March 6, 2006

Jan Brewer
Arizona Secretary of State
1700 West Washington Street, 7th Floor
Phoenix, AZ 85007-2888

Dear Secretary Brewer,

This letter responds to your office’s December 12, 2005 e-mail to the U.S. Election Assistance Commission (EAC) requesting that the EAC apply Arizona state policy (derived from Proposition 200) to the Federal Mail Voter Registration Form (“Federal Registration Form” or “Federal Form”). Specifically, the inquiry sought to apply proof of citizenship requirements for Arizona voter registration to the Federal Form registration process. This request was sent by Robert A. Flores, Voter Outreach Coordinator in response to the EAC’s requests for updates pertaining to the Federal Registration Form.

As you may know, use and acceptance of the Federal Form are mandated by the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, 42 U.S.C. §1973gg et seq., (NVRA). The EAC is the Federal agency charged with regulating the development and substance of the Federal Form. (42 U.S.C. §1973gg-7(a)). After review of your request, the EAC concludes that the policies you propose would effectively result in a refusal to accept and use the Federal Registration Form in violation of Federal law (42 U.S.C. §1973gg-4(a)).

Arizona’s Policy. On December 12, 2005, the office of the Arizona Secretary of State (Chief State Election Official) requested that the EAC apply new Arizona procedural requirements to the Federal Form. These new procedural requirements reflected proof of citizenship provisions recently adopted by the state in Proposition 200. Generally, proposition 200 requires Arizona registrants to submit additional proof of citizenship with their voter registration forms. This usually requires the individual to record, on the form, his or her driver’s license number (or non-operating identification license) issued after October 1, 1996. If the registrant cannot provide this information (because they have no license or an older license) he or she will need to provide a copy of an alternative form of identification. These alternative forms include: a birth certificate, passport, certificate of naturalization number and other documents. This portion of Proposition 200 amended Arizona Revised Statute §§ 16-152 and 16-166, which set requirements for the State’s registration form and verification of the form. The proposition did not amend Arizona’s registration qualifications, found in Arizona Revised Statute §16-101. If Arizona were to apply this policy to its use and acceptance of the Federal Registration Form, the Federal Form’s acceptance would be conditioned upon the receipt of supplemental documentation of citizenship. In this way, any registrant who failed to supplement their Federal Registration Form would have their form rejected, resulting in the loss of voting rights.

Federal Authority To Regulate Elections. It is a well settled matter of Constitutional law that the United States Congress, pursuant to Article I, Section 4 and
Article II, Section 1 of the U.S. Constitution, has the authority to pass laws regulating the manner in which Federal elections are held. This Federal authority has been broadly read by the Supreme Court to include the comprehensive Congressional regulation of a States’ voter registration process for Federal elections. Voting Rights Coalition v. Wilson, 60 F.3d 1411, 1413-1414 (9th Cir. 1995), cert. denied, 516 U.S. 1093 (1996) (citing Smiley v. Holm, 285 U.S. 355, 366 (1932)); Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now v. Edgar, 56 F.3d 791, 793-794 (7th Cir. 1995) (citing Smiley, 285 U.S. at 366, Ex parte Siebold, 100 U.S. 371 (1879) and United States v. Original Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, 250 F.Supp 330, 351 - 355 (E.D.La 1965)); Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now v. Miller, 129 F.3d 833, 836 (6th Cir. 1995). The Constitution “explicitly grants Congress the authority either to ‘make’ laws regarding federal elections... or to ‘alter’ the laws initially promulgated by the states. Thus... article I, section 4 specifically grants Congress the authority to force states to alter their regulations regarding federal elections.” Miller, 129 F.3d at 836.

In this way, while Article I, section 2 and the Seventeenth Amendment authorize States to set requirements regarding voter qualifications in a Federal election (Edgar at 794), this does not limit the Federal authority to set voter registration procedures for such elections. Voting Rights Coalition, at 1413. This is true even where States have declared voter registration to be a voting qualification (Wilson, at 1414) or where Federal registration requirements may indirectly make it more difficult for a State to enforce qualification requirements (Edgar at 794-795).

