

VOTER ID LAWS AND THEIR ADDED COSTS FOR TRANSGENDER VOTERS

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Introduction and Summary

There are ten states that require voters to provide photo identification in order to vote at the polls and mandate that those who do not do so undertake additional steps to ensure their vote is counted. Transgender people who are residents of these states with strict photo identification requirements for voting may face unique challenges when voting at the polls. To ensure that they are able to vote at the polls, potential voters need to make sure that their appearance, photo ID, and voter registration information match.¹ In examining the steps that a transgender individual would need to undertake, we find that:

- Transgender people who have transitioned to live in a gender different from their sex assigned at birth must go through additional steps and face additional costs compared to cisgender people (i.e., people who are not transgender) to meet these strict photo ID requirements.
- It can be difficult and costly for a transgender person to obtain photo ID that accurately reflects their gender and appearance after transition. These costs impose disparate burdens on transgender individuals who wish to vote in these states.
- Fees associated with updating these documents with a change of gender can range from \$8 to \$358. Court orders, proof of identity and citizenship, and documentation of medical treatment, among other documents, are also sometimes required to make these changes, and some states only allow individuals to update their IDs after receiving transition-related surgery, regardless of whether they need to undergo surgery as part of their transition.

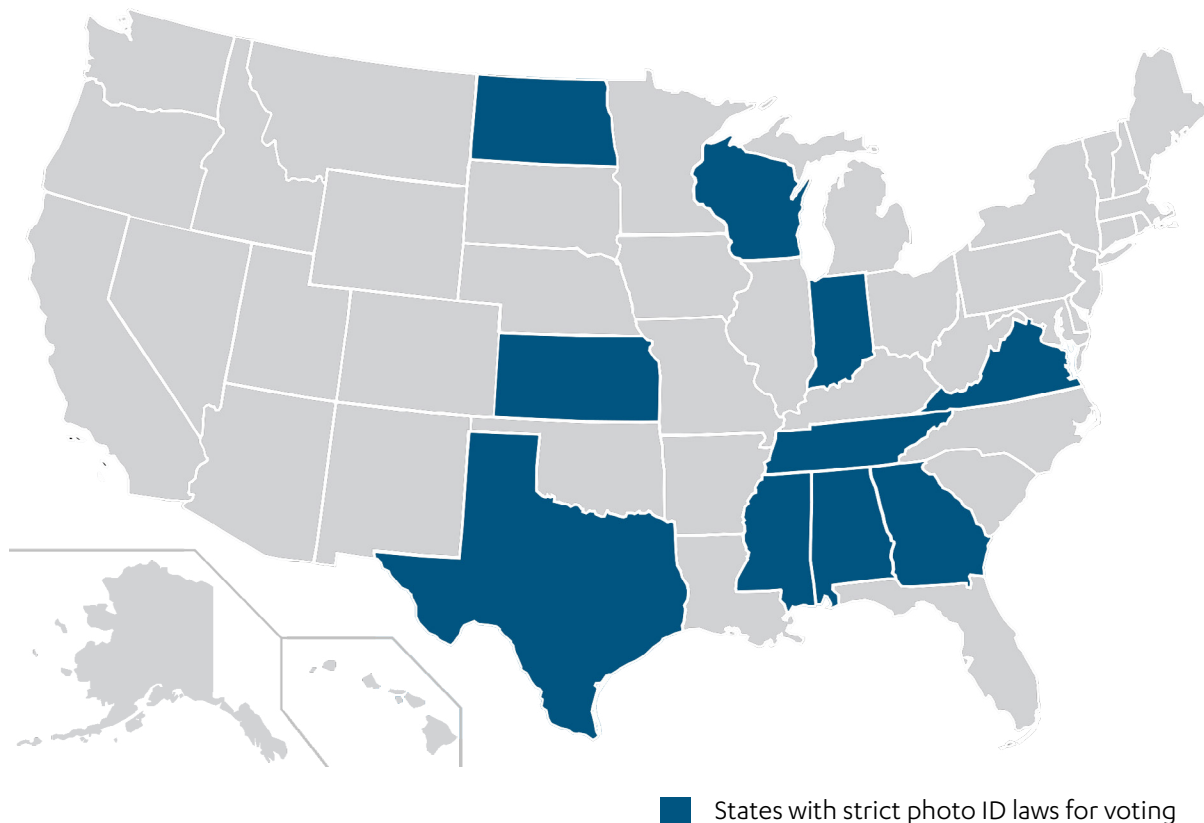
In this report, we examine in detail the additional steps and costs that transgender people may encounter in order to vote at the polls in states with the strictest photo identification laws. We present the state of Kansas as a case study to describe the complex processes and associated costs of obtaining accurate photo ID for voting purposes and provide an analysis of associated costs for acceptable IDs in all the strictest photo ID states.

Photo ID for Voting

The Help America Voter Act (HAVA), enacted in 2002, mandated certain limited voter identification requirements, namely for first-time voters in a federal election in their current location. Since 2006, states have been required to maintain a digital catalog of voter information accessible to election officials.² Poll workers and election officials are tasked with assessing the identity of those who wish to vote to determine whether these individuals are who they say they are, matching the information they provide with information provided by the state.

Since 2002, an increasing number of states have enacted their own voter identification requirements. Some of these are much broader, applying to all state residents wishing to vote using a regular ballot (i.e., not a provisional ballot). Currently, 33 states have some form of voter ID requirement in effect, according to the National Conference of State Legislatures.³ Some of these states request, but do not mandate, that voters provide ID in order to vote; others allow those without ID to sign an affidavit attesting to their identity. Ten states have a stricter standard, mandating that voters provide government-issued photo ID in order to vote. Voters without acceptable ID will be provided a provisional ballot and be required to take additional steps soon after Election Day to ensure their ballot is counted. These states include: Alabama⁴, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, Mississippi, North Dakota⁵, Tennessee, Texas⁶, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

States with Strict Photo ID Laws for Voting



A Unique Burden

Strict photo identification laws are particularly onerous for some populations of potential voters who may not have acceptable ID for voting. A 2006 study found that as many as 11% of American citizens do not have government-issued photo ID.⁷ A sizable proportion of transgender people may also not have photo ID or any ID that accurately reflects their gender identity. Findings from the National Transgender Discrimination Survey (NTDS) suggest that 27% of transgender citizens who have transitioned have no forms of ID that accurately reflect their gender.⁸

In addition to the costs of obtaining photo ID acceptable for voting that would be incurred by any potential voter, many transgender people must undertake additional steps and costs to ensure that their photo ID accurately reflects their gender by updating their gender marker and photo on these documents.

