# RESOURCE MATERIALS for PRIMARIES in MARYLAND: Open vs. Closed? Top Two/Four or by Party? Plurality or Majority?

## 1. LWV PRIMARY ELECTION POSITION AND BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

#### LWV Positions and Studies:

LWV of the District of Columbia. *Election Process in the District of Columbia*. 2013-15. http://www.lwvdc.org/election-systems-study

LWV of Maryland. *Government Positions* (Election Process, Primary Elections, Election Districts, Term Limits, Redistricting, Voting Rights and Election Administration, Filling Vacancies in the General Assembly, Fair Campaigns.)

http://www.lwvmd.org/government\_main

LWV of Maryland. Fact Sheet: Redistricting and Reapportionment, 2004 LWV of Maryland. Fact Sheet: Voter Participation in Maryland, 2000 http://www.lwvmd.org/fact\_sheets

LWV of Montgomery County, MD. Alternative Election Study: Counting Votes So Every Vote Counts, Topic 1 - Dec. 2007 and Topic 2 – May 2008 http://www.lwvmocomd.org/fact\_sheets

LWV of Montgomery County, MD. *Montgomery County Policy Positions*. <a href="http://www.lwvmocomd.org/moco\_positions">http://www.lwvmocomd.org/moco\_positions</a>, then link to Election Process

LWV of Oregon.Education Fund. *Election Methods:Review of Alternatives and Oregon Proposals*, 2008.

http://lwvor.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/ElectionMethods2008.pdf

LWV of Oregon.Education Fund. *Elections Methods Study Update 2016*<a href="http://lwvor.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Elections-Methods-Study-2016-Updated-Feb-2017.pdf">http://lwvor.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Elections-Methods-Study-2016-Updated-Feb-2017.pdf</a>

LWV of the United States. Summary of Public Policy Positions and Representative Government discussion in *Impact on Issues, 2016-2018: A Guide to Public Policy Positions.* 

http://lwv.org/content/summary-public-policy-positions and http://lwv.org/content/representative-government

LWV of Washington State Citizen Education Fund. *An Evaluation of Major Election Methods and Selected State Laws, Nov. 2000.* 

http://www.seattlelwv.org/files/emstudy 0.pdf

LWV of Washington, DC. *Elections Systems, 2013-2015.* http://www.lwvdc.org/election-systems-study

# Registration, Party and Election Data

Election Day registration numbers and party affiliations were extracted from current and historical data of the Maryland State Board of Elections at

http://elections.state.md.us/voter\_registration/stats.html

Primary Election Registration by Party/Unaffiliated Status and Overall Turnout, 1996-2016. Compiled from individual election pages' turnout statistics accessible <a href="http://elections.state.md.us/elections/2018/index.html">http://elections.state.md.us/elections/2018/index.html</a>

2016 Presidential Primary Election. Provisional Voting.

http://www.elections.state.md.us/elections/2016/turnout/primary/Provisional%20Voting%20by%20County.pdf

Cox, Erin, "Md. GOP considering open primary," *Baltimore Sun*, July 17, 2013 <a href="http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-gop-open-primary-20130717-story.html">http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-gop-open-primary-20130717-story.html</a>

Cox, Erin. "Amid partisan acrimony, independent voters on the rise in Maryland," *Baltimore Sun*, October 28, 2016.

http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-independent-voters-20161029-story.html

Kovac, Jackalyn. League of Women Voters Studying Possibilities for Increased Voter Turnout, ABC-3 WEAR-TV, Pensacola Florida, Wednesday, November 16th 2016. <a href="http://weartv.com/news/local/league-of-women-voters-studying-possibilities-for-increased-voter-turnout">http://weartv.com/news/local/league-of-women-voters-studying-possibilities-for-increased-voter-turnout</a>

Maryland Manual. *County Government* chapters. http://msa.maryland.gov/msa/mdmanual/01glance/html/county.html

# Cost of Primary Election

Analysis of the FY 2017 Maryland Executive Budget, State Board of Elections , 2016. http://mgaleg.maryland.gov/Pubs/BudgetFiscal/2017fy-budget-docs-operating-D38I01-State-Board-of-Elections.pdf

