

CITY OF VANCOUVER

**INDEPENDENT  
ELECTION TASK FORCE**  
FINAL REPORT

---

January 2017

CITY OF  
**VANCOUVER**





---

# FOREWORD

## FROM THE CHAIR

---

**“MORE CHOICE AND FLEXIBILITY  
IN HOW MUNICIPALITIES SUCH  
AS VANCOUVER MANAGE THEIR  
ELECTIONS IS CRITICAL FOR  
INCREASING PUBLIC CONFIDENCE  
AND VOTER ENGAGEMENT.”**

Our motivations for serving on the Independent Election Task Force were diverse: some members were committed to increasing youth participation, others focused on voting reform. Some, who have immigrated to Vancouver, were most passionate about expanding the franchise to permanent residents. One member was motivated to join in honour of her father, a native-born Canadian citizen who, because of his Chinese descent, was denied the right to vote in a City of Vancouver election through the Vancouver Incorporation Act.

We were united, however, by our enthusiastic commitment to improving civic engagement and democracy. That commitment provided a unifying force through many spirited discussions and independent thinking. I congratulate my fellow members on their commitment to working cooperatively, with transparency, open mindedness, accountability and respect.

Perhaps it was this commitment to a shared goal that made it so important for us to arrive at the shared definitions of public confidence and civic engagement included in this report. These definitions emerged from a recognition that voter turnout is just one of several important measures. Our enhanced characterization of public confidence and civic engagement formed the benchmark against which we evaluated each recommendation.

So too did a common approach emerge as we considered the five areas in our mandate. For each area, there is a need to build a case to demonstrate to voters and to the provincial government how essential they could be for Vancouver’s democratic health. These electoral procedures are mostly under the purview of the provincial government and have been the topic of previous Council directives to the provincial government. The provincial government has, to date, not recognized that more choice and flexibility in how municipalities such as Vancouver manage their elections is critical for increasing public confidence and voter engagement.

For the Independent Election Task Force, our work centred on building a compelling case for Council’s directives that are essential for protecting and strengthening our democracy.

**Shoni Field**

Chair, Independent Election Task Force



# CONTENTS

<b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</b> .....	7
<b>BACKGROUND</b> .....	12
<b>TASK FORCE SCOPE OF WORK AND APPROACH</b> .....	13
<b>GOALS/OUTCOMES</b> .....	14
<b>MEMBERSHIP</b> .....	14
<b>TIMELINE AND MEETING SCHEDULE</b> .....	15
<b>TASK FORCE VALUES</b> .....	15
<b>CONSULTATION</b> .....	16
<b>FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</b> .....	16
<b>PUTTING COUNCIL DIRECTIVES INTO ACTION</b> .....	17
A. ADOPT A PROPORTIONAL VOTING SYSTEM .....	18
B. REFORM CAMPAIGN FINANCING .....	20
C. INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT .....	22
D. MAKE ANONYMOUS BALLOTING DATA AVAILABLE IN OPEN DATA FORMAT AFTER AN ELECTION .....	26
E. CONDUCT AN ONLINE VOTING PILOT .....	27
<b>SUMMARY AND NEXT STEPS</b> .....	29
<b>LESSONS LEARNED</b> .....	30
APPENDIX A: Detailed Reports on Key Strategic Actions .....	31
APPENDIX B: Independent Election Task Force Past Candidate Survey Report .....	125



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

**Vancouver City Council established an Independent Election Task Force to recommend changes based on Council directives concerning the delivery of municipal elections in the city of Vancouver. These directives all have the potential, if implemented, to contribute to improved public confidence in the electoral processes at the municipal level and increase voter engagement — with a key goal being to increase voter turnout to at least 60 per cent by 2025.**

Twelve Independent Election Task Force members were selected to participate based on their strong knowledge of the principles of democracy, effective operation of democratic institutions, and best practices regarding electoral systems and reform. Members also brought experience developing strategies, creating work plans, achieving success within a political environment, and knowledge of the organization and operation of key provincial ministries.

An independent facilitator structured Task Force work around eight in-person meetings between June and October 2016. To ensure the most efficient use of limited Task Force time, the facilitator had members form sub-committees, each one focused on one of Council's directives, grouped as Key Strategic Actions, or KSAs, and members dedicated time both during and outside the meetings to review, prioritize, budget and create a plan for how to implement changes to election legislation and processes.

This report presents the Independent Task Force research findings based on literature reviews, presentations from, and interviews with, subject matter experts, a past candidate survey, and member deliberations. Based on these results, the Task Force has developed a priority list of actions and key considerations, corresponding implementation plans, and a high-level cost estimate for each of Council's directives.

City staff have begun planning for the 2018 election and this work will intensify beginning in September 2017. In November 2017, staff expect to begin implementing the election plan developed for the 2018 election; therefore, it is important that any changes intended to come into effect for the 2018 municipal election be in place by November 2017. It is anticipated that some changes will take two elections cycles to fully implement.

**To advance the strategic actions and manage inter-governmental relations with the Province related to these recommendations, we suggest the City designate a dedicated Elections Advocacy staff position.**

## KEY GOAL

INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT  
TO AT LEAST

**60%** BY 2025

In developing our recommendations, Task Force members assessed each proposed action against an expanded set of considerations aimed at more fully capturing Council's directive to consider the proposals' impact on public confidence and civic engagement:

---

# **SIX MEASURES OF PUBLIC CONFIDENCE AND VOTER ENGAGEMENT**

---



**POLITICAL EQUALITY**

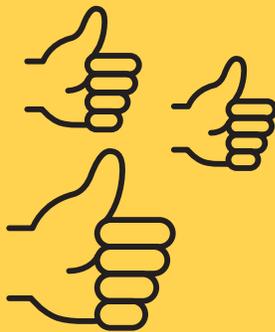
WHERE PARTICIPATION IS NOT LIMITED BY ETHNICITY, GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION, POLITICAL AFFILIATION, GENDER, SEXUAL ORIENTATION, ETC.



**THE REPRESENTATION OF DIVERSE VIEWPOINTS**



**ACCOUNTABILITY OF ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES TO VOTERS ON AN ONGOING BASIS BETWEEN ELECTIONS**



**VOTER SATISFACTION WITH CANDIDATES**



**VOTER POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE**



**VOTER TURNOUT<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> While voter turnout is often used as a metric to assess voter engagement (typically expressed as a fraction of registered voters), members realized some measures under consideration might increase the overall number of voters participating, yet paradoxically might decrease the voter turnout metric (e.g. if we expanded voter eligibility rules). In developing metrics to define success, the City should be mindful of this potential paradox.

This broader set of measures of public confidence and voter engagement allowed us to prioritize our recommendations, which are presented below in order of priority:

## **PRIORITIZED LIST OF RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **A. ADOPT A PROPORTIONAL VOTING SYSTEM**

1. Move to adopt a proportional representation (PR) system by using a deliberative participatory process to produce a recommendation for a model of PR voting optimally suited for use in municipal elections. The Task Force particularly recommends that the City establish a Citizens' Assembly for this purpose.
2. Request that the provincial government allow the City to adopt the PR model that the Citizens' Assembly has recommended.

### **B. REFORM CAMPAIGN FINANCING**

1. Re-invigorate efforts to advocate for Vancouver Charter amendments that would allow Vancouver to create its own rules for municipal election campaign financing.
2. Include a question on local election financing on the October 2018 municipal ballot.
3. Amend the City of Vancouver Code of Conduct for Council officials requiring elected officials to withdraw from the decision-making process in matters submitted to City Council from corporations, unions, non-profit societies, and associations that contribute directly or indirectly to their campaigns.

### **C. INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT**

1. **Employ best practices from other jurisdictions**
  - i. *Invest in additional election outreach staff resources, increase outreach, align strategies with civic group work, fund a designated elections social media team, expand reach of the 'Plan Your Vote' tool.*
  - ii. *Create and implement post-election polling to be administered after each of the next three municipal elections.*
2. **Extend voter rights to permanent residents**
  - i. *Request provincial government for changes in Vancouver Charter to allow permanent residents of Vancouver to vote in municipal elections.*

### **3. Target registration practices**

- i. Request legislation for Elections BC to adopt new voter registration practices by December 2018.*

### **4. Increase positive cues**

- i. Create citizen academies to increase political knowledge.*
- ii. Create and administer grants for civic groups to hold voter education campaigns, registration campaigns, Get Out The Vote campaigns, and celebration events.*

## **D. REQUEST TO THE PROVINCE TO MAKE ANONYMOUS BALLOTING DATA AVAILABLE IN OPEN DATA FORMAT AFTER AN ELECTION**

- 1. Require that ballot scanning machines leased for all future elections have the ability to store complete ballot data.**
- 2. Direct staff to make anonymous balloting data available in open data format after an election.**

## **E. CONDUCT AN ONLINE VOTING PILOT**

- 1. Urge the Province to establish an independent technical committee, as recommended by the Independent Panel on Internet Voting.**
- 2. Advocate and support Union of British Columbia Municipalities (UBCM) resolutions and requests to the Province to authorize online voting.**
- 3. Monitor online voting experiences in other Canadian municipalities.**

Since the November 2017 timeline presents challenges for some longer term recommendations, Task Force members have identified changes that can be achieved without legislative change for the 2018 election. This list of relatively “Quick Wins” presented in the Summary and Next Steps section should not be seen to replace the prioritized list of recommendations presented above. It is simply a recognition that if Council chooses to move forward on all measures, work should begin on top-priority, long-term changes quickly, but that other lower-ranked recommendations could be achieved in time to be fully implemented for the 2018 election.

# BACKGROUND

---

**City of Vancouver elections are governed by provincial legislation, which includes the Vancouver Charter, the School Act and the Local Elections Campaign Financing Act (LECFA). The City has some ability to shape election processes through its Election By-law.**

In June 2014, the Province implemented Phase 1 of campaign finance reform in BC local elections through the introduction of the Local Elections Campaign Financing Act (LECFA). The changes were significant and focused on improving accountability, transparency, compliance and enforcement.

On October 22, 2015, the BC Government brought forward Phase 2 — Bill 43, the Local Elections Campaign Financing (Expense Limits) Amendment Act 2015 (LECFA 2015). The public was invited to provide feedback on the proposed amendments to LECFA in 2015. Phase 2 of the LECFA reforms is expected to be implemented prior to the next municipal election which will be held on October 20, 2018.

## ***The role of healthy election processes in an engaged city***

In 2012, the City of Vancouver established the Engaged City Task force whose mandate included increasing neighbourhood engagement and improving upon the many ways the City connects with Vancouver residents. In 2014, the Engaged City Task Force, as part of their final report to Council, identified electoral reform, referring both to voting reform and to other improvements in election processes, as key to building momentum towards a stronger culture of participation and engagement in Vancouver. These recommended reforms included registering voters at the age of 16, extending voting rights to permanent residents, using the election ballot to get feedback on the current voting system, and taking action on campaign finance reform.

In support of these recommendations, and building on the City's work since 2013 to eliminate barriers to election participation, Council created the Independent Election Task Force in early 2016 to bring a citizens' perspective to this issue and to determine what would be required to put the Engaged City Task Force's recommendations into action.

## ***Planning for the 2018 Municipal Election***

Staff have begun planning for the 2018 election and in November 2017 expect to begin implementing the 2018 municipal election plan.

It is important to reiterate that any changes to governing provincial legislation would need to become law by November 2017 in order for City staff to include them in the implementation of the 2018 election plan. Given this timeframe, the Task Force thinks it is more realistic for many of these changes to be implemented for the 2022 election.

However, should there be an indication that a request to the provincial government would be acted upon quickly, the Task Force would then encourage a shorter timeline for its recommendations. It is also important to note that in the case of some recommendations, such as adopting a proportional voting system, even if legislative change happens prior to November 2017, the time required to implement other essential components such as choosing an electoral system, conducting a thorough public education campaign and managing logistical implementation, means it is more realistic to expect a proportional representation system to be implemented in the 2022 election.

# TASK FORCE SCOPE OF WORK AND APPROACH

The purpose of the Task Force was to recommend changes to Council concerning the delivery of municipal elections in the city of Vancouver that will lead to improved public confidence in the electoral processes at the municipal level and increase voter engagement — with a key goal being to increase voter turnout to at least 60 per cent by 2025.<sup>2</sup>

The Task Force Terms of Reference document describes five Council directives, framed by the facilitator as Key Strategic Actions (KSAs) for ease of reference and focus for members to research, plan, cost and prioritize:

<b>KSA 1:</b>	<b>Reform campaign financing</b>
<b>KSA 2:</b>	<b>Adopt a proportional voting system</b>
<b>KSA 3:</b>	<b>Conduct an online voting pilot</b>
<b>KSA 4:</b>	<p><b>Increase voter turnout by:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Increasing positive cues</li> <li>▪ Targeting voter registration</li> <li>▪ Extending voting rights to permanent residents</li> <li>▪ Using the election ballot to get feedback on voter satisfaction with the current voting system</li> <li>▪ Employing best practices from other jurisdictions</li> </ul>
<b>KSA 5:</b>	<b>Request to Province to make anonymous balloting data available in open data format after an election</b>

Task force members were also invited to recommend other Key Strategic Actions for Council's consideration, as appropriate.

## The Task Force formed sub-committees focusing on each KSA in order to complete the research to determine:

- Whether it has increased public confidence and/or turnout elsewhere? By how much? How was it measured? What was the approach? What were the impacts, successes and challenges?
- What would the steps be to implement this KSA in Vancouver? What is the timing of those steps? Who needs to be involved?
- What would it cost to develop and implement this KSA?

## As part of their research activities, the Task Force:

- Reviewed the existing legislation that governs municipal elections in BC with particular emphasis on legislation governing the Vancouver municipal election;
- Surveyed a representative sample of past candidates to obtain their input regarding possible changes to the existing legislative framework for the conduct of municipal elections in Vancouver — including those changes previously approved by Council;
- Conducted a literature review and other research concerning election best practices that have been implemented either nationally or internationally and have resulted in an increase in public confidence and voter engagement.

<sup>2</sup> Target set by the Engaged City Task Force in their Final Report (January 2014)

# GOALS/OUTCOMES

Research and assessment of each KSA was completed by September and culminated in a half-day session in which sub-committee leads presented their findings and then members worked to fine tune recommendations. Findings were summarized in a matrix and members ranked each KSA to produce a prioritized list of recommended actions based on the overall consensus of the group. The priority list together with the completed research finding, high level cost estimates and plans for advancing Council directives forms the basis of this final report to Council.

# MEMBERSHIP

## THE TASK FORCE CONSISTED OF 12 MEMBERS:

### Shoni Field, Chair

---

I was fortunate enough to be a member of the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform. This experience inspired me to continue to work on electoral reform and citizen engagement — the Task Force let me do both!

### Hilary Farson

---

As a political participation activist, I have loved the opportunity to continue working on increasing engagement and voter turnout — I'm always looking for ways to bring more people into the political process.

### Mark Friesen

---

The chance to examine the electoral practices that influence political citizenship at the municipal scale was a tremendous opportunity. This is a critical dimension to my work in community development.

### Ela Esra Gunad

---

I deeply value civic participation as the critical part of democracy. I always look for ways to contribute to the enhancement of political process and practices, so it can be more accessible, fair and counts everyone's voice including permanent residents.

### Antony Hodgson

---

I have worked with Fair Voting BC on voting reform since the first referendum on the Citizens' Assembly's recommended voting system change back in 2005, so looking for ways to improve our democratic practices is dear to my heart.

### Sonu Kailley

---

As someone who has significant experience in public policy, I have always been passionate about citizen engagement and enhancing the political process.

### Cynthia Kent

---

My parents were once barred from civic polls because of their racial background, so for me, voting is a precious and hard-won right that has come full circle with a chance to be part of the City's efforts to increase voter turnout.

### Robert Matas

---

As a journalist who has reported on federal, provincial and municipal elections, I appreciated the chance to be part of efforts to increase voter turnout and uphold the integrity of the electoral process.

### Shona McGlashan

---

I've worked for democratic institutions my whole career, and was excited to be able to contribute to the Task Force's goal of increasing voter engagement at the municipal level.

### Halena Seiferling

---

I am passionate about ensuring our political institutions are accessible, fair, and representative. This Task Force has been an exciting opportunity to help shape positive change in the city.

### Devon Richards\* Jordan Simmons\*

\*unable to complete

## SUPPORT WAS PROVIDED BY CITY STAFF AND AN INDEPENDENT PROFESSIONAL FACILITATOR:

1. **Jessica Nelson**, Election Manager, City of Vancouver
2. **Amanda Mitchell**, Public Engagement Specialist, City of Vancouver
3. **Grant Murray**, Lawyer, City of Vancouver
4. **Diana Bulley**, Facilitator, Ideaspace

# TIMELINE AND MEETING SCHEDULE



Meeting minutes and agendas are available on the website at: [vancouver.ca/your-government/election-task-force.aspx](http://vancouver.ca/your-government/election-task-force.aspx)

## TASK FORCE VALUES

Task Force members determined they would like their discussions to be guided by a set of SHARED VALUES. During the second meeting, they worked together with the facilitator to establish the following values:



# CONSULTATION

## ***Presentations and Interviews***

To inform discussions and decision-making, the Task Force consulted a range of subject matter experts related to the KSAs. Members heard presentations from Dean Smith of Intelivote, an online voting system provider, Dr. David Jefferson, a computer security researcher with expertise in electronic voting, and Lyndsay Poaps, an electoral engagement specialist. The sub-committees also approached various experts to glean additional insights and review and discuss ideas.

## ***Past Candidate Survey***

Within the Terms of Reference, Council indicated the Task Force should survey a representative sample of past candidates to obtain their input

regarding possible changes to the existing legislative framework for the conduct of municipal elections in Vancouver — including those changes previously approved by Council.

Task Force members worked with the facilitator and City engagement staff to collectively develop a list of questions to form the online survey. An email with a link to the survey was distributed to 118 candidates from the 2014 municipal election. Paper copies were sent by mail to candidates without email addresses.

The Task Force received 47 responses to the survey. The survey questions and responses are presented as Appendix B.

# FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Task Force members acknowledge their role is to review, prioritize, budget and create a plan for how to implement Council's directives to change election legislation and processes. A summary of the recommendation for each Key Strategic Action, is presented below. Detailed reports for each Key Strategic Action, including research findings and analysis, an implementation plan, and high level cost estimate are presented in Appendix A.

Task Force members also present to Council a set of lessons learned throughout the process with the hope their experiences will benefit future plans for both election reform and the creation of task forces.

## ***Public Confidence and Voter Engagement***

Council's directives are intended to improve public confidence in the electoral processes at the municipal level and increase voter engagement — with a key goal being to increase voter turnout to at least 60 per cent by 2025. Recognizing most individual changes may each have only incremental effects on voter turnout and that voter turnout is only one measure of electoral health, the Task Force expanded the notions of public confidence and voter engagement to include a total of six considerations used to guide evaluation and implementation of the KSAs:

### ***The Task Force's six measures of public confidence and voter engagement:***

- political equality where participation is not limited by ethnicity, geographic location, political affiliation, gender, sexual orientation, etc.
- the representation of diverse viewpoints
- accountability of representatives to voters on an ongoing basis between elections
- voter satisfaction in candidates
- voter political knowledge
- voter turnout\*

\* While voter turnout is often used as a metric to assess voter engagement (typically expressed as a fraction of registered voters), members realized some measures under consideration might increase the overall number of voters participating, yet paradoxically might decrease the voter turnout metric (e.g. if we expanded voter eligibility rules). In developing metrics to define success, the City should be mindful of this potential paradox.

---

# PUTTING COUNCIL DIRECTIVES INTO ACTION

---

A summary of the recommendations and key activities for each key strategic action are presented in the following section.

Based on the Task Force members' findings, review and assessment, Task Force members have prioritized the list of key strategic actions with corresponding activities as follows:



# A. ADOPT A PROPORTIONAL VOTING SYSTEM

## OVERVIEW

Our current At-Large Block Voting system is a first past the post system that does not embody the key democratic principle that all voters should be treated equally and are equally deserving of effective representation. The system often produces results that don't reflect the diversity of the population, normally produces landslide majorities disproportionate to the share of the popular vote, and promotes strategic voting. Research shows this system contributes to a lack of citizen engagement and public confidence in the electoral process.

Other voting systems, collectively known as proportional representation voting systems (PR), better embody the principle of equality. PR voting systems deliver on key democratic values including a closer match between voter intentions and makeup of the elected body, improved demographic diversity, improved responsiveness of representatives, improved voter satisfaction, and some improvement in voter turnout, as has been shown in other jurisdictions. Research has shown measures of governance including effectiveness and economic performance are also typically either enhanced or maintained under PR systems.

The City of Vancouver should adopt a proportional representation (PR) voting system, which would contribute to increased public confidence and voter engagement.

## SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Move to adopt a proportional representation system by using a deliberative participatory process to produce a recommendation for a model of PR voting optimally suited for use in municipal elections. The Task Force particularly recommends that the City establish a Citizens' Assembly for this purpose.**

This process should be modeled on the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform and the Grandview Woodlands Community Plan Citizens' Assembly and should have:

- at least 50 randomly chosen members,
- representation from each of Vancouver's official neighbourhoods, and
- representation that reflects Vancouver with respect to ethnicity, socio economics, age, gender and sexual identity.

The Assembly's mandate will be to recommend a model of PR voting that best addresses Vancouver residents' top democratic values.

Recognizing that there is no one perfect electoral system, simply ones that best meet a jurisdiction's values, we recommend that Vancouver residents should be asked through Talk Vancouver and other engagement activities to express how important considerations, including the following, would be to them in choosing a new voting system:

- Where parties gain seats in proportion to the number of votes cast for them
- Whether the voting system encourages candidates/elected officials to seek common ground with other candidates/elected officials, within or across party lines

- Whether the voting system should encourage diversity amongst candidates from individual parties.
- The degree to which strategic voting is allowed, enabled or encouraged versus whether voters are encouraged to vote directly for their actual preferences
- Whether voters can hold individual candidates directly accountable when voting.
- Whether independent and party affiliated candidates are treated equally on the ballot.

Any additions to this list should focus on gauging how important specific values are to Vancouver residents rather than the mechanics of electoral systems. Consideration of the mechanics will be the work of the Assembly.

Assembly members would:

- Learn about the following systems: Single Transferable Vote, Open List Proportional Representation and Mixed Member Proportional Systems and other proportional systems as appropriate and assess them against the values deemed important by Vancouver residents. It may also be appropriate for members to learn about the current At-Large Block Voting system to comparatively understand how proportional systems better embody key democratic principles and the values of Vancouver residents.
- Design models of their two preferred systems.
- Evaluate and select one model to recommend to the City of Vancouver.

The Assembly structure should allow for learning, public input, and deliberation. In particular, the Task Force recommends the Assembly issue a preliminary report and solicit feedback from the public and Council before issuing their final report.

**2. Request that the provincial government allow the City to adopt the proportional representation model recommended by the Citizens' Assembly.**

Upon receipt of their recommendation, Council should direct staff to prepare and submit the request to the BC provincial government to adopt the PR model that the Citizens' Assembly has recommended.

- 3. Should the government grant the City of Vancouver's request, it should move forward with implementing the new system for the 2022 municipal election. Should the provincial government not grant the City of Vancouver's request, Vancouver could consider a semi-proportional model compatible with the ballot marking requirements of the Vancouver Charter.**
- 4. Prior to the first election under the new system the City of Vancouver should undertake an extensive public education campaign to help voters understand how to vote under the new system.**
- 5. After two election cycles under the new system the City of Vancouver should implement a formal review process aimed at refining proportional representation voting in Vancouver.**

# B. REFORM CAMPAIGN FINANCING

## OVERVIEW

Many elected municipal officials make decisions on developments proposed by those who contribute directly or indirectly to their election campaign. Participating in the decision-making process after receiving contributions directly or indirectly creates a perception of a conflict of interest that undermines public confidence in the electoral system. Surveys have found that a significant number of voters say they believe campaign contributions have an undue influence over elected candidates and the perceived links to contributors distort spending priorities of City Council.

Research has shown that banning corporate and union contributions in Toronto contributed to a more competitive municipal election. Turnout in elections is higher when an election campaign is more competitive.

There are currently no provisions limiting corporate and union donations and therefore no penalties associated with their acceptance in the Vancouver Charter or any pertinent provincial legislation. Any changes to campaign finance laws are the purview of the Province. The Province has refused to ban corporate and union donations despite repeated requests from the City of Vancouver.

However, Council could respond to the perceived conflict of interest by revising the rules for ethical conduct for elected municipal officials. It is recommended that City Council change its Code of Conduct to discourage corporations and unions from making campaign contributions and to encourage candidates for Council and municipal electoral groups to just say no to contributions from corporations, unions, non-profit societies and associations.

Penalties for a breach of City Council's Code of Conduct would not be as stiff as a violation of a ban on corporate and union campaign contributions set out in the Vancouver Charter, the City's governing legislation. A breach of the Code could lead to censure before Council and extract a political cost. Should a ban or limits to corporate or union donations and penalties be included in the Vancouver Charter, a violation could result in a fine and imprisonment.

In the absence of a provincially legislated ban, changes to the Code of Conduct would reflect City Council's unwavering commitment to a ban on corporation and union campaign contributions.

## SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. **Reinvigorate efforts to advocate for Vancouver Charter amendments that would allow the City of Vancouver to create its own rules for municipal election campaign financing, including:**

- Adding a question on local election financing on the October 2018 Vancouver municipal ballot. A suggestion for the wording is:

*Do you agree that the Vancouver Charter should be changed to allow Vancouver City Council to create its own rules for municipal election campaign financing in Vancouver?*

- Prior to the vote, undertaking a robust education campaign to inform residents about the issues related to campaign election financing and to specify the rules under consideration in clear, plain language. The following matters should be included in the package of proposed election financing reforms:
  - » A ban on campaign contributions from unions, corporations, non-profit societies, associations, anonymous donors and sources outside Canada;
  - » A limit on the annual amount of contributions by individuals and on third-party advertising;
  - » Real-time disclosure of campaign contributions;
  - » Tax credits for municipal campaign contributions;
  - » Public matching of a portion of campaign spending for candidates that meet a certain threshold of votes; and
  - » A lobbyist registry.

The City of Vancouver should also:

- Encourage municipalities in Metro Vancouver and across BC to include a question on election financing on their municipal ballot in 2018.
- Submit a resolution to the UBCM calling on all municipalities in BC to include a question on their municipal ballot on election financing reform.
- Take the ballot results in Vancouver to the Province in a submission in 2019.

