

# How the Nature of Political Preferences Shapes the Efficiency of Majority Rule Voting

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# Questions

- ▶ Is the majority rule **efficient**?
- ▶ How does its efficiency depend on how we **conceptualize** individual preferences and utilities?

# Background

- ▶ Condorcet Jury Theorem
  - ▶ majority rule is efficient
  - ▶ information aggregation
- ▶ What about conflicting preferences?

# Inefficient Majorities

Table : Example for Inefficient Majorities

<b>Voter</b>	<b>Candidate A</b>	<b>Candidate B</b>
Alice	\$0	\$100
Betty	\$20	\$10
Carol	\$10	\$0

# Adding a third candidate

Table : Example for Cyclic Preferences

<b>Voter</b>	<b>Candidate A</b>	<b>Candidate B</b>	<b>Candidate C</b>
Alice	\$0	\$100	\$10
Betty	\$20	\$10	\$0
Carol	\$10	\$0	\$20

# Voting, Ideal Points, and Utilities I

- ▶ Spatial theory of voting (e.g. Downs, 1957; Westholm, 1997):
  - ▶ common policy / ideological dimension
  - ▶ utilities determined by relative proximity

$$U_i^{\text{cand}} = -(X_i - X^{\text{cand}})^2$$

### Table : Example for Cyclic Preferences

A horizontal timeline with three points marked by vertical ticks. Above the first tick is the label 'A'. Above the second tick is the label 'Betty'. Above the third tick is the label 'B'. Above the fourth tick is the label 'Alice'. Above the fifth tick is the label 'C'. The labels 'Betty' and 'Alice' are positioned above the ticks, while 'A', 'B', and 'C' are positioned below the ticks.

# Back to the initial question

- ▶ Formal voting models: **common policy space**
- ▶ **Other factors** influence preferences and utilities, e.g. candidate traits and appearance (e.g. Hayes, 2005; Todorov et al., 2005)
- ▶ **Question:** How can relaxing assumptions of issue-based utilities alter our conclusions about the efficiency of voting rules?



# Simulation Scenarios

- ▶ Overview:
  - ▶ Number of **voters** in each election: 2000
  - ▶ Number of **candidates** in each election: 2
  - ▶ Number of **simulations** for each scenario: 1000
  - ▶ Individual **utilities** based on ideal points or directly simulated from distributions; voters vote for the candidate that maximizes their utility
  - ▶ **Goal**: investigate the **efficiency** of majority voting under varying assumptions about voter preferences
- ▶ Conceptualization of efficiency:
  - ▶ Does the election result **maximize the aggregated utilities** for all voters?
  - ▶  $\sum_i U_i^W > \sum_i U_i^L$

# First comparison of ideal points and normal utilities I

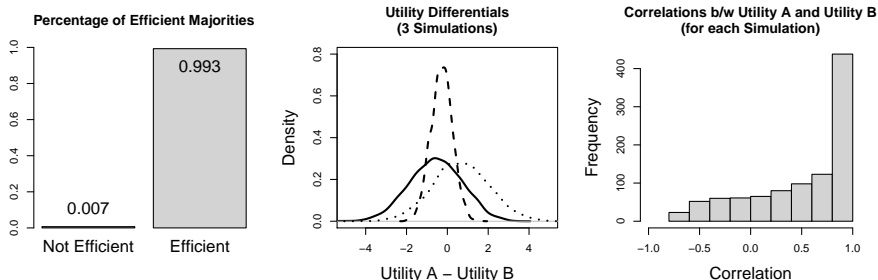


Figure : Normally distributed ideal points

$$X_i, X_a, X_b \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$U_i^a = -(X_i - X_a)^2 \quad U_i^b = -(X_i - X_b)^2$$