Transgender people who transition may or may not legally change their name as part of their transition. Both transgender and cisgender people may change their name for a variety of reasons not related to gender transition. Therefore, in this study, we only consider costs related to updating gender markers and photos on IDs, which are costs unique to transgender people.

Not every transgender person undertakes the same steps to transition from their sex assigned at birth to a different gender. The World Professional Association for Transgender Health (WPATH) recognizes in its Standards of Care that transition-related treatment should meet the specific needs of each individual.⁹ For some individuals, this entails transition-related surgery, and for others it may not. In our study, we focus on transgender people who have transitioned from their sex assigned at birth to a different gender and who may or may not have had transition-related surgical care as part of their transition. In some states, the processes involved in updating identification documents with a change of gender require that a transgender person undergo transition-related surgery. This requirement imposes substantial costs and is not a necessary part of transition for some transgender people. Such a requirement is a significant burden, if not an outright barrier, for some transgender people seeking to obtain ID that accurately reflects their gender in order to vote.

Poll workers who are tasked with assessing the identity of potential voters may cite inconsistencies in transgender individuals' ID, voter registration information, and appearance as reasons for preventing the individual from voting with a regular ballot. For instance, a transgender person who has transitioned from their sex assigned at birth and presents photo ID when voting that does not accurately reflect their gender may be asked to vote a provisional ballot instead of a regular ballot.

Prior analysis of the impact of voter ID laws on transgender people found that strict photo ID requirements may have led to additional barriers and disenfranchisement for over 24,000 transgender people in the 2014 general election.¹⁰

Processes and Costs Associated with Updating Photo ID for Voting in Kansas

Kansas is one of ten states that have strict photo ID laws for voting. In order to describe the complex processes, and related costs, that a transgender person who has transitioned must go through to obtain accurate ID for voting, we present Kansas as a case study, in detail. Voting in the United States is a two-step process: one must first register to vote and then cast a ballot.¹¹ Legislation mandating new photo ID requirements for voting was enacted in Kansas in 2011. The Secure and Fair Elections (SAFE) Act mandates that Kansas residents attempting to vote at the polls must present one of nine acceptable forms of photo identification (see Table I).¹² If an individual does not have one of these forms of ID or a poll worker questions their eligibility to vote based on the ID they present, they may be required to cast a provisional ballot.¹³ These ballots are not counted on Election Day. Local election officials determine the validity of provisional ballots following the election. Individuals who submitted a provisional ballot because of an issue with their photo ID are required to provide acceptable photo ID to election officials after the election but before the officials meet to certify the election results.¹⁴

In order to isolate the specific effects of the strict photo ID law in Kansas, we focus on transgender people who are already registered to vote under their sex assigned at birth, already have some form of photo ID that would otherwise be acceptable for voting under the state's voter ID requirements, and who have transitioned but have not updated their photo ID.¹⁵ Transgender individuals in this scenario may not have ID that accurately reflects their gender, either in their photo or in the gender marker noted on the ID. In order to ensure the acceptability of their ID for voting, they must update their photo ID to accurately reflect their gender. Once they have done this, they will also need to update their voter registration to reflect their gender and may provide their driver's license number or Social Security number on the registration form.¹⁶

Two forms of ID that are accepted when voting in Kansas include a driver's license and a non-driver ID card.¹⁷ In order to update the gender marker and change the photo on one of these forms of ID, a transgender person has two options.¹⁸ They may obtain a court order of gender change and submit this along with their current driver's license or ID card and pay a replacement fee (\$16 for a driver's license or \$12 for an ID card) at a driver's licensing exam station. It is not clear what the process is for obtaining the court order of gender change, and localities likely address this issue differently. There are costs for filing a civil petition in court, in addition to costs associated with obtaining copies of the order and providing necessary documentation to the court. The court docket fee set by the Kansas legislature is \$173. This fee, along with an additional surcharge fee and fees set by the individual's county of residence, is required for a petition of name change, which may be similar in cost to a petition for gender change. A fee waiver based on an individual's ability to pay is available.¹⁹

Alternatively, to update their driver's license or non-driver ID, they may provide to the Kansas Chief Driver's License Examiner a copy of their current driver's license or ID card and a letter from their physician stating that they have "undergone the appropriate clinical treatment for change of sex or that the physician has re-evaluated the applicant and determined that gender reclassification based on physical criteria is appropriate." Obtaining this letter and other documentation from a physician may require a transgender person to

schedule and pay for an appointment with a physician, which can be costly and take considerable time. We do not try to estimate a cost for this but note throughout this study that obtaining this type of physician documentation may have a cost. Then, if the request for gender change is approved by the Division of Motor Vehicles, the Examiner's office will provide a letter of authorization. The individual would then take this document to a driver's licensing exam station along with the replacement fee (\$16 for a driver's license and \$12 for an ID card) and their current driver's license or ID card to obtain the new ID.

An individual can apply for a fee-waiver for the non-driver ID card. Eligibility requirements for the fee-waiver include not having any form of ID that would be acceptable when voting and providing proof of voter registration in Kansas. To apply, an individual will need to certify that they do not have acceptable ID for voting and provide documentation of their full legal name, date of birth, proof of lawful presence in the United States, and proof of Kansas principal residential address.²⁰

In the scenario we examine here, an individual already has some form of ID but this ID does not accurately reflect their gender and presentation. In this case, the individual would likely not be eligible for the fee-waiver. However, for a transgender person who has transitioned and is eligible for the fee-waiver, there are additional barriers that make it difficult – if not impossible – for them to obtain this free ID card in a manner that would accurately reflect their gender. For a transgender person who does not have any form of ID that accurately reflects their gender, obtaining the updated documents that are needed for the fee waiver, which include proof of full legal name, date of birth, lawful presence in the United States, Kansas residence, and up to date voter registration, may be difficult and costly.²¹

An individual may also choose to use a US passport as identification at the polls. In order to update the gender marker and photo on a passport, an individual will need to make an appointment at a passport acceptance facility. They will need to provide a completed application for a new passport, proof of citizenship²², proof of identity, a recent photograph, and a letter from the applicant's physician stating that they have received "appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition."²³ The individual will also need to pay a \$30 fee for a renewal of a passport card or a \$140 fee for renewal of a passport book.²⁴

If an individual has a Kansas Conceal Carry License (CCL), they may change their gender and photo on this document and use it as identification when voting, as well. In order to update a CCL, an individual must first update their driver's license or ID card.²⁵ They will be required to provide the Concealed Carry Licensing Unit at the Office of the Attorney General with the letter from their physician or court order provided earlier when changing their driver's license or ID card. The CCL Unit will then provide a CCL re-issuance letter. The individual would need to present this letter along with the requisite \$16 fee at a driver's licensing exam station where they could then apply for their new CCL.

