Reducing the Voter Turnout Gap in San Francisco

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Prepared for the San Francisco Elections Commission
May 2019

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Executive Summary

San Francisco's Turnout Gap

San Francisco faces a clear and persistent voter turnout gap. Eleven of the city's 26 neighborhoods have below-average turnout levels in every type of election: Bayview/Hunter's Point, Visitacion Valley, Civic Center/Downtown, Ingleside, Lake Merced, Excelsior, Portola, South of Market, Chinatown, Mission, and Sunset. These lower turnout neighborhoods are also more likely to have low-income residents and a higher proportion of residents of color.

While many barriers help create and perpetuate this turnout gap, two emerged through my research as particularly important. The first, repeatedly emphasized in my interviews with community and organizing groups, is the complexity of our elections. Many San Franciscans struggle to understand the many facets of the electoral process, including the issues on the ballot, the requirements for participation, and the mechanics of voting. The second major barrier is the logistical hurdles that San Franciscans encounter when registering to vote, finding when and where to vote, and taking the time to cast a ballot.

Policy Recommendations

Recommendations road map

The Department of Elections can take action to reduce these disparities. The Department faces financial, time, and feasibility constraints in implementing changes to its current operations. I considered potential solutions on their impact, or ability to increase voter turnout, financial cost to the Department, and ease of implementation. All three of these considerations are important, and a successful plan for addressing the turnout gap will find a balance among them. A positive impact is necessary for any strategy to be worth undertaking; therefore, all the recommendations I offer are supported by research indicating they will reduce turnout disparities.

I recommend prioritizing a combination of three strategies – (1) improving elections communications, (2) providing voter education funding to community organizations, and (3) learning more about turnout impacts of vote centers – that will create immediate improvement in turnout, while also setting the stage for more transformative change. I also recommend four additional changes – (1) hosting festivals at polling places, (2) sending personalized voter histories, (3) creating mobile voting options, and (4) expanding opportunities for registration at key moments – that the Department should pursue after the three priority strategies.

Recommendation 1: Improve elections communications

- <u>Reframe outreach messaging</u>
  There are three immediate messaging changes the department could make to boost turnout: use social norms, use planning prompts, and develop voter campaigns around election issues. Social norm messaging utilizes others' voting behavior as a motivator; for example, phrasing like: "In the last election, 75% of San Franciscans voted!" could be added to promotional materials. Planning prompts ask people to think through the steps that an action requires, for example, the Department could add phrases like "What day do you plan to vote?" to communications. The Department can leverage communications and promotional materials to highlight key issues in the election, for example by using direct quotes from the Attorney General's summary of propositions.

- <u>Redesign the Voter Information Pamphlet</u>
  The Voter Information Pamphlet, or voter guide, is a key resource to help educate voters, but its design can be improved to make that information best accessible to voters rather than overwhelming. Key changes that could improve the guide include: adjusting the ordering so that all fundamental information is presented first and details after, using more descriptive headings, providing summaries of candidates and ballot measures, and including registration information.

- <u>Redesign the Department website</u>
  It is not always clear where to find the most important information on the Department's website. The usability of the website could be improved by emphasizing key information more clearly, and reducing the number of clicks it takes to access it.

These communications changes would have modest impacts on the turnout gap, but given the low cost and feasibility of this strategy, the Department should implement it to maximize the impact of its existing communications methods.

Recommendation 2: Provide funding to community organizations to conduct voter education and outreach

Even with all the information the Department makes available, ultimately most new, infrequent, or unfamiliar voters will be best served in connecting to and understanding the electoral process through direct personal contact. Community-based organizations are best positioned to provide the appropriate culturally-informed education that will connect with voters. However, even though community groups and nonprofits may be interested in engaging in this outreach work, it is difficult to find funding to support it.

A successful model program addressing this need is the Voter Education Fund, a partnership between The Seattle Foundation and King County Elections. The Fund gives grants to community organizations in Seattle working on voter engagement for

historically marginalized communities. The Department should develop a program modeled after Seattle's approach to support community organizations in conducting voter education and outreach. A promising partner for this work in San Francisco is the San Francisco Foundation. Key next steps for the Department to implement this strategy are to create the foundational partnership and to work with a small group of organizations in a pilot year to refine the program.

Addressing barriers to understanding and engaging with elections will be necessary to close the voter turnout gap. The best way the Department can further the work of empowering all residents to participate in the democratic process is to support local organizations that can build personal connections with voters.

Recommendation 3: Learn more about the impacts of the vote center model

The Voters Choice Act of 2016 authorizes counties to move to a voting model that eliminates traditional polling places. A smaller number of vote centers are utilized than polling places, but voters can use any vote center in the county to drop off ballots, vote in person, or update voter registration. Five counties implemented this new vote center model in the 2018 election. San Francisco will be eligible to switch to the vote center model in 2020, pending a vote of approval by the Board of Supervisors.

The vote center model holds promise for making voting easier, and thus for reducing the turnout gap. Initial evidence suggests turnout increases associated with the switch; however, the size of these effects is uncertain given the lack of long-term data on the model. The Department should learn more about the turnout impacts of the vote center model in historically low-turnout communities as well as the long-term cost impacts of the model from counties that have made the switch as it considers if the model is appropriate to adopt in San Francisco.

Additional Recommendations

Hold festivals at polling places

Holding festivals or block parties at polling places transforms the voting experience into a social one, motivating people to vote by creating an opportunity to share that experience with others. Polling place festivals are a relatively low cost, high impact strategy for increasing turnout. Prioritizing locating festivals in low turnout neighborhoods would allow this strategy to effectively target reducing the turnout gap.

Send voter history

Experimental evidence shows that mailers that thank residents for voting in the past, using phrases like "our records indicate that you voted in the 2008 election," and "we hope to be able to thank you in the future for being the kind of citizen who makes our democracy work," increase turnout. The Department could utilize its voter history data to send personalized messages on voting track records. Mailing voting history would likely

be an effective way to increase turnout, but these effects would not be targeted to low turnout communities.

Create mobile polling places
Ada County, Idaho and Denver County, Colorado have experimented with using converted trailer trucks as mobile polling places. These trucks can be moved throughout the county to target low turnout areas, provide early voting to locations that do not have it, or relieve lines at crowded polling places. The Department could use a similar mobile voting mechanism as a way of making voting easier and more accessible to those least likely to vote.

Expand opportunities for registration at key moments
Making voter registration easier by connecting it with processes people are already engaged in will help increase access. The Department can expand registration access at three points in time: moving, first registration eligibility, and interactions with other City services.

- Registration for new tenants
  Remembering to update voter registration status when moving can be a hassle that creates eligibility problems at the time of the election. Low-income voters are more likely to be renters, leading to a less stable voter registration status. Minneapolis, Minnesota and East Lansing, Michigan have ordinances that require landlords to provide voter registration information to new tenants. The Department could advocate for a similar ordinance in San Francisco.

- Pre-registration of high school students
  The Department has an existing high school outreach program to pre-register 16- and 17-year-olds, which could become more effective by placing a greater emphasis on peer to peer outreach.

- Expand city and county sites of voter registration
  The Department currently receives automatic voter registrations from resident interactions with the Department of Motor Vehicles. Automatic voter registration could be expanded to other social service agencies in San Francisco, which would increase registration access for communities with historically low turnout. Even without the extension of automatic registration, the Department could collaborate with agencies to strengthen their implementation of registration access by sharing best practices in training staff and appropriate materials.

Strategies that integrate voting processes into residents' lives are likely to have the most success at reaching low turnout communities. The Department can begin long term conversations about future legislation that could enable creative strategies like these.

San Francisco's Turnout Gap

There are clear and persistent disparities in voting rates between San Francisco's neighborhoods. Over the past ten years of elections, the average turnout rate, defined as the number of ballots cast out of the total number of registered voters, across the city was about 52%. Yet, in Diamond Heights, the neighborhood with the highest voter turnout rate, the average turnout was 62%, while in Bayview/Hunter's Point, the neighborhood with the lowest voter turnout rate, the average turnout was 40%. Eleven of the city's 26 neighborhoods – Bayview/Hunter's Point, Visitacion Valley, Civic Center/Downtown, Ingleside, Lake Merced, Excelsior, Portola, South of Market, Chinatown, Mission, and Sunset – have turnout rates below the city's average. See Figure 1 for a summary of ten-year average turnout rates by neighborhood. See Appendix A for a complete list of turnout rates.

Figure 1: Ten-year average turnout, by neighborhood
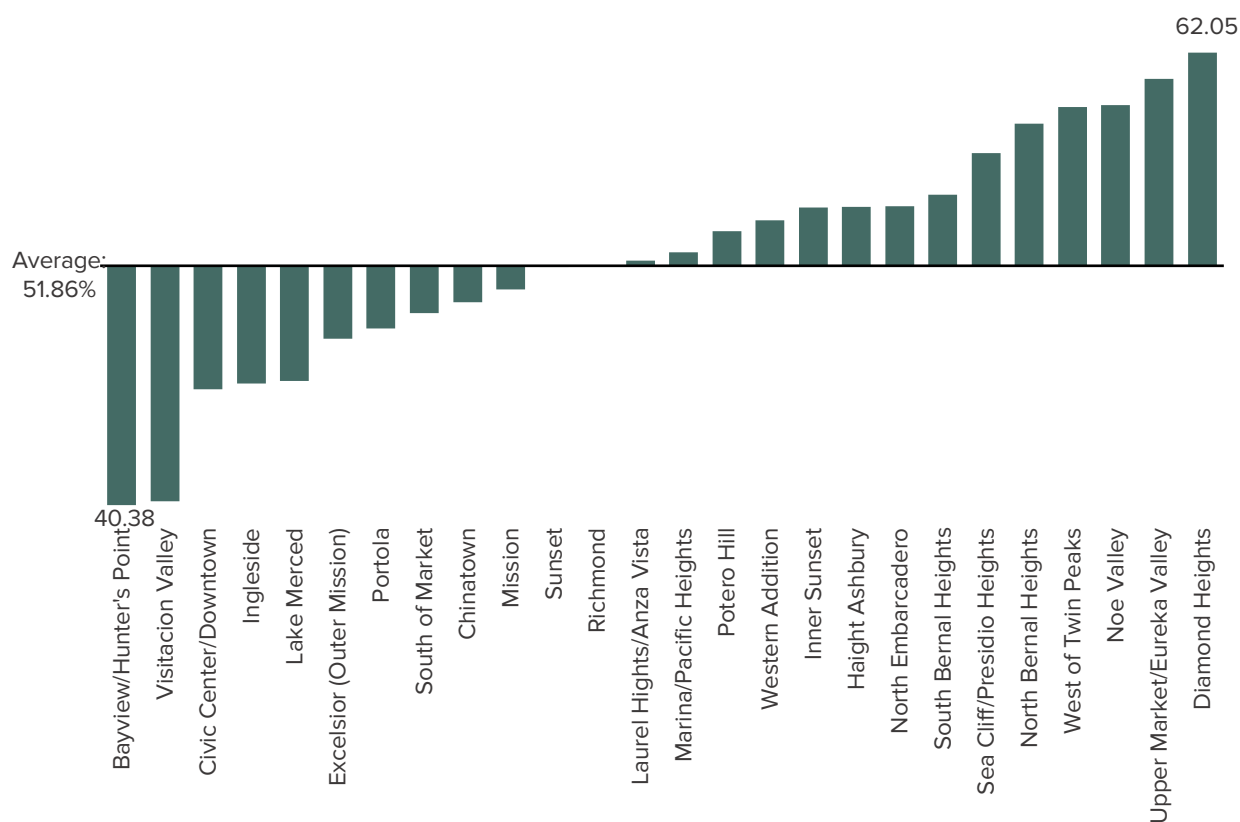
Turnout by election type

Turnout levels vary dramatically by election type. Compared to the city's overall 52% average, general elections have a turnout rate of 71%, while general elections in presidential election years have a turnout rate of 78%. In contrast, turnout is only 41% in primary elections, and municipal elections have the lowest turnout, with a rate of 35%.

Table 1: Turnout rate by election type

Election Type	Ten-year turnout average	Turnout gap between highest and lowest neighborhood
Average	51.86	21.70
General	70.98	24.56
Presidential general	78.14	23.97
Primary	41.17	22.44
Municipal	34.97	18.66

However, the neighborhoods with low turnout are consistent across all types of elections. The eleven low turnout neighborhoods have below average turnout in all elections, and a handful of additional neighborhoods also experience below average turnout in primary and municipal elections. See Figures 2-4 for turnout rates by election type and Appendix A for a complete list of turnout rates.

