

# The Problem with Majority Rule

Shepsle and Bonchek Chapter 4

# Majority Rule is problematic

1. Who's the majority?
2. Sometimes there is no decisive winner
  - Condorcet's paradox: A group composed of individuals with with individually transitive preferences do not necessarily have transitive preferences as a collectivity
3. When the group's preferences are intransitive there is either no stable outcome or the outcome is determined by the rules of the game.
  - Typically, the rule designating an agenda setter is decisive

Today, we're going to explore the implications of these problems by asking:

1. "How general" a problem is "cyclical" majorities?
2. What's so special about majority rule anyway?
3. What can be done?

# Are "intransitive group preferences" a common problem?

- Sure, Andrew, Bonnie, and Chuck ran into trouble deciding, but....  
.....they had other issues too (Red Sox? You gotta be kiddin' me!)

Are groups of normal, canoli-eating, Yankee game watchin' people likely to have the same problem?

It depends....

Probability of group intransitivity= $f(m,n)$

where

$m$  is the number of alternative and

$n$  is the number of voters

# Specifically....

$$p(\text{intransitivity}) \approx \frac{\# \text{ of "problem" preference configurations}}{(m!)^n}$$

$$p(\text{intransitivity}) \approx \frac{\# \text{ of "problem" preference configurations}}{(m \times (m-1) \times (m-2) \times \dots \times 2 \times 1)^n}$$



# Example: Divide the Dollars

- Suppose there are three regions in a town and they've just been given \$1000 dollars to divide - *if* they can agree how to divide it.

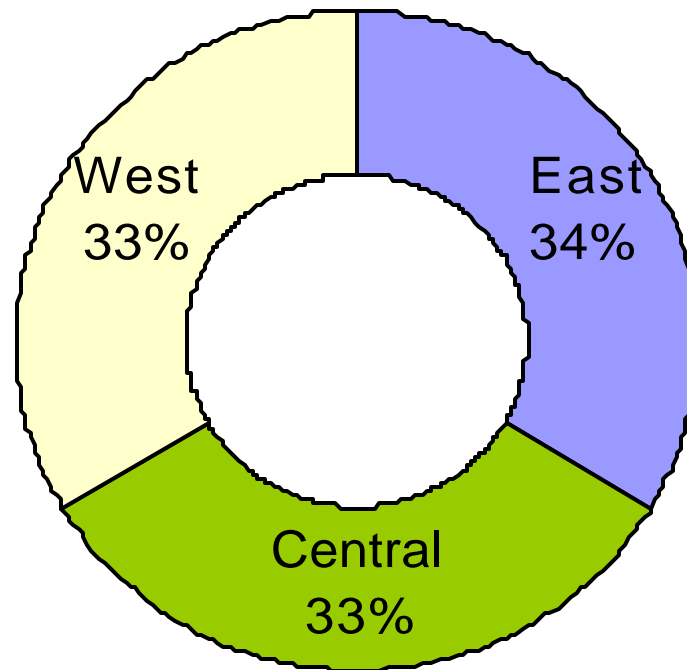
# Divide the Dollars - details

- let  $s(E)$ ,  $s(C)$ , and  $s(W)$  be the shares going to East, Central, and West, respectively.
- a sharing scheme (strategy combination)  $(s(E); s(C); s(W))$  is feasible if each component is non-negative, and the components sum to something less than \$1000.
- A sharing scheme is efficient if the values sum to \$1000 (nothing is wasted).
- Representatives make alternating offers until they settle on a division of the pie that defeats all additional proposals

