

The Mathematics of Voting: Paradox, deception, and chaos

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<http://xaravve.trentu.ca/voting.pdf>

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- ▶ ...A committee must award a prize to one of four contestants **A**riadne, **B**rynn, **C**hloe, or **D**esdemona.

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- ▶ ...Pick one dessert for the dinner party: **A**pple cobbler, **B**anana cream pie, **C**hocolate cake, or ***D**ulce de leche*.

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- ▶ ...An federal election with four candidates: Liber**A**I, **B**loc Quebecois, **C**onservative, or New **D**emocratic.

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We can describe people's preferences with a table:

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	10
A > C > D > B	9
A > D > B > C	11
B > C > D > A	22
C > D > B > A	23
D > B > C > A	25
Total	100

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We can describe people's preferences with a table:
e.g. this means that 10% of the people prefer **A** to **B**, prefer **B** to **C**, and prefer **C** to **D**.

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A > B > C > D	10
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Suppose people must choose between four alternatives **A**, **B**, **C**, or **D**. e.g....

- ▶ ...Olympic judges must give the gold medal to **A**rgentina, **B**razil, **C**anada, or **D**enmark.
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We can describe people's preferences with a table:

e.g. this means that 10% of the people prefer **A** to **B**, prefer **B** to **C**, and prefer **C** to **D**.

There is no unanimous favourite.

We must have a vote...

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25
Total	100

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

Consider an election with four candidates A , B , C , and D .

(e.g. 10% of the voters prefer A to B , prefer B to C , and prefer C to D .)

An election gone wrong....

(3/84)

Plurality Vote					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10			
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9			
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22		
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23			23	
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25				25
Total	100	30	22	23	25
Verdict:	A wins.				

Consider an election with four candidates A , B , C , and D .

(e.g. 10% of the voters prefer A to B , prefer B to C , and prefer C to D .)

Clearly A wins the election, with 30% of the vote.

An election gone wrong....

(3/84)

A versus B, C, and D							
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$	$A \succ C$	$C \succ A$	$A \succ D$	$D \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10		10		10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11		11		11	
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22		22		22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23		23		23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		$B \succ A$		$C \succ A$		$D \succ A$	

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But most voters prefer *any other candidate* over A :

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$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10		10		10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11		11		11	
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22		22		22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23		23		23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		$B \succ A$		$C \succ A$		$D \succ A$	

Consider an election with four candidates A , B , C , and D .

(e.g. 10% of the voters prefer A to B , prefer B to C , and prefer C to D .)

Clearly A wins the election, with 30% of the vote.

But most voters prefer *any other candidate* over A :

70% prefer B to A

A versus B, C, and D							
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$	$A \succ C$	$C \succ A$	$A \succ D$	$D \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10		10		10	
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$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		$B \succ A$		$C \succ A$		$D \succ A$	

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$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11		11		11	
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22		22		22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23		23		23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		$B \succ A$		$C \succ A$		$D \succ A$	

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Verdict:		$B \succ A$		$C \succ A$		$D \succ A$	

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Clearly A wins the election, with 30% of the vote.

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How did A win?

Splitting the opposition

(4/84)

A versus B, C, and D							
Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A	A \succ C	C \succ A	A \succ D	D \succ A
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11		11		11	
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		22		22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23		23		23		23
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		B \succ A		C \succ A		D \succ A	

Idea: More than 50% of voters despise A, but the 'anti-A' vote is 'split' between candidates B, C, and D, so A still wins.

Splitting the opposition

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Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A	A \succ C	C \succ A	A \succ D	D \succ A
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A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11		11		11	
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		22		22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23		23		23		23
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		B \succ A		C \succ A		D \succ A	

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Problem: With four candidates, no single candidate gets a clear majority.

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Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		B \succ A		C \succ A		D \succ A	

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B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		22		22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23		23		23		23
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Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		B \succ A		C \succ A		D \succ A	

Idea: More than 50% of voters despise A, but the 'anti-A' vote is 'split' between candidates B, C, and D, so A still wins.

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Solution? Have a 'run-off election' between A and the second-place candidate

Splitting the opposition

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A versus B, C, and D							
Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A	A \succ C	C \succ A	A \succ D	D \succ A
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11		11		11	
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		22		22
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Total	100	30	70	30	70	30	70
Verdict:		B \succ A		C \succ A		D \succ A	

Idea: More than 50% of voters despise A, but the 'anti-A' vote is 'split' between candidates B, C, and D, so A still wins.

Problem: With four candidates, no single candidate gets a clear majority. (We say A wins with a **plurality**, meaning she gets the biggest fraction of votes, but still a minority).

Solution? Have a 'run-off election' between A and the second-place candidate (In this case, this is D, who got 25% of the vote).

A run-off election

(5/84)

A versus D			
Preferences	#	$A \succ D$	$D \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11	
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25
Total	100	30	70
Verdict:		$D \succ A$	

In the run-off election, D crushes A, winning with 70% of the vote.

A run-off election

(5/84)

A versus D versus C					
Preferences	#	A \succ D	D \succ A	C \succ D	D \succ C
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22	22	
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23		23	23	
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	64	36
Verdict:		D \succ A		C \succ D	

In the run-off election, D crushes A, winning with 70% of the vote.

Problem: 64% of the voters prefer C to D!

A run-off election

(5/84)

A versus D versus C					
Preferences	#	A \succ D	D \succ A	C \succ D	D \succ C
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22	22	
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23		23	23	
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	64	36
Verdict:		D \succ A		C \succ D	

In the run-off election, D crushes A, winning with 70% of the vote.

Problem: 64% of the voters prefer C to D!

The 'wrong' candidate won again! How?

A run-off election

(5/84)

A versus D versus C					
Preferences	#	A \succ D	D \succ A	C \succ D	D \succ C
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22	22	
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23		23	23	
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	64	36
Verdict:		D \succ A		C \succ D	

In the run-off election, D crushes A, winning with 70% of the vote.

Problem: 64% of the voters prefer C to D!

The 'wrong' candidate won again! How?

Idea: The 'anti-D vote' was split between B and C.

A run-off election

(5/84)

A versus D versus C					
Preferences	#	A \succ D	D \succ A	C \succ D	D \succ C
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22	22	
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D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	64	36
Verdict:		D \succ A		C \succ D	

In the run-off election, D crushes A, winning with 70% of the vote.

Problem: 64% of the voters prefer C to D!

The 'wrong' candidate won again! How?

Idea: The 'anti-D vote' was split between B and C.

Thus, D obtained second place, even though most voters prefer C.

A run-off election

(5/84)

A versus D versus C					
Preferences	#	$A \succ D$	$D \succ A$	$C \succ D$	$D \succ C$
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10		10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23	23	
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25
Total	100	30	70	64	36
Verdict:		$D \succ A$		$C \succ D$	

In the run-off election, **D** crushes **A**, winning with 70% of the vote.

Problem: 64% of the voters prefer **C** to **D**!

The 'wrong' candidate won again! How?

Idea: The 'anti-D vote' was split between **B** and **C**.

Thus, **D** obtained second place, even though most voters prefer **C**.

Solution? Have a *sequence* of two-candidate elections.

A versus D versus C					
Preferences	#	A \succ D	D \succ A	C \succ D	D \succ C
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10		10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9		9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			11
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Total	100	30	70	64	36
Verdict:		D \succ A		C \succ D	

In the run-off election, D crushes A, winning with 70% of the vote.

Problem: 64% of the voters prefer C to D!

The 'wrong' candidate won again! How?

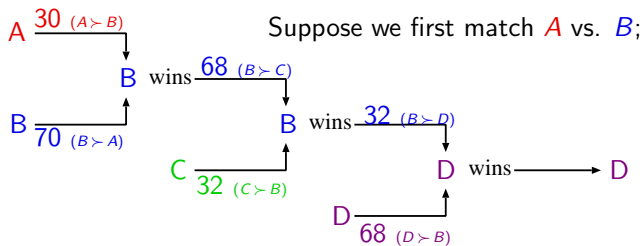
Idea: The 'anti-D vote' was split between B and C.

Thus, D obtained second place, even though most voters prefer C.

Solution? Have a *sequence* of two-candidate elections.

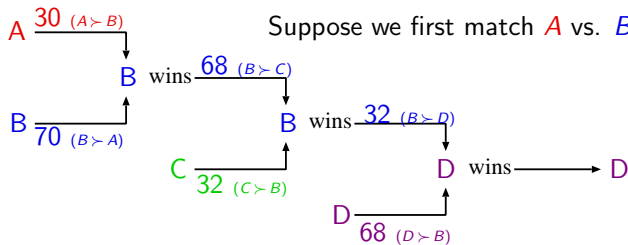
In each of these, the winner must have a clear majority.

An agenda of pairwise votes

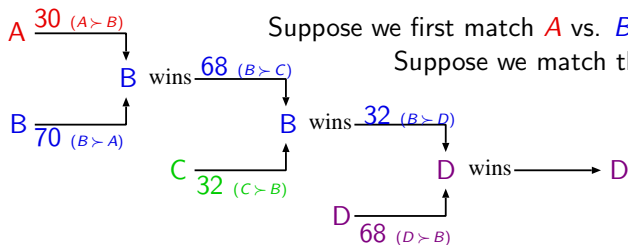


An agenda of pairwise votes

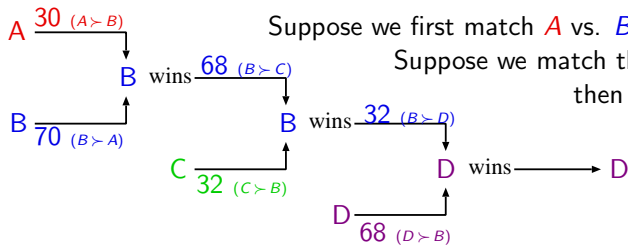
Suppose we first match A vs. B ; then B wins with 70%.



An agenda of pairwise votes



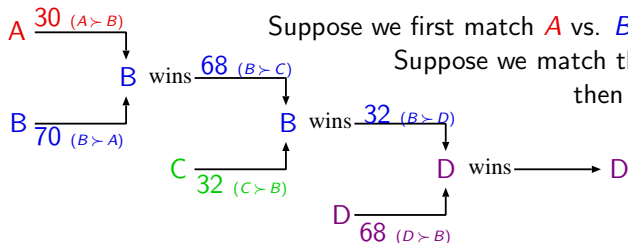
An agenda of pairwise votes



Suppose we first match A vs. B ; then B wins with 70%.

Suppose we match the winner (B) against C , then B wins again, with 68%.

An agenda of pairwise votes

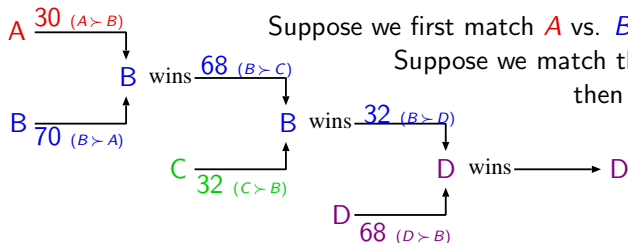


Suppose we first match A vs. B ; then B wins with 70%.

Suppose we match the winner (B) against C , then B wins again, with 68%.

Finally, if we match *this* winner (B) against D ; then D wins, with 68%.

An agenda of pairwise votes

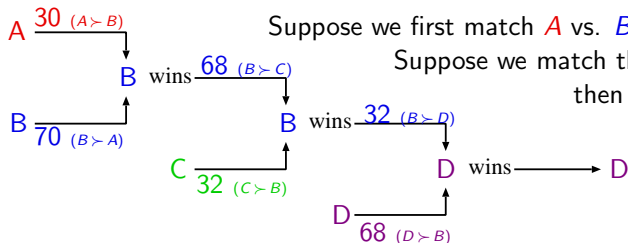


Suppose we first match A vs. B ; then B wins with 70%.

Suppose we match the winner (B) against C , then B wins again, with 68%.

Finally, if we match *this* winner (B) against D ; then D wins, with 68%. Thus, D wins the election.

An agenda of pairwise votes



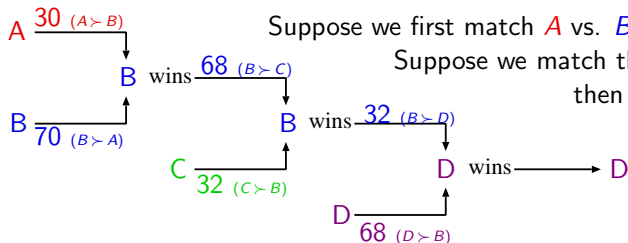
Suppose we first match A vs. B ; then B wins with 70%.

Suppose we match the winner (B) against C , then B wins again, with 68%.

Finally, if we match *this* winner (B) against D ; then D wins, with 68%.

Thus, D wins the election. Such a **sequence of pairwise votes** is often used by committees to approve motions and amendments.

An agenda of pairwise votes



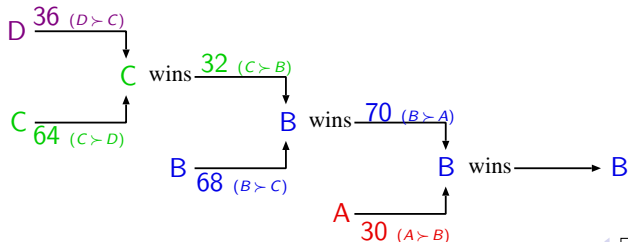
Suppose we first match A vs. B ; then B wins with 70%.

Suppose we match the winner (B) against C , then B wins again, with 68%.

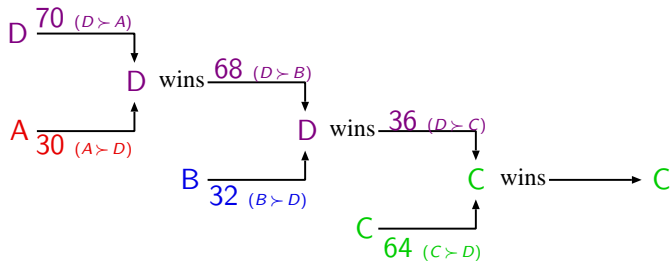
Finally, if we match *this* winner (B) against D ; then D wins, with 68%.

Thus, D wins the election. Such a sequence of pairwise votes is often used by committees to approve motions and amendments.

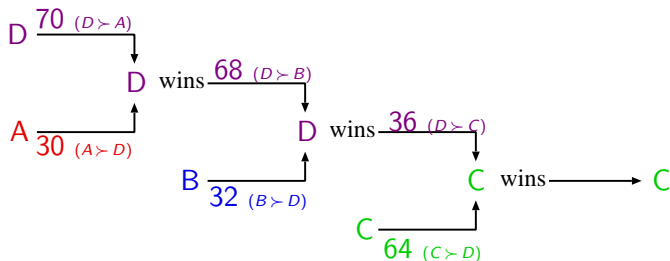
Problem: With a different 'agenda' of matches, we get a different winner:



With yet another 'agenda', we can get a yet another winner.

