To Amend or Not to Amend, That’s Been the Question... Many Times
In 1952, President Harry S. Truman signed a bill that moved I Am an American Day from the third Sunday in May to September 17. Truman did so in order for the holiday to coincide with the date of the signing of the U.S. Constitution in 1787. Congress renamed the holiday Citizenship Day. A joint resolution passed in 1956 requested that the president proclaim the week beginning September 17 and ending September 23 each year as Constitution Week.

In 2004, Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia entered an amendment to the Consolidated Appropriations Act of 2005 to change the name of the September 17 holiday to Constitution Day and Citizenship Day. The purpose of Constitution Day and Citizenship Day is to commemorate the creation and signing of the supreme law of the land and to honor and celebrate the privileges and responsibilities of U.S. citizenship for both native-born and naturalized citizens.

Byrd's amendment, known as Public Law 108-477, requires that all schools receiving federal funds hold an educational program for their students on September 17 of each year. This lesson, which is adapted from curricular materials on the Constitution produced by the Center for Civic Education, is designed to assist schools and federal agencies to meet the requirements of the law.
Senator Robert C. Byrd

“I invite all Americans to take the time on September 17th to read, analyze, and reflect on the Constitution. It is a learned and dynamic document. Brilliant in its brevity, it remains extraordinary in its wisdom. It is my hope that citizens of every State in the Union, including children, will be inspired to organize local celebrations on Constitution Day.”

Senator Robert Byrd

Such was the sentiment and passion that spurred Senator Robert Carlyle Byrd into seeking federal legislation to designate September 17 as Constitution and Citizenship Day. The longest-serving U.S. senator and member of Congress in the history of the United States died on June 28, 2010. His dedication to his office, his country, and the Constitution is evident in his tireless service in public office. Elected first to the House in 1952 and then to the Senate in 1958, his colleagues elected him to more leadership positions than any of his predecessors.

Senator Byrd will be remembered for his dedication to his work, his wide range of talents, and for his dedication to the U.S. Constitution as a living, breathing document at the core of our political and civil lives.

The Center for Civic Education dedicates this year’s Constitution Day lessons to Senator Byrd. In providing these lessons to teachers, students, and all who visit this site, we join in Senator Byrd’s invitation to study the marvel that is the U.S. Constitution.
Lesson Overview
This lesson asks students to examine recent proposed amendments to the U.S. Constitution, analyze them for public policy triggering mechanisms, and compare and contrast them to amendments that have been ratified.

Suggested Grade Level
Grades 9–10

Estimated Time to Complete
One hour

Lesson Objectives
After completing this lesson, students will be able to

- define four triggering mechanisms for public policy;
- apply the triggering mechanisms to real and current legislation;
- discuss recently proposed amendments; and
- make predictions about the future of the U.S. Constitution based on the public policy process and America's history.

Materials Needed
- Handout 1: Amending the Constitution (adapted from We the People: The Citizen & the Constitution, Level 3, Lesson 15, pages 106–7)
- Handout 2: List of Proposed Amendments
- Handout 3: Activity Sheet

Before the Lesson
- Prepare copies of Handouts 1, 2, and 3.
- Create a chart with columns for each of the categories of amendments that have passed: Bill of Rights, Fundamental Changes, Expansion of Suffrage, Overturning of Supreme Court Decisions, Refinements, Morality.
- You may want to create a PowerPoint presentation, overhead transparencies, or posters to use while teaching the four triggering mechanisms of public policy (Scope, Intensity, Duration, Resources).
- Prepare a second example to illustrate the task that students will perform when they work independently.

Lesson Procedure
1. Distribute Handout 1. Read the first section of the handout: "How and Why Did the Framers Devise an Amendment Process?"
2. Tell students that they will look at some of the ten thousand amendments introduced in Congress and think about why they might have failed to be adopted.
3. Read the second section of Handout 1: “What Types of Constitutional Amendments have Been Adopted?”
4. Tell students that they will look at some proposed constitutional amendments that have not succeeded. They will see that many fall into these categories, but were still not approved. There are many factors considered in the amendment process. The following four triggering mechanisms for public policy play specific roles. (Adapted
as they look at the proposed amendments, they should consider these four factors. They should then compare and contrast the failed proposed amendments with those that have been ratified. Remind students that they are not analyzing the scope, duration, intensity, and resources of the proposed amendment, but of the problem or issue the amendment addresses.

