

Who are America's Homeless Voters? How Shelters Make Citizens*

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Abstract

Living in a traditional dwelling is no prerequisite for voting, but homeless Americans face unique barriers to exercising this right. To date, there is almost no systematic knowledge about the voting behavior of America's half a million homeless adults. We fill this gap using nationwide administrative data from Housing and Urban Development and state voter files to generate novel estimates of homeless voter registration, partisan identification, and electoral turnout. We use these data to explore how state laws and policies shape homeless registration and participation rates, demonstrating the role of shelter organizations as sites of voter registration and quantifying the effect of more stringent registration requirements. Especially in light of pervasive political debate about the policy responses to homelessness, the diminished participation among this group is a cause for normative concern.

Keywords: Homelessness, Voting Behavior, Local Politics

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1 Introduction

On a single night in 2018, about 450,000 adults in the United States were experiencing homelessness, according to HUD estimates (Henry & Wa 2018).¹ After declining for many years, homelessness has increased in the United States since 2016. Though homelessness is a highly charged and central political issue in many state and local elections, the voices of the homeless themselves rarely feature in these debates. They are the object, rather than subject, of political debate, plausibly due to their diminished participation in politics. In the 1980s, individuals experiencing homelessness won the formal right to vote in courtrooms following the striking down of “traditional dwelling” requirements for registering to vote on equal protection grounds. Yet substantial informational and procedural hurdles remain for these individuals, impeding their full access to civic life. These considerations motivate the central questions examined in this paper: *Who are America’s homeless voters?* How many homeless individuals are registered to vote? To what extent does the behavior of homeless voters – homeless individuals who are registered to vote – resemble or differ from the electorate writ large?

We provide the first systematic estimates of the prevalence of registering and turning out to vote among America’s homeless.² To do so, we collected the addresses of all homeless shelters, homeless clinics, soup kitchens, and harm reduction/substance use treatment facilities which homeless individuals might list as their residential or mailing address when they register to vote. We exact match these addresses to listed residential and mailing addresses of all registered voters in the United States, identifying more than 50,000 registrants who cast 8500 ballots in the 2016 election. In secondary analyses, we show that the racial, gender, and age of the homeless voters we identify systematically differs from the universe of registered voters in ways that are consistent with the composition of homeless population. They are somewhat less likely to be registered as Republicans and much more likely to have no party affiliation. Finally, we attempt to benchmark levels of homeless voting against administrative estimates of homelessness, finding enormous apparent variability in the rates at which homeless adults register and turnout to vote.

2 Shelter and citizenship

“Turning out to vote is the most common and important act of political participation in any democracy” (Aldrich 1993). A simple model of political participation stipulates that participation occurs when the benefits exceed the costs (Riker & Ordeshook 1968). Costs of voting may be informational (knowing when, where

¹HUD estimates are considered conservative.

²Homeless voting is discussed periodically in the public sphere (Capps 2016, Shalby 2016, Stewart 2016), often highlighting the lack of data. Sarhan (2016) notes the “lack of formal data on homeless voters means it is difficult to measure their electoral participation.” LaGanga (2016) reports “There are no good statistics on how many homeless people are registered to vote nationwide.”

and how to vote, knowing the issues and candidates) and procedural (registering to vote, visiting a polling site, and providing any necessary identification material). Increasing the cost of voting seems to decrease the amount of voting. For example, countries which require the electorate to register to vote tend to have lower turnout (Colomer 1991), and greater travel time to polling places depresses turnout (Haspel & Knotts 2005, Brady & McNulty 2011).

For homeless voters, these costs may be especially salient, due to reduced income, social capital, and residential instability. Formally excluded from voting by “traditional dwelling” requirements until the late 20th century, homeless people continue to face pervasive barriers to equal participation in civic life. Many homeless people do not realize they do not need a permanent home to vote (Samuels 2018). Obtaining the necessary IDs and documents and providing a mailing address can prove challenging. Homeless people may be especially likely to be purged from voter rolls for failing to respond to mailed inquiries about residence (Knestrick 2018) or for eligibility challenges to their residence (Rouner 2018). And given that homeless people often carry all of their belongings with them, presenting to a precinct may be especially difficult. Moreover, health conditions associated with homelessness (Schur & Adya 2013) may also make participation more costly. All the paradoxes of voting given its costs and benefits (Aldrich 1993, Downs et al. 1957) seem even more puzzling in the context of homelessness, where the costs of voting are much higher and the benefits not obviously larger. One newly-registered homeless voter in New York (Stewart 2016) explains: “Think about being on the street. It’s difficult to find somewhere to use the bathroom. It’s difficult to find something to eat. Imagine that, and how do I get to the polls?”

