

Tragedies of Democracy

The Northwest has been ripped apart for 30 years by flip-flops in forestry laws. Hasty logging in times of weak regulation lays waste to resources. Sudden limits on logging can bankrupt workers and small businesses. **A political pendulum** swings; it cuts down forests and species, families and towns.

Old ways of adding up votes fail to represent large groups in many places. In North Carolina, there were enough black voters to fill up two election districts. But they were a minority spread out over eight districts. So for over 100 years, they won no voice in Congress. As voters, they were silenced.

More stories inside . . .

What's Wrong?

Our faulty voting rules come from a failure to see there are different jobs for voting; and these need different types of voting.

We all know how to decide the simplest sort of issue: A question with only two answers is voted 'yes' or 'no'. For such an issue, the yes and no votes are enough.

But as soon as three candidates run for one office, the situation becomes more complicated. Then a yes-no vote is no longer suitable.

Runoff Election

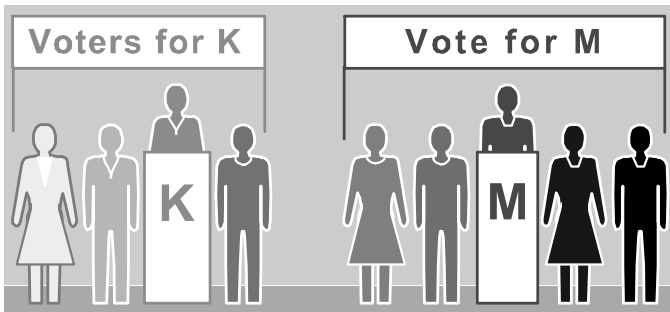
Who wins a runoff between the top two? K, M

The two (gray) who had voted for L now vote for M.
Do votes that move count more than others? Yes, No

This winner has the power of a majority mandate.
Only four "**wasted votes**" fail to elect anyone.

Runoffs almost ask, "Which side is stronger?" (Later, these voters will use another voting rule to see, "Where is our center?" And a bigger group will use a rule to find out, "Which trio best represents all of us?")

In a runoff, the top two compete one against one.



Candidate M wins the **runoff**.

What's in it for Voters & Reps

Accurate Elections

page

- ☛ **Give** voters **real choices** of candidates who can win, by electing **fair shares** of reps from all big groups. 12
- ☛ That supports a wide range of candidates, debate of issues and **turnout of voters**. 12
- ☛ **Reduce** **wasted votes** to end weak mandates. 8, 7, 12
Cut the effects of spoilers and **gerrymanders**. 10, 26
- ☛ Reduce **attack ads** and anger among voters. 10
Cut the payoffs to the big **campaign donors**. 24

Accurate Legislation

page

- ☛ **Give** fair representation to all major groups, so the council enacts laws with **real majorities**. 12
- ☛ Elect a **central chair** with wide appeal; she'll be a swing vote between the reps from interest groups. 4
- ☛ Cut chances for agenda **scams**; detach poison pills and free riders. Speed-rank all options at once. 20
- ☛ Give all reps **equal funds** for projects and agencies. And let the voters see each rep's spending. 16-21

Our Web pages detail these benefits and more. The workshop shows *how* they meet those goals. And free software on the web makes tallies easy.

Adjust Budgets of Ongoing Agencies

Every "**line item**" starts with most of its old budget. You can write-in and rank higher budgets for the items. Your ballot can afford to pay your fair shares for your top choices. This is how it gives them votes.

Each **budget level** of an item needs a number of votes. It gets a vote when a ballot pays a share of the cost up to that level or higher. $\text{cost} / \text{quota} = 1 \text{ share} = 1 \text{ vote}$

The item with the weakest top level, loses that level. Any money you gave it flows to your highest rank that lacks your vote. This repeats until the top level of each item is fully funded, by winning the quota of votes.

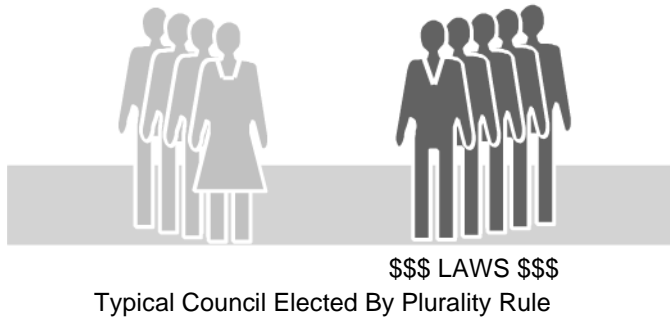


Merits of Fair-share Spending for Agencies

- ☛ Majorities enact the policies that direct the programs. They may end any program before the voting starts.
- ☛ It smooths budget roller-coasters that hurt **efficiency**. It stops starvation budgets designed to cause failure.
- ☛ A member can waste only her share of the fund. Voters can **see** a rep's grants to each project, tax cut or debt reduction and hold her accountable.
- ☛ Fair-share voting builds **trust** in group spending, and may raise support for more of it.

In the 1800s

Winner-Take-All Districts = Off-Center Councils



Eras, Voting Rules and Typical Councils

Some English-speaking nations still count votes by England's old **plurality rule**. It elects only one rep from each district; and winning it does not require a majority. It merely elects the one who gets the most "yes" votes.

Where only the largest party in a district wins a rep, only two big parties thrive. So voters get only two real candidates; they're given a very limited choice.

A council majority sets policies (dark gray ↑ above). A small change in one district's popular vote can shift all power, making policies swerve from side to side. Plurality politics is a war of **winner take all**.

2

The goal of **Instant Runoff Voting** is this:

**A majority winner,
from a single election.**

How does it work? You **rank** your favorite candidates as your first choice, second choice, third and so on. Then your ballot goes to your first-rank candidate.

If no candidate gets a majority, the one with fewest ballots loses. Then there is another round of counting. Your ballot stays with your favorite if she advances. It **moves** to your next choice if your favorite has lost. This repeats until one candidate gets a **majority**.

Benefits of **Instant Runoff Voting** Include:

- ☛ **A majority winner** from 1 election, so no winners-without-mandates and no costly runoff elections.
- ☛ **Less negative campaigning**, as a candidate must ask a rival's supporters for their 2nd choice votes.
- ☛ **No hurting your first choice** by ranking a 2nd, as a 2nd does not count unless the 1st choice has lost.
- ☛ **No lesser-of-two-evils** choice, as you can mark your true 1st choice without fear of wasting your vote.
- ☛ **No spoilers**, as votes for minor candidates move to each voter's more popular choices.

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CONCLUSION

Unstack the Agenda

Meetings often make related decisions one at a time. They use a yes-no process, with or without rules of order, agendas, and votes. Items decided early can shut out later options.

Or people may talk about all options at once but never clearly tell (vote) their second and third choices. So a few people pushing a single idea can appear to be the strongest group. And one person with a balanced idea but no eager supporters might drop it.

The best rules avoid all those problems by ranking the rival motions (or budgets) on the same ballot.

Steering Analogy

When choosing a voting rule, a new Mercedes **costs** little more than an old jalopy. That price is a bargain when the votes steer important budgets or policies.

Does your car have an 1890 steering tiller or a **new**, power steering wheel? Does your group have an 1890 voting rule or a new, centered and balanced rule?

A group can **test** drive a new rule in a survey. Or a "committee of the whole" can vote, tally and report its result to enact by the usual rules.

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Fair-share Spending Works This Way

In a citywide vote, each neighborhood or interest group funds a few school, park or road improvements. The city's taxes then pay for the projects as the School, Park and Road Departments manage the contracts.

Every neighborhood and interest group controls its share of spending power; no one is shut out. This makes (hidden) empires less profitable.



- ✓ Fair shares spread the joy and opportunities.

If a majority spends all the money, the last thing they buy adds little to their **happiness**. It is a low priority. But that money can fund the #1 need of a big minority. It can make them happier.

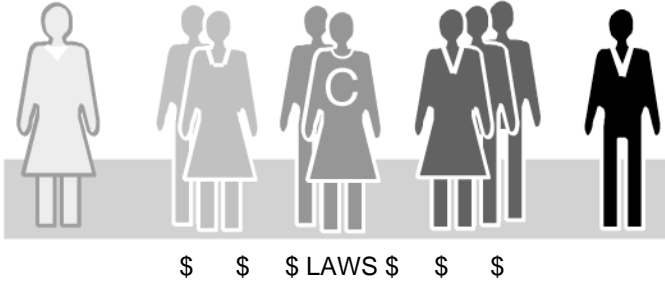
In economic terms: The *social utility* of the money and goods tends to rise if we each give out a share. Shares spread out opportunities and incentives too.

In political terms: Fair shares earn wide respect, as we are each in some minority wanting a project; and our budgets serve and appeal to more people.

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In the 2000s

Ensemble Councils = Balanced Majorities



Ensemble Elected By Central And Fair-Share Rules

New **ensemble rules** will elect most reps by Full Representation, plus a few by a central rule (**C** above). Later pages show how a central rule picks winners with *wide appeal* and views near the middle of the voters. Winners are thus near the middle of a Full Rep council.

So they are the council's **powerful swing votes**.

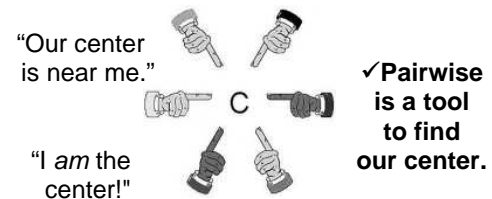
Most voters in that *wide base* of support don't want averaged or centrist policies. They want policies to **combine the best suggestions from all groups**.

4

Pairwise Popularity and Balance

A policy needs good marks from voters on both sides. That's because every voter can rank it compared to other policies. So all voters are "obtainable" and valuable. This leads to policies with wide appeal. (A plurality or runoff winner gets no votes from the losing side and doesn't need to please those voters.)

The Pairwise Tally winner is central and popular. Most voters of the **center and right** like it more than each leftist policy. At the same time, most voters of the **center and left** like it more than a rightist policy. All sides can join to beat a narrowly centrist policy.



A Chairperson's **Balanced Support**. Voters on the left rank Kennedy higher than Clinton. So to win a majority over Kennedy, Clinton must *outrank* him on ballots from the **center and right**.

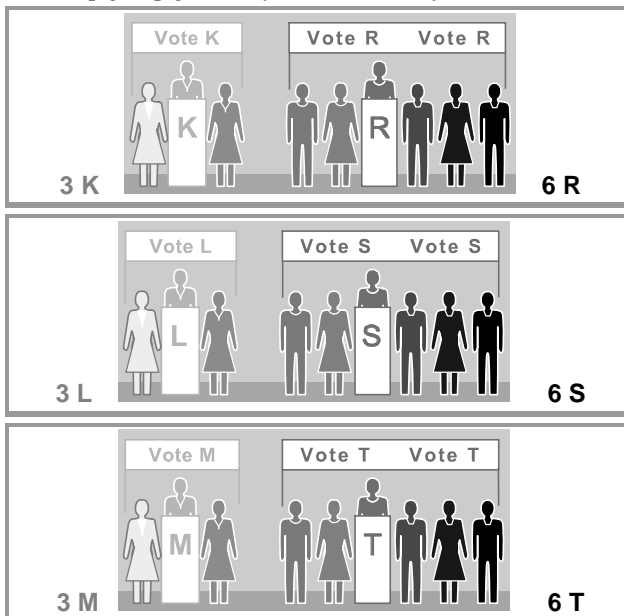
Voters on the right rank Bush higher than Clinton. So to win a majority over Bush, Clinton must *outrank* him on ballots from the **center and left**.