## **2. Amend the City of Vancouver Code of Conduct for Council officials.**

Introduce a new provision requiring elected officials to withdraw from the decision-making process in matters submitted to City Council from corporations, unions, non-profit societies and associations that contribute directly or indirectly to their campaigns.

Require all submissions before Vancouver City Council to indicate whether the applicants (either the applying entity, or in the case of an organization, its officers) made campaign contributions and, if so, to whom. Contributors would self-identify on submissions that require a decision by City Council. The disclosure would accompany the submissions throughout the decision-making process.

The proposed changes should be in place for the 2018 municipal election campaign.

While the Code of Conduct is non-binding, in the absence of a provincially legislated ban, changes to the Code of Conduct would reflect City Council's unwavering commitment to a ban on corporation and union campaign contributions, and failure to adhere would come with a political cost.

# C. INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT

## OVERVIEW

The intent of the recommendations and actions outlined here is twofold:

- To increase the number of Vancouver residents who are eligible and are registered to vote by targeting voter registration and extending voter rights to permanent residents
- To increase the number of registered voters who turn out to vote in municipal elections by increasing positive voting cues and employing best practices from other jurisdictions)

The City of Vancouver employed many new strategies to increase voter turnout and civic engagement in the 2014 election. After review, these strategies were found to align with the literature surrounding the effective use of positive voting cues and best practices. It is the assumption, and recommendation, of this Task Force that these strategies be repeated in subsequent elections. The following recommendations are meant to complement the strategies the City employed in 2014, and not to replace them.

**In the examination of best practices, positive voting cues, and implementation steps to achieve the outcomes above, the sub-committee for this key strategic action examined a range of possible approaches according to the following criteria:**

## SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. Employ best practices from other jurisdictions.

Effective practices employed by the City of Vancouver in the 2014 election included, but were not limited to:

- “I voted” buttons and stickers
- An “Are you registered to vote” tool, in addition to an outreach plan using Pop-Up City Hall and engagement with post-secondary institutions and civic groups
- A “Plan Your Vote” online tool
- A “Vote anywhere” strategy

Research demonstrates that using social pressure, utilizing linguistic cues, and using tools that ask people to visualize how, when, and where they will be voting are effective in increasing voter turnout. Further, voters respond better to “everyone is doing it” messages than “don’t be a part of the problem” messages.

In the research for this key strategic action, the Task Force identified two simple lists of best practices related to efforts to Get Out the Vote (GOTV). Many of these practices have already been adopted by the City of Vancouver and some of them can be found in the other recommendations contained in this report. These practices have been listed in Reference A for this key strategic area.

The Task Force recommends expanding the City's elections outreach resources in the following ways.

*i. Invest in additional elections outreach resources*

There are three primary recommendations within this section. The first is to increase outreach staff to develop partnerships and align strategies to deploy the Plan Your Vote tool with civic groups throughout the city (per the Mayor's Engaged City Task Force recommendation to invest in public engagement resources). The second is to fund a social media team to engage voters leading up to the 2018 election. The final is to increase funding for Plan Your Vote tool and other elections education collateral so it is disseminated to more groups, and further in advance of the election.

*ii. Create and implement post-election polling to be administered after each of the next three municipal elections.*

Polling would provide a better understanding of the degree to which different voter engagement tactics and tools are effective in getting people out to vote. Thus, the Task Force recommends developing and implementing post-election polling that investigates voter motivations — including the effectiveness of public education campaigns, voter registration campaigns, GOTV tactics and celebratory events — and what keeps voters away from the polls. To measure both what motivates and what dissuades voters, members recommend post-election polling rather than the ballot question recommended by the Engaged City Task Force in order to reach non-voters as well.

## **2. Extend Voter Rights to Permanent Residents.**

The notion of the intrinsic equality of all members of a community is important to understand in the context of this recommendation and should serve as a guiding principle for the calculation of voter turnout pending the inclusion of permanent residents in the franchise.

Permanent residents are citizens of other countries and must live in Canada for three years out of a five-year period, or they may lose their permanent resident status. In 2011, 60,000 permanent residents were living in Vancouver. Permanent residency is a first step to becoming a Canadian citizen. Permanent residents in Vancouver are active members of the city and their communities, and contribute to the social and cultural texture and the financial viability of Vancouver through federal, provincial and municipal taxes and user fees associated with municipal programs. Despite this, permanent residents have not been granted voting rights within Canada.

A number of municipalities in Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia have investigated and supported extending voting rights to permanent residents, including Toronto, North Bay, Guelph, Kitchener, Saint John, Fredericton, Edmundston, Moncton, Dieppe and Halifax. The City of Vancouver's Engaged City Task Force has also raised the issue of extending voting rights to permanent residents.

Around the world, more than 45 countries granted permanent residents the right to vote, with some regulations and/or residency restrictions, including seven municipalities in the US, Hong Kong, Uruguay, Israel, 25 European Union countries such as Switzerland, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Ireland, Finland, Slovenia and 15 Commonwealth Nations including Australia and New Zealand.

This Task Force supports extending voter rights to permanent residents, and recommends the following:

- i. Request the provincial government make legislative changes to the Vancouver Charter to allow permanent residents of Vancouver to vote in municipal elections.*

The Task Force recommends the City:

- Create public awareness and engagement opportunities for an open dialogue on permanent residents voting rights
- Undertake consultation with the public and affected stakeholders
- Request the Director of Legislation at the BC Ministry of Community, Sport, and Cultural Development draft wording for proposed legislative changes in the Vancouver Charter that could be adopted by the BC legislature.
- Investigate collaborating with provincial government, ICBC, and CIC whose data collection mandates included permanent residents living in Vancouver

It should be noted that while the total number of voters would increase, the impact on voter turnout measured as a per cent of eligible voters is unknown. Consideration should be given to using a benchmark that can accurately assess the success of this measure.

### **3. Target Voter Registration Practices.**

Research identifies voter registration as one of the most important and effective tactics to improve voter turnout. Further, evidence has shown that voting in one election substantially increases the likelihood of voting in future elections by as much as 46 per cent. As such, the Task Force recommends legislation that allows for new voter registration practices be requested.

Other jurisdictions and Canadian provinces that have passed legislation enabling 16-year-olds to be pre-registered to vote include nine American states, Australia, and the provinces of Nova Scotia, Quebec and Alberta either now or in the near future. As the City of Vancouver uses the provincial voters list that is managed by Elections BC, the Task force recommends that City Council:

- i. Request legislation for Elections BC to adopt new voter registration practices by December 2018. The Task Force recommends that the City first support the recommendation of the Chief Electoral Officer from the Elections BC October 2014 Report on Recommendations for Legislative Change to pre-register 16-year-olds, and second request Elections BC to collect and keep email addresses and, as an option for voters, to register a mobile phone number, for the purposes of government sending voting information and updates.*

#### 4. Increase Positive Voting Cues.

Research about the use of positive voting cues such as “I Voted” buttons and stickers, etc. highlights the importance of social networks in encouraging voting participation. Thus, activating social networks during elections can increase voter turnout. Fortunately, Vancouver has a number of civic organizations and non-profits that work to increase voter turnout and overall civic engagement. These organizations have established relationships with their target audiences and a level of trust that outsiders or City employees may not experience, or would require time to develop. Using and supporting these civic organizations to the fullest will be advantageous for increasing overall civic engagement.

The recommendations here are focused on equipping non-partisan civic groups to use their existing networks in order to augment overall positive voting cues throughout the City of Vancouver. There are two recommendations:

*i. Create citizen academies to increase civic capacity.*

The Task Force recommends that the City create a cycle of programs to increase civic capacity.

First, the City of Vancouver’s 2014 YouthPolitik program should be reactivated and elevated as a pilot for a citizen education and civic leadership development program with the goals of:

- Increasing general awareness of the functions of the municipality
- Increasing knowledge among underrepresented Vancouver communities
- Increasing trust between Vancouverites and City of Vancouver staff

One YouthPolitik semester would be held each fall with community leaders participating as mentees. Following the YouthPolitik semester, each mentee would in turn run a Civic Academy in the community, informed by the knowledge and experience gained during the YouthPolitik semester. This cycle would occur on an ongoing basis.

*ii. Create and administer grants for civic groups to hold voter education campaigns, registration campaigns, GOTV campaigns and celebration events.*

The Task Force recommends the City create new Community and Social Service Grants for nonprofits and civic organizations to manage nonpartisan GOTV campaigns targeting groups with low voter turnout, and grants for groups hosting celebratory events for voters who can provide proof of participation in the election. The following parameters should be recommended to grant applicants:

- Grants should allow organizations to develop their own strategies to increase overall civic engagement in Vancouver, and not be overly prescriptive.
- Groups should be tasked with increasing voter turnout with targeted groups, including aboriginal communities, youth, new Vancouverites, and new Canadians.

The Task Force recommends a total of \$40,000 to be administered by application to the various groups.

# D. MAKE ANONYMOUS BALLOTING DATA AVAILABLE IN OPEN DATA FORMAT AFTER AN ELECTION

## OVERVIEW

In all elections conducted to date, the Chief Election Officer has reported the total number of votes received by each candidate, but has not reported on the detailed per-ballot voting patterns. This information would help all involved in Vancouver elections to better understand voter patterns to inform reflection upon and possibly motivate reform of our current voting system. For example, it is currently unknown how many voters use all ten of their votes for the council election, whether they tend to mark preferences for candidates from more than one party or whether they tend to support candidates from particular neighbourhoods in the city.

Many other jurisdictions that use ballots with multiple marks openly publish detailed anonymized ballot data for this purpose. In prior years, Vancouver's voting machines only tabulated and reported on the vote totals.

However, the Task Force, through its review has identified that voting machine vendors can now report on detailed anonymized ballot information. This action does not require a change to the Vancouver Charter and can be implemented directly by City staff.

## SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS

- 1. Require that ballot scanning machines leased for the next election have the ability to store complete ballot data.**
- 2. Direct staff to make anonymous balloting data available in open data format after an election.**

To accomplish these recommendations, Council should authorize the Chief Election Officer to include a specification in its next Request for Proposals (RFP) for voting machines that requires acquisition, storage and reporting of anonymized individual ballot data; this should occur at the normal time for issuing the voting machine RFP. The City Elections Officer should then work with the Open Data Coordinator to determine how the ballot data can be published on the city's open data portal. Following the next election (and all subsequent elections), the Open Data Coordinator should supervise publication of the ballot data files generated by the voting machines.

# E. CONDUCT AN ONLINE VOTING PILOT

---

## OVERVIEW

Online voting has been successfully implemented in 97 of 414 Ontario municipalities, 24 municipalities in Nova Scotia including Halifax, and several jurisdictions outside of Canada.

The Government of British Columbia has turned down requests to allow BC municipalities to implement online voting technology that would allow voters to cast their ballot from any Internet connection to which they have access such as a home computer or smartphone.

There is reasonable evidence that online voting can increase accessibility and convenience to voters, and it has some potential to decrease costs. However, to date, studies looking at the relationship between online voting and voter turnout have shown null, small or negative effects.

There have been more instances of remote online voting in local Canadian elections than any other country and no election results have been shown to have been compromised. A survey conducted in early 2016 found that online voting through a secure website was the top election reform wanted by Canadians.

Online voting also poses risks; the most prominently cited risks are related to Internet security and the vulnerability of online voting to cyber-attack and large-scale fraud which could compromise an election and public confidence in online voting. A number of researchers say it is not possible with any current or foreseeable technology to adequately secure an online election from cyber-attacks.

An Independent Panel on Internet Voting established by the Province to review and assess the prospects for online voting in BC, recommended in 2014 against implementing universal Internet voting. Aware of the popular support for online voting, the Panel also recommended, among other measures, that if online voting were to be implemented, the Province should set up a committee of independent technical experts as an oversight group and the system of online voting be measured against principles established by the committee. The Province has not yet set up a technical advisory committee to support the implementation of online voting in BC.

The City cannot proceed with conducting an online voting pilot without the approval of the Province and amendment of the Vancouver Charter to allow online voting.

## **SUMMARY OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS**

- 1. The Task Force supports asking the Province to establish the independent technical committee recommended by the Independent Panel on Internet Voting, as soon as possible. In order for online voting to be implemented it is necessary to review and assess the requirements and guidelines for an online voting pilot.**
- 2. Advocate and support Union of British Columbia Municipalities (UBCM) resolutions and requests to the Province to authorize online voting.**
- 3. Monitor the deployment of online voting in other Canadian municipalities on an ongoing basis (i.e. the recent Halifax Regional Municipality municipal election, October 15, 2016).**
- 4. Share the City's observations of online voting in other Canadian municipalities with the BC Chief Electoral Officer and any independent technical committee that is formed by the Province to develop the technical standards and requirements for online voting.**

## **ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Online voting was a contentious topic and the Task Force struggled to balance two considerations: some members emphasized the need to pursue online voting to improve accessibility. Other members emphasized online voting should only be pursued with a full, independent and expert-led security analysis.

# SUMMARY AND NEXT STEPS

The Task Force has assigned priorities to each recommendation indicating their relative importance in increasing public confidence and voter engagement. It should be noted that the top two ranked KSAs may perhaps take the longest to fully achieve.

However, we do want to identify several elements of our recommendations that could and should be implemented before the 2018 civic election due to limited costs and/or ease of implementation, without compromising, or delaying work on the top priorities.

These “Quick Wins” are, in no particular order:

- **Amend the City of Vancouver Code of Conduct for Council officials to include a provision on avoiding the appearance of conflict of interest by requiring elected officials to withdraw from the decision-making process in matters submitted to City Council from corporate or union campaign donors who contribute directly or indirectly to their campaigns. (section B.2)**
- **Increase voter turnout:**
  - » Employ best practices from other jurisdictions: City staff should be commended for their work during the 2014 election. The Task Force notes that none of the recommendations contained herein should be considered instead of those efforts, but rather in addition, with allocation of additional resources for the expansion of current efforts as recommended. In addition:
    - Invest in additional elections outreach resources (section C.1.i)
    - Create and implement post-election polling to be administered after each of the next three municipal elections (section C.1.ii)
  - » Create and administer grants for civic groups to hold voter education campaigns, registration campaigns, GOTV campaigns and celebration events. (section C.4.ii)
- **Make anonymous balloting data available in open data format after an election. This requirement to collect and deliver balloting data should be included in the RFP for voting machines for the 2018 election since there are minimal costs associated with making open data available. (section D.1)**

In order to move all of these critical actions forward, the Task Force recommends the City designate a dedicated elections advocacy staff position to advance the related KSAs and manage inter-governmental relations with the Province.

# LESSONS LEARNED

Our primary learning is that participatory democracy is both the ‘what’ and the ‘how’; we increase participation in the end product, elections, by increasing civic engagement in the whole process. We move forward by tasking independent citizens to build the road map, by soliciting everything from feedback to deliberative decision-making in building the cases for these reform measures, and in polling citizens to determine what is working, or not, after each election. Investment breeds participation: we will improve participation in elections by improving civic engagement in our electoral processes.

Of course, our experience led to some prosaic learnings as well:

1. We acknowledge all task forces probably share the common refrain of “more time.” Given the scope of work, we would have benefitted from additional time to allow for more engagement and consultation with experts. We would encourage the bulk of work for future Task Forces not be scheduled during the summer. In addition, 3-6 more hours of facilitated meeting time would have allowed a more thorough exploration of efficiencies and interdependencies between the five recommendations and of other related reforms.
2. While we appreciate the desirability of attaching costs to each of the proposals we would encourage a different approach in future. While members felt able to identify most line items needed, we lack the knowledge and tools related to the city’s budgeting protocol. We would like to note that due to this limitation, costing is approximate. We would also like to acknowledge the tireless assistance of those staff who took on significant unanticipated work to help us with costing.
3. Should similar task forces be convened in the future, we encourage Council to include within the mandate specific direction as to the circumstances under which the task force may determine that, rather than simply advising the City on how to move forward, it might wish to recommend that a proposed measure not be pursued.
4. We understand Council was seeking to hear perspectives from past candidates and prescribed the survey format. For future task forces, we recommend Council identify target audiences and allow members to determine the best mechanism for engagement.

In general, our time on the Independent Election Task Force has been enjoyable, engaging and rewarding. We commend the City of Vancouver for involving citizens in this process. By tasking citizens with charting a way forward, you have taken another important step in improving public confidence and civic engagement.

# **APPENDIX A:** DETAILED REPORTS ON KEY STRATEGIC ACTIONS

---



# CONTENTS

<b>KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 1:</b> REFORM CAMPAIGN FINANCING.....	35
<b>KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 2:</b> ADOPT PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION VOTING IN VANCOUVER.....	55
<b>KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 3:</b> CONDUCT AN ONLINE VOTING PILOT.....	67
<b>KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 4:</b> INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT.....	93
<b>KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 5:</b> REQUEST TO PROVINCE TO MAKE ANONYMOUS BALLOTING DATA AVAILABLE IN OPEN DATA FORMAT AFTER AN ELECTION.....	123



# **KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 1: REFORM CAMPAIGN FINANCING**

---

Robert Matas



# CONTENTS

<b>1. SYNOPSIS OF KEY STRATEGIC ISSUES</b> .....	38
<b>2. HISTORY OF ELECTION FINANCING IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS</b> .....	39
<b>3. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK</b> .....	39
<b>4. KEY ISSUES</b> .....	40
<b>5. DISCUSSION</b> .....	40
<b>6. RESEARCH FINDINGS</b> .....	42
<b>7. RECOMMENDATIONS</b> .....	43
<b>8. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	45
REFERENCE A – Election Campaign Financing .....	48
REFERENCE B – Election Spending Limits Across Canada .....	50
REFERENCE C – Selected Sources Consulted .....	51

# 1. SYNOPSIS OF KEY STRATEGIC ISSUES

Corporations and unions contribute the vast majority of funds for municipal election campaigns. In the 2014 election in Vancouver, corporations and unions contributed almost 80 per cent of the \$3.4 million raised by Vision Vancouver. Corporations and unions contributed around 70 per cent of the \$2.5 million to the Non-Partisan Association. The Vancouver Green Party adopted a policy of not accepting campaign contributions from developers and fossil fuel companies, and did not receive donations from those sources.

Municipal elected officials make decisions on developments proposed by campaign contributors and on contracts with unions that contribute directly or indirectly to their campaigns.

The involvement of municipal politicians in the decision-making process creates an appearance of conflict of interest that undermines public confidence in the electoral system. Surveys have found that a significant proportion of non-voters say they were cynical about the political process; they believe that campaign contributions have an undue influence over elected candidates and the perceived links to contributors distorts spending priorities by City Council.

Research shows that a ban on corporate and union contributions in Toronto has contributed to a more competitive municipal election, that turnout in elections is higher when the contest is more competitive and that the dominance of money from corporations and unions discourages those who are not wealthy or well connected from running for office.

Successive City Councils in Vancouver since 2005 have gone on record as opposed to corporate and union campaign contributions in municipal elections. Vancouver City Council has repeatedly asked the BC government to change the Vancouver Charter to allow Vancouver to create rules for municipal election campaign finances. City Council endorsed campaign finance reforms in 2005, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2015. In 2016, City Council called on the BC government to hold a referendum at the time of the 2017 provincial general election on the question of whether municipalities should be authorized to regulate campaign finance rules for local elections. The Union of BC Municipalities, the voice of local government for rural and urban centres across the province, in 2013 formally endorsed Vancouver's request on election financing reform to the Province.

The BC government repeatedly declined to ban corporate and union contributions to municipal Council candidates and has turned down requests to change the Vancouver Charter. BC has some restrictions on campaign spending but does not impose any limits on money, property or services that an individual, corporation, union, non profit or association can contribute to a municipal political campaign.

Despite the stalemate between Vancouver and the Province, an opportunity exists to revise the rules of ethical conduct within the City to discourage developers and unions from making campaign contributions and to encourage candidates to refuse to accept funds from those sources.

## 2. HISTORY OF ELECTION FINANCING IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Controlling money in politics has been debated at City Council for years. The issue gained new urgency in 2002, at a time when political contributions to the two main parties had reached almost \$2 million.

The Vancouver Electoral Reform Committee, appointed in 2004, offered a recommendation on campaign finance reform. The Commission often heard at its neighbourhood meetings that minority parties and independent candidates could not be heard above the din of the big parties campaigns. Commissioner Thomas Berger recommended that Vancouver consider ways to limit the influence of money on local elections. He did not set out a plan, he said, because that had not been the focus of his neighbourhood meetings or his own research. Nevertheless, it was clear to him that reform of election financing was “of fundamental importance.” He offered recommendations on contribution and spending limits, and on disclosure requirements.

Over the subsequent decade, political contributions to municipal campaigns for Vancouver City Council increased threefold. In 2011, a single corporation alone donated almost \$1 million. By 2014, political contributions to candidates running for City Council, School Board and Park Board rose to about \$6 million.

## 3. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

City Council established the Independent Election Task Force for the purpose, in part, of developing a strategy and a work plan to assist the City in advancing Council-approved reforms to the governing of the municipal election process in Vancouver.

The Terms of Reference of the Task Force include determining which of the Council directives and other proposed changes can be implemented within the existing legislative structure of local government in BC.

The Vancouver Charter, s. 189 states, “Council may provide for the good rule and government of the city.”

The City of Vancouver has established a Code of Conduct that sets minimum expectations for the behaviour of all elected Council officials, staff and advisory body members in carrying out their functions.

The Code of Conduct (s. 4.2) states that a conflict exists when an individual is or could be influenced or appears to be influenced by a personal interest, financial (pecuniary) or otherwise, when carrying out their public duty. Personal interest can include direct or indirect pecuniary interest, bias, pre-judgment, close mindedness or undue influence.

The Code of Conduct (s. 4.3) states, when considering whether or not a conflict of interest exists, it is important to consider whether there are any grounds for a reasonable person to think that a conflict exists.

OECD guidelines for conflict rules and the federal guide to conflict of interest include the following provisions:<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Government of Canada. Policies on Conflict of Interest. Retrieved from <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?id=25178>. Apparent Conflict of Interest. Retrieved from <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/psm-fpfm/ve/conflict-conflict/aci02-eng.asp>.

- In an apparent conflict of interest, the appearance to the public is key, not the integrity or good faith of the public servant. Public servants are required to think beyond the scope of their own perceptions and motives, and to consider how the public may perceive their actions.
- A conflict of interest may involve otherwise legitimate activity, personal affiliations or associations if those interests could reasonably be considered likely to influence improperly the official's performance of their duties.

The proposal to change the Code of Conduct can be implemented within the existing legislative structure of the Vancouver Charter and does not require any provincial legislative change to be implemented. The proposal is within Council's ability to control.

## 4. KEY ISSUES

Municipal elected officials make decisions on developments proposed by campaign contributors and on contracts with unions that contributed directly or indirectly to their campaigns, creating an appearance of conflict of interest that undermines public confidence in the electoral system and depresses turnout.

An end to corporate and union campaign contributions would respond to the perception of an apparent conflict of interest, encourage more people to seek elected office, make contests more competitive and contribute to an increase in turnout.

Changing the Code to eliminate corporate and union campaign contributions would re-affirm Council's longstanding policy on election financing reform and mark a first step to a more extensive overhaul of electoral financing rules.

## 5. DISCUSSION

The appearance of conflict of interest arises when corporations and unions contribute directly or indirectly to those who are involved in the decision-making process. Some examples:

- a) Concord Pacific Developments Inc. proposed development of a 28-storey tower and a 30-storey tower at the corner of Nelson Street and Pacific Boulevard.

Following public hearings on the rezoning in 2011, City Council referred the application back to staff for further work. The rezoning application returned to City Council in 2014. Council gave conditional approval to the rezoning on June 11, 2014 and after the conditions were met, City Council approved the rezoning bylaw on November 25, 2014.

According to records disclosed to Elections BC, Concord Pacific made a campaign contribution to Vision Vancouver of \$25,000 on March 12, 2014. A second contribution of \$10,000 was made on June 4, 2014, one week before Council gave conditional approval to the rezoning. Concord Pacific made a third contribution of \$5,000 on July 18, 2014, a month after the rezoning was approved. Final approval of the rezoning bylaw came 10 days after the municipal election.

Campaign contributions at the time that elected officials were considering a rezoning could create an appearance of a conflict of interest.

b) In a highly controversial development proposal, Rize Alliance sought City Council approval for a high-rise tower on the city block between Kingsway, Broadway, 10th Avenue and Watson Street. It took seven years of back-and-forth negotiations and revisions before City Council approved the rezoning bylaw incorporating the land use changes on November 25, 2015, 10 days after Vision Vancouver retained its majority on City Council. Elections BC's records of municipal campaign contributions show Rize Alliance contributed \$10,000 to Vision Vancouver on June 11, 2014, a month before the City's Development Permit Board considered the proposal. Rize Alliance contributed an additional \$24,500 on Oct. 21, 2014, three weeks before the election.

Asking a developer for a campaign contribution at the time that a controversial development application is going through the decision-making process could create the appearance of conflict.

c) A similar perception of conflict of interest is created when a union contributes to a campaign of a candidate or political group of a candidate that is involved in the decision-making process at City Hall.

CUPE Local 15, the union representing city firefighters support staff, and some City and Park Board workers, contributed \$40,000 to Vision Vancouver on Oct. 14, 2014. CUPE Local 1004, a multi-sector composite union that represents, among others, City and Park Board outside workers and employees at the PNE and the City's parking corporation, After the Nov 15, 2014 election, City Councillors were expected to ratify contracts with the unions.

d) Top developers who built much of Vancouver — Amacon Developments, Holborn Group of Companies, Aquilini Development and Construction Inc, Magnum Projects, Wesgroup, Bosa Properties and Intracorp — are among the top contributors, directly or indirectly, to municipal election campaigns of elected officials in Vancouver. The involvement of City Councillors in the decision-making process could create a conflict of interest.

