others chose to use a more fact-based approach. As today is the last public hearing for House Bill 520, I would like to devote the majority of my time to debunking some of the claims that have been made in prior testimony. I feel it is only right for everyone involved in this process to know the difference, however slight it may be, between what is true and what is assumed to be true.

One concern raised in the first hearing was

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that for House Bill 520 to be passed, voters in primary elections under the age of 18 would be able to vote, yet unable to make campaign contributions due to their legal status as a minor. While some campaigns do not permit online contributions from people less than 18 years of age, it is possible for a minor to make a financial contribution to a campaign. Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, also known as the McCain-Feingold Act, in its original text, barred political contributions from those less than 17 years This section of the act, however, was deemed in violation of First Amendment rights in 2003's Supreme Court case of McConnell v. Federal Election Commission. Thus, one can be a voter under the age of 18 and legally able to make a campaign contribution.

A significant argument voiced in opposition to the bill was the supposed constitutionality of moving the voting age with respect to the 26th Amendment, and I know Representative Grucela addressed this partially in his testimony already. Despite what many may think, there is no place in the amendment prohibiting the voting age to being lowered below eighteen.

Section 1 of the 26th Amendment to the United States Constitution states, The right of citizens of the United States, who are 18 years of age or older, to

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vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.

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Thus, voting privileges cannot be denied to anyone over the age of 18. However, states are able to lower their state and federal voting ages below 18, for there is no federal law which prevents states from doing so. Nine states have already lowered the voting age requirement to correspond with primary election dates, and Connecticut may very well become the tenth pending voter approval on a ballot question in November.

Individuals have also compared the supposed lowering of the voting age to a reduction in the age required to secure a driver's license or purchase alcohol. This is an unfair and unrelated association. The reduction of age required to vote so that one may choose in the primary the candidate they would like to see on the general election ballot is a reasonable and just motive based on fairness alone. Lowering the ages at which one can drive or buy alcohol has absolutely no reasoning; such decisions would be purely arbitrary. In addition, our state is not suffering from a lack of people who want to drive or purchase alcohol. I would hazard to guess that the lines at the local DMV and state store are longer than

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those at most polling locations on election day.

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In an age in which primary election turnout is usually around 25 percent, a measure to allow more young people to vote would be a welcome aid to our somewhat deplorable rate of civic participation.

After voting for the first time in this primary this past month, I felt proud walking out of the fire hall turned polling place because I knew that I had had my say in determining the candidates on the general election ballot. As I approached my car, I paused for a moment to reflect on the events of the past few months. I thought of my friends who can vote in the general election but not the primary, constantly asking me on a regular basis the status of House Bill 520. I thought back to my time spent in this school assisting with a voter registration drive, remembering the students who felt cheated of their right of voting in the primary because their birthday fell in between. I thought of my friends who had worked for the Clinton and Obama campaigns yet could not vote, knowing that one group would not see their favored candidate's name on November's ballot. been able to vote in the primary, I am not crusading for a personal cause when I speak on this issue. is my friends, and their beliefs, hopes, and dreams I

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think of when I envision the difference that this bill's passage could make. Thank you.

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(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Julie.

MS. HAZLET: I would like to thank the members of the State Committee for having me here with you again. I'd like to offer a special thank you to Representative Dermody and Representative Grucela, Representative Vulakovich, as well as my teacher, Ms. Kline.

My name is Julia Hazlet and I am a senior at Fox Chapel Area High School. I'll be honest with you, I spent a lot of time deliberating about what I'd tell you today, primarily because most of our arguments have been made and partially because this is the last chance I have to speak with you. I had to think a lot about what I wanted to impress upon you since it was my last opportunity.

I guess what I decided was that since a lot of really important points have been made here, perhaps some of those things have been forgotten and now would be a perfect opportunity to kind of go through the things we talked about over the past few hearings.

This committee has heard about the states of Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Nebraska, North

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Carolina, Ohio and Virginia that have already passed legislation similar to House Bill 520. During the last hearing, the constitutionality of the bill was questioned and Representative Grucela mentioned the 10th Amendment and the 26th Amendment, and he went over this in his testimony, and I also feel the fact that those nine other states having this legislation passed in their states is also testimony to the fact this isn't something that violates the federal constitution.

Before these hearings, most members of this committee had not even considered the consequences of a fluctuating primary date. As we pointed out in Philadelphia, that consequence can be a body of disenfranchised voters. We've repeatedly emphasized that a date change should not be a source of disenfranchisement or a focus of excluding voters. If you qualify for the general election, then you should qualify for the primary election. Every voter that can choose the president should be able to elect their representatives.

The only negative comments that we've really heard have not really addressed the issue of this bill, but simply served as a redirection. The issue is a simple one. If you're old enough to vote in the

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general election, then you should be able to participate in the nomination process.

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As we mentioned in the last hearing, right now, there's a great deal of momentum behind this bill, for it is still on the minds of citizens and politicians alike. To address this at any other time would mean we abandon this and essentially try to proceed from ground zero. If we let impediments such as the vague reluctance to pass this bill until next session obscure the real issue, then I fear we have lost sight of this country's ideals.

When it comes down to it, we have proven to you all the reasons why this bill should be passed and why it should be passed now. But every example, every statistic and every reason that we have used, pales in comparison to the individuals and the stories that those numbers and words fail to represent. I can name at least five of my classmates who were not able to vote in the primary election this year. Every single one of them held out hope that we would somehow manage to get this passed before April 22nd. They held out because they were hoping that they would be able to contribute and make their voice heard.

Before I leave here today, I would like remind this body of something that Madam Chair Josephs

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mentioned in the last hearing. Though she said it over a week ago, I could not help but remember it as I was writing my testimony. She told us that at most hearings, very few people attend, but the hearings for this bill there have always been plenty of youth who are eager to show their support. This reality illustrates the sheer importance and relevance of this issue to a large number of citizens. Many youths and adults are following this bill, which is why I request that this committee consider the consequences of not pushing this bill forward. If this bill dies in committee, then there's going to be an entire body of voters that is going to think that their vote and their rights do not matter to this political system.

I hope that through these hearings we have shown this committee that there are young voters who are not apathetic, but on the contrary, are enthusiastic but mindful of the political world around them. If this bill does not pass, or if the youth sense that their opinion does not matter, then this enthusiasm and optimism towards the future may well be lost.

Thank you very much for your time.

MR. DERMODY: Thank you.

(Applause.)

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MR. DERMODY: In line with what Chair

Josephs mentioned at the last hearing, we have

students here from several high schools today, I

believe from Springdale, Deer Lakes, Fox Chapel, Mt.

Lebanon and Monaca. Did I miss anybody? The place is

full. We thank you all for coming. I hope you enjoy

the hearing. We'll hear from as many of you as we

can. Are there any questions? Representative

Grucela?

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Representative
Dermody. Thank you, Luke and Julia, for again
outstanding testimony. You remind me, when you
started to say about what Representative Josephs said,
I remember being an advisor to the mock trial team,
Representative Dermody will like this, we used to take
part in those, and almost every year we went, the
judge would comment that the kids were better prepared
than the attorneys were that used to come before them.
Luke mentioned that he voted at 18 in this election.
I missed it, Julia, were you eligible?

MS. HAZLET: Yes, I was and I definitely went and cast my vote. I actually had to get up and go before school, because I had occupations I had to do afterwards, but I was there.

MR. GRUCELA: And I think that also shows

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that you haven't been selfish and said well, okay, I can vote at 18, I don't care about the rest of you guys, so you're actually fighting for a bill for other people to vote at the age of 17. And you did an outstanding job in debunking some of the criticism, and I think one of the problems that I run into with older people is they just believe that 17 year olds are going to vote for everything all the time, like even in November. They misunderstand the bill. And I have to say to them, these people, I mean, if they're afraid of you guys who want to vote, I say well, guess what, they're going to be there in November anyway. This bill says exactly that if you're eligible in November, you can vote in the spring primary, that's all it does. And when they hear that, they sort of change their mind. But they are obviously -- there's the old saying in the absence of fact, that rumor fills the void, so there will be rumors going down the hill as you also did a good job with that horrible driver's license analogy that was brought up at one of the hearings. So if we don't have any other questions, I think you summed it up well. Again, I thank you for contacting Representative Dermody and you guys have given this bill impetus, so like I said, it all started here. Thank you.

