Florida League of Women Voters Open Primary Study Report

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Florida League of Women Voters

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Abstract

The purpose of the League of Women Voters of Florida (LWVF) Open Primary Study is to evaluate the current primary system in Florida to determine whether it is a hindrance to voter turnout.

Since 2000 Florida voter turnout in primary elections has averaged only 22% hitting a historic low of 17.6% in the 2014 midterm election. To achieve the study purpose, the League conducted literature research to capture reasons for and solutions to low voter turnout; interviewed supervisors of elections; interviewed county political party chairs; and surveyed selected state leagues. The League also conducted a Survey Monkey responder self-selection survey of Florida millennial voters and non-voters to determine their views on potential solutions to low voter turnout. The Haas Center of the University of West Florida conducted a short telephone random selection survey. In addition the League evaluated selected election systems against pre-determined evaluation criteria to determine if a change from the current closed system to an open style system may yield improved voter participation.
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The purpose of the League of Women Voters of Florida (LWVF) Open Primary Study is to evaluate the current primary system in Florida to determine whether it is a hindrance to voter turnout.

Florida’s closed primary election system requires that a voter be registered with a major party to vote for partisan candidates. There are over 3.4 million no party affiliates (NPA) and minor party voters who are excluded unless they change their registration (1).

Since 2000 Florida voter turnout in primary elections has averaged less than 23% hitting a historic low of 17.6% in the 2014 midterm election. (1) To achieve the study purpose, the League conducted literature research to capture reasons for and solutions to low voter turnout; interviewed supervisors of elections, county political party chairs, and surveyed selected state leagues. The League also conducted a Survey Monkey survey of Florida millennial voters and non-voters to determine their views on potential solutions to low voter turnout. In addition the League evaluated selected election systems against predetermined evaluation criteria to determine if a change from the current closed system to an open style system may yield improved voter turnout.

Study Method

The study method is a combination of literature research, written and oral interviews, and surveys.

First, literature research was on-going throughout the study to ensure the latest information on voter turnout and effectiveness of election systems was evaluated.

Second, Leagues interviewed county supervisors of elections via questionnaires and follow-up face-to-face interviews where possible.

Third, the League interviewed county political party chairs to correlate their views on low voter turnout with SOE results. In addition these interviews were aimed to determine the chairs views on opening primary elections to all voters.

Fourth, the League designed and implemented a written questionnaire seeking inputs from other state leagues. These leagues were selected to be representative of potential alternative primary election systems. The Ohio and Oregon Leagues conducted studies in the same timeframe as our study.

Fifth, the League, in concert with the University of Central Florida (UCF), designed and implemented a customized Survey Monkey survey of millennial voters and non-voters. Prior to going live, the draft survey was tested by over 160 UCF students. Student feedback was invaluable in shaping the final survey. The survey was administered via e-mail links to survey respondents contacted through their colleges, universities, unions, and young professional organizations. To further understand millennials, the study committee teamed with The Haas Center, a research and consulting arm of the University of West Florida to conduct a random select telephone interview of millennials using the same questions used in the Survey Monkey survey.
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Sixth, the League evaluated the following election systems: Closed; Open with Unaffiliated Voters; Open; Top Two; and Instant Runoff Voting (Appendix A) Each system was analyzed using facts and expert opinions. As part of this evaluation, the League also contacted experts and advocates for selected systems. Each system was analyzed against study evaluation criteria to determine their potential to improve voter turnout.

Executive Summary

The 2016 Election has challenged many of the assumptions about what voters want and how elections work. This comprehensive study on primaries and improving voter turnout is an opportunity to evaluate and reinvent the current process. Do you think that we should have elections in which only 17% of voters determine a candidate for public office? Do you think our current primary system works well for Florida voters? Do you believe that everyone who wants to should be able to participate to their fullest? If you answered yes to any of these questions, then maybe we should make some changes to the way we select candidates. This study will look at alternatives to our current system with the goal of increasing voter participation.

This Executive Summary contains the following components: (1) Five Key Findings; (2) Factors Influencing Voter Turnout; (3) Potential Solutions to Low Voter Turnout; (4) Major Findings from Interviews with Supervisors of Elections (SOEs), and from Leaders of Political Parties; (5) Election Input from Other State Leagues with Different or Same Election Systems; (6) Election Input from the Twin Cities —Minneapolis/St. Paul, Minnesota and from Pierce County Washington (Tacoma area). Additionally, two instances of consequence bear noting with respect to providing a sense of urgency to this study: (1) More than a million new voters have registered as non-party affiliated (NPAs) between 2004-2016. This 64% increase in non-party affiliated registered voters is unprecedented, to the best of our knowledge, and (2) Forty percent (40%) of this increase in NPAs are millennials, ages 18-34 years. Therefore, our study committee would be remiss if it did not also address the issue of millennials and what, if anything, should be done to increase their participation in the election process. Florida is a closed primary election system state. This means that NPAs are excluded from voting in candidate primary elections unless they register with a recognized political party within the timeframe allowed by law. Therefore, the results from the survey of millennials are also included as a component of the study.

The analytical support for the components of the Executive Summary is provided in the actual detailed study report itself. For example, this study, as a result of the participation of many statewide League members in data gathering, data analysis and evaluation, and technical support, includes the following key information:

- Analysis of Five Election Systems with Facts and Expert Opinions
- Evaluation of the Five Election Systems versus Evaluation Criteria
- Description of Presidential Preference Primaries (PPP); State Caucuses
- State Division of Elections Procedures and League Positions
- Bibliography
- Glossary
• Acknowledgements

Now here are the key components of the Executive Summary:

**Five Key Findings:**

- The voter turnout in Florida’s closed primary election system is significantly lower when compared with the voter turnout data from open election systems. In 2016 seventy-six (76%) percent of all open primary states have higher turnout than Florida. Also, there are a few states with closed primary election systems with higher voter turnout than Florida’s.

- Voter turnout in Florida’s primary election system is influenced by a complex set of factors. No single solution may succeed in improving turnout in primary elections. Isolating the root cause of other states’ success with higher voter turnout was unachievable in our time frame.

- There are more than 3.4 million NPAs and minor party registered voters who are not allowed to vote in candidate primary elections unless they meet the terms described above. More than 1.2 million new voters have registered as non-party affiliated (NPAs) between 2004-2016. This represents a 64% increase in non-party affiliated registered voters, and 40% of this increase in NPAs is millennials, ages 18-34 years.

- Administrative and legislative actions are not sufficient, in and of themselves, to address many of the reasons for low voter turnout, such as candidate quality or voter apathy.

- Replacement of the closed primary election system in Florida will require changes to Florida Statutes and/or Florida’s Constitution. The costs associated with a replacement have not been ascertained and are not included in this study.

**Factors Influencing Voter Turnout**

The factors influencing voter turnout have been organized into categories to facilitate understanding:

**Awareness / Publicity / Education**
- Less publicity for primaries than for general elections
- Lack of civic education
- Lack of parents modeling being a voter for their children

**Voters’ Feelings / Positions / Expressions**
- “My vote doesn't count”
- “What difference will my vote make” (voter apathy)
- “I don’t trust government”
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“I don’t want to join a party” (Millennials tend not to affiliate with party beliefs)

Political Issues / Candidates
Gerrymandering of districts
Non-responsiveness of elected officials
Polarization of voters
Candidates on the ballot
Issues on the ballot

Effect of Presidential Preference Primaries (PPP)
Higher turnout in PPP
Lower turnout in mid-term (off-year) elections
Closed PPP excludes NPAs and minor party voters

Socioeconomic Indicators
Poverty

Potential Solutions to Low Voter Turnout

The potential solutions to low voter turnout have been organized into categories to facilitate understanding. Solutions with “Florida” in parentheses indicate that Florida has already implemented the change. Solutions in bold text are the subject of consensus statements designed to ascertain the sense of LWVF leagues.

Administrative
Continue sending election reminders to voters by SOEs (Florida)
Continue voter registration at Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) (Florida)
**Implement automatic voter registration at age 18**
Continue pre-voter registration at age 16 (Florida)
**Implement Election Day voter registration (EDR)**
Implement same day change of party affiliation (Same day as election day)
**Implement vote-by-mail exclusively**
Shorten registration close out date to less than 29 days
**Open vote centers**
Implement on-line voting
Implement on-line voter registration (Florida)
Continue Early Voting in Florida (Florida)
Make Election Day a holiday

Political
**Change to open primary election system from closed primary election system**
Establish threshold criteria for write-in candidates to qualify
Require universal voting where all registered voters are required to vote (compulsory voting)
Implement and hold a national primary day
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- Participate in Get Out the Vote activities
- Monitor Voter ID or other potential voter suppression influences
- Fund elections publicly - eliminate corrupting influence of money in politics
- Schedule ballot initiatives during primary (not general elections)
- Create Independent Redistricting Commission

Educational
- Implement and continue voter election education
- Implement voter civics education (Florida)
- Implement Bi-partisan Policy Center ideas

Major Findings from Interviews with Supervisors of Elections and from Leaders of Political Parties

The input from Supervisors of Elections was critical to the study and is included below:

They opposed Election Day Registration. (EDR)
They highlighted vote-by-mail and early voting as contributors to higher turnout.
They supported implementing vote centers (Election Day portability like early voting).
They saw the top three (3) contributors to low voter turnout:
  - Lack of competitive races;
  - Ballot issues;
  - Voter apathy.
They believe that the “write-in candidate” loophole should be closed, possibly by the 2017-2018 Constitutional Revision Commission deliberations.
They supported Election Day portability of voting at any location within the county as done in early voting.

The input from leaders of both political parties is included below:

Leaders from the parties split 50/50 in support of or opposition to open primaries. Those in opposition cited risk of political manipulation and a loss of party control. Those favoring open primaries also cited political manipulation as a risk. Also, seven (7) of 15 political party leaders interviewed opposed write-in candidates. Six (6) leaders favored write-in candidates. Two (2) leaders were neutral.

Election Input from Other State Leagues with Different or Same Elections Systems

The study committee selected six (6) other state leagues to help obtain a representative sample of different election types. The League of Women Voters of Arizona (LWVAZ) supports Instant Runoff Voting (IRV). The LWV of California (LWVCA) supports election types that achieve a majority winner and cites IRV as the example of an election system they support. The State of Michigan holds open primaries. The State of New York holds closed primaries and the League there has tried unsuccessfully to change to an open
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primary election system. Primary Election System Study Reports from the Leagues in Oregon
and Ohio are forthcoming.

Election Input from the Twin Cities (Minneapolis / St. Paul, Minnesota) and from Pierce
County Washington (Tacoma area)

Minneapolis and St. Paul conduct IRV elections. Pierce County Washington tried IRV
once and rejected it due to dissatisfaction with the results.

Survey of Millennials

Two surveys of millennials were conducted. The first survey was a self-select type
survey in which individuals, 18-34 years of age, were provided with an e-mail link to the
survey on Survey Monkey. The second survey featured randomly selected telephone
interviews sponsored by the Haas Center, a Research and Consulting Center of the University
of West Florida. The Haas Center used the same Survey Monkey questions. Initial results
from the survey reveal that, generally speaking, millennials do not want to register with a
political party. Moreover, they want real candidate choice in elections. They also favor open
primaries and same day Election Day registration and Election Day change of party affiliation.
Additional findings will be added when the survey is completed by the end of January 2017.

Brief Preview of Study Elements

Seven election systems were analyzed and evaluated to differentiate fact from opinion
and to compare each system with the seven pre-established evaluation criteria. Two of the
seven election systems were eliminated early. The Partially Closed Primary is used in only
seven states, including two caucus states. Only two of the partially closed primaries had
slightly higher turnout than Florida. This primary type is rarely used by a political party. In
effect, this election type is really a closed primary. The Partially Open Primary is used in only
six states, including two caucus states. While three states had higher turnout than Florida, 11
of 13 Open Primary (to all voters) states provided significantly greater turnout. Five election
systems were evaluated in detail: (1) Closed; (2) Open to Unaffiliated Voters; (3) Open; (4)
Top Two; and (5) Instant Runoff Voting (IRV).

The seven pre-established evaluation criteria are: (1) Simple and Easy to Understand;
(2) Verifiable and Auditable; (3) Fosters Competition; (4) Minimizes Political Manipulation;
(5) Represents Demographics; (6) Technically and Fiscally Feasible; and (7) Winner Achieves
Majority Vote.

No one of the systems met all evaluation criteria. Additional analysis and evaluation
of Closed, Open, Open to Unaffiliated Voters, as well as Top Two and IRV are contained within
the Study Kit and the body of the comprehensive study. Similarly, the charts with
accompanying explanations provide clarifications and effects on voter turnout by Presidential
Preference Primaries and state caucuses. Lastly, each claim made is supported by hard data,
or the source is cited.
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As the reader you are now aware of the contents of the Executive Summary and the Open Primary Study. As a caveat, it is important for you to know what this study does not contain. To the best of our ability we determined to be cognizant of any unintended bias in our study and to eliminate it if and when it ever appeared.

We further determined to update our study with relevant information from the primary election systems studies currently being conducted by the Leagues in Oregon and Ohio. The anticipated date of completion for their studies is Second Quarter, 2017. Completeness is a study aim and while this study represents the most comprehensive and exhaustive effort during a 21-month period by the study participants, the study committee members realize this is not the last or final word regarding this important matter. Therefore, we determined to be open to additional relevant information as it becomes available. The League of Women Voters “encourages informed and active participation in government…” This study furthers that aspect of its mission.

Literature Research & Analysis Of Voter Turnout

Factors Driving Low Voter Turnout in Primary Elections

Since 2000 Florida voter turnout in primary elections has averaged only 22% hitting a historical low of 17.6% in the 2014 mid-term election. Florida turnout is measured as ballots cast compared to registered voters. Glades County had the worst turnout (9.3%) in 2014. Liberty County had the best turnout (49.9%) in 2014. (1). See Figure #1 for turnout by selected counties from 2000 to 2014.

My vote doesn’t count is a familiar reason given for not voting (4) (5) (6). The examples below demonstrate the power of voting and how each vote matters.

- The 2000 Presidential election between George W. Bush and Al Gore resulted in a win for President Bush of 537 votes and an Electoral College vote of 271 - 266 (1) (6).
- The 2010 and 2014 Florida governor’s election results show how important every vote becomes in close races. In 2010 Rick Scott defeated Alex Sink by 1% of votes cast. Scott received 2,619,335 votes. Sink received 2,557,785 votes. The difference was 61,550 votes; (0.55%) of registered voters. (1)
- The 2014 Governor’s race between Gov. Scott and former Gov. Charlie Crist yielded a nearly identical result with a vote margin of 64,145 in favor of Scott (0.52% of registered voters). (1)

What’s on the ballot influences voter turnout? Nonprofit VOTE’s “America Goes to the Polls” in 2014 cites three main reasons for higher turnout: (1) Competitive races draw voters; (2) Election Day Registration; and (3) voter demographics. Seven of the top 10 turnout states had Election Day registration. Nine of the top 10 turnout states had competitive races (7). The Supervisors of Elections stated that a major reason for poor voter turnout is what appears on a ballot. (6) He stated that competitive races and local referendums might increase turnout.
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Competitiveness and candidate quality matter in primary election turnout. According to the Public Policy Institute of California’s (PPIC) May 2014 “Voter Turnout In Primary Elections,” one reason for low turnout in a primary versus a general election is the dynamics of individual candidate races. (8) Common Cause of Oregon analyzed its hybrid primary election turnout and found that significant numbers of partisan races were not competitive. Between 2002 and 2008 they found that between 80 and 91% of partisan primaries were uncontested. Common Cause confirms what PPIC states about competitive races drawing voters to the polls because voters may perceive that their vote matters. (9) Florida primary election results from 2008 through 2014 averaged 6.5% competitive races. In addition over 39% of elections featured unopposed candidates or primary election winners (1).

Gerrymandering is another potential source of low voter turnout. This reason is closely tied to the “My Vote Doesn’t Count” reason for low turnout. President Obama has won election twice yet Republicans controlled 241 (55%) of U.S. House seats verses 194 seats held by Democrats. Of Florida’s 27 U.S. representatives 17 (63%) are controlled by Republicans; 10 by Democrats. Additionally, Republicans control 79 (66%) of Florida’s 120 state House districts and 25 (63%) of the 40 state Senate districts. (1) (10) (11) (12)

Polarization, lack of trust in government, and lack of legislators listening to voters is evident everywhere in Florida’s government. The Florida Legislature (Senate) admitted they violated the constitutional amendments requiring fair districting. Over 63% of the voters approved redistricting changes yet the Legislature ignored the people. (13) The Legislature violated the 2014 constitutional amendment #1 requiring a set percentage of the budget to be applied to land and water conservation. Seventy-five percent of voters approved Amendment #1 (14). The same effect is seen at the Congressional level. According to the Brookings Institute, “low turnout and obscurity in which most congressional primaries take place makes them an easy, inexpensive place for factions within a political party to exercise influence and increase partisan polarization.” Brookings states further that “the opportunity for repeated “capture” of one or both political parties by ideological voters who move members of Congress further from a functional middle is a real threat to the smooth functioning of the American democracy”(15).

Poverty in America is a serious social issue that contributes to people most affected by government not voting. (15) (16) In a Nov. 20, 2015 New York Times article “Who Turned My Blue State Red”, the author highlights the makeup of “non-voters”. They are among the nations poorest, youngest, of ethnic minorities, and least educated. PEW Research conducted a survey of 2,000 adults in October 2014. They found that “nearly half of nonvoters (46%) have family incomes less than $30,000, compared with 19% of likely voters. Most non-voters (54%) have not attended college; 72% of likely voters have completed at least some college.” According to the U.S. Census Bureau, over 16% of Floridians are in poverty. (17) These non-voters have tuned out to the political process.

Timing of primary elections may lower turnout. Florida primary elections are typically held in August. Florida Presidential Primaries are now held in March in a winner take all election. August primaries fall in prime vacation time prior to Labor Day. (1) Pacific Standard, a non-profit, in a magazine article on a national primary (18) makes the case that “few voters even know when their primary election is held given that primaries run from February through September”. Pacific Standard works with national organizations focused on the social
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and behavioral sciences bringing public discussions to live audiences.

Voter turnout drops significantly in non-Presidential years compared to Presidential primaries. According to the Brookings Institute Center for Effective Public Management “midterm elections voting drops precipitously compared to presidential elections”. As an example, from the 2008 Presidential election to the 2010 midterm election 21 percent of the electorate disappeared in the primary. (15)

Voting is a learned behavior that includes civics education and parental example. In 2012 the Educational Testing Service (ETS) published “Fault Lines In Our Democracy Civic Knowledge, Voting Behavior, and Civic Engagement in the United States” (19). Their research highlights a growing “civics empowerment gap” as evidenced by voting rates. High school voting age dropouts exhibited a voting rate of 3.5% while well-off advanced degree voters from ages 16 to 64 exhibited a turnout of 80.5%. In the ETS 2010 National Assessment of Educational Progress only 25% of 8th and 12th graders scored “Proficient”. The study also highlights the role of parents in encouraging voting. A Center for Labor Market study of the 2010 election showed that 18-19 year-olds were much more likely to vote if a parent voted than not (32% versus 4%).