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ELECTING A COUNCIL

Single-Winner District Elections

A class of 27 wants to elect a planning committee. Someone says, "Elect a rep from each seminar group." The top group gives Kay 3 votes and Ray 6 votes.



Dark gray majorities win in all three sections. Other voters get no voice.

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Bad Budget Patterns

The old way to set budgets *blurs* responsibility. Take overspending. Liberals say too much is spent on big weapons; conservatives blame the social services. Every rep can claim, "I didn't spend too much."

Laws for clean air and water are popular with voters on the left and right. Reps don't dare attack openly. So, to pay off some corporate sponsors, reps slyly *starve* the agencies that enforce those laws. Budget cuts also hit OSHA and the auditors of corporate tax returns.

"Lower but constant funding is more productive than a roller-coaster budget that might average far more."

The Superconducting Super Collider was an effort to build the world's largest cyclotron. It was funded by a majority in Congress for a few years... then dropped. All it left was a "billion-dollar hole in the ground."

Members might be more cautious about starting vast projects if they could not spend other people's share of the budget. And they should have the power to finish their projects with their own share.

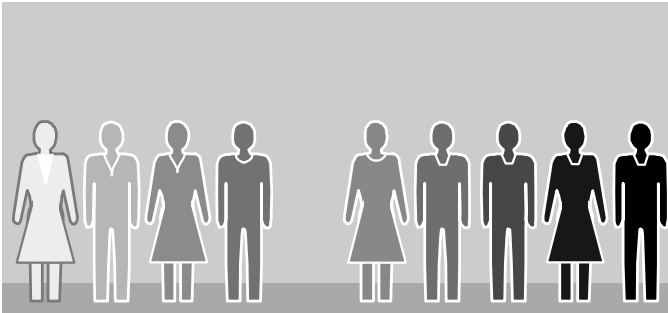
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ELECTING A LEADER

Nine Voters

Let's think about an election with nine voters whose opinions range from left to right. The figures in this picture mark the positions of voters on the political left, right or center. It's like we asked them, "If you want high-quality government services and taxes like Norway or Sweden, please stand here. Like Canada? Stand here please. Like the USA? Stand there. Stand over there for Mexico's low taxes and government."

Nine voters spread out along an issue.



High taxes,
great gov. services

Low taxes,
bad gov. services

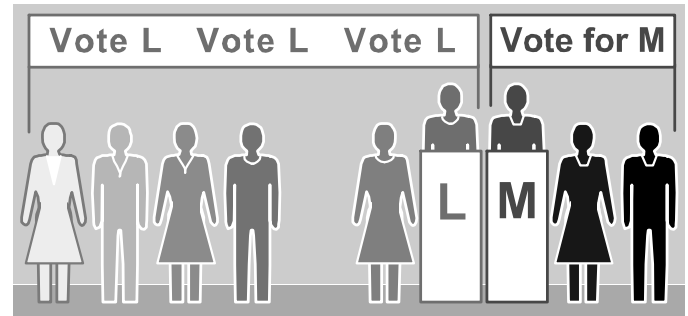
6

Pairwise Test Number Three

Candidate L wins her next one-on-one test also. She can win majorities against each of her rivals. So she is the one candidate who best represents all the voters. She is the Pairwise winner.

Could another person top candidate L? Yes, No
 Hint: Is anyone closer to the political center? Yes, No
 Who is the Pairwise winner on page 9? K, L, M

Thus Pairwise picks a **central** chairperson or policy. Is it likely to elect diverse reps? Yes, No



L has six votes. M has three.

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The principle of **Full Representation** is this:

**Majority rule,
with representation for minorities,
equal to their share of the votes.**

That is, 60% of the vote gets you 60% of the seats, not all of them. And 10% of the vote gets you 10% of the seats, not none of them. These are **fair shares**.

How does it work? There are three basic features:

- We elect more than one rep from each district.
- You vote for more than one; you vote for a list. Parties offer lists to us, or we each list favorites.
- The more votes a list gets, the more reps it elects.

Some Benefits of **Full Representation**:

- It gives each major group a fair share of reps. So it often elects more political minorities. And it elects up to three times more **women**.
- They tend to help **policies match** public opinion, and often raise the quality of health and education.
- It gives voters real **choices**, boosting voter **turnout**.
- A council of 3 must earn many more votes, 3/4 vs. 1/2. So Full Rep strengthens a council's **mandate**.

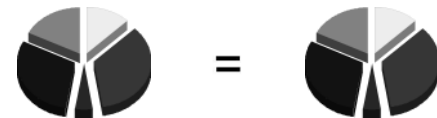
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Page 29 lists more benefits.

Fair-Shares and Moderates

Chicago now elects no Republicans to the State House, even though they win up to a third of its votes. The city elected reps from both parties for 110 years. It used a fair rule to pick 3 reps in each House district. This gave the majority party 2 reps and the minority 1.

Those Chicago Republicans were often moderates. So were Democratic reps from Republican strongholds. Even the biggest party in a district tended to elect more independent reps. They could work together and make state policies more moderate.



✓ **Shares of votes equal fair shares of seats.**

New Zealand switched in 1996 from Single-Winner Districts to a blend of SWD and Full Representation. Small, one-winner districts overplay local issues. Full Rep frees us to elect reps with widespread appeal.

The number of women elected rose from 21 to 35. The number of native Maoris elected rose from 6 to 15. Voters also elected 3 Polynesian reps and 1 Asian rep.

Many people call this Proportional Representation or Proportional Voting.

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Conclusions

The best voting rules are fast, easy and fair. They help any group from classroom to nation. The results are well centered and widely popular.

Strengthen the votes supporting a chairperson, council, policy, or budget.



Actions

Learn more at AccurateDemocracy.com.

Build support in your school, club or town with **FairVote**, The Center for Voting and Democracy.

Help make your democracy:

- ✚ Organize voters. ⚙ Represent everyone.
- ✚ Center policies. ✚ Empower everyone.

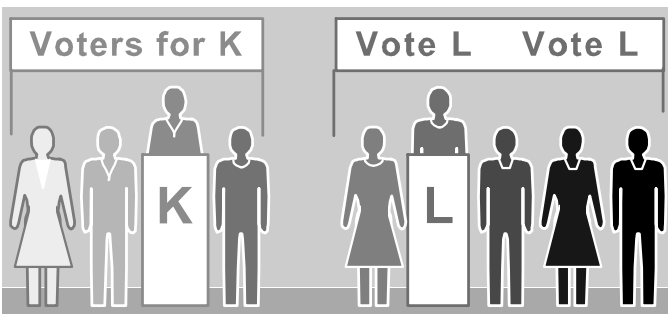
ENACTING A POLICY

Pairwise Test Number Two

The Runoff shown on page 8 was a one-against-one or "Pairwise" contest between candidates M and K. Five voters liked M better than K.

Here is a second Pairwise test with the same voters. Candidate K loses this one-against-one test. Candidate L wins by five votes to four.

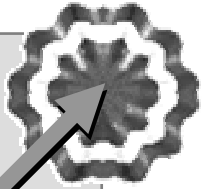
(Each person votes once with a full-choice ballot. The workshop pages show one style. And they show a tally table for Pairwise.)



K is nearest four voters.

L is nearest five voters.

Accurate Democracy



4 tools for elections and meetings

Plurality Election

Three candidates stand for office. A voter likes the one whose political position is nearest. So voters on the left like the candidate on the left.

Ms. K is the candidate nearest four voters. L is nearest two and M is nearest three.

Candidates L and M split the voters on the right.

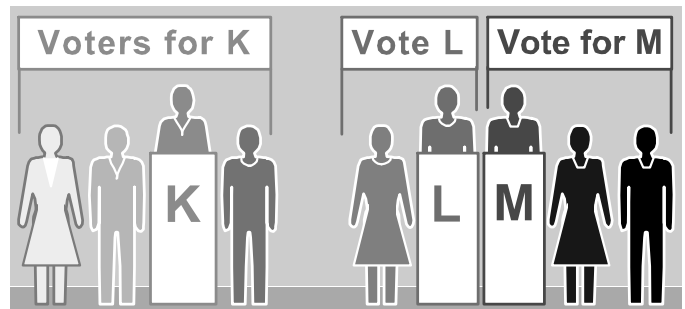
Does anyone win a majority? Yes, No

Who wins the plurality or largest share? K, L, M

Who wins the second-largest share of votes? K, L, M

A mere plurality gives the winner a weak **mandate**. That is the authority given by voters.

By plurality rule, the one with the most votes wins.



K is nearest four voters.

M is nearest three.

L is nearest two.

Tools Between People

Voting rules affect our laws – and our views on life. By making us practice winner-take-all or sharing, rules change the way we treat each other and see the world.

Expectations of voting can rise with better rules. They work less as tools to fight culture wars, more as tools to support the freedom of diverse communities.

Voting reform opens a door to many popular changes. And the results can last for many election cycles.



Strengthen Votes and Mandates

These rules strengthen votes and thus mandates. They organize voters and lift the number supporting:

- ✦ a **Chairperson** from a plurality to a majority; page 6
- 🗳️ a **Council** from a plurality to over three quarters; 14
- ✦ a **Budget** from a few power blocs to all members; 18
- ✦ a **Policy** from a one-sided to an over-all majority. 24

The principle of Fair-share Spending is:

**Spending power for all,
equal to their share of the votes.**

That is, 60% of the voters spend 60% of the money, not all of it. A project still needs grants from many voters to prove it is a **public good** worth public money. So we let a voter fund only a fraction of a project.

How does it work? Like IRV: you rank your choices.

Then your money moves to help your top choices. And a tally of all ballots drops the least-funded project. This repeats 'til all still in the race are fully funded.

Merits of Fair-share Spending on New Projects

- ✦ After discussion, a poll **quickly** picks many projects. It reduces **agenda** effects such as leaving naught for the last items or going into debt for them. It splits the free-rider or poison-pill items from others.
- ✦ It lets sub-groups pick projects; it's **like federalism** but without new layers of taxes and bureaucracy. And it funds big groups both spread out and local.
- ✦ This does not hand minorities too much **power**: A majority spends most of the fair-share fund.

Accurate Democracy

4 Great Tools for Elections and Meetings

Robert Loring

- 🗳️ Errors, Eras and Progress of Democracy 1
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- ✦ Fair-share Spending funds diverse **Projects***New* 16
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Abridged Edition

These tools offer real **hope**; we can stop the tragedies caused by old methods often used in nations and towns, co-ops and corporate boards.

