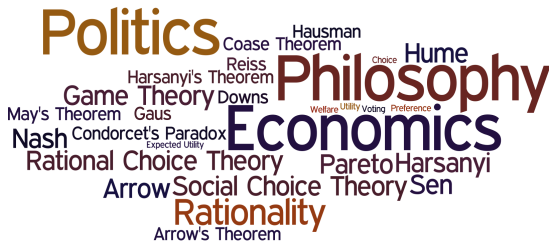


# PHIL309P

## Philosophy, Politics and Economics

Eric Pacuit  
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University of Maryland  
[pacuit.org](http://pacuit.org)



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[illegible]

# Profiles



A **profile** for  $C$  is a function  $\mathbf{P}$  assigning to  $i \in V$  a linear order  $\mathbf{P}_i$  on  $C$ .

So,  $a\mathbf{P}_i b$  means that voter  $i$  strictly prefers candidate  $a$  to  $b$ , or  $a$  is ranked above  $b$ .

For instance, let  $V = \{1, 2, 3, 4\}$  and  $C = \{a, b, c, d\}$ . Then, an example of a profile is:

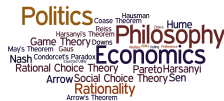
1	2	3	4
$a$	$a$	$b$	$c$
$b$	$c$	$a$	$b$
$c$	$b$	$c$	$a$

- ▶ A **profile** for the set of voters  $V$  is a sequence of (linear) orders over  $C$ , denoted  $\mathbf{P} = (P_1, \dots, P_n)$ .
  - ▶ Note that unlike  $V$  or  $C$ , which are sets (order of elements **does not** matter),  $\mathbf{P}$  is a *tuple* of different rankings (i.e., the order of the rankings **does** matter!).
- ▶ If  $|C| = n$  and  $|V| = m$ , we call  $\mathbf{P}$  a  **$(n, m)$ -profile**.
- ▶  $L(C)^V$  is the set of all **profiles or linear orders** for  $n$  voters (similarly for  $O(C)^V$ )

A **voting method** is a function  $f : L(C)^V \rightarrow \wp(C) \setminus \{\emptyset\}$ .

A voting method is **resolute** if for all profiles  $\mathbf{P}$ ,  $|f(\mathbf{P})| = 1$ .

# Anonymous Profiles



An **anonymous profile** is a function  $\rho : L(C) \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$ , where  $L(C)$  is the set of rankings of  $C$ .

# Anonymous Profiles

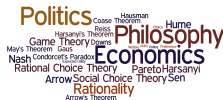


An **anonymous profile** is a function  $\rho : L(C) \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$ , where  $L(C)$  is the set of rankings of  $C$ .

2	5	3	5
$a$	$a$	$b$	$c$
$b$	$c$	$a$	$b$
$c$	$b$	$c$	$a$

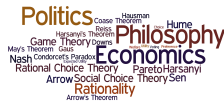


# Majoritarianism



When there are only **two** candidates  $A$  and  $B$ , then all (reasonable) voting methods give the same results:

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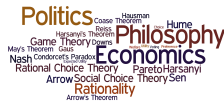
**Majority Rule:**  $A$  is ranked above (below)  $B$  if more (fewer) voters rank  $A$  above  $B$  than  $B$  above  $A$ , otherwise  $A$  and  $B$  are tied.

[illegible]

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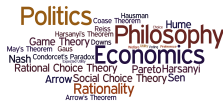
When there are only two options, can we argue that majority rule is the *best* procedure?

Yes. We will look at two arguments: A procedural justification and an epistemic justification.

What about when there are *more than* two candidates, can we still argue that majority rule is the “best” procedure?

Results are more mixed: Consider our previous definition of majority rule....

# Majoritarianism



What about when there are *more than* two candidates, can we still argue that majority rule is the “best” procedure?

Results are more mixed: Consider our previous definition of majority rule....we only defined it between two options! Can we generalize for  $|C| > 2$ ?

# Majority Rule



**Majority Rule:** If any option,  $a$ , is ranked first by over half the voters, then  $a$  is chosen as the winner)



# Majority Rule



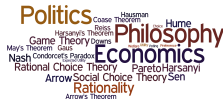
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Is this a good generalization? What problems might be run into?

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# Majority Rule



**Majority Rule:** If any option,  $a$ , is ranked first by over half the voters, then  $a$  is chosen as the winner)

Is this a good generalization? What problems might be run into?

- ▶ If might not return a winner, especially as  $C$  grows!
- ▶ Tyranny of the majority: A candidate with 51% of the vote may be ranked last by 49% of the voters, while another candidate is ranked 1st or 2nd by 100% of the voters.

# Positional scoring rules



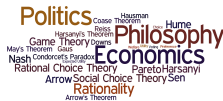
Suppose  $\langle s_1, s_2, \dots, s_m \rangle$  is a vector of numbers, called a **scoring vector**, where for each  $l = 1, \dots, m - 1$ ,  $s_l \geq s_{l+1}$ .

The **score of**  $x \in C$  **given**  $P$  is  $score(P, x) = s_r$  where  $r$  is the rank of  $x$  in  $P$ .

For each profile  $\mathbf{P}$  and  $x \in C$ , let  $score(\mathbf{P}, x) = \sum_{i=1}^n score(\mathbf{P}_i, x)$ .

A voting method  $f$  is a positional scoring rule for a scoring vector  $\vec{s}$  provided that for all  $\mathbf{P} \in L(C)^V$ ,  $f(\mathbf{P}) = \operatorname{argmax}_{x \in C} score(\mathbf{P}, x)$ .

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**Borda:** the positional scoring rule for  $\langle n - 1, n - 2, \dots, 1, 0 \rangle$ .

