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8	UNITED STAT	ES DISTRICT COURT
9	NORTHERN DIS	TRICT OF CALIFORNIA
10		
11	RON DUDUM, MATTHEW SHERIDAN,	CASE NO. 10-CV-00504 SI
12	ELIZABETH MURPHY, KATHERINE WEBSTER, MARINA FRANCO and DENNIS FLYNN,	NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION'S BRIEF AS AMICUS CURIAE IN OPPOSITION TO
13	Plaintiffs,	PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION
14		
15	Vs. JOHN ARNTZ, Director of Elections of	HEARING DATE: March 12, 2010 HEARING TIME: 9:00 A.M. JUDGE: Hon. Susan Ilston
16	the City and County of San Francisco; the CITY & COUNTY OF SAN	COURTROOM: 10
17	FRANCISCO, a municipal corporation; the SAN FRANCISCO DEPARTMENT OF	[Declaration of Richard E. DeLeon; Declaration of Steven Hill, Declaration of Gautam Dutta,
18	ELECTIONS; the SAN FRANCISCO ELECTIONS COMMISSION; and DOES	and Request for Judicial Notice filed concurrently herewith]
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20	Defendants.	
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		NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION'S BRIEF AS AMICUS CURIAE

10-CV-00504-SI

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MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES

I. Introduction

If you can't beat them, sue them. That might as well be the motto of Plaintiffs, led by a perennial losing candidate (Ron Dudum) who mistakenly blames Instant Runoff Voting for his lack of success.¹

Plaintiffs' specious lawsuit challenges a proven voting system that has been used by the City and County of San Francisco ("San Francisco") for six straight elections. Although Plaintiffs profess to bring this lawsuit on behalf of the public interest, their case can be summed up in two words: sour grapes.

Plaintiffs rush to this Court with a farfetched premise: that, somehow, San Francisco's Instant Runoff Voting ("IRV") system disenfranchises voters, because its current voting equipment does not allow voters to rank more than three choices. According to Plaintiffs, this three-choice limit has caused ballots to become "exhausted" before the final round of counting – and purportedly deprived voters of the "right" to participate in a head-to-head runoff between the final two finishers. However, Plaintiffs' flawed, error-infested analysis utterly fails to show that three-choice IRV has altered the outcome of <u>any</u> election.

It is astounding that Plaintiffs even filed this lawsuit – especially since the Massachusetts Supreme Court has <u>already</u> rejected a virtually identical claim.² In a seminal 1996 case involving an as-applied challenge, the justices unanimously upheld an IRV system's constitutionality, even

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[&]quot;Three-Candidate Limit in SF Voting System Unconstitutional, Suit Says," Courthouse News Service, Feb. 8, 2010 ("[Plaintiff] <u>Dudum attributes his loss to the [IRV] voting system[.]")</u> (emphases added), RJN Ex. 1, <u>available at http://www.courthousenews.com/2010/02/08/24499.htm</u> (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

McSweeney v. City of Cambridge, 665 N.E.2d 11, 13-15 (Mass. 1996). Tellingly, Plaintiffs' Moving Papers confine McSweeney to a fleeting footnote. Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 13 n.8. Contrary to Plaintiffs' obfuscations, the Massachusetts Supreme Court has twice upheld the constitutionality of Cambridge's IRV system, in 1941 and 1996. McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d 11 (upholding Cambridge's IRV system against an as-applied challenge in 1996); Moore v. Election Comm'rs of Cambridge, 309 Mass. 303, 331, 35 N.E.2d 222 (Mass. 1941) (upholding Cambridge's IRV system in 1941); cf. Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 13 n.8.