This primer shows the need for better voting rules. The workshop shows the simple steps in each tally. The Web site has the footnotes – and [free software!](#)

Write to us at VotingSite@gmail.com
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Politics in Two Issue Dimensions

Voting rules work the same even when opinions do not fit neatly along a line from left to right.

Here a group spreads out on two issue dimensions: left to right plus up and down. On the steps of their school, we asked them a second question. It was about an issue apart from taxes and services.

“Please take a step up if you want more regulation. Please step down if you want less regulation. Take more steps for more change.”

Which leaves more wasted votes, plurality or runoff?
Which gives the winner a stronger mandate?

Seventeen voters spread out along two issues.

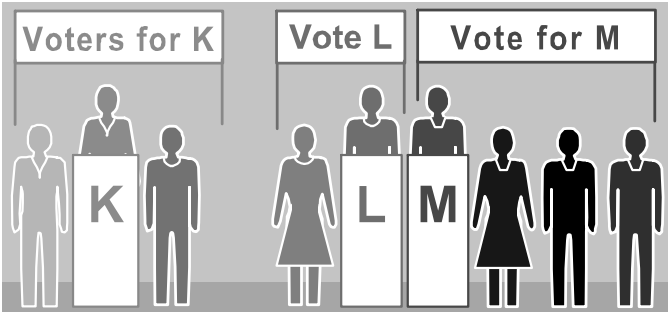


Kay wins a plurality. Em wins a runoff.

Resist Rigged Voters

Candidate M lost the last election by plurality rule. Now let's say her party **gerrymanders** the borders of her election district. They add neighbors (charcoal below) who tend to vote for her party; and exclude less favorable voters (a light gray voter missing on the left). So now her party is certain to win the new district. Reps will tend to come from the party's activist wing.

The old plurality rule is the easiest to scam this way. But the Pairwise winner, L, doesn't change in this case. And Full Rep fair shares also resist gerrymander.



Now K has three votes. L has two. And M has four.

Bribes can make some reps switch sides on a policy. Pairwise resists this well. Bribing one rep moves the council's middle, and its winning policy, only a little. Fair-shares and visible grants also restrain corruption.

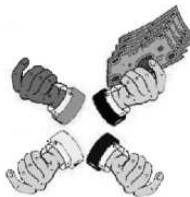
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Patterns of Unfair Spending

Membership groups often shirk competitive elections to avoid conflicts and hurt feelings. But members still compete over money to fund projects.

Often, some members use tricks to capture a lot of the budget. When that injustice is felt, others may grow rebellious, or leave.

They need a rule that makes spending fair.



x Many empty hands

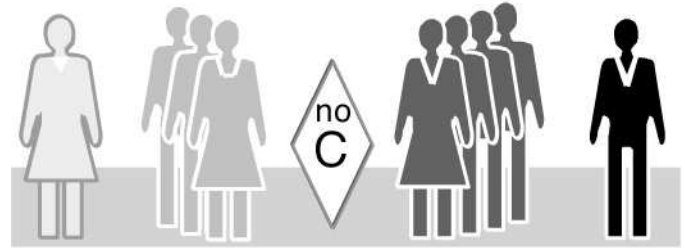
Participatory Budgeting lets neighborhood assemblies spend part of a city's budget. It has spread from one city in 1989 to hundreds of cities in Latin America. In a first for the US, Chicago Alderman Joe Moore gave his 2010 "Menu Money" to PB by his constituents.

The World Bank reports that PB tends to improve a city's health and education, but that "young people" and "...the 'very poor' are left out of the process." They too need a voting rule that makes spending fair.

18

In the 1900s

Fair-Share Elections = One-Sided Majorities



\$ \$ \$ LAWS \$ \$ \$

Typical Council Elected By Full Representation

Full Representation was invented in the late 1800s, to cut some problems caused by the old rule. Most democracies have adopted "Full Rep." It elects several people to represent each large district. It gives a group that earns, say 10% of the votes, 10% of the seats. Thus Full Rep delivers **fair shares** of representation.

It leads to broad representation of issues and views. But usually there is no central party (C above); and the two biggest parties normally refuse to work together. So the side with the most seats (dark gray and black) forms the ruling majority. And they then enact =>

policies skewed to their side.

3

Instant Runoff Voting Patterns

In a South Korean presidential election, two liberals faced the aide to an army dictator. The liberals got a majority of the votes but split their supporters. So the conservative won by a **plurality** rule. These rules elect whoever gets the most votes; 50% is not required.

The winner claimed a mandate to continue repressive policies. Years later he was convicted of treason in the tragic killing of pro-democracy demonstrators.

With Instant Runoff Voting, ballots for the weaker liberal could move to help elect the stronger one.

From five factions to one majority.



- 1) Ms. Violet loses. Her ballots go to each voter's next choice.
- 2) Ms. White loses. Her ballots move.
- 3) Ms. Gray loses.
- 4) Ms. Coal wins.

IRV elects leaders in more and more cities: London, Melbourne, Minneapolis, San Francisco and others. Students use it at Duke, Harvard, Stanford, Rice, Tufts, MIT, Cal Tech, Carlton, Clark, Hendrix, Reed, Vassar, The University of: CA, IL, MD, MN, OK, VA, WA, ...

IRV lets you vote for the candidate you really like. And even if that option loses, your vote isn't wasted. It goes to your next choice.

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The goal in a **Pairwise Tally** is this:
**Majority victories,
over every single rival.**

The winner must top every rival, **one-against-one.**

The sports analogy is a “round-robin tournament.”
A player has one contest with each rival.
If she wins all her tests, she wins the tournament.
Each voting test sorts all of the ballots into two piles.
If you rank option J higher than D, your ballot goes to J.
The option with the most ballots wins that test.
If an option wins all its tests, it wins the election.*

Pairwise Quickly Picks a Balanced Policy.

- ✱ **Full-choice ballots** rank related motions all at once. They simplify the rules of order, speed up voting, and cut agenda effects, poison and free-rider amendments.
- ✱ **Balanced policies** avoid erratic or excessive changes. That saves money and builds respect for government. It reduces the game-of-chance and fear in politics. And it reduces the payoff from big campaign gifts.
- ✱ Pairwise can **elect** a neutral judge or administrator. It can elect moderators to cast the swing votes for a balanced, “ensemble council.” (See page 4.)

24 *If 3 or more lose to each other, IRV can elect 1 of them.



Democratic Progress



A centrist policy enacts a narrow point of view; it excludes other opinions and needs. A one-sided policy also ignores rival ideas.

A compromise policy tries to negotiate rival plans. But contrary plans forced together often work poorly. And so does the average of rival plans.

A balanced policy unites compatible ideas from all sides. This process needs advocates for diverse ideas. But more than that, it needs **powerful moderators.**

A broad, balanced majority works to enact broad, balanced policies. These tend to give the most happiness to the greatest number of people. The success of policies is measured in a typical voter's education and income, freedom and safety, health and leisure.

Old tally rules cause one-sided results and tragedies. An ensemble is inclusive; yet it is strongly centered and decisive. So it can make an organization popular, yet stable and quick. The best rules for spending and policies follow this pattern — as you will see.

SETTING THE BUDGETS

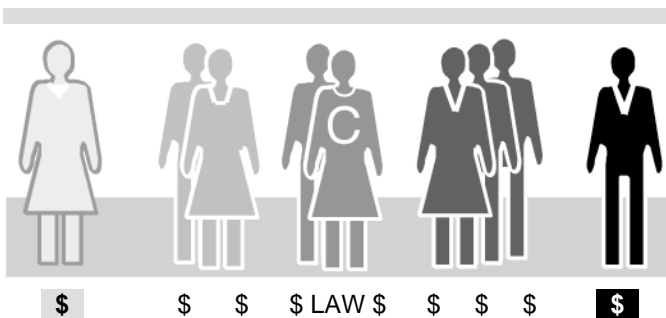
Fair Shares to Buy Public Goods

Electing reps is the most obvious use of voting rules. Rules to set policies and budgets are just as important. In fact, they get used more often than election rules. They might be the only votes in a direct democracy.

Full Representation gives out the council seats **fairly**. In the same way, Fair-share Spending gives out the spending power fairly. It is the next logical step.

Democratic rights fulfilled through history:

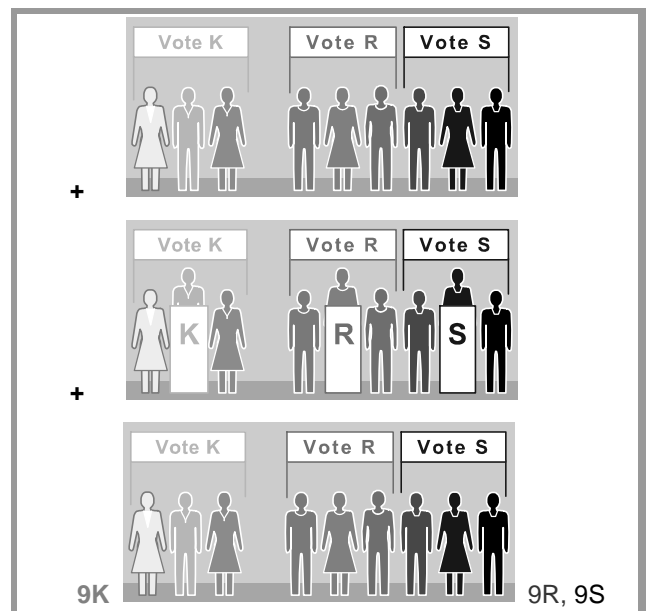
- ✓ Voting for rich men, poor men, colored men, women.
- ✱ Full representation for big minority parties.
- ✱ Fair-share spending by big groups of voters or reps.



Fair shares give minority voters some power.

Full Representation Election

A better suggestion says, “Keep the class whole. Change the definition of victory from half of a small seminar to a quarter of the whole class, plus one.”



Now dark gray voters win two seats, a majority. And light gray voters win the third seat.

Conclusions

The best voting rules are fast, easy and fair.
They help any group from classroom to nation.
The results are well centered and widely popular.

Strengthen the votes supporting a
Chairperson, Council,
Policy, or Budget.



Actions

Learn more in this illustrated booklet.
Build support in your school, club or town with
FairVote, The Center for Voting and Democracy.

Help make your democracy:

- Organize voters. Represent everyone.
- Center policies. Empower everyone.

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Please help others learn: teach, translate
and link to www accuratedemocracy.com.

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Accurate Democracy

ACCURATE DEMOCRACY



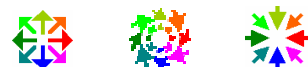
4 GREAT TOOLS HELP
ELECTIONS AND MEETINGS

Accurate Democracy

4 great tools help elections and meetings

Robert Loring

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These tools offer real **hope**; we can stop the tragedies
caused by old methods often used in nations and towns,
co-ops and corporate boards.

The primer shows the need for better voting rules.
The games and sims show the simple steps in each tally.
The website has the footnotes – and *free software!*

Tragedies of Democracy

The Northwest has been ripped apart for 30 years as forestry laws are reversed again and again. Hasty logging in times of weak regulation lays waste to resources. Sudden limits on logging can bankrupt some workers and small businesses. A **political pendulum** swings; it cuts down forests and species, families and towns.

