

Majority Judgement

A New Voting Method

Rida Laraki
CNRS, LAMSADE and École Polytechnique, Paris

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Contents

- 1 The thesis
- 2 Traditional social choice
- 3 Paradoxes in practice
- 4 Incompatibility Between Electing and Ranking
- 5 Method of Majority Judgment
 - Wines
 - Elections
 - Strategy proof in raking
- 6 Theory of Majority Judgement
- 7 Experimental evidences
- 8 Conclusions

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- Every democratic country and institution pretends to elect its representatives by a **majority principle**, though the rules by which it does so vary.
- The methods of voting that are used differ in two ways : (1) how voters express their opinions – **the inputs** – and (2) how the various opinions are amalgamated – **the outputs** – .
- Every one of the methods is meant to be – and is commonly referred to being – a “majority decision.”

A challenge

The legitimating force of the majority rule is so pervasive that we often do not notice it and rarely do we question it : We usually take it for granted. [...]

It is much too powerful to make it vulnerable to a philosophical challenge.

(Wojciech Sadurski, 2008).

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It is our contention to **challenge the current philosophical view** of what constitutes a majority decision and propose an alternative.

A tentative definition

Majority decision should be the answer to a specific, operationally pertinent question with which more than half of a jury or electorate can and does agree.

The question posed is absolutely essential.

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- The model leads to an inconsistent theory : *real, unacceptable* paradoxes are unavoidable (e.g., Arrow's impossibility theorem, Condorcet's paradox).

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- The model leads to an inconsistent theory : *real, unacceptable* paradoxes are unavoidable (e.g., Arrow's impossibility theorem, Condorcet's paradox).
- So, why on earth continue to use it?
- A new conception, a new model, a new theory with new methods are essential.

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- It has been tested in voting, committee decisions and wine competitions.
- The **majority judgement** is natural, simple, robust, avoids unacceptable paradoxes, resists gaming, and—we claim—is the best of all known methods for choosing a winner and order of finish because it comes closest to meeting all the criteria of a good method of election.

The Problem

The fundamental problem of electing and ranking : to find a *social decision function (SDF)* :

inputs \longrightarrow outputs

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Second, this is an unrealistic vision :

Voters do not have lists of candidates in their minds –
 the input messages are the wrong ones.

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First, this leads to a consistent theory.

Second, this is a much more realistic vision of what voters (and judges) have in mind.

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The Condorcet Paradox (1786)

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Of course, there may be **no** Condorcet-winner :

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The *Condorcet paradox*.

Borda's Method

In 1433, Nicolas Cusanus proposed what is known today as *Borda's method* (1780) :

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Points	30%	32%	38%	Borda score
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The *Borda-ranking* : $C \succ A \succ B$.

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First-past-the-post (UK, USA, ...) : A voter names one candidate (the input). The candidate most often named is elected (the output). The question asked to a voter is implicitly : which do you like best ?

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Approval voting permits a bit more information from voters. The voter may designate as many candidates as she wishes : which would you accept ? . The candidate most often designated wins.

AV was formally introduced by Robert Weber in 1977, though it seems to have been practiced in the Sparta of antique Greece...

Borda wrote :

I is generally accepted, and to my knowledge never challenged, that in an election the greatest number of votes always designates the will of the electorate... But I will show that this opinion, that is true when the election is between only two candidates , can mislead in all other cases...

Borda's example : the winner depends on the method

5%	33%	34%	28%
<i>A</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>B</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>A</i>

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- If with (1), the 28% vote for B : B wins.

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- If with (1), the 28% vote for B : B wins.
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- If with (3), the 28% vote $B \succ C \succ A$: B wins.

Arrow's paradox

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- If with (1), C (a loser) drops out, **B** wins; if B (a loser) drops out **C** wins.

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- If with (2), A (a loser) drops out, **C** wins.

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The **Borda-ranking** is $A \succ B \succ C$.

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If C drops out :

B is the winner : **Arrow's paradox** !

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- **A4) Independence** : Adjoining or withdrawing a candidate does not change the order-of-finish.
- **A5) Strategy Proof** : It is a dominant strategy to vote honestly.