**Plurality:** the positional scoring rule for  $\langle 1, 0, \dots, 0 \rangle$ .

# voters	7	5	4	3
	A	B	D	C
	B	C	B	D
	C	D	C	A
	D	A	A	B

# voters	7	5	4	3
	A	B	D	C
	B	C	B	D
	C	D	C	A
	D	A	A	B

Plurality winners     $A$

Plurality scores     $A : 7, B : 5, C : 3, D : 4$

# voters	7	5	4	3
	A	B	D	C
	B	C	B	D
	C	D	C	A
	D	A	A	B

Plurality winners    *A*

Plurality scores    *A : 7, B : 5, C : 3, D : 4*

Borda winners        *B*

Borda scores        *A : 24, B : 37, C : 30, D : 23*



# voters	7	5	4	3
	A	B	D	C
	B	C	B	D
	C	D	C	A
	D	A	A	B

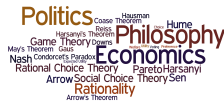
There is no absolute majority winner. Which candidate(s) is(are) the "closest" to the majority winner?

Let's start with an example involving the voting method known as **"Ranked Choice Voting," "Instant Runoff,"** or **"Hare System."**

This is widely used in Australia and is promoted in the U.S. by FairVote.org and the anti-corruption campaign RepresentUs.

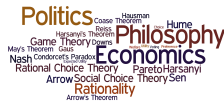


# Hare



Iteratively remove all candidates with the fewest number of voters who rank them first, until there is a candidate who is a majority winner. If, at some stage of the removal process, all remaining candidates have the same number of voters who rank them first (so all candidates would be removed), then all remaining candidates are selected as winners.

# Plurality with Runoff



Calculate the plurality score for each candidate—the number of voters who rank the candidate first. If there are 2 or more candidates with the highest plurality score, remove all other candidates and select the Plurality winners from the remaining candidates. If there is one candidate with the highest plurality score, remove all candidates except the candidates with the highest or second-highest plurality score, and select the Plurality winners from the remaining candidates.

Iteratively remove all candidates with the most number of voters who rank them last, until there is a candidate who is a majority winner. If, at some stage of the removal process, all remaining candidates have the same number voters who rank them last (so all candidates would be removed), then all remaining candidates are selected as winners.

# Baldwin



Iteratively remove all candidates with the smallest Borda score, until there is a single candidate remaining. If, at some stage of the removal process, all remaining candidates have the same Borda score (so all candidates would be removed), then all remaining candidates are selected as winners.

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# voters	7	5	4	3
	A	B	D	C
	B	C	B	D
	C	D	C	A
	D	A	A	B

Plurality	Runoff winners	<i>A</i>
Hare	winners	<i>D</i>
Coombs	winners	<i>B</i>
Nanson	winners	<i>B</i>
Baldwin	winners	<i>A</i>



# Recall Condorcet's Idea



# voters	3	5	7	6
best	A	A	B	C
	B	C	D	B
	C	B	C	D
worst	D	D	A	A

- Candidate C should win since C beats every other candidate in head-to-head elections.

best  
↑  
worst

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# Recall Condorcet's Idea



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# Recall Condorcet's Idea



# voters	3	5	7	6
best	A	A	<b>B</b>	C
	<b>B</b>	C	<b>D</b>	<b>B</b>
	C	<b>B</b>	C	<b>D</b>
worst	<b>D</b>	<b>D</b>	A	A

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# Recall Condorcet's Idea



# voters	3	5	7	6
best	A	A	B	C
	B	C	D	B
	C	B	C	D
worst	D	D	A	A

- Candidate C should win since C beats every other candidate in head-to-head elections. *B* is ranked second, *D* is ranked third, and *A* is ranked last.

$$C >_M B >_M D >_M A$$

# The Majority Relation



Suppose that  $X$  and  $Y$  are candidates and  $P_i$  represents voter  $i$ 's *strict preference*.

$$N(X P Y) = |\{i \mid X P_i Y\}|$$

“the number of voters that rank  $X$  strictly above  $Y$ ”



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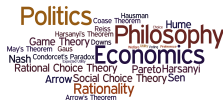
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$$X >_M Y \text{ iff } \mathbf{N}(X P Y) > \mathbf{N}(Y P X)$$

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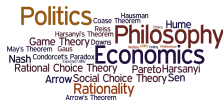
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$X$  is a **Condorcet winner** if  $X$  beats every other candidate in an head-to-head election: there is no candidate  $Y$  such that  $Y >_M X$

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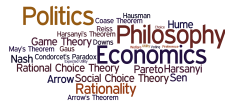
“a majority prefers candidate  $X$  over candidate  $Y$ ”

$X$  is a **Condorcet winner** if  $X$  beats every other candidate in an head-to-head election: there is no candidate  $Y$  such that  $Y >_M X$

$X$  is a **Condorcet loser** if  $X$  loses to every other candidate in an head-to-head elections: there is no candidate  $Y$  such that,  $X >_M Y$

[illegible]

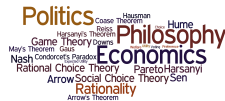
# The Problem



Voter 1	Voter 2	Voter 3
A	C	B
B	A	C
C	B	A

- Does the group prefer *A* over *B*?

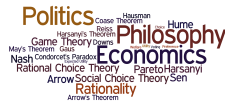
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Voter 1	Voter 2	Voter 3
A	C	B
B	A	C
C	B	A

- Does the group prefer *A* over *B*? **Yes**

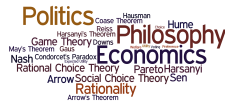
# The Problem



Voter 1	Voter 2	Voter 3
A	C	B
B	A	C
C	B	A

- ▶ Does the group prefer *A* over *B*? **Yes**
- ▶ Does the group prefer *B* over *C*? **Yes**

# The Problem



Voter 1	Voter 2	Voter 3
A	C	B
B	A	C
C	B	A

- ▶ Does the group prefer  $A$  over  $B$ ? Yes
- ▶ Does the group prefer  $B$  over  $C$ ? Yes
- ▶ Does the group prefer  $A$  over  $C$ ? No



# The Problem



Voter 1	Voter 2	Voter 3
A	C	B
B	A	C
C	B	A

The majority relation  $>_M$  is **not** transitive!