And yet, thousands of homeless people do vote, citing ballot initiatives like Medicaid Expansion (Cox-Rosen 2018), beliefs that public officials will affect the economy or status of salient groups (Shalby 2016), and a desire to see their voices heard (Honderich 2018). How can homeless citizens circumvent these barriers to citizenship? Social service organizations can fill an important civic role by easing the costs of participation. Interviews with people experiencing homelessness in Toronto, Canada “underscore the vital role that service providers and institutions serving the homeless play in the political engagement and process of voting for homeless citizens” (Kopec 2017). Similarly, scholars studying homeless protests report that the mobilization of homeless participants generally occurs at homeless shelters and drop-in centers by social service providers (Corrigall-Brown et al. 2009, 325). Clinics for underserved communities can be effective sites for voter registration drives (Liggett et al. 2014). Though very marginalized populations often lack the social capital that enhances the participation of higher income and better education populations, social services themselves may serve as partial substitutes. There is no shortage of popular press accounts detailing how organizations serving the homeless also inform them about voting, encourage them to vote through fliers and personal outreach, hold voter registration drives, help them acquire IDs for voting, and provide transportation to

the polls (Boydston 2018, Crimaldi 2018, CCH 2016, Monk 2018, Mukherjee 2018, Santich 2018, Stewart 2016). As physical spaces where homeless people congregate, these places also help campaigns coordinate outreach to this population, as the 2008 Obama campaign did in Ohio (Macintosh 2008). Since 1993, the National Coalition for the Homeless, an advocacy group, has held an annual nationwide campaign to register homeless people to vote called "Homeless Voter Registration Week" and has provided a voter manual entitled *You Don't Need a Home to Vote*, which is a common refrain among homeless advocacy groups attempting to dispel the common misbelief that homeless people are not eligible to vote (Mukherjee 2018). Unsheltered homeless may also differ from sheltered homeless individuals on other characteristics that lead to reduced turnout. David Pirtle of the National Coalition for the Homeless explains "People who are literally living on the street probably have the lowest turnout because a lot of those folks are dealing with other serious issues apart from being homeless, for example, mental health [or] substance abuse" (Sarhan 2016).

3 Data

3.1 Measurement Strategy

To identify homeless or housing-insecure registered voters, we use data from nationwide voterfiles. These data are collected by state governments, and organized and provided to the researcher by L2, a commercial vendor. Our voter list consists of nearly³ every registered voter in the United States as of 2018 – 180,735,645 individuals. For each voter, we have information on their name, age, gender, residential address, mailing address, party registration⁴, race⁵, date of registration and voting history in nationwide, state, and local primary and general elections. Data is current as of the date of the voterfile⁶, and an individual's specific information is updated any time they themselves update their registration, most commonly occurring when individuals change residence. Rules for purging voters vary by state, and some states remove voters who have not participated in concurrent election cycles. When individuals register to vote, they record their current residential and mailing addresses⁷. An actual residence is not required to register to vote, so individuals who do not have a residence may list a different address at the time of registration. Thus, if a registrant lists an address of a shelter or a clinic on their voter registration, it is likely that they were homeless or

³Voters who are misrecorded by state governments, or who are mistakenly purged by the commercial vendor, do not appear in our list.

⁴5 states record record partisanship with registration, but for states that do not L2 imputes partisanship using which partisan primary a voter has voted in in combination with demographic characteristics.

⁵Some states explicitly record race at time of registration, but for states that do not L2 imputes race using information on registrant name and residential location.

⁶Dates vary by state, but are all from 2018

⁷Generally the residential and mailing addresses match. Some voters do list different addresses, such as when mail is delivered to a PO box or an office.

housing-insecure at the time of registration. Registration drives that target shelter populations or populations receiving treatment at clinics often prompt registrants to list the shelter or clinic in question as their address. Therefore, we produce estimates of the registered voting population that is homeless or housing insecure by matching residential and mailing addresses to the addresses of homeless shelters, soup kitchens, and homeless clinics across the United States.

In this analysis we devote greater care to avoid false positives (classifying someone as homeless or housing-insecure when they are not) than false negatives (failing to classify a homeless or housing-insecure voter as such), because the population of true negatives (non-homeless or housing-secure voters) is much larger than the population of true positives (homeless or housing-insecure voters). Thus, in our matching, we exact match on all relevant address information (number, address, city, zip, state). We only classify a voter as homeless or housing-insecure if the address listed on their voter registration is identical (absent capitalization and common abbreviations) to that of the shelter, soup kitchens, or clinic addresses we have collected⁸.

3.2 Homeless Voting Addresses

To assemble the universe of addresses at which homeless Americans might use for their voter registration, we scraped the addresses of all homeless shelters, soup kitchens, and homeless clinics in the United States. Homeless shelter information was obtained from *homelessnessinamerica.com*, *shelterlist.com*, and *www.oblito.com*. Homeless clinic addresses were obtained from the directory of clinics on *freeclinics.com*, the facilities listed on the National Healthcare for the Homeless Council website *www.nhchc.org*, and *www.oblito.com*. Addresses for all mental health and substance use facilities were obtained from directories provided by the federal Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Agency (SAMHSA). Harm reduction sites were hand collected from the North American Syringe Exchange Network directory at *nasen.org*. In many states, people who are homeless are instructed to register at the county election office; consequently, we obtained the addresses of all election offices in the United States from *www.fvap.gov*.