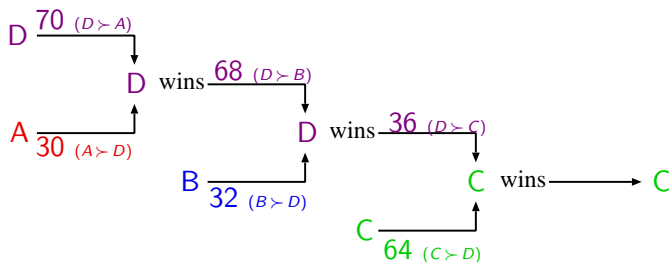


With yet another 'agenda', we can get a yet another winner.



Problem: The winner depends upon the *order* in which we match the candidates against each other.

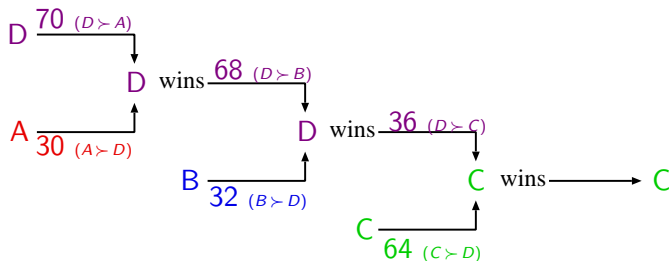
With yet another 'agenda', we can get a yet another winner.



Problem: The winner depends upon the *order* in which we match the candidates against each other.

With a suitable **agenda** of pairwise votes, we can make *any one* of B, C, or D the 'winner' of the election!

With yet another 'agenda', we can get a yet another winner.



Problem: The winner depends upon the *order* in which we match the candidates against each other.

With a suitable **agenda** of pairwise votes, we can make *any one* of B, C, or D the 'winner' of the election!

Solution? Have a *sequence* of run-off elections. Start with all candidates, and after each election, drop the lowest-ranked candidate.

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25
Total	100

The **instant runoff** system (also called **Hare's method**) works as follows:

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

The instant runoff system (also called Hare's method) works as follows:

1. Each voter writes her *complete* preference ordering on her ballot.

Thus, we have all the information in the above table.

Majority Vote					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10			
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9			
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23			23	
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25				25
Total	100	30	22	23	25
Verdict:	No majority winner				

The instant runoff system (also called Hare's method) works as follows:

1. Each voter writes her *complete* preference ordering on her ballot. Thus, we have all the information in the above table.
2. We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.

Majority Vote					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10			
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9			
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23			23	
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25				25
Total	100	30	22	23	25
Verdict:	No majority winner				

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1. Each voter writes her *complete* preference ordering on her ballot. Thus, we have all the information in the above table.
2. We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- 3(a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.

Majority Vote					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10			
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9	9			
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11			
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22		
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23			23	
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25				25
Total	100	30	22	23	25
Verdict:	No majority winner				

The instant runoff system (also called Hare's method) works as follows:

1. Each voter writes her *complete* preference ordering on her ballot. Thus, we have all the information in the above table.
2. We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- 3(a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- 3(b). Otherwise, we **remove** the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, **B**.

Removal of B:							
Preferences	#	A \succ D \succ C	D \succ C \succ A	C \succ A \succ D	D \succ A \succ C	A \succ C \succ D	C \succ D \succ A
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10					10	
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9					9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11					
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22						22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23						23
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25		25				
Total	100	11	25	0	0	19	45

The instant runoff system (also called Hare's method) works as follows:

- Each voter writes her *complete* preference ordering on her ballot. Thus, we have all the information in the above table.
- We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- (a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- (b). Otherwise, we remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, B.
- We reconstruct the voter's preference orders, with B removed.

Majority Vote				
Preferences	#	A	C	D
$A \succ C \succ D$	19	19		
$A \succ D \succ C$	11	11		
$C \succ D \succ A$	45		45	
$D \succ C \succ A$	25			25
Total	100	30	45	25
Verdict:		No winner.		

- Each voter writes her *complete* preference ordering on her ballot. Thus, we have all the information in the above table.
- We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- (a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- (b). Otherwise, we remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, **B**.
- We reconstruct the voter's preference orders, with **B** removed.
- Again, we count the number of voters who favour each candidate.

Majority Vote				
Preferences	#	A	C	D
A > C > D	19	19		
A > D > C	11	11		
C > D > A	45		45	
D > C > A	25			25
Total	100	30	45	25
Verdict:		No winner.		

Thus, we have all the information in the above table.

2. We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.

3(a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.

3(b). Otherwise, we remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, B.

4. We reconstruct the voter's preference orders, with B removed.

5. Again, we count the number of voters who favour each candidate.

6(a) Again, if some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.

Majority Vote				
Preferences	#	A	C	D
$A \succ C \succ D$	19	19		
$A \succ D \succ C$	11	11		
$C \succ D \succ A$	45		45	
$D \succ C \succ A$	25			25
Total	100	30	45	25
Verdict:		No winner.		

2. We count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- 3(a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- 3(b). Otherwise, we remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, **B**.
4. We reconstruct the voter's preference orders, with **B** removed.
5. Again, we count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- 6(a) Again, if some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- 6(b) Otherwise, we again remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, **D**.

Removal of D			
Preferences	#	A \succ C	C \succ A
A \succ B \succ C	11	11	
B \succ C \succ A	25		25
A \succ C \succ B	19	19	
C \succ B \succ A	45		45
Total	100	30	70

- 3(a). If some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- 3(b). Otherwise, we remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, B.
4. We reconstruct the voter's preference orders, with B removed.
5. Again, we count the number of voters who favour each candidate.
- 6(a) Again, if some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.
- 6(b) Otherwise, we again remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, D.
7. We continue this process until some candidate wins a strict majority.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ C$	30
$C \succ A$	70
Verdict:	C wins.

3(b). Otherwise, we remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, B .

4. We reconstruct the voter's preference orders, with B removed.

5. Again, we count the number of voters who favour each candidate.

6(a) Again, if some candidate has a strict majority of votes, she wins.

6(b) Otherwise, we again remove the candidate who is favoured by the fewest voters—in this case, D .

7. We continue this process until some candidate wins a strict majority.

....In this case, it is C .

“The greatest improvement in government”?

(9/84)

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	23
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25
Total	100

Hare's 'Instant Runoff' is used to elect the **President** of Ireland, the **mayors** of **London** and **San Francisco**, and the host city for the **Olympic Games**.

“The greatest improvement in government”?

(9/84)

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

Hare's 'Instant Runoff' is used to elect the President of Ireland, the mayors of London and San Francisco, and the host city for the Olympic Games. In 1860, **John Stuart Mill** called it, “among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government.”

“The greatest improvement in government”?

(9/84)

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

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However, Instant Runoff has a little problem.

Problem: Monotonicity Failure

(9/84)

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

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Suppose 4% of the " $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ " voters change to " $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ".

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

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Thus, the (bottom) " $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ " tally **decreases** from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) " $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ " tally **increases** from 23% to 27%.

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	27
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	21
Total	100

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Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards **C**.

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	27
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	21
Total	100

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However, Instant Runoff has a little problem.

Suppose 4% of the “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” voters change to “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ”.

Thus, the (bottom) “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C .

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

Problem: Monotonicity Failure

(9/84)

Majority Vote					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10			
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9			
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22		
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	27			27	
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	21				21
Total	100	30	22	27	21
Verdict:	No majority winner				

In 1860, John Stuart Mill called it, “among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government.”

However, Instant Runoff has a little problem.

Suppose 4% of the “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” voters change to “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ”.

Thus, the (bottom) “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

Problem: Monotonicity Failure

(9/84)

Removal of D:							
Preferences	#	A \succ B \succ C	B \succ C \succ A	C \succ A \succ B	B \succ A \succ C	A \succ C \succ B	C \succ B \succ A
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	10	10					
A \succ C \succ D \succ B	9					9	
A \succ D \succ B \succ C	11	11					
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	22		22				
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	27						27
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	21		21				
Total	100	21	43	0	0	9	27

In 1860, John Stuart Mill called it, “among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government.”

However, Instant Runoff has a little problem.

Suppose 4% of the “D \succ B \succ C \succ A” voters change to “C \succ D \succ B \succ A”. Thus, the (bottom) “D \succ B \succ C \succ A” tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) “C \succ D \succ B \succ A” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

Majority Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	21	21		
$A \succ C \succ B$	9	9		
$B \succ C \succ A$	43		43	
$C \succ B \succ A$	27			27
Total	100	30	43	27
Verdict:		No winner.		

In 1860, John Stuart Mill called it, “among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government.”

However, Instant Runoff has a little problem.

Suppose 4% of the “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” voters change to “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ”.

Thus, the (bottom) “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let’s watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

Removal of C			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ X \succ B$	9	9	
$X \succ B \succ A$	27		27
$A \succ B \succ X$	21	21	
$B \succ X \succ A$	43		43
Total	100	30	70

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Thus, the (bottom) “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let’s watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B$	30
$B \succ A$	70
Verdict:	B wins.

In 1860, John Stuart Mill called it, “among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government.”

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Thus, the (bottom) “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” tally decreases from 25% to 21%,

while the (second last) “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C .

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

In the final round, B (*not* C) is the winner.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B$	30
$B \succ A$	70
Verdict:	B wins.

However, Instant Runoff has a little problem.

Suppose 4% of the " $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ " voters change to " $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ".

Thus, the (bottom) " $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ " tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) " $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ " tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

In the final round, B (*not* C) is the winner.

Thus, a shift in public opinion that *favoured* C actually *destroyed* C's victory!

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B$	30
$B \succ A$	70
Verdict:	B wins.

Suppose 4% of the “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” voters change to “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ”.

Thus, the (bottom) “ $D \succ B \succ C \succ A$ ” tally decreases from 25% to 21%, while the (second last) “ $C \succ D \succ B \succ A$ ” tally increases from 23% to 27%.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C .

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let’s watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

In the final round, B (*not* C) is the winner.

Thus, a shift in public opinion that *favoured* C actually *destroyed* C ’s victory!

Thus, “Instant Runoff” lacks a critical property: *monotonicity*.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B$	30
$B \succ A$	70
Verdict:	B wins.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

In the final round, B (*not* C) is the winner.

Thus, a shift in public opinion that *favoured* C actually *destroyed* C's victory!

Thus, "Instant Runoff" lacks a critical property: *monotonicity*.

Solution? Have a *single* election involving *all four* candidates. But let each voter more clearly and completely express her preferences.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B$	30
$B \succ A$	70
Verdict:	B wins.

Note that this change in public opinion is strictly *favourable* towards C.

C won the election before, so she should win again. But let's watch....

During the first round, D has the lowest support, so she is eliminated.

During the next round, C is eliminated...

In the final round, B (*not* C) is the winner.

Thus, a shift in public opinion that *favoured* C actually *destroyed* C's victory!

Thus, "Instant Runoff" lacks a critical property: *monotonicity*.

Solution? Have a *single* election involving *all four* candidates. But let each voter more clearly and completely express her preferences.

Example: Let each voter vote for her 'top two' candidates, or even her 'top three' candidates. Or let her 'rank' all four candidates.

Top two vs. top three candidates

(10/84)

Vote for top two					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10		
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23			23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25
Total	100	30	57	54	59
Verdict:		D wins.			

Suppose each voter votes for her 'top two' candidates.

Top two vs. top three candidates

(10/84)

Vote for top two					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10		
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23			23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25
Total	100	30	57	54	59
Verdict:		D wins.			

Suppose each voter votes for her 'top two' candidates.
Then D wins the election, with 59 points.

Top two vs. top three candidates

(10/84)

Vote for top two					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10		
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23			23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25
Total	100	30	57	54	59
Verdict:		D wins.			

Suppose each voter votes for her 'top two' candidates.

Then **D** wins the election, with **59** points.

But suppose instead we let each voter vote for her 'top three' candidates.

Vote for top two					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10		
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11			11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23			23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25		25
Total	100	30	57	54	59
Verdict:		D wins.			

Suppose each voter votes for her 'top two' candidates.

Then **D** wins the election, with **59** points.

But suppose instead we let each voter vote for her 'top three' candidates.

(Effectively, she 'votes against' her worst candidate; thus this is called *antiplurality* vote).

Top two vs. top three candidates

(10/84)

Antipluralty (vote for top three)					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10	10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11	11		11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23	23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25	25	25
Total	100	30	91	89	90
Verdict:		B wins.			

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Top two vs. top three candidates

(10/84)

Antipluralality (vote for top three)					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10	10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11	11		11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23	23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25	25	25
Total	100	30	91	89	90
Verdict:		B wins.			

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Who is the 'real' winner?

Top two vs. top three candidates

(10/84)

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Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10	10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	9		9	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	11	11		11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		22	22	22
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$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		25	25	25
Total	100	30	91	89	90
Verdict:		B wins.			

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Who is the 'real' winner? **B**(antipluralty)?

Top two vs. top three candidates

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Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10	10	
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Who is the 'real' winner? B(antipluralality)? D(vote-for-2)?

Top two vs. top three candidates

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Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	10	10	10	
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Then **B** wins the election, with **91** points.

Who is the 'real' winner? **B**(antipluralality)? **D**(vote-for-2)? or **A**(plurality)?

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Then we sum up the points, and the candidate with the highest sum wins.

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Then we sum up the points, and the candidate with the highest sum wins.

Borda Count					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	3×10	2×10	10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	3×9		2×9	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	3×11	11		2×11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		3×22	2×22	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23	3×23	2×23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		2×25	25	3×25
Total	100	90	170	166	174
Verdict:	D wins.				

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Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	10	3×10	2×10	10	
$A \succ C \succ D \succ B$	9	3×9		2×9	9
$A \succ D \succ B \succ C$	11	3×11	11		2×11
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	22		3×22	2×22	22
$C \succ D \succ B \succ A$	23		23	3×23	2×23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	25		2×25	25	3×25
Total	100	90	170	166	174
Verdict:		D wins.			

In this case, the winner is D, with 174 points.

All four methods can disagree

(12/84)

Now consider the following profile

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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	22
$A \succ D \succ C \succ B$	22
$C \succ B \succ D \succ A$	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	33
Total	100

In this case, all four methods give different answers...

Now consider the following profile

Plurality Vote					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	22	22			
$A \succ D \succ C \succ B$	22	22			
$C \succ B \succ D \succ A$	23			23	
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	33				33
Total	100	44	0	23	33
Verdict:		A wins.			

In this case, all four methods give different answers...

- ▶ A wins the plurality election, with 44% of the vote.