Franklin and Campbell in Report Improving Voter Registration put out by Common Cause agree on the role of young people in turnout declines and the value of facilitating development of social norms that encourage youth to develop the habit of voting. Campbell’s focus is on improving the effectiveness of schools in building community norms for political participation, including voting. “The challenge is to build that sense of “we” within our schools in order to nurture civic norms, including the encouragement of voting as a civic obligation.” Nurturing voting as a social expectation and habit on the part of young people can take time. “The transition between unengaged and established [voting habits] appears to happen during the first three elections that people are exposed to as voting-age adults.”

Potential Voter Turnout Improvements

Just as there are various reasons for low voter turnout, states have implemented changes to increase turnout. Some measures have achieved modest success while others claim to improve turnout but lack empirical evidence. Because the democratic process of electing candidates for office is so complex, attributing improvement in turnout to a single method is nearly impossible. Table #1 below summarizes methods employed elsewhere and an assessment of potential success of each method for Florida. Where Florida shares an implementation method with other states, only Florida is listed. All of the methods in use by Florida are given a NO assessment because they have shown no identifiable improvement in turnout. Assessments of To Be Determined (TBD) indicate there is potential voter turnout improvement but insufficient evidence exists generally because the method has been in place for a short time. Solutions in bold text indicate potential positive impact on voter turnout based on other state successes.
Table #1 – Potential Voter Turnout Solutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turnout Method</th>
<th>Implementation</th>
<th>Assessment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-Combined Motor-Voter Registration</td>
<td>Florida &amp; Others</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-Pre-register at age 16</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-Automatic Registration at age 18</td>
<td>California, Oregon + 3 others</td>
<td>TBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Election Day Registration &amp; party affiliation</td>
<td>11 States</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-Vote By Mail Exclusively</td>
<td>Oregon + 2 others</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-Voting On-Line</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7-Early Voting</td>
<td>Florida &amp; Others</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8-Election Day Holiday</td>
<td>Senate Bill 1969</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-Vote Center (Portable Election Day Voting)</td>
<td>11 States</td>
<td>TBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-Voter Election Education</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-SOE to Voter Reminders</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-Voter Civics Education</td>
<td>SOE’s, LWVF</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13-Ballot Initiatives in Primary Election</td>
<td>24 States &amp; DC</td>
<td>TBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-National Primary Day</td>
<td>See Note #14</td>
<td>TBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15- Get Out The Vote</td>
<td>Nation-wide</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16-Small County Civic Duty</td>
<td>Florida Counties</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 – Selected Bipartisan Policy Center recommendations</td>
<td>See Note #17 below</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 – Voter ID Influence</td>
<td>See Note #18</td>
<td>TBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 – Independent Redistricting Commission</td>
<td>See Note #19</td>
<td>TBD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – Eliminate corrupting influence of Money in Politics</td>
<td>See Note #20</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 – Universal (mandatory) voting</td>
<td>See Note #21</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 – Open Primary</td>
<td>See Note #22</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 – Write-In Candidate threshold criteria</td>
<td>See Note #23</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes #1, 2, 7, 10-11 – All of these methods implemented in Florida have been unsuccessful in raising voter turnout. They should remain in place because coupled with other new methods can contribute to increased turnout.

Note #3 – The Brennan Center for Justice has advocated for automatic, permanent voter registration at age 18 when an individual interacts with a government agency. California (September 2015) and Oregon (January 2016 implemented) are the first states to implement automatic voter registration. (20) The Brennan Center outlines four steps to implement this method.

- First, it requires states to adopt electronic systems and take responsibility for registering citizens so they are automatically added to the voter rolls when they interact with government agencies.
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- Second, it makes sure that once citizens are signed up, they remain registered when they move within their states.
- Third, it allows citizens to register to vote online.
- Finally, it gives people the opportunity to register or update their information at the polls.

Nationwide nearly every state and the District of Columbia have pending legislation to implement automatic, permanent voter registration. Florida has approved online registration but has not enacted automatic registration. Getting people registered to vote is one step in the right direction. It must be coupled with other methods to actually achieve increased turnout due to the myriad of reasons for low turnout.

Note #4 – Election Day voter registration exists in 13 states and the District of Columbia according to the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) (21). California and Hawaii will be added in 2017-2018. Florida has not implemented Election Day registration. In the 2014 election 7 of the 10 highest turnout states featured Election Day registration (Table #3) (7). Seven (7) of the thirteen (13) SOE's interviewed in Florida did NOT think that same day registration would increase turnout. Five (5) SOE's thought a study was needed. Only one SOE indicated that they thought Election Day voter registration would increase voter turnout.

Note #5 – Exclusive vote by mail exists in three states (22): Oregon, Washington, and Colorado. Colorado and Oregon were among the top 10 turnout states in the 2014 election. Washington State was #18 in turnout. A 2007 study by Washington showed that turnout increased by 5 percent. Florida and 19 other states have vote by mail but it is not the only way to vote. During the 2016 primary and general election in Florida a large percentage of people voted early at voting centers.

Note #6 – Online Voting is another important step in making it easier for voters. However, security experts generally agree that it is almost impossible to prevent hacking of an individual’s computer or smart-phone. They point out that verifiable voting is different than online banking because a person can verify a banking transaction via bank statement. Due to the requirement for voting secrecy there is apparently no way for a voter to verify their vote was recorded properly. Verified Voting founder David Dill, a Stanford University computer security expert stated (23)

"Election results must be verifiably accurate — that is, auditable with a permanent, voter-verified record that is independent of hardware or software. Several serious, potentially insurmountable, technical challenges must be met if elections conducted by transmitting votes over the Internet are to be verifiable."

Dill also states “My position is that Internet voting will be trustworthy at some point, but we don’t know how to do it now.” (23) According to the Military Voters Protection Project, in 2008 only 20 percent of the 2.5 million military voters were able to request and return their absentee ballots on time. The track record for using absentee ballots for overseas military and other government personnel has been poor. Internet voting offers a potential better turnout
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for these Americans. (24) As various pilot programs are examined and new ones are conducted the technology will have a chance to mature. Digital Trends (DT) (25) provides a technical insight to the barriers to implementing online voting, but generally agrees with Dr. Dill. In addition, DT points out that there are over 4,600 voting jurisdictions in the country. One size fits all equipment and processes are unlikely. Estonia has implemented online voting since 2003. It is a very small country and provides all voters with smart cards and the ability to read them on computers. Our government has refused to adopt a national ID for other purposes.

**Note #8** – *Election Day as a holiday* seems so simple to implement. Why is Election Day the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November? The reason is a law passed in 1872. Saturdays were workdays. Sundays were for church. In the Atlantic Magazine’s October 1998 issue (26) they suggested making Election Day a holiday or to merge Veteran’s Day and Election Day into the holiday. U.S. Sen. Bernie Sanders introduced “The Democracy Day Act of 2015” (S:1969) to establish the current Election Day as a federal holiday. It did not become law. (27) With early voting and voting by mail, a federal holiday may not make a significant contribution to increased voter turnout.

**Note #9** – *Vote Centers* could replace precinct voting and allow voters to go to any center. The centers would be placed in high traffic areas near homes, schools, workplace, etc. Voters would no longer have to remember where their polling precinct was located. With Internet connectivity and portable “electronic poll books” election workers can verify voter registration, print the correct ballot, and confirm that a voter had not voted elsewhere (28). The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) lists three advantages: Convenience, cost reduction, and increased voter turnout. The NCSL also highlights four potential issues: loss of tradition, voter education, equipment, and technology. None of the issues appear to be insurmountable. However, each state would have to weigh the cost to implement versus the cost reduction of eliminating precincts and the need for poll workers. Since 2003 11 states have implemented vote centers. Various studies of turnout yielded mixed results. According to NCSL, states that already have other convenience voting options such as vote-by-mail and early voting, vote centers may contribute little to increased turnout (29).

**Note #12** – “Civic knowledge is a cornerstone of a strong democracy.” Voting patterns in the US cause concern for the future of Democracy. William Galston, Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute, offers the following attributes that can lead to increased voter turnout. (19)

- “Civic knowledge promotes support for democratic values. The more knowledge we have of the working of government, the more likely we are to support the core values of democratic self-government, starting with tolerance.
- Civic knowledge promotes political participation. All other things being equal, the more knowledge people have, the more likely they are to participate in civic and political affairs.
- The more knowledge we have of civic affairs, the less likely we are to have a generalized mistrust and fear of public life. Ignorance is the father of fear, and knowledge is the mother of trust.
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- Civic knowledge can alter opinions on specific issues. For example, the more civic knowledge people have, the less likely they are to fear new immigrants and their impact on our country.”

There is much that can be done to improve our collective civic knowledge. In the Educational Testing Service report “Fault Lines In Our Democracy” summarizes the following steps that must be taken if we are to improve voter turnout (19).

- “Reduce high school dropout rates,
- Improve K–12 civics curriculum,
- Help students construct more empowering civic narratives,
- Infuse more experiential (hands-on) civics education into the curriculum,
- Provide powerful civic learning and engagement opportunities for urban teachers
- Encourage high school students to pre-register for voting in the next election
- Continue civic education into college and provide opportunities for community service prior to graduation
- Engage parents to provide civic education of their children beyond what they learn in school
- Revamp the adult education system to improve citizenship skills and civic behavior

Wendy Underhill of the National Conference of State Legislatures highlights three key steps in voter education that must not be assumed to be common knowledge. (30) First, give people the basics of where and when to vote. In today’s social media world, multiple methods must be used. Second, don’t assume people know how to vote. Equipment and the ballot can be confusing and frustrating for first time voters. Third, focus on getting people to want to vote. The whole purpose of civic education is to engage with prospective voters to help them understand the importance of voting and the unintended consequences of letting others choose the elected officials that can have a very direct influence on a voter’s daily life.

Note #13 – Use of the ballot initiative process can lead to increased voter turnout. Kent State University conducted an extensive study of states with no initiative process versus those that include the initiative process. (31) In their study the initiative process includes both constitutional amendments and legislation. Florida has only implemented the constitutional amendment process. The study modeled all 50 states from 1970–1996 examining 26 states with no initiative process compared to initiative states. The results show, for mid-term election years, an approximate 10% increase in voter turnout of initiative based states compared to non-initiative states. Because Presidential election years are characterized as high information, the gap between non-initiative and initiative based states decreases to an approximate 5% gap in turnout. Since Florida does not use the legislative aspect of initiative based ballots there appears to be a potential for improved voter turnout especially in midterm elections.

Note #14 – National Primary Day: Elaine Kamarck, founding director of the Center for Effective Public Management, states, “the best way to lessen political polarization and increase voter turnout is to establish a national primary day.” Candidates, voters, and the media will
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focus on that day drawing attention that is otherwise ignored under the present system.  
(15)(32)

Note #15 – Get Out The Vote involves both strategic and tactical methods to get voters to turnout. The Brookings Institute has published a book titled “Get Out The Vote; How To Increase Turnout” that is available for purchase via Amazon and as such is copyrighted. Non-Profit Vote highlights seven principles for getting out the vote: (1) Make It Personal; (2) Make it Easy; (3) Raising the Stakes; (4) Competition Counts; (5) Timing is Everything; (6) Picture It; (7) The Power of Positivity (33). Personal contact provides the best opportunity to engage people to register and vote.

Note #16 – Small Florida counties exhibited significantly higher turnout than large counties from 2000 through 2014. Thirteen small (Less than 12,000 registered voters) Florida counties averaged over 40% turnout in primary elections from 2000 - 2014 (Figure #1) (3). Twelve of the largest counties averaged barely 20% during the same period. SOE interviews of five small counties highlighted unanimous agreement that the voters believe voting is their civic duty. SOE’s commented that voters knew one another, knew the candidates, and actively supported candidates for office. The question becomes one of how do or how can medium to large counties replicate the successes of small counties?

Note #17 – Implement Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) 2013 Commission on Political Reform recommendations. The recommendations below are a subset of BPCs recommendations that may have a direct bearing on increased voter turnout (34). One of the reasons for low voter turnout is polarization and mistrust of government. The Commission recommends the following electoral reform initiatives:

• “Adopt nonpartisan redistricting commissions to address gerrymandering
• Move away from low turnout caucus and convention candidate selection
• Adopt a national primary day in June of election years
• Dramatically strengthen opportunities to register to vote
• Pass legislation to require disclosure of all sources of funding”

Another major area of BPC’s recommendations is a “Call To Service”. The Commission on Political Reform recommends the following:

• “All Americans ages 18 to 28 should commit to one full year of service to their communities and the nation via military service, AmeriCorps, or Peace Corps
• Colleges and universities should reaffirm their missions to develop engaged and active citizens
• Schools should refocus on their original civic missions to provide the core values, knowledge, and ideas from U.S. history in civic learning
• Presidential administrations should open political appointments to the widest possible pool of applicants.
• The Federal and state governments must provide the resources to implement programs.”
Note #18 – Voter ID influence on turnout has a small net positive effect according to research documented in the November 2014 Election Law Journal article “The Effects of Voter ID Notification on Voter Turnout: Results from a Large-Scale Field Experiment” (35). The study focused on low propensity voters in Tennessee/Virginia border area and Knoxville, TN and Roanoke, VA. The study indicated a 1% increase in voter turnout due to the experiment’s process of notifying voters of a change in Voter ID laws that required showing accepted voter ID forms of identification when they voted. The authors warned that their result was not statistically significant and warranted further study in other areas of the country.

The General Accounting Office Report 14-464 “Issues Related to State Voter Identification Laws “ (36) published in October 2014 found contradictory results compared to the Election Law Journal findings. Voter ID issues in Tennessee and Kansas accounted for a 2-3 % decrease in voter turnout in the 2012 election compared to a control group of Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, and Maine. It should be noted that the Secretaries of State from Arkansas, Kansas and Tennessee disagreed with the GAO’s selection criteria for picking the states in this analysis.

As the Election Law Journal study authors stated in their study, their work needs to be replicated in other areas of the country. The Election Law Journal and the GAO Report findings demonstrate how sensitive results can be based on study methodology and voter groups selected for study.

Note #19 – Create an Independent Redistricting Commission. On June 29, 2015, the U.S. Supreme Court issued its ruling in Arizona State Legislature v. Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission. In a 5-4 decision, the court affirmed the district court’s decision, finding that the redistricting commission created by Arizona’s voters via ballot initiative in 2000 does not violate the U.S. Constitution’s Elections Clause (12). While Florida doesn’t have a redistricting commission, the Arizona decision strengthens the case for redistricting at the state level.

The effects of gerrymandering may be reduced by recent 2016 Florida Supreme court decisions but additional elections are needed to assess the effects of redrawn districts. Additionally, the 2020 Census is rapidly approaching

Note #20 – The effect of Money in Politics (MIP) has been written about extensively and various proposed changes in campaign financing have been proposed. Dealing with MIP is beyond the scope of the Open Primary study. For a complete treatment of Money In Politics The League Of Women Voters U.S. has completed a nation-wide study of Money in Politics.

Note #21 – Universal or compulsory voting (37) has been used in Australia since 1914. William Galston and E.J. Dionne, senior fellows of the Brookings Institute, believe compulsory voting would improve turnout, engage more voters in our democratic process, reduce polarization and promote competition for office. Since Australia initiated compulsory voting turnout there has never been turnout lower than 90% as a result. Stephen L. Carter, a Bloomberg View columnist and professor of law at Yale University, suggests that voting should not be mandatory - that voters have a “right” not to vote. He is a nonvoter.

Note #22 – Several states have open style primary elections compared to Florida’s closed primary (Appendix A) (38). Open is a misleading term and those states listed as open
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style primary states have differing rules for who can vote in their party primaries. These primaries feature ballots of major parties that a voter must choose from to vote. Truly open primaries are non-partisan in that they place all candidates on a single ballot that all voters (regardless of party affiliation or lack of) access to vote. Top Two and Instant Runoff Voting elections are nonpartisan open elections. Florida’s closed primary only allows voters registered with a major party to vote unless it is a nonpartisan race.

Note #23 – According to the Florida Constitution (Article VI, Section V), when all candidates in a race are of the same party affiliation, all registered voters are eligible to vote in that primary. This is known in Florida as a Universal Primary. Florida Statutes state, “(4)(a) Each person seeking to qualify for election to office as a write-in candidate shall file his or her qualification papers with the respective qualifying officer at any time after noon of the 1st day for qualifying, but not later than noon of the last day of the qualifying period for the office sought. “ (39)

If a write in candidate qualifies to be on the ballot, the “same party affiliation” Universal Primary becomes a Closed Primary. Only registered party members for that party may vote. The write-in candidate line does not appear on the primary ballot and is not voted on until the general election. Write in candidates are not required to specify a party affiliation (or pay a party assessment), nor do they have to pay a filing fee or pay an election assessment. Write in candidates are not required to file petitions signed by voters. SOE’s surveyed stated that write-in candidates often drop out the day after the primary election, but the line for voters to write-in their name remains on the general election ballot. Some Party Leaders surveyed openly indicated that they had used write-in candidates to close primaries and allow only their party members to vote in the primary election. For example, in Palm Beach County, a candidate running for commissioner recruited her mother to run as a write in candidate, thereby closing the primary.

Party candidates whose names appear on the ballot must pay fees or collect hundreds of signatures. Write-ins are required only to fill out some paperwork. They face few penalties for ignoring campaign finance laws because fines are based on a percentage of money raised. Most write-ins raise nothing. In the 2016 Florida Primary, write-in candidates excluded full voter participation in six Senate districts and 14 House districts on the Aug. 30 primary ballot, disenfranchising 1.6 million voters. Shrinking the voter pool allows candidates to tailor messages to the extremes: the most conservative or most liberal voters in their party. The result could mean more lawmakers at the far ends of the political spectrum.

Common Cause Assessment of 2014 Florida Elections (40) Common Cause rated Florida on 18-election factors related to election-administration and voter turnout. Florida received nine satisfactory ratings and five mixed ratings. The remaining three factors were rated unsatisfactory. One of the unsatisfactory ratings has been addressed with online registration starting in 2017. Establishing Vote Centers was rated unsatisfactory. Additionally, Florida is not a member of the Electronic Registration Information Center (ERIC) preventing interstate sharing of voter data.

Voter Turnout Comparisons: Appendix B (Figure #1) compares small vs large county turnout (1). Figures #2 through 7 provide a comparison of Florida voter turnout to other state
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study primary types based on Dr Mike McDonald's US Elections Project data (41). According to an October 2012 Bipartisan Policy Center white paper (2), “...the inescapable conclusion to be drawn from the preponderance of the data is that open and partially open primaries have modestly higher turnout than closed primaries.” However, the 2013 Bipartisan Policy Center Democracy Project article “Why People Don’t Vote” highlights the complexity of fixing voter turnout (2). They found in 2012 elections several reasons for low turnout that cannot be fixed via election policy changes.