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1 (Applause.)

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MR. DERMODY: On behalf of the committee, great job, we appreciate all the hard work you've done. We'll see if we can bring it to fruition. Thank you very much.

The next testifier will be Thomas, I hope I don't butcher your name, Thomas Chidiac from Mt.

Lebanon. I apologize. You're on.

MR. CHIDIAC: First of all, Benjamin could not be here today, but -- my name is Tom Chidiac, I'm a senior at Mt. Lebanon High School. Before I begin, I'd just like to thank Fox Chapel Area High School for this, I'd thank our teacher, Gary Ford, who brought us here and has also taught us about our civic duty in AP US Government. I'd also like to thank the honorable committee members for actually allowing this hearing to take place.

If liberty and equality, as Aristotle reminds us, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will best be attained when all persons alike share in government to the utmost. From our Founding Fathers to Jacksonian universal white male suffrage to the 19th Amendment to the Civil Rights Act, the arc of American government has bent resolutely towards a simple, democratic ideal; the notion that our

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republican form of government is enriched when we have as many committed citizens as possible sharing in our freedoms and our duties.

As a government and as a people, the United States has led the way in strengthening the beliefs and institutions of democratic action. Today I urge the speedy adoption of House Bill 520 so that this righteous trend surges forward in Pennsylvania.

Already 11 other states allow 17 year olds to vote in primaries, provided they're 18 by the time of the general election. These include states like Indiana, Maine, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia.

I view these states as having two essential commonalities. First and foremost, none of the aforementioned has experienced anything but highly positive results. Many 17 year olds today study electoral issues to a depth far beyond classroom learning, as has been thoroughly discussed throughout these hearings. HB520 will only help to strengthen our democratic process through the infusion of young energy and patriotic spirit, as the 11 states who have already instituted a similar policy have already demonstrated.

The second commonality of these states is simple: There is no reason to believe that the

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benefits touted in places like North Carolina and Ohio wouldn't be at least as strong in Pennsylvania. The sense of civic duty and democratic action is powerful among the Commonwealth's young, as is evidenced by the outpouring of teen support for HB520 from Pittsburgh to the Poconos and everywhere in between.

According to Thomas J. Weaver, a deputy secretary in Governor Rendell's administration, lowering the primary voting age to include 17 year olds would make about 120,000 young people in the Commonwealth eligible to vote. Taken as a proportion of actual ballots cast on April 22nd, this constitutes a mere four percent of Pennsylvania's would-be electorate. But when you consider the unquantifiable benefits of increasing democratic participation and the awareness that is in turn raised, there is simply no substitute for HB520. Only by ensuring that our simple, democratic ideal continues to advance can we hope to make the 21st century yet another American century.

And with that, I would be happy to entertain any questions.

MR. DERMODY: Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Representative Grucela.

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MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Representative Dermody.

Very enthusiastic. I'd have you come to the House floor and give that speech for me. But seriously, Thomas, and I meant to ask Julia and Luke this and I forgot, because you brought it up early in the beginning, what classes are you taking now?

MR. CHIDIAC: I'm talking Calculus, AP US Government.

MR. GRUCELA: Okay. Government. came up with the four percent, that's pretty good. The reason I wanted to ask that because I forgot a little bit in my opening remarks about what you said and that is, I think there is, you're putting into practice at a time when you're learning, which I think is extremely, extremely important. This is a little bit off of the subject, but I used to like field trips as well and some of you were at the last hearing in Easton, Mr. Lewis, my colleague, we loved to take -you got to get out of the four walls, you got to get out into the society and see what you're learning, not just in the textbooks, so I think this does bridge the While you're in high school, you're taking a gap. class like AP American Government or just American Government, and I'm sure Civics and American

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Government, somewhere along the line, all the history is taught as well, somewhere between junior and senior year. So I think you are certainly making it an applicable thing. You're learning about it, you're enthused about it and you're out there. That four percent is interesting.

MR. CHIDIAC: That was my own definition.

I'm not sure if it's exactly right.

MR. GRUCELA: Well, you took it off of the testimony where the guy said 120,000 would be eligible?

MR. CHIDIAC: Right, actually that was -- MR. GRUCELA: Again, as I mentioned, I

think the older -- that's not a mandate. My guess is, my guess is, you'll follow the proportion of the voting. Any textbook that you look at, the voting unit, the teachers will tell you when they draw the graph, the graph goes up. The older you are, the more likely you're going to vote. Again, we're enlarging the electorate, young people, about 125,000 young people register, then you're certainly going to get the other end of the spectrum out there to vote, too.

MR. CHIDIAC: Actually, Mr.

Representative, from our research, and also just talking to my classmates, the thing that really struck

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me is that the kind of 17 year olds who would, in fact, vote in the primary are 17 year olds who are already very enthusiastic about the election, who probably already studied the issues in depth, who already looked very closely at the candidates and who then can make an educated choice. So really I view that HB520 really only would enrichen.

MR. GRUCELA: Were you eligible, were you eligible to vote this time?

MR. CHIDIAC: Yes, I was.

MR. GRUCELA: Just like Julia and Luke, you're campaigning for your peers who are not eligible?

MR. CHIDIAC: Absolutely.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Thomas.

Excellent testimony. I have no other questions.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Next is Rich Redmerski from PennCORD.

MR. REDMERSKI: Good morning. My name is Rich Redmerski. I was a teacher for 34 years at Hempfield Senior High School in Westmoreland County. While at Hempfield, I created a Project 18 course, which I taught for 30 years. After teaching, I became communications director for Senator Allen Kukovich. I

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am presently employed as the Western Pennsylvania
Regional Coordinator for PennCORD, a movement that
seeks to strengthen civic education throughout
Pennsylvania. Regardless of which position I held, I
experienced an enthusiasm and willingness of young
people to be involved in the political process when
given the opportunity and the tools to do so.
Basically that is why I have a fervent belief in House
Bill 520 and the logic that lies behind that bill.

As a PennCORD employee, I congratulate Fox Chapel students for being the catalyst that gave new life to House Bill 520. The students and their teacher, Jen Klein, have done an admirable job of focusing on the issue of allowing 17 year olds to vote in primary election if they will be 18 before the next general election.

However, today, I am speaking as the former teacher of Project 18 and seek to provide you with my observations of senior high school students who are engaged in the political process. The Project 18 course that I talk about is based on the belief that students should have a solid knowledge base concerning state and local government. They should also understand the pragmatic nature of politics and learn how to operate within that kind of system. And

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finally, there is a belief that students must be given opportunities to participate in the political process.

By the end of the Hempfield area course, students participate in more than ten press conference experiences with local and community leaders. learn to interact both socially and politically with office seekers at a candidate's brunch that they organize before local elections. Project 18 students are required to volunteer at least ten hours of time to campaign work, they must be involved in service learning initiatives, and participate in a three-day seminar in Harrisburg. During the Harrisburg seminar, they questioned many of the top leaders in the executive and legislative branch, as well as influential lobbyists and members of the media. Anyone can see that I take great pride in the Project 18 course that many leaders consider one of the leading civic courses in the state.

There are elements of the course beyond the curriculum that are relevant to the passage of House Bill 520. You'd be surprised to know that the course attracted students of all ability levels, as well as many students who said that they had little or no interest in politics. By the end of the course the students realized that we are all involved in a

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process called "politics" every day of our lives.

What I learned was that when you give students the chance to be active participants in the political process, you increase the chance that they will become life long participants in the political process.

That is what I consider an added benefit of House Bill 520.