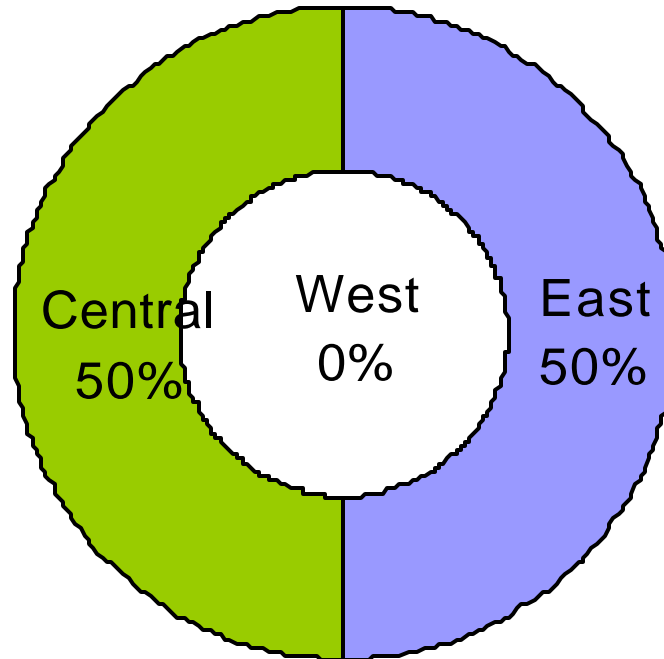
# What happens?

- Well, we can say that the outcome will be efficient, but we can't say much more than that. Why?

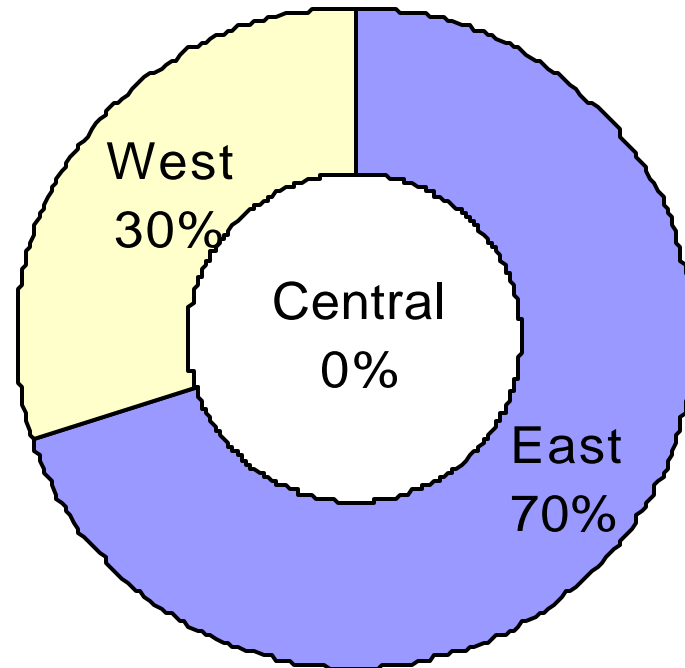
# Divide the Dollar: Proposal 1 “To share is fair”



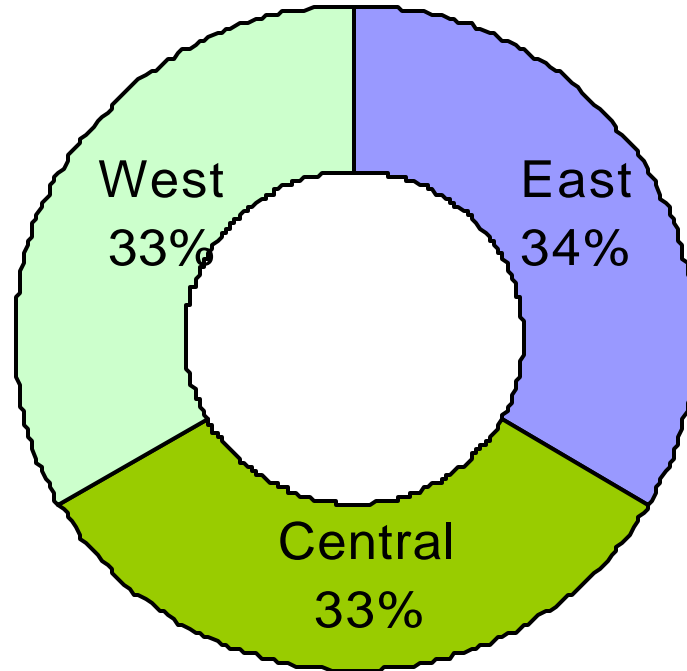
# Divide the Dollar: Proposal 2 “Go @#\$%! West Man”



