

Majority Judgment: Why use it to rank and elect

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*Laboratoire d'Informatique de Grenoble
Keynote Speech*

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(Joint work with Michel Balinski)

1 Paradoxes

- Methods of Voting
- Paradoxes in Theory
- Paradoxes in Practice

2 Impossibilities

- May's Axioms for Two Candidates
- Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

3 Majority Judgment

- From Practice
- Small Jury
- Large Electorate

4 Theory

- Domination Paradox
- Possibility
- Manipulation

2017 French presidential election

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	1st Round			2nd Round		
	Number	% Regis.	% Voters	Number	% Regis.	% Voters
Regis.	47 582 183			47 568 693		
Absten.	10 578 455	22.23%		12 101 366	25.44%	
Voters	37 003 728	77.77%		35 467 327	74.56%	
Blank	659 997	1.39%	1.78%	3 021 499	6.35%	8.52%
Inval.	289 337	0.61%	0.78%	1 064 225	2.24%	3.00%
Votes	36 054 394	75.77%	97.43%	31 381 603	65.97%	88.48%

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- They refused to be counted as supporting either candidate, either program.
- Yet they may see a difference between Macron and Le Pen.

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As Walter Lippmann observed in 1925, **actual methods measure badly**:

"But what in fact is an election? We call it an expression of the popular will. But is it? We go into a polling booth and mark a cross on a piece of paper for one of two, or perhaps three or four names. Have we expressed our thoughts . . . ? Presumably we have a number of thoughts on this and that with many buts and ifs and ors. Surely the cross on a piece of paper does not express them. . . . [C]alling a vote the expression of our mind is an empty fiction."

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Main messages of this presentation:

- 1) A bad measure of opinions induce paradoxical results in theory and practice.
- 2) By allowing better expressions of opinions, we can solve the problems.

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The question implicitly asked is: **who are the candidates acceptable for you?**

Borda's Method

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

Points	30%	32%	38%
2	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>
1	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>A</i>
0	<i>C</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>

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1	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>A</i>	$B: 30+64=94$
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Or,

	<i>A</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>C</i>	Borda score
<i>A</i>	–	68%	30%	98
<i>B</i>	32%	–	62%	94
<i>C</i>	70%	38%	–	108

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

The Winner Depends on the Method

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<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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- (1) First-past-the-post: $A \succ B \succ C$

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

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The **Condorcet paradox**.

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Arrow Paradox in US Elections: 2000

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 or absence can change the ranking between the others.

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First round results 2002 (16 candidates, 72% participation):

<u>Chirac</u>	<u>Le Pen</u>	Jospin	Bayrou	Laguiller	<u>Chévènement</u>
19,88%	16,86%	16,18%	6,84%	5,72%	5,33%

Mamère	Besancenot	Saint-Josse	Madelin	Hue	Mégret
5,25%	4,25%	4,23%	3,91%	3,37%	2,34%

(<u>Pasqua</u>)	<u>Taubira</u>	Lepage	Boutin	Gluckstein
0%	2,32%	1,88%	1,19%	0,47%

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19,88%	16,86%	16,18%	6,84%	5,72%	5,33%

Mamère	Besancenot	Saint-Josse	Madelin	Hue	Mégret
5,25%	4,25%	4,23%	3,91%	3,37%	2,34%

(<u>Pasqua</u>)	<u>Taubira</u>	Lepage	Boutin	Gluckstein
0%	2,32%	1,88%	1,19%	0,47%

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- 1 Paradoxes
 - Methods of Voting
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- 2 **Impossibilities**
 - May's Axioms for Two Candidates
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Proof: simple.

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- **A7 [Independence of irrelevant alternatives (IIA)]** If $A \succeq B$ then whatever candidates are dropped or adjoined $A \succeq B$.

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MIT Press 2011

MAJORITY JUDGMENT

Measuring, Ranking, and Electing



MICHEL BALINSKI AND RIDA LARAKI

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Before the performance of Vlasenko, the order was:
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Urmanov	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1/8	1 st
Caneloro	3	2	5	2	3	3	5	6	6	3/5	2 nd
Zagorodniuk	5	5	4	4	2	4	2	2	3	4/7	3 rd
Yagudin	4	3	3	6	4	6	4	3	2	4/7	4 th
Kulik	2	4	2	3	6	5	3	4	5	4/6	5 th
Vlaschenko	6	6	6	5	5	1	6	5	4	5/5	6 th

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Arrow's paradox occurs because of Judge 6's strategic voting!

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This flip-flop was so strident that the rules used for a half-century were changed to a method based on measure, as in gymnastic, diving, music competition.

