

Social choice theory

A brief introduction

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Motivation

Introduction

Aims

- analyze a number of properties of electoral systems
- present **a few** elements of the classical theory

What is Social Choice Theory?

Social Choice Theory

- aim: study decision problems in which a group has to take a decision among several alternatives
- abstract theory
 - nature of the decision
 - size of the group
 - nature of the group
- many (deep) results
 - Economics, Political Science, Applied Mathematics, OR
 - two Nobel Prizes: Kenneth J. Arrow, Amartya Sen

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Areas of applications

Applications

- political elections
- other types of elections
 - fewer voters and candidates (e.g., electing a Dean)
- decision with multiple criteria
- artificial intelligence
 - multiple agents
 - multiple rules

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Problem

Vocabulary: political elections

- group
 - society
- members of the group
 - voters
- alternatives
 - candidates

Problem

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

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Today's problem

Problem

- choice of *one* among several candidates
 - French or US presidential elections

Electing several candidates: assembly

- apply same rules in each electoral district
- many specific problems: gerrymandering, technical problems (as sometimes seen in the USA)

Proportional representation

- PR does not solve the decision problem in the Parliament!
 - **one** bill will adopted on each issue
- PR raises many difficult problems (What is a just PR? How to achieve it? PR and Power indices)

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A glimpse at PR

Problem 1: # of seats and power

- Parliament: 100 MPs
- voting rule in the Parliament: simple majority ($> 50\%$)
- # of votes exactly proportional to # of seats

Example

- party A : 45 % of votes
 - party B : 15 % of votes
 - party C : 40 % of votes
- all coalitions of 1 party are losing coalitions
 - all coalitions of at least 2 parties are winning coalitions
 - entirely symmetric situation
 - all parties have the same power

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A glimpse at PR

Problem 2: obtaining a fair PR

- in general # of voters \gg # of MPs
- # of MPs must be integer!
- rounding off procedures

Hamilton's rule

- 2 100 000 voters, 3 parties, 20 MPs
- results
 - party A : 928 000, quota: $r_A = 928\,000 / 2\,100\,000 = 8.84$
 - party B : 635 000, quota: $r_B = 635\,000 / 2\,100\,000 = 6.05$
 - party C : 537 000, quota: $r_C = 537\,000 / 2\,100\,000 = 5.11$
- party x gets at least $\lfloor r_x \rfloor$ seats
- if all seats are allocated: done
- if not: allocate the remaining seats according to the $r_x - \lfloor r_x \rfloor$

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Hamilton's rule

- party A : 928 000, quota: $r_A = 8.84 = 928\,000/2\,100\,000$
- party B : 635 000, quota: $r_B = 6.05 = 635\,000/2\,100\,000$
- party C : 537 000, quota: $r_C = 5.11 = 537\,000/2\,100\,000$

Results

- party A gets 8 seats
- party B gets 6 seats
- party C gets 5 seats
- $8 + 6 + 5 = 19 < 20$
- party A gets the extra seat because $0.84 > 0.11 > 0.05$

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Example

20 seats

- party A : $r_A = 8.84$, $8 + 1 = 9$ seats
- party B : $r_B = 6.05$, 6 seats
- party C : $r_C = 5.11$, 5 seats

21 seats

- party A : $r_A = 9.28$, 9 seats
- party B : $r_B = 6.35$, 6 seats
- party C : $r_C = 5.37$, $5 + 1 = 6$ seats

22 seats: Alabama paradox (1881)

- party A : $r_A = 9.72$, $9 + 1 = 10$ seats
- party B : $r_B = 6.65$, $6 + 1 = 7$ seats
- party C : $r_C = 5.63$, 5 seats

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Election of one candidate

Common sense

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

Intuition

Democracy \Rightarrow Elections \Rightarrow Majority

Elections

Philosophical problems

- “general will” and elections
- majority and protection of minorities
- formal vs real freedom

Political problems

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

Technical problems

Majority

When there are only two candidates

- elect the one receiving the more votes

Majority

When there are more than candidates

- many ways to extend this simple idea
- not equivalent
- sometimes leading to unwanted results