Now I offer you and the students here a few realistic observations. First, I believe that members of the General Assembly will not only judge House Bill 520 on its merits but will also question whether it will help them or their party in future elections.

Once again, I look back to my experiences with Project 18 to respond to that point. There was some fear that Project 18 would benefit one party over another; however, that was never the case. There was never a pattern of advantage to one party or the other.

My second observation is that even if you are sitting on this panel and support House Bill 520, you know that passage will not come easy. Therefore, I hope that Fox Chapel students and students throughout the commonwealth will take their advocacy to the next level. I urge you to begin a coordinated lobbying process. I know that Aimee Ho (phonetic), I have Hugus on my written agenda, but that was her maiden

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name, I taught Aimee when she was a Project 18 student. I know that Aimee Ho, the present Project 18 teacher at Hempfield, is ready to engage her students in this process. I fully expect that her students will let their state senator and the three representatives in their region know whether they are for or against this bill. Even more important, they will ask their elected officials to take a position on the bill and will ask those lawmakers, "What are you willing to do to support, amend, or oppose the bill?" That is real politics. It is an example of pragmatic politics that goes beyond hoping that something happens. In the end, whether they are successful or not, young people will gain valuable experience in the art of politics by becoming fully engaged in the They will also gain some lobbying process. understanding about the complicated political process of lawmaking, which goes far beyond the neat and idealistic description that they often find in text books.

Young people, the ball is in your court as much as it is for the leaders who sit before you today. I hope that you learn to engage the media as you advocate for your cause. Furthermore, you should understand that you belong to a special interest group

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and that you have the power to form alliances with groups that you don't even belong to. It is also my hope that students across the state become a part of this lobbying process by actively advocating for or against this legislation.

Personally, I see great benefits for civic education if House Bill 520 becomes law. If my experiences with Project 18 students are correct, I also see great benefits to our country. I know that students who become politically engaged at a young age tend to be more active and informed throughout their lives. I even have one student who is now a state representative.

I'd like to end by putting a twist on the quote from the German-Prussian politician, Otto Von Bismarck. He said, "Laws are like sausages. It's better not to see them being made." Perhaps, seeing the entire process of what goes into passing a law might be a little bit much, but I believe that being a part of that process can actually be exciting, rewarding, and yes, even fun for young people. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: You made the crack about the sausages, but that's all right. Are there any

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questions? Representative Grucela?

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MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Representative Dermody. Rich, do you believe -- just a couple of questions, some of these are going to be redundant, because we've had a few hearings, but there are people in the audience, young people especially, who have not heard this, so do you believe it favors any one political party?

MR. REDMERSKI: I absolutely don't. I think in many cases, it's just very similar to what happens with adults, if the party in power is doing a good job or has dynamic leaders, in that particular moment of time, you will have people leaning toward that political party. During the Reagan years, my students were maybe two to one leaning Republican. Today, there might be a different take, I'm not in the classroom at this time. When I say that a pattern never existed, that's what I want to emphasize, a pattern never existed. That particular year, sure, there are, you know, you might have one party have more of an appeal, but that's true to the nature of politics for adults or students.

MR. GRUCELA: You and I haven't taught for quite a bit, 30 years making speeches in the same time frame, I would ask you the constitutional

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question, do you believe there is any conflict with the Constitution or any constitutional question about this bill?

MR. REDMERSKI: I'm probably going to go to the bottom line here. I think if there was a constitutional question, it would have been answered already in response to the ten states, nine states who have such a law.

MR. GRUCELA: And having been in the classroom as long as you and I were, I would ask you, because this came up, and in fact, I think it came up from one of the students at the first hearing who was not in favor of the bill, that really believed that his peers were not mature enough. What do you think about the maturity question?

MR. REDMERSKI: Nothing could be further from the truth. It's so exciting to have, you know, in my case, these Project 18 students just come alive with getting involved with government and there's one kind of a funny story. One of my seniors was listening to a presentation by a guidance counselor and said, erroneously, don't take Project 18 unless you're interested in politics. She came back to me and said, can you believe he said that? I said what, what's your problem? She said well, I hate politics,

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but I love Project 18. So what she was actually saying is, you know, you learn about life, you mature, and you become a part of this system. Government is not some kind of evil entity out there. It's a part of you, and that's what they learn, and a lot of what they said by being involved was I matured so much with this course and with being involved, whether it's in this course or just being able to vote, being more engaged on a senior high level.

MR. GRUCELA: I agree. I would just finally comment, you make a good point. We're all political animals, those of us who serve in public office and were elected, and we're certainly looking at this with some jaundiced eye, are these young people going to be my demise, or are they going to be a help? And you're right about that, and I have to tell you, you're right about those Reagan years. referred to this last week, I had a student one time, he was Michael J. Fox, young people will remember that show, this kid was, he was a very conservative Republican, I'm a somewhat moderate Democrat, but we use to have some great debates. And as Randy had said earlier, I played a little devil's advocate with him sometimes, but actually, I was a member of North Hampton County council, he actually lived in my

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district and he actually was eligible to vote for me, but after the election, he came in and he said you know, Mr. Grucela, I went in, put my hand on your lever, closed my eyes and pushed it. So I said, well, thanks, I appreciate that. But no, I don't believe, I think you've done and the students have done a good job.

Do you see any downside or any criticism we may have not deflected this morning?

MR. REDMERSKI: I don't think there's a downside, but I think you have to expect, just like with the over 18 population or over 24 population, that even if you pass this, there will be times where you don't get great participation and especially in local elections, so I think the more you engage students, the more you will find out they come to realize that the area of government politics that touches their life most happens to be on that local level and happens to be on a level that they could influence more readily.

MR. GRUCELA: I just want to comment, too, that I also taught a state representative, Representative Bob Freeman, who serves in Harrisburg, was one of my students.

MR. DERMODY: Where did you go wrong?

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MR. GRUCELA: And a couple of them actually served in local office, so we've been there, we understand.

MR. REDMERSKI: Incidentally, Project 18 students, a couple of them were supposed to be here today, I think his name is Richard is addressing them at the school today, because they're conducting -- getting training for conducting the survey for Hempfield Township, so this idea of include students, get them involved really works.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you.

MR. DERMODY: I'd also like to announce that Representative Jaret Gibbons from Lawrence County has joined us. One last brief question, I'm going to ask some other students, there's a lot of interest today in this election, it's a national election, it's a tremendous primary period.

During the time you were in the classroom, did you notice, was there an interest among the students on local issues, the school board, council, local government, that part of the plan?

MR. REDMERSKI: Maybe it was the nature of Project 18 or the nature of teachers who do emphasize on local and state government, but I really found that there was as much -- we tried to avoid the

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national issues actually, we concentrated on local and state issues and wow, this was a revelation to them that there was another government that meant something and they really, they loved the process. It's a great reward to go out there anywhere and even meet students who are in other states. I'll never forget Project 18, I did this and this and I always vote. I mean, I'm involved with local government, so on and so forth, and a lot of pragmatical philosophy that we push, concentration on local issues and local government, I think, pays off.

MR. DERMODY: Representative Grucela.

MR. GRUCELA: You reminded me of something talking about the local issues, too, and again, probably mirror the way people voted as Representative Dermody said, but I remember that, and for the teachers in the audience, I don't think we teach enough state and local government, but I understand, having been there, you can't always fit it in with everything else you have to teach, that's a problem, but I remember saying what you just said registered with me and that is, I would tell these young people, what are your chances of running into the president here in Easton, what are your chances of running into the United States Senator, whatever, look

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you.

at your local officials, you're going to see and hear your township supervisors, your mayor, whatever. And I said if you have some kind of problem, I said if a tree falls in front of your house, I used to say who are you going to call? Of course, the kids will say Ghostbusters. You don't know the names of your local officials, so I think they will be just as engaged, especially if we make a positive connection, a Project 18 connection, with the local officials, I think they'd be just as engaged.

