



December 12th, 2023

Senator Knodl, Chair

Senator Feyen, Vice-Chair

Members of the Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections, and Consumer Protection

Testimony on 2023 Senate Bill 528

Relating to: top-five primaries and instant runoff voting for the offices of U.S. senator and U.S. representative in Congress.

Dear Chairman Knodl and Committee Members:

For much of the 20th century, both major political parties had considerable ideological overlap. There were liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats who moderated each party and encouraged candidates for public office to appeal to a broad coalition of supporters to win their respective elections.

Unfortunately, over time, we have seen a sorting of ideologies into camps where there is little diversity in beliefs and worldview. This siloing of philosophies has removed a major incentive for politicians to broadly appeal to the electorate, so candidates today are now encouraged to race towards base politics which often rewards the most extreme and the most partisan voices in a room.

Senate Bill 528 seeks to change the incentives for public officials. The bill would implement a final five voting (FFV) system for Wisconsin's congressional delegation. Candidates would run in an open primary, and voters would pick one candidate and the top-five finishers advance to the general election.

In the general election, voters have the opportunity to rank up to five candidates in order by preference. As results are tabulated, the lowest vote-getter would be eliminated and have their voters single vote redistributed to the next candidate that voter ranked as their second choice, and this process would continue until there are only two candidates remaining. The candidate with the majority of votes after that instant runoff would be declared the winner.

This process has several benefits. Firstly, it makes the general election matter again. In 2022, 83 percent of the U.S. House was elected by just 8 percent of Americans. This mismatch in accountability can give radical groups far outside the mainstream a disproportionate amount of say in policy – another explanation for the breakdown we have been seeing recently in even the most basic functions of government. By advancing five candidates to the general election, we make general electorates matter.

This point directly relates to the next advantage of FFV – it requires that each candidate elected has a majority of support in their general electorate, rather than a plurality of the vote to win (meaning candidates can currently win with less than 50% support). This leads to increased cooperation and bipartisanship. Since candidates will need to secure a clear majority of votes to win, they will need a message and a voting record that is able to get them a majority of the votes. In solidly red and solidly blue districts, we will still have strong conservatives and strong progressives getting elected to bring ideas to the table. But in many districts, positions will need to be moderated to get elected and legislators will need to cooperate, two things necessary for governing. Our current system is incentivizing the exact opposite.



Now I'd like to take a moment to discuss some misconceptions regarding FFV:

1) **FFV Disenfranchises Voters through Ballot Exhaustion**

No, FFV does not disenfranchise voters through ballot exhaustion, which is when a ballot is not counted for a round because not all candidates were ranked. If anything, FFV gives voters more of a voice because it allows their vote to still count if their first candidates does not advance, and history shows that the vast majority of voters under a FFV system rank multiple candidates, drastically reducing the risk of their ballot not counting during a round.

2) **There is Less Voter Turnout Under FFV Systems**

No, there is actually evidence to suggest that FVV generates relatively higher turnout. Generally, turnout is connected to the competitiveness of a race, and campaigns are more competitive under a FFV system.

3) **FFV Fails to Make Campaigns More Issue-Oriented**

This is just false. For instance, peer-reviewed literature on the recent elections in Alaska show that the eventual winner of their open congressional seat spent most of her time campaigning on popular issues, which allowed her to build a broad coalition, while her opponents spend most of their time attacking various other candidates and their policy positions. FFV clearly rewarded the issue-specific campaign versus the negatively-toned platitudes of the others.

4) **FFV Fails to Address Political Polarization**

Again, this is another statement that is just not true. Alaska right now is governed by a bi-partisan super-majority coalition of moderate Republicans and Democrats who have banded together around the promise of consensus-building. This is an extraordinary feat that is only possible because Alaska-focused elected officials, rather than ideologues were able to succeed under a FFV system.

Change is hard. I understand the hesitation from some of my colleagues around a new concept like FFV. However, our current system is not working. Politicians in Washington are struggling at even their most basic functions – governing. Senate Bill 528 provides us an alternative solution to the chaos, and it will help us achieve commonsense solutions to some of America's most pressing matters.

Thank you again for your time. I am happy to take any questions.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Jesse James".

Senator Jesse James
23rd Senate District



RON TUSLER

STATE REPRESENTATIVE • 3rd ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Testimony on Senate Bill 528 Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection December 12, 2023

Chair Knodl and committee members,

Currently, fewer than two in ten Americans say they trust the government in Washington to do what is right “just about always” (1%) or “most of the time” (15%) according to a September 19, 2023 survey conducted by Pew Research. This troubling trend comes at a time when bad actors in the Federal government are prosecuting their political opponents to try and interfere with the outcome of an election. Considering all that has occurred, most people can agree that the current system is broken.

The reasons stated above are why I am here to advocate for Senate Bill 528 which proposes to update the election method for federal elections in Wisconsin (U.S. Senators and U.S. Representatives) to Final Five Voting.

The essence of Final Five Voting lies in its ability to reshape the incentives for those elected to office. Rather than altering the identity of elected officials, it fundamentally changes their motivations. Under Final Five Voting, officials are elected by and accountable to a wider electorate, encouraging them to focus on comprehensive solutions to our nation's challenges.

Final Five Voting, inspired by Alaska's recent reforms, simplifies the election process into a more voter-centric approach. By eliminating the low-turnout, separate Democratic and Republican primaries, it combines all candidates into one primary. Voters cast a single vote to determine the top five candidates who then advance to the general election. In this election, voters rank up to five candidates in order of preference. The innovative instant runoff voting system then kicks in, eliminating the lowest-ranked candidates in successive rounds until a candidate emerges with over 50% support. This method not only increases voter choices but also emphasizes the importance of candidates' ideas and solutions, echoing the democratic ideals of the Founding Fathers.



RON TUSLER

STATE REPRESENTATIVE • 3rd ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

The beauty of this system is that it caters to both committed ideological voters and those seeking more mainstream options. Voters can prioritize their preferred candidate while still having the opportunity to support a more established party candidate as a secondary choice. Also, this system eliminates the need for independents or leaners to turn to a third party or abstain from voting and reduces the likelihood of strategic funding in primaries to promote a weaker candidate from the opposing side. This nuanced approach promises a more balanced and representative electoral process.

Thank you for considering Senate Bill 528. I am happy to answer any questions the committee may have.



JEFF SMITH

WISCONSIN STATE SENATOR – 31ST DISTRICT



Testimony in Support of Senate Bill 528
Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection
December 12, 2023

Chair Knodl and members of the committee, thank you for agreeing to hear this bill, and for giving me the opportunity to speak on its behalf.

As you know, Senate Bill 528 is a historic piece of legislation that could change the way that Wisconsin's voters pick their federal members of the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate. Regardless of who is in power in Washington, one thing that the majority of Americans can agree on is that partisanship is alive and well. These divisions are creating gridlock and they are impeding on progress.

If we can agree on that, then voters should have the opportunity to vote for a candidate that must appeal to the Majority of voters.

In Final Five voting, the candidate with the broadest appeal to the majority of voters will win the election.

This bill in a nutshell: All candidates are listed on the same primary ballot, the top five vote getters advance to the general election. In the general election, instant run-off takes place. Voters can then rank each of the five candidates in order of preference. The candidate who receives the majority of votes (over 50%) claims victory.

Why is Final Five needed? Partisan primaries can be very damaging, encouraging candidates to adopt more extreme partisan positions in order to come through a partisan primary. With Final Five Voting, we can ensure that voters get a true choice of who should represent them in the House of Representative and the United States Senate.

This proposal has the ability to reduce partisanship, encourage cooperation, and puts the power back in the hands of the majority of the population.

Federal politics have become extreme and we have seen gridlock that is ineffective and unaccountable. Traditional partisan primaries leave voters with a stark contrast between political parties instead of a vast middle ground that can be owned by candidates that have a chance to win in a general election using Final Five voting.

I know firsthand about how partisan primaries can turn off voters. During the spring, summer, and fall, I hold Stop and Talks. I constructed a 6 foot sign for the top of my 1999 Dodge Ram that I can fold down when driving, but then lift up for drivers to see when I'm parked in a place that constituents can find me and stop to talk. It's their chance to Stop and Talk.

I have heard many times from my constituents that they will vote for the lesser of two evils and why can't you guys get along? Or I hate the two party system?

It doesn't have to be that way. Folks say to me: My vote doesn't count, why should I participate? If voters don't believe their vote counts or matters, than why should they be a part of this?

If we do not have a diverse and participatory electorate then we will not have true representative democracy that represents the people.

I enjoy this way of connecting immensely. I hear it all the time from my constituents, Republicans, Democrats, and Independents. They get a bad taste in their mouths from partisan primaries and it makes them pessimistic of government.

This BIPARTISAN bill will improve federal representatives and senators' accountability to their constituents and incentivize cooperation rather than competition.

Lately, my office has been getting form generated emails from individuals who are being misled. Special interest groups are exploiting the current cynical sentiment about our federal government to drive opposition to this bill that seeks to alleviate that distrust. This is exactly the problem with politics right now.

In other states, such as Alaska, Final Five Voting has been used successfully. Voters understand the procedure and do not have difficulty filling out their ballot.

In closing, Final Five Voting gives Wisconsin voters an opportunity to have their voices heard and a way to ensure greater accountability in our elected officials. Wisconsin has historically been a leader in political innovation and this is an opportunity to continue working to improve the responsiveness of our democracy.

I am proud to be with my Republican and Democratic colleagues testifying before this committee. This bill has the opportunity to change the divisiveness in Washington, tone down the politics in Wisconsin and get back to a functional democratic-republic. Wisconsin voters crave elections rooted in ideas rather than partisan rhetoric. It's time to adopt Final Five voting for our federal representatives and senators.



JANEL BRANDTJEN

STATE REPRESENTATIVE • 22ND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT

Chairman Knodl and Members,

I oppose SB 528, also known as the "Final Five" or "Ranked Choice" bill. Several reasons underscore why this proposed legislation may not be suitable for Wisconsin:

1. **Complexity:**

- The process of ranking multiple candidates can be more complex for voters, potentially leading to confusion or errors in ballot completion. This complexity might deter some voters from participating or result in unintentional mistakes.

2. **Limited Voter Expression:**

- Critics argue that ranking only five choices may limit the expression of voter preferences, especially in elections with numerous candidates. Some voters might have preferences beyond the provided five choices.

3. **Potential for Strategic Voting:**

- In ranked-choice systems, voters may strategically rank candidates not based on genuine preference but on how they believe it will impact the overall election results. This strategic voting can complicate the interpretation of election outcomes.

4. **Lack of Familiarity:**

- Introducing a new and unfamiliar voting system may face resistance from voters accustomed to traditional first-past-the-post systems. Lack of understanding or trust in the new system may impact voter participation and acceptance.

5. **Technical Challenges:**

- Implementing and managing a ranked-choice voting system can pose technical challenges, from ballot design to counting and reporting results accurately. If not executed properly, it may lead to logistical issues and delays in determining the winner.

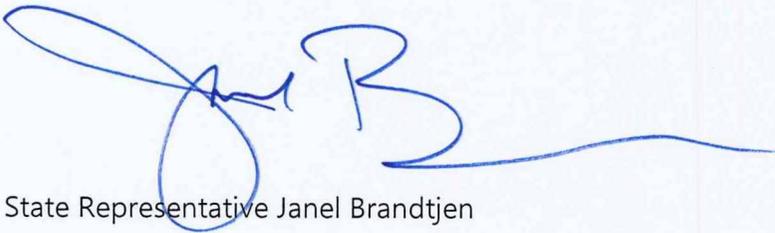
6. **Perceived Unfairness:**

- Some critics argue that the process of eliminating candidates and redistributing votes might be seen as unfair or complex, potentially undermining the perceived legitimacy of the election results.

7. **Potential for Tie Situations:**

- In certain scenarios, especially when the number of candidates is high, there is a possibility of tie situations or extremely close results. Resolving such situations may require additional procedures, potentially complicating the electoral process.

In conclusion, my opposition to SB 528 stems from several concerns that render this proposed legislation potentially unsuitable for Wisconsin. The intricacies of the ranking process, potential limitations on voter expression, risks of strategic voting, unfamiliarity among voters, technical challenges in implementation, perceived unfairness, and the potential for tie situations collectively contribute to the contention that this bill may not be the optimal choice for our state's electoral system. These considerations underscore the importance of carefully evaluating the impact and feasibility of any proposed changes to ensure the integrity and effectiveness of our democratic processes.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Janel Brandtjen', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

State Representative Janel Brandtjen



For Immediate Release

December 11, 2023

Small Businesses call for passage of Senate Bill 528 to democratize Congressional elections

Madison, WI—The Wisconsin Business for Democracy (BfD-WI) collaborative, formed in 2022, represents the voice of small business on issues related to protecting democracy. Leaders of the collaborative are calling for the Wisconsin state Senate to pass a bill that would give more power to everyday people and small businesses to elect consensus US House and Senate candidates.

Senate Bill 528 is on the agenda of a Senate Committee for consideration on Tuesday, December 12. This bi-partisan bill is co-sponsored by two dozen legislators.

“Small businesses would benefit from passage of this bill which would institute an election system referred to as ‘Final Five’,” said **Daniel G. Guerra Jr., CEO of Altus and a leader of BfD-WI.**

Under a “Final Five” voting system, all candidates would be listed on a single primary ballot with the top five vote-getters advancing to the general election in which ranked choice voting would be used to determine a consensus, majority winner.

“This increasingly popular voting reform using ranked choice voting, also called instant runoff voting, would focus candidates on problem-solving instead of negative attacks, exactly what small-business owners and all voters want,” said **Guerra.**

Ranked choice voting/instant runoff voting is a simple improvement to elections that gives voters more choices and the power to cast their ballots for the candidates they prefer.

“Democracy has given us a vibrant entrepreneurial economy, including nearly 13,000 Latinx/Hispanic small businesses. Senate Bill 528 would strengthen our democracy and encourage more candidates to run without fear of being spoilers,” said **Mathias Lemos Castillo of the Madison Latino**

Professionals Association. “The result will be more candidate options and a healthy marketplace of competing ideas.”

“Giving voters more choices for these offices would also greatly benefit the over 17,000 black small business owners in Wisconsin,” said **Guerra**. “They want their voices to be heard by elected officials not ignored because politicians have a lock on being elected under our current election system. Senate Bill 528 would encourage candidates to listen to diverse opinion to find common ground instead of catering to a small, vocal base.”

“While there have been recent efforts by some in the state legislature to weaken democracy, Senate Bill 528 would strengthen it and result in a more sustainable economy and environment,” said **John Imes, Village President of Shorewood Hills and a former small business owner**. “Final Five and ranked choice voting have been adopted by other states, counties and cities across the county to great success.”

“Election reform as called for in Senate Bill 528 is not more costly than the current system, voters like it according to surveys,” said **Frank Knapp Jr., National Director of Business for Democracy**. “Opponents are more concerned with keeping their power to determine winning candidates, not giving the people of Wisconsin a voting system that consistently delivers the most fair and accurate representation of all voters as possible.”

[Business for Democracy](#) is a campaign of the [American Sustainable Business Network](#). There are Business for Democracy collaboratives in 8 states that are raising the voice of small businesses for the need to protect democracy, which is vital for a vibrant entrepreneurial economy.

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Contact:

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Frank Knapp, 803-600-6874, businessfordemocracys@gmail.com

FinalFiveVoting

Experience To-Date

For a quick explainer of how Final Five Voting works, please view: <https://bit.ly/FFVExplainer>

What does the data tell us about voters and ranked ballots?

In general, research and experience show that voters like, understand, and use rankings to demonstrate their preferences when they vote using a ranked ballot.

Where is Final Five Voting (FFV) used?

Alaska uses Final Four Voting (a top-four primary, as opposed to a top-five primary) for all state and federal races. Voters supported a Final Four ballot initiative in 2020, and first used the system in 2022.

Nevada voters supported a Final Five ballot initiative in 2022. They will need to vote on it again in 2024, as it is a Constitutional Amendment. Therefore, there is no implementation data yet.

How did FFV go in Alaska?

2022 was one of the most successfully administered elections in recent Alaska history:

- 99.9% of RCV ballots were correctly cast and counted;¹
- 65% of voters ranked more than one candidate in statewide races;²
- 79% of voters said it was simple to fill out their ballot.³

Is there any other data we can look at to see how it works?

We can look at data from Instant Runoffs.

However, Final Five Voting is designed to mitigate some of the concerns regarding Instant Runoff-only, by limiting use of the ranked ballot to the general election, where the field of candidates has been winnowed to five (after the Top-Five Primary).

The data is not perfectly analogous, but it helps answer questions.

Questions? Please contact Sara Eskrich, Executive Director. | sara@democracyfound.org | 262-290-8679



Where have Instant Runoffs been used?

Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) has been used successfully in:⁴

- Statewide primaries and congressional general elections in Maine;
- Local elections in both major cities and small towns across 52 jurisdictions in seventeen states (incl. Minnesota, Michigan, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico);
- Overseas and military voter elections in seven states, to ensure full participation in congressional runoff elections (Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina);
- Thousands of public and private academic and civic institutions, including by Republican and Democratic state parties (WI uses non-instant runoffs) for caucuses and officer elections; and
- Other countries, it is used by every voter in six countries and in local elections in many more.

What is the biggest concern / pushback to FFV?

The most common concern we hear is that it's 'too complicated' and voters will be confused, particularly by the second part of Final Five Voting, the instant runoff general election (often referred to as Ranked-Choice Voting (RCV)).

NOTE: Ranked-Choice Voting (RCV) is often used as a synonym for an Instant Runoff because an Instant Runoff election is enabled by a ranked-choice ballot. However, Ranked-Choice Voting is an umbrella term that can mean different things. Instant Runoff is more precise, and Instant Runoff General Election, not Ranked-Choice Voting, correctly describes Part 2 of FFV.

Why are people concerned about Instant Runoffs?

Some are worried that a ranked ballot is too complicated to explain and too complicated for voters to use. Skeptics do not believe voters will be willing and able to learn about and rank candidates.

Is there a reason to be concerned about Instant Runoffs?

We know from research and experience that voters generally like, understand, and use rankings—without higher ballot error rates. More details and data are below.

Questions? Please contact Sara Eskrich, Executive Director. | sara@democracyfound.org | 262-290-8679



Do voters think ranked ballots and instant runoffs are too complicated?

No.

- In 2022, 85% of Alaska voters reported that IRV is “simple” in their first IRV election.⁵
- In Utah, 81% said the method is either very or somewhat easy and 90% said the instructions on the ballot were somewhat or very clear.⁶
- In NYC, 95% of voters found their ballot simple to complete, and 78% of New Yorkers said they understood IRV extremely or very well.⁷
- In Maine, more than 74% of people in an exit poll said that ranking was either somewhat or very easy.⁸
- Strong majorities (87 – 95%) of respondents across multiple cities noted they understand IRV well or fairly well and majorities (69 – 84%) reported knowing how to rank candidates before coming to vote.⁹
- In Minneapolis, where voters have used IRV since 2009, 92% of residents said they found IRV to be “simple.”¹⁰
- There are no differences in IRV cities in how White, Black, and Latino respondents reported understanding IRV.¹¹

Do voters like having the option to rank their candidates?

Yes.

- Voters are more satisfied when they get to rank candidates, since they can express the full range of their political voice.¹²
- After the June 2018 primary elections, the first time most voters used IRV, 90% of Maine voters reported that their IRV experience was either “excellent or good.”¹³
- A majority of most demographic groups supported IRV in 11 California cities surveyed.¹⁴
- In Utah, when compared to standard election participants, 65% said they were very satisfied, with 64% of IRV election participants responding likewise.¹⁵
- In 2022, a majority (56%) of Virginia Republican primary voters who used IRV in congressional primaries reported that they prefer IRV to single-choice elections.¹⁶

Do candidates like it?

Yes

- In Utah’s 2019 elections, candidates also expressed satisfaction with IRV; 87.5% of candidates had a positive impression of IRV with no candidates having a negative impression.¹⁷

Questions? Please contact Sara Eskrich, Executive Director. | sara@democracyfound.org | 262-290-8679



Do voters use the option to rank?

Yes.

- In 2022, a supermajority (66%) of Alaska voters ranked multiple candidates.
 - Of the third of voters who only voted for one candidate, 75% reported the reason as, “there was only one candidate I liked.”¹⁸
- In the vast majority of IRV races contested by more than three candidates, a significant majority of voters rank at least two candidates.¹⁹
- A majority of voters in Payson and Vineyard, UT, fully ranked their ballots in 2019.²⁰
- In 2014, three-quarters (74%) of Oakland voters ranked three different mayoral candidates (the maximum allowed). Another 11% of voters ranked two.
- In the 11 Alameda County IRV races that had three or more candidates in 2014, 63% of voters ranked three candidates, and 76% ranked at least two.
- In the 2013 mayoral race in Minneapolis, which was contested by 35 candidates, voters had three available choices and 78% of voters ranked all three of their available choices in the mayoral race.²¹

Are there more errors on ranked ballots?

No.

- Voter error is not more likely in IRV elections, according to research studying 26 cities.²²
- Errors on ranked ballots reveal no significant difference when comparing racial and ethnic groups.²³
- Experimental data showed ranked ballots produced more valid votes than traditional choose-one ballots.²⁴
- In Maine’s first IRV election, less than 0.2 percent of ballots were spoiled by voter errors.²⁵
- In the first two IRV elections in Maine, the proportion of blank ballots were the same as in prior Maine non-IRV elections.²⁶
- In the 24 IRV contests held in the Bay Area in November 2014, overvoting was uncommon. Over 99% of voters cast a valid ballot in each race, including in the 16-candidate, highly competitive contest for mayor in Oakland.²⁷
- In the 2013 mayoral race in Minneapolis, which was contested by 35 candidates, only 0.5% of all ballots cast contained errors, such as an overvote or skipped ranking. 90% of these errors were correctable²⁸, resulting in a valid ballot rate of 99.94%.²⁹

Questions? Please contact Sara Eskrich, Executive Director. | sara@democracyfound.org | 262-290-8679



What is an exhausted ballot?

Exhausted ballots are also known as inactive ballots. They occur when ballots can't be counted for a candidate in a given round of vote tabulation. The more active ballots that are in play in the final round, the more utility those ballots have in deciding the outcome.

Ballots can become inactive because of:

- **Voluntary Abstention:** The voter does not use all allowed rankings, and all ranked candidates are eliminated during the round-by-round tabulation.
- **Ballot Error:** The voter makes an error that prevents their ballot from being counted.
- **Ranking Limit (not applicable to FFV):** The voter uses as many rankings as allowed on the ballot, but all ranked candidates are eliminated during tabulation. This occurs in jurisdictions that limit voters to fewer rankings than the number of candidates.

