

Honest Elections Seattle Initiative Democracy Voucher Usage and Low-Turnout Voter Engagement Evaluation in 2017 and 2019

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Summary

Participation in the City of Seattle's Democracy Voucher Program through using at least one Democracy Voucher in either 2017 or 2019 was associated with a higher likelihood of voting in the 2017 and 2019 Seattle elections among low-turnout voters. The three categories of low-turnout voters examined are "First-Time Eligible Voters": new voters that can register and vote for the first time, "Non-Voters": voters who never voted in the previous eight eligible odd-year Seattle elections, and "Low Propensity Voters": voters who had up to a 25% voting record in the previous eight eligible odd-year Seattle elections. "Odd-year Seattle elections" refers to both primary and general Seattle municipal elections held during each odd-year. The comparison of likelihood to vote is between that of low-turnout voters who used at least one voucher and that of low-turnout voters who did not use a voucher.

- First-Time Eligible Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 were 11.75 times more likely to vote in 2017.
- First-Time Eligible Voters who used at least one voucher in 2019 were 6.02 times more likely to vote in 2019.
- Non-Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 were 10.2 times more likely to vote in 2017.
- Non-Voters who used at least one voucher in 2019 were 6.4 times more likely to vote in 2019.
- Low Propensity Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 were 7.4 times more likely to vote in 2017.
- Low Propensity Voters who used at least one voucher in 2019 were 4.5 times more likely to vote in 2019.

When analyzing combined 2017 and 2019 voucher program participation and voting, it is clear the more elections in which low-turnout voters participated in the voucher program, the higher their propensity to vote was through those years. The four elections in 2017 and 2019 were the 2017 Primary, 2017 General, 2019 Primary, and 2019 General elections.

- Low-turnout voters from all three voter categories who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 on average voted in 3 more elections than a low-turnout voter who did not use a voucher in any election.
- Low-turnout voters from all three voter categories who used at least one voucher in exactly one election year on average voted in 2 more elections than a low-turnout voter who did not use a voucher in any election.

1 Introduction

During the last decade, several different forms of local public financing options¹ have been piloted or established in municipalities throughout the U.S. The City of Seattle's 'Democracy Voucher' Program, created via the "Honest Elections Seattle"² (HES) initiative in 2015, represents one such model fully implemented within a jurisdiction via the Seattle Ethics & Elections Commission (SEEC). Data analysis on Democracy Voucher usage during the program's first six years of implementation yielded some encouraging civic participation outcomes.

During the 2017 election, which was the first election Democracy Vouchers were distributed and accepted as contributions to Seattle City Council candidates, nearly 9 out of 10 voucher users had never previously contributed to a candidate for local office in Seattle.³ The percentage of Seattle residents donating to any candidate also increased from 1.3% of all eligible adults in 2015 to 3.4% in 2017.⁴ 84% of Democracy Voucher users in 2017 were "new donors," meaning they had not previously made a cash donation to a political candidate according to campaign finance records.⁴ These results suggest progress toward a primary goal of the original HES initiative: enabling constituents who are not traditional donors to contribute to candidates that best reflect their values and priorities.

Another core goal of the original HES initiative was to increase voter participation among underserved communities and infrequent voters by removing barriers that encumbered them from contributing to supported candidates during the election cycle.⁵ Preliminary analysis from 2017 shows that among Seattle residents who voted in fewer than half of the previous elections for which they were eligible, voucher users were four times as likely to vote in the 2017 election than non-voucher users were.⁶

The impact of voucher usage on voting among low-turnout voters is the main focus of this report. Our working hypothesis is that participation in the Democracy Voucher Program positively impacted voting rates among low-turnout voters and this impact on voting behavior persisted beyond a single election cycle. While our analytical methods will not result in causal conclusions, we predict findings will suggest a positive relationship between the Democracy Voucher program and voting behavior.