MR. REDMERSKI: One other thing you find is that, you know, there you have the president, the US senators out there that they'll rarely meet, but they start to learn to have a respect for politicians, which may be missing somewhat in our society, by having this experience with them, by dealing with local politics, with press conferences, by having learned the class, by doing community projects with these people. You could ask in Hempfield, Greensburg area, anyone who is in an elected office, what's Project 18? Oh, it's a great course at Hempfield.

Ms. Ho does an excellent job. There's this tie-in with the community that just builds respect.

MR. DERMODY: Any other questions? Thank

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1 (Applause.)

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MR. DERMODY: Next to testify is Na'Shaya Gilliam from Monaca High School. Good morning. When you're ready.

MS. GILLIAM: I like to take this time to thank the State Government Committee for coming out today for the final hearing.

My name is Na'Shaya Gilliam and I am a senior at Monaca Junior/Senior High School.

MR. DERMODY: Speak up a little.

MS. GILLIAM: My name is Na'Shaya Gilliam and I am a senior at Monaca Junior/Senior High School. Recently turning 18, I had the pleasure and honor of being allowed to vote in an election that truly has the potential to make history. Unfortunately, many of my classmates did not receive the same honor, not because they didn't want to, in fact, many of them tried to register the same time I did, and were rejected. Why is it that our government rejected nearly half of my class who takes honor and pride in the American name and fulfilling their civic duty? Simply, because they weren't born in time. However, all of them will be 18 in time to vote in the general election. I feel it is unfair that my classmates are going to have to vote for a candidate they possibly

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didn't want to see on the ballot, when they didn't have the opportunity to vote in the primaries to choose which name they could vote for. Many other states including: Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio, Virginia, Louisiana, and West Virginia allow 17 year olds who will be 18 by the general election to vote in the primary election.

None of these states have seen any major issues or have any regrets about their decision; rather they have seen many positive effects. Pennsylvania is already being praised for our high voter turnout this year. I can only imagine how much greater the turnout would be if everyone regardless of age who would be old enough to vote in the general election could vote in the primaries. My hope is in four years, I won't have to imagine. I hope that we will be able to enjoy a politically-minded young society, who finds pride in voting and aren't discouraged by the fact that they have no input on whose name is on the ballot. The only people who can make my dream come to life is the Pennsylvania Legislature and I truly wish you the best of luck in your decision from the bottom of my heart.

Thanks a lot for your time and consideration,

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and for looking to the people this law affects, the young people, who are often overlooked. We greatly appreciate your efforts to get us involved.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Representative Grucela.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Representative Dermody. I'm dominating here. Seriously, Na'Shaya, the same questions I've been asking the others. High school right now, what civics or government class are you taking?

MS. GILLIAM: We don't have that for a senior course, but personally speaking, I'm a student ambassador, I got to speak in front of a parliament about life as an American teenager, something that was added --

MR. GRUCELA: Which parliament?

MS. GILLIAM: The English.

MR. GRUCELA: You spoke in front of the

English parliament?

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MS. GILLIAM: Yes.

MR. GRUCELA: Wow. Congratulations. And

you did that as a student ambassador?

MS. GILLIAM: Yes.

MR. GRUCELA: I congratulate your high

school. You were eligible, you said you were eligible

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1 to vote in the primary election? 2 MS. GILLIAM: Yes, I did. 3 MR. GRUCELA: You heard some, maybe, of 4 the criticisms. Do you see any that maybe we haven't 5 addressed or haven't you know, reviewed? I feel that they've all 6 MS. GILLIAM: 7 been thoroughly addressed. 8 MR. GRUCELA: Do you feel your classmates 9 are mature enough? 10 MS. GILLIAM: I do. I believe that the 11 ones who maybe aren't as mature wouldn't have 12 registered to vote anyway, because it's a big step 13 that you take into adulthood when you decide to take a 14 part in the ballots, casting your ballot. 15 MR. GRUCELA: Do you have any thoughts on 16 why, I probably should have asked the others, but this 17 came up, but any thoughts on why 18 to 25 year olds 18 usually have the lowest voter participation? 19 MS. GILLIAM: I believe that it might 20 have to do with the fact that --21 MR. GRUCELA: Maybe time goes by? 22 I believe that maybe MS. GILLIAM: 2.3 they're preoccupied with other things that are going

on, and at least where I come from, there isn't a lot

of focus on politics and government and they don't see

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the issue until they get older and realize, hey, I could have been doing something all along.

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MR. GRUCELA: It was mentioned at a previous hearing that usually most of us, until something affects us, we get involved, and usually -but the point I wanted to make was, which came up at other hearings for the benefit of people coming here for the first time is, and I can relate to this, too, and so can the teachers, many turn 18 after next month, after graduation, and then there's that gap, you go away to college. I taught an American government class in East Stroudsburg University back home, I'm actually going to do it again this fall, but when I would ask them how many voted, especially the freshman who were in the class, almost none of them, and they would say, well, I meant to do it, but I turned 18 in July, I turned 18 in August, I turned 18 in September, whatever, and now they're away from So I think this bill would probably get more, home. as you stated, individuals registered at an early age and then it's been mentioned at other hearings, that's a carryover, once you become registered rather than it skips that for whatever reason, you don't register because you're not 18, but when you are 18, you're somewhere else, maybe joined the service, maybe you're

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at college far away or something like that. But I appreciate your testimony. Thank you.

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MR. DERMODY: A few more questions. Representative Ramaley, you're not on the list.

MR. RAMALEY: Thank you, Representative Dermody. Good morning. I'd first like to begin by thanking all of our students who have come not only to testify, but to participate in this hearing, I certainly want to thank the Monaca delegation for coming out from Beaver County.

We heard a little bit earlier about the attention oftentimes given to national issues or national politics in schools. Of course, Monaca is going through something very serious on a local level with discussion about a potential merger with another school district.

Do you find that your peers that are excited about voting that are denied because they're not 18 before the general election, do you find that they just have a sincere interest in being involved in these issues or is it just that this particular national election has captured their attention and they just want to participate in this one election?

MS. GILLIAM: I believe that they have a sincere desire to participate in all elections. Maybe

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this primary has been a very exciting one, but I believe that even in four years whenever it won't be the same, still get out and get out and get their vote.

MR. RAMALEY: Thank you. I think that's important, because across the board, and students that are studying this, and certainly we see this all the time, national elections always attract the highest percentage turnout. In the local elections where real policy affects your day-to-day lives, may get 20 to 30 percent turnout. So I think that's important to hear that young folks that want to be involved want to be involved across the board, it's not just the national elections that are capturing their imaginations. Thank you for that. Thank you.

MR. DERMODY: Any other questions? Thank you very much, Na'Shaya.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: The next to testify will be two students from Mt. Lebanon High School, John Oxenreiter and Eric Reidy. Welcome. When you get set up, any order that you wish.

MR. OXENREITER: Hi. My name is John Oxenreiter, I'm a senior at Mt. Lebanon High School.

I'd like to begin by thanking you all for the

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opportunity to be here, and speak in favor of what I believe is a fine piece of legislation that would do a great deal to further our democracy.

There's a lot to be said in support of HB520 and a lot of it already has been said. So I'll try to keep my remarks brief.

I turned 18 on January 22nd of this year. was 18 on April 22nd when I cast my primary ballot, and I'll be 18 on November 7th, when I'll cast my vote for the national election. I was fortunate enough to be born in time to vote in both elections. But those whose birthdays fall in the six months between April and November, despite being able to vote for their presidential candidate, have no say in who their presidential choices will be. This seems strange; choosing a president, after all, is equally great if not a greater responsibility than choosing a presidential candidate. If these young men and women are recognized as having the maturity and the intelligence, not to mention the constitutional right to vote in November, should they not hold the right to determine who they can vote for?

According to the Erie Times-News, House Bill 520 would affect nearly 60,000 Pennsylvanians, 60,000 Pennsylvanians who will gain a crucial lesson in

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applied democracy, as well as a lasting appreciation for their power as citizens to effect change. From the very start of their political life, they will have received the responsibility and the power that they, as citizens, will hold for the rest of their lives.

