## Public Choice

## 1. Introduction

- Social/public choice: the process of social/collective decision-making
- Elements:
$\sqrt{ }$ Candidates/alternatives/options: choice set $A$
$\sqrt{ }$ Voters: $i$
$\sqrt{ }$ Individual preference/ranking:

$$
\left\{R_{i}\right\}
$$

- Preference aggrgation mechanism:
- Social decision rule: collective ranking $R$ of all alternatives
- Aggregation of individual preference $\left\{R_{i}\right\}$
- Process: Indv Ranking $\left\{R_{i}\right\}$ in, Social Ranking $R$ out


E Beauty contest, sports event

- Social choice function (SCF): a single choice

$$
a \in A
$$

- Process: Indv Ranking $\left\{R_{i}\right\}$ in, $\underline{\text { Social Choice } a \text { out }}$


E Political election, travel destination choice

- Saari [1988] story: choice of drinks in department meeting

| 15 voters | 1st | 2nd | 3rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | Milk | Juice | Beer |
| 5 | Beer | Juice | Milk |
| 4 | Juice | Beer | Milk |

- "Milk" chosen initially as most favored (M6: B5: J4)
- "Beer" served in meeting for lack of Milk
- But people found "Juice" (10) is actually preferred to "Beer" (5)
- Further: "Milk" least favored by pairwise comparision:
J9 : M6, B9: M6


## 2. Unanimity rule

- Wicksell [1896]
- Consistent with Pareto criterion
$\triangleright$ Bill passed must make everyone better off!
- Problems:
$\sqrt{ }$ (Theory) Social ranking not "complete". Agreement rarely reached.
$\sqrt{ }$ (Reality) Distribution/jealousy issue not considered.
$\triangleright$ Some may prefer non-Paretian situation.
$\sqrt{ }$ (Reality) Everyone has veto power, transaction costs high $\triangleright$ Outcome subject to negotiation and strategic behaviors.
- Unanimity with compensation/side-payment $\triangleright$ Buying votes is illegal?


## 3．Majority Voting

－Relative majority：$\eta \%$（ $\geq 50 \%$ ）for agreement
－Constitutional choice：［Buchanan－Tullock 1962］${ }^{1}$

$$
\min _{\eta} \quad \mathrm{ETSC} \equiv D+E
$$

$\sqrt{ }$ External costs（外部成本）E：damages imposed on minority
$\sqrt{ }$ Decision costs（交易成本）$D$ ：costs for reaching decisions

－Condorcet winner：pairwise comparision
－Binary agenda for 2 or more options
－The winner against any other candidate

[^0]- Plurality rule: simultaneous voting ${ }^{2}$
- For 3 or more candidates.
- Condorcet winner may lose:

| (9 voters) | 1 st | 2 nd | 3 rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 | A | B | C |
| 3 | B | A | C |
| 4 | C | A | B |

$\triangleright \mathrm{C}$ is the Plurality winner; A is Condorcet winner

- Strategic behavior ${ }^{3}$
- May's Theorem: with only 2 candidates ${ }^{4}$

Only majority rule can satisfy the following:
$\sqrt{ }$ Anonymity: symmetry among all voters (treated equally)
$\sqrt{ }$ Neutrality: symmetry among all candidates
$\sqrt{ }$ Decisiveness: a winner will always be picked
$\sqrt{ }$ Positive responsiveness: more votes, more likely to win

[^1]－Voting paradox［Condorcet 1785］：

| Ranking | 1st | 2nd | 3rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voter 1 | A | B | C |
| Voter 2 | B | C | A |
| Voter 3 | C | A | B |

－Voting cycles：

$$
A \succ_{1,3} B \succ_{1,2} C \succ_{2,3} A
$$

$\triangleright$ Outcome subject to＂agenda manipulation＂
－Single－peaked preferences（單峰偏好）［Black］：1－dim choice


## - Single-crossing preferences (SC): ${ }^{5}$



* Def: On a 1-dim line, for 2 voters $a<b$, and 2 options $x<y$ :

$$
U^{a}(y)>U^{a}(x) \Rightarrow U^{b}(y)>U^{b}(x)
$$

and

$$
U^{b}(x)>U^{b}(y) \Rightarrow U^{a}(x)>U^{a}(y)
$$

* If voter preferences satisfy SC, then there is no cycle.
* Condorcet winner is preferred option of the median voter M. ${ }^{6}$
- Cycle probability 1-2\%; not detectable when it arises!