Now consider the following profile

Vote for top two					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	22	22	22		
$A \succ D \succ C \succ B$	22	22			22
$C \succ B \succ D \succ A$	23		23	23	
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	33		33		33
Total	100	44	78	23	55
Verdict:		B wins.			

In this case, all four methods give different answers...

- ▶ A wins the plurality election, with 44% of the vote.
- ▶ B wins the 'vote-for-two' election, with 78 points.

Now consider the following profile

Anti-plurality (vote for top three)					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	22	22	22	22	
$A \succ D \succ C \succ B$	22	22		22	22
$C \succ B \succ D \succ A$	23		23	23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	33		33	33	33
Total	100	44	78	100	78
Verdict:		C wins.			

In this case, all four methods give different answers...

- ▶ A wins the plurality election, with 44% of the vote.
- ▶ B wins the 'vote-for-two' election, with 78 points.
- ▶ C wins the antiplurality election, with 100 points.

Now consider the following profile

Borda Count					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	22	3×22	2×22	22	
$A \succ D \succ C \succ B$	22	3×22		22	2×22
$C \succ B \succ D \succ A$	23		2×23	3×23	23
$D \succ B \succ C \succ A$	33		2×33	33	3×33
Total	100	132	156	146	166
Verdict:		D wins.			

In this case, all four methods give different answers....

- ▶ A wins the plurality election, with 44% of the vote.
- ▶ B wins the 'vote-for-two' election, with 78 points.
- ▶ C wins the antiplurality election, with 100 points.
- ▶ D wins the Borda Count election, with 166 points.

Now consider the following profile

Borda Count					
Preferences	#	A	B	C	D
$A \succ B \succ C \succ D$	22	3×22	2×22	22	
$A \succ D \succ C \succ B$	22	3×22		22	2×22
$C \succ B \succ D \succ A$	23		2×23	3×23	23
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Who is the real winner?

(Anti)plurality, vote-for-two, and Borda count are **positional voting systems**.

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In a **positional voting system**, there is some sequence of 'scores'

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and each voter gives:

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Unlike 'Instant runoff', positional systems are always **monotone**: a change in public opinion which favours candidate **X** will *always* benefit **X**.

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Unlike 'Instant runoff', positional systems are always **monotone**: a change in public opinion which favours candidate **X** will *always* benefit **X**.

Also, unlike agendas of pairwise votes, positional systems are **neutral**: they don't systematically favour one candidate over others.

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(14/84)

Problem: For a given electorate, with fixed preferences, different 'voting procedures' can choose different winners.

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The **Borda count** seems to be a good compromise between 'plurality', 'antiplurality', and 'vote-for-two' procedures.

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The Borda count seems to be a good compromise between 'plurality', 'antiplurality', and 'vote-for-two' procedures.

It allows each voter to 'vote against' her worst candidate, but also assigns more 'weight' to her favourite than to her 2nd best, and more 'weight' to her 2nd best than her 3rd best, etc.

The Borda Count

(15/84)

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But Borda has drawbacks. For example, consider the following profile:

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C$	60
$B \succ C \succ A$	40
Total	100



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But Borda has drawbacks. For example, consider the following profile:

Borda Count				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	60	2×60	60	
$B \succ C \succ A$	40		2×40	40
Total	100	120	140	40
Verdict:		B wins.		



Clearly B wins the Borda Count election, with 140 points.

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Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	60	60		
$B \succ C \succ A$	40		40	
Total	100	60	40	0
Verdict:		A wins.		



Clearly **B** wins the Borda Count election, with **140** points.

However, **A** is preferred by a *strict majority* (**60%**) of the voters.

Borda Count was invented by Jean Charles de Borda (1733-1799), a French mathematician, military engineer, naval commander, and political theorist. It has many advantages, and is still widely used.

But Borda has drawbacks. For example, consider the following profile:

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But many 'positional' systems have this property; why use Borda's?



The problems with Borda's method were first noted by his contemporary, Marie Jean Antoine Nicolas de Caritat, the Marquis de **Condorcet** (1743-1794).



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A voting system should always choose the Condorcet winner, if one exists.



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Thus, **Condorcet's Criterion** says:

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(The last example shows that Borda count **violates** the Condorcet criteria.)

However, as Condorcet himself discovered, a Condorcet winner doesn't always exist....

Condorcet's Paradox

(17/84)

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Condorcet Pairwise Votes							
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ B$	$A \succ C$	$C \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	33	33		33		33	
$B \succ C \succ A$	33		33	33			33
$C \succ A \succ B$	34	34			34		34
Total	100	67	33	66	34	33	67
Verdict:		$A \succ B$		$B \succ C$		$C \succ A$	

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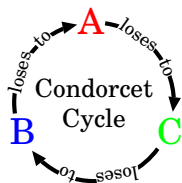
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Thus, *there is no Condorcet winner*. This is called **Condorcet's Paradox**. The majority's apparently 'cyclical' preference ordering

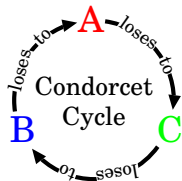
$\dots \succ A \succ B \succ C \succ A \succ B \succ C \succ A \succ B \succ C \succ A \succ B \succ C \succ \dots$

is called a **Condorcet cycle**.

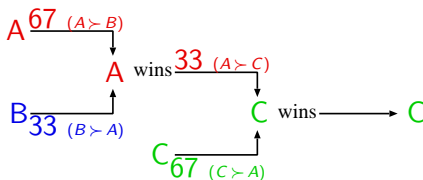
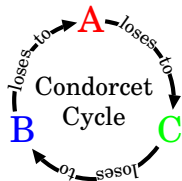
Condorcet cycles cause lots of problems.



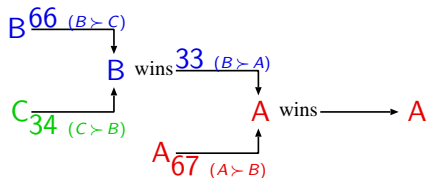
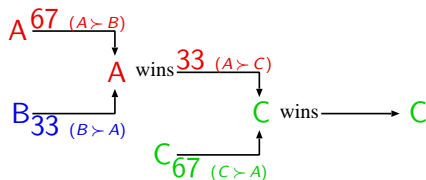
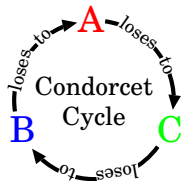
Condorcet cycles cause lots of problems. For example, they are the reason why different 'agendas' of pairwise votes can produce different winners:



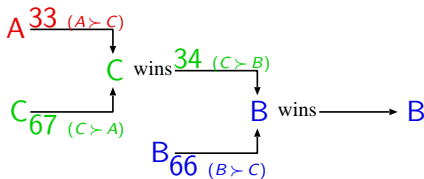
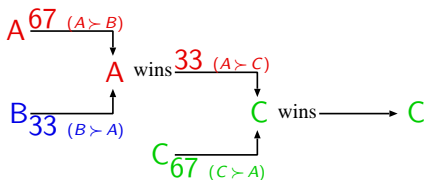
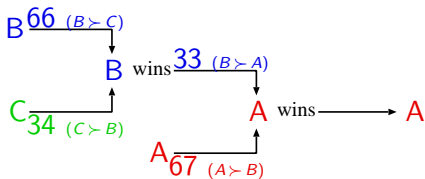
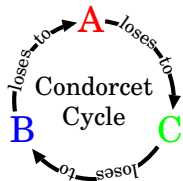
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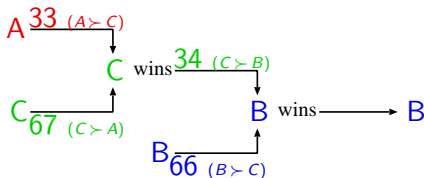
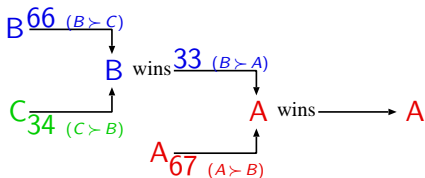
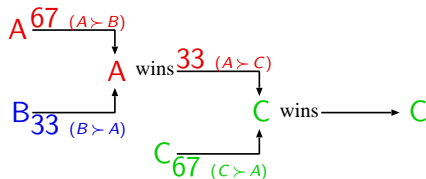
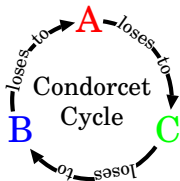
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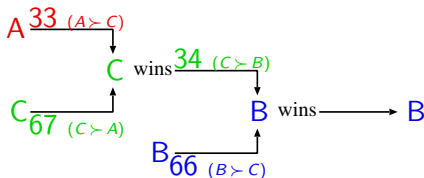
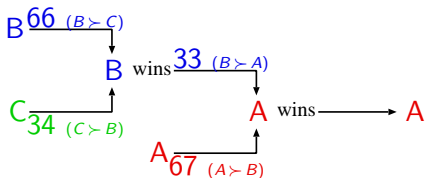
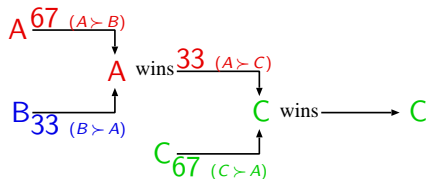
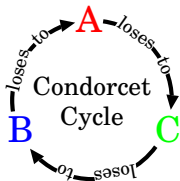


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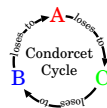
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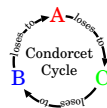


Problem: Whoever controls the agenda (e.g. the Chair of a committee, the head of the Election Commission) can control the outcome. This is called **agenda manipulation**.

Condorcet cycles can also cause political instability.



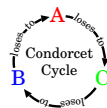
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In the *next* election, opponents of **A** can introduce **C**, who will beat **A**.

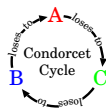


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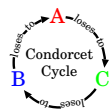
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But now, in the *fourth* election, opponents of **B** bring back **A**, who beats **B**.

Then the cycle starts over.



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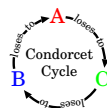
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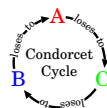
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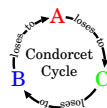
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Worse yet: a sly 'electioneer' can construct a **Condorcet spiral**

$$A_1 \succ B_1 \succ C_1 \succ A_2 \succ B_2 \succ C_2 \succ A_3 \succ B_3 \succ C_3 \succ \dots$$

which will converge towards any desired target in the 'political spectrum'.



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which will converge towards any desired target in the 'political spectrum'.

Thus, by deploying a suitable sequence of candidates, the electioneer can 'steer' the democracy wherever she wants.

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Borda Count				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	60	2×60	60	
$B \succ C \succ A$	40		2×40	40
Total	100	120	140	40
Verdict:		B wins.		

Recall: B wins the Borda Count election, with 140 points.

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Condorcet Pairwise Votes							
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ B$	$A \succ C$	$C \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	60	60		60		60	
$B \succ C \succ A$	40		40	40			40
Total	100	60	40	100	0	60	40
Verdict:		$A \succ B$		$B \succ C$		$A \succ C$	

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2-way Borda count			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B$	60	1×60	
$B \succ A$	40		1×40
Total	100	60	40

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If C *withdrew*, then A would win the Borda Count instead of B !

Thus, the presence of an **irrelevant alternative** —a third-place candidate like C —can change the outcome of the contest between A and B .

This sensitivity to **irrelevant alternatives** plagues not only Borda Count, but many voting systems, including the conventional plurality vote.

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For example, consider the following election:

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C$	40
$B \succ C \succ A$	35
$C \succ B \succ A$	25
Total	100

This sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives plagues not only Borda Count, but many voting systems, including the conventional plurality vote.

For example, consider the following election:

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	40	40		
$B \succ C \succ A$	35		35	
$C \succ B \succ A$	25			25
Total	100	40	35	25
Verdict:		A wins.		

A wins , but only because the anti-A vote is 'split' between B and C.

This sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives plagues not only Borda Count, but many voting systems, including the conventional plurality vote.

For example, consider the following election:

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	40	40	
$B \succ C \succ A$	35		35
$C \succ B \succ A$	25		25
Total	100	40	60
Verdict:		$B \succ A$	

A wins, but only because the anti-A vote is 'split' between B and C. If the third-place C withdraws, then B wins with a majority of 60%.

This sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives plagues not only Borda Count, but many voting systems, including the conventional plurality vote.

For example, consider the following election:

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	40	40	
$B \succ C \succ A$	35		35
$C \succ B \succ A$	25		25
Total	100	40	60
Verdict:		$B \succ A$	

A wins, but only because the anti-A vote is 'split' between B and C. If the third-place C withdraws, then B wins with a majority of 60%. Thus, plurality vote is sensitive to the 'irrelevant alternative' C.

This sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives plagues not only Borda Count, but many voting systems, including the conventional plurality vote.

For example, consider the following election:

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	40	40	
$B \succ C \succ A$	35		35
$C \succ B \succ A$	25		25
Total	100	40	60
Verdict:		$B \succ A$	

A wins, but only because the anti-A vote is 'split' between B and C.

If the third-place C withdraws, then B wins with a majority of 60%.

Thus, plurality vote is sensitive to the 'irrelevant alternative' C.

In fact, Donald Saari (1989) has shown that almost any positional voting system (e.g. (anti)plurality, vote-for-two, etc.) is highly sensitive to irrelevant alternatives....

Sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives is a form of 'collective irrationality'.

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- ▶ Apple cobbler
- ▶ Banana cream pie
- ▶ Chocolate cake.

You think, "I prefer Apple cobbler to Banana pie, and I prefer Banana pie to Chocolate cake (i.e. $A \succ B \succ C$). So I will order the Apple cobbler."

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So you say: "Then I will order the Banana cream pie."

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But then the waiter comes and says, "I'm sorry; the kitchen says there is no more Chocolate cake."

So you say: "Then I will order the Banana cream pie."

Does this make sense? No. But that is exactly what a voting procedure does if it is sensitive to irrelevant alternatives (in this case, Chocolate cake).

If a voting procedure is sensitive to 'irrelevant alternatives', then a sly 'electioneer' can **manipulate** the outcome by introducing 'fringe' candidates.

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A versus B			
Preferences	#	A	B
$A \succ B$	40	40	
$B \succ A$	60		60
Total	100	40	60
Verdict:		B wins	

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This **splits the opposition**, so **A** wins instead of **B**.

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	40	40		
$B \succ C \succ A$	35		35	
$C \succ B \succ A$	25			25
Total	100	40	35	25
Verdict:	A wins.			

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Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A \succ B \succ C	40	40		
B \succ C \succ A	35		35	
C \succ B \succ A	25			25
Total	100	40	35	25
Verdict:		A wins.		

