

# The Effect of Open Primaries on Turnout and Representation

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# Key Findings

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## **Primary voters are less representative of the pool of eligible voters than general election electorates are.**

- Unaffiliated voters constitute 28% of the average state's pool of eligible voters, but 23% of the general electorate and only 10% of the primary electorate.
- The average age of eligible voters is 48, compared with 54 among general election voters and 59 among primary election voters.
- Nonwhites make up 25% of the pool of eligible voters in the average state, but only 19% of the general election electorate and 18% of the primary electorate.
- Low-income voters, veterans, and those without a college education are underrepresented in the primary and general electorates.

## **Open and nonpartisan primaries tend to produce more representative electorates than closed primaries.**

- Fully open, open to unaffiliated, and nonpartisan primaries all tend to result in primary electorates that better represent unaffiliated voters.
- Turnout gaps among racial and ethnic groups, especially Latinos and Asians, are lower on average in open and nonpartisan primaries than closed primaries.
- There are no clear trends in the composition of the electorate across racial demographics, age, gender, income, occupation, or veteran status according to primary type.

## **States have shifted from hosting closed primaries to allowing more primary contests in which unaffiliated voters can participate.**

- In 2000, 36% of all primary elections were closed to unaffiliated voters. By 2024, this figure has dropped to 31% of all elections.
- Primaries that are open to unaffiliated voters—including open type primaries—have become more widespread over the past two decades, rising from 17% to 25% of all primary elections.

## **When states allow unaffiliated voters to participate in primaries for the first time, voter turnout increases, and the electorate grows more demographically and politically representative.**

- States see voter turnout rise 5 percentage points when they open their primaries to unaffiliated voters.
- Opening primaries to unaffiliated voters increases Asian and Latino participation as a share of the overall electorate.
- Opening primaries to unaffiliated voters increases the unaffiliated share of the electorate by 12 percentage points.

**Election Day registration and more lenient registration deadlines also boost primary voter turnout.**

- Over a dozen states have adopted Election Day registration since 2000.
- States that adopt Election Day registration enjoy a 3.7-percentage-point boost to primary turnout, on average.
- Adopting Election Day registration does not change the composition of the primary electorate.
- States with closed primaries have enacted more lenient registration deadlines for unregistered voters since 2000, but stricter registration deadlines for those wishing to affiliate with a party or change their party affiliation.
- A 10-day increase in a state's registration deadline reduces voter turnout by 1 percentage point and reduces the share of the electorate that is nonwhite by 2 percentage points.

# I. Introduction

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Primary elections command great attention among politicians, interest groups, influential campaign donors, news media, and especially political reformers. Almost everyone, that is, except the vast majority of voters.

Despite the hopes of Progressive-era reformers that primary contests would greatly expand democratic engagement, primary turnout is strikingly low and has been for most of their existence.<sup>1</sup> Today, turnout hovers around a paltry 20% of eligible voters during midterm elections.<sup>2</sup> Presidential election years hardly fare better.<sup>3</sup>

Depending on who you ask, primary nominating contests are the cause of—or the solution to—most of our political problems: polarization, dysfunctional government, the viability of moderate candidates, low turnout, and negative campaigning. According to the Bipartisan Policy Center’s Commission on Political Reform, primary elections are corroding our political system in an era of high polarization. The commission was particularly concerned with the low voter turnout in these contests, fearing that it results in elections that are controlled by small key groups—party insiders, strongly ideological groups, or single-issue blocs—rather than encouraging candidates to seek broad support within his or her party and the electorate as a whole.

One solution BPC and others have recommended is for states to move away from low turnout nominating contests such as caucuses and conventions and to embrace more open primary formats that allow the growing population of unaffiliated or independent voters to take part. This report examines whether more open primary formats help achieve higher primary turnout and a more representative primary electorate.

Since modern opinion polling began in the early 20th century, a majority of voters have identified as either a Democrat or a Republican. Even into the 2000s, those who identified with major parties outnumbered independents by a 2-to-1 margin;<sup>4</sup> however, Americans are feeling increasingly disillusioned with these choices. A Gallup poll in June 2024 found that a majority of respondents (51%) considered themselves independents, compared to 25% affiliating as Republicans and 23% affiliating as Democrats.<sup>5</sup> This is the highest percentage of voters refusing to affiliate with a major party ever recorded in a Gallup poll since it began regularly asking about party identification in 1939.<sup>3</sup>

Even though Americans increasingly do not identify with either major party, many states still limit or ban the participation of unaffiliated voters in primary elections.<sup>6</sup> Despite this, primary elections have grown in importance. Due to a mix of residential sorting, increasing polarization, and partisan gerrymandering, general elections are becoming less competitive. According

to an analysis of the 2022 U.S. House elections by FairVote, five out of six races were decided by more than 10 percentage points.<sup>7</sup> Only 36 races—approximately 8% of all House seats—were decided within a 5-point margin. This means that in 80% of House races, the primary election effectively determines the general election winner. The twin facts of few competitive races and low turnout led a 2022 Unite America [report](#) to conclude that only 8% of all eligible voters cast ballots in partisan primaries for “safe” congressional seats, which effectively determined 83% of all House contests.<sup>8</sup>

The mounting evidence that primary elections play an outsized influence on the composition of Congress underscores that it matters which voters are allowed to participate in them. The rules set by each state shape who is eligible to participate in primaries. This report examines the various state institutional rules governing primary systems and their effects on voter turnout and the demographic makeup of the electorate. We also map out changes in primary type across U.S. states going back to 2000—the most comprehensive mapping of its kind—distinguishing between primary type rules for different offices and different major parties.

First, we utilize the nationwide voter file between 2014 and 2020 sourced from L2, a private company. Unlike surveys, the voter file combines the records of every single registered voter in the country and, for many states, their party affiliation. This resource, which contains billions of observations, can be used to accurately measure changes in voter turnout and the demographic composition of the electorate. Second, we document the most detailed data to date about changes in primary formats across and within states over the same period.

We find that over time, states have shifted from hosting closed primaries to primary contests that allow unaffiliated voters to participate. Primary electorates include fewer young and unaffiliated voters than general election contests, and primary voters are less representative of the pool of eligible voters than general election electorates are.

We also present evidence that open and nonpartisan primaries tend to produce more representative electorates than closed primaries. Voter turnout increases when states allow unaffiliated voters to participate in primaries for the first time, and the electorate grows more demographically and politically representative. This is the strongest evidence to date that primary rules shape who votes in important ways.

## II. A Changing Primary Landscape: Mapping State Primary Types, 2000-2024

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The U.S. Constitution gives states the power to set their own election rules. As “laboratories of democracy,” states have experimented with widely different forms of nominating methods, including primary elections, both across and within states. For instance, each voter registered with a political party in Nebraska can only vote for candidates from that party in the primary election. Unaffiliated voters—those registered without party affiliation—can by default only vote for nonpartisan offices,<sup>a</sup> including Nebraska’s unique nonpartisan, unicameral legislature. They also have the option to vote for candidates from one of the four official parties in the state. State law requires each party to allow unaffiliated voters to participate in the primary election for its U.S. senators and representatives. However, parties are allowed to choose whether unaffiliated voters can vote for other partisan offices. Three of them—the Democratic, Libertarian, and Legal Marijuana NOW parties—allow unaffiliated voters who choose their party’s ballot to also vote for all partisan state and county offices on the ballot. Unaffiliated voters who choose the Republican Party’s ballot, on the other hand, can only vote for Republican candidates for federal offices, not partisan state or county ones.

California is another illustrative case. For virtually all partisan offices, California uses a top-two nonpartisan primary system that groups all candidates together on the primary ballot regardless of partisan affiliation. The one major exception is for president, in which case the parties get to choose whether they allow unaffiliated voters to participate in the primary. The American Independent, Democratic, and Libertarian parties allow crossover votes, whereas the Green, Peace & Freedom, and Republican parties require voters to register with their party to vote in their presidential primary.

This diversity has made it difficult to accurately characterize each state’s primary system. For example, eight states used different rules for their presidential primaries than for their congressional primaries in the 2024 cycle. In six states, the Democratic and Republican parties had different participation rules in their presidential primaries; in four, these rules differed from congressional primaries. Twelve states—nearly 1 in 4—did not use the same rules for primary participation across all major primary elections held in the 2024 cycle. In many of these cases, different primary rules are at play

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<sup>a</sup> These voters are also described as Independents, nonpartisans, or “No Party Preference” registrants. We use the term “unaffiliated” throughout.



on the same Election Day, creating a confusing environment for even the most seasoned and informed voters.

This study examines the rules for voter participation in primaries based on voters' party affiliation. The rules for participation are used to classify each "primary type" and are summarized in Table 1. In partisan primaries, candidates of the same party are grouped together on a ballot. The candidate who gets the most votes for each party goes on to the general election, where they compete against the top vote-getters of other parties' primaries.

Partisan primaries can generally be placed in two categories. In "closed primaries," only party members affiliated with a political party can vote for that party's candidates. In contrast, "open primaries" allow voters to participate in a party's primary without being registered with that party. Open primary rules fit in three categories: allowing all voters to participate in the primary of their choice ("fully open"); allowing all voters to participate, but registering voters with the party they decide to vote for ("partially open"); and allowing only unaffiliated voters to participate in the primary of a party they are not registered with ("open to unaffiliated").

Finally, nonpartisan primary systems group all candidates on the same ballot, regardless of party affiliation. These vary in terms of how many candidates advance and the rules by which they advance, and include "blanket," "jungle," "top-two," and "top-four" primary systems.<sup>b</sup>

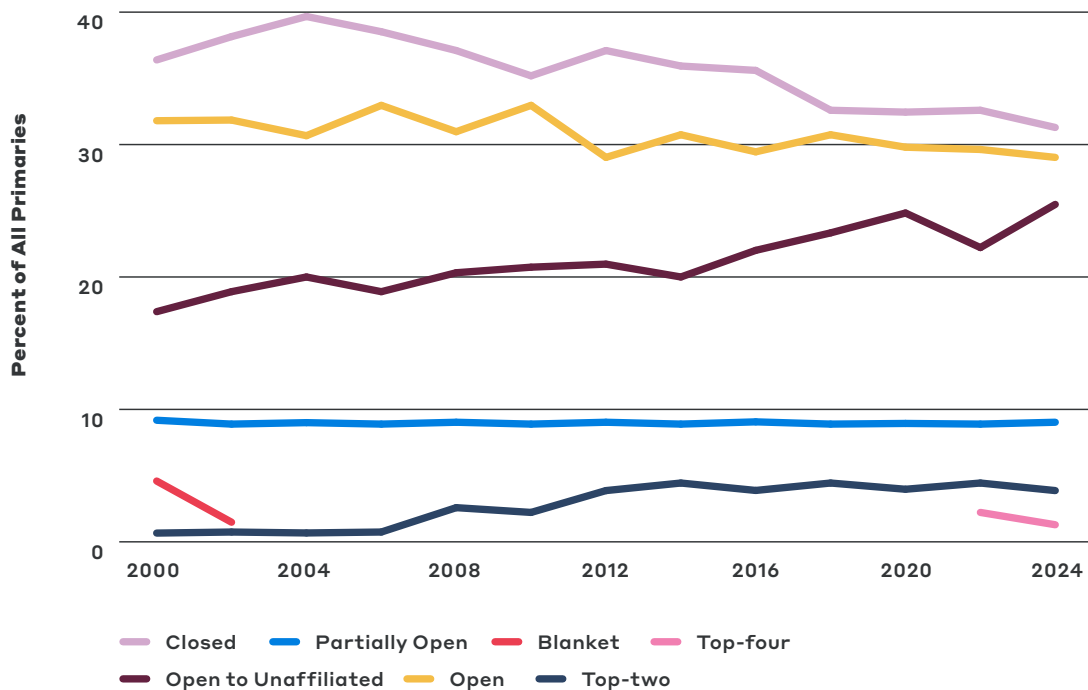
**Table 1. Primary Type Definitions**

Primary Grouping	Primary Type	Description
Nonpartisan	Blanket	All candidates appear on one ballot, top vote-getter from each party advances
	Top-four	All candidates appear on one ballot, top four vote-getters advance
	Top-two	All candidates appear on one ballot, top two vote-getters advance
	Jungle	All candidates appear on one ballot, top two vote-getters advance; if a candidate wins a simple majority of votes, he or she is elected
Open	Open	Voters pick which party's ballot to vote
	Partially open	Voters pick which party's ballot to vote, but this may be public and count as registration with the party
	Open to unaffiliated	Unaffiliated voters pick which party's ballot to vote, but affiliated voters can only vote using their party's ballot
Closed	Closed	Only party members can vote for their party

<sup>b</sup> The U.S. Supreme Court invalidated blanket primaries as unconstitutional in *California Democratic Party v. Jones* (2000), forcing Alaska, California, and Washington to switch to alternative primary rules.

Figure 1 shows the percentage of primary elections with each primary type in even-year elections between 2000 and 2024. The data is at the state office-party level, which means the figure captures differences in rules between the Democratic and Republican parties and across presidential, congressional, state executive, and state legislative offices.

