



City of Salisbury Electoral Reform

An Analysis of Alternative Election Models

Prepared by:

Jialin Fu, Peisen Liu, Zhonghan Pan, Ujagar Pratap Singh, Dehai Wang

Johns Hopkins University, Whiting School of Engineering
January 2026

Purpose and Scope of the Analysis

The Structural Challenge

Salisbury's first-past-the-post model allows a candidate to win by receiving the most votes, even when preferences are split among multiple candidates.

Majority Consensus Gap

In multi-candidate races, it is possible for a winner to take office without securing a true majority (>50%) of the vote.

Incentive Structure

This dynamic can encourage candidates to appeal to narrow constituencies rather than the electorate as a whole.

Purpose of This Analysis

To examine alternative electoral models (e.g., Primaries, Ranked Choice, Runoffs) and assess how different institutional designs may influence the extent to which municipal election outcomes reflect broad voter preferences.

Salisbury Demographics and Civic Profile



Demographic & Socioeconomic Profile

29.9

Younger Population:

Salisbury's median age is 29.9, substantially lower than Maryland's median of 39.8 (34,000 residents).

25.7%

High Renter Share:

Only 25.7% of housing units are owner-occupied, meaning **74%** of residents are renters (vs. ~65% nationally).

24.8%

Elevated Poverty Rate:

The poverty rate is 24.8%, more than double the statewide rate of ~9.5%.

Context: This unique demographic mix—students, renters, and lower-income residents — creates a specific context for analyzing voter engagement and turnout patterns.

Source: [Census Reporter \(ACS 2019–2023\)](#); [U.S. Census Bureau, QuickFacts \(Salisbury City, MD\)](#)

Electoral Structure & Participation

System Design

Candidates run in a non-partisan general election where the top vote-getter wins (plurality), with no runoff required if no one secures 50%.

Turnout Disparity

Municipal elections frequently see turnout in the low to mid teens, whereas presidential election turnout in the city often exceeds ~70%.

2023 Election Outcome

The most recent mayoral election illustrates the plurality outcome, where the winner secured the seat with 36.2% of the total vote.

| Candidate | Votes | % of Total |
|---------------------|-------|------------|
| Randy Taylor | 1,150 | 36.2% |
| Megan Outten | 1,100 | 34.6% |
| Jermichael Mitchell | 914 | 28.8% |

Source: [WBOC News \(2023, November 17\)](#); [City of Salisbury Election Board, Unofficial 2023 Municipal General Election Results](#)

Election Timing & Participation Correlations

Current Schedule

Salisbury holds municipal elections in odd-numbered years ("off-cycle"), separate from state and federal voting cycles.

Timing Effect

National research identifies election timing as a strong predictor of voter participation levels.

Impact of Alignment

Data indicates that moving local elections "on-cycle" (aligned with federal dates) can significantly increase turnout—in some studies nearly tripling participation [from ~25.5% to ~75.8%](#).

Demographic Reach

"On-cycle" elections are associated with broader representation, often drawing higher participation from younger voters and renters compared to standalone local contests.

Alternative Electoral Models



Primary Election Formats

Primaries determine **who can vote** and **which candidates** move on to the general election.

| Format | Who Can Vote | Key Features |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| Closed Two-Party Primary | Only registered party members | Independents cannot vote; party chooses nominees internally |
| Semi-Open Primary | Party members + unaffiliated voters | Unaffiliated voters can pick one party to vote in; each voter gets one ballot |
| Open Primary | All voters, regardless of registration | Voters choose any party's primary on election day; cross-party participation allowed |

- **Closed primaries** give registered partisans full control over nominee selection.
- **Semi-open primaries** expand access without letting voters vote in multiple primaries.
- **Open primaries** allow the widest voter participation and encourage candidates to appeal broadly.

