

Innovations in Election Administration 6

**Motor Voter
Registration
Programs**



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Introduction by the Clearinghouse

This report is another in the series on *Innovations in Election Administration* being published by the FEC's National Clearinghouse on Election Administration.

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Motor Voter Registration Programs

Introduction

“Motor Voter” is the popular name for a system in which people can apply for voter registration in the same offices where they obtain driver’s licenses or, in a few cases, where they register vehicles. About half of the states now use some version of this system and legislation is pending in several others.

This report is designed for the benefit of jurisdictions that are considering adoption or modification. For this reason it draws upon examples from many jurisdictions to generalize about the effects of different program designs. It does not attempt to describe the complete or current operation of any single jurisdiction.

The implementation of a motor voter system requires the interaction of officials from two agencies, one having responsibility for voters and the other having responsibility for motor vehicle operators, who have no reason to be familiar with each other’s basic procedures. The report attempts to address both audiences and so includes some material that will seem basic and unnecessary to each.

The primary data sources used in this report are written surveys, telephone interviews, and site visits with voter registration and driver licensing personnel in the states and a sample of local jurisdictions that use motor voter. Information on registration procedures and administrative structure in all of the states came from the

National Clearinghouse of Elections Administration’s Technical Report Series. All population figures and estimates of voter registration are taken from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports Series P-20. Information on licensed drivers and driver licensing requirements came from Federal Highway Administration Driver License series.

Motor Voter Systems

This report details many of the variations in motor voter systems currently being used. It begins, however, with a basic model having a few common steps. (1) People waiting in an office to get driver’s licenses learn that they may also apply for voter registration or change their registration information there. (2) Those who wish to do so complete the necessary forms, with or without assistance from the staff in the office. (3) The completed form is sent, directly or indirectly, to the registration office of the locale where the applicant resides. (4) Registration officials act on the application more or less as they would on any other application.

Motor voter systems are often classified in three categories - *passive*, *active*, and *combined* - based upon variations of the first two steps described above. Passive systems place voter registration forms in the driver’s license office and rely on the voter’s initiative to complete them. The forms are separate from the driver’s license application and can be the same form that is used in other registration systems within that

jurisdiction. Active systems also use separate registration forms but provide a proactive means of notifying the voter. This may be a question printed on the driver's license application or a requirement that a clerk ask the applicant if he or she wishes to register.

Combined systems place the driver's license and voter registration applications on the same form, often sharing information to reduce redundancy. Notification of the voter is automatic; he or she encounters the voter registration opportunity in the process of completing the form.

Several jurisdictions have adopted a **computer-assisted** alternative to the combined form. A clerk collects the information necessary for a driver's license application and enters it into a computer. The computer then prints out a voter registration application for the applicant to review, modify as necessary, and sign. This system is like the combined system in that the applicant does not have to write the same information on two different forms. It is like the active system in that the clerk typically asks the voter if he or she wishes to register. This system is sufficiently distinct to merit separate discussion in this report.

Thus we have four basic systems:

- passive
- active
- combined
- computer-assisted.

Each system has variations and each distributes the tasks in the registration process differently among the applicants, motor vehicle agency staff, state election officials, and local election officials.

That, essentially, is what motor voter is. Because of the debate that has surrounded proposals for these systems in many jurisdictions, it is important to recognize what motor voter is not.

First, and most importantly, **no** system provides for an automatic registration at the driver's license bureau and **no** system allows people who could not otherwise vote to do so on the basis of a driver's license alone. The applications are sent

to the regular voter registration authorities, usually an office in the county or township where the prospective voter resides, and there they are processed just as other applications are, with a few procedural adjustments in some cases.

Second, motor voter does **not** require an integration or even an interface of computer systems between the motor vehicle and election offices. While such interaction is technically possible, only one jurisdiction studied for this report has attempted it, the State of Washington. Of course, the desirability of a computer link between driver licensing and voter registration systems may depend, in part, upon unique requirements of each state's election system. It is not, however, an inherent part of a motor voter system.

The ways in which a motor voter system can be implemented depend in large part upon the legal and organizational environment in which it is placed. Motor voter is a marriage of two distinct systems: the driver's license system and the voter registration system. Each has its own personnel, procedures, legal constraints, organizational culture, habits, and all the other characteristics which build up over time and which make each organization different. Joining certain operations of the two will require at least one organization to change procedures. The amount of change necessary, the willingness of the personnel from different agencies to cooperate, and the amount of outside resources or pressure available to facilitate the transition will all affect the success of the system.

Voter Registration Systems

The task of voter registration is to maintain a current list of persons who are eligible to vote in a specific jurisdiction or electoral district by reason of citizenship, residence, age, and the absence of any disqualifying conditions. In the United States the primary responsibility for initiating registration and keeping it current lies with the voter, but registration officials use a number of means to

ease the burden of registration and to collect information for voter file maintenance. Motor voter serves both functions of voter registration and voter file maintenance.

The organization and procedures for voter registration vary from state to state. They include a few common elements. (1) A voter obtains and completes an application. (2) The voter delivers or sends the application to an election official or board. (3) The board reviews the application for completeness and conformity to state law. (4) The board registers the names of successful applicants and notifies those who were rejected. (5) The board maintains the registration records and provides them to other officials as needed. The most common usage is for checking voter eligibility at the polling places on election day. (6) Between elections registrars try to keep their files current by recording changes of name or address and by removing the names of persons who have died, moved away, or otherwise become ineligible to vote in that jurisdiction. Motor voter is directly involved in elements 1, 2, and 6.

Jurisdictional boundaries are much more important in voter registration systems than they are in driver's license systems. A driver's license is valid for the entire state and, temporarily, in all other states. Voter registration is valid only in the electoral district where the voter resides. The reason, of course, is that representation in the United States is based upon geographic districts. Where one lives determines where one votes.

Because of its historical association with place, voter registration has almost always been a function of local government. (Alaska is an exception, using a statewide system of four regional offices and 3,000 appointed registrars.) The most common form of organization is based on the county. The registration function may be housed in the office of the county clerk, in a separate election office, or even in a separate voter registration office. Many of these offices are headed by elected officials. In other cases the registration officials are appointed, usually through some procedure to guarantee representation of differ-

ent parties. Some registration systems are decentralized to townships and/or municipalities, as is the case in some New England and midwestern states. These offices can be very independent of each other, even to the point of designing their own registration forms. The authority that state election officials can wield over the registration process varies widely, but it is generally less than that of their counterparts in the state driver's license systems.

The degree of decentralization in a voter registration system is important because motor voter systems require coordination among registrars as well as between registrars and driver's license personnel. Coordination is necessary in the design of forms and in the transfer of applications to the appropriate jurisdictions. Both of these steps are discussed later in this report. Coordination is also important, especially important, in the planning of the many features of the program, including legislation, administrative procedures, training, monitoring, and evaluation. Thus, it is essential to recognize who the players are in any state system and to ensure that their views and existing procedures and constraints are taken into account.

Driver Licensing Systems

Except in the District of Columbia, the licensing of drivers is a state function, although various local governments and even private agencies may also be involved in the process. The basic steps appear to be common to all systems. (1) New applicants go to an office to apply for a driver's license. Some applicants may have to visit two offices, depending upon the state and whether they require a driving test. (2) They are tested. (3) Each applicant takes her or his test results and completed application form to a member of the office staff, who reviews it and, usually, enters the relevant information into a computer on the spot. The computer is likely to be a local terminal for a statewide system. (4) A staff member photographs the applicant. (5) The photograph will be laminated to a card which

contains the applicant's name and other personal information. If this step is not completed in the office, the applicant receives a temporary card and the regular card will be mailed later. (6) The applicant receives the card and leaves the office.

The driver licensing system is run by the state and designed to be accessible statewide. This fact has several consequences for motor voter. Because the system is statewide, changes in official procedure will normally have to be statewide, especially any changes involving the central computer. Thus, the scope of any implementation effort will be large. On the other hand, there will be a central state office and a hierarchy which can set policy and facilitate implementation in local offices. In fact, the state agency that licenses drivers will normally have more authority over its field offices than the state's chief election or registration officer will have over local registrars.

Another, and equally important, implication of the system is that the jurisdiction of the driver's license offices is statewide. Applicants are not limited to offices in their city, county, or township of residence. There are cities, townships, and even counties that have no full-time driver's license office. As a result, ***the jurisdiction of most driver's license offices will not be the same as the jurisdiction of voter registration offices.*** This situation complicates the transfer of applications between offices. Different states solve this problem in different ways. The major approaches are discussed under the heading "Transfer Responsibilities" below.

Statewide organization can be most facilitative of motor voter implementation in those few states where the chief election officer is in charge of driver's licenses as well. In fact, the first motor voter system was initiated by the Secretary of State in Michigan where this is the case. Having a common authority over both functions solves a lot of coordination problems. The most important point for most states, however, is that they will lack that common authority and must provide other means of coordination. At least one state is

reported to have copied Michigan's system without any adjustments for the different authority structures and to have suffered a number of coordination problems as a result.

Points of Comparison between Voter Registration and Driver Licensing Systems

As the preceding discussion suggests, voter registration and driver licensing systems are similar in some ways and different in others. Since motor voter requires a joining of these two systems, a systematic comparison on key points may be helpful.

■ **Function.** The systems perform similar functions. Each establishes applicants' eligibility to perform officially sanctioned acts (voting or driving). Each collects and stores data on individuals in order to certify that eligibility as necessary. It is this similarity that creates the prospect of using part of the driver licensing system (information collection) in the voter registration process. And because they perform these functions for large numbers of people, the two systems share another feature: the effect of anything that changes the routine processing of individual cases is multiplied many times over. Small changes can have big consequences.

■ **Jurisdiction.** As noted above, the systems typically differ with regard to jurisdiction. Driver licensing is performed by a state agency with district offices or, as in the case of Ohio, by private contractors working for a state agency. The organization is hierarchical; a state official is in charge. Voter registration is usually a county or township function. Local registrars are often elected, and the authority of state election officers varies considerably from state to state.

■ **Identification of Applicants.** Every state requires some positive identification before the applicant can receive her or his first license to

drive in that jurisdiction. (FHWA 1992) In contrast, only fifteen states require positive identification by all applicants for voter registration. (Kimberling 1990)

■ **Information Requirements.** The ability to share information is an important consideration in combined-form and computer-assisted systems. All driver licensing and voter registration agencies in the United States require the name and the age or birth date of the applicant. All require an address, as well, but driver licensing agencies will typically accept a mailing address while voter registration agencies must have a residence. The following information items are requested on voter registration applications in at least twenty jurisdictions (states or the District of Columbia) and are not normally collected by driver licensing systems: place of birth, political party, citizenship status, and place of prior registration. (Kimberling 1990, FHWA 1992)

■ **Renewals.** Unlike voter registrations, driver's licenses are issued for specified terms, which vary with the type of license and individual ages and driving records. Forty-three states and the District of Columbia have maximum terms of four years or less. The remaining seven states have maximum terms of five years. At a minimum, the renewal process requires the driver to review the information on the license and attest to its correctness by signature. All but eleven states mail renewal notices to drivers. In order to spread the workload, most states schedule renewals on or around the applicant's birthday. A few use the issuance date. (FHWA 1992)

■ **Populations Served.** Figure 1 displays the relative size of three groups - persons licensed to drive, persons registered to vote, and persons voting - all as percentages of the voting age population. This graph illustrates two important points. First, more people have driver's licenses than are registered or vote. In 1990, almost 90 percent of the voting age population had driver's licenses, but only 62 percent were registered to vote. Both figures are approximations. The im-

portant point is that there is a large difference between the rates. Approximately one fourth of the age-eligible population is licensed to drive but not registered to vote. This is the target for motor voter programs.

Second, the patterns are different among the three groups. Except for an anomalous bump in 1974, the driver's license line follows a steady path of gradual increase. Registration and voting rates, on the other hand, traced similar patterns of decline during the time frame covered by this chart. The largest drop came between 1968 and 1974. The patterns oscillated around a nearly constant rate from 1974 through 1988 and then dropped slightly in 1990. Both rates reflect the four-year cycle of participation associated with presidential elections, but the amplitude is greater for voting rates than for registration rates. This difference reflects the facts that voting requires a positive act at each election but names stay on registration lists until they are purged. Nevertheless, registration rates are affected by the appeal of particular elections. This fact complicates any attempt to measure the effects of different registration systems. One has to take into account the effects of different elections.

Driver licensing and voter registration rates vary by age group, as well. Figure 2 shows that both rates start low and rise steadily with increasing age. Yet the driver licensing rate starts higher and peaks at an earlier age. Among the 18-19 age group 80 percent have driver's licenses but only 30 percent are registered to vote. The driver's license rate surpasses 90 percent at the 20-24 age, remains above that mark until the 55-59 age group, and then declines to 67 percent for the group above age 70. The voter registration rate is only 43 percent for the 20-24 age group, but it continues upward to 78 percent for the 65-69 age group and declines only slightly to 75 percent for those over age 70. There are several possible explanations for this pattern, including the different experiences of the generations as they reached driving and voting ages at different times in our history. To the extent that this pattern is stable, however, it represents an especially large target

for motor voter among young people. And the table also suggests that, once registered, people tend to stay registered.

Other Registration Systems

In addition to motor voter, states use several other methods to facilitate voter registration and file maintenance. These include: deputy registrars, agency registration, mail registration, election day registration, and statewide computer registration files. Do these affect the implementation of motor voter? Not directly, it appears, except when the law for deputy registrars is applied to motor vehicle personnel. That issue is covered under "Legal Requirements" below.

There are some indirect effects, however. The most common of these is the familiarization of the public. Where they have become comfortable with one method of voter outreach, they are likely to accept another. For example, one official pointed out that the debate over mail registration in his state had been heavily concerned with the issue of potential fraud or multiple registration. This issue did not arise later in the discussion of motor voter. He attributed that fact to the general satisfaction with the way mail registration had worked out. Motor voter is the more secure of the two systems because, in most cases, people apply in person before a government employee.

An official in Minnesota pointed out that election day registration reduced the pressure for rapid transfer of applications from the driver's license agencies to the voter registration agencies. The potential for a person to apply at a motor vehicle office just before the announced deadline for registration but too late for the application to reach the voter registration office is an issue of concern in some states. That is not a problem in Minnesota because the person would be allowed to vote in any case, due to election day registration at the polls.

Perhaps most interesting is the lack of any interaction with existing state registration files in those states that have them. A number of

observers have expressed concern over the cost of reprogramming to interface the separate computers handling driver's licenses and voter registration files. That has not been an issue in the states which have motor voter systems because only two of them reported any conversion or any interface between the systems. In every system there is a manual transfer of a physical document. The potential for computer interaction has not been fully developed, and a number of systems are working quite well without it.

Elements of Motor Voter Systems

No two states have identical motor voter systems. Indeed, there is some variation of practice even within states. The following section analyzes motor voter systems according to seven principal elements: methods of notifying prospective applicants, application forms, roles of staff in driver's license offices, legal requirements affecting the role of staff, responsibilities for transferring completed applications from the driver's license office to the voter registration office, special activities undertaken by registrars, and renewals. Each element has several possible variations, and the way in which these variations are combined defines a motor voter system.

Notification

Because applicants will not necessarily have come to the driver's license office knowing that they can also register to vote, each motor voter system has some means of informing them. There are three methods in use: *passive*, *active*, and *automatic*.

■ *Passive*. The passive method relies on signs posted in the office to inform voters that they may register to vote. It is always used in conjunction with separate application forms, rather than combined forms. The New Mexico system offers an example. Signs are posted in each district office of the Department of Motor Vehicles. The applicant must request a form from an official in

the office. (See Exhibit 1.) At least in the jurisdictions surveyed, the applicant and the official complete the form on the spot. That is, the official types in information provided by the applicant, and the applicant checks the information and signs the form. The motor vehicle office takes responsibility for sending the completed form to the appropriate county clerk.

The advantage of the passive system is ease of initial implementation. Each office continues to use its own forms and most of its former procedures. The chief disadvantage of the system is that it relies for its effectiveness upon the public to read, understand, and act upon the signs. Then, to the extent that the public does attempt to use the system, it will impose some demands upon staff in the driver's license office. If the staff types the form for the applicant, or even checks it for accuracy, there is an obvious investment of time. Conversely, without such checking the system loses an important quality control. Moreover, in a busy office if the voter has to obtain the form, get out of line to complete it, and then stand in line to have it checked, much of the convenience of motor voter registration will be lost. Finally, every motor voter system, including the passive system, creates some expectation on the part of the applicant that the public official working in the office will be able and willing to answer questions about voting. Systems vary in the way in which staff are instructed to respond to questions. (This issue is covered more fully under "Role of Staff" below.) A passive system imposes some demands on office staff. The chief savings seem to come, not in processing time per voter, but in start-up costs and in smaller numbers of applicants who take advantage of this system compared with other systems.