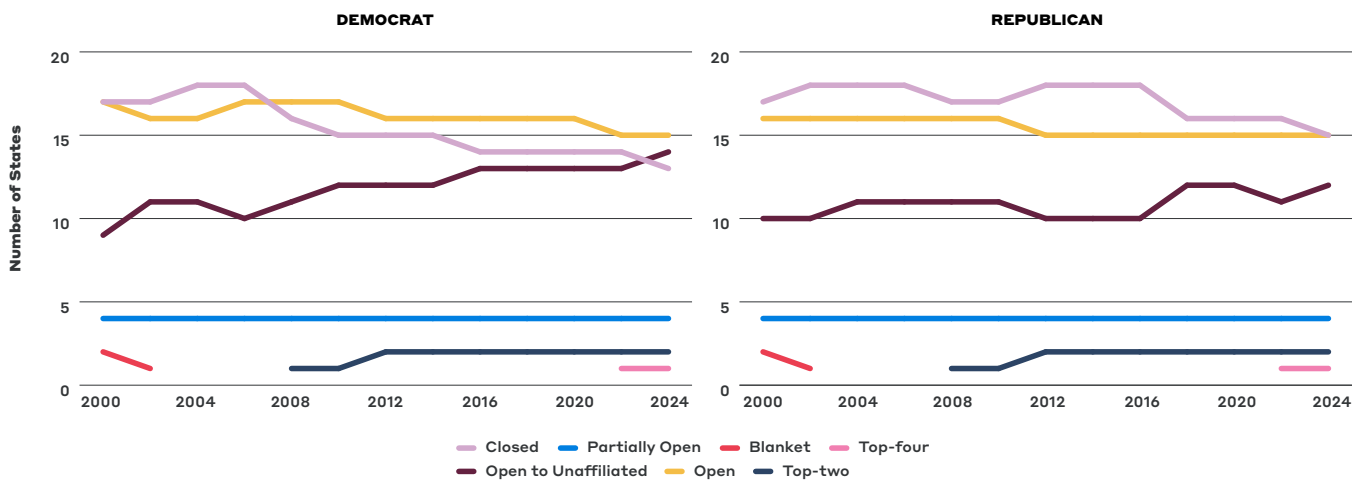
**Figure 1. Type of Presidential, Congressional, State Executive, and State Legislative Primaries, 2000-2024**



The figure reveals several notable trends. First, the percentage of primary elections that are completely closed has declined. In 2000, 36% of all primary elections were closed to unaffiliated voters. By 2024, this share has dropped to 31% of all elections. The percentage of primaries that are completely open has also slightly diminished, from 32% in 2000 to 29% in 2024. Opening primaries to unaffiliated voters, on the other hand, has become much more popular over the past two decades, rising from 17% to 25% of all elections. Finally, more states are experimenting with nonpartisan primaries. In 2000, three states used some form of nonpartisan primaries: California, Nebraska, and Washington. Alaska joined this group in the 2022 primary cycle, and several states have initiatives to adopt nonpartisan primaries on the ballot this year.

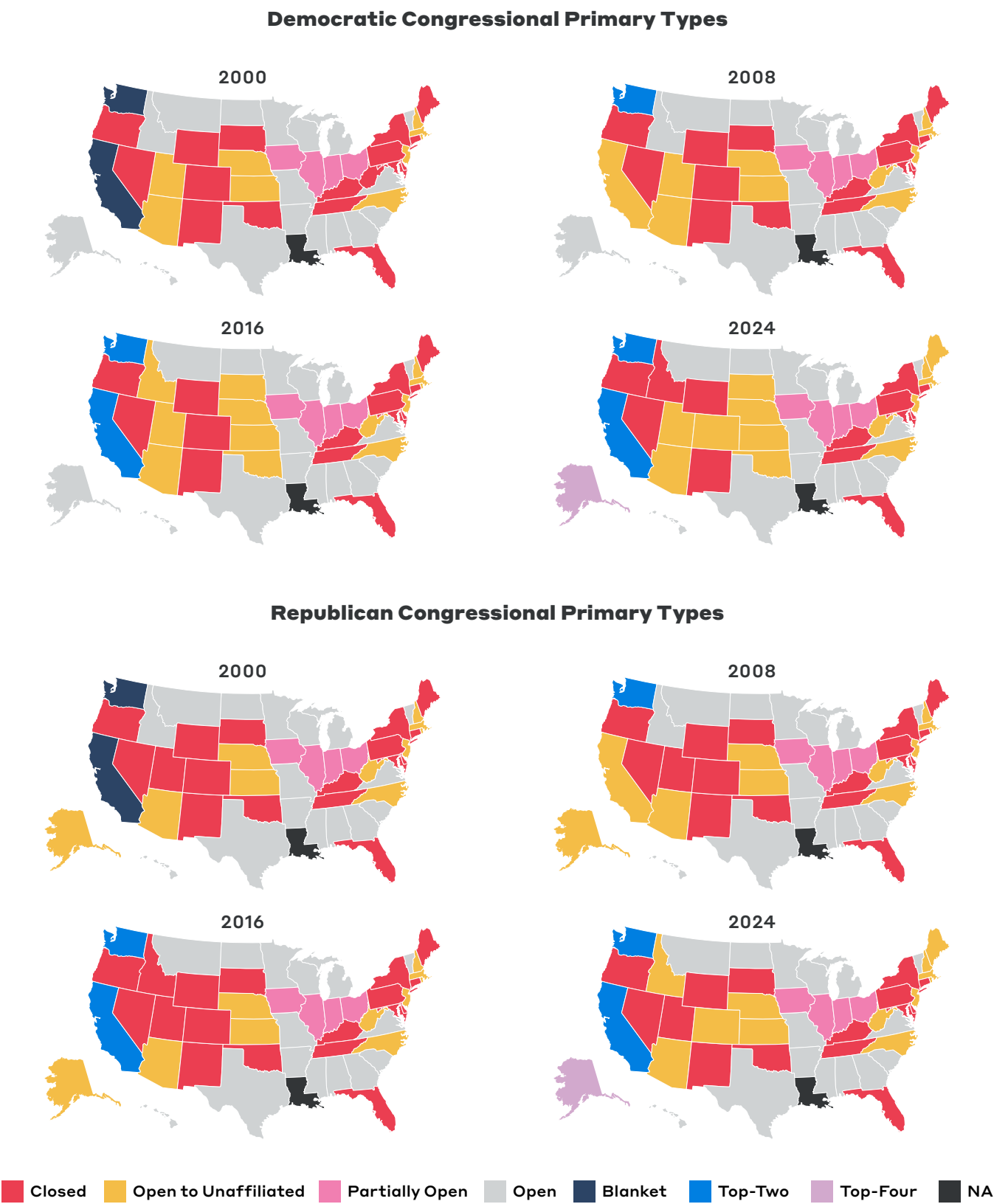
Figure 2 focuses on congressional Democratic and Republican primary rules. Here, the y-axis is the number of states holding congressional primaries using the specified type. Republicans are more likely to use closed primaries, whereas Democrats are more likely to open their congressional primaries to unaffiliated voters. The decline in closed primaries and increase in the “open to unaffiliated” type has been quite dramatic on the Democratic side, with the number of states allowing unaffiliated voters to participate almost doubling over the past 20 years. Similar trends are observed in Republican primaries, albeit to a lesser degree.

**Figure 2. Type of Congressional Primaries by Party, 2000-2024**



Delving further, Figure 3 maps each state’s congressional primary type in four snapshots over the past quarter-century, with Democratic primary rules in the top panel and Republican primary rules in the bottom panel. For both major parties, it appears most of the reforms have occurred in states in New England and the Mountain West. Beyond these reforms, regional variation in primary type is also apparent. Most Southern states use open primaries, states in the Midwest tend to use partially open primaries, and New England and Mountain West states use a mix of closed and “open to unaffiliated” rules. Nonpartisan primaries are mostly confined to the Pacific West.

**Figure 3.** Map of Congressional Primary Types by Party, 2000-2024



### III. Differences in Primary and General Election Voters

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Participation is an important indicator of the health of a democracy,<sup>9</sup> and low turnout can harm democratic legitimacy.<sup>10</sup> The electorate's composition can serve as a direct test of the representativeness of our democracy: Ideally, those who participate in elections look like and have similar beliefs to the overall pool of eligible voters. Insofar as the electorate differs from this ideal, election results could produce a government that is more attuned to the interests of an unrepresentative minority.

Different primary types within and across states could potentially impact both voter turnout and the electorate's makeup, which may have consequences for how the primary electorate compares with that of the general election. Voter turnout refers to the total number of eligible voters who cast ballots in the election. The demographic makeup or composition of the electorate refers to those who vote.

Table 2 displays the average overall and race-specific turnout rates for voters in primary and general elections across 49 states and the District of Columbia that took place between 2014 and 2020.<sup>c</sup> It comes as little surprise that turnout rates are much lower in primary elections than in general elections. On average, about 1 in 5 eligible voters participates in the average state primary election, compared with more than half of eligible voters participating in a typical state's general elections.

Primary turnout rates are lower than general election turnout rates across all races and ethnicities. However, proportionally fewer racial minorities vote in primaries compared with general elections. Fifty-two percent of eligible white voters participate in general elections compared with 21% in primaries. This means only 40% of white voters who participate in general elections vote in primary elections. Only 10% of eligible Black voters vote in primary elections compared with 27% in general elections, meaning Black primary election turnout is only 37% that of Black general election turnout. For Latinos and Asians, primary participation is less than 30% that of general election participation. These differential turnout rates contribute to primary electorates that are not racially reflective of the general electorates.

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<sup>c</sup> Louisiana is excluded because its "jungle" primary system acts as a general election. In cases where states held two primaries in a single year, data from the first primary is used. Runoff and special elections are omitted from analysis. Turnout rates are calculated using citizen voting-age population (CVAP) as the denominator.

Table 2 also shows the composition of the electorate for various categories (“share” labels). These measure the percentage of voters who share a certain attribute. For instance, the first row, “Share Nonwhite,” reveals that on average, 18% of primary election voters are nonwhite, 19% of general election voters are nonwhite, 22% of registered voters are nonwhite, and 25% of eligible voters are nonwhite. The difference column shows that the share of nonwhite voters is 2 percentage points fewer in the primary electorate than the general electorate (discrepancies are due to rounding).

Primary and general electorates are similar across a number of categories, including gender, income, education, and veteran balance. Working-class voters are slightly underrepresented in primaries compared with general elections.

**Table 2. Turnout and Composition of Primary and General Electorates, 2014-2020**

	Primary	General	Difference	Registered	Eligible
Turnout	21%	53%	-32%		
Black turnout	10%	27%	-17%		
Latino turnout	13%	44%	-30%		
Asian turnout	13%	44%	-30%		
White turnout	21%	52%	-31%		
Share Nonwhite	18%	19%	-2%	22%	25%
Share Black	8%	8%	0%	9%	11%
Share Latino	6%	7%	-1%	8%	8%
Share Asian	2%	3%	0%	3%	3%
Share White	82%	81%	2%	78%	75%
Share Other	2%	2%	0%	2%	4%
Mean age of voters (yrs)	59	54	5	51	48
Share Democratic	43%	37%	6%	36%	32%
Share Republican	46%	38%	8%	33%	29%
Share 3rd Party	1%	2%	-1%	2%	4%
Share Unaffiliated	10%	23%	-13%	29%	28%
Share Female	54%	53%	0%	53%	51%
Share <\$50k income	25%	24%	2%	26%	45%
Share <\$100k income	72%	71%	1%	73%	73%
Share >\$250k income	3%	3%	0%	2%	1%
Share some college	68%	68%	0%	67%	63%
Share working-class	28%	30%	-2%	31%	-
Share veteran	6%	5%	1%	4%	11%

**Notes:** Primary, General, and Registered data come from L2 data. “Eligible” is defined as CVAP, or the “citizen voting-age population.” This counts all eligible voters as those who are adults and U.S. citizens and is a significant improvement over the standard voter-age population (VAP) measure that only accounts for age. It is sourced from the 2018 Congressional Election Survey.<sup>11</sup> Difference is Primary - General. All data is averaged at the state level. The share of eligible voters that are working-class is not available in the CES data.

Primary electorates differ substantially from general electorates in two ways: age and partisan affiliation. The primary electorate is older and more likely to be party affiliated. The mean age of voters in primary elections is 59 compared with 54 in general elections. This is unsurprising considering that older voters are more likely to be habitual voters.<sup>12</sup> Primary electorates are also much more likely to be affiliated with a major party than general electorates: The average primary electorate between 2014 and 2020 was 43% Democratic-affiliated, 46% Republican-affiliated, 1% third-party affiliated, and 10% unaffiliated. This contrasts with 23% of general election voters who on average are unaffiliated.

Columns 4 and 5 compare primary and general election voters to the universe of registered and citizen voting-age eligible voters. Across virtually every category, the primary electorate is less representative of the pool of eligible voters than the general electorate, with the pool of registered voters lying between the general and eligible electorates. Nonwhites make up 25% of the pool of eligible voters and 22% of all registered voters in the average state, but only 19% of the general election electorate and 18% of the primary electorate. The average age of eligible voters is 48; for registered voters it is 51, is 54 for general election voters, and is 59 for primary election voters. Unaffiliated voters constitute 28% of the average state's pool of eligible voters, but 23% of the general electorate and only 10% of the primary electorate. Low-income voters and veterans are severely underrepresented in the primary and general electorates, and those without at least some college education are also underrepresented.

Differences in turnout and composition of the primary versus the general electorate are also consistent across the United States for each even-year election cycle between 2014 and 2020, as evidenced by Table 3. Overall primary turnout is consistently below overall general election turnout, ranging from a 23-percentage-point difference in 2014 to a 40-percentage-point gap in 2020. Turnout among different racial and ethnic groups is also consistently lower in primary than general elections.