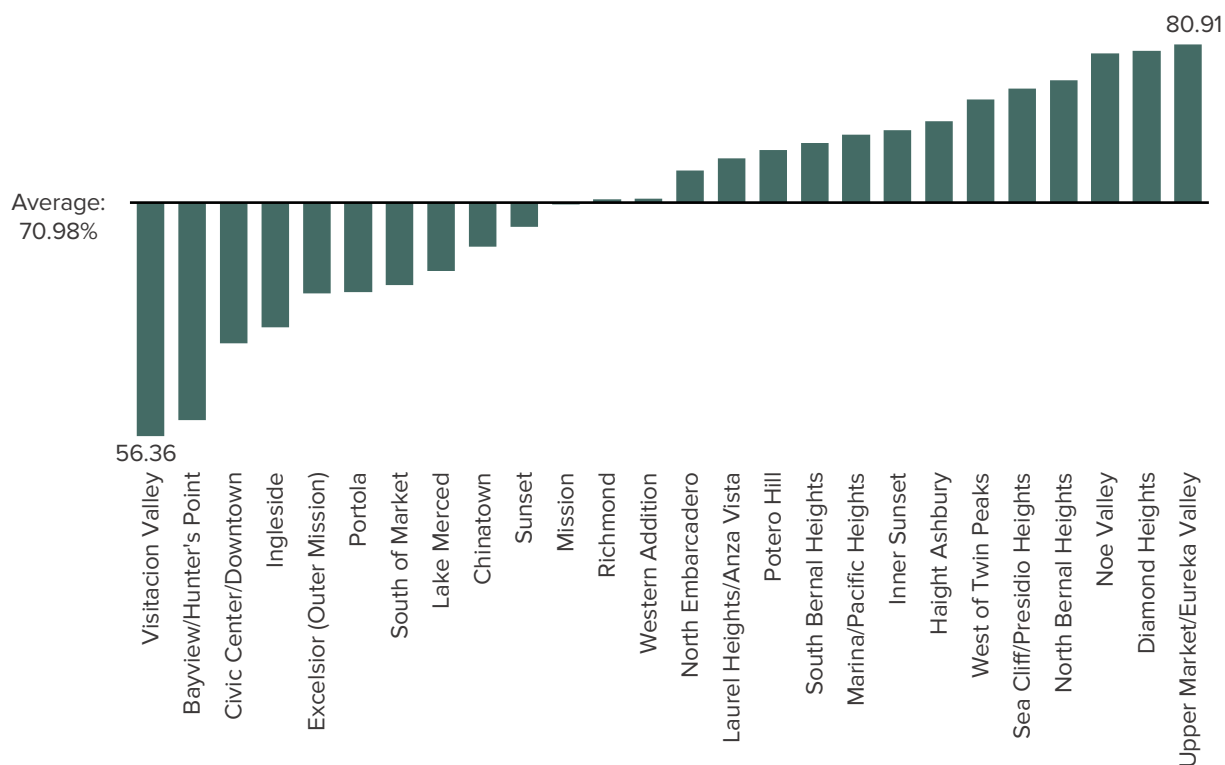*Figure 2: Ten-year general election turnout, by neighborhood*

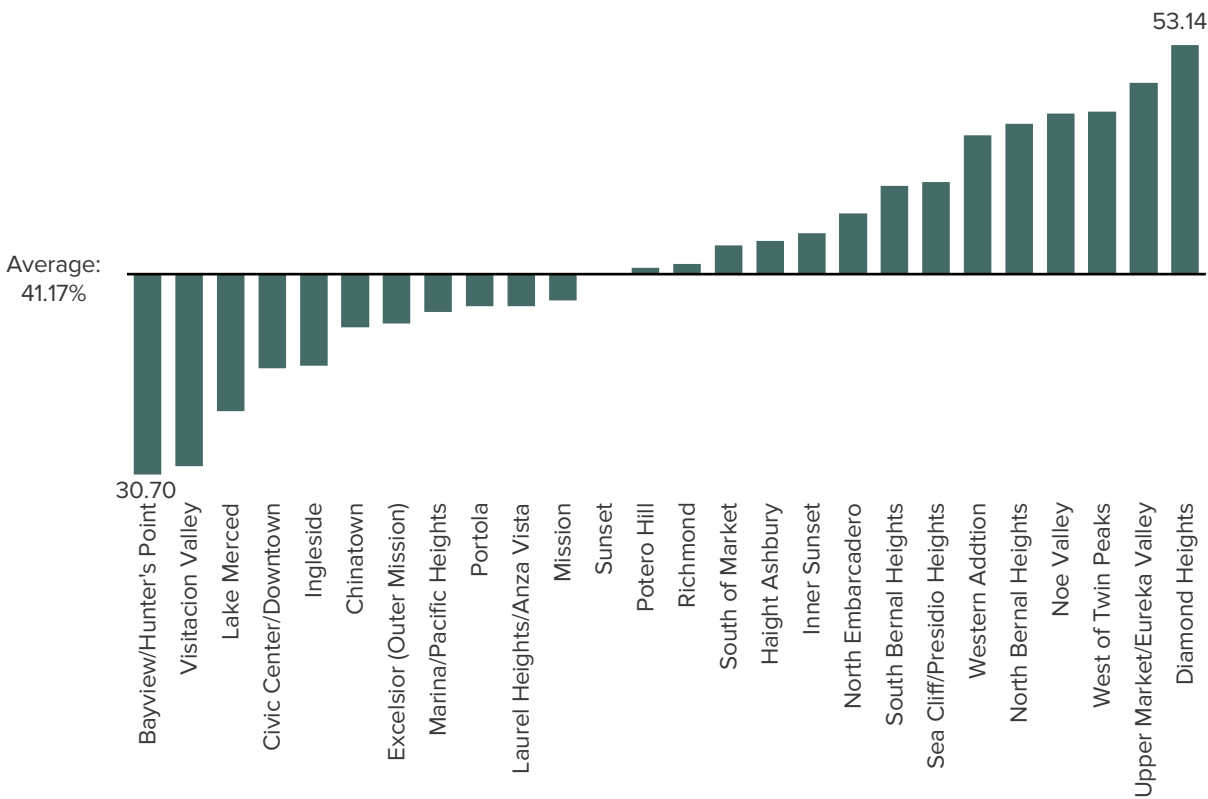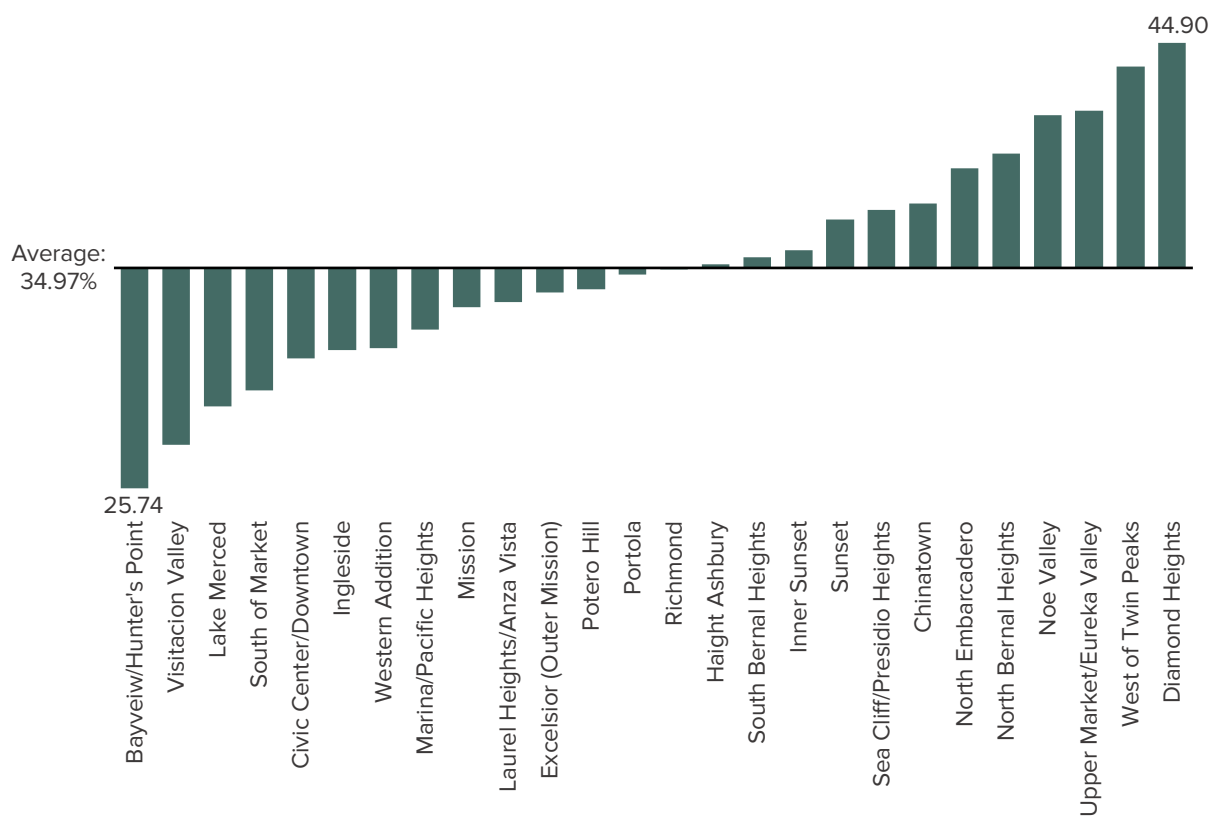*Figure 3: Ten-year primary election turnout, by neighborhood*

Figure 4: Ten-year municipal election turnout, by neighborhood

Voting method

San Francisco can return their ballots by mail or vote in person on Election Day. Overall, in the past ten years, roughly 60% of voters have voted by mail and 40% have voted in person. Over time, the proportion voting by mail has increased. Out of the eleven low turnout neighborhoods, nine have a higher proportion of vote by mail ballots than the city's average. Only the Mission and Lake Merced had a higher split of in person voters. See Table 2 for voting method by neighborhood.

Table 2: Voting method by neighborhood

Neighborhood	In Person (%)	By Mail (%)
Overall city average	**40.74**	**59.26**
Neighborhoods below by mail average		
Haight Ashbury	49.07	50.93
Mission	48.76	51.24
Inner Sunset	46.79	53.21
North Bernal Heights	46.16	53.84
South Bernal Heights	44.37	55.63
Noe Valley	43.57	56.43
Western Addition	43.40	56.60
Richmond	42.56	57.44
Lake Merced	42.07	57.93
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	42.02	57.98
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	41.88	58.12
Marina/Pacific Heights	41.12	58.88
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	40.90	59.10
Neighborhoods above by mail average		
Potero Hill	40.56	59.44
Civic Center/Downtown	40.34	59.66
Diamond Heights	39.20	60.80
North Embarcadero	38.46	61.54
Sunset	38.26	61.74
West of Twin Peaks	38.02	61.98
Chinatown	37.90	62.10
Bayview/Hunter's Point	36.44	63.56
Ingleside	35.53	64.47
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	35.12	64.88
South of Market	34.59	65.41
Visitacion Valley	32.52	67.48
Portola	32.33	67.67

There is also variation in trends in voting method by election type. General elections have a larger share of in person voters, while primary and municipal elections have a larger share of vote by mail ballots. See Table 3 for voting method by election type. This indicates a correlation between higher turnout and voting in person. Both high turnout election types and high turnout neighborhoods have greater proportions of voters who

vote in person. This could indicate that the marginal voters, or voters who are infrequent or uncertain about voting but do so in some elections, are more likely to vote in person.

Table 3: Voting method by election type

Election Type	In Person (%)	By Mail (%)
Ten-year average	**40.74**	**59.26**
General elections	43.61	56.39
Presidential general	45.61	54.39
Primary elections	36.64	63.36
Municipal elections	37.59	62.41

Turnout gap and demographic factors

Lower turnout neighborhoods are also more likely to have low-income residents and a higher proportion of residents of color. The maps below show a strong correlation between these factors. See Appendix B for demographic metrics by neighborhood.