Old ways of adding up votes fail to represent large groups in many places. In North Carolina, there were enough black voters to fill up two election districts. But they were a minority spread out over eight districts. So for over 100 years, they won no voice in Congress. As voters, they were silenced.



What happens when the pendulum swings?

2

What's Wrong?

Our defective voting rules come from a failure to see there are different jobs for voting; and these need different types of voting.

We all know how to decide the simplest sort of issue: A question with only two answers is voted 'yes' or 'no'. For such an issue, the yes and no votes are enough.

But as soon as three candidates run for one office, the question becomes more complicated. Then a yes-or-no vote is no longer suitable.

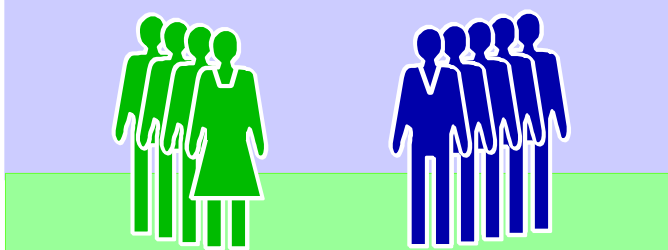


Will their votes have any effect?

3

In the 1800s

Winner-Take-All Districts = Off-Center Councils

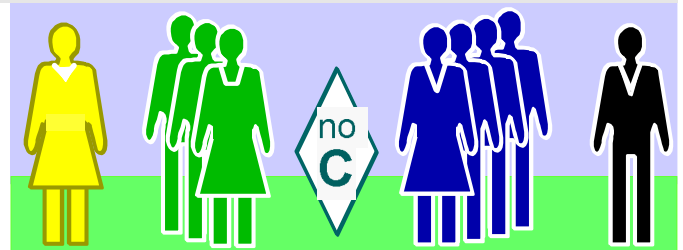


\$\$\$ LAWS \$\$\$

Typical Council Elected By Plurality Rule

In the 1900s

Fair-Share Elections = One-Sided Majorities



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Council Elected By Proportional Representation

Eras, Voting Rules and Typical Councils

Some English-speaking nations still count votes by England's old **plurality rule**. It elects only one rep from each district; and winning it does not require a majority. It merely elects the one who gets the most 'yes' votes.

Where only the largest party in a district wins a rep, only two big parties thrive. So the voters get only two real candidates; that is a very limited choice.

A council majority sets policies (**blue reps** ↑ above). A small change in one district's popular vote can shift *all* power, making policies swerve from side to side. Plurality politics is a war of **winner take all**.

Proportional Representation was invented in the late 1800s to end some problems caused by plurality rule. Most democracies have adopted "PR." It elects several people to represent each large district. It gives a group that earns, say 10% of the votes, 10% of the seats. Thus PR delivers **fair shares** of representation.

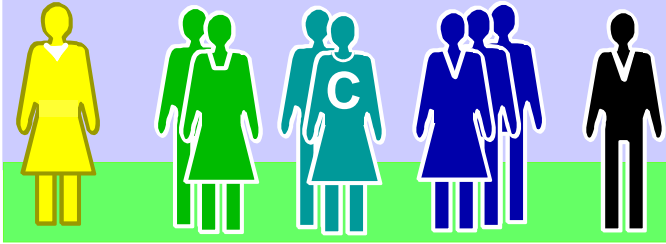
It leads to broad representation of issues and views. But usually there is no central party (**C** above) and the two biggest parties normally refuse to work together. So the side with the most seats (**blue** and **black** above) forms the ruling majority. They then enact ⇒ **policies skewed to one side.**

4

5

In the 2000s

Ensemble Councils = Balanced Majorities



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Ensemble Elected By Central And Fair-Share Rules

New **ensemble rules** will elect most reps by Proportional Representation, plus a few by a central rule (**C** above). Later pages show how a central rule picks winners with *wide appeal* and views near the middle of the voters. Winners are thus near the middle of a PR council.

So they are the council's **powerful swing votes**.

Most voters in that *wide base* of support don't want averaged or centrist policies. They want policies to **combine the best suggestions from all groups**.



Democratic Progress



A centrist policy enacts a narrow point of view; it excludes other opinions and needs. A one-sided policy also ignores rival ideas.

A compromise policy tries to negotiate rival plans. But contrary plans forced together often work poorly. And so does the average of rival plans.

A **balanced policy** unites compatible ideas from all sides. This process needs advocates for diverse ideas. And more than that, it needs **powerful moderators**.

A **broad, balanced majority** works to enact broad, balanced policies. These tend to give the greatest chance for happiness to the greatest number of people. Excellent policies are a goal of accurate democracy. Their success is *measured* in a typical voter's education and income, freedom and safety, health and leisure.

Old tally rules cause one-sided results and tragedies. An ensemble is **inclusive**; yet it is strongly **centered** and **decisive**. So it can make an organization **popular**, yet **stable** and **quick**. The best rules for spending and policies follow this pattern — as you will see.

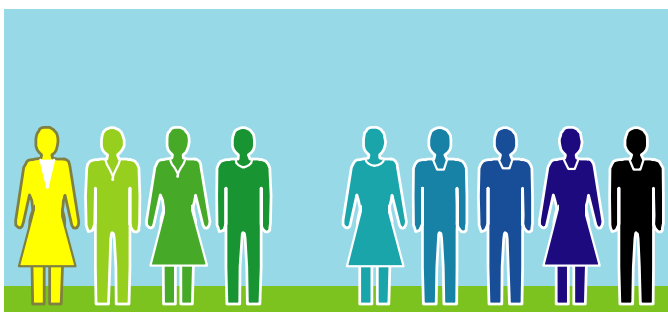
Electing a Leader

Nine Voters

Let's think about an election with nine voters whose opinions range from left to right. The figures in this picture mark the positions of voters on the political left, right or center. It is as though we asked them, "If you want high-quality government services and taxes like Norway or Sweden, please stand here. Like Canada? Stand here please. Like the USA? Stand here. Stand over there for Mexico's low taxes and government."

Throughout this booklet, we're going to show political positions in this compelling graphical way.

Nine voters spread out along an issue.



High taxes, great gov. services

Low taxes, poor gov. services

Plurality Election

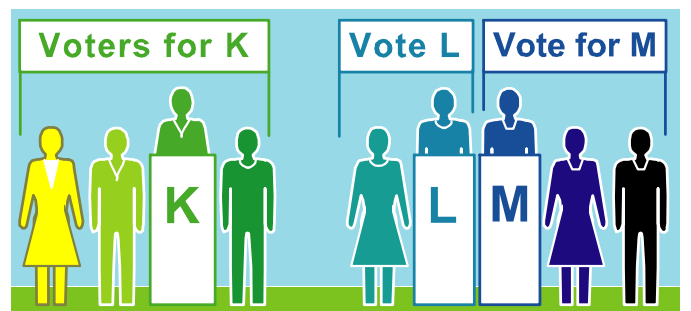
Three candidates stand for office. A voter likes the one whose political position is nearest. So voters on the left favor the candidate on the left.

Ms. **K** is the candidate nearest four voters. **L** is nearest two and **M** is nearest three. Candidates **L** and **M** split the voters on the right.

Does anyone win a majority?	Yes, No
Who wins the plurality or largest share?	K, L, M
Who wins the second-largest share of votes?	K, L, M

A mere plurality gives the winner a weak **mandate**. That is the authority voters give to winners.

By plurality rule, the one with the most votes wins.



K is nearest four voters.

M is nearest three. **L** is nearest two.

Runoff Election

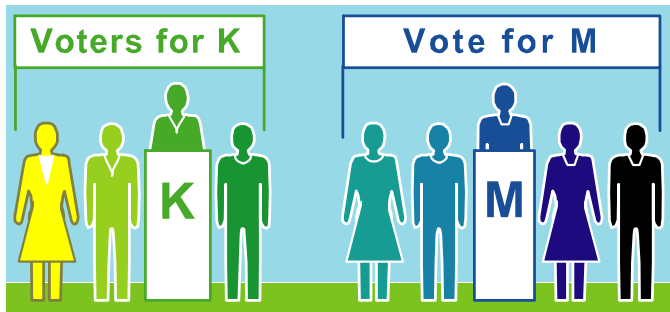
Who wins a runoff between the top two? **K, M**

The two (**teal**) who had voted for **L** now vote for **M**.
Do votes that move count more than others? **Yes, No**

This winner has the power of a majority mandate.
Only four “**wasted votes**” fail to elect anyone.

Runoffs practically ask, “Which side is stronger?”
(Later, these voters will use another voting rule to see, “Where is our center?” And a bigger group will use a rule to find out, “Which trio best represents all of us?”)

In a runoff, the top two compete one against one.



Candidate M wins the runoff.

10

Politics in Two Issue Dimensions

Voting rules behave the same even when opinions do not fall neatly along a line from left to right.

Here a group spreads out on two issue dimensions: left to right plus up and down. On the steps of their school, we asked them a second question. It was about an issue apart from taxes and services.

“Please take a step up if you want more regulation.
Please step down if you want less regulation.
Take more steps for more change.”

Which leaves more wasted votes, plurality or runoff?
Which gives the winner a stronger electoral mandate?

Seventeen voters spread out along two issues.



Kay wins a plurality.

Em wins a runoff.

11

The goal of **Instant Runoff Voting** is this:

**A majority winner,
from a single election.**

How does it work? You **rank** your favorite candidates as your first choice, second choice, third and so on. Then your ballot goes to your first-rank candidate.

If no candidate gets a majority, the one with **fewest ballots loses**. Then there is another round of counting.

Your ballot stays with your favorite if she advances. It **moves** to your next choice if your favorite has lost. This repeats until one candidate gets a **majority**.

Benefits of **Instant Runoff Voting** (IRV)

- **A majority winner** from 1 election, so no winners-without-mandates and no costly runoff elections.
- **No drop in voter turnout** for the runoff.
- **Less negative campaigning**, as a candidate must ask a rival's supporters for their 2nd choice votes.
- **No hurting your first choice** by ranking a 2nd, as a 2nd does not count unless the 1st choice has lost.
- **No lesser-of-two-evils** choice, as you can mark your true 1st choice without fear of wasting your vote.
- **No spoilers**, as votes for minor candidates move to each voter's more popular choices.

12

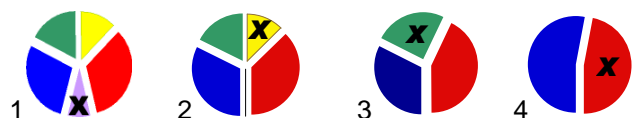
Instant Runoff Voting Patterns

In a South Korean presidential election, two liberals faced the aide to a military dictator. The liberals got a majority of the votes but split their supporters. So the conservative won under a **plurality** rule. These rules elect whoever gets the most votes; 50% is not required.

The winner claimed a mandate to continue repressive policies. Years later he was convicted of treason in the tragic killing of pro-democracy demonstrators.