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Typology of elections

Two main criteria

- 1 type of ballots admitted
 - one name
 - ranking of all candidates
 - other types (acceptable candidates, grading candidates, etc.)
- 2 method for organizing the election and for tallying ballots

Consequences

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

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Two hypotheses

Hypotheses

- 1 all voters are able to rank order the set of all candidates (ties admitted)

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

- each voter has a **weak order** on the set of all candidates
- 2 voters are sincere
 - if I have to vote for one candidate, I vote for a

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Plurality voting: UK

Rules

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

Remark

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

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Plurality voting

Example

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

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

Results

$a : 10 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 5$

- a is elected...
- but an absolute majority of voters (11/21) prefer **all** losing candidates to the elected one!

a : Tory, b : Labour, c : LibDem

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Plurality voting

Remarks

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

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Plurality with runoff: France

Rules

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

Variants

- rule are slightly different for the “élections législatives”

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Plurality with runoff

Previous example

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

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

Results

$$a : 10 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 5$$

- absolute majority: $\lceil 21/2 \rceil = 11$ votes
- go to the second round with a and b

$$a : 10 \quad b : 11$$

- b is elected
- no candidate is preferred to b by a majority of voters

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Plurality with runoff

Example

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

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

Results: 1st round

$a : 5 \quad b : 10 \quad c : 6 \quad d : 0$

- absolute majority: $\lceil 21/2 \rceil = 11$ votes
- go to the second round with b and c

Results: 2nd round

$b : 15 \quad c : 6$

- b is elected (15/21)
- an absolute majority of voters (11/21) prefer a and d to b

Plurality with runoff

Plurality vs plurality with runoff

- the French system does only a little better than the UK one
- preferences used in the above example are **not** bizarre
 - try replacing a, b, c, d by MoDem, UMP, PS, PCF, FN, etc.
- sincerity and wasted votes

Plurality with runoff: manipulation

Example

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

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

- b is elected

Non-sincere voting

- the 6 voters for which $c \succ a \succ d \succ b$ vote as if their preferences were $a \succ c \succ d \succ b$

Results

- a is elected at the first round (11/21)
- profitable to the six manipulating voters (for them $a \succ b$)

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Manipulable voting rules

Definition

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

Problems

- elections are no more a means to reveal preferences
 - manipulations and counter-manipulations
 - equilibrium
- bonus to clever voters

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Plurality with runoff: monotonicity

Example: before campaign

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

6 voters:	$a \succ b \succ c$
5 voters:	$c \succ a \succ b$
4 voters:	$b \succ c \succ a$
2 voters:	$b \succ a \succ c$

Results: before campaign

absolute majority: $\lceil 17/2 \rceil = 9$

$$a : 6 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 5$$

$$a : 11 \quad b : 6$$

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

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Plurality with runoff

6 voters:	$a \succ b \succ c$
5 voters:	$c \succ a \succ b$
4 voters:	$b \succ c \succ a$
2 voters:	$b \succ a \succ c$

- 2 voters $b \succ a \succ c$ change their minds in favor of a
- new preference: $a \succ b \succ c$

absolute majority: $\lceil 17/2 \rceil = 9$

$$a : 8 \quad b : 4 \quad c : 5$$

$$a : 8 \quad c : 9$$

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

► skip participation

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Plurality with runoff: participation

Example

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

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

Results

absolute majority: $\lceil 11/2 \rceil = 6$

$a : 4 \quad b : 3 \quad c : 4$

$a : 4 \quad c : 7$

- c is elected
- this is not a nice outcome for the first 4 voters
- 2 of them go fishing and abstain (at the two rounds)

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Before

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

- c elected

After

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

Results

absolute majority: $\lceil 11/2 \rceil = 6$

$a : 2 \quad b : 3 \quad c : 4$

$b : 5 \quad c : 4$

- b is elected
- the abstention of the two voters who think $b \succ c$ has been **very rational**

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Plurality with runoff: separability

Example

- 3 candidates $\{a, b, c\}$
- 26 voters in two districts (13 + 13)

District 1

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

$a : 4 \quad b : 3 \quad c : 6$

$a : 7 \quad c : 6$

- a is elected (7/13)

District 2

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

$a : 4 \quad b : 6 \quad c : 3$

$a : 7 \quad b : 6$

- a is elected (7/13)

Plurality with runoff

Nationwide

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

$a : 8 \quad b : 9 \quad c : 9$

- a loses at the first round
- method is not **separable**
- decentralization of decisions?