[^2]- 2-dim voting cycle

$$
A \succ_{1,3} C \succ_{2,3} B \succ_{1,2} \quad A
$$



E 3 people dividing $\$ 1$ : no Condorcet winner!

| Round | A | B | C |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | $1 / 3$ | $1 / 3$ | $1 / 3$ |
| 2 | $1 / 2$ | $1 / 2$ | 0 |
| 3 | $2 / 3$ | 0 | $1 / 3$ |
| 4 | 0 | $1 / 2$ | $1 / 2$ |
| $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ | $\cdots$ |

E Bundled voting: no Condorcet winner!

| Voter value | A | B | C |
| :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| 1 | 500 | -100 | -100 |
| 2 | -100 | 500 | -100 |
| 3 | -100 | -100 | 500 |

$\triangleright$ Cycle: $(\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}) \rightarrow(\mathrm{y}, \mathrm{y}, \mathrm{y}) \rightarrow(\mathrm{y}, \mathrm{y}, \mathrm{n}) \rightarrow(\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{y}, \mathrm{n}) \rightarrow(\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n})^{7}$

- Independence from Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA) may be violated

E Example:

| \#voters $/$ ranking | 1st | 2 nd | 3 rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 | A | B | C |
| 4 | B | C | A |
| 6 | C | B | A |

- With all 3 candidates: (A9: B4: C6) $\Rightarrow A$ elected
- If $C$ drops out: $(\mathrm{A} 9: \mathrm{B} 10) \Rightarrow B$ elected

[^3]－Need IIA to avoid sabotage（攪局）$)^{8}$
－Outcome may be Pareto inferior！

| Ranking | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4th | 5th | 6th | 7 th |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Voter 1 | A | B | C | D | E | F | G |
| Voter 2 | C | D | A | F | G | B | E |
| Voter 3 | D | A | G | B | C | E | F |

$\triangleright$ Possible outcome：$A \rightarrow D \rightarrow C \rightarrow B \rightarrow G \rightarrow F \rightarrow E$
$\triangleright E$ is Pareto inferior to $(A, B, C, D)$ ！
－Voter preference intensity not considered：
－Logrolling（選票互換）：vote trading／exchange
－（Yes）Voter intensity revealed：compromise means efficiency！

| （Project） | A | B | C | NetValue | M．V． | logrolling |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| Hospital | 200 | -50 | -55 | 95 | n | $\mathrm{y}(1,2)$ |
| Library | -40 | 150 | -30 | 80 | n | $\mathrm{y}(1,2),(2,3)$ |
| Park | -120 | -60 | 400 | 220 | n | $\mathrm{y}(2,3)$ |

－（No）Special－interest gains may outweight general losses！

[^4]| （Project） | A | B | C | NetValue | M．V． | logrolling |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- |
| Hospital | 200 | -110 | -105 | -15 | n | $\mathrm{y}(1,2)$ |
| Library | -40 | 150 | -120 | -10 | n | $\mathrm{y}(1,2),(2,3)$ |
| Park | -270 | -140 | 400 | -10 | n | $\mathrm{y}(2,3)$ |