Alternative Election Systems Analyses

This section documents a detailed analysis of selected election types (Appendix A) (38) to determine if voter turnout can be improved by replacing the current closed primary with another type. Multiple state leagues have analyzed primary election types from a PRO/CON perspective. This analysis examines primary elections from a FACT versus Expert OPINION basis. The Voter Turnout Analysis section of this report investigated reasons for low voter turnout and possible solutions to improve turnout. Changing the election system is one of the potential solutions to improving turnout.

Election System Evaluation Criteria (42)

At the beginning of the study, other state League studies were reviewed to assist in establishing evaluation criteria to apply to each primary type. In addition, we considered the Impossibility Theorem by Dr. Kenneth Arrow (43). He is renowned for the development of the theorem within the area of voting theory. In 1972, his theorem made him the youngest person ever to be awarded the Nobel Prize in economics. His theorem postulates that no single election system meets all criteria. There are tradeoffs and consequences. There are choices to be made: What is most important? What is less important? The state study committee chose the following criteria.

- **Majority rule** – Does the system achieve election results determined by a large percentage of votes cast? In closed primaries you are significantly reducing the number of votes cast. Top Two and IRV by design lead to an eventual head-to-head competition to choose a majority winner. Top Two realizes a majority winner in the general election. IRV achieves a majority winner by counting only votes cast in a round where a candidate achieves 50% + 1 votes
- **Competitive Elections** – Does the system encourage non-biased, competitive elections in which fewer candidates run unopposed? Fair and competitive elections are critical to addressing and meeting the needs of Floridians. A competitive election per experts is defined as a margin of 10% or less between the winner and losers.
- **Representation that reflects community demographics** – Does the system work to ensure that Florida’s diverse population? Latinos make up 14.9% of the state’s 12 million active registered voters and African Americans represent 13.3% of registered voters) is represented? Any barriers to prevent certain segments of the population from voting need to be removed.
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- **Be verifiable and auditable** – Does the process provide a mechanism for election results to be verifiable and auditable? For voters to trust the elections process, ballots must be recorded and retrievable for a hand recounts in close races.

- **Be simple and easy for voters to understand** – Is the process simple and easy for voters to understand? A closed primary is the least complex to understand and is most familiar to Florida voters. Other election systems may require education to help voters understand the effects of their candidate choices.

- **Minimize political manipulation** – Does the system minimize political manipulation? With over 12 million registered voters in Florida, the voting process should be simple and straightforward. Selected election types may eliminate manipulation. Universal Primaries are currently vulnerable to the write-in loophole. See Florida Constitution Article VI Section 5 (b).

- **Be technically and fiscally feasible to implement** – Is the system technically and fiscally feasible to implement? All of the election systems being analyzed have been in use in the United States. Depending on the equipment in use and the election system being implemented there can be equipment, software, education and maintenance costs.

Analysis of Specific Primary Election Systems

The following paragraphs examine each election system based on an assessment of statements as fact or expert opinion. To qualify as a fact, a qualified source must confirm the assessment. (Appendix C). University studies, non-profit non-partisan institutional research, articles and books written by acknowledged experts, and interviews of experts are examples of qualified sources. After facts and expert opinions were established each election type was compared to the study evaluation criteria.

**Closed Primary** In general, a voter seeking to vote in a closed primary must first be a registered party member. Typically, the voter affiliates with a party on his or her voter registration application. This system deters “cross-over” voting by members of other parties. Independent or unaffiliated voters, by definition, are excluded from participating in the party nomination contests.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delaware</th>
<th>Nevada</th>
<th>Pennsylvania</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Oregon*</td>
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**Facts**

According to the NCSL (38) and Florida Division of Elections (1)(44) political parties choose their nominee to compete in general election. Voters must be registered members of the party holding the primary.

*Oregon considers itself a partially closed primary where the party can choose to open their primary to unaffiliated voters. Oregon statute Chapter 254 section 254.365 requires a major party to declare their primary open 90 days prior to election day.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political party nominee guaranteed a place on the general election ballot (1)(38)(44)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3.4 Million NPA and minor party voters cannot vote in a closed primary (1)(38)(44)

Taxpayers pay for private party primaries they can't participate in unless registering in a party (!)(44)

According to NCSL closed primaries generally contribute to a strong party organization.

Florida Division of Elections data shows average turnout from 2000 – 2016 = <23%

NPA voters and Minor parties can participate in General Election (1)(38)

71% of 2012 open primaries had higher turnout than Florida (US Elections Project)(41)

76% of 2016 open primaries had higher turnout than Florida (US Elections Project)(41)

**Expert Opinions**

According to Florida Division of Elections data (2008-2014) less than 7 percent of elections are competitive minimizing competition for incumbent seats (45)

Continues spoiler effect in general election; (2014 Election Scott versus Crist versus Adrian Wyllie)

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**Open to Unaffiliated Voters Primary** A number of states allow only unaffiliated voters to participate in any party primary they choose, but do not allow voters who are registered with one party to vote in another party's primary. This system differs from a true open primary because a Democrat cannot cross over and vote in a Republican party primary, or vice versa. Some of these states, such as Colorado and New Hampshire, require that unaffiliated voters declare affiliation with a party at the polls in order to vote in that party's primary. (NCSL)(38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arizona</th>
<th>Massachusetts</th>
<th>West Virginia</th>
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<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
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</table>

**Facts**

9 states feature this primary type (38) NCSL

Requires a voter to select a party ballot (38) NCSL

Excludes members of other parties (345,000 registered voters) (1)(38)

Includes 3.1 million NPA voters (1)(38)

Does not allow cross over voting by contest (38)

Over 70% of Millennials favor an open primary that allows voters to select candidates regardless of party affiliation (Appendix D)

**Expert Opinions**

The Center for Election Science states that partially open primaries don't get at the issue, which is voters don't have real choices in the general election, and they don't have an effective means of voting because we use plurality voting.

34% of Millennials that responded to why they selected NPA said they didn't want to join a party. 54% said they wanted to choose any candidate (Appendix D)

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**Open Primary** In general, but not always, states that do not ask voters to choose parties on the voter registration form are “open primary” states. In an open primary, voters may choose privately in which primary to vote. In other words, voters may choose which
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party’s ballot to vote, but this decision is private and does not register the voter with that party. This permits a voter to cast a vote across party lines for the primary election.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alabama</th>
<th>Michigan</th>
<th>Montana</th>
<th>Vermont</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Virginia</td>
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<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
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<td>Wisconsin</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>Texas</td>
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Facts

15 states feature open primaries (38)
Requires selection of a party ballot (38)
According to NCSL voters may choose which primary to vote in privately. The ballot choice does not register the voter with the party. (38)
Does not allow cross over voting by contest (38)
Over 70% of Millennials favor an open primary that allows voters to select candidates regardless of party affiliation (Appendix D)
Based on the NCSL definition of an Open Primary this election type supports use in a presidential primary given that all voters may participate. (38)

Expert Opinions

Center for Election Science states that open primaries don’t get at the issue, which is voters don’t have real choices in the general election, and they don’t have an effective means of voting because we use plurality voting

Critics argue that the open primary dilutes the parties’ ability to nominate.
Supporters say this system gives voters maximal flexibility—allowing them to cross party lines—and maintains their privacy

Top Two Open Primary (38) The “top two” format uses a common ballot, listing all candidates on the same ballot. In California and Louisiana, each candidate lists his or her party affiliation, whereas in Washington, each candidate is authorized to list a party “preference.” The top two vote getters in each race, regardless of party, advance to the general election. Advocates of the "top-two" format argue that it increases the likelihood of moderate candidates advancing to the general election ballot. Opponents maintain that it reduces voter choice by making it possible for two candidates of the same party to face off in the general election. They also contend that it is tilted against minor parties who will face slim odds of earning one of only two spots on the general election ballot.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>California</th>
<th>Nebraska (for nonpartisan legislative races only)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>Washington State</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Facts

All candidates in each contest appear on one ballot. Voters may select candidates regardless of party affiliation of both the candidate and the voter. The top two vote getters advance to the general election regardless of party. (38)
Allows cross over voting contest by contest (38)
Typically, races for Governor, cabinet officers, state legislative offices, and US congressional offices are included in Top Two (Appendix C)
In Washington State a candidate must receive 1% of primary votes cast to advance to the
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general election (Appendix C - Ballotpedia)

California has completed 3 Top Two elections (2012, 2014, 2016) Washington State has completed 5 Top Two elections starting in 2008 (Appendix C - Ballotpedia)

Top Two is not suitable for Presidential Primaries because there is no down select to one candidate provision to advance to the General Election. (38)

Expert Opinions

The November 2016 election marked the third outing for California’s “top two” primary system. The two candidates who advance to the fall election can be—and often are—from the same party. In California the most visible example this year was the US Senate race between Democrats Kamala Harris and Loretta Sanchez. It was the first statewide same-party race, and many did not know what to expect. There were also 27 down-ballot same-party races in this cycle, in line with 25 in 2014 and 28 in 2012. These races continue to be a lot closer than cross-party contests: this year, an average of 32 points separated the candidates in cross-party races, compared to 25 points for candidates of the same party. About a quarter of this year’s same-party races were decided by less than 10 points, also similar to previous years. (Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC) Eric McGhee)

The 2016 California primary offered signs of improvement for California’s low voter turnout. Recent elections have seen some of the worst turnout in the state’s history. The 2014 election cycle was particularly dismal, but 2012 also set a new low for a presidential primary election. Moreover, California has been lagging behind other states in both registration and turnout. However, there has been a large surge in new registrants over the last few months prior to the June primary, and the California Secretary of State currently estimates that almost 9 million Californians participated in the 2016 presidential primary election, compared to only 4.5 million in 2014 and 5.3 million in 2012. (PPIC Eric McGhee)

A growing share of California voters who participate in presidential elections do not vote in the gubernatorial election two years later. The last two election cycles—which have seen exceptionally high presidential turnout and exceptionally low midterm turnout—have not departed from this pattern but exemplified it. This indicates there may be other reasons for increased or decreased voter turnout than the “top two” primary. (PPIC Eric McGhee)

According to Eric McGhee (PPIC) California Top Two same-party races were in part expected to promote competition between moderate and liberal/conservative candidates. There is some evidence that this dynamic on the Democratic side is beginning to emerge; none on the Republican side.

Instant Runoff Voting General Election (No Primary) This election type is not defined by NCSL. Ballotpedia (47) and the Oxford Dictionary (46) define IRV. In an IRV system, voters rank candidates in order of preference. If no candidate receives an overall majority of first preferences, the candidates with the fewest votes are eliminated one by one and their votes are transferred according to their second and third preferences (and so on) and then all votes are retallied, until one candidate achieves a majority.

No states

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berkeley CA 2010</th>
<th>Oakland CA 2010</th>
<th>San Francisco CA 2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Leandro CA 2010</td>
<td>Telluride CO 2011</td>
<td>Portland ME 2011</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Takoma Park MD 2007</th>
<th>Minneapolis MN 2009</th>
<th>St Paul MN 2011</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Santa Fe NM 2016</td>
<td>Henderson NC 2008</td>
<td>Bibliography List (#68)</td>
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</table>

### Facts

- 3.4 Million NPA and Minor Party voters can vote (47)
- IRV eliminates the primary election (47)(48)
- Allows cross over voting contest by contest (47)
- Gives voters a way to express strong support of candidates via rank ordering (48) (49)
- Will require detailed voter education (50)(51)
- Will require voting machine upgrades or replacement (59)(67) (70)
- Can’t guarantee majority vote due to ballot exhaustion (48)(52)
- Will require enacting legislation as a minimum (53) (66)
- Eliminates “spoiler” effect & strategic voting & minority winners (49)(52) (64) (65) (69)
- Eliminates Universal Primary write in candidate effect (53)
- Eliminates need for actual runoff elections (47)(48) (65)
- Round 1 third place candidate can beat Round 1 first place candidate in final vote count (52)) (54)
- Arkansas, Alabama, Louisiana and South Carolina use instant runoffs for military and overseas voters, who send in their instant runoff ballot with their primary ballot (55)
- Maine passed IRV in 2016 election (56)
- IRV (Ranked Choice) has been used in Australia since 1914 (55)
- Lowers costs of elections due to elimination of primaries and runoff elections (Excluding initial cost of equipment/ software and initial voter education) (50)

### Expert Opinions

- Turnout is complex and requires multiple changes to increase turnout - - changing to any primary election system alone won't do it (57)(58)
- According to Florida voting machine vendor Dominion Systems, IRV will require machine upgrades or replacement
- A majority of Florida machines expected to be more than 10 years old as of 2016 (59)
- May increase voter turnout numbers (52)
- May lower overall candidate campaign costs (50)
- Marginally Improves minor party candidate chances of election but may pave way to use proportional representation (60)
- Can suppress turnout because of not doing homework to rank multiple candidates (61)
- Can elect extremist candidate (61)
- Increasing number of ranked choices can reduce ballot exhaustion (48)(50)(52)
- Study shows that IRV versus Plurality voting decreases negative campaigning (62) (49)
- Process too complicated and may confuse voters (52)
- Electing candidates with the broadest acceptance (63)
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Study Evaluation Criteria Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Closed</th>
<th>Open Unaffiliated</th>
<th>Open</th>
<th>Top Two</th>
<th>IRV*</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Simple &amp; Easy to Understand</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verifiable &amp; Auditable</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fosters competition</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimizes political manipulation</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Represents demographics</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technically &amp; fiscally feasible</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES/?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winner achieves majority vote</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*In 2007 the League added an Election Law position that reads as follows: “Recommended instant runoff voting as an alternative to Florida’s present system of plurality voting”. The IRV fiscally feasible assessment of ?? indicates that cost is involved but was not part of this study.

**Simple and Easy to Understand:** Open Unaffiliated Primaries only allow NPAs to participate. In some states they may have to declare a party affiliation. Open primaries don’t require voters to declare a party affiliation. Top Two doesn’t require a party change to vote nor have to choose a ballot. The Minneapolis LWV found that “educating voters about a fundamental change (IRV) in voting method appeared difficult but not impossible according to almost all of the election officials and administrators interviewed.” Other authors disagree and find that educating voters is very difficult and requires frequent refresher educating.

**Verifiable & Auditable:** According to the Florida Division of Elections Testing and Certification group all election systems are verifiable and auditable [http://dos.myflorida.com/media/693718/dsde101.pdf](http://dos.myflorida.com/media/693718/dsde101.pdf)

**Fosters Competition:** All open primaries require voters to choose one party’s ballot. They can only vote for candidates of the party they choose. Top Two and IRV feature one ballot with all candidates competing regardless of political affiliation. The Top Two primary system provides the opportunity for competition but actual voting may or may not result in competitive races. According to Eric McGhee In the 2016 California Top Two primary, “About a quarter of this years same party races were decided by less than 10 points also similar to previous years.” He commented further that in cross party races the narrow margin winners (<10 points) have decreased from 18% in 2012; to 15% in 2014; and to 11% in 2016. The Stanford Social Intervention Review studied four IRV cases (Oakland 10 candidates) (San Francisco (16 candidates) (San Leandro 5 candidates) (Pierce County WA was the fourth but dropped IRV after one year)
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Minimizes political manipulation: All open primaries are vulnerable to the write-in loophole. Florida Constitution Article VI Section 5 (b) A write-in candidate for the General Election closes the primary and only party registered voters may participate in the primary. Adopting stringent write-in standards would close the loophole.


Based on Washington State and California Top Two law, write-in candidates cannot skip the primary to advance to the general election. There is no primary in IRV.

According to James Langan of the William & Mary Law Review “perhaps the clearest justification for adopting an instant runoff voting system is its ability to eliminate what many view as the spoiler problem”.

Represents Demographics: Having to choose a party ballot means that an open unaffiliated primary does not reach all voters. Minor party voters are excluded in this case. Florida’s closed primary turnout averages <23% meaning that 77% of registered voters aren’t counted. Additionally, only party members can vote. In an open (to all voters) NPA and minor party voters have to pick a party ballot in open primaries but those 3.4 million registered voters have a choice. Top Two and IRV provide one ballot for all voters to choose any candidate.

Technically and Fiscally Feasible: Open primary elections have existed for decades; equipment in place today can work with all open primaries

Top Two exists in four states and requires no equipment or software change.

IRV exists in 11 cities and was approved by Maine voters in the 2016 election. According to Dominion Systems (Florida voting machine vendor), IRV will require equipment and software investment to machine score ballots. According to a Brennan Center assessment of voting machine status (59), “Fourteen states (Alaska, Arizona, Delaware, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington) will be using some machines that were purchased more than 15 years ago. A majority of Florida machines were expected to be more than 10 years old as of 2016.”

The YES/?? Assessment of IRV indicates technical feasibility but unknown fiscal feasibility.

Winner Achieves Majority Vote: In open primaries voters must choose a party ballot. Whenever you exclude people from voting, individuals with no party affiliation or are members of a minor party a candidate cannot achieve a majority of voters.

Top Two and IRV by design lead to an eventual head-to-head competition to choose a majority winner. A Top Two primary realizes a majority winner in the general election. IRV achieves a majority winner by considering only votes cast in a round where one candidate receives a majority vote.
State Division of Elections Procedures and League Positions

Selected state primary elections procedures and their League of Women Voters position on elections in that state are outlined below. This information summarizes research and interviews done in selected states representative of the types of primaries studied. Even though states may have an open or closed primary, the details vary widely across the country.

State Supervisors of Elections

**CALIFORNIA**: California Secretary of State

- **California State Primary is Top Two** (it does not apply to offices of US President, county central committee, or local offices.)

- **Definition of Top Two**: All candidates for voter-nominated offices are listed on one ballot and only the top two vote-getters in the primary election--regardless of party preference--move on to the general election.

- **Presidential primary elections** can be held in one of two ways: Qualified political parties may choose to hold a closed presidential primary or a modified-closed presidential primary.

In a closed presidential primary only voters indicating a preference for a party may vote for that party's presidential nominee.

In a modified-closed presidential primary the party also allows voters who did NOT state a party preference to vote for that party's presidential nominee. The qualified political party must notify the California Secretary of State no later than the 135th day before Election Day if they choose to hold a modified-closed presidential primary. There are six qualified political parties in California: Democratic, Republican, American Independent Party, Green Party, Libertarian Party, Peace & Freedom Party.

- **Write-in Candidate** will only move on to the general election if the candidate is one of the top two vote-getters in the primary election.

- **Qualifications to register in California**: a) US citizen; b) resident of California; c) 18 years or older on Election Day; d) not currently imprisoned or on parole for the conviction of a felony; e) not currently found to be mentally incompetent by a court of law. f) a person must re-register when s/he moves to a new permanent residence in California, or changes his/her name or changes their choice of political party.

- **Deadline for registration or re-registration** is 15 days prior to Election Day.

- **Registration** can be done through an online application. To register online, one must have a: (1) California driver license or California identification card number, (2) the last four digits of one’s social security number and (3) the date of birth. The person’s information will be provided to the California Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) to retrieve a copy of the DMV signature. If a person
is enrolled in California’s confidential address program they must contact the Safe at Home program (toll-free number and online safe address). Voter registration application is available in 10 languages: English, Spanish, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Khmer, Korean, Tagalog, Thai and Vietnamese.