Voting Methods & Winner Determination

These systems determine **how voters express preferences** and **how winners are chosen**.

| Method | How It Works | Key Features |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| Ranked-Choice Voting (RCV) | Voters rank candidates in order of preference | If no one gets a majority, the candidate with the fewest votes is eliminated and votes are redistributed; repeat until a candidate gets >50% |
| Runoff Elections | Two-round system | If no candidate wins a majority in the first election, the top two candidates go to a second election; the majority winner of the runoff wins the seat |

- **RCV** avoids a separate runoff while capturing broader voter preferences.
- **Runoff elections** guarantee a majority winner but require a second election round.
- Both methods encourage candidates to appeal to a wider range of voters.

Comparison of Electoral Models

| Factor | Closed Primary | Semi-Open Primary | Open Primary | RCV | Runoff |
|------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Majority Support Alignment | Low | Low | Low | High | High |
| Administrative Complexity | Low | Medium | Medium | High (upfront) | High (ongoing) |
| Cost | Low | Low | Medium | Medium | High |
| Impact on Candidate Behavior | Narrow | Moderate | Broad | Coalition-oriented | Strategic consolidation |
| Voter Participation | Neutral | Neutral | Positive | Neutral | Negative |

***Administrative complexity** reflects setup requirements, staffing and logistics, cost, and number of election events.

Key to Qualitative Ratings:

The qualitative ratings in the table (Low, Medium, High) indicate the relative degree of change or impact associated with each electoral model, compared to current Maryland election practices.

- **Low:** Minimal change from existing practices; limited administrative, legal, or behavioral impact
- **Medium:** Moderate change requiring some adjustments to administration, procedures, or voter experience
- **High:** Substantial change involving significant procedural, administrative, or strategic differences

Key Takeaways from the Comparison Matrix

Closed primaries are simplest to administer but may favor candidates appealing only to the party base.

1

RCV concentrates complexity upfront (ballot design, programming, voter education) while operating as a single election.

4

Open and semi-open primaries broaden participation and encourage wider candidate appeal, while reducing strict party control.

2

Runoffs shift complexity over time, requiring a second election day with added staffing, logistics, and cost.

5

RCV and runoff elections both align outcomes more closely with majority voter preferences, but they do so through different administrative paths.

3

Simpler primary systems are easier to run, but tend to reward candidates who focus on narrower voter bases rather than broad coalitions.

6

Comparative Analysis of Municipal Electoral Systems

Why Look at Other Cities?

01

Salisbury is not unique in facing low municipal turnout

02

Many similar cities encounter comparable challenges

03

Other cities have tried different electoral systems and formats



What Do These Cities Have in Common?

■ Small to mid-sized municipalities (10k - 90k people)

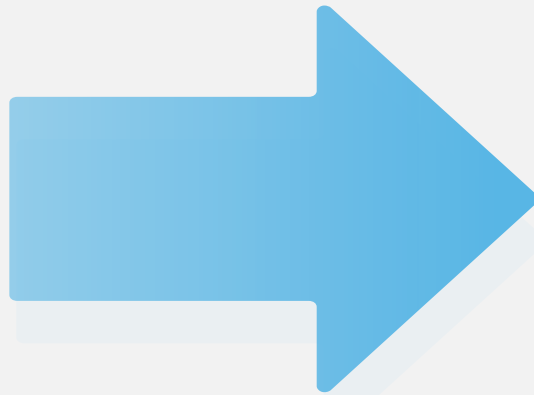
■ Mayor - council forms of local government

■ Shared regional context and largely similar state legal frameworks (mostly Maryland)

| City | Population |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Salisbury, MD | <u>33k</u> |
| Dover, DE | <u>40k</u> |
| Cumberland, MD | <u>19k</u> |
| Bel Air, MD | <u>11k</u> |
| Takoma Park, MD | <u>18k</u> |
| Hagerstown, MD | <u>44k</u> |
| Annapolis, MD | <u>41k</u> |
| Frederick, MD | <u>90k</u> |

