

Addressing Health Disparities Through Voter Engagement

Nicholas Yagoda, MD^{1,2}

¹CommUnityCare, Austin, Texas

²Department of Population Health, The University of Texas at Austin—Dell Medical School, Austin, Texas

ABSTRACT

Although the public's essential capacity for self-rule in the United States lies in the power of the ballot, there exist many barriers to voting, particularly for marginalized communities. These barriers cultivate less representative government and less inclusive public policy. Nonprofit and private health organizations, and in particular community health centers and safety-net hospitals, can help marginalized voting-eligible individuals overcome barriers to the ballot. With augmented, unbiased voter participation, elections would yield government that is more representative and public policy that is more equitable, while reducing costly and preventable health disparities. Health organizations can promote comprehensive, nonpartisan voter engagement through registration, mobilization, education, and protection of all voters.

Ann Fam Med 2019;17:459-461. <https://doi.org/10.1370/afm.2441>.

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, more than 90 million Americans, nearly 40% of our voting-eligible population, did not vote.¹ Significant gaps in voter participation occurred along racial, educational, and income-level divides, which may largely be attributable to voting restrictions and a sense of alienation from government.² Barriers to the ballot have long been a threat to our country's most fundamental democratic process. Ballot barriers have evolved from the original constitutional disenfranchisement of people of color and women to more contemporary voter suppression techniques such as voter ID laws and voter registry purges, but the outcomes of biased elections and perpetuation of inequity remain.

The United States is host to avoidable and costly health inequalities.^{3,4} Those facing barriers to the voting process are also those disproportionately at risk to suffer from health disparities. Research has demonstrated that the views of voters in the 2016 election diverged significantly from those of nonvoters, with the former favoring less inclusive health, social, and economic policy.⁵ Furthermore, politicians are more responsive to voters than nonvoters,⁶ and healthier constituents vote more frequently.⁷ Thus a negative feedback loop is created, wherein health disparities generate biased voter participation gaps; these gaps yield biased health policy, further reinforcing health disparities. For example, state electorates with disproportionately higher rates of healthy voter participation saw less health spending and less generous Medicaid programs,⁷ reinforcing disparities in health care coverage.⁸

Public policy shapes our health ecosystem, influencing the accessibility of comprehensive health care, secure housing, nutritious food, quality education, jobs with livable wages, and freedom from crime and discrimination. Nonprofit and private health organizations, particularly community health centers and safety-net hospitals that serve vulnerable communities, are well poised and eligible⁹ to promote nonpartisan voter participation in furtherance of health-advancing public policy. Notably, private entities, with fewer governance and funding considerations, may

Conflicts of interest: author reports none.

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR

Nicholas Yagoda, MD
2115 Kramer Lane, Austin, TX 78758
nicholas.yagoda@communitycaretx.org

have even broader latitude to engage voters than federally funded organizations. Integrated voter engagement (IVE) is a year-round issue-based model that health organizations can utilize for sustainable, impactful community action to address public policy.

INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

The 4 facets of IVE are voter registration, mobilization, education, and protection. As applied to health, IVE can foster social determinants of health capital in marginalized communities in promotion of health equity.¹⁰ For example, IndyCAN is a nonpartisan organization in central Indiana that employed IVE strategies to achieve increased transit equity through expanded bus service, fueling economic development and increased access to jobs for low-income communities.^{11,12} Applying similar models, eligible health organizations could scale their health equity impact by influencing regional, state, and even federal legislation.

Voter Registration

Voter registration is one of the most influential elements of voter engagement. Overwhelmingly, people of color, people with disabilities, low-income Americans, the uninsured, and young people are those most likely to be unregistered and to experience barriers to voter registration.¹³ But these same groups have political preferences that differ from dominant voter groups—Medicaid expansion is a telling example. Views towards Medicaid differ dramatically according to race, with people of color holding more favorable opinions than whites.⁵ States with the greatest barriers to voting, disproportionately affecting people of color, tend to be those states that rejected Medicaid expansion. In fact, analysis has shown that state decisions to adopt Medicaid expansion have been responsive to white opinion only, and that racial resentment may play an important role.¹⁴ Health status bias of voters also is associated with likelihood of Medicaid expansion.⁷ Additionally, arbitrary and needlessly early voter registration deadlines exacerbate participatory disparities² and are tied to reduced welfare eligibility.¹⁵