－64\％mojority rule［Caplin－Nalibuff，Econometrica 1988］
－In $k$－dim elections，incumbent can garantee only：Figure 1

$$
\sigma_{k}=\left(\frac{k}{k+1}\right)^{k}
$$

$\triangleright$ For example：$\sigma_{1}=1 / 2, \sigma_{2}=4 / 9$
－In real－life elections，a challenger will get at least：

$$
\sigma_{\infty}=\lim _{k \rightarrow \infty}\left[1-\left(\frac{k}{k+1}\right)^{k}\right]=1-\frac{1}{e} \approx 64 \%
$$

－Median Voter Theorem（中值選民定理）${ }^{9}$
－M．V．outcome reflects preference of the median voter：

－$X_{2}$ is Condorcet winner（by pairwise comparison）
－Outcome usually inefficient

[^5]
## Hotelling Spatial Model: 1-dimensional Voting




## 2-dimensional Voting



Figure 1: Justification for $2 / 3$ majority rule

## 4. Borda Count

- Counting pocedure: choose one with lowest count $\Rightarrow$ no cycles

| \#voters | Keynes | Becker | Chair |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10 Macro | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 10 Micro | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| 1 Chair | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Rank / Score | $1(32)$ | $2(33)$ | $3(61)$ |

$\triangleright$ May set rank values to reflect relative weights (eg, 1,2,3,10,...)

- Problem: Strategic manipulation

E 10 Micros now claim [Chair as 2nd, Keynes as 3rd]

| \#voters | Keynes | Becker | Chair |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10 Macro | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 10 Micro | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 1 Chair | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Rank / Score | $2(42)$ | $1(33)$ | $3(51)$ |

- Problem: IIA violated, different outcomes w/w.o. chair

| \#voters | Keynes | Becker |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 10 Macro | 1 | 2 |
| 10 Micro | 2 | 1 |
| 1 Chair | 1 | 2 |
| Rank $/$ Score | $1(31)$ | $2(32)$ |

## 5. Approval Voting

- Can vote for any number of alternatives, each vote counts as 1.
- Voter flexibility.
- Outcome indeterminacy:

| \#voters $/$ ranking | 1st | 2nd | 3 rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | x | z | y |
| 5 | y | z | x |
| 4 | z | y | x |

- x wins: if everyone votes only for 1st choice (x6:y5:z4)
- y wins: if group 3 votes for top 2 choices (x6:y9: z4)
- z wins: if everyone votes for top 2 choices (x6:y9: z15)
$\triangleright$ Condorcet winner may not be picked.


## 6. Runoff Voting

- Top 2 winners in Round 1 will enter Round 2.
- Condorcet winner may not win.
- Positive Responsiveness may be violated.

| Count | 1st | 2nd | 3rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 6 | a | b | c |
| 5 | c | a | b |
| 4 | b | c | a |
| 2 | b | a | c |

## 7. Elimination

- Everyone votes for the candidate you dislike most.
$\triangleright$ The candidate who receives least votes get elected.
- May have cycle.
- IIA violated.

| Count | 1st | 2nd | 3rd | 4 th |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 9 | A | B | C | D |
| 4 | B | C | D | A |
| 6 | C | D | A | B |
| 5 | D | A | B | C |

- 4 candidates: $(\mathrm{A} 4: \mathrm{B} 6: \mathrm{C} 5: \mathrm{D} 9) \Rightarrow A$ elected.
- If $B$ withdraws: (A10: C5: D9) $\Rightarrow C$ elected.


## 8．Collective Choice Depends on Voting Mechanism

E 7 voters， 4 alternatives：

| V1 | V2 | V3 | V4 | V5 | V6 | V7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A | A | A | B | B | C | C |
| B | B | B | C | C | D | D |
| C | C | C | D | D | A | A |
| D | D | D | A | A | B | B |