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- There are many other instances that use well defined **scales of grades**, to rank and or to designate winners: guide Michelin, figure skating, gymnastics, concours Chopin, wine competitions, etc.

A Use of Majority Judgment: Small Jury

Opinion profile: LAMSADE Jury ranking PhD candidates for a grant, 2015

	J_1	J_2	J_3	J_4	J_5	J_6
A:	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
B:	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>
C:	<i>Passable</i>	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
D:	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Passable</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>
E:	<i>Good</i>	<i>Passable</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Good</i>
F:	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Passable</i>	<i>Insufficient</i>	<i>Passable</i>	<i>Passable</i>	<i>Good</i>

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E:	Good	Passable	V. Good	Good	Good	Good
F:	V. Good	Passable	Insufficient	Passable	Passable	Good

Merit profile:

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C:	Excellent	Excellent	V. Good	V. Good	Good	Passable
D:	V. Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Passable
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F:	V. Good	Good	Passable	Passable	Passable	Insufficient

Compact Description of MJ

	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Passable</i>	<i>Insufficient</i>
A:	5	1			
B:	1	4	1		
C:	2	2	1	1	
D:		1	4	1	
E:		1	4	1	
F:		1	1	3	1

Merit profile (counts), LAMSADE Jury.

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Ranking PhD candidates B and C by LAMSADE Jury:

B:	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Good</i>
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Majority Judgement Ballot (Large Electorate)

Ballot: Election of the President of France 2012

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

	<i>Outs- tanding</i>	<i>Excel- lent</i>	<i>Very Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Accep- table</i>	<i>Insuf- ficient</i>	<i>Reject</i>
François Hollande							
François Bayrou							
Nicolas Sarkozy							
Jean-Luc Mélenchon							
Nicolas Dupont-Aignan							
Eva Joly							
Philippe Poutou							
Marine Le Pen							
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Pool OpinionWay-Terra Nova, April 12-16 2012

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Hollande	12.48%	16.15%	16.42%	11.67%	14.79%	14.25%	14.24%
Bayrou	2.58%	9.77%	21.71%	25.24%	20.08%	11.94%	8.69%
Sarkozy	9.63%	12.35%	16.28%	10.99%	11.13%	7.87%	31.75%
Mélenchon	5.43%	9.50%	12.89%	14.65%	17.10%	15.06%	25.37%
Dupont-Aignan	0.54%	2.58%	5.97%	11.26%	20.22%	25.51%	33.92%
Joly	0.81%	2.99%	6.51%	11.80%	14.65%	24.69%	38.53%
Poutou	0.14%	1.36%	4.48%	7.73%	12.48%	28.09%	45.73%
Le Pen	5.97%	7.33%	9.50%	9.36%	13.98%	6.24%	47.63%
Arthaud	0.00%	1.36%	3.80%	6.51%	13.16%	25.24%	49.93%
Cheminade	0.41%	0.81%	2.44%	5.83%	11.67%	26.87%	51.97%

Majority Grade et Gauge

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Because $p = 45.05 > q = 43.28$, Hollande Gauge is **+45.05**.

MJ: National poll, French presidential election 2012

	p	$\alpha \pm$	q	FPP	
(1) F. Hollande	45.05%	<i>Good</i> +45.05	43.28%	(1)	28.7%
(2) F. Bayrou	34.06%	<i>Good</i> -40.71	40.71%	(5)	9.1%
(3) N. Sarkozy	49.25%	<i>Fair</i> +49.25	39.62%	(2)	27.3%
(4) J.-L. Mélenchon	42.47%	<i>Fair</i> +42.47	40.43%	(4)	11.0%
(5) N. Dupont-Aignan	40.57%	<i>Poor</i> +40.57	33.92%	(7)	1.5%
(6) E. Joly	36.77%	<i>Poor</i> -38.53	38.53%	(6)	2.3%
(7) P. Poutou	26.19%	<i>Poor</i> -45.73	45.73%	(8)	1.2%
(8) M. Le Pen	46.13%	<i>Poor</i> -47, 63	47.63%	(3)	17.9%
(9) N. Arthaud	24.83%	<i>Poor</i> -49.93	49.93%	(9)	0.7%
(10) J. Cheminade	48.03%	<i>To Reject</i> +48.03	-	(10)	0.4%

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John Kasich	5%	28%	39%	13%	7%	9%
Bernie Sanders	10%	26%	26%	15%	21%	3%
Ted Cruz	7%	22%	21%	17%	19%	4%
Hillary Clinton	11%	22%	20%	16%	30%	1%
Donald Trump	10%	16%	12%	15%	44%	3%