Figure 5: Low turnout neighborhoods
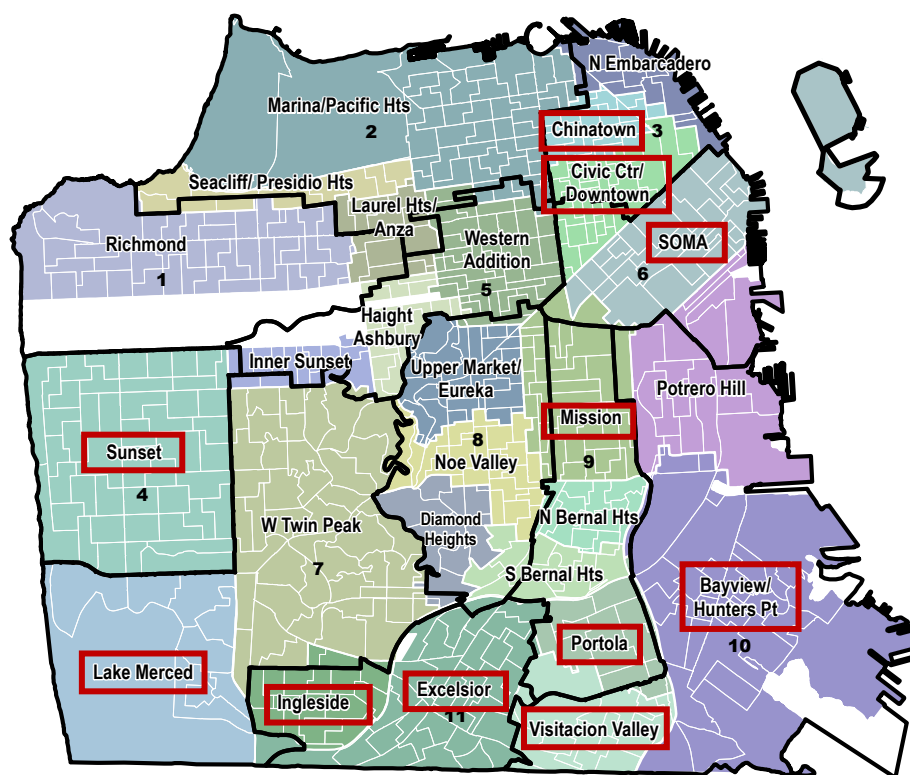
Source: San Francisco Department of Elections

Figure 5: Median household income, 2017

Legend:
- < $15,000
- $15,000 to $20,000
- $20,000 to $25,000
- $25,000 to $30,000
- $30,000 to $35,000
- $35,000 to $40,000
- $40,000 to $45,000
- $45,000 to $50,000
- $50,000 to $75,000
- $75,000 to $100,000
- > $100,000
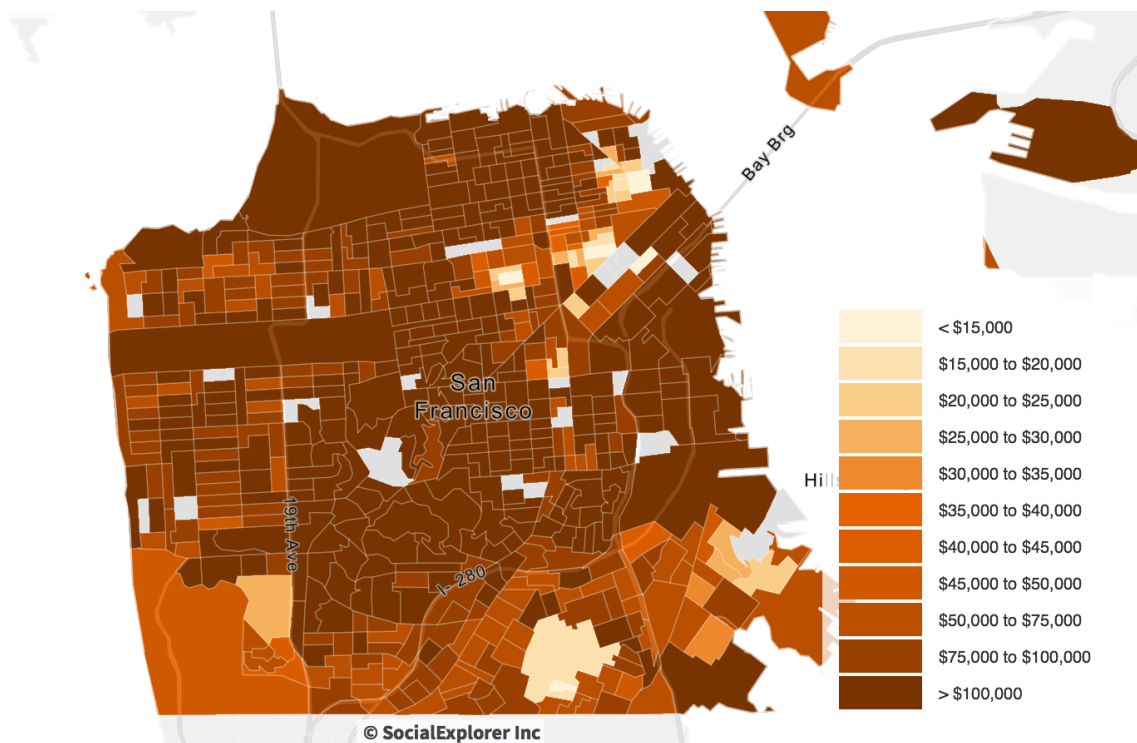
Source: American Community Survey 2017 5-Year Estimates, accessed via SocialExplorer

Figure 6: Percentage of white residents, 2017

Legend:
- Insufficient data
- < 1%
- 1% to 5%
- 5% to 10%
- 10% to 15%
- 15% to 30%
- 30% to 40%
- 40% to 60%
- 60% to 75%
- 75% to 90%
- 90% to 95%
- > 95%
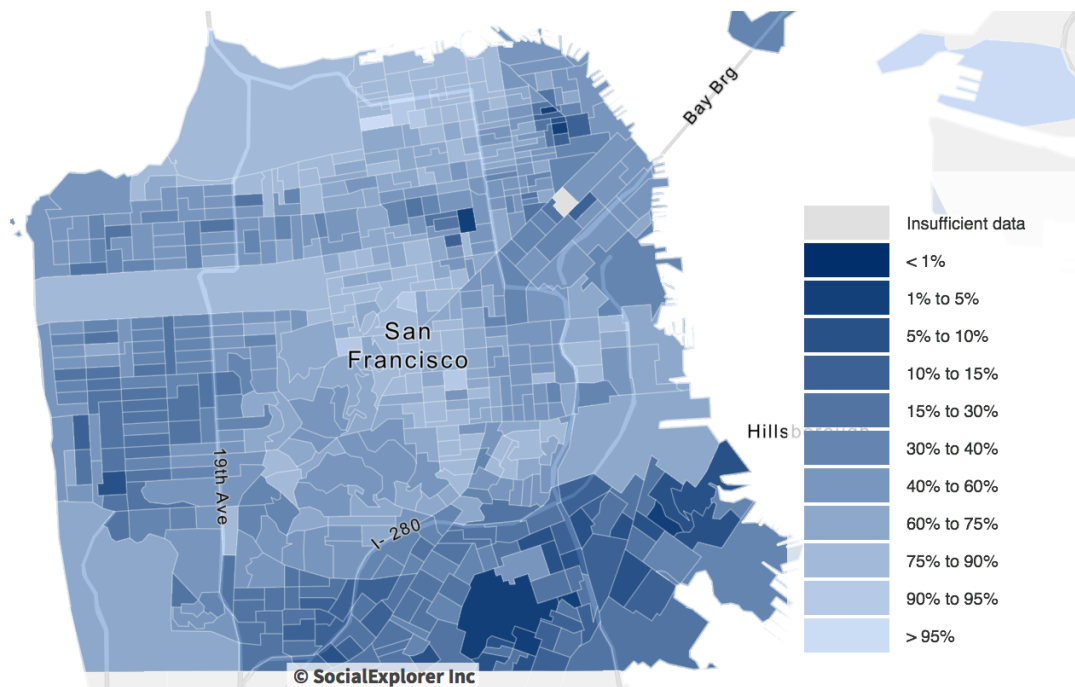
Source: American Community Survey 2017 5-Year Estimates, accessed via SocialExplorer

These trends in San Francisco are consistent with state and national trends in turnout. The national average turnout for presidential elections is 60%, and for primary elections is 40%.[1] In California, the average presidential turnout rate between 2004 and 2012 was 61%.[2] While San Francisco has a higher average rate of turnout for presidential elections than the state and national average, its turnout gap is not lower than average. The turnout gap in San Francisco aligns with research showing consistently lower turnout among racial minorities, poor communities, and young voters.[3] In California, the turnout gap between white voters and black voters was 3 percentage points, between Native American voters was 10 percentage points, between Pacific Islander voters was 15 percentage points, between Latino voters was 17 percentage points, and between Asian American voters was 20 percentage points.[4] In 2016 the national turnout gap between white voters and black voters was 15 percentage points, the gap between white and Hispanic voters was 20 percentage points, and the gap between white and voters of other races was 19 percentage points.[5]

Historical Context

Racial disparities in voting rates have existed throughout this country's history. African American, Native American, Hispanic, and Asian American residents were all denied voting rights through the 1800s. Post-Reconstruction Jim Crow voting restrictions caused black voter turnout to decline from 61% to 17%, and in the same time period the Chinese Exclusion Act barred Asian immigrants from becoming citizens.[6] The Voting Rights Act of 1965 attempted to enforce the fifteenth amendment right to vote regardless of race by eliminating literacy tests and authorizing lawsuits against poll taxes that had been used to widely prevent black voters from electoral participation. The Voting Rights Act also introduced federal oversight of states with histories of voting discrimination. The 1975 expansion of the Voting Rights Act expanded protections for language minority groups, based on the voter exclusion of Hispanic voters in Texas. In the decades following the passage of the Voting Rights Act legal cases expanded voter access for voters of color by outlawing literacy tests and poll taxes and dismantling gerrymandered districts and at large electoral systems. The California Voting Rights Act of 2001 expanded this ability to prove voter dilution.

Since the Voting Rights Act was passed, there have also been increasing legal efforts to restrict electoral participation. Since 2005, there have been a proliferation of identification laws that disproportionately impact low income and voters of color. Since

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[1] "Nonvoter Innovation Lab," ideas42, accessed May 11, 2019, http://www.ideas42.org/nonvoter-innovation-lab/.
[2] John Dobard et al., "Unequal Voices: California's Racial Disparities in Political Participation" (Advancement Project, June 2016).
[3] Bernard L. Fraga, *The Turnout Gap* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
[4] Dobard et al., "Unequal Voices: California's Racial Disparities in Political Participation."
[5] Michael McDonald, "Voter Turnout Demographics," United States Elections Project, accessed May 11, 2019, http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/demographics.
[6] Fraga, *The Turnout Gap*.

2010, 25 states have implemented voting restriction laws, such as those that require proof of citizenship to register, repeal Election Day registration, and create additional bureaucratic requirements for registration.[7] Felony disenfranchisement, originally implemented to prevent former slaves, who were more likely to have legal convictions, from voting, persists in disproportionately restricting the voter access of communities of color.[8] The black-white turnout gap narrowed throughout the second half of the twentieth century, with black turnout rates equaling or exceeding white turnout rates in 2008 and 2012, but since then the gap has again widened. The Latino and Asian turnout gaps have persisted over time, with little improvement in turnout rates compared to white turnout.[9]

Methodology

I conducted quantitative analysis of the turnout gap using Department of Elections elections results data.[10] I analyzed turnout data for all general, primary, and municipal elections beginning with the November 2008 general election. Department of Elections records report the number of registered voters, number of ballots cast, turnout rate, ballots and percent of ballots cast in person and by mail for each of the 26 neighborhoods defined by the Department. I calculated neighborhood average turnout rates were calculated by summing the total number of ballots cast in that neighborhood and dividing by the total number of registered voters in that neighborhood. Turnout rates for election types were calculated by summing the total number of ballots cast in that type of election and dividing by the total number of registered voters in that election type. Similarly, averages for voting method were calculated by summing the total number of ballots cast using each method and dividing by the total number of ballots cast.

Demographic information about city neighborhoods was obtained using the American Community Survey (ACS) 2017 five-year estimates. The geographic spread of income and racial breakdown in San Francisco was mapped using ACS 2017 data at the Census block group level, using the Census's Social Explorer tool. Because the Department's neighborhood definitions do not align with Census geographies, obtaining demographic information by neighborhood was more challenging. Neighborhood demographic characteristics presented in this report are approximate estimates based on aggregating ACS 2017 demographic information for Census tracts that approximately align with Department neighborhood boundaries.

I conducted qualitative research through literature review and interviews. I conducted a literature review on experimental evidence of voting reforms that increase turnout. I also

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[7] "New Voting Restrictions in America," Brennan Center for Justice, accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.brennancenter.org/new-voting-restrictions-america.

[8] Ari Berman, *Give Us the Ballot* (New York, NY: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015).

[9] Fraga, *The Turnout Gap*.

[10] "Past Elections Results," San Francisco Department of Elections, accessed May 11, 2019, https://sfelections.sfgov.org/past-election-results.

conducted interviews with community groups in San Francisco, elections reform and voter outreach experts, and practitioners of best practices in other counties. A snowball sampling method was used to select interview participants. Over 20 interviews were conducted for the project; see Appendix C for a full interview list.

Barriers to Voting

A major barrier to voting is simply understanding the election. Many San Franciscans struggle to understand the many facets of the electoral process, including the issues on the ballot, the requirements for participation, and the mechanics of voting. Research by the Center for Civic Design found that the most common questions people have about elections in the months leading up to voting are about: what is on the ballot, what to vote for, who is running for office, and why to vote.[11] As evidenced by these questions, there is a widespread lack of knowledge, not just around the details of voting, but also about the fundamentals of what it means to participate in an election. Gaining a better understanding of the election is a significant obstacle which can stand in the way of even those who are motivated to vote.[12] These knowledge gaps are even larger for those who are not regular voters, who may not have witnessed parents or role models voting when younger, or whose cultural background may not include a focus on voting. Particularly for communities with historically low turnout, a feeling of disengagement from the electoral system or disempowerment from the political system may compound the lack of knowledge or understanding of the election and lead to lower participation.[13]

In the San Francisco context in particular, these challenges to understanding how to participate in elections are amplified by the complex nature of California ballots. San Francisco voters need to understand ranked-choice voting, as well as make choices about both local and state propositions in addition to candidates. Voters can easily feel intimidated and overwhelmed by the extent of the information contained in the ballot.

Many voter access efforts have focused on legal and administrative barriers to voting, and California has made significant progress in passing measures that make voting more available, leading the country with policies like voting by mail, automatic voter registration, and pre-registration of youth. However, there have been fewer efforts focused on enabling and empowering people to vote by giving them the information and tools they need to do so. Generally, the role of educating voters on the key issues of the

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[11] Whitney Quesenbery et al., "How Voters Get Information: Final Report, Recommendations for Voter Guides in California" (Center for Civic Design, n.d.).