¹⁴ <u>Faces of Small Donor Public Financing 2021</u>," Brennan Center for Justice. March 11, 2021.

²"<u>Honest Elections Seattle Initiative (I-122).</u>" *City of Seattle.*

³"<u>Seattle Democracy Program Evaluation.</u>" *BERK*. April 25, 2018. Page 2.

⁴"Seattle Democracy Program Evaluation." BERK. April 25, 2018. Page 18.

⁵Liz Dupee and Alissa Haslam. "The Honest Elections Seattle Story: The Path to Democracy Vouchers, the Campaign, and What

We Learned Along the Way." Win Win Network and Washington Democracy Hub. Page 3.

⁶Jennifer Heerwig and Brian J. McCabe. "Expanding Participation in Municipal Elections: Assessing the Impact of Seattle's

Democracy Voucher Program." University of Washington. Page 5.

2 Research Scope, Methods, and Data Sources

2.1 Voter Categories

Voters are segmented into six different categories based on their prior vote history. For every voter category that has a percentage range, the lower percentage is not included in the voter category, while the upper percentage is included in that voter category.

Super Voter

75% - 100% vote history for past eight eligible odd-year primary and general elections

<u>Frequent Voter</u> 50% - 75% vote history for past eight eligible odd-year primary and general elections

<u>Infrequent Voter</u> 25% - 50% vote history for past eight eligible odd-year primary and general elections

Low Propensity Voter

0% - 25% vote history for past eight eligible odd-year primary and general elections

Non-Voter (never voted)

0% vote history for past eight eligible odd-year primary and general elections

First-Time Eligible Voters (new voter)

This is the first election in which the individual was eligible to vote

When determining voter categories, only prior odd-year elections are used. This is to avoid comparing odd-year elections to even-year elections, which are different in nature. Someone who may be a low-turnout voter in odd-year elections may have a much better voting record in even-year elections, which often include statewide or federal races. Given one of the goals of the voucher program is to increase civic engagement in municipal elections, the focus on only odd-year elections is an appropriate approach.

Low-turnout voters examined in this report encompass three voter categories: Low Propensity Voters, Non-Voters, and First-Time Eligible Voters.

2.2 Research Scope and Methods

We first quantify the likelihood of low-turnout voters voting in an election year when at least one voucher was used that same year, compared to low-turnout voters who did not use a voucher that year. Specifically, we investigate whether low-turnout voters using at least one voucher in Seattle municipal elections in 2017 and 2019 increased the likelihood of a low-turnout voter participating in those elections

by either voting in the primary or general elections of those years. This first question looks at the presence or absence of voting in an election year and looks at 2017 and 2019 separately.

Bar graphs are used to visualize the likelihood increase of voting in an election between voucher users and non-voucher users for each year and each of the three low-turnout voter categories of interest (*Fig. 4-9*). Likelihood is measured in terms of the odds ratio (OR) of voting with voucher usage and voting without voucher usage.

Calculating Odds Ratio (OR): Let $V_c =$ voucher users who voted, $V_u =$ voucher users who did not vote, $N_c =$ non-voucher users who voted, and $N_u =$ non-voucher users who did not vote. Then, $OR = (V_c / V_u)/(N_c / N_u)$. In our analysis, the OR gives how much more likely a voucher user was to vote than a non-voucher user in a given year, for each of the three low-turnout voter categories.

Our second analysis considers the combined number of votes cast by low-turnout voters in the 2017 and 2019 Primary and General elections compared to each group's participation in the 2017 and 2019 voucher programs. This looks at 2017 and 2019 combined and compares either zero, one, or two election years of voucher program participation to the exact number of votes that were cast spanning the two years, which was between 0-4. The average (median) value is reported, and is compared to the levels of voucher program participation over the two election years (0, 1 or 2). The population of voters in this analysis that is used are those who were eligible to both vote and use a voucher in 2017 and 2019. Hence 2017 voter categories were used for the combined analysis.

