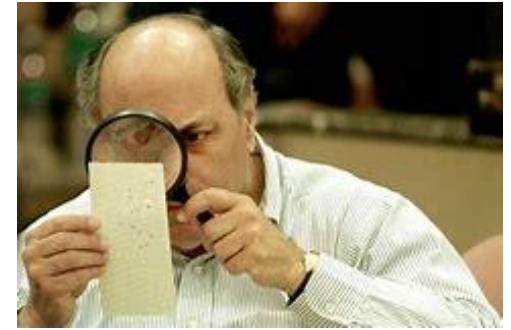


# Florida 2018: Another Nail-biter Election!



Dr. Susan A. MacManus, Distinguished Univ. Prof. Emerita @DrMacManus

Amy N. Benner, David Bonanza Research Associates

University of South Florida, Tampa

UH Hobby School of Public Affairs, Houston, TX Dec. 7, 2018

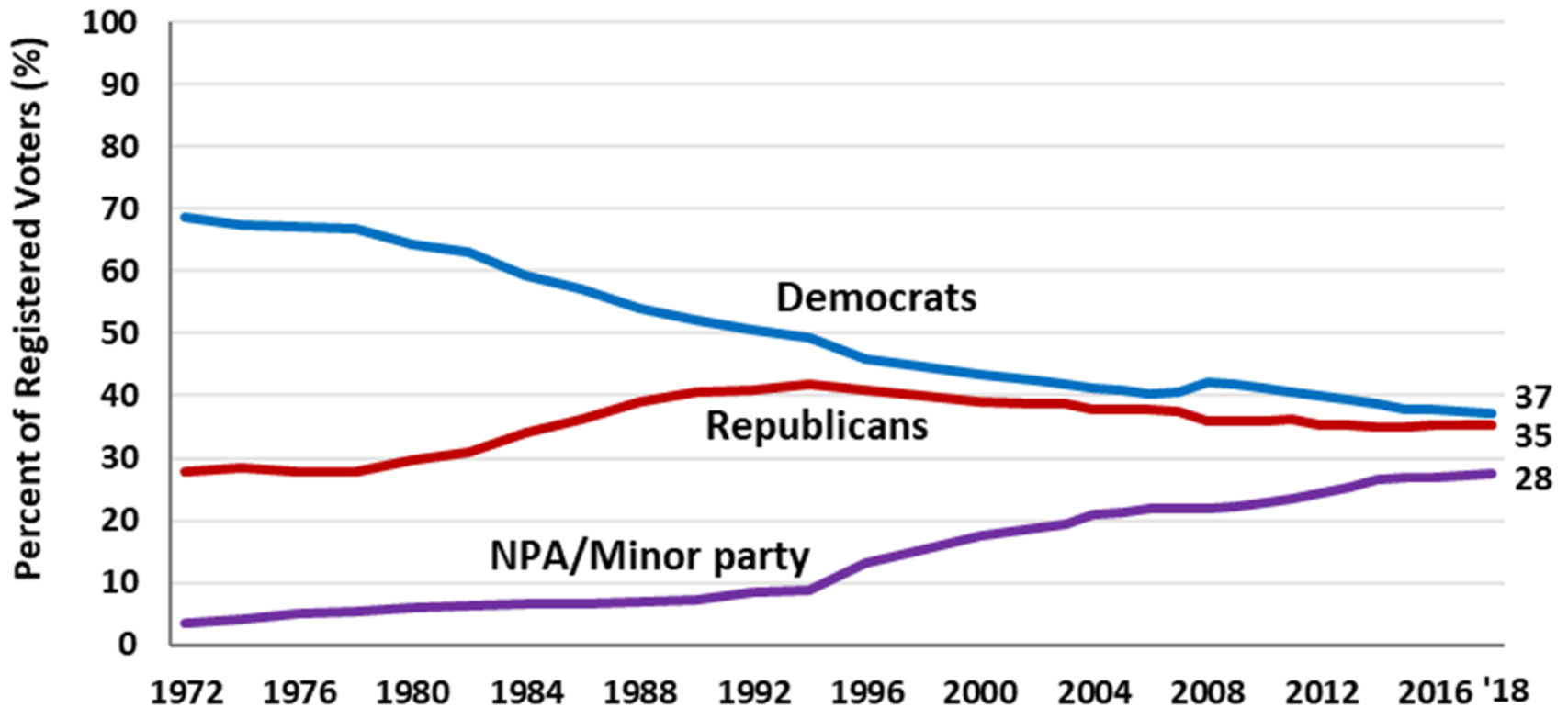
SLIDESHOW FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES ONLY

# Florida 2018: Full of Surprises

- Predictions off: turnout; margin-of-victory
- No cybersecurity issue but another recount controversy; 3 statewide recounts- Governor, U.S Senator, & Agricultural Commissioner
- Election Night vote totals always incomplete
- “Yes” to 11 out of 12 amendments; 1.4 million felons now eligible to register to vote
- All 19 county-wide tax & bond referendums passed

# Party Registration Trend: FL 1972- Oct. 2018

**Florida Voter Registration  
1972 - 2018**



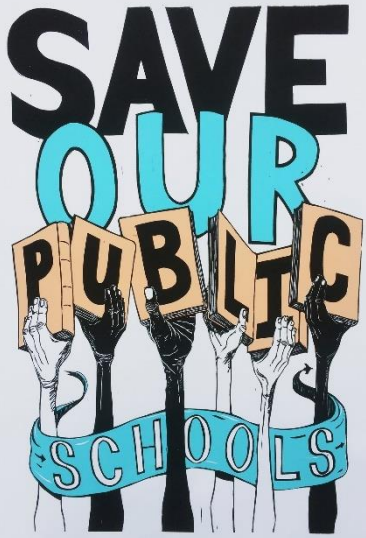
# Dems: Key Base Constituencies

- **Women**
- **Minorities, including newly-arrived Puerto Ricans**
- **Millennials and Gen Xers**
- **LGBTQ communities**
- **Unions, especially public employee and teachers' unions**
- **Jewish voters**



Photo attribution: <http://crececenter.org/o-big-group-of-diverse-people-facebook/>; <https://www.au.org/blogs/wall-of-separation/will-the-lgbtq-community-be-trump-s-next-target>

# Dems: Biggest Issues



- **Education**
- **Environment**
- **Economy**
- **Health care**
- **Gun control**
- **Minority voting rights**
- **Criminal justice**
- **Immigration**
- **Infrastructure/Transport**
- **Reproductive rights**
- **TRUMP**

# GOP: Key Base Constituencies

- **Rural voters (high turnout; conservative)**
- **Older voters (super voters)**
- **Hispanics, including newly-arrived Puerto Ricans without strong party attachment**
- **Suburban voters, especially women; families**
- **Gun owners**
- **Conservative religious communities**
- **Agriculture communities**
- **Working-class whites**
- **Small business owners**



# Big Issues: GOP

- **Economy/Taxes/Tariffs**
- **Socialism**
- **Education (school choice)**
- **Government over-regulation**
- **Protection of constitutional liberties (Second Amendment)**
- **Drugs (opioids)**
- **Immigration & border security**
- **Religious freedom/abortion**
- **Environment/Invasive species**



Photo attribution:  
<http://thebelltowers.com/2015/02/27/amplify-choice-supporting-school-choice-is-being-pro-children/>,  
<https://www.cnn.com/specials/health/painkiller-opioid-addiction>

# 4 Biggest National Issues: FL Voters

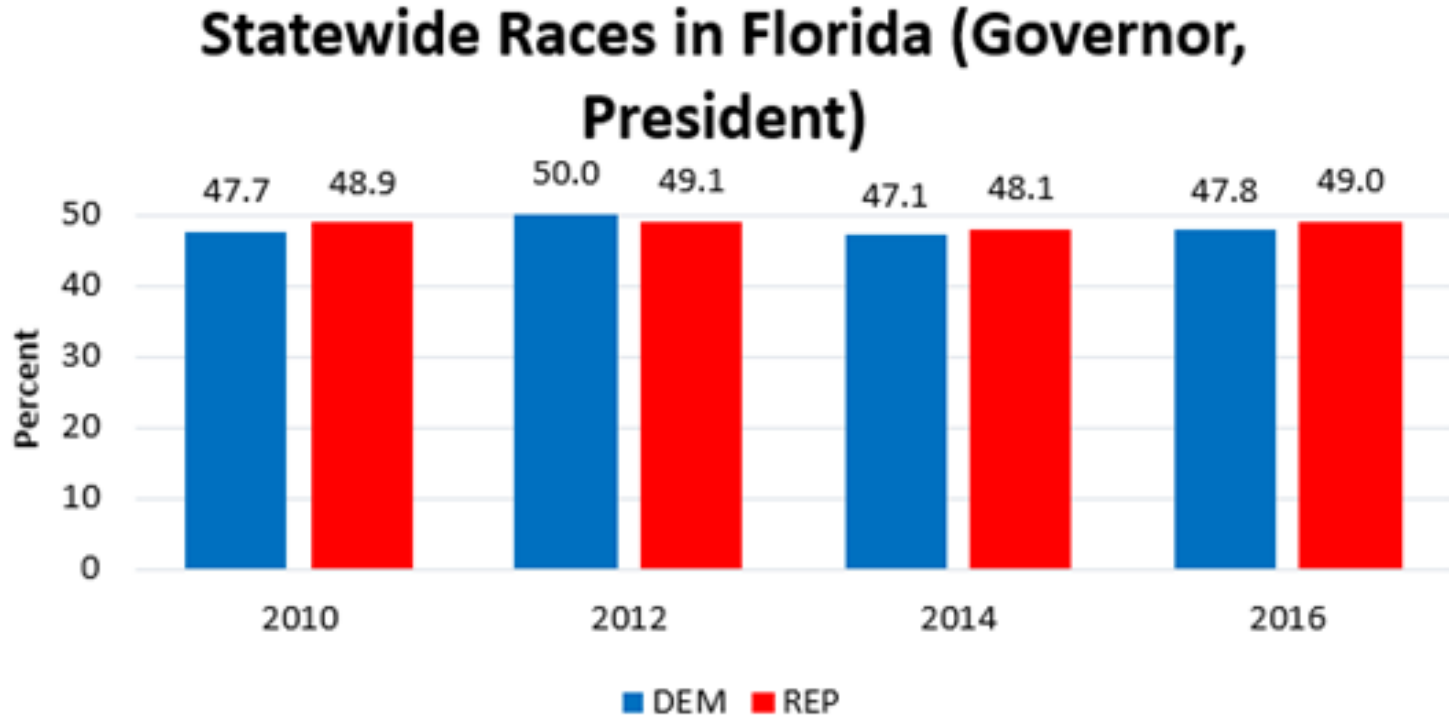
## Most important issue facing the country