Targeted efforts to bring equity to voter registration have yielded reductions in important health-associated disparities. The enfranchisement of black voters is associated with a narrowing of the black-white education gap,¹⁶ while the enfranchisement of women has led to increased spending on children and a reduction in child mortality.¹⁷

Under the National Voter Registration Act of 1993, venues that provide public assistance, including Medicaid services, are empowered to register eligible voters.¹⁸ Community health centers and hospitals, ven-

ues regularly engaged with marginalized groups, have hosted and promoted nonpartisan voter registration drives.^{19,20} Community Health Vote (CHV), a program of the National Association of Community Health Centers, has developed a Health Center Tool Kit to guide implementation of voter engagement initiatives.²¹ In 2012, over 200 community health centers across the United States registered more than 25,000 voters.²² Finally, regardless of funding source, health organizations can educate the community about important voter registration options, including pre-registration, automatic or same-day registration, or even online registration where applicable.

Voter Mobilization

Voter mobilization—encouraging individuals to vote—is also within the scope of nonprofit and private health organization work, and targets new or low-propensity voters in particular.²³ Robust mobilization efforts increase voter turnout²⁴ and are associated with more inclusive policy, such as reduced income inequality.⁶ These health organizations can mobilize voters in a nonpartisan manner by highlighting the linkage of their vote to elements of their health, including access to care, health care insurance coverage, and pharmaceutical pricing, in addition to relevant social determinants of health. Moreover, mobilization can highlight all region-specific options for casting a ballot. This might include early voting, absentee ballot voting, and vote-at-home with vote centers, in addition to the more traditional in-person voting at polling stations.

Voter Education

Voter education addresses recalcitrant voting barriers, including cynicism about government² and concerns that one's vote does not matter.²⁵ Additionally, voter education can reframe campaign issues that might diminish health advancement. For instance, in the 2016 presidential election, studies have shown that many white voters, including women and people of low income, perceived their dominant social status to be under threat as a result of the country's increasing racial and ethnic diversity and global trade.²⁶ Consequently, these white voters prioritized policies to preserve their dominant social status (opposition to social welfare programs, and restricted immigration and international trade) over policies to promote their health (reduced income inequality, and expanded health care coverage and early childhood education).

Nonprofit and private health organizations can educate the community and combat cynicism by providing community-led, culturally competent, nonpartisan health impact assessments of political candidate positions and proposed legislation. In so doing, these

health organizations can prepare voters to vote in their best health interest.

Voter Protection

Finally, health organizations can promote voter protection by combating voter suppression techniques, including debunked myths of voter fraud.²⁷ In collaboration with local nonpartisan community advocates, these health organizations can lobby against restrictive laws and practices that make it difficult to vote, such as voter ID laws, inflexible voting hours, polling place closures, voter registry purges, voter caging, and unfair voter challenges. Additionally, advocacy to eliminate gerrymandering, a practice utilized by both political parties to dilute the value of select votes, would promote the equitable impact of every voter.

The promotion of voter engagement among marginalized communities—people of color, low-income Americans, and people living with disabilities, among others—could increase equitable health policy and mitigate costly and preventable health disparities. By integrating voter engagement as a health equity strategy, nonprofit and private health organizations can help communities leverage health-promoting change through more representative government and more equitable health policy.

To read or post commentaries in response to this article, see it online at <http://www.AnnFamMed.org/content/17/5/459>.

Submitted September 30, 2018; submitted, revised, February 20, 2019; accepted March 28, 2019.

Key words: health; disparities; integrated; equity; voter engagement; voter registration; mobilization; education; voter education; protection

Acknowledgments: Thank you to Jaeson Fournier, DC, MPH and Alan Schalscha, DO for their guidance and leadership.