[12] DJ Neri, Jess Leifer, and Anthony Barrows, "Graduating Students into Voters: Overcoming the Psychological Barriers Faced by Student Voters" (New York, NY: ideas42, April 2016).

[13] Black communities have higher rates of political knowledge and engagement when they have more political representation. Bobo, Lawrence, and Franklin D. Gilliam. "Race, Sociopolitical Participation, and Black Empowerment." The American Political Science Review 84, no. 2 (June 1990): 377–93. Economic segregation leads to lower turnout. Bartle, John, Sarah Birch, and Mariana Skirmuntt. "The Local Roots of the Participation Gap: Inequality and Voter Turnout." Electoral Studies 48 (2017): 30–44.

election has fallen to individual campaigns. Campaigns conduct extensive voter outreach, but focus their resources on individuals they believe are most likely to vote, reinforcing and exacerbating the knowledge gap between high turnout and low turnout communities.

These challenges in understanding the election were the barrier to voting most commonly discussed by community and organizing groups. Most local organizers feel that one of the biggest obstacles to voting for communities with historically low turnout rates is the sense of intimidation around the electoral process. Feeling uninformed or confused about the ballot, including understanding propositions and ranked-choice voting, is enough to dissuade people from showing up. Historically marginalized communities also often feel a sense that their votes don't matter or effect change. Ultimately, understanding the ballot and the implications of the election takes time and resources that are not often offered to these communities.

The other major barrier to voting is the logistical hurdles voters encounter when registering to vote, finding when and where to vote, and taking the time to cast a ballot. Psychologically, voting is a task frequently subject to procrastination and a gap between what people intend to do and what they actually do. Because of the diffuse and long-term benefits of voting, but clear and immediate costs, seemingly small hassles voters experience in the voting process can have large impacts on the likelihood of voting. Figures 7 and 8 map the steps needed to register and cast a ballot in San Francisco. Logistical barriers or delays in any of these steps can prevent electoral participation.

Figure 7: San Francisco registration process
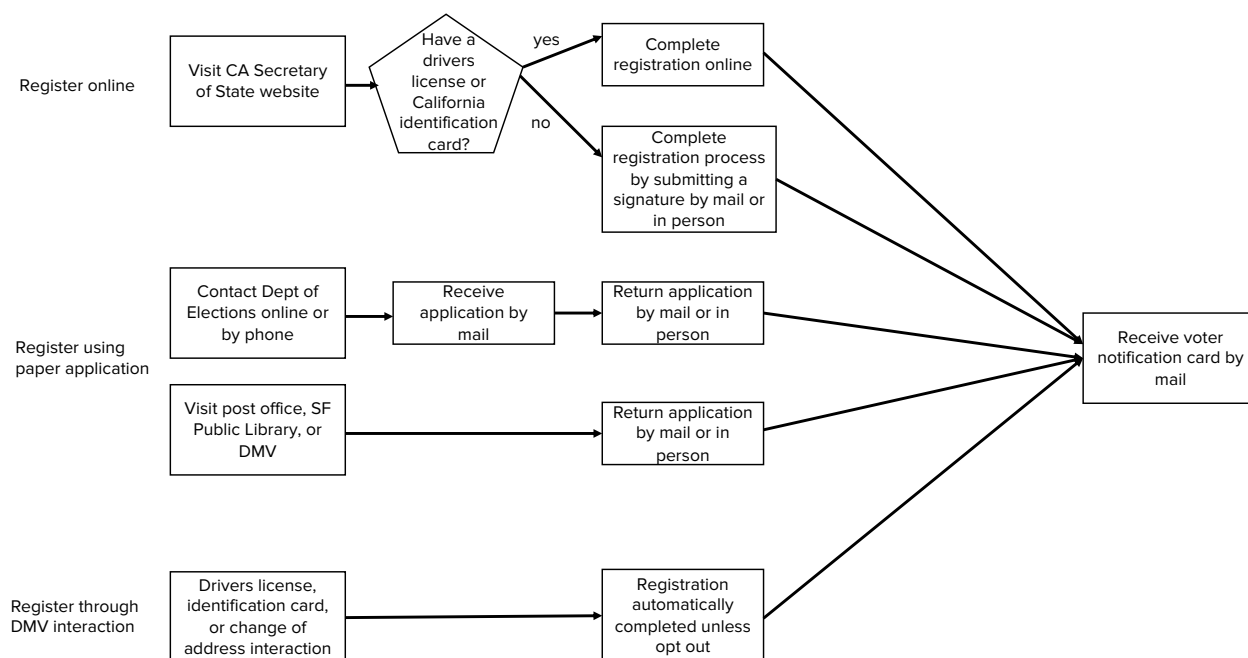
Figure 8: San Francisco voting process

Vote by mail

Selected vote by mail when registered? → yes → Receive ballot by mail

Selected vote by mail when registered? → no → Apply to vote by mail with online form, calling the Department, or returning paper form

→ Postmark ballot on or before Election Day or return in person by 8 pm Election Day

Vote in person

Registered to vote 15 days before election? → yes → Vote at precinct

Registered to vote 15 days before election? → no → Vote at City Hall

Look up polling place online → Registered without id or SSN, and voting for the first time? → yes → ID needed

Registered without id or SSN, and voting for the first time? → no → No ID needed

→ Vote between 7:00 am and 8:00 pm on Election Day

Vote up to 29 days before Election Day:
between 8:00 am and 5:00 pm Mon-Fri
between 10:00 am and 4:00 pm Sat-Sun
(two weekends prior to the election)
between 7:00 am and 8:00 pm Election Day

Policy Recommendations

Recommendations road map

The Department faces financial, time, and feasibility constraints in implementing changes to its current operations. I considered potential solutions on their impact, or ability to increase voter turnout, financial cost to the Department, and ease of implementation. All three of these considerations are important, and a successful plan for addressing the turnout gap will find a balance among them. A positive impact is necessary for any strategy to be worth undertaking; therefore, all the recommendations I offer are supported by research indicating they will reduce turnout disparities.

I recommend prioritizing a combination of three strategies that will create immediate improvement in turnout, while also setting the stage for more transformative change. **Improving elections communications** is a low cost, relatively simple change that will have modest impacts on turnout. Reframing and redesigning elections communications will make the best use of the Department's existing communications with San Franciscans and is therefore a good first step towards addressing the turnout gap. The Department should also begin taking steps to create a program to **provide voter education funding to community organizations**. A grant program of this nature will require significant planning and financial resources, but it will directly address a key barrier to electoral participation in underrepresented communities, and so has the potential to have a substantial impact on turnout disparities. Because the switch to a vote center model is already under consideration, the Department should take this opportunity to **learn more about the turnout impacts of vote centers** to determine if it is the right model for the city.

I also recommend four additional changes that the Department should pursue after the three priority strategies. **Hosting festivals at polling places** and **sending personalized voter histories** would also have relatively modest turnout impacts, but would be more expensive than communications improvements, so would be an appropriate next step after implementing those changes. **Creating mobile voting options** would require a larger initial financial investment, but would then be integrated into elections operations. This could be a good strategy for testing the vote center model. **Expanding opportunities for registration at key moments** is a strategy that has the potential to have a significant impact on the turnout gap, but will require collaboration with outside agencies, and potentially longer-term legal changes.

Recommendation 1: Improve elections communications

Reframe outreach messaging

Extensive research in the field of behavioral sciences has been conducted on the types of messages that best motivate people to vote. The literature of field experiments on turnout has shown that messages that make use of social pressure and social norms have the strongest impacts, and that personalization is an important messaging tool.[14] Some of the Department's existing messaging already makes use of another strategy shown by research to be effective, "identity labeling," or focusing on the identity rather than the behavior of voting.[15] Posters with the message "Be a voter" align with this insight.

There are three immediate messaging changes the department should make to boost turnout: use social norms, use planning prompts, and develop voter campaigns around election issues.

Use social norms

Fundamentally, the process of voting requires costs of the voter, whether monetary, time, or effort. Voting is an individually costly but socially beneficial behavior, and therefore these costs may deter people from voting. Social mobilization is effective in motivating people to vote despite these costs because of our universal and fundamental need to belong and feel socially connected. Using social forces is a powerful method of changing behavior in a wide range of contexts, and is particularly effective in cases, like voting, where other people's opinions or behaviors are not visible or known.

Messages telling people that they *should* vote are ineffective. The values and benefits of voting and the sense that society values voting are already widely understood. However, telling people about *others'* voting behaviors is a successful motivator.[16] Turnout increases when voters receive messages describing how many other people vote. Though emphasizing low turnout may seem like an impactful way of communicating the importance of voting, research shows that people conform to the social norm they are shown. Therefore, emphasizing low turnout – for example, a mailer saying "only 20% of registered young Latinos voted in 2006" – actually decreases turnout.[17]

The Department should effectively make use of this finding by incorporating messages emphasizing turnout rates in its communication about elections. For example, phrasing like: "In the last election, 75% of San Franciscans voted!" could be added to promotional

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[14] Donald P. Green, Mary C. McGrath, and Peter M. Aronow, "Field Experiments and the Study of Voter Turnout," *Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties* 23, no. 1 (2013): 27–48.

[15] Todd Rogers, Craig R. Fox, and Alan S. Gerber, "Rethinking Why People Vote: Voting as Dynamic Social Expression," in *The Behavioral Foundations of Public Policy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, n.d.).

[16] Alan S. Gerber and Todd Rogers, "Descriptive Social Norms and Motivation to Vote: Everybody's Voting and so Should You," *The Journal of Politics* 71, no. 1 (n.d.): 178–91.

[17] Todd Rogers, Noah J. Goldstein, and Craig R. Fox, "Social Mobilization," *Annual Review of Psychology* 69 (2018): 357–81.

materials. Social norms are most effective motivators when the group referenced is as similar as possible to the person receiving the message.[18] To target messages more effectively, communications used in specific neighborhoods could emphasize turnout there. For example, "71% of your neighbors voted in the last election."

Planning prompts

Planning or implementation prompts are a common technique used to shift someone into acting. In being prompted to think though the necessary steps, we are more likely to understand and plan for potential problems, and therefore more likely to successfully complete the action. Experimental evidence has shown this to be an effective method of increasing turnout. This technique has been frequently used with phone banking or canvassing interactions, where respondents are asked questions like what time they plan to vote, where they will be coming from, and what they will be doing before voting.[19] However, this language can be easily translated to other methods of communication the Department already engages in. For example, posters or radio ads should add phrases like "What day do you plan to vote?" to encourage plan-making.

Sample poster incorporating social norms and planning prompts

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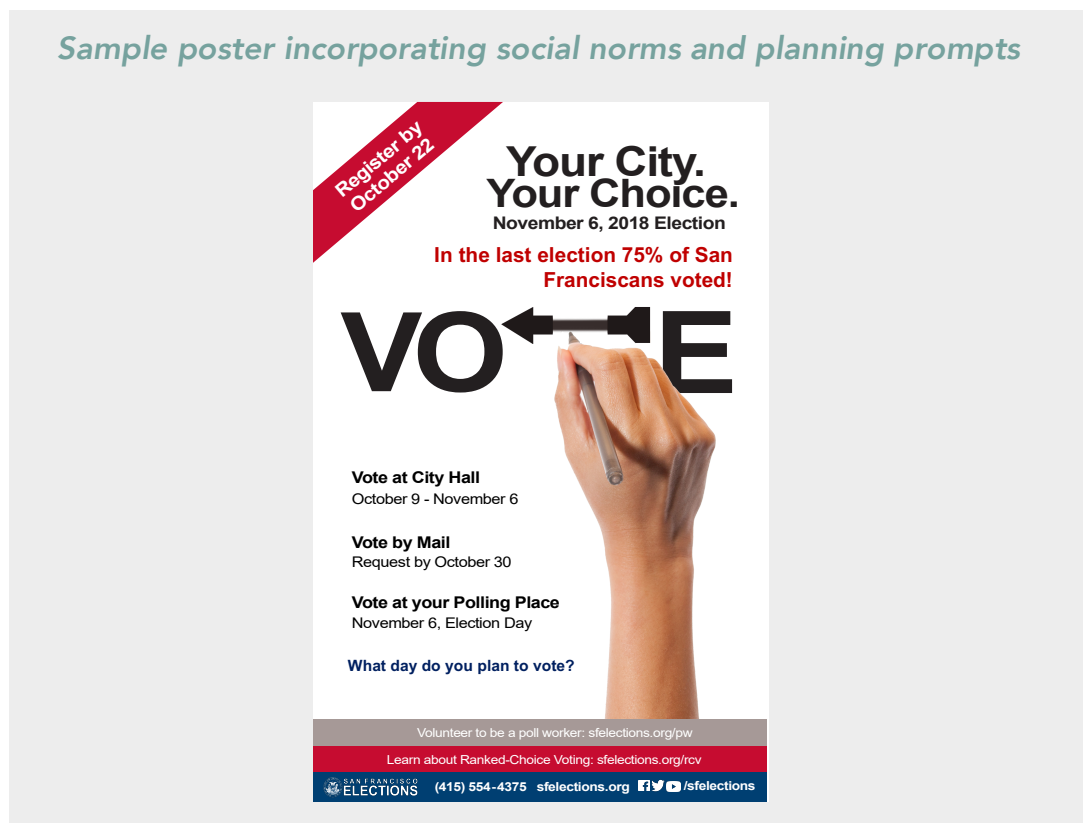
[18] Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox.