Bureau of the Budget and Management Research. City of Baltimore. Further Steps
Needed to Improve Cost-Effectiveness of the Conduct of Elections, January
<a href="http://bbmr.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/Board%20of%20Elections%20Rep">http://bbmr.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/Board%20of%20Elections%20Rep</a>
ort Final.pdf

Cost and Finance of Elections. As presented to the CalTech-MIT/Voting Technology Conference 2001, March 30, 2001.

http://people.hss.caltech.edu/~voting/hawkins\_present.pdf

- Election Center, *Checklist: Cost of Elections*, January 2010 <a href="https://www.electioncenter.org/EPC/Cost">https://www.electioncenter.org/EPC/Cost</a> of Elections 8.pdf
- Gripp, Andrew. "The Story Behind Why You Have to Pay for Party Primaries," *Electoral Reform*, July 30, 2015. <a href="https://ivn.us/2015/07/30/story-behind-pay-party-primaries/">https://ivn.us/2015/07/30/story-behind-pay-party-primaries/</a>
- Maryland General Assembly. *Appendix to Fiscal and Policy Note, HB 1018, 2015.* mgaleg.maryland.gov/2015RS/fnotes/bil\_0008/hb1018.pdf
- National Conference of State Legislatures. *Election Costs: What States Pay,* 7/21/2017 <a href="http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/election-costs.aspx">http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/election-costs.aspx</a>
- Open Primaries. *Taxpayer Costs of Closed Primaries*, 2016. http://www.openprimaries.org/taxpayer costs of closed primaries

Saltman, Roy G. "How Much Do Localities Spend on Elections?," *Nieman Watchdog: Ask This*, February 16, 2006.

<u>http://www.niemanwatchdog.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ask\_this.view&askthisid=175</u>

Tuttle, Brad. "How Much Election Day Costs the Country—and Voters," *Money,* November 8, 2016

http://time.com/money/4556642/election-day-2016-costs-country-voters/

#### 2. HISTORY & ROLE OF THE PRIMARY SYSTEM AND ACCESS TO THE BALLOT

### Role of the Political Party in Primaries

Historical Background of the Primary Election System in the U.S. Aceproject.org

National Conference of State Legislatures. *State Primary Election Types*, 7/21/2016 <a href="http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/primary-types.aspx">http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/primary-types.aspx</a>

#### Access to the Ballot

Report of the Commission to Revise the Election Code, December,1997.

<a href="http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000113/004000/0">http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000113/004000/0</a>
04416/unrestricted/20071254e.pdf

Report of the Task Force to Review the State's Election Law, December 13, 1995. http://msa.maryland.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc5300/sc5339/000113/004000/004414/unrestricted/20071252e.pdf

State of Maryland. General Assembly. Legislation by Session.

<a href="http://mgaleg.maryland.gov/webmga/frmLegislation.aspx?pid=legisnpage&tab=s">http://mgaleg.maryland.gov/webmga/frmLegislation.aspx?pid=legisnpage&tab=s</a>

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State of Maryland. State Board of Elections. Candidacy.

<a href="http://www.elections.state.md.us/candidacy/requirements.html">http://www.elections.state.md.us/candidacy/requirements.html</a>

http://www.elections.state.md.us/candidacy/index.html

State of Maryland. State Board of Elections. *Election Law and Regulations*. <a href="http://www.elections.state.md.us/laws\_and\_regs/election\_law.html">http://www.elections.state.md.us/laws\_and\_regs/election\_law.html</a>

#### 3. EVALUATING AN ELECTION SYSTEM

Fair Vote. Comparative Structural Reform: Assessing the Impact of 37 Structural Reforms, 2016.

http://www.fairvote.org/comparative-structural-reform

The following Project Documents are the ones most relevant to our study and were provided to the political scientist researchers. Other primary changes affecting election and governing aspects are discussed in the remaining surveys.:

Survey #2 - Reforms Directly Affecting Independents and Minor Parties (3 Reforms)

<u>Background and Annotated Bibliography</u>

<u>FairVote's Opening Assessment and Ratings</u>

Survey # 4 - Open Primaries & Independent Primary (2 Reforms)

<u>Background and Annotated Bibliography</u>

FairVote's Opening Assessment and Ratings

Survey #5 - Eliminating Primaries (4 Reforms)

<u>Background and Annotated Bibliography</u>

FairVote's Opening Assessment and Ratings

Survey #7 - Ranked Choice Voting (RCV) in Primaries and General Elections (1 Reform)

Background and Annotated Bibliography
FairVote's Opening Assessment and Ratings

Survey #8 - Variations of Top-Two (4 Reforms)

Background and Annotated Bibliography
FairVote's Opening Assessment and Ratings

The appendices also provide several good overviews:

Appendix Table A1. Summary Measures, By Reform Type, pages 31-33 of the report, provides a ranking of the impact of all 37 reforms in an overall category, and for each of the four criteria categories: Legislative Functionality, Electoral Accountability, Voter Engagement, and Openness of Process. The last column lists the overall impact ranking of the 37 reforms.