1	where some ballots had become "exhausted" (McSweeney v. City of Cambridge). ³ Furthermore,
2	last year the Minnesota Supreme Court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of Minneapolis'
3	three-choice IRV – the exact form of IRV that Plaintiffs now challenge (Minnesota Voters
4	Alliance). ⁵
5	II. Factual Background
6	
7	In order to understand why 55 percent of San Francisco voters approved IRV in 2002, it is
8	important to place IRV in the context of other voting methods and to compare it with two-round
9	runoff elections (which San Francisco used before 2004). ⁶
10	Before IRV was adopted, candidates for San Francisco offices competed in a first-round
11	election in November. ⁷ If a candidate won a majority of ballots cast (50 percent plus 1), that
12	candidate was elected. ⁸ If no candidate won a majority of votes at the November general
13	
14	election, the top two votegetters faced off in a separate December runoff election. Very often,
15	voter turnout for the December runoff elections dropped precipitously from November. For
16	example, in 2000, voter turnout for the November general election was 66 percent. ¹⁰ By contrast,
17	voter turnout for the subsequent December runoff election was 33 percent – a 50 percent drop in
18	
19	
20	³ McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d at 13-15.
21	Sample Minneapolis Ballot, RJN Ex. 2, <u>available at</u> http://minnesota.publicradio.org/features/2009/05/IRV_Ballots.pdf (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).
22	Minn. Voters Alliance v. City of Minneapolis, 766 N.W.2d 683 (Minn. 2009) ("Voters Alliance"). Tellingly, the Voters Alliance plaintiffs did not even try to claim that three-choice
23	IRV was unconstitutional.
24	"San Francisco Successfully Uses Ranked Choice Voting for Citywide Elections," Nov. 2005, available at http://www.sfrcv.com/ (last visited Feb. 26, 2010); Joint FairVote/New
25	America Study, "How IRV Boosts Voter Turnout", RJN Ex. 3, <u>available at http://irvinla.org/latest_news/how-irv-boosts-voter-turnout</u> (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).
26	7 <u>Id.</u>
27	8 <u>Id.</u>
28	<u>Id.</u>
20	10 <u>Id.</u>

DeLeon Decl. ¶ 12.

<u>Id.</u>

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2008 Presidential General Election Results (2005), available at

http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS (last visited Feb. 20, 2010).

1	municipal elections. ²³ Last week, two prominent lawmakers introduced legislation to enable
2	California counties to use IRV to fill congressional and state legislative vacancies. ²⁴
3	Although Plaintiffs claim they are only challenging three-choice IRV, Plaintiffs are really
4	seeking to repeal ²⁵ IRV – and thereby repudiate the will of San Francisco voters. In so doing,
5 6	Plaintiffs seek to burden voters with inferior plurality elections that will reduce voter
7	participation, shrink voter choices, and decrease the number of voters who cast effective ballots.
8	Yet, as we will show, Plaintiffs fail to provide any legal or factual support for their extraordinary
9	allegations.
10	III. IRV's Constitutionality Is Beyond Doubt
11	The constitutionality of Instant Runoff Voting systems is beyond doubt. Since 1941, two
12	state supreme courts and a Michigan court have repeatedly upheld the constitutionality of IRV
13	systems against both facial and as-applied challenges. ²⁶ Indeed, three U.S. Supreme Court
14	justices have approvingly mentioned IRV systems. ²⁷ Furthermore, the U.S. Department of Justice
15	justices have approvingly mentioned in visitenis. I didnormore, the e.s. Department of vasites
16 17	23 <u>Id.</u>
18	"Sen. Hancock & Asm. Eng Introduce IRV Special Election Bills", New America Foundation press release, Feb. 23, 2010, RJN Ex. 7, available at
19	http://politicalreform.newamerica.net/pressroom/2010/senator_hancock_and_assemblymember_eng_introduce_sb_1346_and_ab_2732
20	"Three-Candidate Limit in SF Voting System Unconstitutional, Suit Says," Courthouse News Service, Feb. 8, 2010 ("Plaintiff Ron Dudum says the [IRV] system is confusing to
21	voters no matter how many times it's explained."). RJN Ex. 1, <u>available at http://www.courthousenews.com/2010/02/08/24499.htm</u> (last visited Feb. 25, 2010). In their
22	Moving Papers, Plaintiffs in effect make San Francisco a settlement offer of " <u>return[ing] to a traditional [two-round] runoff system</u> like that used in the years prior to the adoption of [IRV]".
23	Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 21:11-21:14 (emphases added). See, e.g., Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d 683 (Minn. 2009) (facial constitutional challenge).
24	McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d 11 (as-applied constitutional challenge) (re-aff'g Moore, 309 Mass. 303 35 N.E.2d 222) (Cambridge's multiple-seat form of IRV is known as "Plan E"); see also
25	Stephenson v. Ann Arbor Bd. of Canvassers, No. 75-10166 AW (Mich. Cir. Ct. Nov. 1975) (asapplied constitutional challenge) (cited by Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 690), RJN, Ex. 8,
2627	<u>available at http://archive.fairvote.org/?page=397 (last visited Feb. 20, 2010).</u> In 1941, Cambridge, Massachusetts first began using a multiple-seat (proportional
28	representation) form of IRV ("Plan E") for its municipal elections. <u>See Moore</u> , 35 N.E.2d 222.
20	See, e.g., Holder v. Hall, 512 U.S. 874, 910 (1994)) (Thomas, J.; Scalia, J., concurring)