# First comparison of ideal points and normal utilities II

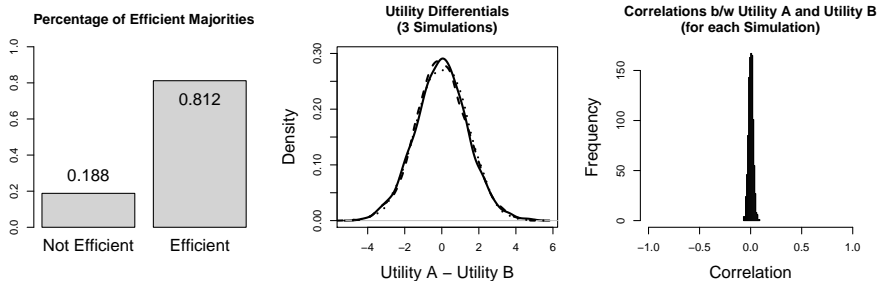


Figure : Independent normal utilities

$$U_i^a, U_i^b \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

# Investigating the effect of correlated utilities I

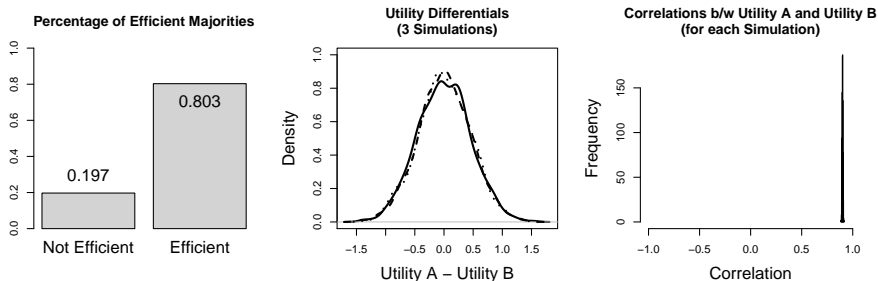


Figure : Positively correlated normal utilities

$$U_a, U_b \sim \mathcal{N}\left(\mu = \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{pmatrix}, \Sigma = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & 0.9 \\ 0.9 & 1 \end{pmatrix}\right)$$

# Investigating the effect of correlated utilities II

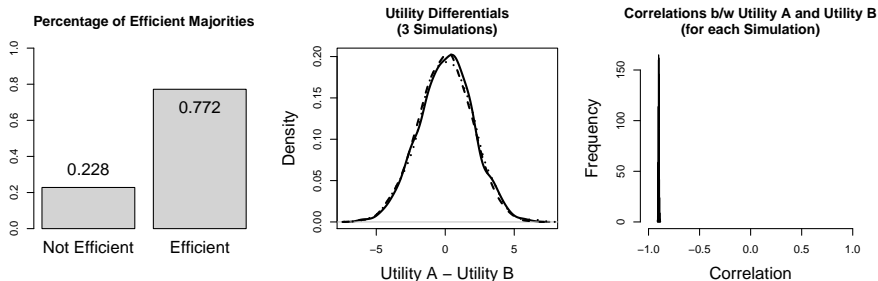
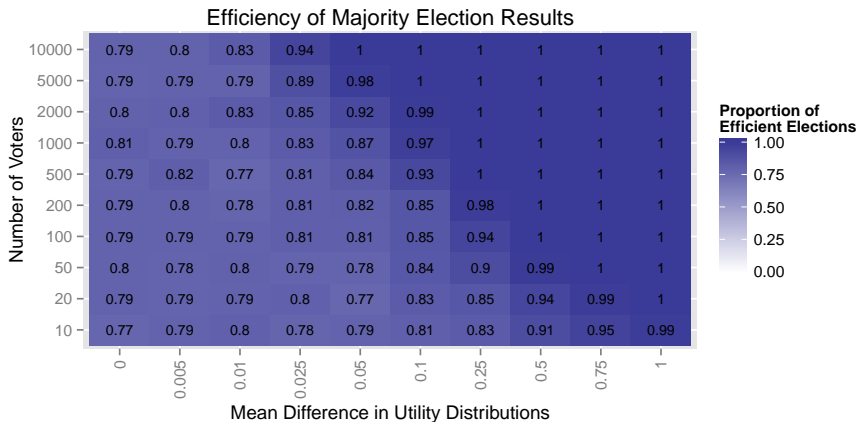


Figure : Negatively correlated normal utilities

$$U_a, U_b \sim \mathcal{N}\left(\mu = \begin{pmatrix} 0 \\ 0 \end{pmatrix}, \Sigma = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & -0.9 \\ -0.9 & 1 \end{pmatrix}\right)$$

$$U_j^b \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0 + \epsilon, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

# Inefficiencies for varying mean differences in utilities II

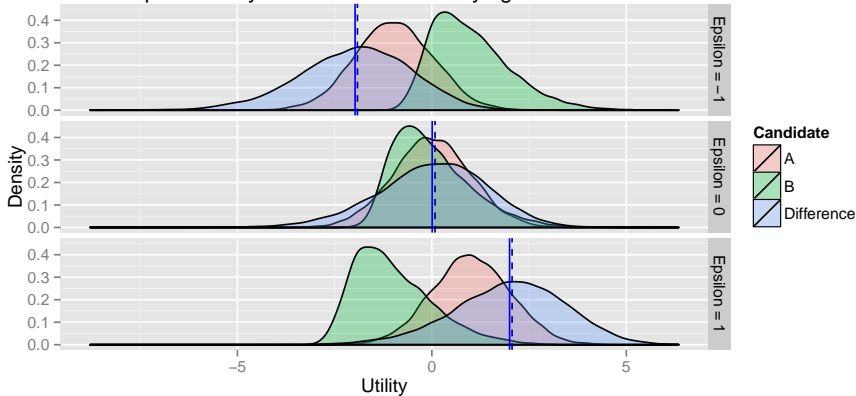


$$U_i^a \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$U_i^b \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0 + \epsilon, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