There is a **Condorcet cycle**:  $A >_M B >_M C >_M A$

- [illegible]

# How bad is this?



- ▶ Final decisions are extremely sensitive to institutional features such as who can set the agenda, arbitrary time limits place on deliberation, who is permitted to make motions, etc.
- ▶ Is there *empirical evidence* that Condorcet cycles have shown up in real elections?

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- ▶ How *likely* is a Condorcet cycle?

A voting method is **Condorcet consistent** if it selects the Condorcet winner if it exists.

7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B

*A*

*B*

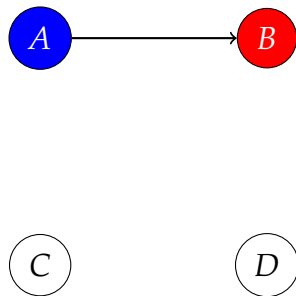
*C*

*D*

7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B

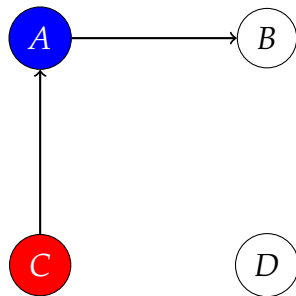


7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B

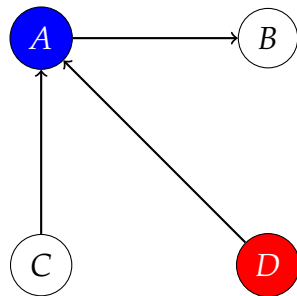




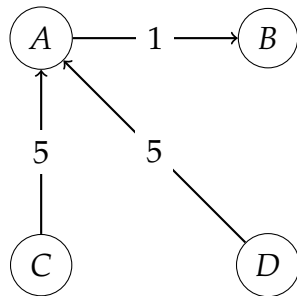
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A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B



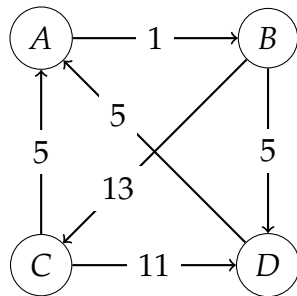
7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B



7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B



7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B



$$Condorcet(\mathbf{P}) = \begin{cases} \{x\} & \text{if } x \text{ is the Condorcet winner in } \mathbf{P} \\ C & \text{if there is no Condorcet winner.} \end{cases}$$

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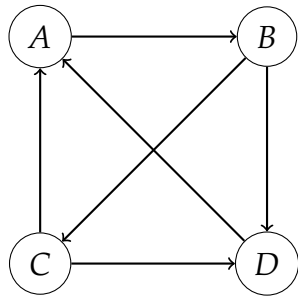
# Copeland



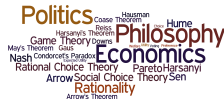
For each  $\mathbf{P}$  and  $x \in C$ , let  $wl_{\mathbf{P}}(x) = |\{z \mid Net_{\mathbf{P}}(x, z) > 0\}| - |\{z \mid Net_{\mathbf{P}}(z, x) > 0\}|$ .

$Copeland(\mathbf{P}) = \operatorname{argmax}_{x \in C} (wl_{\mathbf{P}}(x))$ .

7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B



# MaxMin

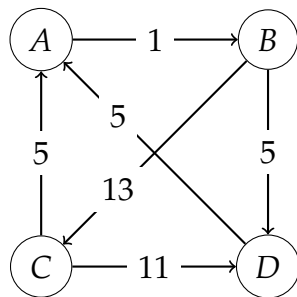


For each  $\mathbf{P}$  and  $x \in C$ , let  $\text{supp}(x, \mathbf{P}) = \max(\{\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{P}}(y, x) \mid y \in C, y \neq x\})$ .

$$\text{MinMax}(\mathbf{P}) = \operatorname{argmin}_{x \in C}(\text{supp}(x, \mathbf{P})).$$



7	5	4	3
A	B	D	C
B	C	B	D
C	D	C	A
D	A	A	B



Condorcet winners  $A, B, C, D$

Copeland winners  $B, C$

MinMax winners  $B$

Beatpath winners  $B$

# Voting Methods Tutorial

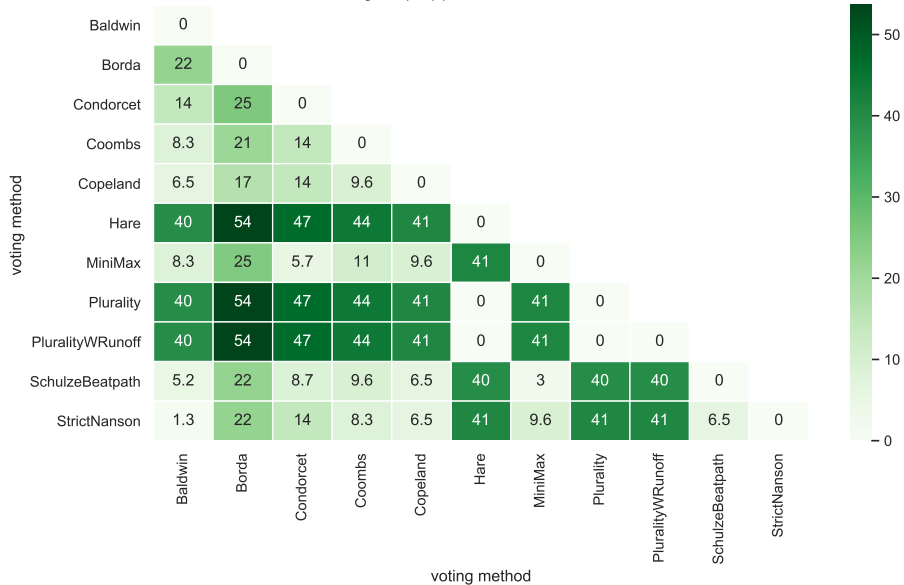
For  $n$  candidates and  $m$  voters, there are  $n!^m$  profiles.