IRV rankings at the polling station, and (2) it made it possible for San Francisco to report election-night results for the voters' first-choice IRV rankings.³² Ironically, Plaintiffs now claim that those very safeguards constitute a constitutional violation.

A. Standard of Review

Plantiffs' entire case turns on only one issue: whether three-choice IRV imposes a "severe" burden on the right to vote. 33 As this brief will show, three-choice IRV does not impose any such burden. In fact, IRV strengthens every voter's right and ability to vote for candidates of his or her choice.

As the Minnesota high court noted in *Voters Alliance*, the U.S. Supreme Court has laid down two touchstones for examining election laws: (1) States (and local governments,³⁴ to the extent permitted by the states) "have authority to establish their own election processes,"³⁵ and (2) election regulations may "impose some level of restrictions on the right to vote and the concomitant right to political association."³⁶ If strict scrutiny is not triggered, a court need only examine whether any "important regulatory interests" can justify a given election regulation.³⁷

Significantly, strict scrutiny <u>cannot</u> be invoked, unless a government imposes a "severe" burden on the right to vote.³⁸ As a matter of law, a voting regulation that imposes some burden or

San Francisco's current IRV voting equipment also affords these significant benefits. <u>Id.</u> \P 6.

³³ Wash. State Grange v. Wash. Republican Party, 128 S.Ct. 1184, 1190-91 (2008).

Charter cities may adopt Instant Runoff Voting for their elections, pursuant to the authority accorded to charter cities and counties by the California Constitution. CAL. CONST. art. XI, § 5(b); see also Edelstein v. San Francisco, 29 Cal. 4th 164, 173, 56 P.3rd 1020 (Cal. 1992).

Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 689 (citing Wash. State Grange, 128 S.Ct. at 1190); see also United States v. Salerno, 481 U.S. 739, 745 (1987).

Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 689 (emphases added) (citing Anderson v. Celebrezze, 460 U.S. 780, 788 (1983).

Anderson, 460 U.S. at 788 (quoted by Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 696-97).

Wash. State Grange, 128 S.Ct. at 1190; <u>Crawford</u>, 128 S.Ct. at 1622-23; <u>Burdick v.</u> Takushi, 504 U.S. 428, 433-34 (1992); see also Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 689.

affects a limited number of voters will <u>not</u> trigger strict scrutiny; because such a regulation would not impose a "severe" burden.³⁹ We will now apply these precepts to three-choice IRV.

B. IRV Does Not Trigger Any Heightened Scrutiny

Tellingly, both the Massachusetts and Minnesota Supreme Courts have refused to apply any heightened scrutiny for constitutional challenges against IRV (in *McSweeney* and *Voters Alliance*, respectively). In *McSweeney*, the Massachusetts high court not only refused to apply strict scrutiny to an as-applied challenge, but emphatically rejected the notion that IRV "derogates from the fundamental right to vote or denies each citizen the right to have his or her vote counted equally."

Furthermore, in *Voters Alliance*, the Minnesota high court – which upheld the use of Minneapolis' three-choice IRV – rejected the notion that IRV violates the Equal Protection Clause under either *Reynolds v. Sims*⁴² or *Bush v. Gore*:⁴³

In addition to arguing that IRV violates the rights to vote and to political association, appellants argue it violates their right to equal protection. This claim appears to be based primarily on the arguments about unequal weighting of votes, and as we have seen, there is no unequal weighting in the IRV system for single-seat races or in multiple-seat races[.]. Appellants' equal protection claim fails as well because it is not supported by the legal authority on which it is premised, specifically, the Supreme Court's one-person, one-vote jurisprudence and Bush v.

Burdick, 504 U.S. at 433-34; <u>Crawford v. Marion County Election Bd.</u>, 128 S.Ct. 1610, 1622-23 (2008); see also Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 689.

Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 696-97 (citing Wash. State Grange v. Wash. Republican Party, 128 S.Ct. 1184, 1190-91 (2008); Crawford, 128 S.Ct. at 1622-23; Anderson, 460 U.S. at 788); accord, McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d at 14-15.

Id. at 13-15.

⁴² 377 U.S. 533 (1964).

⁴³ 531 U.S. 98 (2000).

Gore, 531 U.S. 98, 121 S.Ct. 525, 148 L.Ed.2d 388 (2000) (per curiam).

Although the <u>Court's one-person</u>, <u>one-vote cases</u> do address the general issue of unequal weighting of votes, they <u>are inapposite here</u>. The one-person, one-vote cases had their origin in the malapportionment of legislatures. See <u>Reynolds v. Sims</u>, <u>377 U.S. 533</u>, <u>84 S.Ct. 1362</u>, <u>12 L.Ed.2d 506 (1964)</u>. That is, the number of voters in some districts electing one legislator was several multiples higher than in other districts, meaning that a vote in the smaller population district had more impact in terms of electing a legislator than a vote in the more populous district.

See id. at 562-63, <u>84 S.Ct. 1362</u>. No such vote inequality is created by IRV.

In addition, appellants contend that, under IRV, some votes are counted differently than others, and the system therefore violates the equal protection principles articulated in <u>Bush</u>. We agree with the district court that <u>Bush</u> is not controlling here. The essence of the equal protection problem addressed in <u>Bush</u> was that because there were no established standards under Florida law for discerning voter intent, in the recount process ballots were being judged differently from county to county, and even within individual counties. See <u>Bush</u>, 531 U.S. at 106, 121 S.Ct. 525. In contrast, <u>in the IRV system</u>, <u>every ballot and every vote is</u> counted by the same rules and standards.⁴⁴

Predictably, Plaintiffs will try to escape the on-point holdings of *McSweeney* (Mass. Supreme Court)⁴⁵ and *Voters Alliance* (Minn. Supreme Court).⁴⁶ First, they will seek to distinguish *Voters Alliance* on two grounds: (1) *Voters Alliance* dealt with only a facial

Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 698 (citing Reynolds v. Sims, 377 U.S. 533, 562-63 (1964); Bush v. Gore, 531 U.S. 98, 106 (2000) (per curiam)).

⁴⁵ McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d 11.

Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d 683.

constitutional challenge, while Plaintiffs have brought both a facial and an as-applied challenge, (2) *Voters Alliance* did not rule on whether a government could limit voters to a maximum of three IRV choices.⁴⁷ Neither excuse suffices. While it did not specifically address the issue of how many IRV choices must be offered to voters, *Voters Alliance* offers persuasive authority on both facial and as-applied challenges with regard to any IRV system.

Since *McSweeney* rejected their legal theory, Plaintiffs will try their utmost to convince this Court not to rely on that Massachusetts high court decision. Toward that end, Plaintiffs may parrot their consultant's incorrect claim: that Cambridge, Massachusetts allows voters to rank "unlimited" choices. Yet, like San Francisco, Cambridge also limits the number of candidates that voters may rank in its multiple-seat form of IRV. Plaintiffs ignore the inescapable import of *McSweeney* and *Voters Alliance* at their peril. 50

IV. A Litany of Concocted Constitutional Rights

In seeking to re-litigate *McSweeney* and *Voters Alliance*, Plaintiffs have in effect claimed that three-choice IRV imposes a "severe" burden on two constitutional "rights":

- 1. The "right" to elect a majority winner
- 2. The "right" to participate in a two-person runoff election

A. IRV and Majority Winners

Plaintiffs first quibble that IRV "has repeatedly resulted in the election of candidates who

^{47 &}lt;u>Cf.</u> Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 13 n.8.

Id.; Plantiffs' Decl. of Dr. Jonathan Katz ¶ 14. Contrary to Plaintiffs' consultant's Declaration, Cambridge does not have unlimited-choice IRV. For instance, the city restricts voters to 10 IRV choices for its six-person school board elections. Cambridge sample ballot, RJN Ex. 10, available at http://archive.fairvote.org/media/irv/2001school.pdf (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

⁴⁹ Id.