## 6. RESEARCH FINDINGS

Literature review:

- a) The outcome of a municipal election is likely to be closer, and interest in the campaign is likely to be greater, when the spending gap between contenders is smaller than in contests where there is a substantial gap in spending. The effect of the spending gap on turnout exceeds institutional variables.<sup>2</sup>
- b) “It’s just about the money” was identified in focus groups as a significant reason why non-voters in the 2011 municipal election did not vote.<sup>3</sup>
- c) Limits on campaign contributions and caps on spending have a discernible but modest impact on the competitive environment. The limits and caps build a more level environment and diversify a candidate’s base of support.<sup>4</sup>
- d) Corporate and development industry funding affects political outcomes, representation and influences the shape of the city. The study found that 78 of 100 top developer and development-related campaign contributors submitted applications to City Hall that were considered by elected politicians who had accepted donations from them. The elected officials passed close to 100 per cent of matters before them. Most of the motions were passed without recorded votes.<sup>5</sup>
- e) 86 per cent of British Columbians favour legislation banning donations from corporations and unions to provincial parties.<sup>6</sup>
- f) Those who oppose a ban on corporation and union campaign contributions say that making contributions to political campaigns is a way for people to participate in the electoral process although they may not be eligible to vote but are affected by government decisions. Some examples: non-profit environmental groups with membership in BC but based outside the Province, landed immigrants and foreign based resource companies.<sup>7</sup>
- g) Almost two thirds of BC municipalities have fewer than 10,000 people. Contribution limits in municipal campaigns would be irrelevant in those municipalities.<sup>8</sup>
- h) Limiting campaign contributions in Vancouver alone would result in confusion for candidates, contributors and the public in Metro Vancouver, leading to non-compliance.<sup>9</sup>

---

2 Holbrook, Thomas and Aaron Weinschenk. Campaign, Mobilization and Turnout in Mayoral Elections. July 2013. Study surveyed results from 144 US large cities with 340 mayoral elections.

3 Norman Gludovatz. Getting the Majority to Vote — Practical Solutions to Re-engage Citizens in Local Elections. April 2014; The Non-Voting Majority: A Study of Non-voting in the 2011 Vancouver Municipal Election. August 2012.

4 Austin, Sam and Lisa Young. Political Finance in City Elections: Toronto and Calgary Compared. Institute for Advanced Policy Research.

5 MacDermid, Robert. Funding City Politics: Municipal Campaign Funding and Property Development in the Greater Toronto Area.

6 Insights West. BC Views on Political Funding. April 25, 2016. A poll of 803 adults +/- 3.5 percentage points, 19 times out of 20.

7 Local Government Elections Task Force Report. May 28, 2010. Task force rejected limits on contributions.

8 Local Government Elections Task Force Report. May 28, 2010

9 Local Government Elections Task Force Report. May 28, 2010.

The federal government and the Quebec, Ontario, Alberta, Manitoba and Nova Scotia provincial governments ban campaign contributions from corporations and unions. The PEI government announced intentions to proceed with a ban later in 2016.

Campaign contributions are not considered to be a conflict of interest under current BC legislation governing municipal election financing.<sup>10,11</sup> The current rules governing municipalities pertaining to conflict of interest require an elected official to receive a direct financial benefit. A campaign contribution to a political party is not considered to be a financial benefit directly to the candidate. A BC Court of Appeal case in 2001 — King vs. Nanaimo<sup>12</sup> — is regarded as the leading case in this area.

Money in politics is spent mostly on advertising, canvassing, polling, analysis and bringing out the vote on Election Day. Research on election financing has looked mostly at the impact of advertising and of mobilization on outcome. Banning corporate and union contributions takes sizeable amount of money out of election campaigns. But research has not been undertaken to find out whether less spending reduces awareness and subsequently reduces participation and turnout.

## 7. RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. **Reinvigorate efforts to advocate for Vancouver Charter amendments that would allow Vancouver to create its own rules for municipal election campaign financing.**

If provisions on campaign financing were to be included in the Vancouver Charter, penalties for a violation of the rules could include a fine and/or imprisonment.

City Council should include a question on local election financing on the October 2018 municipal ballot. A suggestion for the wording of the ballot question is: Do you agree that the Vancouver Charter should be changed to allow Vancouver City Council to create rules for municipal election campaign financing in Vancouver?

Prior to the vote, the City should undertake a robust education campaign to inform residents about the issues related to campaign election financing. The following matters should be discussed in the package of proposed election financing reforms:

- A ban on campaign contributions from unions, corporations, non-profit societies, associations, anonymous donors and sources outside Canada;
- A limit on the annual amount of contributions from individuals;
- Real-time disclosure of campaign contributions;
- Tax credits for municipal campaign contributions;
- Public subsidy for campaign expenses;
- Public matching of a portion of campaign spending for candidates that meet a certain threshold of votes; and
- A lobbyist registry.

<sup>10</sup> BC Local Elections Campaign Financing Act. (Current to July 6, 2016) Retrieved on July 19, 2016. <http://www.bclaws.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/14018>.

<sup>11</sup> Vancouver Charter. (Current to July 6, 2016) Sec. 145.2 Disclosure of conflict. Sec. 145.6. Exceptions from conflict restrictions. Retrieved from [http://www.bclaws.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/vanch\\_00](http://www.bclaws.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/vanch_00).

<sup>12</sup> BC Court of Appeal. (Oct. 17, 2001) Retrieved on July 19, 2016 from <http://www.courts.gov.bc.ca/jdb-txt/ca/01/06/2001bccca0610.htm>.

Encourage municipalities in Metro Vancouver and across BC to include a question on election financing on their municipal ballot in 2018.

Submit a resolution to the UBCM calling on all municipalities to include a question on their municipal ballot on election financing reform.

Take the ballot results to the Province in a submission in 2019.

## **2. Amend the City of Vancouver Code of Conduct from Council officials.**

Introduce a new provision requiring elected officials to withdraw from the decision-making process in matters submitted to City Council from corporate or union campaign donors, and non-profit societies and associations that contribute directly or indirectly to their campaigns. The legal language should be based on OECD guidelines for conflict rules<sup>13</sup> and the federal guide to conflict of interest.<sup>14</sup>

*In an apparent conflict of interest, the appearance to the public is key, not the integrity or good faith of the public servant. Public servants are required to think beyond the scope of their own perceptions and motives, and to consider how the public may perceive their actions.*

*A conflict of interest may involve otherwise legitimate activity, personal affiliations or associations if those interests could reasonably be considered likely to influence improperly the official's performance of their duties.*

Require all submissions before Vancouver City Council to indicate whether the applicants made campaign contributions and, if so, to whom. Contributors would self-identify on submissions that require a decision by City Council. The disclosure should accompany the submissions throughout the decision-making process.

Enforcement would be complaint-driven and compliance would be subject to random audits.

Sanctions currently in the Code of Conduct would apply. Unlike a violation of provisions in the Vancouver Charter, a breach of the Code of Conduct does not lead to criminal charges, jail or a fine. The Code of Conduct currently provides that Council by resolution may decide to censure a Council member when Council finds that a member has breached the code. An elected official may also pay a political cost for violating the Code of Conduct.

The proposed changes should be in place before the start of the 2018 municipal election campaign to ensure that all candidates will be aware of the provisions of the Code of Conduct when campaigning for office.

The changes would come into effect on January 1, 2019. During its first year, elected officials would be required to withdraw from the decision-making process if they had received campaign contributions directly or indirectly after January 1, 2018.

Following the 2022 municipal election and in subsequent years, elected officials would be required to withdraw from the decision-making process if they had received campaign contributions directly or indirectly in the previous five years.

---

<sup>13</sup> OECD (2003) 2003 Guidelines for Managing Conflict of Interest in the Public Service.

<sup>14</sup> Government of Canada. Policies on Conflict of Interest. Retrieved from <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?id=25178>. Apparent Conflict of Interest. Retrieved from <https://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/psm-fpfm/ve/conflict-confli/aci02-eng.asp>.

## 8. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

**Recommendation 1: City includes a ballot question on election financing in October 2018 and promotes a co-ordinated effort for a ballot question in all municipal elections across the Province.**

**City takes ballot results to the provincial government.**

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY/RELEVANT LEGISLATION	RESPONSIBLE	MATERIALS, RESOURCES
January 2017	City Council accepts Independent Election Task Force recommendation to include question on election financing on 2018 ballot.	City Council	Task Force report
January - May 2017	City Council directs staff to develop ballot question — resolution adopted by Council.	Legal Services, City Clerk's Office, Election Office	\$7,000
May - September 2017	City consults with Metro Vancouver municipalities about including ballot question to ban corporate/union donations.	Mayor's Office, City Councillors	
September 2017	City submits resolutions to UBCM urging the Province to ban corporate/ union donations and encourages all municipalities to have a ballot question on bans and caps on electoral financing in municipal elections.	Mayor's Office, City Councillors	
January - October 2018	City designs and implements public education program on electoral financing reforms.	City public engagement staff	\$650,000 for a mail out, meetings in each neighbourhood and stakeholder outreach. Requires two staff.

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY/RELEVANT LEGISLATION	RESPONSIBLE	MATERIALS, RESOURCES
September/October 2018	City has a ballot question on electoral financing reform.	City Clerk's Office, Election Office	\$1,000 to work with ballot tabulator vendor to design ballot wording.
January 2019	Reflecting results of ballot, City renews/abandons request to Province for legislative changes permitting municipalities to create rules for electoral financing in municipal elections.	Mayor's Office	Intergovernmental team.
Total cost:			\$658,000

## Recommendation 2: Change the Code of Conduct

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY/RELEVANT LEGISLATION	RESPONSIBLE	MATERIALS, RESOURCES
January 2017	City Council accepts Independent Election Task Force recommendation to consider changes to the Code.	City Council	Independent Election Task Force report
January - June 2017	City Council directs staff to develop revision to Code, consult with interested parties, including municipal parties, democracy advocates, unions and corporations, and report back within six months — resolution of Council.	City clerk's office/ election office	\$30,000-\$50,000 for development of policy/ report to Council, includes Legal Services, City Manager and City Clerk's staff time.  \$10,000-\$50,000 for consultations.
Summer 2017	City Council receives report from City Clerk's Office on consultations and on changes to Code, including procedures for monitoring, reporting alleged breaches and enforcing penalties.	City Council	Report to Council

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY/RELEVANT LEGISLATION	RESPONSIBLE	MATERIALS, RESOURCES
Fall 2017	City Council endorses revisions to the Code, with provisions coming into effect Jan. 1, 2019 — resolution of Council.	City Council	Debate in Council
January - October, 2018	City publicizes provisions of the Code that will come into effect Jan. 1, 2019.	Communications department	\$40,000 - \$50,000 for a public open house, stakeholder workshops, focus-group conversations, and a Talk Vancouver survey. Includes graphic design and contract for a facilitator.
January 2019	City implements changes to Code.	City clerk's office	Two or three full time equivalents required — \$100,000 - \$150,000 annually.
Total cost:			\$180,000 - \$265,000

# REFERENCE A – ELECTION CAMPAIGN FINANCING

## BC

- Public Financing: BC has no direct public funding for political parties, local associations or candidates. Election expenses are not reimbursed. A tax credit is available for monetary contributions to provincial and federal political parties but not to municipal political parties.
- Contributions: contributions can be accepted from individuals, corporations, unions, non-profit societies and associations. No limit has been set.
- Contributions can be accepted from out-of-the province and outside the country.
- Single anonymous contributions cannot exceed \$50 and total anonymous contributions to a party or constituency association may not exceed \$10,000 in a calendar year and may not exceed \$3,000 to a candidate in an election year.
- Spending: new provincial legislation set a per-capita formula to limit expenses, beginning with the 2018 municipal elections:
  - » Mayoral candidates in Vancouver would have an expense limit of \$1 per capita for the first 15,000 population; \$0.55 per capita for the next 15,000 to 150,000 population; \$0.60 per capita for the next 150,000 to 250,000 and \$0.15 per capita thereafter.
  - » Candidates for all other locally elected offices would have an expense limit of \$0.50 per capita for the first 15,000 population; \$0.28 per capita for the next 15,000 to 150,000 population; \$0.30 per capita for the next 150,000 to 250,000 population and \$0.08 per capita thereafter.
  - » CBC reports that the Vision Vancouver party collectively in 2014 spent more than \$3.3 million on its campaign. Under the new rules, Vision could spend a maximum of just under \$2.5 million. Based on 2011 census figures — a mayoral candidate would be able to spend slightly more than \$200,000, and candidates for the council, school board and park board would be limited to just under \$100,000.
- Limits on third-party advertising: new rules set the limit at five per cent of the spending limit of a candidate in the local election area, with a cumulative, province wide maximum of \$150,000 applicable during a 28-day campaign program.

## Quebec

- Quebec has the tightest controls on spending and contributions. Contributions from corporations and unions are banned. Contributions from individuals are limited to \$100 in total from same elector in same year to each party, independent member and independent candidate. An additional contribution of \$100 is permitted from same elector to each party, independent member and independent candidate during a general election or by-election.
- Only cash contributions amounting to \$50 or less can be directly remitted to the official representatives of the party or the candidates. Otherwise, they have to be given to the Chief Electoral Officer for the benefit of an authorized party. No contributions can be made from outside the province.

- Campaign contributions are allowed only from local residents. The total contributions that an elector may make during a calendar year are limited to \$100 to each of the political parties including their authorities, and to each of the authorized independent candidates and independent members.
- The government compensates for the reduction in financial support with a public subsidy. The government pays one-dollar per vote plus matching funds of \$2.50 for each dollar contributed to an authorized party up to an annual amount of \$20,000 paid in contributions to each party and \$1.00 to a \$200,000 paid in contributions to each party.
- Donations are made to Elections Quebec and passed to the designated parties and candidates. Funnelling donations for a contributor is illegal.

#### Ontario

- The Province has a ban on corporation and trade union contributions but corporations and trade unions can be third party advertisers and make contributions to third party advertisers. The third party advertisers are required to be independent of the candidate. A contribution to any one candidate is limited to \$750 and a total of \$5,000 to candidates in the same municipality; the limit for contributions to a mayoralty candidate is set at \$2,500. Spending limit based on a set amount per voter.<sup>15</sup>

#### Manitoba

- Campaign contributions from corporations, partnerships, associations, unincorporated groups and unions are banned. Non-Canadian, out-of-province and anonymous donations are also prohibited. Donations from local residents are limited to \$3,000 per year per candidate. Annual public allowances are paid to political parties.

#### Alberta

- Corporate and union campaign contributions to political parties, riding associations and candidates are banned. Donations to registered parties during a provincial campaign period are limited to \$30,000. A limit of \$2,000 has been set for donations to candidates.<sup>16</sup>

#### The Green Party of Vancouver

- The Green Party in the 2014 election promised voluntary compliance with restriction on campaign contributions. The Party announced it would not accept donations from developers, fossil fuel companies or from out of the country, that all donations would be limited to \$5,000, and that a spending limit of 65 cents per registered voter would be accepted. A candidate could spend an additional 15 cents per voter.

<sup>15</sup> Ontario Municipal Elections Act. (June 9, 2016) Retrieved from [https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/96m32?\\_ga=1.268137294.1391408288.1467572608](https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/96m32?_ga=1.268137294.1391408288.1467572608).

<sup>16</sup> Alberta Election Finances and Contributions Disclosure Act. (July 1, 2015) Retrieved from [http://www.qp.alberta.ca/1266.cfm?page=E02.cfm&leg\\_type=Acts&isbncln=9780779730315](http://www.qp.alberta.ca/1266.cfm?page=E02.cfm&leg_type=Acts&isbncln=9780779730315).

# REFERENCE B – ELECTION SPENDING LIMITS ACROSS CANADA

As of June 2015, spending limits were in place in all local governments in Ontario, local governments with populations over 5,000 in Quebec, all local governments in Manitoba, some local governments in Saskatchewan (Regina and Saskatoon), and some local governments in Newfoundland and Labrador (St. John's).

## Quebec

- Quebec's limits<sup>17</sup> apply to all municipalities over 5,000 people. The formula is a base amount plus per-electoral amounts. The limit for a candidate for Mayor is \$3,780 plus \$0.30 per eligible voter for municipalities with up to 20,000 electors; \$0.51 cents for each eligible voter from 20,000 to 100,000 and \$0.38 per eligible voter for each municipality over 100,000. Council candidate: \$1,890 plus \$0.30 cents per elector. Third party advertising is tightly regulated. It is essentially prohibited for third parties to support candidates in ways that involve expenditure of funds.

## Ontario

- Ontario's limits<sup>18</sup> apply to all local governments. The formula is base amount plus a per elector amount. Mayor: \$7,500 plus \$0.85 per elector; Council candidate and school board trustee candidate: \$5,000 plus \$0.85 per elector.
- The limits in Toronto in 2010 amounted to \$1.3 million for the mayor (elected at large) and, for example, \$27,464 for council candidates in Ward 7 (one of 44 wards). There is no limits for third party advertisers.

## Manitoba

- Manitoba's Municipal Act requires municipalities to establish expense limits under a bylaw. Winnipeg has a per elector formula. Mayor — 35 cents per elector. Council candidate — 90 cents per elector in the ward.<sup>19</sup> The limits in Brandon are flat-rate amounts. Mayor — \$16,000. Council candidate — \$4,000. Third party advertising is not specifically subject to expense limits although, in Winnipeg, expenses incurred by any individual, corporation, organization or trade union acting on behalf of a candidate counts against the candidate's expense limit.

## Saskatchewan

- Saskatchewan has The Local Government Election Act that permits municipalities to adopt a bylaw establishing expense limits. Regina has set flat-rate amounts. Mayor — \$62,635. Council candidate — \$10,439. Saskatoon has a per capita formula. Mayor — 75 cents per capita. Council candidate — 10 per cent of the limit of a mayoral candidate.

---

<sup>17</sup> Established under An Act Respecting Elections and Referendums in Municipalities.

<sup>18</sup> Established under the Municipal Elections Act, 1996

<sup>19</sup> Special Committee on Local Elections Expense Limits Final Report. (June 2015)

# REFERENCE C – SELECTED SOURCES CONSULTED

Austin, Sam and Young, Lisa. (2008) *Political Finance in City Elections: Toronto and Calgary Compared*, Canadian Political Science Review. Article authors from University of Calgary, Department of Political Science and Institute for Advanced Policy Research, University of Calgary. Retrieved from <http://ojs.unbc.ca/index.php/cpsr/article/view/39/114>.

Limits on the size of contributions, when coupled with a rebate for political contributions, makes candidates less reliant on corporate and development sources. These elements of Toronto's regulatory regime also appear to make elections slightly more competitive in Toronto than in Calgary, where election finance is effectively unregulated.

Berger, Thomas R. (2004). *A City of Neighbourhoods: Report of the 2004 Vancouver Electoral Reform Commission*. Vancouver, BC.

I conclude that Vancouver should consider ways to limit the influence of money on local elections. I do not set out such a plan in detail because this has not been the focus of either the neighbourhood meetings or my own research. It is nevertheless clear to me that reform in this area is of fundamental importance, with implications province-wide.

(Berger also recommended disclosure of donations after an election until the party pays off all election-related debts, campaign spending limits and federal and/or provincial tax credits for municipal political contributions.

Berger opposed a ban on corporate and union donations, concluding that the prohibition would put parties at the mercy of 3rd party election spending, which would difficult to track and, he thought, might be immune to legislative restrictions.

Gludovatz, Norman. (April 2014) *Getting the Majority to Vote: Practical Solutions to Re-engage Citizens in Local Elections*. Centre for Civic Governance. Retrieved from <http://www.civicgovernance.ca/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Get-Engaged-for-web.pdf>.

Study looks at 2011 Vancouver municipal election, where turnout dropped to 35 per cent. The research revealed that many non-voters are disengaged in their communities, distrust politics, do not understand the role of municipal government, and are mistrustful that voting will make a difference or that the government will represent them. They perceive that voting is too complicated in municipal elections because of factors such as having to vote for multiple positions, which is a stark contrast to federal or provincial elections where they only vote for one.

At-large voting system sacrifices local representation for officials representing the city . . . .The ballot is too confusing and requires a lot of work for voters.

Reasons for not voting: alienated and disconnected from their communities, an extreme dislike of politics, mistrust in elected officials and the electoral system, and in general don't believe that their voting will make a difference.

One important criterion to include in evaluating how to change the electoral system is to ensure that any new electoral system must lower the amount of information that citizens need to gather in order to make an informed decision as opposed to the existing system that requires them to vote for up to 27 different candidates.

Green, Donald and McGrath, Mary C. and Aronow, Peter M. (2013) *Field Experiments and the Study of Voter Turnout*. Journal of Elections, Public Opinion and Parties. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17457289.2012.728223>.

The study reviews literature to identify which campaign tactics increase or do not increase turnout and the use of voter mobilization campaigns to test social psychological theories. The study did not look at campaign finances.

Holbrook, Thomas M. and Weinschenk, Aaron C. (July 15, 2013) *Campaigns, Mobilization and Turnout in Mayoral Election*. Political Research Quarterly. University of Utah. Retrieved from <http://prq.sagepub.com/content/early/2013/07/15/1065912913494018>.

Research on local turnout has focused on institutions, with little attention devoted to examining the impact of campaigns. Using an original data set containing information from 144 large U.S. cities and 340 separate mayoral elections over time, our contributions to the scholarship in this field are manifold: we focus the literature more squarely on the impact of campaigns by examining the role of campaign effort (measured with campaign expenditures), candidates, and competition in voter mobilization; demonstrate the relative importance of challenger versus incumbent campaign effort in incumbent contests; and show that changes in campaign activities influence changes in turnout over time.

We expect that contests with small spending gaps will generate more interest among voters and will also signal greater potential importance to turn out to vote, as the outcome is likely to be closer than in contests where there is a substantial gap in spending. Clayton Clouse's 2011 study of Congressional turnout (*Changes in Congressional Turnout — 1972-2006*.) used a similar measure of spending competition and found results similar to those we anticipate.

The effect of the total amount of campaign spending on turnout is notable, consistent across models, and even exceeds the effects of some institutional variables commonly thought to be important to local turnout patterns (e.g., the use of a partisan ballot). The burden for low turnout, then, falls not just on institutional design but also on the nature of political contests and the factors that encourage or discourage intense, competitive campaigns. The importance of this finding should not be underestimated, especially for those who are interested in mechanisms for increasing turnout at the local level.

Once spending and total spending are taken into account, many of the variables that previously have been tied to electoral competitiveness (see Caren 2007), such as the presence of an incumbent on the ballot and runoff elections, become statistically insignificant—because their effects are encapsulated in campaign spending.

Also, our analysis of the role of campaigns in incumbent contests shows that candidates' campaign spending has differential effects on voter turnout. Consistent with our theoretical expectations and with previous research, challenger spending has a pronounced effect on voter turnout, while incumbent spending does not exert a statistically significant effect on turnout.

MacDermid, Robert. (January 2009) *Funding City Politics: Municipal Campaign Funding and Property Development in the Greater Toronto Area*. CSI Foundation for Research and Education. Retrieved from <http://www.socialjustice.org/uploads/pubs/FundingCityPolitics.pdf>.

Unsustainable urban sprawl, high transportation costs, environmental degradation, and a weak sense of community that undermines political organization and representation, are all traceable to pro-development councils and the provincial regulatory framework for urban development.

A detailed analysis of decisions in Vaughan shows that elected councillors frequently vote on development proposals submitted by those who financed their campaigns. A search of Vaughan Council and committee of the whole documents reveal that 78 of 100 development conglomerates and single companies had development related applications before council between 2001 and 2008. Councillors had the opportunity to discuss and vote on the development applications of many of the companies that contributed to their campaigns ... During a campaign, large contributors find and back candidates that are sympathetic to general corporate goals such as reducing business taxation or reducing controls on development. Large contributors get access to candidates at exclusive fundraising events, they are able to influence policy positions and to draw candidates into their social world where the values that are important to business are preached and if need be, reinforced. Following campaigns, significant supporters get quick access to an elected councillor that other individuals and groups must either organize to win or be made to “wait their turn.

Analysis of funding of candidates during the 2006 municipal elections in the cities of Toronto, Oshawa, Whitby, Ajax, Pickering, Markham, Richmond Hill, Vaughan, Brampton and Mississauga — 10 municipalities in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) In nine suburban municipalities, funding from corporations dominates. In the City of Toronto, contributions from individuals are the most important source of support. Toronto bans union and corporation donations.

Most winning candidates (78 per cent) were incumbents and fully three-quarters of all corporate contributions went to them, explaining part of the huge incumbent advantage in municipal politics and the difficulty for challengers and reformers to overcome office holders backed by corporate cash.

While corporate funding for losing candidates dropped significantly, citizen funding of runners up declined less dramatically across the first three places and diminished for more distant runners up. This suggests that candidates of diverse views and backgrounds are much more likely to find financial support among citizens than in the corporate sector. . Challengers are likely to be running on platforms opposed to current council practices and so are unlikely to find much support in those parts of the business community that are most likely to finance municipal campaigns.

The number of eligible voters who make a donation of more than \$100 was less than one per cent. These are remarkable figures that reflect the emptiness of the connection between candidates, incumbents, representatives and citizens.

The ban should include wages paid by employer to employee who volunteers to work on a campaign.

Low limits on campaign expenditures forces candidates to run people-centred campaigns.

MacDermid, Robert and Lugar, Jenny and Malcolmson, Claire. (April 2016) *If It's Broke, Fix It: A Report on the Money in Municipal Campaign Finances of 2014* prepared by Campaign Fairness Ontario Inc. Retrieved from <http://static1.squarespace.com/static/53c9753ce4b003bdba4f5b2c/t/56fe8cdc37013b09a739a733/1459522783372/CampaignFairnessReport2016-web.pdf>.

Candidates taking contributions for the development industry were twice as likely to be elected as those who did not report such contributions; almost 60 per cent of corporate contributions to candidates came from outside the municipality where the candidate was running.

Siemiatycki, Myer and Marshall, Sean. (October 2014) *Who Votes in Toronto Municipal Elections*. Retrieved from [http://maytree.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Who\\_Votes-final.pdf](http://maytree.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Who_Votes-final.pdf).

The study explored the connection in municipal elections in 2003, 2006 and 2010 between municipal voting behaviour and some of Toronto's prime demographic characteristics like immigrant status, visible minority identity, income and home ownership. Nine of ten top voting wards have below city average per cent of immigrants and ten out of ten lowest voting wards have above city average per cent immigrants. The study found moderate inverse correlation between voter turnout and per cent visible minority and a weak positive correlation between voter turnout and household income.

No correlation was identified between voter turnout and per cent of renters. Areas with high concentrations of tenants have similar voter turnout as high homeowner areas

Integrity BC. March 2013. *Making the Case for Electoral Finance Reform in British Columbia*. Retrieved from [http://www.integritybc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/integrity\\_report\\_MAR2013UPDATE.pdf](http://www.integritybc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/integrity_report_MAR2013UPDATE.pdf).

Study looks at provincial issues.

Municipal Election Review (June 8, 2015) City of Vancouver Chief Election Officer. Retrieved from: <http://council.vancouver.ca/20150721/documents/a4.pdf>.

Voter turnout grew to 43.4 per cent in 2014, from 34.6 per cent in 2011. This was a 25.4 per cent increase in turnout. Turnout increased across Vancouver, with Dunbar-Southlands achieving the highest voter turnout at 57.4 per cent, a jump from 34.1 per cent in 2011. The lowest voter turnout was the Downtown area with 34.1 per cent voter, an increase from 24.2 per cent in 2011.