Unavoidable conundrum of the traditional model

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Theorem (Arrow's impossibility)

No rule meets A1, A2, A3 and A4.

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Theorem (Gibbard/Satterthwaite's impossibility)

No rule meets A1, A2, A3 and A5.

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The unacceptable paradoxes are real !

2000 Election	Votes	Electoral votes	Florida votes
George W. Bush	50,456,002	271	2,912,790
Albert Gore	50,999,897	266	2,912,253
Ralph Nader	2,882,955	0	97,488

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Arrow's paradox : a candidate's presence (having no chance of winning whatsoever) can change the outcome.

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Arrow paradoxes and strategic manipulation galore !

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2007 election, first round, 12 candidates

First round results :

Sarkozy	Royal	Bayrou	Le Pen	Besancenot	de Villiers
31,18%	25,87%	18,57%	10,44%	4,08%	2,23%

Buffet	Voynet	Laguiller	Bové	Nihous	Schivardi
1,93%	1,57%	1,33%	1,32%	1,15%	0,34%

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Sarkozy was the winner with two-past-the-post system :

Nicolas Sarkozy 53%

Ségolène Royal 47%

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Second round poll of March 20 (TNS-SOFRES) :

	Bayrou	Le Pen	Royal	Sarkozy
Bayrou	—	84%	57%	54%
Le Pen	16%	—	25%	16%
Royal	46%	75%	—	46%
Sarkozy	46%	84%	54%	—

These estimates confirmed by many polls and experiments.

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Bayrou the Condorcet-winner and Borda-winner, Sarkozy the first-past-the-post-winner and two-past-the-post winner!!!

Arrow's paradox : 1997 European Championships, men's free skating

	J_1	J_2	J_3	J_4	J_5	J_6	J_7	J_8	J_9	Mark	Place
Caneloro	3	2	5	2	3	3	5	6	6	3/5	2 nd
Kulik	2	4	2	3	6	5	3	4	5	4/6	5 th
Urmanov	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1/8	1 st
Yagudin	4	3	3	6	4	6	4	3	2	4/7	4 th
Zagorodniuk	5	5	4	4	2	4	2	2	3	4/7	3 rd
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Before the performance of Vlascenko, the order was :
 1st Urmanov, 2nd Zagorodniuk, 3rd Caneloro... !!!

Strategic manipulations in skating

- The outcry over this flip-flop was so strident that the rules used for many years were changed. The ISU adopted the OBO rule (“one-by-one”) in 1998 :
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- Namely, if voters are naturally restricted in their domain (because of some ideological opinions, such as a left right spectra), then it best avoids Arrow’s paradox and combats strategic manipulations, among all ranking-based methods.
- We prove it to be subject to Arrow’s paradox, in a real skating competition (see our forthcoming OR paper).

Strategic manipulations in skating

Accumulated evidence shows that **judges in skating had strong national biases** :

“The data suggests that countries are divided into two blocs, with the United States, Canada, Germany and Italy on one side and Russia, the Ukraine, France and Poland on the other” (Zitzewitz 2006).

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- deep divisions in the skating world leading to the formulation of a new system (replacing the newly adopted OBO rule).
- the new system is **based only on evaluations** and its supposed (without any theoretical support) to avoid Arrow’s paradox and combat strategic manipulations. It does in some extend, but not optimally.

Contents

- 1 The thesis
- 2 Traditional social choice
- 3 Paradoxes in practice
- 4 Incompatibility Between Electing and Ranking**
- 5 Method of Majority Judgment
 - Wines
 - Elections
 - Strategy proof in raking
- 6 Theory of Majority Judgement
- 7 Experimental evidences
- 8 Conclusions

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Property 2 : computing a Condorcet-Kemeny ranking is NP-hard (Bartholdi, Tovey, and Trick, 1989).

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- Given a method of designating a winner (or loser), he is the first-ranked (or last-ranked); the second-ranked is the winner among the remaining candidates; ...

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No reasonable **ranking** function must choose $A \succ C \succ B$.