^{50 &}lt;u>Cf. Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 13 n.8.</u>

gathered less than a majority[.]"⁵¹ While their claims are factually flawed, there is no constitutional right to elect a majority winner. Indeed, the U.S. Constitution does not require that the President be elected with a majority – or even a plurality⁵² – of the popular vote.⁵³ Remarkably, three of the past six Presidential elections were <u>not</u> won by a majority winner: Bill Clinton (1992, 1996) and George W. Bush (2000).⁵⁴

Currently, the most widely used electoral method in California is the plurality system, where the top votegetter wins, even if he or she has not won a majority of the vote. In 2003, Arnold Schwarzenegger was elected California Governor without receiving a majority. ⁵⁵

Unlike plurality systems, San Francisco's IRV system ensures that voters have the opportunity to elect a majority winner – a vast improvement over the nation's predominant, plurality election system. Significantly, before it adopted IRV, San Francisco had used a plurality-based, two-person runoff system. That is, if no one won a majority in the November first-round election, the top two votegetters would advance to a December runoff election.

Ironically, Plaintiff Ron Dudum's <u>pre-IRV</u> campaign for San Francisco Supervisor spotlighted a notorious drawback of the two-round runoff system: the "top two" votegetters might not even receive a majority mandate. In the first-round of that November 2002 election, the <u>top two votegetters</u> did not even win a majority of the vote between them: Plaintiff Dudum finished second with 22.9 percent of the vote, while Fiona Ma finished first with 23.6 percent of

52 <u>See generally Bush v. Gore</u>, 531 U.S. 98 (2000).

⁵¹ Id. 8:25-8:26.

⁵³ U.S. CONST. art. II, § 1; see also Edelstein, 29 Cal. 4th at 183, 56 P.3rd 1020 (Cal. 2002).

Edelstein, 29 Cal. 4th at 183, 56 P.3rd 1020; "Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections," available at http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/ (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

The 2003 recall election results, <u>available at</u> http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/California_gubernatorial_recall_election,_2003#Results (Gov. Schwarzenegger received 48.6 percent of votes cast in the race to succeed Gov. Gray Davis) (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

the vote.⁵⁶ In other words, nearly <u>54 percent</u> of the voters <u>preferred someone *other than* the top</u> two votegetters.

Equally significant, the two-round runoff system frequently failed to produce winners with a majority mandate. During Plaintiff Dudum's unsuccessful 2002 race, voter turnout dropped nearly 20 percent between the November first-round election and the December runoff election.⁵⁷ When compared against the total number of voters who participated in November, the runoff winner (Fiona Ma) did not win a majority of the November turnout.⁵⁸

Similarly, in 2002 San Francisco voter turnout plummeted by an average of 42.3 percent between the November 2000 first-round election and the December 2000 runoff election.⁵⁹

Again, when compared against the total number of voters who participated in November, the runoff winners received a low of 28 percent and a high of 45 percent of the November turnout – with most races in the lower end of this range.⁶⁰ All too often, two-round runoff winners fall short of winning a majority mandate.

By enabling voters to rank their choices in a single, decisive November election, IRV ensures that the winner receives broad support across all communities. In contrast to plurality or two-round runoff systems, San Francisco's three-choice IRV has <u>tripled</u> voters' choices in municipal elections. Consider a hypothetical election using San Francisco's previous two-round

San Francisco Department of Elections, Results Summary Nov. 2002, RJN Ex. 11, available at http://www.sfgov.org/site/elections_index.asp?id=61487 (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

San Francisco Department of Elections, Results Summary Dec. 2002, RJN Ex. 13, available at http://www.sfgov.org/site/elections_index.asp?id=61485 (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

Specifically, 18,078 voters participated in the Nov. 2002 first-round election. In contrast, only 14,751 participated in the Dec. 2002 runoff election (Ma received 8,289 of those votes). When she won in Dec. 2002, Ma thus received 8,289 (46 percent) of the total number of votes (18,078) that had been cast in the Nov. 2002 first-round election. RJN Ex. 11 & 13, supra notes 56 & 57.

Joint FairVote/New America Study, "How IRV Boosts Voter Turnout", RJN Ex. 3, available at http://irvinla.org/latest_news/how-irv-boosts-voter-turnout (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

⁶⁰ Id.