Finally, this idea has been successful across the country. States such as Indiana, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Carolina, Ohio and Virginia, as well as West Virgina and Delaware and many other states have already enacted similar laws, according to the Philadelphia Enquirer, and the results have been largely positive. For these reasons, as well as the many reasons expressed, I would urge you all to support House Bill 520, and support a more democratic elections process. Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Eric.

MR. REIDY: I'd like to thank the committee, Fox Chapel High School and my teacher, Mr. Ford, for providing us this opportunity to testify today.

My name is Eric Reidy, I am a senior at Mt. Lebanon High School. I am 18 years old.

I believe that it is through the continuous

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questioning and vigorous stewardship of the democratic process that this country has been able to survive. see this hearing as an installment in that legacy and I'm here to give my best informed opinion on the issue I believe a proper place to start is with the Constitutionality of this issue. The 26th Amendment states that "the right of Citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied." This statement sets an age at which voting rights are guaranteed saying that citizens who are over eighteen cannot be denied the It does not, however, set a minimum right to vote. age requirement for voter eligibility. The fact that eleven other states, including Ohio and West Virginia, have passed a similar bill to House Bill 520, and that they have withstood court challenges, demonstrates that it is indeed constitutional for seventeen year olds to vote in a primary election provided that they will be eighteen by the general election.

The question then becomes what are the positive and negative effects of House Bill 520. The bill certainly has its critics in Pennsylvania and the concept has its critics around the nation. In Pennsylvania there has been concern expressed that the bill will be more beneficial to one party than the

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other. The research that I have done on this issue has shown that this is a bipartisan effort by the youth of Pennsylvania to bring about change that we see as universally advantageous. Furthermore, voting rights are a keystone of our democracy and should transcend party politics.

Another issue that I saw raised in my research by North Dakota Secretary of State Al Jaeger is the question of where the line should be drawn. If seventeen year olds can vote in primaries than why can't sixteen year olds, fifteen year olds and so on? There is legitimate basis to this question that is brought to light by efforts in California in 2004 to rewrite voting laws so that fourteen and fifteen year olds could vote as one quarter of a person and sixteen and seventeen year olds could vote as half a person. I see the California proposal to be flawed in many ways and certainly would not advocate for a system along those lines.

The reason that I feel that House Bill 520 does not pose the danger of letting the bottom drop out on Pennsylvania voting age is because I believe it is addressing the question of enfranchisement. It is unfair and undemocratic for citizens voting in a general election to not be able to vote in a primary.

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This bill only provides for seventeen year olds to vote in a very specific instance, fixing the problem at hand, but not leaving the age issue open ended. The Democratic primary in Pennsylvania this year serves as an example of why seventeen year olds should be allowed to vote in primaries provided that they will be eighteen by the general election. I do not pick this as my example because of a party or candidate preference. I am using the Democratic primary simply to help prove a point.

The Democratic presidential primary is incredibly close. Regardless of who the nominee is, nearly half of Democrats in the country will not have their preferred candidate on the ballot come November and the opinions of Pennsylvania citizens who were seventeen for the primary, but will be eighteen for the general election, will not have had any bearing on who the Democratic nominee will be. This is a disincentive for people just turning eighteen to vote because it creates a sense of exclusion from the full democratic process. By denying voters who will be voting in the general election the right to vote in a primary, you are denying them the right to play a role in selecting their party's candidate for the general election. In Pennsylvania, it is estimated that

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between 100,000 and 120,000 citizens who are potential voters in November were not able to vote in the primary. House Bill 520 will allow, in the future, citizens of Pennsylvania to participate fully in the democratic process.

In order for this to be a worthwhile bill, it has to be applicable beyond just this election cycle, and I believe the argument I made above applies in presidential and non presidential elections. I have to admit that my main motivation for registering to vote was to vote in the presidential primary.

However, I know that it is part of my civic duty to vote not just for a president, but for state and local officials as well. It was because I was drawn to the ballot by the presidential race that I took the time to inform myself about the other votes that I cast on the same day. The act of voting for the first time is truly a powerful experience, and it showed me the importance of voting in all future elections.

I believe that many of the students at my school had similar experiences, but unfortunately, many who will be eligible in November were not able to engage in the process because they are seventeen now. We have a crisis of engagement in our country and in Pennsylvania when it comes to the youth and politics.

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Between 1972 and 2000, the youth voting rate nationwide declined by sixteen percent. In the past several election cycles, it has been on the rise, but we need to help foster this trend by engaging as many people as possible in the democratic process. We need to encourage a sense of stewardship and engagement in our democracy in the next generation, my generation, of Americans and I believe that House Bill 520 is an important step in that process. Please join Governor Rendell, my Pennsylvania House Representative, Matt Smith, and the numerous others in supporting House Bill 520.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Representative Gibbons.

MR. GIBBONS: Thank you. Let me ask, my question is kind of in three separate parts, I'm going to ask them all together and that way, you can address it all, but basically my question is: Do you think that the concerns of young people are being addressed by our government officials, the state, local and federal government level today? Secondly, how do you think that voter turnout at the younger age range, 18 to 25, 18 to 30 range, of which I am part of that group, affects that? And lastly, how do you think this bill can help affect changing that turnout?

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MR. OXENREITER: Well, I'll do this a I guess I'll just address the second little bit. first. With regard to youth participation, it was actually very funny going to the primary, I actually saw a lot of people that I knew from high school who are casting their vote at the same time, and I think a big issue with getting youth turnout is registering If you look at the statistics, when people to vote. you have someone registered to vote, the participation in the process goes up, I think it's self-evident, I quess, but I think that one of the things that HB 520 will do is make that easier, because many people, like Eric and like myself, would register for the presidential primary and then would remain registered for the general election itself, and I think that's a big advantage.

MR. REIDY: In terms of the issue of how government officials are addressing issues that pertain to youth, I think that recently, we see more engagement, because the youth voting block is more intellectual, especially in this current election, you see more engagement and more of an attempt for politicians to reach out and address issues that are facing the youth and I feel like -- I mean, the more people that you have involved in the process, the more

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people that you have registered to vote, the earlier you can get to those people, the more interest they'll have in government, and then will take an active role in bringing our concerns to the government as demonstrated by this hearing. Is there anything else?

MR. GIBBONS: Thank you for addressing that, because I think it is important, and let me give a very quick why I asked this question, because in my first year in office last year, I had a group of students, high school students, that came to me on an issue important to them and when they came to speak with me, they had said that in the past, when they had talked to other elected officials that at one point, they were told that their issue -- why wasn't this person listening to them is because they didn't vote and that's why he wasn't concerned about their issue, and I don't think any elected official should take that position, and I don't believe any of us up here would take that position.

I do think that at some levels, people do believe that and hopefully, you know, by getting out and voting, we can show and young people like ourselves can show that we are concerned and it's going to help us to bring that youth perspective into government, because there are a lot of things that are

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important to us, whether it's -- whether it's this bill specifically or other issues. We have our own concerns that need to be addressed, so that's a little background as to why I asked the question. I certainly agree with you that I think this bill could help participation by getting people started early and by doing so, I think help to bring some of our issues to the forefront.

MR. DERMODY: I assume you've had discussions obviously at the school and in class about House Bill 520.

Based on what you discussed with classmates at the school, do you feel it's a bipartisan effort, or is it a one-party effort, what are your thoughts on that issue?

MR. REIDY: There was one thing I was thinking about when we were talking about this earlier in the hearing about the bipartisan bill, talking about voter eligibility for 17 year olds in the primary, Pennsylvania has a closed primary, so Republicans can't vote in the Democratic primary and the Democrats can't vote in the Republican primary, so in that way, it's not favoring one party or another.

MR. OXENREITER: Furthermore, I would say that as Mr. Redmerski remarked, that there really is,

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Dermody.

in addition to what Eric said, there really is a breakdown of Republican and Democratic students. It would say it is not heavily biased in one way or another. But even if it were, as I said, it's a primary, so it seems to me that this would be a bipartisan issue in the sense of the parties.

