

# Voting rules as Group Decision Making Models

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Chapter 2

## Aims

- Study decision problems in which a group has to take a decision among several alternatives
- Analyze a number of properties of electoral systems
- Present a few elements of the classical theory: **Social choice theory**
- Parameters to take into account:
  - nature of the decision
  - size of the group
  - nature of the group
- Many (deep) results
  - Economics, Political Science, Applied Mathematics, Operation Research
  - Two Nobel Prizes: Kenneth J. Arrow, Amartya Sen

## Problem

Study **election** problems in which a **society** has to take a **decision** among **several** candidates

## Election of one candidate

- **Common sense:**

- the choice of the candidate will affect all members of the society
- the choice of the candidate should take the opinion of all members of society into account

- **Intuition:**

- Democracy  $\implies$  Elections  $\implies$  Majority

## Political problems

- direct or indirect democracy?
- rôle of parties?
- who can vote? (age, sex, nationality, paying taxes,...)
- who can be candidate?
- what type of mandate?
- how to organize the campaign?
- rôle of polls?

## Technical problems

- **Majority:** When there are only two candidates
  - elect the one receiving the more votes
- **Majority:** When there are more than two candidates
  - many ways to extend this simple idea
  - not equivalent
  - sometimes leading to unwanted results

## Typology of elections

- Two main criteria

- ① type of ballots admitted

- one name
    - ranking of all candidates
    - other types (acceptable candidates, grading candidates, etc.)

- ② method for organizing the election and for tallying ballots

- Consequences:

- many possible types of elections
  - many have been proposed
  - many have have been used in practice

## Two hypotheses

- 1 All voters are able to rank order the set of all candidates (ties admitted)
  - e.g. each voter has a weak order on the set of all candidates:

$$a \succ b \succ c \sim d \succ e$$

- 2 Voters are sincere
  - if I have to vote for one candidate, I vote for a



# *Plurality voting*

## Rules

- one round of voting
- ballots with one name
- “first past the post”

## Remark

- ties are neglected (unlikely)
  - one voter has special power (the Queen chooses in case of a tie)
  - one candidate receives special treatment (the older candidate is elected)
  - random tie breaking rule

# Plurality voting

## Example

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

6 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

5 voters:  $c \succ b \succ a$

Which candidate is elected ?

# Plurality voting

## Example

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ... )
  - 10 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$
  - 6 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$
  - 5 voters:  $c \succ b \succ a$

Which candidate is elected ?

## Results

- $a : 10 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 5$
- $a$  is elected.
- but an absolute majority of voters  $11/21$  prefer all losing candidates to the elected one!

# *Plurality voting*

## Remarks

- Problems are expected as soon as there are more than 2 candidates
- A system based on an idea of “majority” may well violate the will of a majority of voters
- Sincerity hypothesis is heroic!

# *Plurality with runoff*

## Rules

- Ballots with one name
- First round
  - the candidate with most votes is elected if he receives more than 50% of votes
  - otherwise go to the second round
- Second round
  - keep the two candidates having received more votes
  - apply plurality voting

## Plurality with runoff

### Example (Previous Example)

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

6 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

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Which candidate is elected ?

## Plurality with runoff

### Example (Previous Example)

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
  - 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)
- 10 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$
- 6 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$
- 5 voters:  $c \succ b \succ a$

Which candidate is elected ?

### Results

- $a : 10 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 5$
- absolute majority:  $21/2 = 11$  voters.
- go to the second round with  $a$  and  $b$ :  $a : 10 \quad b : 11$
- $b$  is elected
- no candidate is preferred to  $b$  by a majority of voters

## Plurality with runoff

### Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$

6 voters:  $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$

5 voters:  $a \succ d \succ b \succ c$

Which candidate is elected ?



# Plurality with runoff

## Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$

6 voters:  $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$

5 voters:  $a \succ d \succ b \succ c$

Which candidate is elected ?

## Results

- $b$  is elected
- absolute majority:  $21/2 = 11$  voters.
- an absolute majority of voters (11/21) prefer  $a$  and  $d$  to  $b$

## *Plurality with runoff*

### Plurality vs plurality with runoff

- The French system does only a little better than the UK one
- Preferences used in the above example are not bizarre.