Divide the Dollar: Proposal 3 “West says to East: “I’m easy, I don’t want alot”



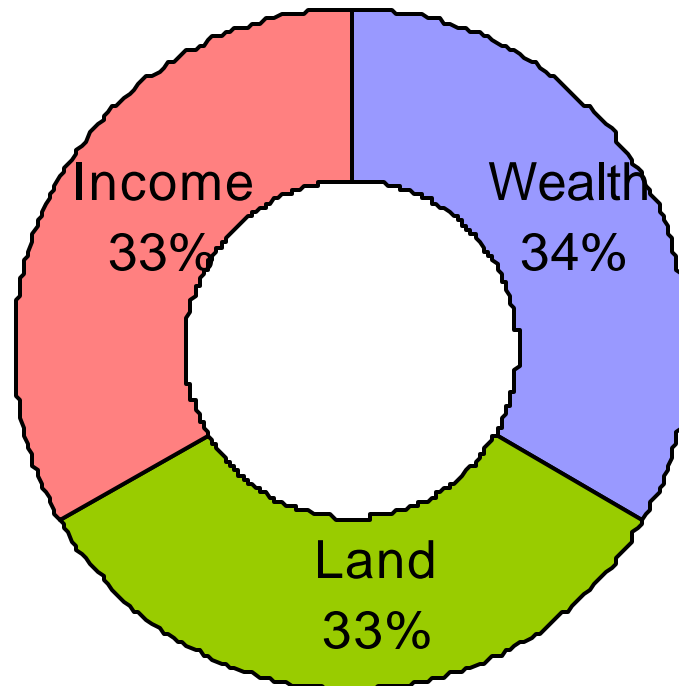
# Divide the Dollare: Proposal 4 “Can’t we find a “fair” solution?”



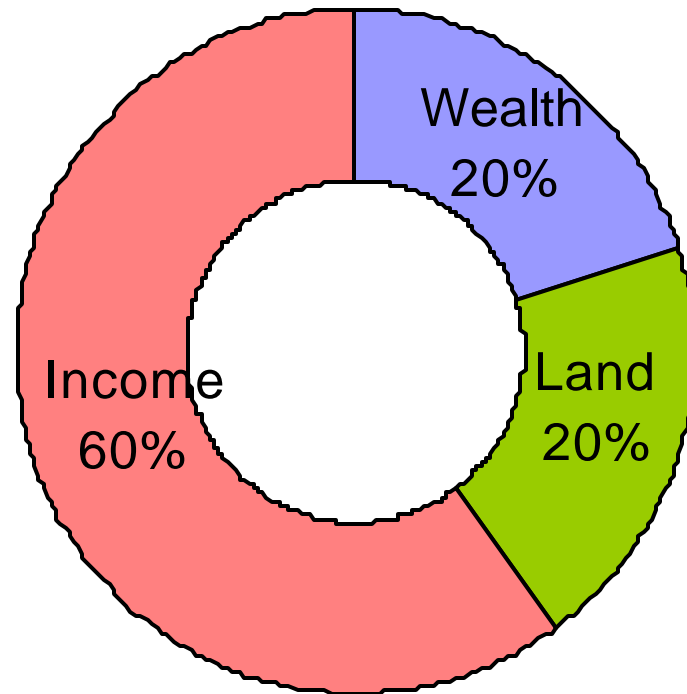
# Majority Cycle in “Divide the Dollar Game”

2.  $(500, 500, 0) P_{EC} (333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3})$
3.  $(700, 0, 300) P_{EW} (500, 500, 0)$
4.  $(333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3}) P_{CW} (700, 0, 300)$
5.  $(500, 500, 0) P_{EC} (333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3})$
6.  $(700, 0, 300) P_{EW} (500, 500, 0)$
7.  $(333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3}; 333 \frac{1}{3}) P_{CW} (700, 0, 300) \dots \text{etc}$