candidates	voters	number of profiles
3	3	216
3	4	1296
3	5	7776
3	6	46656
3	7	279936
3	8	1679616
4	3	13824
4	4	331776
4	5	7962624
4	6	191102976
4	7	4586471424
4	8	110075314176
5	3	1728000
5	4	207360000
5	5	24883200000
5	6	2985984000000
5	7	358318080000000
5	8	42998169600000000

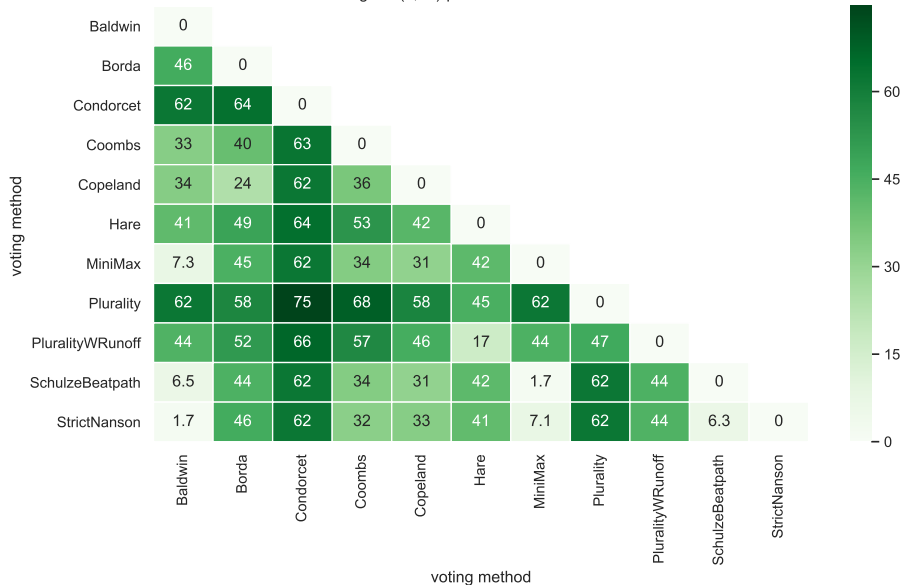
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5	4	207360000
5	5	24883200000
5	6	2985984000000
5	7	358318080000000
5	8	42998169600000000

candidates	voters	number of profiles
3	3	216
3	4	1296
3	5	7776
3	6	46656
3	7	279936
3	8	1679616
4	3	13824
4	4	331776
4	5	7962624
4	6	191102976
4	7	4586471424
4	8	110075314176
5	3	1728000
5	4	207360000
5	5	24883200000
5	6	2985984000000
5	7	358318080000000
5	8	42998169600000000

Percentage of (4,3)-profiles with different outcomes



Percentage of (5,10)-profiles with different outcomes





*Should* we select a Condorcet winner (when one exists)?

A word cloud featuring various concepts in economics and political philosophy. The most prominent words are 'Politics', 'Philosophy', and 'Economics'. Other significant terms include 'Game Theory', 'Rational Choice Theory', 'Arrow's Theorem', 'Nash', 'Pareto', 'Harsanyi', 'Hume', 'Hausman', 'Coase', 'Theorem', 'May's Theorem', 'Gaus', 'Condorcet's Paradox', 'Rational Choice', 'Social Choice', 'Theory Sen', and 'Rationality'.

A word cloud featuring various concepts in economics and political philosophy. The most prominent words are 'Politics', 'Philosophy', and 'Economics'. Other significant terms include 'Game Theory', 'Rational Choice Theory', 'Arrow's Theorem', 'Nash', 'Pareto', 'Harsanyi', 'Hume', 'Hausman', 'Coase', 'Theorem', 'May's Theorem', 'Gaus', 'Condorcet's Paradox', 'Rational Choice', 'Social Choice', 'Theory Sen', and 'Rationality'.

# Condorcet's Other Paradox



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
2	A	A	B	B	C	C
1	B	C	A	C	A	B
0	C	B	C	A	B	A

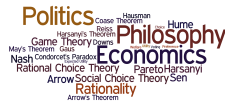
$$BS(A) = 2 \times 31 + 1 \times 39 + 0 \times 11 = 101$$

$$BS(B) = 2 \times 39 + 1 \times 31 + 0 \times 11 = 109$$

$$BS(C) = 2 \times 11 + 1 \times 11 + 0 \times 59 = 33$$

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

# Condorcet's Other Paradox



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
	A	A	B	B	C	C
	B	C	A	C	A	B
	C	B	C	A	B	A

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

$$A >_M B >_M C$$

$$B \succ_{BC} A \succ_{BC} C$$

36 / 65

# Condorcet's Other Paradox



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
A	A	B	B	C	C	
B	C	A	C	A	B	
C	B	C	A	B	A	

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

$$A >_M B >_M C$$

# Condorcet's Other Paradox



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
$s_2$	A	A	B	B	C	C
$s_1$	B	C	A	C	A	B
$s_0$	C	B	C	A	B	A

**Condorcet's Other Paradox:** No *scoring rule* will work...

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

$$A >_M B >_M C$$

# Condorcet's Other Paradox



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
$s_2$	A	A	B	B	C	C
$s_1$	B	C	A	C	A	B
$s_0$	C	B	C	A	B	A