## Plurality with runoff : manipulation

### Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$

6 voters:  $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$

5 voters:  $a \succ d \succ b \succ c$

$b$  is elected

### Non-sincere voting

- Suppose that the 6 voters for which  $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$  vote as if their preferences were  $a \succ c \succ d \succ b$
- **Result:**
  - $a$  is elected at the first round (11/21)
  - profitable to the six manipulating voters (for them  $a \succ b$ )

# *Manipulable voting rules*

## Definition

- A voting rule is **manipulable** if it may happen that some voters may have an interest to vote in a non-sincere way

## Remarks

- Plurality with runoff is manipulable

## *Plurality with runoff: monotonicity*

### Before campaign

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 17 voters

6 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

5 voters:  $c \succ a \succ b$

4 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c$

Which candidate is elected?

## *Plurality with runoff: monotonicity*

### Before campaign

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 17 voters

6 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

5 voters:  $c \succ a \succ b$

4 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c$

### Results

- $a$  is elected!
- $a$  gets more money to campaign against  $b$

## Plurality with runoff: monotonicity

### Before campaign

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 17 voters

6 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

5 voters:  $c \succ a \succ b$

4 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c$

- Suppose that last 2 voters ( $b \succ a \succ c$ ) change their minds in favor of  $a$
- Their new preferences are  $a \succ b \succ c$

Which candidate is elected?

## Plurality with runoff: monotonicity

### Before campaign

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 17 voters

6 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

5 voters:  $c \succ a \succ b$

4 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c$

- Suppose that last 2 voters ( $b \succ a \succ c$ ) change their minds in favor of  $a$
- Their new preferences are  $a \succ b \succ c$

### Results

- $c$  is elected!
- the good campaign of  $a$  is fatal to him/her
- **non-monotonic method**: increasing possibilities of manipulation



## Condorcet voting rule (1785)

### Principles

- compare all candidates by pair
- declare that  $a$  is “socially preferred” to  $b$  if (strictly) more voters prefer  $a$  to  $b$  (social indifference in case of a tie)
- Condorcet’s principle: if one candidate is preferred to all other candidates, it should be elected. This candidate is called a **Condorcet Winner**
- Condorcet Winner (CW: must be unique)

### Remarks

- Plurality rule and Plurality with runoff violate Condorcet’s principle
- Condorcet’s principle does not solve the “dictature of the majority” difficulty
- a Condorcet winner is not necessarily “ranked high” by voters

## Condorcet voting rule

### Example

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

6 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

5 voters:  $c \succ b \succ a$

Is there a Condorcet winner?

# Condorcet voting rule

## Example

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
  - 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)
- 10 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$
- 6 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$
- 5 voters:  $c \succ b \succ a$

## Results

- $b$  is the Condorcet winner
  - $b$  beats  $a$  (11/21)
  - $b$  beats  $c$  (16/21)
- $a$  is the plurality winner
- $a$  is the Condorcet loser

# Condorcet voting rule

## Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)

10 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$

6 voters:  $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$

5 voters:  $a \succ d \succ b \succ c$

Is there a Condorcet winner?

# Condorcet voting rule

## Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
  - 21 voters (or 21 000 000 or 42 000 000, ...)
- 10 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$
- 6 voters:  $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$
- 5 voters:  $a \succ d \succ b \succ c$

## Results

- $a$  is the Condorcet winner
  - $a$  beats  $b$  (11/21)
  - $a$  beats  $c$  (15/21)
  - $a$  beats  $d$  (21/21)
- $b$  is the plurality with runoff winner (beats  $c$  in the second round)

## Condorcet's Paradox

### Example

- 3 candidates  $\{a, b, c\}$
- 3 voters

1 voters:  $a \succ b \succ c$

1 voters:  $b \succ c \succ a$

1 voters:  $c \succ a \succ b$

the social strict preference relation may have circuits!

### Electing the CW

- attractive but not always effective!