	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
Health care <b>40%</b>	74%	25%	1%
Immigration <b>30%</b>	17%	78%	5%
Economy <b>16%</b>	30%	69%	1%
Gun policy <b>10%</b>	77%	23%	N/A

3106 Respondents



# Statewide Races: 1% Margin-of-Victory



Source: Florida Division of Elections.

# 2018 Margins-of-Victory: Oh, So Small!

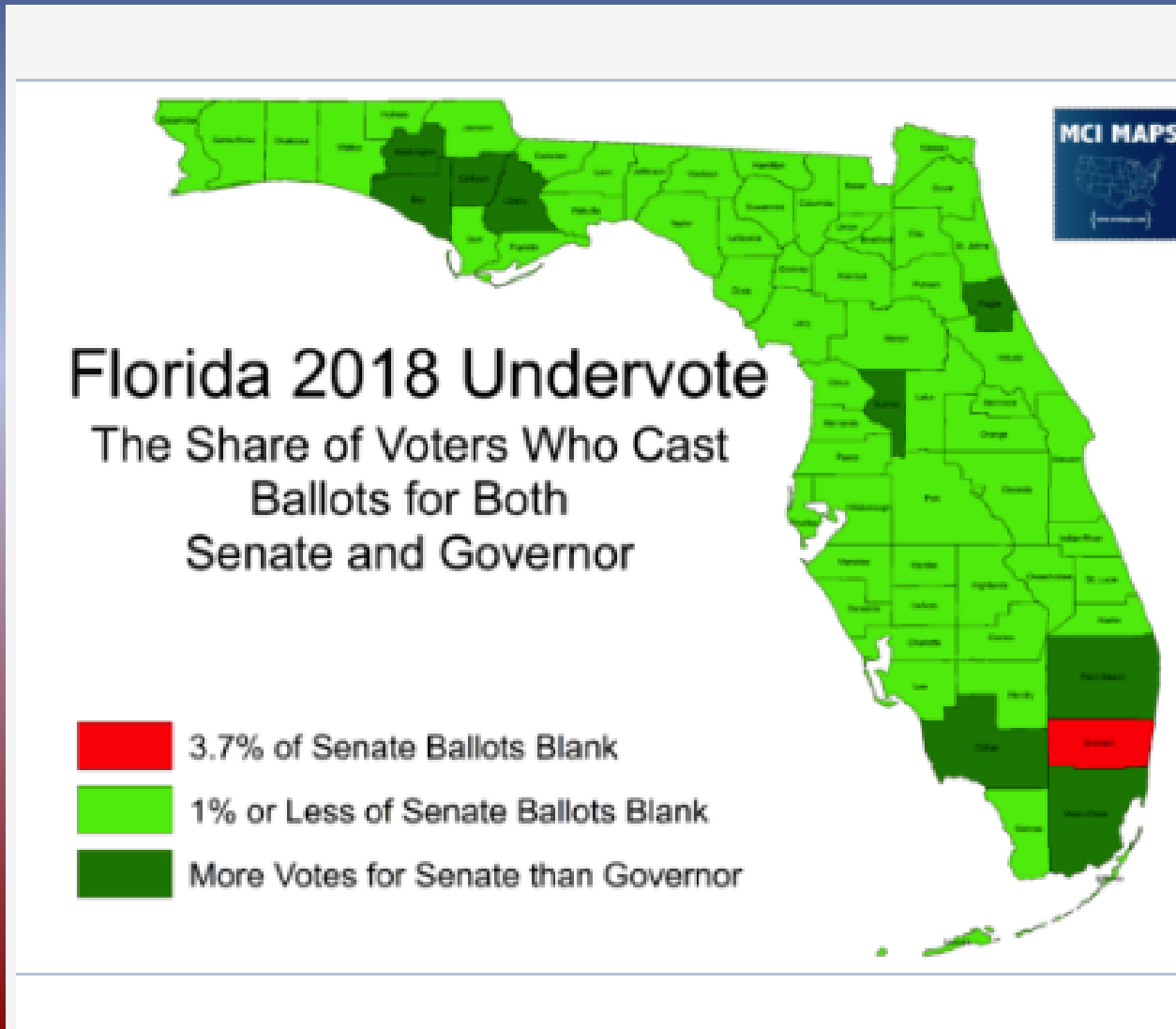
## 8,220,561 votes cast

- U.S. Senate (R) 0.12%
- Governor (R) 0.40%
- Agriculture Commissioner (D) 0.08%

\*\*\*\*\*

- State Senate District 18 (D) 0.20%
- State House District 26 (R) 0.10%
- State House District 89 (R) 0.04%