With Instant Runoff Voting, ballots for the weaker liberal could move to help elect the stronger one.

From five factions to one **majority**.



- 1) Ms. Violet loses. Her ballots go to each **voter's** next choice.
- 2) Ms. Blonde loses. Her ballots move.
- 3) Ms. Green loses.
- 4) Ms. Carmine loses.
(Workshop page 34 shows votes moving.)

IRV elects leaders in more and more cities: London, Melbourne, Minneapolis, San Francisco and others. Students use it at Duke, Harvard, Stanford, Rice, Tufts, MIT, Cal Tech, Carlton, Clark, Hendrix, Reed, Vassar, The University of: CA, IL, MD, MN, OK, VA, WA, ...

IRV lets you vote for the candidate you really like. And even if that option loses, your vote isn't wasted; it goes to your next choice.

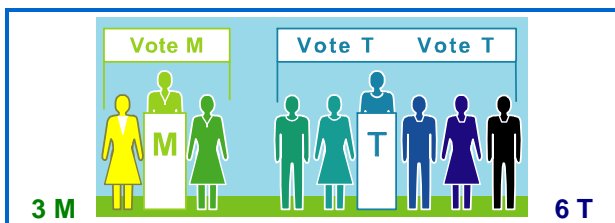
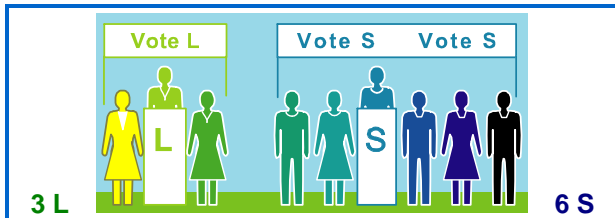
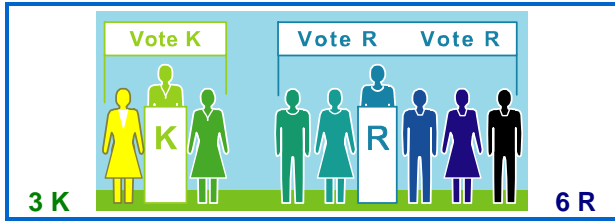
13

Electing a Council

Single-Winner District Elections

A class of 27 wants to elect a planning committee. Someone says, "Elect a rep from each seminar group."

The top group gives **Kay 3 votes** and **Ray 6 votes**.

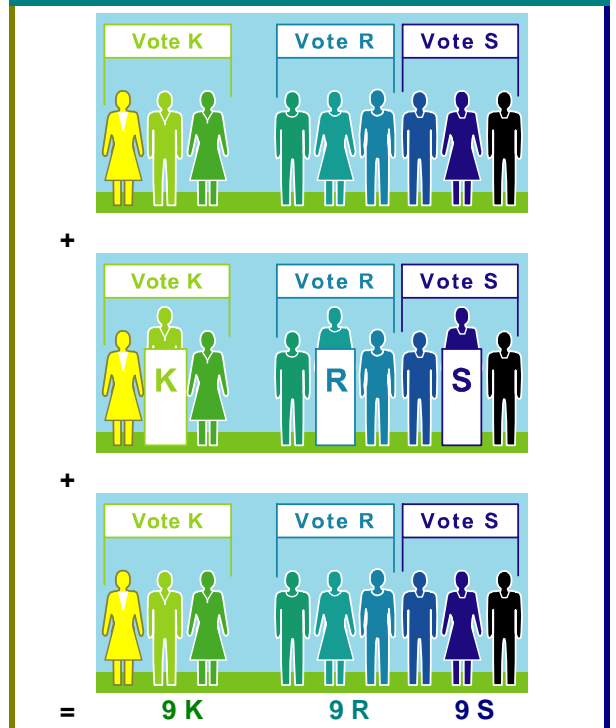


Bluish majorities win in all three sections. Other voters get no voice on the committee.

14

Proportional Representation Election

A better suggestion says, "Keep the class whole. Change the definition of victory from half of a small seminar to a quarter of the whole class, plus one."



Now bluish voters win two seats, a majority. And other voters win the third seat.

15

The principle of **Proportional Representation** is:

Majority rule, with representation for political minorities, in proportion to their votes.

That is, **60% of the vote gets you 60% of the seats**, not all of them. And 10% of the vote gets you 10% of the seats, not none of them. These are **fair shares**.

How does it work? There are three basic ingredients:

- We elect more than one rep from each district.
- You vote for more than one; you vote for a list. Parties offer lists to us, or we each list favorites.
- The more votes a list gets, the more reps it elects.

Benefits of **Proportional Representation**

- It gives each big group a fair share of reps. So it often elects more political minorities and **women**.
- They tend to help **policies match** public opinion; and often raise the quality of health and education.
- It gives voters real **choices**, boosting voter **turnout**.
- A council of 3 must earn many more votes, $\frac{3}{4}$ vs. $\frac{1}{2}$. So PR can strengthen a council's **mandate**.

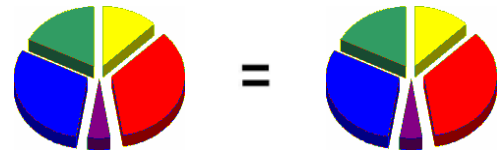
16

Pages 32 and 49 show more benefits.

Fair Shares and Moderates

Chicago now elects no Republicans to the State House, even though they win up to a third of its votes. But for over a century the city elected reps from both parties. The state used a fair rule to elect three reps in each House district. Most districts gave the majority party two reps and the minority party one.

Those Chicago Republicans were usually moderates. So were Democratic reps from Republican strongholds. Even the biggest party in a district tended to elect more independent-minded reps. They could work together and make state policies more moderate.



✓ **Shares of votes equal fair shares of seats.**

New Zealand switched in 1996 from Single-Winner Districts to a blend of single winner districts and PR. A small, one-winner district exaggerates local issues. PR frees us to elect reps with widespread appeal.

The number of **women** elected rose from 21 to 35. The number of native Maoris elected rose from 6 to 15, which is almost proportional to the Maori population. Voters also elected 3 Polynesian reps and 1 Asian rep.

Many people call this Proportional Representation or Proportional Voting.

17

Setting the Budgets

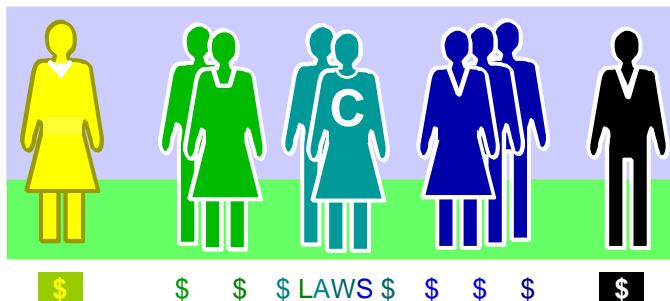
Fair Shares to Buy Public Goods

Electing reps is the most obvious use of voting rules. Rules to set policies and budgets are just as important. In fact, they get used more often than election rules. They might be the only votes in a direct democracy.

Proportional Representation gives out council seats **fairly**. In the same way, Fair-share Spending allocates some spending power fairly. It is the next logical step.

Democratic rights fulfilled through history:

- ✓ Voting for rich men, poor men, colored men, women.
- 🇺🇸 Fair representation for large political minorities.
- 🇺🇸 Fair-share spending by big groups of voters or reps.



Fair shares give minority voters some power.

Budget Rules with Blind Spots

The old way to set budgets **blurs** responsibility. Take overspending. Progressives say too much is spent on weapons; conservatives blame the social services. Every rep can claim, “I didn’t spend too much.”

Protecting the environment is popular with liberal and conservative voters. Reps don’t dare attack it openly. So, to pay off some campaign gifts, reps slyly **starved** the agencies that enforced environmental laws. They also starved OSHA and auditors of corporate tax returns.

“Lower but constant funding is more productive than a **roller-coaster** budget that might average far more.”

The Superconducting Super Collider was an effort to build the world’s largest cyclotron. It was funded by a majority in Congress for a few years... then dropped. All it left was a “billion-dollar hole in the ground.”

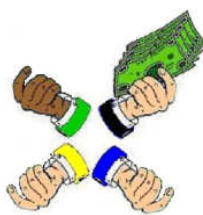
Members might be more cautious about starting such vast projects if they could not spend the budget shares of other members. And they should own the power to finish their projects with their own shares.

Patterns of Unfair Spending

Membership groups often shirk competitive elections to avoid conflicts and hurt feelings. But members still compete over money to fund projects.

Often, some members use tricks to capture a lot of the budget. When that injustice is felt, others may grow rebellious, or leave.

They want a voting rule that makes spending fair.



x Many empty hands

Participatory Budgeting lets neighborhood assemblies spend part of a city’s budget. It has spread from one city in 1989 to hundreds of cities in Latin America. In 2010 and 2011, Chicago Alderman Joe Moore gave his “Menu Money” to PB by his constituents.

The World Bank reports that PB tends to improve a city’s health and education, but that “young people” and “...the ‘very poor’ are left out of the process.” They too need a voting rule that makes spending fair.

Fair-share Spending Works This Way

In a citywide vote, each **neighborhood** or interest group funds a few school, park or road improvements. The city’s taxes then pay for the projects as the School, Park and Road Departments manage the contracts.

Every neighborhood and interest group controls its share of spending power; no one is shut out. This makes (hidden) empires less profitable.



✓ Fair shares spread the joy and opportunities.

If a majority spends all the money, the last thing they buy adds little to their **happiness**. It is a low priority. But that money can buy the high-priority favorite of a big minority; it could make them happier.

In economic terms: The *social utility* of the money and goods tends to rise if we each allocate a share. Shares spread the opportunities and incentives too.

In political terms: Fair shares earn wide respect, as we each help big minorities to fund some projects. So the budget appeals to more people.

The principle of Fair-share Spending is:

**Spending power for all,
in proportion to their votes.**

That is, 60% of the voters spend 60% of the money, not all of it. **A project still needs grants from many voters to prove it is a public good worth public money.** So we let a voter fund only a fraction of a project.

How does it work? Like IRV: you rank your choices.

Then your money moves to help your top choices. And a tally of all ballots drops the least-funded item. This repeats 'til all still in the race are fully funded.

Merits of Fair-share Spending on New Projects

- After discussion, one poll **quickly** picks many projects. It reduces **agenda** effects such as leaving naught for the last items or going into debt for them. It splits the free-rider or poison-pill items from others.
- It lets sub-groups pick projects; it's **like federalism** but without new layers of taxes and bureaucracy. And it funds big groups both spread out and local.
- This does not hand minorities too much **power**: A majority spends most of any fair-share fund.

22

Adjust Budgets of Ongoing Agencies

Every "**line item**" starts with most of its old budget. You can write-in and rank higher budgets for the items. Your ballot can afford to pay your fair shares for your top choices. This is how it gives them votes.

Each **budget level** of an item needs a quota of votes. It gets a vote when a ballot pays a share of the cost up to that level **or higher**. $\text{cost} / \text{quota} = 1 \text{ share} = 1 \text{ vote}$

The item with the weakest top level, loses that level. Any money you gave it flows to your highest rank that lacks your vote. This repeats until the top level of each item is fully funded, by winning the quota of votes.



