

# Appendix for “The Dynamics of Hidden Partisanship and Crossover Voting in Semi-closed Primaries”

December 14, 2022

## A Classification of States as Semi-Closed

Decentralized administration of elections by the states promotes a variety of laws. No two states determine eligibility for primary participation in quite the same way. In addition, as a result of *Tashjian v. Republican Party of Connecticut*, 479 U.S. 208 (1986), political parties have some say in who may vote in their primaries and thus different requirements may exist to vote in the Democratic and Republican primaries in the same state during the same election. Mapping these unique electoral institutions to more general categories such as “closed” or “semi-closed” necessarily requires some degree of discretion on the part of the researcher as well as clearly defined definitions and justifications. The hidden partisanship theorized in this paper arises due to the choice unaffiliated voters have on the day of the primary election to vote in either the Democratic or Republican primary. That flexibility, compared to a voter registered with a political party in their state, motivates individuals to remain unaffiliated—especially those who support the weaker party in the state. With that in mind, the following requirements are outlined for classification of a state as semi-closed in this paper’s analysis:

1. **Unaffiliated voters have the option of voting in party primaries on primary election day.** In some states, such as North Carolina or West Virginia, voters may walk into a polling place unaffiliated, vote in the primary of their choice, and walk

out unaffiliated. In other states, such as Maine, New Hampshire, or Rhode Island, voters must affiliate with a political party to vote in its primary but unaffiliated voters have the option of doing so on the day of the primary election. In both situations, unaffiliated registration affords voters the option to participate in primaries on the day of the election and thus has instrumental value.

2. **Both major political parties allow unaffiliated voters to participate in the primary on the day of the election.** The premise of this paper is that unaffiliated registration brings a greater instrumental benefit than registration with one of the political parties because it gives voters a *choice* between primaries rather than restricting electors to just one political party. In some states, such as South Dakota, one party (the Democratic Party in this case) allows unaffiliated voters to participate in its primary while the other party closes its primary elections to the unaffiliated. These states are not considered semi-closed for the purposes of this paper. Note that in some states (such as Idaho) one party allows unaffiliated voters to participate in its primary elections and remain unaffiliated while the other party requires them to register with the party but allows them to do so on primary election day. These states are treated as semi-closed in this paper because the unaffiliated may choose to vote in either the Democratic or Republican primary, though the hurdles to participate in one of the contests may be greater than the other.
3. **Registrants with the Democratic and Republican parties on primary election day may not vote in a different party's primary election, either by changing parties or by the parties opening primaries to voters of different party registration statuses.** In semi-closed primaries, unaffiliated voters possess greater instrumental utility than voters registered with the Democratic or Republican parties because of the choice between the primaries that their unaffiliated registration affords them that is denied registered Democrats and Republicans. Two states

(Iowa and Wyoming) allow unaffiliated voters to change parties on the day of the primary election and vote in either party primary. However, they also allow registered Democrats and Republicans to do so. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, in these two states all party registration statuses provide equal amounts of instrumental utility and there is no special benefit to be registered as unaffiliated over Democratic or Republican registration. In another state, Alaska, the Democratic primary is open to everyone, including Republicans. This state is also excluded from the analysis.

Description of the states that track party registration follows, including their classification as “closed”, “semi-closed”, or “excluded from analysis”. Because the analysis examines 2018 data, these classifications are made for states in 2018.

### **Alaska**

In the 2018 primary elections, Alaska’s Republican Party conducted a fairly standard semi-closed primary, allowing the large number of unaffiliated voters (termed “undeclared” or “nonpartisan”) in the state to participate in the Republican primary. The Alaska Democratic Party, Alaska Libertarian Party and Alaska Independence Party conducted a combined primary open to all registered voters (including Republicans)<sup>1</sup>. While the Republican contest qualifies as a semi-closed election, the Democratic contest was an open primary and allowing Republicans on the day of the primary to vote in the Democratic election violates my requirement three above for a semi-closed primary. Thus, Alaska is **excluded** from the analysis.

### **Arizona**

As a result of 1998’s Ballot Proposition 103, which was approved, Arizona’s non-presidential primary elections are open to unaffiliated voters (AZ Const. art. 7 §10). However the state maintains closed primaries for its separate presidential preference primary election every four years. I code Arizona as **semi-closed** beginning in 2000 in spite of this split. I do so because semi-closed rules as defined by this paper are in place for the vast majority of political offices

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<sup>1</sup><https://www.elections.alaska.gov/doc/forms/H42.pdf>, last accessed October 22, 2021

representing Arizona voters. Also, the fact the presidential preference primary is conducted separately from the primary for other offices means that unaffiliated voters who show up to the non-presidential primary have choice between the Democratic and Republican primary ballots in their entirety (unlike Nebraska).

