

Survey # 3 – Reforms Designed to Enhance Voter Power in General Elections - FairVote's Views

Straight Party Ticket Voting

A straight party ticket voting option on the ballot allows voters to choose a party's entire slate of candidates, from president to (where partisan) local offices, by marking the ballot only once. The voter need not go down the ballot marking their party's candidate for each office. The number of states offering a straight party ticket voting option is declining. In the last five years, North Carolina, Rhode Island, West Virginia and Wisconsin abandoned the option on their ballot papers. According to the National Conference of State Legislatures, ten states currently (as of June 1, 2015) allow full straight party ticket voting. They are: Alabama, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, and Utah. The effect of such a change on state legislative races is likely to be less today than it might have been even a decade ago, however, given trends in straight ticket voting absent the straight party device. For instance, among Georgia's 200 state legislators today (with most elected in 2014), only two represent a district that was not carried in 2012 by the presidential nominee of that legislator's party.

Short Ballots

Short ballots refers to reducing the number of elected offices, especially judicial offices and low-level executive positions, elected at a time so that voters are faced with a more manageable task at the polling station. These formerly elective positions would typically become merit-based appointive positions. As an example of a contrast, Maine and New Jersey each elect a single statewide executive officer (the governor), while Texas voters [elected](#) 14 different statewide executive and judicial officers in 2014.

Initiative and Referendum Rights

Introducing initiative and referendum rights would enable registered voters to:

- (1) place a proposed law or constitutional amendment, written outside the legislature, directly on the ballot at a general election by collecting a prescribed number of signatures of registered voters and presenting the petition to the secretary of state. This is known as an "initiative".
- (2) subject a law validly passed by the legislature to a vote for retention or repeal at a general election (akin to a veto power by the people) by signature petition of a prescribed number of registered voters. This is known as a "popular referendum."

As discussed in the background document, 21 states have initiative rights for legislation; 18 have initiative rights for constitutional amendments; and 26 states have referendum rights -- 26 states in total have some sort of initiative and/or referendum rights.

Impact on Legislative Functionality

A. Impact on the likelihood of evidence-based policymaking, and/or long-term policymaking

FairVote's Analysis:

Abolishing Straight Party Ticket Voting

Abolishing the straight party ticket voting (SPTV) option on ballot papers will likely have a negligible impact on the evidence-base and term of policymaking. By increasing the importance of personality and constituency over party cues for offices lower down on the ballot, the abolition of straight party ticket voting may heighten the pressure state legislators to cater to local sectional interests, constituency concerns and interest group agendas. This possible effect would stem from the reduced ability of state legislators to hide behind their party to shield them from accountability for their legislative votes. To the extent that party platforms and policies contain evidence-based or long-term policies, the likelihood of evidence-based and long-term policymaking is reduced, at least in state legislatures (and only if state legislative offices appear below more high profile offices on the ballot paper). However, this impact is likely to be minimal.

Introduction of Short Ballots

N/A. Short ballots, where they remove judicial offices from the electoral sphere, may facilitate more evidence-based or long-term *judicial decision-making*; however, the short ballot is unlikely to influence legislative functionality.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

It is plausible, assuming an informed and responsible voting population, that evidence-based and long-term laws may be passed using initiative and referenda rights. However, in the absence of those conditions, it is likely that populist or reactive laws will be passed at least equally as often. Most of the research on this topic has focused on economic policy, finding that the level of public expenditures in places with direct democracy is lower than in those without it (Matsusaka (1995), Wagschal (1997); contra Camobreco (1998)). Whether or not this tendency reflects more evidence-based and long-term oriented policy decisions made by voters is unclear.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

B. Impact on the likelihood of more policy that reflects majority preferences

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

By reducing the importance of party over personality and constituency, abolishing straight party ticket voting may slightly reduce the capacity of laws that benefit the majority, rather than sectional interests, to be implemented, at least in state legislatures (and only if state legislative offices appear below more high profile offices on the ballot paper). This possible effect would stem from the reduced ability of state legislators to hide behind their party when faced with constituency or interest group concerns.

Introduction of Short Ballots

N/A

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

Assuming representative turnout, an informed population, and reasonable petition laws, initiative and referendum rights greatly enhance the passage of laws that the majority prefers (though, it should be noted, this inevitably comes at a cost to political and demographic minorities). Some studies have found significant differences between jurisdictions with initiative and referendum rights and those without. Gerber (1996) finds that policymaking in the legislature on the issue of abortion more closely aligned with voter preferences in US states with the initiative. Matsusaka (1995) and Wagschal (1997) find fiscal policy in jurisdictions that have direct democracy is different than fiscal policy in pure

representative democracies. However, Lascher, Hagen, and Rochlin (1996) and Camobreco (1998) do not find these differences.