■ **Active.** In active notification systems the driver's license offices take a proactive role by asking their clients, individually, whether they wish to register to vote or change their registration. Those who respond affirmatively are given a separate voter registration form to complete. Michigan's system, the first motor voter program

in the nation, fits this category and serves as a useful illustration. The Secretary of State has responsibility for the issuing of driver's licenses. Staff in each of the 179 Secretary of State Branch Offices are supposed to offer voter registration as part of each transaction. Persons who wish to register receive the application pictured in Exhibit 2. They complete it in the presence of a staff member, who also signs the application, thereby satisfying Michigan's requirement for registration in person.

The obvious advantage of an active system over a passive one is that, if it is properly implemented, it insures that each client in the office recognizes the opportunity to register. And the person who notifies the applicant also provides the application form and any directions needed.

Michigan adds another step by including a voter registration application in the driver's license renewal notice, which is mailed to each resident forty-five days before her or his license expires. The recipient must still appear in person to make a change in voter registration, but the application serves as an additional reminder and, if the applicant brings in a completed application, it is simply affixed to the form shown in Exhibit 2 so that the applicant does not have to repeat the same information.

The principal disadvantage of this system is that it relies upon personnel in the driver's license offices to make it work. Voter registration officials in several of the states using such systems complain that the staff do not always ask. Reasons suggested include lack of training, indifference or even hostility to the goals of the program, and the extra work required. Assisting the applicant and signing the form takes a little time, but a little time per client in a busy office can add to a lot. When there is a line waiting, the clerk must take time from the primary function of the office (driver's licenses) to serve the primary function of another office (voter registration). Finally, a clerk who is unsure of what to do and is

anxious about the consequences of an error can avoid the problem by simply not asking the question.

States have used several techniques to combat the problem of staff non-compliance. One is training, making sure that the staff know what is to be done and how to do it. Where there is a high turnover or transfer rate among driver's license staff, training must be repeated often. Obviously, the degree of support exhibited by the state driver's license agency is very important. Oversight is vital in this regard. Michigan has an ideal situation in that the author and chief proponent of the program has line authority over the personnel who issue driver's licenses. His office makes clear the policy that this is an important program for agency personnel. And it monitors compliance by comparing the number of address changes for driver's licenses and voter registration received from each office. If the system is working properly, these figures should be close. If they are not, the state office makes an inquiry.

Another technique is the use of deputy registrars in the driver's license offices. The local registrar deputizes at least one clerk in each office. This step is often taken as a requirement of state law (see "Legal Requirements," below), but it also establishes a direct link between the registrar and the implementing personnel in the driver's license office. Moreover, people who volunteer for the position will usually be favorable to the goals of the program. A disadvantage of this approach is that, if only one or two people are deputized in an office, the program may falter if these people are absent or even very busy.

■ **Automatic.** Automatic systems place a question on the driver's license application to notify the applicant that he or she may register to vote, using a separate form. The Arizona Amended Motor Voter Form (Exhibit 3) illustrates the driver's license application in such a system. Those who respond affirmatively proceed to apply for registration much as they would in other systems using separate forms.

An obvious advantage of the automatic system is that it does not depend upon office personnel to notify the voter. Indeed, when properly implemented, it forces the applicant to make a written response to the question. On the other hand, the system does require redesigning and printing of driver's license applications. More importantly, it, too, is not absolutely foolproof. Some people have checked "yes" and assumed that they would be registered without further action on their part. This problem can be avoided by having the office staff check the response to the voter registration question and advise the applicants how to proceed. But relying on staff to do so undermines some of the advantage of the automatic system over the active system.

Combined forms are also automatic and, in this case, the request for voter information is on the same form. (See Figure 2.) Thus it seems even more unlikely that the prospective voters will either miss the notice or mistakenly believe that they have registered simply by checking a box.

Application Forms

There are three types of motor voter application forms: **separate**, **combined**, and **computer assisted**. The first two of these are completed manually. One is physically separate from the driver's license application and the other is combined on the same form with the driver's license application. With the third type most of the voter information is printed by a computer on a form or transferred directly in machine readable form. These types have some important similarities and differences which affect the way in which motor voter programs work.

All motor voter systems, including those that are computer assisted, use manual forms to record the necessary information and the voter's signature. The information requirements vary as a function of state law. The National Clearinghouse on Election Administration has published a summary of these requirements for each state and the District of Columbia. (Kimberling, 1990)

In every system studied for this report the voter registration office receives a form with an *original* signature. This point is very important for law enforcement officials investigating voter fraud cases. The ways in which the forms capture the necessary information and original signature vary from state to state. The primary considerations involved in the design of forms seem to be compatibility with the existing forms used by registration offices or driver licensing offices and with the system for transferring forms (individual mail, bulk mail, etc).

A special problem arises for a state that does not already have a standard registration form in use throughout the state at the time that the motor voter system is adopted. The problem stems from the inconsistency of jurisdictions between voter registration and driver licensing offices. A driver's license office can typically serve anyone in the state. People may visit a driver licensing office near their place of employment or where they go to school, for example, in a different county or township from their voting residence. It is not practical for the driver's license office to maintain voter registration forms for every county in the state, so some voters will use a registration form that is different from the one used in their county.

The effects of the problem become apparent when the application reaches the voter's home jurisdiction. The issue is usually not one of eligibility since most applications will contain the essential information in one place or another. It is, rather, one of fitting an outsized form into the file system. The jurisdiction's application form was designed to fit the storage system, or vice versa. The form from another county does not fit, but it has to be kept because it contains the voter's original signature.

Cook County, Illinois, provides an example. It has over 1,000,000 registered voters outside of the City of Chicago. The cards containing the voters' signatures must be delivered to the polls on election day. (Illinois is one of eighteen states that require signature verification at the polling

place.) The County Clerk's office organizes the cards within separate binders for the different precincts to which they must be delivered. New cards must be placed in their proper alphabetical order within the binders so that poll workers can locate them quickly during the rush of business on election day. Thus, Cook County has a substantial sunk cost in its present system. Cook County and the other election jurisdictions of Illinois may have to deal with this issue soon since they do not share a standard registration form and the legislature has passed a motor voter bill (which the governor had not acted on at the time of this report).

Note that the Illinois example illustrates a combination of two distinct conditions that affect the implementation of motor voter programs. One is the lack of uniformity in the size and shape of voter registration applications among local jurisdictions. The other is the legal requirement to have documents containing the voters' original signatures at the polling places. A state can have one problem without the other. Like most problems these are easier to solve in isolation than in combination.

If nonuniformity is the only issue, then the problem is one of integrating motor voter forms with the existing physical storage and retrieval systems of the local jurisdictions. The magnitude of this task will vary with the size of the jurisdiction. Clearly, the sunk cost in filing cabinets and the importance of strict procedures will be much greater in a jurisdiction having hundreds of thousands of registrants than in one which has a few thousand.

Local procedures also affect the task. Many jurisdictions that do not require signature verification at the polling place routinely transfer the information from all application cards to some other medium. Most large and many small jurisdictions use computers to store, sort, retrieve, and print the voter registration information as needed. If necessary, a field can be added to computer records to indicate that the original application came through the motor voter pro-

gram and is stored in a different file from the regular applications. (Such a field would also be useful in measuring the impact of the motor voter program. See "Motor Voter Measurements," below.) Many offices without computers still routinely type registration information onto new cards, which they use in their normal operations while storing the original for safekeeping. In these cases the impact of a differently sized or shaped form associated with a motor voter program is not great.

If, on the other hand, the regular voter registration forms are uniform in all local jurisdictions of a state, it is possible to simply adopt a motor voter application of the same size and shape. Such applications will fit the existing files of all jurisdictions and can be sent to the polling places in the same manner as regular applications where signature verification is required. This was the approach taken by Nevada, which standardized its voter affidavits before adopting motor voter.

The two considerations discussed here - nonuniformity of local registration forms and the requirement for signature verification at the polls - constrain, but do not necessarily determine, the type of form chosen for a motor voter program. Other issues are involved and each type has advantages and disadvantages, as described below.

■ **Separate forms.** In most motor voter systems the voter registration application and the driver license application are printed on separate forms. The registration application may be the same one that is used in the voter registration office or it may be a different form designed for statewide use, especially where the local jurisdictions do not use a standard form. Exhibit 4 displays the Ohio form, which is used for both motor voter and mail registration. Note that the forms are self-mailing. Applicants may mail them to the Secretary of State for further distribution, take them to their local board of elections, or leave them at the driver's license office to be picked up by the local board of elections.

Like Illinois, Ohio requires election officials to send cards containing the voters' original signa-

tures to the polling place for signature verification on election day. Nancy Van Meter, Director of the Ashland County Board of Elections, described the way in which they make the system work in her county. The nearest driver's license office is the Ashland Auto Club (AAA), a private organization that works on contract with the state of Ohio. Her office supplies the auto club with Ashland County voter registration forms (Exhibit 5), which the club then provides to county residents who need them. These applications fit the county's binders and require no special processing when they reach the election board. On the other hand, the auto club and similar organizations around the state give the state form (Exhibit 4) to motor voter applicants who reside in other counties. When applications using the state forms come in to the Board of Elections, the staff must copy the information to an Ashland County form and then cut out and paste the original signature to that form. This is a tedious process, but it allows the Board to accommodate the motor voter forms within its existing system. The fact that most motor voter applications use the county form greatly reduces the burden.

The State of Michigan also uses separate forms for motor voter applications and has encountered the same compatibility problem. Its solution was to print the motor voter application on one side of heavy stock paper and to put adhesive and a peel-off backing on the other side (see Exhibit 2). The card is perforated along the dotted lines so that it can be easily divided into sections. When the backing is removed, the sections can be stuck onto appropriately sized forms at each local voter registration office. This approach makes transferring the information and the original signature easy, although it does increase the cost of the forms. The Secretary of State's office recently paid \$45,000 for 850,000 forms, a price of just over five cents per copy.

A number of other jurisdictions use separate forms as well. This type of form has several advantages and disadvantages. It appears to be the least expensive option in terms of printing or

start-up costs. It does not require a change in the existing driver's license applications, although some jurisdictions add a question to the driver's license form asking whether the applicant wishes to register to vote. (This point is discussed under "Notification," below.) Election officials are free to adopt an existing application or to design a new one.

There are disadvantages, as well. Separate forms require more work on the part of the voter, who must manually fill in much of the same information already provided on the driver license application. In most cases this is not a critical problem, as the success of some systems using separate forms will attest. Nevertheless, a few officials in driver licensing offices suggested that they lose some potential applicants as a result. The scenario they present is a large, busy office in which the applicant has already been waiting for some time. This is, of course, a subjective evaluation that addresses the reaction of a relatively small number of potential applicants. The available evidence indicates a generally positive reaction on the part of potential voters to a well implemented motor voter program using separate forms. (See "Motor Voter Measurements," below.)

A second problem with separate forms is that they are not well integrated into the organizational routines of the driver licensing office. This is the flip side of the ease-of-implementation advantage. As will be discussed in the following section, separate forms always require some independent means of notifying the prospective applicant of the opportunity to register. Some election officials interviewed for this project complained that the driver's license personnel did not always ask clients if they wished to register. This possibility is understandable, especially in large, busy offices. Clerks must take time from a mission for which they were hired and trained in order to perform a job they consider to be the work of another agency. And there is clear evidence of wholesale non-implementation in some cases. (See "Motor Voter Measurements" in this report.)

On the other hand, there are ways to deal with this problem and some of the most successful systems in the country use separate forms. To preview a conclusion of this report: the success of motor voter programs using separate forms is more dependent upon the attitude and effort of implementing personnel than are programs using other (combined or computer-assisted) forms.

■ **Combined forms**, as the name implies, put both the driver's license and voter registration applications on a single document. There are two types of combined forms - tearoff and duplicate.

Tearoff forms. This type of form consists of two applications printed on the same sheet or card, which is perforated for easy separation. Iowa uses a tearoff form, pictured in Exhibit 6. In this case the voter application is attached to the written test for a driver license. The voter registration section is the top portion of the form. The tearoff combined form is one step removed from the separate form in that the driver's license and voter registration applications are attached. This step is important because it guarantees that the voter registration process will be integrated with the routines of the driver licensing office. Notification of the prospective applicant is automatic. On the other hand, the applicant must still complete all necessary information on each form. In this respect the tearoff combined form is like the separate form. (Minnesota is another state with experience using a tearoff form; this year they have changed to a carbon duplicate form.) Combining applications, either as tearoff or duplicates, adds an additional constraint to the design of the forms. They must meet the needs of the driver licensing organization as well. This point will be explored more fully after the presentation of the duplicate combined forms below.

Duplicate forms. This type of form goes one step further than the tearoff form. It is designed to copy information from one application to another so that the voter does not have to write the same information twice. Two jurisdictions use duplicate combined forms, Colorado and Washington, D.C.

The Washington, D.C., form uses pressure sensitive paper to make a copy of part of the combined application. Exhibit 7 displays the top sheet of the combined form. This is the application for a motor vehicle operator's permit. It overlays the second sheet, which is the voter registration application. Because the first sheet is shorter, the lower sections of the second sheet (Sections 7 through 9) are visible to the applicant. Exhibit 8 illustrates. The first sheet is pressure sensitive so that the needed information from the top form copies onto the second. Exhibit 9 shows the entire voter application form. When it is completed, Sections 1 through 3 and Section 6 will contain information duplicated from the driver's license application. Sections 7 through 9 will contain original information, including an original signature. When the forms are separated, the Bureau of Motor Vehicles receives top sheet (Exhibit 7) and the Board of Elections receives the bottom sheet (Exhibit 9).

Note that the information captured in Sections 1, 2, and 3 of this form goes to both agencies. The only additional information required for voter registration is the individual's party, last voter registration address, signature, date, and daytime telephone number. Three features of this form deserve special attention here. First, note that Section 2 asks for "Current Residence (Street Address)." This is an important feature from the point of view of election officials who must assign voters to districts based upon the geographic location of their residences. Driver licensing agencies will often accept a commercial address or a post office box, so it is important that the form is specific on this issue.

Second, the form asks for a positive declaration that the individual meets the qualifications for voting. One does not have to be a U.S. citizen, for example, to get a driver license. The D.C. Director of Elections, Emmett Fremaux, points out that he gets an additional check on citizenship from the information contained in the box labeled "FOR BMVS USE ONLY" in the upper right corner of the form. If the applicant did not use a U.S. birth

certificate or naturalization papers to establish age, that fact could trigger an inquiry into citizenship status for voting purposes.

Finally, the bottom sheet of the combined form is printed on heavy stock paper so that it can be used as a file copy. The District of Columbia does not require signature verification at the polling place, so sending the forms there is not an issue. This example does show, however, that a combined form can be designed to meet physical filing and retrieval needs of a jurisdiction.

Colorado did require signature verification at the time that it adopted a combined-form motor voter system. Its form is smaller and does not produce a heavy-stock copy (Exhibit 10). The solution for the first year of operation was to paste the motor voter application onto the regular application, which was of the right size and shape for the binders used in the polling places. Shortly thereafter Colorado dropped the requirement for original signatures at the polling place.

The advantages of the combined form are several. First, the voter registration process is completely integrated into the operating routines of the office and notification of the applicant is automatic. There is no way for an applicant to complete a motor vehicle transaction without learning that he or she may also apply for voter registration. Second, the combined form does not require any redundant information on the part of the voter. Finally, the combined form may produce some useful information that is not normally captured by voter registration applications.

The disadvantages of the combined form are the amount of coordination needed to initiate the program and the continuing costs of printing. Driver's license and election officials must together design a form that meets the needs of both agencies. This step will take time and a willingness to cooperate on both parts. The driver licensing agency may have substantial sunk costs in its own forms and the operating procedures built around them. Change will require some adjust-

ment on their part. Costs can be offset and resistance can be overcome, but they must be recognized as important factors in motor voter implementation. Of course, change can bring benefits as well as costs. The head of the driver licensing agency in the District was initially concerned that motor voter would increase the cost of forms and slow down operations in the agency. Yet in designing the new motor voter form the Bureau of Motor Vehicles was able to combine three of its existing forms into the new application, thereby streamlining its own operations. There were delays during the initial implementation of the program (ten to fifteen minutes longer waits than usual), but the process is now faster than before.