6 Take one proposed amendment and apply these mechanisms to model for the students.

Example: The Equal Opportunity to Govern Amendment, also known as the Hatch Amendment, allows naturalized citizens with at least twenty years of citizenship to serve as president.

- Scope – This proposed amendment affects naturalized citizens who wish to serve as president and all who would like to see a naturalized citizen become president. There are probably a lot of people who would like to see this happen and a lot who would not.

- Intensity – It is likely that there are people who are very bothered that naturalized citizens cannot become president. However, the majority of people who care about this probably do not consider it a priority. They may not feel a great amount of fear or anger over this issue.

- Duration – Article II, Section 1 of the Constitution, which limits the presidency to natural citizens of the United States, has been in effect since 1788, more than 220 years.

- Resources – Some would say that there is a cost in not allowing naturalized citizens to serve as president; that we are not utilizing their talents, or that we could
benefit from a different perspective. Others would say that there could be a cost to our traditions. Some might even argue that this could pose a threat to our national security. Some would question a non-native’s ability to be loyal to the United States, a likely reason why the proposed amendment would require twenty years of naturalized citizenship.

7 Have students look at the categories from Handout 1 and apply them to amendments that have passed. Ask them where the Hatch Amendment belongs.

8 Taking a part of the Constitution that exists and makes it more precise or makes a subtle change is considered a refinement. If a proposed amendment fits a category but was not approved, what could the reasons be for its failure? How could it be refined? Ask students to look back to Scope, Intensity, Duration, and Resources. Given what they have learned, ask students to draw a conclusion about why this amendment did not pass. Ask them to predict the likelihood of its passing in the future using what they have learned about public policy triggering mechanisms. Choose another proposal for discussion if you think it is necessary.

9 Distribute Handout 3: Activity Sheet. Ask each student to choose one of the proposed amendments from Handout 2 and ask them to analyze it. Remind them that the activity sheet will require them to use what they have learned about triggering mechanisms and adopted amendments.

10 When the class has finished, have students share their findings. Discuss whether or not the amendments they analyzed fit the categories on the chart you created. Write the amendments that do fit under the appropriate categories. Write the amendments that do not fit off to the side to look at after everyone has shared. As you go, briefly discuss why amendments that fit the categories have not been ratified; examine a few student analyses of the triggering mechanisms. Once the chart is complete, ask the following questions:

- What are the similarities and differences between the proposed amendments that do not fit any of the categories? Could you categorize them in new or different ways?
- If so, do you think these categories should change the Constitution?
- What can you conclude about the amendment process from this exercise?

11 Given what students have learned about how difficult it is to amend the Constitution, ask them to write an amendment they think would be ratified. Instruct them to use what they know about Scope, Intensity, Duration, Resources, and the history of Constitutional amendments to justify their answer.

12 Ask students to predict the next category to be added to the process: when, where, why, and how will it happen?
How and why did the Framers devise an amendment process?
The Framers intended the Constitution to be, and to remain, a fundamental framework of law. They did not want the Constitution to become confused with ordinary laws and regulations or to be changed in response to transient whims. However, they also recognized that American society and conditions would change over time in ways they could not predict in 1787. The Constitution that they proposed, George Mason argued, would “certainly be defective,” just as the Articles of Confederation had proved to be. Mason said, “Amendments therefore will be necessary, and it will be better to provide for them, in an easy, regular, and Constitutional way than to trust to chance and violence.”

The Framers made the Constitution difficult to amend but not as difficult as it had been to amend the Articles of Confederation. Under Article V of the Constitution amendments may be proposed by two-thirds of both houses of Congress or by a petition of two-thirds of the states calling for a special convention. Congress has the power to decide how a proposed amendment will be ratified, either by approval of three-fourths of state legislatures or by approval of three-fourths of special state conventions called to consider ratification. Congress also has the power to determine how much time states have to approve an amendment. If a proposal is not ratified within that time, then the amendment fails.

Americans have not been reluctant to suggest changes. Since 1789 more than ten thousand proposed amendments have been introduced in Congress. Only thirty-three amendments have gained enough votes to be submitted to the states for ratification. Of those thirty-three, twenty-seven have been ratified by the required three-fourths of the states. The other process for proposing amendments—by two-thirds of the state legislatures calling a convention—has never been used.