1	runoff system (i.e., the voting system that was used <u>before</u> voters chose to adopt IRV):	
2	Suppose 100 voters cast ballots in a November first-round election with three	
3	candidates (A, B, C). Here are the results from this first-round election:	
4	A: 49 votes	
5	B: 46 votes	
6 7	C: 5 votes	
8	Since no one garnered a majority (51 votes), C is eliminated because he finished	
9	last. The contest then goes to a second-round (runoff) election between the top	
10	two finishers (A and B).	
11	Now suppose only 70 of the original 100 voters return to a December second-	
12		
13	round (runoff) election between A and B. (That is, voter turnout for the December	
14	election drops 30 percent.) ⁶¹	
15	In this runoff election, only 30 of A's original 49 voters turn out to vote; only 36	
16	of B's 46 voters turn out; and only 4 of C's voters turn out (all of C's voters would	
17	have voted for A as a second choice). Here are the results from the December	
18	runoff election:	
19	A: 34 votes (30 of A's 49 first-round voters, plus 4 of C's first-round voters)	
20 21	B: 36 votes (36 of B's 46 first-round voters)	
22	As a result, B wins the runoff election with a "majority" (36 votes out of 70, or 51 percent) of the	
23	vote – even though he did not receive a majority (51 votes) of the 100 votes that had been	
24	originally cast in the first-round election. Instead, B wins with only 36 of the 100 original, first-	
25	round votes.	
26		
27	This hypothetical actually minimizes the drop in voter turnout. In fact, San Francisco's average turnout plummeted by an average of 42.3 percent between the November 2000 first-	
28	round election and the December 2000 runoff election. <u>Id.</u>	

round election and the December 2000 runoff election. <u>Id.</u>

1	In contrast, IRV makes it easier for voters to elect a majority winner, by allowing them to	
2	rank their top three choices in one election, not two. Let's re-run the previous election with San	
3	Francisco's three-choice IRV:	
4	Suppose 100 voters vote for their first, second, and third choices in a November	
5	IRV election with three candidates (A, B, C). Here are the results from the first	
6	round of counting:	
7 8	A: 49 first-choice rankings	
9		
10	B: 46 first-choice rankings	
11	C: 5 first-choice rankings	
12	Since no one garnered a majority (51 votes), C is eliminated because he finished	
13	last.	
14	The contest then goes to an "instant runoff" between the top two finishers (A and	
15	B). This time, all 5 of C's voters have marked A as their second choice. Here are	
16	the results from the second round of counting:	
17	A: 54 votes (49 of A's first-round voters, plus 5 of C's first-round voters)	
18	B: 46 votes (all 46 of B's first-round voters)	
19	As a result, A wins the "instant" runoff, with an <u>absolute</u> majority: 54 votes of the 100 votes that	
20	had been cast.	
2122	Unlike San Francisco's previous two-round runoff system, IRV enabled all 100 original	
23	voters to successfully choose an absolute majority winner. In contrast to B's 36-vote "majority"	
24	in a December runoff, A wins an IRV election with an <u>absolute</u> majority of all voters: 54	
25	effective votes out of all 100 ballots cast.	
26	effective votes out of all 100 ballots cast.	
27	Since 2004, San Francisco's three-choice IRV system has enabled thousands of voters to	
	1	

vote for the "right" (i.e., most popular) candidates.

Yet much to Plaintiffs' chagrin, the Massachusetts Supreme Court has already rejected a "guessing wrong" argument nearly <u>identical</u> to that of Plaintiffs. Since 1941, Cambridge has used a multiple-seat, restricted-choice form of IRV. 66 In *McSweeney*, 67 a losing City Council candidate complained that, because some voters "guessed wrong" and did not vote for a winning candidate, IRV must have violated their constitutional rights. Rejecting his argument, the high court unanimously held "guessing wrong" in an IRV election was no different than "guessing wrong" in a two-round runoff election:

...[Plaintiff] is referring to those ballots that were "exhausted." It is not correct to say that those ballots are "not counted at all." They too are read and counted; they just do not count toward the election of any of the nine successful candidates.

Therefore it is no more accurate to say that these ballots are not counted than to say that the ballots designating a losing candidate in a two-person, winner-take-all race [i.e., two-person runoff election] are not counted. 68

Simply put, there is no constitutional right against "guessing wrong" in <u>any</u> election system.