The second appendix has the impacts in a question format, then a list of the reforms that are most likely to have an effect, e.g. How would the reform impact the openness of process overall?

The last appendix, Description of Reforms Studied, pages 45-52, provides a short summary of each of the 37 reforms, often including how it currently is being practiced.

LWV of Montgomery County, MD. Alternative Election Study: Counting Votes So Every Vote Counts, Topic 1 - Dec. 2007 and Topic 2 – May 2008. http://www.lwvmocomd.org/fact\_sheets

LWV of Montgomery County, MD. *Montgomery County Policy Positions*. <a href="http://www.lwvmocomd.org/moco\_positions">http://www.lwvmocomd.org/moco\_positions</a>, then link to Election Process

LWV of Oregon. *Elections Methods Study*. See Appendix 5 for positions and criteria of other League studies

http://lwvor.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Elections-Methods-Study-2016-Updated-Feb-2017.pdf

#### 4. TYPES OF PRIMARY ELECTIONS

National Conference of State Legislatures. *State Primary Election Types*, July, 21, 2016.

http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/primary-types.aspx

National Conference of State Legislatures , *State Primary Election Systems*, June 2016. www.ncsl.org/documents/Elections/Primary\_Types\_Table\_2016.pdf

Sharnak, Debbie. "What Are the Different Types of Primary Elections?," *Electoral Reform*, Jan 16, 2014.

https://ivn.us/2014/01/16/what-are-the-different-types-of-primary-elections/

### 5. STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF EACH PRIMARY ELECTION SYSTEM

Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research. *The Frustrated Public:*Views of the 2016 Campaign, the Parties, and the Electoral Process: Issue Brief
<a href="http://www.apnorc.org/projects/Pages/HTML%20Reports/the-frustrated-public-americans-views-of-the-election-issue-brief.aspx">http://www.apnorc.org/projects/Pages/HTML%20Reports/the-frustrated-public-americans-views-of-the-election-issue-brief.aspx</a>

Berman, Russell. "What If the Parties Didn't Run Primaries? Building off Success in Nebraska and California, Advocates Want to Take Nonpartisan Elections Nationwide," *The Atlantic*, October 19, 2015.

https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2015/10/what-if-the-parties-didnt-run-primaries/411022/

Brown-Dean, Khalilah, Zoltan Hajnal, Christina Rivers, and Ismail White. *50 Years of the Voting Rights Act: The State of Race in Politics*, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. 2015, 46 pp. . Summary and pdf:

http://jointcenter.org/blog/50-years-voting-rights-act

California Proposition 14, Top Two Primaries Act, BallotPedia, June 2010.

<a href="https://ballotpedia.org/California">https://ballotpedia.org/California</a> Proposition 14, Top Two Primaries Act (June 2010)

Gemma, Peter. "Voters Lose In An Open Primary," *The Daily Caller*, March 31, 2017. http://dailycaller.com/2017/03/31/voters-lose-in-an-open-primary/

McGhee, Eric. Assessing the Top Two Primary, Public Policy Institute of California June 9. 2016.

http://www.ppic.org/blog/assessing-the-top-two-primary/

McGhee, Eric, Boris Shor and Encina Hall. *Has The Top Two Primary Elected More Moderates?*, Stanford Center for Democracy, Development and Rule of Law (CCDRL) Working Papers, June 2016.

http://cddrl.fsi.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/amdem- 1.pdf

Richie, Rob and Cameron Ferrante, "Reforms to Improve California's Top Two Primary System," *FairVote Policy Perspective*, April 2015.