2-way Borda count			
Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A
A \succ B	60	1 \times 60	
B \succ A	40		1 \times 40
Total	100	60	40
Verdict:		A wins	

On the other hand, suppose the right-hand election was a Borda Count. The supporters of **B** might introduce an 'irrelevant' third candidate, **C**....

If a voting procedure is sensitive to 'irrelevant alternatives', then a sly 'electioneer' can manipulate the outcome by introducing 'fringe' candidates. For example, in the following plurality election, the supporters of **A** might introduce an 'irrelevant' third candidate, **C**....

This splits the opposition, so **A** wins instead of **B**.

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A \succ B \succ C	40	40		
B \succ C \succ A	35		35	
C \succ B \succ A	25			25
Total	100	40	35	25
Verdict:		A wins.		

Borda Count				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A \succ B \succ C	60	2 \times 60	60	
B \succ C \succ A	40		2 \times 40	40
Total	100	120	140	40
Verdict:		B wins.		

On the other hand, suppose the right-hand election was a Borda Count. The supporters of **B** might introduce an 'irrelevant' third candidate, **C**.... This **inflates** **B**'s Borda score, so that **B** wins instead of **A**.

Indeed, 'sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives' plagues every reasonable voting system. To explain this, we need some terminology.

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Consider an election with three candidates **A**, **B**, and **C**.

There are *six* possible **preference orderings** a voter could have over these three candidates, namely:

A \succ **B** \succ **C**, **B** \succ **C** \succ **A**, **C** \succ **A** \succ **B**, **B** \succ **A** \succ **C**, **A** \succ **C** \succ **B**, **C** \succ **B** \succ **A**.

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A **3-candidate profile** is a list of how many voters espouse each of these six preference orderings.

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A 3-candidate profile is a list of how many voters espouse each of these six preference orderings.

For example, here is one possible profile.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C$	10
$A \succ C \succ B$	15
$B \succ A \succ C$	12
$B \succ C \succ A$	18
$C \succ A \succ B$	20
$C \succ B \succ A$	25
Total	100

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There are *six* possible preference orderings a voter could have over these three candidates, namely:

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A 3-candidate profile is a list of how many voters espouse each of these six preference orderings.

For example, here is one possible profile.

Likewise, there are 24 possible **preference orderings** over four candidates **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C$	10
$A \succ C \succ B$	15
$B \succ A \succ C$	12
$B \succ C \succ A$	18
$C \succ A \succ B$	20
$C \succ B \succ A$	25
Total	100

Indeed, 'sensitivity to irrelevant alternatives' plagues every reasonable voting system. To explain this, we need some terminology.

Consider an election with three candidates **A**, **B**, and **C**.

There are *six* possible preference orderings a voter could have over these three candidates, namely:

$A \succ B \succ C$, $B \succ C \succ A$, $C \succ A \succ B$, $B \succ A \succ C$, $A \succ C \succ B$, $C \succ B \succ A$.

A 3-candidate profile is a list of how many voters espouse each of these six preference orderings.

For example, here is one possible profile.

Likewise, there are 24 possible preference orderings over four candidates **A**, **B**, **C**, **D**.

A **4-candidate profile** lists how many voters espouse each of these 24 orderings.

Electorate	
Preferences	#
$A \succ B \succ C$	10
$A \succ C \succ B$	15
$B \succ A \succ C$	12
$B \succ C \succ A$	18
$C \succ A \succ B$	20
$C \succ B \succ A$	25
Total	100

For example, here is one possible 4-candidate profile.

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
B > A > C > D	2
B > A > D > C	6
B > C > A > D	1
B > C > D > A	5
B > D > A > C	1
B > D > C > A	15
C > A > B > D	3
C > A > D > B	2
C > B > A > D	6
C > B > D > A	1
C > D > A > B	1
C > D > B > A	1
D > A > B > C	2
D > A > C > B	1
D > B > A > C	1
D > B > C > A	24
D > C > A > B	2
D > C > B > A	1
Total	100

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
B > A > C > D	2
B > A > D > C	6
B > C > A > D	1
B > C > D > A	5
B > D > A > C	1
B > D > C > A	15
C > A > B > D	3
C > A > D > B	2
C > B > A > D	6
C > B > D > A	1
C > D > A > B	1
C > D > B > A	1
D > A > B > C	2
D > A > C > B	1
D > B > A > C	1
D > B > C > A	24
D > C > A > B	2
D > C > B > A	1
Total	100

For example, here is one possible 4-candidate profile.

An **ordinal voting procedure** is a rule which, for any *profile* selects some candidate as the 'winner'.*

(*) This definition requires the procedure to be **anonymous**: all voters are treated exactly the same. This excludes 'weighted voting', or giving some voters 'tie-breaker' or 'veto' powers. It also excludes a **dictatorship**, where one 'voter' makes all the decisions. Anonymity is actually not necessary for what follows, but it makes it simpler.

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
B > A > C > D	2
B > A > D > C	6
B > C > A > D	1
B > C > D > A	5
B > D > A > C	1
B > D > C > A	15
C > A > B > D	3
C > A > D > B	2
C > B > A > D	6
C > B > D > A	1
C > D > A > B	1
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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
B > A > C > D	2
B > A > D > C	6
B > C > A > D	1
B > C > D > A	5
B > D > A > C	1
B > D > C > A	15
C > A > B > D	3
C > A > D > B	2
C > B > A > D	6
C > B > D > A	1
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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
B > A > C > D	2
B > A > D > C	6
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B > D > C > A	15
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C > A > D > B	2
C > B > A > D	6
C > B > D > A	1
C > D > A > B	1
C > D > B > A	1
D > A > B > C	2
D > A > C > B	1
D > B > A > C	1
D > B > C > A	24
D > C > A > B	2
D > C > B > A	1
Total	100

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So is Hare's **instant runoff** system.

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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
B > A > C > D	2
B > A > D > C	6
B > C > A > D	1
B > C > D > A	5
B > D > A > C	1
B > D > C > A	15
C > A > B > D	3
C > A > D > B	2
C > B > A > D	6
C > B > D > A	1
C > D > A > B	1
C > D > B > A	1
D > A > B > C	2
D > A > C > B	1
D > B > A > C	1
D > B > C > A	24
D > C > A > B	2
D > C > B > A	1
Total	100

For example, here is one possible 4-candidate profile.

An ordinal voting procedure is a rule which, for any *profile* selects some candidate as the 'winner'.*

For example, *plurality vote*, 'vote-for-two', *antiplurality vote*, *Borda Count* and all other 'positional' voting systems are ordinal voting procedures.

So is 'plurality vote with a runoff election'.

So is Hare's instant runoff system.

So is every possible 'agenda' of pairwise votes.

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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
A > B > C > D	1
A > B > D > C	2
A > C > B > D	1
A > C > D > B	1
A > D > B > C	3
A > D > C > B	17
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C > B > D > A	1
C > D > A > B	1
C > D > B > A	1
D > A > B > C	2
D > A > C > B	1
D > B > A > C	1
D > B > C > A	24
D > C > A > B	2
D > C > B > A	1
Total	100

For example, here is one possible 4-candidate profile.

An ordinal voting procedure is a rule which, for any *profile* selects some candidate as the 'winner'.*

For example, *plurality vote*, 'vote-for-two', *antiplurality vote*, *Borda Count* and all other 'positional' voting systems are ordinal voting procedures.

So is 'plurality vote with a runoff election'.

So is Hare's instant runoff system.

So is every possible 'agenda' of pairwise votes.

There are also many other, more exotic procedures.

Which one is right?

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A profile **unanimously prefers** candidate **X** if **X** is ranked *first* by 100% of the voters.

A profile unanimously prefers candidate **X** if **X** is ranked *first* by 100% of the voters.

For example, the following profile unanimously prefers **B**:

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$B \succ A \succ C \succ D$	10
$B \succ A \succ D \succ C$	18
$B \succ C \succ A \succ D$	20
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	12
$B \succ D \succ A \succ C$	15
$B \succ D \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
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$B \succ C \succ A \succ D$	20
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	12
$B \succ D \succ A \succ C$	15
$B \succ D \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

A procedure V **respects unanimity** if, whenever a profile unanimously prefers **X**, the procedure V chooses **X** as the winner.

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Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$B \succ A \succ C \succ D$	10
$B \succ A \succ D \succ C$	18
$B \succ C \succ A \succ D$	20
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	12
$B \succ D \succ A \succ C$	15
$B \succ D \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

A procedure V respects unanimity if, whenever a profile unanimously prefers **X**, the procedure V chooses **X** as the winner.

This rules out stupid procedures like “Always pick **A**”, or “Always pick the candidate who has the *lowest* Borda count”, or “Always pick whichever candidate gets the most votes, except for **B**”.

A profile unanimously prefers candidate **X** if **X** is ranked *first* by 100% of the voters.

For example, the following profile unanimously prefers **B**:

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$B \succ A \succ C \succ D$	10
$B \succ A \succ D \succ C$	18
$B \succ C \succ A \succ D$	20
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	12
$B \succ D \succ A \succ C$	15
$B \succ D \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

A procedure V respects unanimity if, whenever a profile unanimously prefers **X**, the procedure V chooses **X** as the winner.

This rules out stupid procedures like “Always pick **A**”, or “Always pick the candidate who has the *lowest* Borda count”, or “Always pick whichever candidate gets the most votes, except for **B**”.

Clearly, if *everyone* thinks **B** is the best, then **B** should win.

A profile unanimously prefers candidate **X** if **X** is ranked *first* by 100% of the voters.

For example, the following profile unanimously prefers **B**:

Electorate Profile	
Preferences	#
$B \succ A \succ C \succ D$	10
$B \succ A \succ D \succ C$	18
$B \succ C \succ A \succ D$	20
$B \succ C \succ D \succ A$	12
$B \succ D \succ A \succ C$	15
$B \succ D \succ C \succ A$	25
Total	100

A procedure V respects unanimity if, whenever a profile unanimously prefers **X**, the procedure V chooses **X** as the winner.

This rules out stupid procedures like “Always pick **A**”, or “Always pick the candidate who has the *lowest* Borda count”, or “Always pick whichever candidate gets the most votes, except for **B**”.

Clearly, if *everyone* thinks **B** is the best, then **B** should win.

Example: Borda count, plurality vote, antiplurality vote, etc. all respect unanimity.

Desideratum: Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives

We say that two profiles **agree about** candidates **X** and **Y** if, in both profiles, exactly the same number of voters feel that **X** \succ **Y**, and exactly the same number feel that **Y** \succ **X**.

(However, voters might differ in how they rank **X** and/or **Y** relative to other candidates, or how they rank other candidates relative to each other.)

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(However, voters might differ in how they rank **X** and/or **Y** relative to other candidates, or how they rank other candidates relative to each other.)

For example, the following two profiles agree about **A** and **B**:

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A
A \succ B \succ C	20	20	
A \succ C \succ B	20	20	
B \succ A \succ C	15		15
B \succ C \succ A	15		15
C \succ A \succ B	5	5	
C \succ B \succ A	25		25
Total	100	45	55
Verdict:		B \succ A	

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A
A \succ B \succ C	15	15	
A \succ C \succ B	15	15	
B \succ A \succ C	20		20
B \succ C \succ A	20		20
C \succ A \succ B	15	15	
C \succ B \succ A	15		15
Total	100	45	55
Verdict:		B \succ A	

Desideratum: Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives

We say that two profiles agree about candidates \mathbf{X} and \mathbf{Y} if, in both profiles, exactly the same number of voters feel that $\mathbf{X} \succ \mathbf{Y}$, and exactly the same number feel that $\mathbf{Y} \succ \mathbf{X}$.

(However, voters might differ in how they rank \mathbf{X} and/or \mathbf{Y} relative to other candidates, or how they rank other candidates relative to each other.)

For example, the following two profiles agree about \mathbf{A} and \mathbf{B} :

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	20	20	
$A \succ C \succ B$	20	20	
$B \succ A \succ C$	15		15
$B \succ C \succ A$	15		15
$C \succ A \succ B$	5	5	
$C \succ B \succ A$	25		25
Total	100	45	55
Verdict:		$B \succ A$	

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ C$	15	15	
$A \succ C \succ B$	15	15	
$B \succ A \succ C$	20		20
$B \succ C \succ A$	20		20
$C \succ A \succ B$	15	15	
$C \succ B \succ A$	15		15
Total	100	45	55
Verdict:		$B \succ A$	

A voting procedure V satisfies **Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives** if, whenever two profiles P_1 and P_2 agree about \mathbf{X} and \mathbf{Y} , and V makes \mathbf{X} the winner in P_1 , then V can't make \mathbf{Y} the winner in P_2 .

Desideratum: Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives

Plurality vote does *not* satisfy IIA, as the following tables show:

A versus B (C excluded)			
Preferences	#	A \succ B	B \succ A
A \succ B \succ C	20	20	
A \succ C \succ B	20	20	
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Desideratum: Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives

Plurality vote does *not* satisfy IIA, as the following tables show:

The two profiles agree about **A** and **B**.

But on the left, **A** wins the plurality vote, whereas on the right, **B** does.

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A \succ B \succ C	20	20		
A \succ C \succ B	20	20		
B \succ A \succ C	15		15	
B \succ C \succ A	15		15	
C \succ A \succ B	5			5
C \succ B \succ A	25			25
Total	100	40	30	30
Verdict:		A wins.		

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A \succ B \succ C	15	15		
A \succ C \succ B	15	15		
B \succ A \succ C	20		20	
B \succ C \succ A	20		20	
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C \succ B \succ A	15			15
Total	100	30	40	30
Verdict:		B wins.		

A voting procedure V satisfies Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives if, whenever two profiles P_1 and P_2 agree about **X** and **Y**, and V makes **X** the winner in P_1 , then V can't make **Y** the winner in P_2 .

In fact, *none* of the procedures we have introduced so far satisfies IIA; this was part of the reason for all the 'paradoxes'.

