

Comparing Strategic Voting Incentives in Plurality and Instant-Runoff Elections

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 - also make results more difficult to interpret and impose additional costs on voters

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- **This paper:** how do strategic incentives look like under either system, both qualitatively and quantitatively?

Types of strategic votes in electoral systems

General Framework

Set-up. Let there be K candidates, B admissible ballot types (e.g., in Plurality, $b = 3$), and N voters.

Probability of winning. Let \mathbf{P} denote a $K \times B$ matrix where each column is a vector of candidates' winning probability as a function of an additional ballot b .

Voters' utility. Let \mathbf{U} denote a $N \times K$ matrix where each row is a vector of any voter's utilities from a given candidate winning.

Expected utility from any ballot type. Finally, let $\bar{\mathbf{U}} = \mathbf{U}\mathbf{P}$ denote the expected utility from each ballot type for any voter.

General Framework (cont'd)

Strategic voting. For every voter i , the strategic voting incentive is defined as:

$$\text{Expected Benefit} = \arg \max_b \bar{\mathbf{u}}(b) - \bar{\mathbf{u}}(b_s) \quad (1)$$

where $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$ is the i th row from the expected utility matrix $\bar{\mathbf{U}} = \mathbf{U}\mathbf{P}$.

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Example

$$\bar{\mathbf{u}}_{\text{Plur}} = [\mathbf{0.67} \quad 0.57 \quad 0.33]$$

$$\bar{\mathbf{u}}_{\text{IRV}} = [0.67 \quad 0.57 \quad 0.33 \quad \mathbf{0.86} \quad 0.21 \quad 0.40]$$

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How to model utilities and beliefs / outcome probabilities?

Modelling preferences and beliefs

We rely on CSES data to characterise preferences and beliefs – election surveys from 160 cases (58 countries). We focus on the three largest parties in every reported survey.

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Beliefs

Given reported preferences in survey, model election outcome beliefs using Dirichlet distribution:

$$f(\mathbf{v}) = \text{Dir}(s \times \mathbf{v}_0)$$

Modelling preferences and beliefs (cont'd)

Beliefs (cont'd)

- Expected outcome (mode of distribution): vote shares if everyone in survey voted sincerely \Rightarrow iterative polling algorithm to adjust for 'strategicness'.
- Precision parameter: using previous empirical work, between $s = 10$ and $s = 85$.
- Given the distribution over election outcomes, we can also specify the probabilities of each candidate winning for each type of marginal ballot.

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- For empirics, we set $\lambda = .05$.

Results: Iterative polling algorithm

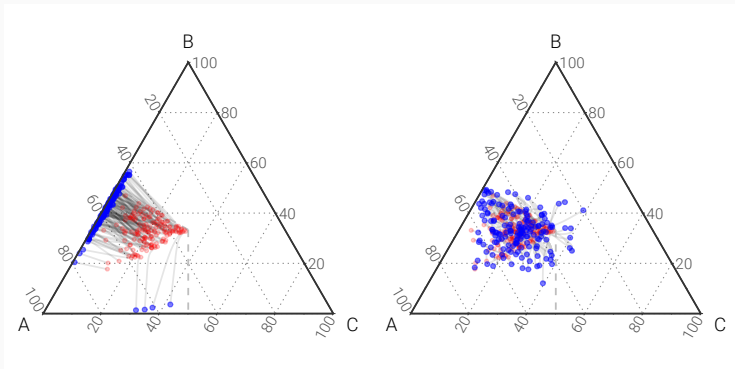


Figure 1: Iterative polling paths in Plurality (left) and IRV (right). Red dots mark sincere profiles, blue dots mark ballot distribution after 60 iterations.

Results: Expected benefit of strategic voting

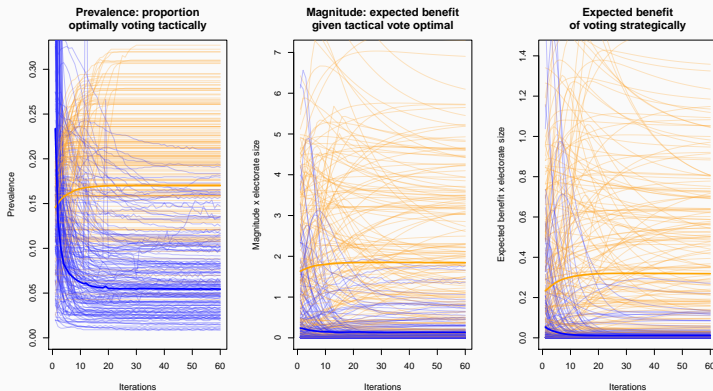


Figure 2: Main results: Prevalence, Magnitude, and Expected Benefit of strategic voting in Plurality (orange) and IRV (blue) for a precision parameter of $s = 85$, where $\text{Prevalence} \times \text{Magnitude} = \text{Expected Benefit}$ [intensive / extensive margin].