**Table 3. Differences in Turnout and Composition between Primary and General Electorates by Year, 2014-2020**

	2014	2016	2018	2020
Turnout	-23%	-37%	-29%	-40%
Black turnout	-11%	-20%	-15%	-20%
Latino turnout	-19%	-38%	-26%	-39%
Asian turnout	-18%	-36%	-27%	-40%
White turnout	-22%	-35%	-28%	-38%
Share Nonwhite	-1%	-2%	-2%	-1%
Share Black	-1%	0%	0%	1%
Share Latino	0%	-1%	-1%	-2%
Share Asian	0%	0%	0%	-1%
Share White	1%	2%	2%	1%
Share Other	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mean age of voters	4	6	5	6
Share Democratic	2%	7%	6%	9%
Share Republican	11%	8%	6%	5%
Share 3rd Party	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%
Share Unaffiliated	-11%	-15%	-12%	-13%
Share Female	0%	0%	0%	2%
Share <\$50k income	3%	1%	1%	1%
Share <\$100k income	0%	1%	1%	0%
Share >\$250k income	0%	0%	0%	0%
Share some college	-1%	0%	0%	0%
Share working-class	-2%	-2%	-1%	-2%
Share veteran	1%	0%	1%	1%

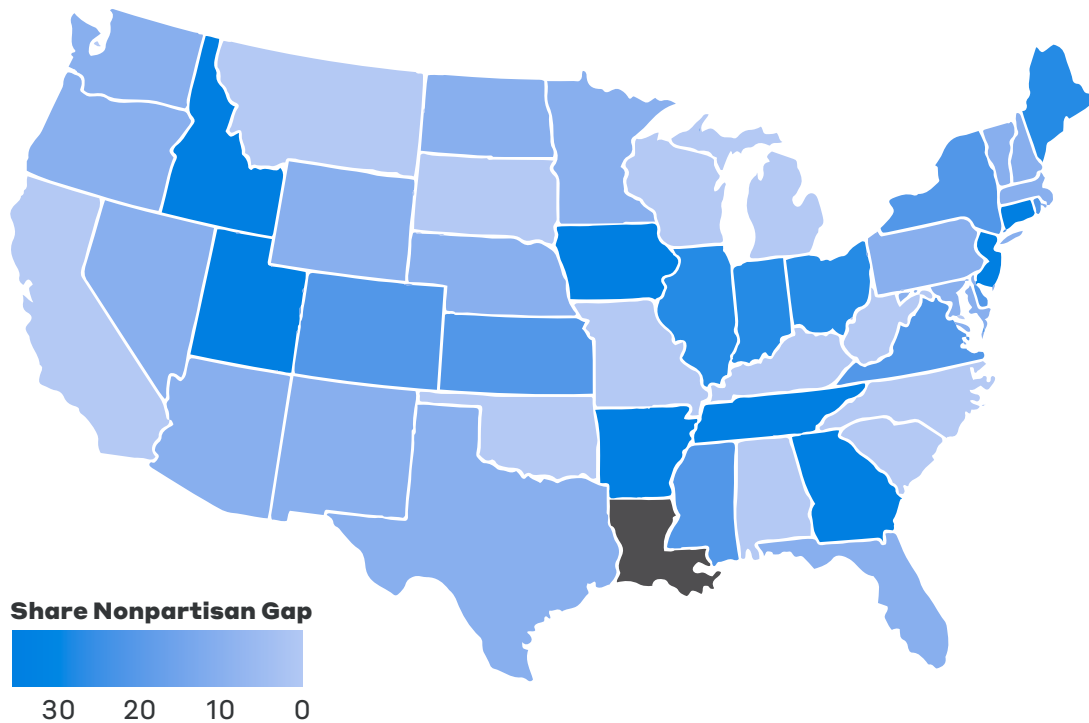
Although the difference in composition for registered Democrats and Republicans varied significantly across election cycles, unaffiliated voters were consistently underrepresented in primary electorates by a significant margin—anywhere between 11 and 15 percentage points. In terms of racial make-up, primary electorates comprise between one and two percentage points more white voters than general election electorates in every cycle. Primary electorates were also significantly older in every cycle (mean age difference of between four and six years), as well as significantly more party affiliated. Differences in electorate composition by gender, income, education, occupation, and veteran tended to be small, although low-income voters were most consistently overrepresented in primary elections (by between 1 and 3 percentage points) and working-class voters were consistently underrepresented (by between 1 and 2 percentage points).<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> See L2 Voter File in the Data and Methodology section of the Appendix for the precise definition of “working class.”



These turnout and compositional differences in primary and general electorates are also consistently present across states. Table A.1 in the Appendix provides a breakdown of these differences by state. Although the exact magnitudes differ, primary turnout is lower in every state than general election turnout, the primary electorate is older than the general electorate, and unaffiliated and working-class voters are underrepresented in primary elections. The gap in unaffiliated voter share between primary and general elections ranges from near parity in Kentucky to a 36-percentage-point difference in Connecticut.

**Figure 4. Gap between Primary and General Electorate Share of Unaffiliated Voters**



## IV. Demographic Composition and Turnout of Primary Electorates by Primary Type (2014-2020)

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How does turnout and demographic composition of primary electorates vary by primary type, relative to general electorates? In other words, under which rules do primary election voters look most similar to general election voters?

Table 4 compares primary and general electorates, grouping states by the rules they use to determine who can participate in primaries. All numbers show the gap in turnout or compositional share between primary and general elections according to the rules used by each state which dictate who can participate in the state's congressional primaries that year. These figures are suggestive rather than causal in nature, as some states move between categories over time. Nevertheless, some clear patterns emerge relating primary type to how different the primary electorate looks from the general electorate.

In general, turnout gaps between primary and general elections are smaller under open or nonpartisan primary rules than under closed primary rules. The average gap in turnout between primaries and general elections under closed primary rules is 34 percentage points, compared with 32 percentage points under open primaries and 21 percentage points under top-two primaries.

The same is true of turnout rates for most racial and ethnic groups. The gap in primary turnout for Latinos under closed primary rules is 32 percentage points on average, but is 29-30 percentage points under partially open or open rules and is only 23 percentage points under top-two primaries. The gap in Asian turnout between primary and general elections is typically 30 percentage points, but is only 17 percentage points under top-two primaries.

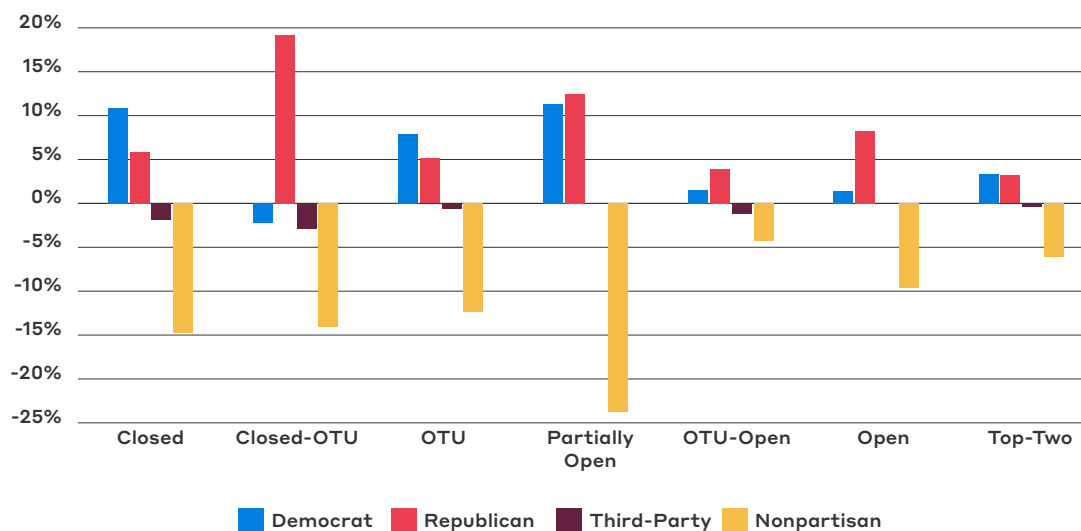
**Table 4. Turnout and Composition Differences between Primary and General Electorates by Congressional Primary Type, 2014-2020**

	Closed	Closed-OTU	OTU	Partially Open	OTU-Open	Open	Top-Two
Turnout	-34%	-31%	-33%	-33%	-32%	-32%	-21%
Black turnout	-18%	-9%	-15%	-18%	-8%	-18%	-9%
Latino turnout	-32%	-25%	-33%	-29%	-29%	-30%	-23%
Asian turnout	-30%	-38%	-30%	-33%	-14%	-31%	-17%
White turnout	-33%	-30%	-31%	-30%	-37%	-30%	-19%
Share Nonwhite	-1%	-2%	-2%	-1%	-2%	-2%	-4%
Share Black	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	-1%	0%
Share Latino	-1%	-2%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-1%	-3%
Share Asian	-1%	0%	-1%	0%	0%	0%	-1%
Share White	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	4%
Share Other	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mean age of voters	5	6	5	5	4	5	5
Share Democratic	11%	-2%	8%	11%	2%	1%	3%
Share Republican	6%	19%	5%	12%	4%	8%	3%
Share 3rd Party	-2%	-3%	-1%	0%	-1%	0%	0%
Share Unaffiliated	-15%	-14%	-12%	-24%	-4%	-10%	-6%
Share Female	1%	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Share <\$50k income	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Share <\$100k income	1%	1%	2%	0%	-1%	0%	0%
Share >\$250k income	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Share some college	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Share working-class	-2%	-2%	-1%	-2%	-2%	-2%	-1%
Share veteran	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Observations	55	15	37	16	4	60	8

**Notes:** OTU = “Open-to-Unaffiliated.” Primary type is a combination of primary type for each state’s Democratic and Republican congressional primaries. Hyphenated types indicate the state’s major parties use different rules for primary participation.

In terms of the electorate’s composition, there is a clear trend in the partisan affiliation of the electorate under various primary types, as illustrated in Figure 5. Under closed primaries, registered Democrats and Republicans are overrepresented by 11 percentage points and 6 percentage points, respectively, compared with the electorate in the general election, whereas third-party voters and unaffiliated voters are underrepresented by 2 and 15 percentage points, respectively. These imbalances significantly diminish under more open primary rules.

**Figure 5. Average Difference in Partisan Composition between Primary and General Electorates by Congressional Primary Type**



**Notes:** Each bar is the average gap in partisan composition between primary and general electorates among states that use the specified primary type. Positive numbers indicate voters registered with that party affiliation are overrepresented in primary elections, relative to general elections. Negative numbers indicate voters of that affiliation are underrepresented in primaries.

When unaffiliated voters are allowed to participate, registered Democrats and Republicans are overrepresented by 8 and 5 percentage points, and third-party and unaffiliated voters are underrepresented by 1 and 12 percentage points, on average. Under an open primary rule, Democrats and Republicans are overrepresented by 1 and 8 percentage points, respectively, whereas third-party representation reaches parity and unaffiliated voters are only underrepresented by 10 percentage points. Finally, under the nonpartisan top-two primary system, the major parties are both overrepresented by 3 percentage points and unaffiliated voters are only underrepresented by 6 percentage points. More open primaries appear to achieve closer parity in partisan composition between primary and general elections.

There are no clear trends in electorate share differences across racial demographics, age, gender, income, occupation, or veteran status according to primary type.

## V. Impact of Open Primaries on Voter Turnout

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Primary election voter turnout is very low—fewer than 20% of eligible voters participated in recent midterm primary elections.<sup>13</sup> When states or parties open their primaries to unaffiliated voters, does this boost participation?

Table 4 provides suggestive evidence that states with more open primary rules enjoy higher participation rates. Here, we examine what happens to states' primary turnout rates when they change their rules for participation in primaries. Reforms in three states inform our analysis: Colorado, which opened their primaries to unaffiliated voters in 2018; Idaho, where the Republican Party allowed unaffiliated voters to vote for state executive and legislative elections in 2018 and the Democratic Party stopped allowing unaffiliated participation; and Oklahoma, whose Democratic Party opened up their congressional and state legislative primaries to unaffiliated voters in 2016.<sup>°</sup>

We find that states enjoy a 5-percentage-point boost to voter turnout when they open their primaries to participation from unaffiliated voters (Table A.3 in the technical Appendix). This participation boost is shared across racial groups, with Asian and white voters increasing their participation by approximately 5 percentage points and Black and Latino voters enjoying a 3-point boost to turnout.

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<sup>°</sup> It is important to note that all these switches fall under the category of “partially closed” primaries that the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL) and other classifiers made. They are all party-specific and involve specific offices. Therefore, previous mappings of primary type changes over time did not adequately capture them. See <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/changes-to-state-primary-elections-since-2000>.

## VI. Impact of Open Primaries on the Representativeness of the Electorate

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Previous scholarship has suggested that primary voters resemble rank-and-file general election voters in terms of policy preferences and demographic composition.<sup>14</sup> However, other scholars have found that primary voters are more ideologically extreme,<sup>15</sup> while several studies have found no relationship between primary type and ideological orientation of the electorate.<sup>16,17,18</sup>

Table 4 showed that states with more open primary types tended to have primary electorates more representative of the general electorate; however, other factors could be driving this relationship. For example, states that happen to have more-open primary types could also happen to have more diverse demographics. On the other hand, primary type may influence party registration and identification.<sup>19</sup> Here we examine what happens to the composition of a state's primary electorate when it adopts a primary that is open to unaffiliated voters.

When a state opens its primaries to unaffiliated voters, the unaffiliated share of the electorate increases sharply, by 12 percentage points on average (Table A.5 in the Appendix). The share of voters who are registered with a third party increases slightly. These increases come, as expected, at the expense of the share of voters who are registered Democrats and Republicans —whose share decreases by 3 and 9 percentage points, respectively. In other words, as the share of unaffiliated and third-party voters increases, Democratic and Republican shares decrease.