Using facilities, especially homeless shelters, to identify homeless registrants is likely to systematically undercount people who are homeless but who do not stay in shelters. To identify unsheltered homeless voters, we identified all residential or mailing addresses which were irregularly formatted (i.e. addresses without street numbers, such as street intersections or street corners) or General Delivery. There were 4,563 voters who listed such addresses in the Voter File. We looked up each address to determine whether there

⁸It is possible that an individual who works at one of these locations lists their office as their mailing address. For cases where an individual's mailing address matches our shelter address list but the residential address does not, we look up the residential address to see if it corresponds to an apartment or home. If it does, we do not include the voter in our homeless count.

was reason to believe the registrant was homeless.⁹ A large portion of the irregularly formatted addresses appeared in very sparsely populated places, including Indian Reservations, and were not suggestive that a registrant was homeless. However, many of these addresses appeared to be in the vicinity of homeless shelters or social services. When this was the case, we indicated that those registered were likely homeless registrants. In many cases, registrants had an irregular residential address and a private mail box listed as their mailing address. In total, we identified XYZ registrants who we believed were homeless based on their irregularly formatted mailing or residential addresses.

4 Results

4.1 Descriptive Statistics

Using this measurement strategy, we match 54,577 registered voters from the L2 list to 2,478 shelter, clinics, and soup kitchen addresses. Most of these voters were matched to shelter addresses (Table 1), but a substantial plurality were matched to health care clinics or drug treatment facilities. A small number of voters were matched to soup kitchens or food pantries. The number of shelters is comparable to the number of health care clinics, but the average clinic has more voters listing it as their residential address on voter lists. As shown in Figure 1, these facilities are spread across the country, generally tracking with population dispersion in both number of facilities and number of voters registered at each facility.

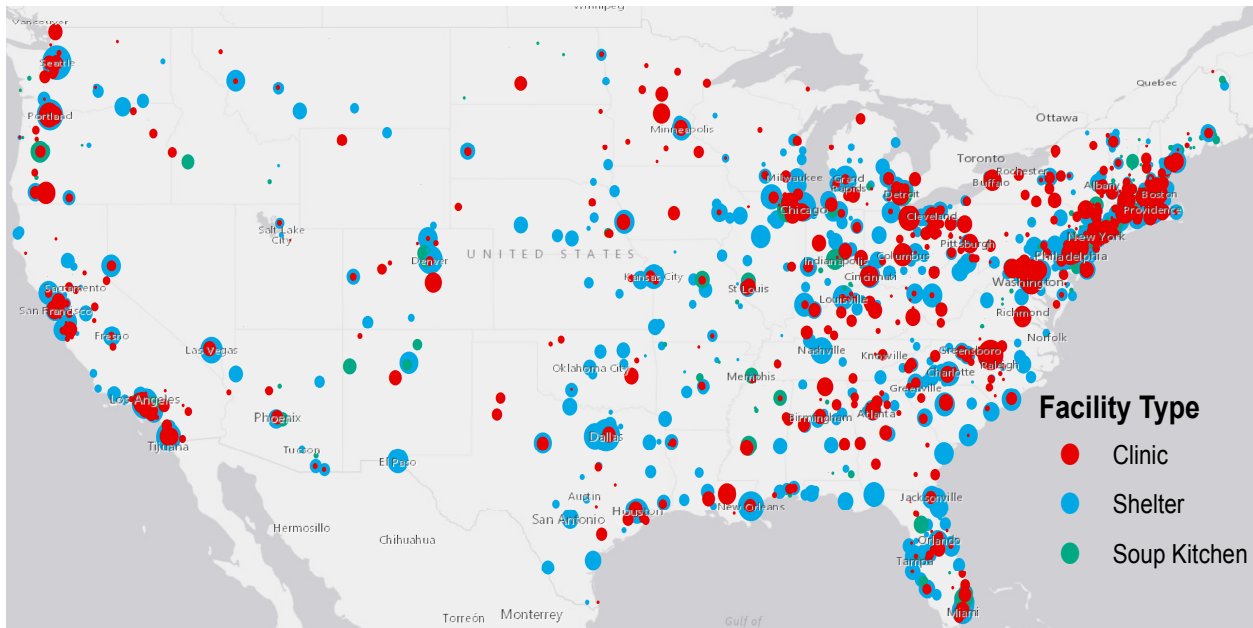
Table 1: Breakdown by Facility Type

Type	Voters	Facilities
Clinic	12678	1056
Shelter	39014	1101
Soup Kitchen	2885	321
Total	54577	2478

How does the sample of homeless voters we have identified compare to the general population of registered voters? How do the demographics of our sample compare to other estimates of homeless population demographics? Table 2 shows the summary statistics of the demographics of the homeless registered voter sample compared to the rest of the registered voting population, as well as estimates of the statistics in the general homeless population. The homeless voter sample is majority White, but with a higher percent Black than the non-homeless registered voter population (but a smaller percentage than the estimate of percent Black in the general homeless population). The homeless sample is predominantly male, younger on aver-

⁹We also used the set of voters with either an irregular mailing or residential addresses to identify additional homeless-related facilities. For example, some voters listed a street corner as a residential address and a county social services building or soup kitchen as their mailing address.