Why are people concerned about exhausted / inactive ballots?

Voters are permitted to rank all candidates, but they are not required to do so. If a voter does not rank all their choices, they run the risk of all their ranked candidates being eliminated in the instant runoff process and their ballot becoming inactive.

When voters choose not to rank all the candidates, this is not problematic for IRV, rather it's an indication of voter choice (as they could choose to abstain from voting in a race under single-choice voting systems).

If a ballot becomes inactive due to ballot error, there is reason to be concerned. However, research on all single-winner IRV races between 2004 and 2022 (over 14 million ballots) shows that only 0.05% of ballots were inactive due to ballot error.³⁰

Does use of IRV impact voter turnout?

Evidence shows that IRV elections often generate relatively higher turnout; however, full impacts on turnout are not yet known.

In general elections, turnout is most strongly driven by competitive campaigns and whether the election takes place in an even-numbered year.³¹

Other characteristics that are independent of the election method, such as media attention, also make it difficult to control for the impact of IRV when studying turnout.

Questions? Please contact Sara Eskrich, Executive Director. | sara@democracyfound.org | 262-290-8679



Where can I hear more from someone with experience implementing IRV?

Utah County Clerk Josh Daniels (R) shared his experience preparing the electorate for and administering instant runoff elections with the WI Senate Elections committee:

"We went to an assisted living facility where some of our oldest voters in the community live. The purpose of the test was to see what, if any, concerns they would have with zero explanation. So, we simply handed out ranked choice voting ballots after giving our overview of elections generally, and then asked the residents to vote in this sample election. Then we walked around and discussed with the residents and heard concerns, and we were blown away by the degree to which the ballot itself was intuitive to the voters.

It's not surprising...all of us consider making choices in our day to day lives."

Watch his full testimony here: bit.ly/DanielsFFV

¹ Otis, Deb. "Analysis from Alaska's RCV Elections in November 2022." FairVote (December 23, 2022). Available at: <https://fairvote.org/analysis-from-alaskas-rcv-elections-in-november-2022/>

² Ibid.

³ Patinkin, Ben. "Alaska Exit Poll Results – New Election System." Patinkin Research Strategies, November 15, 2022.

⁴ Fairvote (2023) Where is Ranked Choice Voting Used. Available at: <https://fairvote.org/our-reforms/ranked-choice-voting-information/#where-is-ranked-choice-voting-used>

⁵ Patinkin Research Strategies (2022), "Alaska Exit Poll Results – New Election System". Available at: <https://www.alaskansforbetterelections.com/polling-shows-alaskan-voters-understand-ranked-choice-voting/>

⁶ <https://www.deseret.com/utah/2021/11/15/22783224/did-utahns-like-ranked-choice-voting-a-new-poll-has-answers-elections-2021-local-politics-election> (Accessed: 2 December 2021).

⁷ ReadMedia (2021), "RANK THE VOTE NYC RELEASES EDISON RESEARCH EXIT POLL ON THE ELECTION". Available at: http://readme.readmedia.com/RANK-THE-VOTE-NYC-RELEASES-EDISON-RESEARCH-EXIT-POLL-ON-THE-ELECTION/17989282?utm_source=newswire&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=media_pr_emails

⁸ Shepherd, M. (2018) "What exit polling reveals about Maine's experience with ranked choice voting", *Bangor Daily News*, 13 November. Available at: <https://bangordailynews.com/2018/11/12/news/exit-polling-finds-narrow-majority-of-mainers-back-expansion-of-ranked-choice-voting%E2%80%8B/>

⁹ <https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/ExitPollsSummary>

¹⁰ "The 2017 Municipal Election: An Analysis & Recommendations," Minneapolis City Council Standing Committee on Elections and Rules, May 9, 2018, <https://lms.minneapolismn.gov/Download/RCA/4684/2017%20Municipal%20Election%20Report.pdf>.

¹¹ Donovan, Todd, Tolbert, Caroline, and Gracey, Kellen, "Self-Reported Understanding of Ranked-Choice Voting," *Social Science Quarterly* (2019). Available at: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1111/ssqu.12651>

¹² Common Cause New York (2021) *New York City Voters Embrace Ranked Choice Voting (RCV): Preliminary results from largest Ranked Choice Voting exit poll and election in US history*. Available at: <http://readme.readmedia.com/RANK-THE-VOTE-NYC-RELEASES-EDISON-RESEARCH-EXIT-POLL-ON-THE-ELECTION/17989282> (Accessed: 7 July 2021).

¹³ FairVote (2018) "Maine voter survey shows RCV was easy to use", *FairVote Voices & Choices*, 15 June. Available at: <https://www.fairvote.org/maine-voter-survey-shows-rcv-was-easy-to-use>

¹⁴ <https://www.fairvote.org/data-on-rcv#research-rcvotersupport>

¹⁵ <https://www.deseret.com/utah/2021/11/15/22783224/did-utahns-like-ranked-choice-voting-a-new-poll-has-answers-elections-2021-local-politics-election> (Accessed: 2 December 2021).

¹⁶ Center for Campaign Innovation (2022), *Measuring The Effects Of Ranked Choice Voting In Republican Primaries*. Available at: <https://campaigninnovation.org/research/measuring-the-effects-of-ranked-choice-voting-in-republican-primaries>

¹⁷ <https://www.utah.gov/pmn/files/706149.pdf>

¹⁸ Patinkin Research Strategies (2022), "Alaska Exit Poll Results – New Election System". Available at: <https://www.alaskansforbetterelections.com/polling-shows-alaskan-voters-understand-ranked-choice-voting/>

¹⁹ <https://www.fairvote.org/data-on-rcv#research-rcvsocialchoice>

²⁰ FairVote (2019) *Utah Voters Rank Their Choices. The 2019 municipal elections in Payson and Vineyard*. Available at: <https://infogram.com/utah-voters-use-rcv-1hzj4o9kmrv74pw?live>

²¹ <https://www.fairvotemn.org/news/rcv-numbers-2013-key-minneapolis-election-findings>

²² <https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/kimball-anthony-full-study>

²³ Coll, Joseph A. "Demographic Disparities Using Ranked-Choice Voting? Ranking Difficulty, Under-Voting, and the 2020 Democratic Primary," *Politics and Governance* (2021). Available at: <https://www.cogitatiopress.com/politicsandgovernance/article/view/3913>

²⁴ Maloy, Jason, "Voting Error across Multiple Ballot Types: Results from Super Tuesday (2020) Experiments in Four American States," SSRN (2020). Available at: https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3697637

²⁵ Woodard, C. (2018) "Maine's pioneering ranked-choice election likely to catch on nationally", *Press Herald*, 18 November. Available at: <https://www.pressherald.com/2018/11/18/maines-pioneering-ranked-choice-election-likely-to-catch-on-nationally/>

²⁶ Germer, Matt, *An Analysis of Ranked Choice Voting in Maine*, R-Street (2021). Available at: <https://www.rstreet.org/research/an-analysis-of-ranked-choice-voting-in-maine/>

²⁷ <https://www.fairvote.org/data-on-rcv#research-rcvoterturnout>

²⁸ <https://lms.minneapolismn.gov/Download/RCA/4684/2017%20Municipal%20Election%20Report.pdf>

²⁹ "The City of Minneapolis was obligated to develop policy guidance to address these RCV specific ballot errors to satisfy the statutory requirement. As part of its first use of RCV in 2009, the City created a Voter Error Accounting Chart which met this need. The Voter Error Accounting Chart provided consistent treatment of ballots with RCV-specific errors, a process sometimes referred to as "normalizing" a ballot. It is important to emphasize that normalized ballots are not disqualified or excluded from being included in the tabulation of election results. In each and every instance where a ballot error is discovered, that ballot is normalized according to the policy guidelines dictated by the ordinance and then tabulated."

³⁰ <https://www.fairvote.org/data-on-rcv#research-rcvoterturnout>

³¹ FairVote (2023), "Inactive Ballots". Available at: <https://fairvote.org/resources/data-on-rcv/#inactive-ballots>

³² Kimball, David C. and Anthony, Joseph, "Voter Participation with Ranked Choice Voting in the United States," Department of Political Science, University of Missouri-St. Louis (2016). Available at: <https://www.umsl.edu/~kimballid/KimballIRCV.pdf>

Questions? Please contact Sara Eskrich, Executive Director. | sara@democracyfound.org | 262-290-8679

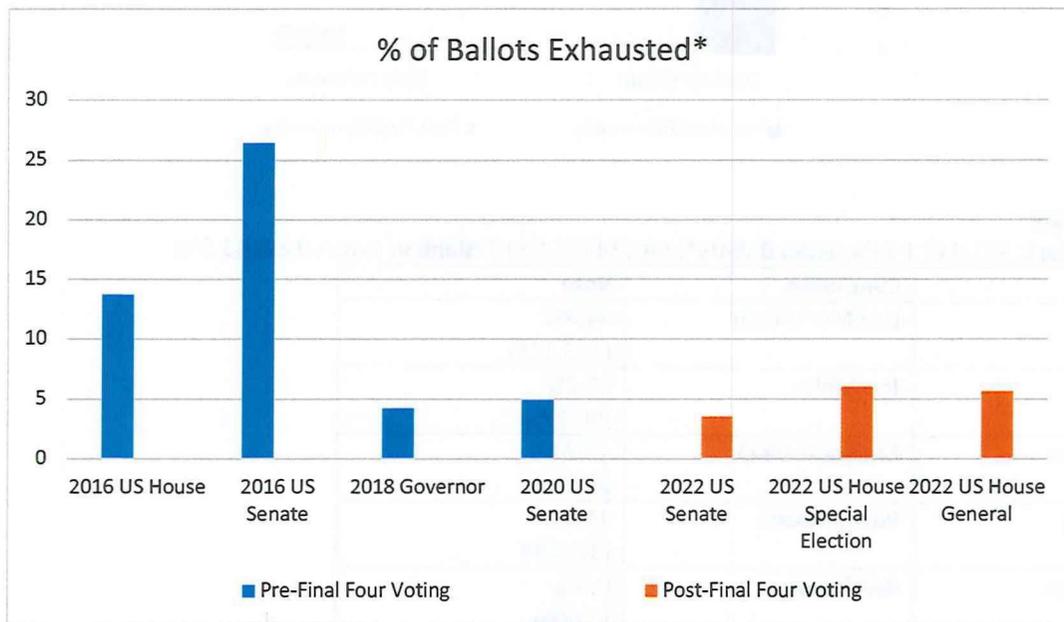


2022 US Senate

Total Votes Cast (First Choice): 261,705 | Exhausted Ballots: 9,107 (3.5%) | Blank or Error: 3,826 (1.5%)

Party	Candidate	First Choice Votes	Round One Runoff	Round Two Runoff	Final Round Runoff
Republican	Lisa Murkowski	43.4% (113,495)	43.4% (114,118)	44.5% (115,759)	53.7% (136,330)
Republican	Kelly Tshibaka	42.6% (111,480)	42.6% (112,101)	44.3% (115,310)	46.3% (117,534)
Democratic	Pat Chesbro	10.4% (27,145)	10.7% (28,233)	11.2% (29,134)	Eliminated
Republican	Buzz Kelley	2.9% (7,557)	3.3% (8,575)	Eliminated	Eliminated
N/A	Write-In	0.8% (2,028)	Eliminated	Eliminated	Eliminated

Additional Races – Pre- and Post-Final Four Voting



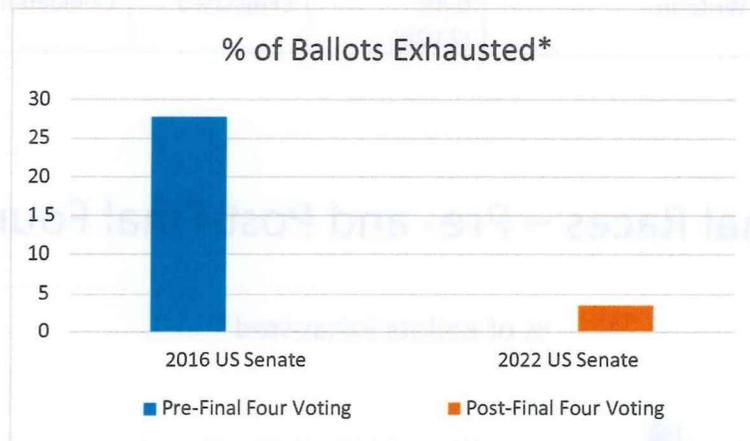
*Denotes ballots not cast for one of the top two candidates.
Data obtained from the Alaska Division of Elections Website.

Alaskan Exhausted Ballots: A Comparison—U.S. Senate Pre- and Post-FFV

What is an “exhausted ballot” in an instant runoff election? A ballot on which the voter did not ultimately vote for one of the top two candidates.

What is the mirror situation in plurality voting? A ballot which does not impact the outcome of the election because the vote cast is not for one of the top two candidates.

Myth: There are rarely exhausted ballots in plurality voting.



2016 US Senate

Total Votes Cast: 311,441 | **Exhausted Ballots*:** 86,934 (27.9%) | **Blank or Error:** 9,830 (3.2%)

Party	Candidate	Vote
Republican	Lisa Murkowski	44.4% (138,149)
Libertarian	Joe Miller	29.2% (90,825)
Independent	Margaret Stock	13.2% (41,149)
Democratic	Ray Metcalfe	11.6% (36,200)
Independent	Breck Craig	0.8% (2,609)
Independent	Ted Gianoutsos	0.6% (1,758)
N/A	Write-in	0.2% (706)

SAMPLE BALLOT



State of Alaska Official Ballot
August 16, 2022
Primary Election

Federal Only

501

PLEASE NOTE: A candidate's designated affiliation does not imply that the candidate is nominated or endorsed by the political party or group or that the party or group approves of or associates with that candidate, but only that the candidate is registered as affiliated with the party or group.

Primary Election - Voting Instructions

- To vote, completely fill in the oval to the right of your choice, like this: 
- Vote for one candidate only.
- Use a blue or black ink pen to mark your ballot. NO RED INK.
- If you make a mistake, ask for a new ballot.

United States Senator (Vote for one)	United States Representative (Vote for one)
Blatchford, Edgar (Registered Democrat) <input type="radio"/>	Armstrong, Jay R. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
Chesbro, Patricia R. (Registered Democrat) <input type="radio"/>	Begich, Nick (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
Darden, Dave H. (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>	Brelsford, Gregg B. (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>
Darden, Dustin T. (Registered AK Independence) <input type="radio"/>	Bye, Chris (Registered Libertarian) <input type="radio"/>
Gungurstein, Shoshana (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>	Dutchess, Lady Donna (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>
Hill, Sidney "Sid" (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>	Heintz, Ted (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>
Keller, Jeremy (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>	Hughes, David (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>
Kelley, Buzz A. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	LeBlanc, Davis L. Jr. (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>
Lee, Huhkie (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>	Lyons, Robert "Bob" (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
Merrill, Samuel A. "Al" (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Mettler, Sherry M. (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>
Murkowski, Lisa (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Myers, J.R. (Registered Libertarian) <input type="radio"/>
Nolin, Pat L. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Ornelas, Robert (Registered Am Independent) <input type="radio"/>
Schiess, John (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Palin, Sarah (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
Shorkey, Kendall L. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Pellegrini, Silvio E. (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>
Speights, Karl W. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Peltola, Mary S. (Registered Democrat) <input type="radio"/>
Stephens, Joe T. (Registered AK Independence) <input type="radio"/>	Phelps, Andrew H. (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>
Taylor, Ivan R. (Registered Democrat) <input type="radio"/>	Purham, Randy (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
Thorne, Sean M. (Registered Libertarian) <input type="radio"/>	Snowden, Brad (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
Tshibaka, Kelly C. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>	Strizak, Sherry A. (Undeclared) <input type="radio"/>
	Sweeney, Tara M. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
	Williams, Denise A. (Registered Republican) <input type="radio"/>
	Wilson, Tremayne (Nonpartisan) <input type="radio"/>

Continue Voting on Next Side



State of Alaska Official Ballot
November 8, 2022
General Election

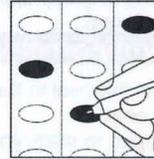
Federal Only

701

PLEASE NOTE: A candidate's designated affiliation does not imply that the candidate is nominated or endorsed by the political party or group or that the party or group approves of or associates with that candidate, but only that the candidate is registered as affiliated with the party or group.

Instructions:

- Do not use red ink or a pencil to mark your ballot.
- Rank as many or as few candidates as you like.
- Completely fill in no more than one oval for each candidate or column.
- For your 1st choice, fill in the oval in the 1st choice column.
- For your 2nd choice, fill in the oval in the 2nd choice column.
- For your 3rd choice, fill in the oval in the 3rd choice column, and so on.
- If you make a mistake, you can ask for a new ballot.



United States Senator

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	4th Choice	5th Choice
Chesbro, Patricia R. (Registered Democrat)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Kelley, Buzz A. (Registered Republican)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Murkowski, Lisa (Registered Republican)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Tshibaka, Kelly C. (Registered Republican)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Write-in:	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5

United States Representative

	1st Choice	2nd Choice	3rd Choice	4th Choice	5th Choice
Begich, Nick (Registered Republican)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Bye, Chris (Registered Libertarian)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Palin, Sarah (Registered Republican)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Peltola, Mary S. (Registered Democrat)	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5
Write-in:	<input type="radio"/> 1	<input type="radio"/> 2	<input type="radio"/> 3	<input type="radio"/> 4	<input type="radio"/> 5

Take Back Our Republic - Comparison of Final Five (right, red) to other Ranked Choice Voting (blue, left)

(Updated December 12, 2023 for Committee Hearing on Final Five). We appreciate the chance to make comments regarding the support of Take Back Our Republic Action for SB528. In the interest of time, we also call your attention to www.takebackaction.org for the 70-minute audio of a presentation and cases made both in favor and opposed to Final Five.

This document focuses on one specific issue, the ways in which we believe Final Five Voting is different from other Ranked Choice Voting systems, which we oppose.

Final Five Voting and Ranked Choice Voting do use similar general election procedures. But **Final Five Voting** likely eliminates the practice of out-of-state groups spending money in a Republican primary to keep the Republican most likely to win off the ballot. **Final Five voting also is simpler, less susceptible to opposition-funded “spoiler” candidates that dilute the Republican vote** in many states to let Democrats win with a minority – something that could be done in reverse in a heavily Democratic state.

Many conservatives oppose Ranked Choice Voting, but their top criticisms do not apply to Final Five.

Ranked Choice Voting Criticism	Final Five Reality
<p>Designed to Beat Republicans. The first major statewide ranked choice voting system was designed, in part, to defeat a Republican Governor in Maine. Paul LePage won two elections – with 37.6% in 2010 and 48.2% in 2014 – because Independent Eliot Cutler got substantial support in each race. Many liberal donors were asked to fund this proposal specifically to defeat the Republican Governor.</p> <p>Complicated. Ranked Choice voting can be very confusing since voters can be asked to evaluate and rank an endless number of choices (13 in the New York Mayors race).</p> <p>Backward Process. Ranked Choice Voting advocates keep the easier to game primary intact. letting liberal megadonors continue to game the system into weaker candidates in the primary since only one Republican can still be on the ballot for the November election. We’re less likely to have an electable candidate in the general. We’ve seen massive liberal buys of advertising targeting conservative voters to divide us in primaries. It is effective in sowing discord that weakens us in the general.</p> <p>In summary, without a top-five primary, ranked choice voting creates all the confusion that critics fear without providing the key benefits of Final 5.</p>	<p>Designed to Give Voters Back Their Power. Final Five is a system designed and supported by Wisconsinites who saw how dysfunctional DC is and wanted to realign incentives to give greater accountability to voters. Final Five was designed to solve problems, while Ranked Choice Voting has been used to help Democrats.</p> <p>Simple. Final Five is the exact opposite – a simple system. Voters can pick any candidate they want on primary day regardless of party. In the general, there are five candidates and they only need to pick one, but also can designate up to five back-up preferences if they choose.</p> <p>Logical Process. Final Five does not use a ranked ballot until the general election, once the list of options is down to a manageable five candidates. This ensures the main benefits of changing the system in the primary (liberal megadonors can no longer pay to eliminate the strongest Republican as they did in the Illinois Governor’s race and Wisconsin) by allowing the conservative they are trying to beat to still make the final ballot).</p> <p>Advocates should acknowledge that Final Five’s instant runoff uses a “ranked ballot” at the end of the process, but categorically calling all Ranked Choice Voting the same thing is untrue. It matters how and when you use a ranked ballot.</p>

If someone is telling you that Final Five Voting is a bad idea, or hurts conservatives, be sure to ask them what alternative ideas they have for fixing the system.

**GLENN
GROTHMAN**
★★★★ *Republican for Congress*

December 12, 2023

Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection
Room 108 South
State Capitol
PO Box 7882
Madison, WI 53707

Members of the Senate Elections Committee,

I would like to register my strong opinion against Senate Bill 528, which is designed to impose ranked choice voting in the state of Wisconsin. The idea of this complicated method has been funded and pushed by people who have a partisan tilt in the past and clearly believe it would change the outlook of elections from what would have normally happened in the system we have had since Wisconsin became a state. I strongly encourage members of the Committee to bury this bill now, rather than to initiate an incredibly complicated system that will result in the most popular candidate losing elections. There is clearly an agenda here to change the future winners of elections. I strongly encourage members to familiarize yourself with the proponents of ranked choice voting. I also want to point out to people that, in my lifetime, there has never before been a time in which people are more jaded about how our system works. It will take quite a while to educate the Wisconsin electorate on a new system and I assure you a vast majority of Wisconsin voters will have even less trust in the future than they do right now. Again, I strongly encourage members of the Elections Committee to vote no on ranked choice voting.

Sincerely,



Glenn Grothman

An Open Letter to Our Legislators

State Capitol Building
Madison, WI 53703

October 30, 2023

Dear Legislators:

It has come to our attention that there is currently a Senate Bill 528, a bill which seeks to advance an “innovation” on ranked-choice voting (RCV) known as Final Five Voting (FFV). A similar measure was previously floated in Wisconsin and rightly failed.

We write to urge you to refrain from supporting this bill. Touted by its principal Wisconsin advocate and former Obama appointee, Katherine Gehl, as a means to “break political gridlock,” FFV is a Trojan Horse. The only gridlock RCV has a clear record of breaking is majority conservative representation. In fact, RCV—in whatever variation—has consistently helped Democrats advance *their* candidates and agendas wherever it has been implemented.

Alarming, Wisconsin would be the *first* in the nation to implement this new FFV variant for federal elections. This state is already beleaguered with election-related issues. The multitude of legal and constitutional violations already lodged against WEC Administrator Meagan Wolfe should give Republicans pause on further experimenting with the logistics of our elections process.