[19] David W. Nickerson and Todd Rogers, "Do You Have a Voting Plan? Implementation Intentions, Voter Turnout, and Organic Plan Making," *Psychological Science* 21, no. 2 (n.d.): 194–99.

Develop voter campaigns around election issues

Voters want to be able to connect in concrete terms to what is on the ballot, to be able to understand the impact of their vote. The voter guide explains each ballot proposition, but the Department should also leverage other communications and promotional materials to highlight key issues in the election. The Department has a responsibility to provide neutral and non-partisan information about the election, but concerns about neutrality can be alleviated, for example by using direct quotes from the Attorney General's summary of propositions. A poster for the 2018 election could have read:

> **Proposition 1 authorizes $4 billion of state general obligation bonds to fund existing housing programs. What do you think? Vote on Proposition 1 on November 8.**

Redesign the Voter Information Pamphlet

Useful information about elections, candidates, and ballot questions can be challenging for most voters to find. The Voter Information Pamphlet, or voter guide, can fill a key gap in helping residents answer these questions.[20] The Center for Civic Design has conducted extensive field research on the importance and usability of voter guides through testing of sample designs.[21] This research shows that, though voters valued voter guides when they were able to understand them, they often experienced them as overwhelming. Long or dense voter guides can contribute to the feeling that voting is a test, rather than helping voters feel engaged.

Infrequent or new voters may have trouble understanding the voter guide because of their lack of basic civic education. For example, infrequent voters did not understand many of the terms used in voter guides, including "primary," "endorsement," "rebuttal," "early voting," and "polls." They asked questions about whether you need an ID to vote, if you need to register to vote, if you have to vote on every topic, if you can vote after Election Day, if you need an appointment to vote.[22] An effective voter guide can reach some of these voters to answer these questions. The Center for Civic Design's has five key principles for voter guides: including the right information at the appropriate level of detail, organizing information for progressive disclosure, presenting information so it is easy to read and understand, personalizing information for the voter, and closing civic literacy gaps through structure and content. Practically, this means making good use of space and using visual elements to complement text, ordering the voter guide so that key information is shared first and details are shared later, using design to link related topics and separate unrelated topics, using plain and simple language, and summarizing lengthy information.

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[20] Whitney Quesenbery, Maggie Ollove, and Nancy Frishberg, "Informed Voters from Start to Finish: Final Report, Voter Research and Usability Testing" (Center for Civic Design, January 23, 2017).
[21] Quesenbery et al., "How Voters Get Information: Final Report, Recommendations for Voter Guides in California."
[22] Quesenbery et al.

Though San Francisco's Voter Information Pamphlet contains extensive information about the election, its design should be improved to make that information best accessible to voters.

Ordering

The order of the information is important so that unfamiliar voters can find the key points needed to understand the election easily. The current Voter Information Pamphlet opens with contact information and a letter from the Department director, a summary of how to vote, and information on disability and language access before moving on to an extensive summary of candidates and ballot measures. Some key information like the Voter Bill of Rights and the FAQ page are included at the end of the pamphlet. These pages should be moved to the beginning of the pamphlet. Many voters in interviews highlight the Voter Bill of Rights useful and meaningful to them, so it should be given a greater display of prominence, and the FAQ page is a good guide for voters who may be unfamiliar with elections operations.

The Voter Information Pamphlet divides information on voting into "When and Where to Vote" and "How to Vote." The Center for Civic Design's guidelines recommend grouping information on voting by voting type (by mail, early, in person), and providing all relevant information about each voting type on one page. This information should be restructured to make more obvious the choices available to voters.

San Francisco

Sample voter guide

Headings

Combined with a table of contents, descriptive headings can help orient the reader to figuring out which components of the guide are useful. Best practices for writing headings are to make them instructive or phrase them as questions a voter may ask. Some of the Voter Information Pamphlet headings should be re-worded to more specifically explain their section content. For example, "three ways to vote" is a more descriptive title than "how to vote." Headings should also be made more visually prominent by using a larger font, or visual demarcation.

Candidate and ballot measure summaries

California ballots are particularly confusing because there are many candidates and ballot measures to review. In reviews of sample guides, voters greatly prefer pages that give overview summaries of candidates and ballot measures. It is helpful to be able to easily compare candidates to one another, and to see a brief summary of the ballot measure and pro and con arguments. The Voter Information Pamphlet uses one page to represent the candidates for each office on the ballot, and as many as eight pages per ballot measure to represent the arguments for and against, but there are not summary pages that give voters an overview of the candidates and issues they need to make decisions on. Adding these summary pages will help voters navigate the guide, deciding where they need or wish to read more detailed information. This aligns with the best practice of presenting basic information first, followed by additional resources. Visual layouts, such as a table format, can help achieve this. It is also helpful to distinguish

visually through formatting choices between the candidate and ballot pages, so that voters know they are two separate types of choices.

San Francisco

Sample voter guide

Registration information

The Voter Information Pamphlet does not include information on how to register to vote. The Department should update the pamphlet with this information to increase successful registration. Through the voter guide is mailed to registered voters it may also be shared with unregistered residents, or be a helpful reminder about how to update registration.

Sample voter guide

Redesign the website

The Department website is an important vehicle for educating voters about how to participate in the election. However, it is not always clear where to find the most important information. For example, to learn how to register to vote, a resident has to navigate to the voter registration page, and then expand relevant sections of the website one by one.

Steps to access voter registration information
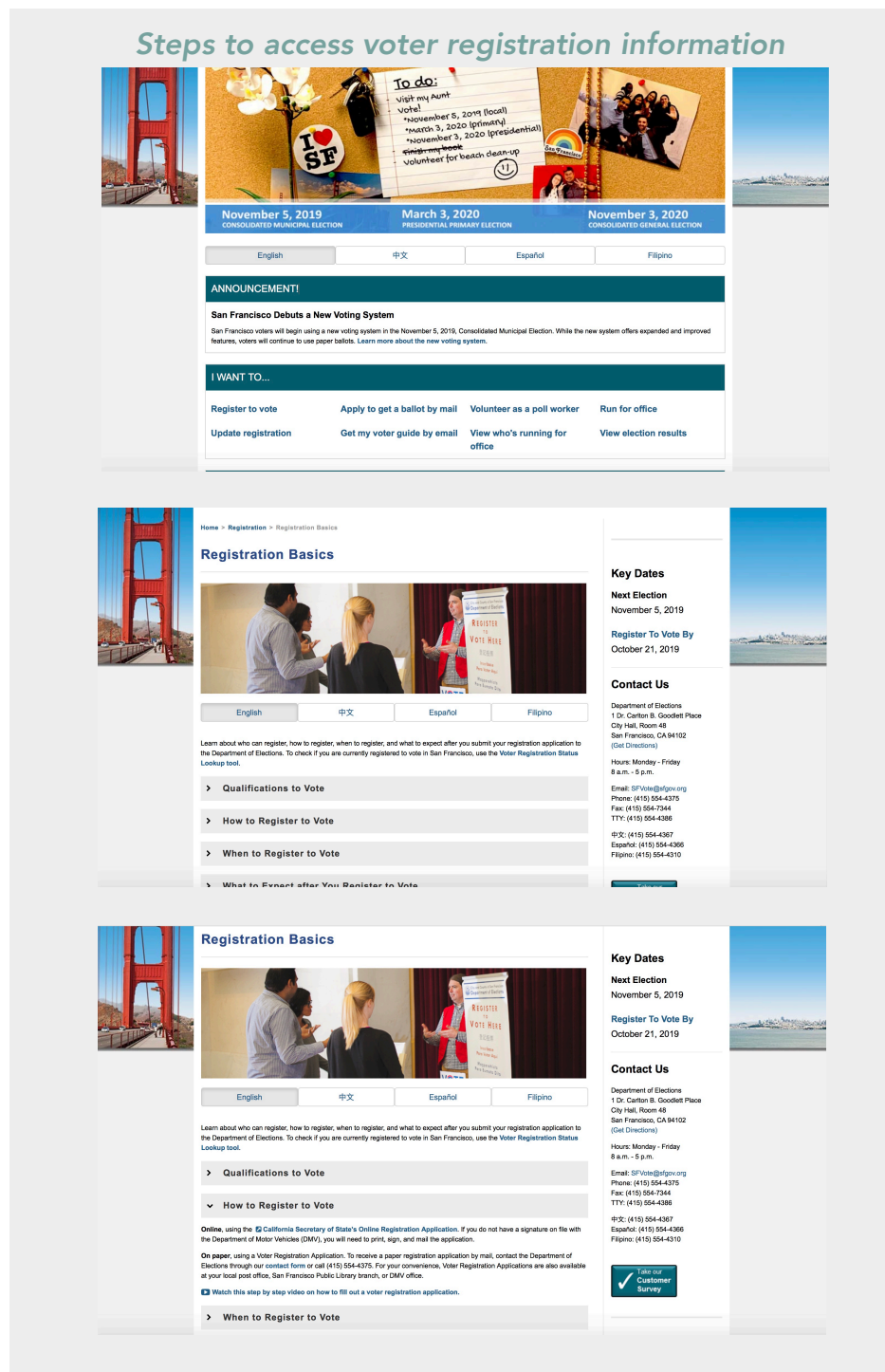
The usability of the Department's website should be improved by emphasizing key information more clearly, and reducing the number of clicks it takes to access it by removing website subsections that need to be clicked on to expand. The key principle for designing an elections website is to structure information to parallel the most common questions voters ask. In using elections websites, voters want to know: what is on the ballot, how to get a mail ballot and when it is due, where to vote, who currently holds office, and how to register to vote.[23] The answers to simple questions like these should be the easiest to access. Though the Department's website includes some quick links, for example to how to register, it is more challenging to find out about topics like where to vote and what is on the ballot. For example, to locate her correct polling place, a voter needs to travel to four different pages within the site.

Steps to access polling place location information

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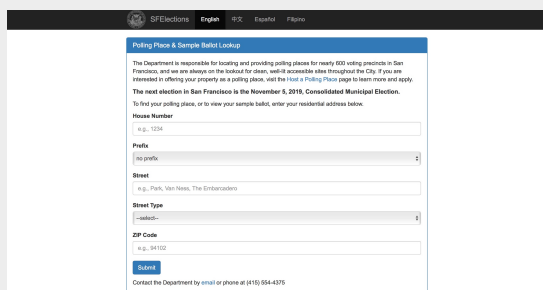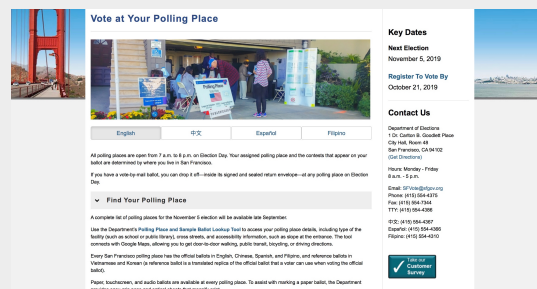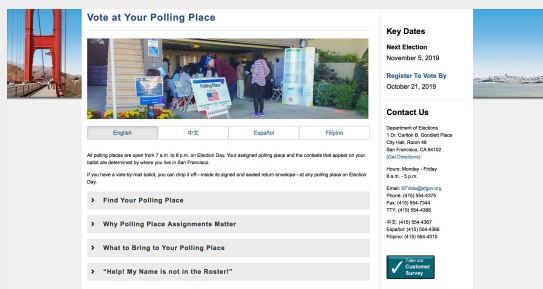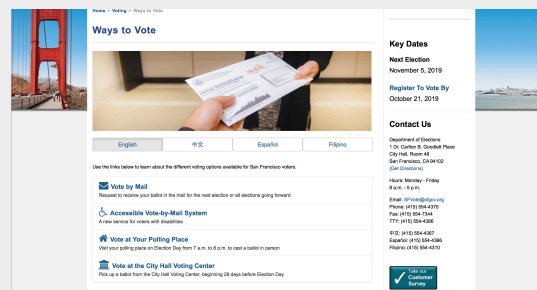
23 "Designing Election Department Websites," Center for Civic Design, May 11, 2019, https://civicdesign.org/fieldguides/designing-election-department-websites/.

Websites that clearly present information about elections organize details in easily digestible formats, such as lists or bullet points. For example, Laclede County, Missouri clearly outlines how the vote-by-mail process works, the Virginia Department of Elections explains what to expect on Election Day through a series of common questions voters may have, and Minneapolis, Minnesota highlights important steps in three things every voter must do.

Laclede County, MO

"Vote Absentee by Mail," Laclede County Elections, accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.lacledevotes.org/p/how-vote-by-mail-process-works.html.

Virginia Department of Elections

"What to Expect on Election Day," Virginia Department of Elections, accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.elections.virginia.gov/voter-outreach/expectations.html.

Minneapolis, MN

"Outreach and Education," Minneapolis Elections and Voter Services, accessed May 11, 2019, http://vote.minneapolismn.gov/outreach/index.htm.

Impact: Messaging adjustments are unlikely to dramatically shift turnout numbers, but nevertheless can have meaningful impact. Messaging using social norms increased intention to vote by about 7 percentage points,[24] and phone calls prompting an implementation plan for voting increased turnout by 4.1 percentage points among those contacted, and by up to 9 percentage points for specific groups.[25] Redesigning voter guides and websites have not been experimentally tested, so exact impacts on turnout are hard to quantify, but these changes would increase turnout by making information more accessible to voters.