Some of the voters after 2017 moved into higher-turnout voter categories in 2019; thus, the average change to individuals' past vote histories between 2017 and 2019 as a percentage is also given for each of the three categories. Boxplots are created for each voter category to illustrate the correlation between the number of elections a voter used at least one voucher in and the increase in the amount of votes cast (and the related increase in vote history percentage) (Fig. 11-16).

Unregistered or ineligible voters who were voucher users are not considered in this analysis.

2.3 Data Sources

The voter data for analysis in this report was obtained from the 2017 and 2019 Seattle voter files⁷ and then appended to expanded vote history data sourced from Catalist.⁸ The 2017 and 2019 Democracy Voucher program data was sourced from the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission (SEEC)⁹, which administers the Democracy Voucher Program.

⁷"<u>Research and Past results - Elections and Voting.</u>" WA Secretary of State.

⁸"<u>Progressive data</u>." *Catalist*.

⁹"Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission." City of Seattle.

2.4 Why Low Turnout Voters?

To examine low-turnout voter behavior, we are focusing specifically on registered voters who are Low Propensity Voters, Non-Voters, and First-Time Eligible Voters. The correlation between voucher usage and vote propensity with these voter categories is more relevant, given that higher propensity voters are more likely to vote regardless of any external factors.

Critical in shaping the focus of our analysis is an understanding of the makeup of registered, voucher-using voters. Voucher users who were registered voters in 2017 were overwhelmingly Super Voters (44.5%), followed by Frequent Voters (15.9%), Infrequent Voters (13.7%), Low Propensity Voters (12.8%), Non-Voters (12.5%), and finally First-Time Eligible Voters (0.5%) (*Fig. 1*).





Fig. 1. Breakdown of Voucher Usage (%) by Voter Type in the 2017 Primary and General Elections in Seattle (N = 19426).⁷⁻⁹

The same pattern is seen when looking at 2019 voucher usage, during which voucher users who were registered voters were again predominantly Super Voters (41.7%), followed by Frequent Voters (17.4%), Infrequent Voters (14.6%), Low Propensity Voters (14.3%), Non-Voters (11.3%), and First-Time Eligible Voters (0.7%) (*Fig. 2*).



Figure 2. 2019 Voucher Usage by Voter Type

Fig. 2. Breakdown of Voucher Usage (%) by Voter Type in the 2019 Primary and General Elections in Seattle (N = 37941).⁷⁻⁹

Figure 3 shows the distribution of voucher users who were registered voters by vote percentage in both 2017 and 2019, with the black dot indicating the mean value. Noticeably, the distributions are identical for both years. The average (median) voucher user had a prior vote history of 75% in both 2017 and 2019. In other words, the average voucher user was a Frequent Voter.



Figure 3. Voucher Users Vote History Distribution in 2017 and 2019

Fig. 3. Boxplot of vote history distribution for voucher users in the 2017 and 2019 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For 2017, N = 19426, Mean (black dot) = 62.7%, Median (vertical black line) = 75%. For 2019, N = 37941, Mean (black dot) = 61.9%, Median (vertical black line) = 75%.^{7.9}

Examining any differences in likelihood of voting when comparing voucher and non-voucher usage among high propensity voters, while interesting, is not particularly salient. What is noteworthy to examine is if voucher usage increases the likelihood of low-turnout voters participation. The voters characterized by the "whisker" portion of the boxplots depicted in *Figure 3* are the focus of our analysis, namely Low Propensity or Non-Voters, along with First-Time Eligible Voters, who are not represented on the plot due to having no prior voting ability.

3 Results: Single Election Comparison

In this section, for each low-turnout voter category, we examine how much more likely it was for a voucher user to vote compared to a non-voucher user for both the 2017 and 2019 Seattle elections (summarized in *Figures 4-9*). The calculation for this likelihood is the OR calculation, which is found in **Section 2.2** of this report.