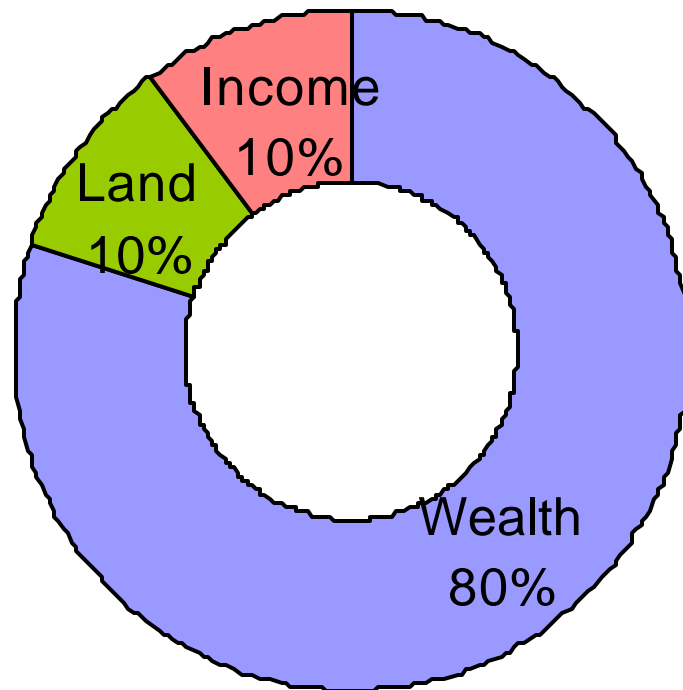
# Shift the tax burden: Proposal 1 “share the love”



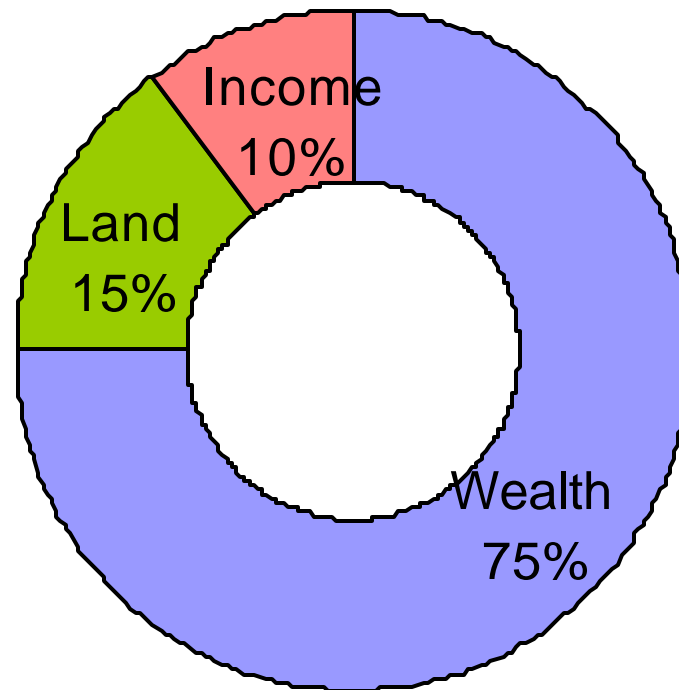
# Shift the tax burden: Proposal 2 “Family values: Protect inheritance, and protect our nation’s farms”



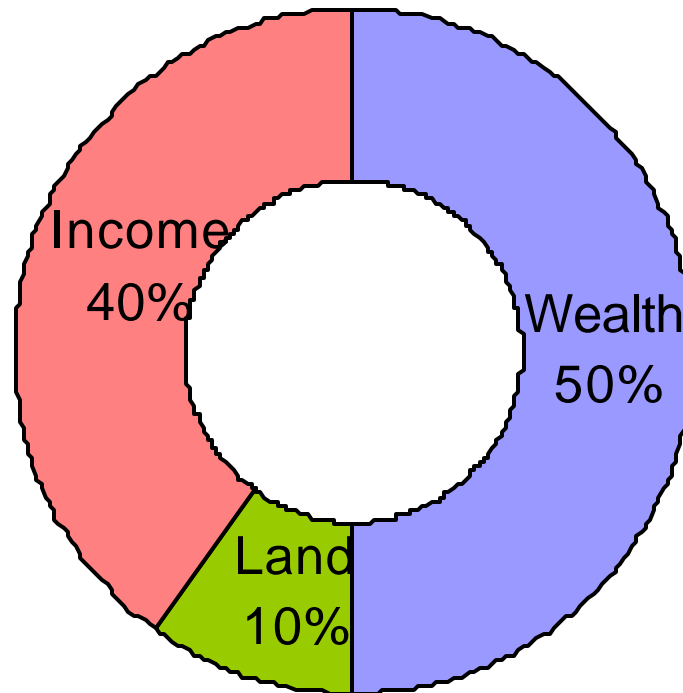
# Shift the tax burden: Proposal 3 “Soak the rich!”