Duplicate combined forms do cost more. At six cents per copy the individual forms are not much more expensive than Michigan's peel-off form. However, Michigan's separate forms are used only for motor voter transactions while the D.C. combined forms are used for voter registration, operator permits, learner permits, identification cards, organ donor designations, and address changes on the above. Thus the increased cost of the form is multiplied by the greater number of transactions in which it is used. And as Leroy Bennett of the D.C. driver's license office pointed out, forms with a lot of white space are sometimes wasted by people who are looking to write notes or give their children something to draw on while they wait. Emmett Fremaux, Executive Director of the D.C. Board of Elections and Ethics, estimates the increased expense attributable to motor voter as three cents per form. A total usage rate of 180,000 forms per year for 30,000 motor voter applications produces a cost attributable to motor voter of \$.18 per completed application. This price is, for his jurisdiction, considerably less than that of other forms of voter outreach. (Fremaux, 1991)

Colorado recently switched from pressure sensitive forms to carbon paper in order to reduce costs. A batch of 200,000 new forms cost \$5,000, for a price of \$.025 per copy. This is the price of an

individual form, more comparable to the District cost of \$.06 per copy than to the \$.18 per completed application. The D.C. form is larger, more complicated, and pressure sensitive, hence the greater cost. Yet since the design of the forms affects numerous other costs in the program (personnel, transportation, storage, etc.), these costs do not represent net efficiencies of one program over another. For example, Colorado added personnel to its motor vehicle offices and D.C. did not. Different programs absorb costs in different ways. Still, these figures are useful benchmarks for other jurisdictions considering motor voter programs.

■ **Computer assisted applications.** Three states—Montana, Oregon, and Washington—have computer assisted application procedures. All of them capture an applicant's driver license information in a local computer, either from a manually completed application form or by the applicant telling it to an official at the computer. For renewals this information should already be in the computer. The Oregon and Montana systems use the computer to print out most of the needed information on the voter registration card, which is attached to the driver's license "camera card." Washington uses a separate form to capture an original signature for the registrars' files, but has electronic transfer of information between driver's license and voter registration systems.

Exhibit 11 displays the Oregon form. This is the camera card, a computer generated card that is used with the applicant's picture to make up the actual driver's license. The personal information that will appear on the driver's license is printed from the computer onto the middle section of the card. The applicant's name, address, date of birth, mother's maiden name, and place of birth are printed on the voter registration application. If the applicant does not wish to register or change registration, the official tears off the last section and places it in a designated container at the work station. Those who receive the registration card review it, add information as

necessary, and sign it. In this way the Oregon system uses the computer to avoid requiring redundant information from the voter whereas combined forms use the pressure sensitive paper or carbon copies to accomplish the same purpose.

The state of Washington uses a different procedure. The driver's license applicant who wishes to register to vote does not receive a printout. Instead, the driver licensing official simply keys a "yes" button to a response on a computer screen, thereby flagging the record for copying and transfer to the Secretary of State's office. The applicant receives a separate form (Exhibit 12). The applicant completes the form by printing her or his name in block 6 and signing in the two spaces provided. The applicant is supposed to fill in any other information that is not included in the driver's license record. These forms and the electronically coded data on the applicants go to the Secretary of State's office, where a specially designated motor voter staff match them and sort them by county for transfer to the appropriate local election officials. The voter information is currently sent on printouts, although the state may develop procedures to transfer it in machine readable form to the counties.

This is a complex system which has experienced some start-up problems, as one might expect. The program began in January of 1992. Sometimes signature cards do not match the names on the printout, or there are multiple matches because people have the same name and the staff cannot immediately determine which signature goes with which record. The Secretary of State's staff tries to reconcile these difficulties. If it cannot, it sends a report to the counties for their help. This example illustrates an important point for jurisdictions that are considering adopting or changing motor voter systems. Any new program is likely to encounter a shakedown period. What appears most impressive from site visits to the states of Washington and Oregon is that they reduced the number of such difficulties through careful planning and that the officials

concerned are working through the problems in an orderly fashion.

All of the computer assisted systems, like the combined systems, save the voter the trouble filling in the same information twice. This advantage has a downside. Some voters do not take the trouble to enter additional information even when it is needed. This problem seems to occur most often with addresses. Some people put post office boxes or commercial addresses on driver's license applications and they fail to fill in the blank on the voter registration card that asks for residence address. Registration officials in Washington and Oregon pointed out this problem, but none characterized it as being a major problem.

As is also true with the combined form, the start-up costs are greater than with separate forms. In this case the driver's license computers have to be reprogrammed. Oregon estimated a cost of \$4900 for this step. In the Oregon system, the voter application form had to be compatible with the driver's license form, but the marginal cost of the addition was small, an estimated \$2143 in the first year of operation. The Washington and Montana forms are separate. This choice eases the design constraints and also means that forms are not wasted when driver's license applicants do not need or wish to register. On the other hand, the applicant does not see and verify the voter registration information.

Legal Requirements

Two common legal requirements affect the way in which motor voter operates: deputy registrars and registration in person. Some states' election laws require that all applications for voter registration be administered by registrars or deputy registrars, and some of these states have carried this rule over into their motor voter systems by providing that driver licensing staff be deputized. A problem arises where deputization is done by a local registrar or county clerk and the jurisdiction of the deputy is, by

law, the same as that of the person deputizing. Because the jurisdiction of the driver's license office is normally statewide, this requirement can limit the effect of motor voter and can cause much confusion as people try to register in offices outside their voting jurisdiction. A few states have dealt with this problem by providing in the enabling legislation that any employee of the motor vehicle or driver's license department has authority to take registration statewide. If the statute is silent on this issue, existing voter registration requirements will generally govern.

Many states require that all applicants, except for the disabled and those temporarily out of the jurisdiction, register in person. This requirement has actually been a stimulus for motor voter, which provides for registration in person before an employee of the state. Registration in person, coupled with a very decentralized registration system, was a reason for the creation of the first motor voter system, according to Michigan Secretary of State Richard H. Austin, who pioneered the system. Michigan has 269 cities and 1242 townships. Many people had difficulty discovering where they could go to register, and the fact that some of the small offices kept irregular hours compounded the problem. The motor voter system allowed a citizen to apply in any driver's license office in the state during regular business hours and, in many offices, on Saturday as well.

Role of the Staff in Driver's License Office

The preceding discussion has frequently alluded to the staff in the driver's license office. This section summarizes the various duties which should be considered in the design of a motor voter system.

■ **Notification.** The active system of voter notification depends for its success upon the staff to inform voters of their opportunity to register. Other systems are less dependent.

■ **Questions.** Upon learning that they may apply for voter registration in the driver's license

office, many people will assume that the staff are both able and obligated to answer all manner of questions about elections. Agency officials will have to consider what information the staff should provide and how it should be provided. Too little information can result in improper registrations; too much takes time away from other duties and increases the chances of conflict with information disseminated by regular election officials such as the local registrar. Oregon provides staff with a pamphlet to give to applicants. The pamphlet answers some questions and tells applicants to direct all other questions to their county clerk's office. This system seems to accomplish its purpose, although it produces some frustration within the Department of Motor Vehicles, which strives to imbue staff with a strong service orientation yet must tell them to limit their responses on election issues.

■ **Assistance.** Staff may be called upon to provide assistance in completing forms for handicapped or illiterate applicants. In addition, some registration offices have complained about illegible handwriting and have requested motor voter staff to check the forms submitted at their offices. Registrars want the problem corrected at the source, whenever possible, because it is easier to ask questions of the applicant standing in the office than it is to telephone or mail a question after the fact, assuming that the registrars can even identify the applicant from an illegible form. This problem is not unique to motor voter; it can occur with deputy registrars and mail registration as well. The principal issue here is time. In some jurisdictions the staff provide assistance to all applicants by typing or printing the application. Systems which use the computer-assisted, tear-off combined form are best for minimizing this problem. Staff make the required computer entries for the driver's license system while the applicant is in the office and then print out both the driver's license and the voter registration information for the applicant to check before signing.

■ **Collecting forms.** In most systems applicants submit the completed voter registration

forms to the driver licensing staff, who collect them for transfer to the appropriate registration officials. (Some systems give the applicant the option of mailing the form directly.) The various means of transferring forms are discussed in the following section.

Transfer Responsibilities.

Who transfers the completed applications from the driver's license office to the appropriate voter registration office? In some jurisdictions, the voter takes responsibility for mailing or delivering the completed form, but usually the driver's license office initiates the transfer. The task is more complicated than it might seem at first glance because the jurisdiction of the driver's license office will rarely coincide with that of a voter registration office. So applications must be sorted by voting jurisdiction, and in many cases the applicant will not know the appropriate destination.

The most common procedure is for the driver's license office to send all completed applications to the nearest voter registration office, which then forwards applications to other voter registration offices as necessary. Oregon is an example. In some cases the driver's license office will do an initial sort and send applications to several nearby voter registration offices with which the staff are familiar. The registration offices spend the time to look up obscure addresses and forward applications to other offices as necessary. In some states the driver's license offices send the applications to the chief election officer of the state, who then redistributes them to the appropriate local registration offices. North Carolina follows this pattern.

The Washington system transfers the signed voter registration cards by mail and the voter information in machine readable form (tapes, etc.) to the Department of Licensing, which then transfers from its computer to the one used by the Secretary of State. The motor voter staff within the Secretary of State's office matches the signature cards with the computer data, writes county

codes on the cards, and sends the cards and the printouts to the counties for entry into their system.

Finally, there are various combinations. In Michigan, where registration records are maintained by 1511 separate jurisdictions, driver's license offices forward applications and voter updates once a month. They send applications for townships or cities within the county where the driver's license office is located directly to the appropriate clerk. For applicants living in neighboring counties, they send them to the county clerk, who redistributes them to the appropriate township or city clerk. They send all other applications to the Secretary of State's Elections Division in Lansing for redistribution. As the registration deadline for an election approaches, the Branch Offices transfer the forms daily instead of monthly.

As the Michigan example illustrates, the most suitable mechanism will depend upon the circumstances of the state in question. The way in which the state arranges its transfer procedures will affect two related issues: safeguard procedures and the close of registration before elections.

■ **Safeguard procedures.** When an application is handled by two or three different organizations, tracking is both more difficult and more important than in a single office. What happens if a file is lost between the motor voter office and the registration office? There are several possible ways to discover the problem or to mitigate its effect on the voter.

The North Carolina system appears to be the most thorough. Every month the Department of Motor Vehicles provides the State Board of Elections with a computer-printed Voter Transaction List sorted by the client's county of residence. This list contains the name, address, date of birth, and date of the transaction for each person who conducted a transaction in any driver's license office of the state. The State Board of Elections sends each county its portion of the list with the following directions:

You are to compare the names listed thereon for accuracy and completeness. Should there be a name shown for which your office has no voter registration application or change of address record your board is directed to contact these people and provide an opportunity for them to be properly registered to vote or make whatever change they intended.

This is obviously a strong system, and most states do less. In several jurisdictions the motor voter office sends a separate notice of the number of forms in each shipment to a voter registration office. The voter registration office may repeat that process for any forms that it forwards to other voter registration offices. This step alerts the receiving office if any forms fail to arrive. Most voter registration offices complete the loop by sending out voter identification cards or other notices to successful applicants and rejection letters to any who were unsuccessful. Thus, an alert applicant might notice if he or she failed to receive a card within a reasonable period of time. Finally, most systems give the applicants a receipt at the motor voter office so that they can establish the fact that they attempted to register.

■ **Close of registration.** The concern with the close of registration is that voters may apply at the motor voter office before the deadline but their files will not reach the registration office before the deadline. The problem is not as great as it might seem because the motor voter system tends to smooth out the flow of applications throughout the year, thereby avoiding the rush just before elections. (See discussion under "Effects," below.) Nevertheless, some individuals will still register at the last possible moment and their rights to vote must be protected.

Some states use the date that the application is received in a motor voter office for determining whether the deadline has been met. The problem for these states is that valid applications may not arrive at the registration office in time for officials there to put the names on the list of registered voters which is sent to the polling place.

The solution adopted by most of these states is to provide a receipt at the motor voter office and to allow people to vote upon presentation of that receipt at the polling place.

Other states use the date that the application is received in the voter registration office for determining whether the deadline has been met. Here the problem is to insure an expeditious transfer of forms between the motor voter offices and the voter registration offices. In Oregon, for example, the county clerks take responsibility for picking up forms at the Bureau of Motor Vehicle offices on the last day of registration.

Special Activities in Voter Registration Offices

Once the application arrives in the voter registration office, it can be treated like any other application that is received from outside the office (through deputy registrars, etc).

■ Staff will need to determine whether the new registration duplicates an existing one. Some voters will not remember whether they are registered or whether their registration is current and they may inadvertently re-register. This step is not difficult since the duplication will normally be revealed in the process of filing the registration card.

■ They will need to check addresses to determine whether the application has been sent to the proper jurisdiction. This is not an onerous step because they will be familiar with most addresses in their jurisdiction and will have to check in any case to make a precinct assignment.

■ In most jurisdictions, the staff will also notify the voter of acceptance and precinct assignment or provide the reasons for rejection along with instructions for correcting the problem.

■ In some jurisdictions the staff will have to prepare a registration card for the voter because the application is not in a form for filing. This can be an issue where combined forms are used and

should be addressed in negotiations between voter registration and driver's license offices. The D.C. system, for example, puts the registration application on the bottom sheet of a multi-page, pressure sensitive form. The bottom sheet is printed on heavier stock than the others so that it can be used as a file card. In some cases the applications are not uniform statewide, so no single motor voter form would fit all local needs. But the form that contains the original signature must still be maintained as part of the record. Michigan developed the peel-off system so that the signature can be affixed to locally designed registration cards. Some jurisdictions attach the entire motor voter form to another card.

Renewals

The preceding list of elements describes the motor voter registration process associated with initial driver licensing. The procedure may or may not be the same when people renew driver's licenses. This issue is important because it affects the number of opportunities that motor voter has to capture new voter registrants. If it is limited to initial licenses, the opportunities will be severely constrained. As Figure 2 illustrated, half of the population obtains driver licenses before the age of 18. The Iowa combined system is limited in this way because the voter registration application is printed on the written test that people take before obtaining initial driver's licenses in that state. The license renewal process is paperless, so there is no automatic opportunity to capture new registrants on the combined form. Staff do have postcards for mail registration that they are to make available for renewals. Oregon, on the other hand, mails voter registration applications along with driver's license renewal notices. This solution is possible there because Oregon also has mail registration. Michigan sends a voter registration card with the renewal notice, and has recently changed its law so that the Secretary of State can receive registration applications in the mail and forward them to the appropriate local jurisdictions.

Measuring Motor Voter

Does motor voter work? A short answer is that we cannot know yet because the existing systems are quite new, because so many factors can affect the result, and because most jurisdictions do not have data that would allow them to track it through time or to compare results across systems. Nevertheless, policy makers are currently deciding on new systems, changing the design of old ones, and looking carefully at funding levels for both. Events will not wait for research. This section describes the available evidence in order to suggest some tentative conclusions and to promote a discussion within the election community of the type of information it needs to have available.

What do we want motor voter to do? We have seen that there are a variety of systems. There are also a number of possible goals: showing the public that the government is trying to do something about participation rates, making registration more convenient for people who would register even without the system, providing a registration opportunity for many people who would not otherwise register, improving the accuracy and timeliness of voter files, increasing registration rates, and increasing voter turnout. Information needs vary with goals.

Before a program can begin to accomplish any of its goals it must be put into place. This seemingly trite statement directs our attention to what may be the most important factor in motor voter success, implementation. A large body of literature in political science and public administration amply documents the fact that simply passing a law does not insure that the desired activity will take place. The work is done, or left undone, by people in the field who must allocate scarce resources among competing demands and solve the myriad practical problems unanticipated by the original mandate. Scholars differentiate between implementation, referring to what those charged with administering a program actually do, and impact, referring to the result of those

activities. A program can be implemented without having the desired impact, but it cannot have an impact without being implemented.

Michigan and North Carolina

Two examples illustrate this point. Among the four earliest states to adopt motor voter, Michigan (1975) and North Carolina (1984) are the only two with transaction data from the beginnings of their programs to the present. "Transactions" simply refers to the number of motor voter forms filled out in driver licensing offices and forwarded to registration authorities. The prescribed activities in the Michigan and North Carolina programs are similar. In both states the driver's license and voter registration applications are printed on separate forms. Both relied on driver licensing staff to notify applicants of their opportunity to register until 1989, when North Carolina put a voter registration question on the driver's license form.

Yet their experiences with motor voter could hardly be more divergent. Figure 3 displays the raw transaction rates from these two states from the beginning of each program through 1991. The heights of the two lines are quite different, partially because these are raw figures and Michigan's population is larger than North Carolina's. The important characteristic here is the shape of the lines. Note that Michigan started the program in 1975 with 128,633 transactions. It grew rapidly to 661,736 in 1976 and varied from year to year thereafter around an overall pattern of slow growth. North Carolina began with 60,507 transactions in 1984 and then dropped to a few thousand per year until 1989, when the number increased again.