Cost: Costs for these changes would be minimal, consisting of redesign costs, and website development time. The Center for Civic Design's free voter guide templates and other resources can reduce the administrative burden required for editing the Voter Information Pamphlet.

Implementation: Given that the Department has to redesign and reprint posters and other collateral each election cycle, adjusting messaging should be a low impact change. The Voter Information Pamphlet is managed by the Department's Publications division, and the text is managed by the Ballot Simplification Committee. Changes like adding summaries of candidates and ballot measures would be made through the Committee. The Center for Civic Design has held training sessions for counties interested in redesigning their voter guides and could be used to provide specific feedback as needed.[26]

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[24] Gerber and Rogers, "Descriptive Social Norms and Motivation to Vote: Everybody's Voting and so Should You."
[25] Nickerson and Rogers, "Do You Have a Voting Plan? Implementation Intentions, Voter Turnout, and Organic Plan Making."
[26] Nancy Frishberg and Whitney Quesenbery, "How Voters Get Information: Implementing Best Practices for Voter Guides in the 2016 California Primary" (Center for Civic Design, August 23, 2016).

These communications changes would have relatively modest impacts compared to the size of the turnout gap, but the turnout increases observed in past experimental research are not insignificant. Since this strategy would be applied to the way the Department communicates with all residents and voters, its effects may increase turnout across the board rather than reducing the turnout gap. However, it is likely that these changes will be more impactful for unlikely or infrequent voters, since regular voters tend to be more familiar with the voting process. Since understanding the election is a major barrier to voter participation, making the best use of existing avenues of communication between the Department and voters is an important first step.

Recommendation 2: Provide funding to community organizations to conduct voter education and outreach

Even with all the information the Department makes available, ultimately most new, infrequent, or unfamiliar voters will be best served in connecting to and understanding the electoral process through individual attention and direct personal contact. Experimental evidence has proven that personalized direct contact is the most effective method to encourage someone to vote.[27]

Community-based organizations are best positioned to provide the appropriate culturally-informed education that will connect with voters. Research indicates that people are more likely to vote when contacted by someone who knows them than by a stranger,[28] meaning a localized model of outreach will be most effective. Each community has specific needs, and community partners have the best capacity to fill these needs. The Department does not have the appropriate capacity or role to engage in this type of in-depth connection with all San Francisco residents, but community groups can be trusted messengers for voter engagement and education and can also organize peer to peer mobilization. For example, PODER SF, a grassroots organization focused on low-income Latino immigrants and other communities of color, uses the *promotoras* model of directly educating a group of residents who spread that knowledge to their neighbors.[29]

However, even though community groups and nonprofits may be interested in engaging in this outreach work, it is difficult to find funding to support it, especially if the organization is not exclusively focused on voter engagement. For example, La Raza Centro Legal used to conduct voter outreach and education with new citizens, but no longer has the budget to hire someone in this role, despite believing it is a component of a successful civic engagement strategy.[30]

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[27] Green, McGrath, and Aronow, "Field Experiments and the Study of Voter Turnout"; Rogers, Fox, and Gerber, "Rethinking Why People Vote: Voting as Dynamic Social Expression."
[28] Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox, "Social Mobilization."
[29] Laura Melgarejo, April 3, 2019.
[30] Lopez Lopez, March 20, 2019.

Program spotlight: Voter Education Fund in Seattle

The Seattle Foundation and King County Elections have developed a partnership designed to address this gap in funding for local voter engagement. The program developed out of The Seattle Foundation's Vibrant Democracy Initiative, which focuses on work that "strengthens the voice and participation of underrepresented communities as a path to more equitable systems change." The partnership with King County began with a specific focus on supporting organizations working on voter education and technical assistance within limited English communities. Based on the success of this initial work with 22 community-based organizations, the two organizations developed the Voter Education Fund. The Fund's goal is to "remove barriers to voting in diverse communities" and will grant close to a million dollars to community-based organizations for the 2019 and 2020 election cycles.[31]

In this grant cycle, The Voter Education Fund will award funding in two-year terms to organizations to conduct voter education or outreach, voter registration, nonpartisan ballot education, or culturally appropriate technical assistance. Organizations are eligible for grants of up to $40,000 for a strategic ongoing campaign, or up to $15,000 for a series of targeted events. The Fund is explicitly focused on supporting organizations that work on voter engagement for historically marginalized communities, which the Fund defines as included, but not limited to, people experiencing homelessness, people with disabilities, limited-English speaking communities, communities of color, and formerly incarcerated individuals. In addition, the Fund prioritizes applications from organizations that are led and staffed by individuals who reflect the communities served, have a demonstrated ability to engage members of these communities, and have a plan for engaging historically marginalized communities. Past grantees have conducted activities like integrating voter education and registration into the operations of direct service organizations, hosting phone banks and candidate forums, hosting a ballot party for limited English communities, and tabling at community events.[32]

In order to award grants, The Fund application asks organizations to discuss their: target population, capacity and experience conducting these activities, plans for tracking progress, field plan for executing voter engagement activities, and budget.[33] In the 2018 grant cycle, 72 organizations applied for funding, indicating that the program is filling a community need for this type of support. 33 grants were awarded, 22 of which were return grantees.[34] The Fund has awarded grants to organizations of varying types and sizes, from small grassroots groups to larger, multi-site organizations.[35]

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[31] "Vibrant Democracy Initiative," Seattle Foundation, accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.seattlefoundation.org/communityimpact/Center-Community-Partnerships/vibrant-democracy.

[32] "Current Grant Opportunities," Seattle Foundation, accessed May 11, 2019, https://www.seattlefoundation.org/nonprofits/nonprofitgrantopportunities#VDIpartnershipmobilization; Giselle Zapata-Garcia, April 25, 2019.

[33] "Current Grant Opportunities."

[34] "2018 Voter Education Fund Grantees," Seattle Foundation, May 6, 2018, https://www.seattlefoundation.org/Blog/Articles/2018/05/2018-vef-grantees.

[35] Jonathan Cunningham, April 22, 2019; Zapata-Garcia, interview.

The Fund is jointly managed by The Seattle Foundation and King County. The Foundation leads the grant review and grant-making process, including application review and fund administration. The County uses its expertise in elections to educate grantees about nonpartisan engagement and about elections laws and reforms. The County holds monthly check-in phone calls with each grantee organization to get updates on progress and any concerns, and also hosts trainings and gatherings for the cohort of grantees. Through this process, organizations are able to connect and learn from each other, and in the past have collaborated on hosting events together.[36]

The Department should develop a program modeled after Seattle's innovative approach. Key components of Seattle's method that the Department should seek to emulate include the explicit focus on marginalized or underrepresented communities, the flexibility in allowing organizations to design the best strategies to engage their community of interest, and the technical assistance to support organizations. In San Francisco, a promising partner for this work is the San Francisco Foundation. The San Francisco Foundation has a grant-making program focused on "nurturing equity movements," including an emphasis on civic and voter engagement.[37]

In developing such a program, it is important for the Department to consider community groups as partners in outreach work. For example, local organizations appreciated the working relationship developed between the Department and community groups in planning for the implementation of non-citizen voting. Based on the experience of this group, more significant organizational collaboration with the Department on issues of voter education and engagement would be a step towards deepening trust and partnership with communities. In Seattle, the Foundation and King County built this level of partnership with local organizations through their program's initial pilot year. The program officer for the fund emphasized the importance of the pilot year as a key time to gain input from organizations, while supporting their work and time taken to give feedback through the grant funds.[38]

Key next steps for the Department in developing such a program are to create a partnership model and use the expertise of community organizations to refine the program.

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[36] Cunningham, interview; Zapata-Garcia, interview.
[37] "Power Pathway: Nurturing Equity Movements," The San Francisco Foundation, accessed May 11, 2019, https://sff.org/programs/nurturing-equity-movements/.
[38] Cunningham, interview.

Figure 9: Sample project timeline

Time	Project Phase
June – December 2019	Partnership creation Commit pilot funding, and develop partnership infrastructure with the Foundation
January – March 2020	Select pilot partners Work with Foundation to select community organizations to receive funding in pilot year
March – November 2020	Pilot program Award funds to pilot organizations, hold regular committee meetings with pilot grantees to learn about successes and challenges
November 2020 – March 2021	Refine program Work with pilot grantees to refine program based on their experiences
March 2021	Award funds in first grant year

Impact: Supporting community organizations to educate and engage local residents will have the greatest and most targeted impact on underrepresented communities.

Cost: The Seattle Voter Education Fund began its pilot year with smaller grant amounts, and has scaled up in each grant year. The Seattle Foundation and King County each contribute equal funding to the grant awards.

Implementation: The Foundation-County partnership in Seattle has allowed each organization to contribute its strengths to the program, particularly in allowing for an ease of implementation in grant funding that the County would not have on its own.

Addressing barriers to understanding and engaging with the electoral process will be necessary to close the voter turnout gap. The best way the Department can further the work of empowering all residents to participate in the democratic process is to support local organizations that can build personal connections with voters. Though this strategy requires dedicating new funding to voter education and creating an infrastructure for working with community groups, it does not rely on external legislative changes, creating an opportunity for the Department to take on a leadership role in this area.

Recommendation 3: Learn more about the impacts of the vote center model

After the implementation of The Voters Choice Act in 2016, the state authorized fifteen counties to move to a voting model that eliminates traditional polling places, and instead converts all voters to permanent vote by mail status. A smaller number of vote centers

are utilized than polling places, but voters can use any vote center in the county to drop off ballots, vote in person, or update voter registration. Five counties – Madera, Napa, Nevada, Sacramento, and San Mateo – implemented this new vote center model in the 2018 election. San Francisco will be eligible to switch to the vote center model in 2020, pending a vote of approval by the Board of Supervisors.

Vote centers might contribute to boosting turnout rates by making it simpler for voters to cast their ballots. Using the vote center model, voters no longer have to worry about choosing whether to register to vote by mail or in person, and they do not have to vote at their assigned polling place. This could make voting more accessible to voters who, for example, work far from where they live and might prefer to use a vote center near their workplace rather than their home. In addition, the vote center model would increase the availability of early voting and voter registration updates, services which are currently only available at City Hall. However, it is also possible that for some residents, switching to the vote center model would move their local voting location farther away, creating additional barriers to voting. Promising impacts of vote centers on turnout have been found in Colorado and Texas, but there is not yet definitive evidence from California counties.

If San Francisco considers switching to a vote center model, there are important lessons to be learned in implementation from the five counties who made the switch in 2018. The biggest challenge that counties faced in successfully transitioning to the new model was reaching voters to educate them about vote centers. Counties found that the most effective ways of connecting with voters were to partner with trusted community partners, and make use of existing methods and opportunities for communication. Counties formalized community partnerships through either community outreach and advocacy committees or community leadership coalitions, both of which allowed local organizations to directly impact the outreach strategy.[39]

Impact: Evaluations of vote center use in Colorado and Texas counties have found that they increased voter turnout by about 2%.[40] Comparing the turnout rates in the five California counties to the last comparable election shows an increase in turnout by an average of about 12 percentage points,[41] but this turnout change may not be solely attributable to the effect of vote centers. Preliminary evidence suggests that the switch to vote centers was responsible for a three percentage point turnout increase in the general election and a four percentage point increase in the primary. There is some

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[39] Astrid Ochoa, "Strategies for Voter Education and Outreach Under the Voter's Choice Act" (Future of California Elections, September 2018).
[40] Robert M. Stein and Greg Vonnahme, "Engaging the Unengaged Voter: Vote Centers and Voter Turnout," *The Journal of Politics* 70, no. 2 (n.d.): 487–97; Robert M. Stein and Greg Vonnahme, "Effect of Election Day Vote Centers on Voter Participation," *Election Law Journal* 11, no. 3 (2012).
[41] Ochoa, "Strategies for Voter Education and Outreach Under the Voter's Choice Act."

indication that turnout increases were greater for young, Latino, and Asian American voters.[42] These effects will be better understood with more years of data.

Cost: Vote centers are expected to reduce overall costs for counties because they require operating fewer locations. In addition, vote centers reduce the number of provisional ballots cast on Election Day because of the increased accessibility of registration updates and conditional voter registration. Since provisional ballots are more expensive to count per ballot, this can reduce the overall cost of managing the election. For example, Sacramento County estimates that the vote center model will save about $4 million over eight years in equipment leasing costs.[43] These cost savings are likely to occur over time, as switching to a vote center model requires up-front time and resource investment, including in equipment and increased personnel costs. The five counties that switched to vote centers did not necessarily experience significant costs decreases in 2018, but will be using costs in 2020 as compared to 2016 as a better metric for understanding the financial implications.[44]

Implementation: The switch to a vote center model will require the vote of the Board of Supervisors, with input from the Department about the most successful model.

The vote center model holds promise for making voting easier, and thus for reducing the turnout gap. However, the size of these effects is uncertain given the lack of long-term data on the model. Because of the significant initial cost and set up outlay required to switch to the vote center model, it may be more effective to prioritize other less resource intensive changes before addressing the question of the vote center model. The Department should seek to learn more about the turnout impacts of the vote center model in historically low-turnout communities as well as the long-term cost impacts of the model from counties that have made the switch as it considers if the model is appropriate to adopt in San Francisco.