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(29/84)

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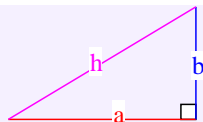
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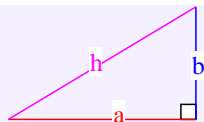
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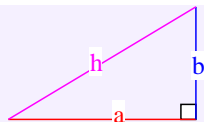
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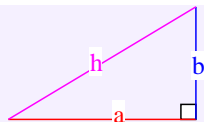
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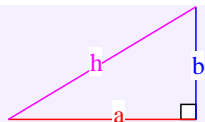
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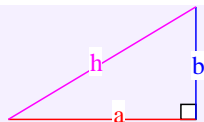
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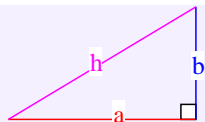
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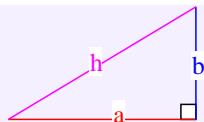
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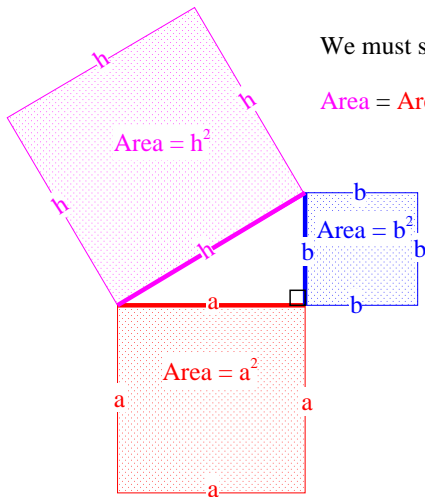
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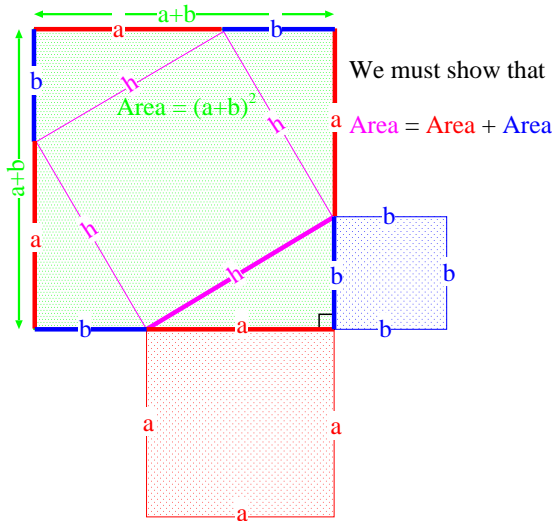


We must show that

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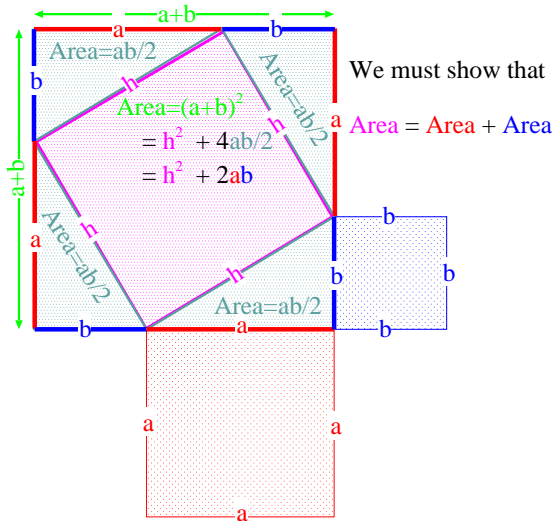
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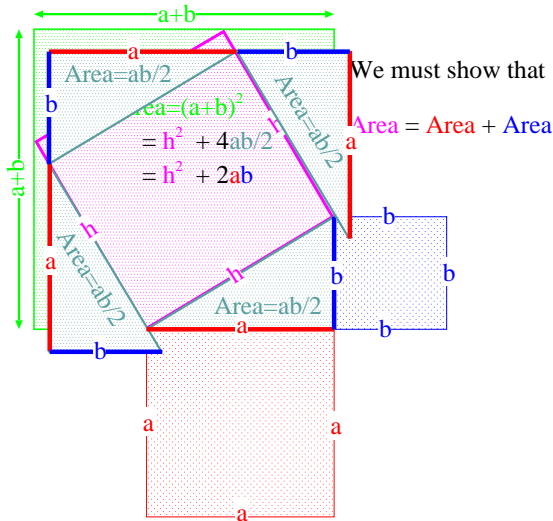
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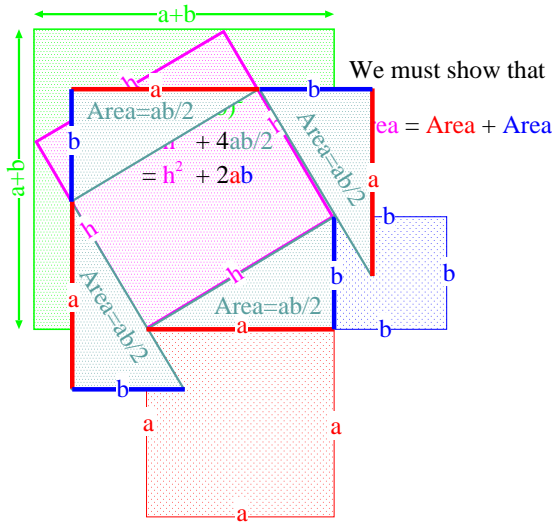
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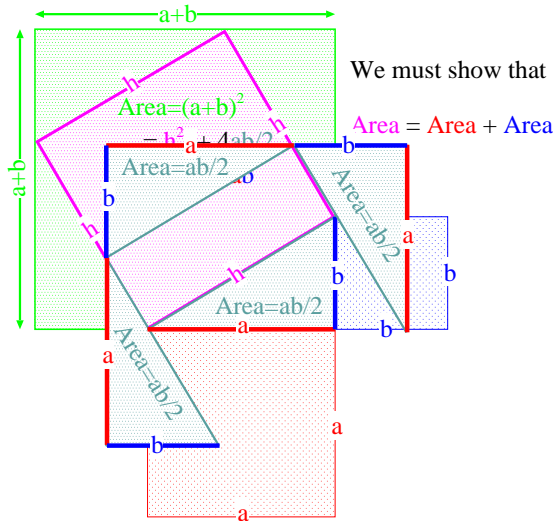
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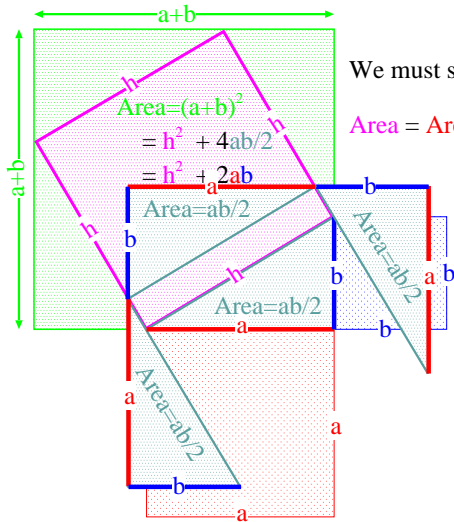
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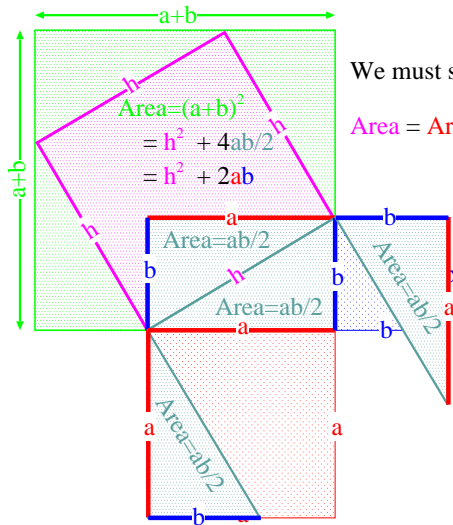


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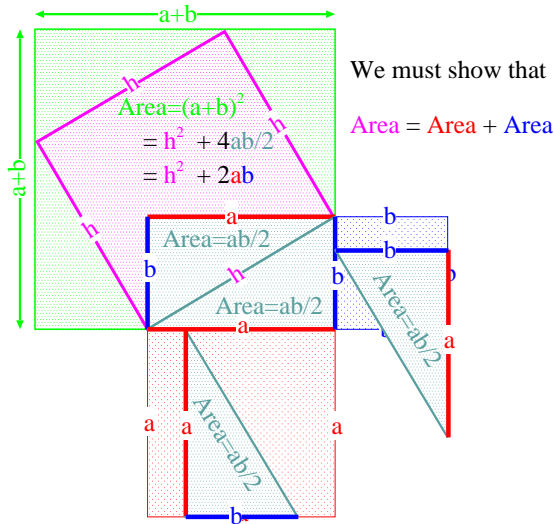


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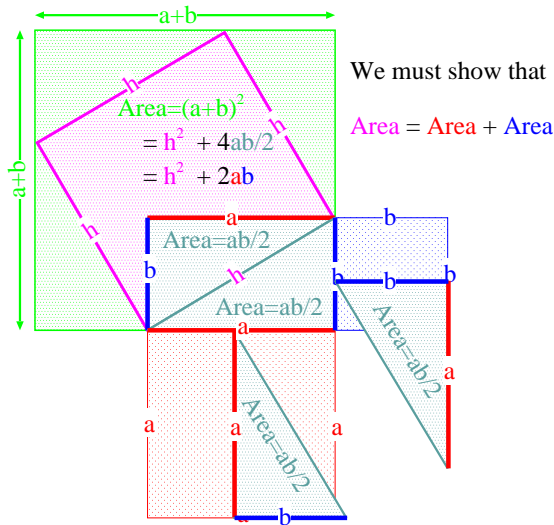
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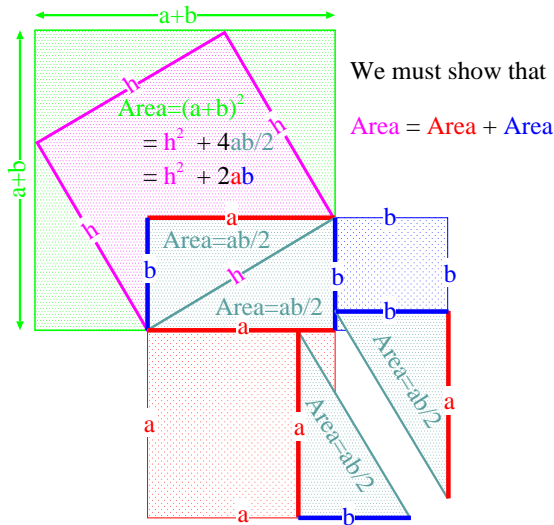
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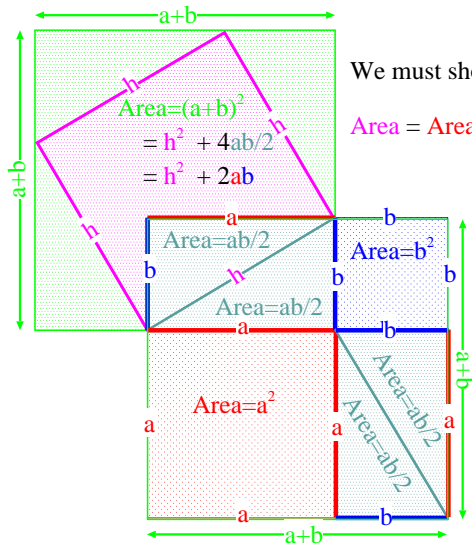
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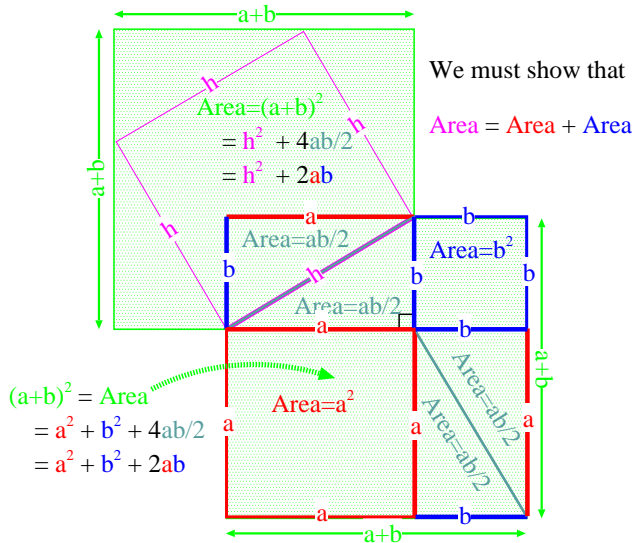


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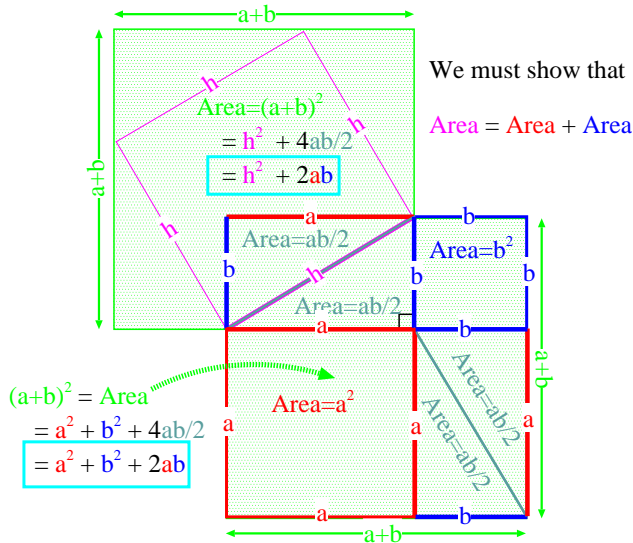
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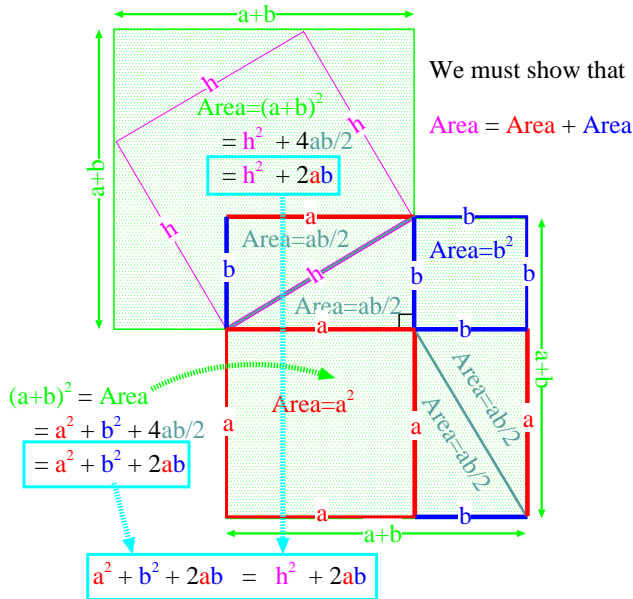
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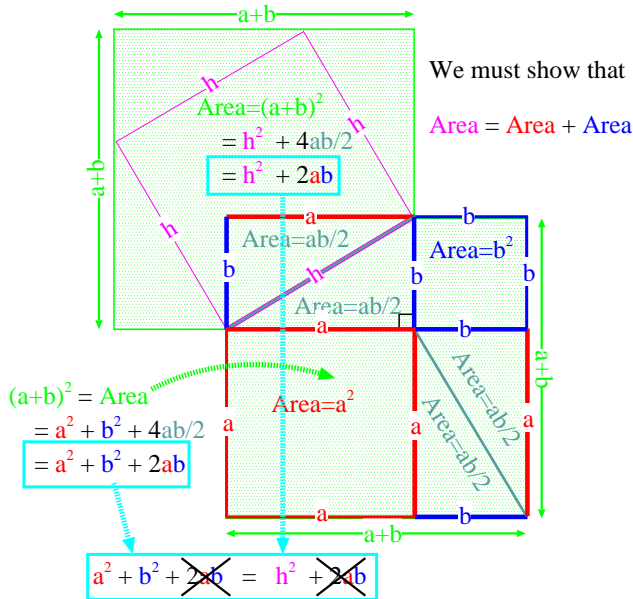
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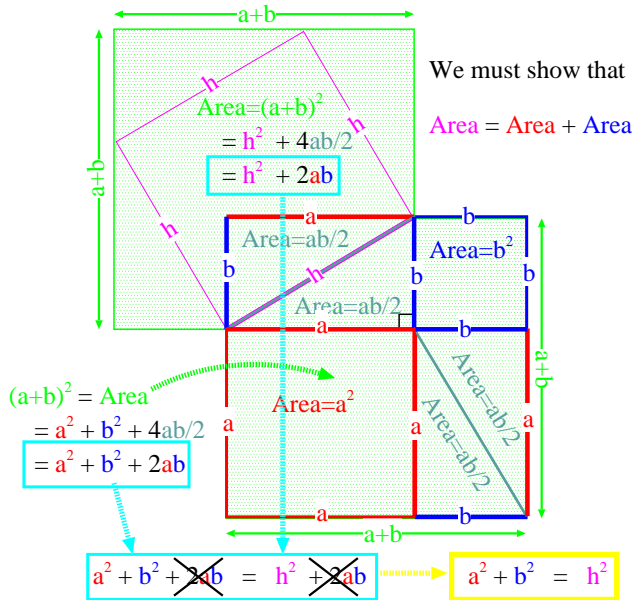
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Let A and B be candidates. Let p be some percentage between 0 and 100%.