Campaign finance rules were the same in 2011 and 2014. The Chief Election Officer did not offer any recommendations related to campaign contributions and finances.

## **KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 2: ADOPT PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION VOTING IN VANCOUVER**

---

Shoni Field, Antony Hodgson, Sonu Kailley,  
Halena Seiferling



# CONTENTS

<b>1. OVERVIEW</b> .....	58
A. SYNOPSIS .....	58
B. HISTORY .....	58
C. LEGISLATION .....	59
D. KEY ISSUES .....	59
E. DISCUSSION .....	59
F. RECOMMENDATION .....	60
<b>2. IMPLEMENTATION</b> .....	60
A. THE PROCESS .....	60
B. WHY AN ASSEMBLY? .....	61
C. THE ASSEMBLY'S MANDATE .....	61
D. THE ROLE OF COUNCIL .....	62
<b>3. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, TIMELINE AND COSTING</b> .....	63
SELECTED SOURCES CONSULTED .....	65

# 1. OVERVIEW

## a. Synopsis

---

Our current At-Large Block Voting system does not embody the key democratic principles that all voters should be treated equally and are equally deserving of effective representation; it contributes to a lack of citizen engagement and public confidence in the electoral process.

Other voting systems, collectively known as proportional representation voting systems (PR), better embody the principle of equality.

The City of Vancouver should move to adopt a proportional representation system by using a deliberative participatory process to produce a recommendation for a model of PR voting optimally suited for use in municipal elections. The Task Force particularly recommends the City establish a Citizens' Assembly for this purpose.

## b. History

---

At the municipal level, PR systems are used in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Scotland, New Zealand, Australia, Norway, Cambridge MA and Minneapolis MN. Historically PR Single Transferable Vote (STV) was widely used across the eastern USA and in Alberta and BC. In Canada, we have had 13 formal electoral system review processes. Every single one has recommended that we change how we vote and that we adopt some form of proportional voting system.

In Vancouver, the Berger Commission Report of 2004 provides a thorough look at the history of municipal voting systems in Canadian municipalities as well as a look at the issues at play in Vancouver at the time. Most significantly Berger made several key recommendations including:

“[voting processes] should be matters over which the City Council should now have a measure of control currently not permitted by the Charter. If Council agrees, it should petition the provincial government to change the Charter in order to give the City greater flexibility in designing a system that best meets the needs and expectations of its citizens, as these change over time. This increasing empowerment of municipalities appears to be the emerging trend in other English-speaking common law jurisdictions.” p 104.

Vancouver held a referendum on moving to a non-proportional ward system in 1996. It did not pass. Ontario has recently implemented legislation to allow cities to choose to use a ranked ballot in either single member or multi-member districts (New Zealand has done this for over a decade). The latter (multi-member districts) would be a form of STV (i.e. a PR system).

The Federal Government has also prioritized the idea of electoral reform by establishing a Special Committee on Electoral Reform with a mandate to identify and conduct a study of viable alternate voting systems to replace the first-past-the-post system. The Committee is to table the report of its findings to the House of Commons by December 1st, 2016.

## c. Legislation

---

The marking of the ballot is specified under the Vancouver Charter in such a way as to limit the choice of electoral systems. Summary of main provisions:

- Voters can only use an X (or equivalent) to mark a ballot (s.91.1.b , s.101.1)
- Voters can make no more marks than there are candidates to be elected (s.101.4e)
- Any X is to be counted as a valid vote (s.101.2)
- The candidates with the most marks are to be elected (s.108.2)
- In the absence of any other bylaws, these requirements imply either Single Member Plurality voting in single-member wards or at-large block voting in multi-member wards (i.e. our current system). Neither produce proportional results.

The Vancouver Charter can only be amended by the provincial government. Council has asked the provincial government directly or through the Local Government Elections Task Force in 2005, 2007, 2010 and 2012 to amend the Charter to allow for the use of other voting systems and their requests have been ignored or denied. In all these cases, Council acted unanimously, with councillors from the NPA, Vision, COPE and the Green Party all on record as supporting these requests.

## d. Key Issues

---

Our current At-Large Block Voting system does not embody the key democratic principles that all voters should be treated equally and are equally deserving of effective representation; it has been ruled unconstitutional in the United States because of how it suppresses representation of racial minorities there.

Issues with At-Large Block Voting system:

- Representation does not reflect the diversity of the population which can leave specific ethnic groups, neighbourhoods or other distinct groups within the population unrepresented on an ongoing basis.
- Block voting produces landslide majorities for the group of candidates with the highest level of support that is disproportionate to the share of the popular vote they command.
- Block voting promotes tactical voting, sometimes resulting in a small minority of voters electing an entire slate of candidates by merely constituting a plurality.
- Other voting systems exist that much more closely embody these principles (collectively known as proportional representation (PR) systems).

## e. Discussion

---

PR voting systems have been and/or are extensively used throughout the world, including in most Westminster democracies (UK, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland), the US, and many European countries. In addition to having been used at a national and provincial/state level, they have also been used municipally.

PR voting systems deliver on key democratic values: there is a closer match between voter intentions and makeup of local councils, improved demographic diversity, improved responsiveness of representatives (e.g. in Cambridge, Mass., STV has enhanced representation of ethnic minorities by electing minorities to City Council that would otherwise would not have been elected under at-large block voting).

Measures of governance (effectiveness, fairness, voter satisfaction, economic performance) are either enhanced or, at worst, not reduced under PR systems. Voter satisfaction with democracy is typically enhanced with PR. A wider range of issues are discussed publicly under PR systems. Voter engagement is normally enhanced by improved representation. Voter turnout is likely to be somewhat improved with PR, though the effect may be small.

## **f. Recommendation**

---

The City of Vancouver should move to adopt a proportional representation system by using a deliberative participatory process to produce a recommendation for a model of PR voting optimally suited for use in municipal elections. The Task Force particularly recommends the City establish a Citizens' Assembly for this purpose.

Given that the City of Vancouver has asked the provincial government directly or through the Local Government Elections Task Force repeatedly to allow for the use of other voting systems it seems necessary to demonstrate a citizen engagement in such a change in order to produce more movement on this file. A Citizens' Assembly provides an opportunity to do so.

The City of Vancouver should ask the BC provincial government to change the Vancouver Charter so that the model arrived at through the deliberative, participatory process can be adopted. Should the provincial government not grant the City of Vancouver's request, Vancouver could plan to pursue an alternative route: one of the semi-PR models, compatible with the Vancouver Charter.

Once Vancouver has changed its electoral system, there should be a formal review process after two election cycles aimed at refining the adopted model.

## **2. IMPLEMENTATION**

### **a. The Process**

---

The City of Vancouver should initiate a deliberative participatory process to produce a recommendation for a model of PR voting.

The deliberative participatory process should be similar to the establishment of the BC Citizens' Assembly on Electoral Reform and the Grandview Woodlands Community Plan Citizens' Assembly.

The Assembly should have equal representation from each of Vancouver's official neighbourhoods and, cumulatively, representation that reflects Vancouver with respect to ethnicity, socio-economics, age, gender and sexual identity and have at least 50 members.

## b. Why an Assembly?

---

Participatory democracy is both the ‘what’ and the ‘how’; both the process and the resulting recommendation should contribute to increasing voter engagement.

A deliberative, participatory process will be more reflective of population of the City of Vancouver and the citizens’ needs than a traditional consultation process where the public does not always perceive that their input is reflected in the output.

This Independent Election Task Force is not broadly representative, and lacks the time and resources to conduct the type of deliberations necessary to choose an electoral system.

## c. The Assembly’s Mandate

---

The Assembly’s mandate will be to determine Vancouver’s top values for an electoral system. There is no such thing as one single perfect voting system. A good fit is where a jurisdiction’s key values are addressed by the voting system they choose.

Through Talk Vancouver, and other engagement activities, citizens should be asked to express how important considerations, including the following, would be to them in choosing a new voting system:

- Where parties gain seats in proportion to the number of votes cast for them
- Whether the voting system encourages candidates/elected officials to seek common ground with other candidates/elected officials, whether within or across party lines
- Whether the voting system should encourage diversity amongst candidates from individual parties
- The degree to which strategic voting is allowed, enabled or encouraged versus whether voters are encouraged to vote directly for their actual preferences
- Whether voters can hold individual candidates directly accountable when voting
- Whether independent and party affiliated candidates are treated equally on the ballot.

Any additions to this list should focus on gauging how important specific values are to Vancouver residents rather than the mechanics of electoral systems. Consideration of the mechanics will be the work of the Assembly.

Assembly members would:

- Learn about the following systems: Single Transferable Vote, Open List Proportional Representation and Mixed Member Proportional Systems and other proportional systems as appropriate and assess them against the values deemed important by Vancouver residents. It may also be appropriate for members to learn about the current At-Large Block Voting system to comparatively understand how proportional systems better embody key democratic principles and the values of Vancouver residents.

- Design models of their two preferred systems; and
- Evaluate and select one model to recommend to the City of Vancouver.

The Assembly structure should allow for learning, public input, and deliberation. In particular, the Task Force recommends the Assembly issue a preliminary report and solicit feedback from the public and Council before issuing their final report.

The Assembly could also be asked to assess the following semi-PR systems (that may be compatible with the Vancouver Charter) as an alternative option in the event that the Province of BC does not respect the recommendation of the Citizens' Assembly. These should also be assessed against those considerations previously identified. These alternatives are:

- Single Non-Transferable Vote
- Limited Vote
- Cumulative Vote

It should be noted that semi-PR systems, while an improvement upon our current at-large system, do not embody the key democratic principles that all voters should be treated equally and are equally deserving of effective representation as successfully as a PR system. The alternative should only be pursued if efforts with the Province of BC to implement the chosen PR system in Vancouver are exhausted.

## **d. The Role of Council**

---

Upon receipt of their recommendation, Council should direct staff to prepare the request to the BC provincial government to adopt the PR system that the Citizens Assembly has recommended. Council should dedicate sufficient resources to successfully lobby and liaise with the BC provincial government.

Should the government grant the City of Vancouver's request, it should move forward with implementing the new system for the 2022 municipal election. Should the provincial government not grant the City of Vancouver's request, Vancouver could consider a semi-proportional model compatible with the ballot marking requirements of the Vancouver Charter.

Prior to the first election under the new system the City of Vancouver should undertake an extensive public education campaign to help voters understand how to vote under the new system.

The City of Vancouver should implement a formal review process after two election cycles under the new system aimed at refining proportional representation voting in Vancouver.

### 3. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN, TIMELINE AND COSTING

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (STAFFING, MATERIALS)
<b>Phase 1: Deliberative Citizen-Led Process</b>			
February 2017	Talk Vancouver panel to gather resident opinions on important values a voting system should encompass	City of Vancouver	Staff time: develop questions, analyze results, create summary report for Council: \$2,000 - \$5,000
February 2017	Determine mandate, scope, etc. of Citizens' Assembly	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$2,000
March 2017	Hire consultant/company to deliver Citizens' Assembly	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$3,000
May 2017 - March 2018	Citizens' Assembly: mailing/recruitment, facilitation of meetings, hosting, website, outreach interviews, etc.	Consultant/ company	\$150,000
May 2017 - March 2018	Support for the Citizens' Assembly: administrative support when needed, food, event space, printing materials	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$125,000
March 2018	Administer Council and public review of Citizens' Assembly findings	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$75,000 - \$100,000
June 2018	Coordinate revisions to Citizens' Assembly report	Consultant/company	Included in contract to consultant
August 2018	Send final report to Council	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$2,000

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (STAFFING, MATERIALS)
-----------	-----------------------------------	-------------	---

### Phase 2: Legislative Changes

September 2018	Initial work to define requested change to Charter	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$600
September 2018	Policy advocacy to Province	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$16,666

### Phase 3: Implementation

2019/2020	Implement new voting system for 2022 election	City of Vancouver	\$0 (no incremental cost)
			Staff time for designing new ballots: \$1,000
			Staff time for training on new system: \$12,000
			Staff time for administering new system: \$5,000 - \$10,000
2020-2022	Public education campaign on new system	City of Vancouver	\$1,000,000

### Phase 4: Monitoring and Review

2021-2030	Collection of relevant voting data over next two election cycles to assess impact of proportional representation (voting trends, etc)	City of Vancouver	Staff time: \$15,000 - \$30,000 (\$5,000 - \$10,000 each election for three elections)
2022-2030	Talk Vancouver panels and public engagement after each election (satisfaction with voting system, etc)	City of Vancouver	Staff time: develop questions, analyze results, create summary report for Council: \$2,000 - \$5,000
2031	Review process of new voting system	City of Vancouver/consultant	Staff time: \$30,000
Total costs:	\$1,492,266 (using maximum cost from the range estimates)		

# SELECTED SOURCES CONSULTED

- Barret, Richard, Kask, Oliver, Bonnici M, Ugo and Vollan, Kare (2015). "Proportional Electoral Systems: The Allocation of Seats Inside the Lists (Open/Closed Lists)." *European Commission for Democracy Through Law* (Venice Commission). Retrieved from [http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD\(2015\)001-e](http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/default.aspx?pdffile=CDL-AD(2015)001-e).
- Bennett, S. and Lundie, R. (2007). "Australian electoral systems: Research paper no. 5 2007-08." Parliament of Australia research paper, Politics and Public Administration section. Retrieved from [http://www.aph.gov.au/About\\_Parliament/Parliamentary\\_Departments/Parliamentary\\_Library/pubs/rp/RP0708/08rp05#polimpact.pdf](http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/RP0708/08rp05#polimpact.pdf)
- Berger, Thomas R. (2004). *A City of Neighbourhoods: Report of the 2004 Vancouver Electoral Reform Commission*. Vancouver, BC.
- Bernauer, J., Giger, N., and Rosset, J. (2013). Mind the gap: Do proportional electoral systems foster a more equal representation of women and men, poor and rich? *International Political Science Review*, 36(1), 78-98.
- Bittiger, Tim. (2004). "Voter Turnout in Western Europe" *International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance*. Retrieved from [http://www.idea.int/publications/voter\\_turnout\\_w europe/upload/Full\\_Reprot.pdf](http://www.idea.int/publications/voter_turnout_w europe/upload/Full_Reprot.pdf).
- Broquet, Christophe, Lancelot, Alain (2003). "Report on Electoral Systems: Overview of Available Solutions and Selection Criteria." *European Commission for Democracy Through Law* (Venice Commission). Retrieved from [http://www.eods.eu/library/VC.Report per cent20On per cent20Electoral per cent20Systems.pdf](http://www.eods.eu/library/VC.Report%20on%20Electoral%20Systems.pdf).
- Commonwealth Local Government Forum. (n.d.) "Country Profile: Australia." Retrieved from [http://www.clgf.org.uk/default/assets/File/Country\\_profiles/Australia.pdf](http://www.clgf.org.uk/default/assets/File/Country_profiles/Australia.pdf)
- Copeland, C. E. (2010). Effects of the single transferable vote on political parties and divided societies. Retrieved from [https://www.academia.edu/8041236/Effects\\_of\\_STV\\_on\\_Political\\_Parties\\_and\\_Divided\\_Societies](https://www.academia.edu/8041236/Effects_of_STV_on_Political_Parties_and_Divided_Societies)
- Dhindsa, R. (2012). The at-large electoral system & unequal representation: An analysis of Surrey Council. *The Seed*, 13, 10-16.
- Douglas, Andrew (2014). "The Effect of Fair Representation Voting on 2013 Cambridge, Massachusetts Municipal Elections ." Retrieved from <https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/fair-rep-cambridge-effects>
- Electoral Council of Australia. (n.d.) "Electoral systems of Australia's parliaments and local government." Retrieved from <http://www.ecanz.gov.au/systems/files/1-electoral-systems.pdf>
- Electoral Council of Australia and New Zealand. (2013). "Proportional Representation Voting Systems of Australia's Parliaments." Retrieved from <http://www.ecanz.gov.au/systems/proportional>
- Electoral Reform Society. (2010). "Single Transferable Vote." Retrieved from <http://www.electoral-reform.org.uk/single-transferable-vote>
- Farrell, D. and McAllister, I. (2006). Voter satisfaction and electoral systems: Does preferential voting in candidate-centred systems make a difference? *European Journal of Political Research*, 45, 723-749.
- Godwin, M. (2010). Awaiting the watershed: Women in Canada's Parliament. *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 33(2), 32-37.
- Golden, M. and Picci, L. (2015). Incumbency effects under proportional representation: Leaders and backbenchers in the postwar Italian chamber of deputies. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 40(4), 509-538.
- Government of New Zealand. (2001). "Local Electoral Act 2001." New Zealand Legislation. Retrieved from <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2001/0035/latest/DLM93301.html>
- Government of New Zealand. (2011). "Local government in New Zealand." Local Government in New Zealand- Local Councils. Retrieved from [http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lqip.nsf/wpg\\_url/About-Local-Government-Local-Government-In-New-Zealand-Index](http://www.localcouncils.govt.nz/lqip.nsf/wpg_url/About-Local-Government-Local-Government-In-New-Zealand-Index)

- Government of New Zealand. (2016a). "STV Information." Department of Internal Affairs. Retrieved from [https://www.dia.govt.nz/diawebsite.nsf/wpg\\_URL/Resource-material-STV-Information-Index?OpenDocument](https://www.dia.govt.nz/diawebsite.nsf/wpg_URL/Resource-material-STV-Information-Index?OpenDocument)
- Government of New Zealand. (2016b). "STV legislation, background and further information." Department of Internal Affairs. Retrieved from <http://www.stv.govt.nz/STV/legislation.htm>
- Hayward, J. (2008). *The local government electoral option 2008*. Guide prepared for the Department of Internal Affairs, the Society of Local Government Managers Electoral Working Party, and Local Government New Zealand. Retrieved from [https://www.dia.govt.nz/Pubforms.nsf/URL/LocalGovernmentElectoralOption2008.pdf/\\$file/LocalGovernmentElectoralOption2008.pdf](https://www.dia.govt.nz/Pubforms.nsf/URL/LocalGovernmentElectoralOption2008.pdf/$file/LocalGovernmentElectoralOption2008.pdf)
- Hannan, Elva. (2003). "Audit of Institutional Structures and Electoral Systems at Local Level in six EU member states." *Democratic Participation and Political Communication in Systems of Multi-level Governance*. Retrieved from <http://www.ucd.ie/dempart/workingpapers/audit.pdf>.
- Hill, L. (2011). What we've seen in Australia with mandatory voting. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2011/11/07/should-voting-in-the-us-be-mandatory-14/what-weve-seen-in-australia-with-mandatory-voting>
- Kaminsky, J., and White, T. (2007). Electoral systems and women's representation in Australia. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 45(2), 185-201.
- Lago, I. (2010). Strategic voting in proportional representation systems: Evidence from a natural experiment. *Party Politics*, 18(5), 653-665.
- Local Government New Zealand. (2001). *Submission of Local Government New Zealand on the Local Electoral Bill*. Submission from Local Government New Zealand on proposed amendments to the Local Electoral Bill.
- Local Government New Zealand. (2016). "Local government basics." Retrieved from <http://www.lgnz.co.nz/home/nzs-local-government/local-government-basics>
- Milner, H. and Ladner, A. (2006). Can PR voting serve as a shelter against declining turnout? Evidence from Swiss municipal elections. *International Political Science Review*, 27(1), 29-45.
- Schwindt-Bayer, L. Malecki, M., and Crisp, B. (2010). Candidate gender and electoral success in single transferable vote systems. *British Journal of Political Science*, 40(3), 693-709.
- STV Taskforce. (2002). "Choosing electoral systems in local government in New Zealand: A resource document." Document prepared at the instigation of the STV Taskforce, convened by the New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs. Retrieved from [http://www.moh.govt.nz/notebook/nbbooks.nsf/0/66eadc6f9188638acc25789b0076576c/\\$FILE/STVdocument.pdf](http://www.moh.govt.nz/notebook/nbbooks.nsf/0/66eadc6f9188638acc25789b0076576c/$FILE/STVdocument.pdf)
- Stewart, Kennedy (2003). Think Democracy Options for Local Democratic Reform in Vancouver. *Institute of Governance Studies*.
- Zvulun, J. Y. (2012). The single transferable vote and voter turnout in the 2004 local elections. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 11(3), 123-142.
- Zvulun, J. Y. (2015). The New Zealand Print media and the 2004-2007 local elections: a case study. *Lex Localis- Journal of Local Self-Government*, 13(4), 897-914.

## **KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 3: CONDUCT AN ONLINE VOTING PILOT**

---

Antony Hodgson, Cynthia Kent, Robert Matas,  
Shona McGlashan



# CONTENTS

<b>1. OVERVIEW</b>	70
<b>A. SYNOPSIS</b>	70
i. History	71
ii. Legislation	72
iii. Discussion	72
<b>B. SECURITY CONCERNS</b>	73
<b>C. VOTER TURNOUT</b>	75
<b>D. COST</b>	76
<b>E. LOGISTICAL ISSUES</b>	77
<b>2. RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	78
<b>3. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b>	79
<b>4. ESTIMATED COST</b>	79
REFERENCE A: Selected Sources Consulted	80

# 1. OVERVIEW

## a. Synopsis

---

There have been more instances of remote Internet voting in local Canadian elections than in any other country. Online voting has been successfully implemented in 97 of 414 Ontario municipalities, 24 municipalities in Nova Scotia including Halifax and in jurisdictions outside of Canada.

Online voting has wide public support. A survey conducted in early 2016 found that online voting through a secure website was the top election reform wanted by Canadians.

Research has shown that online voting has the potential to increase accessibility and convenience and to decrease costs.

Studies on the impact of Internet voting on voter turnout have not been conclusive.

Despite widespread concerns about security of online voting, no election results have ever been shown to have been altered in anyway by hackers.

Nevertheless, online voting is exposed to significant risks. The most prominently cited risks are related to security and the vulnerability of Internet voting to cyber-attack and fraud. A number of researchers say it is not possible with any current or foreseeable technology to adequately secure an online election from cyber-attacks.

An Independent Panel on Internet Voting (IPIV) formed by the Province to review and assess the prospects for Internet voting in British Columbia recommended in 2014 against implementing universal Internet voting. The IPIV also recommended that if Internet voting is implemented on a limited basis, the Province should set up a committee of independent technical experts to establish technical security standards and to evaluate, oversee, and monitor any Internet voting systems to be used in BC so that only Internet voting systems approved by the technical committee would be authorized for use in BC jurisdictions.

The Province has not yet set up an independent technical advisory committee to evaluate and approve online voting systems to support the implementation of Internet voting in BC.

The City cannot proceed to implement an Internet voting system to conduct an online voting pilot without the approval of the Province and an amendment of the Vancouver Charter that would allow online voting.

The City of Vancouver has repeatedly voted in favour of a request to the Province to change the Vancouver Charter in order to permit the City to initiate an online voting pilot project.

However, the Province has yet to accept any proposals from the City or any other BC. municipality to allow online voting in a municipal election.

## i. History

---

**2003** — First experiences in Canada with electronic voting and the Internet occurs with a trial in the Ontario town of Markham and in six municipalities in Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry. Peterborough holds a trial in 2005.

**2006** — Peterborough uses the Internet in their municipal elections, as does eight townships throughout Ontario who also offer telephone voting with an Internet option.

**2008** — Halifax, and the Nova Scotia towns of Berwick, Windsor, and Stewiacke, conduct their municipal and school board elections by incorporating the Internet and telephone voting as an alternative voting method.

**2008** — Nanaimo City Council requests permission from the Province to use Internet voting.

**SEPTEMBER 19, 2009** — Halifax implement Internet voting for a by-election.

**MAY 3, 2011** — Vancouver City Council approves in principle the use of Internet voting, on a pilot basis, for an advance-voting period for the upcoming municipal general election in November 2011.<sup>1</sup> The initiative requires approval of the Minister of Community, Sport and Cultural Development.

**2011** — Union of BC Municipalities (UBCM) at its annual convention approves a resolution requesting the Province to initiate policy analysis and legislative changes required to implement online voting for the 2014 local government election.

**AUGUST 2011** — Elections BC publishes discussion paper on Internet voting.<sup>2</sup>

**OCTOBER 2011** — Elections BC Chief Electoral Officer Keith Archer recommends a trial of new voting technologies.<sup>3</sup>

**FEBRUARY, 2012** — The Province expresses support for the concept and makes a commitment to work with local governments interested in implementing online voting to see if online voting could be developed to address concerns about security, transparency and integrity of the voting process.

**AUGUST 7, 2012** — BC government asks Elections BC to appoint a panel of experts to recommend best practices.

**SEPTEMBER 2012** — Independent Panel on Internet Voting created.

**JANUARY, 2014** — A list of most popular ideas from a forum provided by the Engaged City Task Force includes “allow for voting online.

**FEBRUARY 14, 2014** — Independent Panel on Internet Voting issues its report, raising concerns about security, privacy and anonymity.<sup>4</sup>

---

1 City of Vancouver, (27 April 2011) *Administrative Report: Use of Online Voting in 2011 Local General Election* prepared by the Chief Election Officer. Retrieved from <http://council.vancouver.ca/20110503/documents/rr2.pdf>

2 Elections BC, (2011 August) *Discussion Paper Internet Voting*. Retrieved from <http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/Internet-Voting-Discussion-Paper.pdf>

3 Elections BC, (2011 November) *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on Recommendations for Legislative Change*. Retrieved from <http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/rpt/2011-CEO-Recommendations.pdf>

4 Independent Panel on Internet Voting British Columbia, (2014 February) *Recommendations Report to the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*. Retrieved from <http://www.Internetvotingpanel.ca>

**FEBRUARY 3, 2015** — Vancouver City Council directs staff to provide recommendations on creating an Independent Election Task Force with a mandate, among other things, to create a plan for advancing City Council’s directive on conducting an online voting pilot.

**2015** — UBCM once again asks the Province to initiate policy analysis and legislative changes to provide for implementation of online voting — but this time for the 2018 local government election.

**JANUARY 20, 2016** — City Council creates the Independent Election Task Force.

**MARCH 2016** — The Province responds to UBCM resolutions, saying more work was needed before Internet voting could be implemented safely.<sup>5</sup>

**OCTOBER 4-13, 2016** — City Election Office staff to observe Halifax Regional Municipality October 15, 2016 municipal election including alternative e-voting via Internet or telephone.<sup>6</sup>

**OCT 29, 2016** — The first province-wide online voting in Canada: PEI holds an online plebiscite on five different options for voting models lowering the voting age to 16 in order to include those that will be eligible to vote by the time of the next election.<sup>7</sup>

## ii. Legislation

---

The Vancouver Charter does not allow online voting and to-date the Province has no plan to introduce amending legislation.