Because initiatives generally do not involve the give-and-take that are central to legislative negotiations, but instead come in the form of “take it or leave it” decisions, they may miss opportunities to include provisions that would meet the interests of more voters. However, the initiative process could be designed to encourage those proposing measures to systematically receive and consider feedback from others.

Some may raise concerns that ballot initiatives are more likely to reflect the interests of those who spend the most developing and supporting particular initiatives. Perhaps wealthy interests are able to buy their own laws at the ballot box. Fortunately, however, studies show that disparate spending is more likely to preserve the status quo than impose a change ([Polyakov, Counts and Yin \(2013\)](#)).

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 4

C. Legislator independence: impact on the degree of average deviation of individual voting records from party-line voting

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

By reducing the importance of party over personality and constituency, abolishing straight party ticket voting may enable legislators to vote more in line with their constituency preferences. Correspondingly, where constituencies are competitive and not overly partisan, voting records may tend away from the party-line. At the same time, a change to the short ballot is less likely to affect state legislative elections than elections farther down the ballot, particularly in the modern partisan climate of elections.

Introduction of Short Ballots

NA

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

By offering voters a way to circumvent the legislature, legislators—in one theory—may be forced to vote more in-line with their constituencies’ wishes in states with the initiative and referendum. For example, Phillips (2008) finds that the relationship between the content of the majority party platform and the policy passed by the legislature on economic issues is stronger in jurisdictions without the initiative than in those with the initiative. However, legislatures in states with the initiative and referendum (eg. California) do not currently appear to exhibit less party-line voting than the states without. Indeed, Hasen (2000) suggests that parties may be using the initiative process to further their own agendas.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

D. Overall impact on legislative functionality

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Abolishing straight party ticket voting may lead to less party-line voting, to a slight degree, in the state legislatures, which may improve—in some people’s minds—the legislative functionality. However, this change is contingent on the voters not being avid partisans and districts being competitive.

Introduction of Short Ballots

The short ballot is unlikely to affect legislative functionality.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

By giving voters the option of circumventing the legislature, more laws are likely to be passed that reflect the majority's preferences. However, given that each law passed by initiative binds and weakens legislative autonomy (especially in states with strict tampering laws), the overall functionality of the legislature, as an institution, is likely to be reduced. Matsusaka (2005) finds that almost a third of all expenditures in California were "locked in by initiatives" in 2003-2004 (and the percentage likely got higher during the budget crises at the end of the decade). This means the legislature has less flexibility and, likely, less effective legislatures.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

Impact on Electoral Accountability

A. Impact on ability of voters to change majority control of legislatures

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Because straight party ticket voting is primarily (and naturally) used by more partisan voters, the effect of abolishing straight party ticket voting, and the concomitant larger role of voter fatigue and ballot roll-off, committed partisan voters will be less able to change majority control of the state legislature if straight party ticket voting were abolished. Unaffiliated or less affiliated voters—who are switching political parties or voting based on the candidate—will be better empowered to influence who controls the legislature. However, the effect depends upon the existence of competitive districts that can be "flipped" by a 5 or 10% swing in the vote.

Introduction of Short Ballots

By making voting a less exhaustive task—and thereby reducing the role of voter fatigue and ballot roll-off—introducing short ballots may make it slightly easier for voters to change who runs the state legislature, but only if competitive districts already exist and higher offices appear on the ballot paper (or in conjunction with additional reforms). This effect is likely to be minimal, as the shorter length of the ballot would come at the expense of minor offices for which anyone skipping state legislative offices would likely have also skipped.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

On its own, the introduction of the initiative and referendum would likely have little impact on the ability of voters to change control of the legislature. Indirectly, however, voters passing electoral reforms using their initiative and referendum rights, may have a large impact on who controls the legislature (eg. by using the initiative to adopt ranked choice voting, multi-winner districts, the recall, term limits, etc).

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 2

B. Impact on the percentage of general election turnover of incumbents (with less than 50% favorability in their district)

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Studies show that the incumbency advantage for state legislators is lesser in states with straight party ticket voting (Kimball, Owens and McLaughlin (2002), Jewell 1982; Weber 1980). Correspondingly, the abolition of straight party ticket voting is likely to reduce the turnover of incumbents as they are less likely to be affected by sentiments toward their partisans higher on the ballot. As it relates to very unpopular incumbents, however, the effect of abolishing straight party ticket voting is likely to be minimal.