The few studies examining demographic effects of open primaries have found that these primaries tend to have more younger voters than closed primaries,<sup>20</sup> as well as more participation of Asian and Latino voters.<sup>21</sup> When primaries are opened to unaffiliated voters, Asian and Latino participation rises slightly as a share of the overall electorate (Table A.4). The share of male voters also increases by about 1 percentage point and decreases the mean age of participants by 1.5 years (Table A.6). It does not notably alter the share of voters who are low income, working class, without any college education, or are veterans.

A switch to allowing unaffiliated voters to participate in partisan primaries appears to also affect the balance of party registration. A descriptive analysis of partisan registration by primary type reveals that in state contests with closed primaries, an average of 23% of registered voters are unaffiliated. By comparison, “open to unaffiliated” contests averaged 34%, Partially open

primaries averaged 40%, and fully open primaries averaged 28% unaffiliated share of registrants.<sup>f</sup>

Further analysis suggests that primary type may influence whether voters affiliate with a party (Table A.7 in the Appendix). When states move from closed to open to unaffiliated primaries, the share of registrants who are registered as unaffiliated increases by almost 3 percentage points, and the third-party share of registered voters increases slightly as well. This comes at the expense of major party registrants. The percentage of registered voters affiliated with the Democratic and Republican parties both declined by about 1.5 percentage points. This evidence is in line with an explanation that closed primary systems force people to register with major parties, whereas they would prefer to stay unaffiliated if still given the chance to meaningfully participate in the primary process.

Do primary election reforms reduce disparities in turnout and electorate composition between primary and general election voters? Our evidence suggests yes (Tables A.8-A.11 in the technical Appendix). When states open their primaries up to unaffiliated voters, turnout disparities between primary and general election turnout decrease by 6.4 percentage points on average. This includes sharply reducing the compositional disparity for unaffiliated voters, as well as the disparity for Democratic and Republican voters. In other words, after implementing more open primaries, the primary electorate looks more similar to the general electorate in terms of partisan representation.

Switching to more open primaries also results in a 4.5-percentage-point decrease in Asian turnout disparities and a 4.3-percentage-point decrease in Latino turnout disparities.<sup>9</sup> However, this translates into only a slight decrease in compositional disparity for Asian voters and no decrease in compositional disparity for Latino voters. Finally, opening up primaries significantly decreases mean age disparities by about 1.5 years on average and slightly decreases gender disparities.

Unaffiliated, third-party, racial minority, male, and young voters are all underrepresented in primary electorates, as shown in Table 2 above. Opening primaries to unaffiliated voters demonstrably alters the primary electorate in ways that reduce representational disparities between who casts votes in primary elections and who is eligible to participate. Although the evidence here rests on a relatively small set of reforms, it is the strongest yet that primary reforms can improve the representativeness of the electorate.

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<sup>f</sup> Curiously, the share of unaffiliated voters in top-two primaries does not differ from closed primaries, on average.

<sup>9</sup> Disparities are measured as the absolute value of the difference between turnout or electorate composition in primary elections compared to general elections.

## VII. Effect of Election Day Registration on Turnout and Composition of the Primary Electorate

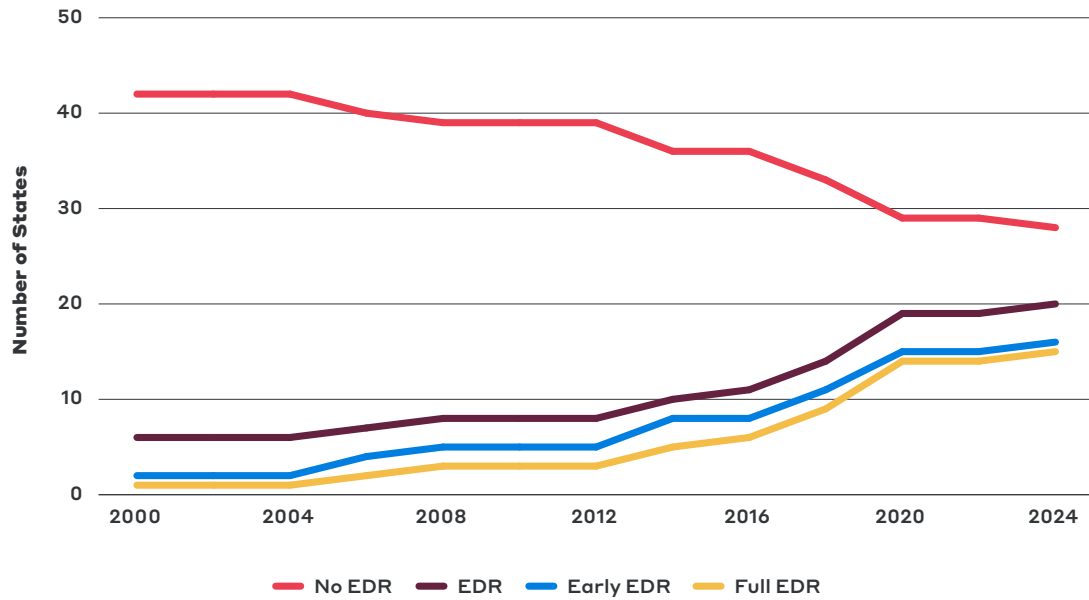
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Rules determining who is allowed to participate in primary elections based on their registered party affiliation are one factor affecting turnout. A second factor are the rules determining when voters are allowed to register for the first time or change their party affiliation. The most permissive versions of these rules allow voters to register or change their party affiliation at the polls on Election Day, which reduces the barriers imposed by closed primaries. The strictest versions of these rules require voters who are registered with one party but wish to participate in a different party's primary to change their affiliation as far as nine months in advance of the election.

Election Day registration (EDR) is a state policy that allows voters to register or change their voter registration at the polls on Election Day. More than a dozen states have adopted the practice over the past 20 years. Figure 6 shows the share of states that have used EDR since 2000, and Figure 7 shows when states have adopted EDR. Election Day registration allows voters to effectively overcome restrictive primary participation rules. For example, the California Republican Party holds a closed presidential primary, meaning only registered Republicans can participate; however, California also has EDR. This means that voters who are unregistered can register as Republicans on the day of the election. It also means that voters registered without a party affiliation or voters registered with another party can change their party registration status at the polling station and then participate in that primary. Voters might still be dissuaded from participation if they prefer not to be registered as Republicans, but no voter is prevented from participating in the primary of his or her choice. Therefore, EDR reduces the barriers to participation under closed primary rules.

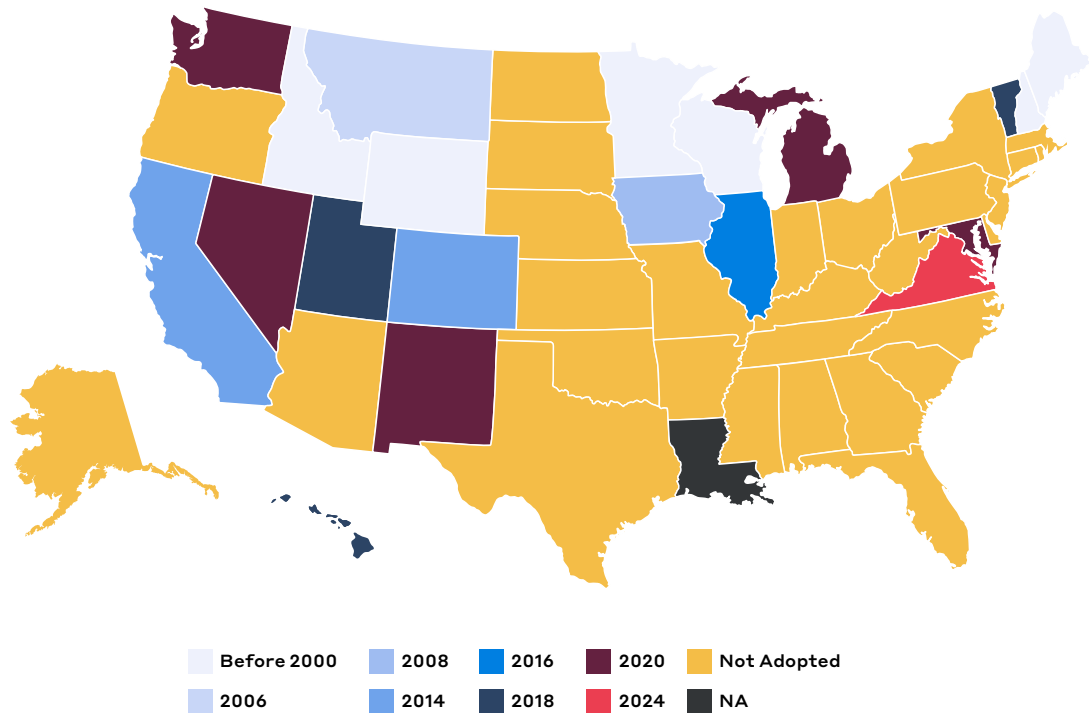


**Figure 6. Adoption of Election Day Registration, 2000-2024**



**Notes:** “Full EDR” means the state offers both early and Election Day voter registration. “Early EDR” means the state offers early in-person voter registration but not voter registration on Election Day. “EDR” means the state offers voter registration on Election Day but not early in-person voter registration. “No EDR” means the state does not offer voter registration for early in-person voting or on Election Day.

**Figure 7. Map of Election Day Registration Adoption, 2000-2024**



States that have EDR tend to have higher turnout: Average primary election turnout is 24%, and average general election turnout is 59%. This compares with 20% and 51% for states without EDR, but this correlation could be spurious. States that adopt EDR could already have higher average turnout for reasons that do not have to do with the policy change itself. Therefore, we examine changes in a state's turnout rate and electorate shares when it implements EDR compared with states that do not make that change. This analysis is powered by states that adopted EDR in 2016, 2018, or 2020. Nine states fit into these criteria: one state in 2016 (Illinois), three states in 2018 (Hawaii, Utah, and Vermont), and five states in 2020 (Maryland, Michigan, New Mexico, Nevada, and Washington).

Table A.12 in the Appendix shows that the correlational evidence holds up to more rigorous testing. When states implement EDR, they enjoy higher primary turnout by an average of 3.7 percentage points. Turnout increases among all racial groups, especially white, Latino, and Asian Americans. Beyond changes in participation, however, it appears that EDR has little effect on the composition of the primary electorate (Tables A.13-A.15). States that enacted EDR saw few changes to the racial, partisan, or demographic composition of their electorates compared with states that did not make this switch.

It is notable that while EDR may have the same practical effect of opening primaries up to unaffiliated and crossover voters, Election Day registration only affects turnout and not the composition of the electorate. Conversely, when states officially open primaries to unaffiliated voters, it increases turnout *and* transforms the composition of the electorate to more closely resemble that of the general election. The barriers posed by closed primaries, even with EDR, prove formidable. Several explanations are possible. Voters who prefer to cast their ballots by mail do not benefit from the policy change. Information from the government indicating that unaffiliated voters cannot participate may deter voters or voters may fail to learn about the policy change. Voters may prefer to avoid the added paperwork of changing their registration at the polling station. Voters simply may not want to change their party affiliation to vote, even if the change would be a temporary one.

## VIII. Impact of Registration Deadline Policies on the Primary Electorate

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Even among states that use a closed primary rule, the variation in registration deadlines is wide. States with EDR effectively have a zero-day registration deadline, as voters can change their registration on Election Day to vote in the party primary of their choice.

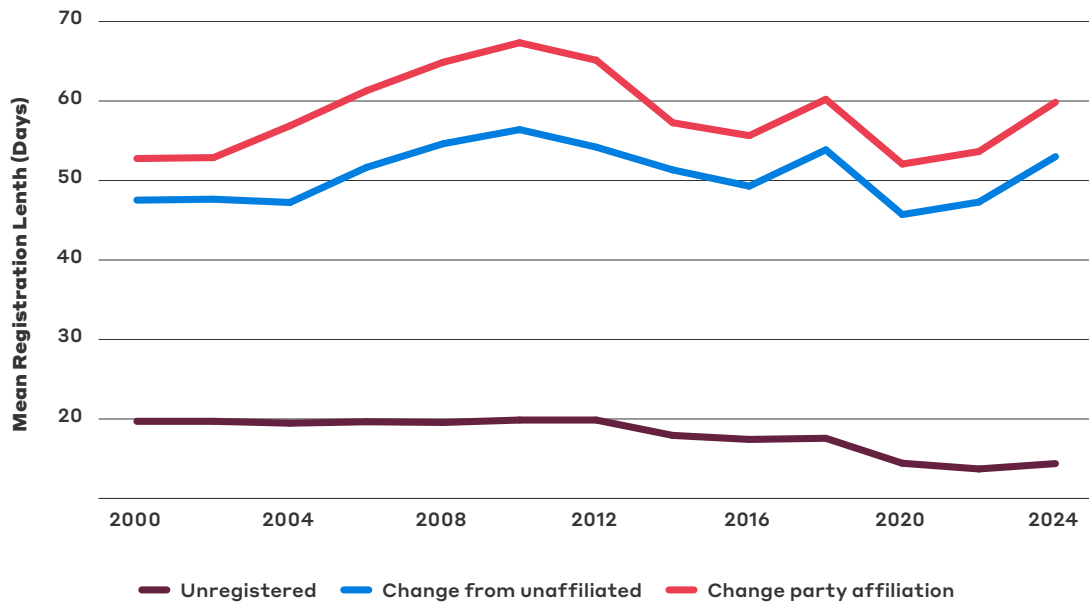
States can have up to three different registration deadlines: the deadline for new registrants, the deadline for registered unaffiliated voters to affiliate with a party, and the deadline for voters affiliated with a party to change their affiliation to a different party. For instance, Connecticut allows unregistered voters to register and registered unaffiliated voters to affiliate up to the day before their closed primary election. However, voters who are already affiliated with a party and wish to switch their affiliation must do so 90 days before the election.