### **Arkansas**

Somewhat unusually, Arkansas tracks party registration and allows voters to register with a party to no current purpose. The state also explicitly allows political parties the freedom to establish additional qualifications to participate in primary elections, including, presumably, registration with a political party (Ark. Code. Ann. §7-7-307). However the 2018 primary elections in the state were open and party registration had no bearing on the party primary a voter could participate in<sup>2</sup>. Thus Arkansas is **excluded** from the analysis.

### **California**

California has used a number of different primary formats over the years. For non-presidential offices, the state employs a top-two primary and has done since 2010's passage of Proposition 14. Because the state does not conduct non-presidential primaries in a traditional way, it is therefore **excluded** from the analysis.

### **Colorado**

Colorado conducts semi-closed primaries for all offices. What is at issue is when the state made this change. The state has allowed unaffiliated voters to vote on primary election day by affiliating with that party (Colo. Rev. Stat. §1-2-218.5). There are records of this practice at least as early as 1982, where the Election Abstract Book notes: "If unaffiliated on primary election day, elector may declare party affiliation and vote".<sup>3</sup> This classifies the state as semi-closed according to the definition in this paper. The law was further amended by referendum in 2016 to allow unaffiliated voters to participate in primary elections without having to affiliate with a party. In either case, the state is semi-closed but Colorado is

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<sup>2</sup><https://votepulaski.net/TrainingMaterial/2018%20Official%20Election%20Day%20Training%20Guide.pdf>, last accessed October 22, 2021

<sup>3</sup><https://www.sos.state.co.us/pubs/elections/Results/Abstract/pdf/1900-1999/1982AbstractBook.pdf>, last accessed January 19, 2022

coded as **semi-closed** beginning in 1982 as other well-known semi-closed states such as New Hampshire and Rhode Island require primary election day party registration.

### **Connecticut**

Connecticut conducts **closed** primary elections. Unaffiliated voters are permitted to register with a party up until noon the business day *prior* to a primary and vote in that party's primary (Conn. Gen. Stat. 143 §9-56). However, because unaffiliated voters on the day of the primary election cannot participate in the primary, the state does not technically meet the definition of semi-closed used in this paper. It is worth noting that over 40% of registered Connecticut voters are unaffiliated, more than any other closed primary state. This is likely a combination of the state's "close to semi-closed" status as well as the fact that the state still uses conventions to decide many partisan nominations.

### **Delaware**

Delaware conducts **closed** primary elections. Voters may not participate in a primary election unless they are registered with that party on primary election day (De. Code Ann. 15 §3110). Voters in Delaware may not change party registration between the last Saturday in May through the day of the primary election (Del. Code Ann. 15 §2049) precluding unaffiliated voters affiliating with the party on primary election day.

### **Florida**

Florida also restricts primary participation to the party a voter is registered with "and no other" (Fla. Stat. §101.021). There is no mechanism to allow voters to register with a political party on primary election day or change their party registration on that day and vote in the primary (Fla. Stat. §97.1031). Thus, Florida is coded as conducting **closed** primaries for 2018.

### **Idaho**

Idaho implemented party registration and restrictions on primary participation based on party registration in 2011. While the Idaho Republican Party conducts what it calls "closed" primaries, Idaho state law specifies that an unaffiliated voter "may affiliate with the party

of the elector’s choice filing a signed form up to and including election day” (Idaho Code Ann. §34-411A (2018)). Notably this allowance does not exist for voters registered with a political party; they may change party registration and vote in the new party primary “no later than the last day a candidate may file for partisan political office” (ibid). Neither the 2018 Democratic nor Republican primary was open; “registered Republicans may vote only for Republican candidates, and registered Democrats may vote only for Democratic candidates”<sup>4</sup>. Idaho is therefore coded as **semi-closed** beginning in 2011.

### **Iowa**

While Iowa categorizes itself as a closed primary election state, the reality is more complicated. Voters must be registered with the Democratic or Republican parties to participate in their respective primaries, consistent with a closed primary state. However, critically, “[v]oters can change their party affiliation anytime before election day or at the polling place on election day”<sup>5</sup>. The ability to change party registration and vote in the primary of the new party on the day of the primary extends to all registered voters. This means that for individuals willing to change party, party registration does not restrict primary participation, even among those registered with a party prior to the election. This violates point three above for semi-closed primaries and thus Iowa is **excluded** from the analysis.