Winners or rankings?

Are ranking and designating winners two sides of one coin?

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- By Borda :
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A fundamental **incompatibility** between electing and ranking.

Contents

- 1 The thesis
- 2 Traditional social choice
- 3 Paradoxes in practice
- 4 Incompatibility Between Electing and Ranking
- 5 Method of Majority Judgment**
 - Wines
 - Elections
 - Strategy proof in ranking
- 6 Theory of Majority Judgment
- 7 Experimental evidences
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Majority judgement : ranking three wines

Anjou	Bourgogne	Chablis
<i>Very good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
<i>Very good</i>	<i>Very good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
<u><i>Good</i></u>	<u><i>Good</i></u>	<u><i>Good</i></u>
<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Passable</i>
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Therefore : Anjou \succ Bourgogne \succ Chablis

The majority judgement : voters judge each candidate

Ballot : Election of the President of France 2007

*To be president of France,
having taken into account all considerations,
I judge, in conscience, that this candidate would be :*

	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Acceptable</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>to Reject</i>
Olivier Besancenot						
Marie-George Buffet						
G�rard Schivardi						
Fran�ois Bayrou						
Jos� Bov�						
Dominique Voynet						
Philippe de Villiers						
S�gol�ne Royal						
Fr�d�ric Nihous						
Jean-Marie Le Pen						
Arlette Laguiller						
Nicolas Sarkozy						

Check one single grade in the line of each candidate.
No grade checked in the line of a candidate means to Reject the candidate.

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- A candidate's set of grades determines his/her **majority-grade** : it is the "final-grade" conferred upon the candidate by the electorate.
- The candidates are ranked according to their majority-grades : the first among them is the winner.

The charge to voters, and the common language

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The words used in the French experiment constitute—for France—a common language. This is proven by extensive statistical analyses of the majority judgement ballots cast in the “2007 Orsay experiment.”

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The majority-grade **uniquely** satisfies these and other properties.

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- 2,360 voted officially, 1,752 (74%) participated in experiment, 1,733 ballots valid. 1,705 were different.
- Television interviews prove the satisfaction of voters.

Results French Presidential elections, Orsay 3 Bureaux

A politically aware observer of France is able to fill in the blanks.

	Excel.	V.Good	Good	Accpt.	Poor	Rej.	Blank
	13.6%	30.7%	25.1%	14.8	8.4%	4.5%	2.9%
	16.7%	22.7%	19.1%	16.8%	12.2%	10.8%	1.8%
	19.1%	19.8%	14.3%	11.5%	7.1%	26.5%	1.7%
Voynet	2.9%	9.3%	17.5%	23.7%	26.1%	16.2%	4.3%
Besancenot	4.1%	9.9%	16.3%	16.0%	22.6%	27.9%	3.2%
Buffet	2.5%	7.6%	12.5%	20.6%	26.4%	26.1%	4.3%
Bové	1.5%	6.0%	11.4%	16.0%	25.7%	35.3%	4.2%
Laguiller	2.1%	5.3%	10.2%	16.6%	25.9%	34.8%	5.3%
Nihous	0.3%	1.8%	5.3%	11.0%	26.7%	47.8%	7.2%
Villiers	2.4%	6.4%	8.7%	11.3%	15.8%	51.2%	4.3%
Schivardi	0.5%	1.0%	3.9%	9.5%	24.9%	54.6%	5.8%
	3.0%	4.6%	6.2%	6.5%	5.4%	71.7%	2.7%

Red indicates the majority-grade.