# Broward County at Heart of Recount Problems



# Ballot Format: Undervotes

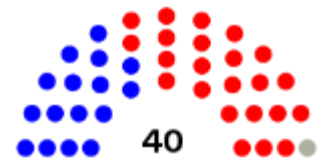
Balot Style 51	Seq 051	
<b>Official General Election Ballot</b> November 6, 2018 Broward County, Florida	<b>Boleta Oficial De La Elección General</b> 6 De Noviembre Del 2018 Condado de Broward, Florida	<b>Ofisyel Jeneral Eleksyon Bilten</b> 6 Novann 2018 Konte Broward, Florida
<b>Ballot Instructions:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To vote, fill in the oval completely next to your choice. Use only the marking device provided or a black pen.</li> <li>If you make a mistake, ask for a new ballot. Do not cross out or your vote may not count.</li> <li>To vote for a write-in candidate, fill in the oval and print the name clearly on the blank line provided for the write-in candidate.</li> </ul>	<b>Governor and Lieutenant Governor</b> <b>Gobernador y Teniente Gobernador</b> <b>Gouverneur et Lieutenant Gouverneur</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Ron DeSantis Jeanette Nufez REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Andrew Gillum Chris King DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Darryl G. Richardson Nancy Argersiano REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Kyle "KC" Gibson Ellen Wikis NPA</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Ryan Christopher Foley John Tullon Jr NPA</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Bruce Stanley Ryan Howard McJury NPA</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Write-In/Escribir/A letri</li> </ul>	<b>Justice of the Supreme Court</b> <b>Magistrado en el Tribunal Supremo</b> <b>Justisjuon Lakou Siprim</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shall Justice Alan Lawson of the Supreme Court be retained in office?            ¿Deberá retenerse en el cargo al Magistrado Alan Lawson en el Tribunal Supremo?            Êske se pou jistis Alan Lawson nan lakou siprim rete nan pòs li a?  <input type="radio"/> Yes/SWI  <input type="radio"/> No/No/Non</li> </ul>
<b>Instrucciones Para La Boleta:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Para votar, llene completamente el óvalo junto a su selección. Use sólo un lápiz de punta negra o una pluma de tinta negra para marcar la boleta.</li> <li>Si se equivoca, pida una nueva boleta. Si borra algo o hace marcas, es posible que su voto no se cuente.</li> <li>Para Votar por un candidato cuyo nombre no está impreso en la boleta, llene el óvalo y escriba el nombre del candidato en la línea en blanco provista para un candidato agregado.</li> </ul>	<b>Attorney General</b> <b>Fiscal General</b> <b>Pewlikon Jeneral</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Ashley Moody REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Sean Shaw DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Jeffrey Marc Oakland NPA</li> </ul>	<b>Fourth District Court of Appeal</b> <b>Tribunal De Apelaciones Del Cuarto Distrito</b> <b>Katryem Distrik Lakou Dapeli</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shall Judge Burton C. Conner of the Fourth District Court of Appeal be retained in office?            ¿Deberá retenerse en su cargo al Juez Burton C. Conner del Tribunal del Cuarto Distrito de Apelaciones?            Êske se pou ja Burton C. Conner nan katryem distrik lakou dapeli rete nan pòs li a?  <input type="radio"/> Yes/SWI  <input type="radio"/> No/No/Non</li> </ul>
<b>Enfòmasyon Sou Bilten Yòc:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pou vote, byen lakore tout andan oval la ak lòt respons ou chwazi a. Si lèman sèvi ak yon plim nwa oubyen ak yon lèyèn pou ekri sou bilten vòt la.</li> <li>Si w fè yon erè, mande yo ba w yon nouvo bilten vòt. Si w efase oubyen fè nouvo mak, li ap posib pou vòt ou pa valab ankò.</li> <li>Pou vote pou yon kandida ki pa gen non l' enpime sou bilten vòt la, lakore li oval la ak lòt non kandida a sou li vid la rezevè pou ekri non yon kandida.</li> </ul>	<b>Chief Financial Officer</b> <b>Controlador Estatal</b> <b>Chif Ofisyel Finans</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Jeremy Patronis REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Jeremy Ring DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Write-In/Escribir/A letri</li> </ul>	<b>Shall Judge Jeffrey T. Kuntz of the Fourth District Court of Appeal be retained in office?</b> <b>¿Deberá retenerse en su cargo al Juez Jeffrey T. Kuntz del Tribunal del Cuarto Distrito de Apelaciones?</b> <b>Êske se pou ja Jeffrey T. Kuntz nan katryem distrik lakou dapeli rete nan pòs li a?</b> <input type="radio"/> Yes/SWI <input type="radio"/> No/No/Non
<b>United States Senator</b> <b>Senador De Los Estados Unidos</b> <b>Senatè Etazini</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Rick Scott REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Bill Nelson DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Write-In/Escribir/A letri</li> </ul>	<b>Commissioner of Agriculture</b> <b>Comisionado De Agricultura</b> <b>Komisyone Agrikòl</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Matt Caldwell REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Nicole "Nikki" Fried DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Write-In/Escribir/A letri</li> </ul>	<b>Shall Judge Carol Y. Taylor of the Fourth District Court of Appeal be retained in office?</b> <b>¿Deberá retenerse en su cargo al Juez Carol Y. Taylor del Tribunal del Cuarto Distrito de Apelaciones?</b> <b>Êske se pou ja Carol Y. Taylor nan katryem distrik lakou dapeli rete nan pòs li a?</b> <input type="radio"/> Yes/SWI <input type="radio"/> No/No/Non
<b>Representative in Congress</b> <b>District 22</b> <b>Representante En El Congreso</b> <b>Districto 22</b> <b>Reprezantan Nan Kongrè</b> <b>Distri 22</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Nicolas Kinsz REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Ted Deutch DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Write-In/Escribir/A letri</li> </ul>	<b>State Senator</b> <b>District 34</b> <b>Senador Estatal</b> <b>Districto 34</b> <b>Sena Leta</b> <b>Distri 34</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Gary M. Farmer Jr DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Write-In/Escribir/A letri</li> </ul>	<b>Shall Judge Carol Y. Taylor of the Fourth District Court of Appeal be retained in office?</b> <b>¿Deberá retenerse en su cargo al Juez Carol Y. Taylor del Tribunal del Cuarto Distrito de Apelaciones?</b> <b>Êske se pou ja Carol Y. Taylor nan katryem distrik lakou dapeli rete nan pòs li a?</b> <input type="radio"/> Yes/SWI <input type="radio"/> No/No/Non
<b>State Representative</b> <b>District 93</b> <b>Representante Estatal</b> <b>Districto 93</b> <b>Reprezantan Leta</b> <b>Distri 93</b> <b>(Vote for One/Vote por Uno/Vote por Youn)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><input type="radio"/> Chip LaMarca REP</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Emma Colham DEM</li> <li><input type="radio"/> Kelly Miam NPA</li> </ul>		

# Pre/Post Election Make-Up in Florida Legislature & Congress

## FLORIDA SENATE +1D

23 Republicans, 16 Democrats (1 vacancy)

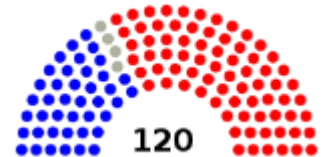
NOW: 23 R-17D



## FLORIDA HOUSE +5Ds

75 Republicans, 41 Democrats (4 vacancies)

NOW: 71 Rs; 49 Ds



## CONGRESS (27 SEATS) +2Ds

16 Republicans, 11 Democrats

NOW: 14 Rs, 13Ds

# Forgotten: Statewide Cabinet Races

- **Attorney General**

Sean Shaw (D) vs. **Ashley Moody (R)**



- **Chief Financial Officer (CFO)**

Jeremy Ring (D) vs. **Jimmy Patronis (R)**



- **Commissioner of Agriculture & Consumer Services**

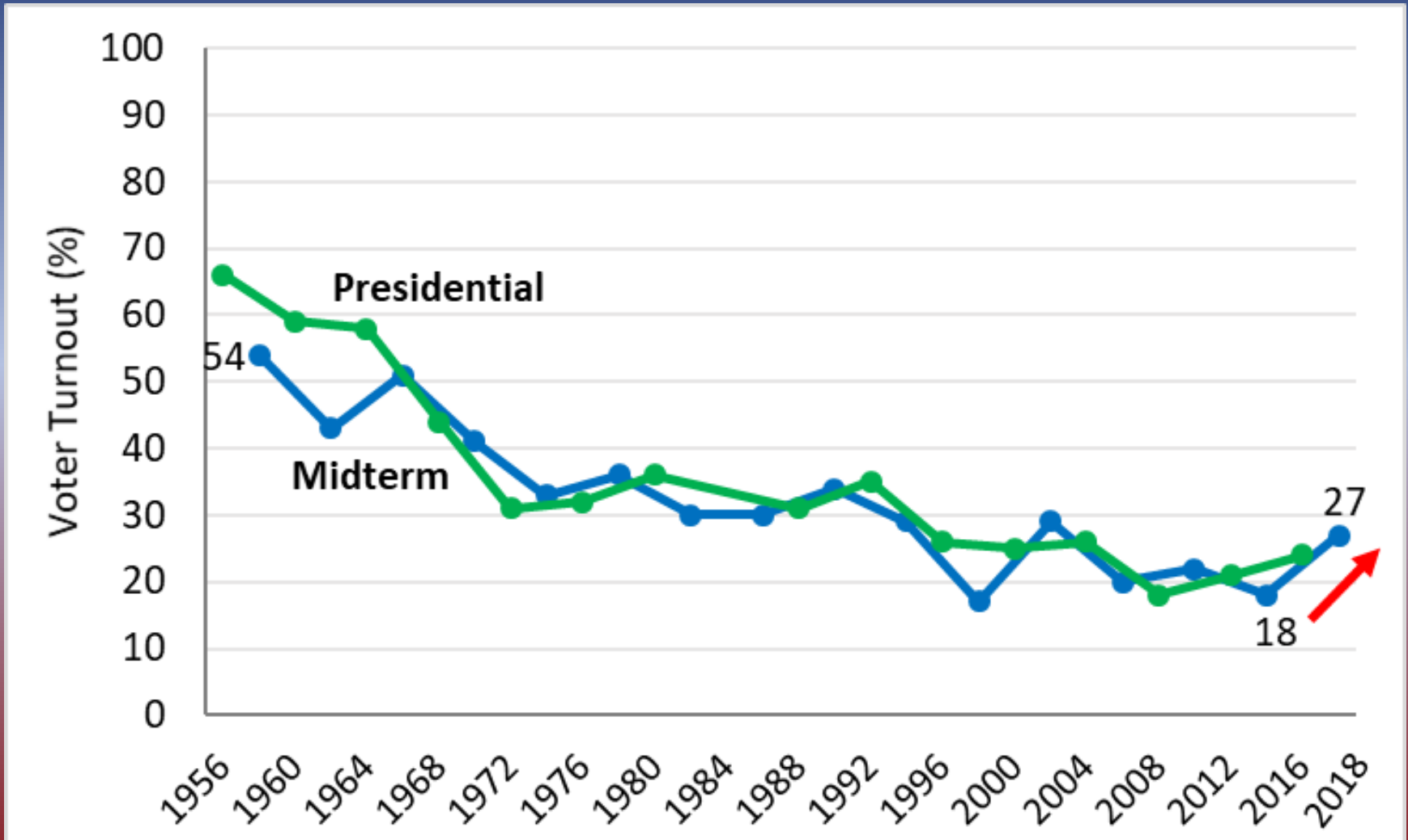
**Nikki Fried (D)** vs. Matt Caldwell (R)



# Some Things Didn't Change About Florida Midterm Elections

- Midterm elections always have lower turnout than presidential elections
- Most difficult groups to get to polls—young, minority voters
- Republicans turn out at higher rates than Democrats; more Rs vote on Election Day
- Fl voters tend to say “Yes” to proposed constitutional amendments
- Polls inaccurate