- Special procedures apply for military, overseas voters and students who live abroad and are students in a college, trade school or technical school. See website noted above. They must NOT be registered to vote in two locations during the same election cycle.

- Vote by Mail - ANY registered voter may vote using a vote-by-mail ballot. A voter may request a vote-by-mail ballot for one election or to become a permanent vote-by-mail voter. If a voter is voting for the first time and it is vote-by-mail, s/he must include a photocopy of required personal identification in the envelope with the vote-by-mail ballot (e.g., recent utility bill, sample ballot booklet received from the county elections office or other document sent by a government agency, passport, official California identification card, or student identification card.)

**FLORIDA**: Florida Division of Elections
http://dos.myflorida.com/elections/

- The Florida State Primary and Presidential Primary are both Closed Primaries. Definition Closed Primary: Only voters who are registered members of the respective political party’s candidates can vote for those candidate nominees in a primary election (local, state and federal primaries). Typically that would be either one of the two major political parties (Republican or Democrat), but it can also include minor political parties if they have candidates for an office on the primary election ballot. The partisan candidate receiving the highest number of votes will be nominated. In nonpartisan races, if no candidate receives a majority of the votes, the top two candidates will be voted on in the general election. Party changes to your registration must be made by the registration deadline, 29 days before the primary election.

- Definition Universal Primary: All registered voters can vote in a primary election, regardless of which major or minor political party they are registered or even if they are registered without a specific party affiliation (NPA) when: a) All the candidates for an office have the same party affiliation and the winner of the primary election will not face any opposition in the general election and no **write-in** candidates have qualified. b) The race is nonpartisan. A race is nonpartisan when the candidate is prohibited by law from qualifying or campaigning based upon party affiliation (e.g. judicial and school board offices, nonpartisan special districts or local referendum questions).

- Write in candidates who have qualified for a particular office will be left space at a general election where their name can be written in by the voter. Only the qualified write in candidates name can be written in on their space. Any other name will not be counted.
registered voters receive the same ballot and may vote for any candidate or question on the ballot.

- **Qualifications to Register:** a) You must be a US Citizen; b) You must be a Florida resident; c) You must be 18 years old to vote. You can pre-register to vote if you are 16 years old, but you cannot vote until you are 18 years old; d) You must not have been adjudicated mentally incapacitated with respect to voting in Florida or any other state without having the right to vote restored; e) You must not have been convicted of a felony without having your civil rights restored; f) You must provide your Florida driver's license number or Florida identification card number. If you do not have a Florida driver's license number or identification card, you must provide the last four digits of your Social Security Number; f) You are eligible to vote under the federal

- Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act. When voting, photo identification and a signature matching the signature on file with your registration must be presented.

- The National Voter Registration Act of 1993 requires offices that provide driver license services to allow people to register to vote or update their voter registration information at the same time.

- **Vote by Mail (formerly Absentee Voting):** Vote-by-mail refers to voting a ballot received by mail or picked up by or for a voter who is unable or unwilling to go to the polls to vote during early voting or Election Day. A voter does not have to be absent from the county of residence or have an excuse in order to vote-by-mail except on Election Day (see details below). A request covers all elections through the end of the calendar year for the second ensuing regularly scheduled general election. To receive a vote-by-mail ballot, the voter or authorized person must contact his or her county Supervisor of Elections.

  Instructions for completing the vote-by-mail ballot are included with the ballot. The voted ballot must be returned and received by the Supervisor of Elections no later than 7 p.m. on Election Day. Other return options are available for Military and Overseas Voters.

If the voter decides to go to the polls to vote instead, the voter should bring the vote-by-mail ballot (whether it has been marked or not). Even if the voter comes to the polls without the vote-by-mail ballot, the voter will still be able to vote a regular ballot if the supervisor of elections’ office is able to confirm that it has not received the voter’s vote-by-mail ballot. However, if it is confirmed that the voter have already voted a vote-by-mail ballot, the voter cannot vote again at the polls. If the voter believes or insists that the supervisor of elections’ office is wrong about receiving the vote-by-mail ballot or if the supervisor of elections’ office cannot confirm that the voter has already voted a vote-by-mail ballot, the voter is allowed to
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vote a provisional ballot.

- The registration books will be closed on the 29th day before each election and will remain closed until after the election. In a closed primary, the party cannot be changed after “book closing” date.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MICHIGAN: State of Michigan, Bureau of Elections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.Michigan.gov/elections">www.Michigan.gov/elections</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The State Primary is an Open Primary.

**Definition State Open Primary**: Voters in an open primary are given a ballot with column listing each qualified party's candidates. Voters then decide which party primary they wish to participate in by voting only in the column of their party choice while in the privacy of the voting station. Voting for candidates in more than a single party's column will VOID the entire partisan ballot.

- Michigan’s Presidential Primary has been designated a Closed Primary. Any Michigan registered voter can participate in the primary. By law, you make your ballot selection in writing by completing the Application to Vote/Ballot Selection Form on Election Day; or on the Absent Voter Ballot Application form if voting absentee. The written selection made by a voter at the Presidential Primary has no bearing on how a person votes in the State Primary election.

**Definition Presidential Closed Primary**: Voters in closed primaries must state the party primary they wish to participate in before being issued a ballot. The ballot given to voters only has candidates of the party that corresponds to the voter's choice.

- Qualifications to register in Michigan: a) resident; b) US Citizen; c) 18 years of age by election day; d) Not serving a sentence in jail or prison. (If you are in jail, awaiting arraignment or trial you may register to vote. If you are in jail after being convicted and sentenced, you may NOT register to vote or vote while you are confined.

- Michigan Registration Requirements: You must appear in person to vote in the first election to which you wish to participate unless you a) hand deliver form to the clerk's office; b) you are 60 years of age or older; c) you are disabled; d) you are eligible to vote under the federal Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act.

- There is NO political party registration requirement in Michigan Election Law. Michigan Election Law (MCL 168.615c) guides the conduct of the Presidential Primary. The law
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requires that voters indicate in writing which political party (Republican or Democratic) ballot they wish to vote. This requirement only applies to Presidential Primary elections, and voters are not required to select a political party ballot type at other elections (State Primary).

- Voters in the **Presidential Primary** have the option of voting “uncommitted” on either the Republican or Democratic ballot. Each party ballot has a vote position for “uncommitted.” When a voter selects “uncommitted”, this indicates the voter is exercising a vote for that political party, but is not committed to any of the candidates listed on the ballot. If enough voters cast “uncommitted” votes, the party may send delegates to the national nominating convention who are not committed to a specific candidate.

- **Absentee voting:** Michigan does NOT have no-reason absentee voting. A person who registers to vote by mail must vote in person in the first election in which he or she participates. As a registered voter, you may obtain an absent voter ballot if you are: a) age 60 years old or older; b) unable to vote without assistance at the polls; c) expecting to be out of town on election day; d) in jail awaiting arraignment or trial; e) unable to attend the polls due to religious reasons; f) appointed to work as an election inspector in a precinct outside of your precinct residence.

- **Write-in candidate:** The board of election inspectors shall NOT count a write-in vote for a person unless that person has filed a Declaration of Intent to be a write-in candidate.

- There is NO early voting in Michigan. Votes are cast on the designated election day.

**NEW YORK:** New York State Board of Elections

[https://www.elections.ny.gov/](https://www.elections.ny.gov/)

- The New York State Primary and Presidential Primary are Closed Primaries.

**Definition Closed Primary:** The terms “primary” or “primary election” mean only the mandated election at which enrolled members of a party may vote for the purpose of nominating party candidates and electing party officers.

**Definition Presidential Primary:** The purpose of the presidential primary is to select delegates to a national convention of a political party. The provisions for the delegate selection process are found in the Election Law, the rules of the party and Chapters 87 and 88 of the Laws of 2015.

**DEMOCRATIC PLAN:** The Democratic Presidential Primary is really a “dual primary.” Candidates for president run against each other in a statewide primary, and delegates run in
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each congressional district. Delegates are either committed to a particular presidential candidate or uncommitted. EL § 2-122-a.

REPUBLICAN PLAN: The selection of congressional district delegates and alternate delegates to the Republican Party's national convention is determined by a congressional district level primary election of candidates for the office of President of the United States. The names of delegates and alternate delegates do not appear on the ballot. Additional at-large delegates are elected by the state committee and apportioned to presidential candidates based upon the statewide results of the presidential primary. EL § 2-122-b.

OTHER POLITICAL PARTIES IN NEW YORK STATE: Any political party in New York State may nominate a candidate for the offices of President and Vice-President. They may either nominate delegates to a national convention pursuant to either the Republican Plan or the Democratic Plan. They may also nominate candidates at a statewide convention or by filing designating petitions.

• **Write-in candidates:** To run as a write-in candidate for president, you are required to file a certificate of candidacy with the State Board of Elections no later than the third Tuesday prior to the general election. The certificate must be signed by the presidential candidate and must contain the name and address of the presidential candidate; the name and address of any vice-presidential candidate, and a signed certificate of acceptance from such candidate; and the name and address of at least one, but not more than 29 candidates for elector, with an acceptance certificate and pledge of support signed by each such candidate for elector. Election Law §6-153.

• **Qualifications to Register:** In New York State qualifications to vote are: a) be a United States citizen; b) be 18 years old by December 31 of the year in which you file this form (note: you must be 18 years old by the date of the general, primary or other election in which you want to vote); c) live at your present address at least 30 days before an election; d) not be in prison or on parole for a felony conviction and; e) not be adjudged mentally incompetent by a court; f) not claim the right to vote elsewhere.

You may register to vote using the New York State Voter Registration Form accessible online. You can complete a PDF version of the New York State Voter Registration Form on-line, typing the necessary information and selecting the appropriate boxes. Alternatively, you can print the form to complete by hand. Once the form is completed, you need to print the form and sign it. New York does not accept any kind of digital or Adobe-generated signature. Then, mail the form to the New York [county board of elections](https://www.clerk.state.ny.us/register-to-vote-
to-absentee-voting/

• **Absentee Voting Qualifications:** To vote Absentee in New York you must be: a) Absent from your county or, if a resident of New York City absent from said city, on Election Day. b)
Unable to appear at the polls due to temporary or permanent illness or disability; or because you are the primary care giver of one or more individuals who are ill or physically disabled. 
c) A patient or inmate in a Veterans’ Administration Hospital. d) Detained in jail awaiting Grand Jury action or confined in prison after conviction for an offense other than a felony.

Applications for Absentee Ballots are available at your county board of elections. You may also download a PDF version of the New York State Absentee Ballot Application Form. Upon completion, applications must be mailed to your county board no later than the seventh day before the election or delivered in person no later than the day before the election. You may also request an Absentee Ballot by sending a letter to your county board of elections. The letter must be received by your county board no earlier than 30 days and no later than seven days before the election. The letter must contain the following information: 
a) the address where you are registered; b) an address where the ballot is to be sent; c) the reason for the request, and d) the signature of the voter. An application form will be mailed with your ballot. The application form must be completed and returned with your ballot. If you cannot pick up your ballot, or will not be able to receive it through the mail, you have the right to designate someone to pick it up for you. Only that person designated on your application may pick up and deliver your ballot. If you are permanently ill or disabled, you have the right to receive an Absentee Ballot for each subsequent election without further application. Simply file an application with your county board of elections indicating permanent illness or physical disability. You will then automatically receive an absentee ballot for every election until your registration is canceled.

- **Voter Registrations Deadlines for various Primaries:** (Note New York has multiple primary and general election dates and registration deadlines. Several studies note that multiple elections and registration deadlines do not encourage voter turnout.)

**April 19, 2016 Presidential Primary Deadlines:** MAIL REGISTRATION: Application must be postmarked no later than March 25th and received by a board of elections no later than March 30th to be eligible to vote in the Presidential Primary. IN PERSON REGISTRATION: You may register at your local board of elections or any state agency participating in the National Voter Registration Act, on any business day throughout the year but, to be eligible to vote in the Presidential Primary, your application must be received no later than March 25th.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Notices of change of address from registered voters received by March 30th by a county board of elections must be processed and entered in the records in time for the Presidential Primary.

**June 28, 2016 Congressional Primary Deadlines:** MAIL REGISTRATION Application must be postmarked no later than June 3rd and received by a board of elections no later than June 8th to be eligible to vote in the Primary. IN PERSON REGISTRATION: You may register at your local board of elections or any state agency participating in the National Voter Registration Act, on any business day throughout the year but, to be eligible to vote in the Congressional Primary, your application must be received no later than June 3rd.
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CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Notices of change of address from registered voters received by June 8th by a county board of elections must be processed and entered in the records in time for the Congressional Primary.

September 13, 2016 State and Local Primary Deadlines: MAIL REGISTRATION Application must be postmarked no later than August 19th and received by a board of elections no later than August 24th to be eligible to vote in the Primary.

IN PERSON REGISTRATION: You may register at your local board of elections or any state agency participating in the National Voter Registration Act, on any business day throughout the year but, to be eligible to vote in the State and Local Primary, your application must be received no later than August 19th.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Notices of change of address from registered voters received by August 24th by a county board of elections must be processed and entered in the records in time for the State & Local Primary.

November 8, 2016 General Election Deadlines: MAIL REGISTRATION Applications must be postmarked no later than October 14th and received by a board of elections no later than October 19th to be eligible to vote in the General Election.

IN PERSON REGISTRATION: You may register at your local board of elections or any state agency participating in the National Voter Registration Act, on any business day throughout the year but, to be eligible to vote in the General Election, your application must be received no later than October 14th. If honorably discharged from the US Military or have become a naturalized US Citizen after October 14th, you may register in person at the Board of Elections up until October 29th.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Notices of change of address from registered voters received by October 19th by a county board of elections must be processed and entered in the records in time for the General Election.

OHIO: Ohio Secretary of State
http://www.sos.state.oh.us/SOS/elections/Voters.aspx

• Ohio State Primary is Partially Open.

• Definition of Partially Open Primary: Under Ohio election law, you do NOT declare your political party when you register to vote. Voters declare their political party affiliation by requesting the ballot of a political party in a partisan primary election.

If you do not desire to affiliate with a political party in Ohio, you are considered to be an unaffiliated voter. An unaffiliated voter does not vote the ballot of a political party in a primary election. However, an unaffiliated voter may vote the Official Questions & Issues Ballot, if there is one for the voter's precinct at the election.

• Write-in candidates: A write-in candidate is a person seeking elected office whose name is not printed on the ballot. The candidate must file a declaration of intent to be a write-in
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candidate not later than 4 p.m. of the 72nd day before the primary or general election. The board may only tally the votes of a write-in candidate who filed a valid declaration of intent to be a write-in candidate. A write-in candidate must meet all of the eligibility requirements of the office. The Secretary of State prescribes the form of the declaration of intent to be a write-in candidate.

A write-in candidacy is possible for most, but not all, elections. A board of elections cannot accept a declaration of intent to be a write-in candidate for nomination for a municipal office if, pursuant to R.C. 3513.02, no primary election is held.

- **Qualifications to vote:** You are qualified to register to vote in Ohio if you meet all the following requirements: a) You are a citizen of the United States; b) You will be at least 18 years old on or before the day of the next general election. (If you will be 18 on or before the general election, you may vote in the primary election to nominate candidates, but you cannot vote on issues or party central committees until you are 18); c) You will be a resident of Ohio for at least 30 days immediately before the election in which you want to vote; d) You are not incarcerated (in prison or jail) for a felony conviction under the laws of this state, another state, or the United States; e) You have not been declared incompetent for voting purposes by a probate court; and f) You have not been permanently disenfranchised for violating the election laws.

You are eligible to vote in elections held in your voting precinct 30 days after you are duly registered to vote in this state. You may request an absentee ballot during that 30 day period.

- **Absence by mail:** All Ohio voters whose registration information is up-to-date have the opportunity to vote in any election from the convenience of their own homes by requesting an absentee ballot. Absentee voting has many benefits -- You can vote early, it is convenient, it reduces the chance of lines at the polls on Election Day, and **absentee ballots are the first votes counted on Election Night**. Voters need only fill out and return an application and their absentee ballot will be mailed to them so they may make their selections at their leisure and return their ballot to the board of elections ahead of Election Day.

The deadline to request an absentee ballot is three days before the election in which you want to vote, but voters can submit their application any time. If mailed, absentee ballots must be postmarked by the day before the election in order to be counted. You can also return your absentee ballot in-person to your **county board of elections** before the close of the polls at 7:30pm on Election Day.

You can request your ballot for each individual election beginning on January 1 or 90 days before the date of an election, whichever is earlier, but you must complete and submit a separate application for each election in which you want to vote. Your request must be received by your local county board of elections by noon the third day before the election (usually a Saturday). However, you should submit your request as far in advance of the election as possible to ensure there is sufficient time for the board to mail you a ballot and for you to timely return that ballot.

**Early in-person voting in Ohio, voters have many options to vote. Starting the day after the close of voter registration, all registered voters may request and vote an absentee ballot in person at their county board of elections or early voting center as designated by the county.**
OREGON: Oregon Secretary of State http://sos.oregon.gov/voting/Pages/voteinor.aspx

- **In Oregon, major parties have the option of choosing a “closed system” or an “open system”.** Three parties are designated as “major” in Oregon during the 2016 Primary Election (Democratic, Republican and Independent).

Definition Closed System Option: Only the registered voters in that party can vote for candidates of the same party. For example, if you are registered with the Democratic Party, you may vote for Democratic candidates, nonpartisan candidates and local or state measures. You cannot vote for a candidate from any other party in the Primary Election.

The Democratic party chose closed primaries for years 2004-2016. So did the Republican party, except for year 2012. In 2012 the Republicans chose to have an open primary, but for their statewide candidates only: Secretary of State, Treasurer and Attorney General.

Definition Open System Option: The major party allows registered voters who are not registered with any party to vote for candidates in their party's Primary Election. For example, the Republican Party can announce they are going to open their Primary Election so people who are not registered with any party can vote for Republican candidates in addition to, the nonpartisan candidates and local or state measures.

For 2016, the Independent party decided to have an Open Primary. This means that non-affiliated registered voters and Independent registered voters can vote on the Independent ballot. Registered voters who have chosen to be either Democratic or Republican are unable to vote in this Open Primary unless they change their registration to independent or nonaffiliated. For the 2016 Presidential Primary there were no candidates on the ballot for the Independent party.

- **Qualifications to Register to Vote in Oregon:** To register to vote in Oregon you must be a US citizen, an Oregon resident and at least 17 years old. Online registration requires a current Oregon driver’s license or state ID card.

- **Oregon Registration Requirements:** Oregonians can register: a) Online using My Vote, b) By mail using a voter registration form (PDF) in English or Spanish, or c) In person at the county elections office. Felons who are not incarcerated are eligible to vote in Oregon. Homeless US Citizens have the right to vote. The deadline to register is 21 days before Election Day.
Oregon Motor Voter Automatic Registration (Effective January 1, 2016): Under the old system an extra step was required at the DMV after obtaining or renewing your license. The new law makes voter registration automatic. Automatic voter registration is available if you are eligible to register to vote and you apply for your original, renewal, or replacement license, permit, or ID card at the DMV. Once you engage the Oregon Motor Voter process by visiting the DMV, you will receive a card and a prepaid postage return envelope from the Oregon State Elections Office. With this card you have three options: a) Do nothing. You will be registered to vote as a nonaffiliated voter (not a member of a political party). b) Choose a political party by returning the card. Joining a political party will allow you to vote in its Primary Elections. c) Use the card to opt-out and decline to register to vote.