Results French Presidential elections, Orsay 3 Bureaux

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	Excel.	V.Good	Good	Acpt.	Poor	Rej.	Blank
Bayrou	13.6%	30.7%	25.1%	14.8	8.4%	4.5%	2.9%
Royal	16.7%	22.7%	19.1%	16.8%	12.2%	10.8%	1.8%
Sarkozy	19.1%	19.8%	14.3%	11.5%	7.1%	26.5%	1.7%
Voynet	2.9%	9.3%	17.5%	23.7%	26.1%	16.2%	4.3%
Besancenot	4.1%	9.9%	16.3%	16.0%	22.6%	27.9%	3.2%
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Le Pen	3.0%	4.6%	6.2%	6.5%	5.4%	71.7%	2.7%

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Majority-grades, majority-gauges majority-ranking :

French Presidential Elections, Orsay : Many voters

		Higher M-G	The M-G	Lower M-G	Official vote	Ntnl vote
3	Bayrou	44.3%	Good+	30.6%	25.5%	18.6%
2	Royal	39.4%	Good-	41.5%	29.9%	25.9%
1	Sarkozy	38.9%	Good-	46.9%	29.0%	31.2%
8	Voynet	29.8%	Acceptable-	46.6%	1.7%	1.6%
5	Besancenot	46.3%	Poor+	31.2%	2.5%	4.1%
7	Buffet	43.2%	Poor+	30.5%	1.4%	1.9%
10	Bové	34.9%	Poor-	39.4%	0.9%	1.3%
9	Laguiller	34.2%	Poor-	40.0%	0.8%	1.3%
11	Nihous	45.0%	To reject	-	0.3%	1.2%
6	Villiers	44.5%	To reject	-	1.9%	2.2%
12	Schivardi	39.7%	To reject	-	0.2%	0.3%
4	Le Pen	25.7%	To reject	-	5.9%	10.4%

Majority-gauge (p, α^{\pm}, q)

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Bayrou : (44.3%, Good+, 30.6%) \succ Royal : (39.4%, Good-, 41.5)

How could a voter who graded Royal above Bayrou manipulate ? By lowering Bayrou's majority-gauge and raising Royal's.

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Can exaggeration change the outcome ? Yes, if *many* voters manipulate. But if only some 30% of those who can do so—and polls estimated that 30% of French voters cast votes not in accord with their convictions—they would have failed.

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Language plays the role of **Money** in the new theory of social choice.

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A problem is specified by a *profile* $\Phi = \Phi(\mathcal{C}, \mathcal{J})$: an m by n matrix of grades assigned to the competitors (rows) by the judges (columns).

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- **Axiom III transitive** : $A \succeq_S B$ and $B \succeq_S C$ implies $A \succeq_S C$.

Axioms in Ranking

A *method of ranking* is a complete binary relation \succeq_S that, for a given profile Φ , compares any two competitors. It should possess certain minimal properties.

- **Axiom I neutral** : $A \succeq_S B$ for the profile Φ implies $A \succeq_S B$ for the profile $\sigma\Phi$, for σ any permutation of the competitors (or rows).
- **Axiom II anonymous** : $A \succeq_S B$ for the profile Φ implies $A \succeq_S B$ for the profile $\Phi\sigma$, for σ any permutation of the judges (or columns).
- **Axiom III transitive** : $A \succeq_S B$ and $B \succeq_S C$ implies $A \succeq_S C$.
- **Axiom IV independent of irrelevant alternatives** : if $A \succeq_S B$ for the profile Φ then $A \succeq_S B$ for any profile Φ' obtained from Φ by eliminating or adjoining some other competitor (or row).

Social Ranking Functions

A method of ranking *respects grades* if the rank-order between two candidates A and B depends only on their sets of grades (i.e. the distribution of grades). Thus, It matters not which judge gave which grade.

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A social ranking function (SRF) is a method of ranking that satisfies the four axioms.

Implications of respecting grades

Suppose an electorate evaluated two candidates as follows :

	<i>Good</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Bad</i>
<i>X</i> :	40%	35%	25%
<i>Y</i> :	35%	30%	35%

There is no doubt that *X* leads *Y*. What does a majority vote say ?

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If the preference profile is

	30%	10%	10%	25%	25%
X :	<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Bad</i>
Y :	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Bad</i>	<i>Good</i>

X wins with 65% That's correct.

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However, if the profile is

	5%	35%	35%	25%
X :	<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Pass</i>	<i>Bad</i>
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Y wins with 60%.

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Y wins with 60%.

Majority voting may fail even with 2 candidates !