**Condorcet's Other Paradox:** No *scoring rule* will work...

$$\text{Score}(A) = s_2 \times 31 + s_1 \times 39 + s_0 \times 11$$

$$\text{Score}(B) = s_2 \times 39 + s_1 \times 31 + s_0 \times 11$$

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

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# Condorcet's Other Paradox



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
$s_2$	A	A	B	B	C	C
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$s_0$	C	B	C	A	B	A

**Condorcet's Other Paradox:** No *scoring rule* will work...

$$\text{Score}(A) = s_2 \times 31 + s_1 \times 39 + s_0 \times 11$$

$$\text{Score}(B) = s_2 \times 39 + s_1 \times 31 + s_0 \times 11$$

$$\text{Score}(A) > \text{Score}(B) \Rightarrow 31s_2 + 39s_1 > 39s_2 + 31s_1 \Rightarrow s_1 > s_2$$

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

$$A >_M B >_M C$$

# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
$s_2$	A	A	B	B	C	C
$s_1$	B	C	A	C	A	B
$s_0$	C	B	C	A	B	A

**Theorem (Fishburn 1974).** For all  $m \geq 3$ , there is some voting situation with a Condorcet winner such that every scoring rule will have at least  $m - 2$  candidates with a greater score than the Condorcet winner.

P. Fishburn. *Paradoxes of Voting*. The American Political Science Review, 68:2, pgs. 537 - 546, 1974.

# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
	A	A	B	B	C	C
	B	C	A	C	A	B
	C	B	C	A	B	A

# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
2	A	A	B	B	C	C
1	B	C	A	C	A	B
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$$BS(A) = 2 \times 31 + 1 \times 39 + 0 \times 11 = 101$$

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	C	B	C	A	B	A

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

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# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
	A	A	B	B	C	C
	B	C	A	C	A	B
	C	B	C	A	B	A

$$B >_{BC} A >_{BC} C$$

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# Condorcet Triples



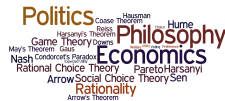
$G_1$	$G_2$	$G_3$
A	B	C
B	C	A
C	A	B

$G_1$	$G_2$	$G_3$
A	C	B
C	B	A
B	A	C

If  $G_1 = G_2 = G_3$ , then this group of voters “cancel out” each other’s votes



# Saari's argument



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
	A	A	B	B	C	C
	B	C	A	C	A	B
	C	B	C	A	B	A

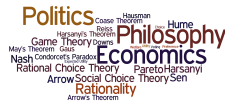
# Saari's argument



# voters	30	1	29	10	10	1
	A	A	B	B	C	C
	B	C	A	C	A	B
	C	B	C	A	B	A

10	10	10
A	B	C
B	C	A
C	A	B

# Saari's argument



# voters	20	1	29	0	0	1
----------	----	---	----	---	---	---

A	A	B	B	C	C
---	---	---	---	---	---

B	C	A	C	A	B
---	---	---	---	---	---

C	B	C	A	B	A
---	---	---	---	---	---

10	10	10
----	----	----

A	B	C
---	---	---

B	C	A
---	---	---

C	A	B
---	---	---

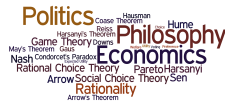
1	1	1
---	---	---

A	C	B
---	---	---

C	B	A
---	---	---

B	A	C
---	---	---

# Saari's argument



# voters	20	0	28	0	0	0
----------	----	---	----	---	---	---

---

A	B
---	---

B	A
---	---

C	C
---	---

10	10	10
----	----	----

---

A	B	C
---	---	---

B	C	A
---	---	---

C	A	B
---	---	---

1	1	1
---	---	---

---

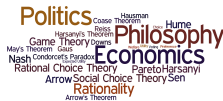
A	C	B
---	---	---

C	B	A
---	---	---

B	A	C
---	---	---

[illegible]

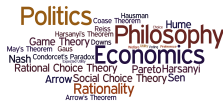
# Is the Condorcet winner the “best” choice?



# voters	47	47	3	3
	A	B	C	C
	C	C	A	B
	B	A	B	A

C is the Condorcet winner; however, it seems that supporters of the main rivals *A* and *B* would rather see *C* win than their candidate's principal opponent, but this does not mean that there is “positive support” for *C*.

# Further Investigation



- ▶ W. Poundstone, *Gaming the Vote: Why Elections Aren't Fair (and What We Can Do About It)*, Hill and Wang, 2009
- ▶ EP, [Voting Methods](#) (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)
- ▶ C. List, [Social Choice Theory](#) (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)
- ▶ M. Morreau, [Arrow's Theorem](#) (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy)

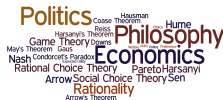
# Further Investigation



- ▶ <https://www.electology.org>
- ▶ <http://www.fairvote.org>
- ▶ <http://rangevoting.org>
- ▶ <https://www.opavote.com>
- ▶ <http://www.preflib.org>



# There are many different voting methods



**Many different electoral methods:** Plurality, Borda Count, Antiplurality/Veto, and k-approval; Plurality with Runoff; Single Transferable Vote (STV)/Hare; Approval Voting; Cup Rule/Voting Trees; Copeland; Banks; Slater Rule; Schwartz Rule; the Condorcet rule; Maximin/Simpson, Kemeny; Ranked Pairs/Tideman; Bucklin Method; Dodgson Method; Young's Method; Majority Judgment; Cumulative Voting; Range/Score Voting; ...

# Choosing how to choose



**Pragmatic considerations:** Is the procedure easy to use? Is it legal? The importance of ease of use should not be underestimated: Despite its many flaws, plurality rule is, by far, the most commonly used method.

**Behavioral considerations:** Do the different procedures *really* lead to different outcomes in practice?

**Information required from the voters:** What type of information do the ballots convey? I.e., Choosing a single alternative, linearly rank all the candidates, report something about the “intensity” of preference.