3.1 First-Time Eligible Voters: 2017



Figure 4. First-Time Eligible Voters: 2017 Vote History

Fig. 4. Percentage of registered First-Time Eligible Voters, Vote History, and Voucher Usage in the 2017 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For Voucher Users, N = 106. For Non-Voucher Users, N = 5493.⁷⁻⁹

First-Time Eligible Voter Voucher Users were 11.75 times more likely to vote at least once in 2017 compared to First-Time Eligible Voter Non-Voucher Users.¹⁰

3.2 First-Time Eligible Voters: 2019





Fig. 5. Percentage of registered First-Time Eligible Voters, Vote History, and Voucher Usage in the 2019 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For Voucher Users, N = 268. For Non-Voucher Users, N = 6072.⁷⁻⁹

First-Time Eligible Voter Voucher Users were 6.02 times more likely to vote at least once in 2019 compared to First-Time Eligible Voter Non-Voucher Users.¹¹

¹⁰The 95% Confidence Interval is from 6.68 to 20.68

¹¹The 95% Confidence Interval is from 4.38 to 8.29

3.3 Non-Voters: 2017

Figure 6. Non-Voters: 2017 Vote History



Fig. 6. Registered Non-Voters (%), Vote History, and Voucher Usage in the 2017 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For Voucher Users, N = 2428. For Non-Voucher Users, N = 185573.⁷⁻⁹

Non-Voter Voucher Users were 10.2 times more likely to vote at least once in 2017 compared to Non-Voter Non-Voucher Users.¹²

3.4 Non-Voters: 2019



Figure 7. Non-Voters: 2017 Vote History

Fig. 7. Registered Non-Voters (%), Vote History, and Voucher Usage in the 2019 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For Voucher Users, N = 4282. For Non-Voucher Users, N = 199100.⁷⁻⁹

Non-Voter Voucher Users were 6.4 times more likely to vote at least once in 2019 compared to Non-Voter Non-Voucher Users.¹³

¹²The 95% Confidence Interval is from 9.32 to 11.18

¹³The 95% Confidence Interval is from 6.01 to 6.83

3.5 Low Propensity Voters: 2017





Fig. 8. Registered Low Propensity Voters (%), Vote History, and Voucher Usage in the 2017 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For Voucher Users, N = 2494. For Non-Voucher Users, N = 91108.⁷⁻⁹

Low Propensity Voucher Users were 7.4 times more likely to vote at least once in 2017 compared to Low Propensity Non-Voucher Users.¹⁴

3.6 Low Propensity Voters: 2019

Figure 9. Low Propensity Voters: 2017 Vote History



Fig. 9. Registered Low Propensity Voters (%), Vote History, and Voucher Usage in the 2019 Primary and General Elections in Seattle. For Voucher Users, N = 5437. For Non-Voucher Users, N = 102516.⁷⁻⁹

Low Propensity Voter Voucher Users were 4.5 times more likely to vote at least once in 2019 compared to Low Propensity Voter Non-Voucher Users.¹⁵

¹⁴The 95% Confidence Interval is from 6.55 to 8.29

¹⁵The 95% Confidence Interval is from 4.21 to 4.88

4 Results: Comparison of Combined 2017 and 2019 Elections

In the previous section, analysis is confined to a single election, examining using at least one voucher and voting at least once in that same election. In this section, we additionally examine the impact of using at least one voucher in 0, 1, or 2 elections between 2017 and 2019 on the exact number of votes cast between the two years, namely in voting in 0, 1, 2, 3, or 4 elections in 2017 and 2019 combined (Primary and General elections in both years).

This analysis is confined to those individuals who were able to both use a voucher and cast a vote in both the 2017 and 2019 elections. Voter categories are based on 2017 voter groupings.

Figure 10 illustrates the pattern we expect: regardless of the low-turnout voter category, we see an increase in the number of elections in which individuals voted with an increase in the number of elections in which individuals used at least one voucher.