Axioms in Grading

An *aggregation function* is a function

$$f : \Lambda^n \rightarrow \Lambda$$

judges' grades of one competitor \rightarrow final grade of competitor

$$f(\text{exc.}, \text{good}, \text{good}, \text{poor}, \text{v. good}) = \text{v. good}$$

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- *unanimity* : $f(\alpha, \alpha, \dots, \alpha) = \alpha$; and
- *monotonicity* :

$$\alpha_j \preceq \beta_j \Rightarrow f(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_j, \dots, \alpha_n) \preceq f(\alpha_1, \dots, \beta_j, \dots, \alpha_n)$$

and

$$(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n) \prec (\beta_1, \dots, \beta_n) \Rightarrow f(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_n) \prec f(\beta_1, \dots, \beta_n).$$

Social Grading Functions

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A *social grading function (SGF)* f is a continuous method of grading that satisfies the 3 axioms.

The Game of Voting

The utility of a voter is some function $u_j(\mathbf{r}^*, \mathbf{r}, f, \mathcal{C}, \Lambda)$ that may depend on many factors (the decision rule, the set of candidates, honesty, the set of messages, other's types and votes, etc).

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We are going to prove that majority judgement is strategy-proof for a large class of utility functions. When it is not, it is shown that it combats manipulations in many well defined senses.

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- and if when a judge's honest input grade is some grade $r^- < r$, he cannot decrease the final grade.

Strategy-proof-in-grading implies it is a *dominant strategy* for a judge to honestly assign grades when his utility is single-peaked :

$$u_j = -|r_j^* - f(r_1, \dots, r_n)|$$

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If the mechanism is a point-summing method (the mean with respect to some parametrization), for almost all profiles, all voters can manipulate.

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Strategy-proof-in-ranking implies it is a *dominant strategy* for a judge to honestly assign the grades whenever his utility function depends solely on the final ranking (or only on who is the winner).

Theorem (Extending Gibbard-Satterthwaite)

There exists no SGF that is strategy-proof-in-ranking.

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Theorem

The unique SGFs that are partially strategy-proof-in-ranking are the order functions.

Middlemost Aggregation Functions

The *middlemost* aggregation functions are (for $r_1 \geq \dots \geq r_n$),

$$f(r_1, \dots, r_n) = r_{(n+1)/2} \text{ when } n \text{ is odd, and}$$

$$r_{n/2} \geq f(r_1, \dots, r_n) \geq r_{(n+2)/2} \text{ when } n \text{ is even.}$$

$f^{n/2}$ and $f^{(n+2)/2}$ are the *upper-middlemost* and *lower-middlemost* order functions.

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Theorem

The unique aggregation functions that assign a final grade of r when a majority of judges assign r are the middlemost.

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Let λ = probability a judge wishes to increase the final grade. The *probability of effective-manipulability* of f is

$$EM(f) = \max_{\mathbf{r}=(r_1, \dots, r_n)} \max_{0 \leq \lambda \leq 1} \frac{\lambda \mu^+(f, \mathbf{r}) + (1 - \lambda) \mu^-(f, \mathbf{r})}{n}.$$

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Theorem

The unique aggregation functions that minimize the probability of effective-manipulability are the middlemost. Point-summing-methods, f^1 and f^n maximize this probability.

More an order function is close to the middle, less it is manipulable.

Minimizing Manipulability for SRF

A SRF is choice-monotone if $A \succeq_S B$ and one judge raises the grade he gives to A then $A \succ_S B$.

This is a natural idea that helps to resolve potential ties.

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Theorem

The majority ranking is the unique choice-monotone, meaningful SRF that minimizes the probability of cheating and rewards consensus.

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Contents

- 1 The thesis
- 2 Traditional social choice
- 3 Paradoxes in practice
- 4 Incompatibility Between Electing and Ranking
- 5 Method of Majority Judgment
 - Wines
 - Elections
 - Strategy proof in raking
- 6 Theory of Majority Judgement
- 7 Experimental evidences
- 8 Conclusions

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- With a numerical scale, voters assume the scores are summed, a clear invitation to manipulate—the greater the spread, the greater the opportunity.
- It must, in any case, be realized that adding numbers (or computing their averages) **makes absolutely no sense** unless the numbers belong to an *interval measure*.