Some critics of the amending process argue that amendments, once proposed, should be put before a national popular referendum. They point out that forty-nine of the fifty states now submit state constitutional amendments to popular vote. Delaware is the only exception. Do you think the amendment process should be revised to bypass state legislatures and allow for a national popular referendum? Why or why not?

What types of constitutional amendments have been adopted?
The Constitution has been amended twenty-seven times since 1789. These amendments can be grouped into six categories:

**Bill of Rights**
Adopted in 1791, the first ten Amendments are referred to as the Bill of Rights. Many consider this collection of amendments to be part of the original Constitution. James Madison proposed the Bill of Rights in response to debates surrounding the ratification of the Constitution. Congress sent the states twelve amendments for consideration as the Bill of Rights. The states ratified only ten. However, in 1992 another of the original twelve was ratified as the Twenty-seventh Amendment, limiting Congress’s power to raise its own salaries. The twelfth proposed amendment, dealing with the number and apportionment of members of the House of Representatives, never became part of the Constitution.

**Fundamental changes**
The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments made changes that go to the core of the constitutional system. They outlaw slavery, define national citizenship, impose equal protection and due process requirements on the states, and give Congress expansive enforcement powers. Both amendments resulted from the Civil War and resolved issues not settled at the Constitutional Convention. Some scholars argue that the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments are equivalent to a second American constitution because of their effect on the American governmental system.

**Expansion of suffrage**
Six constitutional amendments expand the right to vote or increase the opportunity for direct political participation in elections. The Fifteenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-sixth Amendments prohibit states from denying the franchise based on race, gender, age of persons 18 or older, or failure to pay “any poll or other tax.” The Seventeenth Amendment provides for the direct election of senators. The Twenty-third Amendment gives residents of the District of Columbia the right to vote in elections for president and vice president.
Overturning Supreme Court decisions
Two Supreme Court decisions proved so controversial that they led to successful efforts to amend the Constitution. The Eleventh Amendment overturned *Chisholm v. Georgia* (1793), which many interpreted as improperly expanding the jurisdiction of federal courts at the expense of state courts. The Sixteenth Amendment overturned *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.* (1895), which barred Congress from levying an income tax.

Refinements
Four amendments address matters affecting Congress and the president that delegates to the Constitutional Convention did not anticipate:

The Twelfth Amendment changed Article II, Section 1, by requiring electors to make separate choices for president and vice president.

The Twentieth Amendment shortened the time between an election and when the president, vice president, and members of Congress take office. The amendment reflected communications and travel changes that made it possible for officials and the public to know election results sooner and for newly elected officeholders to travel to the nation's capital more quickly.

The Twenty-second Amendment limits presidents to two terms in office. The amendment gave the force of law to what had been an established custom until President Franklin D. Roosevelt stood for election an unprecedented four times.

The Twenty-fifth Amendment addresses gaps in Article II about what should happen on the death, disability, removal, or resignation of the president.

Morality
In the 1880s the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Prohibition Party argued that alcohol consumption had an unhealthy influence on American families and politics. Aided by organizations such as the Anti-Saloon League, these reformers persuaded Congress to propose the Eighteenth Amendment, outlawing the manufacture, sale, and transport of alcohol (private possession and consumption were not outlawed). The amendment was ratified in 1919. However, Americans soon concluded that the amendment was a mistake, and states ratified the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the Eighteenth, in 1933. The Twenty-first Amendment is the only amendment that has been ratified using the state convention method.