### **Kansas**

Kansas conducts **semi-closed** primary elections, including during the 2018 cycle. While Kansas statute requires voters to be registered with a party on primary election day as a condition of voting in that party’s primary, voters who are unaffiliated (and only those unaffiliated) may register with a party at the polls on primary election day and vote in the new party’s primary (Kan. Stat. Ann. §25-3301). This flexibility for unaffiliated voters includes both the Democratic and Republican party primaries. Thus, Kansas satisfies all three of the above conditions to be considered a semi-closed primary state. Unaffiliated voters in Kansas have been allowed to “declare their preference...when they show up at the

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<sup>4</sup>[https://sos.idaho.gov/elect/primary\\_elections\\_in\\_idaho.html](https://sos.idaho.gov/elect/primary_elections_in_idaho.html), last accessed October 23, 2021

<sup>5</sup><https://sos.iowa.gov/elections/voterinformation/uocava/faqs.htm>, last accessed October 26, 2021

polls and select a ballot” at least as early as 1980<sup>6</sup>.

### **Kentucky**

Kentucky conducts **closed** primary elections. Party primary voters must be registered with that political party since December 31 of the prior year in order to participate (Ky. Rev. Stat. Ann. §116.055). No mechanism exists to allow unaffiliated voters to get around this requirement and during the 2018 primaries, neither major party in Kentucky opened their primary elections to unaffiliated voters.

### **Louisiana**

While Louisiana conducts closed primaries for its presidential primary elections, the state’s famous “jungle primary” complicates easy classification into “closed” or “semi-closed” (La. Rev. Stat. §18-511). Because the majority of the state’s races are conducted via the top-two primary system, Louisiana is **excluded** from analysis.

### **Maine**

Like semi-closed Colorado prior to 2018, Maine requires voters to enroll with a political party in order to participate in that party’s primary elections on primary election day but allows the unaffiliated (“unenrolled”) to register with a party on primary election day and vote in that party’s primary (Maine Rev. Stat. §21A-111, §21A-143A). Those who are already registered with a political party may not change party registration on primary election day in this way and vote in the new party primary (Maine Rev. Stat §21A-144). This state of affairs began in 1985 and thus Maine is considered **semi-closed** since 1985.

### **Maryland**

Maryland conducts **closed** primary elections. State law allows parties to open their primary to voters not registered with the party (Maryland Code §3-202). However, this has never occurred. Changes to party registration in Maryland are not processed when registration is closed, including in the run-up to a primary election (Maryland Code §3-303). Thus unaffiliated voters may not change party registration on primary election day and vote

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<sup>6</sup>Peter N. Spotts, “Kansas: No Polls to Show It, but Carter, Reagan Look Solid,” *Christian Science Monitor*, March 25, 1980, last accessed November 26, 2021

in the primary of their new party.

### Massachusetts

Massachusetts conducts **semi-closed** primary elections. Individuals enrolled or registered with a political party may only vote in that party's primary elections and no other (Mass. General Laws Ch. 53 §38). They also may not change their party registration on primary election day and vote in the new party's primary elections. Conversely, unenrolled voters "shall be eligible to receive a ballot of a political party of the voter's choosing" (ibid). The ability of unenrolled voters to choose the party primary ballot they wish to vote in has existed in Massachusetts at least since 1903 (Mass. 1903 Resolve Chap. 0454).

### Nebraska

Nebraska's primary election system defies easy classification. Voters registered with a political party may vote in that party's primary elections and only that party's primary (Neb. Rev. Stat. §32-912). For unaffiliated voters, the situation is more complicated. Voters unaffiliated with a political party have three possibilities: (1) a nonpartisan primary ballot; (2) a nonpartisan-party ballot where the unaffiliated voter may vote in the congressional and senatorial primaries of a single party; or (3) in the event a party has elected to open its primary to unaffiliated voters, a full party primary ballot (ibid). In the 2018 primary, all three of these options were available as the Democratic Party in the state opened its primary to unaffiliated voters while the Republican Party did not<sup>7</sup>. Because this paper is concerned with the instrumental utility of a voter's party registration state, I elect to code Nebraska as **closed**. I do so because an unaffiliated voter in the state did not have the option to fully participate in the primaries of both parties in 2018 and was—at most—only able to participate in the Republican congressional primaries or Democratic primary.

### Nevada

Nevada conducts **closed** primary elections. A voter must be registered with a political party in order to participate in that party's primary (Nev. Rev. Stat. §293.257). A voter

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<sup>7</sup><https://www.votedouglascounty.com/elections/2018/Primary/P18SampleBallot.pdf>, last accessed November 18, 2021



may only change party registration “before the end of the last day to register to vote in the election” (Nev. Rev. Stat. §293.540). Therefore there is no way for unaffiliated individuals to choose a primary on the day of the election.

### **New Hampshire**

Beginning in 1987, New Hampshire provided that unaffiliated voters “may also register as a member of a party at any primary by requesting that he be registered as a member and voting the ballot of the party of his choice” (N.H. Rev. Stat. §654:34 (1987)). However, individuals registered with a political party may not register or disaffiliate “between the first Wednesday in June and the day before the state primary election” (ibid). In primary elections, individuals registered with a political party are only entitled to vote in that party’s primary (N.H. Rev. Stat. §659:14). New Hampshire is thus coded as **semi-closed** starting in 1987.