What happened? The difference appears to lie in implementation. Richard Austin, Michigan's Secretary of State, pioneered the motor voter concept. He has been in office throughout the history of the program and Michigan is one of the few states in which the Secretary of State is in charge of driver licensing. Thus, there has al-

ways been strong support at the head of the agency where the transactions took place. The North Carolina experience was different. There the driver's license agency was the recipient of a mandate, not the initiator. When the program began, the legislature and the governor who had passed and signed the bill were in office and of the same party, but the governorship changed party the following year. Priorities changed and without active support the program languished. More recently an agreement between the State Board of Elections and the Driver License Section of the Division of Motor Vehicles has produced a much more vigorous implementation, as the steep rise in transaction rates attests. Given this history, it is reasonable to attribute the different transaction patterns to implementation differences rather than design (impact) differences.

These two cases support several generalizations. First, the Michigan experience shows that an active motor voter program can produce results, at least in the form of transactions at the driver's license offices. Second, the irregular pattern traced by Michigan's transactions can serve as a useful benchmark for motor voter programs of the same design and perhaps for those of other designs as well. The sharp increase during the first two years suggests an organizational learning curve as the various branch offices assimilated the new procedure. The irregular pattern afterwards suggests that even well implemented programs will experience a good bit of yearly variation. Yet there is also a pattern to the variation. After the second year of the program every even-numbered year brought an increase and every odd-numbered year brought a decline. This pattern obviously fits the election cycle even to the point of the highest rates falling on presidential years. It suggests that motor voter programs, like regular registration programs, are sensitive to the biennial election cycle, though perhaps not to the same degree.

The number of transactions is not an ideal measure of implementation. It reflects both the activity of the office staff (implementation) and

the response of the clients in the office (impact). Yet it is a more direct measure than is a state's registration rate (registrants as a percentage of voting aged population), which reflects the impact of motor voter plus all other sources of registration. The two figures can best be used in tandem, each helping in the interpretation of the other.

An increase in transactions will not necessarily result in an increase in registration. Consider the hypothetical case in which all the transactions were changes, duplicates, ineligible, etc., or, more likely, if the motor voter program simply were to provide a more convenient mode for people who would have registered by other means anyway. An increase in transactions followed closely by an increase in registration rates would provide much stronger support for the conclusion that the program had had an impact on registration rates. On the other hand, if we should find an increase in registration rates following no or few transactions in driver's license offices, we have to conclude that the change came from some source other than motor voter.

Figure 4 displays registration rates for the Michigan, North Carolina, and the United States for the period of 1972 through 1990. That is the time frame for which Bureau of Census estimates of state registration rates are available. We have already seen that registration rates are sensitive to the national political cycle, so it is necessary to use the US rate as a benchmark. The U.S. rate is shown in Figure 4 as the plain line in the middle. Note the nationwide drop between 1972 and 1974, the pattern of rise and fall associated with the presidential election cycle, and the downturn in recent years.

Michigan is represented by the line with the plus marks, the highest line in the figure. It parallels the U.S. line exactly from 1972 to 1974 but rises much more rapidly between 1974 and 1976 than does the U.S. line. This departure coincides with the state's institution of its motor voter program in 1975. Afterwards, the Michigan line generally parallels the US line again with two differences. First, it is at a higher level, an

average of seven percentage points higher from 1978 through 1990. Since the previous difference (1970-72) was just under one percentage point, the net increase was six percentage points. Second, the Michigan line is more stable and less sensitive to the political cycle than is the US rate. Although motor voter transaction rates do follow the election cycle to some extent, they seem to have a dampening effect on the swing of total registration rates.

North Carolina initially follows the US pattern at a lower level, except for a deeper drop in 1978. Then in 1984 it rises more steeply than the US rate and maintains a more stable pattern thereafter, declining as does the US rate but without the swings associated with presidential elections. Since 1984 was the year in which North Carolina began its motor voter program, we might easily attribute the change in registration rates to it but for our knowledge of transaction rates. If all of North Carolina's motor voter transactions in 1984 had been new registrants, they could have accounted for a maximum increase of one percentage point. Although motor voter may have contributed to the rise in 1984, it does not appear to be the primary cause of the change in North Carolina's pattern that started then.

The experiences of these two states suggest three points. First, motor voter works when it is implemented. Second, implementation is not automatic. Third, we need some independent indicator that a program has been implemented before we try to judge its impact. Yet these are but two examples. The following section attempts to apply these conclusions to other jurisdictions, recognizing that data is more limited in these cases.

Comparing Motor Voter Systems

One motive for studying more jurisdictions is to determine whether motor voter results vary depending upon the design of the system in use. This is an important question because some

systems are more difficult to implement than others. Are they worth the trouble?

■ **Passive systems.** We have little information on passive systems. State and local election officials in jurisdictions having passive systems reported mixed results with implementation. No jurisdictions reported a large increase in registrations as a result of a passive system. On the other hand, passive systems generally do not have systematic monitoring systems, so it is difficult to tell what the result is. A survey by a public interest group in Washington found a very low rate of implementation in the passive system used by that state before 1992. Such measures can be very useful, as would random telephone surveys of people who have recently received driver's licenses. Without some standard indicator of implementation across several states, however, it would be dangerous to attempt to assess the impact of the passive system.

Maryland recently reported an interesting innovation to its passive system. Prince Georges and Montgomery Counties have opened voter registration counters in driver licensing offices, where there is plenty of space available. Staff will rotate from the local voter registration offices. Other counties are expected to follow suit. The two sites are now averaging around 200-300 registrations per month.

■ **Computer-assisted systems.** At the other extreme of complexity is the computer-assisted system. The three examples now in place are too new for comprehensive before-and-after comparisons. Nevertheless, the available data are instructive. Montana began its program on October 1, 1991. In the first three months of operation the system generated 3531 motor voter transactions. This figure represents 6 percent of the driver license transactions.

Oregon's computer-assisted system began around the same time, on September 30, 1991. Site visits to three counties in December revealed that the program was being implemented. An analysis of weekly registration figures, from all

sources, made available by Multnomah County (Portland) revealed some interesting results. Comparing the period of October through February in 1991-92 with the same period in 1989-90, both off-years in the national election cycle, shows a 62 percent increase in registration activity after the introduction of motor voter. Of course, the Portland area's population grew rapidly during this time period, so the change might not be due to motor voter. However, Figure 5 shows that the number of weekly registrations increased markedly when motor voter started in October, 1991, and maintained a pattern of irregular growth thereafter. It would appear that motor voter touched off a significant increase in registration activity, possibly by making registration convenient for the newly arriving population. It will be interesting to see whether the pattern stabilizes in the future.

The State of Washington began its motor voter program in January of 1992. In King County (Seattle) the number of new registrations averaged during the first five months of this year was 95 percent higher than the average for the comparable period in 1988. It was 5 to 13 times higher than the average in any of the intervening years.

The examples of Portland and Seattle raise two interesting questions which can only be answered with time. Could the dramatic increase in registration associated with motor voter be a temporary effect related to the novelty of the program and, perhaps, to any publicity surrounding its introduction? To what extent, if any, are the increases observed in months of normally low registration displacing activity from the normal peak months near elections rather than increasing the total registration rate? Both effects identified in the second question are desirable, but it would be useful to sort them out.

At this point in our comparison of motor voter systems, we have no measures of activity for passive systems and selective evidence of dramatic increases for computer-assisted systems. Fortunately, there is more data available for the other two types of systems.

■ **Active and combined-form systems.** A number of states using other systems have reported transaction data sufficient to support some rough comparisons. The most useful data come from states with active or combined-form systems. None of the computer-assisted systems has been in place long enough to generate even one year's worth of data.

In order to make comparisons across jurisdictions we have to somehow standardize the transaction rates. Dividing the number of transactions by the voting aged population of the state helps to control for the differences in size. Seven states and the District of Columbia have reported transaction data for at least one year between 1986 and 1991. We know that transaction rates vary from year to year within the same state, so we should only attach significance to large differences. It turns out that the jurisdictions cluster in three groups. Michigan stands by itself with a rate that varied between 10 and 12 percent of voting aged population. Colorado, Nevada, and DC form another group generally in the 6 to 9 percent range, with a few exceptions to be noted below. Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, and North Carolina fall with a range of 1 to 3 percent, although we will see exceptions here, too.

These clusters mean very little in themselves unless we can find some reasonable explanations for the differences. We can start by asking whether the choice of motor voter systems (active or combined) makes a difference. The answer appears to be that it does not, at least not by itself. States using active, separate-form systems fall in all three groups - high (Michigan), medium (Nevada), and low (Maine and North Carolina). Jurisdictions using combined-form systems fall into two categories - medium (Colorado and DC) and low (Minnesota). The remaining state in the low group, Iowa, uses a combined form for original licenses and mail-in postcards available at the driver license offices for renewals.

Perhaps we can find a better explanation by looking at the groups of states. The singularly high transaction rate of Michigan may reflect the

maturity of the program and the strong administrative support behind it. If so, its rate could be a benchmark to which other programs could aspire. On the other hand, this rate may reflect conditions not shared with all other states. One possibility is the fact that local registration is a function of the township, not the county. As a result, people moving within the local areas in Michigan, and in other states with township registration systems, will change registration offices more often than in county-based systems. One of Richard Austin's reasons for starting the motor voter program in Michigan was that many voters complained of not knowing where to go to change their registration. Driver's license offices are a more easily identifiable and convenient alternative.

This reasoning suggests that Michigan's unusually high transaction rate may come more from an unusually high rate of address changes rather than from new registrations. Address changes comprised 60 percent of total motor voter transactions in Michigan from January through November of 1991. In Colorado, by contrast, changes averaged 23 percent of transactions in 1987-88. A 1991 report from the District of Columbia put address changes at 21 percent of transactions. Emmett Fremaux, Executive Director of the DC Board of Elections and Ethics has suggested that the percentage of registration changes among total transactions will naturally increase with the age of the program. There is some evidence of this trend in the Michigan data. The percentage of changes increased from a low of 51 percent in the first year of the program, 1975, to 66 percent in 1984. Yet even the low of 51 percent in Michigan was higher than the percentages from Colorado and DC. It seems likely that both factors are at work here - program maturation and the township registration system.

This result leads to another. Without the extra address changes, Michigan's transaction rate would fall well within the same range as those of Colorado, DC, and Nevada. Perhaps 6 to 9 percent of voting aged population is a good benchmark

for motor voter programs of this type. Site visits at two of these jurisdictions, Colorado and DC, indicated that those programs were being implemented as they were designed to be. The Colorado transaction rate did drop from 6 to 4 percent in 1989, the last year for which complete data were available from that state. In that same year Colorado changed from a 4-year cycle to a 5-year cycle for driver's license renewals. Nevada, on the other hand, increased from 8 percent to 11 percent between 1990 and 1991, following the addition of vehicle registration offices to the program.

What about the remaining group of states, those for which all observations were well below the 6 percent mark? Two of them, Maine and North Carolina appear to be temporary residents of this category. Maine started its program in 1990 and North Carolina began implementing its program again in 1989. Both rates were moving up between those starting points and 1991, and both were at 3 percent in 1991. Only time will tell whether these trends continue. The other two states require more explanation.

Iowa uses a combined, tear-off form that is attached to the written test taken by first-time applicants. Driver's license renewal does not require a form. Driver licensing staff do have post cards for mail registration and they are supposed to ask clients whether they wish to register or change registration. Yet neither process seems to generate a large number of applications. In 1990, a total of 5532 individuals applied on the combined form, and the Department of Transportation reported giving out 15,509 postcards that year. Both figures declined significantly in 1991. Most residents get their original license before the age of 18, and the state has had a loss of population, indicating that few people would encounter the combined form because of moving into the state. Why the postcards do not generate more activity is less clear. One reason may be the availability of alternatives. Mail applications are printed in telephone books and on tax forms. Candidates and political groups may also deliver mail regis-

tration forms. It is clear that Iowa's system is not directly comparable to those of the other states in this group.

Minnesota's motor voter program has not had the restricted reach of Iowa's. The data presented here are for Minnesota's combined, tear-off form, which was available for original applications and renewals until 1992. (The state has just replaced that application with a combined-duplicate form.) The explanation for the low level of activity in Minnesota's motor voter program probably lies in its even greater availability of alternatives. The state has both mail registration and election day registration. Moreover, the target for motor voter may also be smaller in Minnesota than elsewhere. Although nationally the percentage of the population licensed to drive greatly exceeds the percentage registered to vote, the difference is not evenly distributed across the states. In 1990 it ranged from a high of 40 percentage points in Delaware to -7 percentage points in Minnesota, which was the only state to have more registrants than licensees.

The hypothesis that convenient alternatives for registration depress the number of motor voter transactions in Iowa and Minnesota is the flip side of the argument that Michigan's rate is high partially because of its township-based registration system. Both rest on the fundamental assumption that people will respond to greater ease or less burden of action. This observation leads to the question of whether motor voter systems are really bringing new registrants into the system or simply making participation easier for people who would have done so anyway.

In one sense the answer does not matter. Transaction rates may be used directly as a measure of public acceptance. A high transaction rate means that a large portion of the public prefers this method of conducting its voter registration business to the other options available, including the option of doing nothing. Interviews with driver's license staff in a number of states turned up unsolicited comments in praise of the program as a public service. Although the pro-

gram added something to their work loads, they liked the positive feedback they got from the public. So transactions have some value irrespective of the number of new registrations or address corrections they produce.

■ **Transaction and registration rates.** Another goal of motor voter programs is to increase registration. As noted above, transaction rates include address and name changes, duplications, and ineligible applications, as well as registrations. Even motor voter registrations may not actually increase the jurisdiction's total registration rate. Individuals who would have registered in any case may simply find motor voter to be more convenient. So we must examine registration rates over time to determine whether there has been any change.

Table 1 shows the relative change in registration rates for four states following the implementation of motor voter programs. These are all the states which were shown in the preceding section to have had significant transaction rates by 1990. The question here is whether these transactions had any apparent effect on registration rates. The second column, headed "Election Dates," gives the time frame for each comparison. It consists of the last national election before the implementation of motor voter and the election that followed four years later, so we are comparing presidential with presidential and off-year with off-year. "Years of Implementation" refers to the number of years in which motor voter was implemented between the elections. On the average, only a fourth of each state's prior licensees would encounter motor voter in a year, but if they registered, their registration would normally stay on the books for at least four years. So the effects should build over time. The net change is the difference in registration rates between the two dates, controlling for the change in the U.S. registration rate. That is, if a state's rate went up by 5 percentage points and the national rate went up by 2 percentage points, the net change would be 3 percentage points.

The results are about what one would expect. Registration rates did go up, relative to the na-

tional average, and they increased most in those jurisdictions that had the program in place the longest. Michigan's second place may seem at odds with its very high transaction rate, but we must remember that an unusually high percentage of that rate was made up by address changes. Actually, we should not put too much confidence in the numbers for any one state because of the many other factors that can affect registration. Still, the consistent results from the available data provide support for the conclusion that higher transaction rates are followed by noticeable increases in voter registration.

This is not the same thing as saying that motor voter will increase relative registration rates in all cases. Witness the examples of Iowa, Minnesota, and North Carolina until 1989. Program design and implementation, the size of the target, and the availability of other attractive options may all make a difference. The latter two characteristics may not be critical since a small motor voter target and convenient alternatives for registration generally are found in jurisdictions that have high registration rates anyway.

Costs

Policy makers and administrators are usually concerned about the budgetary impact of programs. How much new money will it cost? Motor voter programs vary from no apparent budgetary impact to over \$100,000 per year in some jurisdictions. These figures can be misleading because some costs, especially personnel time, are simply combined with other activities. In many cases the costs are too small to justify separate tracking. Because motor voter programs use facilities and services of agencies that exist for other purposes, the assignment of costs to the program can be tricky. The hiring of new personnel is an obvious impact. But in some cases, at least, the program seems to have resulted in increased productivity of existing personnel. The following account breaks down the major ways in which motor voter programs use resources and discusses the avail-

able information about the budgetary and organizational impact of each.

■ **Start-up costs.** Some new programs will have identifiable start-up costs, one-time expenditures of money or time to begin implementation. These fall in three categories: training, the design of new forms, and computer programming.

Passive systems and most of the active systems did not report any start-up costs. They did not need to design new forms or reprogram computers. Any training or notification about the new program was conducted as part of normal operations. As noted above, some election officials have complained about the lack of training in a few jurisdictions and have expressed the desire to conduct it themselves. This might be a cost-effective means of communicating registrars' goals and concerns to driver licensing personnel. Normally, any procedural training will have to be conducted by or carefully coordinated with the parent agency, which is the only one with authority to set priorities and modify activities of agency personnel.

Training methods and costs vary among the remaining jurisdictions. Several have produced pamphlets or instruction sheets for driver licensing personnel. These describe the routine procedures that the staff are to follow and tell what to do in the case of questions or problems. West Virginia has an excellent manual but has not broken out the development costs or printing costs. The State of Washington has produced a video presentation. Its estimated development, production, and field training costs for the initial implementation of the program was \$4784.

Many jurisdictions need to redesign forms. This step can be as simple as adding a question to the driver's license application or as complicated as the integration of multiple applications. Most form design is done in-house and not separately costed. This was the case for the DC form, which appears to be the most comprehensive redesign yet accomplished.