Final Five voting would further compromise election integrity and the trust of voters in this state by embracing a system that will unquestionably add new complexities, guarantee confusion, and establish new avenues for potential fraud.

Rather than pursuing an RCV path that can lead only to poor outcomes, we encourage you to focus instead on restoring trust in our existing system by: 1) rooting out abuse of it, 2) working to repair damage to it, and 3) prosecuting those who have damaged the people of Wisconsin by it.

Most sincerely, the undersigned:

Republican Party of Dane County

Executive Committee



MacIver Institute

The Free Market Voice for Wisconsin

December 12, 2023

To the Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protections

Dear Chair Dan Knodl,

Please accept the attached MacIver Institute article, Lies, Lucre and Leverage: The Left's Long Game On Ranked Choice Voting as written testimony for information.

Thank you for your and the committee members' time on this important issue.

Respectfully,

Annette Olson

The John K. MacIver Institute for Public Policy

Lies, Lucre And Leverage: The Left's Long Game On Ranked Choice Voting

By [MacIver Staff](#) - [December 11, 2023](#)

[CTCL](#), [Election Integrity](#), [Liberal Lies](#), [Outside Money](#), [Ranked Choice Voting](#)

Wealthy Liberal Elites are Targeting Gullible in the GOP to Eliminate One-Vote-Per-Person

The Image Above is from a July 3, 2023 Instagram Post by Rank The Vote, a National, "Non-Partisan" Ranked Choice Voting Organization, Funded by Unite America and FairVote.

Ranked Choice Voting Legislation Targets Gullible Republicans

Tomorrow there will be a hearing on a bill to upend the way Wisconsinites vote for members of Congress and U.S. Senate, eliminating partisan primaries and sending 5 candidates to the general election where they would be ranked by voters, and declare a winner through a complex system of eliminating candidates. shifting votes and throwing out ballots.

- 5 states have a statewide ban on one person-multiple votes RCV voting
- 2 states use RCV statewide – and have had controversial outcomes. A repeal effort is underway in Alaska, attempts to repeal have failed in Maine
- 13 states use RCV in some local races

Just a few years back, Ranked Choice Voting (RCV) legislation was authored only by some of the most extreme partisan Democrats in Wisconsin. Now it's spearheaded by Republicans, many of whom are recipients of campaign funds from liberal interests, dissatisfied with elections, who want to upend our one person, one vote system in order to manipulate outcomes.

Ranked Choice Voting (RCV) seeks to control election outcomes by eliminating the current plurality structure where the candidate with the most votes wins, and replacing it with a multi-round, ballot-eliminating, and vote-shifting structure that gives some voters multiple votes, disenfranchises other voters entirely, all while making election integrity all but impossible to verify.

One might think this would be a non-starter in a state where trust in elections has recently been shaken. But in a profound irony, liberals who are claiming partisan money has too much influence in election-winners is putting gobs of their own partisan money into campaigns of their ideological opponents to buy a new voting structure in the state, advancing (they hope) the left.

RCV Is About Choosing Winners Voters Might Not Choose

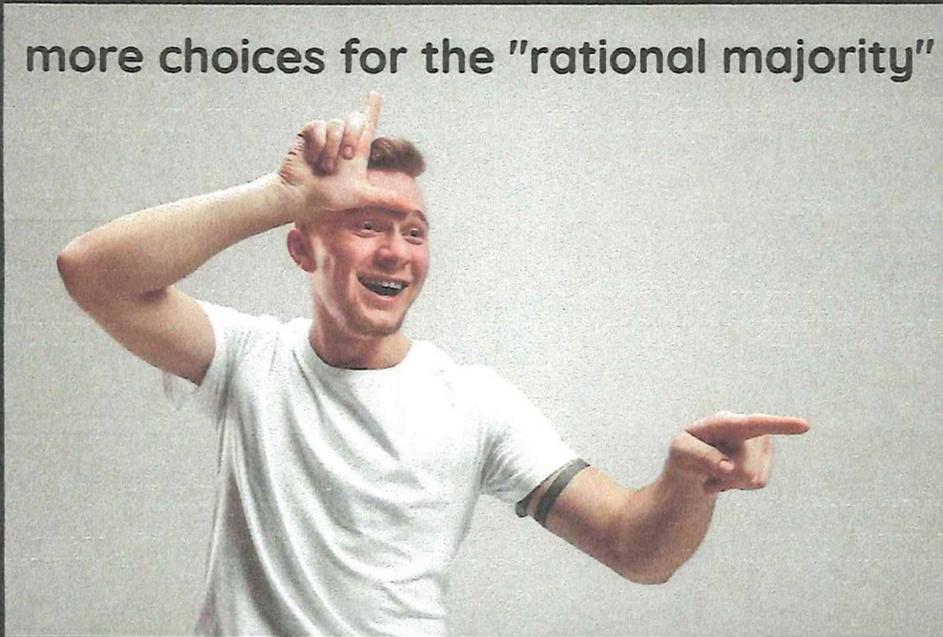


rankthevote



ranked choice voting

more choices for the "rational majority"



**turning election deniers
into election losers**



55 likes

rankthevote The overwhelming majority of voters reject the baseless claims, myths, and li... more

View 1 comment

July 3

Liberal elites, and some gullible Republican monied interests, don't like the way voters vote and the candidates that win, so they are advancing an organized effort, in battleground states (which should tell readers something), dumping cash into campaign coffers of Republicans who will – after winning under the traditional one person, one vote structure – agree to change that system to elect candidates more palatable to the left-wingiest of the left wing.

That's not speculation, that's the roadmap laid out in a book written by one of those deep-pocketed, liberal elites (more on that roadmap later.) The left is looking for a way to swing outcomes their way, since they've failed at fielding candidates that can win the old-fashioned, one-vote-per-voter way.

RCV supporters have a list of arguments against the current one-person, one-vote system including: voters don't have enough choices, candidates are too extreme, the voters who turn out are too extreme, candidates elected are too extreme, campaigns are too negative, not enough eligible voters vote, and winning candidates don't get a majority of votes cast.

A 2022 study (Buisseret & Prato, 2022) found that RCV exacerbates polarization when there is strong partisanship or low voter turnout; it can increase or decrease voter turnout; in strong partisan situations, it increases chances that the winning candidate does not garner a majority of votes cast.

Similarly, a 2023 study (Atkinson et al., 2023) found that Instant Runoff Voting (IRV) as proposed here actually produces winning candidates who are more ideologically extreme than the state's mainstream voter than other forms of RCV. The study found this effect most pronounced in the most polarized states – where IRC is being promoted as a solution for polarization. They say:

“Indeed, claims that IRV is effective at combating polarization contradicts over a century of research and discourse on IRV in particular and runoff voting in general. “

Yet the monied liberal elite financiers continue to claim RCV will deliver more democratic results, more moderate winners, and better government, while studies show RCV is unpredictable and caution it may well produce the opposite of these stated goals

The Wisconsin RCV Bill

What's being proposed in Wisconsin is a mosh-pit, non-partisan primary advancing 5 candidates to the general where voters may rank those 5 in order of preference. They may choose to rank fewer than the five, but this will guarantee their ballots are “exhausted” or thrown out in later rounds of tabulations if their top choices do not survive. In other words, if a voter doesn't wish to be disenfranchised, they are forced to cast one or more of their 5 votes for candidates whose beliefs they may detest, or for candidates they know little about. Those votes will count toward totals that purport to represent “majority support.”

One Wisconsin supporter and donor, co-founder (with Katherine Gehl) of Democracy Found, Austin Ramirez, shed light on the priorities of RCV supporters at the October WisPolitics luncheon about election reform.

Ramirez said if elections don't deliver more moderate candidates, then almost nothing else matters, including accessibility and trust.

Ramirez also contended that only 10% of voters vote in primary elections, and they're the most fringe, extreme voters. But last spring's non-partisan spring primary (which garners nowhere near the turnout of a partisan primary) netted more than double that stated 10% turnout of the voting-age population. Liberal powerhouse Dane County turned out at more than 3 times the rate Ramirez suggests is the norm for fall partisan primaries, with 36% of the voting-age public voting in the spring primary.

But the facts don't matter to the RCV supporters, and the studies don't matter either.

The effort to advance Ranked Choice Voting across the nation is strategic, and strategically funded by left, and center-left activists who are pouring millions into initiatives they are selling as a means to elect more moderate representatives.

The Lucre is the Leverage

Another of the leading advocates and funders pushing RCV, Katherine Gehl, hails from Wisconsin. Gehl co-authored a book with a Harvard professor that makes the case for RCV, in particular the non-partisan primaries and final five ranked choice/instant runoff.

Their book, *The Politics Industry*, is a primer for how the wealthy donor class can change election outcomes to benefit more moderate elected officials, by spending money to elect state legislators who will in return use their positions to undo the flawed one-person, one-vote structure (which elected them) in favor of a RCV model that will benefit the goals of their funders.

This is the Gehl-Porter roadmap in a nutshell, using *their own words*:

The politics industry has two currencies; some customers pay with votes, some pay with money. Prepare for a protracted battle that can continue for years after the initial campaign has ended. Leverage 'political philanthropy' (i.e. cash) to fund campaigns for "political innovation" (i.e. RCV). This political philanthropy or 'special interest for general interest' cash offers the best ROI out there because funding these campaigns is not cost-prohibitive. The cost to deliver Final Five (the RCV proposed here) to a state would range from \$5 million for legislative action to \$20-\$25 million for a ballot initiative in a large state.

This once-in-a-generation window to change the rules of the legislative game is opening. And once we've got a new legion of officials elected via Final-Five Voting, our energy will shift to supporting a new crop of 'procedural entrepreneurs.'

In *other words*:

The poor have only their votes, but wealthy liberals can rig the system to get the outcomes they want. As a bonus, it can be done at bargain-basement prices through contributions to individual legislative campaigns, or to finance ballot measure campaigns that will fundamentally undermine the rights and voting power of individual voters.

Gehl has given hundreds of thousands to Democrat parties and candidates across the nation, and a few thousand to GOP candidates. Porter has donated to both Democrats and Republicans.

Both Gehl and Porter also have given money to the Unite America Super PAC.

Unite America: The RCV/Zuckerbucks Connection

Unite America, like many groups, has two arms. Unite America Institute is the 'non-partisan, non-profit' arm, while Unite America is the Super PAC that funds campaign efforts. Both entities are founded and supported financially by Democrats.

The seemingly more benign Unite America Institute has funded CTCL – the Zuckerbucks-funded entity that bought access to Wisconsin election administration, targeting Democrat areas for increased turnout to help skew the outcome.

Their priorities are RCV, Full Vote at Home (where all voters are automatically mailed ballots for every election), redistricting reform where states establish independent citizen redistricting commissions to draw maps, and non-partisan primaries.

Unite America partners with the National Vote at Home Institute (NVAHI), where Hillary Hall (of Colorado elections infamy) runs government affairs, advised by Tiana Epps-Johnson (of CTCL).

The Center for Civic Design (CCD), another uber-liberal group that collaborated with CTCL and NVAHI, is helping design RCV ballots. Whitney May, co-founder of CTCL, is on the Advisory Committee of CCD.

The supporters of the RCV effort is the same incestuous money-sharing/shuffling group that was behind Zuckerbucks and are behind new efforts to control our votes.

Fair Vote is another group spending to promote RCV in Wisconsin. Fair Vote lists their elected official supporters as Barack Obama, Elizabeth Warren, Bernie Sanders, and John Kerry. Their thought leaders include Jennifer Lawrence, Sam Wang (Princeton Gerrymandering Project), David Byrne, Katherine Gehl, Jon Fishman (Phish drummer), and Santa Claus (city council member in AK). It's not exactly a list of moderates. There are some Republicans on their list, but precious few – there may be more actors and musicians.

Wisconsin Legislative Lucre

Hundreds of thousands of dollars have been given to Wisconsin legislative candidates in the past few years, much of it to Republicans, with more in the pipeline. Unsurprisingly, recipients of their funds are also authors of their bill.

The Lies

Lie: The Wisconsin Bill ISN'T Ranked Choice Voting

The supporters claim that the Ranked Choice Voting bill doesn't create Ranked Choice Voting, even though the structure the bill creates is called Ranked Choice Voting in every study that examines alternative voting methods because it has voters rank candidates. Don't buy it and don't cave in to another effort by the left to rename something to suit their narrative.

Final Five Voting is Ranked Choice Voting.

Why lie about the name? Because conservatives generally don't like the idea of RCV (because it's usually pushed by liberals who would like fewer conservatives elected). The left believes conservative voters are generally ignoramuses and figure the name change will trick gullible Republicans, especially those they consider the 'MAGA morons.'

One way they're trying to fool the gullible is by claiming this voting scheme being pushed by wealthy liberal elites would have helped Wisconsin elect Trump.

Lie: Under RCV Winners Will Have Majority Support

Anyone who understands what majority means should be suspicious about this contention. In the scenario contemplated for Wisconsin, 5 candidates would compete in the general election, making it possible, if not likely, no candidate would get a majority of first choice votes. As candidates with the lowest numbers of first place votes are eliminated, and second choice votes counting as much as first round votes, surviving candidates compile larger vote totals.

When voters do not rank all candidates (perhaps ones they don't know or they dislike enough to refuse to vote for) their ballots are thrown out and their voices are silenced, while voters who may be randomly ranking candidates they may know nothing about will have their random rankings count toward a pretense of a majority.

And in practice, RCV can result in a complete fallacy of a majority even if you are willing to accept the nonsense notion that second, third, fourth and fifth-place votes are worth – and should count – the same as a first-choice vote. A 2018 Maine 2018 congressional race proves this:

In a 4-way general, the GOP candidate who would have won with close to a point lead over the second place under traditional voting lost the election to the next highest first-ranked (D) candidate, who picked up more of the third and fourth place voters second choice rankings – which count equal to the first-place rankings of every other voter.

In the course of this so-called majority victory, nearly 15,000 ballots – 5% of all ballots – were declared 'exhausted,' tossed out, and not counted. Once they started throwing out ballots, RCV produced an election where the "majority" winner really only garnered 48% of all ballots cast.

Because so many ballots are tossed out in later rounds of calculations, the results can be anything but a majority win.

Voters may not rank all candidates for reasons other than unfamiliarity and dislike. A 2021 study that looked at this 'ballot truncation' showed that voters who rank popular candidates in first place are less likely to complete rankings on their ballots. (Hoffman et al)

Another concern is that those who vote by mail who mismark ballots will not have the assistance of poll workers so have an increased risk of having a ballot that is thrown out, meaning some or all of their 1 to 5 votes won't be counted.

A 2023 study that looked at deficiencies in RCV elections in the U.S. over 18 years showed that in the majority of RCV elections (52%), the ultimate winner still had not garnered a majority of votes cast.

Lie: Elections Will Be Cheaper

Wisconsin doesn't have runoff elections as some other states do, so there can only be increased costs to RCV, and some of those will be substantial.

Voter education alone – because regardless of what advocates claim, voters do not – and could not possibly – intuitively understand the myriad various forms and nuances of RCV.

New York spent \$15 million on ranked choice voter education efforts in 2021.

The city of Portland spent nearly a million – just the city – on voter education. And we see from accounts of this spending that the education efforts are government-targeted based on racial and ethnic groups – much like the Zuckerbucks spending worked.

Mechanics alone will cost more: there will be costs for legal counsel to implement RCV. Then there will be costs for design of ballots, and increased cost for ballot printing to account for the numbers of improperly prepared ballots. Reprogramming voting machines for a much more complex

tabulation will cost, and for those machines that are unable to be reprogrammed, new purchases will be an expense.

If separate ballots are issued for the partisan and non-partisan RCV primaries – to potentially decrease voter confusion – the print costs double and the postage costs for absentee and early voting will substantially increase because an additional ballot will drive the weight of the mailing over that allowed for regular postage. And because Wisconsin is a state that pays for the mailing of the ballots both ways (to the voter and from the voter) the postage increase would be doubled. The current bill is silent on whether separate ballots would be required.

Lie: Trump Obviously Would Have Won Under RCV

This argument, one of the most reprehensible and geared to the most gullible, is being perpetuated by so-called conservatives on the payroll for liberals financing RCV (who were spurred into action by the very election of Trump).

The pretense goes like this: If all the “spoiler” votes from the Libertarian, pro-life and constitution parties in the 2016 election had defaulted to Trump, he would have beaten Biden by nearly 30,000 votes instead of losing by more than 20,000.

Certainly, some voters may have put Trump second place on their ballots. Just as certainly, many of those votes were the so-called Never-Trump votes of people who may otherwise have voted for a GOP candidate but could not bring themselves to support Trump. The idea that they'd have all ranked him as their number 2 guy flies in the face of the voter profile of a substantial chunk of those voters. Further, the Libertarian and Solidarity party candidates were on the ballot as Independents – so the idea that they only garnered GOP votes presumes those voters were republican-minded and not independent-minded voters who might have defaulted to Biden as a second-choice.

Even assuming every ballot had a second choice ranking for Biden or Trump (and none of the other third-party candidates), and none were thrown out, anything Trump would have had to convert more than 60% of all the second round ballots cast for all the third-party candidates to win.

Lie: RCV Produces Fair, Convincing Wins of Candidates With the Broadest Support

Nope.

For example, the spoiler effect is generally understood to mean a candidate who, if they had not been on the ballot, would have resulted in a different winner. The logic above in the false claim that RCV would have delivered Wisconsin to Trump hands all the spoiler votes to Trump, suggesting that if they had not run, Trump would have benefitted from their votes.

This can happen in RCV votes as well. In fact, by this definition Sarah Palin, who received the second most first place rankings in the 2022 Alaska special election (eventually losing to the candidate who won the plurality and the RCV total), became the spoiler candidate because if Palin had not run, the candidate who was eliminated in the first round (Begich) because he had the fewest first place rankings would have won the election.

If that's not strange enough, consider these other nonsensical effects from the use of RCV in this election:

If the ultimate winner (Peltola) had gained more support from 6000 Palin supporters (who would then have ranked Peltola higher than Palin) then Peltola would have lost the election. Getting more first round support when she was already far ahead of the other two candidates, would have resulted in Palin, not Begich, being eliminated and Begich would have beat Peltola in their head-to-head. In other words, if the winner had done a better job convincing Palin voter to support her, she would have lost because more first round support at the expense of her closest opponent equaled losing the election.

And that's not all. If 6000 voters who placed Palin first, Begich second, and Peltola last had stayed home, Palin would have been eliminated, and Begich would have beaten Peltola. Voters who preferred Begich over Peltola would have had a better outcome for their higher-ranked candidate *if they had stayed home*.

And all of this in a race where the most moderate candidate, Begich, the only one who would have beaten either of the other candidates in a head-to-head, was eliminated in the first round, giving lie to the contention that RCV helps centrist candidates.

And, the candidate who would have won in an old-fashioned voting structure (Peltola) also won in an RCV election still without a majority of votes cast (Peltola only got 48%). And though the outcome was the same – the same candidate won with less than a majority – but the RCV win reasonably produced more distrust, upset, and suspicion about the results.

RCV can result in paradoxical scenarios where voters can help a preferred candidate win by not voting at all or cause a preferred candidate to lose by giving them a higher ranking.

Proponents will minimize these paradoxical impacts of RCV, but there are multiple reported examples of where these have occurred and likely more instances that have not been discovered. Indeed a 2022 study that looked at six of the more common RCV methods found varying levels of disagreement in outcomes, dependent on the type of RCV used. (Calla et al)

When combined with the fact that RCV winners may not earn a majority of total votes cast, and some voters are disenfranchised while others have multiple votes counted – it's hard to understand why RCV would be preferred.

Consider that in Australia where they've had a form of RCV for decades (registered voters who do not vote are fined, and voters are compelled to rank all candidates), a candidate for senate from the

then-newly formed Motoring Enthusiasts Party (platform: tougher vehicle impoundment laws) won election in 2013 after getting a record-low half-percent (0.51%) of first preference votes.

Lie: RCV Increases Turnout

In point of fact Wisconsin voter turnout, always among the highest in the nation, has set records in the recent past. Voters are not being deterred by each voter having only one vote. The contention that more people will vote under a new, more confusing, less transparent voting scheme giving weight to lower ranked choices of some voters while tossing out ballots for voters who do not care to vote for a candidate they don't know or don't like is patently absurd even if it were being pedaled by true non-partisan interests.

And as already references (Buisseret & Prato, 2022) turnout can increase or decrease under IRV.

Lie: Campaigns Will Be More Positive Under RCV

A 2023 study of voter-perceived negativity in ranked choice voting in New York and California showed that 2/3 to 3/4 of voters found ranked choice races either equally negative or more negative. (Donovan & Tolbert, 2023)

Lessons

Wisconsin voters have had their confidence in our elections undermined. This has not happened because everyone doesn't get 5 votes for each office, but because of real and perceived irregularities in the application of election law, the impact of outside money and personnel in administering local elections, and delays in tabulation and reporting of results.

RCV does nothing to restore faith in any of those areas. On the contrary, it exacerbates some of them, and creates completely new reasons for voters to find the process and product of elections suspect.

For years on the conservative side, the mantra was that it should be 'easier to vote and harder to cheat' but the surging GOP support for RCV flies in the face of that.

RCV makes it easier to be disenfranchised and harder to tell if there's cheating.

Wisconsin is a state that often has close elections, especially because we have so many independent-minded voters who swing between party candidates even within a given cycle. We have only to look at the 2022 outcome where statewide elections for U.S. Senate, Governor, Treasurer, Secretary of State were evenly split between the parties and the AG race swung to the Democrats by a slim margin. This outcome points to the ability – willingness – of Wisconsin voters to split tickets, to vote for the candidate and not the party, to take an independent approach to casting their vote.

RCV: Hard to Verify

Close elections can result in recounts, where many sets of eyes are involved in recounts.

RCV would end that. The complexity of vote calculation of statewide races make it would be nearly impossible for humans to verify a recount even if the time required to do so would be reasonable. Instead, recounts would only be executed by machine. Since this is an area of distrust in our current voting system, having to trust completely to machines and their programming would exacerbate this problem.

And with good reason. A RCV election in Oakland, CA seated the wrong winner because the mechanism that was chosen to reallocate votes (reallocation is the main feature of RCV but it can be achieved in multiple ways) was not how the machines were programmed. This was only discovered after researchers who were independently studying the race revealed the problem. The real winner was seated months later.

How could this happen?

First, there are choices within any RCV structure of how to count ballots that have skipped rankings and overvotes. For example. If a voter ranks a 1st and 2nd place candidate skips 3rd and 4th and ranks someone 5th how should that be counted? Does the 5th place ranking mean they want that candidate last place and perhaps don't know enough to rank the two unranked candidates?