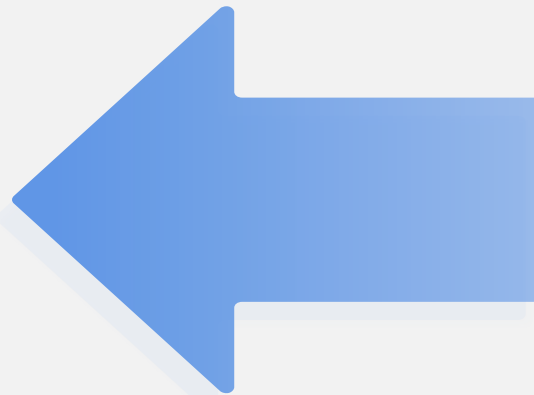
A Key Distinction: When Elections Are Held?

Some cities hold municipal elections on **standalone dates**



Lower voter participation

Higher turnout



Other cities align municipal elections with state or national elections

Master Data: Comparative Electoral Systems & Demographics

| City | Election Year | Mayor Winner % / Turnout | Election Timing | Core System | Pop. / Income / Poverty | Analyst Notes |
|-----------------|---------------|---|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| Salisbury, MD | 2023 | 36.2% / 18.22% | Odd-Year (Off-Cycle) | Plurality (Nonpartisan) | 33k / \$56k / 24.8% | Baseline: Low mandate & turnout. Hampered by vote splitting and off-cycle timing. |
| Dover, DE | 2023 | 63.1% / N/A (municipal turnout not published) | Odd-Year (April) | Plurality (Nonpartisan) | 40k / \$58k / 17.5% | Structural Twin: Irregular mayoral contest availability and limited competition under off-cycle April elections. |
| Cumberland, MD | 2022 | 100% / N/A | Even-Year (Nov) | Plurality (Nonpartisan) | 19k / \$48k / 23.0% | Low-Income Model: Even-year alignment increases the scale and visibility of the mayoral electorate, but does not guarantee competition. |
| Bel Air, MD | 2023 | 84% / 14.89% | Odd-Year (Nov) | Plurality (Vote-for-2) | 11k / \$89k / 7.4% | Off-Cycle Warning: Wealthy population, yet turnout is abysmal due to odd-year timing. Proof that demographics alone do not drive turnout. |
| Takoma Park, MD | 2022 | 52.1% (first-choice) / 49.8% | Even-Year (Nov) | RCV (Ranked Choice) | 18k / \$98k / 10.1% | Gold Standard: RCV ensures >50% mandate. Aligned timing + Mail-in ballots drive ~50% turnout. |
| Hagerstown, MD | 2024 | 69.2% / N/A (city turnout not published) | Even-Year (Nov) | Primary (Top-2) | 44k / \$50k / 22.7% | Best Peer Case: Similar size/economy to Salisbury. Solved the "mandate" issue via Top-2 Primary and Alignment. |
| Annapolis, MD | 2021 | 72.7% / 40.0% | Odd-Year (Nov) | Primary + General | 41k / \$104k / 7.2% | Political Hub: High engagement maintained by partisan-style primaries and capital city status. |
| Frederick, MD | 2021 | 69.4% / 21.8% | Odd-Year (Nov) | Partisan (Dem/Rep) | 90k / \$95k / 9.4% | Partisan Model: Partisan labels correlate with clearer choice and consistently higher winner vote shares, though turnout remains capped by off-cycle timing. |

- Turnout percentages are reported only where a certified municipal registered-voter denominator is published.
- “N/A” indicates that city-level turnout was not released in the certified election summaries.



