

Voting: How it works, and why it doesn't

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Fairfield University

Fairfield U. Mathematics & Computer Science Colloquium
Election Day 2012

This talk is about fairness in voting systems.

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I'll discuss specifically the unfairness in our system of voting.

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I also will not discuss the electoral college.

This is a crazy overlay onto our basic voting system which makes everything slightly weirder.

I'm interested in the system at a much more fundamental level.

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Actually, voting is an insane idea when you think about it.

Imagine a bunch of people disagree about something.

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This sounds sketchy.

Something that complicates everything:

Preferences of groups of people do not behave like preferences of individual people.

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This is the *Condorcet paradox*.
(Condorcet, 1743-1794)

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No person would ever say: “I like A more than B , and B more than C , and C more than A ”.

Condorcet paradox

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No person would ever say: “I like A more than B , and B more than C , and C more than A ”.

Individual preferences are *transitive*.

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15	11	13
<hr/>		
A	B	C
B	C	A
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So what is the “will of the people”?

Sounds like there is no coherent will of the people.

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Various different ways to look at preferences and decide the winner.

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- ▶ If the society actually has a uniform preference, the decision should reflect this.

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For a reasonably fair system:

- ▶ If the society actually has a uniform preference, the decision should reflect this.
- ▶ The decision should not depend on irrelevant details of the preferences.

Let's vote!

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Voting for US president is boring.

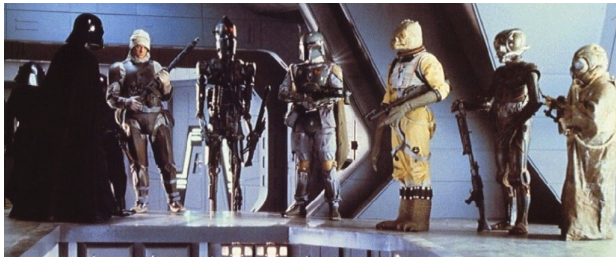
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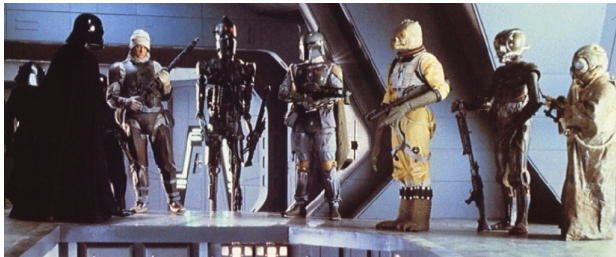
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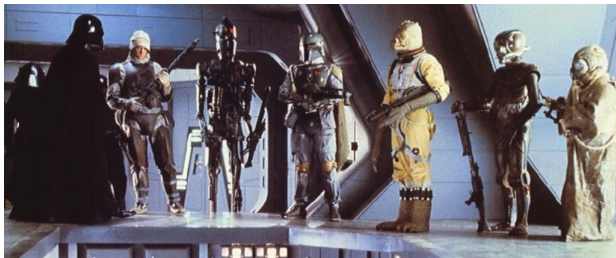


Obviously Boba Fett is the best.

Let's vote!

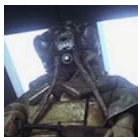
Voting for US president is boring. We will vote for:

The second-best bounty hunter from *The Empire Strikes Back*



Obviously Boba Fett is the best. We'll vote for second best.

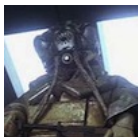
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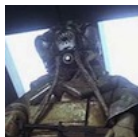
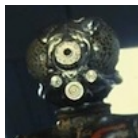
Bossk



Here are the choices:



Bossk



Zuckuss



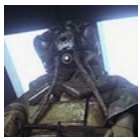
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Bossk



4-LOM



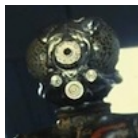
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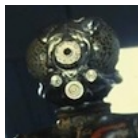
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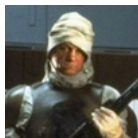
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To make it interesting, let's *rank* our choices.

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Choose your #1, #2, etc. choice.

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Choose your #1, #2, etc. choice.

After we vote, we'll count up the votes and have our decision.