－Plurality rule： $\mathrm{A}^{*}(3): \mathrm{B}(2): \mathrm{C}(2): \mathrm{D}(0)$
－Borda count： $\mathrm{A}(17): \mathrm{B}(16): \mathrm{C}^{*}(15): \mathrm{D}(22)$
－Approval（2 votes）： $\mathrm{A}(3): \mathrm{B}^{*}(5): \mathrm{C}(4): \mathrm{D}(2)$
－Pairwise comparision：cycle，no Condorcet winner

$$
A \succ_{5: 2} B \succ_{5: 2} C \succ_{7: 0} D \succ_{4: 3} A
$$

## 9．Arrow＇s Impossibility Theorem［1951］

－Axiomatic approach
－No social decision rule can guarantee satisfaction of the following：

- Universality（全域性）：voters may have any preference patterns．
- Consistency（一致性）：social preference is transitive，no cycle．
- Pareto axiom
- IIA (independence of irrelevant alternatives)
- Non-dictatorship
- Satherswaite Theorem: strategy-proofness required (instead of IIA)


## 10. Application: Congress Voting on Own Pay Raise

| Payoff | Bill "pass" | Bill "fail" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Vote"yes" | 1 | -1 |
| Vote"no" | 2 | 0 |

Congress pay-raise voting:


## 11. Application: Tie-breaking Power [Farquharson 1969, p.50]

$\triangleright$ Vote by majority rule, voter 1 can break tie.

| Voter | 1st | 2nd | 3rd |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | A | C | B |
| 2 | B | A | C |
| 3 | C | B | A |

Figure 2

Pay-offs:

| ( $3=A$ ) |  |  |  | ( $3=B$ ) |  |  |  | ( $3=C$ ) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1/2 | A | B | C | 1/2 | A | B | C | 1/2 | A | B | C |
| A | A | A | A | A | A | B | A* | A | A | A* | C |
| B | A | B | B* | B | B | B | B | B | B* | B | C |
| C | A | C* | C | C | C* | B | C | C | C | C | C |

Elimination of dominated strategies (Round 1):

| ( $3=A$ ) |  |  |  | ( $3=B$ ) |  |  |  | ( $3=C$ ) |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1/2 | A | B | C | 1/2 | A | B | C | 1/2 | A | B | C |
| A | A | A | A | A | A | B | A* | A | A | A* | C |
| B | A | B |  | B | B | B | B | B | B* | B | C |
| C | A | C* | c | C | C* | B | C | C | C | C | C |

Elimination of dominated strategies (Round 2):

|  | $(3=\mathrm{A})$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $1 / 2$ | A | B |
| A | A | A |


|  | $(3=B)$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1 / 2$ | A | B |
| A | A | B |


|  | $(3=C)$ |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $1 / 2$ | A | B |
| A | A | A* $^{*}$ |

Equilibrium outcome: B (1 for $A, 2$ for $B, 3$ for $B$ ), 1 gets worst!

Figure 2: Tie-breaking power may hurt you!


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ J．M．Buchanan and G．Tullock，Chapter 6 in The Calculus of Consent－Logical Foundations of Constitutional Democ－ racy，1962，University of Michigan Press．

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Hindriks-Myles, 2006, MIT press, p. 319.
    ${ }^{3}$ For example, people may vote for 2 nd choice, if they feel their top choice has no chance to win.
    ${ }^{4}$ Hindriks-Myles, 2006, MIT press, p. 306 .

[^2]:    ${ }^{5}$ Hindriks-Myles, 2006, MIT, pp. 310.
    ${ }^{6}$ Because, for any 2 options $x<y$, if $M$ prefers $x$, then all voters to his left will also prefer $x$. If $M$ prefers $y$, then all voters to his right must also prefer $y . \square$

[^3]:    ${ }^{7}$ Any proposal changing a " y " to " n " will pass with two votes. But then ( $\mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}, \mathrm{n}$ ) will be defeated by a proposal replacing any two " y " with two " n ".

[^4]:    ${ }^{8}$ For example：Taipei city mayor election 1998，Presidential election 2000.

[^5]:    ${ }^{9}$ Holcombe pp．175－76；Hyman p．165．