Figure 1: Map of Facilities with Registered Voters



Dots represent individual facilities where people are registered to vote. Dots are sized by log of voters registered at facility.

age than the non-homeless voting sample, and registered Democrat and Non-Partisan at higher rates than non-homeless registrants. Turnout among the homeless voting sample is far lower than turnout in the non-homeless registered voting population. We examine the age distributions of the homeless and non-homeless registered voting samples in greater detail in Figure 2. Both distributions peak around age 60, although the non-homeless registered voting population has a wider distribution, with fatter tails at both the older and younger ages.

Next, we aggregate the homeless and non-homeless registered voter by state and city (limited to the states and cities where we identify homeless registered voters). Figures 3 and 4 plot the distributions of the average levels of each demographic variables across states and cities. We see generally similar patterns as when we make nationwide distributional comparisons.

We also examine the distributions of registration dates, to get a sense of when homeless voters are registering to vote or updating their voter registration, and if this differs fundamentally from the registration dates of the general registered voter population. Figure 5 demonstrates that the homeless voting population is more likely to be registered recently. It is likely that the low rates of participation among homeless voters cause them to be purged from voting list, so those registered multiple election cycles ago will not appear in the contemporary voter lists. Otherwise, we observe similar clusters of registration dates around elections and during campaign seasons. In future work we will more closely compare registration dates to voter drives

Table 2: Homeless versus Not Homeless Voter Comparison

Variable	Registered Voters		General
	Homeless	Not Homeless	Homeless
Asian	0.78 %	2.99 %	1.2%
Black	25.85 %	10.64 %	40%
Hispanic	10.35 %	11.19 %	
White	52.87 %	64.05 %	
Other Race	10.15 %	11.1 %	10.2%
Male	68.13 %	46.63 %	60%
Democrat	46.3 (41.15) %	40.4 (38.91) %	–
Non-Partisan	33.9 (44.93) %	26.3 (27.0)6 %	–
Republican	12.8 (9.59) %	29.6 (31.83) %	–
Third Party	7.00 (4.33) %	3.72 (2.17) %	–
2016 Turnout	15.7 %	70.02 %	–
Age	46.77 Years	50.69 Years	

Table shows summary statistics of demographic breakdown for the homeless registered voting sample, the population of registered voters who are not homeless, and estimates of demographics in the general homeless population (Source: [Henry & Wa \(2018\)](#)). Main partisan breakdowns are from states that record partisanship. Statistics in parentheses represent partisan breakdown of all states, imputed and recorded.

targeting the homeless to connect these efforts to successful homeless voter registration.