MR. REIDY: Let me just say if
Republicans had more constituents than Democrats had
constituency that was under 18 at the time of the
primary, but would be 18 by the time of the primary,
they would be voting in the general election anyway.
It would just be their vote is affecting who the
individual in the general election would be from that
party, not who the actual elected official would be.
That argument, that it affects one party more than the
other really just doesn't make sense to me.

MR. DERMODY: Representative Grucela.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you, Representative

Along those political party lines, No. 1, I would, Representative Gibbons actually has a bill that would allow, I don't favor it, but he's still a colleague, but he does, you should know, especially young people, it may be something for your classes to talk about in class, to allow independents to vote in

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the Pennsylvania primary, or the Pennsylvania election really, especially the primary, and, of course, as you mentioned, the closed primary, which I still favor the closed primary, which the majority of the states have, but along those political lines, I just wanted to let people be aware of Representative Gibbons' bill.

I'm interested, Eric, in this research you did for California. I like to listen rather than read along. They were going to give 14 and 15 year olds the right to vote but count them as half?

MR. REIDY: Fourteen and 15 year olds were a quarter of the vote, and 16 to 17 year olds are half of the vote, there was like training wheels to politics type of thing, so it was kind of to get them engaged really early and then kind of push them along as they get older, and more engaged and intelligent, I quess.

MR. GRUCELA: I am by no means a constitutional lawyer, but I remember teaching and in my teaching experience, that, I believe, would be a violation of US -- sounds like the three-fifths compromise, so I think that, if anything, I don't encourage 14, 15, 16, that's not what this bill is about. The focus of this bill is those that are 17 in the spring and are going to vote anyway in November,

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that's the focus, because people have raised that question to me. Okay, Grucela, what's next, 14, 12, guys are going to vote? You know, sometimes I facetiously, depends on who the person is, I say yes, just to, you know, make them mad or something. But again, I assume, I was going to ask, again, a repetitive question about the maturity of your classmates, your peers, it seems everyone who is testifying is 18 and has voted in the primary and you're carrying the water for some of your younger peers, which I think is commendable.

MR. REIDY: I walked into school this morning wearing a suit and I was sitting in homeroom and everybody was like, hey, Eric, why are you wearing a suit. And I explained what I was doing and some of the people in my homeroom didn't know about this bill in the first place. When I explained it to them, two girls in my homeroom were like, yeah, I was 17 on the day of the primary, but I'm going to be 18 by the election, I would have liked to have voted. I've had experiences like that, not specifically related to this bill, but I was talking to a couple friends and they asked me, oh, you guys will be able to vote in the primary? Oh, no, we're 17, I'm really bummed out. There was a legitimate sense of I really wish I could

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do it, I'd really like to be engaged, because I'm 17 now and will be 18 for the general, I can't. They really felt like they were missing out and they shouldn't.

MR. OXENREITER: Speaking of maturity, I've had varying in-depth political discussions with people who aren't the political junkies of the class, but who are just people in my government class, who are extremely engaged in politics and, once again, these are people who would be 18 in the general They didn't vote in the primary because election. they can't, because they're 17, so I really don't think the maturity really is so much as an issue, because those who are likely to register for the primaries are the same people who are likely to be very, very informed, know what they are voting for, know who they are voting for and so to benefit from the electoral process.

MR. REIDY: Just a note on that, it's like six months or something between the primary and the general election, I mean, a lot can happen in six months, but I think in terms of the overall population of 17 year olds who are going to be 18 by the primary in Pennsylvania, I mean, I don't think that much more mature and intelligent maturity is going to come about

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in just six months.

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MR. GRUCELA: I agree. If you walked in to my classroom with that suit on back in the old days, the students would ask whether you were going to a trial.

MR. OXENREITER: I was asked that.

MR. GRUCELA: You were asked that? See that, things never change. I used to teach some guys and I'd say what comes at the end of a sentence, they used to say an appeal.

MR. REIDY: What did you teach?

MR. GRUCELA: You guys make me want to go back in the classroom, but anyway, I think I covered everything, maturity and the classes. I was interested in that California thing, that was interesting.

MR. OXENREITER: I was shot down.

MR. GRUCELA: And again, Representative Dermody mentioned, you both did a good job on that, too. And I remember from teaching as well, teachers know, presidential elections, the gubernatorial elections always seem to have a little bit more impetus for whatever reason, mainly because of probably the television and the advertisements, it's a some national issue, as compared to your real, real

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element and local government is really where it all happens. And I always made sure I got into local government, so that these people, young students, would know the mayor and the borough council and the supervisor, whatever it might be. Excellent job, young men. Thank you.

MR. DERMODY: Thank you, Representative Grucela. Before you leave, I just want to make an announcement that Representative Matt Smith, who is of the 42nd Legislative District, he represents Mt. Lebanon among several other communities, Senator John Pippi of the 37th Senatorial District as well sent letters of support for House Bill 520, they'll be in the record here today. So thank you very much.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: The last to testify here today is Adam Fogle from FairVote.

MR. FOGEL: Thank you very much,
Mr. Chairman, members of the State Government
Committee and other members of the House that are in
attendance. Thank you very much for inviting me here
today to speak to you about this important piece of
legislation.

Pennsylvania should allow 17 year olds to vote in the primary election if they will be 18 for the

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general election. Again, my name is Adam Fogle and I am the Right to Vote Director at FairVote, we're a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization headquartered in Takoma Park, Maryland, just outside of Washington, DC. We work on a range of issues promoting reforms to improve the democratic process and expand political participation. In Maryland last year, we led the effort to protect the policy of 17 year olds primary voting after the State Board of Elections called it into question at what turned out to be the inaccurate advice of the State Attorney General.

At its core, this policy is one of basic fairness. If someone can vote in the general election, they have the right to choose who should be on that general election ballot. It's also a sensible means of introducing more young adults to the electoral process. Currently, there are 18 states or state parties that allow this policy and several other states, including Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island, that are considering adopting it this year. In our state of Maryland, the policy has widespread support in both parties, as evidenced by the unanimous votes in favor of protecting this policy in both houses of the legislature during this session.

Many people don't realize though how much

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control the parties actually have over their primary contests because of their association rights under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. State parties are well within their legal right, as enunciated by the Supreme Court decision, Tashjian v. Connecticut (1986), to expand suffrage in their primaries to any number of groups, including 17 year olds who will be 18 before the general election. Several state parties have already acted alone in allowing 17 year old primary voting. In Alaska, Kansas, North Dakota and Washington, 17 year olds are only allowed to vote in the Democratic caucus. However, I would caution any party that chooses to prohibit 17 year olds from participating in their primary if the other party does allow it. Studies show that if a young person votes for one party in three consecutive elections, that person votes with that party for life. Parties should be encouraging participation, not discouraging it. If a young person cares enough to participate and will be eligible to vote in the general election, we should provide them with that opportunity. Here in Pennsylvania, I hope that both parties

Here in Pennsylvania, I hope that both parties will agree that young people deserve to be able to fully participate in the political process and have

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the right to vote in primary elections.

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FairVote, as a nonpartisan organization, does not endorse candidates or political parties and we make every effort to work with both major parties, as well as third parties and political independents. We don't believe this policy has any inherent partisan impact, which explains the political consensus for it in Maryland and its use in Democratic-leaning states like Hawaii and Republican-leaning states like Mississippi. I realize, however, that this policy can raise some initial concerns. I'd now turn to focus my attention and the committee's attention on addressing those concerns that were raised previously in testimony submitted to the committee in opposition to 17 year old primary voting.