### **New Jersey**

New Jersey is popularly known as a semi-closed primary state. Individuals who are registered with a political party and wish to change their party registration and vote in the new party primary must do so at least 55 days prior to primary election day, but unaffiliated voters may do so up to and including primary election day<sup>8</sup>. This system has existed since 1975. Prior to that, party registration was temporary, with the statute prior to 1975 designating primary voters “a member of that party until two subsequent annual primary elections have elapsed after casting of such party primary vote” (N.J. Rev. Stat. §19:23-45 (1952)). After this point, party registration became permanent, eventually featuring the 55 day deadline to change party registration. Thus, New Jersey is coded **semi-closed** beginning in 1975.

### **New Mexico**

New Mexico conducts **closed** primary elections. In order to participate in a party primary in the state, an individual must be registered with that political party (N.M. Stat. §1-12-20). State law does not allow voters to change party registration when registration has closed

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<sup>8</sup><https://www.state.nj.us/state/elections/voter-party-affiliation-declaration.shtml>, last accessed November 19, 2021

(N.M. Stat. §1-4-16) which occurs 28 days prior to an election (N.M. Stat. §1-4-8).

### **New York**

New York conducts **closed** primary elections. In 2018, the state had the distinction of the earliest deadline to change party registration in the country. In order to participate in the primary election of a party, a voter was required to be enrolled with that party since the close of registration for the previous general election (N.Y. Election Law §5-304). No exception existed for primary election day party registration by unaffiliated partisans.

### **North Carolina**

North Carolina conducts straightforward **semi-closed** primary elections. Unlike many semi-closed states, North Carolina does not require unaffiliated voters to register with a party on the day of the primary as a condition of voting in its primary election. The North Carolina statute requires voters to be registered with the party whose primary in which they wish to vote (N.C. Rev. Stat. §§163-59). However, “any unaffiliated voter...may also vote in the primary if the voter is otherwise eligible” (ibid). According to ?, Republicans opened their primary to unaffiliated voters in this way in 1988 and Democrats in 1995. Thus, the state is coded as beginning its semi-closed status in 1995.

### **Oklahoma**

Oklahoma conducted **closed** primary elections in 2018. The state does not process changes to party registration between April 1 and August 31 in any even-numbered year (Okla. Stat. tit 26, §4-119). This precludes both party registered and unaffiliated voters from changing party registration on the day of the primary and voting in a new party contest. The state *does* allow parties to open their primary elections to unaffiliated voters, and in 2018 the Democratic Party in the state did so<sup>9</sup>. However, states in this analysis are only considered semi-closed if *both* major parties allow the unaffiliated to vote in their primary on the day of the election. That is not the case here.

### **Oregon**

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<sup>9</sup><https://oklahoma.gov/elections/newsroom/2018/march/41705-party-affiliation-change-deadlineapproaches.html>, last accessed November 23, 2021

Oregon conducted **closed** primary elections in 2018. Starting 20 days prior to the primary, the state does not allow individuals to change party registration, regardless of whether or not they are registered with a political party previously (Or. Rev. Stat. §247.203). While Oregon law allows parties to open their primary elections to unaffiliated voters (Or. Rev. Stat. §254.365), neither major party did so in 2018<sup>10</sup>.

### **Pennsylvania**

Pennsylvania conducts **closed** primary elections. Registrants in the state—including the unaffiliated—may only change their party registration before the deadline to register to vote (25 Pa. Stat. Ann. §§1503). Thus the unaffiliated may not change their party registration on the day of the primary election and vote in the new party’s primary. Pennsylvania law also requires voters to be registered with the political party in order to vote in its primary elections (25 Pa. Stat. Ann. §§2812).

### **Rhode Island**

Rhode Island treats affiliated and unaffiliated voters quite differently. Unaffiliated voters may vote in either party primary but doing so constitutes an act of registering with that party (R.I.G.L. §17-9.1-23). Conversely, voters already registered with a party must change their party registration more than 90 days in advance of the primary in order to be able to vote in a new party’s primary contest (R.I.G.L. §17-9.1-24). ? finds that this **semi-closed** system began in 1974.

### **South Dakota**

South Dakota is coded as **closed** primary elections for 2018. South Dakota law requires voters to be registered with a political party in order to vote in its primary elections (S.D. Codified Laws §12-6-26). However, the law allows parties to change this requirement and open their primary to other voters. In 2018, the South Dakota Democratic Party opened its primaries to unaffiliated voters. However, the Republican primary remained closed.