Introduction of Short Ballots

NA.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

NA.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

C. Impact on percentage turnover of incumbents in primary elections when individual or their legislative allies are very unpopular

These reforms have little to no effect on primary elections. Shorter general election ballots would likely mean shorter primary election ballots, but with uncertain impact. Initiative rights, when including a right to place measures on the primary ballot, may increase turnout--however, initiatives mostly appear on the general election ballot and higher turnout does not necessarily hurt incumbents.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

D. Impact on the percentage of seats likely to switch parties with a 5% shift in the statewide vote

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

In the absence of multi-winner districts or a radical redistricting plan (that drew district boundaries without regard to geographic features, communities of interest, compactness or contiguousness), the abolition of the straight party ticket voting option is unlikely to alter the responsiveness of electoral results to partisan shifts in a major way -- indeed, it may reduce it.

If we assume, multi-winner districts with ranked choice voting, then the abolition of the straight party ticket voting option (like the one commonly used in Australian Senate elections with RCV) would likely reduce the responsiveness of electoral results to partisan swings (since it makes voting the full party ticket more difficult,).

Introduction of Short Ballots

NA

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

NA

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

E. Overall impact on electoral accountability

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Overall, the abolition of the straight party ticket would increase the accountability of individual state legislators and officers who appear lower on the ballot as candidate-centered voting would be elevated and party-ticket voting reduced. Without more fundamental reforms to increase competitiveness in the legislature, however, the effect of abolishing the straight party ticket voting option on electoral accountability is likely to be minimal.

Introduction of Short Ballots

The introduction of short ballots is unlikely to affect electoral accountability, except for those offices that are transformed from elective to appointive. For those offices, electoral accountability will, naturally (and intentionally), be reduced greatly.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

The introduction of initiative and referendum rights may increase electoral accountability. Citizens angered by legislative inaction (or inaction) may mobilize behind an initiative (or referendum) that their local legislator failed to vote for (or voted for). Correspondingly, those voters who turned out to vote for the initiative (or referendum) may also vote in their state legislative race against their legislator. In the absence of competitive districts or fair representation voting, the effect of this vote is unlikely to be great.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 2

Impact on Voter Engagement

A. Impact on the share of the voting eligible population that lives in a competitive electoral environment

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

For lower down the ballot partisan offices, including state legislatures, turnout is likely to decrease markedly for elections held concurrently with presidential, congressional or gubernatorial elections. In effect, this means that less of the voting eligible population participates, however—by removing many firm partisan votes—the voters who still vote in offices lower down the ballot may do so in a more competitive environment. Overall the effect on participation is likely to be negative.

Introduction of Short Ballots

To the extent that some lesser judicial, state executive and local offices are sometimes competitive, the short ballot will reduce the share of voters participating in general elections where candidates seek their vote in a competitive environment.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights will not increase *candidates* competitively seeking votes; but it will increase the share of voters likely to participate in general elections where *campaigns* seek their vote in a competitive environment. Because the initiative opens up a whole no realm of political participation, and because measures are often won and lost by slim margins (much slimmer than most legislative district margins),

more of the voting eligible population (indeed, the entire state's) lives in a competitive electoral environment.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 4

B. Impact on voter turnout in general elections

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

For lower down the ballot partisan offices, including state legislatures, the number of votes cast is likely to decrease markedly for elections held concurrently with presidential, congressional or gubernatorial elections. Ballot roll-off and voter fatigue are well documented phenomena on long ballots, especially those using the now ubiquitous office-block arrangements (where candidates are grouped by office) (Kimball, Owens and McLaughlin (2002), Bullock and Dunn (1996), Walker (1966) and Darcy and Schneider (1989)).

Introduction of Short Ballots

Short ballots may increase turnout by making the task of voting less burdensome. Progressives certainly believed that short ballots would lead to higher, more informed, turnout (National Short Ballot Organization (1915)). However, the length of the ballot likely has less effect on turnout than the timing of the election, the competitiveness of the election and the importance of the headline ballot.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

Experience in California and other states with strong initiative and referendum laws shows that ballot measures can drive turnout—where they are controversial and competitive. Tolbert, Grummel and Smith (2001) show that elections in which a measure was present on the ballot tended to experience higher turnout than elections without any ballot measures (see also: Tolbert and Smith (2005)). For example, in 2014 in California, more voters voted on initiative measures than for governor.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 2

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 3

C. Impact on voter turnout in primaries and nomination contests

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

N/A

Introduction of Short Ballots

By making voting a less burdensome task at the primary election with fewer offices up for election, it may be the case that voters will be encouraged to turnout to primaries. However, other costs of voting (getting time off work etc) and a lack of interest are more significant to citizens' decisions not to vote in the primary.