First, the history of the 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, prohibiting states from setting a higher voting age than 18, is well known. Congress and the states did not think it was fair to send 18 year olds off to war without giving them a voice in the political process. But note that the 26th Amendment does not prohibit states from setting a lower voting age than 18. It simply restricts them from raising it above 18. In Maryland's thirty-plus year history of its policy of 17 year old primary

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voting and the many other states with it, the issue of its consistency with the 26th Amendment has never been In fact, I would argue that this policy is in doubt. exactly in the spirit of the 26th Amendment. opposition testimony that was heard at the last hearing argues that we were right to lower the voting age to 18 because of the men and women serving in uniform who did not have a vote, but it implies that there is no one currently serving in the military that's under 18. In fact, young people are joining the military with parental consent at 17 years old and they also deserve to have a voice in the political process. Enacting this policy in Pennsylvania would show these brave young men and women that we not only appreciate their service to our country, but that we also respect them as adults.

Critics of this legislation also argue that the legislature sets these age restrictions for a reason. They compare the right to vote with a 15 year old driving a car or a 20 year old purchasing alcohol. I see suffrage rights as quite different. Our men and women serving overseas do not fight and die for this country for these minor inconveniences, they fight for our freedom, our democracy and our right to vote. I fear that equating suffrage to driving a car or

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drinking alcohol trivializes the sacrifices that have been made throughout our history to protect this sacred right.

Finally, the issue of ensuring secure elections that was raised at the last hearing is one on which we can all agree. However, it is never a valid argument to challenge a piece of legislation because there are other issues that need to be addressed. There are always other issues, whether they are ensuring election security or expanding opportunities for voter registration or providing greater access to the polls for those with disabilities, that the Pennsylvania House of Representatives can address. However, one way that we can ensure secure elections is by making sure our youngest citizens have every opportunity to register to vote in a secure and systematic way before reaching voting age. That's why my organization also supports setting a uniform voter registration age of 16 years old, where you register to vote at 16 and then you're automatically added to the voting rolls when you reach voting age. This would allow a more systematic registration in high schools and at the DMV.

Giving young people a chance to participate early in the process will make it more likely that

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they will continue participating for life. They will also have more time to learn about the issues and candidates so they can make an informed decision on Election Day. Seventeen year old primary voting is a way to encourage our youngest citizens to pay attention to the world around them and to show them that their vote really does make a difference.

And that concludes my written testimony, but I just want to say very briefly, that I really appreciate the state of Pennsylvania addressing this issue, I really appreciate all these young people here today that the nice state of Maryland and the young people there can really learn something from all the young people sitting in this room in their activity.

I also just briefly want to address an issue that was raised earlier in a question about why there's such low participation among this age group of 18 to 24 year olds. One thing that I found from studying this issue is often that when people graduate from high school, they're often not given an opportunity, not just to register to vote, but to learn the mechanics of participation, to learn how to request an absentee ballot, to learn what to expect on Election Day, to know if you're standing in line and the polls close, you still have an opportunity to

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vote, you should have an opportunity to vote. It's these sorts of nuts and bolts in the mechanics of participation is something that should be emphasized in a high school setting and I appreciate the teachers here today for doing that. Thank you very much. I'd be happy to answer any questions.

MR. DERMODY: Thank you.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: Representative Grucela.

MR. GRUCELA: Thank you. The Maryland court case, what exactly was the question, what was the issue that they brought to court?

MR. FOGEL: The Maryland General Assembly passed an early voting law that, leading up to election day, people would be able to vote in specific designated places. The Maryland Court of Appeals, the highest court of Maryland, threw that law out on the basis that the Maryland constitution set a specific date for the election. Therefore, early voting was unconstitutional. It's completely unrelated to the issue at hand. The attorney general's office extrapolated that opinion to say, well, if the constitution sets a date for the election and it also sets an age for the election, well, it would also mean that 17 year old primary voting must be

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unconstitutional because the Maryland constitution sets a specific age requirement at 18. It went through the Court of Appeals process, because a 17 year old in Maryland challenged this, this ruling, and the Court of Appeals said the attorney general should have never done that. We made this very specific ruling for early voting, it had nothing to do with 17 year old primary voting and the attorney general's office was in error to actually do that. But before we got to that point, the Republican party of Maryland and the Democratic party of Maryland said, wait a minute, we like this policy, we want to include 17 year olds in our process. So they wrote a letter to the attorney general's office, asserting their First Amendment right about freedom of association. attorney general accepted that argument and ultimately, before the court made its ruling to say that the attorney general was wrong in the first place, the attorney general reversed itself and said well, based on the partys' arguments, we will allow 17 year old primary voting.

MR. GRUCELA: I was going to ask that, because it came up and I don't remember the answer, I don't remember the research, but there was actually a question as to whether we really needed the

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legislation, whether or not, because primary elections, of course, came about, as we all know because of the constitution, and the question came about whether a political party could do it without a statute, whether the Republican party or the Democratic party chairman or their committees, or however that structure works, could actually say, okay, Republicans at 17 could vote or Democrats at 17 could vote, I think if one goes, the other one would obviously be for it, but has that come up?

Absolutely. In Alaska, MR. FOGEL: Kansas, North Dakota and Washington only in the Democrat caucus can 17 year olds vote. The problem with this policy, to have it sort of split, in the primary election is because it's a state-run primary. In a caucus, it's much easier to sort of administer your own rules, but in a primary, there should be uniformity. And like I said in my testimony, it's imperative that there's uniformity for the sake of both parties, because if you have one party doing it and another party not doing it, 17 year olds, if they see they can only vote in one party would be more likely to vote forever in that party. They'll say well, this party respects my rights as a 17 year old who will be 18 by the general. So a party would

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really be making a strategically bad political decision to not allow 17 year olds to vote in the primary if the other party will allow it.

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MR. GRUCELA: Thank you.

MR. DERMODY: Representative Vulakovich.

Your testimony is MR. VULAKOVICH: excellent. These comments, are they on your web site, because when the group from Fox Chapel came over, I want to be somewhat prepared for it, since I didn't know anything about the legislation, I didn't even know it existed, I had to bring the information up, and I thought well, these were the ideas that I was going to question him about. And this seems like what they gave you to do that with and I thought, boy, this is even more, even though it's a simple idea, and just, you know, really down to earth, the logic behind, I can see a lot of effort went into the logic behind why this should be done. This Tashjian versus Connecticut, they had brought that up to me and I was wondering, the caucuses actually can do this on their own. How many of the states?

MR. FOGEL: The states, there's 18, there's states or state parties that allow it. There are four where it's only in the Democratic primary, so there would be 14 states that currently allow it. And

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as I said, it's sort of in flux right now, because a lot of states are looking at -- the situation in Maryland got quite a bit of press attention, and other states sort of looked at it, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and said, well, this makes sense to do, and then Pennsylvania also. So there are a lot of, I guess, I guess there are a lot of different reforms that our organization just sort of sees as common sense, to help streamline the process of voter registration and to sort of make it easier --

MR. VULAKOVICH: So how many of the states actually did it with legislation?

MR. FOGEL: I believe 14. I believe 14. I could get back to you and just to double check that, but I think it's 14.

MR. VULAKOVICH: I guess my point is, I think it should be done with legislation.

MR. FOGEL: Sure.

MR. VULAKOVICH: Because we'll get into the -- because when, months and months ago, when they had my staff brought these different copies when I met with them, you know, I started thinking, well, why don't we just let it play through its own through the caucus, and I had not, for some reason, maybe they just made notes for me, or I can't remember, but I did

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not think about the part where one party would do it and the other one wouldn't, would not, and that's not what we're looking at here, so the way to go is really with the legislation.

MR. FOGEL: Definitely. I think that,

No. 1, the fact that the legislature is taking up this issue and bringing so many young people sort of into this process, I think is important just in and of itself. The party would just sort of say they do it, there isn't that process, I think the process is important.

Secondly, like I said earlier, to have one party do it and the other not do it is really not beneficial for anyone, because say the Republicans want to do it and the Democrats don't want to do it, all those young people that want to vote in the Democratic primary will be shut out of the process and that's not the way to go about doing it. So I think that going through the legislative process is the appropriate method in this case.

MR. VULAKOVICH: Representative Grucela, the idea of registering, registration of 16 year olds at the DMV, that's not in the bill, is it?