Key results

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Partial explanations:

- events that reward strategic vote in IRV are less likely
- strategic voting more likely to backfire in IRV (risk of electing least favoured candidate)
- strategic incentives can be "substitutes" in IRV

Qualitative description of strategic voting in Plurality and IRV (h/t Andy)

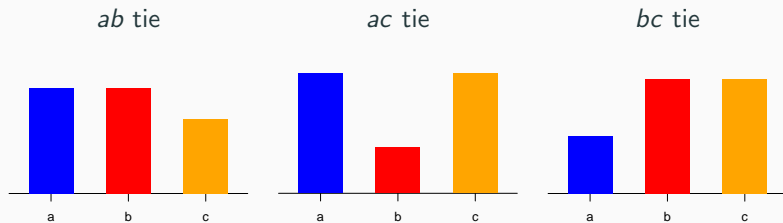
Strategic voting in FPTP

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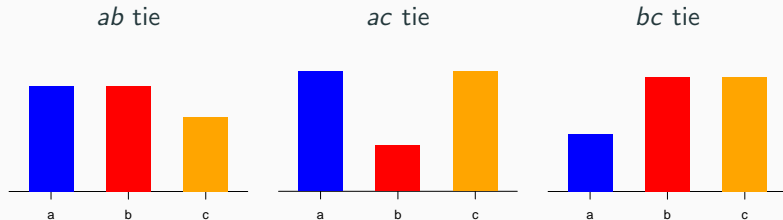
Three ways to affect outcome:



Strategic voting in FPTP

Given candidates $\{a, b, c\}$, three possible ballots: $\{a, b, c\}$.

Three ways to affect outcome:



Strategic logic: “Desert a trailing candidate to avoid wasting one’s vote.”

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Two types of **strategic logic in IRV**:

1. “Desert a leading candidate to avoid wasting one’s vote”
 - Center-left voter: ‘Macron will advance, so I’ll rank Fillon/Le Pen first’

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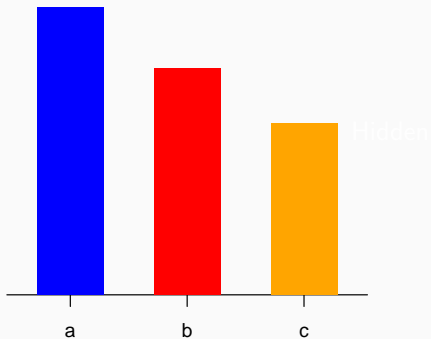
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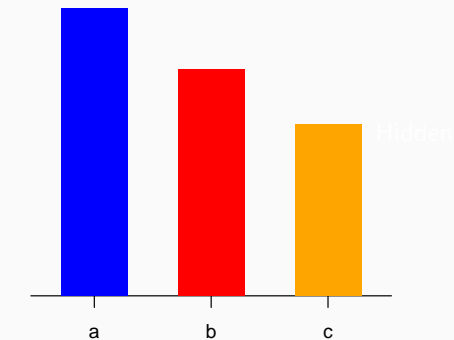
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1. “Desert a leading candidate to avoid wasting one’s vote”
 - Center-left voter: ‘Macron will advance, so I’ll rank Fillon/Le Pen first’
2. “Desert a trailing candidate to avoid electing one’s least favorite”
 - Right-wing voter: ‘Le Pen can’t beat Macron, so I’ll rank Fillon first’