Additional Recommendations

Hold festivals at polling places

Making the experience of voting a social one can mobilize our fundamental desire for social connection to encourage voting. Opportunities to make voting behavior accountable to others, associated with our identity, and connected to others will increase likelihood of turnout. Holding festivals or block parties at polling places creates an opportunity for this social connection. These events allow people to display to others that

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[42] Eric McGhee et al., "New Electorate Study: How Did the Voter's Choice Act Affect Turnout in 2018?" (New Electorate Project, April 2019).

[43] Jill LaVine, "Request To Approve Vote Center Model Elections in Sacramento County Beginning in 2018 And Authorize Release of Request For Proposal For Replacement Voting Sysem," May 24, 2017.

[44] "California Voter's Choice Act: Key Considerations on Implementation," Voter's Choice Act Research Brief Series (Sacramento, CA: California Civic Engagement Project, n.d.).

they voted, also known as a post-behavior signaling opportunity. Even small opportunities to display behavior to others is a powerful motivator; research found that the Facebook feature that showed users which "friends" had voted caused an additional 340,000 people to vote.[45] In experiments where precincts were randomly assigned to host polling place festivals on Election Day, the presence of the festivals made a significant impact on voter turnout.[46] The festivals studied were hosted by local nonprofit groups, and the Department could host its own similar polling place block parties, or collaborate with local organizations to do so.[47] The successful festivals included activities like recorded music or a DJ, arts and crafts, lawn games, photo booths, and opportunities for attendees to share why they voted.[48]

As voters in San Francisco continue to shift towards voting by mail, creative strategies to bring this social motivation to voting by mail will be needed. For example, a smaller polling place festival could be planned to encourage voters to drop off their ballots. The Department could also mail voters "I Voted" stickers or other opportunities to publicly share their voting along with their vote by mail ballot.

Impact: In a low turnout election (turnout of 50%), festivals at polling places were estimated to increase turnout by 6.5 percentage points. Polling place festivals were also tested in a high salience presidential election and still had an impact on turnout, at roughly 4 percentage points.[49]

Cost: In low turnout elections, festivals were estimated to cost $11 per additional vote, while in higher turnout elections festival costs were estimated at $34 per additional vote.[50] These costs are lower than or comparable to costs for typical get out the vote tactics like direct mailers, robocalls, or canvassing.

Implementation: Partnering with neighborhood or community organizations could reduce the administrative burden on the Department.

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[45] David Talbot, "How Facebook Drove Voters to the Polls," MIT Technology Review, September 12, 2012, https://www.technologyreview.com/s/429169/how-facebook-drove-voters-to-the-polls/.

[46] Elizabeth M. Addonizio, Donald P. Green, and James M. Glaser, "Putting the Party Back into Politics: An Experiment Testing Whether Election Day Festivals Increase Voter Turnout"," *Political Science Politics* 40 (2007): 721–27; Donald P. Green and Oliver A. McClellan, "The Effects of Election Festivals on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment Conducted During a Presidential Election," July 17, 2017, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2999305.

[47] Note: As long as the events are open to the public and not conditional on proof of voting, there are no legal concerns with the Department hosting such an event.

[48] Green and McClellan, "The Effects of Election Festivals on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment Conducted During a Presidential Election."

[49] Addonizio, Green, and Glaser, "Putting the Party Back into Politics: An Experiment Testing Whether Election Day Festivals Increase Voter Turnout""; Green and McClellan, "The Effects of Election Festivals on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment Conducted During a Presidential Election."

[50] Addonizio, Green, and Glaser, "Putting the Party Back into Politics: An Experiment Testing Whether Election Day Festivals Increase Voter Turnout""; Green and McClellan, "The Effects of Election Festivals on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment Conducted During a Presidential Election."

Polling place festivals are a relatively low cost, high impact strategy for increasing turnout. Prioritizing locating festivals in low turnout neighborhoods would allow this strategy to effectively target reducing the turnout gap.

Send voter history

Experimental evidence has shown that a strong social motivator to vote is sending people their voting history and that of their neighbors. The social accountability of neighbors finding out if they had voted was strong enough to cause significant increases in voting. Experiments that mailed residents their voter history with a note that their neighbors would be informed about if they voted in the upcoming election found up to tenfold turnout increases.[51] Though this type of message may not be appropriate for the City to send, another study found that similar, though smaller, results could be replicated without relying on accountability to neighbors. Studies in New Jersey and Pennsylvania found increases in turnout after sending mailers that thanked residents for voting in the past, using phrases like "our records indicate that you voted in the 2008 election," and "we hope to be able to thank you in the future for being the kind of citizen who makes our democracy work."[52] The Department could utilize its voter history data to send personalized messages on voting track records.

Impact: Mailers that prompted voter accountability by using vote history estimated an increased turnout of 2.5 percentage points.[53]

Cost: The primary cost of this strategy would be the mailers. To send additional messages to San Francisco residents without incurring printing and mailing costs, the Department could consider cooperating with other agencies that already send mail to residents, like utility bills, to add these messages.

Implementation: Systematizing a process for linking voter history to each voter would be the main implementation challenge of this strategy.

Mailing voting history would likely be an effective way to increase turnout, but these effects would not be targeted to low turnout communities. Depending on how significant they are, the costs associated with this strategy may not justify its effects. The Department could also look for other opportunities to use similar messaging around voting history without additional mailings, like in registration update confirmation communications.

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[51] Rogers, Goldstein, and Fox, "Social Mobilization."
[52] Sasha Issenberg, "Nudge the Vote," *The New York Times*, October 29, 2010, https://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/31/magazine/31politics-t.html.
[53] Issenberg.

Create mobile polling places

Ada County, Idaho, home to the city of Boise, uses a converted food truck as a mobile polling place that can travel around the county. The truck houses poll workers inside, and sets up tents outside, where voters can fill out their ballots using voting equipment. Initially, this truck was added to the elections plan of Ada County out of concern for having a backup voting location in case of some malfunction on Election Day. However, the county has found that it has been useful as a mobile early voting location, helping more voters vote before Election Day and reducing lines. County election officials make decisions about where the truck will be located based on a heatmap of the most popular or crowded voting locations, taking into account locations that can physically accommodate the trailer (like parking lots) and are ADA accessible. Within Ada County, Boise has a permanent early voting location, but other smaller cities in the county do not. The mobile voting trailer is useful as a mechanism of making voting more easily accessible across the county. The county develops a schedule of locations for the trailer and then shares the schedule via social media, press advisories and releases, and the county web site.[54]

Denver, Colorado also has a similar mobile voting truck, purchased from the retail trailer company BizBox and retrofitted to serve the needs of an elections trailer. Denver uses the truck to offer registration, registration update, ballot issuing, and voting services. The truck is used to target areas with low voter turnout.[55] The Department could consider a similar mobile voting mechanism as a way of making voting easier and more accessible to those least likely to vote. The Department could prioritize low turnout neighborhoods during the early voting period, using the truck to offer ballot drop off and registration services, and use the truck to help relieve polling places with significant lines on Election Day.

Impact: Because these counties have only recently implemented this strategy, turnout impacts are unclear. In 2016, 47,740 people voted early in Ada County, out of which, 5,456 voted at the trailer.[56]

Cost: Ada County estimates that the total cost for the equipment for the trailer was between $50,000 and $60,000, including a $20,000 cost for the trailer, $13,000 cost for the tents, and other costs for computers and equipment.[57] It costs the county roughly $10,000 to operate the truck per week, most of which is staffing costs for the seven workers who staff the trailer.[58]

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[54] David Levine, April 16, 2019.

[55] Drake Rambke, April 17, 2019.

[56] Mary Ann Barton, "Serving Up Ballots with 'Food Truck Voting,'" National Association of Counties, May 30, 2017, https://www.naco.org/articles/serving-ballots-'food-truck-voting'.

[57] Barton.

[58] Levine, interview.

Implementation: Creation and set up of such a mobile voting option would be the biggest implementation challenge; after initial set up, a mobile voting location would become part of the Department's regular elections operations.

A mobile voting model could be considered as a way to test out the vote center model, or for use in a hybrid system. Using the mobile voting option to provide early voting and conditional voter registration, which are currently only available at City Hall, could indicate if there is a need to offer these services throughout more areas of the city.

Expand opportunities for registration at key moments

Making voter registration easier by connecting it with processes people are already engaged in will help increase access. Targeting registration to key moments in time will make it easier for San Franciscans to access. The Department can expand registration access at three points in time: moving, first registration eligibility, and interactions with other City services.

Registration for new tenants

Many voters may not remember to update their voter registration status when moving, creating eligibility problems when it comes time to vote. Low-income voters are more likely to be renters and to move more frequently,[59] leading to a less stable voter registration status. Moving is a significant factor in lower registration rates.[60] In a 2006 survey, one in five nonvoters cited relocation as a factor in their decision not to vote,[61] and overall, renters have lower voting rates than homeowners.[62] Reaching out to voters when they move can help keep registration status up to date.

Several cities have experimented with requiring landlords to provide voter registration applications to new tenants. Both Minneapolis, Minnesota and East Lansing, Michigan currently have ordinances in place that require landlords to do so, while Seattle, Washington and Madison, Wisconsin have tried to enact similar regulations but have been met with opposition from landlord organizations. In East Lansing, the cost of printing materials to be distributed to new tenants is incurred by the city, and a landlord's penalty for not complying with the ordinance's requirements is a civil infraction charge.[63] In Minneapolis, the city provides a registration packet in several languages that can be sent to tenants electronically or given in print. Landlords who do not share materials with

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[59] David Montgomery, "Who Owns a Home in America, in 12 Charts," CityLab, August 8, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/life/2018/08/who-rents-their-home-heres-what-the-data-says/566933/.

[60] Stephen Ansolabehere, Eitan Hersh, and Kenneth Shepsle, "Movers, Stayers, and Registration: Why Age Is Correlated with Registration in the U.S.," *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 4 (2012): 333–63.

[61] "Who Votes, Who Doesn't, and Why," Pew Research Center, October 18, 2006, https://www.people-press.org/2006/10/18/who-votes-who-doesnt-and-why/.

[62] Richard Florida, "The Politics of Homeownership," CityLab, August 28, 2018, https://www.citylab.com/life/2018/08/the-politics-of-homeownership/568633/.

[63] "East Lansing City Council: Landlords Must Provide Voter Registration Information and Forms to New Tenants," February 6, 2013, https://www.mlive.com/lansing-news/2013/02/east_lansing_city_council_land.html.

tenants will be given a warning and then fined $600.[64] Though implementing such an ordinance is out of its purview, the Department could advocate for a similar program.

Pre-registration of high school students
Another key moment for registration is first becoming eligible to vote. California law allows "pre-registration" of 16- and 17-year-olds before they become eligible to vote, making high schools a good vehicle for connecting with the majority of newly eligible voters. The Department currently has a high school outreach program that coincides with the state-wide high school voter education weeks in September and April. The Department makes presentations in classrooms and assemblies, and shares materials on voting, voter registration, and how to become a poll worker with high schools across the district. The Department currently has some contact with almost all of the high schools serving over 200 students. The Department also works with a few student "youth ambassadors" who volunteer to plan at least one event in their school to register their peers.[65]

The Department's current outreach programming already reaches many of the city's youth, but could become more effective by placing a greater emphasis on peer to peer outreach. Peer to peer engagement is the most successful way to motivate students to register to vote.[66] National nonprofit Inspire U.S. builds this peer to peer network of voter engagement in schools in over 300 schools in 11 states, including a new operation in California. Inspire's model focuses on recruiting a group of students to form a school club that will seek to educate and register other students at their school. Program coordinators provide training, support, and materials for the students. Students who register or pledge to vote with Inspire are two times more likely to vote than their peers.[67] Inspire is an official statewide partner in some places, like Nevada, and in others, develops memorandums of understanding with school districts to partner with their schools.[68] The Department could consider developing a partnership with Inspire, or learning from their model by channeling more resources towards peer to peer voter engagement.

Expand city and county sites of voter registration
In May 2018 the Department began receiving automatic voter registrations from resident interactions with the Department of Motor Vehicles. When residents get a new driver's license, resident identification card, or update their address with the DMV, they are automatically registered to vote, unless they opt out of the process. The registration information is transferred from the DMV to the Secretary of State's office, and then received by the Department along with online registrations that come from the Secretary

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[64] Brentin Mock, "Will Minneapolis's New 'Renter-Voter' Bill Increase Turnout?," CityLab, March 10, 2016, https://www.citylab.com/equity/2016/03/will-minneapolis-new-renter-voter-bill-increase-turnout/473028/.
[65] Mayank Patel, April 8, 2019.
[66] "Impact Report," Inspire U.S., June 2018, https://www.inspire-usa.org/impact_report_2018.
[67] "Impact Report."
[68] Jesus Cisneros, April 9, 2019.

of State website. Though this is a recent change for the Department, it is clearly a powerful one. In the eleven months from May 2018 to March 2019, registrations received from the DMV made up almost half of all registrations received by the Department. In each of the four months from December 2018 to March 2019, DMV registrations were 75% or more of the Department's registrations, making up roughly 90% of registrations in February and March.[69]

In addition to automatic electronic voter registration at the DMV, seven other states – Delaware, Illinois, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and Washington – have implemented electronic voter registration at social services agencies.[70] This system takes advantage of the many touch points residents have with counties beyond the DMV. Focusing on social service offices targets increased registration access to communities with historically low turnout. Low-income and communities of color are more likely to register to vote at public agencies than wealthy or white voters.[71]

While changing automatic voter registration policies requires state legislation, New York City enacted a local law that requires 25 city agencies to register people to vote when they apply for or renew city services.[72] Under the federal National Voter Registration Act, San Francisco agencies that administer state benefits, such as CalFresh, CalWORKS, MediCal, and WIC, are required to provide voter registration services every time someone applies for, renews, or recertifies benefits.[73] A local ordinance like the one in New York City could expand this requirement to offices that work on the city or county level.