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	p	$\alpha \pm \max\{p, q\}$	q
John Kasich	33%	<i>Average+</i>	29%
Bernie Sanders	36%	<i>Average-</i>	39%
Ted Cruz	29%	<i>Average-</i>	40%
Hillary Clinton	33%	<i>Average-</i>	47%
Donald Trump	38%	<i>Poor-</i>	47%

Pew Research center poll 2016, Presidential Election, USA

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Clinton:

	<i>Great</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Terrible</i>
January	11%	24%	18%	16%	31%
Marsh	11%	22%	20%	16%	31%
August	11%	20%	22%	12%	35%
October	8%	27%	20%	11%	34%

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1 Paradoxes

- Methods of Voting
- Paradoxes in Theory
- Paradoxes in Practice

2 Impossibilities

- May's Axioms for Two Candidates
- Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

3 Majority Judgment

- From Practice
- Small Jury
- Large Electorate

4 Theory

- Domination Paradox
- Possibility
- Manipulation

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- 5 a candidate whose grades dominate another wins (**no domination paradox**).

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Hollande:	12.5%	16.2%	16.4%	11.7%	14.8%	14.2%	14.2%
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Possible opinion profile:

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Hollande:	<i>Exc.</i>	<i>V. Good</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Accept.</i>	<i>Accept.</i>	<i>Poor</i>	<i>Rej.</i>
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	0.8%	5.2%	6.5%	1.4%	5.2%	4.1%	8.3%
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Majority Rule: Sarkozy: 54.3% Hollande: 31.5% Indifferent: 14.2%

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- “If there is any case that might be considered the modern analogue to Madison's implicit concept of tyranny, I suppose it is this one.”
- To solve the problem, Dahl proposes using “an ordinal intensity scale” obtained “simply by reference to some observable response, such as a statement of one's feelings.”

May + Arrow's IIA + Condorcet's Transitivity + Dahl's Intensity Scale

A **method of ranking** \succeq is a binary relation that compares any two candidates. It must satisfy the following axioms:

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- **A7** [Independence of irrelevant alternatives (IIA)] If $A \succeq B$ then whatever candidates are dropped or adjoined $A \succeq B$.

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40.31% prefer Sarkozy to Hollande*. They are of three types:

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If a voter can manipulate MJ, he can only in one direction:

- (1) *or he can increase the majority-gauge of a candidate he prefers to the other,*
- (2) *or he can decrease the majority-gauge of the other candidate.*

What if some motivated voters indeed manipulate ?

Suppose:

- Type 1's up Sarkozy's grade to *Outstanding*, down Hollande's to *To Reject*,
- Types 2 & 3 "sufficiently motivated" (grades differ by at least two) *do same*.

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Sarkozy's average 2.94

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- An association **MieuxVoter** has been created in 2018 to promote MJ.

Manifeste

Découvrir

Participer

L'Association

Forum

S'inscrire



Choisir · Élire · Décider

Avec le Jugement Majoritaire

	A Retenter	Insuffisant	Passable	Assez Bien	Bien	Très Bien	Excellent
😊					X		
😐				X			
😞	X						

Notre Constat

Chaque jour, nous prenons des **décisions en commun**. Mais les **méthodes** que nous utilisons sont souvent **inadaptées** et ne permettent pas de traduire fidèlement la volonté de la majorité.

Notre Action

Agir pour faire connaître le **Jugement Majoritaire** et **accompagner** les collectivités publiques, les entreprises, les associations et les particuliers dans son utilisation.



UNE EXPÉRIMENTATION SCIENTIFIQUE MENÉE ET SOUTENUE PAR



ET SI ON CONTINUAIT À EXPÉRIMENTER UN NOUVEAU MODE DE SCRUTIN ?

Le deuxième tour de l'élection présidentielle au Jugement Majoritaire

Les votes sont clos, [cliquez-ici pour voir les résultats](#).

52809 votes ont été comptabilisés au 1er tour et 15251 au 2nd tour.

 PARTAGER SUR FACEBOOK

 PARTAGER SUR TWITTER



Rechercher



Réformons l'élection présidentielle ! – Science étonnante #35

709 972 vues



27 K



314



PARTAGER



ENREGISTRER



À suivre

LECTURE AUTO

La Relativité Générale
– Science étonnante

ScienceEtonnante

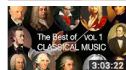
194 k vues

Nouveau

Rachmaninoff: Piano
no.2 op.18 - Anna

AVROTROS Klassiek

Recommandée pour

The Best of Classical
Music Vol. 1

Live Better Media

Recommandée pour

TCHAIKOVSKY - THE
GREATEST HITS

MELOMAN CLASSICS

Recommandée pour

Stravinsky: The Firebird
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Jose

Recommandée pour

Un nouveau

Science étonnante

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