Summary

French vs UK system

- the French system does only a little better better than the UK one on the “democratic side”
- it has **many** other problems
 - manipulable
 - not monotonic
 - no incentive to participate
 - not separable
- are there other (hopefully better!) systems?
- conventional wisdom (“*au premier tour on choisit, au deuxième tour on élimine*”) must be used with great care!

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Amendment procedure

Remarks

- the majority method works well with two candidates
- when there are more than two candidates, organize a series of confrontations between two candidates according to an agenda
- method used in most parliaments
 - a bill is proposed
 - amendments to the bill are proposed
 - compare the amended bill vs the status quo

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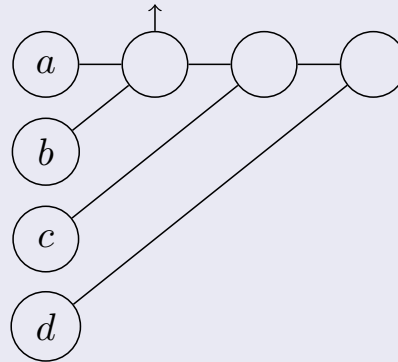


Amendment procedure

Example

- 4 candidates $\{a, b, c, d\}$
- agenda: a, b, c, d

majority winner between a and b



- a is a bill
- b, c are amendments
- d is the status quo

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Amendment procedure

Example

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

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

- agenda a, b, c : c is elected
- agenda b, c, a : a is elected
- agenda c, a, b : b is elected

- results depending on the (arbitrary) choice of the agenda
 - power given to the agenda-setter
- candidates not treated equally
 - late-coming candidates are favored
 - method is not **neutral**

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Amendment procedure

Example

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

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

Results

- b beats a
- c beats b
- d beats c
- d is elected. . .
- 100% of the voters prefer a to d !
- method is not **unanimous**!

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Ballots: ordered lists

Ballots with a single name

- poor performances. . .
- may be due to poor information on preferences
- ask for the full preference on each ballot

Remarks

- much richer information
 - practice?
- ballots with one name are a particular case

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Condorcet

Principles

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

Remarks

- UK and French systems violate Condorcet’s principle
- the UK system may elect a Condorcet loser
- Condorcet’s principle does not solve the “dictature of the majority” difficulty
- a Condorcet winner is not necessarily “ranked high” by voters

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Condorcet and plurality

Example

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

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

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

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Condorcet and plurality with runoff

Example

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

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

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

Condorcet and ranks

Example

- 5 candidates $\{a, b, c, d, e\}$
- 50 voters

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

- a is the CW (beats 30/20 all other candidates)

Ranks

	1	2	3	4	5
a	2	1	0	1	1
b	2	2	1	0	0

Condorcet and dictatorship of the majority

Example

- 26 candidates $\{a, b, c, \dots, z\}$
- 100 voters

51 voters: $a \succ b \succ c \succ \dots \succ y \succ z$
 49 voters: $z \succ b \succ c \succ \dots \succ y \succ a$

- a is the CW
- b could be a reasonable choice

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Condorcet's paradox

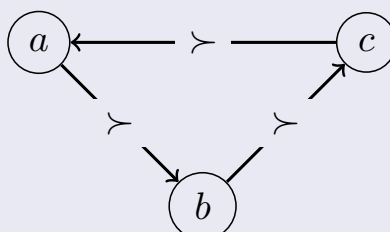
Electing the CW

- attractive ...
- but not always effective!