**Axiomatics:** Characterize the different voting methods in terms of normative principles of group decision making.

# Principles of group decision making



# Principles of group decision making



- ▶ **Condorcet Condition:** Always choose the candidate that beats every other candidate in head-to-head elections.

# Principles of group decision making



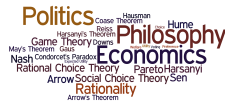
- ▶ **Condorcet Condition:** Always choose the candidate that beats every other candidate in head-to-head elections.
- ▶ **Unanimity (Pareto):** If *everyone* ranks  $A$  above  $B$ , then  $B$  should not win the election.

# Principles of group decision making



- ▶ **Condorcet Condition:** Always choose the candidate that beats every other candidate in head-to-head elections.
- ▶ **Unanimity (Pareto):** If *everyone* ranks  $A$  above  $B$ , then  $B$  should not win the election.
- ▶ **Anonymity:** The names of the voters do not matter (if two voters swap votes, then the outcome is unaffected).

# Monotonicity



A candidate receiving more “support” shouldn’t make her worse off.

# Monotonicity



A candidate receiving more “support” shouldn’t make her worse off.

**More-is-Less Paradox:** If a candidate  $C$  is elected under a given a profile of rankings of the competing candidates, it is possible that, *ceteris paribus*,  $C$  may not be elected if some voter(s) raise  $C$  in their rankings.

P. Fishburn and S. Brams. *Paradoxes of Preferential Voting*. Mathematics Magazine (1983).



# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



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	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

Winner: A

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

Winner: A

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C
Winner: A				

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C
Winner: C				

# More-is-Less Paradox: Plurality with Runoff

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	B
	B	A	C	A
	C	B	A	C

Winner: A

# voters	6	5	4	2
	A	C	B	A
	B	A	C	B
	C	B	A	C

Winner: C





**Monotonicity:** A candidate receiving more “support” shouldn’t make her worse off.



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**No-Show Paradox:** A voter may obtain a more preferable outcome if he decides not to participate in an election than, *ceteris paribus*, if he decides to participate in the election.

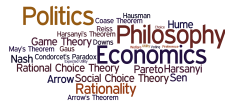
- ▶ **Twin Paradox:** A voter may obtain a less preferable outcome if his “twin” (a voter with the exact same ranking) decides to participate in the election.

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- ▶ **Twin Paradox:** A voter may obtain a less preferable outcome if his “twin” (a voter with the exact same ranking) decides to participate in the election.
- ▶ **Truncation Paradox:** A voter may obtain a more preferable outcome if, *ceteris paribus*, he only reveals part of his ranking of the candidates.

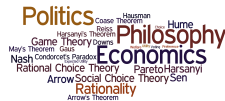
# No-Show Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters	4	3	1	3
A	B	C	C	
B	C	A	B	
C	A	B	A	

# voters	2	3	1	3
A	B	C	C	
B	C	A	B	
C	A	B	A	

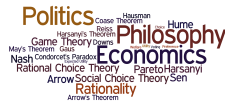
# No-Show Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters	4	3	1	3
	A	B	C	C
	B	C	A	B
	C	A	B	A

# voters	2	3	1	3
	A	B	C	C
	B	C	A	B
	C	A	B	A

# No-Show Paradox: Plurality with Runoff

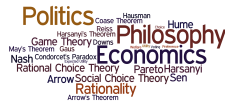


# voters	4	3	1	3
	A	B	C	C
	B	C	A	B
	C	A	B	A

Winner: C

# voters	2	3	1	3
	A	B	C	C
	B	C	A	B
	C	A	B	A

# No-Show Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



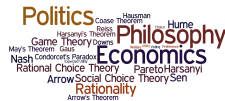
# voters	4	3	1	3
	A	B	C	C
	B	C	A	B
	C	A	B	A

Winner: C

# voters	2	3	1	3
	A	B	C	C
	B	C	A	B
	C	A	B	A



# No-Show Paradox: Plurality with Runoff

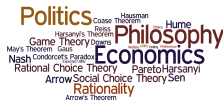


# voters	4	3	1	3
A	B	C	C	
B	C	A	B	
C	A	B	A	

Winner: C

# voters	2	3	1	3
A	B	C	C	
B	C	A	B	
C	A	B	A	

# No-Show Paradox: Plurality with Runoff



# voters    4    3    1    3

---

A    B    C    C

B    C    A    B

C    A    B    A

Winner: C

# voters    2    3    1    3

---

A    B    C    C

B    C    A    B

C    A    B    A

Winner: B

Winner: C

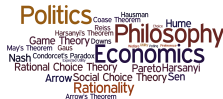
Winner:  $B$

# Failures of Monotonicity



Example: Burlington, VT 2009 Mayoral Race  
([rangevoting.org/Burlington.html](http://rangevoting.org/Burlington.html))

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D. Felsenthal and N. Tideman. *Varieties of Failure of Monotonicity and Participation under Five Voting Methods*. *Theory and Decision*, 75, pgs. 59 - 77, 2013.

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H. Moulin. *Condorcet's Principle Implies the No Show Paradox*. Journal of Economic Theory, 45, pgs. 53 - 64, 1988.

# Principles



**Condorcet:** Elect the Condorcet winner whenever it exists.

**Monotonicity:** More support should never hurt a candidate.

**Participation:** It should never be in a voter's best interests not to vote.

**Multiple-Districts:** If a candidate wins in each district, then that candidate should also win when the districts are merged.

# More Principles



**Pareto:** Never elect a candidate if another candidate is strictly preferred by all voters.

**Anonymity:** The outcome does not depend on the names of the voters.

**Neutrality:** The outcome does not depend on the names of the candidates.

**Universal Domain:** The voters are free to rank the candidates (or grade the candidates) in any way they want.





What are the relationships between these principles? Is there a procedure that satisfies *all* of them?