Computer programming is obviously required for the computer-assisted systems. In addition,

where the driver licensing staff records applicant information directly onto a computer, jurisdictions using active systems may add a question to the computer screen. It is both a prompt for staff to ask about voter registration and a method of recording applicant responses. Oregon, which uses a computer-assisted system, estimated programming start-up costs at \$4900. The State of Washington, which has electronic transfer of registration information, recorded start-up computer costs of \$17000.

Washington's total start-up costs for the Department of Licensing, not including the time of implementing staff and administrators, was \$25,426.50. This state has the most complete computer-integrated system adopted so far and is the only state to have prepared a training video. So this figure does not represent average costs. It covers the most extensive start-up program encountered for this report.

■ **Supplies and Equipment.** The most obvious supply requirement is that of the application forms, which vary widely in cost. Many jurisdictions do not report form costs separately. They are quite low and are combined with other printing costs. Prices for the more complicated forms range from 2 cents to 6 cents apiece. However, printing costs associated with different designs cannot be separated from other programmatic costs for two reasons.

First, design determines usage and the number of forms actually used can also vary widely. Active systems and Washington's computer-assisted system provide forms only for those who say they need them. Combined forms, by definition, go to everyone who requests any type of application offered on that form. So the additional cost of the motor voter application must be multiplied by the total number of forms used, not just the number of motor voter applications received. Wastage also varies with the use of the form. Those placed out in the office are more likely to be wasted than those given out at the counter. Mail-in forms, such as those that accompany renewal notices in some jurisdictions, can use a lot of

forms per application received. One official commented that her jurisdiction had distributed enough postcards to cover the voting aged population several times over.

Second, form design also affects the amount of staff time required to operate the program. The DC form increased printing costs but lowered transaction time, for example. Estimates of transaction times are provided below.

Postage is another expense for some jurisdictions, and the cost will vary depending upon usage. Minnesota spent \$900 for postage in a year. Montana estimates \$25 per month for postage. The greatest potential postage expense that is unique to motor voter programs is the cost of mailing applications from the driver licensing offices to the voter registration offices. We do not have a postage cost from a high-volume state that used the mail to transfer applications. Yet postage costs should be fairly easy to estimate by jurisdictions considering motor voter programs.

An equipment expense could be incurred by local voter registration offices if the size and shape of the form produced, coupled with requirements for access to original signatures, necessitates the acquisition of new filing cabinets or binders. Some states, such as Michigan, have chosen to use more elaborate forms in order to avoid this difficulty.

■ **Personnel.** People are at once the most expensive and the least expensive part of a motor voter program. They are the most expensive part because multiplying even a small amount of time devoted to motor activities by the number of people involved will produce a large figure. The State of Washington's Department of Licensing estimated the total staff time spent on their program at \$209,672 per year. Yet people are the least expensive item in many budgets because no personnel are added. Licensing personnel in Washington are doing motor voter with the same staff as before. The need for additional personnel is partially a function of system design and partially a function of how busy the existing personnel are with their normal duties.

Several jurisdictions have estimated the time required for each motor voter transaction in order to figure total personnel requirements. Oregon has made the useful distinction between the time it takes to determine whether a motor voter transaction is needed and the time required to actually conduct a motor voter transaction. The former estimate, 15 seconds, must be applied to all applications in the agency. The latter estimate, 30 seconds, applies only to motor voter transactions. Using these numbers, plus incidentals and some executive time, Oregon estimated the personnel cost to the DMV of \$94,796 in the first biennium and \$114,918 in the following one. This is just over \$50,000 per year. DMV staff now think this estimate may be a little low.

Other jurisdictions have different estimates depending upon the requirements of their systems. Several fall within the 2-3 minute range for normal transactions. Those that require or offer any unusual activity will take longer. In Colorado, the driver licensing staff must verbally administer an oath to each applicant. In North Carolina, the staff members generally type the necessary information onto the registration application. The best guidance for any jurisdiction considering adoption or modification of a motor voter system is to run simulations and field tests. It is very difficult to generalize from one system to another.

There may be changes in the work load of election personnel, too. One would expect their work to increase as the number of transactions increases. That would be true of any program. Particular types of change may be associated primarily with motor voter, however. Some states collect the applications in a central office and then send them to the appropriate local registrars. This function requires staff time. Effects at the local registration offices will probably depend upon the design of the forms and the care with which they are completed. If registrars have to paste forms onto standard sized cards or do extensive follow-up for incomplete or illegible applications, then motor voter applications will

be more difficult to process than others. So time saved by system designers or at driver licensing staff may have to be paid back in voter registration offices. Conversely, several registrars commented that motor voter applications were easier to process than those produced by other outreach programs because they were typed or computer-printed.

Work load changes do not have to be negative for either driver licensing or voter registration offices. The change of forms in the District of Columbia seems to have brought an absolute increase in staff productivity. Because of the consolidation of applications they are able to handle their total work load more efficiently than before. Even changes that impose real increases in transaction time may not result in comparable increases in costs. The actual impact depends upon how much down time there is between applications. Some offices, especially those in large urban areas, work at or near capacity all of the time. Less active offices often have an intermittent flow of clients. A small increment of time per client will have a much greater impact on the former than on the latter.

In voter registration offices motor voter tends to increase efficiency by smoothing the transaction rate throughout the year. Normal registration activity is heavily concentrated around elections. Motor voter activity tends to be more evenly dispersed throughout the year, although it does follow the election calendar to a limited degree in some jurisdictions. A possible explanation for this pattern is that people interact with driver licensing offices for reasons totally independent of the election schedule, but the publicity surrounding elections makes some difference in the number of them who take advantage of their motor voter opportunities. Data from the District of Columbia shows a much more even rate, month by month, for motor voter registrations than for other registrations. Offices can use their staff much more efficiently and can avoid hiring temporary help if their work loads are steady.

Election officials have been almost universal in praise of this feature of the program. One did comment that frequent address changes between elections created more work than was necessary, but even this complaint reflects the registrars' greater ability to keep registration files current. In fact, most responses from local registrars focused on the benefits of increased efficiency and better file maintenance rather than increases in registration rates. One official in Colorado even reported cutting back on permanent positions.

Design and Implementation Strategies

Does program design matter? There are examples of apparently successful programs in three of the four design categories (active, combined-form, and computer-assisted). Within these three categories, at least, implementation appears to be the most important variable that can be affected by program sponsors. Yet it turns out that implementation is related to design in a paradoxical way. The systems that require the most change in existing forms and procedures would appear to be the most difficult to implement. Yet no official in combined-form or computer-assisted jurisdictions mentioned non-implementation or partial implementation as a problem. At least one official in 9 of 15 states with statutes mandating passive or active programs mentioned this problem.

This result makes sense in light of implementation theory and the design of motor voter programs. Combining forms or modifying computer programs commits the driver licensing and voter registration organizations to a joint course of action. There may be problems, as both Oregon and Washington have experienced to some extent during their start-up phases, but so far the agencies involved have been able to solve them or live with them. Where the organizational forms and procedures are not so tightly integrated and other commitments take priority, non-implementation or reduced implementation is a possibility.

A number of jurisdictions have taken steps to improve the design of their programs and to facilitate implementation before starting full-scale operations. In Oregon, for example, the Secretary of State's office, the county clerks' association, and the Division of Motor Vehicles worked cooperatively to refine the original proposal as it moved through the legislative process. DMV staff ran simulations to estimate the staff time required per transaction as a result of motor voter, and they contacted other states to compare figures. The county clerks agreed to take responsibility for transferring the completed forms from the driver's license offices to the appropriate registration offices. Several participants commented that the level of cooperation made the difference in the passage and implementation of motor voter during a period of severe financial constraint.

In the state of Washington the Secretary of State created a special office to implement the transfer of signature forms and application information from the driver's license offices to the counties. Meanwhile, the Department of Licensing involved its district offices in the design of detailed procedures, such as deciding at what point to ask the applicants if they wished to register. Their participation improved the ultimate design and gave them an opportunity to feel some ownership of the program, according to John Specht, the DMV official charged with implementation. DMV also produced a videotape to train its personnel in the new procedure.

Training is an important part of implementation. Several respondents who felt that driver licensing personnel were not fully implementing the program in their states pointed to a lack of training. It may be the case that the jurisdictions with the less complicated programs (passive and active) are also the ones less likely to offer comprehensive training in motor voter administration. Yet the need for training may be greatest where the desired action is not automatically built into the operating routine.

Field-testing is also a useful device. New York state ran a pilot program of mailing voter registration request cards with motor vehicle registration renewal applications from August 1987 through September 1988. That program was not continued. New York does include Department of Motor Vehicle offices in its agency-based registration program. Maine also ran a pilot program tied to the registration of motor vehicles, beginning in April of 1990. It moved to full implementation in August of 1990.

At least four states employ mechanisms to audit their systems. Michigan and West Virginia compare motor voter transactions with other transactions coming from each branch office. North Carolina sends to each county a voter transaction list from the DMV each month. The State Board of Elections directs the county boards to contact each listed person for whom they have not received a registration or change of address record. New York has sent inspectors to agency offices to insure that the staff was asking clients about registration.

The District of Columbia has the most thorough system for tracking the implementation and impact of its motor voter program. It has added a field on the computer record for each voter to designate the source of registration. This step permits the development of statistics on the subsequent turnout of motor voter registrants compared to other registrants.

Legislation

Although a few programs are based upon executive order, most are based upon legislation. A properly drafted law can resolve many problems that would otherwise impede implementation or limit impact. The specific language of bills will have to vary depending upon the type of system desired and the existing elections law. There are, however, a number of elements that should be considered. 100% VOTE/Human SERVE has published a recommended checklist for model legislation in its News on Agency-Based Voter

Registration of February 15, 1992. That list provided the idea for this one, which covers the same items and suggests a few more. The purpose here is to point out certain issues that should be resolved and not to recommend a particular resolution.

The first issue to address is how much detail to put in the legislation. The answer will vary from state to state. Some jurisdictions traditionally leave matters to administrative rule-making that others put in legislation. The Minnesota statute is quite brief, but it contains a number of essential elements.

The department of public safety shall change its applications {agency required to take action} for an original, duplicate, or change of address driver's license or identification card {type of driver licensing actions to be included in motor voter} so that the forms may also serve as voter registration cards. {type of form - combined} The forms must contain spaces for the information required in section 201.071, subdivision 1 {specific informational requirements for new form to meet} and applicable rules of the secretary of state. {rule making authority over registration applies here, too} Applicants for driver's licenses or identification cards {target of the program} must be asked if they want to register to vote at the same time. {method of notification} A copy of each application containing a completed voter registration must be sent to the county auditor of the county in which the voter maintains residence or to the secretary of state {establishes transfer responsibilities and options} as soon as possible. {provides guideline for timeliness of transfer without setting specific standard}

The statute goes on to make relevant computer records available to the secretary of state and for use in the statewide voter registration system being developed. Elsewhere the secretary of state is given broad rule-making authority over the statewide registration system, including the prescribing of procedures for the transfer of motor voter forms from the licensing offices to the secretary of state or to the county registrars.

Other jurisdictions will make different choices and provide different levels of detail in their statutes. Below is a list of issues for consideration in the drafting of statutes.

■ **Target.** Passive systems do not need to specify a target because the forms are available to anyone in the office. Other systems specify who is to be offered the opportunity to register by listing the types of applications that are to be included in the motor voter program. These may include: initial driver's licenses, renewals, duplicates, name or address changes, non-driver identification cards, organ donor designations and vehicle registrations. Statutes typically begin this with "All applicants for..." Then they list the licenses or other transactions to be included. They conclude with the action to be taken such as asking a specific question or simply providing an opportunity to register.

■ **Notification.** If the goal is to have a staff person ask each applicant whether he or she wishes to register, that requirement must be in the statute. Failure to mention notification or language requiring only that registration forms be "available" may be interpreted as allowing a passive system. On the other hand, it is not necessary to specify the point in the process at which voter registration will be offered.

■ **Form.** It is necessary to prescribe the type of application form and establish responsibility for designing and providing it. It is neither practical nor necessary to describe the form in great detail. Doing so limits the ability of administrators to design the most efficient form for the current system or to adjust to changing technologies. The most important distinction is between separate forms, on the one hand, and combined-form or computer-assisted applications on the other. Without a specific mandate the driver licensing agency will generally not incur the expense and disruption of redesigning an essential component of its system.

Expressing the desired policy in a statute requires considerable care. For example, a mandate for a single form would permit tear-off

forms (Iowa and, formerly, Minnesota) or duplicate forms (DC and Colorado). It would include the computer-assisted systems of Oregon and Montana, but not include the state of Washington's system as it is now configured. A mandate for a motor voter registration system that requires only an additional signature would allow either combined-duplicate forms or computer-assisted applications, but it would also necessitate putting all of the necessary information for voter registration, e.g., residence address or affirmation of eligibility, on the basic application. Involving the implementing agencies in the drafting process helps the legislature craft a statute that provides the necessary stimulus and authority while avoiding unnecessary restrictions.

■ **Assistance and other staff duties.** Statutes generally authorize driver licensing staff to accept applications and describe any particular actions that they are to take. Drafters should consider the issue of deputization here. Approaches range from permitting deputization, to requiring deputization of at least one employee in each office, to exempting driver licensing personnel from deputization requirements by directly granting them authority to accept applications. Whether assistance should be addressed in the statute is an issue. Some laws are silent on this point, leaving discretion to the implementing agency. Others, such as the new Texas law, require nonpartisan assistance upon request. Still others mandate a variety of activities including administering oaths, witnessing signatures, stamping applications, and providing receipts. In some cases these duties are assigned by reference. Applying an existing deputization law to licensing employees brings into the motor voter process all of the existing requirements for the acceptance of applications by deputy registrars. The amount of staff interaction involved determines the transaction times described earlier in this report, and depending upon the design of the system, may also determine the quality of applications received by registrars. It is important that system designers weigh carefully the costs and benefits of each requirement.

■ **Transfer responsibility.** Legislation should fix responsibility for transferring forms. Most legislation also addresses the issue of timeliness. Some specify a weekly transfer.

■ **Record keeping and reporting.** Since the record keeping systems of the implementing agencies will not have been designed to monitor and evaluate a motor voter system, drafters should consider whether it is necessary to mandate record keeping and reporting in the statute. The discussion of motor voter measurement in this report suggests the use of some common statistics. The number of motor voter transactions compared to total transactions in individual driver licensing offices and in the system as a whole provide a measure of implementation and initial impact. (Low transactions in a few offices might reflect implementation problems while low transactions in the whole system might reflect design problems.) As noted in the case of Michigan, it would be useful to break down motor voter transactions into new registrations and address or name changes. Registration offices could record number of registrations received by source if the forms permit such identification, such as motor voter vs mail vs deputy registrars. Record keeping is easiest where files are stored on computer. Fields can be added to indicate source and type of registration transaction. In jurisdictions that keep voting histories, turnout rates of motor voter registrants can be compared with those of people who registered through other systems. The District of Columbia has already undertaken such studies. In order to evaluate the whole system a central office will have to aggregate statistics for the whole jurisdiction. Thus it is useful to designate reporting and monitoring requirements.

■ **Organizational responsibilities and relationships.** Because independent organizations are involved, it is usually necessary to designate which agency is responsible for each element of the system. This is usually accomplished in the language setting forth the requirement as the Minnesota example shows. It tasks the department of public safety with changing its application and requires that the voter registra-

tion portion comply with rules promulgated by the secretary of state. Statutes frequently designate a lead agency and mandate consultation with other agencies.

■ **Training.** No statute reviewed for this report mandated a training program for licensing personnel. Yet given the frequency with which training was mentioned as a potential remedy for implementation problems, it is worth considering. Putting a training requirement in the statute also increases the probability that the associated costs will be recognized and provided for.

■ **Adjustments to other state law.** This is a catch-all category for provisions necessary to address any gaps between the motor voter program and existing state law.

A Checklist for Program Design and Implementation

The preceding section focused on motor voter legislation. The following list subsumes those recommendations under a checklist of items to consider in the total design and implementation of motor voter programs. Not all of them will be necessary in every case and some of them may not be politically or practically feasible in particular cases. There may also be unintended omissions. The purpose is to provide a summary statement that can be modified by others based upon their experiences.

■ **Determine the target for the proposed system.** Depending upon the jurisdiction, different procedures may be needed to reach initial licensees and persons applying for renewals, duplicates or changes. There may be additional opportunities related to non-driver ID cards, organ donor designations, and vehicle registrations.

■ **Review the organization of the driver licensing and voter registration functions in the state.** Identify the key officials and their organizational relationships. Create a program design team representing the parties to be in-

involved in implementation, if it is possible to do so. Learn how any proposed changes will affect their internal procedures. It may be necessary to create or designate the organizational structure for rule making, monitoring, and problem resolution in the motor voter program.