Once registered, you will automatically receive a ballot and instructions in the mail about two weeks before an election. When you vote, your ballot is secret and your choices cannot be matched up with your name.

Vote by Mail (Operational 2007): Since adopting vote-by-mail, Oregon consistently ranks as a national leader in voter turnout. Registered voters receive a ballot two to three weeks before an election, giving time to research issues or candidates. Voters also receive an official ballot to complete and insert into the security envelope that is placed in the ballot return envelope and signed by the voter. The ballot return envelope can be stamped and mailed or dropped off at any official drop box across the state. If a voter cast their ballot after the Wednesday before an election, the ballot should be left at a drop box site to ensure it is counted. Ballots must be received by 8 p.m. on Election Day.

Write-in Votes: Oregon voters have the option of writing in the candidate for each office instead of voting for a candidate printed on the ballot. Write-in votes are tallied together with a lump sum recorded for each office unless there is no candidate on the ballot or the total number of write-in votes exceeds the candidate with the most votes. A candidate seeking nomination or election to office by write-in does not complete any candidate filing forms but may be required to establish a campaign account and file a Statement of Organization designating a candidate committee. If an individual is nominated or elected by write-in votes, the Elections Division notifies the candidate. To accept the nomination or office, the candidate completes, signs and returns SEL 141 to the Elections Division by the acceptance deadline date. Upon receipt of the completed and signed form a certificate of nomination or proclamation of election is issued.
## LWV State Positions

### League of Women Voters of California

Instant Runoff, also known as Ranked Choice Voting


#### Voter Registration
1. Provide well identified and well publicized registration locations.
2. Establish permanent and/or movable registration locations that are easily accessible.
3. Display registration qualifications prominently.
4. Set registration hours to meet community needs.
5. Use deputy registrars liberally.
6. Register voters as close to election day as administratively feasible.
7. Measure any new techniques for registration against the following criteria: expense, absence of partisan influence, availability to poorly motivated citizens, susceptibility to fraud.

#### Voting Process
1. Provide clear and easy-to-use write-in procedures for all voting systems.
2. Provide a writing implement.
3. Allow for presidential write-ins by candidate name instead of elector names.
4. Maintain a simple absentee voting procedure.
5. Issue an absentee ballot in response to a single request.
6. Disqualify an absentee vote only if the identity of the voter or intent of vote is in doubt.
7. Reduce the number of elections and provide for uniform scheduling including municipal elections. (1984)
8. Recommend instant runoff voting as an alternative to Florida’s present system of plurality voting. (2007)

#### Equal Access
1. Allow physically confined citizens to register and vote, including citizens in prisons awaiting adjudication, non-felons in prison, confined mental patients not judged incompetent and citizens in nursing homes, hospitals, etc.
2. Restore a felon’s civil rights automatically when his/her debt to society is paid.
3. Provide for keeping voter lists current without penalizing the citizen who does not choose to vote regularly.
4. Include on registration identification cards instructions on how to change name, address, and party affiliation. (1984)

Presidential Primary
The presidential preference primary ballot should include the names of the presidential candidates, not the names of the delegates to convention. (1985)

Mail Balloting
If balloting is by mail, there should be mandatory matching of signatures and adequate penalties for fraud. (1985)

**League of Women Voters of Michigan – Election Laws**

LWVMI supports:
I. Uniformity in Michigan’s election laws in regard to:
   A. Simplification of the election process accomplished, in part, by
      1. Combining elections currently held at different times.
      2. Holding all Michigan elections on the same day of the week or closing all elections in the case of extended voting periods, on the same day.
   B. Consistency of application of election laws in all jurisdictions.
   C. Provisions to ensure accuracy and security in all aspects of the election process, and privacy in voting.

II. Retention of primary authority for administering the election system by local clerks in cooperation with all election officials.

III. Provisions for sufficient information on the location and substance of every election, and pertinent registration and voting procedures and deadlines. These should include but not be limited to:
   A. Standardized, easily readable identification of each polling place;
   B. Extensive notification in all media;
   C. General availability of sample ballots.

IV. Provisions to increase the ease and accessibility of voting, such as:
   A. A requirement that each voting precinct in the state and each absentee ballot have adequate, simple, legible, highly visible instructions on using the voting device and on write-in voting.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

B. Provision of an absentee ballot to any registered voter upon request.
C. Ballot design to enhance accuracy in voting, with safeguards for ensuring accuracy, security, and privacy.
D. Use of technology, such as electronic voting, with safeguards for ensuring accuracy, security, and privacy.
E. Accommodation for voters with disabilities and special needs.
V. The principles of initiative, referendum, and recall. Requirements for petitions such as the number of signatures should be sufficient to prevent frivolous proposals, but not so high as to discourage grassroots efforts to initiate legislation, to amend the constitution or to recall our elected officials.
VI. Fair and uniform regulation by state law of all political parties including those procedures relating to the nomination and election of candidates for public office.
A. Minor political parties are important in providing opportunities for the expression of diverse views. State requirements should allow minor political parties the opportunity to participate in the election process.
B. A political party must demonstrate its viability through an approved method including, but not necessarily limited to, petition filing or receiving a specified percentage of the vote in a previous state general election contest.
VII. An open primary system for state and local candidates for office, whereby a voter declares political party affiliation only in the privacy of the voting booth.
VIII. Michigan’s participation in a regional presidential primary.

LWV of New York
(LWV of New York State recently did a study on primaries, but did not reach consensus.)

LWV of Ohio
Ohio has a partially open primary. This system permits voters to cross party lines, but they must either publicly declare their ballot choice or their ballot selection may be regarded as a form of registration with the corresponding party. Illinois and Ohio have this system.

In an interview with the Ohio Study Chair she commented that political parties see the open primary as a means of recruiting new members. Iowa asks voters to choose a party on the state voter registration form, yet it allows a primary voter to publicly change party affiliation for purposes of voting on primary Election Day. Some state parties keep track of who votes in their primaries as a means to identify their backers.

The Ohio League of Women Voters conducted a primary election system study from 2015 – 2017. The study focused on election systems with a brief look at primary election turnout.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

They also looked at municipal elections as well. As of February 2017 Ohio consensus meetings were just beginning. Consensus results were projected to complete in Second Quarter 2017.

Supervisor of Elections Interviews

Florida Supervisors of Elections (SOE) are designated by Florida law to oversee all elections in their county in accordance with Florida election code. Supervisors of Elections are primarily responsible for registering voters, establishing voting precincts, and administering elections. They also educate voters and provide guidance to candidates. Although the SOE office has some latitude in administrative functions, the legislature sets all election policy and laws.

The League of Women Voters local leagues conducted interviews with their County SOEs about various election issues. The SOEs were sent the interview questions in advance. Twenty-four SOEs were interviewed in person and five SOEs by phone. The interview questions were open ended and respondents were allowed multiple answers. The number of SOEs who had similar answers to a particular question is noted after the response.

Voter Turnout

Although Supervisors of Elections (SOEs) mentioned the lack of competitive races, ballot issues, and voter apathy as the top issues that negatively impacted turnout, several SOEs mentioned that Vote-by-Mail and Early Voting seemed to increase voter participation. In 2014, nearly 77% of all ballots were cast by mail in Pinellas County. Vote-by-mail voters also liked the convenience of ballot boxes placed in strategic locations and the ability to track their ballots online. Some SOEs commented that Voter Centers, all mail ballots and online voting might warrant further study.

While researching turnout in the Open Primary Study Team discovered five counties in northwest Florida that had better turnout rates than the rest of the state. When asked about this, the Supervisors of Elections of these counties cited the following reasons why they had high voter turnout (>40% average turnout of 2000 -2014 primary election results):

- Their citizens viewed voting as a civic duty
- The counties are small; voters know one another and discuss politics at community events
- The voters know the candidates and want to support them by voting

Liberty County is one of those counties and their success story is explained by SOE Gina McDowell. Liberty County has had one of the highest percentages of voter turnout for primary elections since 2000, of all counties in the State of Florida. In 2014 their primary turnout was 50%. There are approximately 4,500 registered voters in this county and turnout is about 63% in general elections.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

Liberty County Supervisor of Elections Ms. McDowell attributes the large voter turnout to the small population of Liberty County where many of their citizens know one another and take pride in their county and their ability to be active citizens. She said the voters believe it is their civic duty to vote. The Supervisor of Elections office encourages voter participation by advertising the elections early in the process by mailing sample ballots to the voter’s address, publishing the ballot in their local paper, posting the ballot on Facebook, and speaking directly to local organizations.

Additionally, Liberty County is small enough that their SOE can personally reach out to citizens to advertise and discuss upcoming voting events. This personal touch may be the difference between Liberty and larger Florida Counties. Ms. McDowell personally speaks to civic organizations to discuss the timeline of voting events and any voter educational issues that are relevant.

In a follow-up question on voting patterns Ms. McDowell was asked about voters participating in one party’s primary election then voting for the other party in a general election. She said Liberty County voters understood the registration process, knew the candidates, and voted for the candidate they felt would be the best choice in each election. This phenomenon warrants further investigation.

Election Day Registration (EDR)

Over 95% of SOE’s interviewed were against EDR. 77% named administrative planning challenges and balancing security and accessibility as major problems. To have efficient elections, decisions must be made in advance as to how many polling locations are needed, where they should be located, how many voting machines are needed, how many ballots should be ordered and how much staffing is needed. It would be difficult to make accurate decisions with same day registration. Any inaccurate decisions on even one of these variables and Florida will be on the National News.

Florida’s current registration system does not allow time to properly process and verify a voter’s registration application. Staff would be tied up for inordinate amounts of time while voters will be standing in line waiting for their turn to vote. More provisional ballots would be used.

Currently twelve states and the District of Columbia allow same day registration. Three more states have same day registration laws that will be implemented in 2017 and 18. In order to have same day registration in Florida, a law must be passed with enough funding to cover new software that would address the Supervisors of Elections concerns and a statewide training program.

Write-in Candidates

Under Florida law, if all candidates on a primary ballot have the same party affiliation and the winner will have no opposition in the general election, then all voters may vote in the
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study
primary. State law also allows candidates to qualify as write-ins easily. They have no petition requirements. They pay no hefty fees like traditional candidates. Politicians do not like voters of another party or a No Party Affiliation (NPA) voter voting in their race. Parties found a way to keep their primary closed - write-in candidates.

To qualify as a write-in candidate, Florida Election Statutes state that write-in candidates must file within the qualifying period. It further states "Any person who is seeking election as a write-in candidate shall not be required to pay a filing fee, election assessment, or party assessment. A write-in candidate is not entitled to have his or her name printed on any ballot; however, space for the write-in candidate’s name to be written must be provided on the general election ballot." All a politician or party has to do to close a primary is locate a supporter, friend or relative to run as a write-in candidate and the primary will be closed.

This is a serious problem. A July 26, 2016 Tampa Bay Times article reported that write-ins were blocking full voter participation in six Florida Senate districts and 14 House districts on the Aug. 30, 2016 primary ballot, disenfranchising 1.6 million voters. The result could mean the election of candidates who had a more extreme point of view. The article also stated that election officials are fed up with write-in candidates and the refusal of both parties or the Legislature to fix the problem. "This wink-wink, nod-nod causes people to distrust the process," said Mike Ertel, SOE in Seminole County. "It’s gamesmanship. It’s been going on for years, and has to change."

The Open Primary Study Team was interested in how the Florida SOE’s viewed this loophole and included it in the questionnaire. Although the Florida Election Law dictates elections and the SOEs can only follow election statutes, they had some comments on the write-ins. One of their issues with write-in candidates is the timing of their withdrawal from the general election. Many times write-in candidates, who are running so the party primary would not be opened to non-party members, withdrew from the race before the general election. A late withdrawal could mean that the space for a write-in would be printed on the ballot, perhaps pushing other races to the reverse side of the ballot or to a second page, which causes confusion and perhaps voters to accidentally omit a race. It was suggested a write-in candidate be fined if he withdraws after the primary. Other SOEs suggested the possibility that the write-in loophole could be closed or requirements strengthened through an amendment passed at the 2018 Constitutional Revision Commission where amendments approved by the Commission would go straight to the ballot and be voted upon by the Florida electorate.

Supervisor of Elections Questionnaire Detailed Responses

1. In 2014 Florida had a very low turnout statewide during the Primary Elections. What do you think are the reasons for this?
   - Lack of competitive races - 8 responses
   - Ballot issues – 7 responses
   - Voter apathy – 7 responses
   - Mid-term election – 4 responses
   - Turned off by politicians and political process – 2 responses
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

- Lack of voter education – 2 responses
- Lax finance laws
- Loss of patriotism
- Negative campaigns
- Voters are less likely to vote if an issue does not affect them
- Single member race
- Robo calls

2. **How many elections in your county were decided by the Primary?**
   - Five
   - Four – 3 responses
   - Two – 4 responses
   - One

2a. **Of those, how many were elected with less than 50% of the vote?**
   - Three
   - Two
   - One
   - None – 15

3. **How are registered voters informed they are registered to vote regardless of party affiliation or lack of (NPAs) in a Universal Primary?**
   - Sample ballots – 17 responses
   - Newspaper – 8 responses
   - Multiple media outlets – 6 responses
   - Press releases – 3 responses
   - Visit high schools – 3 responses
   - Election guides – 2 responses
   - Public service announcements – 2 responses
   - Outreach activities – 2 responses
   - SOE websites – 2 responses
   - Letters/information cards mailed to registered voters
   - Facebook

4. **Should there be more requirements for Write-in Candidates?**
   - This change would require legislative action – 7 responses
   - Requirements should be the same as regular candidates – 4 responses
   - Close the Write-in loophole – 2 responses
   - Yes there should be additional restrictions
   - Use 2018 Constitutional Revision to close the loophole
   - Write-in Candidates should be penalized if they withdraw after the primary

5. **What would it take your office to implement same day registration?**
   - Same day registration would cause planning and logistical problem – 20 responses
   - A change in state law would be required – 9 responses
   - Same day registration would result in more provisional ballots – 3 responses
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

- Same day registration could lead to fraud – 2 responses
- Shorten the 29 day book closing schedule instead of initiating same day registration.

6. **Do you think same day registration would increase turnout?**
   - No – 7 responses
   - Need a study – 5 responses
   - Yes

7. **Is your County Elections staff prepared for on-line voter registration?**
   - We are ready – 8 responses

8. **What are the administrative issues associated with implementing the following:**
   1. Top Two Open Primary
   2. Instant Runoff Voting (General Election)
   3. Instant Runoff Voting Primary

   - SOE cannot initiate new primary methods, they require legislative action – 4 responses
   - I have not considered other types of primaries – 2 responses
   - Would have administrative challenges
   - All the above options would be too confusing
   - Do not see any administrative problems for #1 Top Two Primary
   - #2 Instant Runoff Voting Primary’s main administrative challenge would be Voter Education
   - Both Instant Runoff options could lead to voter fraud

**Political Party Interviews**

**Political Party Leader Interview Responses**

The League of Women Voters local leagues conducted interviews with their County Political Party Leaders about Open Primaries and various other election issues. Twenty-two party leaders representing fourteen counties were interviewed. The interview questions were open ended and respondents were allowed multiple answers. The number of leagues who had similar answers to a particular question is noted after the response.

1. There are 21 states with some form of Open Primaries. Are you in favor or opposed to Open Primaries, if so, why?
   - Favor – 10 responses
   - Somewhat opposed – 3 responses
   - Opposed – 7 responses

2. What are the reasons for low voter turnout?
   - Apathy – 8 responses
   - Midterm election – 2
   - Sub-standard candidates – 1
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

2a How can turnout be improved?
- Voter education – 11 response
- Vote by Mail – 1 response
- Early Voting – 1 response

3 Has your party taken measures to appeal to No Party Affiliation voters (NPA)?
- NPA outreach - 11 responses
- Not much – 2 responses
- Nothing - 3 responses

4 Under what circumstances would your party not field a candidate in a district?
- Always will field a candidate – 9 responses
- Will not field candidates who have no chance of winning – 3 responses
- Will not field unqualified candidates – 2 responses

5 What is your opinion of Write-in Candidates?
- Opposed – 7 responses
- Neutral – 2 responses
- Favor – 6 responses
5a How do Write-in Candidates impact elections?
- Strongly impact when used to close primaries – 7 responses
- Not much impact – 7 responses

6 Is there a benefit to the public in protecting a two party system?
- Yes, there is more of a balance – 11 responses
- No benefit – 5 responses
- Yes, but the current system needs fixing – 1 response

7 What is your party’s position on taxpayer-funded primaries for political parties?
- Fair to all candidates – 7 responses
- Not in favor – 2 responses
- Private citizens should fund – 2 responses
- Republican could pay – 1 response
- Libertarian Party could not afford to pay – 1 response
- Government should not pay - 1

8 Would there be a risk of political manipulation if primaries were open?
- Yes, there would be a risk – 15
- Some risk – 5
- No risk - 1

9 There has been a significant decrease in party membership in the 18 to 25 age group. Why is this occurring?
- Millennials are disenchanted toward politics & 2 party system – 2 responses
- Millennials vote for the candidate not because of a party – 3 responses
- Millennials are interested in issues that cross party lines - 2 responses
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

9a How can your party appeal to young voters?
   · Address issues important to Millennials – 15 responses
   · Initiate programs that involve Millennials – 5 responses
   · Provide voter and election education – 2 responses

10 Are you in favor of same day registration?
   · Favors same day registration – 12 responses
   · Opposed to same day registration – 8 responses
   · Needs to be monitored – 5 responses

County Political Leader Perspectives

Open primaries, excluding open to unaffiliated voters primaries, permit any registered voter to a vote in a primary, regardless of his or her political affiliation. This means that a Democrat could “crossover” and cast a vote in the Republican primary or vice versa, and an unaffiliated voter can choose either major party’s primary. Open primaries or open primary hybrids are legal in 39 states. Florida is a Closed Primary state that only allows voters who are registered with a political party prior to the primary date to vote for candidates in that party. Voters who have no pronounced affiliation are not allowed to vote in closed primary elections.

Political Parties generally are opposed to Open Primary because they feel Open Primaries diminish the ability of their party to choose its candidates, and leads to a loss of party control. As one party leader stated “I believe the better solution is to make all party primaries totally closed along with not allowing indiscriminate change of party registration during that election cycle. Why should a presumably partisan Democrat, Republican, or other/independent be allowed to have a voice in choosing the candidate of another political party?”

Of the party leaders the league interviewed, 10 “favored” an Open Primary system, 3 were “somewhat opposed” and 7 were “opposed.” 9 of the 10 leaders who favored open primaries were democrats, while 6 of the leaders who opposed Open Primaries were Republicans. It is interesting to note that 8 other Democratic leaders thought there would be a risk of political manipulation if primaries were open. 6 Republicans thought open primaries would be risky.