Given a voting rule V , we say that A *can defeat* B under V with $p\%$ support if there exists a profile of voter preferences where:

- ▶ $p\%$ of the voters believe $A \succ B$;

We will prove Arrow's Impossibility Theorem *by contradiction*.

That is, we will *suppose* that there is some voting procedure V which respects unanimity and 'independence of irrelevant alternatives' (IIA)... and we will logically deduce a *paradox*.

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Proof of Arrow's Theorem: Defeating thresholds

(32/84)

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For example, if V is **plurality vote**, then A can defeat B with 55% support, because A is the winner of the following profile:

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
$A \succ B \succ C$	55	55		
$B \succ A \succ C$	45		45	
Total	100	55	45	0
Verdict:		A wins.		

(Here, “C” represents all the other candidates besides A and B .)

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- ▶ $p\%$ of the voters believe $A \succ B$;
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- ▶ and where V chooses A as the winner.

If V is *any* voting rule respecting unanimity, then A can defeat B with 100% support, because A is the winner of the following profile:

Preferences	%
$A \succ B \succ C$	100
Unanimous verdict:	A

(Here, “ C ” represents all the other candidates besides A and B .)

Given a voting rule V , we say that A can defeat B under V with $p\%$ support if there exists a profile of voter preferences where:

- ▶ $p\%$ of the voters believe $A \succ B$;
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If A can defeat B with $p\%$ support, and V satisfies IIA, then in *any* profile of voter preferences where $p\%$ of the voters believe that $A \succ B$, the procedure V *cannot* choose B as the winner.

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In this case, we say that A *always defeats* B with $p\%$ support.

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(That is: if *some* candidate *can* defeat *some* other candidate with $p\%$ support, then *any* candidate *always* defeats *any* other candidate with $p\%$ support.)

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Proof. For simplicity, suppose $p = 60\%$.

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Proof. For simplicity, suppose $p = 60\%$. Consider the following profile:

Preferences	%				
$A \succ B \succ D \succ X$	60%				
$B \succ D \succ A \succ X$	40%				
Total:	100%				

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□(Claim 1).

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Proof. For simplicity, suppose $p = 60\%$. Consider the following profile:

Preferences	%				$A \succ D$
$A \succ B \succ D \succ X$	60%				60%
$B \succ D \succ A \succ X$	40%				0
Total:	100%				60%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

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Note: Claim 1 means that A can defeat D with 60% support.

Lemma 1. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates. Suppose A can defeat B with $p\%$ support. Then for any candidates C and D , C always defeats D with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be anything.

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Preferences	%	$A \succ B$			
$A \succ B \succ D \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$			
$B \succ D \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$				
Total:	100%	$p\%$			

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Claim 1: V makes A the winner for this profile.

Proof: B can't win: $p\%$ of voters think that $A \succ B$.

Lemma 1. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates. Suppose A can defeat B with $p\%$ support. Then for any candidates C and D , C always defeats D with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be anything. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. (e.g. if $p = 60\%$ then $q = 40\%$). Consider the following profile:

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$B \succ D \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$		$q\%$	$q\%$	
Total:	100%	$p\%$	100%	100%	

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$A \succ B \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ D \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$		$q\%$	$q\%$	
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$A \succ B \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ D \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$		$q\%$	$q\%$	
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Total:	100%	$p\%$	100%	100%	

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V must pick *someone*.

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$A \succ B \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
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V must pick *someone*. A is the only choice left, so V picks A . □(Claim 1).

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Preferences	%				$A \succ D$
$A \succ B \succ D \succ X$	$p\%$				$p\%$
$B \succ D \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$				
Total:	100%				$p\%$

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Claim 1: V makes A the winner for this profile.

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Note: Claim 1 means that A can defeat D with $p\%$ support.

Lemma 1. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA.
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Now consider the following profile

Preferences	%				
$C \succ A \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$				
$D \succ C \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$				
Total:	100%				

(Here, \mathbf{X} = all other candidates.)

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$C \succ A \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$				
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Claim 2: V makes C the winner for this profile.

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$C \succ A \succ D \succ X$	$p\%$				
$D \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$				
Total:	100%				

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$C \succ A \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$				
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Now consider the following profile

Preferences	%	$A \succ D$			
$C \succ A \succ D \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$			
$D \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	0			
Total:	100%	$p\%$			

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Proof: D can't win: $p\%$ of voters think $A \succ D$.

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Now consider the following profile

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$C \succ A \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$D \succ C \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$	0	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	$p\%$	100%		

(Here, \mathbf{X} = all other candidates.)

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Preferences	%	$A \succ D$	$C \succ A$		
$C \succ A \succ D \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$D \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	0	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	$p\%$	100%		

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Preferences	%	$A \succ D$	$C \succ A$	$C \succ \mathbf{X}$	
$C \succ A \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$D \succ C \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$	0	$q\%$	$q\%$	
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Preferences	%	$A \succ D$	$C \succ A$	$C \succ \mathbf{X}$	
$C \succ A \succ D \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$D \succ C \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$	0	$q\%$	$q\%$	
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Finally, **any other candidate \mathbf{X} can't win:** 100% of voters think $C \succ \mathbf{X}$. But C can defeat \mathbf{X} with 100% (because V respects *unanimity*);

Lemma 1. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates. Suppose A can defeat B with $p\%$ support. Then for any candidates C and D , C always defeats D with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. (e.g. if $p = 60\%$ then $q = 40\%$).

Now consider the following profile

Preferences	%	$A \succ D$	$C \succ A$	$C \succ X$	
$C \succ A \succ D \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$D \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	0	$q\%$	$q\%$	
Total:	100%	$p\%$	100%	100%	

(Here, X = all other candidates.

Claim 2: V makes C the winner for this profile.

Proof: D can't win: $p\%$ of voters think $A \succ D$. But A can defeat D with $p\%$ support (by Claim 1). Hence A always defeats D with $p\%$ (by IIA).

A can't win: 100% of voters think $C \succ A$. But C can defeat A with 100% (V respects unanimity); hence C always defeats A with 100% (by IIA).

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V must pick someone.

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V must pick someone. C is the only choice left, so V picks C . \square (Claim 2).

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But this is what we wanted to prove. □

Recall that *Hare's method* suffered from **nonmonotonicity**: Candidate **A** can go from being a winner to a loser when we *increase A's* support.

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In other words: *increasing* the number of voters who prefer A over B can never cause A to lose to B .

Example: In plurality vote, if A defeats B with 55% support, then A also defeats B with 60% support.

Lemma 2. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates, and suppose A can defeat B with $p\%$ support. Then for any $P > p$, A always defeats B with $P\%$ support.

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Proof.

Lemma 2. *Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates, and suppose A can defeat B with 60% support. Then A always defeats B with 70% support.*

Proof. For simplicity, first suppose $p := 60$ and $P := 70$.

Lemma 2. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates, and suppose A can defeat B with 60% support. Then A always defeats B with 70% support.

Proof. For simplicity, first suppose $p := 60$ and $P := 70$. Let C be some third candidate, and consider the following profile:

Preferences	%				
$A \succ C \succ B \succ X$	60%				
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	10%				
$B \succ A \succ C \succ X$	30%				
Total:	100%				

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

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Claim: V makes A the winner for this profile.

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$A \succ C \succ B \succ X$	60%	60%			
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	10%				
$B \succ A \succ C \succ X$	30%				
Total:	100%	60%			

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Proof: B can't win: 60% of voters think $C \succ B$.

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Total:	100%	60%	100%		

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Total:	100%	60%	100%	100%	

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Total:	100%	60%	100%	100%

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Finally, any other candidate X can't win: 100% of voters think $A \succ X$. But A always defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity and IIA). V must pick *someone* as winner.

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C can't win: 100% of voters think $A \succ C$. But A always defeats C with 100% support (because V respects unanimity and IIA).

Finally, any other candidate X can't win: 100% of voters think $A \succ X$. But A always defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity and IIA). V must pick *someone* as winner. But A is the only choice left.

Thus, V picks A .

□(Claim).

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Thus A always defeats B with 70% support, by IIA.

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Proof. Now let p and $P > p$ be arbitrary. Let C be some third candidate, and consider the following profile:

Preferences	%				
$A \succ C \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$				
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$P - p\%$				
$B \succ A \succ C \succ X$	$100 - P\%$				
Total:	100%				

($X =$ all other candidates.)

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Claim: V makes A the winner for this profile.

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$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$P - p\%$				
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Total:	100%	$p\%$			

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C can't win: 100% of voters think $A \succ C$.

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$A \succ C \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$P - p\%$		$P - p\%$	$P - p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ C \succ X$	$100 - P\%$		$100 - P\%$	$100 - P\%$	
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$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$P - p\%$		$P - p\%$	$P - p\%$	
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$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$P - p\%$		$P - p\%$	$P - p\%$	
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Finally, any other candidate X can't win: 100% of voters think $A \succ X$. But A always defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity and IIA).

V must pick *someone* as winner.

Lemma 2. Let V be a voting rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let A and B be two candidates, and suppose A can defeat B with $p\%$ support. Then for any $P > p$, A always defeats B with $P\%$ support.

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V must pick *someone* as winner. But A is the only choice left.

Thus, V picks A .

□(Claim).

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But this is what we wanted to prove. □

Recall that Condorcet said the winner of an election should be able to defeat any other candidate in a two-way race.

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Total:	100%			

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Note that **some other candidate X can't win**: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity). Thus, A always defeats X with 100% (by **IIA**).

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$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
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$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
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Total:	100%	100%	51%	

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$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
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Total:	100%	100%	51%	

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

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Case 2: B wins.

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Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
$B \succ A \succ X$	49%	49%		49%
Total:	100%	100%	51%	49%

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Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
$B \succ A \succ X$	49%	49%		49%
Total:	100%	100%	51%	49%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

Then A can defeat B with 51% support. Thus A always defeats B with 51% support, by IIA.

Case 2: B wins.

Then B defeats A with 49% support.

Thus, for any $Q > 49$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA.

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Proof. First suppose $p := 51\%$. Consider the following profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
$B \succ A \succ X$	49%	49%		49%
Total:	100%	100%	51%	49%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

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Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
$B \succ A \succ X$	49%	49%		49%
Total:	100%	100%	51%	49%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

Then A can defeat B with 51% support. Thus A always defeats B with 51% support, by IIA.

Case 2: B wins.

Then B defeats A with 49% support.

Thus, for any $Q > 49$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support. But $51 > 49$. Thus, B defeats A with 51% support.

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$B \succ A \succ X$	49%	49%		49%
Total:	100%	100%	51%	49%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

Then A can defeat B with 51% support. Thus A always defeats B with 51% support, by IIA.

Case 2: B wins.

Then B defeats A with 49% support.

Thus, for any $Q > 49$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

But $51 > 49$. Thus, B defeats A with 51% support.

Thus, Lemma 1 says that A can also defeat B with 51% support.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA.

If A and B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with 51% support.

Proof. First suppose $p := 51\%$. Consider the following profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	51%	51%	51%	
$B \succ A \succ X$	49%	49%		49%
Total:	100%	100%	51%	49%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

Then A can defeat B with 51% support. Thus A always defeats B with 51% support, by IIA.

Case 2: B wins.

Then B defeats A with 49% support.

Thus, for any $Q > 49$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

But $51 > 49$. Thus, B defeats A with 51% support.

Thus, Lemma 1 says that A can also defeat B with 51% support.

Thus A always defeats B with 51% support, by IIA. □

Lemma 3: *Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.*

Proof.

Lemma 3: *Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.*

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%			
$A \succ B \succ \mathbf{X}$	$p\%$			
$B \succ A \succ \mathbf{X}$	$q\%$			
Total:	100%			

(Here, \mathbf{X} = all other candidates.)

Proof of Arrow's Theorem: Condorcet property

(41/84)

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%			
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$			
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$			
Total:	100%			

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that some other candidate X can't win:

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$		
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that some other candidate X can't win: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects *unanimity* and *IIA*. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$		
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that **some other candidate X can't win**: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects *unanimity*).

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and **IIA**. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$		
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that **some other candidate X can't win**: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity). Thus, A always defeats X with 100% (by **IIA**).

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$		
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that **some other candidate X can't win**: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity). Thus, A always defeats X with 100% (by IIA).

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$		
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$		
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that **some other candidate X can't win**: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity). Thus, A always defeats X with 100% (by IIA).

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Case 1: A wins.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that **some other candidate X can't win**: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity). Thus, A always defeats X with 100% (by IIA).

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

Then A can defeat B with $p\%$ support.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and **IIA**. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

Note that some other candidate X can't win: 100% of the voters think $A \succ X$. But A can defeat X with 100% (because V respects unanimity). Thus, A always defeats X with 100% (by IIA).