## iii. Discussion

---

The Independent Election Task Force heard two presentations on the subject of online voting.

David Jefferson, a computer scientist in the Lawrence Livermore’s Center for Applied Scientific Computing, told the Task Force that Internet voting poses insurmountable security risks and raised significant privacy problems.<sup>8</sup>

Dean Smith, President of Intelivote Systems, also made a presentation to the Task Force. Intelivote is the leading supplier of online voting services in Canada and provided online voting technology for the 2010 municipal elections in Markham and Peterborough in Ontario and for the Halifax Regional Municipality municipal election on October 15, 2016.<sup>9</sup>

---

5 BC Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development, (2016 March) *Provincial Response to the Resolutions of the 2015 Union of British Columbia Municipalities*. Retrieved from [http://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions-and-Policy/Resolutions/Provincial\\_responses-2015\\_UBCM\\_resolutions.pdf](http://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions-and-Policy/Resolutions/Provincial_responses-2015_UBCM_resolutions.pdf).

6 Halifax Regional Municipality, *Municipal Elections*, Retrieved from Halifax Municipal Elections webpage: <https://www.halifax.ca/election/voting.phps>,

7 Rob Roberts, “PEI sets voting-reform plebiscite for fall” *Globe and Mail*, 7 July 2016. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/pei-sets-voting-reform-plebiscite-for-fall/article30809776>

8 David Jefferson, “If I can shop online, why I can’t vote online?” (20 July 2016) Presentation to the Independent Election Task Force, 20 July 2016, City Hall, Vancouver, BC. Retrieved from Independent Election Task Force webpage: <https://basecamp.com/2924874/projects/12289721/attachments>.

9 Dean Smith, “Electronic Voting Options: 2016 Municipal and School Board Elections” (20 July 2016) Presentation to the Independent Election Task Force, 20 July 2016, City Hall, Vancouver, BC. Retrieved from *Independent Election Task Force* webpage: [https://basecamp.com/2924874/projects/12289721/uploads/33448371?enlarge=244073886#attachment\\_244073886](https://basecamp.com/2924874/projects/12289721/uploads/33448371?enlarge=244073886#attachment_244073886).

In addition, the Task Force sub-committee on online voting undertook a significant review of the literature on online voting and consulted with City staff on previous efforts to proceed with a pilot project on online voting and on the City's current capability to implement online voting.

In an interview with the City's Chief Digital Officer, Jessie Adcock, the Task Force members on the online voting sub-committee heard that the City of Vancouver has the technical expertise to implement online voting.<sup>10</sup>

The Task Force members spent a lot of time debating the perceived benefits and risks of Internet voting. Some Task Force members cited research that shows that online voting has the potential to increase voter turnout and lower election costs, and that concerns about Internet security and the trustworthiness on online voting systems can be sufficiently addressed.

Some Task Force members were adamantly opposed to a pilot project on online voting until independent technology experts were convinced that the process would be secure and immune to hacking. They advocated for the City to adhere to the recommendations of the BC Independent Panel on Internet Voting. They cited research that showed that Internet voting is unlikely to have any significant effect on voter turnout or reduce election costs and the strongest justification for the City introducing Internet voting is the potential for increasing accessibility for out-of-city voters and those with certain impairments.

The following passages reflect the comments and views of Task Force members in this KSA on security, voter turnout, election costs, and logistics. Additional excerpts from the research and literature review on additional topics related to online voting are in an appendix to this report (see Reference A: Selected Works Consulted).

## b. Security Concerns

---

Numerous security experts warn that the unique demands of voting, particularly the need to maintain the secrecy of the ballot, make it essentially impossible to guarantee that an online election can be held securely. Most disturbingly, some experts warn that, both at the present time and for the foreseeable future, it will be possible for the results of an Internet election to be undetectably altered, which could have a profound impact on voters' faith in election results.

As British Columbia's Chief Electoral Officer put it:

"Perception of the challenges or risks of implementing Internet voting differs among stakeholders. Vendors claim that the challenges have largely been overcome and the risks are minimal, whereas most technical experts state that ongoing concerns related to security are still to be resolved."<sup>11</sup>

Other points on security made by the Independent Panel on Internet Voting include the following:

- "To date there is no common methodology for measuring the risks associated with Internet voting"
- "There are security risks at the voter's device, in the transmission of the vote from the voter's device to the election administration server, and in the server itself"

---

<sup>10</sup> Jessie Adcock, Telephone interview, 19 September, 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Keith Archer, "Is now the time for Internet Voting?" Canadian Parliamentary Review (2014 Winter), Retrieved from [http://www.revparl.ca/37/4/37n4e\\_14\\_Archer.pdf](http://www.revparl.ca/37/4/37n4e_14_Archer.pdf).

- “the security challenges are substantial for “Internet voting, and each jurisdiction “must be wide-eyed in establishing its risk tolerance in adopting an Internet voting system.”

Voting is much less of a public exercise with Internet voting. It tends to occur in a private place, and can occur anywhere in the world for any given jurisdiction. Since there is often no paper trail associated with the vote, the audit function is performed very differently — generally by technical experts examining computer code and processes, not political volunteers examining voters and election officials.

The code used to operate Internet voting software is highly detailed and complex, and is generally not available for auditing purposes. Hence, transparency and auditability are fundamentally altered in an Internet voting environment.<sup>12</sup>

In an online voting environment, there are certain benefits associated with the use of open-source software products for elections:

For one, the source code (the language the computer program is written in) is open. That means it is transparent and can be peer-reviewed by anyone, anywhere. It is a common misconception that closed-source software is more secure than an open-source product because it is assumed that security is created by obscurity instead of by design (Gallagher, October 2, 2009). The development of Internet voting machines using open-source code in the Australian Capital Territory is a practical example of the benefit of the transparency open-source software provides. A local academic identified a mistake in the code that, although not a functional or security error, was a serious flaw nonetheless. Were it not for the code being open to public scrutiny, this flaw may not have been detected (Zetter, 2003). While some proprietary companies will allow their software to be peer-reviewed, provided the reviewing party signs a non-disclosure agreement, this is not always the case.<sup>13</sup>

Given that to date no Canadian municipalities have chosen to use open-source software for local elections, it is easier and more convenient for municipalities to select a company that not only has a program, but has also implemented it in official votes in other jurisdictions.

We note that the vulnerabilities of Internet voting are exacerbated by the fact that the outcome is highly sensitive to small shifts in votes received; with our at-large block voting system, a small shift in support between two slates (potentially well under 5 per cent) could cause all ten council seats to swing from one slate to the other. If such a shift were effected surreptitiously, there may be no visible indication that the outcome had been altered and no independent means available to verify that the outcome was what the voters had intended.

In contrast, if we used a proportional voting system, it would be extraordinarily difficult to shift the seat outcome by more than one seat without generating considerable suspicion since a manipulation of the degree required to effect this outcome (~10 per cent of the vote) would create a significant discrepancy between the official results and public pre-election and exit polls. Even if such a manipulation could be effected, it would likely not change the results by more than one seat, so the consequences for the post-election makeup of council would be minimal.

While adopting proportional voting would reduce the vulnerability of an Internet voting system to hacking, we are not recommending that Internet voting should be adopted if a proportional voting system

---

<sup>12</sup> Archer, “Is now the time for Internet Voting?”

<sup>13</sup> Goodman, Jon. H. Pammett, and Joan DeBardleben, Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue. Carleton University (2010 February) A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting. Retrieved from Elections Canada: [http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/tech/ivote/comp/ivote\\_e.pdf](http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/tech/ivote/comp/ivote_e.pdf).

is adopted; other comments and findings outlined above would also apply to Internet voting under a proportional voting system and such a proposal would have to be considered on its own merits.

Others argue that while there is a tradeoff between accessibility and risk, the loss of direct control over the voting process need not imply an unacceptable increase in security risks.

Practical cases have shown that more technical difficulties appear to be associated with Internet voting machines located in polling places or Internet kiosks than with remote Internet voting. The decision to pursue remote Internet voting does hold promise to yield the greatest benefit to electors in terms of increasing access while minimizing security risks, assuming adequate protective measures are put in place. However, these benefits must be weighed against the effect of reduced control on election administration and the electoral process more generally.<sup>14</sup>

## c. Voter turnout

---

Studies on the impact of Internet voting on voter turnout have not been conclusive. The Independent Internet Voting Panel concluded that:

“... [there] is no consistent increase in voter turnout in jurisdictions that adopt Internet voting... [the] evidence shows that those who do vote online, when given the option to do so, are generally from the middle-aged or older demographic. In other words, Internet voting appeals to groups of voters who already have higher rates of participation. The evidence leads to the conclusion that the absence of Internet voting is not the cause of declining turnout and its availability is not the solution.”<sup>15</sup>

The Task Force did find significant evidence that many voters prefer to use Internet voting rather than conventional voting (as evidenced by significant use of an Internet voting option in various jurisdictions and increased rates of advance voting when Internet voting is offered), so there are some potential benefits in terms of convenience, even if these tend not to translate into increased voter turnout.

Halifax, Markham, Estonia and Geneva all noted a significant increase in the second official ballot where remote Internet voting was an option.<sup>16</sup>

The potential impact of electronic voting on voter turnout has been an important reason for considering such a system in the European and Canadian municipalities that have implemented pilot projects. While it is difficult to generalize from these examples, in all Canadian municipal trials conducted thus far, turnout increased in whichever part of the election electronic services were offered. For example, in the cases of Markham and Peterborough, although remote Internet voting was only offered during advance polling, turnout in those polls registered strong increases from past elections that relied solely on paper ballots... and, with respect to Estonia and Geneva (the only cases that offered remote Internet voting in three elections), turnout climbed again in the third contest. It does appear, therefore, that where remote Internet voting is offered, increasing numbers of people use that method over time. It is still unclear, however, whether this results in an overall turnout increase.<sup>17</sup>

---

14 Goodman et al., *A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting*.

15 Archer, “Is now the time for Internet Voting?”

16 Goodman et al., *A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting*.

17 Ibid.

There is no evidence that implementing online voting decreases voter turnout or that it is a significant factor in citizen disengagement or loss of trust and/or public confidence in the voting system. As such, online voting could be a factor in sustaining voter turnout rates as people who otherwise might have stopped voting continue to participate because of the convenience of remote Internet voting.

## d. Cost

---

A 2010 study of Canadian and European municipal online voting conducted for Elections Canada concluded that:

At present it is difficult to assess the degree to which an Internet-only vote would save money since most jurisdictions that have adopted Internet voting in Canada offer it only during advance voting, while traditional paper balloting is used on General Voting Day. When both voting methods are offered, it is often the case that Internet voting does not produce cost savings. Instead, it either adds costs, or requires fewer voting places on General Voting Day to keep costs neutral.<sup>18</sup>

We regard it as plausible that Internet voting may be able to be implemented at a lower cost than our current process (approximately \$750k averaged over a four-year election cycle, or approximately \$1.25/year/resident) but given the low per-person cost of elections, any savings will be negligible in terms of impact on taxpayers; we do not regard potential cost-savings as an important reason to pursue Internet voting.

Cost is an important consideration in election administration. Methods of electronic voting may be more costly in the initial stages than traditional paper ballots, but many of the companies responsible for running electronic elections claim they have the potential to save the jurisdictions that use their services a large amount of money over the longer term. . . This money covered expenses relating to the printing of ballots, staffing the polling stations and other general costs associated with running the election.<sup>19</sup>

The 2008 federal election cost approximately \$10.00 per eligible voter. Typically a provincial election can cost anywhere from \$7.00 to \$9.00 per eligible voter, whereas municipal elections range from \$4.00 to \$6.00. The standard rate worldwide (for electronic voting) is approximately \$2.00 per elector plus the cost of the mailer or any voter cards that the electoral agency mails out with PIN numbers and other essential information.<sup>20</sup>

Initially, these electronic election costs would be in addition to the normal cost of the paper ballot process currently employed. In addition, advertising expenses would be required to familiarize the public with the operation of the electronic system. Over time, however, as use of the electronic election methods increased, costs associated with the regular election process could be reduced, rendering the ultimate situation more cost-neutral. Reliable cost estimates are impossible to make in advance.

---

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

## e. Logistical Issues

---

- As long as the City relies on the provincial voters list to determine who is on the Vancouver voters list, it cannot implement online voting independent of the Province.
- Neither the City nor the Province currently has the capability to assign electronic citizen IDs, something that is mandatory for Internet voting to verify a voter's identity and that a voter is eligible to vote. It would be prohibitively expensive for the City to create its own e-ID system. To do so would also duplicate the Province's ongoing efforts to develop a "Single Sign On" (SSO) application that will allow citizens to authenticate their identity and securely log into multiple government websites and services with a single login.
- Current vendor-based solutions can accept a voters list and transmit login credentials either via email or Canada Post.
- The BC Government is currently in the process of developing a new electronic system to handle identification related to all provincial processes/services (e.g. driver's license, health care, voting, etc.).<sup>21</sup> While the City currently offers the Talk Vancouver platform, it does not plan to develop an independent electronic "Vancouver ID" system at this point, preferring to wait until the Province has rolled out their system and then seeing to make use of this system for the City's purposes to avoid duplication of effort. It is likely that the Province would prefer municipalities to use their integrated online ID service if a municipality wished to implement online voting.
- While the implementation of an e-ID framework and an SSO solution alone will not resolve all of the technical security issues related to online voting, such systems must be in place to enable secure online voter registration and verification, and come the time that the Province decides to allow municipalities the option of implementing online voting, it will likely have already established technical security requirements and identified acceptable solutions for casting a vote online and the collection and processing of online votes.
- In 2014, the BC Legislative Assembly accepted the recommendations of the Independent Panel on Internet Voting (IPIV). These included a recommendation that the Province form an Independent Technical Advisory Committee "to evaluate Internet voting systems and support jurisdictions that wish to implement approved systems" such that "only Internet voting systems approved by the technical committee" would be authorized for use in BC jurisdictions and a recommendation that "election administrators should work with each other and with the provincial government to "take a province-wide coordinated approach to Internet voting."<sup>22</sup>

---

21 Rob Shaw, "BC government building smartphone app to authenticate your identity," *The Vancouver Sun* (11 July 2016) Retrieved from <http://vancouversun.com/news/politics/b-c-government-building-smartphone-app-to-authenticate-your-identity>.

22 Independent Panel on Internet Voting, *Recommendations Report*.

- Unless endorsed and supported by the BC Chief Electoral Officer, the work of the City (or of any other BC municipality) to identify technical requirements and assess online voting options/solutions will be of limited value in advancing Council’s direction to request the Province to permit an online voting pilot.
- Even if developed by an external committee of technical experts who are independent from vendors, political parties and elected representatives, the work of a City appointed Independent Committee to establish online voting technical standards and requirements for the City of Vancouver elections would necessarily need to be informed by and coordinated with any technical standards and requirements developed by the Province for a citizen e-ID system to allow the City to continue to use the provincial voters list for municipal elections and to support online voter registration and authentication.
- If, and when, the Province decides to allow municipalities to implement online voting, it will likely have also established “Made in BC” technical requirements and identified acceptable options/solutions for municipalities who wish to implement Internet voting.
- With regards to the IETF recommending and setting out a process that would give Vancouverites confidence that online voting is trustworthy, if the Province is dictating (legislating) the requirements and terms upon which municipalities can implement online voting and thus establishing what the Chief Electoral Officer deems to be an acceptable level of «risk,» why would it still be necessary for the City to allocate resources to establish its own technical security requirements and process for evaluating online voting systems?
- Other than in the normal course of the City’s ongoing efforts to increase citizen engagement and conduct elections in accordance with the applicable legislation, once the Province has passed legislation to allow Internet voting as an alternate voting option and set the requisite technical standards and security requirements, the process for implementing Internet voting (i.e. conducting an online voting pilot) would not differ from the implementation of other new technologies that the City is now permitted to use for municipal elections. (E.g. automated voting machines, online electronic voters list).
- Even if online voting is authorized by the Province for a municipal election, significant resources and sufficient time are needed to properly procure, develop, test and deploy an Internet voting system and this work should not be rushed.

## 2. RECOMMENDATIONS

Before the implementation of an online voting pilot can be addressed by City staff, the Province must authorize the use of online voting systems for municipal elections and prescribe the technical security standards and requirements.

At this time there is little that the City can do that is within its control to effectively advance Council’s directive to conduct an online voting pilot other than to:

1. Urge the Province to adopt the Independent Panel on Internet Voting recommendation to establish an independent technical committee to evaluate Internet voting systems and that the Chief Electoral Officer establish this technical committee as soon as possible.
2. Advocate and support the Union of British Columbia Municipalities (UBCM) resolutions and requests to the Province to authorize online voting.
3. Monitor the deployment of online voting in other Canadian municipalities (i.e. Halifax Regional Municipality municipal election, Oct 15, 2016).
4. Share the City's observations of online voting in other Canadian municipalities with the BC Chief Electoral Officer and any independent technical committee that is formed by the Province to develop the technical standards and requirements for online voting.

### 3. IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	RESOURCES
Start in 2016	Urge the Province to establish an independent technical committee to evaluate Internet voting as soon as possible	City Council	City Clerk's Department; Intergovernmental Relations
Ongoing	Advocate and support UBCM resolutions and requests to the Province to authorize online voting	City Clerk	City Clerk's Department; Intergovernmental Relations
Ongoing	Monitor the deployment of online voting in other Canadian municipalities	Chief Election Officer	City Clerk's Department; Intergovernmental Relations
Start in 2016	Share the City's observations of online voting in other Canadian municipalities with the BC Chief Electoral Officer	Chief Election Officer	City Clerk's Department; Intergovernmental Relations

### 4. ESTIMATED COST

Other than costs that have already been identified to support ongoing City initiatives and administration, there are minimal budget or financial implications associated with completing the implementation plan for this KSA.

# REFERENCE A: SELECTED SOURCES CONSULTED

Selected excerpts from research and literature review of online voting.

## Presentations to the Independent Election Task Force

Jefferson, David. 2016 "If I can shop online, why can't I vote online?" Powerpoint presentation, July 20, 2016. Some slides available at the Verified Voting webpage <https://www.verifiedvoting.org>.

Smith, Dean. 2016. "Electronic Voting Options 2016 Municipal & School Board Elections." Powerpoint presentation, July 20, 2016. Some slides available at the IntelliVote Systems Inc. webpage <http://www.intelivote.com/demos>.

On July 20, 2016, the Independent Election Task Force heard a presentation from Dean Smith, President of IntelliVote Systems Inc., a company which has successfully implemented online voting systems for more than 960 elections in Canada including over 160 municipal elections in Ontario and 38 municipal elections in Nova Scotia. The Task Force also heard from David Jefferson, a computer scientist from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and President of Verified Voting.Org, a non-profit organization that is a national advocate for verifiable voting systems and processes in the United States.

- Smith (IntelliVote Systems, Inc ): Reasons for Internet voting including choice and flexibility for military, business travelers, students, snowbirds, disabled or infirmed; immediate, auditable results; no spoiled ballot issues, positive ballot confirmation; positive impact on voter participation; environmentally positive; carbon emissions; reduces cost of polling staff, rental of locations/scanners, printing costs, overtime/administrative effort, mailing costs and processing.
- Jefferson (Verified Voting.Org): "Computer and network security experts are virtually unanimous in pointing out that online voting is an exceedingly dangerous threat to the integrity of U.S. elections. There is no way with current technology to guarantee that the security, privacy, and transparency requirements for elections can all be met with any security technology in the foreseeable future. Anyone from a disaffected misfit individual to a national intelligence agency can remotely attack an online election, modifying or filtering ballots in ways that are undetectable and uncorrectable of just disrupting the election and creating havoc. There are a host of such attacks that can be used singly or in combination. In the cyber security world today almost all of the advantages are with attackers, and any of these attacks can result in the wrong persons being elected, or initiatives wrongly passed or rejected." (Quote retrieved from Verified Voting Author David Jefferson website: <https://www.verifiedvoting.org/author/david-jefferson>)

## Online Voting in Canada

Archer, Keith. Winter 2014. Canadian Parliamentary Review. *Is Now the Time for Internet Voting?: BC's Independent Panel on Internet Voting*. Available at [http://www.revparl.ca/37/4/37n4e\\_14\\_Archer.pdf](http://www.revparl.ca/37/4/37n4e_14_Archer.pdf).

British Columbia. Independent Panel on Internet Voting. 2014. *Recommendations Report to the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia*, February 2014. Available at <http://www.internetvotingpanel.ca>.

The Independent Panel of Internet Voting set forth the following recommendations:

1. Do not implement universal Internet voting for either local government or provincial government elections at this time. However if Internet voting is implemented, it should be limited to those voters with special accessibility challenges. If Internet voting is implemented on a limited basis, jurisdictions need to recognize that the risks to the accuracy of the voting results remain substantial.
2. Take a province-wide coordinated approach to Internet voting.
3. Establish an independent technical committee to evaluate Internet voting systems and support jurisdictions that wish to implement approved systems.
4. Evaluate any Internet voting system against the principles established by the panel.

Canada. 2016. *Special Committee on Electoral Reform. Remarks of the Chief Electoral Officer in Ottawa before the Special Committee on Electoral Reform.* Available at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=e&Mode=1&Parl=42&Ses=1&DocId=8386754>.

“It is undeniable that many Canadians would benefit from the introduction of online or Internet voting. Internet voting would remove barriers and make a vote more accessible for various groups such as voters with mobility challenges, including seniors, those with visual impairments, and Canadians abroad. That being said, caution is needed in moving forward to ensure that Canadians continue to have the same high level of trust in the integrity of their elections. In this regard we are not currently planning to offer online voting in 2019. However, Elections Canada would certainly welcome direction from this committee in terms of a desirable approach in moving forward with Internet voting.”

City of Markham. 2012. *Markham Votes 2014 — Internet Voting Program.* Powerpoint presentation to the Special General Committee. Available at [http://www2.markham.ca/markham/ccbs/indexfile/Agendas/2012/General/gc121113/Internet per cent20Voting per cent20Presentation.pdf](http://www2.markham.ca/markham/ccbs/indexfile/Agendas/2012/General/gc121113/Internet%20Voting%20Presentation.pdf).

Online voting was offered in 2010 in Markham, Ont. during early voting period only. In-person voting was offered during early voting period & on voting day. Use of optical scan vote tabulators and complimentary (e.g., accessible) technology deployed for in-line voting. No other voting modes were proposed (e.g., vote by mail, telephone voting).

- It is important to emphasize that any election model has inherent risks. The key for staff was to identify, understand & manage all risks.
- Cost per elector \$0.81 for Internet, \$5.63 for in-person.
- 9.3 per cent of eligible voters registered online; 62 per cent of registrants voted online.
- Highest proportion of online voters were in their 40s and 50s.
- 88 per cent voted online due to convenience, 86 per cent voted from work
- 99 per cent were very satisfied and satisfied

City of Vancouver. Chief Election Officer. 2011. *Use of Online Voting in 2011 Local General Election.* Available at <http://council.vancouver.ca/20110503/documents/rr2.pdf>.

City of Vancouver. Chief Election Officer. 2015. *2014 Municipal Election Review.* Available at <http://council.vancouver.ca/20150721/documents/a4.pdf>.

In September 2014, three individuals (including media) expressed concern around privacy and voting integrity in the Vancouver municipal election when using an electronic voters list.

- As electronic voters list and the related real-time strike off are required to ensure voting integrity under a Vote Anywhere model.
- In selecting the proponent, the City followed the standard procurement process used when issuing an RFP. The requirements were clearly set out in the RFP and City staff established evaluation criteria based on the requirements. The evaluation criteria were used in evaluating the proposals received.
- Under sections 86 and 87 of the Charter, a voter may only vote once and in order to receive a ballot to vote, they must first sign a written declaration that they are entitled to vote in the election and they have not voted in the same election. Upon completion of this, the election official strikes off the person's name on the Voters List as having received a ballot. The election official then gives a ballot to the elector.

City of Vancouver. 2016. Telephone conversation with Chief Digital Officer, Jessie Adcock, September 21, 2016.

Notes from a conference call with the City's Chief Digital Officer, J. Adcock:

- The City's strategy lists 16 priorities over four pillars. One of the items was to continue to prepare for online voting. But we do not have jurisdiction. It's at the provincial level. There is not a lot we could do until the legislation is changed.
- It's an item in a holding pattern. There is no action to take. We have to follow the Province. The technology is not the critical path; it is more the framework. The security issue has been solved by the banks. It is now more about how elections are managed online.
- The first step is for the City to develop appropriate ability to assess online voting.
- It's the issue of authentication and ID management. The City would use the ID for voters created by the Province. The city is not able to provide secure design for ID management. The City does not an ID for all users.
- Province is developing a single sign-on for several disparate systems, but they are two or three years out to technical feasibility.
- The City's digital strategy was trying to bring all systems up to 2016, from the dark ages. The City had several systems that were not integrated and in some cases were significantly out of date.
- Someone could live in the City and have minimal contact with City government -nothing beyond paying property taxes. But they would still be eligible to vote. (The City would have to create an ID for them.)
- Without a citizen ID, I do not see a critical path for online voting. But before there is a single ID, we need inter-operability. That is number one. ... And the City does not have deep pockets to ensure interoperability.
- The vendor will come in and provide the system...it will be separate from City platform, fed by the provincial registration process.
- The advisory committee was never established. The digital strategy is over. It was a series of initiative to get the City to the point it could continue at the current level of operations.

- My experience is that, in the private sector, its technology department would be provided with resources to stay current and prepare for future developments. The public sector implements a system and sticks to the system until it dies. Then a replacement is brought in.
- We're ready right now to adopt it. We do not have anything to do once the Province says we can use the driver's license or a card issued by the Province that proves who you are.... we have all the ingredients. They will develop the framework. The City will manage it. It will be deployed in the cloud.
- The Province will provide the guidelines. The City will have to do procurement.
- It relies so much on the Province. It is hard for us to move ahead.
- Concept that the City needs to be technically ready? The City will not administer the technology. We have the technical expertise now or can tap into consultants and experts that we rely on. We will not define the requirements. We will be told the requirements.

Coletto, David. 2016. *The Next Canada: Politics, Political Engagement and Priorities of Canada's Next Electoral Powerhouse — Young Canadians*. Prepared for the Canadian Alliance of Students Associations. Available at <http://abacusdata.ca/the-next-canada-politics-political-engagement-and-priorities-of-canadas-next-electoral-powerhouse-young-canadians>.