See tables for details.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

Open Primary Viewpoint by Political Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Somewhat Opposed</th>
<th>Opposed</th>
<th>Total by Party</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libertarian</td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Open Primary Election Risk of Political Manipulation by Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Some Risk</th>
<th>No Risk</th>
<th>Total by Party</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Libertarian</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Voter Outreach

If a voter in Florida does not want to register with a major party, he/she has the option to register with several minor parties or No Party Affiliation (NPA). During the past few years voters have increasingly become dissatisfied with the major parties and have been registering with No Party Affiliation. 24% of Florida voters were registered as NPA as of November 2016. While NPAs can vote in general elections and Universal primaries, they cannot vote in a Primary because Florida is a closed primary state.

Party Leaders were asked if they have taken measures to win back their former voters. Democrats and Libertarians mentioned they are or would be reaching out to NPAs and millennials. One Republican county said that they are beginning a series of 6 or more voter information events that will be “more personal”, devoted to topics like the first amendment and foreign policy. This local party is also targeting the NPAs and inviting them to neighborhood events.
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Reach out to No Party Affiliation Voters (NPAs) by Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>NPA Outreach</th>
<th>Not Much</th>
<th>Nothing</th>
<th>Total by Party</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democratic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libertarian</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There has been a significant decrease in the 18 to 25 age group and Party leaders were asked why they think this is occurring and how the parties plan to appeal to young voters. Every Democratic county leader the league interviewed said they needed to address millennial issues. But only one Republican leader and one Libertarian leader thought they needed to attract millennials in this manner. Four Democratic leaders and one Republican leader thought initiating programs that would appeal to young people would help.

How Would Your Party Increase Millennial Participation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Address Millennial Issues</th>
<th>Initiate Millennial Programs</th>
<th>Voter Education</th>
<th>Total by Party</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>Republican</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Write-In Candidates

Under Florida law, if all the candidates on the ballot have the same party affiliation and the winner will have no opposition in the general election, all voters are allowed to cast ballots in the primary. Politicians do not like allowing voters of another party or a NPA voting in their race and have found a way to keep their primary closed by using a simple tool, namely write-in candidates.

State law allows candidates to qualify as write-ins with few qualifications. Write-in candidates don’t have to gather petition signatures or pay hefty fees like traditional candidates. To qualify as a write-in candidate, Florida Election Statutes state that write-in candidates must file
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study
within the qualifying period. It further states “Any person who is seeking election as a write-in candidate shall not be required to pay a filing fee, election assessment, or party assessment. A write-in candidate is not entitled to have his or her name printed on any ballot; however, space for the write-in candidate’s name to be written must be provided on the general election ballot.” Write-ins make it easy to game the system. All a politician or party has to do to close a primary is locate a supporter, friend or relative to run as a write-in candidate and the primary will be closed. Seven Democratic county leaders oppose write-in candidates, while none of the Republican county leaders opposed the practice. Although write-in candidates rarely win an election they can impact the election process by forcing a Closed Primary.

**Write-In Candidate Opinions by Party**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Opposed</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Total by Party</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
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</table>

**Election Day Registration**

Florida Stakeholders have different views in regard to Same Day Registration. Both Democratic county party leaders and millennials are in favor of Same Day Registration. Over 70% of millennials who responded to the Survey the League sent out favored Same Day Registration. But over 95% of the Supervisors of Elections interviewed were against Same Day Registration. Why the difference in opinion? It is the Supervisor of Elections’ job to administer the elections and 77% of the Supervisors named administrative planning challenges, balancing security and accessibility as major problems. Florida’s current registration system does not allow the time to properly process and verify a voter’s registration application information. In order to have same day registration in Florida, a law must be passed with enough funding to cover new software that would address the Supervisors of Elections concerns and a statewide training program for all staff and volunteers who would be involved in Same Day Registration. It can be done with the right resources; currently twelve states and the District of Columbia allow same day registration. Three more states have same day registration laws that will be implemented in 2017 and 18.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

Election Day Registration Opinion by Party

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Favor</th>
<th>Oppose</th>
<th>Closely Monitored</th>
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</table>

Election Systems Experts Responses to LWVF Questionnaires

This report is a summary of selected election system experts’ responses to the questions below. Additionally, statements from their publications are included to give the reader additional information.

1. What do you believe are the primary reasons for low voter turnout in primary elections?
   - People don’t care about politics and primary elections (except presidential primaries)
   - Primaries get less publicity, have less advertising and voters do not know candidates.
   - NPAs and third party registered voters are not allowed to participate in Florida.
   - High cost of campaigns, low information voters, weak partisan attachments
   - Public financing of campaigns
   - Turnout driven by newsworthiness and top of ticket dynamics
   - Primaries are hyper-partisan battles between candidates that rarely give voters true choices
   - Disgust with hyper-partisanship in Washington
   - Millennials don’t buy into party belief systems; don’t see any compelling reason to join
   - Plurality voting turns off voters that don’t identify with either major party

2. a. What changes in election law (or the Florida Constitution) would you recommend to improve voter turnout in the primaries?
   b. What other suggestions do you recommend to improve voter turnout?
      - Open primaries or a top two system.
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- Change the constitution so that write-in candidates would not close a primary when only one major party is fielding candidates.
- Don’t necessarily agree that improving voter turnout should be the goal; better voter accessibility should be the goal so everyone can vote for candidates, regardless of party affiliation (Believes this would require a constitutional amendment)
- More/better efforts by news media and 3rd party group (LWVF) to inform voters about the candidates and issues.
- Proportional Representation type elections tend to improve turnout
- Opt-out voter registration (Automatic registration at age 18)
- Although the National Conference of State Legislatures was not able to respond to some questions because of their non-partisan objective based analysis, they did offer the following comments. “Turnout is affected by many variables, most of which are not the result of election administration policy decisions.” They cite civic culture, demographics, competitive races, ballot measures, and get out the vote efforts as positive contributors to turnout. They do recommend four specific actions that state have taken and can take: (1) Early Voting; (2) Same day registration; (3) Vote Centers; and (4) Election consolidation.

3. Do you think voter registration should take place on Election Day at the polls?
   Yes, all experts agreed – It would increase turnout

4. Have you studied allowing changing party affiliation on Election Day? If so, what were your findings?
   - Experts have not studied this question but noted that many states with open primaries do not even track registration by party.
   - One expert flat said NO to changing party affiliation on Election Day

5. Some experts think the technology to allow on-line voting is not sufficiently secure to prevent voter manipulation. Do you concur with that assessment? Why or why not?
   - Two experts cited security of the system and the lack of a paper trail as concerns
   - One expert had no expert opinion
   - One expert expressed concern over sociological issues i.e. can lead to a more disconnected community; not as concerned with on-line voting

6. Given a choice of the following primary election types, which would you choose to improve voter turnout and why?

   a. Open Primary
   b. Closed primary – One expert favors retention of a closed primary to aid in strengthening parties
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- Hybrid (All NPA voters can participate)
- Top Two – Two experts favor this method; one is a Top Two advocate
- Instant Runoff Voting – One expert advocates for IRV
- Other (Please, specify.) – One expert advocates for Approval Voting
  - One expert prefers Top Two because it simply forwards the two most popular candidates to the general election.
  - One Top Two Expert believes that “open” primaries are unconstitutional because they require approval of parties to participate in primaries. This expert believes instant runoff voting allows too many games to be played.
  - One expert states that all open primary election types continue the use of plurality voting which results in winners with low vote percentages. He further states that primary systems like Top Two achieve majority vote result in an artificial manner (Ex: Why not Top Three, etc.)
  - Eric McGhee (Public Policy Institute of California) posted a Blog on November 10 highlighting Top Two results over the three election cycles (2012, 2014, 2016). His preliminary analysis indicates that same party general election races occurred in 17% of the races. Preliminary results indicate that over 1.1 million skipped voting in down ballot single party races compared to presidential votes. Competitive cross party races fell from 18% in 2012 to 11% in 2016 indicating parties and candidates are figuring out the effects of redistricting in 2011. McGhee said the dynamic of moderate candidates winning over more extreme competitors had started to improve in the Democratic Party but not between Republican candidates.

7. **What other insights or recommendations can you provide us about the primary election system?**
   - Over 25% of Florida voters not registered with either major party; Many state districts are heavily Republican or Democratic; this disenfranchise voters from other parties, Florida should go to an Open Primary or Top Two system.
   - Political parties are essential to democracy. According to one expert they are already weakened by campaign finance laws that create PACs and Super PACs as an alternative to political parties. Open primaries would further undermine political parties, which would be damaging to our democracy. The other experts did not share this view.
   - Most countries don’t have primaries. One expert advocates for approval voting in the general election, eliminating a taxpayer-funded primary. Parties could hold their private caucuses, primaries, conventions, etc.
   - The IRV expert advocate offers another solution: Top Four. The Top Two primary becomes a Top Four that advance to the general election. IRV is applied to the general election to select the winner. The four candidates that advance would likely include Democrat and Republican candidates and possibly third party candidates giving voters more choice in the general election. Top Four would re-instate a primary thus eliminating one of the reasons for IRV.
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Other State LWV Interview Report

Six LWV Leagues from other states, one city, and one county league were provided a questionnaire to complete. They were also contacted via phone for follow-up to the questionnaires where possible. Leagues were selected to be representative of election types. In some cases, information was obtained from prior league studies when leagues were unavailable via telephone or did not complete the questionnaire.

Rationale for Selection to Study

Arizona is one of 9 states featuring a primary open to unaffiliated voters. Unaffiliated voters may choose which party’s primary they will vote in, but voters registered with a party can only vote in that party’s primary. The Arizona League of Women Voters supports Instant Runoff Voting (Ranked Choice Voting)

California is one of 4 Top Two Open Primary states. They started using Top Two in the June 2012 election.

Michigan is one of 15 open primary states. In the 2014 election they ranked 17th in voter turnout. It is one of the largest states that use the open primary election type.

Minneapolis, while not a state, features the Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) (Ranked Choice Voting (RCV)) election. RCV was approved in 2006 with planning until 2009 when they held their first RCV election.


Ohio is one of 6 states featuring a partially open primary. Voters may choose the opposition party ballot but in so doing become registered with the opposition party. The Ohio League of Women Voters is conducting a study of primary election systems similar to our study.

Oregon is considered a closed primary state by NCSL. However the Oregon Secretary of State’s office verified their status as a partially closed primary state. Political Parties may choose to open their primaries to unaffiliated voters. Voters registered with a different party may not participate in the “open” primary of the other party. Oregon is conducting a study similar to our Florida study.

Pierce County Washington experimented with Instant Runoff Voting in 2009. Pierce County was selected for study because it dropped the method in favor of the statewide Top Two Open Primary after one election cycle
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study
Other State League Questionnaire and Responses

General Questions

1. **What has been the voter turnout percentage in both primary and general elections since 2004?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2016</th>
<th>Note #2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>20.5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>23.0</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Note #1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>25.5</td>
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<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>58.2</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>54.0</td>
<td>VRP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierce County WA</td>
<td>Turnouts not comparable due to multiple changes in primary election system changes from 2008 to 2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE #1: Minneapolis municipal elections are held every four years. The 2008 column above is 2009 for municipal elections. The 2012 column is for 2013 municipal elections.

2. **How is voter turnout percentage calculated (e.g. Voter Eligible Population (VEP), Voter Age Population (VAP), or registered voter population (VRP)?**

NOTE #2: See the table entry in the above table for calculation method.

3. **What are the major reasons for low (high) voter turnout in primary elections? List from most important to least important**

   Scheduling a primary during summer months with August being mentioned specifically causes low turnout. Competitive races increase turnout. Exclusive vote-by-mail has been implemented in three states. Other states are in the process of seeking legislation to change to exclusive vote-by-mail. Visible election information and convenience of voting help boost turnout.

   Apathy of voters decreases turnout. A race where there is competition with no incumbent improves turnout. Department of Motor Vehicles on-line registration provides vehicle to increase turnout.

   One interviewed state features automatic registration at age 18. An individual has 21 days to decide to opt-out, select a political party, or become registered automatically as a non-affiliated voter.

   Gerrymandering was mentioned by one state as a reason for low voter turnout.
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4. What steps has your League taken to increase voter turnout? List from most effective to least effective

One interviewed League visits high schools and community colleges to highlight registration for those students turning 18 in an election year. Another league highlighted that all county and city leagues do different things; none are viewed as very effective, given turnout numbers captured in Question #1

Interviewed leagues provide voter information (Voter Guides) and hold candidate meetings. One state highlighted that their polls are open all day Saturday and 4 hours on Sunday for Early Voting up to 30 days prior to Election Day. One state has no early voting. Coordination with other organizations in voter registration was mentioned but no positive effect was observed.

5. Have you seen a significantly lower turnout in Primary Elections by Millennials? (Age 18 – 34 in 2015)

Several states indicated that age data was not collected to assess millennial turnout. One interviewed state’s law requires first time voters to vote in person making it challenging for college students to vote. According to the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement only 23.9% of voters age 18-29 voted in one state in 2010. Voters age 30 and above turned out at 54%.

6. What are the major reasons for low/high millennial voter turnout? List from most important to least important.

One state does not have no excuse absentee voting. Another state cited pre-occupation with personal life and cynicism about voting as a reason for low millennial turnout

Convenience of voting aids turnout. ID Requirements are a problem especially for college students

7. Have you studied alternative election systems? If so, what are the major findings of your study?

(Pierce County WA) www.lwvwa.org/studies.html 2000 - An Evaluation of Major Election Methods, 2002 – Voting Inside and Outside the Box Part II. Positions on Election Methods from Studies – page 15,

http://www lwvwa.org/pdfs/Program%20In%20Action%202015%20-%202017.pdf

Oregon’s LWV website provides a link to an update of their 2008 election systems study. They are conducting a primary election system study that will conclude in April – May 2017. http://lwvor.org/election-methods-study-update-2016/

Ohio is in process of conducting a Primary Election System study to be completed in April – May 2017. The following link provides a study guide and consensus questions http://www lwvohio.org/site.cfm/Member-Area/League-Studies.cfm
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8. PEW Research Center estimates 45 percent of voters are registered as no party affiliation (NPA). Given the significant increase in NPA voters do you believe a change to an open style non-partisan primary election system should occur?

One league said yes to the question. The other leagues had no stated position.

9. How do you handle Write-In candidates in your primary election? General election?

Primary: (Pierce County WA); Pierce County now participates in Washington States Top Two primary. If a write-in candidate receives at least 1% of the votes cast in the primary and that person is one of the top two vote getters they may be on the general election ballot. The only Michigan requirement is that a write-in candidate must file a declaration of intent. If the candidate does not declare votes are not counted.

(General: Pierce County WA) tabulation of the total number of write-in votes for any person is made public

Instant Runoff Voting Questions

Minneapolis did not provide a response to the questionnaire but provided extensive history of their implementation of IRV.
http://vote.minneapolismn.gov/rcv/rcv-history

10. What has been voter reaction to IRV?

Positive in Minneapolis. A poll conducted by Minneapolis Public Radio found that 90% of voters indicated that they successfully voted using the new Ranked Choice voting method in 2009.

Negative in Pierce County WA. Voters rejected IRV after one election cycle. The Tacoma/Pierce County LWV said they initially thought IRV would be better than the Top Two Open Primary that was first used in 2008. Washington State had been using the Blanket Primary election method until it was declared unconstitutional by the US Supreme Court. “When an unexpected (less-qualified) candidate won the Assessor-Treasurer Position voters decided to use the statewide Top Two Open Primary in the future.

11. What costs has your city incurred to implement and sustain IRV compared to your prior system?

One-Time Startup : Pierce County - $1.7 to $2.0 million
No equipment and software upgrade costs included because ballots were hand counted
Recurring: No estimate given

One-Time Startup: Minneapolis - $122,895
Recurring: Minneapolis - $242,027
The Minneapolis amounts do not include IRV equipment, software, and staff salaries for municipal workers having to work overtime.
12. **What are the major reasons for rejecting IRV after initially adopting IRV? List the top three**

   Reason #1: An unexpected (less-qualified) candidate won the Assessor-Treasurer Position and voters opted to use the statewide Top Two Open Primary for future elections.

   Reason #2: Delay in obtaining results of individual elections (NOTE: Voting equipment was not capable of handling IRV tabulation so Pierce County had to use hand counting to determine winners.

Questions for California Top Two Open Primary

13. **Did your League favor or oppose the Top Two initiative that passed in 2010? Why?**

   The California League of Women Voters position is as follows: “Support election systems for executive and other single seat offices, both at the state and local levels, that require the winner to receive a majority of the votes, as long as the majority is achieved using a voting method such as Instant Runoff Voting, rather than a second, separate runoff election. - See more at: [https://lwvc.org/position/election-systems - shash.KUJ59TR1.dpuf](https://lwvc.org/position/election-systems - shash.KUJ59TR1.dpuf)

14. **What has been the Top Two effect on electing more moderate (bi-partisan) candidates?**

   In a November 2016 Blog Eric McGhee of the Public Policy Institute of California offered the following assessment of Top Two results. “Same-party races were in part expected to promote contests between the moderate and liberal/conservative wings of each party. It is not clear that this has happened much on the Republican side, but there are typically several same-party contests that feature this dynamic on the Democratic side. In this election cycle, most of these contests were won by the more moderate, business-backed Democrat.”

15. **In your US Congressional and state legislature races how many have been single party in the general election (number and percent)?**

   In a November 2016 Blog Eric McGhee compared statewide races in each election year. There were also 27 (17.6%) down-ballot same-party races in this cycle, in line with 25 (16%) in 2014 and 28 (12%) in 2012. The share of cross-party races decided by narrow (<10%) margins fell from 18% in 2012 to 15% in 2014 to just 11% this year. One of the outcomes of down ballot same party races is that over 1 million voters skipped votes when comparing ballots cast for President versus ballots cast in same party races. McGhee’s caution is that interesting dynamics are occurring and it is early in the evolution of Top Two.

General Question

16. **Is there anything you can tell us that would help us with the study?**
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Michigan passed legislation eliminating the straight ticket vote meaning that voters will no longer be able to check a box indicating they vote for ALL candidates for office. LWVMI believes this will increase waiting time for voting because a voter must mark their preference in each individual race. From Michigan’s website their stated position on primary elections is "An open primary system for state and local candidates for office, whereby a voter declares political party affiliation only in the privacy of the voting booth."

“The Oregon League supports enabling legislation to allow local jurisdictions to explore alternative election methods (e.g. instant-runoff or full fusion voting). If a local jurisdiction adopts an alternative election method, that jurisdiction should bear the costs of startup and voter education. Only after experience and evaluation at the local level should the state consider alternative election methods for statewide adoption." [http://lwvor.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Election-Methods-Study-Update-2016-10-17-1.pdf](http://lwvor.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Election-Methods-Study-Update-2016-10-17-1.pdf)

The League of Women Voters of Arizona did not provide a questionnaire response but they have an updated League position: Consensus 2005; Amended 2008: The Arizona League believes in the election system principle of greater vote representation. The LWVAZ maintains that election system reform that provides a stronger voice for the greatest number of voters should have a positive effect on voter participation.