If you are a voter in Alaska, every candidate ranked after 2 consecutive non-rankings is ignored. But in Alameda County, California, the non-ranked positions are ignored and the 5th place ranking is moved up to 3rd. So a voter who may be trying to indicate they most strongly oppose a candidate may end up having their ranking moved up and benefit that disliked candidate substantially.

Similarly, how overvotes are treated matters. If a voter gives two candidates the same ranking, the resulting overvote may be handled differently by election officials. They may ignore the double ranking and move up a lower ranked candidate. Or they may toss out the ballot as soon as the double ranking is reached.

In the Oakland School Board race, the tabulation software was not calibrated to follow the rules set out by the jurisdiction, and the election administrators didn't realize it.

And this is a final issue with RCV. It can delay final election results for days, weeks, even months. For a legislature that voted in a bi-partisan fashion to begin to count votes before election day to keep delays at a minimum, it's astonishing to think they might implement a "reform" where the result might not be known until Thanksgiving.

With the volume of both money and lies flying, it's clear the bill has a foothold that is likely to grow. Indeed, the bill was introduced just a couple weeks ago and already has a hearing – a timeline that's close to light speed in legislative terms, and an indication that the majority party has plans for it. That's well worth worrying about, if you value every person's individual vote having equal weight.

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Eli Huber, Wisconsin State Director
Heritage Action for America
December 12th, 2023

Opponent testimony on SB 528

Chair Knodl and Members of the Committee,

Thank you for the opportunity to present written testimony in opposition to Senate Bill 528. My name is Eli Huber and I represent Heritage Action for America, a grassroots organization with two million grassroots activists nationwide, including thousands of Wisconsinites.

Heritage Action urges the Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer protection to oppose Senate Bill 528.

Ranked-Choice Voting fundamentally changes the election process and is fraught with problems.

- **RCV is prone to errors.** Alameda County, California officials admitted two months after a 2022 school board election that they had incorrectly tabulated the RCV votes and had certified the wrong person as the winner. No election official noticed the mistake because of the overly complicated process of RCV vote counting until an outside advocacy group flagged the issue.
- **RCV disenfranchises voters.** Nearly one in three voters do not rank multiple candidates in RCV elections. Thus, if a voter does not rank all the candidates in a race, that voter's ballot may be thrown out in subsequent rounds of vote tabulation. In the 2021 New York mayor's race, by the eighth round, the ballots of more than 140,000 voters had been thrown out because they did not completely rank all candidate choices. These voters were effectively disenfranchised due to "ballot exhaustion."
- **RCV undermines the democratic process.** The ultimate winner in RCV is often not the choice of a majority of voters who participated in the election and thus, does not have a genuine mandate from a majority of voters.

The fiscal estimate by the state of Wisconsin outlines great concern for the increase in cost, and the extra responsibility placed on election employees. In addition, some municipalities may need new voting equipment which would place an even larger fiscal burden on less populated counties.

Our nation was built on the consent of the governed. When citizens believe elections produce clear results between known opposing ideas, they learn to live with results even if they do not like the outcome. Ranked-Choice Voting is a gimmick that would undermine Wisconsin's elections.

Heritage Action urges you to vote no on SB 528.

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Good morning Senators:

I'm speaking in opposition to SB-528, top-five primaries and instant run-off, which is Ranked Choice Voting. Voting in Wisconsin should remain "one person, one vote." If Ranked Choice Voting were to be ushered into WI, it would be a nightmare and we should avoid it at all costs. Its use is growing in blue states such as CA, OR, CO, MA, MN, IL, MI, MD, DE, which should be alarming to anyone who claims to be a conservative. RCV instructions are extremely cumbersome. Have any of the committee members read them? The Foundation for Government Accountability writes "Under RCV, voters are forced to rank candidates. If no candidate wins a majority, the race goes into multiple rounds of what is referred to as instant run-off voting, until one candidate receives more than 50% of the remaining votes. It is anything but "instant" though, it is a complex process that has taken days or weeks in some cases. Using RCV, candidates who lost in the first round can win the election after multiple rounds of tabulation." Our current simple ballot styles that are used in Wisconsin, provide ovals that are filled-in by voters. For whatever reason, voters have difficulty even filling in our current ballots properly, with our current one person, one vote system, but now we'd confuse them even more with RCV? That makes no sense. The amount of incorrectly marked ballots with RCV will be astronomical. The Freedom Foundation of Minnesota writes that "#1 RCV is confusing, #2 every vote does not count with RCV, #3 RCV lowers voter confidence and voter satisfaction, #4 RCV disenfranchises minority voters, and #5 RCV does not foster positive campaigns and increase voter participation."

Now, on top of all that, how about performing a hand-count for an election recount, or even a required tabulator hand-count audit? Those would be train wrecks. Unfortunately, many Americans are losing confidence in the election process. While progressives are pushing RCV as a solution to this problem, this complicated voting system leads to voter confusion, lower turnout, and slower election results. Yes, our current system isn't the greatest in the world but it's not broken, so why are some attempting to fix it with something that many states are now starting to consider dropping?

Here are just a few of the plethora of articles that exist on why RCV is a bad idea.

Foundation for Government Accountability writes "Implementing RCV lowers voter turnout rates. For example, both Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, have run local elections using RCV for more than a decade, and both lag well behind other major metropolitan cities in municipal election voter turnout."

<https://thefga.org/research/ranked-choice-voting-a-disaster-in-disguise/>

<https://thefga.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Ranked-Choice-Voting-overview-7-13-2022.pdf>

Freedom Foundation of Minnesota

<https://freedomfoundationofminnesota.com/ranked-choice-voting/>

Idaho State Journal quoted former ID State Representative, Dorothy Moon, saying "Under RCV, voters just don't select the candidate they want to win the race, they must rank all of the candidates, from their top pick to their least favorite, even if their last choice is someone they would never vote for, or know much about." "Worse, under RCV voters are forced to rank

candidates they may not even want to win or risk that their ballot is cast aside if the race moves to additional rounds of tabulation and reassignment.” “Elizabeth Warren, Eric Holder, Bernie Sanders and a whole host of Leftists all support RCV. The people of Idaho need to affirm our Framers’ vision and ban this silly idea from our elections.”

https://www.idahostatejournal.com/freeaccess/opinion-the-downsides-of-ranked-choice-voting/article_b8b09b16-a960-11ed-9c57-0f8dedf680ba.html

WI Institute for Law and Liberty’s Senior Research Analyst, Noah Diekemper, said “Ranked-choice voting...does present the danger of even lengthier ballot counting and odd results, without necessarily fulfilling the promise to improve our politics. It’s no silver-bullet solution and we ought to be clear-eyed about the downsides.”

<https://will-law.org/ranked-choice-voting-proposals-likely-to-overpromise-underdeliver/>

Thank you for your time and service to Wisconsin!

Jon Dolson

Sheboygan County Clerk

Tuesday, December 12, 2023

Wisconsin State Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection
Wisconsin State Capitol
2 East Main Street
Madison, WI 53703

Chairman Knodl and Members of the Committee,

I'm sorry I cannot be with you in-person today to testify in support of Final Five Voting, Wisconsin Senate Bill 528.

From June 2021 until January 2023, served as the republican county clerk in Utah County, Utah, one of the fastest growing counties in the United States and the state's second-most populous county.

Prior to being elected county clerk, I served as the county's deputy clerk/auditor, a position I was appointed to in 2019. For my work increasing election security and piloting mobile voting for overseas, elderly, and disabled voters, Government Technology magazine named me among its "top 25 doers, dreamers, and drivers" in 2020.

Most formatively for me, from 2001 to 2010, I served in the Marine Corps, with deployments in Iraq and Morocco. In the Marines, I rose to the rank of sergeant and received the Navy and Marine Corps Achievement Medal for his performance. Just like you, I know the importance of service over self.

Last session, I was pleased to share my experience implementing instant runoff elections with the Wisconsin Senate Elections Committee. [You can find a video of my full testimony here.](#)

One anecdote is worth repeating: We went to an assisted living facility where some of our oldest voters in the community live. The purpose of the test was to see what, if any, concerns they would have with zero explanation. So, we simply handed out ranked choice voting ballots after giving our overview of elections generally, and then asked the residents to vote in this sample election. Then we walked around and discussed with the residents and heard concerns, and we were blown away by the degree to which the ballot itself was intuitive to the voters.

It's not surprising... all of us consider making choices in our day to day lives. We should have the same right when we vote.

Please consider supporting Final Five Voting for federal elections in Wisconsin.

I am happy to answer any questions via phone or email.

Best,

Josh Daniels

Former County Clerk, Utah County

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Testimony from:

Matthew Germer, Interim Director, Governance & Elections Fellow, R Street Institute

In SUPPORT of SB 528, “A bill relating to: top-five primaries and instant runoff voting for the offices of U.S. senator and U.S. representative in Congress”

December 12, 2023

Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection

Chair Knodl, Vice Chair Feyen and Members of the Committee:

Thank you for considering my testimony. My name is Matthew Germer, and I conduct research on election reform for the R Street Institute, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy research organization. Our mission is to engage in policy research and outreach to promote free markets and limited, effective government across a variety of policy areas, including election reform. This is why Senate Bill 528 is important to us.

The best way to reform our elections is by better aligning the incentives of politicians with the will of their constituents. Senate Bill 528 creates healthier political incentives by implementing top-five primaries along with instant-runoff general elections to determine Wisconsin’s congressional delegation.

Congress Is Broken—Our Elections Play a Key Role

Right now, our country’s elections empower a small slice of Americans to determine our leaders. With highly polarized congressional districts, congressional representatives are determined not in the general election but by our partisan primary elections. This phenomenon can be seen in the results of the 2022 congressional elections, where only one of Wisconsin’s eight U.S. House races was within a five-point margin in the general election.¹ And while congressional districts contain roughly 760,000 residents, partisan primary elections are often low-turnout affairs, giving outsized influence to relatively few voters.² Take, for example, the election for Wisconsin’s 5th Congressional District in 2020. With an open seat in a strong Republican district that ultimately was uncompetitive in the general election, just over 78,000 voters participated in the Republican primary election—just over 10 percent of the population of

¹ “U.S. House results across Wisconsin,” *Politico*, Nov. 26, 2023. <https://www.politico.com/2022-election/results/wisconsin/house>.

² U.S. Census Bureau, “2020 Census apportionment results delivered to the President,” Press Release No. CB21-CN.30, April 26, 2021. <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/2020-census-apportionment-results.html>.



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the district.³ That such a small electorate would choose the representative for the entire district is not unique. Across the country, 83 percent of the U.S. House was elected by just 8 percent of Americans.⁴

The incentives created by our elections are a substantial reason for our congressional dysfunction. Right now, federal lawmakers have more reason to fear losing their seats to a challenger in a primary election than in the general. This pressure incentivizes legislators to maximize support among the narrow, energized base of primary voters who value “fighting” over “serving.” Perhaps unsurprisingly, many members of Congress now prioritize appearing on cable news above actual legislating, with one congressman famously stating “stagecraft is statecraft.”⁵

The Reforms in Senate Bill 528 Could Help

Senate Bill 528, which combines a top-five primary election with an instant runoff in the general election, shifts the meaningful election from the primary to the general. In turn, candidates are incentivized to represent a broader electorate.

Similar reforms elsewhere in the country have already borne fruit. In 2022, Alaska held its first elections using a “Top Four” format, similar to the proposed structure in Senate Bill 528. Early analysis already shows that the most successful campaigns were those that mobilized broad coalitions for support.⁶ Similarly, in 2021, GOP voters in Virginia used an instant-runoff election to select Glenn Youngkin as their gubernatorial nominee. Because the electoral rules incentivized positive campaigning and discouraged mudslinging, Youngkin emerged from the primary with positive momentum that ultimately helped him win in the general election.⁷

³ “Wisconsin Primary Election Results: Fifth Congressional District,” *The New York Times*, Aug. 12, 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/08/11/us/elections/results-wisconsin-house-district-5-primary-election.html>.

⁴ “The Primary Problem,” Unite America, last checked Dec. 11, 2023. <https://primaryproblem.uniteamerica.org>.

⁵ Abigail Tracy, “‘If you aren’t making news, you aren’t governing’: Matt Gaetz on media mastery, influence peddling and dating in Trump’s swamp,” *Vanity Fair*, Sept. 14, 2020. <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2020/09/matt-gaetz-donald-trump-firebrand>.

⁶ Matt Germer, “Ranked Choice Voting Is Working in Alaska,” *The Dispatch*, Nov. 29, 2022. <https://thedispatch.com/article/ranked-choice-voting-is-working-in-alaska/comment-page-2>; Ryan Williamson, “Evaluating the Effects of the Top-Four System in Alaska,” R Street Shorts No. 122, Jan. 2023. <https://www.rstreet.org/research/evaluating-the-effects-of-the-top-four-system-in-alaska>.

⁷ Matt Germer, “Republicans could benefit from ranked-choice voting,” *RealClearPublicAffairs*, Aug. 4, 2023. <https://www.realclearpublicaffairs.com/articles/2023/08/04/republicans-could-benefit-from-ranked-choice-voting-970635.html>.



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While some may be concerned that voters might find the instant runoff voting to be confusing, the data from real voters shows that the system is easy to use. Following Alaska's first instant-runoff election, 85 percent of voters reported that participating in the state's instant-runoff election was "simple."⁸ The experience of Alaskans aligns with the 81 percent of Utah voters and 88 percent of Minnesota voters who found instant runoffs easy to use for their local elections.⁹

Congressional elections need reform. Too many members are more worried about being outflanked in a primary election than they are about serving their district. We encourage members of the Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection to support Senate Bill 528, a bill designed to realign political incentives, encourage more positive campaigning and give more power to all voters.

Thank you for your time,

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⁸ "Polling shows Alaskan voters understand ranked choice voting," Alaskans for Better Elections, Aug. 30, 2022. <https://www.alaskansforbetterelections.com/polling-shows-alaskan-voters-understand-ranked-choice-voting>.

⁹ Kyle Dunphey, "Did Utahns like ranked choice voting? A new poll has answers," *Deseret News*, Nov. 15, 2021. <https://www.deseret.com/utah/2021/11/15/22783224/did-utahns-like-ranked-choice-voting-a-new-poll-has-answers-elections-2021-local-politics-election>; "Ranked Choice Voting: By the Numbers," FairVote Minnesota, Dec. 2021. https://fairvotemn.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/01/RCV-by-the-numbers_Minneapolis.pdf.

Evaluating the Effects of the Top-Four System in Alaska

By Ryan Williamson



In 2022, the top-four system in Alaska gave citizens greater choice and elevated the most broadly appealing candidates, in turn improving representation.

Executive Summary

In 2020, Alaska modified its electoral process to a top-four ranked choice voting system and away from more traditional partisan primaries, making Alaska the first state to do so for state executive and legislative races, as well as federal congressional seats. The 2022 cycle was the first time an alternative system was employed in the state, first with a special election to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Rep. Don Young, and then for all other legislative and statewide elections in November. A review of initial evidence found that races in the state became more civil and competitive overall, and, despite it being a major change in process, the top-four approach caused little disruption in the composition of government. Elected officials and incumbents continued to fare well under the new format compared with their performance in recent traditional elections.

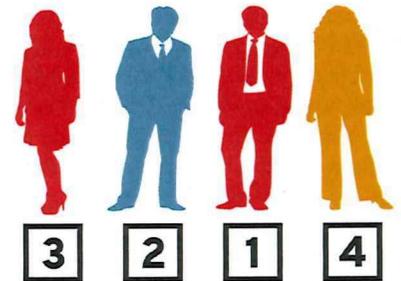
Introduction

Alaskan voters passed Ballot Measure 2 in 2020, altering their electoral system to move away from a traditional primary system in favor of a top-four system.¹ Under this new arrangement, candidates for elected office appear on the ballot together during the primary, regardless of partisan affiliation. Voters cast a ballot for their favorite candidate, and the four candidates who receive the greatest number of votes proceed to the general election. Typically, if a candidate receives 50 percent of the vote, they are declared the winner. However, if no candidate reaches a majority, then the last-place candidate is eliminated and their votes are reallocated to the voters' second choices. This process continues until one candidate achieves a majority and wins the election.

The 2022 election cycle was the first time each legislative seat was subject to the new rules, providing valuable real-world data about how a top-four approach affects elections. This paper explores how the new system increased competition among candidates without upsetting the overall partisan balance in the state and evaluates how the top-four approach affected incumbents and shaped the strategies of successful candidates. It concludes by considering the future of top-four voting in Alaska.

The Top-Four Approach Rewarded Candidates with Broad Appeal

Alaska's congressional races illustrate how the new election rules can change incentive structures for candidates. With up to four candidates on the ballot, winning a majority after the first round of tabulation is now more difficult. Because of this, candidates must campaign not only for first-choice, but also for second-choice, support, which is an added incentive to avoid negative campaigning and to appeal to supporters of their opponents.² By compelling



Under the top-four system, candidates for elected office appear on the ballot together during the primary, regardless of partisan affiliation.

candidates to craft broad coalitions among competitive constituencies, politicians have more to lose by engaging in uncivil campaigning.³

Though Alaska votes reliably Republican in presidential elections, its partisan and ideological composition is unique in a variety of ways, and it tends to favor politically moderate candidates who are willing to challenge national party platforms.⁴ For example, despite the Republican lean of the state, 63 percent of Alaskans believe abortion should be legal in all or most cases.⁵ In addition, Alaska's Permanent Fund Dividend, a redistributive program akin to universal basic income, represents one of the most important issues to voters of all stripes and has been the focal point of many debates among Alaska's politicians.⁶ Finally, Alaska was the third state, behind Colorado and Washington, to legalize marijuana for recreational purposes, even as other Republican and Democratic states continued to oppose legalization.⁷

The unique political composition of Alaska is perhaps best reflected in the tenure of Lisa Murkowski, who has made a name for herself as one of the most moderate members of the U.S. Senate, voting with her party only about 56 percent of the time.⁸ In recent years, Murkowski deviated from her party by voting to convict Trump on his impeachment charges, voting against the 2017 repeal of Obamacare and being the only Republican to vote against confirming Brett Kavanaugh for a seat on the Supreme Court.⁹ Her stances have earned scorn from fellow Republicans as far back as 2010 when she failed to win the Republican primary. Nevertheless, she famously won re-election with 39 percent of the vote as a write-in candidate.

Likewise, Don Young, who served Alaska in the U.S. House of Representatives for nearly half a century, routinely faced regular challenges for his seat. In his last four bids for re-election, Young survived multiple competitive elections while never receiving more than 54.4 percent of the vote. While serving in the House, he was a reliable Republican vote but took a more moderate position than most others in the chamber, especially with respect to federal spending.¹⁰ Like Murkowski, Young made a name for himself prioritizing the preferences of Alaskans over those of his party.

Taking these factors into consideration, the victory of Democrat Mary Peltola over Republicans Sarah Palin and Nick Begich should not be surprising. Peltola ran a highly localized, Alaska-centric campaign tied to issues like fishing, whereas her main challenger, Sarah Palin, appealed to voters through more populist, culture-war-centric issues.¹¹ Although Peltola reached across the aisle and asked to be ranked second among voters who didn't mark her as their first choice, Palin ran against ranked-choice voting, calling it "rigged."¹² The two Republicans spent more time attacking each other than they did making the case against Peltola.¹³ This is perhaps one of the reasons why Peltola's vote share increased between the special and general election.¹⁴

As previously mentioned, top-four voting is designed to reduce polarization, as candidates are incentivized to craft broad coalitions to win.¹⁵ Peltola managed to do this by earning endorsements from Lisa Murkowski as well as a number of Young's former staffers.¹⁶ Though Peltola's victory may simply reflect Alaska's unique political culture, the dynamics of the election nonetheless shaped her victory. A more progressive candidate likely would have struggled to earn as many first-choice votes, and second-choice votes from Republican voters may have been even harder to come by. This would have spelled defeat, as second-place votes from Republicans are what pushed Peltola over the 50 percent threshold.¹⁷

By understanding the incentives of the electoral system and the complexity of the state's partisanship, and by running as a moderate Democrat rather than as an ardent partisan beholden to the national platform, Peltola was able to win a full term to represent Alaskans.¹⁸

Similarly, Murkowski won another six-year term in the U.S. Senate over a challenge from Kelly Tshibaka, a more conservative and populist opponent, by effectively wielding her unique brand of conservatism. In previous elections, Murkowski won with only a plurality, which meant most voters wanted someone else in the office but could not agree on an alternative.

The top-four voting system offered a real test of Murkowski's brand within the state by requiring the winner to achieve a majority. However, this may have been to her benefit, as she did not need to appeal to more traditional or populist Republicans to advance past the primary—she just had to initially finish in the top four. As a result any liabilities she had with the Republican base were muted in a way that they may not have been in a more traditional partisan primary.



Top-four voting is designed to reduce polarization, as candidates are incentivized to craft broad coalitions to win.

After the first round with all four candidates, Murkowski held a less than one percentage point lead over Tshibaka.¹⁹ Her lead was even smaller in the second round. However, by the third and final round of tabulation, Murkowski's lead widened, culminating in her seven-point victory. This substantial increase in her vote share came from Democratic supporters overwhelmingly ranking her above Tshibaka.²⁰

Taken together, victories by Peltola and Murkowski demonstrate how top-four voting both rewarded those willing to engage in more civil campaigning and boosted candidates who represented the unique views of voters in Alaska.

Top-Four Voting Increased Electoral Competition in Alaska

The new top-four system also increased the number of competitive races in Alaska. As with other states, Alaska was redistricted in response to new data from the 2020 census. Although this means that we cannot make district-by-district comparisons across election years, we can compare how electoral competitiveness across the state changed before and after the implementation of top-four voting.