Source: Adapted from *We the People: The Citizen & the Constitution*, Level 3, Lesson 15, pages 106–7.
### Handout 2: List of Proposed Amendments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of Introduction</th>
<th>Proposed Amendment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>September 15, 2004—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Prohibits a person from being a senator or representative in Congress who has not attained the age of twenty-one years (thus lowering the age qualification for senators from thirty years and the age of members of the House of Representatives from twenty-five years). Rep. Philip English November 5, 2004: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>January 4, 2005—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Makes a person who has been a citizen of the United States for at least twenty years eligible to hold the office of president. Rep. John Conyers March 2, 2005: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>January 4, 2005—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Declares that the word <em>person</em>, as used in this amendment and in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution, applies to all human beings regardless of age, health, function, or condition of dependency, including unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development. Prohibits depriving any unborn person of life. Declares that this amendment does not (1) prohibit a law permitting medical procedures required to prevent the death of the mother of an unborn person or (2) limit the liberty of a mother regarding the unborn offspring conceived as a result of rape or incest. Rep. Jo Ann Emerson March 2, 2005: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
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<td><strong>March 2, 2005—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—States that all U.S. citizens shall have a right to decent, safe, sanitary, and affordable housing. Rep. Jesse Jackson April 4, 2005: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>April 13, 2005—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—States that no person born in the United States shall be a citizen of the United States, or of any state, on account of birth in the United States unless the mother or father of the person is a citizen of the United States, or is lawfully admitted for permanent residence in the United States, at the time of the birth. Rep. Mark Foley May 10, 2005: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
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<td><strong>May 12, 2005—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Authorizes Congress by law to provide for the appointment of temporary members of the House of Representatives to serve during any period in which 30 percent or more of the seats of the House are vacant due to death, resignation, or incapacity. Requires the temporary member to serve until a member is elected to fill the vacancy in accordance with the applicable laws regarding special elections in the state involved, or until the expiration of the six-month period beginning on the first day of the temporary member’s service, whichever occurs earlier. Rep. Zoe Lofgren June 6, 2005: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>July 14, 2005—Introduced</strong></td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Prohibits any state or the United States from taking private property for the purpose of transferring possession of, or control over, that property to another private person, except for a public conveyance or transportation project. Rep. Robert Aderholt August 23, 2005: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Amendment Name</td>
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| September 14, 2005   | Constitutional Amendment—Declares that a reference to God in the Pledge of Allegiance or on U.S. currency shall not be construed as affecting the establishment of religion under the first article of amendment of the Constitution. | Sen. Mary Landrieu  
September 14, 2005: Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
February 2, 2007: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| April 16, 2008       | Constitutional Amendment—Prohibits the United States or any state from imposing or carrying out the death penalty. | Rep. Betty McCollum  
April 28, 2008: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| January 6, 2009      | Constitutional Amendment—Health Protection Amendment of 2009—Declares that health care, including care to prevent and treat illness, is the right of all U.S. citizens and necessary to ensure the strength of the nation. | Rep. Betty McCollum  
February 9, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| January 6, 2009      | Constitutional Amendment—Declares that Congress and the states shall have power to prohibit desecration of the U.S. flag and to set criminal penalties for such act. | Sen. David Vitter  
January 6, 2009: Read twice and referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| January 7, 2009      | Every Vote Counts Amendment—Constitutional Amendment—Provides for the popular election of the president and vice president under a new electoral system. (Abolishes the electoral college.) | Rep. Raymond Green  
February 9, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| January 7, 2009      | Constitutional Amendment—Declares that the Constitution shall not be construed to prohibit individual or group prayer in public schools or other public institutions. Prohibits the United States or any state from requiring any person to participate in prayer or from prescribing the content of any prayer. | Rep. Jo Ann Emerson  
February 9, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
February 2, 2007: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| January 9, 2009      | Constitutional Amendment—Repeals the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution (authorizing taxation of income). | Rep. Steve King  
February 9, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| January 29, 2009     | Constitutional Amendment—Provides that no person shall be a senator from a state unless such person has been elected by the people thereof, and that when vacancies happen in the representation of any state in the Senate, the executive authority of such state shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies. | Sen. Russell Feingold  
August 6, 2009: Committee on the Judiciary. Ordered to be reported without amendment favorably.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
March 3, 2009—Introduced
Constitutional Amendment—Provides that all persons shall enjoy the right to a public education of equally high quality.
Rep. Jesse Jackson
March 16, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.

March 3, 2009—Introduced
Constitutional Amendment—Grants all persons the right to a clean, safe, and sustainable environment.
Rep. Jesse Jackson
March 16, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.