Election timing is closely
associated with voter
turnout levels



Cities with similar
populations can have very
different turnout patterns

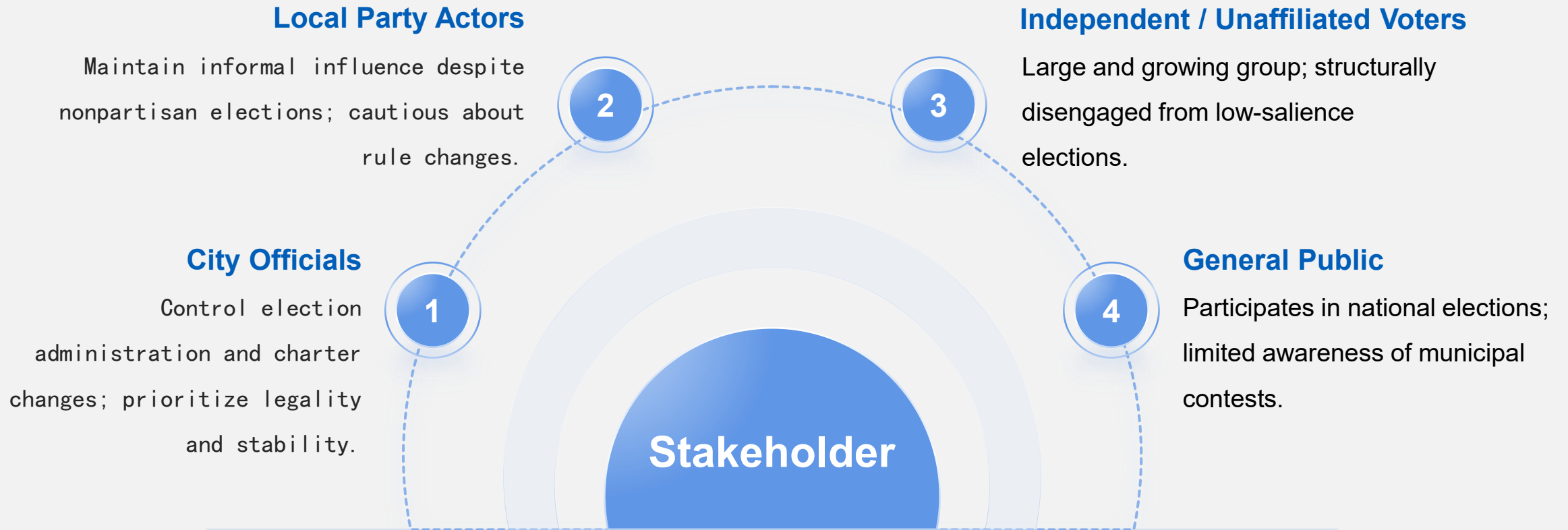


Institutional structure
matters more than city
size or income

**What This Comparison
Tells Us?**

Stakeholder, Voters, and Institutional Constraints

Stakeholder Landscape in Salisbury Municipal Elections



Key Insight:

No stakeholder group is actively pushing for reform; overall engagement is low.

Nonpartisan Elections & Participation Outcomes

Significant Independent Presence

Independents/unaffiliated voters account for roughly 27-31% of registered voters nationwide



Maryland Trend

More than 22% of registered voters in Maryland are classified as unaffiliated

Rising Among New Voters

In 2025, more than 36% of newly registered Maryland voters chose to register as unaffiliated

Local vs Statewide Participation

Salisbury Municipal Elections

- 2023 Salisbury municipal general election: [18.2% turnout](#)
- 2019 municipal election: [17.6% turnout](#)
- 2015 municipal election: [~12% turnout](#)