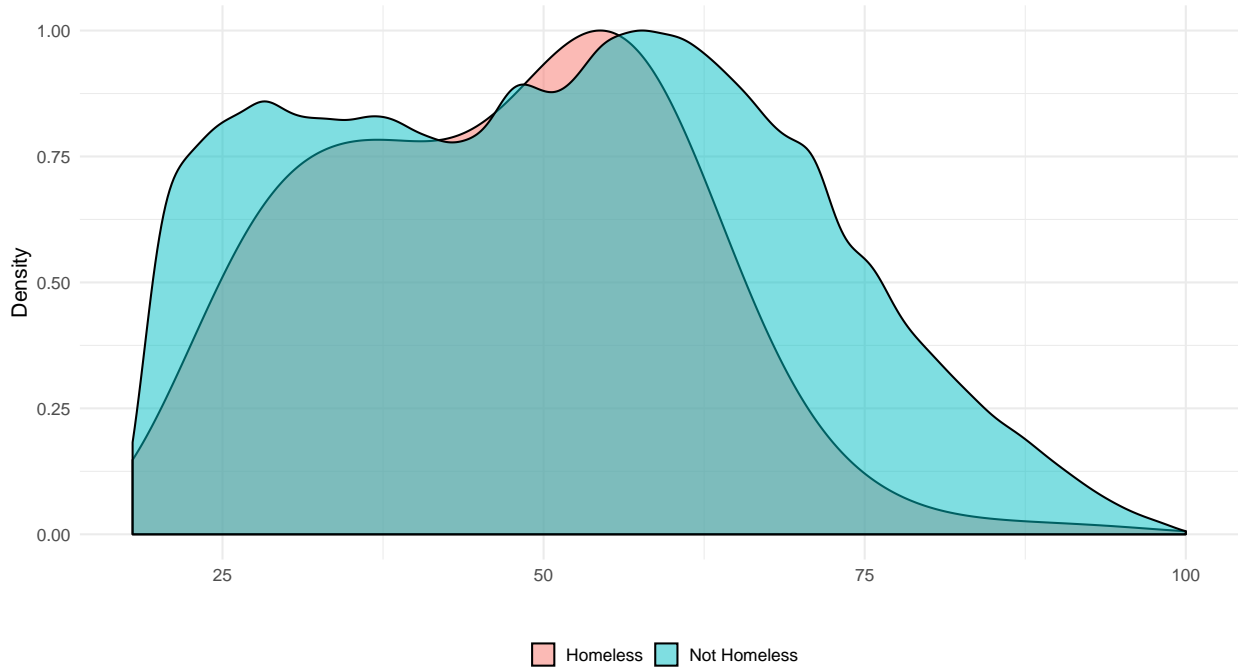


Figure 2: Age Distributional Comparison

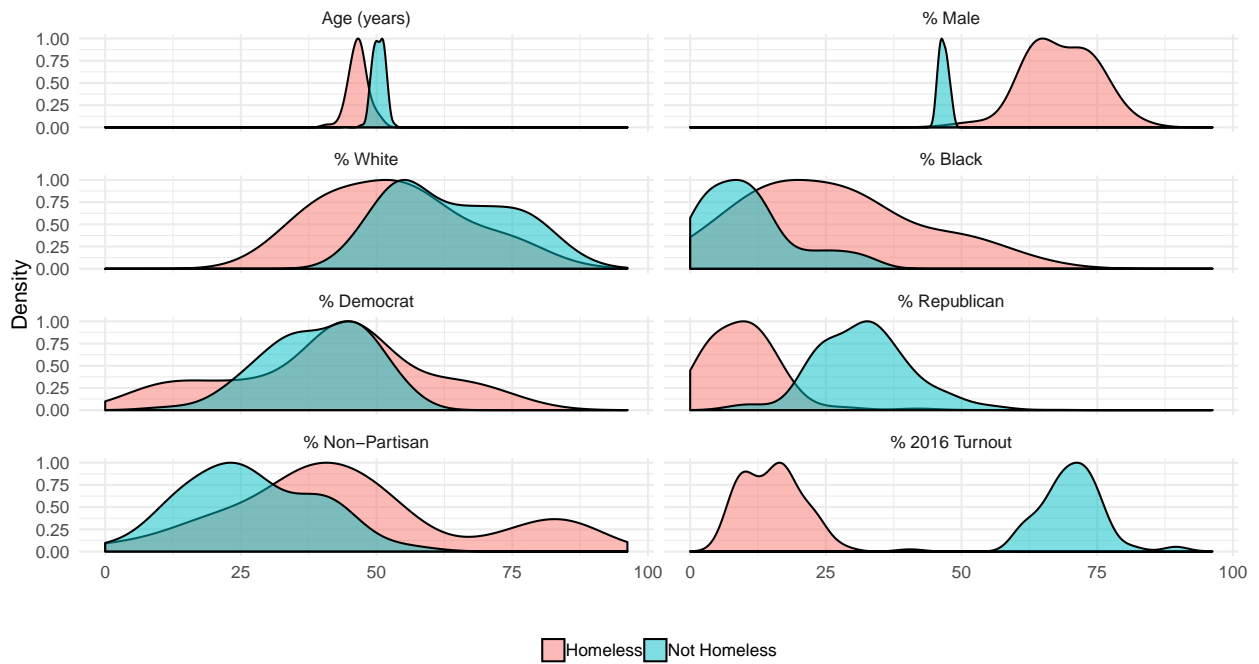


Figure 3: State Distributional Comparison

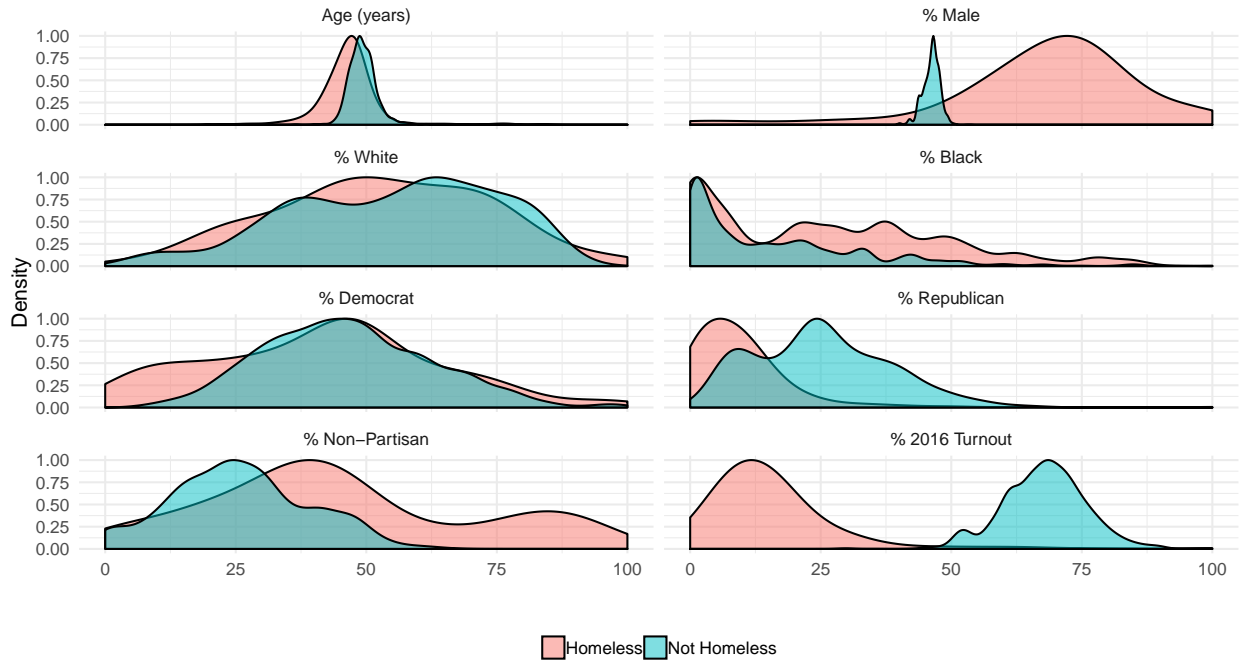


Figure 4: City Distributional Comparison

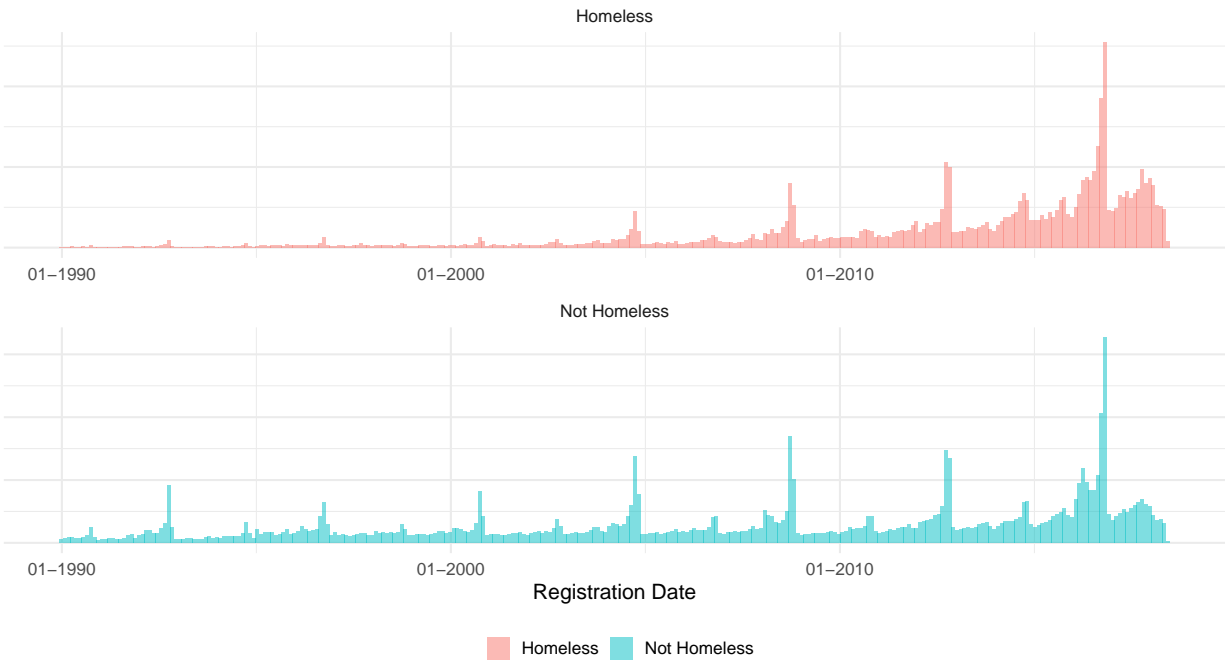


Figure 5: Registration Date Comparison

Qualitative Results

To supplement the quantitative summaries of homeless participation, we also collected accounts of homeless voters from news articles. This allows us to allow the voices of the homeless themselves to articulate the reasons for their participation, which we can interpret to portray a richer understanding of America's homeless voters. Of course, there are clear selection problems with using interviews from news articles to make inferences about the homeless population as a whole. Who journalists choose to interview, who chooses to respond, and whose accounts are published are all non-random processes correlated with political participation. People may also be influenced by social desirability bias in explaining why they choose to vote. Nevertheless, these interviews provide an opportunity to enrich the account of homeless voting beyond numbers. We use these interviews to try to answer two questions: 1) How do homeless people decide to vote? 2) How do homeless people decide who to vote for?