Voting “behavior”

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Percent of electors who used k ($k = 1, \dots, 6$) grades :

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percentages :	1%	2%	10%	31%	42%	14%

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	prcts.	prct.	prct.	prct.	Avg. (σ)	Rg	Avg. (σ)	Rg
<i>Excll</i>	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7 (.07)	0.6/0.8	0.7 (.12)	0.5/0.9
<i>V.Good</i>	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2 (.13)	1.1/1.5	1.3 (.16)	1.1/1.5
<i>Good</i>	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5 (.13)	1.4/1.7	1.5 (.27)	0.9/1.8
<i>Accp</i>	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8 (.15)	1.7/2.1	1.7 (.27)	2.1/2.6
<i>Poor</i>	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.3 (.19)	2.1/2.7	2.3 (.19)	2.1/2.6
<i>Rjct</i>	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.3	4.5 (.29)	4.1/4.8	4.5 (.41)	4.1/5.3

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Average numbers of each grade per ballot show the language was common :

	3	1 st	6 th	12 th	Samples of 100		Dsjt samples of 50	
	prcts.	prct.	prct.	prct.	Avg. (σ)	Rg	Avg. (σ)	Rg
<i>Excll</i>	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7 (.07)	0.6/0.8	0.7 (.12)	0.5/0.9
<i>V.Good</i>	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2 (.13)	1.1/1.5	1.3 (.16)	1.1/1.5
<i>Good</i>	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.6	1.5 (.13)	1.4/1.7	1.5 (.27)	0.9/1.8
<i>Accp</i>	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8 (.15)	1.7/2.1	1.7 (.27)	2.1/2.6
<i>Poor</i>	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.3 (.19)	2.1/2.7	2.3 (.19)	2.1/2.6
<i>Rjct</i>	4.6	4.8	4.6	4.3	4.5 (.29)	4.1/4.8	4.5 (.41)	4.1/5.3

Yet, the majority judgement winner not the same in all 3 precincts. Extensive statistical analyses of a large number of samples show the same stability.

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Input messages that are voters' rank-orders are meaningless!

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From these 501 ballots random samples of 201 were drawn and the winners determined according to five different methods.

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	<i>Left</i> ←		→ <i>Right</i>		Tie	Cycle
	Royal	Bayrou	Sarkozy			
First-past-the-post winner	656	0	9,261	83	–	
Two-past-the-post winner	1,078	172	8,154	596	–	
Approval \succeq <i>Very Good</i>	472	651	7,919	958	–	
Majority judgement-winner	587	4,402	5,008	3	–	
Condorcet-winner	138	8,390	954	389	129	
Approval \succeq <i>Good</i>	36	9,436	30	498	–	
Point-summing	132	9,444	260	164	–	
Borda-winner	51	8,659	1,122	168	–	

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	Royal	Bayrou	Sarkozy		
First-past-the-post winner	977	0	9,022	5	–
Two-past-the-post winner	1,146	98	8,197	559	–
Approval \succeq <i>Very Good</i>	467	658	7,947	928	–
Majority judgement-winner	606	4,326	5,065	3	–
Condorcet-winner	142	8,329	974	441	114
Approval \succeq <i>Good</i>	23	9,465	40	472	–
Point-summing	139	9,463	239	159	–
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First- and two-past-the-post (unduly) penalize the centrist, point-summing and Borda (unduly) favor the centrist.