The strictest deadline for unregistered voters to register among closed-rule states is Tennessee, which closes its rolls to new registrants 30 days before the primary. New York has the strictest rules: It requires unregistered voters to register 25 days before the primary, but requires unaffiliated voters and those wishing to switch their party affiliation to do so up to 263 days before the election.

Figure 8 shows changes in the average registration deadlines among closed primary states over time and Figure 9 shows registration requirements among closed primary states in 2024. Deadlines for unregistered voters have declined sharply over the past quarter-century. In 2000, the average deadline to register to vote in a closed primary was 20 days—nearly three weeks. In 2024, the average registration deadline was 14 days.

However, states have gotten more restrictive over time in their deadlines for unaffiliated voters to register for a party and for already-affiliated voters to change their party registration. In 2000, states required unaffiliated voters to select a party 48 days before Election Day, on average, and required affiliated voters to change their party registration an average of 53 days before Election Day. Both these numbers increased substantially over the following decade, peaking in 2010 at 56 and 67 days, respectively; states have since loosened their deadlines slightly. In the 2024 cycle, closed primary states required those without a party affiliation to affiliate 53 days before Election Day on average, and those changing their party registration to do so 60 days before the election. In short, closed primary states typically require voters to decide well in advance which primary they intend to participate in.

**Figure 8. Average Registration Deadline among Closed Primary States, 2000-2024**



**Notes:** “Unregistered” means the number of days before Election Day that eligible unregistered voters must register to participate in that primary election. “Change from unaffiliated” means the number of days before Election Day that voters registered as unaffiliated must change their registration to affiliate with a party by to participate in that party’s primary election. “Change party affiliation” means the number of days before Election Day that voters registered with a party must change their party affiliation by to participate in the new party’s primary.

**Figure 9. 2024 Registration Deadlines among Closed Primary States**



Longer registration deadlines appear to reduce turnout slightly (Table A.16 in the Appendix). A 10-day increase in the registration deadline reduces voter turnout by 1 percentage point, although we cannot rule out that the result arose purely by chance. Longer registration deadlines appear to deter racial minorities from participating (Table A.17). A 10-day increase in the registration deadline equates to a small reduction in the share of Asian voters, a 1-percentage-point reduction in the share of Latino voters, and a 2-percentage-point reduction in the nonwhite share of the electorate. Registration deadlines appear to have little effect on the partisan or demographic balance of the electorate beyond these effects (Tables A.18 and A.19).

In sum, voter registration policies matter in addition to primary type. EDR appears to boost primary turnout, and lengthy registration deadlines appear to make the primary electorate less racially reflective of the general election.

## IX. Conclusion

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It has been proposed that more open and nonpartisan primaries can help increase voter turnout and facilitate a more representative electorate when parties are nominating candidates for the general election. The evidence presented here supports those claims across a variety of demographic groups and other characteristics, including partisanship, although not uniformly. Notably, more open and nonpartisan primaries see higher participation from unaffiliated voters, and the primary electorate's composition is more representative in terms of partisanship. In other words, more open and nonpartisan primaries do not just make it easier for unaffiliated voters to participate—under these circumstances, voters *actually do* participate at higher rates and in a way that better reflects the general electorate. In some ways, changing the primary type appears to be even more effective at achieving a more representative electorate than reforms like Election Day registration.

This analysis reveals changes in state primary rules in both directions—both expanding access to voters unaffiliated with a political party and closing primaries to participation from unaffiliated voters. As policymakers and voters across the country consider changing primary rules to increase turnout—especially among unaffiliated voters—and to encourage a more representative primary electorate, they can be confident that more open and nonpartisan primaries will help achieve those goals.

# Acknowledgments

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BPC gratefully acknowledges Unite America, whose support helped make the writing of this report possible.

# Appendix

## 2000 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	OTU	Open	-	-	OTU	Open
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	-	-	Blanket	Blanket
CO	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	Partially	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	OTU	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	Open	Open	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	Open	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket	Blanket
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed
WY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.



## 2002 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
AL	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AR	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AZ	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CA	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
CO	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
CT	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
DE	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
GA	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
HI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IA	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
ID	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IL	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
IN	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
KY	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
MD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
ME	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
MI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MN	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MO	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
NC	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
ND	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	-	-	OTU	OTU	Closed	Closed	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OH	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
OK	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OR	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
SC	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
SD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TN	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TX	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
UT	-	-	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
VA	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	-	-	Blanket	Blanket	-	-	Blanket	Blanket
WI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WV	-	-	OTU	Closed	-	-	OTU	Closed
WY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2004 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Closed	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CO	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	-	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	OTU	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	-	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	-	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	-	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2006 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	OTU	Open	OTU	Open	OTU	Open
AL	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AR	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AZ	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CO	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
CT	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
DE	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
GA	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
HI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IA	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
ID	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IL	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
IN	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
KY	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
MD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
ME	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
MI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MN	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MO	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
NC	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
ND	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	-	-	OTU	OTU	Closed	Closed	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OH	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
OK	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OR	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
SC	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
SD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TN	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TX	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
UT	-	-	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
VA	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
WI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WV	-	-	OTU	Closed	-	-	OTU	Closed
WY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2008 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	Closed	Closed	OTU	Open	-	-	OTU	Open
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Closed	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CO	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	Partially	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	OTU	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Closed	Closed	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2010 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	OTU	Open	OTU	Open	OTU	Open
AL	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AR	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AZ	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CO	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
CT	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
DE	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
GA	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
HI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IA	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
ID	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IL	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
IN	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
KY	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
MA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
MD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
ME	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
MI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MN	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MO	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
NC	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
ND	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	-	-	OTU	OTU	Closed	Closed	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OH	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
OK	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OR	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
SC	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
SD	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
TN	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TX	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
UT	-	-	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
VA	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WV	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2012 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	Closed	Closed	OTU	Open	-	-	OTU	Open
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	Partially	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	OTU	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Closed	Closed	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2014 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	OTU	Open	OTU	Open	OTU	Open
AL	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AR	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AZ	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
CT	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
DE	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
GA	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
HI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IA	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
ID	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
IL	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
IN	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
KY	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
MD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
ME	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
MI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MN	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MO	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
NC	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
ND	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	-	-	OTU	OTU	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OH	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
OK	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OR	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
SC	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
SD	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
TN	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TX	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
UT	-	-	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
VA	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WV	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
WY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2016 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	Closed	Closed	OTU	Open	-	-	OTU	Open
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	Partially	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	-	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Closed	Open	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.



## 2018 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	OTU	Open	OTU	Open	OTU	Open
AL	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AR	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AZ	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CT	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
DE	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
GA	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
HI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IA	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
ID	-	-	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed
IL	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
IN	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
KY	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
MD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
ME	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
MI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MN	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MO	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
NC	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
ND	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	-	-	OTU	OTU	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OH	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
OK	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
OR	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
SC	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
SD	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
TN	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TX	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
UT	-	-	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
VA	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WV	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
WY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2020 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	Closed	OTU	Open	-	-	OTU	Open
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	-	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	-	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	-	-	OTU	Closed
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	OTU	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	-	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	-	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Open	Open	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2022 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	-	-	Top-Four	Top-Four	Top-Four	Top-Four	Top-Four	Top-Four
AL	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AR	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
AZ	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
CT	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
DE	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
GA	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
HI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
IA	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
ID	-	-	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed
IL	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
IN	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
KY	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
MA	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
MD	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
ME	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
MI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MN	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MO	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
NC	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
ND	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	-	-	OTU	OTU	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NV	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
NY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
OH	-	-	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
OK	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
OR	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
SC	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
SD	-	-	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
TN	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
TX	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
UT	-	-	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
VA	-	-	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WV	-	-	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
WY	-	-	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## 2024 Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D
AK	Closed	Closed	Top-Four	Top-Four	-	-	Top-Four	Top-Four
AL	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
AR	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
AZ	Closed	Closed	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CA	Closed	OTU	Top-Two	Top-Two	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
CO	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
CT	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
DE	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
FL	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
GA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
HI	Closed	Closed	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
IA	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
ID	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	-	-	OTU	Closed
IL	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
IN	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially
KS	Partially	Partially	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
KY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
LA	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-	-	-
MA	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MD	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	-	-
ME	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
MI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MN	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
MO	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
MS	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
MT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NC	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
ND	OTU	OTU	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
NE	Closed	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	Top-Two	Top-Two
NH	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
NJ	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	-	-
NM	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NV	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
NY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
OH	Partially	Partially	Partially	Partially	-	-	Partially	Partially
OK	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
OR	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
PA	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed
RI	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	-	-	OTU	OTU
SC	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
SD	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	-	-	Closed	OTU
TN	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed
TX	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
UT	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU	Closed	OTU
VA	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	-	-
VT	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open	Open
WA	Open	Open	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two	Top-Two
WI	Open	Open	Open	Open	-	-	Open	Open
WV	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU
WY	Closed	Closed	Closed	Closed	-	-	Closed	Closed

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”. “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

## Odd Year Primary Types

State	Pres R	Pres D	Congress R	Congress D	State Exec R	State Exec D	State Leg R	State Leg D	Year
NJ	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	2001
VA	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2001
KY	-	-	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	2003
LA	-	-	-	-	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	2003
MS	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2003
NJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	2003
VA	-	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	2003
NJ	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	2005
VA	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2005
KY	-	-	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	2007
LA	-	-	-	-	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	2007
MS	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2007
NJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	2007
VA	-	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	2007
NJ	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	2009
VA	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2009
KY	-	-	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	2011
LA	-	-	-	-	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	2011
MS	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2011
NJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	2011
VA	-	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	2011
NJ	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	2013
VA	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	2013
KY	-	-	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	2015
LA	-	-	-	-	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	2015
MS	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2015
NJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	2015
VA	-	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	2015
NJ	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	2017
VA	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2017
KY	-	-	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	2019
LA	-	-	-	-	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	2019
MS	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2019
NJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	2019
VA	-	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	2019
NJ	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	OTU	OTU	2021
VA	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2021
KY	-	-	-	-	Closed	Closed	-	-	2023
LA	-	-	-	-	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	Jungle	2023
MS	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	Open	Open	2023
NJ	-	-	-	-	-	-	OTU	OTU	2023
VA	-	-	-	-	-	-	Open	Open	2023

**Key:** “Pres” is short for presidential primaries. “Congress” refers to federal elections for House and Senate members. “State Exec” refers to state executive offices such as governor, secretary of state, and attorney general. “State Leg” refers to state legislative offices. OTU = Open to Unaffiliated”, “Partially” = “Partially open”. “R” and “D” refer to the Republican and Democratic primaries for each office, respectively. Cells with “-” indicate no regularly scheduled primary election for that office took place within the state that year or, for Louisiana, the primary election took place in November.

**Table A.1. Turnout and Composition Differences between Primary and General Electorates by State, 2014-2020**

	AK	AL	AR	AZ	CA	CO	CT	DC	DE	FL	GA	HI	IA	ID	IL	IN	KS	KY	MA	MD	ME	MI	MN	MO	MS
Turnout	-32	-22	-25	-27	-22	-42	-48	-30	-38	-37	-32	-12	-47	-34	-29	-25	-31	-28	-40	-31	-46	-33	-50	-26	-25
Black turnout	-8	-22	-16	-8	-11	-15	-23	-29	-23	-32	-30	-2	-15	-10	-17	-15	-14	-16	-18	-21	-16	-23	-14	-16	-21
Latino turnout	-29	-23	-22	-23	-22	-32	-36	-27	-32	-39	-33	-21	-39	-27	-24	-23	-25	-28	-43	-34	-57	-34	-45	-27	-21
Asian turnout	-14	-25	-25	-26	-16	-40	-35	-25	-32	-29	-28	-6	-49	-40	-20	-27	-28	-40	-30	-25	-42	-33	-41	-29	-25
White turnout	-37	-21	-26	-27	-20	-40	-46	-26	-38	-33	-31	-21	-42	-31	-27	-24	-30	-27	-36	-30	-43	-30	-44	-25	-26
Share Nonwhite	-2	-2	-1	-5	-6	-3	3	-1	1	-5	-4	4	-2	-3	-1	-1	-3	0	-2	1	-1	-2	-2	-1	-3
Share Black	0	-1	0	0	0	0	5	1	3	1	-1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	4	0	-1	0	0	-2
Share Latino	-1	0	-1	-4	-4	-2	-1	-1	-1	-5	-2	-1	-1	-2	-1	-1	-2	0	-2	-1	0	-1	-1	-1	0
Share Asian	0	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	5	0	0	-1	0	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1	0	0
Share White	2	2	1	5	6	3	-3	1	-1	5	4	-4	2	3	1	1	3	0	2	-1	1	2	2	1	3
Share Other	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mean age of voters	4	4	4	6	5	8	7	4	6	7	6	2	8	6	3	4	6	3	6	4	6	7	7	4	3
Share Democratic	2	-1	7	4	3	8	24	14	15	4	11	1	15	0	15	6	1	8	11	13	15	-1	11	-1	-1
Share Republican	4	4	17	10	2	13	14	-3	5	7	15	1	12	24	10	15	18	-3	-2	0	9	8	-4	5	17
Share 3rd Party	-1	0	0	-3	-1	-1	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-1	-5	0	-1	-2	0	0	0	0
Share Unaffiliated	-4	-3	-24	-11	-4	-19	-36	-11	-19	-11	-26	-3	-27	-23	-24	-22	-18	0	-8	-12	-23	-6	-7	-4	-16
Share Female	1	-1	-1	1	0	2	1	2	1	1	-1	0	1	0	-1	1	0	1	1	2	1	1	1	-1	-1
Share <\$50k income	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	-2	3	1	2	1	4	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	1	3	1	0
Share <\$100k income	-1	1	0	0	0	1	6	-2	2	-2	1	0	0	0	0	2	2	1	3	1	-1	1	2	1	0
Share >\$250k income	0	0	0	0	1	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Share some college	0	0	1	0	1	-1	-1	1	0	0	-1	1	0	-1	0	-1	-1	-1	0	0	3	0	0	-1	1
Share working-class	-2	0	-1	-1	-1	-1	-3	-1	-2	-1	-1	-1	-3	-2	-1	-1	-1	-1	-3	-2	-4	-3	-3	0	-1
Share veteran	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	1	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	2	2	1	1