"When asked what the main reason as to why non-voters did not cast a ballot, a lack of comfort and knowledge was more likely to be mentioned than inconvenience, a lack of efficacy, or lack of knowledge about where or how to vote. Overall, one in three young non-voters said they didn't know enough about the issue, parties, or candidates, to feel comfortable voting. Another 26 per cent said they didn't have time or couldn't make it out to vote, while 11 per cent reported not liking any of the political parties. Only 4 per cent said they didn't vote because they felt their vote would not count."

Elections BC. 2011. *Discussion Paper Internet Voting*. Available at <http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/Internet-Voting-Discussion-Paper.pdf>.

Elections BC. 2011. *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on Recommendations for Legislative Change*. Available at <http://www.elections.bc.ca/docs/rpt/2011-CEO-Recommendations.pdf>.

Elections Canada. 2016. *Remarks of the Chief Electoral Officer in Ottawa before the Special Committee on Electoral Reform*. Available at <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?Language=e&Mode=1&Parl=42&Ses=1&DocId=8386754>.

"It is undeniable that many Canadians would benefit from the introduction of online or Internet voting. Internet voting would remove barriers and make a vote more accessible for various groups such as voters with mobility challenges, including seniors, those with visual impairments, and Canadians abroad. That being said, caution is needed in moving forward to ensure that Canadians continue to have the same high level of trust in the integrity of their elections. In this regard we are not currently planning to offer online voting in 2019. However, Elections Canada would certainly welcome direction from this committee in terms of a desirable approach in moving forward with Internet voting.

Elections Canada. 2016. *An Electoral Framework for the 21st Century: Recommendations from the Chief Electoral Officer of Canada Following the 42nd General Election*. Available at [http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rep/off/rec\\_2016&document=index&lang=e](http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rep/off/rec_2016&document=index&lang=e).

This report recommends increased flexibility for the Chief Electoral Officer in conducting pilot projects under the Act, and encourages Parliament to specifically require testing of technology in the voting process to benefit electors with disabilities. [Recommendation A15]

Elections Ontario. 2013. *Alternative Voting Technologies Report: Chief Electoral Officer's Submission to the Legislative Assembly*. Available at [http://www.elections.on.ca/content/dam/NGW/sitecontent/2014/reports/Alternative per cent20Voting per cent20Technologies per cent20Report per cent20\(2012\).pdf](http://www.elections.on.ca/content/dam/NGW/sitecontent/2014/reports/Alternative%20Voting%20Technologies%20Report%20(2012).pdf).

"It is critical that the general public trusts the security of new voting and counting processes and their ability to deliver a result that is true and accurate reflection of their will as expressed through the voting process."

This report recommends eight principles for successful implementation of a network voting solution which if met will provide for protecting "accessibility, security and integrity of the electoral process." The development of these criteria comprise "an essential first step" to implementing Internet voting:

**ACCESSIBILITY:**

The voting process is equally accessible to all eligible voters, including voters with disabilities. The voting process will be performed by the voter without requiring any assistance for making their selections.

**INDIVIDUAL VERIFIABILITY:**

The voting process will provide means for the voter to verify that their vote has been properly deposited inside the virtual ballot box.

**ONE VOTE PER VOTER:**

Only one vote per voter is counted for obtaining the election results. This will be fulfilled even in the case where the voter is allowed to cast their vote on multiple occasions (in some systems, people can cast their vote multiple times, with only the last one being counted).

**VOTER AUTHENTICATION AND AUTHORIZATION:**

The electoral process will ensure that before allowing a voter to cast a vote, that the identity of the voter is the same as claimed, and that the elector is eligible to vote.

**ONLY COUNT VOTES FROM VALID VOTERS:**

The electoral process shall ensure that the votes used in the counting process are the ones cast by valid eligible voters.

**VOTER PRIVACY:**

The voting process will prevent at any stage of the election the ability to connect a voter and the ballots cast by the voter.

**RESULTS VALIDATION:**

The voting process will provide means for verifying if the results clearly represent the intention of the voters that participated in the voting process.

**SERVICE AVAILABILITY:**

The election process and any of its critical components (e.g., voters' list information, cast votes, voting channel, etc.) will be available as required to voters, election managers, observers or any other actor involved in the process.

Gludovatz, Norman. Columbia Institute Centre for Civic Governance. 2014. Getting the Majority to Vote. Available at <http://www.civicgovernance.ca/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/Get-Engaged-for-web.pdf>.

“Non-voters were more inclined than voters to vote online.”

For those who are currently not voting, going to a polling station and waiting is a perceived barrier because it seems difficult.

“Popular culture already stimulates millions of people to vote online (e.g. Canadian idol) and electronic voting can use that existing learned practice and pop culture tradition to help elect a local government.”

Online voting is identified as one of six practical “Solutions to Increase Voter Turnout in Municipal Elections” that local governments can act on:

- Increase the ease of voting through secure electronic voting and an increased number of advance voting days.

“One of the most frequent reasons people give for not voting during municipal elections is that they simply forgot or did not have time to vote. Increasing the opportunities and the possible ways for people to vote breaks down this perceived barrier. . . Making voting easier is important, especially for first-time or less-likely voters, and that also means not simply hoping they will go vote, but taking the process of voting to them—to where they are already comfortable and often interacting with others through newer online social networks.”

Goodman, Nicole J. 2014. “Internet Voting in Local Municipality in Canada,” in B. Grofman et al. (eds.), *The Internet and Democracy in Global Perspective*, Studies in Public Choice 31, Springer International Publishing Switzerland 2014.

“Though many European jurisdictions have established well-developed online voting models, Canada is quickly emerging as an important research case. To date, there have been more instances of remote Internet voting in local Canadian elections than any other country. There have been more than two million remote Internet voting opportunities in over 90 local Canadian elections.”

Goodman, N., Pammett, J. H., and DeBardleben, J. 2010. Canada-Europe Transatlantic Dialogue. *A Comparative Assessment of Electronic Voting*. Ottawa: Elections Canada. Available at [http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/tech/ivote/comp/ivote\\_e.pdf](http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/tech/ivote/comp/ivote_e.pdf).

Many types of Internet or remote voting have been implemented with varying degrees of success. While some systems have worked well, pilots of prototypes in other jurisdictions have been cancelled, some even before they were introduced, because of concerns or issues relating to security, technical reliability and privacy. The variable results of these projects highlight that there are important risks as well as benefits associated with Internet voting, and both should be weighed when considering including electronic voting as a method of voting in elections.

- There appears to be sufficient accessibility and public support in Canada to introduce that method. Furthermore, the basis for a legal framework that supports Internet voting and a government mandate to conduct Internet voting research are important facilitating factors.
- Further research should be conducted on various Internet voting models. This would lay the groundwork for designing an initial small-scale trial and then progressively increasing the number of electors who vote electronically with each additional trial

Non-voters responding to election surveys are more inclined than voters to say that they would be more likely to vote online in the future. In fact, a greater proportion of respondents aged 18 to 34 reports being likely to make use of online voting than having voted. This suggests that some non-voting electors may be encouraged to participate through Internet voting. Overall, the figures suggest that the extension of Internet voting may be a useful way of appealing to younger electors as well as encouraging some non-voters to participate in the electoral process.

- If the extension of Internet voting is to encourage participation then it should address one or more of the reasons respondents cite for not casting a ballot. Elections Canada survey data reveals that among the general population in all survey years, time constraints or accessibility issues are mentioned most commonly to account for respondents not voting. For example, three of the top four reasons respondents provided as rationales for not voting in 2008 include being too busy (16 per cent), traveling or holidays (16 per cent) and their work or school schedule (11 per cent). In 2006 by comparison, 27 per cent of respondents reported not voting because their work or school-related obligations prevented them from casting a ballot.
- The first experiences with electronic voting by the Internet occurred in 2003. These trials occurred in the town of Markham; in six municipalities in Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry (as part of a joint trial); and in five municipalities in Prescott-Russell (City of Peterborough, 2005).
- In 2006, Markham and Peterborough used the Internet in their municipal elections, as did eight townships throughout Ontario who also offered telephone voting with an Internet option.
- In 2008, Halifax, and the Nova Scotia towns of Berwick, Windsor, and Stewiacke, conducted their municipal and school board elections by incorporating the Internet and telephone voting as an alternative voting method and Halifax recently implemented an expansion of that approach in a September 19, 2009 by-election.
- While turnout overall remained unchanged in the 2003 election (28 per cent), turnout in the advance polls increased by 300 per cent. To put this in perspective, voter turnout in most other Ontario municipalities declined during the 2003 election.
- Peterborough experience: No security issues or risks required attention.
- Halifax security: in terms of security more specifically, the system used in HRM (developed by Intelivote) used four levels of security checks. The first, a “penetration test”, involved a contracted IT firm trying to break through the Intelivote system to evaluate whether existing security mechanisms were capable of adequately preventing another person or group from tampering with the system. The second check involved analyzing the encryption system used in the communication between computer servers. The third was an external audit of the entire voting process undertaken by an auditing firm. Finally, the fourth check analyzed the network’s overall security to ensure prevention of attacks and problems (Bousquet, September 18, 2008).

- With respect to voter turnout, making assessments from these municipal cases regarding the impact of remote Internet voting on turnout is difficult given that, with the exception of HRM's recent by-election, remote electronic voting options were only offered for a specific time during advance polling and so it is not possible to know what effect these options might have had on overall turnout

Goodman, Nicole and Pammett, Jon H. 2013. *Consultation and Evaluation Practices in the Implementation of Internet Voting in Canada and Europe*. Prepared for Elections Canada. Available at [http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/tech/consult/pdf/consult\\_e.pdf](http://www.elections.ca/res/rec/tech/consult/pdf/consult_e.pdf).

In Canada, consultation regarding Internet voting has been concentrated in discussions between government officials and city councilors.

- Efforts to connect with the public typically occur after an Internet voting program has been decided upon and focus mostly on informing citizens about available voting options. In some cases this is combined with outreach communication that seeks to impart the importance of electoral participation.
- Recent consultation efforts in the City of Edmonton and Province of British Columbia, however, are setting new standards in Canada about what consultation surrounding Internet voting might entail.
- Evaluation of Internet voting in Canada is not as well-established, and overall criteria have yet to be developed that would allow comparison between jurisdictions.
- Opponents of Internet voting (Jefferson et al. 2004; Jones and Simons 2012; Simons and Jones 2012) often adopt a stance that asserts that Internet voting cannot (and should not) be safely implemented because security can never be assured. Discussion of this position is not possible for those lacking technical knowledge, so the argument becomes a kind of "take it or leave it" opinion, in which lay audiences are forced to make a yes-no decision with no possibility of compromise. Trust in the operations of the system is attacked, and if the attack is accepted, the project is stopped or delayed indefinitely. Such attacks and commentary halted the US military from proceeding with its plans to use Internet voting in the 2004 election, and though efforts have been made to keep the project alive, a decision was made once again in the 2012 election to not use the system.
- The way in which security concerns have been presented has had an impact on the willingness of jurisdictions considering Internet voting trials to involve the public in a deliberative process leading up to the decision. Processes of widespread public consultation will inevitably bring about submissions maintaining that security concerns trump all other factors and that the efforts should be stopped immediately. In this context, some jurisdictions are reluctant to use open public consultation processes. It might be thought that security matters represent threats to public trust that must be overcome if Internet voting is going to be implemented successfully over the long term. Therefore, one might reason, they should be thoroughly discussed and public agreement to proceed secured if such trust is going to be sustained. Our experience, however, is that this does not seem to prevail in most of the cases we have observed. When the topic of security is discussed in public forums, everyone expresses concerns relating to it. "Laypersons" (which includes most citizens) are presented with arguments about either the ability or inability of authorities to maintain the secure transmission of a ballot by Internet, but have no basis for judgment between such arguments. The larger the consultative group, the less

likely it is to come to a consensus to accept or ignore security arguments, and the more likely it is to experience deadlock and frustration. Fear of such an outcome can prevent authorities utilizing such consultative forums.

Goodman, Nicole J. and Pammett, J. H. 2014. *The Patchwork of Internet Voting in Canada*. Available at [http://www.e-voting.cc/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2014/10/evote2014\\_goodmann\\_pammett\\_p13-18.pdf](http://www.e-voting.cc/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2014/10/evote2014_goodmann_pammett_p13-18.pdf)

- No province currently has a legislative provision that would specifically permit the use of Internet voting in a general election; however, some have sections in their Elections Act that permit the CEO to test equipment in a by-election, which could allow an Internet voting trial. Elections Ontario, Elections Alberta, and Elections New Brunswick, for example, have such clauses in their Elections Acts.
- Local officials are bound not only by legislation written by the provinces, but also by the decisions of local councils when it comes to being able to implement Internet voting programs.
- At present, only the provinces of Ontario and Nova Scotia have clauses supporting the use of and/or experimentation with alternative voting methods.
- In British Columbia, municipalities including Vancouver and Nanaimo passed resolutions to enable the use of Internet voting, but were halted from moving forward when the province refused to support use of the voting method in local elections.
- In Ontario use of Internet voting in municipal elections has mushroomed. In 2003 twelve Ontario communities were the first to trial the technology. This number has increased with each round of elections growing to a potential of 98 communities out of 414 elections forthcoming in October 2014 representing about one fifth of the provincial electorate.

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2015. *Municipal and School Board Election Audit and Finance Committee Report*, November 18, 2015. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/boardscom/scfinance/documents/151118afsc915.pdf>.

Report recommends that Halifax Regional Council adopt Internet Voting in the 2016 Municipal and School Board Elections by utilizing both Internet voting and in-person polls for a shorter duration during the entire period of advanced polling and retain in-person polls with paper ballots only on Election Day. Rationale for recommendations is to provide access to the most number of voters and align closely with the principles previously adopted by Regional Council in regard to the conduct of elections which include:

- Security and auditability of the solution
- the integrity of the voting process is paramount
- Alignment with NS regulatory requirements
- Increases voter accessibility (all areas and all demographics in HRM)
- Aligns with experience in other jurisdictions
- Has broad public acceptance
- Provides value for money

Ernst and Young LLP. 2016. *Specified Procedures Report Electronic Voting Electronic Voting System: Special election for district 6 Advanced polling specified procedures*. Prepared for Halifax Regional Municipality. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/election/pastelections/documents/2016special-specified-procedures.pdf>.

Report on results of applying Specified Procedures on the electronic voting system used during the advanced polling period for the Halifax Regional Municipality Special election for District 6 - Harborview - Burnside - Dartmouth East 2016.

Halifax Regional Municipality. Elections Office. 2016. *Municipal & School Board Elections: Improving Accessibility for Voters*. Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/boardscom/access/documents/160418aac913.pdf>.

Guided by the principle that “every elector should be provided with the opportunity to cast their vote independently” as of April 12, 2016, Halifax Regional Council approved the following voting methods for the 2016 Municipal and School Board Elections:

- Internet & telephone voting (e-voting) for ten (10) days;
- two (2) days of in person paper ballot voting for Advance polls, and
- in-person paper ballot voting on Election Day.

Halifax Regional Municipality. 2016. *BYLAW NUMBER A - 400 RESPECTING ALTERNATIVE VOTING Amendment #4 (A-404)*. Halifax: July, 2016.

Available at <http://www.halifax.ca/legislation/bylaws/hrm/documents/by-law-a-400.pdf>.

- Markham continues to vote online because it is convenient, supports accessibility and diversity considerations, is “greener” than in-person voting and is cost effective per voter (81¢ online vs. \$5.63 in-person).

Kamenova, Kalina and Nicole Goodman. 2015. “Engagement with Internet Voting in Edmonton: Design, Outcomes, and Challenges to Deliberative Models,” *Journal of Public Deliberation*, Vol. 11: Issue 2: Article 4. Available at <http://www.publicdeliberation.net/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1370&context=jpd>

To evaluate the possibility of introducing online ballots in municipal and school board elections the City of Edmonton. Implemented four complementary participatory initiatives with varying degrees of public impact: 1) a Citizens’ Jury to evaluate the policy proposal; 2) a mock election to test the security of online voting technology; 3) a public opinion survey to gauge the citizens’ readiness to accept the policy change and their intent to make use of it; and 4) roundtable advisory meetings to solicit feedback from the general public and other groups.

Research suggests that while it is “widely believed that Internet voting is a highly technical topic and experts may best explain some elements such as security,” citizens are “equally capable to weigh in on complex policy topics such as Internet voting as are elected officials and bureaucrats and can bring additional benefit of what citizens would like to see in terms of election changes and policy. The public too is best equipped to determine whether they would make use of the alternative voting method” and citizens’ attitudes about the likelihood of using Internet voting and confidence in online ballots is likely a better predictor or can at least serve to increase the certainty that the deployment of the technology will increase voter turnout.

Kitteringham, Kimberley. 2016. *Effective Citizen Engagement in a Changing World: The Markham Experience*. (Powerpoint presentation). Available at <http://www.amcto.com/imis15/Documents/>

[Forums/2016/Clerks per cent20Forum per cent20Presentations/Presentation per cent20-per cent20Open per cent20Government- per cent20Opportunities per cent20and per cent20Challenges per cent20- per cent20Kimberley per cent20Kitteringham.pdf](#).

97 of 414 Ontario municipalities (including Markham) in 2014 offered Internet voting — up from 44 in 2010.

- Internet Voting engages residents in the electoral process; but doesn't translate into increased voter turnout because there are so many variables.
- Markham has used online voting in 4 binding municipal elections (2003, 2006, 2010 & 2014) - all positive experiences.
- Internet voting has not significantly increased overall or youth voter turnout.

May, Kathryn. 2016. "Canadians Want Electoral Reform But Don't Know How." *Ottawa Citizen*. September 18, 2016.

Institute of Governance. The Environics Institute for Survey Research. 2016. *2016 Survey of Public Opinion on Public Governance in Canada — Detailed Data Tables*. Table for statistics quoted in Kathryn May article.

When presented with four possible voting reforms, the top choice was online voting, with 58 per cent wanting to vote through a secure website. About 55 per cent supported changing election financing laws while 45 per cent opposed making it mandatory to vote in federal elections. As for changing the existing first-past-the-post way of electing MPs, 41 per cent were supportive.

Prince Edward Island. 2015. *White Paper on Democratic Renewal*. Available at <http://www.gov.pe.ca/photos/original/democraticrenew.pdf>.

Roberts, Rob. 2016. "PEI sets voting reform plebiscite for fall." *Globe and Mail*, July 7, 2016. Available at <http://www.gov.pe.ca/photos/original/democraticrenew.pdf>.

Shaw, Rob. 2016. "BC government building smartphone app to authenticate our identity," *The Vancouver Sun*. July 11, 2016. Available at <http://vancouversun.com/news/politics/b-c-government-building-smartphone-app-to-authenticate-your-identity>.

UBCM. 2015. *2015 UBCM Resolutions Book*. Available at [http://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions-and-Policy/Resolutions/2015-ResolutionsBook-for-web\\_lowres.pdf](http://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions-and-Policy/Resolutions/2015-ResolutionsBook-for-web_lowres.pdf).

BC Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development. 2016. *Provincial Response to the Resolutions of the 2015 Union of British Columbia Municipalities*. Available at [http://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions-and-Policy/Resolutions/Provincial\\_responses-2015\\_UBCM\\_resolutions.pdf](http://www.ubcm.ca/assets/Resolutions-and-Policy/Resolutions/Provincial_responses-2015_UBCM_resolutions.pdf).

- **B8 LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS — INTERNET VOTING**

WHEREAS *Local Government Act* Part 3, Division 9 — Voting Opportunities — does not allow the ability to offer online voting to electors in local government elections;

AND WHEREAS this additional service provision would assist the general population, especially the elderly, disabled, snowbirds, and those working in camp, to participate in the democratic process;

AND WHEREAS the Province of BC has the recommendations from the Independent Panel on Internet Voting from the report produced in February, 2014:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that UBCM requests the Province of BC to initiate the policy

analysis and legislative changes required to implement online voting for the 2018 local government election.

RESPONSE: Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development

While the Province recognizes the potential benefits of Internet voting, those benefits must be balanced with the security of the electoral process.

The Province may look into a province-wide coordinated approach to Internet voting once the concerns regarding security, privacy and anonymity, raised by the Independent Panel on Internet Voting's final report, have been alleviated.

To address these concerns, the Province acknowledges that more work is needed before Internet voting can be implemented safely in a way that provides appropriate safeguards to allow voter confidence.

The Province is open to exploring the topic further with UBCM and specific local governments who are interested in implementing Internet voting.

### **Other Works Related to Online Voting**

Jefferson, David. Verified Voting. 2011 Nov 2. *If I Can Shop Online, Why Can't I Vote Online*. Available at Verified Voting blog <https://www.verifiedvoting.org/if-i-can-shop-and-bank-online-why-cant-i-vote-online>.

"It is not possible, with any current or foreseeable technology, to adequately secure an online election from cyber-attacks."

Kiniry, Joseph R and Zimmerman, Daniel M. Galois Inc. (2015). *The Future of Voting: End-To-End Verifiable Internet Voting*. Prepared for US Vote Foundation. Available at [https://www.usvotefoundation.org/sites/default/files/E2EVIV\\_full\\_report.pdf](https://www.usvotefoundation.org/sites/default/files/E2EVIV_full_report.pdf)

No Internet voting system of any kind should be used for public elections before end-to-end verifiable in-person voting systems have been widely deployed and experience has been gained from their use.

- Independent auditing has shown that these systems do not have the level of security and transparency needed for mainstream elections.

- Security experts advise that end-to-end verifiability — lacking in current systems — is one of the critical features needed to guarantee the integrity, openness, and transparency of election systems.
- Secret — No existing commercial Internet voting system is open to public review. Independent parties cannot verify that these systems function and count correctly, nor can they audit and verify election results.
- Insecure — Elections for public office are a matter of national security. Researchers have shown that every publicly audited, commercial Internet voting system to date is fundamentally insecure.
- No guarantees — No existing system guarantees voter privacy or the correct election outcomes. Election vendors are rarely held liable for security failures or election disasters.

Kiesa, Abby and Peter Levine. 2016. "Do We Actually Want Higher Youth Voter." *Stanford Social Innovation Review*, March 21, 2016. Available at [https://ssir.org/articles/entry/do\\_we\\_actually\\_want\\_higher\\_youth\\_voter\\_turnout](https://ssir.org/articles/entry/do_we_actually_want_higher_youth_voter_turnout)

"There is no single quick fix. We must ask whether society supports youth engagement, and, if it does, how that support can be made equal for all youth, regardless of education, race, and income. We believe that encouraging youth to engage and to contribute their skills and values can help improve the political culture, but major institutions—educational, governmental, political, and civic—must actually *want* that to happen."

Lake Research Partners. Knight Foundation. 2013. *Why Millennials Don't Vote for Mayor: Barriers and Motivators for Local Voting*. Available at <http://www.knightfoundation.org/reports/why-millennials-dont-vote-mayor>

"They (Millennials) are an incredibly digital generation that would love a local voting smartphone application that provides basic information about local candidates and issues."

OSCE. Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights. 2013. Warsaw, Poland. *Handbook for the Observation of New Voting Technologies*. Available at <http://www.osce.org/odihr/elections/104939>.

Vassil, Kristijan and Til Weber. 2011. "A bottleneck model of e-voting: Why technology fails to boost turnout," *New Media & Society*, June 2011. Available from <http://nms.sagepub.com/content/13/8/1336>.

E-voting mostly affects 'peripheral' citizens (in a demographic and political sense), but only few of these citizens vote online in the first place. Conversely, the impact on typical e-voters is low. This 'bottleneck' effect explains why e-voting has failed to boost turnout but also points to a role in reducing political inequality.

# **KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 4: INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT**

---

Mark Friesen, Ela Esra Gunad, Hilary Farson

# CONTENTS

<b>1. EMPLOY BEST PRACTICES FROM OTHER JURISDICTIONS</b> .....	98
<b>DISCUSSION AND LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	98
i. Recommendation: Invest in additional public outreach resources .....	98
<b>SYNOPSIS</b> .....	98
<b>IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	99
<b>TOTAL COST ESTIMATE AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS</b> .....	100
ii. Recommendation: Create and implement post-election polling to be administered after each of the next three municipal elections .....	100
<b>SYNOPSIS</b> .....	100
<b>IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	100
<b>TOTAL ESTIMATED COST AND ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS</b> .....	101
<b>2. EXTEND VOTER RIGHTS TO PERMANENT RESIDENTS</b> .....	102
<b>DISCUSSION AND LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	102
i. Recommendation: Request provincial government for legislative changes in Vancouver Charter to allow permanent residents of Vancouver to vote in municipal elections .....	103
<b>SYNOPSIS</b> .....	103
<b>IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	104
<b>TOTAL COST ESTIMATE AND ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS</b> .....	106
<b>3. TARGET VOTER REGISTRATION PRACTICES</b> .....	107
<b>DISCUSSION AND LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	107
i. Recommendation: Request legislation for Elections BC to adopt new voter registration practices by December 2018 .....	108

<b>SYNOPSIS</b> .....	108
<b>IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	109
<b>TOTAL COST ESTIMATE AND ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS</b> .....	110
<b>4. INCREASING POSITIVE VOTING CUES</b> .....	110
<b>DISCUSSION AND LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	110
i. Recommendation: Create citizen academies to increase civic capacity.....	111
<b>SYNOPSIS</b> .....	111
<b>IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	112
<b>TOTAL COST ESTIMATE AND ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS</b> .....	113
ii. Recommendation: Create and administer grants for civic groups to hold voter education campaigns, registration campaigns, GOTV campaigns and celebration events.....	114
<b>SYNOPSIS</b> .....	114
<b>IMPLEMENTATION PLAN</b> .....	115
<b>TOTAL COST ESTIMATE AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS</b> .....	117
<b>5. FOR FUTURE CONSIDERATION</b> .....	118
i. Recommendation: Increase the number of nominators required to run as a candidate for Mayor, Council, or the Vancouver Park Board.....	118
<b>RECOMMENDATION</b> .....	118
<b>RATIONALE</b> .....	118
REFERENCE A – Simple Solutions to Increase Voter Turnout in Municipal Elections.....	119
REFERENCE B – 2014 GOTV Recommendations – Best Practices.....	120
SELECTED SOURCES CONSULTED.....	121

# OVERVIEW

The purpose of the Independent Election Task Force is to recommend changes to Council concerning the delivery of municipal elections in the city of Vancouver that will lead to improved public confidence in the electoral processes at the municipal level and increase voter engagement — with a key goal being to increase voter turnout to at least 60 per cent by 2025.