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Numbers of successful strategic manipulations :

	Point-sum	Borda	First-p-p	Approval \succcurlyeq Good	Approval \succcurlyeq VGood	Condorcet	Majority judge
<i>Strat 1</i>	9,965	9,313	8,699	8,569	8,407	7,042	6,142
<i>Strat 2</i>	9,769	7,864	4,411	8,849	8,557	4,641	5,313

Pool Opinion Way-Terra Nova, French presidential, April 12-16, 2012

Majority judgment	Majority-gauge	First-past-the-post score		AV-score	
1) Hollande	(45.1%, <i>Good+</i> , 43.3%)	1	28.6%	1	49.4%
2) Bayrou	(34.1%, <i>Good-</i> , 40.7%)	5	9.1%	3	39.20%
3) Sarkozy	(49.3%, <i>Accept+</i> , 39.6%)	2	27.3%	2	40.5%
4) Mélenchon	(42.5%, <i>Accept+</i> , 40.4%)	4	11.0%	4	39.1%
5) Dupont-Aignan	(40.6%, <i>Poor+</i> , 33.9%)	7	1.5%	8	10.7%
6) Joly	(36.8%, <i>Poor-</i> , 38.5%)	6	2.3%	6	26.7%
7) Poutou	(26.2%, <i>Poor-</i> , 45.7%)	8	1.2%	7	13.3%
8) Le Pen	(46.1%, <i>Poor-</i> , 47.6%)	3	17.9%	5	27.4%
9) Arthaud	(24.8%, <i>Poor-</i> , 49.9%)	9	0.7%	9	8.4%
10) Cheminade	(48.0%, <i>to Reject</i> , -)	10	0.4%	10	3.2%

Pool Opinion Way-Terra Nova, French presidential, April 12-16, 2012.

Only the five major candidates were tested.

Condorcet-ranking	Hollande	Bayrou	Sarkozy	Mélenchon	Le Pen	Borda-ranking
1) Hollande	–	51.6%	53.9%	68.5%	64.1%	1) 59.5%
2) Bayrou	48.4%	–	56.5%	59.4%	70.5%	2) 58.7%
3) Sarkozy	46.1%	43.5%	–	50.5%	65.7%	3) 51.4%
4) Mélenchon	31.5%	40.6%	49.5%	–	59.7%	4) 45.3%
5) Le Pen	35.9%	29.5%	34.3%	40.3%	–	5) 35.0%

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- Other experiments confirm all results (forthcoming OR paper).

Field experiment. French Socialist primaries, Fresnes, 2011

Majority judgment	Majority-gauge	First-past-the-post
1 Hollande	(18.2%, <i>Excellent</i> −, 49.7%)	35.7%
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Practice shows what was illustrated in theory : majority voting can elect a candidate who is not judged to be the best according to the evaluations.

Contents

- 1 The thesis
- 2 Traditional social choice
- 3 Paradoxes in practice
- 4 Incompatibility Between Electing and Ranking
- 5 Method of Majority Judgment
 - Wines
 - Elections
 - Strategy proof in raking
- 6 Theory of Majority Judgement
- 7 Experimental evidences
- 8 Conclusions

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- It cannot be the case in most competitions (wine, skating) and there is ample experimental evidence that shows voters do not behave in accord with this restriction.

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- In polarized elections pitting different ideologies and policies against each other such as a presidential race, often no candidate receives a majority of “approvals” and the results are not sufficiently different to impart legitimacy to the winner.

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No to Approval Voting

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- In both cases experience shows that scores may be close, so the results are all the more manipulable.

Field experiment. French Socialist primaries, Alfortville, 2011.

Majority judgment	Majority-gauge	Approval voting	Approval judgment	Reported votes	Actual votes
1 Hollande	(40.1%, <i>Good+</i> , 25.4%)	87.3%	87.0%	37.7%	39.7%
2 Aubry	(33.1%, <i>Good+</i> , 30.6%)	85.2%	82.0%	29.2%	28.9%
3 Montebourg	(39.8%, <i>Accept.</i> +, 36.3%)	64.1%	63.7%	12.5%	12.3%
4 Valls	(28.5%, <i>Accept.</i> -, 44.7%)	53.2%	55.3%	10.0%	8.6%
5 Royal	(27.1%, <i>Accept.</i> -, 47.2%)	53.5%	52.8%	10.3%	9.7%
6 Baylet	(41.7%, <i>Poor+</i> , 28.9%)	25.7%	20.4%	0.4%	0.7%

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Darwin would conclude : for a better democracy, natural selection will lead, in the long term, to majority judgment.

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