**Note:** All values are percentages except for mean age of voters.

	MT	NC	ND	NE	NH	NJ	NM	NV	NY	OH	OK	OR	PA	RI	SC	SD	TN	TX	UT	VA	VT	WA	WI	WV	WY
Turnout	-24	-34	-33	-29	-39	-39	-28	-33	-43	-30	-22	-30	-31	-37	-33	-33	-26	-27	-32	-51	-36	-20	-45	-18	-22
Black turnout	-6	-33	-7	-17	-10	-21	-6	-14	-30	-22	-13	-13	-22	-12	-32	-5	-19	-17	-8	-36	-7	-6	-24	-8	-4
Latino turnout	-20	-35	-26	-25	-48	-34	-21	-35	-32	-30	-18	-31	-29	-45	-33	-25	-27	-22	-25	-48	-41	-23	-41	-25	-16
Asian turnout	-31	-35	-56	-28	-41	-27	-34	-14	-24	-38	-21	-30	-32	-24	-23	-47	-25	-26	-34	-40	-34	-19	-42	-26	-30
White turnout	-22	-32	-29	-26	-35	-37	-35	-34	-41	-28	-24	-27	-27	-34	-32	-31	-26	-29	-31	-51	-33	-18	-39	-17	-21
Share Nonwhite	0	-2	-1	-3	-2	0	1	-8	5	-2	-2	-3	-1	1	-2	-1	-1	-6	-4	-7	0	-3	-2	0	-1
Share Black	0	-1	0	-1	0	3	0	0	4	-1	0	0	1	1	-1	0	0	-2	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0
Share Latino	0	-1	-1	-2	-1	-1	1	-6	3	-1	-1	-2	-1	1	-1	0	-1	-3	-3	-2	0	-2	-1	0	-1
Share Asian	0	-1	0	0	-1	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	-1	-1	0	0	0	0	-1	0	-2	0	-1	-1	0	0
Share White	0	2	1	3	2	0	-1	8	-5	2	2	3	1	-1	2	1	1	6	4	7	0	3	2	0	1
Share Other	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	0	0	0	0
Mean age of voters	5	5	4	6	5	5	5	8	6	5	4	6	5	4	6	5	5	6	7	7	5	5	6	3	3
Share Democratic	1	4	-1	-2	3	21	15	3	28	9	0	7	9	23	-7	-4	6	-2	-6	-9	6	4	5	5	-1
Share Republican	5	0	10	10	9	8	0	9	-6	13	5	5	1	-4	13	14	16	11	32	22	0	4	0	-2	10
Share 3rd Party	0	0	0	-1	0	0	-2	-3	-5	0	0	-2	-2	0	0	-8	0	0	-3	0	0	0	0	0	-1
Share Unaffiliated	-6	-3	-9	-8	-12	-29	-13	-9	-17	-22	-4	-9	-8	-19	-6	-2	-23	-9	-24	-14	-7	-8	-5	-3	-8
Share Female	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	3	0	0	1	1	1	-1	1	-1	-1	2	-2	1	0	1	0	1
Share <\$50k income	1	0	2	2	2	3	2	1	8	0	1	1	2	3	1	3	2	2	1	-2	1	1	2	1	1
Share <\$100k income	0	1	1	2	2	4	1	-3	4	-1	0	0	2	3	-1	1	1	0	0	-1	0	1	1	1	0
Share >\$250k income	0	0	0	0	0	-1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Share some college	-1	0	-1	-1	0	-1	-1	0	0	0	1	0	-1	0	0	0	-1	0	-1	3	2	-1	1	0	-1
Share working-class	-1	-2	-1	-1	-3	-1	-1	-2	-3	-2	-1	-2	-1	-2	-1	-2	0	-1	-2	-3	-3	-2	-4	-1	-1
Share veteran	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	1

**Note:** All values are percentages except for mean age of voters.

# Data and Methodology

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## DATA SAMPLE

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The sample for analyzing election rule changes over time consists of all states and the District of Columbia for elections between 2000 and 2024, with the exception of Louisiana. We examine regularly scheduled primaries for president, Congress, state executive offices, and state legislative offices. We count a primary election for state executive office as occurring if it includes at least one of the following offices: governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer, state comptroller/controller, state auditor, superintendent of public instruction, agricultural commissions, insurance commissioner, or elected commissioners for labor, mine inspector, land, or tax. We do not include executive primaries for state board of education or any other state, local, or tribal offices. For states that elect some executive offices in one year and some executive offices in a different year, we do not distinguish the specific offices elected but count both years as constituting a state executive primary. We do not distinguish whether the primary was competitive, but do exclude cases where the primary was canceled altogether (as has happened with some recent presidential primaries due to COVID-19), as well as cases where decisions were made by a state party convention rather than voters. When states hold both a caucus and primary for president, we count the rules for which the primary was held. When a state held only a caucus for president, we identify the rules used for the caucus. When states hold multiple primaries for the same category in the same year (i.e., New York holding separate primaries for Senate and House elections in 2022), we consider the rules used for the primary that came first in the calendar year. Graphs showing over-time changes in rules generally exclude odd-year elections.

The sample for descriptive and statistical analysis is similar to the sample for election rules, except the time series was limited to between 2014 and 2020 and excludes all odd-year elections. Analysis at the state office, party year level includes separate observations within each state-year by election office and party. For instance, Alabama's 2020 primary election on March 3 included four separate observations, one for the congressional Democratic primary, one for the congressional Republican primary, one for the presidential Democratic primary, and one for the presidential Republican primary. Analysis at the state year level groups together observations by state and election year. For states with multiple primary dates, the first primary date of the calendar year is selected.



## PRIMARY TYPE

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We categorize states into five groups based on their primary voter participation rules. States with “closed” primaries only allow voters with a party affiliation to vote in that party’s primary. They do not allow voters with prior party affiliation to vote in a different party’s primary, nor do they allow voters not registered with a party to vote for partisan offices. States that are “open to unaffiliated” allow voters not registered with a party to vote for the party of their choice, but do not allow voters registered with a party to vote in a different party’s primary. States that are “partially open” allow both unaffiliated voters and voters registered with a party to vote for the party of their choice. However, that choice registers the voter with that party on the voter file. “Open” primaries resemble partially open ones, with the difference being that selecting a party’s ballot does not register the voter with that party. Finally, “nonpartisan primaries” (also called “multiparty primaries”) group candidates from all parties together on the same ballot. All voters can therefore vote for the candidate of their choice for each office and can select candidates from different parties for different offices.<sup>h</sup> Different variations of nonpartisan primaries include blanket, top-two, and top-four primary systems. In blanket primaries, the top vote-getter from each party advances to the general election. In top-two and top-four systems, the top two or four candidates with the most votes advance, regardless of party affiliation. Therefore, the general election might feature multiple candidates with the same party affiliation. Alaska’s top-four system includes an additional innovation—ranked choice voting in the general election. This helps reduce the incidence of strategic voting and disproportionate outcomes, whereby the majority party splits its votes between two candidates, allowing the less numerous party to elect its candidate.

The data for this categorization comes from a mix of sources: previous work by Unite America and the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL), contemporaneous newspaper reports, archived government websites, and direct communication with state and party officials.

## REGISTRATION DEADLINES AND ELECTION DAY REGISTRATION

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A state’s registration deadline is the date by which voters must register if they wish to vote in the upcoming election. We measure deadlines in days as the length between the registration deadline and the election. Registration

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<sup>h</sup> The National Conference of State Legislatures and other classifiers of primary type typically include a “partially closed” category in addition to these categories, where state law allows each party to choose their own primary type; see <https://www.ncsl.org/elections-and-campaigns/state-primary-election-types>. Rather than include that category, our classification separates out the primary type for the two major parties—Democratic and Republican. We also account for the fact that some states have different primary type rules for presidential, congressional, state executive, and state legislative positions.

deadlines are only measured for the set of states with closed primary types. Three different measures are calculated: the deadline length for unregistered voters, the deadline length for previously registered voters who are not affiliated with a party on the voter roll, and the deadline length for previous registered voters who are affiliated with a party but wish to change their party registration status to vote in another party's primary. These deadlines were compiled from state law.

## ELECTION DAY REGISTRATION

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Election Day registration (EDR) allows voters to register or update their registration at the voting booth. In effect, it creates a registration deadline of 0 days. We compiled data from the NCSL on whether and when states implemented EDR. We tracked two components of the policy: whether voters could register at the polling booth during in-person early voting (Early EDR) and whether they could so on Election Day (EDR). States that allow for both are classified as "Full EDR" states, whereas states that allow for neither are classified as "No EDR" states.

## L2 VOTER FILE

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The main descriptive and statistical analysis of turnout and electorate composition is powered by L2's nationwide voter file data. L2 is a private company that combines each state's voter file and adds a range of demographic and commercial data. We accessed this data for primary and general elections that took place between 2014 and 2020. The L2 voter file contains millions of observations for each election and billions of observations in total. It is the best data source available for information on who voted in each election, as it is not susceptible to sampling or nonresponse bias. Following the best practice of L2 voter file use, we list in Table A.2 below the file date used to capture each state election.<sup>22</sup>

From L2 data, we derive the number of voters and registrants for each election, both overall and by race. We use L2's proprietary data on registrant race, which is calculated probabilistically by taking into account each voter's name and location in a method called Bayesian Improved Surname Geocoding. We combine this with citizen voter-age population estimates from the Census. These have been produced sporadically between 2000 and 2022. We interpolate data where necessary. The combination allows us to calculate the turnout among the citizen voting-age population (CVAP) for each primary and general election, as well as CVAP turnout rates for Black, Latino, Asian, and non-Hispanic whites. We also calculate turnout shares that do not depend on CVAP estimates. Shares are calculated as the number of voters of a certain race, divided by the total number of voters with racial data available. Nonwhite share is calculated as the share of voters that are not non-Hispanic white.

L2 provides the birth date of each registrant. We use this to calculate each registrant's age at the time of election, and then average across all voters to calculate the mean age of voters. L2 also has data on party registration for each voter. We use this to calculate Democratic, Republican, third-party, and unaffiliated turnout shares. L2 provides data on registrant gender, which we use to calculate the share of voters who are male and female. L2 has commercial data estimating registrant income bands for 72% of the registered voters. We utilize this data to calculate the share of voters making less than \$50,000 a year, the share of voters making less than \$100,000 a year, and the share of voters making more than \$250,000 a year. We use L2 data on registrant education to calculate the share of voters with at least some college education. L2 records occupational data for about half of registered voters. Among voters with recorded occupational data, we record those who work in food services, laborer, maintenance, manufacturing, office assistant, sales, skilled trades, or transportation as working-class, which we then use to calculate the share of the electorate that is working-class. Finally, we use L2's commercial data on registrants' veteran status to calculate the share of voters who are veterans.

We rely on L2 data to calculate demographics for both primary and general elections, as well as the difference in average state electorate turnout and composition between the two. We also use L2 data to calculate the electorate composition of all registered voters, rather than just those who are recorded as voting in the primary and/or the general election. Finally, we use data from the 2018 Cooperative Election Survey (CES) to calculate the electorate composition of all citizen voting-age eligible individuals.<sup>23</sup> This survey is a nationally representative sample of 60,000 American adults. We subset to respondents who are American citizens and employ the poststratification weights provided in the survey data. This source allows us to calculate estimates of the pool of eligible voters across all racial, political, and demographic variables except for the share of eligible voters who are veterans.