### **Utah**

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<sup>10</sup><https://www.multco.us/elections/ten-things-know-about-may-2018-primary-election>, last accessed on November 23, 2021

Notwithstanding the convention system that shapes party nominations, Utah has flirted with different primary classifications over the last 20 years. Currently, while unaffiliated primary voters on election day must register with the party of their primary, “[a]n unaffiliated voter who affiliates with a political party...may vote in that party’s primary election” at any regular primary (Utah Code §§20A-2-107.5). However, individuals registered with a political party may not change their party registration on primary election day and vote in the primary of their new party (Utah Code §§20A-2-107). This satisfies the requirements for a semi-closed primary state because unaffiliated voters on primary election day may choose to vote in either party primary through affiliating with that party but those registered as Democrats and Republicans may not. Statewide party registration in Utah was implemented in 2000 and so Utah is coded **semi-closed** beginning then.

### **West Virginia**

West Virginia technically requires closed primaries according to state law (W. Va. Code §3-1-35). However since 2007 (including 2018) both the Democratic and Republican parties in the state have allowed unaffiliated voters to vote in primary elections<sup>11</sup>. Thus, West Virginia is coded as **semi-closed** beginning in 2007.

### **Wyoming**

Like Iowa, while Wyoming technically maintains party registration and conducts “closed” primary elections, in practice this party registration may be changed at the polls on primary election day, including for Democrats and Republicans (Wy. Stat. §22-5-214). This violates my requirement that Democrats and Republicans may not choose their party primary on election day. Thus, like Iowa, Wyoming is **excluded** from this analysis.

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<sup>11</sup>Jake Stump, “Democrats Open Primaries to Independent Voters,” *Charleston Daily Mail*, March 13, 2007, last accessed November 27, 2021

## B Estimates of State Partisanship

To create the MRP measures of the aggregate partisanship of each state, I first estimate the following hierarchical model twice; once to predict the probability a voter identifies/leans Democratic and once to predict the probability they identify/lean Republican.

$$\Pr(y_i = 1) = \text{logit}^{-1} \left( \begin{array}{l} \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \textit{Black} + \beta_2 * \textit{Hispanic} + \beta_3 * \textit{female} \\ + \beta_4 * \textit{age} + \beta_5 * \textit{college.graduate} + \beta_6 * \textit{interest.politics} \\ + \alpha_s^{\textit{state}} \\ \alpha_s \sim N(0, \sigma_{\textit{state}}^2) \text{ for } s = 1, \dots, 51 \end{array} \right)$$

Aside from the various demographic and attitudinal individual-level characteristics in the logit model, each state has a randomized intercept shift,  $\alpha_s$ , distributed normally with mean 0 and variance  $\sigma_{\textit{state}}^2$ . This model of Democratic and Republican party identification/lean thus not only accounts for demographic and attitudinal characteristics of individuals but also allows the probability of party identification to vary by state.

Following the convention of ?, I use a CCES-specific MRP procedure. Using the models, including individual-level coefficients and posterior random effects, I generate the probability that each CCES respondent identifies/leans with the Democratic or Republican Party. I then average these predicted probabilities for each state using the CCES post-stratification weights for survey respondents. Model estimates appear in Table B1.

The estimates of the proportion of each closed and semi-closed primary state that are Democratic and Republican follow in Table B2. I calculate the two-party identifier share (rightmost column) as the proportion of the state's population that is Democratic divided by the sum of the Democratic and Republican identifier proportions.

Variable	Democratic	Republican
Strong Interest in News and Politics	0.422*** (0.021)	0.166*** (0.021)
Black	1.856*** (0.031)	-2.433*** (0.046)
Hispanic	0.892*** (0.034)	-1.096*** (0.039)
Age / 100	-0.848*** (0.056)	1.677*** (0.057)
Female	0.373*** (0.019)	-0.302*** (0.019)
College Graduate	0.546*** (0.021)	-0.322*** (0.022)
Random Effects		
State	0.154 (0.393)	0.267 (0.516)
(Constant)	-0.790*** (0.063)	-0.813*** (0.079)
Log Likelihood	-34199.5	-32638.0
Number of Observations	60000	60000

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , † $p < 0.1$

Table B1: Democratic and Republican Party Identification, 2018 CCES

	Dem. Prop.	Rep. Prop.	Dem. Share
Arizona	0.420	0.404	0.510
Colorado	0.436	0.364	0.545
Connecticut	0.487	0.321	0.603
Delaware	0.494	0.354	0.583
Florida	0.419	0.419	0.500
Idaho	0.263	0.545	0.326
Kansas	0.358	0.440	0.448
Kentucky	0.322	0.508	0.388
Massachusetts	0.522	0.254	0.673
Maryland	0.586	0.290	0.669
Maine	0.418	0.402	0.509
North Carolina	0.403	0.395	0.505
Nebraska	0.307	0.479	0.391
New Hampshire	0.437	0.391	0.528
New Jersey	0.510	0.315	0.619
New Mexico	0.482	0.296	0.620
Nevada	0.467	0.324	0.590
New York	0.566	0.276	0.672
Oklahoma	0.314	0.524	0.374
Oregon	0.454	0.358	0.559
Pennsylvania	0.448	0.395	0.532
Rhode Island	0.447	0.235	0.655
South Dakota	0.269	0.508	0.346
Utah	0.248	0.530	0.319
West Virginia	0.378	0.420	0.474