The increase in competition was felt by the voters themselves, as evidenced by a poll taken immediately after the election in which 60 percent of Alaskans reported that the 2022 elections were more competitive than other recent elections.²¹ This sentiment is supported empirically by fewer uncontested races and an increased number of races that were decided by narrow vote margins. The greater competition inherently fostered in top-four systems represents an important improvement to elections in the state, as competition is known to improve accountability and representation.²²

One way Alaska was able to increase competition was by moving primary election battles into the general election. Under the old primary system, each party held primaries to determine their general election candidates. In evenly divided, "purple" districts, these primaries set the stage for competitive general elections. However, in heavily skewed districts where one party held a substantial advantage over the other, the primary elections often served as the deciding contest, as the majority party candidate cruised to victory in the general election. These primary elections were typically low-turnout affairs, with only a few thousand voters participating, which is only about 10 to 20 percent of all registered voters in the district.²³

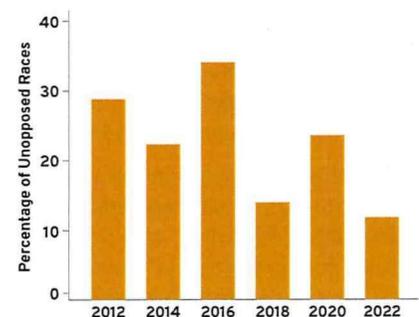
As is common across the country, the constituents of most of Alaska's legislative districts lean heavily toward one party. In 2020, voters in more than one-third of the 60 districts voted overwhelmingly in favor of either the Republican or Democrat.²⁴ For these districts, the deciding election was the lower-turnout primary election. Under the new top-four structure, however, the deciding election shifted to the general election. In fact, in 13 races, the candidates all hailed from just one party, and four of these races proved to be especially tight, requiring additional rounds of tabulation to determine a winner.²⁵

This increase in competition in the 2022 elections is evident in the number of races in which there were multiple candidates vying for the same seat relative to other elections in the past 10 years. **Figure 1** illustrates that less than 12 percent of elections were uncontested in the 2022 cycle, slightly lower than the next lowest year in recent history (14 percent in 2018) and well below the average from the previous decade of 24.5 percent.²⁶ Thus, the implementation of a top-four approach took elections that would have been decided in low-turnout primaries and brought them to the general election, decreasing the number of uncontested races and giving more voters meaningful options in November.

For context, in 2010, nearly one-third of all state legislative elections in the United States featured only one major party candidate, and over 75 percent of incumbents did not face a primary challenger.²⁷ That trend has persisted with time. Across the country, more than one-quarter (23 out of 88) of the legislative chambers holding elections during the 2022 cycle had partisan control decided before Election Day because there were already enough uncontested races featuring one party's candidates to constitute a majority.²⁸ Therefore, Alaska's number of contested elections is noteworthy.²⁹

Another way to assess competitiveness is by evaluating the final vote margin, as increasing the number of candidates is only helpful if they serve as viable alternatives to each other. Assessing competitiveness this way in states that use the top-four system, winning candidates

Figure 1: Percentage of Unopposed State Legislative Races in Alaska, 2012-2022*



*Data was obtained for each year from official returns provided by the Alaska Division of Elections. Unopposed races are classified as those in which only one candidate was named on the ballot.

Source: "Primary, General, and Statewide Special Election Results," Alaska Division of Elections, last accessed Dec. 15, 2022. <https://www.elections.alaska.gov/doc/info/ElectionResults.php#2022A>.

received 55 percent or less of the vote—a standard definition of competitiveness—in almost one-third of state legislative elections across the 60 lower and upper chamber seats, one-quarter of senate races and nearly one-third of House of Representative races.³⁰

Compared with the previous five election cycles, 2022 marks the highest level of competition for Alaska state legislative seats, as shown in **Figure 2**. Between 2012 and 2022, only 17 percent of elections were classified as competitive in the general election, which means that 2022’s cycle nearly doubled that recent historical average.

Though 30 percent may not seem high, state legislative races are notoriously uncompetitive affairs, as noted previously with respect to the number of uncontested elections. Therefore, it appears that the implementation of top-four voting in Alaska delivered on its promise of more competitive elections.

Both Parties Fared Well with the Top-Four System

Contrary to some arguments from skeptics of reform, Alaskan Republicans generally fared well with the top-four approach. While some opponents to the new system have described it as a “scam to rig elections” in favor of Democrats and others have suggested that it makes it difficult for parties to support their candidates, neither of these arguments are valid.³¹ The evidence shows that Republicans saw no change in their ability to translate their support into seats in the state legislature.

A comparison of 2022 elections against past elections illustrates Republicans’ continued strength in Alaska. The easiest way to examine this question is to calculate the ratio between the average Republican vote share across all state legislative elections for each cycle between 2012 and 2022 and the percentage of seats won by the Republican Party in the Alaska legislature. A value of 1 implies that the average Republican vote share was the same as the percentage of seats won that cycle (for example, an average of 60 percent of the vote and 60 percent of available seats won). A number greater than 1 represents the party overperforming their vote share.

As illustrated in **Figure 3**, Republicans had one of their best years in recent history by this metric, with a vote-to-seat ratio of 1.19. This is well above both the average of the preceding decade (1.16) and the median (1.11). Thus, 2022’s increased competition did not have a negative impact on Republican candidates.

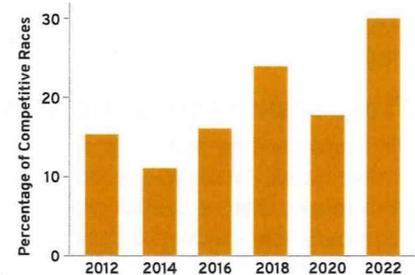
This change in competition without a meaningful change in partisanship is not a coincidence. A main advantage of having multiple candidates from the same party competing for office, as is possible under a top-four system, is that it provides a viable off-ramp for supporters who want to see their party win but who may not like the candidate who won a partisan primary. It also gives a choice to members of the opposing party, whose candidates may not be viable in a given district but who still would like a meaningful say in who represents them. In other types of elections, if an unfavorable candidate advances out of the primary, a voter may feel stuck choosing between the lesser of two evils—a member of their own party with whom they have substantial disagreements or a member of the opposing party.

With up to four candidates on the ballot as established with top-four systems, voters have greater choice and an ability to identify a more agreeable candidate. In 2022, for example, Republicans were able to field multiple candidates and therefore were not stuck with weak candidates who could have lost the general election. This dynamic was particularly present in the 2022 Alaska state legislative elections. (A notable exception to this is the election of Democratic Rep. Mary Peltola to the House of Representatives. However, this proved to be more of an anomaly than a norm for reasons discussed earlier.)

For example, in Alaska State Senate Districts (SD) A, C, D, E, L and R, Republicans faced at least one challenge from another Republican in the general election. In each of these, the Republican who won likely would not have advanced in a more traditional closed primary system where more ardent, less broadly appealing candidates typically prevail.³²

The case of SD E is particularly striking. After the initial round of balloting, Cathy Giessel earned 33.64 percent of the vote, Roger Holland earned 33.1 percent and Roselynn Cacy earned 32.92 percent. Both Giessel and Holland ran as Republicans while Cacy ran as a

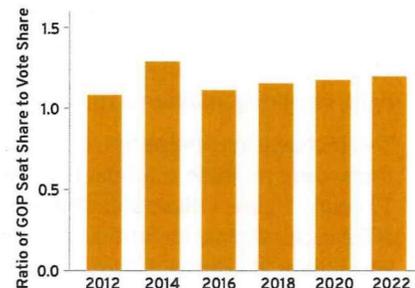
Figure 2: Percentage of Competitive State Legislative Races in Alaska, 2012-2022*



*Data was obtained for each year from official returns provided by the Alaska Division of Elections. Competitive races are classified as those in which the winning candidate received 55 percent or less of the vote.

Source: “Primary, General, and Statewide Special Election Results,” Alaska Division of Elections, last accessed Dec. 15, 2022. <https://www.elections.alaska.gov/doc/info/ElectionResults.php#2022A>.

Figure 3: Republican Seat Share to Vote Share Ratio in Alaska, 2012-2022*



*Data was obtained for each year from official returns provided by the Alaska Division of Elections. Values are calculated by dividing the percentage of seats won by Republicans after an election by the average percentage of the vote that Republican candidates received in that election.

Source: “Primary, General, and Statewide Special Election Results,” Alaska Division of Elections, last accessed Dec. 15, 2022. <https://www.elections.alaska.gov/doc/info/ElectionResults.php#2022A>.

Democrat. However, Holland ran as a much more staunchly conservative Republican, criticizing former Senate President Giessel for not being conspicuously Republican enough.³³

Given that no candidate received at least 50 percent of the vote, a second round of tabulation was undertaken after reallocating Cacy's vote to their second choice. These voters overwhelmingly preferred Giessel to Holland.³⁴ Under a traditional closed primary system, the general election likely would not have featured Giessel at all, which is precisely what happened in her 2020 primary.³⁵ As evidenced by elections in other states, this could have actually cost Republicans a seat in the legislature as, absent a more moderate Republican, voters tended to prefer moderate Democrats over more populist Republicans.³⁶ This anecdote illustrates how being able to field multiple candidates can ensure partisan success even with polarizing candidates on the ballot.

Incumbents Largely Retained Their Seats Under the Top-Four System

A final observation from Alaska's 2022 election is that increased competition did not result in incumbents faring worse. Incumbents have long been advantaged when seeking reelection, regardless of the institutional rules in place.³⁷ As shown in Figure 4, Alaska's shift to top-four voting did not have an effect on this advantage, as incumbents continued to fare well with the new voting system.

The 2022 cycle saw 90 percent of incumbents win reelection, which is one of their best showings in the last decade. This number exceeds the average incumbent win rate from the prior five election cycles by more than three percentage points and is within four percentage points of the two election cycles where incumbents fared better.

This 90 percent reelection rate is particularly striking as the 2022 election cycle came at the end of the most recent round of redistricting. Drawing new maps alters the partisan makeup of districts and sometimes pits incumbents against one another, both of which are factors that can make it harder—or even impossible—for incumbents to win. As a point of comparison, 81 percent of incumbents in Alaska won reelection in 2012 after the last round of redistricting.

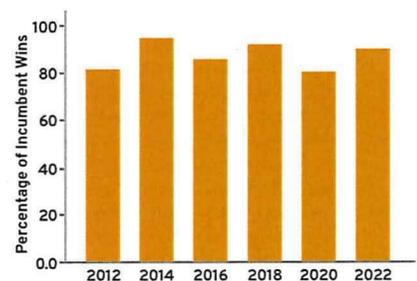
Though incumbents, especially those in the majority, may be hesitant to embrace electoral reforms because such changes can introduce uncertainty and make it more difficult for them or their party to retain power, the fact that incumbents fared as well in 2022 as they did in years prior suggests that such concerns may be unwarranted.

Conclusion

The top-four voting system adopted in Alaska succeeded in increasing the number of candidates running in the general election and overall competition for legislative seats. Under the new system, candidates who ran civil campaigns that appealed to broader audiences were more likely to succeed and incumbents also fared comparably well. Future research should evaluate these and other metrics in subsequent election cycles to identify the trends that persist and emerge as voters and candidates become more familiar with the new system.

The 2022 results also demonstrated the immense benefits of the top-four structure for voters. The system gave citizens greater choice and elevated the most broadly appealing candidates, which improved representation. Importantly, Alaskans viewed the process favorably, largely describing it as "simple" despite some arguments to the contrary.³⁸ In the face of efforts to repeal the system, a successful top-four election represents a huge win for the Last Frontier voters, and elected officials would be wise to retain it. Doing so keeps Alaska on the cutting edge of reform and prevents reversion toward a less competitive and less representative electoral system.³⁹

Figure 4: Percentage of State Legislative Incumbent Wins in Alaska, 2012-2022*



*Data was obtained for each year from official returns provided by the Alaska Division of Elections. Only elections that featured an incumbent are considered. For 2012 through 2020, incumbent losses in both the primary and general elections are included.

Source: "Primary, General, and Statewide Special Election Results," Alaska Division of Elections, last accessed Dec. 15, 2022. <https://www.elections.alaska.gov/doc/info/ElectionResults.php#2022A>.

About the Author

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AN ANALYSIS OF RANKED CHOICE VOTING IN MAINE

By Matthew Germer

INTRODUCTION

In 2016, Maine voters approved Question 5, the Ranked Choice Voting Act, which stated that all primary and general elections for governor, state legislature and federal congressional offices would use ranked choice voting (RCV) to establish a winner. After two years of litigation and modifications, Maine implemented RCV for the 2018 primary election and has continued to use it in both primary and general elections ever since.

While Maine was not the first jurisdiction to implement RCV, it was the first to do so for legislative and executive positions at a statewide level, and the highly contested race for Maine’s 2nd Congressional District in 2018 shone a spotlight on the RCV process.¹ Since that time, RCV has spread to other local jurisdictions and has been adopted in a different form statewide in Alaska.²

Though not exhaustive, concerns about RCV tend to fall into three broad categories:

1. It is too complicated for voters to understand.

2. It eliminates genuine binary choices between two top-tier candidates.
3. It disenfranchises voters by creating manufactured majorities.³

While other papers have evaluated these concerns for their theoretical and ideological merit, this paper uses available data from the 2018 and 2020 RCV elections in Maine to evaluate the extent to which RCV is too complicated for voters to understand and whether any confusion impacts the ability for voters to express themselves through the ballot.⁴

WHEN GIVEN THE CHANCE, VOTERS USE RANKED CHOICE VOTING

To evaluate whether Maine voters find RCV too confusing, it is necessary to start by looking at how RCV has been implemented in Maine and whether voters take advantage of its unique features.

Following a ballot proposition and subsequent narrowing lawsuits and legislation, Maine implemented RCV for state primaries, federal primaries and general elections in 2018.⁵ In that time, Maine’s politically divided 2nd Congressional District (ME-2) underwent three elections in which voters were asked to rank multiple candidates: the 2018 Democratic primary election, the 2018 general election, and the 2020 Republican primary election.⁶ The 2018 Democratic primary ballot and 2018 general ballot each included four candidates. The 2020 Republican primary ballot included three candidates. Of note, only two candidates were on the ballot for the 2020 general election, and therefore the election was not conducted using RCV.

An analysis of the voting data from these three ME-2 RCV elections, which span both major parties’ primaries and a hotly contested general election, provides insights into the practical implementation of RCV and the willingness of voters to use the features of RCV by ranking multiple candidates.

The willingness of voters to rank multiple candidates in ME-2 RCV elections is summarized below in Table 1. From this data a few findings emerge.

TABLE 1: RCV UTILIZATION IN 2018 AND 2020 ME-2 ELECTIONS

Election	Ranked All 4 Candidates	Ranked At Least 3 Candidates	Ranked At Least 2 Candidates	Ranked At Least 1 Candidate	Blank Ballots
2018 Dem Primary	28.75%	45.89%	64.54%	88.60%	10.73%
2018 General	22.27%	35.87%	46.24%	97.61%	1.97%
2020 GOP Primary	-	48.35%	57.38%	89.73%	9.43%

First, when presented with the opportunity to rank candidates, voters largely took the opportunity to do so. A majority of voters in the primary election and a near-majority in the general election chose to rank two or more candidates on their ballots. Going a step further, between one-third and one-half of voters chose to rank three or more candidates, and in the races that contained four candidates, roughly one-quarter of voters ranked all four candidates somewhere on the ballot. At a high level, large portions of voters of all stripes appear willing to use the rank-ordering features of RCV, particularly within the context of a primary election where strong majorities ranked multiple candidates.

The willingness to rank more candidates in a primary than in a general election makes intuitive sense in context. In a primary election, voters are likely to feel greater ideological and partisan alignment with multiple candidates, and they are thus more likely to find multiple candidates to be satisfactory.

In the general election, however, many voters may feel uncomfortable crossing party lines to vote, and independent candidates may not provide enough ideological alignment to warrant support. This exact circumstance occurred in the 2018 general election.

In the 2018 general election, four candidates ran for the ME-2 seat: incumbent Republican Bruce Poliquin, Democrat Jared Golden, and independents Tiffany Bond and William Hoar. As indicated in Table 2, a majority of GOP voters in the 2018 general election did not feel comfortable supporting any candidate other than the Republican, Poliquin. This could be due to ideological misalignment with the other candidates, or because Republican voters felt satisfied with the incumbent Republican’s performance and thus never became familiar with the challengers. Democratic voters, in contrast, largely felt comfortable including one of the independent candidates on their ballots, which was likely for inverse reasons to the Republicans. Democrats may have felt greater alignment with the independents, or may have wanted to send a message of “anyone but Poliquin.”

TABLE 2: WILLINGNESS TO RANK MULTIPLE CANDIDATES BY FIRST-CHOICE SELECTION IN 2018 ME-2 GENERAL

Top Candidate	Ranked Just 1	Ranked More Than 1
Bond (I)	24.89%	72.04%
Golden (D)	37.32%	59.54%
Hoar (I)	24.89%	67.40%
Poliquin (R)	62.44%	31.36%

In all, a strong majority of Democratic and third-party voters and nearly a third of Republican voters ranked more than one candidate in the 2018 general election. When taken in context with the strong majorities who ranked multiple can-

didates in the 2018 Democratic and 2020 Republican primaries, the results in ME-2 show that voters of all perspectives do not find RCV confusing, as evidenced by their willingness to use the rank-ordering feature of RCV to express their preferences.

BY AND LARGE, VOTERS WERE NOT DISENFRANCHISED DUE TO CONFUSION OVER RANKED CHOICE VOTING

Looking next to the question of disenfranchisement due to confusion, the 2018 and 2020 ME-2 RCV elections provide strong arguments against widespread voter confusion. Instead, these elections show that voters confused by RCV represent a small minority of total voters and were far too few to impact the outcome of even the narrow margins of the 2018 general election.

As shown above in Table 1, the overwhelming majority of ballots in all three ME-2 RCV elections from 2018 to 2020 showed support for at least one candidate. However, not all ballots from these elections indicated support for any of the candidates. Some ballots were returned with missing votes for first or second choice (“undervoting”), while others included too many candidates as a first or second choice (“overvoting”).⁷ In RCV terms, these are known as “exhausted ballots,” and they indicate some level of confusion from voters.

While overvoting is the result of an unintentional mistake by a voter when filling out the ballot and is a strong indicator of voter confusion, determining voter confusion from undervoting is a bit more complicated. Some voters may intentionally leave a ballot blank not out of confusion but instead to express that they have no preferences between the candidates.

Looking again at Table 1, primary voters were substantially more likely to leave their ballot completely blank while almost all general election voters chose at least one candidate. This discrepancy between blank ballot totals in primary and general elections should be expected. In a primary election, voters may feel ideological alignment with multiple candidates and be satisfied with any of the candidates representing the party in the general election. Relatedly, primary voters may also feel more attachment to the party than to individual candidates and be less willing to spend their time researching or voting for each office in a primary. Finally, primary elections often receive less media coverage, and as a result it can be harder for voters to learn about the candidates participating. In this case, voters may choose to leave their ballots blank rather than decide based on limited information.

In any event, a greater number of blank ballots in a primary is not unique to RCV elections. In 2016, just prior to the implementation of RCV, 9.98 percent of GOP voters left the ME-2

primary election blank on their ballots, as displayed in Table 3.⁸ Therefore, blank ballots should not be regarded as a sign that voters are confused with RCV as a voting system. Rather, blank ballots can provide insight into voters' preferences for who wins an election, which is to say these voters may have no preference.

TABLE 3: BLANK BALLOTS IN CONTESTED ME-2 PRIMARIES

Election	Election Type	Blank Ballots
2020 GOP	RCV	9.43%
2018 Dem	RCV	10.73%
2016 GOP	Plurality	9.98%

While blank ballots alone do not indicate voter confusion, undervoting may still be the result of confusion. In an attempt to account for this type of confusion, Maine law requires ballot canvassers to count the ballot for a voter's second choice if the ballot shows an undervote for first choice.⁹ However, ballots are exhausted if they contain two consecutive undervotes.¹⁰ In practical terms, this means that some ballots may be exhausted even though they show some attempt at voting, as exemplified in Figure 1. Such a ballot represents a strong indicator of voter confusion with RCV and would result in the ballot being removed from the count.

FIGURE 1: EXAMPLE OF EXHAUSTION DUE TO UNDERVOTING, YET INDICATING AN ATTEMPT TO VOTE

Candidate	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
Armando Alvarez			
Brenda Buttons			
Christine Chan			X

In all, when evaluating voter confusion, ballots indicating support for a candidate or that are completely blank are ballots that effectively convey voters' intent. However, ballots showing overvoting or showing undervoting with an intent to vote indicate some level of voter confusion leading to ballot exhaustion.

For the 2018 and 2020 for the ME-2 RCV elections, the confused voters are summarized in Table 4.

TABLE 4: VOTER CONFUSION IN ME-2 RCV ELECTIONS

Race	Picked At Least 1 Candidate	Completely Blank	"Confused" Ballots	"Confused" but Still Counted	Exhausted Due to Confusion
2018 P	88.60%	10.73%	0.66%	0.31%	0.35%
2018 G	97.61%	1.97%	0.41%	0.21%	0.21%
2020 P	89.73%	9.43%	0.84%	0.11%	0.73%

- "Confused Ballots" means the ballot did not include a valid selection in round 1 either due to overvoting or undervoting (but the ballot itself was not entirely blank).
- "Confused but Still Counted" means the ballot contained an undervote for first choice but had a valid selection for second choice.
- "Exhausted Due to Confusion" means their ballot was exhausted either by overvote or undervote (but the ballot itself was not entirely blank).

In the 2018 Democratic primary, 88.60 percent of ballots contained a valid first-choice candidate. With 10.73 percent of the ballots completely blank, only 0.66 percent of the ballots definitively reflected some kind of voter confusion, either overvoting or undervoting. However, as explained above, some of those undervoted ballots still counted for the voters' second-choice candidate and were not considered "exhausted." After removing these ballots from the count, only 0.35 percent of the ballots were exhausted, or "disenfranchised," due to confusion. Put differently, this means 99.65 percent of ballots reflected some kind of preference by voters. For being the first RCV election in the state, such a low rate of exhaustion due to confusion should be regarded as quite impressive.

While the goal should be eliminating the number of ballots exhausted due to confusion, some voter error is always present, even in standard "winner-take-all" elections.¹¹ And while voter error is concerning, Maine's experience with RCV shows that exhaustion rates due to confusion at these low rates are highly unlikely to impact the outcome of the election.

In the 2018 general election, Republican Bruce Poliquin led the election over Democrat Jared Golden after the first round of voting 46.33 percent to 45.58 percent.¹² With no clear majority, the lower-performing independent candidates were eliminated, and their votes were transferred to the remaining two candidates under the rules of RCV. Ultimately, Golden defeated Poliquin 50.62 percent to 49.38 percent, a margin of just 3,505 votes. In this extremely close election, only 0.21 percent of votes, a total of 621, were exhausted due to confusion. Even if all of these voters intended to vote for Poliquin, the number of "disenfranchised" ballots was far too small to make up the gap.

With so few ballots being exhausted due to confusion, the ME-2 RCV data shows that RCV is not too confusing for voters, but instead that voters largely understand how RCV works. As Maine continues to use RCV and voters become increasingly familiar with it, future election data should

show even less confusion from voters and perhaps even greater willingness to rank multiple candidates.

CONCLUSION

In all, the willingness to use rank-ordering by a majority of voters and the extremely low exhaustion rates due to confusion both indicate that RCV is not too complicated for voters to understand. Instead, the data shows that voters in Maine effectively use the power of RCV to express their preferences by ranking candidates and that the overwhelming majority of ballots accurately reflect those preferences.