**Table A.2. L2 Voter File Dates Used**

State	Election Date	Election	File Date	State	Election Date	Election	File Date
AK	8/19/2014	Primary	3/13/2015				
AK	11/4/2014	General	3/13/2015	ND	6/10/2014	Primary	4/15/2015
AK	8/16/2016	Primary	1/27/2017	ND	11/4/2014	General	4/15/2015
AK	11/8/2016	General	5/25/2017	ND	6/14/2016	Primary	9/28/2016
AK	8/21/2018	Primary	5/3/2019	ND	11/8/2016	General	2/9/2017
AK	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019	ND	6/12/2018	Primary	5/13/2019
AK	8/18/2020	Primary	2/3/2021	ND	11/6/2018	General	5/13/2019
AK	11/3/2020	General	2/3/2021	ND	6/9/2020	Primary	9/18/2020
AL	6/3/2014	Primary	4/10/2015	ND	11/3/2020	General	3/18/2021
AL	11/4/2014	General	4/10/2015	NE	5/13/2014	Primary	3/25/2015
AL	3/1/2016	Primary	3/7/2017	NE	11/4/2014	General	3/25/2015
AL	11/8/2016	General	3/7/2017	NE	5/10/2016	Primary	10/3/2016
AL	6/5/2018	Primary	5/16/2019	NE	11/8/2016	General	5/25/2017
AL	11/6/2018	General	5/16/2019	NE	5/15/2018	Primary	5/3/2019
AL	3/3/2020	Primary	8/14/2020	NE	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019
AL	11/3/2020	General	2/24/2021	NE	5/12/2020	Primary	1/20/2021
AR	5/20/2014	Primary	3/24/2015	NE	11/3/2020	General	7/13/2021
AR	11/4/2014	General	3/24/2015	NH	9/9/2014	Primary	3/20/2015
AR	3/1/2016	Primary	9/23/2016	NH	11/4/2014	General	3/20/2015
AR	11/8/2016	General	3/29/2017	NH	9/13/2016	Primary	8/15/2018
AR	5/22/2018	Primary	9/20/2018	NH	11/8/2016	General	8/15/2018
AR	11/6/2018	General	5/13/2019	NH	9/11/2018	Primary	5/13/2019
AR	3/3/2020	Primary	7/30/2020	NH	11/6/2018	General	5/13/2019
AR	11/3/2020	General	3/16/2021	NH	9/8/2020	Primary	3/25/2021
AZ	8/26/2014	Primary	4/22/2015	NH	11/3/2020	General	3/25/2021
AZ	11/4/2014	General	4/22/2015	NJ	6/3/2014	Primary	2/25/2015
AZ	8/30/2016	Primary	4/12/2017	NJ	11/4/2014	General	2/25/2015
AZ	11/8/2016	General	4/12/2017	NJ	6/2/2015	Primary	12/12/2015
AZ	8/28/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	NJ	11/3/2015	General	9/29/2016
AZ	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	NJ	6/7/2016	Primary	9/29/2016
AZ	8/4/2020	Primary	1/13/2021	NJ	11/8/2016	General	3/31/2017
AZ	11/3/2020	General	5/20/2021	NJ	6/6/2017	Primary	9/20/2017
CA	6/3/2014	Primary	1/29/2015	NJ	11/7/2017	General	3/6/2018
CA	11/4/2014	General	5/21/2015	NJ	6/5/2018	Primary	10/16/2018
CA	6/7/2016	Primary	9/29/2016	NJ	11/6/2018	General	3/1/2019
CA	11/8/2016	General	3/25/2017	NJ	6/4/2019	Primary	9/30/2019
CA	6/5/2018	Primary	1/31/2019	NJ	11/5/2019	General	2/26/2020
CA	11/6/2018	General	8/2/2019	NJ	7/7/2020	Primary	3/11/2021
CA	3/3/2020	Primary	7/2/2020	NJ	11/3/2020	General	3/11/2021
CA	11/3/2020	General	8/24/2021	NJ	6/8/2021	Primary	11/3/2021
CO	6/24/2014	Primary	5/5/2015	NM	6/3/2014	Primary	3/19/2015
CO	11/4/2014	General	5/5/2015	NM	11/4/2014	General	3/19/2015
CO	6/28/2016	Primary	10/13/2016	NM	6/7/2016	Primary	9/28/2016
CO	11/8/2016	General	2/8/2017	NM	11/8/2016	General	2/8/2017
CO	6/26/2018	Primary	12/20/2018	NM	6/5/2018	Primary	5/3/2019
CO	11/6/2018	General	5/8/2019	NM	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019
CO	6/30/2020	Primary	10/30/2020	NM	6/2/2020	Primary	2/25/2021
CO	11/3/2020	General	5/28/2021	NM	11/3/2020	General	2/25/2021
CT	8/12/2014	Primary	3/25/2015	NV	6/10/2014	Primary	1/30/2015
CT	11/4/2014	General	3/25/2015	NV	11/4/2014	General	5/28/2015
CT	8/9/2016	Primary	1/20/2017	NV	6/14/2016	Primary	10/7/2016
CT	11/8/2016	General	6/9/2017	NV	11/8/2016	General	5/24/2017
CT	8/14/2018	Primary	5/8/2019	NV	6/12/2018	Primary	5/3/2019
CT	11/6/2018	General	5/8/2019	NV	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019
CT	8/11/2020	Primary	3/30/2021	NV	6/9/2020	Primary	12/17/2020
CT	11/3/2020	General	3/30/2021	NV	11/3/2020	General	6/13/2021
DC	4/1/2014	Primary	3/7/2015	NY	6/24/2014	Primary	1/15/2015
DC	11/4/2014	General	3/7/2015	NY	9/9/2014	Primary	1/15/2015
DC	6/14/2016	Primary	9/23/2016	NY	11/4/2014	General	7/28/2015
DC	11/8/2016	General	2/15/2017	NY	9/10/2015	Primary	12/11/2015
DC	6/19/2018	Primary	5/3/2019	NY	11/3/2015	General	5/27/2016

State	Election Date	Election	File Date	State	Election Date	Election	File Date
DC	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019	NY	6/28/2016	Primary	10/23/2016
DC	6/2/2020	Primary	1/30/2021	NY	9/13/2016	Primary	3/13/2017
DC	11/3/2020	General	7/5/2021	NY	11/8/2016	General	3/13/2017
DE	9/9/2014	Primary	2/23/2015	NY	9/12/2017	Primary	8/14/2018
DE	11/4/2014	General	2/23/2015	NY	11/7/2017	General	8/14/2018
DE	9/13/2016	Primary	1/17/2017	NY	6/26/2018	Primary	10/19/2018
DE	11/8/2016	General	1/11/2018	NY	9/13/2018	Primary	2/27/2019
DE	9/6/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	NY	11/6/2018	General	2/27/2019
DE	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	NY	6/25/2019	Primary	11/19/2019
DE	9/15/2020	Primary	3/24/2021	NY	11/5/2019	General	8/24/2020
DE	11/3/2020	General	3/24/2021	NY	6/23/2020	Primary	3/15/2021
FL	8/26/2014	Primary	1/28/2015	NY	11/3/2020	General	3/15/2021
FL	11/4/2014	General	5/16/2015	NY	6/22/2021	Primary	11/3/2021
FL	8/30/2016	Primary	1/27/2017	OH	5/6/2014	Primary	1/8/2015
FL	11/8/2016	General	3/6/2017	OH	11/4/2014	General	7/29/2015
FL	8/28/2018	Primary	5/8/2019	OH	5/5/2015	Primary	12/11/2015
FL	11/6/2018	General	5/8/2019	OH	11/3/2015	General	5/22/2016
FL	8/18/2020	Primary	2/4/2021	OH	3/15/2016	Primary	10/5/2016
FL	11/3/2020	General	2/4/2021	OH	11/8/2016	General	6/30/2017
GA	5/20/2014	Primary	5/16/2015	OH	5/2/2017	Primary	6/28/2018
GA	11/4/2014	General	5/16/2015	OH	11/7/2017	General	6/28/2018
GA	5/24/2016	Primary	9/23/2016	OH	5/8/2018	Primary	5/9/2019
GA	11/8/2016	General	8/16/2017	OH	11/6/2018	General	5/9/2019
GA	5/22/2018	Primary	5/11/2019	OH	5/7/2019	Primary	11/26/2019
GA	11/6/2018	General	5/11/2019	OH	11/5/2019	General	5/3/2020
GA	6/9/2020	Primary	11/19/2020	OH	4/28/2020	Primary	1/7/2021
GA	11/3/2020	General	7/16/2021	OH	11/3/2020	General	5/28/2021
HI	8/9/2014	Primary	3/5/2015	OK	6/24/2014	Primary	3/26/2015
HI	11/4/2014	General	3/5/2015	OK	11/4/2014	General	3/26/2015
HI	8/13/2016	Primary	3/22/2017	OK	6/28/2016	Primary	10/3/2016
HI	11/8/2016	General	3/22/2017	OK	11/8/2016	General	4/22/2017
HI	8/11/2018	Primary	5/13/2019	OK	6/26/2018	Primary	10/9/2018
HI	11/6/2018	General	5/13/2019	OK	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019
HI	8/8/2020	Primary	4/1/2021	OK	6/30/2020	Primary	2/8/2021
HI	11/3/2020	General	4/1/2021	OK	11/3/2020	General	2/8/2021
IA	6/3/2014	Primary	1/27/2015	OR	5/20/2014	Primary	4/16/2015
IA	11/4/2014	General	3/25/2015	OR	11/4/2014	General	4/16/2015
IA	6/7/2016	Primary	10/18/2016	OR	5/17/2016	Primary	10/26/2016
IA	11/8/2016	General	6/13/2017	OR	11/8/2016	General	6/6/2017
IA	6/5/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	OR	5/15/2018	Primary	8/27/2018
IA	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	OR	11/6/2018	General	5/8/2019
IA	6/2/2020	Primary	10/22/2020	OR	5/19/2020	Primary	2/5/2021
IA	11/3/2020	General	3/4/2021	OR	11/3/2020	General	2/5/2021
ID	5/20/2014	Primary	2/23/2015	PA	5/20/2014	Primary	5/1/2015
ID	11/4/2014	General	2/23/2015	PA	11/4/2014	General	5/1/2015
ID	5/17/2016	Primary	10/5/2016	PA	5/19/2015	Primary	12/12/2015
ID	11/8/2016	General	3/20/2017	PA	11/3/2015	General	3/8/2016
ID	5/15/2018	Primary	8/21/2018	PA	4/26/2016	Primary	2/14/2017
ID	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019	PA	11/8/2016	General	2/14/2017
ID	5/19/2020	Primary	10/4/2020	PA	5/16/2017	Primary	8/24/2018
ID	11/3/2020	General	3/16/2021	PA	11/7/2017	General	8/24/2018
IL	3/18/2014	Primary	1/8/2015	PA	5/15/2018	Primary	8/24/2018
IL	11/4/2014	General	3/2/2015	PA	11/6/2018	General	8/22/2019
IL	3/15/2016	Primary	9/23/2016	PA	5/21/2019	Primary	8/22/2019
IL	11/8/2016	General	3/17/2017	PA	11/5/2019	General	2/29/2020
IL	3/20/2018	Primary	7/28/2018	PA	6/2/2020	Primary	2/17/2021
IL	11/6/2018	General	5/14/2019	PA	11/3/2020	General	2/17/2021
IL	3/17/2020	Primary	7/14/2020	RI	9/9/2014	Primary	3/6/2015
IL	11/3/2020	General	3/5/2021	RI	11/4/2014	General	3/6/2015
IN	5/6/2014	Primary	5/6/2015	RI	9/13/2016	Primary	1/18/2017
IN	11/4/2014	General	5/6/2015	RI	11/8/2016	General	6/8/2017
IN	5/3/2016	Primary	9/23/2016	RI	9/12/2018	Primary	5/10/2019

State	Election Date	Election	File Date	State	Election Date	Election	File Date
IN	11/8/2016	General	4/7/2017	RI	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019
IN	5/8/2018	Primary	10/17/2018	RI	9/8/2020	Primary	3/16/2021
IN	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019	RI	11/3/2020	General	3/16/2021
IN	6/2/2020	Primary	1/15/2021	SC	6/10/2014	Primary	10/22/2014
IN	11/3/2020	General	7/8/2021	SC	11/4/2014	General	4/9/2015
KS	8/5/2014	Primary	2/26/2015	SC	6/14/2016	Primary	10/3/2016
KS	11/4/2014	General	2/26/2015	SC	11/8/2016	General	2/24/2017
KS	8/2/2016	Primary	2/16/2017	SC	6/12/2018	Primary	9/11/2018
KS	11/8/2016	General	2/16/2017	SC	11/6/2018	General	5/11/2019
KS	8/7/2018	Primary	5/3/2019	SC	6/9/2020	Primary	9/16/2020
KS	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019	SC	11/3/2020	General	5/21/2021
KS	8/4/2020	Primary	3/16/2021	SD	6/3/2014	Primary	7/29/2015
KS	11/3/2020	General	3/16/2021	SD	11/4/2014	General	7/29/2015
KY	5/20/2014	Primary	3/5/2015	SD	6/7/2016	Primary	9/28/2016
KY	11/4/2014	General	3/5/2015	SD	11/8/2016	General	2/20/2017
KY	5/17/2016	Primary	9/23/2016	SD	6/5/2018	Primary	5/11/2019
KY	11/8/2016	General	3/3/2017	SD	11/6/2018	General	5/11/2019
KY	5/22/2018	Primary	9/29/2018	SD	6/2/2020	Primary	1/22/2021
KY	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	SD	11/3/2020	General	7/6/2021
KY	6/23/2020	Primary	5/11/2021	TN	8/7/2014	Primary	2/23/2015
KY	11/3/2020	General	5/11/2021	TN	11/4/2014	General	2/23/2015
LA	11/4/2014	General	2/23/2015	TN	8/4/2016	Primary	2/17/2017
LA	10/24/2015	Primary	1/29/2016	TN	11/8/2016	General	2/17/2017
LA	11/21/2015	General	5/22/2016	TN	8/2/2018	Primary	5/10/2019
LA	11/8/2016	General	2/14/2017	TN	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019
LA	10/14/2017	Primary	6/25/2018	TN	8/6/2020	Primary	3/29/2021
LA	11/18/2017	General	6/25/2018	TN	11/3/2020	General	3/29/2021
LA	11/6/2018	General	5/15/2019	TX	3/4/2014	Primary	11/8/2014
LA	10/12/2019	Primary	2/27/2020	TX	11/4/2014	General	7/31/2015
LA	11/16/2019	General	2/27/2020	TX	3/1/2016	Primary	9/30/2016
LA	11/3/2020	General	7/7/2021	TX	11/8/2016	General	3/12/2017
MA	9/9/2014	Primary	4/2/2015	TX	3/6/2018	Primary	6/29/2018
MA	11/4/2014	General	4/2/2015	TX	11/6/2018	General	5/24/2019
MA	9/8/2016	Primary	4/11/2017	TX	3/3/2020	Primary	3/25/2021
MA	11/8/2016	General	4/11/2017	TX	11/3/2020	General	3/25/2021
MA	9/4/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	UT	6/24/2014	Primary	3/6/2015
MA	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	UT	11/4/2014	General	3/6/2015
MA	9/1/2020	Primary	1/19/2021	UT	6/28/2016	Primary	10/3/2016
MA	11/3/2020	General	7/8/2021	UT	11/8/2016	General	6/2/2017
MD	6/24/2014	Primary	2/25/2015	UT	6/26/2018	Primary	5/3/2019
MD	11/4/2014	General	2/25/2015	UT	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019
MD	4/26/2016	Primary	10/3/2016	UT	6/30/2020	Primary	9/30/2020
MD	11/8/2016	General	6/9/2017	UT	11/3/2020	General	3/26/2021
MD	6/26/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	VA	6/10/2014	Primary	4/18/2015
MD	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	VA	11/4/2014	General	4/18/2015
MD	6/2/2020	Primary	2/15/2021	VA	6/9/2015	Primary	9/30/2015
MD	11/3/2020	General	2/15/2021	VA	11/3/2015	General	5/23/2016
ME	6/10/2014	Primary	4/29/2015	VA	6/14/2016	Primary	9/28/2016
ME	11/4/2014	General	4/29/2015	VA	11/8/2016	General	3/29/2017
ME	6/14/2016	Primary	10/5/2016	VA	6/13/2017	Primary	10/7/2017
ME	11/8/2016	General	4/7/2017	VA	11/7/2017	General	8/27/2018
ME	6/12/2018	Primary	7/17/2019	VA	6/12/2018	Primary	2/25/2019
ME	11/6/2018	General	7/17/2019	VA	11/6/2018	General	2/25/2019
ME	7/14/2020	Primary	5/28/2021	VA	6/11/2019	Primary	9/16/2019
ME	11/3/2020	General	5/28/2021	VA	11/5/2019	General	3/1/2020
MI	8/5/2014	Primary	2/28/2015	VA	6/23/2020	Primary	5/28/2021
MI	11/4/2014	General	2/28/2015	VA	11/3/2020	General	5/28/2021
MI	8/2/2016	Primary	2/21/2017	VA	6/8/2021	Primary	11/3/2021
MI	11/8/2016	General	2/21/2017	VT	8/26/2014	Primary	3/20/2015
MI	8/7/2018	Primary	5/13/2019	VT	11/4/2014	General	3/20/2015
MI	11/6/2018	General	5/13/2019	VT	8/9/2016	Primary	2/14/2017
MI	8/4/2020	Primary	1/30/2021	VT	11/8/2016	General	2/14/2017