To be sure, supporters of third-party candidates Ross Perot (in 1992) or Ralph Nader (in 2000) would have <u>welcomed</u> a constitutional right to vote in a three-choice IRV election, rather

Contrary to Plaintiffs' consultant's Declaration, Cambridge does not have unlimited-choice IRV. For instance, it restricts voters to 10 IRV choices for its six-person school board elections. DeLeon Decl. ¶ 23; Cambridge sample ballot, RJN Ex. 10, available at http://archive.fairvote.org/media/irv/2001school.pdf (last visited Feb. 25, 2010); contra, Plantiffs' Declaration of Dr. Jonathan Katz ¶ 14.

McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d at 14.

Id. at 14 (emphases added). Since there is no constitutional right to participate in a two-person runoff election, neither <u>Ayers-Schaffner v. Distefano</u> nor <u>Partnoy v. Shelley</u> apply to this case. <u>Ayers-Schaffner v. Distefano</u>, 37 F.3d 726 (1st Cir. 1994) (all voters have a constitutional right to participate in an election, irrespective of whether or not they participated in any previous election); <u>Partnoy v. Shelley</u>, 277 F.Supp.2d 1064 (S.D.Cal. 2003) (all voters have a constitutional right to vote on a ballot question, irrespective of whether or not they voted on a previous ballot question); <u>contra</u>, Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 14:9-15:12.

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t. of Elections, available at (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

co State University, where he taught NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION'S BRIEF AS AMICUS CURIAE 10-CV-00504-SI

1	the following three types of ballots to his category of "exhausted" ballots: ⁷³	
2	(1) "undervote" – a ballot cast in which a voter voted in one race (e.g., President),	
3	but abstained from voting in another race (e.g., San Francisco Supervisor)	
4	(2) "overvote" – whether in IRV or non-IRV elections, a ballot that is invalidated	
5		
6	because a voter erroneously marked more than one candidate (e.g., a voter	
7	erroneously marks John McCain and Barack Obama as his or her first choice	
8	for President)	
9	(3) ballots in which voters chose to mark <u>fewer than 3 choices</u> . This is analogous	
10	to not voting in the second (runoff) round of a two-round runoff election	
11	(which San Francisco used before adopting IRV).	
12	Astoundingly, a whopping 86 percent of Plaintiffs' purported "exhausted" ballots – 5,183 out of	
13		
14	6,010 – were <u>not in fact "exhausted"</u> during Plaintiff Dudum's unsuccessful 2006 race: ⁷⁴	
15	(a) 2,171 of the 6,010 so-called "exhausted" ballots were, in fact, from	
16	undervotes and overvotes.	
17	(b) Additionally, 3,012 of the ballots did <u>not</u> contain three rankings and were	
18	"voluntarily" exhausted. Namely, the voters voluntarily chose not to rank a	
19	second or third choice.	
20	(c) In other words, 5,183 of the 6,010 "exhausted" ballots were not actually	
21		
22	"exhausted." Ranking candidates is an option, and voters are under no	
23	obligation to use all their rankings.	
24	political science for 35 years with a focus on American government and urban politics. He is the	
25	founder of the Public Research Institute at San Francisco State University and served as Director from 1984 to 1994. He is the author of numerous journal articles and book chapters about urban	
26	politics and politics in San Francisco, and has conducted and reported on research specifically about IRV. (DeLeon Decl. ¶¶ 5-8.)	
27	$\frac{73}{\text{Id.}}$ at ¶ 18.	
28	⁷⁴ <u>Id.</u> at ¶ 21.	