Figure 10. Vouchers Used and Voting in 2017 and 2019

Fig. 10. Average (mean) number of votes cast (out of 4) and number of elections (either 2017, 2019, or both) Democracy Vouchers were used in (0, 1 or 2). For First-Time Eligible Voters, N = 4987. For Non-Voters, N = 153112. For Low Propensity Voters, N = 78833.⁷⁻⁹

Figure 10 depicts mean values as the average. *Figures 11, 13,* and *15* in the next subsections depict median average votes cast for each low-turnout voter category, and these median values are used for analysis.

4.1 First-Time Eligible Voters: 2017 and 2019 Elections Combined Analysis



Figure 11. First-Time Eligible Voters: Vouchers and Voting (2017/2019)

Fig. 11. Total votes cast (0-4) and total years voucher program participation (0-2) for 2017 and 2019 elections combined. Median values represented by black solid lines. For First-Time Eligible Voters who did not use a voucher in 2017 or 2019, N = 4690. For First-Time Eligible Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 or 2019, but not in both years, N = 267. For First-Time Eligible Voters who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019, N = 30.⁷⁻⁹

A First-Time Eligible Voter who didn't use a voucher in either election had an average (median) vote record of 0 votes. A First-Time Eligible Voter who used at least one voucher in either 2017 or 2019 (but not both) had an average vote record of 2 votes. A First-Time Eligible Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 had an average vote record of 3 votes (*Fig. 11*).

A First-Time Eligible Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 on average voted in 3 more elections than a voter who did not use a voucher. Just using at least one voucher in one election made the First-Time Eligible Voter on average vote in 2 more elections than if no voucher was used (*Fig. 11*).

Figure 12. First-Time Eligible Voters: Vouchers and Vote History Change (2017/2019)



Fig. 12. Vote history change (%) and total years voucher program participation (0-2) for 2017 and 2019 elections combined. Median values represented by black solid lines. For First-Time Eligible Voters who did not use a voucher in 2017 or 2019, N = 4690. For First-Time Eligible Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 or 2019, but not in both years, N = 267. For First-Time Eligible Voters who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019, N = 30.⁷⁹

A First-Time Eligible Voter who didn't use a voucher in either election had an average (median) vote history change of 0% by the end of 2019. A First-Time Eligible Voter who used at least one voucher in either 2017 or 2019 (but not both) had an average vote history change of +50% by the end of 2019. A First-Time Eligible Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 had an average vote history change of +100% by the end of 2019 (*Fig. 12*).

4.2 Non-Voters: 2017 and 2019 Elections Combined Analysis



Figure 13. Non-Voters: Vouchers and Voting (2017/2019)

Fig. 13. Total votes cast (0-4) and total years voucher program participation (0-2) for 2017 and 2019 elections combined for Non-Voters. Median values represented by black solid lines. For Non-Voters who did not use a voucher in 2017 or 2019, N = 147260. For Non-Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 or 2019, but not in both years, N = 5313. For Non-Voters who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019, N = 539.^{7.9}

A Non-Voter who didn't use a voucher in either election had an average (median) vote record of 0 votes. A Non-Voter who used at least one voucher in either 2017 or 2019 (but not both) had an average vote record of 2 votes. A Non-Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 had an average vote record of 3 votes (*Fig. 13*).

A Non-Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 on average voted in 3 more elections than a voter who did not use a voucher. Just using at least one voucher in only one election made the Non-Voter on average vote in 2 more elections than if no voucher was used (*Fig. 13*).