A few observations:

- ▶ Condorcet winners may not exist.
- ▶ No positional scoring method satisfies the Condorcet Principle.
- ▶ The Condorcet and Participation principles cannot be jointly satisfied.

A. Sen. *The Possibility of Social Choice*. The American Economic Review, 89:3, pgs. 349 - 378, 1999 (reprint of his Nobel lecture).

# Axiomatics



“When a set of axioms regarding social choice can all be simultaneously satisfied, there may be several possible procedures that work, among which we have to choose. In order to choose between different possibilities through the use of discriminating axioms, we have to introduce *further* axioms, until only and only one possible procedure remains.

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(pg. 354)

A. Sen. *The Possibility of Social Choice*. The American Economic Review, 89:3, pgs. 349 - 378, 1999 (reprint of his Nobel lecture).

# The Social Choice Model

# Notation



- ▶  $N$  is a finite set of voters (assume that  $N = \{1, 2, 3, \dots, n\}$ )
- ▶  $X$  is a (typically finite) set of alternatives, or candidates
- ▶ A relation on  $X$  is a linear order if it is transitive, irreflexive, and complete (hence, acyclic)
- ▶  $L(X)$  is the set of all linear orders over the set  $X$
- ▶  $O(X)$  is the set of all reflexive and transitive relations over the set  $X$

# Notation



- ▶ A **profile** for the set of voters  $N$  is a sequence of (linear) orders over  $X$ , denoted  $\mathbf{R} = (R_1, \dots, R_n)$ .
- ▶  $L(X)^n$  is the set of all **profiles** for  $n$  voters (similarly for  $O(X)^n$ )
- ▶ For a profile  $\mathbf{R} = (R_1, \dots, R_n) \in O(X)^n$ , let  $\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(A \succ B) = \{i \mid A \succ_i B\}$  be the set of voters that rank  $A$  above  $B$  (similarly for  $\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(A \succsim B)$  and  $\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(B \succ A)$ )



# Preference Aggregation Methods



**Social Welfare Function:**  $F : \mathcal{D} \rightarrow L(X)$ , where  $\mathcal{D} \subseteq L(X)^n$

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**Social Welfare Function:**  $F : \mathcal{D} \rightarrow L(X)$ , where  $\mathcal{D} \subseteq L(X)^n$

## Comments

- ▶  $\mathcal{D}$  is the *domain* of the function: it is the set of all possible profiles
- ▶ Aggregation methods are *decisive*: every profile  $\mathbf{R}$  in the domain is associated with exactly one ordering over the candidates
- ▶ The range of the function is  $L(X)$ : the social ordering is assumed to be a linear order
- ▶ Tie-breaking rules are built into the definition of a preference aggregation function

## Variants

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# Examples



$Maj(\mathbf{R}) = >_M$  where  $A >_M B$  iff  $|\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(A \succ B)| > |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(B \succ A)|$

*(the problem is that  $>_M$  may not be transitive (or complete))*

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$Borda(\mathbf{R}) = \geq_{BC}$  where  $A \geq_{BC} B$  iff the Borda score of  $A$  is greater than the Borda score for  $B$ .

(the problem is that  $\geq_{\text{BC}}$  may not be a linear order)

# Characterizing Majority Rule



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**Majority Rule:**  $A$  is ranked above (below)  $B$  if more (fewer) voters rank  $A$  above  $B$  than  $B$  above  $A$ , otherwise  $A$  and  $B$  are tied.

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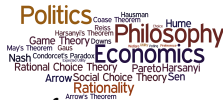
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When there are only two options, can we argue that majority rule is the “best” procedure?

K. May. *A Set of Independent Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Simple Majority Decision*. *Econometrica*, Vol. 20 (1952).



# May's Theorem: Details



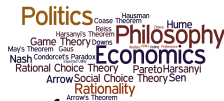
Let  $N = \{1, 2, 3, \dots, n\}$  be the set of  $n$  voters and  $X = \{A, B\}$  the set of candidates.

**Social Welfare Function:**  $F : O(X)^n \rightarrow O(X)$ , where  $O(X)$  is the set of orderings over  $X$

*(there are only three possibilities:  $A P B$ ,  $A I B$ , or  $B P A$ )*

$$F_{Maj}(\mathbf{R}) = \begin{cases} A P B & \text{if } |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(A P B)| > |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(B P A)| \\ A I B & \text{if } |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(A P B)| = |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(B P A)| \\ B P A & \text{if } |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(B P A)| > |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{R}}(A P B)| \end{cases}$$

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Let  $N = \{1, 2, 3, \dots, n\}$  be the set of  $n$  voters and  $X = \{A, B\}$  the set of candidates.

**Social Welfare Function:**  $F : \{1, 0, -1\}^n \rightarrow \{1, 0, -1\}$ ,

where 1 means  $A \succ B$ , 0 means  $A \sim B$ , and  $-1$  means  $B \succ A$

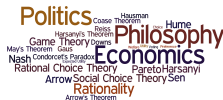
$$F_{\text{Maj}}(\mathbf{v}) = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{v}}(1)| > |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{v}}(-1)| \\ 0 & \text{if } |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{v}}(1)| = |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{v}}(-1)| \\ -1 & \text{if } |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{v}}(-1)| > |\mathbf{N}_{\mathbf{v}}(1)| \end{cases}$$

# Warm-up Exercise



Suppose that there are two voters and two candidates. How many social choice functions are there?

# Warm-up Exercise



Suppose that there are two voters and two candidates. How many social choice functions are there? **19,683**

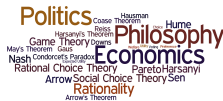
- ▶ There are three possible rankings for 2 candidates.
- ▶ When there are two voters there are  $3^2 = 9$  possible profiles:

$$\{(1, 1), (1, 0), (1, -1), (0, 1), (0, 0), (0, -1), (-1, 1), (-1, 0), (-1, -1)\}$$

- ▶ Since there are 9 profiles and 3 rankings, there are  $3^9 = 19,683$  possible preference aggregation functions.