Merits of Fair-share Spending for Agencies

- Majorities enact the laws that direct each program. They may end any program before the budget vote.
- It smoothes budget roller-coasters that hurt **efficiency**. It stops starvation budgets designed to cause failure.
- A member can waste only her share of the fund. Voters can **see** a rep's grants to each program, tax cut or debt reduction and hold her accountable.
- Fair-share voting builds **trust** in group spending, and may raise support for more of it.

23

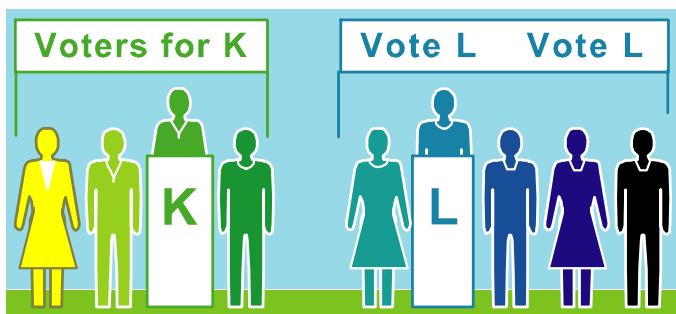
Enacting a Policy

Condorcet Test Number Two

The Runoff shown on page 10 was a one-against-one or "Condorcet" contest between candidates **M** and **K**. Five voters preferred **M** over **K**.

Here is a second Condorcet test with the same voters: Candidate **K** loses this one-against-one test. Candidate **L** wins by five votes to four.

(Each person votes once with a full-choice ballot. Page 40 shows one style. Page 39 shows a Condorcet tally table.)



K is nearest four voters.

L is nearest five voters.

24

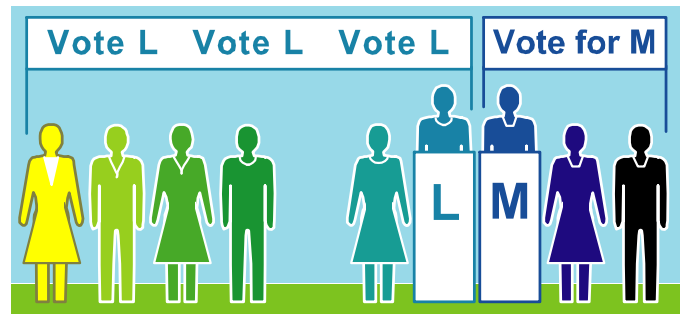
Condorcet Test Number Three

Candidate **L** wins her next one-on-one test also.

She has won majorities against each of her rivals. So she is the one candidate who best represents *all* of the voters. She is the Condorcet Tally winner.

Could another person top candidate **L**? Yes, No
Hint: Is anyone closer to the political center? Yes, No
Who is the Condorcet winner on page 11? **K, L, M**

Thus Condorcet picks a **central** chairperson or policy. Is it likely to elect diverse reps? Yes, No



L has six votes. M has three.

25

The goal in a **Condorcet Tally** is this:

**Majority victories,
over every single rival.**

The winner must top every rival, **one-against-one.**

The sports analogy is a “round-robin tournament.”
A player has one contest with each rival.
If she wins all her tests, she wins the tournament.

Each voting test sorts all of the ballots into two piles.
If you rank option J higher than D, your ballot goes to J.
The option with the most ballots wins that test.
If an option wins all its tests, it wins the election.*

Condorcet Quickly Picks a **Balanced Policy.**

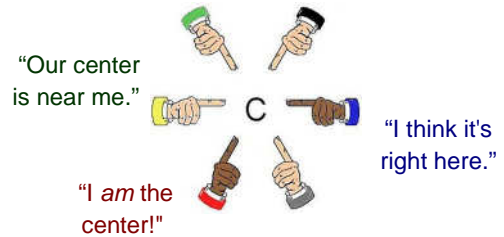
- ✦ **Full-choice ballots** rank related motions all at once. They simplify the rules of order, speed up voting, and cut agenda effects, poison and free-rider amendments.
- ✦ **Balanced policies** avoid erratic or excessive changes. That saves money and builds respect for government. It reduces the game-of-chance and fear in politics. And it reduces the payoff to a big campaign sponsor.
- ✦ Condorcet can **elect** a **neutral** judge or administrator. It can elect moderators to cast the swing votes for a balanced, “ensemble council.” (See page six.)

26 *If three or more lose to each other, IRV can elect one of them.

Condorcet Popularity and Balance

A policy needs good marks from voters all along the political spectrum, because every voter can rank it relative to other policies. So all voters are “obtainable” and valuable. This leads to policies with wide appeal. (A plurality or runoff winner gets no votes from the losing side and doesn't need to please those voters.)

The Condorcet Tally winner is **central** and **popular**. Most voters of the **center and right** like it more than a **progressive** policy. Concurrently, most voters of the **center and left** like it more than a **conservative** policy. All sides can join to beat a narrowly-**centrist** policy.



✓ **Condorcet's rule is a tool to find our center.**

A Chairperson's **Balanced** Support

Progressive voters rank **Kennedy** higher than **Clinton**. To win a majority over **Kennedy**, **Clinton** must *outrank* him on ballots from the **center and right**.

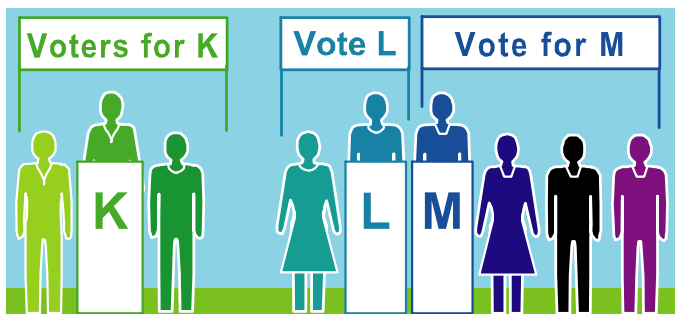
Conservative voters rank **Bush** higher than **Clinton**. So to win a majority over **Bush**, **Clinton** must *outrank* him on ballots from the **center and left**.

27

Resist Rigged Votes

Candidate **M** lost the last election by plurality rule. Now let's say her party **gerrymanders** the borders of her election district. They add neighbors (**purple** below) who tend to vote for her party, and exclude less favorable voters (the yellow voter missing on the left). So now her party is certain to win the new district. Reps will tend to come from the party's activist wing.

The old plurality rule is the easiest to manipulate. But the Condorcet winner, **L**, doesn't change here. Proportional Representation also thwarts gerrymanders.



Now K has three. L has two. And M has four votes.

Bribes can make some reps switch sides on a policy. Condorcet resists this well. Bribing one rep moves the council's middle, and its winning policy, only a little. Fair-shares and visible grants also restrain corruption.

28

Unstack the Agenda

Meetings often make interlocking decisions one at a time. They use a yes-no process, with or without rules of order, agendas, and votes. Proposals decided early can shut out later options.

Or people may talk about all options at once but never clearly tell (vote) their second and third choices. So a few people pushing a single idea can appear to be the strongest group. And one person with a balanced idea but no enthusiastic supporters might drop it.

The best rules avoid all those problems by ranking the rival motions (or budgets) on the same ballot.

In Groups of Any Size

- ✓ A good tally **assures equality**; even busy or unassertive people cast a full vote.
- ✓ The secret ballot **protects dissenters** from all types of pressure and coercion.
- ✓ A ballot or survey **teaches members** as they try to set budgets and priorities.
- ✓ Multi-winner funding **gives fair shares**. Yet it doesn't let anyone block action. It is co-operative, not consensual or adversarial.

29

Benefits and Costs

Steering Analogy

When choosing a voting rule, a new Mercedes **costs** little more than an old jalopy. That price is a bargain when the votes steer important budgets or policies.

Does your car have an 1890 steering tiller or a **new**, power steering wheel? Does your organization have an 1890 voting rule or a new, centrally balanced rule?

A group can **test** drive a new rule in a survey. Or a “committee of the whole” can vote, tally and report its result to enact by the usual rules.



Tools Between People

Voting rules affect our laws – and our views on life. By making us practice winner-take-all or sharing, rules change the way we treat each other and see the world.

Expectations of voting can rise with better rules. They work less as tools to fight culture wars, more as tools to support the freedom of diverse communities.

30

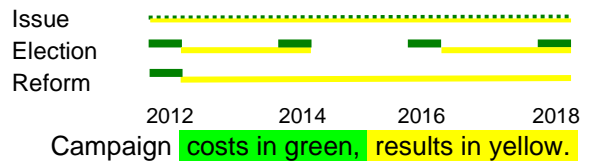
Voting Reforms Open Doors

These reforms open doors for many popular changes: Data shows PR elects more women than plurality. And this change leads to better health and education.

Issue campaigns lobby reps every week for years. This eases one problem, but rarely fixes the source.

Election campaigns cost a lot all at once. *If* you win control, you can help all issues for two years.

Reform campaigns cost no more than elections. A win affects the whole council for many years.



Strengthen Votes and Mandates

Good rules help voters organize. They expand the base of power, the number of voters supporting:

- ✦ a **Chairperson** from a plurality to a majority; [page 6, 24](#)
- ✦ a **Council** from a plurality to over three quarters; [p.14](#)
- ✦ a **Budget** from a few power blocs to all members; [p.18](#)
- ✦ a **Policy** from a one-sided to an over-all majority. [p.24](#)

These rules give voters more effective votes. So they give stronger mandates to the winners.

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Benefits for Voters and Reps

Accurate Elections pages

- ✦ Give voters **real choices** of candidates who can win, by electing **fair shares** of reps from all big groups.
- ✦ This supports a wide range of candidates, debate of issues and **turnout of voters**. 14
- ✦ Reduce **wasted votes** to end weak mandates. [10, 9, 14](#)
Cut the effects of **spoilers** and gerrymanders. 12, 28
- ✦ Reduce **attack ads** and anger among voters. 12
Cut the payoffs to big **campaign sponsors**. 26



Accurate Legislation pages

- ✦ Give fair representation to all big groups. So the council enacts laws with **real majorities**. 14
- ✦ Elect a **central chair** with wide appeal. She'll be a swing vote between the reps from interest groups. 27
6
- ✦ Cut chances for agenda **scams**; detach poison pills and free riders. Speed-rank all options at once. 22
29
- ✦ Give all reps **equal funds** for projects and agencies. And let the voters see each rep's spending. 18-23

Our Web pages detail these benefits and more. Here, simple games show the steps in a tally. →

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Movable Votes

Get your hands on **4** great voting rules.
See fair-share tallies organize voters.
Vote fast on **budgets**, **reps** and **projects**.