■ **Review existing election law.** Issues of particular importance to the design of motor voter programs are requirements for: deputization of driver license staff, the administration of oaths to applicants, witnessing of applicants' signatures, the delivery of original signatures to the polling places on election day, and polling place procedures for dealing with anyone whose registration application is not processed in time (e.g. whether a receipt issued at a driver licensing office would be accepted). Some jurisdictions have changed existing law or exempted the motor voter program in order to streamline procedures. Others have designed their motor voter programs to more easily fit existing requirements.

■ **Review different motor voter designs.** Consider (a) how each would fit the proposed target for the program, the existing organization of the driver licensing and voter registration functions in the jurisdiction, and the relevant election laws and/or (b) how any of these might be changed to accommodate a desired motor voter program. The descriptions of motor voter elements in this report provide a starting place and may help in narrowing the search. Contact with officials who have experience implementing the type of program being considered is especially important. Such contact should not be limited to officials representing one agency but should be extended to experienced representatives of all offices involved in the implementation. The experiences of local offices (county or township offices for registrars, district or mobile offices for driver's license personnel) tend to differ depending upon the size of the jurisdiction.

■ **Estimate costs and benefits of the designs still under consideration.** Suggestions are contained in the section on motor voter measurement above. Two points require emphasis. First,

there is rarely a one-to-one correspondence between the results in one jurisdiction and results of the same program in another. Projections must take local conditions into account. Second, both immediate and long-range consequences are important. The careful integration of organizational routines between the regular driver licensing program and the motor voter program will usually increase start-up costs but improve program implementation thereafter.

■ ***Choose a design and prepare legislation.***

In practice a legislative proposal will often precede the steps described above, not follow them. Yet, ideally, a jurisdiction would have done a good bit of information gathering and decision making before finalizing the legislative mandate.

■ ***Pass legislation.***

■ ***Prepare a detailed implementation plan.***

This is the point at which agencies work out specific procedures and establish responsibilities and timetables.

■ ***Develop materials and software as required.***

■ ***Test the program and adjust as necessary.***

It is usually necessary to test the assumptions built into a program on an audience that is not familiar with its history or purpose. There are a variety of ways to pre-test programs ranging from simulations with a few volunteers to full-blown pilot programs such as those employed by several of the jurisdictions studied for this report.

■ ***Train personnel.***

■ ***Launch program.*** Publicity can help notify the public and impress upon implementing personnel that this is an important project.

■ ***Monitor implementation and impact.***

Conclusion

Motor voter can make a difference. The high numbers of transactions in some jurisdictions indicate that a significant portion of the public

likes the program. Clearly, many people register to vote or change registration information through motor voter. Convenience to voters and improved voter file maintenance are valuable and attainable goals, irrespective of other effects. In addition, at least some of the people who register in this way probably would not have registered through other means. There has been a positive change in the registration rate, relative to the national registration rate, in all four jurisdictions where a high transaction rate has been documented. However, any conclusion regarding the effects of motor voter on participation rates must be regarded as preliminary. There is not yet enough data to sort out the effects of motor voter from the other factors that can influence registration and turnout.

Passage of a motor voter statute will not have the same effect in every jurisdiction. The most important determinants of motor voter impact seem to be program design, the degree of implementation, the size of the target, and the relative attractiveness of available alternatives.

Design and implementation are related. Programs using separate forms (passive and active) are the easiest to implement initially because they have the lowest start-up costs. Yet all of the reports of incomplete implementation after the initial start-up come from jurisdictions of this type. The reason seems to be that the other two types (combined-form and computer-assisted) require permanent change in the operating routines of driver licensing offices. The transition will almost certainly encounter organizational and technical difficulties, but once it is accomplished motor voter becomes a more or less automatic part of the office procedures.

Where an active program is implemented, as in the case of Michigan, the impact on registration rates appears to be as strong as for combined-form programs. The computer-assisted programs are too new to have comparable impact data. Jurisdictions having convenient registration alternatives and high registration rates before motor voter would seem less likely to experience a

dramatic change after adopting a program. Data now coming in from new programs in states with already high registration rates (Maine, for example) may cast some doubt on this generalization, however. It would be useful to learn whether the transaction rates continue to increase and whether they result in increased registration.

Different program designs incur different costs and they distribute those costs differently, both among implementing agencies and between start-up and continuing implementation. Failures to provide adequate resources or to distribute them properly have been cited as explanations for implementation problems. Yet there are examples of improved productivity as a result of motor voter and evidence that it can be very cost-effective relative to other forms of registration outreach. The District of Columbia has excellent comparative data on this last point.

Thus it appears that both costs and benefits will vary depending upon the type of program and characteristics of the jurisdiction implementing it. This report has attempted to describe the basic program types as well as some important jurisdictional characteristics of programs now in existence and to suggest some generalizations that policy makers might use in designing new programs or modifying old ones. The knowledge base in this field is changing rapidly as jurisdictions experiment with new programs and more information accumulates from existing programs. The election community should continue to follow these developments and to build a base of comparable data from which future policy makers and election administrators can draw.

Appendix 1

Exhibits

NEW MEXICO AVRS VOTER REGISTRATION

This is an application for a New Registration Change
 If this is an application for a change (or correction) check in each
 block containing change information.

1 NAME Last _____ First _____ Middle Initial _____ Generation _____ Sex: <input type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> F		Registration No. 1504123		Pol. Sub. Code	
2 BIRTH DATE: Mo. Da. Yr. _____		Social Security No. or BIA No. _____		Pct. No. _____	
3 COUNTY _____		RURAL ADDRESS _____		Co. Code _____	
4 RESIDENCE House No. _____ Street _____ St. Code _____ Quad. _____ Apt. _____ Municipality _____ Zip _____		OR		Twp. Range Sect. Qtr. _____	
5 MAILING ADDRESS (Complete only if different from 5) Address _____ Post Office _____ Zip _____		Former Name: _____ Last _____ First _____		Former I.D. or Soc. Sec. No. _____	
6 PARTY AFFILIATION 9 County, State of Last Registration _____ 10 Place of Birth _____ <input type="checkbox"/> I am a naturalized citizen of the United States. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Date of Naturalization _____		Date of Current Party Affiliation _____		Accepted for filing in County Registration Records _____	
7 I hereby certify that I do now, or will by the time of the next election requiring registration, meet the following requirements under the laws of the State of New Mexico: 1. CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES 2. NOT DENIED THE RIGHT TO VOTE BY A COURT OF LAW BY REASON OF LEGAL INSANITY OR FELONY CONVICTION 3. AT LEAST 18 YEARS OF AGE 4. RESIDENT OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO		Date of Orig. Reg. in This Co. _____		County Clerk _____ Filing Clerk _____	
8 I am a naturalized citizen of the United States. Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Date of Naturalization _____		Date of Orig. Reg. in This Co. _____		This Registration is cancelled for the reason indicated: <input type="checkbox"/> Death <input type="checkbox"/> Failure to Vote <input type="checkbox"/> Legal Insanity <input type="checkbox"/> Felony Conviction	
9 Date _____ Usual Signature of Qualified Elector _____ Phone No. (8am-5pm) _____		Date _____		County Clerk _____	
10 ACKNOWLEDGED BEFORE ME: Date _____ Usual Signature of Qualified Elector _____ Phone No. (8am-5pm) _____		Date _____		County Use _____	
11 Signature of Registration Officer _____		Date _____		County Use _____	
12		Date _____		County Use _____	
13		Date _____		County Use _____	

REGISTRATION OFFICERS COMPLETE ONLY THOSE
 ITEMS PRINTED IN BLACK.
 COUNTY CLERK COMPLETE ITEMS LISTED IN RED.

FORM NO. NMVRI-11-89

ORIGINAL

MICHIGAN VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICATION

For use in Secretary of State branch offices only. (Please print in ink)

Name: First _____ Middle _____ Last _____ P.O. Box Apt. No. _____

Address: Street and number or R.R. and box number _____

City _____ MI _____ Zip _____

SEX M Birth _____ I live in the County of _____
 F Date _____

I live in the City or Township of _____

Phone No. _____ School District (if known) _____

Birth Place (State or Foreign Country) _____

IMPORTANT: Are you still registered to vote at your last address? If you are or don't know, enter your last address below. Enter "NONE" if you are not registered at your last address.

Address _____ Zip _____
 City or Township of _____ County _____ State _____

Under name of _____ Today's date _____

I CERTIFY THAT I AM A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES; that I am a resident of the city or township in which I wish to register; and that I am or will be by the date of the next election at least 18 years old and a 30-day resident of Michigan. I understand that if qualified, I will be entitled to vote in any election held in my jurisdiction of registration 30 or more days from today's date. I further understand that this application is not valid until accepted by the local clerk. I authorize the cancellation of any registration which I currently hold in another jurisdiction.

Michigan Driver License Number or Personal Identification Number _____

Signature of Agent _____ Signature of Applicant _____

Date _____ Signature of Applicant _____

Date _____ Signature of Applicant _____

POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCE DECLARATION

- To vote in the presidential primary to be held in Michigan on March 17, 1992, you must declare a political party preference by February 17, 1992. This form can be used to declare a political party preference for the presidential primary.
- You are **NOT** eligible to vote in the presidential primary if you indicate that you have "**NO PARTY PREFERENCE**" or fail to file a political party preference declaration form by the February 17, 1992 deadline.
- A political party preference can be changed at any time up to 30 days before a presidential primary. Any changes in your political party preference must be submitted in writing to your city or township clerk.
- The above information applies even if you are currently registered to vote. Information provided on this form will be added to your voter registration record.

My political party preference for the Presidential Primary is: DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN NO PARTY PREFERENCE

Date _____ Signature of Applicant _____

VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICATION RECEIPT

Not Valid Unless Stamped

Name _____ P.O. Box # _____

Address _____ Apt. No. _____

City _____ Street and number or R.R. and box number _____ Zip _____

City or _____

You applied for registration for the Twp. of _____
 It is not valid until accepted by that clerk. If a Voter I.D. Card is not received within 3 weeks, contact the clerk.

EO-74 (688) Authority granted under Act 116 of 1954

Exhibit 6

Form 430077
8-89



Iowa Department of Transportation

Office of Driver Services

WRITTEN EXAM ANSWERS/

OPTIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION (Must be at least 17 1/2 to register)
(Check box if using for voter registration)

To register to vote mark box above and complete section below right.

Full Name (First, Middle, Last)		TO REGISTER TO VOTE:	
Street or Route No.		Telephone Number ()	School District
City, County		Ward/Precinct	Township & Section (If outside city)
State, Zip	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	You may decline to state party <input type="checkbox"/> Republican <input type="checkbox"/> Democratic	
Social Security Number	Date of Birth	PREVIOUS VOTER REGISTRATION	
I certify that I am a citizen of the United States, that I am or will be an eligible elector at any election at which I attempt to vote and that all of the information that I have given upon this voter registration form is true. I authorize cancellation of any prior registration to vote in this or any other jurisdiction and my eligibility to vote in any jurisdiction where voter registration is not required. I am aware that fraudulently registering, or attempting to do so, is an aggravated misdemeanor under Iowa law.		Name (If different)	
		Address	
		City, State	
Signature _____ Date _____		County	

VISION			
<input type="checkbox"/> Unaided	<input type="checkbox"/> Glasses	<input type="checkbox"/> Contacts	Color of Eyes
Left eye 20/ _____	Right eye 20/ _____	Both 20/ _____	Height
Peripheral Vision:			Weight
Left Eye	Temporal _____	Nasal _____	
Right Eye	Temporal _____	Nasal _____	

For each question, X the letter that is the correct answer. Example A C

Type	Form
1. A B C	13. A B C
2. A B C	14. A B C
3. A B C	15. A B C
4. A B C	16. A B C
5. A B C	17. A B C
6. A B C	18. A B C
7. A B C	19. A B C
8. A B C	20. A B C
9. A B C	21. A B C
10. A B C	22. A B C
11. A B C	23. A B C
12. A B C	24. A B C
25. A B C	
26. A B C	
27. A B C	
28. A B C	
29. A B C	
30. A B C	
31. A B C	
32. A B C	
33. A B C	
34. A B C	
35. A B C	

★★★
★★★

Government of the District of Columbia – Department of Public Works – Bureau of Motor Vehicle Services
APPLICATION FOR: D.C. MOTOR VEHICLE OPERATOR'S PERMIT / VOTER REGISTRATION

SECTION 1. (Check the proper box for YOUR application)						FOR DMV'S USE ONLY					
OPERATOR'S PERMIT		LEARNER'S PERMIT		NON-DRIVER IDENTIFICATION		APPROVAL	DATE	EXAMINER			
New	<input type="checkbox"/>	New	<input type="checkbox"/>	New	<input type="checkbox"/>	Written					
Renewal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Renewal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Renewal	<input type="checkbox"/>	Vision					
Duplicate	<input type="checkbox"/>	Duplicate	<input type="checkbox"/>	Duplicate	<input type="checkbox"/>	Reaction					
SECTION 2. (Fill in completely) <input type="checkbox"/> Check if change of address						Birth Certificate Out-of-State License					
PRINT IN INK	Full Name of Applicant (Last Name) (First Name) (Middle Name)			Apt. No.		SS No.					
	Current Residence (Street Address)			City and State		Restrictions					
	DATE OF BIRTH (Mo. Day Yr.)			SEX		Classification					
	WEIGHT (Ft. Ins.)			COLOR OF EYES		I wish to be an Organ/Tissue Donor YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>					
SECTION 3. (Change of Name Applicants ONLY)											
PRINT	Previously Recorded Name of Applicant (Last Name) (First Name) (Middle Name)			Court Record Number (if Applicable)							
	SECTION 4. (Check YES or NO for the following questions)										
1. Has your permit or privilege to drive EVER been suspended, revoked, or refused in the District of Columbia or elsewhere? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> If YES, where? _____											
2. Has it been restored? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> If YES, give date of restoration _____											
3. Do you have in your possession a valid operator's permit? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> If YES, where was it issued? _____											
4. Do you have good natural eyesight for driving? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/> If NO, do you wear glasses <input type="checkbox"/> or contact lenses <input type="checkbox"/>											
SECTION 5. (Check YES or NO for the following Questions)											
STROKE OR PARALYSIS		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	MENTAL DISORDER		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	DIABETES		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	ANY HEART DISORDER		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
LOSS OF FUNCTION IN AN EXTREMITY		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	ANY BRAIN DISORDER		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	GLAUCOMA, CATARACTS, or OTHER EYE DISEASE		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>	SEIZURE DISORDER OR FAINTING SPELLS		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
ALCOHOLISM OR OTHER DRUG ABUSE		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>							POOR MUSCLE CONTROL or DIZZY SPELLS		YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>
Have you any physical defects not mentioned above, either temporary or permanent? If YES, explain briefly: _____											
PHYSICIAN'S CERTIFICATE (Required for applicants 70 years of age and above) I have examined this applicant and find him/her physically and mentally competent to operate a motor vehicle safely.											
(Signature of Physician)			(Address, including ZIP Code)			(Telephone Number)		(Date)			
SECTION 6. APPLICANT'S CERTIFICATE I certify by my signature, under penalties of perjury, that the information given in this application is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.											
						(Signature of Applicant)			(Date)		

★★★
★★★

TO REGISTER TO VOTE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, COMPLETE AND SIGN FORM BELOW



Government of the District of Columbia – Department of Public Works – Bureau of Motor Vehicle Services
APPLICATION FOR: D.C. MOTOR VEHICLE OPERATOR'S PERMIT / VOTER REGISTRATION



SECTION 1. (Check the proper box for YOUR application)

OPERATOR'S PERMIT	LEARNER'S PERMIT	NON-DRIVER IDENTIFICATION
New <input type="checkbox"/>	New <input type="checkbox"/>	New <input type="checkbox"/>
Renewal <input type="checkbox"/>	Renewal <input type="checkbox"/>	Renewal <input type="checkbox"/>
Duplicate <input type="checkbox"/>	Duplicate <input type="checkbox"/>	Duplicate <input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION 2. (Fill in completely) Check if change of address

Full Name of Applicant (Last Name)	(First Name)	(Middle Name)
Current Residence (Street Address)	Apt. No.	
City and State	ZIP Code	
DATE OF BIRTH	SEX	WEIGHT
HEIGHT	COLOR OF EYES	SOCIAL SECURITY NO.
Mo. Day Yr.		
	Ft. Ins.	