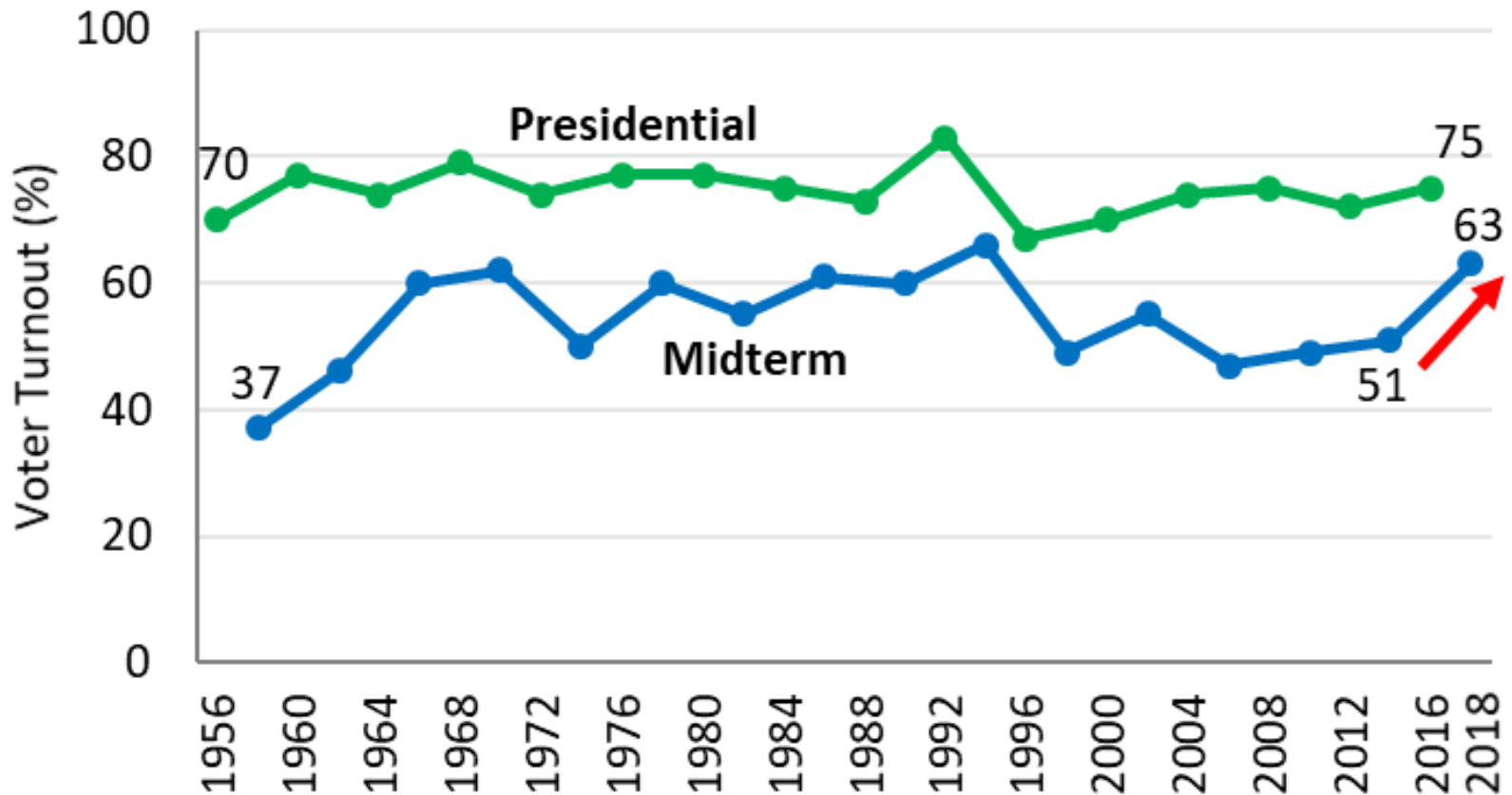
# Jump in Primary Turnout: 2014 to 2018





# Turnout: FL General Elections

Turnout in Florida General Elections  
1956-2018



# POLLS: SHORTCOMINGS

- **Inaccurate – lots of reasons**
- **Guide news coverage that creates what can be a erroneous storyline**
- **Lower response rates, esp. among Rs**
- **Rural areas under-represented**
- **Voter worries about privacy**
- **Can NEVER predict turnout, esp. late surges**

# Hard to Predict Big Events That Impact Voter Turnout

## 2017

August	Confederate Monuments/White Supremacy issues
September 10	Hurricane Irma strikes Florida
October	#MeToo (hashtag goes viral)

## 2018

January 21	Women's Marches in Florida (anniversary of Trump inauguration)
February 14	Shooting at Marjorie Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland; #NeverAgain
June	Separating Children from Parents at Border #WhereAreTheChildren? #KeepFamiliesTogether
July-August	Algae Bloom & Red Tide #algaebloom #redtide

# Hard to Predict Big Events & Their Impact on Turnout

September

Kavanaugh Supreme Court Confirmation Battle  
#WhyIDidn'tReport; #BelieveSurvivors

**September 22: Overseas Ballots Mailed**

October

**October 2-9: Vote by Mail Ballots sent**

Hurricane Michael hits FL (Oct. 10)

The migrant Caravan gets national attention (Oct 15)

Report: Gillum took Hamilton tickets (Oct 23)

Fl man sends bomb packages to natl. Dems. (Oct 24)

Last gubernatorial debate (Oct 24)

**October 27-November 3 In-Person Early Voting**

Shooting in Pittsburgh Jewish Synagogue (Oct 29)

October 31 TRUMP rally Ft. Myers

November

Nov. 3 TRUMP rally Pensacola

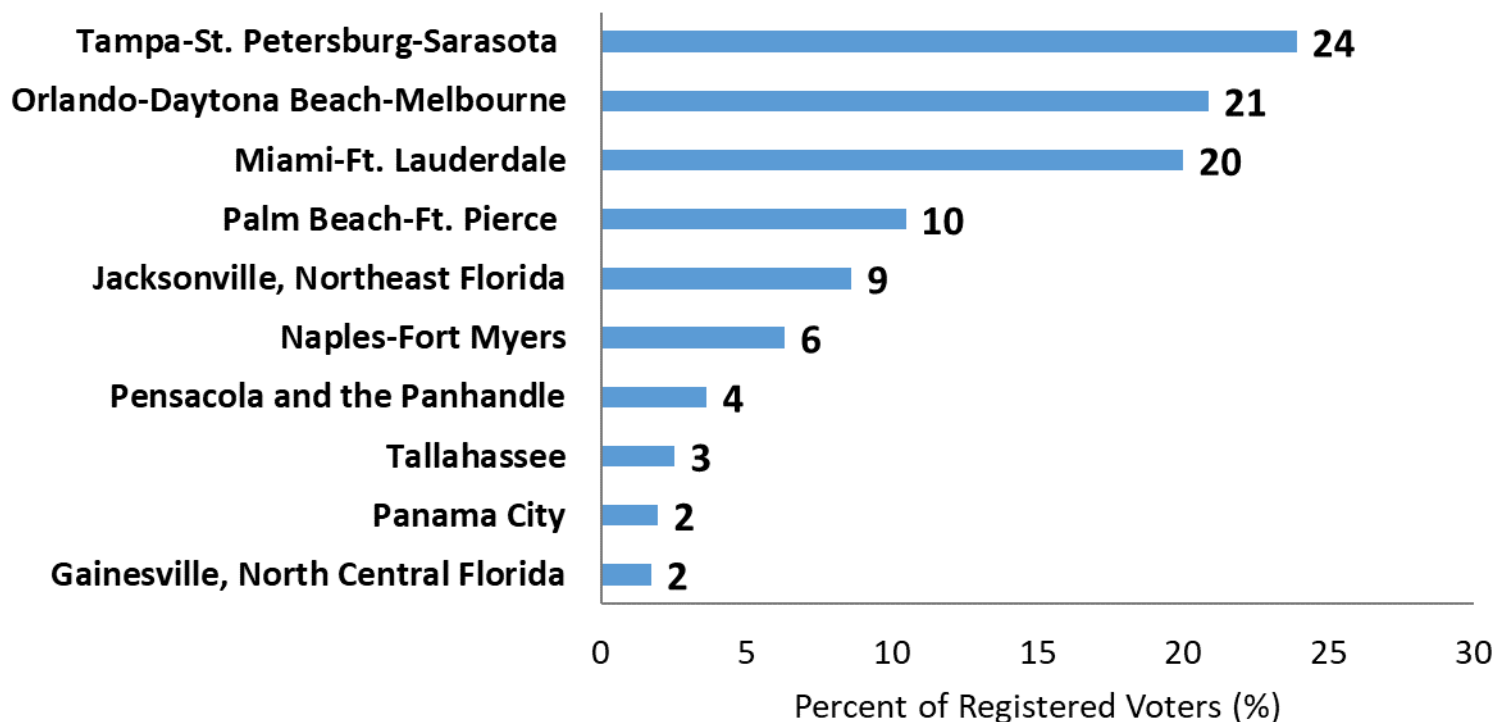
**Election Day (Nov. 6) Biggest issue for voters?**

# Who Are Florida's Voters?



# 45% of the state's registered voters live in the I-4 Corridor

Percent of Florida's Registered Voters Living in Each of Florida's 10 Media Markets  
August 2018