Why do homeless people vote? Many people saw voting as a way to produce policies that improved the lives of people around them – a kind of sociotropic voting. One homeless voter in Idaho explained that she cast her first ballot in 2018 to support a Medicaid expansion on the ballot. "I'm gonna watch men at the shelter be able to go back to work because they get the surgery they need. My friend with a heart condition will get the medication she needs to live and raise her daughter. It's really important." But this individual also saw voting as part of addressing a broader crisis of representation. "In this country... it's kind of one-sided. They [the rich] don't know the troubles of the poor and they decide everything" (Cox-Rosen 2018). A homeless woman staying at a women's shelter in DC also listed health care as why she would vote for Hillary Clinton in 2016: "She's interested in women's care, mental health . . . She's determined to make sure that women are well-taken care of when she gets to the White House" (Sarhan 2016). A homeless man in New York City also cited helping people like him as an important motivator for turning out to vote, saying "I gotta get out and vote, make sure that after I leave here the next person doesn't have to go through the same thing that I'm going through."¹⁰ "I went through a bad divorce, lost everything. And I hurt myself not too long ago, so it's hard for me to get a job. I don't have medical," says Mario Iglesias, a man staying at a shelter in Boise, Idaho. "And one of the main reasons I vote. . . is to help people like myself who are going through tough times" (Cox-Rosen 2018).