SECTION 3. (Change of Name Applicants ONLY)

Previously Recorded Name of Applicant (Last Name) (First Name) (Middle Name)	Court Record Number (If Applicable)
--	-------------------------------------

SECTION 4. (Check YES or NO for the following questions)

- Has your permit or privilege to drive EVER been suspended, revoked, or refused in the District of Columbia or elsewhere? YES NO If YES, where? _____
- Has it been restored? YES NO If YES, give date of restoration _____
- Do you have in your possession a valid operator's permit? YES NO If YES, where was it issued? _____
- Do you have good natural eyesight for driving? YES NO If NO, do you wear glasses or contact lenses

SECTION 5. (Check YES or NO for the following Questions)

STROKE OR PARALYSIS		MENTAL DISORDER		DIABETES		ANY HEART DISORDER	
YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
LOSS OF FUNCTION IN AN EXTREMITY		ANY BRAIN DISORDER		GLAUCOMA, CATARACTS or OTHER EYE DISEASE		SEIZURE DISORDER OR FAINTING SPELLS	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ALCOHOLISM OR OTHER DRUG ABUSE						POOR MUSCLE CONTROL or DIZZY SPELLS	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Have you any physical defects not mentioned above, either temporary or permanent? YES NO
 If YES, explain briefly: _____

PHYSICIAN'S CERTIFICATE (Required for applicants 70 years of age and above)
 I have examined this applicant and find him/her physically and mentally competent to operate a motor vehicle safely.

(Signature of Physician) _____ (Address, including ZIP Code) _____ (Telephone Number) _____ (Date) _____

SECTION 6. APPLICANT'S CERTIFICATE
 I certify by my signature, under penalties of perjury, that the information given in this application is true to the best of my knowledge and belief.
 _____ (Signature of Applicant) _____ (Date)

FOR BOEE USE ONLY

APPROVAL	DATE	EXAMINER

I wish to be an Organ/Tissue Donor
 YES NO



TO REGISTER TO VOTE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, COMPLETE AND SIGN FORM BELOW



Registering to vote will NOT add to your time here today – your Voter ID Card will be mailed to your home.

You may also use form below to file a CHANGE of name, address, or party with the Board of Elections.

FOR BOEE USE ONLY

Registration No. _____

Date of Registration _____ Clerk _____

SECTION 7. CHOOSING YOUR PARTY (Check ONE box)

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
 REPUBLICAN PARTY
 D.C. STATEHOOD PARTY
 NO PARTY (Independent)
 OTHER PARTY (write name below) _____

PLEASE NOTE:
 To vote in a PRIMARY election in the District of Columbia, you must be registered with either the Democratic, Republican, or D.C. Statehood Party.

SECTION 9. VOTER DECLARATION – Read and Sign Below

I swear or affirm that:

- I am a U.S. citizen
- I live in the District of Columbia at the address above
- I will be at least 18 years old on or before the next election
- I am not in jail on a felony conviction
- I have not been judged "mentally incompetent" in a court of law
- I do not claim the right to vote anywhere outside D.C.

Signature _____ Date _____

Daytime Telephone No. _____

WARNING: If you sign this statement even though you know it is untrue, you can be convicted and fined up to \$10,000 and/or jailed for up to five years.

SECTION 8. NAME AND ADDRESS ON LAST VOTER REGISTRATION

Name _____

Address _____

(If outside D.C., include county and state)

FORWARD TO BOEE

APPLICATION FOR VOTER REGISTRATION, and:

DRIVER LICENSE IDENTIFICATION CARD DUPLICATE CHANGE ADDRESS CHANGE NAME/DOB
(COUNTY CLERK USE ONLY)

AGE GROUP	FIRST NAME	MIDDLE NAME	LAST NAME
CLASS	RESIDENCE ADDRESS (Street and Number, Apartment No., Space No., etc.)		
FEE	CITY/TOWN		
NO PHOTO	DATE OF BIRTH	CHANGE DOB FROM	SEX
DRIVER LICENSE	WEIGHT	HEIGHT	COUNTY
TIP	CURRENT LICENSE NUMBER	RESTRICTIONS	HAIR COLOR
ENDORSEMENT	SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER	DONOR	EYE COLOR
DUPLICATE LICENSE	I CERTIFY MY SIGNATURE UNDER PENALTY OF PERJURY THAT THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS TRUE AND CORRECT.		
TYPE	DRIVER LICENSE/ID CARD APPLICANT SIGNATURE	DATE	EXAMINER/CLERK SIGNATURE
CURRENT LICENSE NUMBER	FOR VOTER REGISTRATION, MUST BE 16, U.S. CITIZEN AND RESIDENT OF COLORADO FOR 32 DAYS BEFORE NEXT ELECTION		
PREVIOUS LICENSE NUMBER	POST OFFICE ADDRESS	CITY/TOWN	ZIP CODE
EXPIRES	TELEPHONE	REMARKS	
IDENTIFICATION CARD	U.S. CITIZEN BY:		
DUPLICATE ID. CARD	<input type="checkbox"/> Birth <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalization <input type="checkbox"/> Political Organization <input type="checkbox"/> Republican <input type="checkbox"/> Democrat <input type="checkbox"/> Unaffiliated		
CURRENT ID NUMBER	FORMER NAME - FIRST	MIDDLE NAME	LAST NAME
PREVIOUS ID NUMBER	FORMER RESIDENCE ADDRESS		
EXPIRES	CITY/TOWN	STATE	ZIP CODE
DRIVE	WARNING: It is a crime to swear falsely as to your qualifications to register to vote. I CERTIFY THE ABOVE FACTS ARE TRUE.		
TIP	VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICANT SIGNATURE	DATE	OATH ADMINISTERED BY

DC R220A 85
 Optional
 DR 275-1 (10/76)

IF YOUR NAME HAS CHANGED, COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING (ENTER ALL INFORMATION AS SHOWN ON PRESENT LICENSE)		REASON FOR DUPLICATE <input type="checkbox"/> LOST, MUTILATED OR DESTROYED <input type="checkbox"/> CHANGE OF ADDRESS <input type="checkbox"/> ANATOMICAL DONOR <input type="checkbox"/> NO LONGER A MINOR <input type="checkbox"/> CHANGE OF NAME (GIVE REASON)
NAME	LICENSE NUMBER	
STREET ADDRESS	STATE	ZIP CODE
DO YOU WANT YOUR LICENSE TO INDICATE YOU ARE AN ANATOMICAL DONOR? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		
DO YOU WANT TO REGISTER OR REREGISTER TO VOTE TODAY? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		
DMV WILL USE THE MEDICAL INFORMATION IN THE FOLLOWING TWO QUESTIONS ONLY FOR THE PURPOSE OF DETERMINING YOUR ELIGIBILITY TO DRIVE. THE ANSWERS TO THE QUESTIONS WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL.		
HAVE YOU HAD A LOSS OF CONSCIOUSNESS OR PHYSICAL CONTROL, OR HAS YOUR ABILITY TO DRIVE BEEN IMPAIRED WITHIN THE LAST TWO YEARS? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO IF YOU MARKED "YES," TO WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING CONDITION(S) WAS IT RELATED? ... YOU MUST MARK AT LEAST ONE BOX.		
<input type="checkbox"/> EPILEPSY/SEIZURES <input type="checkbox"/> INSULIN TREATED DIABETES <input type="checkbox"/> HEART CONDITION <input type="checkbox"/> STROKE <input type="checkbox"/> DRUG USE <input type="checkbox"/> MENTAL ILLNESS <input type="checkbox"/> A PROBLEM WITH ALCOHOL <input type="checkbox"/> OTHER (EXPLAIN) _____		
HAVE YOU HAD A PROBLEM INVOLVING YOUR USE OF ALCOHOL OR DRUGS WITHIN THE LAST FOUR YEARS? <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		
HAVE YOU HAD A CHANGE OF VISION, A LOSS OF LIMB OR ANY OTHER PHYSICAL CHANGE WITHIN THE LAST FOUR YEARS THAT MIGHT AFFECT YOUR DRIVING ABILITY? YOU MUST MARK EITHER "YES" OR "NO." IF YOU MARK "YES," DESCRIBE THE CHANGE. <input type="checkbox"/> YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO		
I UNDERSTAND IT IS AGAINST THE LAW TO MAKE ANY FALSE STATEMENT OR SHOW FALSE EVIDENCE OF AGE AND/OR IDENTITY ON THIS APPLICATION. IF I DO, MY PERMIT OR LICENSE WILL BE IMMEDIATELY CANCELED. IF I AM CONVICTED OF SUCH ACT(S), I FURTHER UNDERSTAND I CAN BE FINED OR SENTENCED TO JAIL, OR BOTH, ACCORDING TO OREGON LAW.		
MY SIGNATURE BELOW CERTIFIES THAT ALL INFORMATION GIVEN ON THIS APPLICATION IS TRUE AND CORRECT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE.		

DRIVER LICENSE

NUMBER	DATE OF BIRTH	CLASS
5002	05-07-63	C
RESTRICTIONS	ENDORSEMENTS	
B4		
EXPIRES	HEIGHT	WEIGHT
05-07-95	5 04	110
ISSUE DATE	ORIGINAL DATE	SEX
10-28-91	10-28-91	F

REST EXP DT: 050795 OTHER
 THIS IS A SAMPLE OF THE RESTRICTION INFORMATION

OREGON COMBINED MOTOR VOTER FORM

DOE, JANE B
 1492 NE BROADWAY
 PORTLAND OR 97202

BATCH-CD:A BATCH-TYPE:0
 MVRID:PCB1
 CTR-NO:960 DT:102891 TM:131503
 TRANS-CD:DNDP==0011 TYPE:06P
 RECEIPT:FEE:021.25

LINE MDE:SIM HOST DOC #:014

CTR-NO:960 DT:102891 TM:131503 DOC:014

735-6673 (10-91)

PERFORATION

009102

VOTER REGISTRATION CARD

WARNING: Any person who supplies any information knowing it to be false, is subject upon conviction to imprisonment for not more than five years or to a fine of not more than \$100,000, or both.

DOE, JANE B
 1492 NE BROADWAY
 PORTLAND OR 97202

OFFICE USE ONLY

3. COUNTY

4. RESIDENCE ADDRESS (IF DIFFERENT FROM ABOVE):

5. PHONE (OPTIONAL)

6. DATE OF BIRTH
 05-07-63

7. PARTY AFFILIATION (SELECT ONE):

- ← DEMOCRAT
 ← LIBERTARIAN ← NOT AFFILIATED WITH ANY POLITICAL PARTY
 ← REPUBLICAN ← OTHER PARTY

8. PLACE OF BIRTH
 CARSON CITY, NV

9. SPOUSE'S NAME

10. FATHER'S NAME

11. MOTHER'S MAIDEN NAME
 SMITH

12. IF PREVIOUSLY REGISTERED TO VOTE IN OREGON, COMPLETE THIS SECTION:

COUNTY NAME ON PREVIOUS REGISTRATION PREVIOUS ADDRESS (if known)

UNDER PENALTY OF LAW: By signing this card, I certify that I am a citizen of the United States and that I shall have been a resident of Oregon for 30 days before the next election at which I vote, that I shall be at least 18 years of age on or before the date of the next election at which I vote, and that all information I have supplied is that to the best of my knowledge.

13. SIGNATURE: Sign on line below:

X

YOU MAY REGISTER TO VOTE IF:

1. YOU ARE A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.
2. YOU WILL BE 18 OR OLDER ON ELECTION DAY; AND
3. YOU ARE A RESIDENT OF OREGON.

YOU MUST RE-REGISTER IF:

1. YOUR RESIDENCE OR MAILING ADDRESS CHANGES;
2. YOUR NAME CHANGES; OR
3. YOU WISH TO CHANGE POLITICAL AFFILIATION.

A qualified person must complete this form, sign the certification and return this card to a Motor Vehicles Division representative. The date of registration is the date on which the legible, accurate and complete registration card is received. To be eligible to vote, you must register by 5 p.m. on the 21st day before the election at which you intend to vote.

INSTRUCTIONS

1. COMPLETELY FILL OUT AND SIGN THE CARD.
2. PLEASE USE BALL POINT PEN.
3. RETURN THIS CARD TO A MOTOR VEHICLES DIVISION REPRESENTATIVE.

YOUR VOTER REGISTRATION IS IMPORTANT. FOLLOW INSTRUCTIONS CAREFULLY. ERRORS OR MISSING INFORMATION WILL RESULT IN YOUR REGISTRATION BEING REJECTED.

ORIGINAL REGISTER OF VOTER			
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1.	RESIDENCE ADDRESS FOR VOTING PURPOSES	CITY OR TOWN	ZIP CODE
-----------	---------------------------------------	--------------	----------

2.	MAILING ADDRESS	CITY OR TOWN	ZIP CODE
-----------	-----------------	--------------	----------

3. DESCRIBE LOCATION OF RESIDENCE IF ADDRESS IS ROUTE OR BOX	4. TRANSFERS WITHIN COUNTY (YES) <input type="checkbox"/>	5. FORMER RESIDENCE ADDRESS
		CITY OR TOWN ZIP CODE

"I declare that the facts relating to my qualifications as a voter recorded on this voter registration form are true. I am a citizen of the United States, I am not presently denied my civil rights as a result of being convicted of an infamous crime, I will have lived in this state, county, and precinct for thirty days immediately preceding the next election at which I offer to vote, and I will be at least eighteen years of age at the time of voting."

6.		7. SIGN HERE X
PLEASE PRINT YOUR FULL NAME		SIGNATURE OF VOTER - PLEASE SIGN WITHIN SHADED AREA

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	REGISTRATION NUMBER	DATE OF REGISTRATION	Record Signing of Petitions Here (In Pencil)
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/> - <input type="text"/>	
	PRECINCT CODE	PRECINCT NAME	
	<input type="text"/>	DISTRICT/LEVY CODE	
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	

WARNING
Knowingly providing false information on this voter registration form or knowingly making a false declaration about your qualifications for registration is a class C felony that is punishable by imprisonment for up to five years, or by a fine not to exceed ten thousand dollars, or by both such imprisonment and fine. (RCW 29.07.070)

LAST NAME (Print)	FIRST NAME	INITIAL
REGISTRATION NUMBER	SIGN HERE X	
COUNTY	SIGNATURE OF VOTER	
VOTER - PLEASE PRINT NAME HERE FOR POSITIVE IDENTIFICATION		
STREET AND NUMBER OR RURAL ROUTE	REGISTRATION DATE	
CITY	ZIP CODE	
RECORD SIGNING OF PETITIONS HERE (In Pencil)		