National Voter Registration Act. Consistent with its authority to regulate voter registration in Federal elections, Congress passed the NVRA. The NVRA’s regulation of the voter registration process has been specifically and consistently upheld as constitutional by the Courts. Voting Rights Coalition, 60 F.3d F.3d 1411; Edgar, 56 F.3d 791; Miller, 129 F.3d 833. The NVRA mandates that States “shall accept and use the mail voter registration application prescribed by the U.S. Election Assistance Commission pursuant to section 9(a)(2) for the registration of voters in elections for Federal office.” 42 U.S.C. §1973gg-4(a) (emphasis added). The statute further allows States to create, use and accept their own form (in addition to the Federal form) if it meets the minimum NVRA criteria for the Federal form. 42 U.S.C. §1973gg-4(b). The EAC is the Federal agency charged with creating and regulating the Federal Form. The NVRA requires the Federal Voter Registration Form to specify each voter eligibility requirement, contain an attestation that the applicant meets such requirements, and require the signature of the applicant. 42 U.S.C. §1973gg-7(b)(2). The Help America Vote Act (HAVA) has added the requirement that the Federal form include two check boxes for an applicant to affirm their citizenship and age. 42 U.S.C. §15483(b)(4).

Discussion. While Arizona has authority to determine registrant/voter qualifications, the manner in which it registers voters for Federal elections is subject to Federal regulation. The Federal Government, through the NVRA and the Federal Form has regulated the process of registering voters in Federal Elections. Acceptance of the

1 The Help America Vote Act amended the National Voter Registration Act transferring regulatory authority over the Federal Form to the EAC. (See 42 U.S.C. §15532 and 42 U.S.C. §1973gg-7(a)).
Federal Form is mandated by the NVRA. The Federal Form sets the proof required to demonstrate voter qualification. No state may condition acceptance of the Federal Form upon receipt of additional proof.

Arizona's voting qualifications remain unchanged and are contained in Arizona Revised Statute §16-101. These qualifications are presently reflected on the Federal Form. The statutory changes Arizona has initiated in Proposition 200, which require some residents to submit documentary evidence of citizenship, do not alter the state's voter qualifications. Rather, the statutory scheme is merely an additional means to document or prove the existing voter eligibility requirement of citizenship. As such, Arizona's statutory changes deal with the manner in which registration is conducted and are, therefore, preempted by Federal law. The NVRA, HAVA and the EAC have determined the manner in which voter eligibility shall be documented and communicated on the Federal form. State voter requirements are documented by the applicant via a signed attestation and, in the case of citizenship, a "checkbox." (42 U.S.C. §1973gg-7(b)(2) and 42 U.S.C.§15483(b)(4)). This Federal scheme has regulated the area and preempts state action. Congress specifically considered whether states should retain authority to require that registrants provide proof of citizenship, but rejected the idea as "not necessary or consistent with the purpose of [the NVRA]." The state may not mandate additional registration procedures that condition the acceptance of the Federal Form. The NVRA requires States to both "accept" and "use" the Federal Form. Any Federal Registration Form that has been properly and completely filled-out by a qualified applicant and timely received by an election official must be accepted in full satisfaction of registration requirements. Such acceptance and use of the Federal Form is subject only to HAVA's verification mandate. (42 U.S.C. §15483).

Conclusion. While Arizona may apply Proposition 200 requirements to the use of its state registration form in Federal elections (if the form meets the minimum requirements of the NVRA), the state may not apply the scheme to registrants using the Federal Registration Form. Consistent with the above, Arizona may not refuse to register individuals to vote in a Federal election for failing to provide supplemental proof of citizenship, if they have properly completed and timely submitted the Federal Registration Form. If you have any questions, please contact the undersigned at (202) 566-3100.

Thomas R. Wilkey
Executive Director

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2 These qualifications require a registrant to demonstrate that he or she is (1) a citizen of the United States, (2) at least 18 years of age before the date of the next general election, (3) a resident of Arizona for at least twenty-nine days, (4) has not been convicted of a felony unless restored to civil rights and (5) has not been determined mentally incapacitated.