Others listed purely civic motivations for voting; that voting was the right thing to do independent of outcome. "I've got to [vote] because I think it's important," he said. Banner was living on the streets for a month after being released from prison, until he came to the mission about three weeks ago. "A lot of people think that, particularly minorities, that it's not important that they vote, that their vote don't count, but it

¹⁰<https://nyjournalismprojects.org/raceclass/jeff/vote3.htm>

does.”

Some homeless people state that they choose not to vote because they are alienated from government. They see what the government does as unrelated to their wellbeing and choose not to get involved. One man in DC explained (Sarhan 2016) ”The government is doing nothing . . . they are the reason we are here. That’s why I’m not voting.”

Next, we use these interviews to describe how homeless individuals decide who they will support. Many of these accounts are indistinguishable from typical political commentary. Tony Leonard, a homeless man interviewed outside of a pharmacy where he was panhandling, explained that he supported Hillary Clinton. ”She’s the most qualified candidate I’ve ever seen while [Donald Trump]’s a joke. I don’t think anyone thinks he’d make a good president” (Sarhan 2016). Abigail, a homeless woman in Los Angeles, stated that she supported Clinton because she thought Democrats were more friendly to the LGBT community (Shalby 2016). David Noriega initially supported Bernie Sanders, but was undecided between Clinton and Trump. Above all, he was bothered by the tenor of the campaign, saying “We might fall apart. I’m afraid of that” (Shalby 2016). One individual, a homeless man living in Washington DC, gave a retrospective account for why he might vote for Trump. ”I was a lifelong Democrat; I voted for Obama twice . . . but there are more homeless people in the city now than when I arrived. I did better under Republican presidents than I have done under Obama” (Sarhan 2016).

5 Discussion

Despite the myriad barriers impeding homeless voters, we count more than 50,000 homeless adults registered to vote. Using the federal government’s estimates of the size of the adult homeless population, this implies a registration rate of around 10%. By contrast, about 80% of the overall citizen adult population is registered to vote (Creek & Ueyam 2017). As one might expect given the differential costs of registering to vote for homeless Americans, their rates of voter registration are much smaller.

2016 turnout in our sample is 15.7% among registered likely homeless voters and 1.58% among all homeless adults, with homeless voters casting about 8500 ballots in 2016. Compared with 57% turnout among voting-age adults nationwide (McDonald 2018) suggests that the average adult is about 35 times as likely to cast a ballot as the average homeless adult. This participation gap likely contributes to differential responsiveness from public officials (Cress & Snow 2000, Sances 2016).

The homeless registrants identified by our measure have demographic characteristics that resemble the homeless population. For example, 68% of homeless registrants are male compared to 47% of non-homeless registrants and 25% of homeless voter registrants are Black compared to 11% of non-homeless registrants.

By comparison, the federal government estimates that 60% of the total homeless population is male and 40% of the homeless population is Black (Henry & Wa 2018). As one might expect given the racial and income characteristics of homeless voters, they are less likely than other voters to have a history of partisan registration or participating in party primaries and are also much less likely to register as a Republican or participate in Republican primaries. These commonalities provide face validity of the measure.

We used these measures of homeless political behavior to estimate how homeless registration and participation varied across states.

5.1 Limitations

Although our measures of homeless voter registration and turnout are the most systematic to date, they are imperfect. Citizens who are registered to vote at previous addresses or the addresses of friends or family will be missed by our matching procedure. Shelters and other facilities which were not posted on the website directories we scraped – or which did not exactly match with addresses on the voter file – will also be missed.

5.2 Conclusion

This note provides the first estimates of homeless voter registration and participation. Homeless participation, when it happens, appears to be facilitated by the informational and mobilizing role of social-service organizations, especially shelters. Just as mobilization by civic leaders activates citizen engagement with politics (Leighley 1996), recruitment into politics by social service providers appears to help this highly marginalized population exercise their right to vote. The low-rates of participation among this population suggest that the formal right to vote among this population is insufficient for the full political equality of this group, given the substantial de facto barriers to registering and participating that remain. Homelessness is the source of considerable debate in state and local politics and constitutes the central issue of dozens of recent mayoral elections and referenda (Table 4).

That homeless individuals figure chiefly as the subjects of political debates rather than equal citizens in them is cause for grave normative concern. A natural next question for political scientists is to interrogate the policies that moderate homeless registration and voting. We identify substantial heterogeneity between places in their rates of homeless voter registration and participation. There is also considerable heterogeneity in policies adopted by states, counties, and municipalities.

