# How to Improve Presidential Elections

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Roy Gardner Memorial Lecture
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  - defeated Hillary Clinton in general election
- But in first 17 primaries he won, anti-Trump vote bigger than pro-Trump vote
- Same thing in general election
  - even in Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin (all of which Trump won) anti-Trump vote exceeded pro-Trump vote

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    - in March 8 poll, *both* Cruz and Rubio would have easily beaten Trump in two-candidate contest
  - voting-splitting among Rubio, Cruz, Kasich and others ensured Trump's nomination

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  - probably overwhelming majority of Nader voters would have voted for Gore had Nader not been on ballot
  - voting-splitting between Gore and Nader handed election to Bush

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George H.W. Bush 37.4%

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#### What do these examples show?

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  - each voter votes for one candidate and winner is candidate with most votes, even if doesn't get majority
- plurality rule vulnerable to vote-splitting
  - two or more similar candidates split the vote, allowing a very different candidate to win

Is there a better way to elect presidents?

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• Answer: yes

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- possible that Clinton would have beaten Trump in Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin in two-person race - - giving her the victory
- Gore would probably have defeated Bush (Junior) in Florida head-to-head, but this not reflected in outcome
- Bush (Senior) might have defeated Bill Clinton in two-way match-up, but we don't know

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e.g.	Rubio		Trump
	Kasich	or	Kasich
	Trump		Rubio

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• What should we do with these rankings?

"True" Majority Rule/Condorcet's method (per Marquis de Condorcet) "True" Majority Rule/Condorcet's method (per Marquis de Condorcet)

voters submit rankings

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 elect candidate who (according to rankings) would beat each of the others in head-tohead contest

<u>40%</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>25%</u>
Trump	Rubio	Kasich
Kasich	Kasich	Rubio
Rubio	Trump	Trump

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- contrast with *plurality winner* 
  - Trump is plurality winner
  - anti-Trump vote split between Rubio and Kasich
  - if either of Rubio or Kasich drop out, other beats Trump

48.7%48.3%3%BushGoreNaderGoreBushGoreNaderNaderBush

<u>48.7%</u>	<u>48.3%</u>	<u>3%</u>
Bush	Gore	Nader
Gore	Bush	Gore
Nader	Nader	Bush

• Gore defeats Bush (48.3% + 3% = 51.3%)

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  - as he was in Florida

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• Why limit ourselves to majority rule?

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- otherwise, look at 2 candidates getting most first-place votes
- whichever candidate preferred by majority is elected

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• no candidate gets majority of first-place votes

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  - majority prefer Rubio (35% + 25%)
  - so Rubio elected in runoff
- saw earlier that majority rule elects Kasich

Which method – runoff voting or majority rule – is better?

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 Way to answer question: which method does better job of satisfying basic requirements (principles) that any good voting rule should satisfy

### Consensus principle/Pareto principle

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## Neutrality

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- electoral rules should treat all candidates equally
- Both true majority and runoff voting satisfy neutrality

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- But runoff voting violates IIC

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- but notice that if Trump doesn't run, Kasich wins

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- saw that in 3-way race, *Rubio* wins
- but notice that if Trump doesn't run, Kasich wins
- so runoff voting violates "no vote splitting" principle
   (IIC)

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- both satisfy consensus, anonymity, and neutrality
- but only majority rule satisfies IIC

But majority rule has a flaw:

#### But majority rule has a flaw:

• there may not always be a candidate that beats all the others

$\frac{3370}{3270}$ $\frac{3270}{3270}$	<u>35%</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>32%</u>
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Rubio Kasich Trump

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35%33%32%TrumpRubioKasichRubioKasichTrumpKasichTrumpRubio

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• this is called a *Condorcet cycle* 

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- majority rule violates *decisiveness principle*, which requires that a winner always exists

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- runoff voting satisfies decisiveness

So true majority rule satisfies
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Runoff voting satisfies

 consensus
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consensus anonymity neutrality IIC decisiveness

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Answer: No

consensus anonymity neutrality IIC decisiveness

#### Answer: No

Implied by Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

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- but some rankings may be quite unlikely

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Rubio Kasich			Trump		Trump	

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	Trump		Trump		Rubio		
	Kasich	or	Rubio	or	Kasich	or	Rubio
	Rubio		Kasich		Trump		Trump
_	but not	Rubio		Kasich			
		Trump	or	Trump			
		Kasich		Rubio			

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- if most voters polarized, then the majority rule is decisive (no Condorcet cycles)

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(e.g. true majority rule works well for the class of polarized rankings)

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- furthermore, there exists some class of rankings for which true majority rule works well but other voting method does not
- thus, true majority rule works well *more often* than any other method

• Thus there is precise sense in which true majority rule is best

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  - then need tie breaker

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  - but Bloomberg and Sanders choose not to run
  - afraid of taking votes away from Clinton and handing election to Trump - - vote splitting again
  - public left with 2 deeply disliked candidates

<u>42%</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u> 18%</u>
Trump	Clinton	Bloomberg
Bloomberg	Bloomberg	Clinton-Trump
Clinton	Trump	

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• Bloomberg beats Trump (60% to 40%)

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- Bloomberg beats Trump (60% to 40%)
- Bloomberg beats Clinton (58% to 42%)

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- so there's reason for optimism that presidential elections will improve