Other forms of identification accepted when voting are available for specific populations within Kansas. One form of acceptable ID is a student ID card from an accredited university or college in Kansas. The policies and costs associated with updating a student ID with a change of gender and a photo change would depend on the specific educational institution. At the University of Kansas (KU), the largest university in the state, a student would need to first register their gender change with the Office of the University Registrar

by submitting a Correction to University Records form.²⁶ While the KU student ID does not indicate the individual's gender, this correction to the university's records is required before a photo change reflecting a gender transition can be made. The individual would then need to go to the KU Card Center, take a new photo, and pay the required \$20 fee and receive a new ID.

Military ID is also considered acceptable identification when voting. Among individuals eligible for a military ID, known as the Common Access Card or CAC, those on active duty are not currently permitted to change their gender and photo on their military ID or in the Defense Enrollment Eligibility Reporting System (DEERS).²⁷ For others, including civilian employees of the Department of Defense, contractors, individuals in inactive reserve, and others, updating information in the DEERS and on the CAC requires that the Service Project Office of the individual's military department submit two forms of their identification and a letter from the individual's physician stating that the individual has had appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition.²⁸ The two forms of identification will need to have already been updated with a gender and/or photo change. This means that, prior to updating their CAC, an individual would most likely already have ID acceptable for voting that is updated to accurately reflect gender. While going through the process of updating one's military records is important, updating an individual's CAC specifically for the purpose of voting is unnecessary. Additionally, for some military IDs, individuals may need to present in their photo in military uniform consistent with their gender prior to transition.²⁹ This may prompt additional scrutiny from election officials. Other individuals, such as those who have previously served in the military and now have a CAC as a contractor or other employee, may find it particularly difficult to update their information in the DEERS as this information is routinely reset. Therefore, for transgender people, the CAC may not be an option to use as identification for voting.

Other forms of ID accepted for voting include a government employee ID card, government-issued public assistance ID card³⁰, and Indian tribal ID card. The processes and costs involved in updating these documents with a change of gender and photo would be specific to the entities issuing them. Individuals who are not members of an Indian tribe, an employee of the government, or currently receiving public assistance would not be eligible for these forms of identification. Thus, these documents would likely not be available to a large number of Kansas residents.

Table I. Processes and Associated Costs for Updating Photo ID for Voting in Kansas

IDs Accepted for Voting	Processes for Updating ID	Costs of Updating ID
US Passport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Letter from a physician confirming “appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition”³¹ • Photo³² (est. \$13 fee) • Proof of citizenship • Proof of identity • \$30-140 fee (passport card and booklet differ in cost) 	\$43-153 + Cost of Physician Letter
US Military ID, Common Access Card (CAC) for contractors and civilian employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Updated documents that establish identity³³ • Letter from a physician confirming “appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition”³⁴ 	Cost of Updating Identification Documents + Cost of Physician Letter
Driver’s License	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Court order of gender change (est. \$173 + additional fees) or letter from physician affirming treatment³⁵ and subsequent Kansas Chief Driver’s License Examiner authorization letter • Current driver’s license • \$16 replacement fee for driver’s license 	\$16 + Cost of Court Order (est. \$173 + additional fees) or Physician Letter
Non-driver ID Card	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Court order of gender change (est. \$173 + additional fees) or letter from physician affirming treatment³⁶ and subsequent Kansas Chief Driver’s License Examiner authorization letter • Current ID card • \$12 replacement fee for ID card 	\$12 + Cost of Court Order (est. \$173 + additional fees) or Physician Letter
Indian Tribe ID Card	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe
State University or College Student ID Card	Specific to University (e.g. University of Kansas Student ID: Correction to University Records Form and \$20 replacement fee)	Specific to University (e.g. \$20 at KU)
Government Employee ID Card	Specific to Employer	Specific to Employer
Concealed Handgun Carry License	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Updated driver’s license or ID card • Court order of gender change or letter from physician affirming treatment • \$16 reissue fee 	\$28-32 (including fee for updated driver’s license or ID card) + Cost of Court Order or Physician Letter
Government-issued Public Assistance ID	Specific to Issuing Agency	Specific to Issuing Agency

For a transgender person in Kansas who has transitioned, obtaining ID acceptable for voting is not simple nor is it free. Costs for updating the gender and/or photo on these documents range from \$12 and the cost of obtaining a court order of gender change (estimated at \$173 + any additional fees) or a letter from a physician for a non-driver ID card to \$153 and the cost of obtaining a letter from a physician for a US passport. These costs are unique burdens experienced by transgender people in order to comply with Kansas’ strict photo ID requirements. Voter ID requirements like these in place in other states impose similar burdens on transgender people wishing to vote.

Processes and Costs Associated with Updating ID for Voting in Strict Photo ID States

All strict photo ID states accept some of the same forms of identification as Kansas, such as driver's licenses, and the processes and costs involved in updating a change in gender and a photo change are often similar. Table II details the costs associated with making these changes to photo IDs in these various states. The specific processes for each state are provided in the Appendix.

Two forms of ID, in particular, that are accepted in every strict photo ID state include a US passport and a US military ID, or CAC. These two documents are issued by the federal government, and there are no differences in the requirements for updating a US passport or US military ID based on an individual's state of residence. In order to update these forms of ID, an individual must provide two additional documents. In the case of a US passport, identification supporting proof of identity and citizenship are required but they are permitted to still reflect the individual's original assigned gender and a photo. In the case of the CAC, however, an individual must provide two forms of identification that are listed as acceptable on the federal I-9 form that have both been updated to accurately reflect the individual's gender.³⁷ In order to update the CAC or passport, a transgender person will need to provide a letter from a physician noting that they have received "appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition."³⁸ Obtaining this letter and other forms of documentation may have a cost, but we do not try to estimate a cost for this documentation here.