Condorcet's paradox

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

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



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Condorcet

Condorcet's paradox

- the social strict preference relation may have circuits
 - prob. $\approx 40\%$ with 7 candidates and a large number of voters (impartial culture)
- McGarvey's theorem

Dealing with Condorcet's paradox

- weaken the principle so as to elect candidates that are not strictly beaten (Weak CW)
 - they may not exist
 - there may be more than one
- find what to do when there is no (weak) Condorcet winner

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Schwartz

Principle

- build the social preference à la Condorcet
- the strict social preference may not be transitive
 - take its transitive closure
 - take the maximal elements of the resulting weak order

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Schwartz

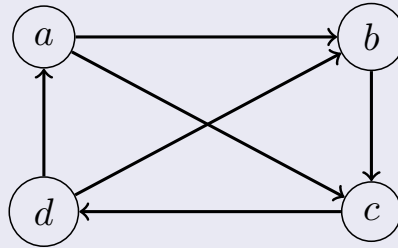
Example

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

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

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

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



- taking the transitive closure gives a clique
- all candidates are declared socially indifferent
- but 100% of voters prefer a to b !

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Copeland

Principles

- build the social preference à la Condorcet
- count the number of candidates that are beaten by one candidate minus the number of candidates that beat him (Copeland score)
- elect the candidate with the highest score
- sports league
 - +2 for a victory, +1 for a tie, 0 for a defeat
 - equivalent to Copeland's rule

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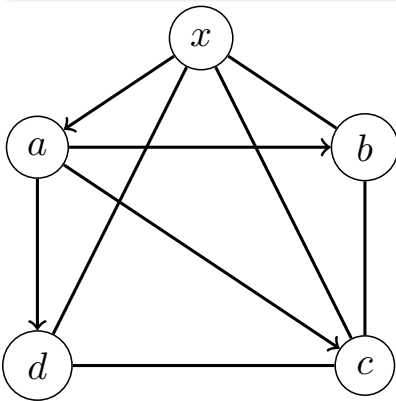


Copeland

Example

- 5 candidates $\{x, a, b, c, d\}$
- 40 voters

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



x	a	b	c	d
1	2	-2	-1	0

- a is elected!
- x is the unique weak CW

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Borda

Principles

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

Remarks

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

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Borda and Condorcet principle

Example

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

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

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

Borda scores

a	b	c	d
5	6	8	11

Results

- a is elected
- b is the obvious CW

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Borda and withdrawals

Example

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

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

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

Borda scores

a	b	c	d
5	6	8	11

- a is elected

Example

- c and d are withdrawing
- 2 candidates $\{a, b\}$
- 3 voters

2 voters: $b \succ a$

1 voter: $a \succ b$

Borda scores

a	b
5	4

- b is elected!
- door wide open for manipulations
- introduce dummy candidates

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Summary

Example

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

5 voters:	$a \succ b \succ c \succ d$
4 voters:	$a \succ c \succ b \succ d$
2 voters:	$d \succ b \succ a \succ c$
6 voters:	$d \succ b \succ c \succ a$
8 voters:	$c \succ b \succ a \succ d$
2 voters:	$d \succ c \succ b \succ a$

Results

- a is the plurality with runoff winner
- d is the plurality winner
- b is the Borda winner
- c is the CW

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What are we looking for?

Democratic method

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

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Arrow

Framework

- $n \geq 3$ candidates (otherwise use plurality)
- m voters ($m \geq 2$ and finite)
- ballots: ordered list of candidates

Problem

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

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Arrow

Principles

- universality
 - the method should be able to deal with any configuration of ordered lists
- transitivity
 - the result of the method should be an ordered list of candidates
- unanimity
 - the method should respect a unanimous preference of the voters
- absence of dictator
 - the method should not allow for dictators
- independence
 - the comparison of two candidates should be based only on their respective standings in the ordered lists of the voters

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Arrow's theorem (1951)

Theorem

There is no method respecting the five principles

Borda

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

Condorcet

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

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Sketch of proof

Decisive coalitions

$V \subseteq N$ is decisive for (a, b) if

$$a \succ_i b \text{ for all } i \in V \Rightarrow a \succ b$$

Almost decisive coalitions

$V \subseteq N$ is almost decisive for (a, b) if

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} a \succ_i b \text{ for all } i \in V \\ b \succ_j a \text{ for all } j \notin V \end{array} \right\} \Rightarrow a \succ b$$

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Lemma 1

Lemma

If V is almost decisive over some ordered pair (a, b) , it is decisive over all ordered pairs.