Positive feedback in FPTP elections

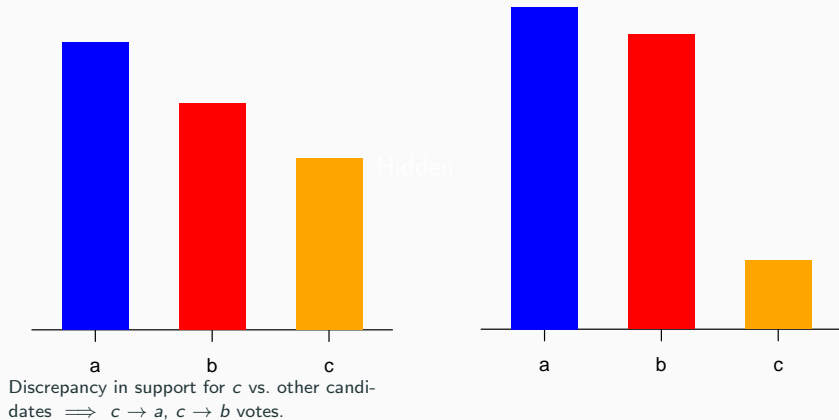


Positive feedback in FPTP elections

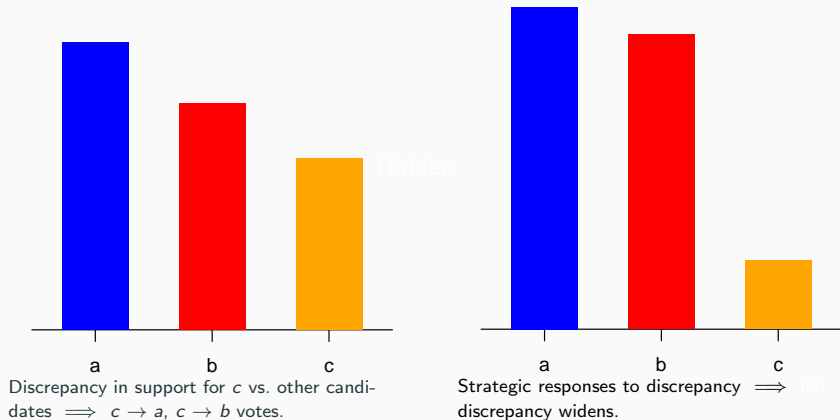


Discrepancy in support for c vs. other candidates $\Rightarrow c \rightarrow a, c \rightarrow b$ votes.

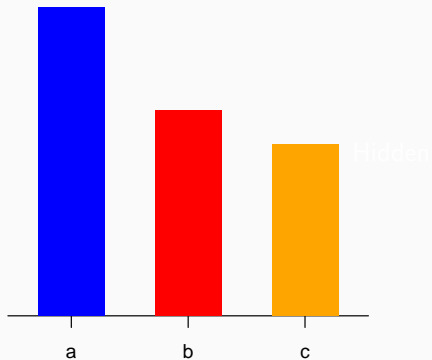
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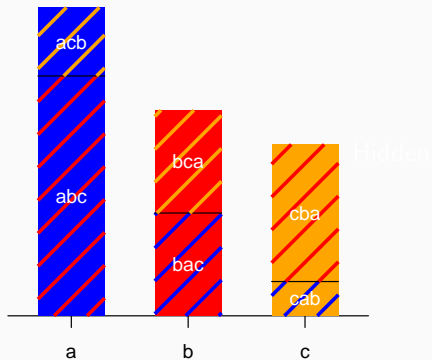
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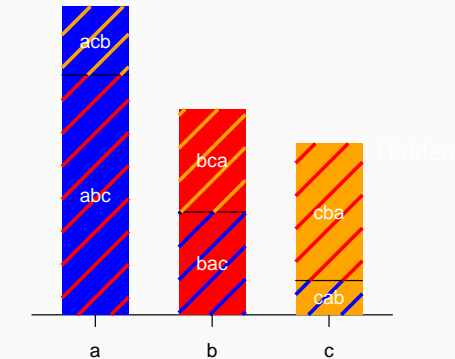
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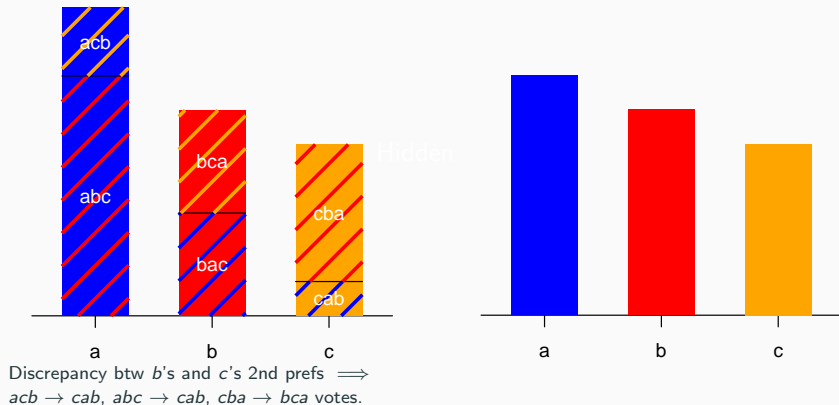