Motor Voter 

Appendix 2

Figures

Figure 1

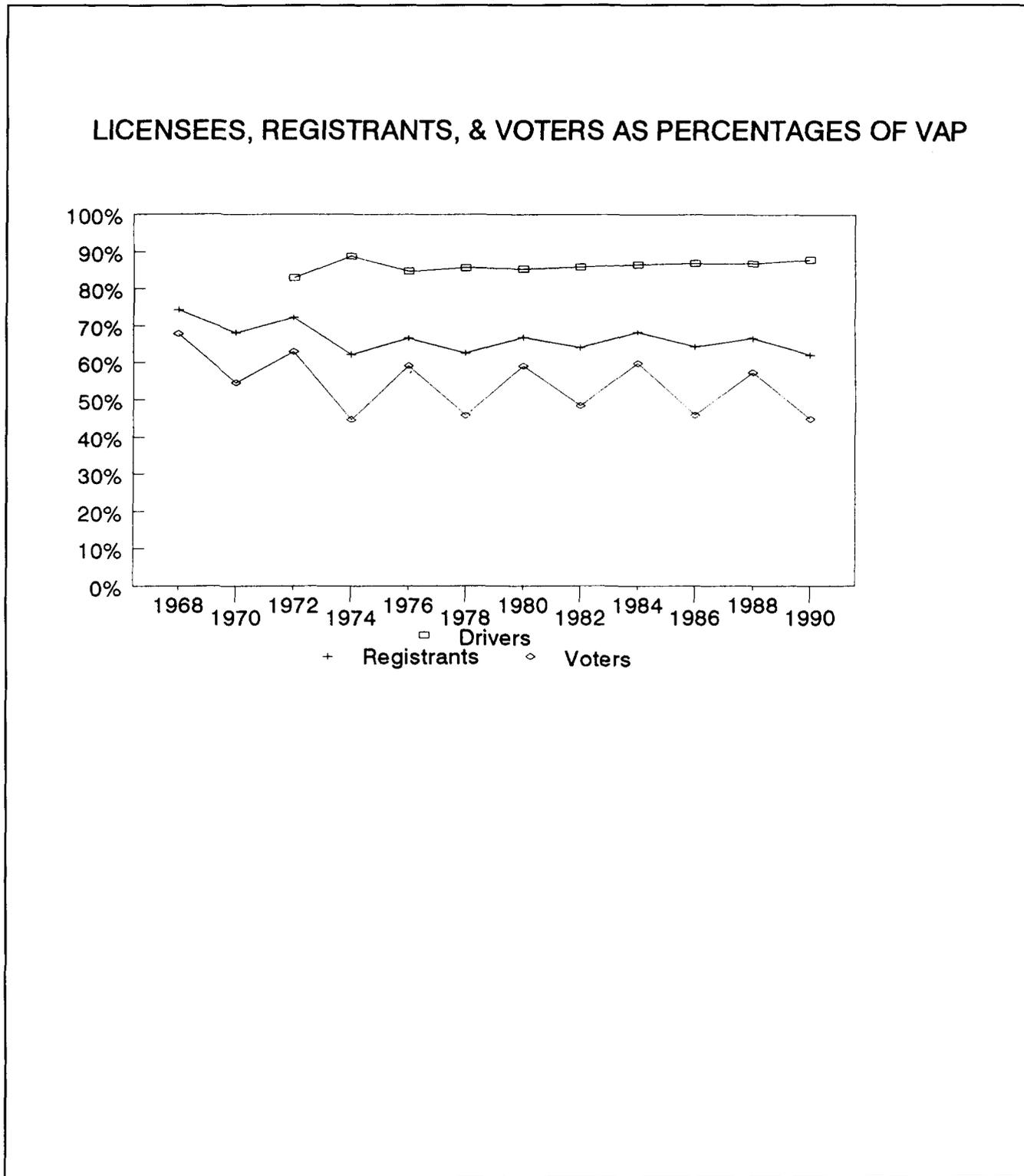


Figure 2

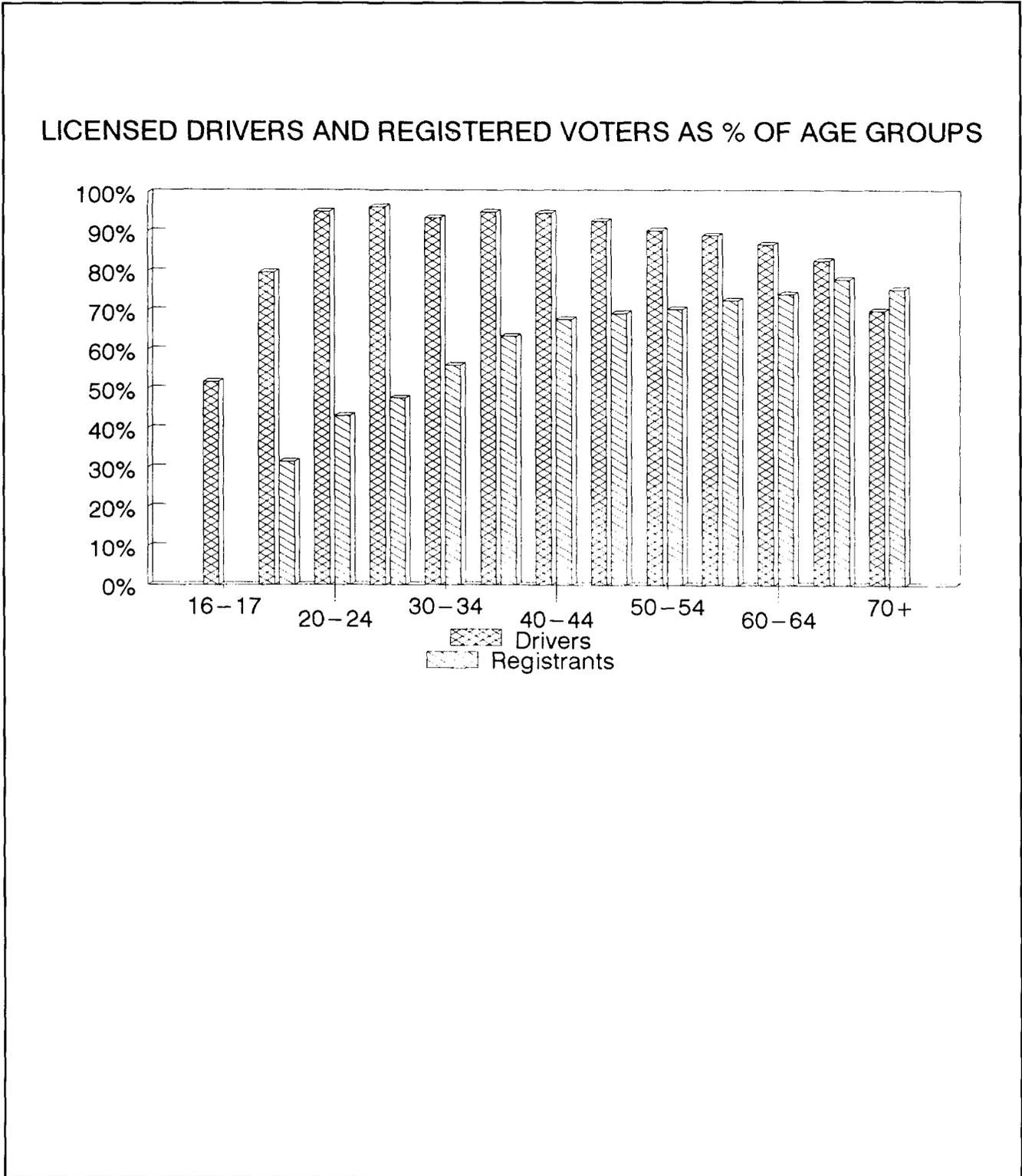


Figure 3

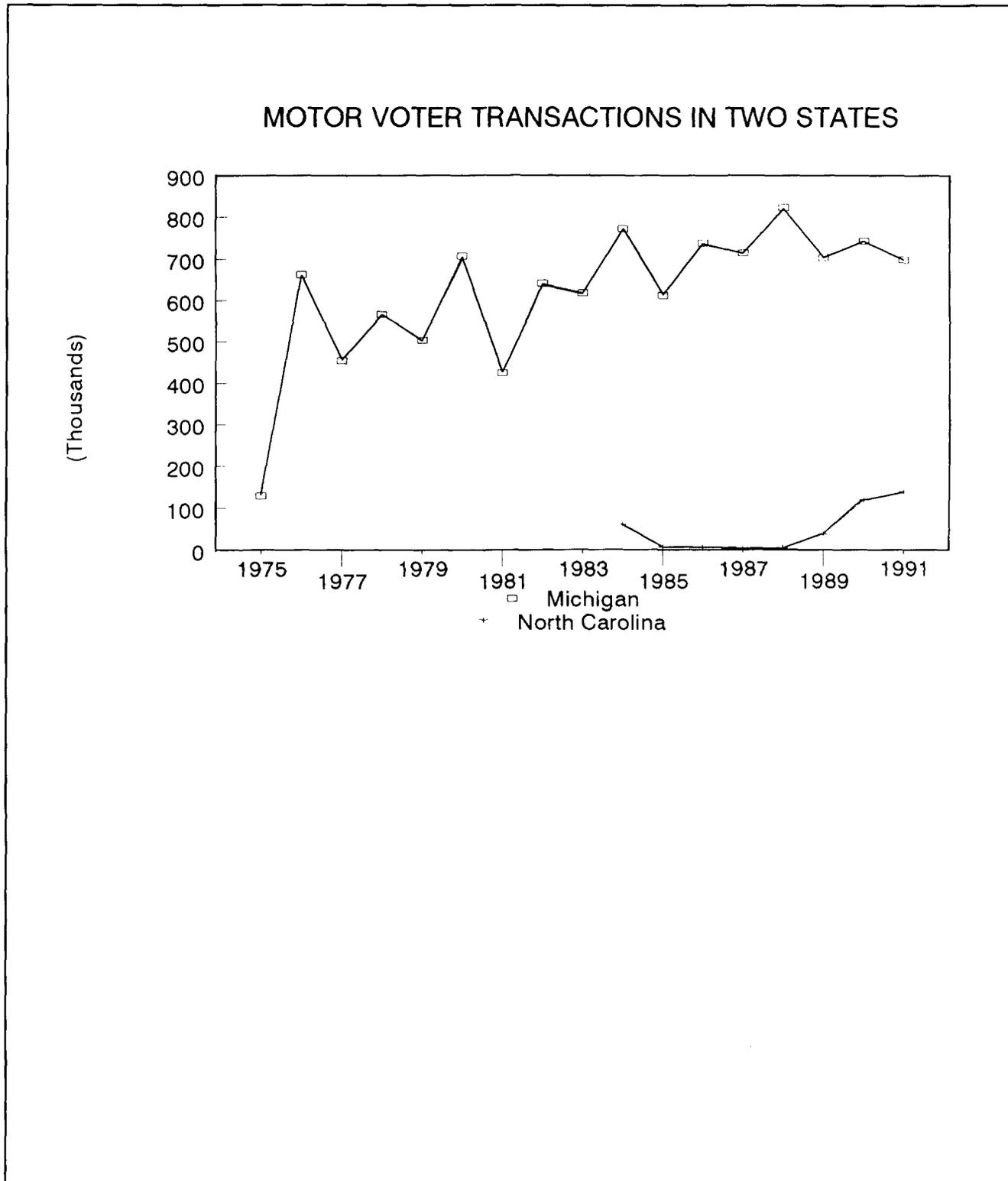


Figure 4

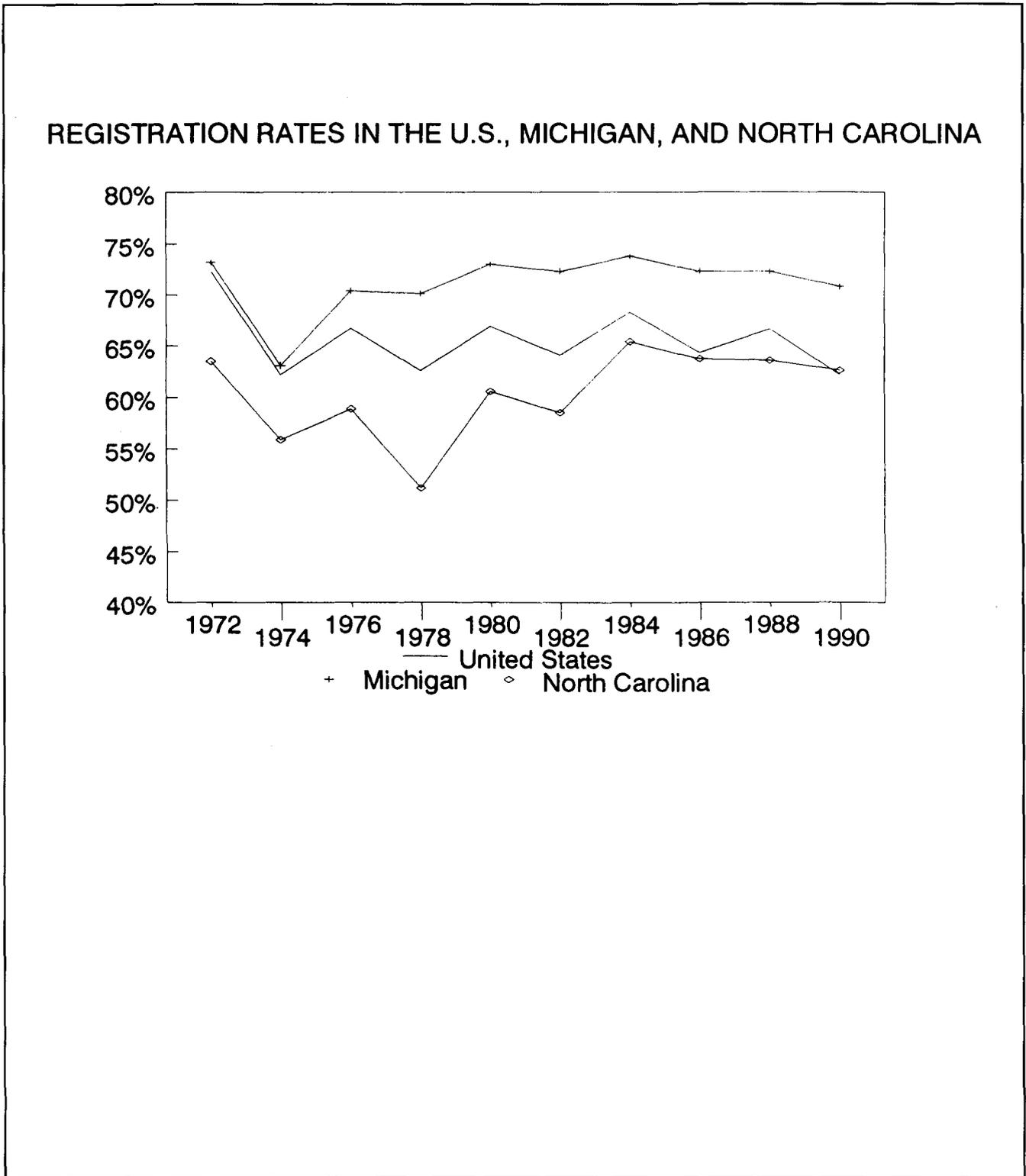
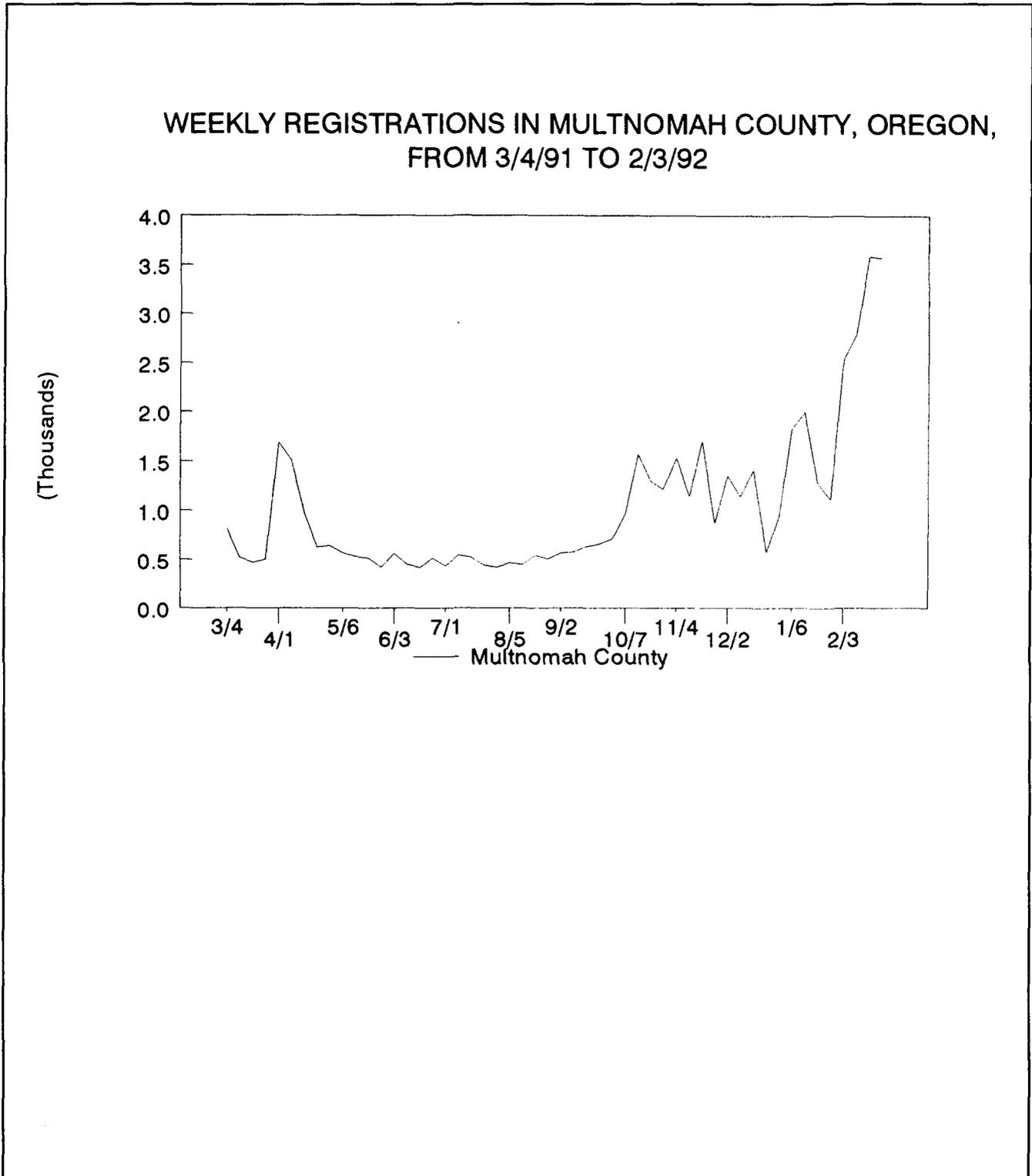


Figure 5



Appendix 3

Table

Table 1

CHANGES IN STATE REGISTRATION RELATIVE TO U.S.

STATE	ELECTION DATES	YEARS OF IMPLEMENTATION	NET CHANGE
Colorado	84-88	4	7.8%
Michigan	74-78	4	6.6%
Nevada	86-90	2	4.8%
DC	86-90	1	2.7%

For information about other

Innovations in Election Administration

contact

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Federal Election Commission
999 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

Toll Free 800/424-9530
Direct 202/219-3670
FAX 202/219-3880

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