Table B2: MRP Estimates of State Partisanship, 2018 CCES

## C Test of Presidential Vote Share

As a robustness check, I test the CCES models of party registration and primary voting using two-party presidential vote share rather than the MRP estimates of state partisanship. I measure two-party presidential vote share for the 2018 CCES data as the mean of the 2016 and 2020 two-party presidential vote shares. Among the 25 states I analyze in this paper, the correlation between two-party Democratic presidential vote share and the MRP two-party Democratic identifier share is 0.91. Figure C1 plots the two measures of state partisanship and their distance from each other. For almost all states there is less than a 5-percentage point difference between the two measures. A notable exception, however, is West Virginia. West Virginia has undergone a major realignment over the past decade, moving from a solidly Democratic state to a Republican stronghold. The state gave Republican Donald Trump his second-largest vote-share in the country during 2016 and 2020, while Democrat Joe Manchin won a narrow reelection to US Senate there in 2018. This dynamic character of the West Virginia electorate in 2018 is reflected in a 47.4% Democratic identifier share in the MRP estimates from the 2018 CCES—almost 20-percentage points more Democratic than the two-party presidential vote share measure.

The rapid and extreme realignment in a Republican direction of West Virginia complicates the present analysis. Thornburg (2018) shows that party registration often lags realignments, with voters changing party identification but remaining registered with their old party. This unintentional hidden partisanship is the case in West Virginia, where in 2018 a plurality of 43% of voters were still registered as Democrats. In the case of West Virginia this means that there are likely many Republicans who remain registered as Democrats—the opposite of what instrumental hidden partisanship would predict in a strongly Republican state. At the same time, any voters remaining with the West Virginia Democratic Party are probably strong partisans and registered with the party, rather than unaffiliated or Repub-



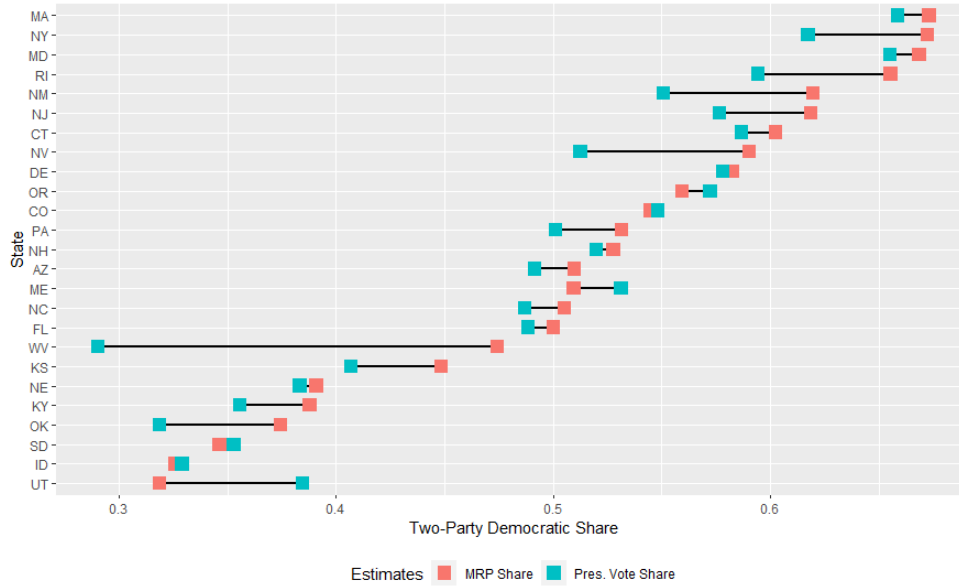


Figure C1: Presidential Vote Share and MRP Estimate Comparison

lican (West Virginia is semi-closed).