# Shift the tax burden: Proposal 4 “Save our cities!”



# Shift the tax burden: Proposal 5 “Family values: Protect inheritance, and protect our nation’s farms”



# Cycling majorities shifting the tax burden

Proposal	Proposer			
2	Rich	Cut taxes on	wealth ,	land
3	Wage-earners	Cut taxes on	income,	land
4	Rich	Cut taxes on	income,	wealth
5	Farmer	Cut taxes on	wealth,	land
6	Wage-earners	Cut taxes on	?	?

# Conclusion

- Majority rule seems to be deeply flawed in handling the “most political” of political problems

**What's so special  
about majority rule?**

May showed that

Majority rule  $\Leftrightarrow$  A, N, M

So arguing for against majority rule  
means arguing for or against A, N,  
or M

# Condition A (Anonymity)

Social preferences depend only on the collection of individual preferences, not on who has which preference.

# Condition N (Neutrality)

changing rank of  $j$  and  $k$  in each group members preferences changes rank of  $j$  and  $k$  in group preferences (i.e. naming the alternatives is arbitrary)

# Condition M (Monotonicity)

- if  $j$  is at least as good as  $k$  from the group's standpoint, and  $j$  becomes more desirable to one of the members, then  $j$  is now strictly better than  $k$  from the standpoint of the group.

# When does majority rule make sense?

ex. Should grades be determined by majority rule?

ex. Should what I have for breakfast be decided by majority rule?

ex. Should amendments to the constitution be decided by majority rule?

ex. Should students at a public high school be allowed to vote on whether or not to have organized prayer at football games?

# We already saw that

- Majority rule creates practical problems in some situations
- May not be normatively appealing in all situations

So why don't we ditch it?

# **Arrows theorem – Majority rule is not special**

- The pathologies of majority rule apply to “any” group decision procedure that meets some minimal standards

These minimal standards can be thought of a generalizations of May's conditions for majority rule

May Condition

Arrow Condition

Anonymity



Dictatorship

Neutrality



Independence

Monotonicity



Pareto Optimality

A (Anonymity) is a special case of  
what Arrow called  
**"Non-Dictatorship" (D)**

There is no distinguished individual  $i^* \in G$   
whose preferences dictate the group  
preference, independent of other  
members.

N (Neutrality) is a special case of what Arrow called "Independence from Irrelevant Alternatives" (I)

if  $j$  and  $k$  stand in a particular relationship to each other for each member of the group, and this relationship does not change, then neither should the group preference between  $j$  and  $k$

M (Monotonicity) is a special case of what Arrow called "Unanimity" (P) or Pareto Optimality

If every member of  $G$  prefers  $j$  to  $k$  (or is indifferent between them), then the group preference must reflect a preference for  $j$  over  $k$  (or an indifference between them).

Arrow argued that any reasonable procedure for making group choices should involve D, I, and P, and two other criteria:

**Condition U (Universal admissibility)** (each  $i \in G$  may adopt any strong or weak complete and transitive preference ordering over the alternatives in  $A$ )

**Rationality assumption**  $R_G$  is complete and transitive.

# Arrow's theorem

There exists no mechanism for translating the preferences of rational individuals into a coherent group preference that simultaneously satisfies conditions U,P,I, and D

# Conclusion

Arrow showed that if you accept U,P,I as “untouchable” (May shows us that advocating majority rule amounts to making U,P,I untouchable) you have accept either

1. Dictatorship
2. The *potential for* intransitivity