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# May's Theorem: Details



- **Unanimity:** unanimously supported alternatives must be the social outcome.

If  $\mathbf{v} = (v_1, \dots, v_n)$  with for all  $i \in N$ ,  $v_i = x$  then  $F(\mathbf{v}) = x$   
(for  $x \in \{1, 0, -1\}$ ).

- **Anonymity:** all voters should be treated equally.
- **Neutrality:** all candidates should be treated equally.

[illegible]

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- $F(v_1, \dots, v_n) = F(v_{\pi(1)}, v_{\pi(2)}, \dots, v_{\pi(n)})$  where  $v_i \in \{1, 0, -1\}$  and  $\pi$  is a permutation of the voters.

- 61 / 65

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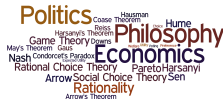
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- **Neutrality:** all candidates should be treated equally.

$F(-\mathbf{v}) = -F(\mathbf{v})$  where  $-\mathbf{v} = (-v_1, \dots, -v_n)$ .



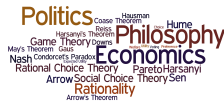
# May's Theorem: Details



- **Positive Responsiveness** (Monotonicity): unidirectional shift in the voters' opinions should help the alternative toward which this shift occurs

If  $F(\mathbf{v}) = 0$  or  $F(\mathbf{v}) = 1$  and  $\mathbf{v} < \mathbf{v}'$ , then  $F(\mathbf{v}') = 1$   
where  $\mathbf{v} < \mathbf{v}'$  means for all  $i \in N$   $v_i \leq v'_i$  and there is some  $i \in N$  with  $v_i < v'_i$ .

# Warm-up Exercise

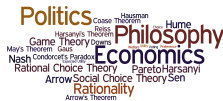


Suppose that there are two voters and two candidates. How many social choice functions are there that satisfy anonymity?

**Anonymity:** all voters should be treated equally.

$F(v_1, v_2, \dots, v_n) = F(v_{\pi(1)}, v_{\pi(2)}, \dots, v_{\pi(n)})$  where  $\pi$  is a permutation of the voters.

# Warm-up Exercise



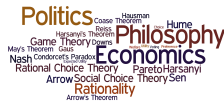
Suppose that there are two voters and two candidates. How many social choice functions are there that satisfy anonymity? 729

**Anonymity:** all voters should be treated equally.

$F(v_1, v_2, \dots, v_n) = F(v_{\pi(1)}, v_{\pi(2)}, \dots, v_{\pi(n)})$  where  $\pi$  is a permutation of the voters.

- ▶ Imposing anonymity reduces the number of preference aggregation functions.
- ▶ If  $F$  satisfies anonymity, then  $F(1, 0) = F(0, 1)$ ,  $F(1, -1) = F(-1, 1)$  and  $F(-1, 0) = F(0, -1)$ .
- ▶ This means that there are essentially 6 elements of the domain. So, there are  $3^6 = 729$  preference aggregation functions.

# May's Theorem: Details



**May's Theorem (1952)** A social decision method  $F$  satisfies unanimity, neutrality, anonymity and positive responsiveness iff  $F$  is majority rule.

## Proof Idea

If  $(1, 0, -1)$  is assigned 1 or  $-1$  then



- ✓ Anonymity implies  $(-1, 0, 1)$  is assigned 1 or  $-1$

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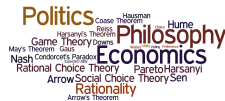
✓ Anonymity implies  $(-1, 0, 1)$  is assigned 1 or  $-1$

✓ Neutrality implies  $(1, 0, -1)$  is assigned  $-1$  or 1

**Contradiction.**

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Politics

Philosophy

Economics

Game Theory

Rational Choice Theory

Arrow's Theorem

Nash

Pareto

Harsanyi

Hume

Hausman

Coase

Theorem

May's Theorem

Gaus

Condorcet's Paradox

Rational Choice

Social Choice

Theory Sen

Rationality

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- ✓ Positive Responsiveness implies  $(1, 1, -1)$  is assigned 1

**Contradiction.**

E. Maskin. *Majority rule, social welfare functions and game forms*. in *Choice, Welfare and Development*, The Clarendon Press, pgs. 100 - 109, 1995.

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Can May's Theorem be generalized to more than 2 candidates?

Can May's Theorem be generalized to more than 2 candidates? **No!**

# Spoiler Candidates: Plurality Rule



# voters	49	48	3
	A	B	C
	B	A	B
	C	C	A

Winner: A



Winner:  $B$

**Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives:** If the voters in two different electorates rank  $A$  and  $B$  in exactly the same way, then  $A$  and  $B$  should be ranked the same way in both elections.

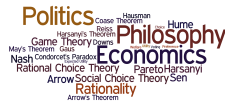
# Failure of IIA: Borda Count



# voters	3	2	2
3	A	B	C
2	B	C	A
1	C	A	B
0	X	X	X

# voters	3	2	2
A	A	B	C
B	B	C	X
C	C	X	A
X	X	A	B

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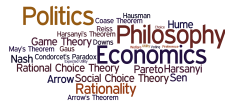


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# voters	3	2	2
	A	B	C
	B	C	X
	C	X	A
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$A (15) >_{BC} B (14) >_{BC} C (13) >_{BC} X (0)$

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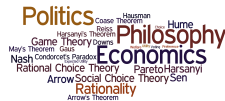


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# voters	3	2	2
3	A	B	C
2	B	C	X
1	C	X	A
0	X	A	B

$C (13) >_{BC} B (12) >_{BC} A (11) >_{BC} X (6)$