Tables C1 through C3 replicate Tables 8 and 9 in the main paper. C1 uses presidential vote-share to calculate alternative-specific instrumental utility for semi-closed states with a dummy variable for West Virginia. The models in C2 are identical to C1 except lacking the dummy variable for West Virginia. Table C3 uses presidential vote-share instrumental utility for closed primary states. Comparing C1 to Table 8 and C3 to Table 9 (and thus taking into account the unique circumstances of West Virginia) the results are substantively and statistically similar. I also use Democratic presidential vote-share to replicate Table 11 in the main paper (party of primary chosen). As before, I include a dummy variable for West Virginia in Table C4 (the self-reported measure of party of primary) and report the results without the West Virginia dummy variable in Table C5. I also use Democratic presidential vote-share in the validated measure of party of primary in Table C5. Because West Virginia does not validate party of primary in its voter file for the CCES, I do not report these results with the state dummy variable. Once again, the results in Tables C4 and C5 are substantively and statistically similar to Table 11 in the main paper.

Variable	Democrats		Republicans		Independents	
	Unaffiliated	Republican	Unaffiliated	Democratic	Democratic	Republican
Instrumental Utility	5.177*** (0.866)		3.710*** (0.793)		-1.868 (2.361)	
Years with Semi-closed Primary	1.417*** (0.230)	-0.222 (0.934)	1.598*** (0.379)	0.052 (0.600)	-0.102 (0.640)	-2.219*** (0.525)
Strong Partisan	-1.616*** (0.176)	-1.202*** (0.231)	-1.982*** (0.179)	-1.425*** (0.127)	...	...
Strong Interest in News and Politics	0.010 (0.157)	-0.825* (0.328)	-0.278* (0.124)	-0.507** (0.180)	-0.222 (0.368)	0.249 (0.301)
Black	-0.257 (0.273)	-0.898 (1.097)	-0.554 (1.068)	1.885* (0.853)	1.390*** (0.388)	-0.031 (0.897)
Hispanic	-0.053 (0.173)	-0.229 (0.350)	-0.320 (0.543)	-0.084 (0.717)	1.681** (0.572)	0.103 (0.637)
Age / 100	-1.111* (0.441)	0.936 (0.649)	-1.220** (0.367)	0.690 (0.518)	0.295 (1.182)	0.718 (0.821)
Female	0.061 (0.063)	-0.345 (0.263)	-0.187 (0.132)	0.120 (0.391)	-0.233 (0.296)	-0.136 (0.295)
College Graduate	0.102 (0.106)	0.696* (0.292)	-0.550*** (0.074)	-0.990*** (0.169)	0.100 (0.254)	0.290 (0.298)
West Virginia	-2.831*** (0.224)	-3.196*** (0.443)	1.675*** (0.229)	2.838*** (0.307)	0.749** (0.280)	-0.309 (0.453)
(Constant)	-2.876*** (0.591)	-2.504*** (0.548)	-1.676*** (0.306)	-2.350*** (0.540)	-2.955* (1.425)	-1.936* (0.822)
Log Likelihood		-1690.25		-1446.46		-637.74
Number of Observations		2927		2414		843

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , † $p < 0.1$

Table C1: Party Registration for Active Registrants in Semi-closed States Using Presidential Vote Share, 2018 CCES

Variable	Democrats		Republicans		Independents	
	Unaffiliated	Republican	Unaffiliated	Democratic	Democratic	Republican
Instrumental Utility	1.378 (2.542)		-0.013 (2.487)		-3.161 <sup>†</sup> (1.774)	
Years with Semi-closed Primary	0.830 <sup>†</sup> (0.463)	-1.812 (1.683)	2.241 <sup>***</sup> (0.569)	1.280 (1.034)	-0.262 (0.531)	-2.502 <sup>***</sup> (0.459)
Strong Partisan	-1.607 <sup>***</sup> (0.176)	-1.189 <sup>***</sup> (0.222)	-1.940 <sup>***</sup> (0.158)	-1.354 <sup>***</sup> (0.143)	...	...
Strong Interest in News and Politics	0.063 (0.160)	-0.740* (0.310)	-0.282* (0.121)	-0.519 <sup>**</sup> (0.184)	-0.218 (0.371)	0.253 (0.299)
Black	-0.185 (0.262)	-0.850 (1.099)	-0.563 (1.079)	1.875* (0.832)	1.347 <sup>**</sup> (0.390)	-0.039 (0.900)
Hispanic	0.026 (0.198)	-0.179 (0.385)	-0.309 (0.526)	-0.106 (0.724)	1.611 <sup>**</sup> (0.559)	0.106 (0.633)
Age / 100	-1.279 <sup>**</sup> (0.464)	0.668 (0.621)	-1.123 <sup>**</sup> (0.358)	0.853 <sup>†</sup> (0.514)	0.381 (1.148)	0.705 (0.805)
Female	0.047 (0.065)	-0.369 (0.266)	-0.220 <sup>†</sup> (0.128)	0.046 (0.393)	-0.204 (0.303)	-0.148 (0.285)
College Graduate	0.136 (0.115)	0.781 <sup>**</sup> (0.283)	-0.575 <sup>***</sup> (0.062)	-1.036 <sup>***</sup> (0.179)	0.079 (0.255)	0.282 (0.302)
(Constant)	-0.884 (1.403)	-2.061 <sup>**</sup> (0.780)	-0.004 (1.116)	-2.637 <sup>***</sup> (0.552)	-3.629 <sup>**</sup> (1.131)	-2.490 <sup>***</sup> (0.643)
Log Likelihood	-1725.37		-1471.48		-639.15	
Number of Observations	2927		2414		843	