As other states look to implement RCV in their elections, including the recently adopted “Top Four” system in Alaska or the “Final Five Voting” system being considered in states like Wisconsin, voters should feel confident that RCV election outcomes are unlikely to be impacted by voter confusion.¹³ Instead, voters can look forward to expressing their preferences in new ways, just like voters in Maine.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Matthew Germer is a fellow for the R Street Institute's Governance Program, where he focuses on elections.

ENDNOTES

1. See, e.g., Krist Novoselić, “A brief history of ranked choice voting,” *FairVote*, Aug. 26, 2015. <https://www.fairvote.org/a-brief-history-of-ranked-choice-voting>; Patrick R. Potyondy, “Maine becomes first state to use ranked choice voting,” National Conference of State Legislatures, June 14, 2018. <https://www.ncsl.org/blog/2018/06/14/maine-becomes-the-first-state-to-use-ranked-choice-voting.aspx>.
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4. Matt Germer, “Ranked-choice voting: A conservative election reform,” R Street Blog, May 12, 2021. <https://www.rstreet.org/2021/05/12/ranked-choice->; Maine Bureau of Corporations, Elections & Commissions, “Election results,” Maine Secretary of State, last accessed Sept. 1, 2021. <https://www.maine.gov/sos/cec/elec/results/index.html>.
6. *Ibid.*
7. 21-A M.R.S. § 723-A (2020). <https://legislature.maine.gov/statutes/21-A/title21-Asec723-A.html>.
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11. Ron Elving, “The Florida recount of 2000: A nightmare that goes on haunting,” NPR, Nov. 12, 2018. <https://www.npr.org/2018/11/12/666812854/the-florida-recount-of-2000-a-nightmare-that-goes-on-haunting>.
12. Maine Bureau of Corporations, Elections & Commissions. <https://www.maine.gov/sos/cec/elec/results/index.html>.
13. Anthony Dabruzzi, “Final-five voting gains momentum with bipartisan legislation,” *Spectrum News 1*, May 12, 2021. <https://spectrumnews1.com/wi/madison/politics/2021/05/11/final-five-voting-gains-bipartisan-momentum>.

**Written Testimony submitted to the Wisconsin State Legislature Senate Committee on
Elections**

Senate Bill 528

Public Hearing December 12, 2023

Gina Swoboda, Executive Director, Voter Reference Foundation

It is an honor to submit written testimony on Senate Bill 528. Thank you for the opportunity to address 'Top Five/Ranked Choice Voting.' My name is Gina Swoboda. I am the Executive Director of the Voter Reference Foundation (VRF), and the Chief Election Policy Officer of Restoration of America. This testimony is presented on behalf of the Voter Reference Foundation.

Our Foundation is focused on promoting transparency and integrity in our elections process, which are integral to our goal of increasing voter participation. At a time when Americans are seeking increased transparency, the introduction of a new, unfamiliar, and opaque method of casting their ballots and tabulating contest results is precisely the wrong direction to take on elections policy.

Voters are expressing concerns with the integrity of our elections process and are seeking increased transparency. Ranked choice or 'Top Five' voting is a black box of opacity, which makes routing post-election audits or recounts incredibly difficult to execute and virtually ensures that members of the public are unable to meaningfully observe or participate in those activities.

The groups promoting Ranked Choice or Top Five voting insist that this method will reduce partisan divides and bring the electorate and policy 'to the middle.' It is the stated intention of these groups that by implementing RCV/Top Five voting, candidates for office will run a primary as though it were a General Election, by which they intend to say that moving away from party platforms which sometimes result in a 'deadlock' is a solution for increased comity in the body politic.

To the contrary, by completely overhauling the way the people of Wisconsin vote and the method by which those votes are tallied, we are virtually ensured of undermining voter confidence and creating controversy in every election. When voters lose confidence, they cease voting. When voters are confused by the process they cease participating. When voters stop participating, the much vaunted 'middle ground' is not the result. Rather, the most engaged, high political acuity voters will be the majority of those participating and these groups are necessarily highly polarized, which leads not to consensus but to further stalemates.

The stated outcome sought by this change will not be the end result. One can see this in the numerous jurisdictions that have implemented a form of RCV/Top Five only to reverse course when the confusing process results in alienated voters and aggravated election administrators (the state of AK, and Fairfax County, VA among the most recent examples). Sadly, when jurisdictions that have enacted a form of RCV realize their mistake, taxpayers are often several million dollars out of pocket as the retooling of election equipment and processes and the investment in re-educating voters in an entirely new method of voting are costly and time-consuming.

Legislative bodies are designed to debate policy. Upending the entire elections process to attempt to avoid 'divisive politics' is not a solution to partisan rancor. The elections process should not be a tool to 'incentivize politicians to work together' as expressed by groups promoting this bill. Voters are as likely to choose to send candidates to a general election to stop policy as they are to advance policy. This is why we see split-ticket voters; many are seeking to balance power among different parties which can sometimes create the gridlock the promoters of this bill wish to avoid.

Confusing voters by placing five candidates on a ballot for every contest, and then forcing them to 'rank' a candidate for whom they may have no point of reference, no time to research and even an antipathy for supporting, is holding their vote hostage with the threat that their ballot may be 'exhausted' which effectively means their vote is thrown away, should they fail to fully rank each race.

Votes are the voices of the people. Silencing voices by exhausting the voters who are already hard-pressed to research every candidate, every issue, every cycle by requiring them to vote five times in every contest on lengthy ballots is a recipe for decreasing confidence and depressing turnout.

Every child instinctively understands that the person with the most votes wins. RCV/Top Five is not instinctive and unlike the current system it does not ensure that the wishes of the majority in any contest (majority defined in the truest sense: as every vote cast in a contest, not merely those remaining after ballots are thrown out) is reflected in the result. As such RCV/Top Five voting is not acceptable for voters.

As a group whose sole mission is to increase election integrity and transparency and promote voter participation, we most respectfully request that the Wisconsin Senate defeat this bill to ensure the voices of the voters of Wisconsin continue to be represented with one vote for one person. We request the Senate protect the current elections process, in which no ballot is 'exhausted' for failing to 'rank' every candidate, and where no voter is disenfranchised simply by virtue of being unable to keep up with the amount of research and number of votes required to participate in a new system whose stated aim cannot be accomplished without decreasing voter confidence, exhausting voters and throwing out votes.

For follow up questions and more information, I may be reached at gs@voterreferencefoundation.com.

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Oral Testimony

To Wisconsin Senate Committee on

Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection

Sen. Daniel Knodl, chairman

Scott Walter

President, Capital Research Center

December 12, 2023

Chairman Knodl, distinguished members of the Committee, thank you for the honor of testifying. I'm Scott Walter, president of the Capital Research Center, a Washington think tank that specializes in identifying special interests and the money flows they use to push state and federal policies.

We track the special interests that aim to influence how Americans vote, including efforts to introduce ranked-choice voting, or RCV.¹ Though this scheme was first used in America a century ago, it was largely forgotten until tens of millions of dollars began to be put behind it in the last several years.

Like many special interests, the donors pouring money into this election scheme frame it as a "nonpartisan" idea. But the cash behind RCV demonstrates that is *not* true. Left-wing Democrats are its largest boosters.

You may or may not decide RCV is desirable. As an out-of-stater, I won't presume to tell you what's best for Wisconsin. But please don't fall for false claims that centrists or nonpartisans are the main backers of RCV, or that lots of conservative donors support it.

¹ See <https://capitalresearch.org/article/ranked-choice-voting-part-1/>.

Left-wing megadonors who've put cash behind RCV include Sam Bankman-Fried, the disgraced cryptocurrency tycoon who was the second largest Democratic Party donor in the 2022 cycle, behind only George Soros.² Second, a Wisconsinite, Katherine Gehl, former head of Gehl Foods, is almost certainly the largest single donor to RCV campaigns. She was a bundler for Obama,³ though she now donates to some Republicans who are needed to pass RCV laws. But it's almost impossible to find her giving to Republicans before 2018.⁴

Ebay billionaire Pierre Omidyar is another major donor to RCV. He's a megadonor to numerous left-wing causes and probably the largest donor in America to so-called NeverTrump efforts.⁵ On election issues, he not only supports RCV but also such dubious policies as expanding vote by mail.

The two most prominent groups pushing RCV are FairVote and Unite America, both supported by left-wing megadonors. FairVote receives support not only from George Soros but also from his son Jonathan.⁶ Omidyar also supports FairVote, as do the Tides Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund—two left-wing philanthropies currently under fire for funding left-wing activists linked to anti-Semitic protests and even Palestinian terrorist groups.⁷

FairVote also receives major support from Laura and John Arnold. Some RCV boosters point to the Arnolds' ties to Texas oil and gas interests, implying the Arnolds are conservative or Republican donors, but as our InfluenceWatch reports, their giving in recent years is "center-left."⁸

² See <https://www.nbcnews.com/meet-the-press/meetthepressblog/sam-bankman-frieds-downfall-deprives-dems-key-donor-rcna57091>.

³ See <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/23412858/nevada-question-3-final-five-voting-katherine-gehl>.

⁴ See <https://www.opensecrets.org/donor-lookup/results?name=Katherine+Gehl&order=desc&page=1&sort=D>. The lone exception I can find is \$500 to Republican Jack Ryan in 2003.

⁵ For Omidyar personally, see <https://www.influencewatch.org/person/pierre-omidyar/>. For his network of politically active nonprofits, see <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/omidyar-nexus/>.

⁶ See <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/fairvote/>.

⁷ See <https://www.washingtonexaminer.com/news/hamas-protests-bankrolled-democratic-dark-money-tides-israel>, <https://www.ngo-monitor.org/funder/tides-network/>, <https://nypost.com/2023/12/02/metro/rockefeller-brothers-fund-funding-palestinian-terror-groups/>, https://www.ngo-monitor.org/funder/rockefeller_brothers_fund/, and <https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/rockefeller-brothers-fund/#anti-israel-activities>.

⁸ See <https://www.influencewatch.org/for-profit/arnold-ventures/>.

Unite America is the other major group supporting RCV. It tries to camouflage its leftward tilt to Democrats by having an advisory board with a roughly bipartisan split, but members of its *governing* board overwhelmingly donate to Democrats.⁹ Its largest donor is Kathryn Murdoch, whom RCV supporters sometimes imply is not a left-leaning Democrat because she married into the family of Fox News' owner Rupert Murdoch. In fact, she *is* a left-wing Democrat who worked for the Clinton Climate Initiative and donated heavily to the Hillary Victory Fund.¹⁰

In short, though occasionally a Republican donor like Ken Griffin or Michael Porter has supported RCV, it's overwhelmingly a crusade funded by left-wing Democrats. I suspect they support it because by ending partisan primaries, it would gravely weaken *both* political parties,¹¹ which in turn would strengthen the billionaires' political power, because both parties would lack the power to oppose billionaires' whims.

Thank you.

⁹ See <https://www.influencewatch.org/political-party/unite-america/>.

¹⁰ See <https://www.influencewatch.org/person/kathryn-murdoch/>.

¹¹ That RCV would profoundly weaken political parties is admitted in this left-leaning defense of RCV: <https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/23412858/nevada-question-3-final-five-voting-katherine-gehl>.

**Written Testimony submitted to the Wisconsin State Legislature Senate Committee on
Elections**

Senate Bill 528

Public Hearing December 12, 2023

Lori Roman, Chairman and CEO, American Constitutional Rights Union Action Fund

Thank you for the opportunity to provide written testimony on Senate Bill 528, addressing what is commonly referred to as “Ranked Choice Voting” or “RCV.” My name is Lori Roman. I am the Chairman and CEO of the American Constitutional Rights Union and American Constitutional Rights Union Action Fund. This testimony is presented on behalf of the Action Fund.

The American Constitutional Rights Union (www.theacru.org), formerly the American Civil Rights Union, was established in 1999 by close advisors to President Ronald Reagan--Robert Carleson and Attorney General Edwin Meese III--to stand against harmful, anti-constitutional ideologies that have taken hold in our nation’s courts, schools, and bureaucracies. Since 2013, the organization has worked diligently to protect the integrity of elections. Attorney General Meese still serves on our Board of Directors and offers important leadership and guidance to our work.

ACRU and ACRU Action Fund are the nation’s leaders in protecting vulnerable voters. In January 2020, we launched our Protect Vulnerable Voters Project, and this led to our groundbreaking Center for Vulnerable Voters (www.centerforvulnerablevoters.org). We work to protect the voting rights of Americans, with particular attention paid to the elderly, disabled, those in residential facilities, and military voters. We were the first organization to ever take on this issue to ensure their votes are not suppressed or stolen.

Unfortunately, Wisconsin stands out as verifiably the worst state in the country at protecting the voting rights of vulnerable voters in residential facilities.

Below is a link to an op ed by ACRU Board Members Ed Meese and former Ohio Secretary of State Ken Blackwell, which serves as an excellent summary of this important project and highlights the documented travesty in Wisconsin:
<https://townhall.com/columnists/edwinmeeseiii/2022/08/02/the-most-despicable-form-of-vote-fraud-n2611123>

Vulnerable Voters already struggle to exercise their voting rights. They are susceptible to vote fraud, vote suppression, and barriers to voting. They are especially vulnerable in a number of counties in Wisconsin where investigations have indicated that dementia patients are having their ballots filled out for them, the most despicable form of vote fraud.

Even for those vulnerable voters who are not in residential facilities, Ranked Choice Voting (also called “Instant-Runoff Voting (IRV)”) is complicated, confusing, and challenging. It will further disenfranchise these voters and will increase the likelihood that they will not vote or will seek assistance from someone who may ignore their free choice and fill out the ballot for them.

Activists pushing Ranked Choice Voting say that it is simple.

It is not simple. It is complicated and confusing. It disenfranchises voters and makes vulnerable voters more susceptible to vote fraud and suppression.

The elderly residents we speak with on a regular basis are deeply disturbed by what they perceive as a confusing and complicated change in the election process. One elderly nursing home resident we spoke with stated:

“I understand that technology will move forward at a pace I can’t understand or catch up with. That’s fine. But I always thought participating in civil discourse and the political process was something that would remain evergreen. This new voting process is deeply confusing and feels like something designed to keep me from participating in something in, which I’ve taken great pride – our election process. I’ve seen the instructions. I’ve listened to people describe how to work this new ballot. I’m just not interested. It’s not meant for me. It’s meant to keep my thoughts and opinions and values from being a part of the system.”

When speaking with both homeless and disabled voting constituencies and their advocates we’ve received similar feedback. RCV is too complicated to empower them to vote without direct assistance, especially those in group homes. And direct assistance makes them vulnerable to vote fraud.

We’ve heard:

“There’s ‘no way’ the voter can know enough about each candidate to properly rank them. This will make it even harder to vote.”

Activists push Ranked Choice Voting by promoting it in and for the military.

The Left recognizes that Americans love and support the military, so they use the military to advance their RCV propaganda. Everyone knows there are challenges in military voting, so the Left presents RCV as the solution. But RCV will only make it more difficult and more complicated for military voters. ACRU advocates for military voters and there is more information at www.protectmilitaryvotes.org.

Military voters are already disenfranchised to a great degree, but RCV will make it much worse.

Only 26% of military members voted in 2018.

One Service Member said:

“I’m proud to cast my ballot and participate in the system—but really my job is to protect the system. This new configuration makes the process even more complicated than before. I already knew my vote was likely not going to be counted, but now I feel like I’m participating in a mock election. It doesn’t make sense.”

ACRU’s Center for Vulnerable Voters focuses on:

- Enabling vulnerable voting constituencies to protect their vote and exercise their rights.
- Ensuring election officials, poll watchers and poll workers understand how to protect the integrity of all votes.
- Training and educating residential facility staff in how to protect voting rights.
- Educating citizens to actively participate in protecting their loved ones and fellow citizens.
- Educating and engaging policy makers and officials in ensuring election integrity for vulnerable voters.

We are the nation’s leading expert on protecting the voting rights of vulnerable citizens and we implore the Wisconsin Senate to protect the voting rights of your most vulnerable citizens by soundly defeating this bill.

For follow up questions and more information, I may be reached at lori.roman@theacru.org.

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December 11, 2023

Wisconsin State Senate Committee on Shared Revenue, Elections and Consumer Protection
Wisconsin State Capitol, 2 East Main Street
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RE: Submitted Testimony on Final Five Voting

Members of the State Senate Elections Committee:

I wish I could be with you in person today for your hearing on SB 528 / AB 563, as I believe your consideration of Final Five Voting is one of the most important decisions you will make during your time as an elected official.

I believe this because I believe in root cause solutions. I believe in incentives. And I believe incentives determine behavior. Right now, the incentives in our election system do not reward the behavior most of us wish to see in Congress.

My experience in the world of politics and policy is limited, but it is resonant. I served as a White House Fellow during the last six months of the Obama Administration and the first six months of the Trump Administration, on the National Economic Council. My appointment made me one of the unique holdovers from one vastly different administration to the next. But my time in DC is not defined by the differences in these administrations, rather by the similarities. From a policy perspective, there were many shared economic policy solutions.

Talking to Members of Congress in both parties, I heard broad consensus on a range of important economic issues. Yet the elected officials often felt they couldn't support these consensus solutions without 'risking a primary'. And they wanted to keep their jobs. They were doing so much good work, that the perceived primary risk wasn't worth it, even for a good policy that most of their constituents would want.

Those are misaligned incentives. Final Five Voting realigns these incentives by making the general election the most important election, giving voters more choice and more voice, and creating accountability for results.

Thank you for the opportunity to share my support of Final Five Voting.

Sincerely,



Austin Ramirez

Austin Ramirez
Chief Executive Officer

Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Adams	Arkdale	Chuck	Schuyler	1789 20th Court	54613
Adams	Arkdale	Susie	Schuyler	1789 20th Court	54613
Ashland	Ashland	Laura	Lokken	615 Beaser Avenue	54806
Ashland	Butternut	Steve	Gustafson	N16658 Highway 13	54514
Barron	Chetek	Mark	Sherman	964 23rd Street	54728
Bayfield	Cable	Kathryn	Wright	45269 Trail Inn Rd	54821
Bayfield	Cable	Peter	Wright	45269 Trail Inn Rd	54821
Brown	De Pere	Judy	Nagel	4438 Oak Ridge Ct.	54115
Brown	De Pere	Chris	Rogers	4451 Whisper Lane	54115
Brown	Green Bay	Carl	Hujet	1217 gross av.	54304
Brown	Green Bay	Betty	Kossik	2346 Browning Rd.	54302
Brown	Green Bay	Jonathan	Renier-Wigg	626 S Jackson St	54301
Brown	Green Bay	Jayne	Rising	120 Allard Ave	54303
Brown	Green Bay	Karyl	Schunck	1398 Eminence St	54313
Brown	Green Bay	Patricia	Rahikainen	2060 Van Deuren St.	54302
Brown	Hobart	Janice	Rickert	765 Centerline Dr	54155
Buffalo	Alma	Terry	Schoonover	S2274B Flury Ridge Ln	54610
Buffalo	Buffalo City	Craig	Brooks	1402 S River Rd	54622
Buffalo	Buffalo City	Sandy	Brooks	1402 S River Rd	54622
Buffalo	Buffalo City	William	Brooks	1402 S River Rd	54622
Burnett	Grantsburg	Christine	Le Page	14431 Bistram Rd	55840
Burnett	Siren	Patti	Hurd	23320 Malone Rd	54872
Calumet	Appleton	Kathleen	Gribble	318 E Mitchell Ave	54915
Chippewa	Cadott	Pat	McGuire	433 E M D St.	54727
Chippewa	Chippewa Falls	Karen	Goulet	6057 90th St	54729
Chippewa	Lake Hallie	Emily	Bruce	16353 56th St	54729
Chippewa	Lake Hallie	Jacob	Bruce	16353 56th St	54729
Columbia	Lodi	Bob	Hunt	W11437 Red Cedar Dr	53555
Columbia	Lodi	Colleen	Robson	127 Vilas Hibbard Pkwy	53555
Columbia	Poynette	David	Faust	536 N Cleveland St	53955
Crawford	Prairie du Sac	Rick	Schroeder	W14370 Jensen Dr	53578
Dane	Black Earth	Robert	McLaughlin	1540 East Street	53515
Dane	Black Earth	Tyler	Stank	1422 Spring St	53515
Dane	Deforest	Brian	Coker	707 Sunnybrook Drive	53532
Dane	Deforest	Mike	DeRubis	416 Meadow Oak Trl	53532
Dane	DeForest	Karen	Edson	3953 Finch Trail	53532
Dane	DeForest	Mary	Sanderson	573 Yorktown Rd.	53532
Dane	DeForest	John	Scepanski	732 DeForest St.	53532
Dane	DeForest	Stuart	Stotts	401 E. Holum St.	53532
Dane	Fitchburg	Andrew	Eng	6311 Quarry Vista Dr	53719
Dane	Fitchburg	Andy	Jaw	5523 Quarry Hill Dr.	53711
Dane	Fitchburg	Charles	Uphoff	2475 Lalor Rd	53575
Dane	Lodi	Sue	Heintz	8338 Jade Dr	53555
Dane	Madison	Donna	Beckett	3409 Nottingham	53713
Dane	Madison	Vicki	Berenson	145 Jackson St	53704
Dane	Madison	Andrea	Bilger	3722 Zwerg Dr	53705
Dane	Madison	Charles	Boardman	1422 Chandler Street	53711
Dane	Madison	Steve	Books	625 Spruce St.	53715
Dane	Madison	Tom	Boswell	1949 Sachtjen St.	53704
Dane	Madison	Kyle	Brockman	316 S Brooks St.	53715
Dane	Madison	Frank	Buress	6614 Carlton Drive	53718
Dane	Madison	Diane	Calhoun	3413 Concord Avenue	53714
Dane	Madison	Sue	Carlson	214 Garnet Ln	53714
Dane	Madison	Jim	Crist	5914 Hempstead Rd	53711
Dane	Madison	Jonathan	Engelhardt	209 Crestview Drive	53716

Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
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County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Dane	Madison	Jay	Ferm	2925 Hermina St.	53704
Dane	Madison	Harry	Freedman	1820 Summit Ave	53726
Dane	Madison	Leon	Frickensmith	3718 Manchester Rd	53719
Dane	Madison	Michael	Goodman	21 Maple Wood Lane	53704
Dane	Madison	Jeffrey	Guokas	1646 Lake View Avenue	53704
Dane	Madison	Dan	Johnson	210 Crystal Lane	53714
Dane	Madison	Kateri	Klinge	649 Sand Pearl Lane	53711
Dane	Madison	Skip	Kraiss	5263 Reiner Rd.	53718
Dane	Madison	Steven	Krueger	360 W. Washington Ave.	53703
Dane	Madison	Jeffrey	Lange	5009 Tomahawk Trail	53705
Dane	Madison	Allison	Leasure	416 S Orchard St.	53715
Dane	Madison	Mike	Leasure	416 S Orchard St.	53715
Dane	Madison	Virginia J	Link	2222 Cliff Court	53713
Dane	Madison	Nancy	McMahon	4317 Tokay Blvd	53711
Dane	Madison	Joy	Morgen	1901 Dondee Rd	53716
Dane	Madison	Valerie	Murphy	7616 Widgeon Way	53717
Dane	Madison	Kendall	Park	505 E Gorham Street	53703
Dane	Madison	David	Parker	317 S Segoe Rd	53705
Dane	Madison	George	Penn	917 Ridgewood Way	53713
Dane	Madison	Mary Kay	Reinemann	5518 GREENING LN	53705
Dane	Madison	Sara	Richards	710 Spruce Street	53715
Dane	Madison	Richard	Russell	7846 W. Oakbrook Cir.	53717
Dane	Madison	Derek	Schuld	6935 Old Sauk Road	53717
Dane	Madison	Julie	Sparks	3637 alpine rd	53704
Dane	Madison	Zoe	Sullivan	114 N. 2nd Street	53704
Dane	Madison	Daniel	Sykes	5577 Odana Rd	53719
Dane	Madison	Jim	Thiel	5037 La Crosse Ln	53705
Dane	Madison	Alex	Weissenfels	7362 Timber Lake Tr, Apt 307	53719
Dane	Madison	Jake	Winkler	2730 Union St	53704
Dane	Marshall	Linda	Yeager	618 Water Tower Drive	53559
Dane	McFarland	Kevin	Miller	5964 Prairie Wood Dr.	53558
Dane	Middleton	Rebecca	Alwin	1422 N Westfield Rd	53562
Dane	Middleton	Ann	Brodek	7600 Terrace Avenue Apt 210	53562
Dane	Middleton	Jeffery	Brodek	7600 Terrace Avenue Apt 210	53562
Dane	Middleton	Sara	Eskrich	8850 Blackhawk Rd Apt 403	53562
Dane	Middleton	Margaret	McWilliams	2136 Allen Blvd	53562
Dane	Middleton	Jane	Niebauer	2303 Middleton Beach Rd	53562
Dane	Middleton	Susan	Riesch	3023 Old Creek Rd	53562
Dane	Middleton	Roger	Schmidt	6710 Elmwood ave #106	53562
Dane	Monona	Elizabeth	Sorge	101 Ferchland Place	53714
Dane	Mount Horeb	William	Erickson	207 Beth Cir	53572
Dane	Mount Horeb	Carol	Larsen	9593 Overland Rd	53572
Dane	Mount Horeb	Colleen	Foley	209 S. First Street	53572
Dane	Oregon	Carlene	Bechen	683 Ridge View Lane	53575
Dane	Oregon	Colleen	Filtz	925 Timber Ridge Dr.	53575
Dane	Oregon	Jason	Johns	4670 Rutland Dunn Townline Rd	53575
Dane	Oregon	Amanda	Peterson	301 S Main St	53575
Dane	Stoughton	Robby	Ree	124 E Milwaukee St	53589
Dane	Verona	Annie	Bergquist	604 Feather Sound Dr	53593
Dane	Verona	Bob	Betzig	3542 Harper Ct.	53593
Dane	Verona	Bruce	Hagan	3548 Harper Court	53593
Dane	Verona	Amy	Raven	13 Kingswood Circle	53593
Dane	Verona	Joseph	Sleep	7688 Ox Trail Way	53593
Dane	Verona	John	Smalley	100 Holiday Ct	53593
Dane	Waunakee	Alison	Sparks Johnson	1503 Blue Grass Drive	53597

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
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County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Dodge	Ashippun	Ray	McKenna	Box 166	53003
Dodge	Beaver Dam	Mark	Biba	N 8477 Sunset Blvd	53916
Dodge	Beaver Dam	Allen	Heim	W7449 Hillendale Pkwy	53916
Dodge	Mayville	Barb	Brown	111 Muzzy St	53050
Door	Ephraim	Jacki	Kieckhefer	2760 Beechtree Ln	54211
Door	Ephraim	Robert	Kieckhefer	2760 Beechtree Ln	54211
Door	Sturgeon Bay	Patricie	Scieszinski	1218 Texas St	54235
Dunn	Colfax	Judith	Foust	E5760 816th Avenue	54730
Dunn	Menomonie	Diane	Brown	E3652 State Road 29	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Steven	Brown	E3652 State Road 29	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	John	Calabrese	1402 Kausrud St	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Janice	Erdman	1310 Main Street East	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Jim	Erdman	1310 Main Street East	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Judy	Ferber	1505 DOUGLAS STREET, #1	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Nita	Fitzgerald	1119 N Shore Drive	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Margo	Hecker	1417 Main Street East	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Steve	Hogseth	614 Woodridge Ct.	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Rebecca	Kneer	N6940 430th St	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Annemarie	McClellan	1215 Gilbert Creek Rd	54757
Dunn	Menomonie	Karen	Mischel	E4520 410th Avenue	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Ellen	Ochs	E4426 County Road D	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Jane	Pedersen	N7527 537th St	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Dennis	Spader	720 River Heights Rd	54751
Dunn	Menomonie	Lorene	Vedder	515 21st St. N.	54751
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	Joseph	Kunya	1929 Seclusion Dr	54703
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	Rich	Spindler	134 W Tyler Ave	54701
Eau Claire	Eau Claire	Joshua	Wilson	3137 Gateway Dr. Apt 6	54701
Eau Claire	Mondovi	Charlene	Warner	W6150 County Road ZZ	54755
Grant	Lancaster	David	Froemming	559 S. Harrison Street	53813
Grant	Platteville	Charles	Clark	875 West Main Street	53818
Green	Brodhead	Dave	Searles	804 17th Street	53520
Green	Monroe	Jon	Armstrong	624 30th Ave	53566
Green	Monroe	Sue	Armstrong	624 30th Ave	53566
Green	Monroe	William	Holland	W6767 Pond View Rd	53566
Green	New Glarus	Filip	Sanna	1313 Windlach St	53574
Green Lake	Princeton	Linda	DeCramer	N6815 County Road T	54968
Iowa	Arena	Janet	Brandt	7565 Mellum Rd	53503
Iowa	Barneveld	Louise	Dick	310 Corbin Drive	53507
Iowa	Dodgeville	Rachel	Hartline	5251 Section Line Road	53533
Jefferson	Fort Atkinson	Daniel	Fary	W7466 County Road J	53538
Jefferson	Fort Atkinson	Elaine Dorough	Johnson	1419 Jamesway	53538
Jefferson	Watertown	Meri	Christensen	1010 Clark St	53094
Jefferson	Watertown	Robert	Koepcke	430 South Concord Avenue, Unit D	53094
Juneau	Elroy	Chris	Zindorf	709 Western Ave	53929
Juneau	New Lisbon	Mark	Pfost	N7028 16th Ave	53950
Juneau	Wonewoc	Marilyn	Kinsman-Kharbush	E1424 Boot Jack Rd.	53968
Kenosha	Kenosha	Rollin	Pizzala	5303 43rd Ave	53144
Kenosha	Pleasant Prairie	Liz	Whitlock	3639 116th St	53158
Kenosha	Salem	Brian	Buchholz	6811 256th Ave	53168
Kenosha	Trevor	John	Waldron	25910 103 st	53179
Kewaunee	Algoma	Bruce	Steinhagen	N8721 Carnot Rd	54201
La Crosse	Holman	Suzanne	Young	3089 Michael Way	54636
La Crosse	Holmen	Amy	Brezinka	1021 Eastwood Street	54636
La Crosse	Holmen	Tom	Byerly	W6616 County Road V	54636
La Crosse	La Crosse	Cheryl	Brenengen	3151 Edgewater Dr	54603

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County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
La Crosse	La Crosse	Ann	Brice	211 29th Street South	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Marjorie	Buncak	3705 29th Ct S	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Michael	Buncak	3705 29th Ct S	54061
La Crosse	La Crosse	Ryan	Butterfield	1911 21st PL S.	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Terri	Daley-Mack	1206 28th St South	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Mark	Flottmeyer	612 Avon Street	54603
La Crosse	La Crosse	Susan	Fox	4100 Easter Rd	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	James	Gallagher	1715 Madison St.	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Janice	Gallagher	1715 Madison St.	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Connor	Glassen	2017 Vine St. Apt 201	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Joe	Heim	W5866 Cedar Rd	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Pat	Heim	W5866 Cedar Rd	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Sheila	Hilke	2442 Smith Valley Road	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Sue	Horne	3930 Fairway St	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Tom	Houlihan	3610 Old Vineyard Rd	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Susan	Johnson	2530 29th St. So	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Pam	Knudtson	1006 Breezy Point Road	54603
La Crosse	La Crosse	Martha	Linville	100 6th St N	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Lee	Rasch	4100 Easter Road	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Michelle	Reavis	2215 Losey Blvd S	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Thomas	Schlesinger	N2176 Valley Rd	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Joan	Solberg	2607 Baumgartner Dr	54603
La Crosse	La Crosse	Carol	Solyst	1232 Heritage Court	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Mark	Solyst	1232 Heritage Court	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Barbara	Sotirin	N3055 Fox Hollow Dr	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Kristina	Stellpflug	W4925 Puent Road	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Tina	Tryggestad	4414 El Camino Real Drive	54601
La Crosse	La Crosse	Kathie	Tyser	N2410 Three Town Rd	54601
La Crosse	Onalaska	Barb	Buswell	1308 Kingswell Lane	54650
La Crosse	Onalaska	Mike	Giese	1067 Lauderdale N	54650
La Crosse	Onalaska	Beverly	Nielsen	W5943 County Road S	54650
La Crosse	Onalaska	Christian	Ricker	221 Poplar St	54650
La Crosse	Onalaska	Susan	Schettle	W6566 Woodland Pass	54650
La Crosse	Onalaska	Richard	Spencer	404 French Rd	54650
La Crosse	Town Of Campbell	Don	Brenengen	3151 Edgewater Drive	54603
Lafayette	Darlington	Nancy	Fisker	8987 Riverside Road	53530
Manitowoc	Manitowoc	Kathleen	Bernhart	3010 Fleetway Ct	54220
Manitowoc	Manitowoc	Mike	Sheridan	437 S 31st Street	54220
Manitowoc	Reedsville	David	Nichols	421 Manitowoc St	54230
Manitowoc	Two Rivers	Craig	Kowalski	2601 Washington street	54241
Manitowoc	Whitelaw	Ritalyn	Mix	157 Hoover Street	54247
Marathon	Schofield	Carolyn	Michalski	5703 High Ridge Circle	54476
Marathon	Wausau	Alyce	Knowlton-Jablonski	540 E. Thomas St	54403
Marathon	Wausau	Ake	Stroede	1632 Plato Street	54403
Marathon	Wausau	Birgitta	Stroede	1632 Plato Street	54403
Marathon	Wausau	Cecilia	Stroede	156169 Restlawn Road	54403
Milwaukee	Brown Deer	Ann	Griffin	8159 N 38th Street	53209
Milwaukee	Franklin	Donna	Biba	8259 Cascade Ct	53132
Milwaukee	Franklin	Steve	Bobowski	9012 S Cordgrass Circle W	53132
Milwaukee	Franklin	Ryan	Gagnon	4416 W. Central Ave	53132
Milwaukee	Franklin	Renee	Martin	9012 S Cordgrass Circle W	53132
Milwaukee	Franklin	Erin	Zimdars Gagnon	4416 W Central Ave	53132
Milwaukee	Glendale	Charles	Adam	5560 N Iroquois Ave	53217
Milwaukee	Glendale	Ken	Miller	5537 N Navajo Ave	53217
Milwaukee	Glendale	Larry	Wellenstein	5765 N Crestwood Blvd	53209

Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
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County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Milwaukee	Glendale	Mary Jo	Wellenstein	5765 N Crestwood Blvd	53209
Milwaukee	Greenfield	Douglas	Dentino	4700 W St Francis Ave	53220
Milwaukee	Greenfield	Dave	Dworschack	4011 W Grange	53221
Milwaukee	Greenfield	Joan	Dworschack	4012 W Grange	53221
Milwaukee	Greenfield	David	Linsky	5985 South Honey Creek Drive	53221
Milwaukee	Greenfield	Jessica	McCormick	2901 W Cold Spring Rd	53221
Milwaukee	Greenfield	Michele	Rinka	5328 Sutton Pl S	53221
Milwaukee	Hales Corners	Kathy	Clark	5237 S Meadowlark Lane	53130
Milwaukee	Hales Corners	Steven	Clark	5237 S Meadowlark Lane	53130
Milwaukee	Hales Corners	Jennifer	Pratt	11410 W Godsell Ave	53130
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Sue	Anderson	2652 N Humboldt Blvd #G	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	JoAnn	Bachar	1621 N Franklin Pl	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Filipe	Bezerra	810 E Lincoln Ave	53207
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Elaine	Bjegovic	8821 W Oklahoma Ave Apt. 213	53227
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Eldeen	Carpenter	1633 N Prospect #9C	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Jim	Carpenter	1633 N Prospect #9C	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Chloe	Croke	810 E Lincoln Ave	53207
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Rodney	DePue	728 E. Pleasant St. Apt 1309	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Thallis	Drake	3055 N Gordon Circle	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Russ	Drewry	1019 E Kewaunee St	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Daniel	Folkman	2737 N Weil St	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Alan	Friedman	312 N 50th St	53208
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Marguerite	Gallagher	106 W Seebboth St	53204
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Bria	Grant	5135 W Keefe Ave	53216
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Suzy	Hoffman	2950 S 45th St	53219
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Jacob	Holiday	2628 N Maryland Ave	53211
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Emily	Jonesberg	1436 N 52nd St	53208
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Darryl	Jozefczyk	6705 N 107th St	53224
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Laura	Kerecman	2779 N Carlton Pl	53210
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Pete	Koneazny	3417 N Newhall St	53211
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	T. M.	Kraemer	2435 N Weil St	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Kathy	Lake	2413 N 64	53213
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	John	Lawlis	2911 N Fratney St.	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Laura	MacBride	2921 N 69th St	53210
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	James	Maurer	3707 West Kilbourn Avenue	53208
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Louise	Petrie	1858 N Prospect Ave Apt 8K	53211
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Robert	Pietrykowski	2710A South Shore Drive	53207
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Jeanne	Schrank	1210 E Clarke St	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Gracie	Sherer	1714 N Prospect Ave #3	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Karen	Spann Turner	3430 North 48th Street	53216
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Terri	Strodthoff	124 W Vine St.	53212
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Tim	Syth	3210 W Madison Street	53215
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Barbara	Todd	728 E Pleasant St unit 1105	53202
Milwaukee	Milwaukee	Karen	Vernal	8337 Jackson Pk Blvd	53213
Milwaukee	Oak Creek	Kathleen	Lemke	2340 W Rawson ave	53154
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Bob	Austin	3900 N Estabrook Pkwy	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Sue	Austin	3900 N Estabrook Pkwy	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Mara	Beldavs	4606 N. Newhall Street	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Suzy Clarkson	Holstein	1605 E Menlo	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Kathleen	Ludington	3924 N Farwell Ave	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Samuel	Morningstar	3936 N Maryland Ave	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	Alexander	Pendleton	3529 N. Frederick Ave.	53211
Milwaukee	Shorewood	John	Pudner	3552 N Murray Ave	53211
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Colleen	Barnett	2220 N 67th St	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Christine	Bernhard	8501 W Clarke St	53226

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County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Melita	Biese	2021 Church St.	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Susan	Cerletty	1848 Church St.	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	David	DeBruin	2660 N 100th Street	53226
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Carroll	Delaney	2150A N 83rd St	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Laura	Hochmuth	2602 N Lefebur Avenue	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Mary	Klingaman	1210 N62 St	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Maureen	Levenhagen	9318 Harding Blvd	53226
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Patricia	McFarland	7616 Harwood Ave	53213
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Susan	Nehring	2373 N 118th St	53226
Milwaukee	Wauwatosa	Kevin	O'Brian	2135 N 69	53213
Milwaukee	West Allis	Glenn	Goelz	2936 S 80th St	53219
Milwaukee	West Allis	Susan	Olson	1414 S 65th St	53214
Milwaukee	West Allis	Ann	VanDixhorn	609 S 103rd St	53214
Milwaukee	West Allis	Lee	VanDixhorn	609 S 103rd St	53214
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Anne	Ballentine	5232 N. Hollywood Ave.	53217
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Patricia	Gruenwald	5135 N Elkhart Ave	53217
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Leslie	Hayes	4741 N. Cumberland Blvd	53211
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Barbara	Moser	5365 N Lake Dr	53217
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Greg	Oberland	4514 N Lake Dr	53211
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Rhonda	Oberland	4514 N Lake Dr	53211
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Anoop	Prakash	1101 E Lexington Blvd	53217
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Austin	Ramirez	6130 N Lake Drive Court	53217
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Bob	Rothacker	4751 N Cumberland	53211
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Tom	Schmid	1061 E Circle Dr	53217
Milwaukee	Whitefish Bay	Susan	Stuebe	802 E. Sylvan Ave.	53217
Monroe	Sparta	Judith	Schure	1201 Euclid ave	54656
Oneida	Hazelhurst	Jim	Boerke	PO Box 46	54531
Oneida	Rhineland	Jackie	Cody	4517 Fetke Lake Road	54501
Oneida	Rhineland	Jackie	Cody	4517 Fetke Lake Road	54501
Oneida	Rhineland	Richard	Urban	3554 Fox Ranch Road N	54501
Outagamie	Appleton	Jim	Bowman	701 N Canterbury Dr	54915
Outagamie	Appleton	Brian	Pritzl	132 N Green Bay Road	54911
Outagamie	Appleton	Sandra	Rohde	W3059 Pinecrest Ct	54915
Outagamie	Little Chute	Sara	MacDonald	1001 E Main St	54140
Ozaukee	Belgium	Brian	Cummings	260 Binsfeld Street	53004
Ozaukee	Cedarburg	Barbara	Johnson	N28 W6640 Alyce St	53012
Ozaukee	Cedarburg	Judi	Larkin	N59 W5463 Edgewater Dr	53012
Ozaukee	Cedarburg	Marge	Palleon	W64 N381 Madison Ave	53012
Ozaukee	Cedarburg	Christy	Schwan	N81 W5017 Sandhill Trail	53012
Ozaukee	Cedarburg	Diane	Vepraskas	N59 W5570 Edgewater Dr	53012
Ozaukee	Grafton	Paul	Gutelius	1597 Woodland Drive	53024
Ozaukee	Jackson	Mary	Ciha	2004 Western Ave	53037
Ozaukee	Mequon	Cindy	Auerbach	13755 Foxtail Ln	53097
Ozaukee	Mequon	Marcus	Auerbach	13755 Foxtail Ln	53097
Ozaukee	Mequon	Mithra	Ballesteros	9944 N. Lamplighter Lane	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Beth	Bauer	2330 W Dickinson Ct	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Patricia	Beilman	9810 N Range Line Rd.	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Mary	Bestor	3606 W Mulberry	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Howard	Croft	10712 N Beechwood Drive	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Kim	Ebinger	10414 N Bittersweet Ct	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Neda	Esmaili	7535 Sunnyvale	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Jim	Hecht	12425 N Golf Dr	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Vernetta	Jefferson	11404 North Pinehurst Circle	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Diane	Lane	12831 N. Colony drive	53097
Ozaukee	Mequon	Nancy	Lucas	10227 N. Range Line Road	53092

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name**

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Ozaukee	Mequon	Sue	McKenzie Dicks	11203 N River Birch Dr	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Muriel	McLemore	10711 N Winslow Dr	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Kerry	Meskin	10402 N Greenside Ct	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Jackie	Mortenson	4001 W Gazebo Hill Pkwy	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Jamie	O'Connor	3910 Gazebo Hill Pkwy	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Ellen	Puerling	11652 N Country Lane	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Alexandra	Ridgway	6250 Spur Rd.	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Rebecca	Schaefer	3009 W Woodfield Dr	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Drew	Thiet	11830 N Schwemer Ln	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Marilyn	Thiet	11830 N Schwemer Ln	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Nancy	Urbani	10802 N Pebble Ln	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Jennifer	Warrender	3409 W Riviera Ct	53092
Ozaukee	Mequon	Chad	Winterfield	3409 W Riviera Ct	53092
Ozaukee	Port Washington	Abigail	Miller	544 N Harrison St	53074
Ozaukee	Port Washington	Amy	Otis-Wilborn	233 E Pier	53074
Ozaukee	Saukville	Mark	Nice	122 S. Colonial Pkwy	53080
Ozaukee	Saukville	Adam	Mertes	644 Hillcrest Rd	53080
Ozaukee	Thiensville	Toni	Rose	1125 Orchard St.	53092
Pierce	Maiden Rock	Wendy	Dart	W3339 State Rd 35	54750
Pierce	Maiden Rock	Jo	Haberman	W4490 State Road 35	54750
Pierce	Maiden Rock	Judy	Ogren	N1293 County Road A	54750
Pierce	River Falls	Maureen	Ash	N7659 950th St.	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Jim	DiPeso	W9971 710th Ave	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Wendy	DiPeso	W9971 710th Ave	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Jesse	Gilles	N7555 950th St.	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Ann	Leake	523 Birchcrest Dr	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Don	Leake	523 Birchcrest Dr	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Susanne	Loosmore	N8347 710th St	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Magdalena	Pala	421 N 8 Street	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Jeanne	Poole	1674 Rodao Drive	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Mary Beth	Sommers	916 Falcon Dr	54022
Pierce	River Falls	Juliet	Tomkins	N8806 600th	54022
Pierce	Spring Valley	Paula	Lugar	W424 N 2nd St	54767
Pierce	Spring Valley	Lindsey	Maas	N7849 County Road P	54767
Pierce	Spring Valley	Phil	Verges	N8616 410th St	54767
Polk	Frederic	Pam	Girtz	505 Polk Ave N	54837
Polk	Frederic	Agnes	Surbaugh	3189 100th St	54837
Polk	Osceola	Carolyn	Saunders	915 Geiger St	54020
Polk	Osceola	Melanie	Weberg	1860 Swede Lake Drive	54020
Polk	St. Croix Falls	Julie	Richardson	725 Highview Court	54024
Portage	Custer	Robert	Sander	3951 Bentley Road	54423
Portage	Stevens Point	Joshua	Bourget	543 Maple Bluff Rd	54482
Portage	Stevens Point	Andy	Soucek	441 W Trillium Court	54481
Portage	Stevens Point	Rosan	Zahn	2253 Frosty Pine Ct	54482
Price	Phillips	Erik	Larsen	W6863 Disappearing Creek Rd	54555
Price	Phillips	Ronald	Straus	W10334 Power Line Rd	54555
Racine	Burlington	John	Coshun	1541-N. English Settlement Ave	53105
Racine	Burlington	E Paul	Gander	348 S Oakland Ave	53105
Racine	Burlington	Heidi	Kohout	1224 Peregrine Ct	53105
Racine	Burlington	Mark	Kohout	1224 Peregrine Ct	53105
Racine	Caledonia	William	Earley	5416 Gallant Fox Lane	53402
Racine	Mount Pleasant	Patrick	Bohon	5840 Wynbrook Ct	53406
Racine	Mount Pleasant	Kenneth	Gipp	6500 Lincrest Dr	53406
Racine	Mount Pleasant	Paul	Tabilli	5811 Greenleaf Blvd	53406
Racine	Mt Pleasant	Alan	Baker	4819 Lazy Wood Ct	53403