Therefore, the LWVAZ supports changing the present election systems so that they more accurately represent the wishes of voters:

- Adopting the Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) system for single seat races;
- Adopting proportional representation for multi-seat races, specifically Ranked Choice Voting. Believes that education of the voting public is important to election systems.
- Supports giving Arizona voters the option of more choice among election systems

Conclusions

What can we conclude after 21 months of research, discovery, and utter amazement at the way voters have to navigate endless rules and barriers just to exercise their constitutional right to vote? The challenges of 2016 can be followed by positive actions in 2017 and beyond. The study committee and league members from the Keys to Pensacola and in between made significant contributions to this study.

There is no magical cure for low voter turnout but there are steps we, and others, can take to make significant improvement. Some steps require political parties and prospective candidates for office to make a difference. Business as usual is not the answer. Bold actions must be taken to fix our Democracy. None of the proposed actions in this study will be easy. Consensus won’t be easy. Consider the facts below in your consensus deliberations.

- Candidate quality, competitive races, and ballot initiatives are top reasons voters turnout, excluding Presidential Preference Primaries.
- Florida lags behind 76% of states with open type election systems.
- Florida primary election turnout has averaged less than 23% from 2008 through 2016
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- In a 2012 report the Bipartisan Policy Center said, “... the inescapable conclusion to be drawn from the preponderance of the data is that open and modified open primaries have modestly higher turnout than closed primaries”
- Florida excludes over 3.4 million (27%) voters from voting in closed party primaries unless they affiliate with a party
- NPA voters have increased by over 1.2 million voters since 2004 (64%)
- Over 70% of millennials want to vote for a candidate of their choice
- Supervisors of Elections (SOEs) oppose Election Day Registration (EDR)
- Experts, advocates and millennials support EDR as an effective step to improved turnout
- SOEs support Vote Centers to eliminate showing up at the wrong precinct
- SOEs, experts, and advocates support closing the write-in candidate loophole
- In the 2016 Florida Primary, the write-in candidate loophole excluded full voter participation in six Senate districts and 14 House districts disenfranchising 1.6 million voters
- The Florida Association of Supervisors of Elections favors Colorado’s process for exclusive vote by mail thus eliminating the requirement to vote in person
- Party leaders split 50/50 in support of or opposition to open primaries
- None of six states interviewed for this study support a Top Two primary
- No state has implemented Instant Runoff Voting but 11 cities have
- Open style primaries require voters to select a party ballot eliminating voter choice across party lines on a race-by-race basis

The choices we make in Florida can serve as a template for other states to empower their voters and “Fix Our Democracy”.

Appendix A – State and Presidential Election Systems (38)

Closed Primary States: In general, a voter seeking to vote in a closed primary must first be a registered party member. Typically, the voter affiliates with a party on his or her voter registration application. This system deters “cross-over” voting by members of other parties. Independent or unaffiliated voters, by definition, are excluded from participating in the party nomination contests. This system generally contributes to a strong party organization.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Delaware</th>
<th>Nevada</th>
<th>Pennsylvania</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>New York</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Oregon*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Partially Closed States: In this system, state law permits political parties to choose whether to allow unaffiliated voters or voters not registered with the party to participate in their nominating contests before each election cycle. In this type of system, parties may let in unaffiliated voters, while still excluding members of opposing parties. This system gives the parties more flexibility from year-to-year about which voters to include. At the same time, it
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can create uncertainty about whether or not certain voters can participate in party primaries in a given year.

| Partially Open States: | This system permits voters to cross party lines, but they must either publicly declare their ballot choice or their ballot selection may be regarded as a form of registration with the corresponding party. Illinois and Ohio have this system. Iowa asks voters to choose a party on the state voter registration form, yet it allows a primary voter to publicly change party affiliation for purposes of voting on primary Election Day. Some state parties keep track of who votes in their primaries as a means to identify their backers |

| Illinois | Ohio |
| Indiana | Tennessee |
| Iowa | Wyoming |

| States Open to Unaffiliated Voters: | A number of states allow only unaffiliated voters to participate in any party primary they choose, but do not allow voters who are registered with one party to vote in another party’s primary. This system differs from a true open primary because a Democrat cannot cross over and vote in a Republican party primary, or vice versa. Some of these states, such as Colorado and New Hampshire, require that unaffiliated voters declare affiliation with a party at the polls in order to vote in that party’s primary |

| Arizona | Massachusetts | West Virginia |
| Colorado | New Hampshire |
| Kansas | New Jersey |
| Maine | Rhode Island |

| Open Primary States: | In general, but not always, states that do not ask voters to choose parties on the voter registration form are “open primary” states. In an open primary, voters may choose privately in which primary to vote. In other words, voters may choose which party’s ballot to vote, but this decision is private and does not register the voter with that party. This permits a voter to cast a vote across party lines for the primary election. Critics argue that the open primary dilutes the parties’ ability to nominate. Supporters say this system gives voters maximal flexibility—allowing them to cross party lines—and maintains their privacy |

| Alabama | Michigan | Montana | Vermont |
| Arkansas | Minnesota | North Dakota | Virginia |
| Georgia | Mississippi | South Carolina | Wisconsin |
| Hawaii | Missouri | Texas | |
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**Top Two Open Primary States:** California, Louisiana, Nebraska (for state elections) and Washington currently use a “top two” primary format. The “top two” format uses a common ballot, listing all candidates on the same ballot. In California and Louisiana, each candidate lists his or her party affiliation, whereas in Washington, each candidate is authorized to list a party “preference.” The top two vote getters in each race, regardless of party, advance to the general election. Advocates of the “top-two” format argue that it increases the likelihood of moderate candidates advancing to the general election ballot. Opponents maintain that it reduces voter choice by making it possible for two candidates of the same party to face off in the general election. They also contend that it is tilted against minor parties who will face slim odds of earning one of only two spots on the general election ballot.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>California</th>
<th>Nebraska (for nonpartisan legislative races only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>Washington State</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Instant Runoff Voting ((IRV) or Ranked Choice (RCV):** This election type is not defined by NCSL. A Google search provides the following definition: IRV is an electoral system where voters rank candidates in order of preference. In the event that one candidate fails to achieve a majority vote, the candidate with the fewest number of first-preference rankings is eliminated and these votes are redistributed to the remaining candidates. The process is repeated until one candidate achieves the required majority. All voters, regardless of party affiliation receive one ballot with all candidates listed regardless of party affiliation (No states)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berkeley CA 2010</th>
<th>Oakland CA 2010</th>
<th>San Francisco CA 2004</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Leandro CA 2010</td>
<td>Telluride CO 2011</td>
<td>Portland ME 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takoma Park MD 2007</td>
<td>Minneapolis MN 2009</td>
<td>St Paul MN 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Fe NM 2016</td>
<td>Henderson NC 2008</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Universal Primaries:** A primary election in which all the candidates have the same party affiliation, but will not have any opposition in the general election. During a Universal Primary, all qualified voters may vote regardless of their party affiliation. However, there is one exception: If a write in candidate is on the ballot, the primary election will be closed and only voters who are registered with the party affiliation of the candidate listed on the ballot, will be eligible to vote.

**Presidential Preference Primaries:** States may have radically different systems for conducting state and presidential primaries: some states hold state and presidential primaries on the same day, some hold them weeks or even months apart, and some hold the two primaries on the same day but have different rules for each primary. See NCSL’s State Primary Types Table for which state primary rules also apply to presidential elections.

Source: National Conference of State Legislatures (July 2016) (38)
Appendix B Voter Turnout Comparison

Figure #1 – Florida Primary Election Turnout By County

From 2000 – 2014 small counties averaged over 40% turnout in primary elections. Those 13 small counties averaged less than 12,000 registered voters. During the same period 12 large counties average less than 22% primary election turnout. These large counties averaged over 430,000 registered voters.

(4) Five of the 13 small county Supervisors of Elections were interviewed in October – November 2015 to learn what drove the high turnout. They unanimously reported that civic duty and small connected community as the reasons for high turnout. They said voters typically knew or were friends with candidates and wanted to show their support.
Ohio voters may choose a party ballot at time of voting as long as they are registered 30 days prior to the election. Unaffiliated voters may not vote in a partisan primary.

Oregon features both closed and open primaries depending on what the major political parties choose to do. A political party may change the rule for NPA voter participation 90 days prior to the primary election. If a primary is open Oregon no party affiliated voters (NPA) may choose to vote in that primary. If more than one primary is open, NPAs may choose which primary to vote in.
Arizona voters who are registered as independent, no party preference or as a member of a non-recognized party may choose one ballot to vote.

**Appendix C – Open Primary Qualified Sources**

Ann Hellmuth, Orange County LWV, has provided the Open Primary study committee with the following guidance on selection of sources to use in our study. Following her guidance is a list of sources she considers qualified to be cited in our reports.

News stories try to be as impartial or objective as possible. Reporters are supposed to be neutral observers, not advocates or participants. They provide the facts and details of the stories, not their own opinions about the facts and events. All facts should be attributed to a source i.e. *The Mayor said, according to the Pew Foundation report, the police chief said, the candidate said.* Anything off the record needs to carry a sentence explaining why the person cannot be quoted by name.
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There are two types of news -- hard and soft. Hard news refers to serious and timely stories about important topics -- crime, accidents, speeches, government. Soft news consists of features and human interest stories. Entertains as well as informs.

**Opinion journalism** is journalism that makes no claim of objectivity. Although distinguished from advocacy journalism in several ways, both forms feature a subjective viewpoint, usually with some social or political purpose. Common examples include newspaper columns, editorials, editorial cartoons, and punditry.

Some news organizations like the Associated Press are strictly non-partisan. But newspapers blur the lines -- examples the Wall Street Journal, New York Times. Politico is an online newspaper, combining news coverage and opinion.

The following sources are not an exhaustive list but gives us a starting point when considering Fact vs Opinion decisions

1. National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL)
2. Public Policy Institute of California (PPIC)
3. State Secretaries of State
4. State Divisions of Elections
5. Supervisors of Elections
6. Brennan Center for Justice
7. Bipartisan Policy Center
8. PEW Research Center
9. Election Assistance Commission
10. General Accountability Office
11. Educational Testing Service
13. Brookings Institute
14. American Enterprise Institute
15. Stanford Social Innovation Review
16. Election Law Journal (Fee required to access articles)
17. Dr Susan MacManus (USF)
18. Dr. Michael McDonald (UF)
19. Dr. Rick Fogelsong (Rollins)
20. Dr Aubrey Jewett (UCF)
21. Center for Election Science
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study
22. PEW Charitable Trusts
23. PEW Research Center
25. William and Mary Law Review
26. NORC Center for Public Affairs Research at the University of Chicago (National Opinion Research Center) (norc.org )
27. New York University
29. Election Accountability Center ( http://www.eac.gov
30. Common Cause
31. Ballotpedia ( https://ballotpedia.org/Main_Page
32. The Atlantic Magazine
33. Australian Electoral Commission
   http://www.idea.int/elections/http://www.idea.int/elections/
http://www.idea.int/elections/
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

Appendix D – Millennial Survey Results

LWVF, in concert with the University of Central Florida (UCF), designed and implemented a customized Survey Monkey survey of millennial voters and non-voters. Prior to going live, the draft survey was tested by over 160 UCF students. Student feedback was invaluable in shaping the final survey. The final survey was administered via e-mail links to survey responders contacted through their colleges, universities, and young professional organizations. In addition selected League Facebook pages were populated with the survey link to reach out to more millennials. In late 2016 the Haas Center (University of West Florida) agreed to conduct a random select telephone survey using the Survey Monkey survey questions. The Survey Monkey population was 585 responders. The Haas Center population was 362 responders. The total survey population was 947. The survey population varies by question based on some responders skipping questions in the Survey Monkey self-select survey. The Survey Monkey population includes 33 responders that skipped the entire demographics series of questions but answered all others. The Haas Center random select telephone survey had a margin of error of 4.4% at a 90% confidence interval and 5.2% at the 95% confidence interval.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are you a registered voter?</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOT SURE</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Haas Center only surveyed randomly selected registered voters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What is your party affiliation?</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPA</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Republicans are under represented in both surveys compared to the voting population of Florida. Democrats – 38%; Republicans – 36%; NPAs – 24%
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If NPA briefly explain why? (Check all that apply)</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>188*</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t want to be a member of a party</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want freedom to vote for anyone I want</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I want to vote for a candidate, not the party</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I don’t like being labeled</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither major party addresses my issues</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When I registered I wasn’t told I couldn’t vote in the major party primaries</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Survey Monkey responders selected more than one choice. Haas Center responders selected only one response. Prefer not to answer responses were omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How do you vote? (Check all that apply)</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>544</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At my precinct on Election Day</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early voting</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vote by Mail</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What issues motivate you to Vote? (Rank order your top 3 choices)</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top Three Choices (Percentages)</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
<td>1 2 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candidates</td>
<td>27 8 14</td>
<td>23 8 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballot Initiatives</td>
<td>2 7 6</td>
<td>3 5 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Issues</td>
<td>7 12 13</td>
<td>9 12 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Issues</td>
<td>18 15 15</td>
<td>22 24 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Issues (Abortion, marriage, Civil Rights, Education)</td>
<td>19 25 18</td>
<td>19 23 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Higher Education</td>
<td>3 8 9</td>
<td>5 11 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration</td>
<td>2 4 5</td>
<td>6 5 11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If a primary election was open to all voters despite party affiliation, you would - - -</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitely Would Vote</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maybe Would Vote</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave it like it is (Closed)</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should a person be able to register on Election Day?</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSURE</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO OPINION</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should a person be able to change party affiliation on Election Day?</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNSURE</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO OPINION</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My age is</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 to 25</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 30</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 to 34</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Please specify)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial/Ethnic Identity</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The “Other” category includes predominantly Asian Americans.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If you are in school, please check your educational level</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community College</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undergraduate</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor's Degree</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pursuing Masters</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters Degree</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors Degree</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tech School Certification</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (Second degree; high school; PhD)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are you employed?</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YES</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>If employed, how many hours/week do you work?</th>
<th>Survey Monkey Results</th>
<th>Haas Center Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Survey Population</td>
<td>411*</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 to 10</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 – to 20</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 to 30</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater than 30</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* More individuals responded than said they work. Percentage responses are based on the survey population of 411 responders.
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

What county do you live in?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>Haas</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escambia</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinellas</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miami-Dade</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broward</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillsborough</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palm Beach</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seminole</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Rosa</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leon</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duval</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pasco</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alachua</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brevard</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polk</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osceola</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okaloosa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Johns</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volusia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collier</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marion</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>SM</th>
<th>Haas</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Highlands</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarasota</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hernando</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charlotte</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Lucie</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citrus</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manatee</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walton</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flagler</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gadsden</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holmes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian River</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monroe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putnam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakulla</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DeSoto</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberty</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madison</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nassau</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Counties not shown had no participants.

Conclusions

The combined Survey Monkey and Haas Center surveys provide useful insight into millennial thinking.

- Candidate choice remains a top reason to vote
- Social issues and civil rights are important to younger millennials
- Economic and social issues are important to the 31-34 age group
- Ballot initiatives don’t seem important to millennials
- Immigration was not a concern of millennials
- NPAs don’t register with a party because they believe elected officials don’t address their issues. Millennials want to be free to choose candidates regardless of party affiliation
- Over 73% of millennials favor open primary elections with candidates of any political affiliation in both surveys
- Over 65% of millennials want the option to register on Election Day and to change party affiliation on Election Day
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- Over 50% of millennials work more than 30 hours/week
- Millennials favor voting on Election Day (53%) to early voting (38%)

Appendix E – Presidential Preference Primary and Caucus Analysis

Presidential Preference Primary (PPP) Background

The Florida PPP uses a closed primary type. No Party Affiliate and minor party voters cannot vote in the Presidential primary unless they affiliate with the party holding the primary. The purpose of this paper is to analyze a potential change in PPP type and to provide background on Presidential Caucus selection of candidates

- Constitutional Provisions Article VI Section 1
  - Registration and elections shall, and political party functions may, be regulated by law;
  - Requirements for NPA or minor party candidates for placement shall be no greater than for a candidate of the party having the largest number of registered voters.

- Florida Statutes Title IX Chapter 103 paragraph 103.101 Each political party other than a minor political party shall, at the presidential preference primary, elect one person to be the party’s candidate for nomination for President of the United States or select delegates to the party’s national nominating convention, as provided by party rule.

- Florida Statutes Title IX Chapter 103 paragraph 103.021
  - Subparagraph (3) Candidates for President and Vice President with no party affiliation may have their names printed on the general election ballots if a petition is signed by 1 percent of the registered electors of this state, as shown by the compilation by the Department of State for the last preceding general election
  - Subparagraph (4)(a) A minor political party that is affiliated with a national party holding a national convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States may have the names of its candidates for President and Vice President of the United States printed on the general election ballot by filing with the Department of State a certificate naming the candidates for President and Vice President and listing the required number of persons to serve as electors.
  - Subparagraph (4)(b) A minor political party that is not affiliated with a national party holding a national convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President of the United States may have the names of its candidates for President and Vice President printed on the general election ballot if a petition is signed by 1 percent of the registered electors of this state.
  - November 2014 voter registration was 11,653,868 with 1% = 116,548
  - November 2016 voter registration was 12,863,773 with 1% = 128,638
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- The National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) provides the following facts to consider
  - 14 states do not match up their state primary type with their PPP type.
  - 36 states use the same primary type for both state and PPP.
    - 12 of the 36 states use open primaries
    - 4 of the 36 states use Open to Unaffiliated Voters
    - 6 of the 36 states use Partially Open primaries
    - 5 of the 36 states use Partially Closed primaries
    - 9 of the 36 states use Closed primaries
  - None of the Top Two Open Primary states use Top Two for PPP

- Other factors to consider
  - NPAs and minor parties couldn’t vote in PPP
  - Party Rules can override voters (Democratic Party Super Delegates)
  - Winner take all PPP can alienate voters in close elections
  - Parties are paying less attention to voters
  - Super PACs decrease influence of party leadership

Analysis of PPP options

- All of the closed and open primaries use plurality winner take all system
- **Closed** – Disenfranchises 3.2 Million NPA and minor party voters (27% of voters)
- **Partially Closed** – Parties decide whether NPAs can participate; minor party voters prohibited from voting in PPP but can advance per Florida statutes. According to NCSL closed primary parties rarely decide to open their primaries to NPAs
- **Partially Open** – Voters may choose party ballot but must declare their party choice publically
- **Open to Unaffiliated Voters** – NPAs can vote party ballot of their choosing; minor parties prohibited but advance anyway
- **Open** – Voters may choose any party ballot and not have to declare party affiliation publically including NPAs and minor party voters
- **Top Two** down selects to two candidates, not parties. PPP needs to pick one candidate per party to go to General Election.
- **Open Primary with Instant Runoff Voting.** IRV can be structured to select candidates by party ballot and require “preferential majority” vote (by party) to advance party candidates to the General Election.
  - Colorado voters approved Prop 107 PPP in the 2016 General Election
    - NPAs can vote a political party ballot without registering with a party
    - NPA voters receive a ballot with all party’s candidates. They choose which party to vote for; if they vote for candidates of more than one party the ballot is rejected
    - Winners in each party are selected by plurality vote
    - The PPP ballot may not contain any other issue or partisan position; it is exclusively for thePPP
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- LWVCO supported Prop 107 based on the following rationale:
  - Because a presidential primary would be publicly financed, all eligible voters should be able to vote in these elections.
  - Colorado is in the minority of states that limit participation in the presidential nomination to only those registered with a major political party. Thirty-five percent of Colorado voters are independent of party affiliation.
  - A presidential primary would involve more voters, increase participation and could encourage candidates who are responsive to the viewpoints of

Presidential Caucus Background

Prior to the 1970s, the majority of states chose their delegates using caucuses, but after reforms were instituted in 1972 to make the nomination process more inclusive and transparent, most states adopted primaries. (Council on Foreign Relations: Campaign 2016).