Another form of acceptable ID when voting in a strict photo ID state is a driver's license. In updating the gender and photo on a driver's license, the strict photo ID states rely on either a letter or statement from a physician confirming the individual's treatment for gender transition or a court order of legal gender change. In some states, obtaining these documents is only possible for transgender people if they have undergone transition-related surgery. In certain states, including Kansas, Wisconsin, and Georgia, an individual may submit either the physician's letter or a court-ordered change of gender. In Alabama, Mississippi, and Indiana, however, a transgender person will need to provide both a letter from a physician attesting to their gender transition (which must include transition-related surgery) and a court order of gender change to update their driver's license. The letter and court order are required to be presented at different stages in the process to update the driver's license. Mississippi requires an individual to first update their birth certificate, but in order to do this, they must submit a court order and physician letter. Alabama and Indiana both require that a transgender person provide an amended birth certificate and a physician letter, but the physician letter is only submitted when applying for a new license. A court order is needed to update the birth certificate. Virginia and North Dakota only require a statement or letter from a physician (which does not require the individual to have had transition-related surgery); while Texas and Tennessee will only accept a court order of gender change. Fees attached to updating a license and all the secondary documents needed in these states range from \$8 to \$51.

These fees do not include the potential costs of seeking a letter from a physician or the costs of receiving a court order. Submitting a petition for court orders requires fees set by states and local jurisdictions. There is very little publicly-available information on the costs and procedures, however, for filing for a change of

gender, and many past orders have been granted on a case-by-case basis. Fees associated with civil petitions for name changes may be similar to those sometimes required for gender changes. In Kansas, the state legislature has set the docket fee for such a petition at \$173, in addition to a surcharge fee and fees levied by local governments. We do not attempt to estimate a cost for a physician letter as this would likely range widely depending on requirements concerning gender transition, availability of medical care, insurance coverage, and other factors.

The most onerous burden imposed on transgender people seeking to update a driver's license is the requirement that the individual has received transition-related surgery prior to updating their license. States including Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, and others have such requirements in place. Transition-related surgery can be very costly and may not be covered by insurance, and for transgender people who do not need transition-related surgical care as part of their transitions, this requirement effectively bars them from updating their license. The NTDS found in 2011 that while 81% of transgender adults who had had transition-related surgery had updated their driver's license, 37% of those who had not had surgery had updated their driver's license.³⁹

The costs and procedures involved in updating a non-driver state-issued ID card are often identical to those involved in updating a driver's license in these states. A few states, including Kansas, Wisconsin, and Mississippi, charge a slightly different fee to replace a non-driver ID card with a new ID. Other costs associated with updating a driver's license such as obtaining a letter from a physician confirming gender transition treatment or a court order of legal gender change also apply for an ID card. Fees attached to updating an ID card and all the secondary documents needed in these states also range from \$8 to \$51, not including costs associated with the physician's letter or court order.

Legal precedent set in *Crawford v. Marion County Elections Board* requires that states make free photo ID available for residents who are eligible voters and do not have a form of ID acceptable for voting.⁴⁰ However, these free voter IDs or fee-waivers for photo IDs are not, in fact, free. They require an individual to present additional documents, including in some states documents that confirm an individual's identity, residence, voter registration, and other aspects related to voter eligibility. For the purposes of these analyses, we assume that transgender people already have some form of identification, but these documents do not accurately reflect their gender. Under these circumstances, a transgender person in most strict photo ID states would not be eligible for a free voter ID. Some states, such as Tennessee, require that an individual sign an affidavit stating that, under penalty of perjury, they do not possess any government-issued photo identification documents. Depending on the state and office issuing the voter ID, however, officials may provide some flexibility for a transgender person who has ID but the ID does not accurately reflect them. In Virginia, for example, the state administrative code stipulates that for voter identification to be considered valid, "the bearer of the document appears to be the person whose photograph is contained thereupon."⁴¹ The Virginia Department of Elections would likely accept an application for a voter ID from a transgender person who has ID that no longer accurately depicts their gender⁴², but in order to submit an application, that person would need to be willing to swear that they do not have ID acceptable for voting.⁴³ The voter ID card therefore is not a form of ID that a transgender person who has transitioned would likely be able to obtain that accurately

reflects their gender.

As in Kansas, there are additional forms of ID that some states accept as identification for voting, but many of these documents are also only available for or much more likely to be used by only a specific subpopulation. Each of these documents also requires a transgender person to take additional steps and often incur additional costs to update their gender and/or photo on these documents.

Kansas, Alabama, Wisconsin, Virginia, Mississippi, and Indiana allow students at certain accredited colleges and universities to use their student IDs when voting.⁴⁴ Most state universities and colleges do not have student IDs that state the student's gender but they do have photographs, and most of these institutions require fees for updating a student ID photo. These range from \$9 at the University of Indiana Bloomington to \$35 at the University of Alabama, for example.

Other states, including Kansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas, allow voters to use handgun or other firearm licenses as proof of identity when voting. In each of these states, a transgender person would be required to first update their driver's license or state ID card with their change of gender and then provide additional documentation of transition along with fees, ranging from \$5 to \$25.

Both Wisconsin and Texas accept a US citizenship or naturalization certificate for voting purposes. In order to update their gender and photo on these documents, a transgender individual would need to submit an application, provide new photos, and provide an updated birth certificate, updated passport, court order of gender change, or physician letter certifying the change in gender, in addition to paying a \$345 fee (which may be waived if the applicant meets specific income and asset thresholds).

Additional forms of acceptable ID in certain states include an Indian tribal ID, a government employee ID, a government-issued public assistance ID card, employer-issued ID card from an employer in the state, long-term care identification certificate, and DMV-issued veteran's ID card. The processes and costs involved in updating these documents, which are only available to a subset of the population, are unique to the institutions issuing them.