State	Election Date	Election	File Date	State	Election Date	Election	File Date
MI	11/3/2020	General	11/3/2021	VT	8/14/2018	Primary	5/12/2019
MN	8/12/2014	Primary	3/3/2015	VT	11/6/2018	General	5/12/2019
MN	11/4/2014	General	3/3/2015	VT	8/11/2020	Primary	5/28/2021
MN	8/9/2016	Primary	3/10/2017	VT	11/3/2020	General	5/28/2021
MN	11/8/2016	General	3/10/2017	WA	8/5/2014	Primary	5/5/2015
MN	8/14/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	WA	11/4/2014	General	5/5/2015
MN	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	WA	8/4/2015	Primary	12/14/2015
MN	8/11/2020	Primary	2/14/2021	WA	11/3/2015	General	10/28/2016
MN	11/3/2020	General	2/14/2021	WA	8/2/2016	Primary	12/23/2016
MO	8/5/2014	Primary	3/2/2015	WA	11/8/2016	General	5/24/2017
MO	11/4/2014	General	3/2/2015	WA	8/1/2017	Primary	12/19/2017
MO	8/2/2016	Primary	2/8/2017	WA	11/7/2017	General	7/15/2018
MO	11/8/2016	General	2/8/2017	WA	8/7/2018	Primary	5/12/2019
MO	8/7/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	WA	11/6/2018	General	5/12/2019
MO	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	WA	8/6/2019	Primary	12/20/2019
MO	8/4/2020	Primary	2/11/2021	WA	11/5/2019	General	3/3/2020
MO	11/3/2020	General	2/11/2021	WA	8/4/2020	Primary	12/9/2020
MS	6/3/2014	Primary	3/17/2015	WA	11/3/2020	General	7/22/2021
MS	11/4/2014	General	3/17/2015	WI	8/26/2014	Primary	3/3/2015
MS	3/8/2016	Primary	10/3/2016	WI	11/4/2014	General	3/3/2015
MS	11/8/2016	General	3/7/2017	WI	8/9/2016	Primary	3/30/2017
MS	6/5/2018	Primary	9/18/2018	WI	11/8/2016	General	3/30/2017
MS	11/6/2018	General	3/11/2019	WI	8/14/2018	Primary	5/10/2019
MS	3/10/2020	Primary	6/9/2020	WI	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019
MS	11/3/2020	General	3/23/2021	WI	8/11/2020	Primary	2/24/2021
MT	6/3/2014	Primary	3/27/2015	WI	11/3/2020	General	2/24/2021
MT	11/4/2014	General	3/27/2015	WV	5/13/2014	Primary	3/16/2015
MT	6/7/2016	Primary	10/3/2016	WV	11/4/2014	General	3/16/2015
MT	11/8/2016	General	7/14/2017	WV	5/10/2016	Primary	9/28/2016
MT	6/5/2018	Primary	5/3/2019	WV	11/8/2016	General	4/3/2017
MT	11/6/2018	General	5/3/2019	WV	5/8/2018	Primary	8/14/2018
MT	6/2/2020	Primary	12/14/2020	WV	11/6/2018	General	5/12/2019
MT	11/3/2020	General	11/3/2021	WV	6/9/2020	Primary	10/6/2020
NC	5/6/2014	Primary	7/29/2015	WV	11/3/2020	General	3/11/2021
NC	11/4/2014	General	7/29/2015	WY	8/19/2014	Primary	3/30/2015
NC	3/15/2016	Primary	10/19/2016	WY	11/4/2014	General	3/30/2015
NC	6/7/2016	Primary	10/19/2016	WY	8/16/2016	Primary	2/2/2017
NC	11/8/2016	General	5/24/2017	WY	11/8/2016	General	7/17/2017
NC	5/8/2018	Primary	5/10/2019	WY	8/21/2018	Primary	5/12/2019
NC	11/6/2018	General	5/10/2019	WY	11/6/2018	General	5/12/2019
NC	3/3/2020	Primary	8/14/2020	WY	8/18/2020	Primary	1/13/2021
NC	11/3/2020	General	5/18/2021	WY	11/3/2020	General	7/6/2021

## METHODOLOGY

We calculate turnout and compositional values averaged at the state level throughout all analyses. This means we do not make comparisons at the national level, but rather at the average state level. Wyoming, for example, is weighted the same as California. This method captures the average state's turnout and electorate composition rather than the nation's overall turnout and electorate composition. Simple averages are calculated either at the state year level, which counts each election as one observation (with one primary election selected in cases where states held two in the same year), or at the state office, party year level, which counts each individual election for a specific major party office separately. The latter is used for analysis of primary type, as many states use different primary types for different offices or even for different major parties in the same office.



We use regression analysis, which controls for state and year (or, in state-office-year datasets, by state by party by office and year). This captures the difference in a state's turnout or electorate composition when it switches primary type, compared with the change in other states' turnout/electorate composition over the same time period that did not change their primary system. The analysis is powered by primary type reforms. The only reform that states have undertaken between 2014 and 2020 is a switch between closed primaries and open to unaffiliated primaries. Therefore, regressions capture the effect of switching from a closed primary to an open-to-unaffiliated primary on turnout and composition of the electorate. A similar design is used to measure the effect of implementing EDR and changing the length of registration deadlines. Regression output used in the main analysis is included below.

## Regressions

**Table A.3. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries, Increasing Primary Voter Turnout**

	Turnout (1)	Black Turnout (2)	Asian Turnout (3)	Latino Turnout (4)	White Turnout (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	0.049*** (0.017)	0.028 (0.018)	0.048*** (0.018)	0.029*** (0.010)	0.051*** (0.017)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044

**Table A.4. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Increases Asian and Latino Share of the Electorate**

	Black Share (1)	Asian Share (2)	Latino Share (3)	Nonwhite Share (4)	White Share (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	-0.004 (0.003)	0.001** (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.003)	0.0002 (0.003)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044



**Table A.5. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Increases Partisan Diversity of the Electorate of the Electorate**

	Nonpartisan Share (1)	Third-party Share (2)	Dem Share (3)	Rep Share (4)	White Share (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	0.120*** (0.035)	0.001* (0.0004)	-0.030*** (0.008)	-0.091*** (0.03)	0.0002 (0.003)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044

**Table A.6. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Increases the Youth Share of the Electorate**

	Male Share (1)	Mean Age (2)	Low-Income Share (3)	WC Share (4)	Low-Edu Share (5)	Veteran Share (6)
Open To Unaffiliated	0.010*** (0.002)	-1.554*** (0.515)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.003)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044

**Table A.7. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Increases Share of Voters Who Register Without Party Affiliation or with Third Parties**

	Nonpartisan Reg Share (1)	Third-party Reg Share (2)	Dem Reg Share (3)	Rep Reg Share (4)	White Share (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	0.026 (0.022)	0.002** (0.001)	-0.014* (0.008)	-0.014 (0.016)	0.0002 (0.003)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044	1,044

**Table A.8. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Reduces Turnout Disparities between Primary and General Elections**

	Turnout (1)	Black Turnout (2)	Asian Turnout (3)	Latino Turnout (4)	White Turnout (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	-0.064*** (0.020)	-0.010 (0.018)	-0.045*** (0.015)	-0.043*** (0.0120)	-0.062*** (0.021)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032

**Table A.9. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Reduces Racial Composition Disparities between Primary and General Elections**

	Black Share (1)	Asian Share (2)	Latino Share (3)	Nonwhite Share (4)	White Share (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	0.0001 (0.0005)	-0.001*** (0.0004)	-0.0001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032

**Table A.10. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Reduces Partisan Compositional Disparities between Primary and General Elections**

	Nonpartisan Share (1)	Third-party Share (2)	Dem Share (3)	Rep Share (4)	White Share (5)
Open To Unaffiliated	-0.094** (0.036)	0.0003 (0.0005)	-0.020*** (0.007)	-0.078*** (0.029)	0.001 (0.001)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032

**Table A.11. Switching from Closed Primaries to Open to Unaffiliated Primaries Reduces Demographic Compositional Disparities between Primary and General Elections**

	Male Share (1)	Mean Age (2)	Low-Income Share (3)	WC Share (4)	Low-Edu Share (5)	Veteran Share (6)
Open To Unaffiliated	-0.003*** (0.001)	-1.453*** (0.537)	0.003 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)
State x Party x Office FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032	1,032

**Table A.12. Election Day Registration Increases Primary Voter Turnout**

	Turnout (1)	Black Turnout (2)	Asian Turnout (3)	Latino Turnout (4)	White Turnout (5)
Election Day Registration	0.037*** (0.012)	0.007 (0.021)	0.026** (0.011)	0.039** (0.016)	0.047*** (0.010)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	196	196	196	196	196

**Table A.13. Election Day Registration Does Not Affect the Racial Composition of the Electorate**

	Black Share (1)	Asian Share (2)	Latino Share (3)	Nonwhite Share (4)	White Share (5)
Election Day Registration	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.004)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.014)	0.001 (0.014)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	196	196	196	196	196

**Table A.14. Election Day Registration Does Not Affect the Partisan Composition of the Electorate**

	Nonpartisan Share (1)	Third-party Share (2)	Dem Share (3)	Rep Share (4)	White Turnout (5)
Election Day Registration	-0.019 (0.015)	0.001 (0.001)	0.011 (0.031)	0.007 (0.033)	-0.062*** (0.021)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	196	196	196	196	1,032

**Table A.15. Election Day Registration Does Not Affect the Demographic Composition of the Electorate**

	Male Share (1)	Mean Age (2)	Low- Income Share (3)	WC Share (4)	Low-Edu Share (5)	Veteran Share (6)
Election Day Registration	0.007* (0.004)	-0.791 (0.594)	0.012 (0.008)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.005)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	196	196	196	196	196	196

**Table A.16. Longer Registration Deadlines Reduce Primary Voter Turnout**

	Turnout (1)	Black Turnout (2)	Asian Turnout (3)	Latino Turnout (4)	White Turnout (5)
Registration Deadline (Days)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.0005 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0003 (0.001)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	80	80	80	80	80

**Table A.17. Longer Registration Deadlines Reduce Racial Minority Representation in the Primary Electorate**

	Black Share (1)	Asian Share (2)	Latino Share (3)	Nonwhite Share (4)	White Share (5)
Registration Deadline (Days)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0002*** (0.0001)	-0.001* (0.0004)	-0.002*** (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	80	80	80	80	80

**Table A.18. Longer Registration Deadlines Do Not Affect Partisan Composition of the Primary Electorate**

	Nonpartisan Share (1)	Third-party Share (2)	Dem Share (3)	Rep Share (4)	White Share (5)
Registration Deadline (Days)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.0002)	-0.00005 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002*** (0.001)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	80	80	80	80	80

**Table A.19. Longer Registration Deadlines Do Not Affect Demographic Composition of the Primary Electorate**

	Male Share (1)	Mean Age (2)	Low- Income Share (3)	WC Share (4)	Low-Edu Share (5)	Veteran Share (6)
Registration Deadline (Days)	-0.0002 (0.0002)	0.0002 (0.043)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.0002 (0.0002)	0.001*** (0.0001)	-0.0002 (0.0002)
State FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FEs	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	80	80	80	80	80	80

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