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Case 1: A wins.

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Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	

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Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		$q\%$
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	$q\%$

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

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Then B defeats A with $q\%$ support.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		$q\%$
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	$q\%$

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

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Case 2: B wins.

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Thus, for any $Q > q$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

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Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		$q\%$
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	$q\%$

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

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Thus, for any $Q > q$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

But $p > q$ (because $p > 50\%$ and $q = 100 - p < 50\%$).

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		$q\%$
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	$q\%$

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But $p > q$ (because $p > 50\%$ and $q = 100 - p < 50\%$).

Thus, B defeats A with $p\%$ support.

Lemma 3: Let V be a rule which respects unanimity and IIA. Let $p > 50\%$. If A are B are any candidates, then A always defeats B with $p\%$ support.

Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		$q\%$
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	$q\%$

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

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Case 2: B wins.

Then B defeats A with $q\%$ support.

Thus, for any $Q > q$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

But $p > q$ (because $p > 50\%$ and $q = 100 - p < 50\%$).

Thus, B defeats A with $p\%$ support.

Thus, Lemma 1 says that A can also defeat B with $p\%$ support.

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Proof. Now let p be arbitrary. Let $q\% := 100 - p\%$. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ X$	$A \succ B$	$B \succ A$
$A \succ B \succ X$	$p\%$	$p\%$	$p\%$	
$B \succ A \succ X$	$q\%$	$q\%$		$q\%$
Total:	100%	100%	$p\%$	$q\%$

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

This leaves 2 cases: either A wins, or B wins.

Case 1: A wins.

Then A can defeat B with $p\%$ support. Thus A always defeats B with $p\%$ support, by IIA.

Case 2: B wins.

Then B defeats A with $q\%$ support.

Thus, for any $Q > q$, Lemma 2 says that B defeats A with $Q\%$ support.

But $p > q$ (because $p > 50\%$ and $q = 100 - p < 50\%$).

Thus, B defeats A with $p\%$ support.

Thus, Lemma 1 says that A can also defeat B with $p\%$ support.

Thus A always defeats B with $p\%$ support, by IIA.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

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Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%				
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$				
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$				
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$				
Total:	100%				

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

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Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%				
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$				
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$				
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$				
Total:	100%				

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win:

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$			
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$			
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%			
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$			
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$			

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$			
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$			
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%			
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$			
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$			

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$			
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$			
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%			
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$			
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$			

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win:

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$		
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$		
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$		
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%		
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $B \succ C$.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$		
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$		
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$		
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%		
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $B \succ C$. But B always defeats C with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$		
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$		
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$		
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%		
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$		

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But **A** always defeats **B** with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $B \succ C$. But **B** always defeats **C** with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

A can't win:

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ A$	
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $B \succ C$. But B always defeats C with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

A can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $C \succ A$.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ A$	
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $B \succ C$. But B always defeats C with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

A can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $C \succ A$. But C always defeats A with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ A$	
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

C can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $B \succ C$. But B always defeats C with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

A can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $C \succ A$. But C always defeats A with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

Finally, **no other candidate X can win:**

Arrow's Theorem: *If an election has three or more candidates, then there is no ordinal voting procedure which respects both Unanimity and IIA.*

Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ A$	$A \succ X$
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
Total:	100%	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	$66\frac{2}{3}\%$	100%

(Here, X = all other candidates.)

B can't win: $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ of voters think $A \succ B$. But A always defeats B with $66\frac{2}{3}\%$ support, by Lemma 3.

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Proof. (by contradiction) Suppose V was such a procedure. Consider profile:

Preferences	%	$A \succ B$	$B \succ C$	$C \succ A$	$A \succ X$
$A \succ B \succ C \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
$C \succ A \succ B \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
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$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
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$B \succ C \succ A \succ X$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	0%	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$	$33\frac{1}{3}\%$
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Thus, *no candidate can win* in this profile. But V is supposed to *always* pick a winner. Thus, we have a contradiction. Thus, no such voting procedure V can exist. □

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The general version of Arrow's Theorem states that the only 'voting procedure' which respects unanimity and IIA is a *dictatorship*, where *one* voter has *all* the power. This is hardly a desirable form of 'democracy.'

Arrow's Theorem: Indecisive and non-ordinal procedures

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Answer: Yes. We will next consider several '**non-ordinal**' voting procedures.

- ▶ Escape from Arrow? Nonordinal voting systems.
- ▶ Strategic Voting: The Gibbard-Satterthwaite Theorem
- ▶ Representative democracy: Paradoxes.
- ▶ Voting power indices.
- ▶ What is democracy? 'Liberalism vs. Populism'.
- ▶ Social choice and social welfare functions.

Non-ordinal Voting Systems

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AV is *not* an 'ordinal voting system', so Arrow's Theorem doesn't apply.

For example, suppose 5 voters rate 4 candidates on a scale from 0 to 1:

Candidate \Rightarrow		A		B		C		D	
Voter \Downarrow	Threshold	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1		0.95		0.75		0.31		0.04	
#2		0.94		0.05		0.33		0.73	
#3		0.06		0.73		0.98		0.32	
#4		0.04		0.65		0.31		0.91	
#5		0.01		0.92		0.25		0.75	
Total: \Rightarrow									
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#3	0.5	0.06		0.73	*	0.98	*	0.32	
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Suppose each voter approves all candidates whom she rates at or above some personal **threshold**....

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Total: ⇒			2		4		2		2
Outcome ⇒		B wins, when each person approves above some threshold.							

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#5	0.9	0.01		0.92	*	0.25		0.75	
Total: ⇒			2		1		1		1
Outcome ⇒		A wins the <i>de facto</i> 'plurality vote'							

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For example, suppose 5 voters rate 4 candidates on a scale from 0 to 1:

Candidate \Rightarrow		A		B		C		D	
Voter \Downarrow	Threshold	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	0.1	0.95	*	0.75	*	0.31	*	0.04	
#2	0.1	0.94	*	0.05		0.33	*	0.73	*
#3	0.1	0.06		0.73	*	0.98	*	0.32	*
#4	0.1	0.04		0.65	*	0.31	*	0.91	*
#5	0.1	0.01		0.92	*	0.25	*	0.75	*
Total: \Rightarrow			2		4		5		4
Outcome \Rightarrow		C wins the <i>de facto</i> 'antiplurality vote'							

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#2	0.1	0.94	*	0.05		0.33	*	0.73	*
#3	0.1	0.06		0.73	*	0.98	*	0.32	*
#4	0.1	0.04		0.65	*	0.31	*	0.91	*
#5	0.1	0.01		0.92	*	0.25	*	0.75	*
Total: ⇒			2		4		5		4
Outcome ⇒		C wins the <i>de facto</i> 'antiplurality vote'							

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Problem: To maximize the 'impact' of her vote, each voter will either:

1. Only 'approve' her best candidate; or
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Thus, in reality, Approval Voting will devolve into either a *de facto* **plurality vote** or **antiplurality vote**, with all the weaknesses of these methods.

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The candidate who accumulates the most points wins.

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Again, CV is not an 'ordinal' system, so Arrow's Theorem doesn't apply.

For example, again suppose that 5 voters each rate 4 candidates on a scale from 0 to 1:

Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1		0.95		0.75		0.31		0.04	
#2		0.94		0.05		0.33		0.73	
#3		0.06		0.73		0.98		0.32	
#4		0.04		0.65		0.31		0.91	
#5		0.01		0.92		0.25		0.75	
Total: ⇒									
Outcome ⇒									

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Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Borda	0.95	4	0.75	3	0.31	2	0.04	1
#2	Vote for 2	0.94	5	0.05	0	0.33	0	0.73	5
#3	Vote for 1	0.06	0	0.73	0	0.98	10	0.32	0
#4	Vote for 3	0.04	0	0.65	3.33	0.31	3.33	0.91	3.33
#5	Vote for 3	0.01	0	0.92	3.33	0.25	3.33	0.75	3.33
Total: ⇒									
Outcome ⇒									

Suppose each voter has 10 'points', and the voters adopt various point-allocation strategies, as shown....

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#3	Vote for 1	0.06	0	0.73	0	0.98	10	0.32	0
#4	Vote for 3	0.04	0	0.65	3.33	0.31	3.33	0.91	3.33
#5	Vote for 3	0.01	0	0.92	3.33	0.25	3.33	0.75	3.33
Total: ⇒			9		9.66		18.66		12.66
Outcome ⇒		C wins, when voters use various strategies.							

Suppose each voter has 10 'points', and the voters adopt various point-allocation strategies, as shown.... ...then C will win.

For example, again suppose that 5 voters each rate 4 candidates on a scale from 0 to 1:

Candidate \Rightarrow		A		B		C		D	
Voter \Downarrow	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Concentrate	0.95	10	0.75	0	0.31	0	0.04	0
#2	Concentrate	0.94	10	0.05	0	0.33	0	0.73	0
#3	Concentrate	0.06	0	0.73	0	0.98	10	0.32	0
#4	Concentrate	0.04	0	0.65	0	0.31	0	0.91	10
#5	Concentrate	0.01	0	0.92	10	0.25	0	0.75	0
Total: \Rightarrow									
Outcome \Rightarrow									

Suppose each voter has 10 'points', and the voters adopt various point-allocation strategies, as shown.... ...then **C** will win.

Problem: Each voters will maximize her impact by concentrating *all ten points* on her favourite (amongst those who has any chance of winning).

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#4	Concentrate	0.04	0	0.65	0	0.31	0	0.91	10
#5	Concentrate	0.01	0	0.92	10	0.25	0	0.75	0
Total: ⇒			20		10		10		10
Outcome ⇒		A wins the <i>de facto</i> 'plurality vote'							

Suppose each voter has 10 'points', and the voters adopt various point-allocation strategies, as shown.... ...then C will win.

Problem: Each voters will maximize her impact by concentrating *all ten points* on her favourite (amongst those who has any chance of winning).

Thus, in reality, CV will function just like **plurality vote**.

In **Relative Utilitarianism** (RU, also called **range voting**, **ratings summation**, or **score system**) each voter gives each candidate a fractional numerical 'score' on a scale of 0 to 1 (where 1=best and 0=worst).

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The candidate with the **highest average score** wins.

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RU has many nice properties, and has been studied by **Cao** (1982), **Dhillon** and **Mertens** (1998-99), **Karni** (1998), and **Segal** (2000).

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RU has many nice properties, and has been studied by Cao (1982), Dhillon and Mertens (1998-99), Karni (1998), and Segal (2000).

Again, RU is not an 'ordinal' voting system (rather, it is a 'cardinal' voting system), so Arrow's Theorem doesn't apply.

For example, suppose 5 voters each rate 4 candidates from 0 to 1:

Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1		0.95		0.75		0.31		0.04	
#2		0.94		0.05		0.33		0.73	
#3		0.06		0.73		0.98		0.32	
#4		0.04		0.65		0.31		0.91	
#5		0.01		0.92		0.25		0.75	
Total: ⇒									
Outcome ⇒									

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Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Honest	0.95	0.95	0.75	0.75	0.31	0.31	0.04	0.04
#2	Honest	0.94	0.94	0.05	0.05	0.33	0.33	0.73	0.75
#3	Honest	0.06	0.06	0.73	0.73	0.98	0.98	0.32	0.32
#4	Honest	0.04	0.04	0.65	0.65	0.31	0.31	0.91	0.91
#5	Honest	0.01	0.01	0.92	0.92	0.25	0.25	0.75	0.75
Total: ⇒									
Outcome ⇒									

If voters *honestly* reveal their ratings of candidates...

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Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Honest	0.95	0.95	0.75	0.75	0.31	0.31	0.04	0.04
#2	Honest	0.94	0.94	0.05	0.05	0.33	0.33	0.73	0.75
#3	Honest	0.06	0.06	0.73	0.73	0.98	0.98	0.32	0.32
#4	Honest	0.04	0.04	0.65	0.65	0.31	0.31	0.91	0.91
#5	Honest	0.01	0.01	0.92	0.92	0.25	0.25	0.75	0.75
Total: ⇒			2.00		3.10		2.18		2.77
Outcome ⇒		B wins, when each person votes honestly.							

If voters *honestly* reveal their ratings of candidates.....then B will win.

For example, suppose 5 voters each rate 4 candidates from 0 to 1:

Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Honest	0.95	0.95	0.75	0.75	0.31	0.31	0.04	0.04
#2	Honest	0.94	0.94	0.05	0.05	0.33	0.33	0.73	0.75
#3	Honest	0.06	0.06	0.73	0.73	0.98	0.98	0.32	0.32
#4	Honest	0.04	0.04	0.65	0.65	0.31	0.31	0.91	0.91
#5	Honest	0.01	0.01	0.92	0.92	0.25	0.25	0.75	0.75
Total: ⇒			2.00		3.10		2.18		2.77
Outcome ⇒		B wins, when each person votes honestly.							

If voters *honestly* reveal their ratings of candidates.....then B will win.

Problem: Each voters will maximize her impact by giving a score of 1.0 to her favourite(s), and 0 to everyone else.

For example, suppose 5 voters each rate 4 candidates from 0 to 1:

Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Plurality	0.95	1.00	0.75	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.04	0.00
#2	Plurality	0.94	1.00	0.05	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.73	0.00
#3	Plurality	0.06	0.00	0.73	0.00	0.98	1.00	0.32	0.00
#4	Plurality	0.04	0.00	0.65	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.91	1.00
#5	Plurality	0.01	0.00	0.92	1.00	0.25	0.00	0.75	0.00
Total: ⇒			2.00		1.00		1.00		1.00
Outcome ⇒		A wins the <i>de facto</i> 'plurality vote'							

If voters *honestly* reveal their ratings of candidates.....then B will win.

Problem: Each voters will maximize her impact by giving a score of 1.0 to her favourite(s), and 0 to everyone else.

Thus, in reality, RU will function just like **Approval Voting**.

For example, suppose 5 voters each rate 4 candidates from 0 to 1:

Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Antiplurality	0.95	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.31	1.00	0.04	0.00
#2	Antiplurality	0.94	1.00	0.05	0.00	0.33	1.00	0.73	1.00
#3	Antiplurality	0.06	0.00	0.73	1.00	0.98	1.00	0.32	1.00
#4	Antiplurality	0.04	0.00	0.65	1.00	0.31	1.00	0.91	1.00
#5	Antiplurality	0.01	0.00	0.92	1.00	0.25	1.00	0.75	1.00
Total: ⇒			2.00		4.00		5.00		4.00
Outcome ⇒		C wins the <i>de facto</i> 'antiplurality vote'							

If voters *honestly* reveal their ratings of candidates.....then B will win.

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Thus, in reality, RU will function just like Approval Voting.

Approval voting, in turn, tends to devolve into an (anti)plurality vote.