California-Top-Two-Policy-Jacket-4.10.15-FINAL.pdf

Richie, Rob, Ethan Fitzgerald, and Peter Jarka-Sellars. *California's 2016 Top Two Primary Results at a Glance*, FairVote, June 10, 2016 http://www.fairvote.org/california\_s\_2016\_top\_two\_primary\_results\_at\_a\_glance

Spencer, Drew. "The Top Two System in Action: Washington State, 2008-2012," FairVote Research Report, July 2013

https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/top-two-in-wa-state

Spencer, Drew and Rob Richie. "Fixing Top Two in California: The 2012 Elections and a Prescription for Further Reform," *FairVote Policy Perspective*, June 18, 2013 <a href="https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/fixing-top-two-in-CA">https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/fixing-top-two-in-CA</a>

Top Four, FairVote.

www.fairvote.org/top4#why\_top\_four

# Effect of Primaries on Bipartisanship

Gruber, Jeremy. The Myth of the Red State: Policy over Party in the Nebraska State Capitol.

http://www.openprimaries.org/research\_nebraska

Olson, Jason D. and Omar H. Ali. *A Quiet Revolution: The Early Success of California's Top Two Nonpartisan Primary*. Open Primaries, 2015. 14 pp. Summary, pdf <a href="http://www.openprimaries.org/research\_california">http://www.openprimaries.org/research\_california</a>

Schwarzenegger Institute Report: *Evaluating California's Top-Two Primary.* University of California / Price School of Public Policy

<u>http://issuu.com/robquigley/docs/schwarzinst\_policy\_report-c\_grose\_-</u>/9?e=24160369/34487619;

#### 6. COUNTING VOTES

## Plurality vs. Majority

FairVote. Approval Voting vs.Instant Runoff Voting. http://archive.fairvote.org/irv/approval.htm

National Conference of State Legislatures, *Alternative Voting Systems*.

<a href="http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/alternative-voting-systems.aspx">http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/alternative-voting-systems.aspx</a>

National Conference of State Legislatures. *Primary Run-offs*. http://www.ncsl.org/research/elections-and-campaigns/primary-runoffs.aspx

State of Maryland. Board of Elections. 2016 Congressional District 8 Primary Election Results.

http://elections.state.md.us/elections/2016/results/primary/gen\_results\_2016\_3\_0 0808.html

# Run-off Election vs. Ranked Choice Voting

Fair Vote offers several different videos of how instant runoff or ranked voting works:

<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_5SLQXNpzsk">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_5SLQXNpzsk</a>

<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wqblOq8BmgM">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wqblOq8BmgM</a>

FairVote. Federal Primary Runoff Elections and Voter Turnout Declines, 1994 – 2016, December 02, 2016.

https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/federalprimaryrunoffs2016

FairVote. *The Impact of Ranked Choice Voting on Representation,* Posted on September 12, 2016.

http://www.fairvote.org/the\_impact\_of\_ranked\_choice\_voting\_on\_representation

FairVote. *RCV vs Other Voting Systems – By the Numbers,* March 24, 2015. http://www.fairvote.org/rcv-vs-other-voting-systems-by-the-numbers LWV of the District of Columbia. *Election Process in the District of Columbia*. 2013-15. http://www.lwvdc.org/election-systems-study

McGinty, Jo Craven, "Third-Party Choice Needn't Be Spoiler," *Wall Street Journal*, September 10-11, 2016, p. A2.

https://www.wsj.com/articles/third-party-candidates-dont-have-to-be-spoilers-1473436855

Wikipedia. *Election results*, 6<sup>th</sup> Congressional District Special Election.

<a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgia%27s">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgia%27s</a> 6th congressional district special election, 2017

## Maine Initiative for Ranked Choice Voting

Ballotpedia. Maine Ranked Choice Voting Initiative, Question 5 (2016). <a href="https://ballotpedia.org/Maine Ranked Choice Voting Initiative">https://ballotpedia.org/Maine Ranked Choice Voting Initiative</a>, Question 5 (2016);

Villeneuve, Marina. "Ranked Choice Voting Stays Alive In Maine For Now," Associated Press, July 16, 2017

https://www.boston.com/news/politics/2017/07/16/ranked-choice-voting-stays-alive-in-maine-for-now

#### 7. IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

FairVote. Voters Understand Ranked Choice Voting: Evidence from Voter Surveys and Official Election Results, February 2015

https://fairvote.app.box.com/v/voter-understanding-rcv