April 22, 2009—Introduced
Constitutional Amendment—Prohibits outlays for a fiscal year (except those for repayment of debt principal) from exceeding total receipts for that fiscal year (except those derived from borrowing) unless Congress, by a three-fifths roll call vote of each chamber, authorizes a specific excess of outlays over receipts. Requires a three-fifths roll call vote of each chamber to increase the public debt limit. Directs the president to submit a balanced budget to Congress annually. Prohibits any bill to increase revenue from becoming law unless approved by a majority of each chamber by roll call vote. Authorizes waivers of these provisions when a declaration of war is in effect or under other specified circumstances involving military conflict. Requires Congress, by appropriate legislation, to provide that outlays for natural disasters do not count as outlays under this Amendment.
Rep. Vern Buchanan
June 12, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.

April 27, 2009—Introduced
Naturalized Citizens Assistance Act—Amends the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 to add to the list of adult education and literacy programs for which certain grants must be used programs of financial literacy education for newly naturalized citizens to help them achieve financial literacy through instruction on such matters as banking, retirement savings, managing credit, as well as predatory lending, identity theft, and other financial abuse schemes.

Rep. Eddie Johnson
June 4, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on Higher Education, Lifelong Learning, and Competitiveness.

May 7, 2009—Introduced
Constitutional Amendment—Provides that the death penalty for the rape of a child who has not attained the age of 12 years does not constitute cruel and unusual punishment.
Rep. Louis Gohmert
June 12, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.

May 7, 2009—Introduced
Constitutional Amendment—Marriage Protection Amendment—Defines marriage in the United States as consisting only of the union of a man and a woman. Prohibits either the U.S. Constitution or the constitution of any state from being construed to require that marriage or the legal incidents of marriage be conferred upon any other union.
Rep. Paul Broun
June 12, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.

July 9, 2009—Introduced
Constitutional Amendment—Grants victims of violent crime the right to (1) reasonable notice of any public proceeding involving the crime, any release or escape from custody relating to the crime, a proposed pardon or commutation of a sentence, and of the rights established by this amendment; (2) be heard and to submit a statement in proceedings for a conditional release from custody, an acceptance of a negotiated plea, a sentencing, or a parole proceeding; (3) consideration of their interest that any trial be free from unreasonable delay; (4) an order of restitution from the offender; and (5) consideration of their safety in determining any conditional release from custody relating to the crime.
Rep. Bart Stupak
August 19, 2009: Referred to the Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amendment Description</th>
<th>Rep.</th>
<th>Subcommittee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>December 14, 2009</td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Limits members of the House of Representatives to nine terms and members of the Senate to three terms.</td>
<td>Tom Price</td>
<td>Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21, 2010</td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—States that the people shall have the right to enact and repeal any law which the Congress may pass, except for the right to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, make rules concerning captures on land and water, or call forth the militia.</td>
<td>Peter Hoekstra</td>
<td>Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 21, 2010</td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Prohibits corporations or labor organizations from using any of their operating funds or any other funds from their general treasuries to make any payment for any advertisement in connection with a campaign for election for federal office, without regard to whether or not the advertisement expressly advocates the election or defeat of a specified candidate in the election.</td>
<td>Leonard Boswell</td>
<td>Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 2, 2010</td>
<td>Constitutional Amendment—Permits Congress and the states to regulate the expenditure of funds for political speech by any corporation, limited liability company, or other corporate entity.</td>
<td>Donna Edwards</td>
<td>Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: www.Govtrack.us
Proposed Amendment Analysis Sheet

Amendment

What problem is the proposed amendment trying to solve? What issue does it address?

Scope (How many people are affected?)

Intensity (How deeply are the people affected? How much fear and anger is involved?)

Duration (How long has this been a problem?)
Resources (What is the cost of doing or not doing something?)


Does this amendment fit one of the categories (Bill of Rights, Fundamental Changes, Expansion of Suffrage, Overturning Supreme Court Decisions, Refinements, Morality) of previously adopted amendments? If yes, which category and how does it fit? If no, what category would it fit?


Using what you have learned about the triggering mechanisms involved with this proposed amendment and the way in which it relates to previously adopted amendments, draw a conclusion about why this amendment has not been adopted or strongly considered.


What is your prediction about the likelihood of the amendment being adopted in the future? Use the criterion above to justify your answer.
This Constitution and citizenship lesson is cosponsored by The American Association of School Administrators. AASA, founded in 1865, is the professional organization for more than 14,000 educational leaders across America and in many other countries. AASA’s mission is to support and develop effective school system leaders who are dedicated to the highest quality public education for all children. AASA’s major focus is standing up for public education. For more information, visit www.aasa.org.

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