In 2016, just 14 states (Alaska, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Washington and Wyoming) and the District of Columbia used caucuses. Often held at school gyms and other public venues, caucuses are local meetings financed and managed by the two major parties, which then meet, discuss and express support for the various presidential candidates. Each State, as well as the parties, runs their events a little differently.

Because the Iowa caucuses are the first in the nation there is a lot of scrutiny. In Iowa in 2016, the Republican Caucuses used a secret ballot (a name on a piece of paper) for their preferred candidate, while the Democrats physically formed groups for the candidate of their choice, and took a tally. If any group was smaller than 15% of the total at the caucus, that candidate would not receive any votes and the voters would regroup. There are eight jurisdictions that utilized a divided process in which one party held a primary to allocate delegates, while the other conducted a caucus. (http://frontloading.blogspot.com/p/2016 presidential=primary=calendar.)

According to a 2009 study by Thomas Patterson of the John F Kennedy School of Government, the average voter-turnout rates for states in which both major parties conducted caucuses was only 6.8% in 2008. Because caucuses are held in the evening, and the process can take several hours, it discourages people working double shifts, have small children, disabilities or are unable to drive at night. CNN exit polls conducted in Iowa and Nevada, (the only two caucus states where such polls were held), indicates that voters in the 30 to 44-year-old age bracket - those most likely to have young children - were greatly underrepresented among the participants. Although they account for more than one-fourth of the adult
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population in the two states, they made up less than one-fifth of the caucus participants. (https://ballotpedia.org/caucuses) A good example are the results from North and South Dakota, which both have similar populations (google.doc). In 2016, South Dakota, which has a primary, had a total of 139,957 participants (secretary of state website) while North Dakota, which used a caucus system had a total of 66,877 (secretary of state website).

Presidential Caucus Analysis versus Election System Evaluation Criteria:

**Majority Rule:** The caucus system in not dependent on achieving 50% plus one. The winner is the one with the most pledged delegates NO

**Competitive Elections:** Caucuses do not rely on party loyalty, but on a small group of dedicated campaign workers who are good at organizing and most importantly, on getting people to the caucus sites. YES

**Representation that reflects community demographics:** Based on CNN polls in Nevada and Iowa, voters in the 30 to 44 age group (who account for more than one-fourth of the population in those states) accounted for less than one-fifth of caucus participants (Ballotpedia.com) NO

**Be verifiable and auditable:** Neither as caucuses either have to raise their hands or write names on pieces of paper (not official ballots) so there can be no verifiable recount. NO

**Be simple and Easy for Voters to Understand:** Every state handles their caucuses differently and in some states, one party will have a caucus while the other has a regular primary. People often don’t know the rules until they show up. Lots of voter education is required. NO

**Minimizes political manipulation:** Caucuses are hard to control and the numbers can vary depending on weather and other factors. Political manipulation may be more difficult to control. In Iowa, Democratic caucus participants must publicly state their opinion and vote, leading to problems of peer pressure from neighbors and embarrassment over who one’s preferred candidate might be and participants are often required to listen to speeches from political leaders. (New York Times: “Caucuses Empower Only Some Iowans” Oct. 27, 2008) NO

**Be technically and fiscally feasible to implement:** One of the advantages of a caucus system, is that the party, not the taxpayers, foot the bill and a minimum of equipment is required. At the same, there are far less available polling places. In Iowa, there was one polling site for each county, which would be impossible in large states such as Florida Recounting is not factored in. YES
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Sources:

National Conference of State Legislatures

http://www.ncsl.org/documents/Elections/Primary_Types_Table_2016.pdf


Congressional Research Service

https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/misc/R42533.pdf

Florida Republican Party PPP Delegate Allocation


Florida Democratic Party PPP Delegate Allocation

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Florida Republican Party Rules for PPP Delegate Allocation

Each state assigns its delegates according to its own rules in consultation with the RNC and according to its location in the primary calendar. There are three main allocation methods:

- **Proportional** methods divide the state’s delegates based on results of their primary vote. Most proportional states have a threshold percentage that a candidate must reach to be eligible for delegates.
- Proportional states may also award their delegates on a winner-take-all basis for candidates who receive more than 50% of the vote.
- *All States with votes between March 1 and March 14 must have proportional allocation.*

- **Winner-Take-All** method awards all of the state’s delegates to the candidate that wins the highest percentage of the state’s votes.

- *States are permitted to award their delegates based on winner-take-all after March 14. Florida PPP was March 15 2016*

- **Hybrid states** award delegates based on a combination of methods.

Florida Democratic Party Rules for PPP delegate allocation

Florida will use a proportional representation system based on the results of a Presidential Preference Primary for apportioning delegates to the 2016 Democratic National Convention.

**District-level delegates** shall be allocated to presidential preferences through a proportional representation system based on a Presidential Preference Primary

**Unpledged Party Leaders and Elected Officials** The following categories (if applicable) shall constitute the Unpledged Party Leaders and Elected Official delegate positions:

1. Members of the Democratic National Committee who legally reside in the state; *(Rule 9.A.1, Call I.F, Call I.J, & Reg. 4.13)*
2. All of Florida’s Democratic Members of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate; *(Rule 9.A.3, Call I.H & Call I.J)*

**Pledged PLEO Delegate** Filing Requirements Individuals shall be eligible for the pledged Party Leader and Elected Official delegate positions according to the following priority: big city mayors and state-wide elected officials (to be given equal consideration); state legislative leaders, state legislators, and other state, county and local elected officials and party leaders. *(Rule 9.B.1 & Reg. 4.15)* Pledged PLEO delegate candidates must be identified as to a singular presidential preference and may modify his or her presidential preference by submitting an updated Statement of Candidacy and Pledge of Support before the filing deadline.
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**At-Large Delegate and Alternate** Filing Requirements: Persons desiring to seek at-large delegate or alternate positions may file a Loyalty Oath and a Statement of Candidacy and Pledge of Support with the Florida Democratic Party. At-large delegate and alternate positions shall be allocated among presidential preferences according to the statewide primary vote. (*Rule 10.C*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>State Type</th>
<th>PPP Type</th>
<th>PPP Date</th>
<th>State Date</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>May 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>May 3</td>
<td>May 3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Maryland</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>Apr 26</td>
<td>Apr 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Open NPA</td>
<td>Open NPA</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>Sep 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>Mar 8</td>
<td>Aug 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td>Aug 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 8</td>
<td>Mar 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Jun 7</td>
<td>Jun 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Hampshire</td>
<td>Open NPA</td>
<td>Open NPA</td>
<td>Feb 9</td>
<td>Sep 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Carolina</td>
<td>P. Closed</td>
<td>P. Closed</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>P. Open</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td>Mar 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Oregon</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>May 17</td>
<td>May 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>Apr 26</td>
<td>Apr 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Carolina</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Feb 20R/27D</td>
<td>Jun 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>Aug 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Mar 1</td>
<td>Jun 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Virginia</td>
<td>Open NPA</td>
<td>Open NPA</td>
<td>May 10</td>
<td>May 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Open</td>
<td>Apr 5</td>
<td>Aug 9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

List only includes states with 2016 primary turnout higher than Florida
Nine of 21 (43%) states hold same day state and PPP elections
Nineteen of the 50 states hold concurrent state and PPP level primary elections

* Closed primary states, at party choice, can open primary to NPA voters
Appendix F – Florida Voter Demographics

Individuals are increasingly registering as No Party Affiliation (NPA) nation-wide and in Florida because they are turned off by the dysfunction of the national and state governments. The table below shows the national trend based on a PEW Research Center poll as of 2014.

http://www.npr.org/2016/02/28/467961962/sick-of-political-parties-unaffiliated-voters-are-changing-politics

At the state level Florida voters are displaying the same trend away from major parties. NPA voter registration has grown over 1.2 million new voters since 2004.

Florida millennial and NPA voters demographics are shown below.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Millennials</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 and 19 years</td>
<td>329,021</td>
<td>106,685</td>
<td>133,029</td>
<td>16,523</td>
<td>585,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 to 24 years</td>
<td>894,864</td>
<td>276,532</td>
<td>345,102</td>
<td>44,879</td>
<td>1,561,377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 to 29 years</td>
<td>877,938</td>
<td>238,344</td>
<td>340,039</td>
<td>48,808</td>
<td>1,505,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 34 years</td>
<td>841,130</td>
<td>218,523</td>
<td>340,226</td>
<td>49,273</td>
<td>1,449,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,942,953</td>
<td>840,084</td>
<td>1,158,396</td>
<td>159,483</td>
<td>5,100,916</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Percentage | 57.70% | 16.50% | 22.70% | 3.10% |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registered NPA</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Hispanic</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NPAs</td>
<td>1,733,595</td>
<td>239,855</td>
<td>643,521</td>
<td>324,575</td>
<td>2,941,546</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Voters</td>
<td>8,071,134</td>
<td>1,662,889</td>
<td>1,926,749</td>
<td>782,950</td>
<td>12,443,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPA %</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Florida Division of Elections Data

**Table #2 – High Vs Low Eligible Voters 2014 General Election Turnout**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10 Highest Turnout States in 2014</th>
<th>10 Lowest Turnout States in 2014</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>State</strong></td>
<td><strong>Turnout</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>58.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>56.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alaska</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>50.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Hampshire</td>
<td>48.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>47.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>45.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Elections Project (40) and NonProfit.org (7). Seven of the 10 highest turnout states listed above (Bold text) have implemented Election Day voter registration. Florida ranked #16 with 43.3% turnout. NOTE: In 2016 the National Conference of State Legislatures changed their definitions of primary elections. Hybrid primaries have been redefined to add specificity to various forms of open primaries (38)
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Table #3 – Bipartisan Policy Center Election Processes 2013 Poll

Table #3 provides a brief summary of results of a Bipartisan Policy Center (BPC) – USA Today poll taken in September 2013 dealing with election processes and people’s attitudes about voting. The study contains 29 questions. Responses to Questions #10 (67%) and #11 (54%) indicated that independent voters should be allowed to vote in Republican or Democratic Party primaries. The detailed results can be found at the BPC website. (34)

Question 9: Primary Voting
“The Republican and Democratic parties sometimes hold primary elections to determine who their party’s candidate will be for various offices. Do you generally vote in Republican primaries, vote in Democratic primaries, choose not to vote in primary elections, or are you not able to vote in primary elections?”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REP</th>
<th>DEM</th>
<th>Choose Not to Vote</th>
<th>Can’t vote</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
<th>Total Polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 10: View on Independents Voting in Primaries.** “Do you think Independents, who are not registered with either party, should be allowed to vote in Republican or Democratic primary elections, or do you think only members of that political party should be allowed to vote in primary elections?“

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Should Vote in Party</th>
<th>Only Voters Registered in Party</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
<th>Total Polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>67%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question 11: View on Independents Voting in Primaries –** “Now I would like to read you two arguments on the issue of independents voting in primary elections, and see which comes closer to your view:
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a. Independents should be allowed to vote in party primaries, because it will help produce candidates in both parties who are more moderate and more willing to compromise.

b. The members of each party should choose their own nominees, so that they are represented by candidates who closely share their views and will stand for party principles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection (a) YES</th>
<th>Selection (b) NO</th>
<th>Don’t Know</th>
<th>Total Polled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>58%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>1001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table #4 – Voting Age Turnout in 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Open</th>
<th>Total Closed</th>
<th>Democrat Open</th>
<th>Democrat Closed</th>
<th>Republican Open</th>
<th>Republican Closed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>19.8</td>
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In October 2012, the Bipartisan Policy Center provided a comparison of primary election turnouts for closed, open, and hybrid elections. Total turnout refers to states with primaries for president, governor and/or U.S. Senate in both parties. A closed primary is one where only citizens registered to a particular party may vote in that party’s primary. Open and modified open primaries are lumped together in this chart. An open primary is one in which any registered voter (and in North Dakota, any citizen) may cast their ballot. A modified open primary is one in which party registrants and unaffiliated voters may vote in that party’s primary. Turnout percentages are based on voting age population (VAP). The US Elections Project defines VAP. The “voting-age population,” consists of everyone age 18 and older residing in the United States (This includes persons ineligible to vote -- mainly non-citizens and ineligible felons -- and excludes overseas eligible voters.

These percentages cannot be compared to voter turnout expressed as a percentage of registered voters cited elsewhere in this report. (2)
League of Women Voters of Florida Open Primary Study

Of the 11 election years shown in Table #5, open primaries in 9 of those election years produced better results than closed primaries. In all 11 election-years, open primaries produced slightly better results than closed primaries.

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Glossary

Approval Voting - Approval voting is a single-winner voting method that allows voters to choose any number of candidates. The candidate chosen the most wins. Approval Voting is most often discussed in the context of single-winner elections, but variations using an approval-style ballot can also be applied to multi-winner (at-large) elections.
https://electology.org/approval-voting

Auditable Election system: A system that provides for a physical audit of voter ballots versus machine recorded result

Ballot Exhaustion – a situation encountered in Instant Runoff Voting where all of a voter’s choices have been eliminated in early rounds and none of the voter’s choices factor into determining the winner in later rounds

Blanket primary: a primary system in which the ballot contained all offices and all candidates with party labels. For each race all voters could choose one candidate regardless of partisan identity. Both major parties brought suit arguing that it violated their right of association and it was ruled unconstitutional in 2000.

Bullet voting: a tactic in which the voter only selects one candidate, despite the option to indicate a preference for other candidates. They might do this either because it is easier than
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evaluating all the candidates, or (depending on the voting system in use) as a form of tactical voting.

Caucus - The term “caucus” shall mean an open meeting held in a political subdivision to nominate the candidates of a political party for public office to be elected in such subdivision at which all the enrolled voters of such party residing in such subdivision are eligible to vote.

Competitive Elections – A race between candidates for office where the difference in vote totals is less than 5% (Some analysts and writers use 10%).

Compulsory Primary: a system where voters are obliged to vote in elections or attend a polling place on voting day. If an eligible voter does not attend a polling place, or lodge a postal vote, he or she may be subject to a penalty such as fines or community service. Used in Australian elections

Crossover voting: In Top Two or Instant Runoff Voting voters receive one ballot with all candidates listed regardless of party affiliation. The voter may choose a candidate of one party in one race and a different party in another race

Exclusive Vote-By-Mail (EVBM): Oregon, Washington State, and Colorado only use vote-by-mail. They offer no in precinct or vote center voting.

Hybrid Primary: A term used to indicate that a primary is a mix of closed and open primary features. The National Conference of State Legislatures has eliminated this term and replaced it with the following definitions: partially closed; partially open; and open with unaffiliated voters. See the NCSL website for further definition. http://www.ncsl.org

Instant runoff voting (IRV): a voting system that ranks candidates (1, 2, 3). If a candidate receives a majority vote the candidate is elected. If no candidate receives a majority the candidate with the lowest first round votes is eliminated and their second choice votes are transferred to remaining candidates. This process continues until one candidate receives a majority vote

Jungle primary: See Top Two Open Primary definition

Majority vote: Traditional majority is 50% + 1 vote of first preference choices; A preferential majority is 50% +1 vote after second, third, etc. preferences have been exercised to achieve the 50% +1 vote

Millennial: Loosely defined as an individual between the ages of 18 and 34 as of 2015. Numerous studies and poll vary the beginning and end dates of the generation. For the LWVF millennial survey only the age at time of survey was used

Monotonicity: An election method criterion that requires the following: Ranking or rating a candidate higher should never cause that candidate to lose, nor should ranking or rating a candidate lower ever cause that candidate to win, assuming all other candidates remain rated or ranked the same.

No Party Affiliate (NPA) voter: A voter who chooses not to register with any party. Not to be confused with an Independent Voter that may belong to one of two “independent” parties in Florida.

Plurality: the number of votes cast for a candidate who receives more than any other but does not receive a traditional majority vote.
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*Ranked choice voting (RCV):* See Instant Runoff Voting definition

**Runoff election:** A “second primary in Florida discontinued after the 2000 election

**Spoiler Effect:** an election where a non-winning candidate whose presence on the ballot affects which candidate wins. (Think Al Gore v. George Bush v. Ralph Nader)

**Strategic voting:** In voting systems, *tactical voting* (or *strategic voting* or *sophisticated voting* or *insincere voting*) occurs, in elections with more than two candidates, when a voter supports another candidate more strongly than his or her sincere preference in order to prevent an undesirable outcome

**“Top-two” open primary election:** a primary system in which all candidates are listed on one ballot and all voters regardless of party affiliation may vote for any candidate with the top two vote-getters in a field of three or more candidates advance to compete against each other in the general election, even if they may be of the same political party.

**Universal Primary:** A primary where all candidates have the same party affiliation, but will not have any opposition in the general election. During a Universal Primary, all qualified voters may vote regardless of their party affiliation.

**Verifiable Election System:** Per the Florida Division of Elections Verification is” A test to find errors in hardware or software. The test is executed in a simulated environment, i.e., during system qualification

**Voter turnout definitions:** Voter turnout may be expressed in terms of which population is used as the denominator to calculate the result. Voter Registered Population (VRP): Voter Eligible Population (VEP) (subtracts non citizens, felons, felons without restoration of voting rights, and mentally incapacitated individuals from Voting Age Population (VAP). ”voting-age population,” consists of everyone age 18 and older residing in the United States ( This includes persons ineligible to vote -- mainly non-citizens and ineligible felons -- and excludes overseas eligible voters).

**Vote Center:** A polling place centrally located where any voter can vote regardless of their precinct location. There is no need to remember and find your precinct on Election Day

**Winner-take-all system:** any voting system that results in single rather than proportional winners, regardless of the margin of victory. Also referred to as “First Past The Post”

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**Participating State Leagues**

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**Participating Florida Leagues**

- Alachua County
- Bay County
- Broward County
- Charlotte County
- Citrus County
- Collier County
- Hillsborough County
- Jacksonville First Coast
- Lee County
- Lower Keys
- Manatee County
- Martin
- North Pinellas
- Orange County
- Pensacola Bay Area
- Polk County Area
- Sanibel
- Sarasota County
- Seminole County
- Space Coast
- St. Lucie County
- St. Petersburg
- The Villages Tri County
- Upper Keys
- Volusia County