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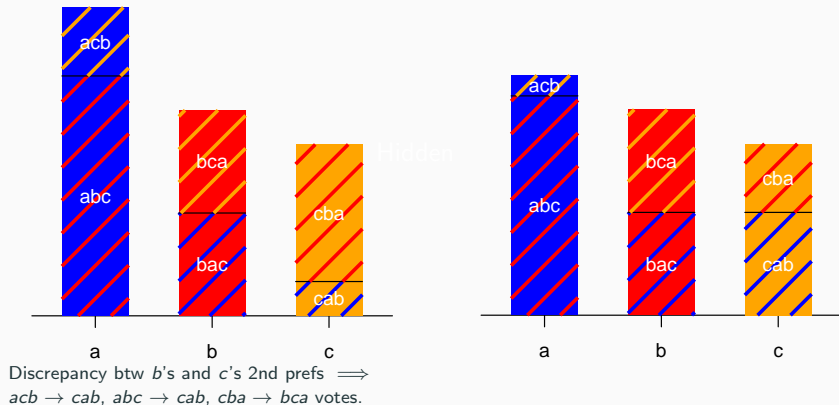


Discrepancy btw *b*'s and *c*'s 2nd prefs \implies
acb \rightarrow *cab*, *abc* \rightarrow *cab*, *cba* \rightarrow *bca* votes.

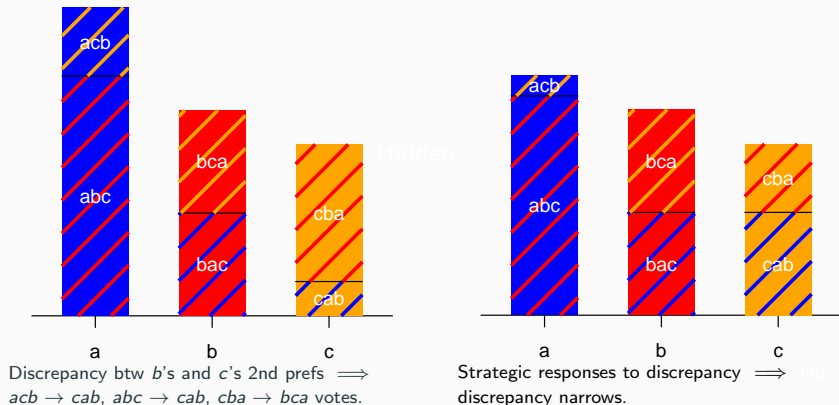
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Further discussion of results

Likelihood of 'pivotal events'

Events that reward strategic votes in IRV are less likely

- In Plurality, we need a tie (close result) between the first and the second candidate.
- In IRV, two candidates must tie in first preferences **and** we need a tie (close result) in second preferences in the run-off.

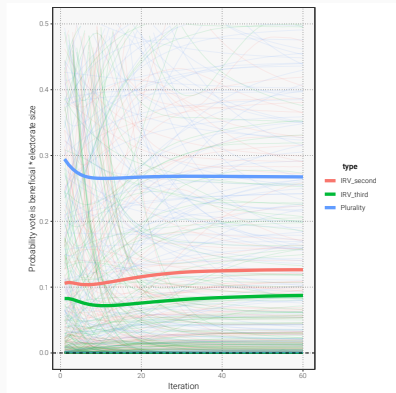


Figure 3: Expected probability of strategic vote being beneficial (weighted by electorate size)

Conflicting events

Strategic voting in IRV is more likely to backfire

- In **Plurality**, only first/second tied: deserted third can be far away
- For strategic voting in **IRV** to be beneficial, all three candidates must be reasonably close to one another – greater risk of backfiring!

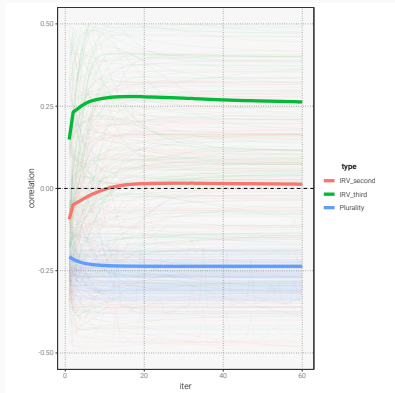


Figure 4: Correlation between costs and benefits of strategic vote

Conflicting events

Strategic voting in IRV is characterised by substitutes

- In **Plurality**, if others desert the third-placed candidate, my incentive to do so, too, grows (C less likely to win overall)
- In **IRV**, if other CBA voters vote ACB , my incentive to do so, too, diminishes: risk of accidentally electing A increases (when A beats C in second round)