Even in the absence of passing a new ordinance, the Department could collaborate with San Francisco agencies to strengthen implementation of registration access. In New York City, an investigation in 2014 found that, despite the city's requirement, agencies had not given voter registration in 84% of client interactions, complied with language access requirements, or trained staff appropriately. Because of this finding, the city passed new legislation in 2014 that required all agencies to report progress on voter registration semi-annually. Since the new requirement, the required agencies have more than tripled their number of voter registrations.[74] The Department could coordinate with agencies

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[69] Registration data provided by Department of Elections.
[70] "Automatic Voter Registration," National Conference of State Legislatures, February 6, 2019, http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/automatic-voter-registration.aspx.
[71] Emma Greenman, Kate Hamaji, and Matthew Duffy, "Expanding Voter Registration in Cities and Counties: A Toolkit for Local Policymakers" (The Center for Popular Democracy, July 13, 2018), https://populardemocracy.org/sites/default/files/20180711b_Local%20Agency%20Final-Med.pdf.
[72] Greenman, Hamaji, and Duffy.
[73] "How to Comply with the National Voter Registration Act" (ACLU California Voting Rights Project, n.d.), https://cavotes.org/sites/default/files/lwvc/jobs/NVRA-agency-VR-toolkit-final_0.pdf.
[74] Kate Hamaji and Emma Greenman, "Deepening Our Democracy: How Localities Can Expand Voting Rights" (The Center for Popular Democracy, January 2018), https://populardemocracy.org/sites/default/files/20180103%20Voter%20Registration%20Report%20Updated%20Web.pdf.

required to offer voter registration services to share best practices in training staff, and to ensure agencies have appropriate materials.

Impact: Increasing registration among renters, youth, and public assistance recipients has the potential to create significant impacts on turnout since these groups tend to have lower turnout rates. Evidence from Oregon shows that in the first year of automatic voter registration, 272,000 more people were registered, and 44% of them voted in the following election.[75]

Cost: The major costs for a renter outreach program would be related to the provision of materials. However, following Minneapolis's model of providing an electronic option to send to tenants could mitigate these costs. To improve the Department's youth outreach, more resources would need to be devoted to staff time for this program. If electronic voter registration were expanded to other agencies besides the DMV, this would likely lead to a reduction in costs for the Department because of the reduced cost in processing an electronic registration form as compared to a paper form. For example, Maricopa County, Arizona found that processing a paper registration form cost 89 cents, while an electronic application cost only 3 cents.[76] In addition, registration forms received through the DMV tend to be much more complete, and especially are more likely to include a signature than other online or paper registrations. Getting people who do not sign their registration form to complete takes extra staff time and resources, so receiving more complete registration forms is another way to reduce costs.[77]

Implementation: Various levels of outside action would be required to implement these strategies. A renter outreach ordinance would require legislative action. Extending automatic voter registration would require state-level authorization. Enacting an ordinance like New York City's that requires City agencies to offer registration to clients would require local legislative action. However, even without these external actions, the Department could take action to strengthen the registration procedures at City agencies through developing collaborative relationships with other agencies and departments. In contrast, with no outside legislative action, the Department could work with schools to increase its focus on youth registration.

These strategies will require greater Department investment and coordination, but have the potential for significant impacts. Strategies that integrate voting processes into residents' lives are likely to have the most success at reaching low turnout communities. The Department can begin long term conversations about future legislation that could enable creative strategies like these.

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[75] Ted Robertson and Dan Connolly, "Building a Culture of Voting Through Choice Architecture," Behavioral Scientist, October 29, 2018, https://behavioralscientist.org/building-a-culture-of-voting-through-choice-architecture/.
[76] "Automatic Voter Registration and Modernization in the States," Brennan Center for Justice, April 11, 2018, https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/voter-registration-modernization-states.
[77] Winter Patterson, April 12, 2019.

Conclusion

San Francisco's voter turnout gap indicates a clear underrepresentation in the democratic process of the city's low-income communities and communities of color. The gap between high-turnout and low-turnout neighborhoods is larger than 20 percentage points on average, and persists throughout all election types. Eleven low turnout neighborhoods have turnout rates consistently below the city's average, and are also more likely to be home to low-income and non-white San Franciscans. Historically low turnout communities face both educational and logistical barriers to electoral participation.

The Department can take action to reduce these disparities. The Department should make changes to increase the impact of its existing programs, as well as incorporate new strategies based on research and best practices. Pursuing three priority strategies – improving elections communications, providing voter education funding, and learning more about the impacts of vote centers – will maximize the impacts of the Department's existing communications methods while laying the foundation for improving voter education and access. Four additional strategies – holding festivals at polling places, sending personalized voter histories, creating mobile voting options, and expanding opportunities for registration – will continue to increase the Department's impact.

Appendices

Appendix A: Turnout Rates by Neighborhood

Table 1: Ten-year average turnout, by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Turnout Rate
Overall average	**51.86**
Bayview/Hunter's Point	40.38
Visitacion Valley	40.55
Civic Center/Downtown	45.93
Ingleside	46.21
Lake Merced	46.33
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	48.36
Portola	48.87
South of Market	49.58
Chinatown	50.12
Mission	50.72
Sunset	51.79
Richmond	51.90
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	52.10
Marina/Pacific Heights	52.50
Potero Hill	53.51
Western Addition	54.04
Inner Sunset	54.67
Haight Ashbury	54.69
North Embarcadero	54.72
South Bernal Heights	55.26
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	57.27
North Bernal Heights	58.69
West of Twin Peak	59.47
Noe Valley	59.57
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	60.81
Diamond Heights	62.07

Table 2: Ten-year general election turnout, by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Turnout Rate
Overall average	**70.98**
Visitacion Valley	56.36
Bayview/Hunter's Point	57.34
Civic Center/Downtown	62.15
Ingleside	63.16
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	65.28
Portola	65.37
South of Market	65.80
Lake Merced	66.69
Chinatown	68.23
Sunset	69.48
Mission	70.87
Richmond	71.20
Western Addition	71.23
North Embarcadero	72.98
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	73.75
Potero Hill	74.29
South Bernal Heights	74.73
Marina/Pacific Heights	75.23
Inner Sunset	75.52
Haight Ashbury	76.09
West of Twin Peaks	77.45
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	78.14
North Bernal Heights	78.65
Noe Valley	80.34
Diamond Heights	80.50
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	80.91

Table 3: Ten-year presidential general election turnout, by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Turnout Rate
Overall average	**78.14**
Visitacion Valley	62.90
Bayview/Hunter's Point	65.02
Civic Center/Downtown	68.53
Ingleside	70.56
Portola	72.22
South of Market	72.78
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	73.01
Lake Merced	75.37
Chinatown	75.78
Sunset	76.28
Mission	77.77
Richmond	78.29
Western Addition	79.05
North Embarcadero	80.41
South Bernal Heights	81.13
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	81.46
Potero Hill	81.80
Inner Sunset	82.89
Haight Ashbury	83.10
West of Twin Peaks	83.87
Marina/Pacific Heights	84.23
North Bernal Heights	85.11
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	85.18
Diamond Heights	86.34
Noe Valley	86.73
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	86.87

Table 4: Ten-year primary election turnout, by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Turnout Rate
Overall average	**41.17**
Bayview/Hunter's Point	30.70
Visitacion Valley	31.15
Lake Merced	34.02
Civic Center/Downtown	36.24
Ingleside	36.40
Chinatown	38.41
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	38.59
Marina/Pacific Heights	39.21
Portola	39.50
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	39.51
Mission	39.81
Sunset	41.21
Potero Hill	41.50
Richmond	41.69
South of Market	42.66
Haight Ashbury	42.91
Inner Sunset	43.29
North Embarcadero	44.35
South Bernal Heights	45.79
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	45.97
Western Addition	48.43
North Bernal Heights	49.01
Noe Valley	49.55
West of Twin Peaks	49.64
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	51.17
Diamond Heights	53.14

Table 5: Ten-year municipal election turnout, by neighborhood

Neighborhood	Turnout Rate
Overall average	**34.97**
Bayview/Hunter's Point	25.74
Visitacion Valley	27.57
Lake Merced	29.18
South of Market	29.85
Civic Center/Downtown	31.19
Ingleside	31.52
Western Addition	31.62
Marina/Pacific Heights	32.40
Mission	33.32
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	33.55
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	33.95
Potero Hill	34.09
Portola	34.69
Richmond	34.92
Haight Ashbury	35.12
South Bernal Heights	35.41
Inner Sunset	35.71
Sunset	36.99
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	37.39
Chinatown	37.65
North Embarcadero	39.13
North Bernal Heights	39.75
Noe Valley	41.36
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	41.56
West of Twin Peaks	43.39
Diamond Heights	44.40

Appendix B: Demographic Metrics by Neighborhood

Neighborhood	Ten-year average turnout	Median income	Percent white	Percent of housing that is rented	Percent non-citizens
Bayview/Hunter's Point	40.38	$57,182	15.9%	50.7%	15.4%
Visitacion Valley	40.55	$56,528	11.9%	49.7%	17.6%
Civic Center/Downtown	45.93	$36,564	39.4%	91.6%	21.8%
Ingleside	46.21	$115,278	67.4%	60.1%	8.3%
Lake Merced	46.33	$104,630	51.9%	72.3%	7.8%
Excelsior (Outer Mission)	48.36	$105,927	56.9%	76.3%	14.0%
Portola	48.87	$81,010	20.9%	34.3%	13.4%
South of Market	49.58	$110,057	43.9%	44.9%	15.8%
Chinatown	50.12	$86,346	49.0%	81.4%	14.2%
Mission	50.72	$133,053	78.6%	74.5%	7.8%
Sunset	51.79	$95,326	33.5%	40.1%	10.6%
Richmond	51.90	$90,024	47.2%	61.6%	8.2%
Laurel Heights/Anza Vista	52.10	$58,879	42.0%	76.2%	18.3%
Marina/Pacific Heights	52.50	$109,371	60.1%	69.6%	8.4%
Potero Hill	53.51	$140,084	51.7%	59.7%	14.0%
Western Addition	54.04	$77,591	52.8%	80.8%	13.0%
Inner Sunset	54.67	$76,033	18.8%	35.9%	14.9%
Haight Ashbury	54.69	$80,939	23.3%	37.0%	16.6%
North Embarcadero	54.72	$133,481	69.5%	41.7%	10.7%
South Bernal Heights	55.26	$107,350	43.2%	75.0%	19.4%
Sea Cliff/Presidio Heights	57.27	$152,487	75.1%	42.0%	3.9%
North Bernal Heights	58.69	$140,393	66.3%	37.9%	14.5%
West of Twin Peaks	59.47	$137,002	51.1%	25.3%	8.6%
Noe Valley	59.57	$92,221	54.3%	76.8%	18.7%
Upper Market/Eureka Valley	60.81	$136,208	76.9%	61.7%	7.7%
Diamond Heights	62.07	$129,071	66.2%	35.5%	9.5%

Source: American Community Survey 2017 5-year estimates

Appendix C: Interviews Conducted

Name	Organization	Date
Courtney Bailey	County of Sacramento Registrar of Voters	April 22, 2019
Chelsea Boilard	District 1 Supervisor's Office	April 22, 2019
Dana Chisnell	Center for Civic Design	March 18, 2019
Myra Chow	San Francisco Foundation	April 30, 2019
Jesus Cisneros	InspireUS	April 9, 2019
Kathleen Coll	University of San Francisco	April 22, 2019
Jonathan Cunningham	The Seattle Foundation	April 22, 2019
Natalie Gee	District 10 Supervisor's Office	April 19, 2019
Ron Hayduk	San Francisco State University	April 24, 2019
Emily Lee	San Francisco Rising	April 16, 2019
David Levine	Ada County Clerk's Office	April 16, 2009
Lydia Lopez	La Raza Centro Legal	March 20, 2019
Frank Martinez	Bayview Magic	February 27, 2019
Laura Melgarejo	PODER SF	April 3, 2019
Paul Monge	Compass Family Services	February 22, 2019
Hong Mei Pang	Chinese for Affirmative Action	April 2, 2019
Daisy Quan	District 4 Supervisor's Office	March 28, 2019
Drake Rambke	City and County of Denver Clerk's Office	April 17, 2019
Suha Sandoval	District 11 Supervisor's Office	March 20, 2019
Jonathan Stein	Asian Law Caucus	April 3, 2019
Jennifer Walsh	People First of California	March 13, 2019
Giselle Zapata-Garcia	King County Elections	April 25, 2019
Han Zou	Democratic Party of San Francisco	March 19, 2019

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