Your ballot will look like this:

					
First choice:	<input type="radio"/> Dengar	<input type="radio"/> Zuckuss	<input type="radio"/> IG-88	<input checked="" type="radio"/> Bossk	<input type="radio"/> 4-LOM
Second choice:	<input type="radio"/> Dengar	<input checked="" type="radio"/> Zuckuss	<input type="radio"/> IG-88	<input type="radio"/> Bossk	<input type="radio"/> 4-LOM
Third choice:	<input type="radio"/> Dengar	<input type="radio"/> Zuckuss	<input checked="" type="radio"/> IG-88	<input type="radio"/> Bossk	<input type="radio"/> 4-LOM
Fourth choice:	<input checked="" type="radio"/> Dengar	<input type="radio"/> Zuckuss	<input type="radio"/> IG-88	<input type="radio"/> Bossk	<input type="radio"/> 4-LOM
Fifth choice:	<input type="radio"/> Dengar	<input type="radio"/> Zuckuss	<input type="radio"/> IG-88	<input type="radio"/> Bossk	<input checked="" type="radio"/> 4-LOM

Vote

Vote on the tablets going around, or:

Connect to the “staecker” wi-fi network, and visit:
<http://staecker.local/vote>

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Actually there is no obvious way.

There are lots and lots of *winner selection methods* that we could use.

Even reasonable alternative systems will produce wildly different outcomes.

Stalin (1920s): “I consider it completely unimportant who in the party will vote, or how; but what is extraordinarily important is this who will count the votes, and how.”

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Here comes 8 different winner selection methods for ranked ballots.

Plurality

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All rankings except first place are ignored.

Anti-plurality

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Use this in a “lesser of evils” election.

Borda count

Everybody gets points:

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for n candidates:

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Borda count

Everybody gets points:

for n candidates:

- ▶ a first place vote is worth n points
- ▶ a second place vote is worth $n - 1$ points
- ▶ ...
- ▶ a last place vote is worth 1 point

Borda count

So if the candidates are A, B, C and the votes are like this:

1	3	2	4
A	B	C	A
B	C	A	C
C	A	B	B

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A gets: $1 \times 3 + 3 \times 1 + 2 \times 2 + 4 \times 3 = 22$ points

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C wins.

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In the first round, we eliminate C.

Eliminating C looks like:

1	3	2	4		1	3	2	4
A	B	C	A	→	A	B	A	A
B	C	A	C		B	A	B	B
C	A	B	B					

Eliminating C looks like:

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
 1 & 3 & 2 & 4 \\
 \hline
 A & B & C & A \\
 B & C & A & C \\
 C & A & B & B
 \end{array}
 \rightarrow
 \begin{array}{cccc}
 1 & 3 & 2 & 4 \\
 \hline
 A & B & A & A \\
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 =
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This method is used in Australia, Ireland, and a few local elections in US.

IRV Variations

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Are these all equivalent? no

Pairwise comparisons

Pit the candidates against each other one-on-one in all possible matchups

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Whoever wins the most of these wins the election.

Random dictator

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But a person with $x\%$ support will win the election with probability $x\%$, which doesn't sound too bad.

A little digression

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Voting was not viewed as an important component of democracy.

A true government “of the people” should be made up of ordinary people, chosen at random.

Results!

Let's see the results of our election.

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Moral of the story:

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Moral of the story:

Different reasonable voting methods produce different outcomes.

Fairness

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Hopefully we can come up with some basic principles for fairness, and choose a system which satisfies them all.

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Let's talk some specific ways to measure these kinds of fairness.

Preferences-based fairness

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These are an attempt to define specifically the idea that the winner should be preferred over the losers

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Not satisfied by Borda count:

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In the Borda count, A gets 15 and B gets 19.

Here, A is ranked first by a majority, but B wins in the Borda count.

The Condorcet criterion

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This is also a very reasonable fairness criterion.

Twiddle-Dee & Twiddle-Dum

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Nader	97,488
Others	40,579

Bush	2,912,790
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Nader is typically described as “far left” on most issues,

Bush	2,912,790
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Nader is typically described as “far left” on most issues, and it’s fair to say most of his voters would have preferred Gore over Bush.

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Gore	2,912,253
Nader	97,488

Nader is typically described as “far left” on most issues, and it’s fair to say most of his voters would have preferred Gore over Bush.

So if there had been preferences recorded at the ballot, they might’ve looked like this:

2,912,790	2,912,253	97,488
B	G	N
G	B	G
N	N	B

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Here, Gore is a Condorcet winner.

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Decisions-based fairness

Let's discuss two criteria related to decision-making.