Figure 14. Non-Voters: Vouchers and Vote History Change (2017/2019)



Fig. 14. Vote history change (%) and total years voucher program participation (0-2) for 2017 and 2019 elections combined for Non-Voters. Median values represented by black solid lines. For Non-Voters who did not use a voucher in 2017 or 2019, N = 147260. For Non-Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 or 2019, but not in both years, N = 5313. For Non-Voters who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019, N = 539.⁷⁻⁹

A Non-Voter who didn't use a voucher in either election had an average (median) vote history change of 0% by the end of 2019. A Non-Voter who used at least one voucher in either 2017 or 2019 (but not both) had an average vote history change of $\pm 12.5\%$ by the end of 2019. A Non-Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 had an average vote history change of $\pm 25\%$ by the end of 2019 (*Fig. 14*).

4.3 Low Propensity Voters: 2017 and 2019 Elections Combined Analysis



Figure 15. Non-Voters: Vouchers and Voting (2017/2019)

Fig. 15. Total votes cast (0-4) and total years voucher program participation (0-2) for 2017 and 2019 elections combined for Low Propensity Voters. Median values represented by black solid lines. For Low Propensity Voters who did not use a voucher in 2017 or 2019, N = 72911. For Low Propensity Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 or 2019, but not in both years, N = 5304. For Low Propensity Voters who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019, N = 618.⁷⁻⁹

A Low Propensity Voter who didn't use a voucher in either election had an average (median) vote record of 1 vote out of 4. A Low Propensity Voter who used at least one voucher in either 2017 or 2019 (but not both) had an average vote record of 3 votes. A Low Propensity Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 had an average vote record of 4 votes-- the voter participated in every election in both 2017 and 2019 (*Fig. 15*).

A Low Propensity Voter who used a voucher in both 2017 and 2019 will have on average voted in 3 more elections than a voter who did not use a voucher. Just using at least one voucher in one election made the Low Propensity Voter on average vote in 2 more elections than if no voucher was used (*Fig. 15*).

Figure 16. Low Propensity Voters: Vouchers and Voting (2017/2019)



Fig. 16. Vote history change (%) and total years voucher program participation (0-2) for 2017 and 2019 elections combined for Low Propensity Voters. Median values represented by black solid lines. For Low Propensity Voters who did not use a voucher in 2017 or 2019, N = 72911. For Low Propensity Voters who used at least one voucher in 2017 or 2019, but not in both years, N = 5304. For Low Propensity Voters who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019, N = 618.⁷⁻⁹

A Low Propensity Voter who doesn't use a voucher in either election had an average (median) vote history change of 0% by the end of 2019. A Low Propensity Voter who used at least one voucher in either 2017 or 2019 (but not both) had an average vote history change of +12.5% by the end of 2019. A Low Propensity Voter who used at least one voucher in both 2017 and 2019 had an average vote history change of +25% by the end of 2019 (*Fig. 16*).

5 Conclusions and Recommendation

The analyses in this report suggest a strong relationship between participation in the Democracy Voucher Program and voting behavior among low-turnout Seattle voters. In every category of low-turnout voter in both the 2017 and 2019 Seattle elections, it is shown that a voucher user was more likely to vote than a non-voucher user. It is furthermore shown that the number of elections in which a low-turnout voter participated using a Democracy Voucher positively correlates with the total number of votes cast in those elections by that voter.

In this report, we are only able to draw correlational conclusions that suggest a strong positive likelihood between participation in the Democracy Voucher Program and increased voter participation

among low-turnout voters in both individual and multiple elections. Additionally, because all analyses were conducted in 2021, there was no opportunity to create control groups or prescribed conditions during the 2017 or 2019 cycles to establish more nuanced, causal conclusions. There is a clear need for more comprehensive research that would allow for prescribed conditions, control groups, and collection and analysis of data during a local election cycle to further understand the nature of these relationships.

Despite the aforementioned limitations, it is clear there exists a strong potential for greater participation in the voting process by removing financial and bureaucratic barriers to supporting candidates in local elections through the Democracy Voucher Program. Expanding the Democracy Voucher Program in Seattle and other jurisdictions could be an impactful way to increase equitable voting participation in a sustainable manner in local elections.