MR. GRUCELA: I'm sorry. I missed the question.

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MR. VULAKOVICH: He brought up the point, would they support setting uniform voter registration age of 16 year olds which would allow systematic registration in high schools and at the DMV, you know, when they actually get their license, they could actually register and then be ready at the age of 17.

MR. GRUCELA: No, that's not in the bill, that's the voter/motor, that's not in the bill.

MR. FOGEL: And that's something that a few states have taken a look at. It's passed the past few sessions Rhode Island's legislature and the governor has, unfortunately, vetoed it for administrative reasons, but what we're hoping to do as an organization is make it so, we're in the age of compulsory education, 16 years old, so a lot of students are being missed, and they're not being able to register at 18 or it was mentioned earlier that if your birthday is in the summer, there's not an opportunity to register to vote before graduation. So one of the things that we would like to see is actually a national uniform registration at age 16 to make it more systematic, particularly in high schools. I mean, the teachers can tell you that it's sort of difficult to do a widespread voter registration project in the high school, because of lot of the

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students aren't even eligible to vote in their senior year and many of them are only eligible in the second half of their senior year. So this would be, I think, a great amendment to add on to the current bill. by no means necessary to enact the policy of 17 year old primary voting, but it just makes it easier, because we have young people, they're turning 16, they have a big circle around their 16th birthday, they know they're getting their driver's license, they're going right to the DMV, there's not that same level of excitement about registering to vote, and we think there should be. So it makes sense to combine these two milestones in a young person's life, both getting your driver's license and also getting your right to vote. We think that it's just a sensible policy so that when young people across the country can know, I register at 16 and I vote at 17 if I'm going to be 18 for the primary. It should be a standardized process. I think we're well on our way with this legislation. MR. VULAKOVICH: I actually like that idea, I quess. MR. FOGEL: There's plenty of information on our website, FairVote.org and plenty of information on that policy on our website and, you know, I'd be

happy to answer any questions about that in the

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MR. GRUCELA: I just want to chime in for a second, Representative Dermody. I actually had this situation happen this week, a lady came to my office, she was denied the right to vote on election day. In January, she got a Pennsylvania changed her name. driver's license, and I said to her, well, you got your driver's license, didn't they -- she said yes, they asked her you want to register to vote, she said yes, and somehow it fell through the cracks, because when she went, nobody had her name, they wouldn't let her vote that day. So I had to give her a card to re-register. I know it's off the subject, but it rang a bell, because I had that very situation happen this week.

MR. FOGEL: And there's been hearings in Congress recently that I've attended that this situation is happening in a number of states where either DMVs or state agencies are falling out of compliance with the motor/voter law or the National Voter Registration Act of 1993. We think it's really troubling that that's happening and there has been an outpouring with our organization and a lot of other sort of watchdog groups to make sure that these public agencies don't fall off compliance with the law.

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They're continuing to ask people if they're registered to vote, if they'd like to register to vote or if they'd like information about registering. It's really important to make sure that our state agencies sort of stay on top of that issue.

MR. DERMODY: Thank you. I just want to point out, at the last hearing we had the executive director of the state Democratic party testified and acknowledged that probably the state parties, because they run their primaries, could make the decision to allow 17 year olds to vote, but would much prefer having the statute, having the law in place to verify that, avoid a lot of issues.

And the motor/voter issue is a real problem in Pennsylvania. I think it's a matter of communication between PennDOT and local department of elections in the counties, a lot of times that information is filled out at the DMV or whatever your license branch is, does not work its way back to the county board of elections. So before we expand, we better fix what we have instead. Any further questions? Thank you very much.

(Applause.)

MR. DERMODY: That was our last witness. I know we have students here from several high

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schools, Fox Chapel and Springdale and Deer Lakes,
Monaca and Mt. Lebanon. Anybody have any other
comments they'd like to make?

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MR. REIDY: This is real quick.

MR. DERMODY: Speak up. If you're going to speak, let everybody hear you.

This is just a real quick MR. REIDY: comment about the absentee ballot in terms of the youth engagement. I did some campaigning this primary season for one of the political candidates and one of the things I heard a lot is, and I knocked on a lot of doors, and people who were 22, 20, 19, and they were at college and their parents would answer the door and say, well, I mean, can you sign up for an absentee ballot for a primary? Is that even possible or they just don't know how to do it. So I think along with this bill, actually working to get the process of filing an absentee ballot, working to get more knowledge about that process out there would be a good way to engage the youth at the same time.

MR. DERMODY: Excellent point. Very good.

I really would like to thank everyone for attending, particularly all the students for coming here this morning to participate in the hearing,

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whether you were here as a witness or not. All that testified did a tremendous job. I think we've all learned a lot. We've heard throughout the hearing, the fight has just begun. There's a lot to be done yet. The bill has to be moved from committee and then eventually moved for a vote, there's a lot of work to do, but we still have to take the first steps and I appreciate all your participation here today. I, once again, thank the Fox Chapel Area High School for giving us the opportunity to meet here today. Anybody else? Representative Grucela.

MR. GRUCELA: Just some closing remarks, Representative Dermody.

Again, my sincere thanks to Ms. Kline and the students here at Fox Chapel High School,
Representative Dermody as well, who really, as I said earlier, that trite Harrisburg phrase, you put this on the radar screen, and all the students here, all the students, I don't fear the future. Some people get a little older, they start to worry about you young guys, but for those of us who taught and teach for all those years, I know I have no fear of when you guys get ready to take over. Just don't do anything with social security. Kids are people, too, but Mr. Lewis always used to say that.

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I would tell you this though: And that is, become a lobbyist, a miniature lobbyist, I'll give you two experiences I had this week on the House floor. One there was a representative who came down and said, hey, Grucela, what's that House bill you have where the kids can vote? I paraphrased that, and I told him House Bill 520, he got his name and put his name on the bill. Another one from my old party who said to me, what the heck are you trying to do with all these young people, what are you doing, you're going to get us all upset here. I said to them well, just remember this, these young people are going to vote some day. They're going to be there in some day, maybe even this November or two years, they're going to remember you. And somebody said earlier about we're all political animals, so I would encourage you, one of the young people said they talked to Representative Matt Smith, but I would encourage you to lobby your representative, lobby your senator, when we get it over to the Senate and tell them that they should go on board for this, and that Mr. Lewis said last week, it should be a no-brainer, and we should be able to hopefully get this through unamended, which can always happen in the House, and keep it as a clean bill, get it over to the Senate and hopefully the Senate would

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pass it.

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And I'll make you this promise. I'll make you the promise that if it passes the House and it passes the Senate, and when the governor has to sign it, I will do everything in my power to persuade the governor to come out here and sign the bill at Fox Chapel High School. I can't guarantee he'll come out, but I can tell you this, if we get it that far, but I think if this should become law, I make you that promise, we'll try to get the Governor to do it right here.

And all the other school districts that came down today, as Representative Dermody said, again, we thank you and he's right, whoever said about the hearings, I've been in a lot of committee hearings and rare, this has got to be the largest crowd I've ever seen I think at a hearing. You're lucky sometimes four or five people show up, and some just wandered in by accident.

So again, my sincere thanks to all of you. I wish you all a great bright future, I know you'll have a great bright future no matter whatever you do, whatever you choose to do, so keep up the good work and continue to make this a strong democratic country. Thank you.

(Applause.)
MR. DERMODY: On behalf of Chairman
Josephs, I want to say, once again, thank you all for
coming.
(Hearing adjourned at 11:49 o'clock a.m.)

TRANSCRIPT OF PROCEEDINGS $\underline{C} \ \underline{E} \ \underline{R} \ \underline{T} \ \underline{I} \ \underline{F} \ \underline{I} \ \underline{C} \ \underline{A} \ \underline{T} \ \underline{I} \ \underline{O} \ \underline{N}$ I hereby certify that the foregoing transcript is a true record of the testimony of the witnesses. Jean M. Bujdos Court Reporter