Voter turnout at the last municipal election was 43.4 per cent of registered (2014) voters, up from 34.6 per cent in 2011. The recommendations above (increasing positive voting cues, targeting voter registration, extending voter rights to permanent residents, and employing best practices from elsewhere) were identified by the Mayor’s Engaged City Task Force. If successful, these recommendations would increase *both* the number of *registered* voters, and the number of voters who actually turn out to vote in municipal elections. In the 2014 election, the City of Vancouver introduced many new strategies to increase voter turnout including the use of online voter tools, a tool for eligible voters to “pre-register,” and the ability for voters to “vote anywhere.”

The Independent Election Task Force reviewed these strategies, as well as best practices and innovative strategies used in other jurisdictions. The intent of the recommendations and actions outlined here is to increase both:

1. the number of Vancouver residents who are *eligible* and are *registered* to vote (targeting voter registration, extending voter rights to permanent residents)
2. the number of registered voters who actually turn out to vote in municipal elections (positive voting cues, best practices from other jurisdictions)

# BACKGROUND

In his seminal book on democracy - *Democracy and Its Critics* (1989) - Robert Dahl outlines 5 measures of democracy: 1) effective participation, 2) voting equality, 3) enlightened understanding, 4) control over the agenda and, 5) inclusiveness (p. 129). The focus on enabling more Vancouver residents to vote is grounded on the basic premise that any member of a given community has a democratic right to be included, to participate effectively, and to have voting equality with other residents and/or decision-makers in the community. To put this another way, the "...preferences of all community members should be *equally considered* during collective decision-making processes" (Stewart, 2006, 200).

Many of the recommendations and strategies outlined in this report are grounded in the principles outlined above, and the basic notion that all members of a community (in this case, the city of Vancouver) are intrinsically equal.

The City of Vancouver employed many new strategies to increase voter turnout and civic engagement in the 2014 election. After review, these strategies were found to align with the literature surrounding the effective use of positive voting cues and best practices. It is the assumption, and recommendation, of this Task Force that these same strategies should be repeated in subsequent elections. The recommendations below should be considered *in addition* to the strategies the City employed in 2014, and are meant to complement rather than replace these practices.

In the examination of Best Practices, positive voting cues, and implementation steps to achieve the outcomes above, the sub-committee for this key strategic action examined a range of possible approaches according to the following criteria:

- Does it improve a voter's ability to access the polls in an election?
- Is there evidence that the strategy improves a voter's motivation to go to the polls in an election?
- Does it require legislative change?
- What resources would be required?
- What could be done for the 2018 municipal election?
- What could be done for the 2022 municipal election?

Motivation was further defined as a voter's *political efficacy* - both *internal* efficacy and *external* efficacy — categories outlined in a research study by Norman Gludovatz in 2012. Internal efficacy can be broadly understood as a voter's political knowledge, their understanding of voting and elections. External efficacy refers to a voter's perception that voting has some impact on the political system or elections.

There are recommendations that impact many of the desired outcomes identified by City of Vancouver Council, and that address both access issues and have the potential to improve voter motivation and engagement. Where recommended strategies or tactics addressed several factors, they were prioritized above others.

# IMPLEMENTATION PLAN - RECOMMENDATIONS

## 1. EMPLOY BEST PRACTICES FROM OTHER JURISDICTIONS

### Discussion and Literature Review

---

Effective practices employed by the City of Vancouver in the 2014 election included, but were not limited to:

- “I voted” buttons and stickers
- “Are you registered to vote” tool, in addition to an engagement plan utilizing pop-up city halls and engagement with post secondary institutions and civic groups
- A “Plan Your Vote” tool
- A “Vote anywhere” strategy

Research demonstrates that using social pressure, linguistic cues, and tools that ask people to visualize how, when, and where they will be voting are effective in increasing voter turnout. (Rogers, 2010; Gludovatz, 2014; and Goldirova, 2015). Further, voters respond better to “everyone is doing it” messages than “don’t be a part of the problem” messages (Goldirova, 2015).

In the research for this key strategic action, the Task Force came across two simple lists of Best Practices when it comes to efforts to Get Out the Vote (GOTV). One is a report from the Columbia Institute, the other is a report from the Analyst Institute ([www.analystinstitute.org](http://www.analystinstitute.org)) in the United States. Many of these practices have already been adopted by the City of Vancouver, and some of them can be found in the other recommendations contained in this report. These practices have been listed in **References A and B**.

Based upon an examination of these recommended practices, and the tools already employed by the City of Vancouver, the Task Force recommends expanding the City’s public engagement resources in the following ways.

#### i. Recommendation: Invest in additional public outreach resources

---

### Synopsis

---

- Increase outreach staff to develop partnerships and align strategies to deploy the Plan Your Vote tool with civic groups throughout the city (per the Mayor’s Engaged City Task Force recommendation to invest in public engagement resources)
- Fund a social media team to engage voters leading up to the 2018 election
- Develop a system that will track voter turnout live during the election
- Increase funding for Plan Your Vote tool so it is disseminated to more groups further in advance of the election

# Implementation Plan

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
January 2018	Hire an Outreach Coordinator (or dedicate an existing engagement specialist) to oversee Plan Your Vote engagement plan, and to conduct a city-wide registration drive	CoV Public Engagement Specialist	Pay Grade 21: \$54,951 - \$64,703 per year
March 2018	City of Vancouver convenes <b>Voter Engagement Design Lab:</b> Non-partisan civic groups invited to share practices and ideas for coordinated Plan Your Vote activities in a 1-day session	Outreach Coordinator	Estimate: \$2,500
May 2018	Hire 4 students as auxiliary staff (coop students?) to implement Plan Your Vote mobilization, and disseminate Plan Your Vote resources	Outreach Coordinator	28 week full time contracts: \$22,400 per student: \$89,600
June - September 2018	Four students identify civic groups to deploy unique Plan Your Vote activities. <i>Optional:</i> CoV Elections Office enters into service agreements with aboriginal serving organizations, vulnerable populations, or youth serving organizations to conduct Plan Your Vote activities	Outreach Coordinator	Up to \$12,000 per civic group, maximum 5 groups in priority neighbourhood or population segments
August - October 2018	Plan Your Vote Tool disseminated	Engagement Specialist	An <i>additional</i> \$50,000 over the 2014 budget for the purchase of advertising space is recommended

## Total cost estimate and other considerations

\$216,803 in every *election* year plus the cost of the Plan Your Vote Material.

We also recommend the assessment of the city's social media strategy.

### ii. Recommendation: Create and implement post-election polling to be administered after each of the next three municipal elections

## Synopsis

We recommend the development and implementation of post-election polling that investigates voter motivations, including the effectiveness of public education campaigns, voter registration campaigns, GOTV tactics and celebratory events and what keeps voters away from the polls.

This polling could also be used to determine public interest and sentiment toward other issues the Independent Election Task Force investigated, including: online voting, proportional representation and extending voting rights to permanent residents.

## Implementation Plan

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
Fall 2016	Council approves post-election polling	City of Vancouver	Administrative time to develop request to council (two days)
Spring 2017	City of Vancouver staff tasked with managing RFP process, survey development and ongoing project management	City of Vancouver	Administrative time to appoint project manager (likely Elections Manager)
Fall 2017	RFP developed and sent to tender	City of Vancouver	Election manager time (two days), Buyer (Procurement Office) time (one day)
Fall 2017	Polling firm selected	City of Vancouver	Election manager time (one day), Deputy City Clerk time (one day)
Spring 2018	Questions developed	City of Vancouver, selected polling firm	Election manager time (four days)

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
Fall 2018	Survey administered	Selected polling firm	\$10,000
Fall 2018	Report developed and delivered	Selected polling firm	
Winter/spring 2019	City of Vancouver staff to review report and determine any adjustments necessary for next election	City of Vancouver	Election manager time (five days), City Clerk (who will likely need to report back to Council on the results and/or include this analysis in the final report) (two days)
Fall 2022	Survey administered	Selected polling firm	\$10,000
Fall 2022	Report developed and delivered	Selected polling firm	
Winter/Spring 2023	City of Vancouver staff to review report and determine any adjustments necessary for next election	City of Vancouver	Election manager time (five days), City Clerk (who will likely need to report back to Council on the results and/or include this analysis in the final report) (two days)
Fall 2026	Survey administered	Selected polling firm	\$10,000
Fall 2026	Report developed and delivered	Selected polling firm	
Winter/spring 2027	City of Vancouver staff to review report and determine any adjustments necessary for next election	City of Vancouver	Election manager time (five days), City Clerk (who will likely need to report back to Council on the results and/or include this analysis in the final report) (two days)
Total City staff costs:	Estimated at \$15,000		

## Total estimated cost and additional considerations

\$12,800 in every *election* year, or \$45,000 total between 2018 and 2027

A post-election exit survey was also proposed by the Mayor’s Engaged City Task Force. Results from any surveys that are administered should also be shared and distributed publicly, in order to advance the knowledge of effective practices in the public realm, and for civic groups that are working to improve voter and civic engagement.

During the last municipal election, we saw a significant increase in voter participation. Concurrently, the City of Vancouver used a number of new tools and campaigns designed to increase voter participation. Without polling or survey data, it will be difficult to know which, if any, of these tactics successfully pulled people to the polls.

Polling would provide a better understanding of the degree to which different voter engagement tactics and tools are effective. Further, this would feed well into the Engaged City Task Force overall recommendation to develop evaluation criteria for online tools, and to conduct exit surveys after municipal elections.

## 2. EXTEND VOTER RIGHTS TO PERMANENT RESIDENTS

### Discussion and Literature Review

---

The notion of the intrinsic equality of all members of a community is important to understand in the context of this recommendation, and should serve as a guiding principle for the calculation of voter turnout pending the inclusion of permanent residents in the franchise. If voter turnout is calculated on the basis of those who are registered or are eligible to vote, then extending the vote to permanent residents could actually *decrease* voter turnout if they do not actually turn out to the polls. Going forward, it may be advisable for the City to calculate voter turnout on the basis of the entire adult resident population of the City, in order to more accurately capture the degree to which these respective strategies are successful in the context of expanding the prospective pool of eligible voters.

A permanent resident is someone who has been given permanent resident status by immigrating to Canada (skilled workers, refugees, provincial nominees, caregivers and sponsored family members), but is not a Canadian citizen. Permanent residents are citizens of other countries and must live in Canada for three years out of a five year period, or they may lose their permanent resident status. In 2011, about 14 per cent of Vancouver's population were not Canadian citizens. This consists of 60 thousand permanent residents. Permanent residency is a first step to becoming a Canadian citizen. "While historically the great majority of Canadian immigrants achieve full citizenship, a number of residents are finding it increasingly difficult to attain Canadian citizenship due to changes in federal legislation, policies and procedures, and the cost of citizenship application. In some cases, permanent residents may choose not to attain citizenship due to fear of loss of status in their home country."<sup>1</sup>

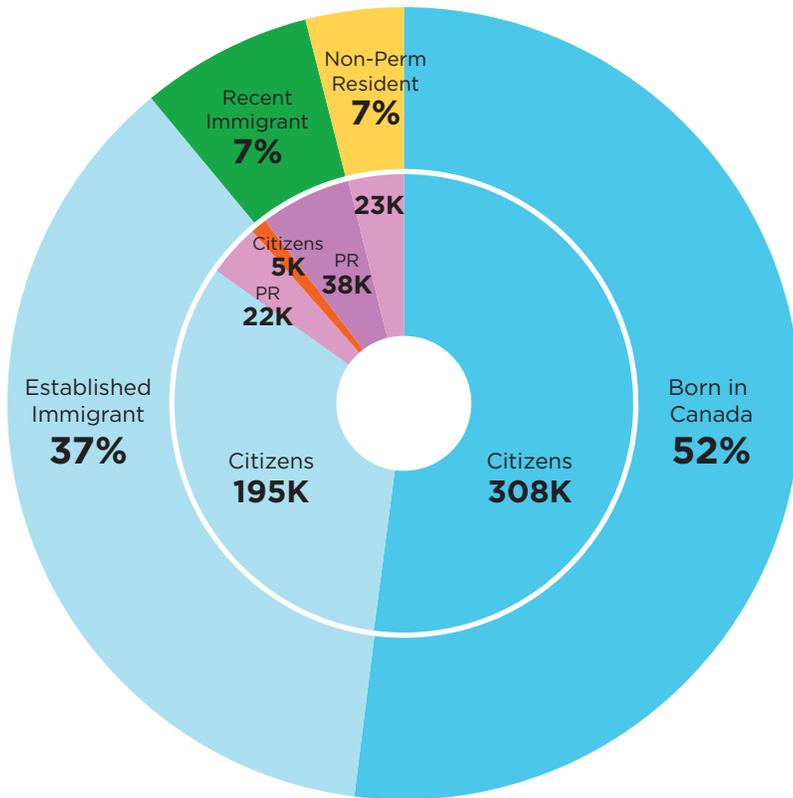
Permanent residents in Vancouver are active members of the city and their communities, and contribute to the financial viability of Vancouver as property taxpayers and consumers of City programs with user fees, without representation. The restriction of preventing non-citizen immigrants living in Vancouver with permanent resident status from participation in the electoral process has been raised by City of Vancouver's Engaged City Task Force. The Task Force recommended that City investigate required legislative changes to enable permanent residents to participate in municipal elections and reinforce the City of Vancouver's public engagement with permanent residents who are seeking to put down roots in Vancouver. Allowing permanent residents to vote in municipal election will increase their public confidence and trust in the system by ensuring they have representation in governance, and become constituents of the elected representatives, which will create an entry point to Canadian life.

A recent research done by [Institution for Canadian Citizenship](http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2013/gm/bgrd/backgroundfile-57756.pdf) validates civic participation is important and the reason of why 98 per cent of new citizens vote in elections.

---

1 <http://www.toronto.ca/legdocs/mmis/2013/gm/bgrd/backgroundfile-57756.pdf>

Further, if the basic democratic principle that all members of a community should be empowered with an equal opportunity to participate in decision-making, then the inclusion of permanent residents as eligible voters is an important step for the City to take.



## IMMIGRANT STATUS AND CITIZENSHIP

Data Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 NHS, Accessed through Community Data Program, CCSD

The chart summarizes the City of Vancouver's population by immigration status and citizenship. The outer circle breaks down Vancouver's total population by immigration status, while the inner circle provides population estimates for Canadian citizens and non-citizens within each immigration category.

### i. Recommendation: Request provincial government for legislative changes in Vancouver Charter to allow permanent residents of Vancouver to vote in municipal elections

## Synopsis

- Create public awareness and engagement opportunities for an open dialogue on permanent residents voting rights
- Undertake consultation with the public and all affected stakeholders, including Ministry of Education, Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation, the Local Government Management Association of BC, MPAC, school boards, and political parties
- Request Director of Legislation at the BC Ministry of Community, Sport, and Cultural Development to make legislative changes in the relevant section of the Vancouver Charter
- Investigate collaborating with provincial government, ICBC, and CIC to access list of permanent residents living in Vancouver

# Implementation Plan

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
January 2017 – September 2018	Initiate consultations with elected MLAs from Vancouver (Liberals, NDP, Greens) to identify where political parties in provincial level stand on permanent residents voting rights in municipal elections	Council Members	Cost: \$3000 staff time to coordinate meeting – assist with prep of a memo
January 2017 – September 2018	Undertake extensive consultation with the public and all affected stakeholders, including: MPAC, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation, the Local Government Management Association of BC, and school boards	Vancouver City Council	Public Engagement Specialist and Council Cost: \$500,000
February 2017 – September 2018	Organize Public Forums to start a dialogue on “Permanent Resident Voting in Municipal Elections” and involve public in the conversation.	City of Vancouver Public Engagement Office	Public Engagement Specialists (event organizing, coordination, promotion etc.) Staff person for Vancouver Immigration Partnership Initiative Independent Experts on the issue (as speakers) Cost: \$50,000 for six public forums with up to 70 people each with an external facilitator

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
November 2018 - January, 2019	Conducting research on non-Canadian citizen populations in Vancouver and permanent residents' public engagement and participation in the City and in their communities and their voting motivations	City of Vancouver Public Engagement Office	Social Planner(s) Civic Groups and universities (as a collaborator for an extensive research) Cost: ~\$65,000
May 2017 - January 2018	Implement a campaign about telling the stories of newcomers as part of City's newcomers strategy (which is possible in Vancouver since there is a specific Mayor's advisory team for it)	City of Vancouver's Vancouver Immigration Partnership Initiative	Public Engagement Specialist Cost: Will be under the big education campaign for Recommendation 5
March 2017 - January 2018	Work on supporting civic engagement of newcomers and permanent residents by organizing four public events on voting rights and public engagement	Mayor's Working Group on Immigration	City of Vancouver's Vancouver Immigration Partnership Initiative A contractor to run the event Cost: \$80,000
February 2019	Vancouver City Council to present a motion to extend voting rights to permanent residents who have been a resident of BC for six months immediately before Voting Day	Vancouver City Council	Exp. <u>City of Toronto passed a motion</u> Cost: \$600 to prepare motion
February 2019	Vancouver City Council assigns its Legal Advisors (staff) to submit a request of legislative changes in the Vancouver Charter (sections 23 and/or 24 of Vancouver Charter to allow permanent residents to vote in municipal elections) to BC Ministry of Community, Sport, and Cultural Development.	Vancouver City Council	City of Vancouver Legal Advisor/Officer (the change may require other changes in the local government election bylaw as applicable and review of <u>Community Charter</u> and the <u>Local Government Act</u> .) <b>Cost: \$2000</b> staff time to prep legislative review and proposal of changes

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
March 2019	Request Director of Legislation at the BC Ministry of Community, Sport, and Cultural Development to make legislative changes in the relevant section of the Vancouver Charter	Vancouver City Council	
March 2020	If Province passes a Bill to extend voting rights to permanent residents, explore collaborating with provincial government, ICBC, and CIC to access list of permanent residents living in Vancouver and develop a voter list for eligible permanent residents	Election Manager	Election Officer Cost will be covered under Recommendation 5 as those groups will be part of consultation.
January 2021	Lobby to the provincial government and make a submission to the Director of Legislation at the Ministry of Community, Sports, and Culture requesting an amendment to Local Government Act to extend voting rights to permanent residents in the municipal elections.	Vancouver City Council	Legal Officer/Advisor (the change should be in accordance with the <u>Vancouver Charter</u> , the <u>Community Charter</u> , the <u>School Act</u> , the <u>Offence Act</u> and the local government election bylaw as applicable.) Cost: \$17,000

## Total cost estimate and additional considerations

\$717,600

The City of Toronto has pursued this aggressively, over many years. Comparatively, this discussion is in its infancy in Vancouver. Extensive public consultation has been suggested as a first step to bring this issue into the public realm.

**Legislative changes required:** Section 22 of the Vancouver Charter prescribes that only Canadian citizens who have been residents of BC for at least six months immediately before the day of registration are entitled to vote in a municipal election. This qualification applies to Council elections, School Board elections and for determining candidate eligibility. A legislative amendment is required to change the voter qualifications. If the Province extends the franchise to include permanent residents, all legislation

referring to “voter” or “electors” in the Vancouver Charter must be revisited to determine the definitions (if needed) and how it impacts other legislated activities and local government election bylaw. Following the Province’s response, it is vital to review the legislations of current time to identify any legislation that might be affected.

**Impact on voters’ list:** Elections BC is responsible for providing the preliminary voters’ list for Vancouver. Extending the municipal election franchise to include permanent residents will have significant implications for how the voters’ list is compiled. Currently, the Elections BC’s database does not collect permanent resident information. There is no known updated list that provides the names and addresses of individuals with permanent resident status. The City of Vancouver sends two elections mailings before the election and one of them goes to all residential addresses including those of permanent residents. The City can start creating its own voter list by registering permanent residents voters through mail, online, and ICBC (BC ID registration) and keep this list separate from Elections BC voter’ lists in accordance with Vancouver’s responsibilities based on Memorandum of Understanding between Elections BC and City of Vancouver governing the exchange of voter record information.

**Increased administrative costs:** The cost for administering the election will increase in order to accommodate more ballots, staff, voting places, vote-counting equipment, election supplies, translation requirements, etc.

## 3. TARGET VOTER REGISTRATION PRACTICES

### Discussion and Literature Review

---

The literature identifies voter registration as the most important, and one of the most effective, tactics to improve voter turnout (Poaps, 2008; Columbia Institute, 2014). A study by Leroux and Krawczyk (2015) notes that of all the forms of voting related contacts, the most effective forms are: 1) voter registration assistance and 2) personal voting reminders. Further, that “Perhaps the single most important thing nonprofits can do through their voter engagement work is registering non-voters and helping them become first-time voters, as this may yield longer term dividends for democracy. Evidence has shown that voting in one election substantially increases the likelihood of voting in future elections by as much as 46 per cent.” (Gerber, Green, & Shachar, 2003)

In her study of youth voter participation in BC, Lyndsay Poaps (2008) notes that In the 2001 and 2005 provincial elections: “...being registered to vote is the greatest predictor of voting among youth in British Columbia.” (iii) A report by Norman Gludovatz for the Columbia Institute in April 2014 titled “Practical solutions to re-engage citizens in local elections” suggests the creation of lifelong habits and a sense of duty to vote through early voter registration of youth (p. 5). All six recommendations from this report have been provided in Reference A.

Furthermore, other provinces in Canada have passed legislation enabling the provincial election administration to provisionally register 16-17 years olds. The Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on Recommendations for Legislative Change (October 2014) recommends that legislators consider allowing the provisional registration of individuals when they are 16 years of age.

The report highlights other jurisdictions, and Canadian provinces, that have passed similar legislation (p. 3):

- **Nova Scotia** legislation permits the Chief Electoral Officer to collect the registration information of 16-and 17-year-olds who may become eligible to vote.
- **Quebec** has a provisional register of potential voters who, unless they decline, are automatically added to the voters list when they turn 18.
- **In Alberta**, although the amendment has not yet come into force, the legislature has passed legislation enabling the Chief Electoral Officer to request directly from school boards the registration information of 16-and 17-year-olds for the purposes of provisionally registering them to vote.
- **Nine American states** currently have provisional registration for 16-or 17-year-olds
- **Australia** has addressed this issue by allowing provisional voter registration of 17-year-olds.
- **The UK Electoral Commission** registered 16-and 17-year-olds in Scotland in order to facilitate their participation in the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum.

In the research conducted for this Key Strategic Action it was revealed that many groups and organizations focused on improving civic engagement relied on the use of electronic communications through email, telephone, and via social media. Unfortunately, when communicating with registered voters, the City of Vancouver must rely on information provided by Elections BC, which does not include the email address of registered voters. The City is left to rely on posted mail to communicate with registered voters.

In correspondence with Elections BC this sub-committee confirmed that, in order to collect email addresses and include them as part of the voters list that they provide to municipalities, Elections BC would require an amendment to the Voter Registration Regulation to give Elections BC the explicit authority to regularly request email addresses as another optional piece of information for inclusion in the provincial list of voters. The authority to collect mobile phone numbers is already covered by the existing authority in the Regulation to collect “telephone numbers,” although they do not collect mobile numbers as a distinct field from telephone numbers more generally.

The following recommendation is thereby intended to request new legislation that would enable Elections BC to: a) pre-register voters when they turn 16 and b) collect email addresses from voters for inclusion on the Provincial Voters List.

## i. Recommendation: Request legislation for Elections BC to adopt new voter registration practices by December 2018

---

### Synopsis

---

- Support the recommendation of the Chief Electoral Officer from the October 2014 [Report on Recommendations for Legislative Change to pre-register 16-year-olds](#)
- Request Elections BC to collect and keep email addresses and an option for voters to register a mobile phone number to receive voting information and updates

# Implementation Plan

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
January - March 2017	City of Vancouver to submit a resolution at the 2017 UBCM Convention on the need to pre-register voters per the recommendation from the Chief Electoral Officer, and the need to amend the Voter Registration Regulation to allow Elections BC to collect e-mail addresses	Chief Election Officer	UBCM resolution process <u>LMLGA resolutions</u> Estimate: \$2,000 staff time
October 2017	Resolution put forward from UBCM to Province for their response	UBCM	
January 2018 - August 2018	Province drafts legislation that enables Elections BC to pre-register BC residents to vote on their 16th birthday, and to amend the Voter Registration Regulation to allow Elections BC to collect email addresses	Ministry of Community, Sport and Cultural Development	Refer to legislation in Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Alberta. Legislation in Alberta specifically allows the Chief Electoral Officer to request directly from school boards the registration information of 16- and 17-year-olds for the purposes of provisionally registering them to vote
January 2020	City of Vancouver begins process to build a communication strategy that includes e-mail communications, and that targets newly registered voters who will be eligible to vote for the first time in 2022  Could also include training canvassers in different neighbourhoods to collect e-mail addresses.	Engagement Specialist and Election Manager	This could include requesting voters to register for Talk Vancouver, or developing a strategy to invite voters to connect with one another on a neighbourhood basis through a platform such as: <a href="http://www.goneighbour.org">http://www.goneighbour.org</a> <a href="http://nextdoor.com">http://nextdoor.com</a>  Estimate: \$50,000 staff time

## Total cost estimate and additional considerations

---

\$52,000

Does not include costs of strategy implementation.

If successful, there could be significant cost savings in mail out campaigns, if communication with voters could be shifted to email or other means.

## 4. INCREASING POSITIVE VOTING CUES

### Discussion and Literature Review

---

Much of the research surrounding the use of positive voting cues highlights the importance of social networks in encouraging voting participation. Gludovatz's notion of internal political efficacy requires that individuals can easily access and understand information about the voting system, candidates, government, and voting in general. With respect to the role social networks can play, Gludovatz (2014) notes that:

*"A citizen's social capital is often shaped by those closest to them; one powerful source of political knowledge in municipal elections is thus a citizen's social networks. Citizens gather information regularly through their own social networks about a range of issues, such as what movie to watch, where to travel, or even an election campaign. With regard to politics, social networks provide political knowledge, and those networks also provide a trusted opinion from a friend, family member, neighbour, or co-worker about candidates, issues, polls, etc. But citizens draw more than information and others' opinions from their social network; such networks also assist in the processing of information through conversation." (19)*

Gerber and Green (2000) emphasize that in studies of voter mobilization, personal, unhurried appeals are usually far superior to impersonal communications. James Buchanan (1954) noted that, for some, voting constitutes a public act of being a citizen and earning status among peers. The Report from the Mayor's Engaged City Task Force also highlights "Building Trust" as a critical dimension to building an engaged city; the report highlights the importance of relationship building as well as the importance of face-to-face interactions:

*"Opportunities for neighbourhood-based engagement and relationship building were routinely cited as a way to foster connections at the neighbourhood level and create a grassroots foundation for trust." (27)*

These findings, taken together, emphasized the importance of leveraging existing social networks and social capital in the City of Vancouver in order to augment positive cues associated with voting in the municipal election. For example, one of the most successful voter registration efforts in the United States, the National Voter Registration Act, required all offices of state-funded programs (including non-profits) that are primarily engaged in providing services to persons with disabilities to provide service recipients with voter registration forms, to assist them in completing the forms if they wish to register (Leroux and Krawczyk, 2014). This is an example of utilizing existing civic organizations, and pre-existing social connections, to connect directly with eligible voters.