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We'll formalize the idea that if someone switches their vote, the election outcome should change “appropriately”

Monotonicity

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This is satisfied by plurality and Borda count, so they seem pretty fair.

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This is an “irrelevant alternative”.

In a fair system, this kind of change should not affect the election results.

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So the plurality system does not satisfy the irrelevant alternatives criterion.

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If your system is not strategy-proof, the voters need to think carefully about voting “tactically”, rather than voting their true preferences.

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The Nader voters would have a better outcome if they'd voted for Gore.

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The Nader voters would have a better outcome if they'd voted for Gore.

Their honesty caused Bush to win, which was their last choice.

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Strategy in our system is based fundamentally on avoiding “vote-splitting”.

A vote for anybody other than the winner is a wasted vote.

This makes politicians always claim that they’re winning.

This makes the two parties indestructible.

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This is true in our world with very few exceptions. (Canada, UK)

Criteria summary

This can all be worked out:

	Maj.	Cond.	Mono.	IA	Strategy-proof
Plurality/ Anti-plurality	✓	×	✓	×	×
Borda	×	×	✓	×	×
Instant runoff / Coombs	✓	×	×	×	×
Baldwin	✓	✓	×	×	×
Pairwise Comparison	✓	✓	✓	×	×
Random dictator	×	×	✓	✓	✓

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Pairwise Comparison	✓	✓	✓	×	×
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Pairwise Comparison	✓	✓	✓	×	×
Random dictator	×	×	✓	✓	✓

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Baldwin	✓	✓	×	×	×
Pairwise Comparison	✓	✓	✓	×	×
Random dictator	×	×	✓	✓	✓

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And one can discuss the degree of failure on various criteria.

The bad news

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There are two classic “impossibility theorems” which show that no system can obey all of these.

Arrow's theorem

Arrow (1950s): No voting system can satisfy the Condorcet criterion and the irrelevant alternatives criterion.

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Bad news for voting in general.

When choosing a voting system, we have to decide whether we want Condorcet or IA. You can't have both. (Plurality has neither.)

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We want a voting system such that:

- ▶ If the people actually have a uniform preference, the decision should reflect this.
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This is impossible.

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Imagine the election:

1	1	1
<hr/>		
A	B	C
B	C	A
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All the votes are symmetric- let's imagine that A is chosen as the winner.

1	1	1
<hr/>		
A	B	C
B	C	A
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A wins.

1	1	1
<hr/>		
A	B	C
B	C	A
C	A	B

A wins.

Now if *BCA* changes to *CBA*, this is an irrelevant alternative.

1	1	1
A	B	C
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C	A	B

A wins.

Now if *BCA* changes to *CBA*, this is an irrelevant alternative.

Since our system obeys the irrelevant alternatives criterion, A will still win in:

1	1	1
A	C	C
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1	1	1
A	B	C
B	C	A
C	A	B

A wins.

Now if BCA changes to CBA , this is an irrelevant alternative.

Since our system obeys the irrelevant alternatives criterion, A will still win in:

1	1	1
A	C	C
B	B	A
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But now C is a Condorcet winner, so C must win because our system obeys the Condorcet criterion.

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A wins.

Now if *BCA* changes to *CBA*, this is an irrelevant alternative.

Since our system obeys the irrelevant alternatives criterion, *A* will still win in:

1	1	1
A	C	C
B	B	A
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But now *C* is a Condorcet winner, so *C* must win because our system obeys the Condorcet criterion.

But we just said *A* wins, so this is a contradiction.

The Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem

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The first two are obviously unreasonable for real voting systems, so the summary is:

No reasonable voting system is strategy-proof.

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Note: It's not just that we *haven't yet figured out* how to get around the issues.

They are mathematically unavoidable.

So what should we do?

The concept of perfectly fair voting is logically impossible.

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No clear answers.

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We shouldn't abandon voting.

Should we continue to use the plurality system?

Pros:

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Pros: Simplicity.

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Lots of our political disfunction can be blamed on the primacy of the two parties, but most people see this as unavoidable.

It's not. It's caused by our use of the plurality system.

Will Democratic and Republican politicians ever seriously consider dismantling the plurality system?

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The system which voters don't even think about, but the parties depend on for survival?

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Picture from User:Durova at Wikimedia Commons, CC-BY-SA

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Picture from Joel Telling at Flickr, CC-BY-SA

The end!

Read Wikipedia “Voting system” for lots more info and references.

<http://faculty.fairfield.edu/cstaecker> for these slides