Sketch of proof

Take $\{a, b, x, y\}$ and use universality to obtain:

$$\begin{aligned} V &: x \succ a \succ b \succ y \\ N \setminus V &: x \succ a, b \succ y, b \succ a \end{aligned}$$

The relative position of x and y for $N \setminus V$ is not specified.

Unanimity implies $x \succ a$ and $b \succ y$.

Almost decisiveness of V for (a, b) implies $a \succ b$.

Transitivity implies $x \succ y$.

Independence implies that this does not depend on the position of a and b .

Hence V is decisive for (x, y) . □

Lemma 2

Lemma

If V is decisive and $|V| > 1$, some proper subset of V is decisive

Sketch of proof

Partition V into V_1 and V_2 .

Take $\{x, y, z\}$ and use universality to obtain:

$$\begin{aligned} V_1 &: x \succ y \succ z \\ V_2 &: y \succ z \succ x \\ N \setminus V &: z \succ x \succ y \end{aligned}$$

Decisiveness of V implies $y \succ z$.

If $x \succ z$ then V_1 is almost decisive for (x, z) and use Lemma 1 to conclude.

Otherwise, we have $z \succ x$, so that $y \succ x$. This implies that V_2 is almost decisive for (y, x) and use Lemma 1 to conclude. □

Proof

Proof

- unanimity implies that N is decisive
- since N is finite, the iterated use of Lemma 2 leads to the existence of a dictator □

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Analysis of principles

Principles

- Unanimity: no apparent problem
- Absence of dictator: minimal requirement of democracy!
- Universality: a group adopting functioning rules that would not function in “difficult situations” could be in big trouble!

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Unimodal preferences



Consequences

- if the preferences of all voters are unimodal with the same underlying axis
- Condorcet's paradox cannot occur

Problem

- not true if more than one axis!

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Independence

Interpretation

- no intensity of preference considerations
 - I “intensely” or “barely” prefer a to b
 - practice: manipulation, interpersonal comparisons?
- no consideration of a third alternative to rank order a and b

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Borda and independence

Example

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

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

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

Borda scores

a	b	c	d
5	6	8	11

- a is elected

Example

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

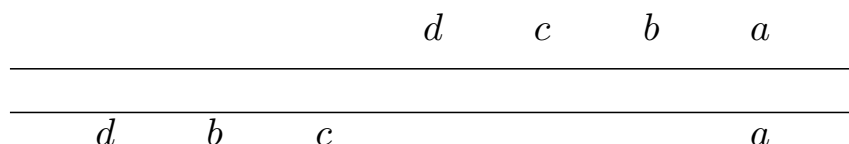
2 voters: $c \succ a \succ b \succ d$

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

Borda scores

a	b	c	d
5	9	4	12

- c is elected



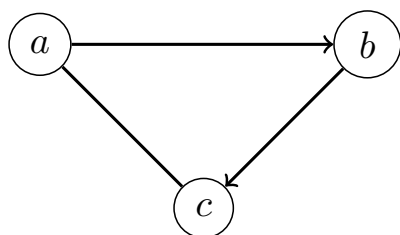
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Transitivity

Remarks

- maybe too demanding if the only problem is to elect a candidate
 - absence of circuit is sufficient
- but... guarantees consistency



- in $\{a, c\}$, the maximal elements are a and c
- in $\{a, b, c\}$, the maximal element is a

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Relaxing transitivity

From weak orders to...

- semi-orders and interval orders
 - no change (if more than 4 candidates)
- transitivity of strict preference
 - oligarchy: group O of voters st

$$a \succ_i b, \forall i \in O \Rightarrow a \succ b,$$

$$\exists i \in O : a \succ_i b \Rightarrow \text{Not}[b \succ a]$$

- absence of circuits
 - some voter has a veto power

$$a \succ_i b \Rightarrow \text{Not}[b \succ a]$$

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Underlying message

Naive conclusion

- despair

But...