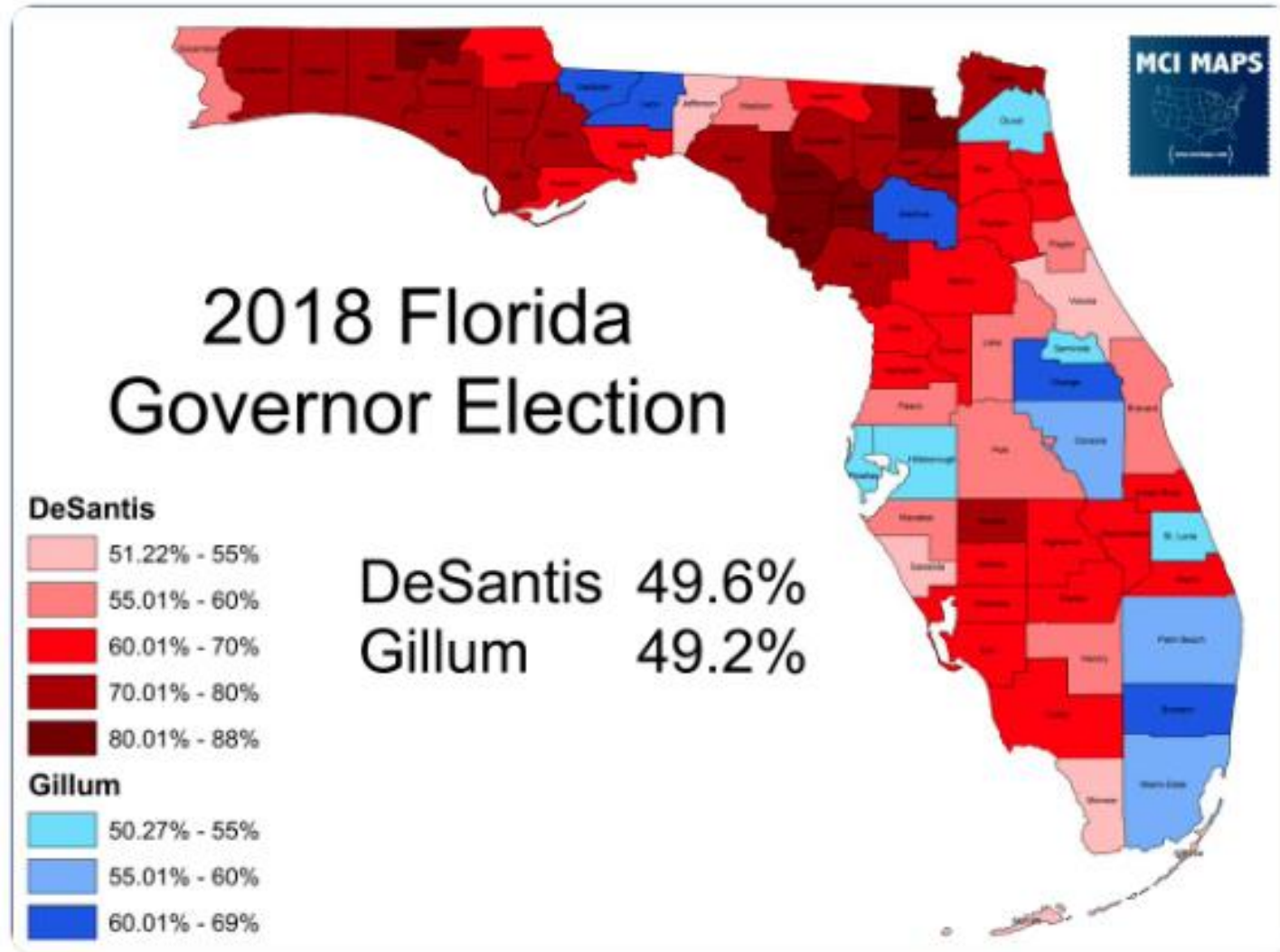
# Geography of Vote for Governor

## Area type

	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
Urban area <b>42%</b>	<b>57%</b>	42%	1%
Suburban area <b>50%</b>	45%	<b>53%</b>	2%
Rural area <b>8%</b>	31%	<b>69%</b>	N/A

3106 Respondents

# Florida Governor Votes



2:49 PM - 18 Nov 2018



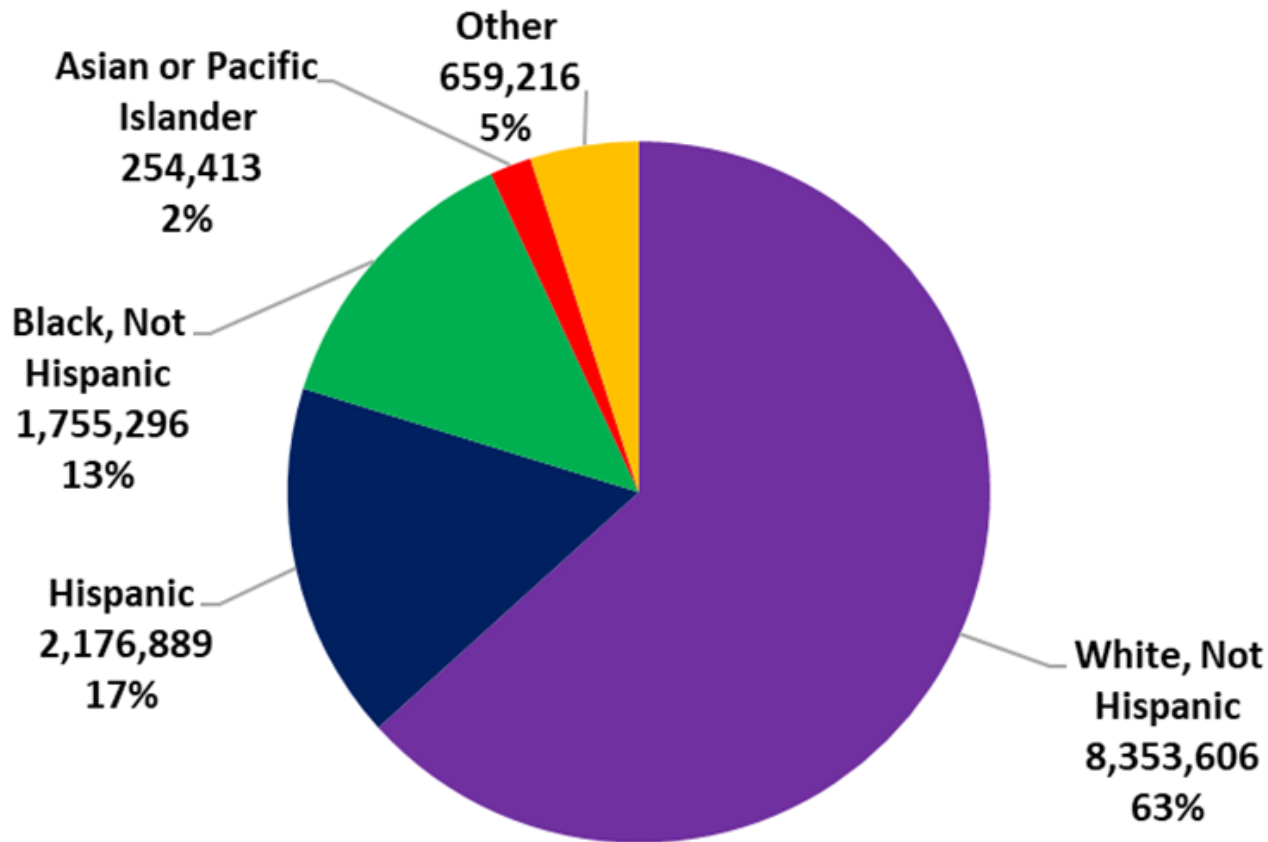
# Vote Pattern for Gov. by Party

<b>Party ID</b>	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
Democrats <b>33%</b>	93%	7%	N/A
Republicans <b>38%</b>	7%	92%	1%
Independents <b>29%</b>	54%	44%	2%

3106 Respondents

# Over One-Third of Registered Voters are Non-White

**Florida Voter Registration by Race**  
**October 2018 General Book Closing**



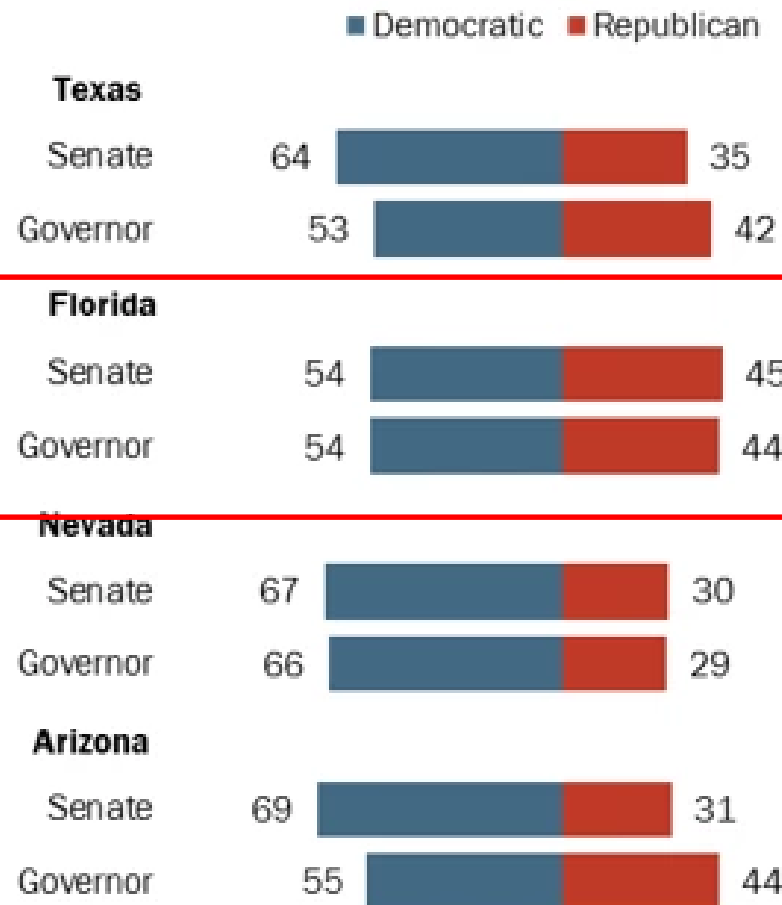
# Vote Patterns by Race/Ethnicity

<b>Race</b>	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
White <b>66%</b>	39%	60%	1%
Black <b>13%</b>	86%	14%	N/A
Latino <b>15%</b>	54%	44%	2%
Asian <b>2%</b>	N/A	N/A	N/A
Other race <b>4%</b>	65%	33%	2%