VS

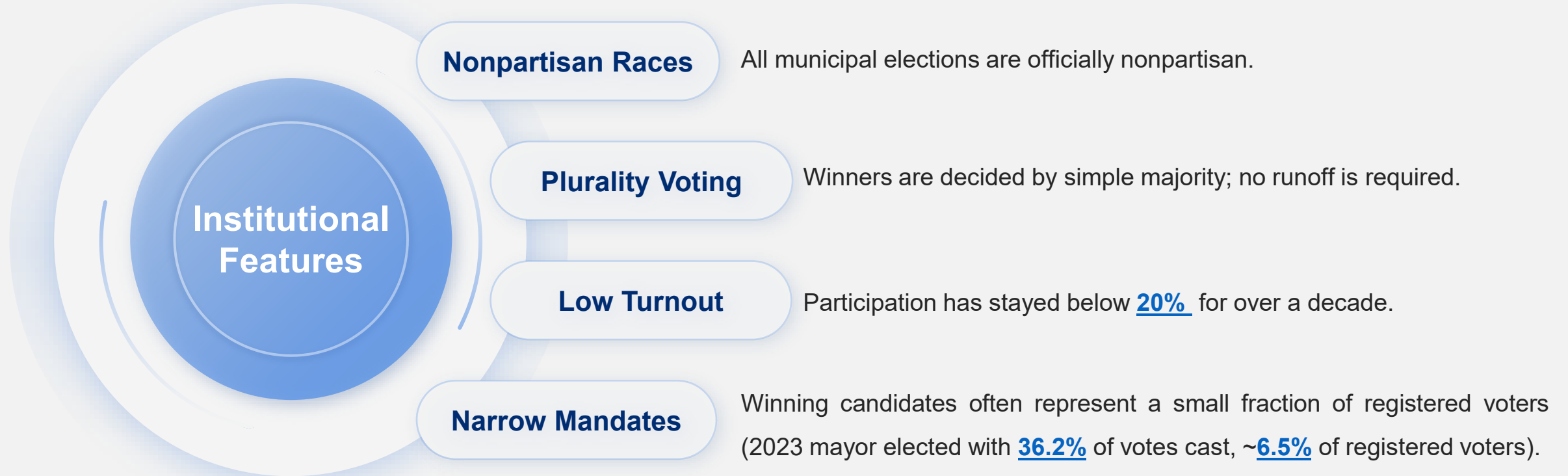
Presidential election

2020 Presidential Election:
approximately [60–70% turnout](#) among
registered voters

Low Local Engagement: Salisbury's low turnout reflects the low visibility of municipal elections, not general voter apathy.

Source: [Salisbury City – “Voter Turnout Percentages \(2023\)”](#);
[Maryland State Board of Elections – “Official Registration by Party and County \(2020\)”](#)

Institutional Features of Salisbury Municipal Elections



Source: [Salisbury City – “Voter Turnout Percentages \(2023\)”](#);
WBOC – [“Final Votes Tallied: Randy Taylor Elected Mayor of Salisbury \(2023\)”](#)

Fiscal Constraints and the Cost of Special Elections

1

High Per-Voter Costs

- Special elections are significantly more expensive than consolidated general elections
- Alameda County: ~[\\$23–25](#) per voter(special) vs. ~[\\$5–7](#) (general)

2

Large Aggregate Costs

- Repeated special elections can generate substantial cumulative expenses
- New York City: spent ~[\\$13](#) million on special elections over eight years.