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URL: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/08/nyregion/in-new-york-homeless-and-making-plans-to-vote.html>

6 Appendix

Table 3: Number of Homeless Registered Voters by State

State	Registrants	Matched Shelters	Total Shelters
TX	5261	68	462
CA	4783	119	622
MA	3587	86	372
NY	3005	54	432
FL	2952	87	507
OH	2528	43	196
IL	2360	38	302
OR	2089	24	180
PA	2070	52	295
MI	1824	40	351
WA	1754	24	211
NC	1650	36	276
MD	1494	37	209
CT	1454	68	377
LA	1271	25	195
RI	1033	29	109
GA	1017	26	262
IN	1008	33	357
CO	991	27	161
NV	986	9	51
NJ	881	52	408
SC	794	19	90
MO	754	22	165
KY	732	16	54
WV	700	13	83
TN	679	19	83
DC	628	12	34
ME	591	30	185
HI	589	14	68
NM	576	13	237
MN	506	10	195
AL	476	27	299
VA	393	17	199
AK	380	25	92
NE	369	10	36
WI	294	17	78
MS	288	11	88
AZ	263	17	255
IA	232	14	77
OK	209	10	46
DE	169	10	69
VT	169	18	123
NH	166	26	245
MT	150	5	80
AR	121	14	370
KS	91	6	56
SD	74	3	25
ND	57	8	72
ID	53	5	147
UT	44	5	70
WY	32	2	32
Total	54577	1383	9954

Table 4: Recent local elections in which homelessness was an important issue

	City	Election	Source
1	Alameda, CA	2019 Referendum	CBS Local: San Francisco
2	Astoria, OR	2018 Mayoral	Daily Astorian
3	Boston, MA	2017 Mayoral	WBUR
4	Braidwood IL	2019 Mayoral	Herald News
5	Chicago, IL	2019 Mayoral	Chicago Sun Times
6	Chicago, IL	2019 Referendum	Chicago Sun Times
7	Citrus Heights, CA	2016 City Council	Citrus Heights Sentinel
8	Colorado Springs, CO	2019 Mayoral	KOAA News
9	Colorado Springs, CO	2019 City Council	KOAA News
10	Corvallis, OR	2018 Mayoral	Corvallis Gazette Times
11	Costa Mesa, CA	2018 Mayoral	Los Angeles Times
12	Dallas, TX	2019 Mayoral	KERA News
13	Denver, CO	2019 Mayoral	KDVR, Colorado Politics, Cudenvert Today
14	Denver, CO	2019 Referendum	Ballotpedia
15	Fairfield, CA	2016 City Council	Daily Republic
16	Fresno, CA	2020 Mayoral	Fresno Bee
17	Fresno County, CA	2019 Board of Supervisors	ABC News
18	La Plata County, CO	2018 Sheriff Election	Durango Herald
19	Las Vegas, NV	2019 City Council	Review Journal
20	Los Angeles, CA	2016 Referendum	Los Angeles HCID
21	Los Angeles, CA	2019 City Council	Los Angeles Times
22	Los Angeles County, CA	2017 Referendum	Ballotpedia
23	Manchester, NH	2017 Mayoral	WMUR
24	Marion County, OR	2018 Board of Commissioners	Statesman Journal
25	Merced, CA	2018 City Council	Merced Sun Star
26	Mountainview, CA	2018 Referendum	Ballotpedia
27	Nashville, TN	2019 Mayoral	Nashville Scene
28	Newark, DE	2019 Mayoral	Newark Advocate
29	Oakland, CA	2018 Mayoral	Post News Group
30	Oakland, CA	2018 Referendum	Ballotpedia
31	Phoenix, AZ	2019 Mayoral	Tucson Sentinel
32	Pomona, CA	2017 City Council	Los Angeles Times
33	Pomona, CA	2018 Referendum	Ballotpedia
34	Portland, OR	2017 Neighborhood Association	OPB
35	Portland, ME	2015 Mayoral	Bangor Daily News
36	Portland, OR	2016 Mayoral	Oregon Live
37	Richmond, CA	2018 Referendum	East Bay Times
38	Sacramento, CA	2016 Mayoral	KCRA
39	Sacramento, CA	2020 Mayoral	Sacramento Bee
40	San Diego, CA	2018 City Council	San Diego Union Tribune
41	San Diego, CA	2020 Referendum	Fox 5 San Diego
42	San Diego, CA	2018 Referendum	Voice of San Diego
43	San Diego, CA	2018 City Council	KPBS
44	San Francisco, CA	2018 Mayoral	New York Times
45	San Francisco, CA	2018 Board of Supervisors	KPBS
46	San Francisco, CA	2018 Referenda	Ballotpedia, Ballotpedia
47	San Francisco, CA	2016 Referendum	Ballotpedia
48	Santa Monica, CA	2018 City Council	Surf Santa Monica
49	Santa Rosa, CA	2018 City Council	Press Democrat
50	Seattle, WA	2017 Mayoral	King 5 News
51	South Bend, IN	2019 Mayoral	South Bend Tribune
52	Spokane, OR	2019 Mayoral	Inlander
53	Springfield, IL	2019 Mayoral	State Journal-Register
54	West Palm Beach, FL	2019 Mayoral	WFLX