3106 Respondents

## How Hispanics voted in key races for U.S. Senate and governor in 2018

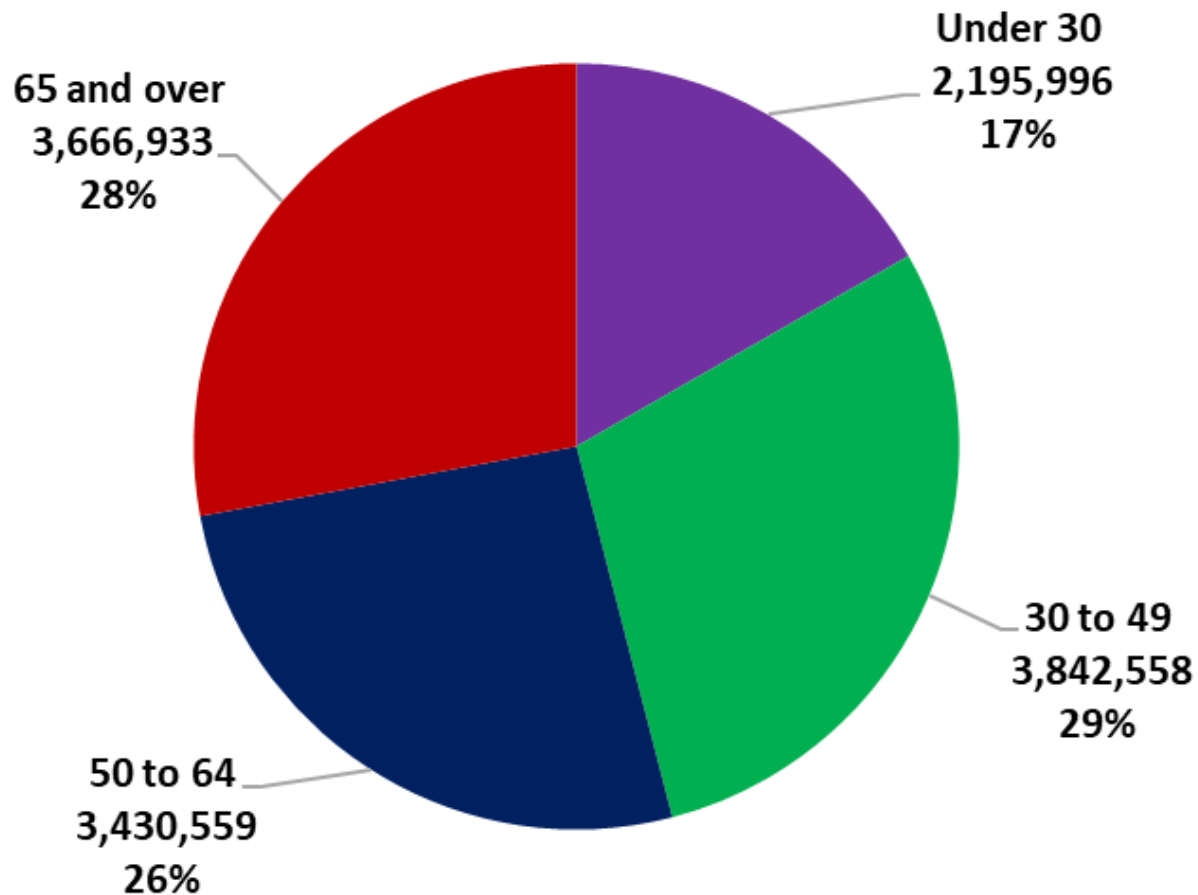
*% of Hispanics who say they voted for the \_\_\_ candidate*



Source: Based on exit polls conducted by Edison Research for the National Election Pool, as reported by CNN, accessed Nov. 9, 2018.

# Age Diversity

## Florida Voter Registration by Age October 2018 General Book Closing

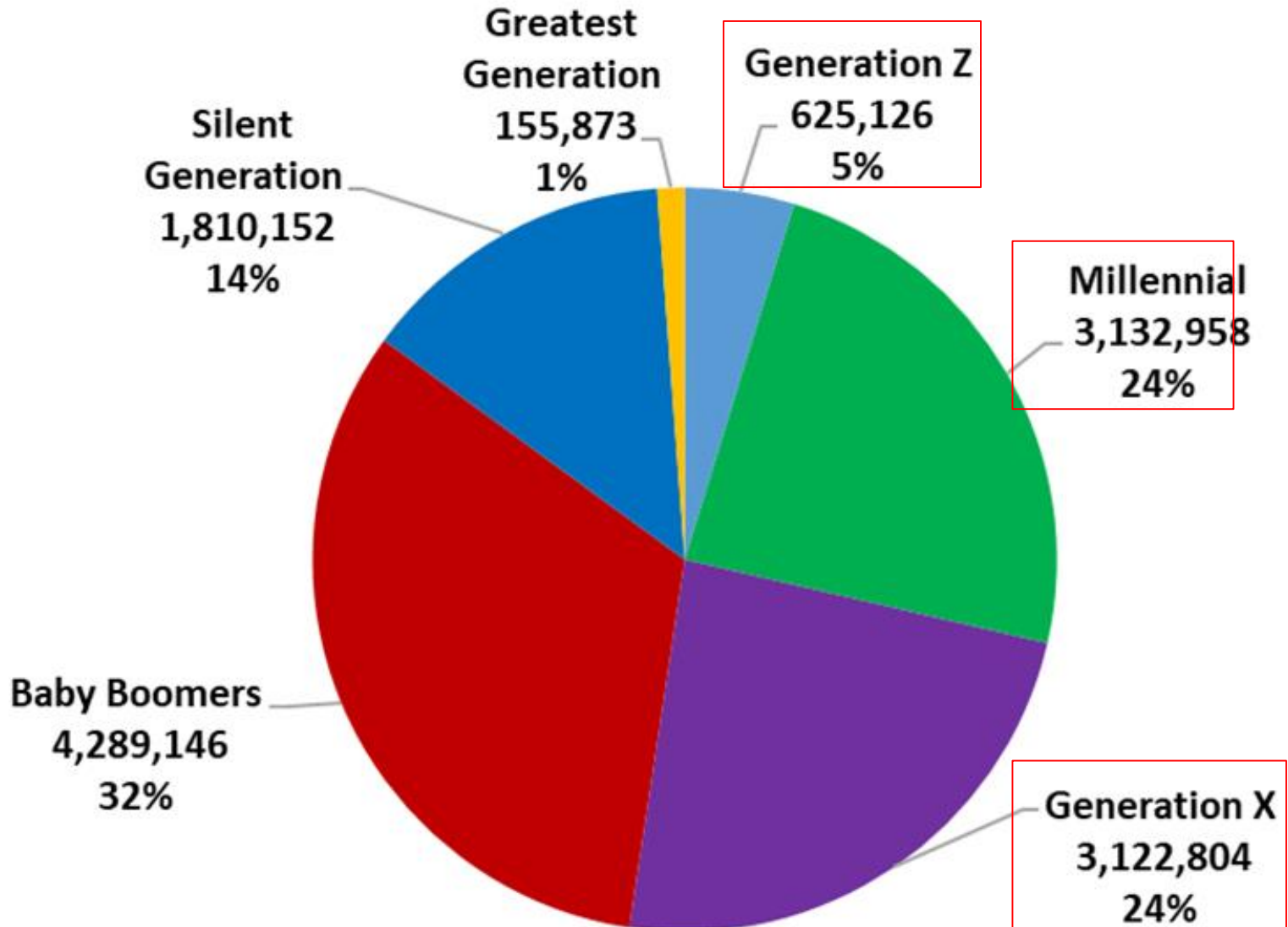


# Voting Patterns for Gov. by Age

Age	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
18-24 <b>5%</b>	58%	40%	2%
25-29 <b>5%</b>	64%	34%	2%
30-39 <b>10%</b>	63%	33%	4%
40-49 <b>12%</b>	49%	50%	1%
50-64 <b>31%</b>	47%	51%	2%
65 and older <b>36%</b>	43%	56%	1%