A tally board has

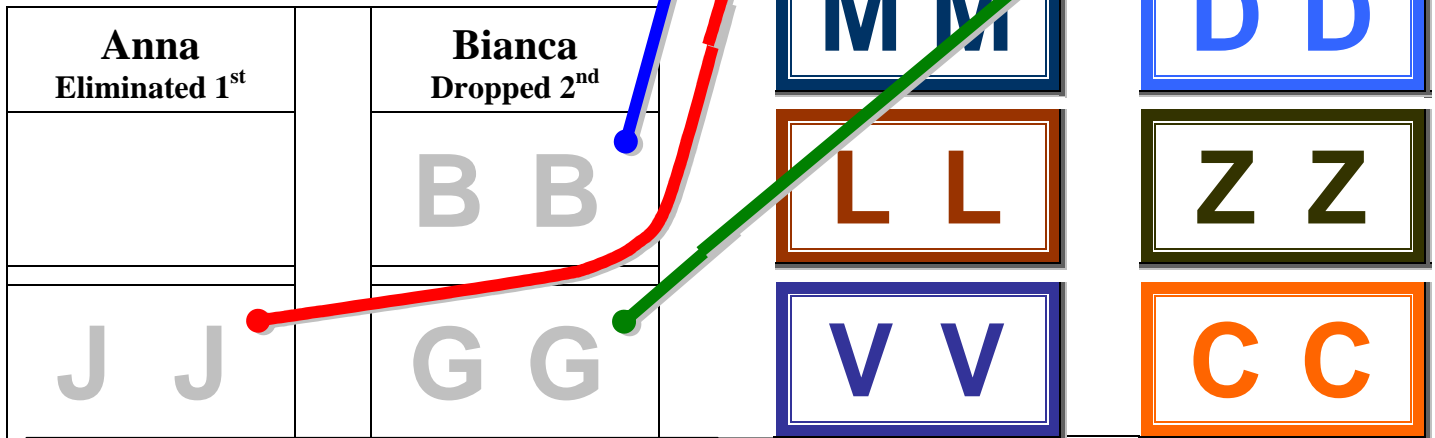
- ✦ A **card** for each voter,
- ✦ A **column** for each option,
- ✦ A **finish line** for the favorites.

Instant Runoff Voting Elects One

For a tabletop tally by **Instant Runoff Voting (IRV)**

- The **finish line** is the height of half the cards + one. That is how many votes a candidate needs to win.
- **Eliminate** the weakest candidate if no one wins. Draw names from a hat to break ties.
- **Move** your card if your candidate loses. This is a “movable vote” (as explained on page 12).
- **Repeat** until one candidate reaches the finish line!

This **chart** shows four columns on a tally board. The rule **dropped** Anna, so **voter JJ** moved his card. Then Bianca **lost**, so **BB** and **GG** moved their cards.



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35

Instant Runoff Quiz

1. How can your group use this voting rule?
2. A card we move counts just like others: True, False
3. Your 2nd choice vote can't hurt your 1st choice: T, F
4. Only one candidate can reach 50% plus a vote: T, F
5. Name six cities or schools that use IRV.
6. What benefits does IRV give them?

Answer questions one thru three for each voting rule.

- 2) True, we count each card once in each round.
- 3) True, your 2nd doesn't count unless your 1st has lost.
- 4) True, more reps would need over 100% of the votes.
- 5) See page 13. 6) See page 12.

Transferable Votes Electing 3 Reps

For a 3-seat election by **Single Transferable Vote (STV)**:

- The **finish line** is set at 1/4 of the cards + one. Do not give a card to a candidate who has finished.
- **Drop** the weakest candidates one at a time.
- **Move** your cards until three candidates win!

STV is sometimes called “Ranked-Choice Voting.” It is **used in** Australian and Irish elections, at MIT, Harvard, Oberlin, Berkeley, Oxford and Cambridge, in some labor unions and in the Church of England.

1. What benefits does STV give them? See page 16.
2. Only three candidates can win 25% + 1 vote: T, F
3. What total percent must three STV reps win?
4. What is the threshold for winning one of five seats?

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Fair Shares Buy Public Goods

For Fair-share Spending by **Movable Money Votes**:

- Let's say we each put in \$1 to buy some items. You get two 25¢ voting **cards** and a tall 50¢ card.
- We say an item needs modest support from 8 of us to prove it is a *public* good worth public money. So the **finish line** marks the height of 8 cards.
- You may put only one of your cards in a column. So you can't *dump* all your cards on a private item. Tip: Give your tall 50¢ card to your favorite. This way 4 eager voters can fund a low-cost item.



- A costly item must fill several **columns**. A column here holds \$2, so a \$4 item must fill two columns.
- When an item wins, the banker hides its cards. We **drop** items that cost more than all the cards left. Then one at a time, we drop the least popular item, with the lowest *level* of cards in its columns.
- **Move** your card from a loser to your next choice. Tip: You may save a threatened favorite by briefly **withholding** your cards from lower-choice items.
- We **stop** when *all* items still on the table are paid up. Only a few items can win, but all voters can win!

37

Fair Shares Set Budgets

Each **funding level** is like another project. It needs enough **cards** to fill it up.

The "\$4 carton of OJ" has two **columns**. The "\$6 bottle of OJ" has just one more column. A supporter must help fill the lower level first.

One at a time, the weakest top level loses and the money **moves** → to help favorites still in the running.

- Should we let each member fund private items?
- Should a member who pays more taxes or dues get more power to spend public money?
- Should we let everyone see a rep's grants? (If we each make grants, may everyone see them?)
- Can your second choice hurt your first choice?
- Who could use Fair-share Spending? What benefits can it give them? See page 22.

Each funding level of an **agency** is like a project. But an agency starts with about 80% of its old budget. So a voter cannot give it zero and "take a free ride."

Answers

Instant Runoff Voting: True, True, True.

STV: True, 3/4 + 3 votes, 1/6 + 1 Vote.

Fair-share Spending: no, no, yes (no), optional, many.

Condorcet Policies: yes, yes, no, balanced.

Get full answers at accuratedemocracy.com

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Condorcet Tally Centers a Policy

For a Condorcet tally, the winner must top all rivals, **one-against-one**. Two voting games show its effects.

- ✳ Flag C stands at our **center**, by the median voter. Three flags surround C, about 5' from it.
- ✳ We ask: "Are you closer to flag A than flag B? If so, please raise a hand." Then A against C, etc. We put each total in the **Condorcet table** below.

against	A	B	C	D
for A	—	2	2	3
for B	5	—	2	3
for C	5	5	—	4
for D	4	4	3	—

C tops all rivals, one-against-one.

- ✳ A pole stands at our center, by the median voter. It holds a short **Red** ribbon and a long **Blue** one.
- ✳ If the **Red** ribbon gets to you, the **Red** policy gets your vote with its narrow appeal.
- ✳ But if the **Red** cannot touch you, the **wide appeal** of the **Blue** policy gets your vote. Which one wins?

If the poles are places for **a heater** in an icy cold room:

- Do we turn on its fan to spread the heat wide?
- Do voters on the fringes have any influence?
- Can the middle voter enact any policy alone?
- Do we get a balanced or a one-sided policy?

39

Full-Choice Ballots

Only a small group can crowd around a tally board. Big groups use paper ballots. These are often tallied by computer, with samples checked by hand.

Ballots for old rules oversimplify most issues. They let you mark only one candidate with a check. The limited choice can polarize voters and conflicts.

Full-choice ballots reduce those negative results. They let a voter rank his 1st choice, 2nd choice, 3rd etc. Ranks often reveal the dichotomies, "us versus them" or "left versus right," hide moderate points of view.

1

2

3

VOTE HERE

Fill only one "O" on each line.

Names	Best Ranks Worst					
	1 st	2 nd	3 rd	4 th	5 th	6 th
John McCain	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barack Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Hillary Clinton	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
John Anderson	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ross Perot	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Ralph Nader	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Write In	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

40

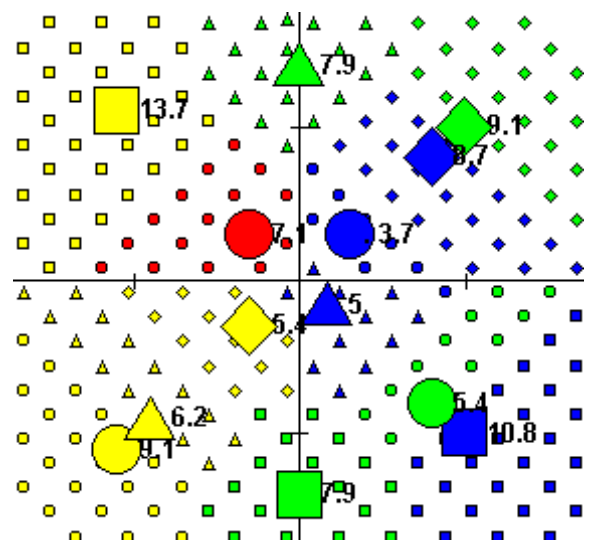
Pictures from PoliticalSim™

Transferable Votes Balance a Council

PoliticalSim™ made this scatter chart. It shows simulated voters as small dots and candidates as big ones. A voter's dot has the same color and shape as his current top choice, the closest candidate. A voter's dot will fade when his vote helps elect a rep.

This field of play may show us the map of a town or two dimensions of political opinions.

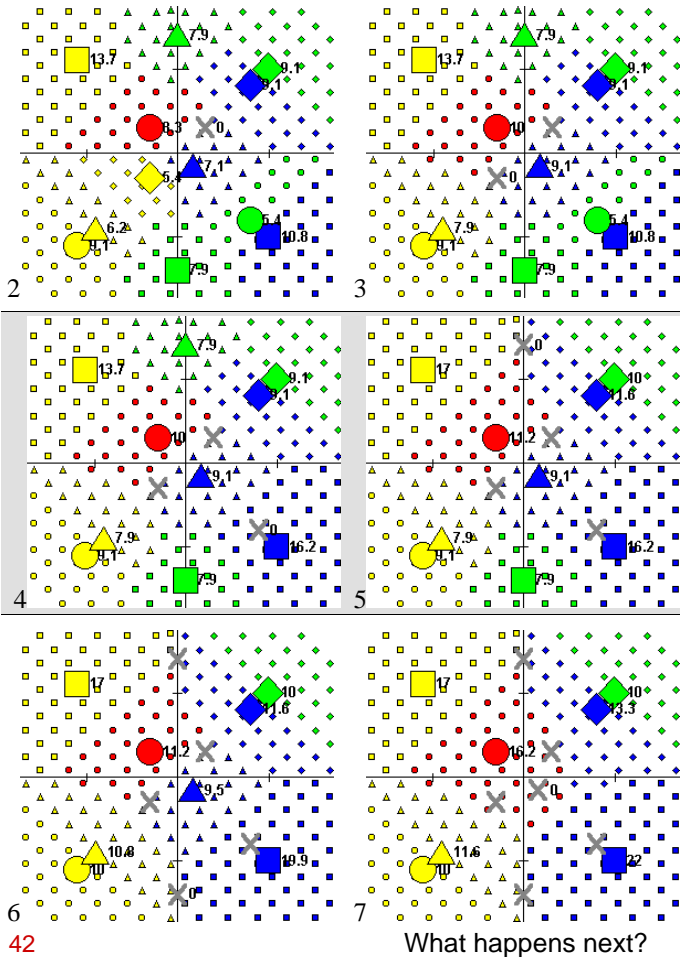
The quota to win here is 20%. The number beside a candidate is her current share of the votes. Winners get a halo and losers get an X. Which will lose first?