References

1. United States Election Project. 2016 November General Election Turnout Rates. <http://www.electproject.org/2016g>. Published 2018. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.
2. Root D, Kennedy L. Increasing voter participation in America. Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2018/07/11/453319/increasing-voter-participation-america/>. Published 2018. Accessed Jan 14, 2019
3. Adler NE, Glymour MM, Fielding J. Addressing social determinants of health and health inequalities. *JAMA*. 2016 Oct 25;316(16):1641-1642.
4. LaVeist TA, Darrell G, Patrick R. Estimating the economic burden of racial health inequalities in the United States. *Int J Health Serv*. 2011;41(2):231-238.
5. McElwee S. Health care policy is undermined by voting barriers. The Century Foundation. <https://tcf.org/content/report/health-care-policy-undermined-voting-barriers/?agreed=1#easy-footnote-bottom-17>. Published 2018. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.
6. Franko W, Kelly N, Witko C. Class bias in voter turnout, representation, and income inequality. *Persp Politics*. 2016;14(2):351-368.
7. Pacheco J. The Policy Consequences of Health Bias in Political Voice. APSA 2014 Annual Meeting Paper. <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2454900>. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.
8. Antonisse L, Garfield R, Rudowitz R, Artiga S. The effects of Medicaid expansion under the ACA: updated findings from a literature review. Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation. <https://www.kff.org/medicaid/issue-brief/the-effects-of-medicare-expansion-under-the-aca-updated-findings-from-a-literature-review-march-2018>. Published Mar 28, 2018. Accessed Feb 18, 2019.
9. Internal Revenue Service. Election Year Activities for Section 501(c)(3) Organizations. (FS-2006-17, February 2006). <https://www.irs.gov/newsroom/election-year-activities-and-the-prohibition-on-political-campaign-intervention-for-section-501c3-organizations>. Accessed Jan 15, 2019.
10. Paschall, K. How integrated voter engagement builds power and changes policy. *Resp Philanth*. 2016;(1):3-6.
11. Weinstein JM, Geller A, Negussie Y, Baciu A. *Communities in Action: Pathways to Health Equity*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press; 2017.
12. Touhy, J. Supporters declare victory for mass transit tax hike in Marion County. *IndyStar*. 8 Nov 2016. <https://www.indystar.com/story/news/politics/2016/11/08/marion-county-voters-consider-tax-hike-mass-transit/93284726/>. Accessed Feb 16, 2019.
13. U.S. Census Bureau. (2018). Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2016. (Report No. P20-582). <https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2018/demo/P20-582.pdf>. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.
14. Grogan CM and Park SE. The racial divide in state Medicaid expansions. *J Health Polit Policy Law*. 2017;42(3):539-572.
15. Avery J, Peffley M. Voter registration requirements, voter turnout, and welfare eligibility policy: class bias matters. *State Politics Policy Q*. 2005;5(1):47-67.
16. Cascio E, Washington E. Valuing the vote: the redistribution of voting rights and state funds following the Voting Rights Act of 1965. *Q J Econ*. 2014;129(1):379-433.
17. Miller G. Women's suffrage, political responsiveness, and child survival in American history. *Q J Econ*. 2008;123(3):1287-1327.
18. The United States Department of Justice. About the National Voter Registration Act of 1993. http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/vot/nvra/activ_nvra.php. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.
19. Liggett A, Sharma M, Nakamura Y, Villar R, Selwyn P. Results of a voter registration project at 2 family medicine residency clinics in the Bronx, New York. *Ann Fam Med*. 2014;12(5):466-469.
20. Manchanda, R. Silver-Isestadt, J. A prescription for a healthier democracy: The role of health care in civic participation. *Nat Civic Rev*. 2010;99:48-53.
21. Community Health Vote. Health center tool kit 2017. <http://communityhealthvote.net/toolkit/>. Accessed Jan 15, 2019.
22. Community Health Vote. Voter engagement at community health centers: continuing the legacy of Freedom Summer [blog post]. June 30, 2014. <http://communityhealthvote.net/voter-engagement-at-community-health-centers-continuing-the-legacy-of-freedom-summer/>. Accessed Feb 16, 2019.
23. Bedolla LG, Michelson MR. *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns*. (The Institution for Social and Policy Studies). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press; 2012.
24. Rosenstone SJ, Hansen JM. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. 4th ed. New York, NY: Macmillan; 1993.
25. The Pew Charitable Trusts. (2017). Why are millions of citizens not registered to vote? A survey of the civically unengaged finds they lack interest, but outreach opportunities exist. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/issue-briefs/2017/06/why-are-millions-of-citizens-not-registered-to-vote>. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.
26. Mutz DC. Status threat, not economic hardship, explains the 2016 presidential vote. *Proc Natl Acad Sci USA*. 2018;115(19):E4330-E4339.
27. Brennan Center for Justice. Resources on voter fraud claims: credible research and investigation demonstrates fraud by voters at the polls is exceedingly rare. <https://www.brennancenter.org/analysis/resources-voter-fraud-claims>. Published 2017. Accessed Jan 14, 2019.