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < 0.1$

Table C2: Party Registration for Active Registrants in Semi-closed States Using Presidential Vote Share, 2018 CCES

Variable	Democrats		Republicans		Independents	
	Unaffiliated	Republican	Unaffiliated	Democratic	Democratic	Republican
Instrumental Utility	0.628 (0.803)		0.493 (1.049)		1.775** (0.543)	
Strong Partisan	-1.701*** (0.150)	-1.102*** (0.075)	-1.865*** (0.160)	-0.982*** (0.124)	...	...
Strong Interest in News and Politics	-0.155 (0.114)	-0.166 (0.101)	-0.344† (0.177)	-0.486* (0.231)	0.195 (0.276)	0.373 (0.268)
Black	-0.759*** (0.148)	-1.450** (0.528)	0.847** (0.279)	1.880** (0.611)	1.011*** (0.272)	-1.080† (0.578)
Hispanic	0.103 (0.275)	-0.205 (0.176)	0.837** (0.272)	0.693 (0.458)	-0.125 (0.150)	-0.206 (0.568)
Age / 100	-2.029*** (0.242)	-0.388 (0.843)	-1.670*** (0.315)	-0.822† (0.461)	1.259† (0.722)	2.222* (0.967)
Female	-0.198* (0.082)	-0.114 (0.153)	-0.308*** (0.060)	-0.049 (0.173)	0.468* (0.227)	0.091 (0.214)
College Graduate	-0.049 (0.128)	-0.159 (0.144)	-0.363** (0.114)	-0.374 (0.252)	0.068 (0.131)	0.121 (0.192)
(Constant)	0.501 (0.526)	-2.002*** (0.470)	0.290 (0.701)	-1.218** (0.360)	-2.795*** (0.396)	-3.029*** (0.671)
Log Likelihood	-2547.28		-2330.03		-987.65	
Number of Observations	5449		4168		1183	

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , † $p < 0.1$

Table C3: Party Registration for Active Registrants in Closed States Using Presidential Vote Share, 2018 CCES

Variable	Self-Reported
Democratic Partisanship of State	-0.155 (2.492)
Democrat	-1.826 (1.712)
Republican	-14.375** (4.356)
Democrat $\times$ State Partisanship	5.374 (3.504)
Republican $\times$ State Partisanship	20.983** (6.735)
Strong Interest in News and Politics	0.049 (0.389)
Ideological Distance from Dem. Party	-0.332*** (0.077)
Ideological Distance from Rep. Party	0.364*** (0.082)
Black	3.238*** (0.719)
Hispanic	0.525 (1.442)
Age / 100	-1.194 (0.797)
Female	-0.111 (0.396)
College Graduate	0.796 <sup>†</sup> (0.434)
West Virginia	-0.136 (0.709)
(Constant)	0.568 (1.254)
Log Likelihood	-135.41
Number of Observations	457

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , <sup>†</sup> $p < 0.1$

Table C4: Democratic Primary Voting Among Unaffiliated Semi-Closed Voters Using Presidential Vote Share, 2018 CCES

Variable	Self-Reported	Validated
Democratic Partisanship of State	0.164 (1.083)	-2.786 (3.156)
Democrat	-1.670 (1.912)	-11.153*** (0.803)
Republican	-14.184** (4.784)	-8.137*** (1.486)
Democrat × State Partisanship	5.114 (3.441)	21.400*** (1.209)
Republican × State Partisanship	20.667** (7.433)	11.257*** (2.388)
Strong Interest in News and Politics	0.052 (0.399)	0.152 (0.552)
Ideological Distance from Dem. Party	-0.333*** (0.075)	-0.367*** (0.080)
Ideological Distance from Rep. Party	0.363*** (0.083)	0.296* (0.123)
Black	3.236*** (0.710)	1.507*** (0.318)
Hispanic	0.528 (1.432)	1.079 (1.752)
Age / 100	-1.208 (0.776)	-0.822 (1.046)
Female	-0.110 (0.391)	0.198 (0.346)
College Graduate	0.799† (0.440)	0.276 (0.286)
(Constant)	0.382 (0.719)	2.112 (2.724)
Log Likelihood	-135.42	-111.49
Number of Observations	457	332

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ , † $p < 0.1$

Table C5: Democratic Primary Voting Among Unaffiliated Semi-Closed Voters Using Presidential Vote Share, 2018 CCES