For example, suppose 5 voters each rate 4 candidates from 0 to 1:

Candidate ⇒		A		B		C		D	
Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
#1	Anti plurality	0.95	1.00	0.75	1.00	0.31	1.00	0.04	0.00
#2	Anti plurality	0.94	1.00	0.05	0.00	0.33	1.00	0.73	1.00
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Total: ⇒			2.00		4.00		5.00		4.00
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Thus, in reality, RU will function just like Approval Voting.

Approval voting, in turn, tends to devolve into an (anti)plurality vote.

However, using extensive computer experiments, Warren D. Smith has recently argued that, even when voters exaggerate like this, RU is still **better** than any other known voting procedure.

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Voter ↓	Strategy	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote	Rating	Vote
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If voters *honestly* reveal their ratings of candidates.....then B will win.

Problem: Each voters will maximize her impact by giving a score of 1.0 to her favourite(s), and 0 to everyone else.

Thus, in reality, RU will function just like Approval Voting.

Approval voting, in turn, tends to devolve into an (anti)plurality vote.

However, using extensive computer experiments, Warren D. Smith has recently argued that, even when voters exaggerate like this, RU is still better than any other known voting procedure. Smith runs the 'Centre for Range Voting', which promotes RU for electoral reform.

Strategic Voting

As we've seen, the various 'non-ordinal' voting systems are easily manipulated through **strategic voting**.

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For example, consider this election:

Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A \succ B \succ C	45	45		
B \succ C \succ A	40		40	
C \succ B \succ A	15			15
Total	100	45	40	15
Verdict:		A wins.		

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For example, consider this election:

A wins the plurality vote, because the opposition is 'split' between B and C.

But a supporter of C can see she has no hope of winning. Voting for C is really voting 'against' B, and thereby helping A.

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Verdict:		A wins.		

It would be better for her to vote **strategically** for B. That way at least she gets her *second-best* outcome B, not her *worst* outcome, A.

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Plurality Vote				
Preferences	#	A	B	C
A > B > C	45	45		
B > C > A	50		50	
C > B > A	5			5
Total	100	45	50	5
Verdict:			B wins.	

It would be better for her to vote strategically for B. That way at least she gets her *second-best* outcome B, not her *worst* outcome, A.

If 2/3rds of C's supporters voted strategically like this, then B would win.

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Preferences	#	A	B	C
A > B > C	45	45		
B > C > A	50		50	
C > B > A	5			5
Total	100	45	50	5
Verdict:		B wins.		

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Example: U.S. Presidential Election 2000, A=Bush, B=Gore, C=Nader.

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Preferences	#	A	B	C
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B > C > A	50		50	
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Total	100	45	50	5
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Example: U.S. Presidential Election 2000, A=Bush, B=Gore, C=Nader.

But if the outcome is the result of strategic voting, how can we say it really reflects the 'Will of the People'?

This kind of **strategic voting** can occur in any of the voting systems we have described. (Exercise: Find strategic situations for each one.)

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To vote strategically, you need to predict the behaviour of other voters (at least approximately). If you were totally ignorant of other voters, then the best strategy is simply 'vote honestly'.

Thus, public opinion polls actually *facilitate* strategic voting.

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For example, suppose there are three candidates, **A**, **B**, and **C**, so voters are distributed over six possible preference orders:

A \succ **B** \succ **C**, **B** \succ **C** \succ **A**, **C** \succ **A** \succ **B**, **B** \succ **A** \succ **C**, **A** \succ **C** \succ **B**, **C** \succ **B** \succ **A**.

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*Suppose all possible distributions of voters over these six orders are equally likely. Then, amongst all positional voting systems, the **Borda Count** is the **least susceptible** to strategic voting.*

Representative Democracy and Compound-Majority Paradoxes

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- ▶ In **regional representation** (or '**first past the post**') systems (e.g. Canada, U.K., or U.S.A.) each 'district' (or 'constituency' or 'riding') elects a representative to the Parliament (Congress, Senate, etc.) through plurality vote.

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In the closed list version, people vote for the party list as a whole.
In the **open list** version, people can vote for individual list members.

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Regardless of how they are chosen, the use of delegates introduces additional paradoxes and pathologies into democracy.

Regional Representation: Single-Party Domination

(60/84)

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	District
Preference	X
A \succ B \succ C \succ D	26%
B \succ C \succ D \succ A	24%
C \succ D \succ B \succ A	25%
D \succ B \succ C \succ A	25%
Verdict:	A wins

As we've seen, if there are four parties (e.g. LiberAI, Bloc, Conservative and New Democratic), then it's possible for the A candidate in District X to get elected with only 26% of the votes —even if the A candidate is despised by the other 74% of the voters.

In a system of regional representation (e.g. Canada), each 'district' elects a representative through plurality vote.

Preference	District					Nationwide
	1	2	3	4	5	
A > B > C > D	26%	26%	26%	26%	26%	26%
B > C > D > A	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%	24%
C > D > B > A	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%
D > B > C > A	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%
Verdict:	A wins	A wins	A wins	A wins	A wins	A gets all seats

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If this happens in every single district, then the **A** party could get **all** the seats in the Parliament, even though the **A** party is despised by almost three quarters of the voters!

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If this happens in every single district, then the A party could get all the seats in the Parliament, even though the A party is despised by almost three quarters of the voters!

However, stranger things can happen, even when there are only two candidates, and one has a strict majority....

Consider a referendum on some proposal.

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Suppose there are 100 voters living in five districts with 20 voters each.

Suppose popular support for the proposal is distributed as follows:

	District					
Preference	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Yes	20	20	8	8	8	64
No	0	0	12	12	12	36
People's verdict:						

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Thus, if each Parliamentarian obeys the 'wishes' of her constituents, the proposal would be **rejected** by a vote of **3** to **2**.

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Voters	Issue 1	Issue 2	Issue 3	Votes for
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20%	B	A	B	
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Suppose each person votes for a party if she agrees with it on most issues.

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20%	B	A	B	B
20%	B	B	A	B
20%	A	A	A	A
20%	A	A	A	A
Parliamentary Majority:				B (60%)

Suppose each person votes for a party if she agrees with it on most issues.

Then 60% will vote for **B**, so the **B** party will control a **majority** in Parliament, and will implement **B** party policies.

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20%	B	B	A	B
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Majority Position:	A	A	A	B (60%)
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This paradox was discovered by **Moise Ostrogorski** (1902), who was highly critical of the role of political parties in democratic politics.

Ostrogorski's paradox happens because people can't vote for individual *policies*; instead, they must vote for a party's '**platform**' of policies.

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Voters	Issue 1		Issue 2		Issue 3		
	Policy		Policy		Policy		
20%	A		C		F		
20%	B		D		F		
20%	B		C		E		
20%	A		D		E		
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20%	B		C		E		
20%	A		D		E		
20%	A		D		E		
Verdict:	A (60%)		D (60%)		E (60%)		

In referenda, A, D, and E will be chosen, each with 60% support.

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Voters	Issue 1		Issue 2		Issue 3		
	Policy	Happy?	Policy	Happy?	Policy	Happy?	
20%	A		C		F		
20%	B		D		F		
20%	B		C		E		
20%	A		D		E		
20%	A		D		E		
Verdict:	A (60%)		D (60%)		E (60%)		

In referenda, A, D, and E will be chosen, each with 60% support. Each referendum outcome will make some voters **happy** and others **unhappy**.

Ostrogorski's paradox happens because people can't vote for individual *policies*; instead, they must vote for a party's 'platform' of policies. Suppose voters *could* vote for individual policies. Suppose there are three issues, and two policies for each issue. Voter preferences are as follows:

Voters	Issue 1		Issue 2		Issue 3		Overall Satisfaction
	Policy	Happy?	Policy	Happy?	Policy	Happy?	
20%	A	😊	C	😞	F	😞	😞
20%	B	😞	D	😊	F	😞	😞
20%	B	😞	C	😞	E	😊	😞
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Possible solution: Consensus via creative compromise (64/84)

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The only solution is to attempt some 'creative compromise', and replace **A** and/or **B** with new proposals (say, **A**₁ and **B**₁), one of which is likely to satisfy $3/4$ of the voters. (The same goes for **C** vs. **D**, and **E** vs. **F**).

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How can we find this 'creative compromise'? Only through widespread dialogue and deliberation....

Voting Power

All animals are equal...

Suppose a 100-seat Parliament is split between parties A, B, C and D:

	Parliament Breakdown			
Party	A	B	C	D
#Seats	28	26	26	20

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Question: How often does party **D**'s vote actually change the outcome?

Answer: Never.

Conclusion: Although party **D** has 20% of the seats, **D** has zero power. Also, parties **A**, **B** and **C** all have *exactly the same* power, even though **A** has slightly more seats.

Voting Power Indices

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The Shapley-Shubik Index

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The **left** parties (e.g. a, b, c) strongly support the bill; the **right** parties (e.g. x, y, z) strongly oppose it, and the middle (e.g. n, o, p) are neutral.

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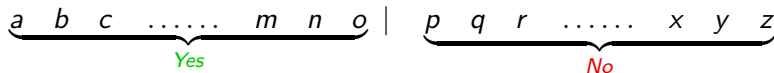
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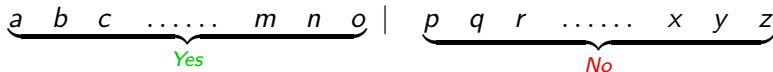


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$$SSI(p) := \frac{\#(\text{orderings where } p \text{ is pivotal})}{\#(\text{orderings of } N \text{ parties})} = \frac{\#(\text{orderings where } p \text{ is pivotal})}{N!}$$

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(Here, $N!$:= $N \cdot (N - 1) \cdot \dots \cdot 3 \cdot 2 \cdot 1$. Example: $5! = 5 \cdot 4 \cdot 3 \cdot 2 \cdot 1 = 120$.)

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For example, in this scenario,

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When combined with the previous 'voting paradoxes', the power of a party may be even more wildly disproportionate to its share of the popular vote.

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- ▶ In the 15-member **United Nations Security Council**, a resolution is adopted if and only if it is approved by six out of the ten Nonpermanent Members, and by *all five* Permanent Members (U.S.A., U.K. France, Russia, China), who each have a (binding) veto.

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- ▶ In the 15-member United Nations Security Council, a resolution is adopted if and only if it is approved by six out of the ten Nonpermanent Members, and by *all five* Permanent Members (U.S.A., U.K. France, Russia, China), who each have a (binding) veto.

For example, the SSI of each Permanent Member of the UNSC is **19.6%**.

Other applications

Voting power indices can also be applied to more complex voting systems, where different voters have different 'weights'. For example:

- ▶ In a public corporation, each shareholder's 'weight' is the number of shares she owns. Thus, a few large shareholders might hold *all* the voting power, even though they do not own all the shares.
- ▶ In the European Union, different countries have different weights. e.g. Fra=Ger=U.K.=10 votes, Belg=Neth=5 votes, Den=3 votes, etc.

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The SSI of each *Nonpermanent* Member is only 0.187%.

Liberalism, Populism, and Social Choice

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Thus, Riker advocates the more pessimistic 'Liberal' view of democracy.

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Question #1 is the subject of a branch of mathematical economics called Social Choice Theory. A mathematical representation of the 'Will of the People' is called a social choice function.

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Each of these social choice functions satisfies different (and mutually exclusive) mathematical axioms (which encode philosophical ideals).

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Each voting system is like a ‘game’, and sometimes a voter’s best ‘strategy’ is to be dishonest. We want to design a ‘voting game’ where each voter’s best strategy is always to be honest. This is the subject of a branch of mathematical economics called **mechanism design**.

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Problem: People *aren't* 'risk neutral'. Also, CPM favours rich voters.

Some other topics we haven't even touched upon:

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Public choice theory applies methods of economics to political science; e.g. the role of campaign finance in elections and policy formation; the corruption of legislators and bureaucrats by special interests, etc.

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There are no simple solutions to these problems.

But mathematical analysis can help us to identify and mitigate them.

Further Reading I

All slides for this lecture are available at
<http://xaravve.trentu.ca/voting.pdf>

Further Reading

Basic Voting Theory (general audience)

- ▶ William Poundstone *Gaming the vote: Why elections aren't fair (and what we can do about it)*. Hill & Wang, New York, 2008. 338 pages. ISBN:978-0-8090-4893-9
- ▶ Ya-Ping Yee's colour 'visualizations' of various voting methods:
<http://zesty.ca/voting/sim/>
- ▶ *Electorama* website: http://wiki.electorama.com/wiki/Main_Page

Basic Voting Theory (middle school level)

- ▶ Saari, Donald G. *Chaotic elections! A mathematician looks at voting*. American Mathematical Society, Providence, RI, 2001. 159 pages. ISBN: 0-8218-2847-991-01
- ▶ Nurmi, Hannu. *Voting paradoxes and how to deal with them*. Springer-Verlag, Berlin, 1999. 153 pages. ISBN: 3-540-66236-791B12

Voting Theory (highschool or intro college level)

Further Reading II

- ▶ Taylor, Alan D. *Mathematics and politics. Strategy, voting, power and proof.* Springer-Verlag, New York, 1995. 284 pages. ISBN: 0-387-94500-8
- ▶ Hodge, Jonathan K. and Klima, Richard E. *The mathematics of voting and elections: a hands-on approach.* American Mathematical Society, Providence, RI, 2005. 226 pages. ISBN: 0-8218-3798-2
- ▶ Riker, William H. *Liberalism against Populism,* Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, IL, 1982. 311 pages. ISBN: 0-88133-367-0.

Advanced Voting Theory

- ▶ Saari, Donald G. *Geometry of voting.* Springer-Verlag, Berlin, 1994. 372 pages. ISBN: 3-540-57199-X

Social Choice Theory

- ▶ Moulin, Hervé. *Axioms of cooperative decision making.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, U.K. 1988. 332 pages. ISBN: 0-521-36055-2
- ▶ Roemer, John E. *Theories of Distributive Justice.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA. 1996, 342 pages. ISBN: 0-674-87920-1

Further Reading III

Special Topics

Approval Voting.

- ▶ Steven J. Brams and Peter C. Fishburn *Approval voting* (2nd edition). Springer-Verlag, 2007. 198 pages. ISBN: 978-387-49895-9.
- ▶ *Citizens for Approval Voting*: <http://www.approvalvoting.org>
- ▶ *Americans for Approval Voting*: <http://www.approvalvoting.com>

Range Voting. (a.k.a. 'relative utilitarianism')

- ▶ *Centre for Range Voting* website: <http://rangevoting.org/>

Proportional Representation v.s. Single Transferable Vote.

- ▶ *FairVote*: <http://www.fairvote.org>
- ▶ *Electoral Reform Society* <http://www.electoral-reform.org.uk>

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