# Investigating the effect of skewed utility distributions I

Example of Utility Distributions with Varying Mean Difference

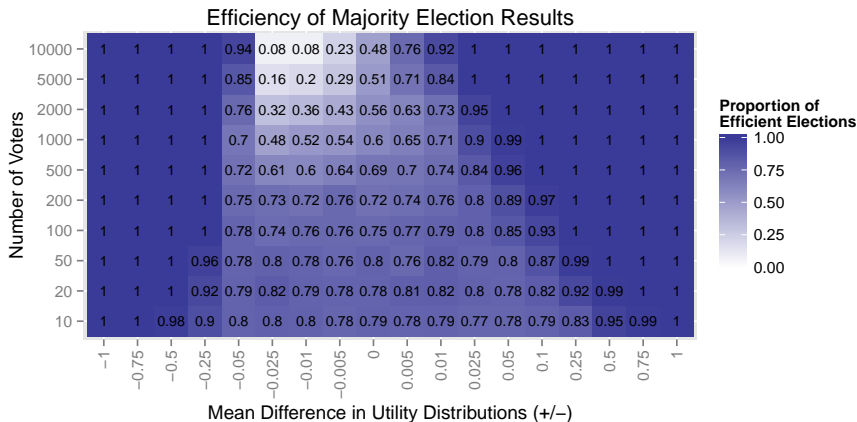


$$U_i^a \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0 + \epsilon, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$U_i^b \sim \mathcal{N}_{\text{skew}}(\mu = 0 - \epsilon, \sigma^2 = 1)$$



# Investigating the effect of skewed utility distributions II



$$U_i^a \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0 + \epsilon, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$U_i^b \sim \mathcal{N}_{\text{skew}}(\mu = 0 - \epsilon, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

# Discussion of Results

- ▶ **Relaxing assumptions** about ideal-point based preferences can reduce the likelihood that election results are efficient
  - ▶ **mean difference** and **skewness** of the distributions of individual utilities for each candidate affects the likelihood of inefficiencies
  - ▶ under some scenarios, increasing the **size of the electorate** actually reduces the efficiency of majority voting!
- ▶ **Question**: conceptualization of utility reasonable? These results would not hold if preferences were purely ordinal (and utilities not comparable across individuals)

# Possible Experimental Designs and Further Developments

- ▶ Performance of **compensation elections / bidding mechanisms** in the context of binary choices (Oprea et al., 2007)
- ▶ Effect of (endogenous) electoral **abstention** on election efficiency
- ▶ Multi-candidate elections

# References

- Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An economic theory of democracy*. New York.
- Hayes, Danny. 2005. "Candidate qualities through a partisan lens: A theory of trait ownership." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4):908–923.
- Oprea, Ryan D, Vernon L Smith and Abel M Winn. 2007. "A compensation election for binary social choice." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 104(3):1093–1096.
- Todorov, Alexander, Anesu N Mandisodza, Amir Goren and Crystal C Hall. 2005. "Inferences of competence from faces predict election outcomes." *Science* 308(5728):1623–1626.
- Westholm, Anders. 1997. "Distance versus Direction: The Illusory Defeat of the Proximity Theory of Electoral Choice." *The American Political Science Review* 91(4):865–883.

# Inducing inefficiencies with ideal point utilities I

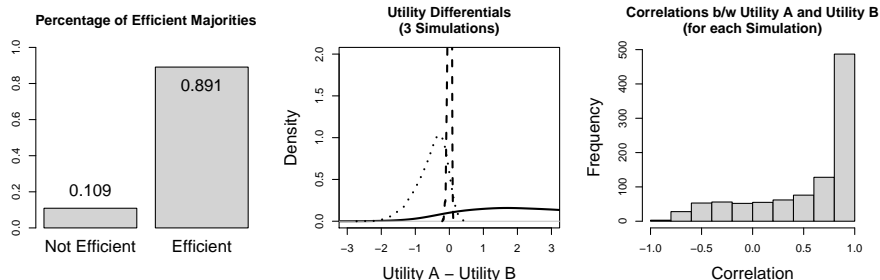


Figure : Skewed ideal points

$$X_i \sim \mathcal{N}_{\text{skew}}(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$X_a, X_b \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$U_i^a = -(X_i - X_a)^2$$

$$U_i^b = -(X_i - X_b)^2$$

# Inducing inefficiencies with ideal point utilities II

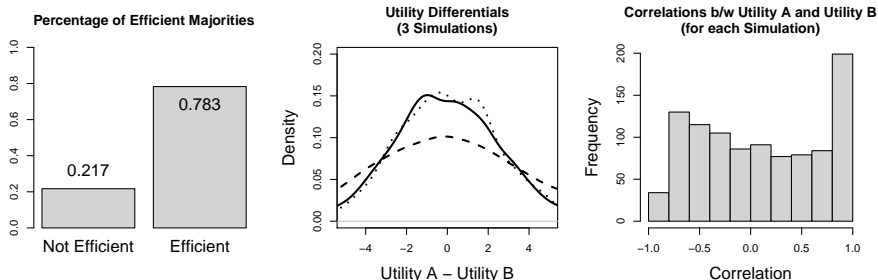


Figure : Aggregate indifference between ideal points

$$X_i, X_a \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu = 0, \sigma^2 = 1)$$

$$X_b = -1 * X_a$$

$$U_i^a = -(X_i - X_a)^2$$

$$U_i^b = -(X_i - X_b)^2$$