Table II. Costs Associated with Updating ID for Voting in Strict Photo ID States

	Alabama	Georgia	Indiana	Kansas	Mississippi	North Dakota	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Wisconsin
US Passport	\$43-\$53 + Cost of Physician Letter									
US Military ID	Cost of Updating Additional ID + Cost of Physician Letter									
Driver's License	\$51.25 + Cost of court order + Cost of physician letter certifying has completed transition related surgery	\$20-\$32 + Cost of court order or physician letter certifying gender change and providing the "date of the gender reassignment operation"	\$20.50 + Cost of physician letter stating that the "applicant successfully underwent all treatment necessary to permanently change applicant gender"	\$16 + Cost of court order or physician letter certifying "clinical treatment for change of sex" or "gender reclassification based on physical criteria"	\$36 + Cost of court order + Cost of physician letter "that attests to the reassignment"	\$8 + Physician letter stating that "gender role transition has been completed"	\$12 + Cost of court order	\$11 + Cost of court order	\$20 + Cost of physician approval on gender designation form specifying applicant's gender identity	\$14 + Cost of court order or physician letter certifying the gender change
State ID Card	\$51.25 + Cost of court order + Cost of physician letter certifying has completed transition related surgery	\$20-\$32 + Cost of court order or physician letter certifying gender change and providing the "date of the gender reassignment operation"	\$20.50 + Cost of court order + Cost of physician letter stating that the "applicant successfully underwent all treatment necessary to permanently change applicant gender"	\$12 + Cost of court order or physician letter certifying "clinical treatment for change of sex" or "gender reclassification based on physical criteria"	\$39 + Cost of court order + Cost of physician letter "that attests to the reassignment"	\$8 + Physician letter stating that "gender role transition has been completed"	\$12 + Cost of court order	\$11 + Cost of court order	\$20 + Cost of physician approval on gender designation form specifying applicant's gender identity	\$16 + Cost of court order or physician letter certifying the gender change
Election Identification Certificate or Voter Photo ID	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available
Indian Tribe ID Card	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe	--	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe	--	--	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe
State University or College ID Card	Specific to University (e.g. \$35 at UA)	--	Specific to University (e.g. \$9 at IU Bloomington)	Specific to University (e.g. \$20 at KU)	Specific to University (e.g. \$10 at Ole Miss)	--	--	--	Specific to University (e.g. Free at VT and GMU)	Specific to University (e.g. \$25 at UW Madison)
Government Employee ID	Specific to Employer	Specific to Employer	--	Specific to Employer	Specific to Employer	--	--	--	--	--
Concealed Handgun Carry License/ Other Firearm License	--	--	--	\$28-\$32 + Cost of Court Order or Physician Letter	\$51-\$54 + Cost of Court Order + Cost of Physician Letter, Requiring Surgery	--	\$5 + Cost of Court Order + Cost of Physician Letter	\$36 + Cost of Court Order	--	--

	Alabama	Georgia	Indiana	Kansas	Mississippi	North Dakota	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Wisconsin
US Government-issued Public Assistance ID	--	--	--	Specific to Issuing Agency	--	--	--	--	--	--
Employer-issued ID	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Specific to Employer	--
United States Citizenship Certificate or Naturalization Certificate	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	\$358 + Cost of updated birth certificate, updated passport, court order of gender change, or physician letter confirming gender change	--	\$358 + Cost of updated birth certificate, updated passport, court order of gender change, or physician letter certifying gender change
Long-term Care Identification Certificate	--	--	--	--	--	Specific to Facility	--	--	--	--
DMV-issued Veterans ID Card	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	\$30 + Cost of Physician Approval on Gender Designation Form	--
Range of Costs	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$35 for University of Alabama ID and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$20 and the costs of a physician letter certifying gender change and providing the "date of the gender reassignment operation" to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$9 for a University of Indiana student ID to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$12 and the cost of a physician letter for a Kansas non-driver ID card to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$10 for a University of Mississippi student ID card to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$8 and a physician letter stating that "gender role transition has been completed" for a North Dakota driver's license to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$12 and the cost of a court order for a driver's license or ID card to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a US passport	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$11 and the cost of a court order for a driver's license or ID card to \$358 and the costs of updated passport for a US Naturalization Certificate	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from nothing for a Virginia Tech or George Mason University student ID card to \$153 and the cost of a physician letter for a Wisconsin driver's license to \$358 and the costs of updated passport for a US Naturalization Certificate	Costs of updating photo ID acceptable for voting range from \$14 and the cost of a physician letter for a Wisconsin driver's license to \$358 and the costs of updated passport for a US Naturalization Certificate

When a state does not accept a specific form of photo ID for voting, that cell contains the notation "--"

Conclusion

Information on how to obtain an updated form of ID that would be acceptable for voting may not be readily available for transgender people who wish to voter in strict photo ID states. Limited publically available guidance provided by state government institutions and the potential for misinterpretation and a lack of understanding of policies involved in updating gender markers and photos on government-issued identification among those responsible for issuing these documents impose their own challenges for transgender Americans.

It may be difficult and costly for a transgender person to obtain photo identification that accurately reflects their gender and appearance after they have transitioned. Updating forms of ID with a change of gender is a unique responsibility that transgender people bear in order to vote in strict photo ID states. The processes involved in updating IDs have costs that impose disparate burdens on transgender Americans who wish to vote in these states. These costs are significant. In regard to fees, they can be as high as \$153 for a US passport or \$358 (with submission of an already updated US passport) for a US Naturalization Certificate. While fees can also be as low as \$8 (with submission of a physician's letter attesting to the completion of the individual's gender transition), as in the case of a North Dakota driver's license, these fees do not include costs associated with obtaining required physician's letters or court-ordered change of gender. These are costs that some transgender people uniquely bear in order to vote in strict photo ID states.

Appendix

Table I. Processes for Updating Photo ID in Strict Voter ID States

Alabama⁴⁵ Georgia⁴⁶ Indiana⁴⁷ Kansas⁴⁸ Mississippi⁴⁹ North Dakota⁵⁰ Tennessee⁵¹ Texas⁵² Virginia⁵³ Wisconsin⁵⁴