- the existence of an “ideal” method would be dull!
 - analyze the pros and cons of each method
 - beware of “method-sellers”
- a group is “more complex” than an individual

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Extensions

Impossibility results

- logical tension between conditions
- Arrow
- Gibbard-Sattherthwaite
 - all “reasonable methods” may be manipulated (more or less easily or frequently)
- Moulin
 - no separable method can be Condorcet
 - no Condorcet method can give an incentive to participate
- Sen
 - tensions between unanimity and individual freedom

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Paretian Liberal Paradox

Remarks

- obvious tensions between the majority principle and the respect of individual rights
- tensions between the respect of individual rights and the unanimity principle

Theorem (Sen, 1970)

The combination of unanimity, universality and respect of individual rights implies problems

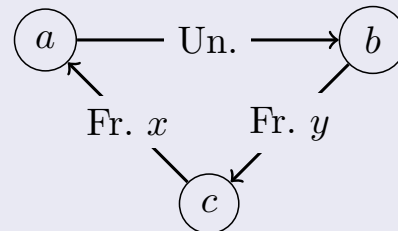
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Sen: Paretian liberal paradox

Example

- 2 (male) individuals on a desert island
 - x the Puritan
 - y the Liberal
- a pornographic brochure
- 3 social states
 - a : x reads
 - b : y reads
 - c : nobody reads
- preferences
 - x : $c \succ a \succ b$
 - y : $a \succ b \succ c$



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Extensions

Characterization results

- find a list of properties that a method is the only one to satisfy simultaneously
 - Borda
 - Copeland
 - Plurality

Example of result

- neutral, anonymous and separable method are of Borda-type (Young, 1975)

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Extensions

Analysis results

- find a list of desirable properties
 - not an easy task!
- fill up the methods / properties table

Ideally

- characterization results will use intuitive axioms
- analysis results will lead to characterization and/or impossibility results

Extensions

Other aspects

- institutional setting
- welfare judgments
 - voting on taxes
- direct vs indirect democracy
- electoral platforms
- paradox of voting (why vote?)

Why vote?

Voting has a cost

- I have to go to the polling station
- I had rather go fishing

Analysis

- the probability that my vote will change the results is nil
- why should I bother?

Models

- economic explanations
- sociological explanations
 - not fully convincing on their own

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Ostrogorski's Paradox

Representative democracy

- you vote for a party that has a position on several issues (economic, social, international, etc.)
- no party can be expected to represent your opinion on every issue
- why vote for parties instead of issues?

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Ostrogorski's Paradox

Example

- 5 voters, 2 parties (X and Y), 3 issues

	issue 1	issue 2	issue 3
voter 1	X	Y	Y
voter 2	Y	X	Y
voter 3	Y	Y	X
voter 4	X	X	X
voter 5	X	X	X

- on issue 1, voter 1 agrees with party X
- if each voter votes for the party with which he agrees on a majority of issues, Y wins
- the losing party X agrees with a majority of voters on each issue!

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Anscombe's paradox

Example

- 5 voters, 2 parties (X and Y), 3 issues

	issue 1	issue 2	issue 3	
voter 1	X	X	Y	minority
voter 2	Y	Y	Y	minority
voter 3	Y	X	X	minority
voter 4	X	Y	X	majority
voter 5	X	Y	X	majority
result	X	Y	X	

- on issue 1, voter 1 agrees with party X

Analysis

- vote on issues
- a majority of voters can be frustrated on a majority of issues!

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Direct and undirect democracy

Referendum paradox

- direct democracy: referendum
- indirect (representative) democracy: parliament

Paradox

- these two methods can lead to different results...
- even if each MP votes according to the opinion of the majority of his electors

	MP1	...	MP167	MP168	...	MP200
Yes	7 000	...	7 000	15 000	...	15 000
No	8 000	...	8 000	0	...	0

- “No” wins in assembly ($167/200 = 83\%$)
- “Yes” wins in referendum (55%)