## *Borda voting rule (1783)*

### Principles

- Each ballot is an ordered list of candidates (exclude ties for simplicity)
- On each ballot compute the rank of the candidates in the list
- Rank order the candidates according to the decreasing sum of their ranks

### Remarks

- simple
- efficient: always lead to a result
- separable, monotonic, participation incentive

## *Borda voting rule*

### Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 3 voters

2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$

1 voters:  $a \succ c \succ d \succ b$

Which candidate is elected by using a Borda procedure?



# Borda voting rule

## Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 3 voters

2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$

1 voters:  $a \succ c \succ d \succ b$

## Results

- Borda scores

$a : 5 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 8 \quad d : 11$

- $a$  is elected
- $b$  is the obvious Condorcet Winner

# Summary

## Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 27 voters (may be also 27 000 000 or 54 000 000, ...)

5 votants :  $a \succ b \succ c \succ d$

4 votants :  $a \succ c \succ b \succ d$

2 votants :  $d \succ b \succ a \succ c$

6 votants :  $d \succ b \succ c \succ a$

8 votants :  $c \succ b \succ a \succ d$

2 votants :  $d \succ c \succ b \succ a$

Determine the candidate elected by using the plurality, plurality with runoff, Condorcet principle and Borda principle.

# Summary

## Example

- 4 candidates  $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- 27 voters (may be also 27 000 000 or 54 000 000, ...)

5 voters :  $a \succ b \succ c \succ d$

4 voters :  $a \succ c \succ b \succ d$

2 voters :  $d \succ b \succ a \succ c$

6 voters :  $d \succ b \succ c \succ a$

8 voters :  $c \succ b \succ a \succ d$

2 voters :  $d \succ c \succ b \succ a$

## Results

- $a$  is the plurality with runoff winner
- $d$  is the plurality winner
- $b$  is the Borda winner
- $c$  is the Condorcet Winner

## *What are we looking for?*

### Democratic method

- always giving a result like Borda
- always electing the Condorcet winner
- consistent w.r.t. withdrawals
- monotonic, separable, incentive to participate, not manipulable etc.

# Arrow

## Framework

- $n \geq 3$  candidates (otherwise use plurality)
- $m$  voters ( $m \geq 2$  and finite)
- ballots: ordered list of candidates
- A voting profile is denoted by  $(\succsim_i)_{i=1,\dots,m}$  where  $\succsim_i$  is an individual preferences of the voter  $i$ .
- The result (collective preference) of the voting is denoted by  $\succsim$ .

## Problem

- find all electoral methods respecting a small number of “desirable” principles

# Arrow

## Principles

- **Universality**

- the method should be able to deal with any configuration of ordered lists, i.e., there is no restriction about the expression of a voter.

- **Transitivity**

- the result of the method should be an ordered list of candidates

- **Unanimity**

- the method should respect a unanimous preference of the voters

$$\forall x, y, [x \succsim_i y \quad \forall i = 1, \dots, m] \implies x \succsim y$$

# Arrow

## Principles

- **Absence of dictator**
  - the method should not allow for dictators

$$\exists i_0, \forall x, y [x \succsim_{i_0} y \implies x \succsim y]$$

- **Independence of irrelevant alternatives**
  - the comparison of two candidates should be based only on their respective standings in the ordered lists of the voters

$$\forall x, y, [\forall i = 1, \dots, m, x \succsim_i y \iff x \succsim'_i y] \implies [x \succsim y \iff x \succsim' y]$$

## *Arrow's theorem (1951)*

### Theorem

There is no method respecting the five principles

### Borda

- universal, transitive, unanimous with no dictator
- cannot be independent

### Condorcet

- universal, independent, unanimous with no dictator
- cannot be transitive



## Exercise

We consider the following profile (9 voters and 4 candidates) where the preferences of the last voter are unknown:

4 voters:  $c \succ d \succ a \succ b$   
 2 voters:  $a \succ b \succ d \succ c$   
 2 voters:  $b \succ a \succ c \succ d$   
 1 voter:  $? \succ ? \succ ? \succ ?$

Do we necessarily know the preferences of the last voter, in order to determine the result of the elections in a UK system (plurality) and French system (plurality with runoff)? If yes, gives these preferences and the results of these elections.