US Passport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Letter from a physician confirming gender transition Photo (estimated \$13 cost) Proof of citizenship Proof of identity • \$30-140 fee 									
US Military ID	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two forms of ID Letter from a physician 									
Driver's License	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amended AL birth certificate (\$20 fee, court order of sex change, proof of identity) • Proof of identity Physician letter confirming that transition related surgery is complete • \$31.25 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change or physician letter confirming transition related operation, • Proof of SSN Two items proving residential address • \$20- 32 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amended Birth Certificate (Court order, photo ID, application, and \$10 fee) • Physician letter or statement confirming "treatment necessary to permanently change gender," • \$10.50 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change or letter from physician affirming treatment and subsequent Kansas Chief Driver's License Examiner authorization letter • Current driver's license • \$16 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amended Birth Certificate (Physician letter confirming transition related surgery, court order, and \$25 fee) • \$11 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physician letter noting that gender role transition has been completed • \$8 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change (requires physician letter confirming "that necessary medical procedures to accomplish the change in gender are complete") • \$12 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Original certified court order of gender change • Proof of identity • \$11 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Change Request Form (DL-17) submitted to DMV, approved, response sent by DMV (cost unclear) • Current driver's license or learner's permit • \$20 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change or affidavit from physician certifying gender change • \$14 fee
State ID Card	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amended AL birth certificate (\$20 fee, court order of sex change, proof of identity) • Proof of identity Physician letter confirming that transition related surgery is complete • \$31.25 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change or physician letter confirming transition related operation, requiring surgery • Proof of SSN Two items proving residential address • \$20- 32 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amended Birth Certificate (Court order, photo ID, application, and \$10 fee) • Physician letter or statement confirming "treatment necessary to permanently change gender," • \$10.50 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change or letter from physician affirming treatment and subsequent Kansas Chief Driver's License Examiner authorization letter • Current ID card replacement fee for ID card 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Amended Birth Certificate (Physician letter confirming transition related surgery, court order, and \$25 fee) • \$14 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physician letter noting that gender change is "complete" and "permanent" • \$8 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change (requires physician letter confirming "that necessary medical procedures to accomplish the change in gender are complete") • \$12 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Original certified court order of gender change • Proof of identity • \$11 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Change Request Form (DL-17) submitted to DMV, approved, response sent by DMV (cost unclear) • Current ID card • \$20 fee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Court order of gender change or affidavit from physician certifying gender change • \$16 fee
Election Identification Certificate or Voter Photo ID Card	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available	Not available

	Alabama	Georgia	Indiana	Kansas	Mississippi	North Dakota	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Wisconsin
Indian Tribe ID Card	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe	--	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe	--	--	Specific to Tribe	Specific to Tribe
State University or College ID Card	Specific to Educational Institution (e.g. UA Student ID: \$35 fee for photo change; gender not noted on ID)	--	Specific to Educational Institution (e.g. IU Bloomington Student ID: \$9 fee for photo change; gender not noted on ID)	Specific to Educational Institution (e.g. KU Student ID: Correction to University Records Form and \$20 replacement fee)	Specific to Educational Institution (e.g. Ole Miss Student ID: \$10 fee for photo change; gender not noted on ID)	--	--	--	Specific to Educational Institution (e.g. VT Student ID: Change of photo [no fee or paperwork], no gender noted; GAMU Student ID: Change of photo [no fee or paperwork], no gender noted)	Specific to Educational Institution (e.g. UW Madison Student ID: \$25 fee for photo change on student ID required before obtaining LW Madison Voter ID; proof of current enrollment required; gender not noted on voter ID)
Government Employee ID	Specific to Employer	Specific to Employer	--	Specific to Employer	Specific to Employer	--	--	--	--	--
Concealed Handgun Carry License or Other Firearm License	--	--	--	Updated driver's license or ID card of gender change or letter from physician affirming treatment • \$16 reissue fee	Updated driver's license or ID card (amended birth certificate [Physician letter confirming transition related surgery, court order, and \$25 fee] and \$11-14) • Court order of legal gender change • \$15 fee	--	• Court order of gender change and physician letter • \$5 fee	• Driver's license with updated photo and gender marker (court order of gender change and \$11 fee) • CHL-70 form • \$25 fee	--	--
US Government-issued Public Assistance ID	--	--	--	Specific to Issuing Agency	--	--	--	--	--	--
Employer-issued ID	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	Specific to Employer	--

	Alabama	Georgia	Indiana	Kansas	Mississippi	North Dakota	Tennessee	Texas	Virginia	Wisconsin
United States Citizenship Certificate or Naturalization Certificate	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Application for Replacement Naturalization/Citizenship Document Photos Updated birth certificate, updated passport, court order of gender change, or physician letter certifying the change in gender •\$345 fee 	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Application for Replacement Naturalization/Citizenship Document Photos Updated birth certificate, updated passport, court order of gender change, or physician letter certifying the change in gender •\$345 fee
Long-term Care Identification Certificate	--	--	--	--	--	Specific to Facility	--	--	--	--
DMV-issued Veterans ID Card	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender Change Request Form (DL-17) submitted to DMV, approved, response sent by DMV (cost unclear) Current Valid driver's license, learner's permit, or ID •\$10 fee 	--

When a state does not accept a specific form of photo ID for voting, that cell contains the notation "--"

Notes

1. Transgender voters may also be eligible to vote absentee by mail. However, in some states, including Alabama, Indiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, an individual must provide a reason, out of a set of approved reasons, for why they are unable to vote in person. Therefore, in this study, we focus on transgender people's access to in-person voting, which is available for all eligible voters in the states included in this study.
2. Coleman, K. J., Fischer, E. A., & Whitaker, L. P. Voter Identification Requirements: Background and Legal Issues (CRS Report No. R42806). Washington: Congressional Research Service, 2014. Available at <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42806.pdf>
3. Underhill, Wendy. "Voter Identification Requirements | Voter ID Laws." National Conference of State Legislatures. National Conference of State Legislatures, 4 Jan. 2016. Available at <http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/voter-id.aspx>
4. Alabama is considered by the National Conference of State Legislatures to be a non-strict photo ID state because those without ID may submit a regular ballot if two election officials attest to their identity in an affidavit. However, for transgender people this is an equally onerous requirement as it necessitates subjective identification by a poll worker, so for the purposes of this report, we will consider costs associated with updating IDs in Alabama.
5. North Dakota is considered by the National Conference of State Legislatures to be a strict photo ID state. Photo ID is technically not the only form of identification accepted. Potential voters may provide a North Dakota tribal ID or a North Dakota long-term care ID certificate which may not have a photo attached to them, but these documents are only available to a small subset of the population. We therefore include North Dakota in this report as a strict photo ID state.
6. Texas' voter ID law is currently under litigation but remains in effect.
7. Brennan Center for Justice. (2006). "Citizens Without Proof: A Survey of Americans' Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship and Photo Identification." New York: Brennan Center for Justice. Available at http://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/d/download_file_39242.pdf & Gaskins, K. & Iyer, S. (2012). The Challenge of Obtaining Voter Identification. New York: Brennan Center for Justice. Available at <http://www.brennancenter.org/publication/challenge-obtaining-voter-identification>
8. Herman, J. L. (2014). "The Potential Impact of Voter Identification Laws on Transgender Voters." Los Angeles: The Williams Institute. Available at <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Herman-Voter-ID-Apr-2012.pdf>
9. Coleman, E., Bockting, W., Botzer, M., CohenKettenis, P., DeCuypere, G., Feldman, J., Fraser, L., Green, J., Knudson, G., Meyer, W. J., Monstrey, S., Adler, R. K., Brown, G. R., Devor, A. H., Ehrbar, R., Ettner, R., Eyster, E., Garofalo, R., Karasic, D. H., Lev, A. I., Mayer, G., Meyer-Bahlburg, H., Hall, B. P., Pfaefflin, F., Rachlin,