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name**

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Racine	Mt Pleasant	Mary	Baker	4819 Lazy Wood Ct	53403
Racine	Mt. Pleasant	Susan	Gipp	6500 Lincrest Dr	53406
Racine	Racine	Mark M	Giese	1520 Bryn Mawr Ave	53403
Racine	Union Grove	Chris	Scheurman	18828 Martin Dr	53182
Racine	Union Grove	Chris	Scheurman	18828 Martin Dr.	53182
Racine	Union Grove	Steve	Scheurman	18828 Martin Dr	53182
Racine	Union Grove	Steve	Scheurman	18828 Martin Dr.	53182
Racine	Waterford	Eileen	Anthony	6813 N Tichigan Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	Phil	Anthony	6813 N Tichigan Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	Ben	Bluemel	27725 Kramer Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Gary	Bluemel	7154 Joy Marie Ln	53185
Racine	Waterford	Jim	Bluemel	7346 E Wind Lake Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Kailin	Bluemel	27725 Kramer Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Nancy	Bluemel	7154 Joy Marie Ln	53185
Racine	Waterford	Sandy	Bluemel	7346 E Wind Lake Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Mark	Boncher	29025 Elm Island Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	James	Braun	7018 Tichigan Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Sarah	Count	5146 Plateau Ct	53185
Racine	Waterford	Jim	Hawkinson	7102 Breezy Point Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Roxanne	Hawkinson	7102 Breezy Point Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Sally	Hensel	7308 Pine Lane	53185
Racine	Waterford	Diane	Horeth	29308 Forest Isle Ln	53185
Racine	Waterford	Greg	Horeth	29308 Forest Isle Ln	53185
Racine	Waterford	Jason	Kawczynski	29744 Raab Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	Jeffrey	Klyzub	4424 Sunset Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Sue	Nelson	6710 Brian Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	Dan	Partain	303 Fox Horn Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	Sandy	Partain	303 Fox Horn Dr	53185
Racine	Waterford	Brady	Rolfson	7126 N Tichigan Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Jen	Rolfson	7126 N Tichigan Rd	53185
Racine	Waterford	Charles	Schuyler	7224 Joy Marie Ln	53185
Racine	Waterford	Susan	Schuyler	7224 Joy Marie Lane	53185
Racine	Waterford	Bob	Wilson	28235 Easy Lane	53185
Racine	Waterford	Karen	Wilson	28235 Easy Lane	53185
Racine	Wind Lake	Dianna	Dentino	24819 W Loomis Rd	53185
Racine	Wind Lake	John	Gielow	24819 W Loomis Rd	53185
Rock	Janesville	Raymond	Gilbert	1935 Lafayette St	53546
Sauk	Pr du Sac	Kurt	Wenger	874 W Woodland Trl	53578
Sauk	Reedsburg	Judith	Brey	2101 Winfield Dr.	53959
Sauk	Reedsburg	Gene	Wuest	E5468 Herritz Rd.	53959
Sauk	Reedsburg	Mimi	Wuest	E5468 Herritz Rd.	53959
Sauk	Spring Green	Mary	Hahn	S11570 Hazelnut Rd	53588
Shawano	Bowler	Steve	Parks	N8725 Silver Creek Rd	54416
Shawano	Cecil	Julie	McCain	W2700 Lindquist Rd	54111
Shawano	Gresham	Deanna	Bisley	W11028 Huntington Rd	54128
Shawano	Shawano	Traci	Hutchcraft	309 E Center St	54116
Shawano	Shawano	Maya	Ihrcke	1022 S Sawyer St.	
Shawano	Shawano	Chuck	Koch	N5776 Foesch Road	54166
Shawano	Shawano	Jan	Koch	N5776 Foesch Road	54166
Shawano	Shawano	Julie	Pintarelli	N7255 Cozy Oak Cr	54166
Shawano	Shawano	Brandon	Wegner	W7868 Sycamore Road	54166
Sheboygan	Cascade	Kim	Kuehl	N3820 County Highway NN	53011
Sheboygan	Elkhart Lake	Chet	Gerlach	618 Otto Lane	53020
Sheboygan	Elkhart Lake	Brian	Henne	W5454 Cty Rd EH	53020
Sheboygan	Elkhart Lake	Mally	Henne	W5454 Cty Rd EH	53020

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name**

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Sheboygan	Howards Grove	Carla	Vorpahl	913 Stonebridge Drive	53083
Sheboygan	Kohler	Brett	Edgerle	1120 D Aspen Court	53044
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Kelly	Cowig	W5762 Winooski Rd.	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Neil	Cowig	W5762 Winooski Rd.	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Barb	Drewry	N4396 Blueberry Ln	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Joan	Fallon	W7088 Wildberry Hill	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Scott	Heinig	W6287 Hammann Road	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Andrea	Jaeger	908 Eastern Ave	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Gary	Jaeger	908 Eastern Ave	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	John	Nelson	711 Torke Terrace	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Scott	Overby	N4797 County Road E	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Stephen	Sartori	W6227 Linda Ln	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Jessica	Tenpas	N4448 Blueberry Lane	53703
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Madison	Wald	N4708 CTH E	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Ann	Weeden	N4708 County Road E	53703
Sheboygan	Plymouth	John	Weeden	N4708 County Road E	53073
Sheboygan	Plymouth	Mark	Zimmerman	N4396 Blueberry Ln	53073
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	Sister BJ	Brown	1014 Wisconsin Ave.	53081
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	Stuart	Horwitz	732 Broughton Dr	53081
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	Ed	Perz	N7099 Highview Dr	53083
Sheboygan	Sheboygan	Julian	Wilson	1014 Wisconsin Ave.	53081
Sheboygan	Sheboygan Falls	Kyle	Hokel	209 1st St	53085
St Croix	Hudson	Bob	Maline	988 Parkview Lane	54016
St. Croix	Deer Park	Carol	Johnson	2261 270th street	54007
St. Croix	Hammond	Mary	Gaustad	755 Ridgeway St.	54015
St. Croix	Hudson	Ann	Coady	1605 Starlight Lane	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Bill	Coggio	558 Omaha Rd	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Grace	Coggio	558 Omaha Rd	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Debbie	Ellingworth	998 Parkview Lane	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Sue	Figg	1422 Lee Cir	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Hans	Holmberg	504 McCutcheon Rd	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Sara	Holmberg	504 McCutcheon Rd	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Benjamin	Johnston	821 Harbor View Rd	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Miriam	Lygre	1808 Lillian Dr	54016
St. Croix	Hudson	Barbara	Peterson	548 Omaha Rd	54016
St. Croix	HUDSON	Katherine	Streitz	429 Krattley Ln	54016
St. Croix	New Richmond	Susan	Bosley	216 N Starr Ave	64017
St. Croix	New Richmond	Kay	Brooks	1634 Royal Ln.	54017
St. Croix	New Richmond	Mark	Kearns	343 Greateon Rd.	54017
St. Croix	New Richmond	Jarell	Kuney	316 E 6th Street	54017
St. Croix	New Richmond	Beth	Wood	2389 cardinal drive	54017
St. Croix	River Falls	Bart	Bartos	332 County Road JJ	54022
St. Croix	River Falls	Ken	Filarsky	645 N Fremont St	54022
St. Croix	River Falls	Faye	Sprague-Williams	226 Union St	54022
St. Croix	River Falls	Michael	Vivoda	583 Wyngate Dr	54022
St. Croix	River Falls	Linda	Vivoda-Sadee	583 Wyngate Dr	54022
St. Croix	Roberts	Petrona	Melgarejo	1093 county road n	54023
St. Croix	Somerset	Mary Jo	Krueger	2324 40th Street	54025
St. Croix	Somerset	Nicholas	Krueger	2324 40th Street	54025
St. Croix	Star Prairie	Mary	Hubbell	1300 County Road H	54026
St. Croix	Wilson	Joseph	Koch	405 County Road NN	54027
Vernon	Stoddard	Reece	Vydrzal	N3559 Elm Drive	54658
Vilas	Eagle River	Norda	Gromoll	1717 Watersmeet Lake Rd	54521
Wadsworth	East Troy	Kelly	Bevan	2057 Church St	53120
Walworth	East Troy	William	Acuff	W2644 Kittie Ct.	53120

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name**

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Walworth	East Troy	Robert	Pieters	N8357 Greenwald Ct	53120
Walworth	Elkhorn	Sharon	Acuff	W4729 Briar Drive	53121
Walworth	Lake Geneva	Duane	Keenan	6584 State Road 36	53147
Washburn	Spooner	Dave	Bluemel	W9590 Co Hwy E	54801
Washburn	Spooner	Patricia	Bluemel	W9590 Co Hwy E	54801
Washburn	Stone Lake	Christopher	Fries	N4591 Radtke Road	54876
Washington	Colgate	Mithra	Ballesteros	5890 Monches Road	53017
Washington	Germantown	Carolyn	Hiemenz	W156N10058 Pilgrim Road	53022
Washington	Germantown	Angela	Schneider	W162N10516 Auburn Lane	53022
Washington	Hartford	Hendy	Dietlmeier	659 Court Dr.	53027
Washington	Jackson	Chris	Schachter	3550 Division Rd	53037
Washington	Slinger	Dave	Warnacut	800 County Road CC	53086
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Carol	Kjelstad	1205 East Lisbon Road Apt 312	53066
Waukesha	Brookfield	Sally	Anlin	4580 Meadow View East	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Raul	Arredondo	2085 La Chandelle Ct	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Atul	Bhatia	19440 Baythorn Way	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Ritika	Bhatia	19440 Baythorn Way	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mary Ann	Biederrwolf	16860 Eldorado Dr.	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Natasha	Broxton	2655 Arbor Dr	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mary	Buchel	19115 Thomson	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Shannon	Buffington	2495 Whipple Tree Ln	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Bob	Conway	3740 Chapel Rd	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Liz	Conway	3740 Chapel Rd	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	John	Cotton	17520 Oak Court	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Tina	Cotton	17520 Oak Court	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Thomas	Curl	2665 Buckingham Pl	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Leslie	Dehn	17830 Lisa Lane	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Suzie	Franklin	2520 Thornapple	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Margaret	Hashoian	3735 Shadybrook Pl	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mark	Holiday	3310 Old Lantern Dr.	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mary	Kozlowski	1225 Vista View Dr	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Rose	Larson	13665 Oak Hill	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Kimberly	Lockard	845 Adelman Ave	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mary	MacGillis	2480 Tru Lane	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Ellen	Mass	1060 Leon Ter	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Kevin	McCourt	16150 Wildwood Ct.	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Caroline	Moen	2435 N Brookfield Dr	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Michael	Molezzi	19675 Independence Ct	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Constance	Pavletich	13645 Adelaide Lane	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Dan	Pavletich	13765 Oak Hill Ln	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Michelle	Pavletich	13765 Oak Hill Ln	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Gloria	Rozmus	16145 Cathy Ann Lane	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mary	Schneider	20870 Hawthorne Ridge Ct.	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Robert	Schneider	20870 Hawthorne Ridge Ct.	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Mona	Theobald	16885A Lake Road	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Sean	Tsang	17840 Milford Ln	53045
Waukesha	Brookfield	Helen	Zealy	2460 Tru Lane	53005
Waukesha	Brookfield	Michael	Zealy	2460 Tru Lane	53005
Waukesha	Delafield	Ellen	Hohenfeldt	506 Lillian Ct	53018
Waukesha	Delefield	Rich	Hein	332 Wells St. #110	53018
Waukesha	Dousman	Holly	Schmaling	W347S4796 Waterville Rd	53118
Waukesha	Dousman	John	Schmitz	W331 S4196 Saddleback	53118
Waukesha	Eagle	Ed	Anderson	W5577 Bluff rd	53119
Waukesha	Eagle	Joel	Anderson	W5577 Bluff rd	53119
Waukesha	Elm Grove	Stacy	BarryCoffey	12805 Dunwoody Dr	53122

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name**

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Waukesha	Hartford	Sue	Maxwell	1345 Center St	53027
Waukesha	Hartland	Kaylen	Betzig	6778 Wildwood Point Road	53029
Waukesha	Hartland	William	Betzig	6778 Wildwood Point Road	53029
Waukesha	Hartland	Debra	Schweitzer	305 Lakeview Dr	53029
Waukesha	Lannon	Margie	Finger	19935 Overlook Ct	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Mark	Finger	19935 Overlook Ct	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Barbara	Kniep	19931 Overstone Dr.	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Darlene	McBride	20093 Overstone Dr	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Bernie	Renzelmann	19822 Overstone Dr	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Sue	Renzelmann	19822 Overstone Dr	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Michelle	Schmitz	7925 E. Stone Ridge	53406
Waukesha	Lannon	John	Widdifield	20093 Overstone Dr	53046
Waukesha	Lannon	Jim	Willard	19953 Overstone Dr	53046
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Jennifer	Barnes	W170N5356 Ridgewood Dr	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Danielle	Benetti	N62W14449 Rolling Ridge Dr	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Joyce	Brandon	W178N8991 Duke St	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Claudia	Dolphin	W147N4908 Dolphin Dr	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Arlene	Foti	N85W18290 Tyler Ct	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Kay	Frederick	W127N7832 Riverview Lane	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Kurt	Frederick	W127N7832 Riverview Lane	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Andrew	Guss	W172N8940 Shady Lane	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Anne	Hesse	N51W17266 Chestnut Rd	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Linda	Humphrey	W172N8498 Shady Lane	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Robert	Jones	W204N7818 Lannon Rd	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Jason	Klimas	W145N5392 Thornhill Dr	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Mary Jane	Koscielak	W153N8323 Manhattan Dr	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Rachel	Krause	N90W16293 Roosevelt Dr	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Anne	Matthews	W146N9090 Winter Hollow Dr.	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Robin	Maxwell	W148N8462 Albert Pl	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	James	McBride	W143N8341 Oxford St	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Anne	Meyer	W152N6474 Diaz Ct	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	David	Rank	W134N6829 Wild Rose Ct	53015
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Kirsten	Simanonok	W163N7712 Tamarack Trail	53057
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Julie	Wandschneider	W146N6565 Cedar Ridge Ln	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Michael	Weinand	W198N5004 Hickory St	53051
Waukesha	Menomonee Falls	Ross	Workman	W134N6725 Wild Rose Ct	53051
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Barb	Cowle	S109 W35190 Jacks Bay Rd	53149
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Patrick	Cowle	S109 W35190 Jacks Bay Rd	53149
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Greg	David	W273S8655 Hillview Dr	53149
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Randy	Pohl	W323 S9624 Beulah rd	53149
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Lawrence	Rolfson	W2011 CTH J	53149
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Anna	Zimmerman	983 Bay View Circle	53149
Waukesha	Mukwonago	Jay	Zimmerman	983 Bay View Circle	53149
Waukesha	Muskego	Lori	Flores	W200 S10715 E Shore Dr	53150
Waukesha	Muskego	Marc	Kraus	W185 S9550 Parker Dr	53150
Waukesha	New Berlin	Arthur	Angove	21501 W Cleveland Ave	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Scott	Arbeiter	3195 S. 149th St.	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Katie	Bathie	13360 Kirkwood Dr.	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Dmitry	Becker	3520 S. Cari-Adam Dr.	53146
Waukesha	New Berlin	Rick	Bruening	13010 W ark Ave	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Lena	Eng	13330 Kirkwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Rich	Eng	13330 Kirkwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Lynn	Kritter	18255 W Beres Dr	53146
Waukesha	New Berlin	Raymond	Lee	13275 W Foxwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Winnie	Lee	13275 W Foxwood Dr	53151

**Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name**

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Waukesha	New Berlin	Anne	Nigel	13225 W Foxwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Allison	Roberts	13365 Kirkwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Daniel	Roberts	13365 Kirkwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Jaye	Roush	13395 Kirkwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Kimberly	Sherwood	13230 Kirkwood Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Michelle	van Joolen	14530 W Park Ave	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Bob	Weidman	4220 S. Victoria Circle	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Marija	Weidman	14205 W Glen Meadow Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Feridoon	Yusefzadeh	3220 Highpointe Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Mary	Yusefzadeh	3220 Highpointe Dr	53151
Waukesha	New Berlin	Rich	Zemlicka	13395 Kirkwood Dr.	53151
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	June	Anderson	N59W39524 Laketon Ave	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Christina	Binn	510 S Golden Lake Lane	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Gordon	Birschbach	1376 Crystal Lake Dr	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Steve	Hannemann	1004 Keats Cir	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Frank	Hicks	N7899 Hillcrest St	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Barb	Hirsch	N69W34424 Oconomowoc Rd	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Michael	Hoyng	S31W34906 Holland Ln	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Mary	Hunter	1205 E Lisbon Road	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Jim	Kueht	510 S Golden Lake Lane	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Christine	Lauder	919 Summit Ave	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Michael	Poole	N57W39455 Sunnyfield Dr	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Jan	Sanger	S31W34906 Holland Ln	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Lauren	Vertz	340 S Elm St	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Dick	Whalen	1205 E Lisbon Rd	53066
Waukesha	Oconomowoc	Florence	Whalen	1205 E Lisbon Rd	53066
Waukesha	Pewaukee	Diane	Czech	N41 W27458 Patricia Ln	53072
Waukesha	Pewaukee	Don	Czech	N41 W27458 Patricia Ln	53072
Waukesha	Pewaukee	Linda	Edmundson	W243N2237 Deer Park Dr	53072
Waukesha	Pewaukee	Beth	Furumo	838 Ringtail Ct	53072
Waukesha	Pewaukee	Johannes	Schulze Vohren	838 Ringtail Ct	53072
Waukesha	Sussex	Denise	Gander	W256N5832 North Hill Dr.	53089
Waukesha	Sussex	Patricia	Mitchell	W232N7059 Salem Dr	53089
Waukesha	Sussex	Jim	Sulzer	W256N5832 North Hill Dr	53089
Waukesha	Wales	Connie	Vaughn	608 Caitlin Circle	53183
Waukesha	Wales	Steve	Vaughn	608 Caitlin Circle	53183
Waukesha	Waukesha	Jonathan	Barnard	1706 Blackhawk trl	53186
Waukesha	Waukesha	Karen	Bartlett	2910 Brookridge Ct N	53072
Waukesha	Waukesha	Mary	Flanagan	S32 W28153 Wern Way	53189
Waukesha	Waukesha	Jeanne	Hartje	2119 Yvonne St	53188
Waukesha	Waukesha	Virginia	Hoeft	3421 Walnut Trail	53188
Waukesha	Waukesha	Adam	Hunter	3304 Hightop Circle	53188
Waukesha	Waukesha	Cindy	Hunter	3304 Hightop Circle	53188
Waukesha	Waukesha	Tracy	Hunter	3304 Hightop Circle	53188
Waukesha	Waukesha	Mary	Johnson	190 Debbie Dr	53189
Waukesha	Waukesha	Dawn	Kaine	N28W22425 Foxwood Ln	53186
Waukesha	Waukesha	Kevin	Kaine	N28W22425 Foxwood Ln	53186
Waukesha	Waukesha	Carl	Lock	855 Calico Ct	53186
Waukesha	Waukesha	Ken	Seemann	S23W23094 E Broadway	53186
Waukesha	Waukesha	Barbara	Simonson	995 Hi-Ridge Ave.	53186
Waukesha	Waukesha	Ray	Simonson	995 Hi-Ridge Ave	53186
Waupaca	Fremont	Nancy	Schanke	N1409 County Road W	54940
Wausara	Wautoma	Stephanie	Kunkel	415 S Water St	54982
Winnebago	Neenah	Catherine	Buttron	305 Bosworth Ln	54956
Winnebago	Neenah	Roberta	Capasso	408 Lowell Place	54956

Final Five Voting Petition Supporters
sorted by County, City, Last Name

County	City	First	Last	Address	Zip
Winnebago	Neenah	Lisa	McGinnis	421 Maple Ln	54956
Winnebago	Neenah	Patrick	Monroe	212 Riva Ridge Ln	54956
Winnebago	Neenah	Steve	Nash	215 Main St	54956
Winnebago	Neenah	David	Robak	202 Edgewood Dr	54956
Winnebago	Neenah	Katie	Schierl	7529 Sunburst Ln	54956
Winnebago	Neenah	Hayden	Stecker	1663 South Park Ave	54956
Winnebago	Oshkosh	Cheryl	Hansen	874 Nebraska St.	54902
Winnebago	Oshkosh	Brian	Kienert	1647 Sanders Street	54902
Winnebago	Oshkosh	Michael	Lenz	75 W Waukau Ave	54902
Winnebago	Oshkosh	Deb	Martin	164 Wyldewood Dr	54904
Winnebago	Oshkosh	John	Peterson	402 Wyldewood Dr	54904
Winnebago	Rushford	Ellen	Mueller	2914 County Road E	54923
Wood	Marshfield	Barbara	Gillespie	11840 Sunset Drive	54449

Neville, William

From: Moynihan, Patrick <Patrick.Moynihan@browncountywi.gov>
Sent: Monday, December 11, 2023 3:53 PM
To: Neville, William
Subject: SB-528

Clerk Neville,

Please share with Senators Knodl, Feyen, Quinn, Spreitzer, and Smith. Thank you.

Senators,

Please know I am adamantly opposed to **SB-528 TOP FIVE CHOICE RANKED VOTING**.

In my personal view it is an abomination to our well established state and national voting processes and does nothing more than add confusion and chaos to the populous. **One choice, one vote, period.**

To provide a redistribution of ballots (if necessary) after an initial vote is contrary to the democratic, elective principles of our great republic!

Make no mistake, you may espouse that this bill is solely engineered for the elections of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the U. S. Senate...but it won't end there. You may very well open up Pandora's box and find yourselves seeking reelection in the midst of this poorly derived initiative!

I urge you to vote against this bill.

Regards,

Patrick W. Moynihan, Jr.
Brown County Clerk
305 E. Walnut Street, RM. 120
Green Bay, WI 54301

Telephone: 920-448-4016
Fax: 920-448-4498