3

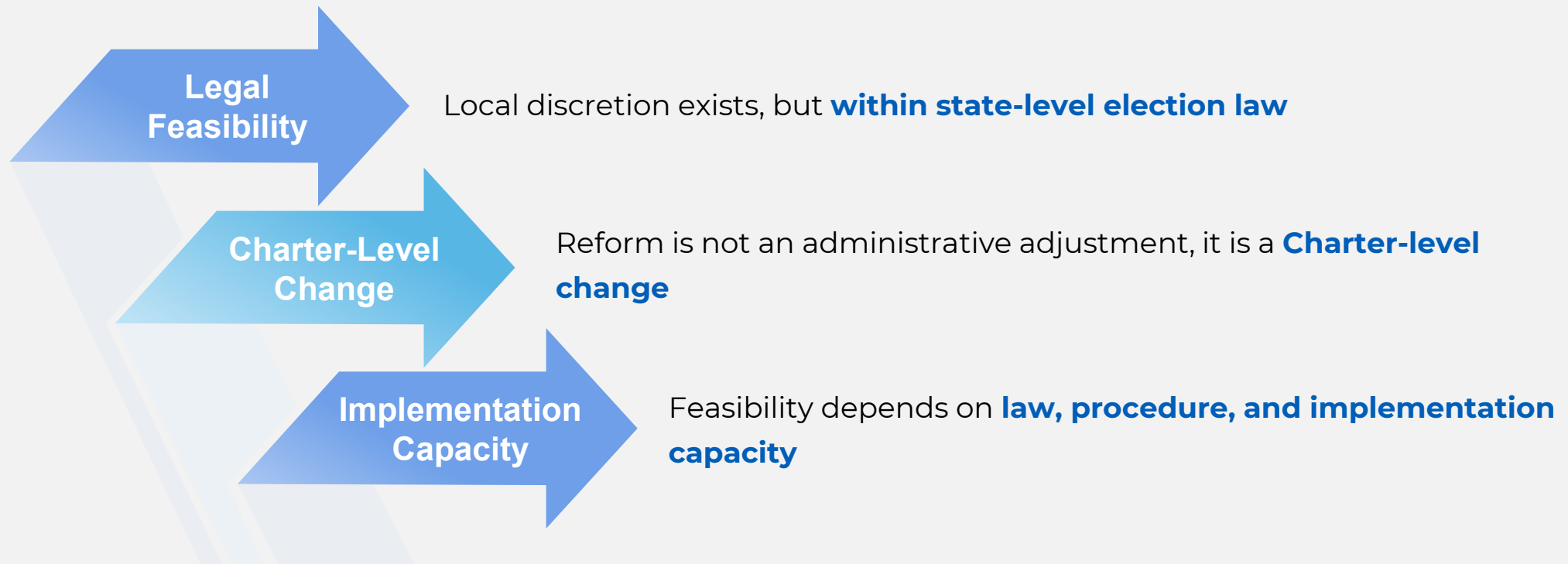
Cost Burden on Small Jurisdictions

- Smaller municipalities often face election costs in the tens of thousands per cycle, straining limited budgets.

Legal, Procedural, and Implementation Constraints

Boundaries of Electoral Reform in Salisbury

Electoral reform in Salisbury is legally feasible, but its scope and pace are determined by procedural requirements and implementation capacity.



State-Level Legal Constraints:

Maryland Election Law

01

State Control of Municipal Elections

- Municipal elections are administered by **county boards of elections**
- Oversight provided by the **Maryland State Board of Elections**

02

State-Regulated Components

- Voter eligibility
- Party registration
- Primary election structure
- Election administration procedures

03

Implications for Reform Design

- Primary election reforms are tightly bound to **state law** and **party systems**
- They carry **higher legal and institutional risk**
- **General election changes** are comparatively more feasible

City-Level Procedural Constraints:

Salisbury City Charter

Dual Approval Requirement

Changes to voting methods, vote-counting rules, or electoral structure must pass:

- **City Council approval**
- **Citywide referendum (Charter Amendment)**

Implications for Reform

- City government consensus alone is insufficient
- **Direct voter authorization** is required
- Political feasibility and public understanding are critical to successful implementation

Time, Capacity, and Cost

Time

- Reforms must align with fixed election cycles
- Complex systems require extended preparation and voter education

01

Cost

- Runoff elections replicate full election administration costs
- Ranked-Choice Voting (RCV) concentrates costs upfront for system changes and education
- Costs involve coordination across city, county, and state agencies

02

Administrative Capacity

- Current infrastructure is designed for single-choice voting
- Complex systems increase demands on vote counting, staff training, and oversight

03

Key Insight: In Salisbury, reform is legally feasible; implementation success depends on time, cost, capacity, and public outreach.



City of Salisbury Electoral Reform

An Analysis of Alternative Election Models

Scan the QR code to access the complete report.
Access detailed findings, data, and recommendations.