K., Robinson, B., Schechter, L. S., Tangpricha, V., van Trotsenburg, M., Vitale, A., Winter, S., Whittle, S., Wylie, K. R., & Zucker, K.. 2011. "Standards of Care for the Health of Transsexual, Transgender, and Gender Nonconforming People, Version 7." *International Journal of Transgenderism*, 13: 165–232.

10. Herman, J. L. (2014). "The Potential Impact of Voter Identification Laws on Transgender Voters in the 2014 General Election." Los Angeles: The Williams Institute. Available at <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/voter-id-laws-september-2014.pdf>

11. The state of North Dakota is an exception in that voter registration is not required in order to vote.

12. Kobach, K. W. (2016). "A Guide to Kansas Secure and Fair Elections (SAFE) Act." Topeka: Kansas Secretary of State. Available at https://www.sos.ks.gov/forms/elections/A_Guide_to_SAFE_Act.pdf

13. See K.S.A. 25-2908(c-d)

14. Office of the Secretary of State. (2014) "Kansas Election Standards." Topeka: Office of the Secretary of State. Available at http://www.kssos.org/elections/elections_reform_standards.html

15. We do not focus on transgender individuals who have not transitioned from their sex assigned at birth because these individuals would likely not have changed their appearance, and the information on their voter registration and photo ID would likely be correct for voting purposes. We also do not focus on transgender individuals who have transitioned but have never been registered to vote or never obtained photo ID. These individuals would need to undertake the same procedures to register to vote and obtain photo ID that any citizen would except that they would also need to update their gender with the Social Security Administration prior to registering to vote. This requires that they present a letter from a physician certifying appropriate clinical treatment for gender transition, proof of identity, and proof of citizenship to the Social Security Administration. As we discuss in the text, transgender individuals who have updated their ID to reflect a change in gender would, also, want to re-register to vote with their new information. If they have not previously updated their records with the Social Security Administration they would need to do that first, but this process is free.

16. It is unclear if an individual would need to update their gender with the Social Security Administration or on their Kansas driver's license before providing their Social Security number or driver's license number on the voter registration form.

17. These forms of ID may be issued by the state of Kansas or another state, but for the majority of voting residents will have these forms of ID from Kansas. We restrict our review of the processes involved in updating these documents in Kansas.

18. Smith, T. E. to State Driver's License Examiners, May 10, 2011. "Requests for Gender Reclassification on Kansas driver's licenses and identification cards." Available at http://transascity.org/files/Kansas_Gender_Reclass_Memo_051011.pdf

19. See K.S.A. 60-2001
20. "Certification Requesting Fee Waiver for Nondriver Identification Card." Kansas Department of Revenue, Division of Vehicles. Available at <http://www.ksrevenue.org/pdf/DE-VID1.pdf>
21. "Valid Forms of Photographic Identification." Got Voter ID? Kansas Secretary of State, Division of Elections. Available at <http://www.gotvoterid.com/valid-photo-ids.html#idlist>
22. Documents presented as proof of citizenship and identity are not required to reflect the change in gender. See US Department of State, "Gender Change," Foreign Affairs Manual , vol. 7, Consular Affairs, sec. 1300, Appendix M., (CT:CON-576; 05-05-2015), 1-8
23. "Know Your Rights: Passports." Washington: National Center for Transgender Equality. 2015. Available at <http://www.transequality.org/know-your-rights/passports>
24. "Fees." Washington: US Department of State, U.S. Passports and International Travel, 2015. Available at <http://travel.state.gov/content/passports/en/passports/information/fees.html>
25. Email correspondence with Megan Brohaugh, Concealed Carry Licensing Unit, Office of the Attorney General, September 15, 2015.
26. "Correction to University Records." Office of the University Registrar. University of Kansas. Available at <http://registrar.ku.edu/correction-records>
27. "Know Your Rights: Military Records." National Center for Transgender Equality. National Center for Transgender Equality, 2015. Available at <http://www.transequality.org/know-your-rights/military-records>
28. The CAC does not include a gender marker, so an individual would only be seeking a change in their photo so that it accurately reflects their gender.
29. Brynn Tannehill, telephone conversation with the authors, February 12, 2016
30. It is unclear what a public assistance ID card issued by a government entity would look like and how a transgender individual could go about updating their gender and/or photo on this document. The Kansas Benefit card, which provides public assistance through a number of state administered programs such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) or food stamps, does not have a photo and therefore would not be acceptable for voting purposes. It is not clear what document would be acceptable.
31. "Know Your Rights: Passports." Washington: National Center for Transgender Equality. 2015. Available at <http://www.transequality.org/know-your-rights/passports>
32. There are many businesses that offer photos for use in a US passport. We estimate such photos would cost approximately \$13.