1	Burdick effectively ruled that state election regulations may restrict the voters' choice of
2	candidates, as long as the states proffered "important regulatory interests." 80
3	Burdick robs Plaintiffs' lawsuit of its raison d'etre. Indeed, limiting a voter to three IRV
4	choices is child's play compared to <u>banning</u> voters outright from voting for certain candidates.
5	What is more, the Minnesota Supreme Court recognized that three-choice IRV promotes a host of
67	"legitimate interests":
8	Reducing the costs and inconvenience to voters, candidates, and taxpayers by
9	
	holding one election, <u>increasing voter turnout</u> , <u>encouraging less divisive</u>
10	campaigns, and fostering greater minority representation in multiple-seat elections
11	are all legitimate interests for the City to foster.81
12 13	In addition, the Minnesota high court took note of three additional interests that IRV could serve:
14	(1) IRV promotes the election of candidates with majority mandates, eliminating
15	plurality winners in one-seat races;
16	(2) IRV eliminates the "spoiler" effect of third-party candidacies; and
17	(3) IRV helps insure more diverse representation by promoting minority
18	representation in multiple-seat races. ⁸²
19 20	Finally, San Francisco had a "legitimate interest" to limit voters to a maximum of three
21 22	elections). San Francisco allows voters to rank write-in candidates in its IRV elections. S.F. Charter § 13.102(b), RJN Ex. 12 ("The [IRV] ballot shall in no way interfere with a voter's ability to cast a vote for a write-in candidate.").
23	Burdick, 504 U.S. at 428 (quoted by Voters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 689).
24	Noters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 697 (emphases added). See also McSweeney, 665 N.E.2d at 15 ("Indeed, [multiple-seat IRV], far from seeking to infringe on each citizen's equal franchise seeks more accurately to reflect voter sentiment and "to provide for the representation of minority
25 26 27	groups in the municipal council or to enlarge the possibility of a voter's being represented therein by giving [the voter] an opportunity to express more than one preference among candidates." This purpose is not a derogation from the principle of equality but an attempt to reflect it with more exquisite accuracy") (emphases added) (quoting Moore, 309 Mass. at 324, 331, 35 N.E.2d 222).
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<u>Id.</u>

IRV rankings. In 2004, when San Francisco implemented IRV, the existing voting equipment could not handle more than three IRV choices. 83 San Francisco decided to continue using that voting equipment, because the equipment (1) gave voters the chance to correct errors in their first-choice IRV rankings at the polling station, and (2) made it possible for San Francisco to report election-night results for the voters' first-choice IRV rankings.⁸⁴ Both interests – preventing voter disenfranchisement and ensuring timely tabulation and reporting of election results – amply qualify as "legitimate interests" served by three-choice IRV. Therefore, San Francisco's three-choice IRV did not – and does not – violate any rights protected under the First or Fourteenth Amendments, whether under the Equal Protection Clause or Due Process Clause.⁸⁵

VII. Conclusion

While they are constitutionally entitled to their opinions about IRV, Plaintiffs have brought their case to the wrong forum. At best, Plaintiffs' fatally flawed lawsuit levies a political argument against IRV – which the voters, and not a court, should decide. Far from defending any constitutional rights, Plaintiffs' disingenuous agenda becomes readily apparent. Namely, Plaintiff Dudum and his fellow litigants wish to foist 86 two-round runoff elections on San Francisco – the same, problematic voting system that an absolute majority of voters abolished⁸⁷ nearly a decade ago.

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At the time IRV was implemented, San Francisco was using the following voting equipment: Optech Eagles, manufactured by ES&S. That equipment could not machine-count more than three IRV rankings. Hill Decl. ¶¶ 5-6.

⁸⁴ See id.

Burdick, 504 U.S. at 428-29. Moreover, since Plaintiffs have failed to show that threechoice IRV has disenfranchised any voters, the extensive Due Process Clause jurisprudence invoked by Plaintiffs does not apply to this case. Contra, Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 17:17-18:27.

In their Moving Papers, Plaintiffs in effect make San Francisco a settlement offer of "return[ing] to a traditional [two-round] runoff system like that used in the years prior to the adoption of [IRV]". Plaintiffs' Moving Papers 21:11-21:14 (emphases added).

[&]quot;San Francisco Successfully Uses Ranked Choice Voting for Citywide Elections," Nov. 2005, available at http://www.sfrcv.com/ (last visited Feb. 25, 2010).

1	When it unanimously upheld Minneapolis voters' right to adopt and use three-choice IRV
2	the Minnesota Supreme Court concluded with a keen observation:
3	Many reasons might be given why this legislation should not have been passed by
4	the people. With its wisdom we are not concerned. The only question is whether
5	this community had the constitutional right to adopt this plan of election. The
6	
7	voters of Minneapolis chose to adopt the IRV method. We conclude that this
8	facial challenge to the constitutionality of the IRV method fails. ⁸⁸
9	In 2002, San Francisco voters exercised their constitutional right to adopt IRV. A frivolous,
10	"sour grapes" lawsuit should not spoil the fruits of their success.
11	Respectfully submitted,
12	Dated: February 26, 2010 NEW AMERICA FOUNDATION
13	By: /s/ Gautam Dutta
14	GAUTAM DUTTA
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16	Attorney for Amicus Curiae,
17	New America Foundation
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28	Noters Alliance, 766 N.W.2d at 689 (emphases added, citations and quotations omitted).
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