Initiative & Referendum Rights

No effect, unless initiative and referendum measures may appear on the primary ballot. However, this is not typically and, if anything, likely to become more rare given the more unrepresentative primary electorate determine serious policy questions and bind the legislature.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1
Short Ballots: 1
Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

D. Impact on likely citizen engagement with elected officials between elections

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

By making elections less about party and more personal, citizen engagement with their elected officials might be heightened between elections. However, this impact is likely to be slight.

Introduction of Short Ballots

NA

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

The initiative and referendum might provide an additional reason for citizens engage with their elected representatives, on behalf of an initiative they support or to discuss a referendum. This impact is not likely to be major, however.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1
Short Ballots: 1
Initiative & Referendum Rights: 2

E. Impact on the likelihood of elections creating a more informed citizenry

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

By reducing the importance of party cues, candidates for offices down the ballot might be inclined to provide more information about themselves in the absence of a straight party ticket voting option. Similarly, through the practice of marking a candidate for each office, voters—at least those who continue down the ballot—may be encouraged to think about lesser political offices and to gain more knowledge. Alternatively, they may suffer from voter fatigue and cease marking the ballot. In any case, the abolition of a straight party ticket voting option is likely to have a modest effect on an informed citizenry.

Introduction of Short Ballots

Progressives hoped that, by reducing the number offices for election, voters would receive more salient information about important offices. However, in the modern day we know, when more attention is focused on an office, frivolous coverage abounds. Fewer elected offices/short ballots is unlikely to produce a more informed citizenry.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

By placing legislative power in voters' hands, voters may be encouraged to seek-out more political information and thereby develop political knowledge. Smith (2002) finds that *voters* in states the use the initiative frequently develop a greater political knowledge in the long-term (Smith's study did not show the same effects for habitual non-voters) (see also: Smith and Tolbert (2004)).

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2
Short Ballots: 1
Initiative & Referendum Rights: 3

F. Overall impact on voter engagement

The abolition of straight party ticket voting or the introduction of short ballots are unlikely to affect voter engagement much, except at the fringes. The initiative and referendum, where used often, have been shown to raise turnout, political knowledge and engagement with the political system.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2
Short Ballots: 1
Initiative & Referendum Rights: 3

Impact on Openness of Process

A. Impact on the influence of unaffiliated voters

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

The comparative disadvantage, in terms of the amount of work necessary to vote for all offices, that unaffiliated voters, at least those who are not closet partisans, experience relative to avid partisans would be reduced by the abolition of a straight party ticket voting option. While this is a relatively minor change, if it reduces the proportion of avid partisans voting the full ticket (which it likely will) it raises the relative influence of unaffiliated voters to election results. However, multi-winner districts and ranked choice voting would be better ways to increase the influence of unaffiliated voters.

Introduction of Short Ballots

By reducing the number of elected offices, short ballots may reduce the impact of unaffiliated voters. Lower offices, while often uncontested, are sometimes contested and won by small margins – unaffiliated voters could affect these results.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

Competitive ballot measures do not necessarily reflect partisan priorities. Unaffiliated voters, therefore, can influence the outcome of these measures on equal terms with more partisan voters. Furthermore, wealthy individuals not aligned with major parties have the capacity to bring laws directly to the people, without dealing with the parties and legislature.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2
Short Ballots: 1
Initiative & Referendum Rights: 4

B. Impact on the influence of independent and minor party candidates

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Removal of the straight party ticket voting option ought, logically, to increase the influence of minor and independent candidates, at least in offices down the bottom of the ballot. However, in the absence of multi-winner districts and/or ranked choice voting, the influence of independent and minor party candidates is likely to be slight.

Introduction of Short Ballots

Removing down ballot offices, which may be won with fewer resources and less input from major party establishments, may lead to fewer candidates from outside the political

establishment running for these offices and getting their start in politics. However, given the extent to which winner-take-all elections in single-winner districts stifle multi-parties and independent candidates, the negative impact of short ballots is likely to be slight.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

Initiative rights theoretically provide opportunities for a minor party candidate or independent to raise their profile in a candidacy associated with a viable initiative, although this does not seem to be a common tactic.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 2

C. Impact on the breadth of voter opinion represented in elected office

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Plurality voting elections in single-winner districts ensure that elections tend to be a competition between only two camps. Removal of the straight party ticket voting option is unlikely to affect the breadth of voter opinion represented in elected office, but has a minor impact on electoral chances for third party candidates and independents in state legislative and local partisan offices.