33. An individual must provide two identification documents. Acceptable documents are identified on the federal I-9 form. See “Form I-9: Instructions for Employment Eligibility Verification,” Department of Homeland Security, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. Available at <https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/files/form/i-9.pdf>. Brynn Tannehill, telephone conversation with the authors, February 12, 2015.
34. “Know Your Rights: Military Records.” National Center for Transgender Equality. National Center for Transgender Equality, 2015. Available at <http://www.transequality.org/know-your-rights/military-records>
35. The physician letter for driver’s license or non-driver ID card change should specify that the “applicant has undergone the appropriate clinical treatment for change of sex or that the physician has re-evaluated the applicant and determined that gender reclassification based on physical criteria is appropriate.”
36. The physician letter required to update a non-driver Kansas ID is the same as the letter accepted for updating a Kansas driver’s license.
37. “Know Your Rights: Military Records.” National Center for Transgender Equality. National Center for Transgender Equality, 2015. Available at <http://www.transequality.org/know-your-rights/military-records> & Brynn Tannehill, telephone conversation with the authors, February 12, 2016
38. “Gender Reassignment Applicants.” U.S. Department of States. Available at <https://travel.state.gov/content/passports/en/passports/information/gender.html#complete>
39. Grant, J. M., Mottet, L. A., Tanis, J., Harrison, J., Herman, J. L., & Keisling, M. (2011). Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey. Washington: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Available at http://www.thetaskforce.org/static_html/downloads/reports/reports/ntds_full.pdf
40. Gaskins, K. & Iyer, S. (2012). The Challenge of Obtaining Voter Identification. New York: Brennan Center for Justice. Available at http://www.brennancenter.org/sites/default/files/legacy/Democracy/VRE/Challenge_of_Obtaining_Voter_ID.pdf
41. Virginia Administrative Code, VAC20-40-10. Definitions. Available at <http://law.lis.virginia.gov/admincode/title1/agency20/chapter40/section10/>
42. Email correspondence with Virginia Department of Elections, February 24, 2016
43. “Voter Photo Identification Card Application.” Virginia Department of Elections. Available at <http://elections.virginia.gov/Files/Forms/VoterForms/VoterPhotoIdApplication.pdf>
44. Additional requirements attached to using a student ID for voting apply in some states. For example, Wisconsin requires that a student provide proof of current enrollment along with their student ID (which at the University of Wisconsin Madison is a separate ID from the student ID). Other states have additional requirements such as that the educational institution issuing the ID must be a public institution.

45. Sources for Alabama: “Renewals and Replacements.” Shelby County, Alabama, accessed February 12, 2016, <https://www.shelbyal.com/index.aspx?NID=433> & “ID Documents Center: Alabama.” National Center for Transgender Equality, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.transequality.org/documents/state/alabama> & “Amendment Package for Alabama Birth and Death Certificates ADPH-HS-33/Revised.” Alabama Department of Public Health, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://adph.org/vitalrecords/assets/NewHS33.pdf> & “Birth Certificate Corrections/Changes,” Alabama Public Health, Alabama Department of Public Health, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://adph.org/vitalrecords/index.asp?id=1569> & “Application for Free Alabama Photo Voter Identification Card.” Office of the Secretary of State, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.alabamavoterid.com/downloads/ApplicationForFreeALPhotoVoterIdCard.pdf> & “Frequently Asked Questions.” Action Card, University of Alabama, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://actcard.ua.edu/faq/> & “Valid ID at the Polls.” Alabama Photo Voter Identification, Alabama Secretary of State, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.alabamavoterid.com/validIDatPolls.aspx>

46. Sources for Georgia: Farmer, L. & Epps, E. (2013). Changing Your Legal Name in Georgia & Changing Your Name and Gender Marker with State and Federal Agencies. Atlanta, GA: TransGeorgia Legal Aid. Available at: <http://transgeorgialegalaid.tumblr.com/post/64639132549/changing-your-name-and-id-gender-markers-in> & “Fees and Terms.” Georgia Department of Driver Services, accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.dds.ga.gov/drivers/DLdata.aspx?con=1746395936&ty=dl> & “How do I change my gender on Social Security’s records?” Frequently Asked Questions, Social Security Administration, accessed January 13, 2016, <https://faq.ssa.gov/link/portal/34011/34019/Article/2856/How-do-I-change-my-gender-on-Social-Security-s-records> & “Georgia Voters ID Card,” Georgia Department of Driver Services, accessed January 13, 2016, <http://www.dds.ga.gov/drivers/dldata.aspx?con=1749371755&ty=dl> & “Georgia Voter Identification Requirements,” Georgia Secretary of State, accessed January 13, 2016, http://sos.ga.gov/index.php/elections/georgia_voter_identification_requirements2

47. Sources for Indiana: “Proving Your Identity.” Indiana Bureau of Motor Vehicles, February 16, 2016, <http://www.in.gov/bmv/2767.htm> & “Fee Chart.” Indiana Bureau of Motor Vehicles, accessed February 16, 2016, http://www.in.gov/bmv/files/Fee_Chart.pdf & “ID Documents Center: Indiana.” National Center for Transgender Equality, accessed February 16, 2016, <http://www.transequality.org/documents/state/indiana> & “Obtaining a Photo ID,” Indiana Election Division, accessed February 16, 2016, <http://www.in.gov/sos/elections/2625.htm> & “How Do I Get a Card?” Campus Card Services, CampusAccess. Indiana University Bloomington, accessed February 16, 2016, http://cacard.indiana.edu/cacard/students_card.asp

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50. Sources for North Dakota: John Arnold (North Dakota Elections Director), e-mail correspondence with author, February 18, 2016 & “ID Documents Center: North Dakota.” National Center for Transgender Equality, accessed February 12, 2016, <http://www.transequality.org/documents/state/north-dakota> & North Dakota Department of Transportation, telephone conversation with author, February 12, 2016

51. Sources for Tennessee: Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security. Rules of Tennessee Department of Safety Division of Driver License Issuance Chapter 1340-1-13 Classified and Commercial Driver’s Licenses and Temporary Driver Licenses, 1340-1-13-.12 (6). Available at <http://share.tn.gov/sos/rules/1340/1340-01/1340-01-13.pdf> & Tennessee Department of Safety, telephone conversation with author, February 22, 2016 & “Voter Photo ID,” Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security, accessed February 22, 2016, <http://share.tn.gov/safety/photoids.shtml> & Jenny Taylor (Tennessee Department of Safety and Homeland Security), e-mail correspondence, February 22, 2016 & “What ID is Required When Voting?” Tennessee Secretary of State, accessed February 24, 2016, <http://sos.tn.gov/products/elections/what-id-required-when-voting> & Rules of Tennessee Department of Safety Division of Driver License Issuance Chapter 1340-1-13 Classified and Commercial Driver’s Licenses and Temporary Driver Licenses, 1340-1-13-.12 (6). Available at <http://share.tn.gov/sos/rules/1340/1340-01/1340-01-13.pdf> & Conversation with Tennessee Department of Safety, February 22, 2016

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