# Florida Voter Registration by Generation

## October 2018 General Book Closing



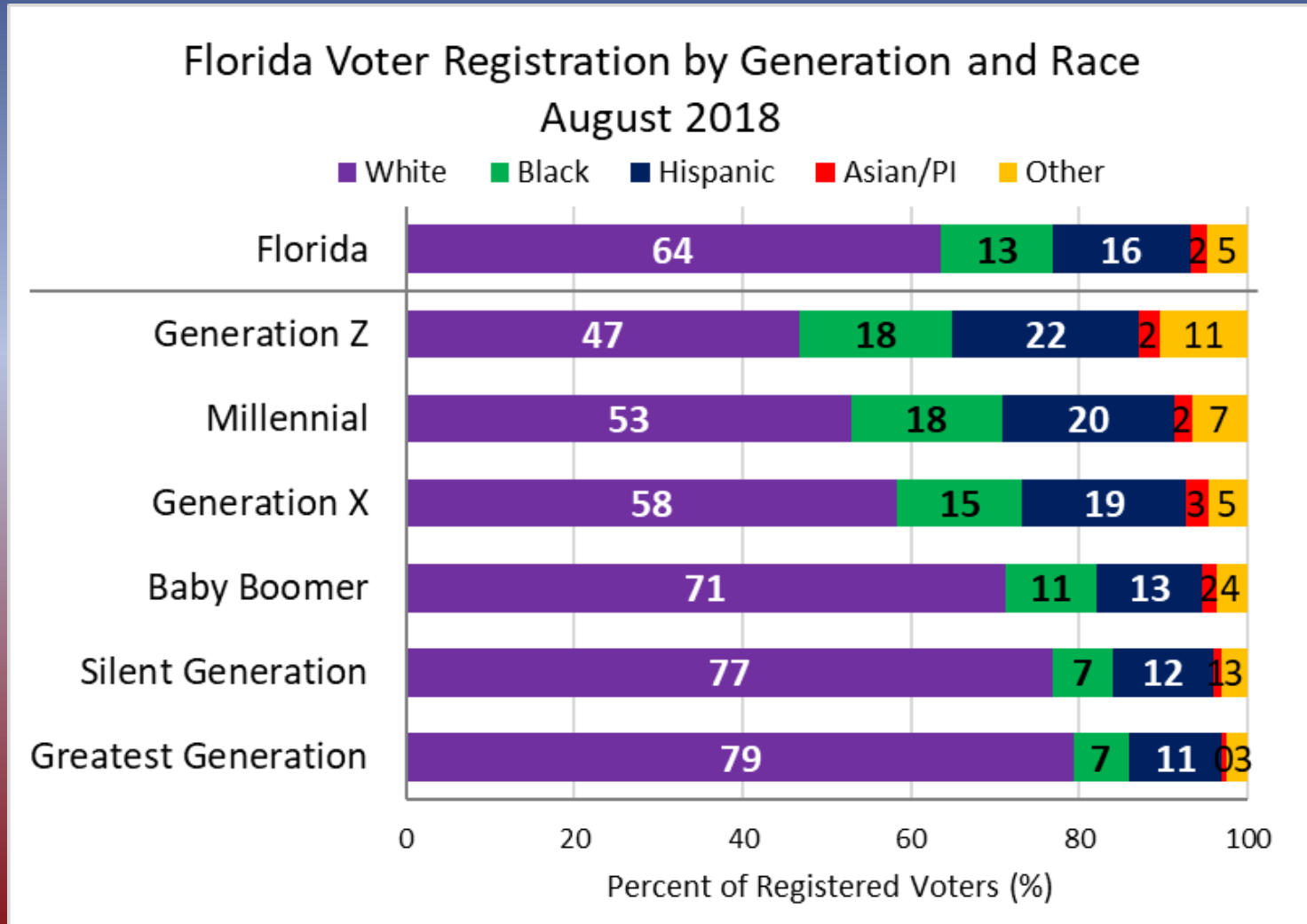
# Living Generations: Major Life Events, Presidents

Generation	Born	Age (2018)	Major Events	Presidents
<b>Greatest Generation/ GI Generation</b>	Before 1928	91+	World War II, Great Depression, New Deal	Franklin Delano Roosevelt (D)
<b>The Silent Generation</b>	1928-1945	73-90	Postwar happiness, Era of Conformity, Korean War	Truman (D); Eisenhower (R)
<b>The Baby Boomers</b>	1946-1964	54-72	Civil Rights Movement, 60s Youth Culture—Save the World Activism, Drugs, Free Love, Vietnam War	Kennedy (D); Johnson (D), Nixon (R); Ford (R); Carter (D)
<b>Generation X</b>	1965-1980	38-53	MTV, 24-hour news, latch-key kids, transition to computers, AIDS	Reagan (R); George H.W. Bush (R), Clinton (D)
<b>Millennials/ Generation Y</b>	1981-1996	22-37	9/11, social media, Iraq and Afghanistan conflicts, Great Recession, BP oil spill	George W. Bush (R); Obama (D)
<b>#Generation/ Generation Z</b>	After 1996	18-21	Brexit, Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, #Never Again (Parkland school shooting)	Obama (D); Trump (R)

Generation classifications: Pew Research Center; events by author

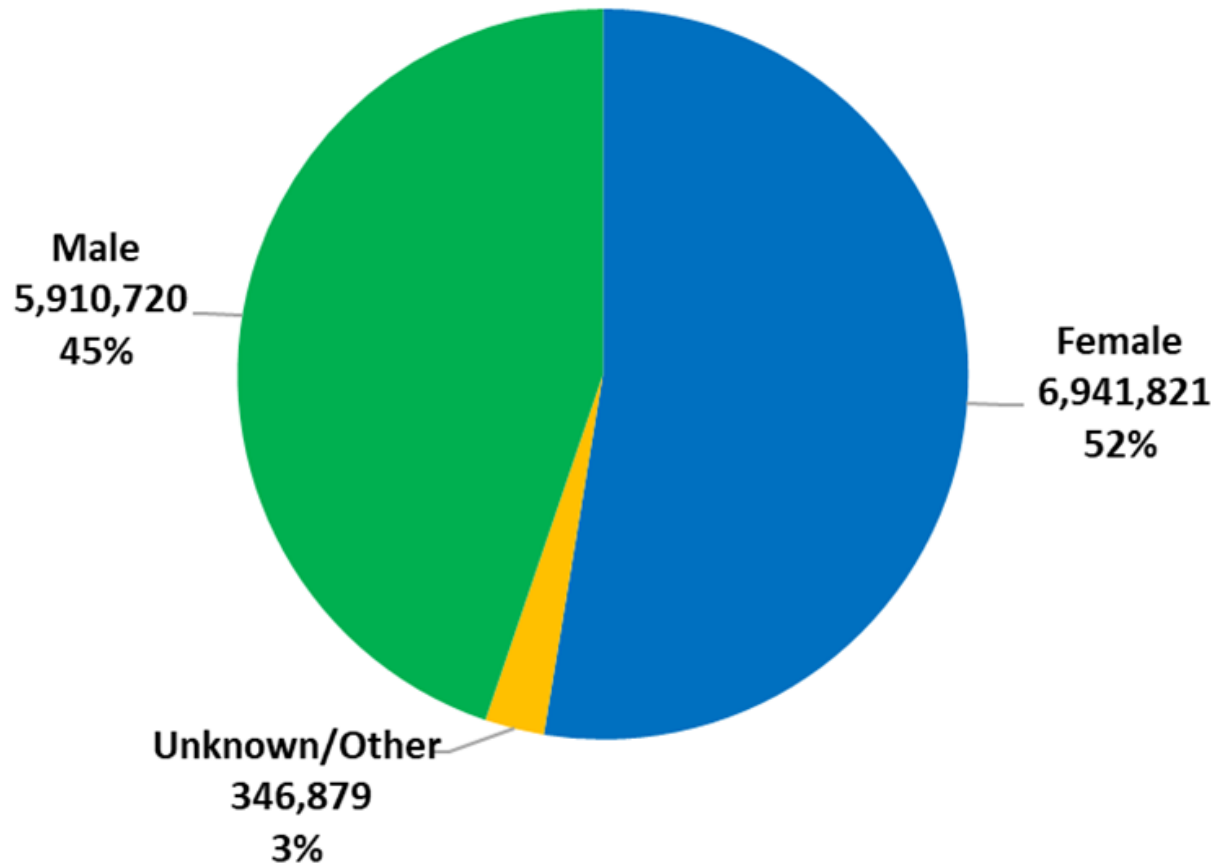


# Majority of Gen Z registered voters are nonwhite



# Women are a majority of Florida's registered voters

Florida Voter Registration by Gender  
October 2018 General Book Closing



# Voting Patterns for Gov. by Gender

## Gender

	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
Male <b>45%</b>	41%	<b>58%</b>	1%
Female <b>55%</b>	<b>55%</b>	43%	2%

## Party by gender

	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
Democratic men <b>12%</b>	<b>90%</b>	10%	N/A
Democratic women <b>21%</b>	<b>95%</b>	5%	N/A
Republican men <b>19%</b>	7%	<b>93%</b>	N/A
Republican women <b>18%</b>	7%	<b>90%</b>	3%
Independent men <b>14%</b>	<b>50%</b>	49%	1%
Independent women <b>16%</b>	<b>58%</b>	39%	3%