Fortunately, Vancouver has a number of civic organizations and non-profits that work to increase voter turnout and overall civic engagement. Many communities in Vancouver are also served by a plethora of non-partisan, non-profit, service organizations. Many of these organizations and non-profits are led by experts in their field. These organizations have established relationships with their target audiences, and

a level of trust, that outsiders or City employees may not experience, or would require time to develop. Utilizing and supporting these civic organizations to the fullest will be advantageous for increasing overall civic engagement.

The recommendations here are focused on equipping non-partisan civic groups to utilize their existing social networks in order to augment overall positive voting cues throughout the city of Vancouver. There are two recommendations:

1. Create citizen academies, modeled after the former City of Vancouver YouthPolitik program.
2. Provide grants for non-partisan civic groups to conduct GOTV campaigns targeting groups with typically low voter turnout, and celebratory events for voters.

## i. Recommendation: Create citizen academies to increase civic capacity

---

### Synopsis

---

- Reactivate YouthPolitik program as a pilot for a citizen education and civic leadership development program.
- Fall 2017: Run one YouthPolitik 3.5 month semester.
  - » Four community leaders (two from newcomer serving organizations, 2 from civic agencies in neighbourhoods with poor representation at the polls) invited to participate in the program as mentees
- January 2018: Run four semester-based citizen academies out of civic agencies, based on YouthPolitik model, under the leadership of the four community leaders
  - » Two citizen academies hosted by newcomer serving organizations
  - » Two citizen academies hosted by agencies that serve underrepresented communities
- Summer 2018: Evaluate the program, explore feasibility of program expansion for operation on an annual basis (i.e., one YouthPolitik program every fall with participation from community leaders, multiple community hosted citizen academies every Winter hosted and led by participating community leaders).
- Goal for community administered citizen academy participants:
  - » Increased understanding of the role and specific functions of the municipality
  - » Increased knowledge amongst underrepresented Vancouver communities of community affairs
  - » Increased trust and relationship with City of Vancouver staff
  - » Participants are equipped to either: a) take leadership roles in their respective communities, b) participate on a City of Vancouver Advisory committee

# Implementation Plan

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
November 2016 - January 2017	Develop proposal to Council and draft position description for Program Coordinator	CoV Public Engagement Specialist	City of Vancouver Social Policy Department <u>YouthPolitik Program</u> <u>City of Surrey Transportation Lecture Program</u> <u>UNC School of Government Resource Page - Citizen Academies</u> Estimate: \$4,000 Staff Time
January 2017 - March 2017	Submission to Council to approve the program pilot	CoV Public Engagement Specialist	Other staff as appropriate
March 2017	Post position description for full time Program Coordinator	CoV Engagement Specialist	Estimate: \$2,500 Costs to post position
April 15, 2017	Hire full-time program administrator	CoV Public Engagement Specialist	Pay Grade 21: \$54,951 - \$64,703 per year
April 15, 2017 - August 2017	Develop curriculum and finalized project plan for YouthPolitik reactivation in Fall 2017, and for pilot academies in January 2018	Program Coordinator	Social planning staff and census data to prioritize underrepresented communities of low socio-economic status, and prospective civic groups that could commit to running a citizen academy afterwards
September - December 2017	YouthPolitik semester, with participation from four community leaders	Program Coordinator	Estimate: \$5000 communications \$2,940 meeting coordinator \$9,000 materials, food, venue \$1,000 facilitation training \$3,000 closing ceremony Total: \$20,940
January 2018 - April 2018	Four pilot citizen academies hosted by two newcomer agencies and two civic agencies	Program Coordinator and Community Leaders	Estimate: \$48,000 (\$12,000 - \$20,000 x 4)

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
April 2018 - July 2018	Program evaluation and proposal for expansion and for continuous operation	Program Coordinator	
Fall 2018	YouthPolitik program runs again; with encouragement for participants to run campaigns focused on Get Out the Vote	Program Coordinator	Estimate: \$10,590

## Total cost estimate and additional considerations

\$172,143 per year for a Full Time Program Coordinator, and to run one YouthPolitik program and four community hosted academies.

The creation of citizen academies was a recommendation from the Mayor’s Engaged City Task Force, specifically:

*“Building on this strategy and previous work done by the City such as YouthPolitik and CitizenU, the City should work with other partners, such as colleges and non-profit organizations, to create presentations on basic City processes like planning or rezoning.” (20)*

In the evaluation of the YouthPolitik program in 2006, participants were asked what they liked about the program and what they would change to improve the program. Overall, program findings demonstrate the positive impact of the YouthPolitik program. Outcomes included:

- Youth identified a better understanding of the mandate and workings of civic government;
- Youth committed to being more active through direct participation in future City and community programs and consultations;
- Both youth and adults demonstrated a positive change in attitude to working in partnership on City issues;
- The program increased knowledge of civic issues and shifted attitudes towards municipal issues; and
- Contributed to the development of skills amongst participants.

On exiting the program, participants said they learned about political processes and how the municipal system works; how to speak out and give their opinions; how Council works and the challenge of making decisions; and that there are many issues that youth care about and can do something about. “If there is something I disapprove of or would like to see changed, then I have to be the one to speak up and make sure my voice is heard. Nothing has ever been accomplished by sitting and complaining. We must take action.” (City of Vancouver Administrative Report, January 4 2007).

## ii. Recommendation: Create and administer grants for civic groups to hold voter education campaigns, registration campaigns, GOTV campaigns and celebration events.

---

### Synopsis

---

Create two new Community and Social Service Grants for nonprofits and civic organizations to manage non-partisan GOTV campaigns targeting groups with typically low voter turnout, and celebratory events for voters who can provide proof of participation in the election.

This sub-committee recommends that the grants not be overly prescriptive, but that they allow organizations to develop their own strategies to increase overall civic engagement in Vancouver. That said, this sub-committee concurrently recommends these groups be tasked with developing strategies that would meet predetermined objectives, including:

1. Increase voter turnout with targeted groups, including: Aboriginal (Re: city of reconciliation) communities, youths, new Vancouverites, and new Canadians.
2. Host celebratory events for voters who can demonstrate proof of participation (for example, admittance based on having an ‘I Voted’ sticker or pin).

# Implementation Plan

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
Winter 2017	Submission to Council to approve new grants	City of Vancouver	<p>Vancouver Social Policy, Election Office, and Engagement Specialist (need to confirm a staff lead)</p> <p>Overall the program staff costs would be the equivalent of one staff person per grant type for the length of the project (April-November) for two days/week - total four days/week for an eight month contract.</p> <p>Estimate: \$43,135</p> <p>Pay Grade 21: \$54,951 - \$64,703 per year</p>
Winter 2017	Council to approve for new Community and Social Services Grants		Hard costs (i.e. grant money) \$40,000 in total. Specific allocations from this amount to be determined by interdepartmental team
Spring 2017	Interdepartmental team between social policy and elections office to develop initial grant outlines, target groups and communities, and selection criteria.	City of Vancouver	Estimate: \$6,000 staff time
Summer 2017	Hold 1 or 2 small focus groups with community members to ask: if you were to run a GOTV campaign, or one of these events, how much money would you need? How should we evaluate proposals?	City of Vancouver	<p>Estimate 2 focus groups: \$2,000 advertising \$600 meeting coordinator \$60 printing \$350 food Total: \$3,010</p>

TIMEFRAME	ACTIVITY AND RELEVANT LEGISLATION (AS APPLICABLE)	RESPONSIBLE	SUPPORTS REQUIRED (MATERIALS, RESOURCES)
April-May 2018	The grant is prepared, finalized, and posted for applications. Organizations that First Nations communities, vulnerable populations; new voters and youth are prioritized through selection process	City of Vancouver	
June 2018	Applications review by an internal, interdepartmental review team.	City of Vancouver	Estimate: \$6,000 staff time
June 2018	Preparation of report to council with recommended grants (as per the Vancouver Charter, <i>all</i> grants must go to council for approval)	City of Vancouver	
July 2018	Council approval of grants	City of Vancouver	
August 2018	Notice to successful grantees, distribution of funds to organize events	City of Vancouver	
October 2018	Events are held	Successful grant applicants	
November - December 2018	Successful grant applicants report back to the City re: their success, including information on the total number of voters/ attendees, and overall reach of communication strategy	Successful grant applicants	
January 2019	City of Vancouver staff review reports; report back to City re: engagement outcomes	City of Vancouver	

## Total cost estimate and other considerations

---

\$92,145 in every *election* year.

It is critical that nonprofit groups are nonpartisan, and are prioritized on the basis of priority population groups (eg. Aboriginal-serving organizations, newcomer-serving organizations, organizations that serve vulnerable populations, and youth-serving organizations).

In order for this recommendation to be effective, some general guidelines should be provided to selected non profit groups:

1. People are more likely to vote if they believe others are voting (Gerber and Green 2000; Gerber, Green and Larimer 2008). This relates to perception of projected turnout, and whether or not people are led to believe that their peers and social groups will be voting. As a result, it is important to communicate projected high voter turnout, where appropriate and accurate. Field research on linguistic cues has supported this, indicating that direct messaging around high voter turnout motivated some voters to participate in an election (Gerber A., 2011, Rogers, 2012). As such, grant provisions should be, at least partially, contingent on an organization's capacity to communicate high voting behaviour.
2. Related to this, research has also indicated that people are more likely to vote if they are exposed to positive cues about voting, through media, peer groups or online sources. Some research has suggested that recruiting local celebrities to speak to the importance of voting and increasing media coverage of an election can both increase voter participation (Gludovatz, 2014, Issenberg, 2010, Goldirova, 2015). If an individual is reminded of other people's participation, or intended participation, this increases the likelihood that that individual will also participate. Thus, creating positive cues about voting (through means such as 'I Voted' stickers/buttons, shareable social media campaigns, or many other means) increase the likelihood that people will participate in elections, and organizations should be guided toward building campaigns that increase positive voting cues.
3. Research indicates that people are more likely to vote if they plan out or visualize their voting strategy. Research by Nickerson and Rogers (2010) indicated that when people were contacted and asked to visualize and describe how, when and where they would be voting, voter turnout increased by 9.1 percentage points. Tactics as simple as asking people what time they plan to vote, how they plan to get to the voting booth and where they'll be coming from has been known to double the impact of voter mobilization contact (Rogers, 2012). Grant provisions should be, at least partially, contingent on an organization's commitment to helping voters plan how they will vote either at advance polls or on Election Day.
4. Finally, research conducted over the last decade reveals that some subtle communication tactics increase the likelihood a person will vote. Communication that emphasizes that the person being targeted identifies as 'the type of person who votes, as a voter, as someone who can vote' instead of someone who votes (Rogers, 2012, Goldirova, 2015) is more likely to be effective. Grant provisions should be, at least partially, related to an organization's commitment to utilize this political communication strategy.

Grant provisions should be, at least partially, contingent on an organization's capacity and commitment to do these three acts.

## 5. FOR FUTURE CONSIDERATION

### i. Recommendation: Increase the number of nominators required to run as a candidate for Mayor, Council, or the Vancouver Park Board

---

- Whereas the City of Vancouver has an at-large electoral system, and is the only order of government where voters must select multiple candidates for different offices,
- And whereas voter engagement with candidates is a significant problem in a municipality the size of Vancouver,
- We are proposing to increase the number of nominators required, to encourage candidates for these offices to engage with a greater number of prospective voters early in the nominations process, and obtain a higher degree of public support before submitting their nomination

### Recommendation

---

Staff to research the number of nominators required in other jurisdictions with at-large voting systems, and to assess other techniques employed in at-large jurisdictions to simplify the voting process.

### Rationale

---

Norman Gludovatz's 2012 study of the "Non-voting Majority" in Vancouver noted that participants identified two main critiques about voting in Vancouver's municipal election: the at-large voting structure, and the first-past the post voting system (p. 49). Further, "They perceive that voting is too complicated in municipal elections because of factors such as having to vote for multiple positions which is a stark contrast to federal or provincial elections where they only vote for one."

In a 1996 poll administered by Angus Reid in the Vancouver Sun, 20 per cent of the respondents who indicated they would not vote in the upcoming election selected a lack of knowledge about the candidates as the main reason. Patrick Smith and Kennedy Stewart (1998) found that "voters in larger jurisdictions are not given ample information to make an informed choice between all candidates and policy options." (p. 17)

Further: "The current municipal electoral structure in British Columbia appears to increase the cost for voters to obtain and process political knowledge because its complexity forces citizens to obtain more political knowledge and vote for multiple candidates (Cutler & Matthews, 2005; Stewart, MacIver, & Young, 2008) in comparison to the simpler provincial or federal elections. The municipal electoral system in British Columbia (BC), called the at-large system, obliges citizens to vote for a multiple number of candidates for a variety of positions (city council and school board) from across a given city.

The recommendation here is to determine some kind of incentive for candidates running for election to undertake engagement with voters prior to the election, and to encourage candidates to reach out directly to voters well in advance of an election, as part of process to contemplate and run as a candidate in a municipal election. Due to time constraints, the feasibility of different tactics to address this problem were not explored fully by the Task Force.

# REFERENCE A – SIMPLE SOLUTIONS TO INCREASE VOTER TURNOUT IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

From: Gludovatz, Norman. (April 2014). *Getting the Majority to Vote: Practical Solutions to re-engage citizens in local elections*. Columbia Institute and the Centre for Civic Governance, p. 5.

1. Create lifelong habits and a sense of duty to vote through early voter registration of youth in high schools as per the 2011 Elections BC report.
2. Ask voters to wear “I voted, did you?” stickers (given out as they leave the voting station) so as to increase visual cues, stimulated through social networks.
3. Provide new reasons for citizens to focus on and vote in elections. Cities could stimulate new interest through incentives used in Norway that saw voter turnout increase by 10 per cent.
4. Increase the number of positive cues for citizens to pay attention to the election, evaluate their choices, and vote. Each city government can provide leadership by recruiting local celebrities and the media to speak positively about voting (especially the basics of why, when and where to vote).
5. Increase the ease of voting through secure electronic voting and an increased number of advance voting days.
6. Conduct research to identify which groups are voting less, and discover how best to eliminate barriers and motivate these citizens. In many jurisdictions, little is known about who votes and who does not. Research conducted by local government could establish the demographic composition of voters and non-voters.

# REFERENCE B – 2014 GOTV RECOMMENDATIONS – BEST PRACTICES

From the Analyst Institute, 2014. [www.analystinstitute.org](http://www.analystinstitute.org)

1. The most important number is one.

Within a mode of contact (mail, phone, email, etc) multiple contacts have diminishing returns. Focus resources on contacting many people one time, as opposed to fewer people multiple times.

2. Increase social pressure.

Field testing shows that social pressure mail is the single most reliable GOTV strategy (in the United States).

3. Talk about voting, not issues. Use neutral, informative language.

Over the past few years most evidence has shown that while persuasion language can be effective at persuading, it has had no effect (or tiny effects) on whether or not someone will vote.

4. Make it easier to vote.

5. Only target people within nudging distance of voting.

GOTV is about changing one behavior — whether or not someone votes. Target people for whom that behavior is a possibility, but who need a little nudge to make it happen.

6. Have high value, high quality conversations.

The most effective GOTV tactics are those that maximize human interaction and foster a sense of community. These tactics are also the costliest to deploy, so it's important to consider these recommendations only in the context of your budget, your team's capacity and your goals.

7. Budget wisely.

Choose the widest target universe possible, and when it's time to cut, cut pieces, not people. Your program is most cost-effective when it is wide and shallow rather than narrow and deep.

# SELECTED SOURCES CONSULTED

- Buchanan, J. M. (1954). Social choice, democracy, and free markets. *The journal of political economy*, 114-123.
- Cutler, F., & Matthews, J. S. (2005). The challenge of municipal voting: Vancouver 2002. *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 38(02), 359-382.
- Dahl, Robert. (1989). *Democracy and its Critics*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Elections BC. (2014). *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on Recommendations for Legislative Change*.
- Elections BC. (2014). *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on Recommendations for Legislative Change*.
- Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., & Shachar, R. (2003). Voting may be habit-forming: evidence from a randomized field experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 47(3), 540-550.
- Gerber, A. S., & Green, D. P. (2000). The effects of canvassing, telephone calls, and direct mail on voter turnout: A field experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 94(03), 653-663.
- Gerber, A. S., Green, D. P., & Larimer, C. W. (2008). Social pressure and voter turnout: Evidence from a large-scale field experiment. *American Political Science Review*, 102(01), 33-48.
- Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., Doherty, D., Dowling, C. M., Raso, C., & Ha, S. E. (2011). Personality traits and participation in political processes. *The Journal of Politics*, 73(03), 692-706.
- Gludovatz, Norman. (2012). *The non-voting Majority: A Study of non-voting in the 2011 Vancouver Municipal Election*. Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Professional Communication, Royal Roads University.
- Gludovatz, Norman. (2014). *Getting the Majority to Vote: Practical Solutions to re-engage citizens in local elections*. Columbia Institute and the Centre for Civic Governance.
- Issenberg, S. (2012). Why Obama Is Better at Getting Out the Vote.
- LeRoux, Kelly and Krawczyk, Kelly. (2014). Can Nonprofit Organizations Increase Voter Turnout? Findings From an Agency-Based Voter Mobilization Experiment. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, Vol. 43(2), 272-292.
- Marriott, Peter. (July 15, 2016). Report on Social Policy Data Request on Permanent Residents, City of Vancouver.
- Nickerson, D. W., & Rogers, T. (2010). Do you have a voting plan? Implementation intentions, voter turnout, and organic plan making. *Psychological Science*, 21(2), 194-199.
- Poaps, Lyndsay. (2008). *Registration Matters: Explaining Youth Voter Participation in British Columbia*. Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Policy, Simon Fraser University.
- Rogers, J., & Tyszler, M. (2012). Information and Economic Voting. *Manuscript Under Review*.
- Smith, P. J., & Stewart, K. (1998). *Making Local Accountability Work in British Columbia*. Ministry of Municipal Affairs, Government of British Columbia.
- Stewart, Kenney. (2006). Designing good urban indicators: The importance of citizen participation and its evaluation in Greater Vancouver. *Cities*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 196-204.
- Stewart, K., MacIver, P., & Young, S. (2008). Testing and improving voters' political knowledge. *Canadian Public Policy*, 34(4), 403-417.



# **KEY STRATEGIC ACTION 5: REQUEST TO PROVINCE TO MAKE ANONYMOUS BALLOTING DATA AVAILABLE IN OPEN DATA FORMAT AFTER AN ELECTION**

---

Antony Hodgson

The full recommendation for this key strategic area is captured in the body of the main report on page 26.



# **APPENDIX B:**

## INDEPENDENT ELECTION TASK FORCE PAST CANDIDATE SURVEY REPORT

---

August 31, 2016

(Completion rate: 63.46 per cent)



## What position did you run for in the 2014 municipal election?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Mayor		14.9%	7
City Councillor		42.6%	20
School Trustee		21.3%	10
Parks Commissioner		21.3%	10
		Total Responses	47

## How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

A ban on corporate and union donations would have changed the results of the 2014 election.

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		40.9%	18
Agree		15.9%	7
Neutral		18.2%	8
Disagree		15.9%	7
Strongly Disagree		0.0%	0
Don't know		9.1%	4
		Total Responses	44

**Elected officials are influenced by the campaign contributions they receive.**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		27.3%	12
Agree		45.5%	20
Neutral		6.8%	3
Disagree		11.4%	5
Strongly Disagree		4.5%	2
Don't know		4.5%	2
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>44</b>

**Campaign contributions from corporations and unions should be banned.**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		50.0%	22
Agree		15.9%	7
Neutral		20.5%	9
Disagree		9.1%	4
Strongly Disagree		0.0%	0
Don't know		4.5%	2
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>44</b>

**In evaluating which voting system would work best for Vancouver, please rank the importance of each of the following values:**

	Very important	Important	Neutral	Unimportant	Very unimportant	Total Responses
Proportional results are achieved whereby vote and seat shares closely match. For example: if 30% of the electorate support a party, then roughly 30% of the seats will be won by that party.	12 (26.7%)	16 (35.6%)	11 (24.4%)	4 (8.9%)	2 (4.4%)	45
Consensus-building among elected officials is encouraged.	18 (40.0%)	19 (42.2%)	5 (11.1%)	2 (4.4%)	1 (2.2%)	45
The elected officials reflect the diversity of voters in Vancouver.	14 (31.1%)	19 (42.2%)	9 (20.0%)	3 (6.7%)	0 (0.0%)	45
Strategic voting is minimized.	12 (26.7%)	13 (28.9%)	18 (40.0%)	1 (2.2%)	1 (2.2%)	45
Voters can hold individual candidates directly accountable when voting.	18 (40.0%)	16 (35.6%)	10 (22.2%)	1 (2.2%)	0 (0.0%)	45
Independent and party-affiliated candidates are treated equally on the ballot.	21 (46.7%)	15 (33.3%)	8 (17.8%)	1 (2.2%)	0 (0.0%)	45

**Thinking back to when you ran for office in the City of Vancouver, and based on the above descriptions, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't know	Total Responses
If Vancouver had adopted Single Transferable Vote (System A) I would have felt more positive about running.	9 (22.0%)	8 (19.5%)	12 (29.3%)	6 (14.6%)	3 (7.3%)	3 (7.3%)	41
If Vancouver had adopted Open List Proportional Representation (System B) I would have felt more positive about running.	3 (7.3%)	9 (22.0%)	14 (34.1%)	6 (14.6%)	3 (7.3%)	6 (14.6%)	41
If Vancouver had adopted Mixed Member Proportional (System C) I would have felt more positive about running.	7 (17.1%)	5 (12.2%)	14 (34.1%)	7 (17.1%)	1 (2.4%)	7 (17.1%)	41
If Vancouver had adopted Single Non-Transferable Vote (System D) I would have felt more positive about running.	4 (9.8%)	2 (4.9%)	18 (43.9%)	4 (9.8%)	7 (17.1%)	6 (14.6%)	41
If Vancouver had adopted Limited Vote (System E) I would have felt more positive about running.	4 (9.8%)	3 (7.3%)	14 (34.1%)	7 (17.1%)	7 (17.1%)	6 (14.6%)	41
If Vancouver had adopted Cumulative Vote (System F) I would have felt more positive about running.	4 (9.8%)	6 (14.6%)	13 (31.7%)	3 (7.3%)	9 (22.0%)	6 (14.6%)	41

**How much do you agree or disagree with the use of internet voting for municipal elections?**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		33.3%	13
Agree		25.6%	10
Neutral		12.8%	5
Disagree		15.4%	6
Strongly Disagree		12.8%	5
Don't know		0.0%	0
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>39</b>

**Did you run an online campaign in 2014?**

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Yes		71.8%	28
No		28.2%	11
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>39</b>

## Which tools did you use?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Candidate website		79.4%	27
Facebook		73.5%	25
Twitter		70.6%	24
Instagram		17.6%	6
Other, please specify...		35.3%	12
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>34</b>

## What are the top three barriers you believe prevent people from voting?

- The party system
- Apathy
- People don't believe their vote will make a difference
- Unsure of process & candidates
- Confusion with elections at other government levels (provincial & federal)
- Too busy
- Confusing ballot
- November weather
- Lack of trust in political system
- Limited days for early voting
- Lack of knowledge about issues

## Voting rights in municipal elections should be extended to permanent residents?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		27.0%	10
Agree		32.4%	12
Neutral		18.9%	7
Disagree		5.4%	2
Strongly Disagree		10.8%	4
Don't know		5.4%	2
		Total Responses	37

If municipal elections were extended to permanent residents, there should there be a 6-month time period of residency requirement? This time period is based on the current Elections BC requirement that every eligible voter must have lived in BC for at least 6 months before the election day.

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		33.3%	12
Agree		27.8%	10
Neutral		19.4%	7
Disagree		8.3%	3
Strongly Disagree		8.3%	3
Don't know		2.8%	1
		Total Responses	36

Many jurisdictions around the world that use ballots on which voters can express multiple preferences publish anonymized detailed ballot data to facilitate better understanding of voting patterns but this is currently prevented under the Vancouver Charter.

How much do you agree or disagree with a change to make this data available?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Strongly Agree		32.4%	12
Agree		13.5%	5
Neutral		35.1%	13
Disagree		0.0%	0
Strongly Disagree		2.7%	1
Don't know		16.2%	6
		Total Responses	37

**Vancouver City Council is considering a range of changes to the election legislative framework. Please rank the following election reform activities in order of priority: (1 top priority, 5 lowest priority)**

	1	2	3	4	5	Total Responses
Reform campaign financing	18 (51.4%)	11 (31.4%)	3 (8.6%)	1 (2.9%)	2 (5.7%)	35
Adopt proportional voting system	4 (11.8%)	6 (17.6%)	12 (35.3%)	9 (26.5%)	3 (8.8%)	34
Conduct an online voting pilot	2 (5.9%)	6 (17.6%)	6 (17.6%)	9 (26.5%)	11 (32.4%)	34
Increase voter turnout by: Increasing positive cues; Targeting voter registration; Extending voting rights to permanent residents; Employing best practices from other jurisdictions; Using the election ballot to get feedback on voter satisfaction with the current voting system	10 (28.6%)	9 (25.7%)	7 (20.0%)	5 (14.3%)	4 (11.4%)	35
Make Anonymous Balloting Data Available in Open Data	5 (14.7%)	2 (5.9%)	5 (14.7%)	9 (26.5%)	13 (38.2%)	34

## Which age category do you fall in?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Under 15 years		0.0%	0
15-19 yrs		0.0%	0
20-29 yrs		0.0%	0
30-39 yrs		18.8%	6
40-49 yrs		15.6%	5
50-59 yrs		43.8%	14
60-69 yrs		21.9%	7
70-79 yrs		0.0%	0
80 yrs or over		0.0%	0
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>32</b>

## Do you identify as...?

Response	Chart	Percentage	Count
Male		75.0%	24
Female		21.9%	7
Transgender		0.0%	0
None of the above		0.0%	0
Prefer not to say		3.1%	1
		<b>Total Responses</b>	<b>32</b>



CITY OF  
**VANCOUVER**

January 2017