Introduction of Short Ballots

Short ballots are likely to limit the breadth of voter opinion represented in office—but only very slightly. To the extent that some lower offices that are won with only a few hundred or so votes, the removal of these offices from elections may reduce the capacity of voters to choose representatives that reflect their unique local opinions and idiosyncrasies.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

The initiative and referendum definitely increase the extent to which the majority's opinion is reflected in law, however, it does little to increase the diversity of voter opinion represented in elected office.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 2

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

D. Impact on the degree of representation of women

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Under certain circumstances, namely where parties determinedly recruited and funded female candidates and voters were less likely to vote for a female candidate, the abolition of the straight party ticket voting could be detrimental for women's representation. This is because it would open female candidates up to individual scrutiny by hesitant voters. However, in the US neither of these conditions exist, and so the abolition of the straight party ticket voting is unlikely to affect women's representation.

Introduction of Short Ballots

Short ballots may have an effect on women's representation, but it would only be slight if it existed at all. Anecdotally, women get their electoral start in lower-level elected positions and work their way up. Abolishing these lower-level elected positions may lead to fewer

women with experience as an electoral candidate. While merit-based appointments may result in more gender-balance, they might undermine the development of a “pipeline” of female candidates who can rise through the ranks of political parties and up the chain of electoral offices.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

NA

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

E. Impact on the degree of representation of racial minorities

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

The abolition of straight party ticket voting (SPTV) option is likely to have a significant and negative effect on the representation of minorities. Party is known to be an important cue for minority voters and one that facilitates participation. In his history of the Australian ballot, Evans (1917) observes that five southern states omitted party labels when they adopted the government-printed ballot as a device to exclude African Americans. Darcy and Schneider (1989) show that more voters use SPTV in precincts with higher proportions of ethnic minorities. The removal of the straight-party ballot option would likely be to the detriment of the representation of racial minorities.

Introduction of Short Ballots

The same argument applies here as was expounded regarding the representation of women. On the one-hand, appointments might be more racially balanced but lower-level elective offices might operate as a training ground for minority candidates.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

Johnson (2008) argues that the initiative in California has hurt the Hispanic population because voters tend to vote in the majority interests. However, in terms of representation, the initiative and referendum process seems to have little impact on the representation of racial and ethnic minorities.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 1

F. Overall impact on the openness of process

Abolition of Straight Party Ticket Voting

Abolition of the straight party ticket voting option will likely, on balance, have a negative effect on the openness of the political process even if some potential positive. While unaffiliated voters may gain power relative to partisan voters, the gain in power is only because partisan voters cast fewer ballots lower down the ballot. Notably, the abolition of the straight party ticket voting option will likely reduce the power of racial minorities to choose a candidate of choice (for lower ballot offices).

Introduction of Short Ballots

By removing lower ballot offices, with lower barriers for entry and which typically require less experience, less funding and fewer votes to win, short ballots might serve to limit the electoral process for non-traditional candidates. Deprived of a training ground, third-party

and independent, female, and racial and ethnic minority candidates may find it more difficult to enter elective political office.

Introduction of Initiative & Referendum Rights

The initiative and referendum process will open up the electoral process to unaffiliated voters—who could vote in decisive and competitive ballot races on substantive questions of policy—and those third party and independent activists with considerable resources behind them—who can propose or fund initiative proposals. However, the initiative process does little for women's representation or the representation of ethnic and racial minorities.

Straight Party Ticket Voting: 1

Short Ballots: 1

Initiative & Referendum Rights: 3

Your final thoughts

In this area of the evaluation, we wanted to invite you to comment on what other reforms might have the most impact in enhancing the impact of the reforms in this survey, as well as seek your general comments -- with the former query tied to this survey's ongoing theme about the interplay between reforms that have the potential to increase credible ballot choices and our plurality voting system that allows 'vote-splitting" and winners who would have lost in a two-candidate contest against their strongest opponents.

With an acknowledgement that context matters, how do you rate the impact of initiative rights in a state on its prospects for adopting substantial structural electoral reforms in state elections?

1- 5 impact scale

What other reforms would you see as complementary in nature to any of these reforms and why?

Do you have any other comments about these reforms or relevant research you would like to share?