3106 Respondents

# Florida's Ideological Make-Up

- **35% Conservative**
- **36% Moderate**
- **22% Liberal**



➤ **+13 NET CONSERVATIVE**

Sample size: 11,094 respondents

# Vote Pattern for Gov. by Ideology

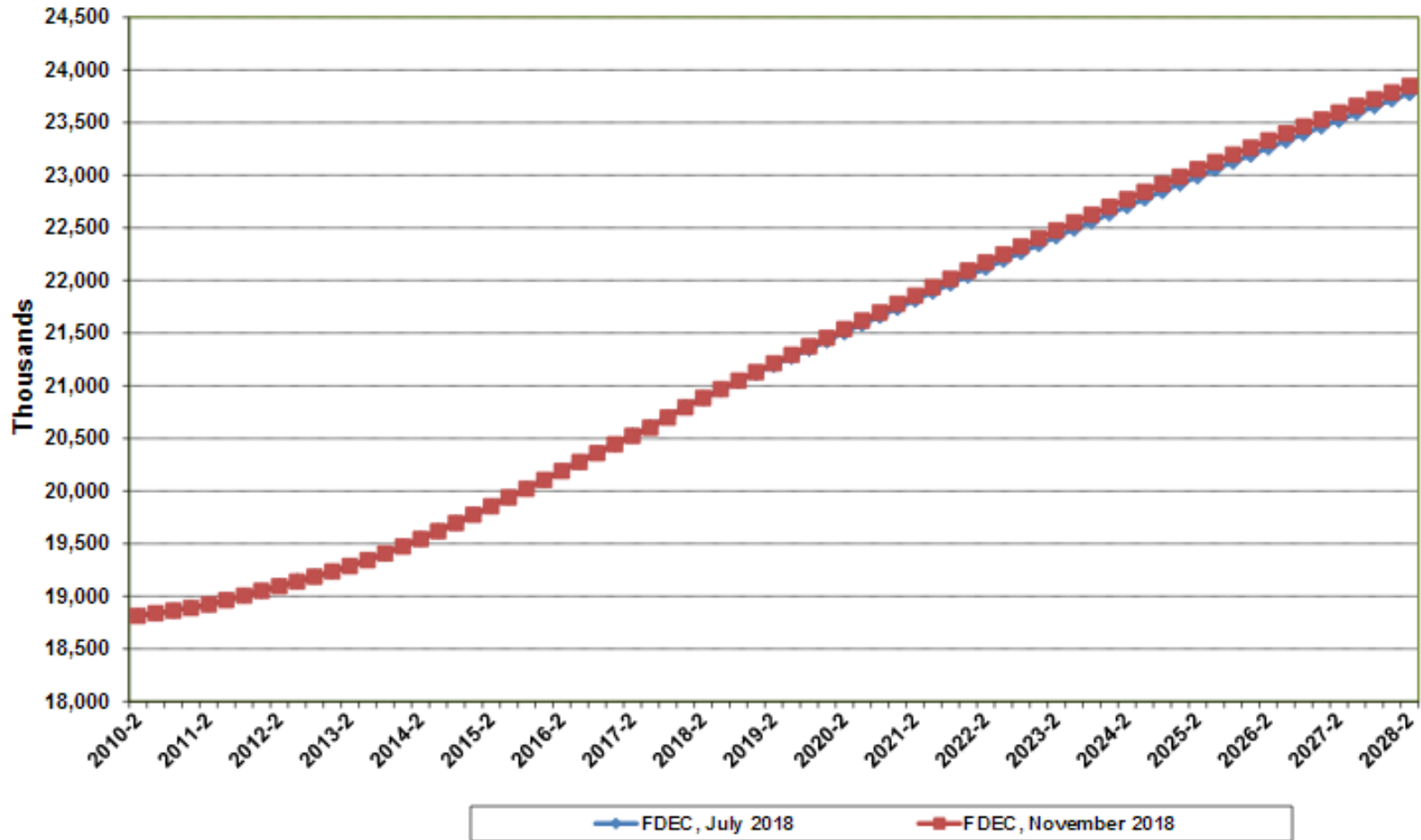
3106 Respondents

## Ideology

	Gillum	DeSantis	No Answer
Liberal <b>22%</b>	90%	9%	1%
Moderate <b>39%</b>	61%	38%	1%
Conservative <b>39%</b>	13%	85%	2%

# Florida's Population Growth

## Florida Resident Population



# FL Growth Demographics: 2017-30

- **White non-Hispanic: Down 55% to 49.2%**
- **Hispanic population: Up 25.3% to 30.1%**
- **Black population: Up from 16.2% to 17.1**



# FL Fair Districts Redistricting Standards

## **Prohibited:**

- ❖ Denying or abridging the equal opportunity of language minorities to participate in the political process.
- ❖ Diminishing the ability of racial or language minorities to elect representatives of their choice.
- ❖ Drawing of a plan or districts that favor or disfavor one political party over another.
- ❖ Drawing of a plan or district that favors or disfavors incumbents

## **Mandatory:**

- ❖ Districts shall consist of contiguous territory

**Conditional:** (If not in conflict with federal law or the standards detailing what is prohibited and mandatory)

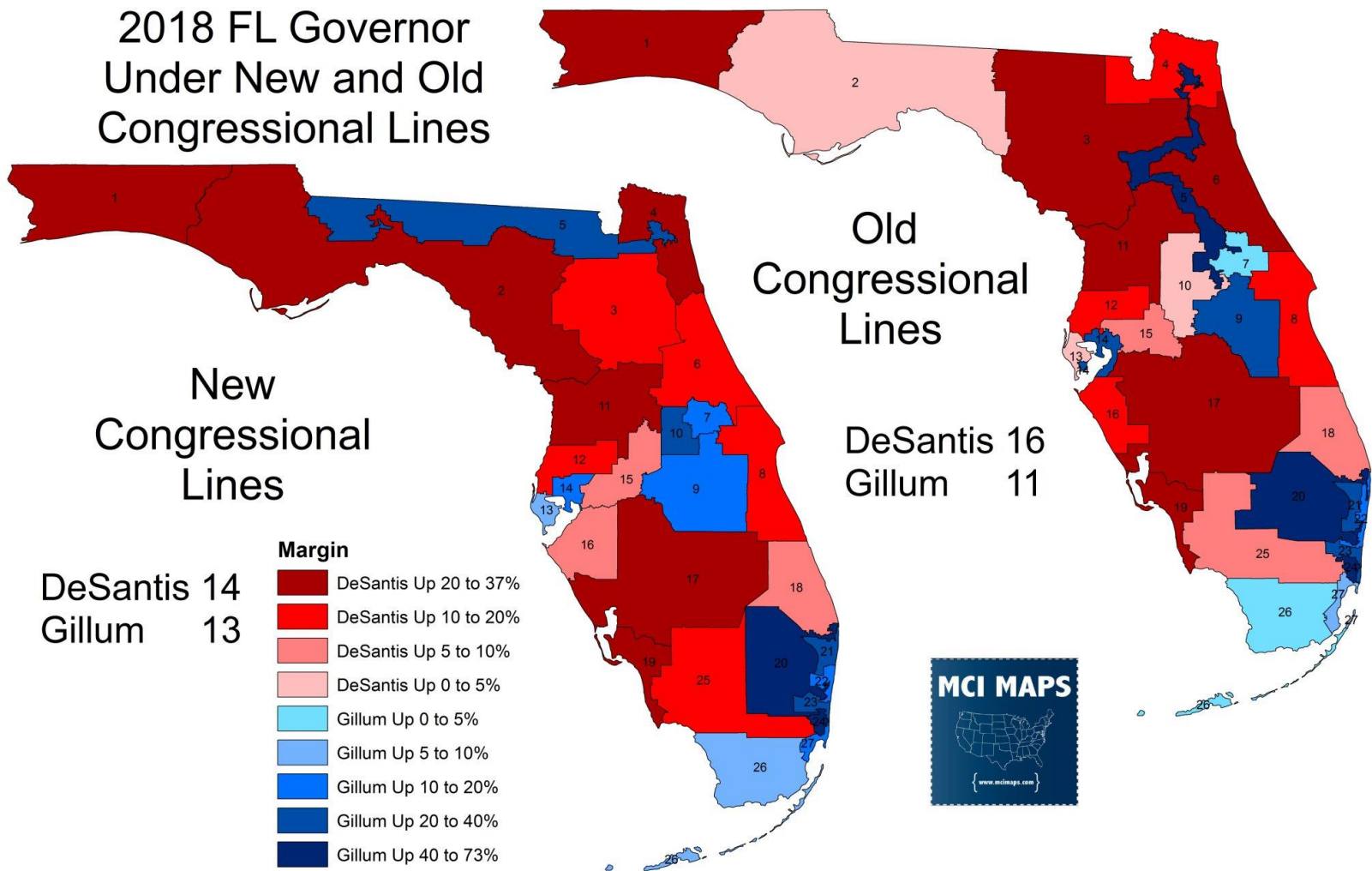
- ❖ Districts shall be as nearly equal in population size as practicable.
- ❖ Districts shall be compact.
- ❖ Districts shall, where feasible, utilize existing political and geographical boundaries.

The order within which each is listed does not signify an order of importance.



# Impact of Redistricting Under Fair Districts Amendments

2018 FL Governor  
Under New and Old  
Congressional Lines



# FL Redistricting Process (Dates Will Change in 2022)



# Expectations in 2020: CLOSE, AGAIN!