41

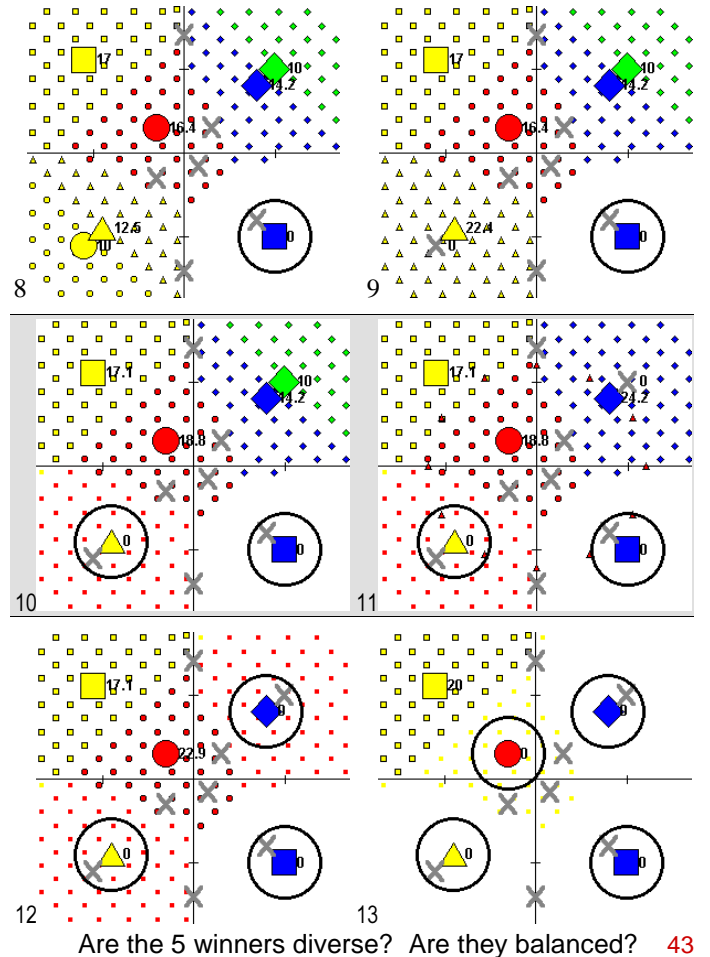
Votes Move From Weak Candidates

Votes move from a loser to the voter's next choice.



Losers Lead To Winners

Votes moving from a loser help a nearby candidate win.



Fair-Share Spending Simulation

Movable Money Votes, MMV, help voters organize groups large enough to fund their favorite items. Those may include products or projects for a community, college, club, coop, condo, or congregation.

The resource allocated by MMV might be money, labor, water...

This map shows the locations of proposals and voters in a town. Normally the item closest to a voter is most useful to him and is his top choice.

But in this case there are four distinct interest groups: **Red, Yellow, Green, and Blue**. Items may appear close together on the map yet be far apart in color.

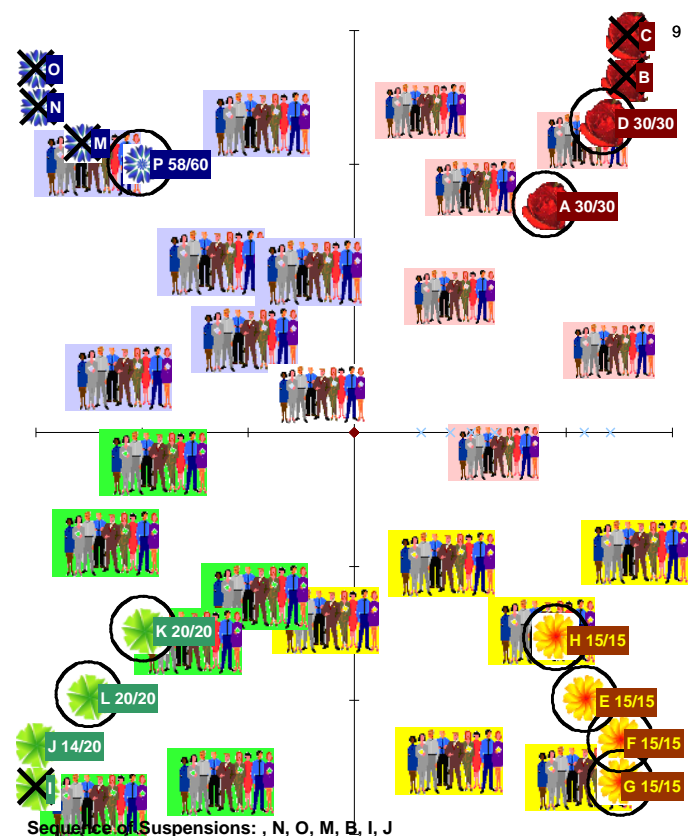
This is a proposal for a **Blue-flower garden**. 

It is far from what the **Red voters** want, even if it is next door. 

You can vary the costs of items to see that each interest group wins its fair share. In this example, a box of **yellow sunflowers costs \$15**, an **evergreen \$20**, a **red rosebush \$30**, and a **blue passionflower vine \$60**. A group with low-cost proposals may fund them all.

There is one more step in this tally. Who wins next?

Park Project Funding



A town with four neighborhoods spends \$240. The NW neighborhood wants \$60 passionflowers. The SE wants \$15 sunflowers. Each gets its share.

See Different Voting Rules

PoliticalSim lets players test many types of voting. From Australia to old Zealand, there are many ways to elect reps. Each country's voting rule creates hot spots for players on the electoral field. But those strong positions might move if we change the voting rule. Some rules elect only centrists, some elect moderates, and some are just erratic.



Compare Three Councils

Simulations show **Ensemble Rules** are the best way to represent the center and all sides. In the map on the next page, Condorcet elects **Al**, then STV elects **Bev**, **Di**, **Fred** and **Joe**. Each winner's name is in **bold**.

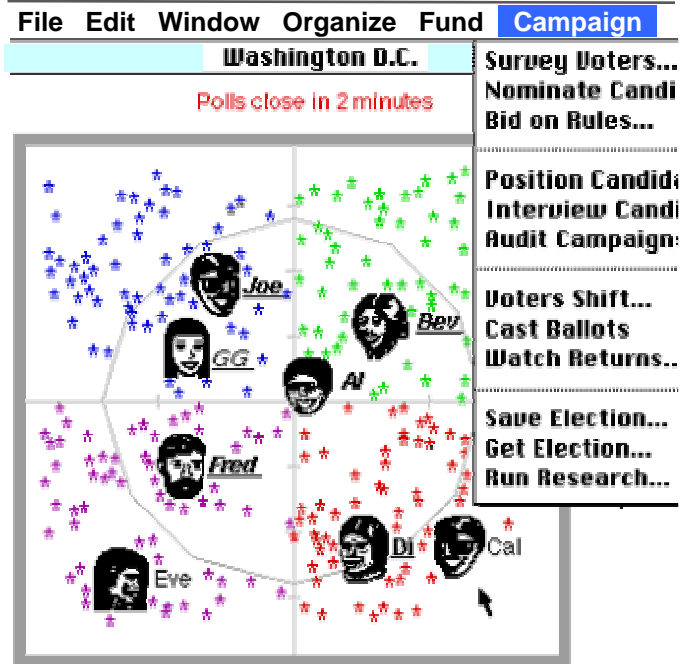
A *Condorcet Series* elects the five nearest the central voter: *Al*, *Bev*, *GG*, *Joe* and *Fred*. There is no rep from the lower right, so the council cannot balance around the central voter. The *Bloc vote* and *Borda* rules also elect that off-center council. Each name is in *italic*.

The **STV** reps? Bev, Di, Fred, GG, and Joe. Each name is underlined. STV did not elect **Al**!

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Comparing Councils

STV always elects moderates and often a centrist; the council is broad. But STV does not push any one rep to please a central majority of voters. Condorcet does.

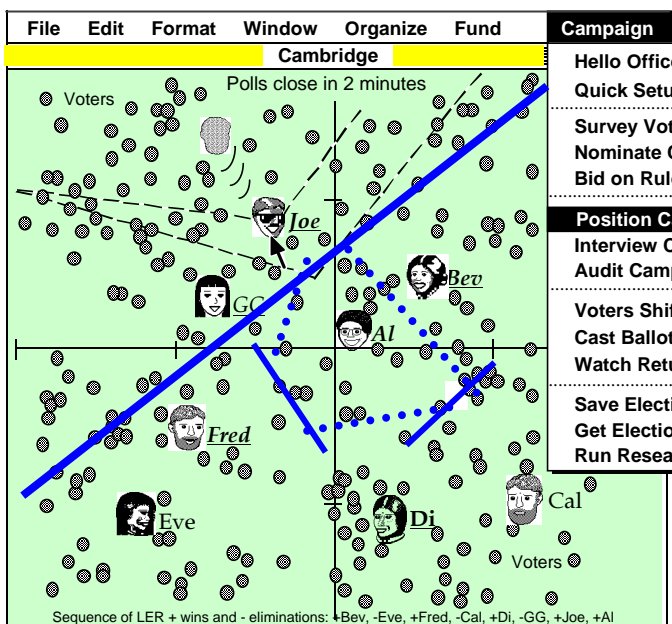


Only **Ensemble** councils have the centering of *Condorcet* with the breadth and balance of **Proportional Representation**! Page 6 tells more.

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See Condorcet Find the Center

This map puts a line halfway between **Al** and a rival. Voters on **Al**'s side of a line are closer to him; so they rank him higher than the rival. For example, the long line has more voters on **Al**'s side than on **Joe**'s. So **Al** wins that one-against-one test. He wins a different majority over each rival. To do that, his political position must be central with a wide appeal.



Contrast **Al**'s appeal with the red circles on page 43. The Single Transferable Vote elected a centrist with a more intense but smaller base of support.

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FAQs and Data

Why Proportional Rep. Elects Women

The first questions many people ask are, "Why does PR elect more women?" or, "How much do they affect policies?" These four pages answer those FAQs.

Proportional Representation elects several reps in each district. So each party offers several nominees to the voters. An all-male slate or **party list** would look totally sexist; so parties nominate some women. In contrast, one man nominated in each single-winner district does not look as sexist. (A party's list also may reveal its ethnic or religious bias; and Fair-share Spending can lay bare a party's budget priorities.)

In a multi-winner race, a woman is not so much running *against* a man or an incumbent. She is more likely to be seen as running **for her issues** and policies.

Women in some PR countries considered **starting their own parties**. Under plurality rules, new parties divide a side and lead to certain defeat. But Proportional Representation promptly gives seats to a new party, if a big group of voters support it.

This credible threat made some parties decide that job experience was not as important as gender balance. They dropped some experienced men to make more room for women on the party list. And they won. Now they are incumbents with experience, power and allies.

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Election Rules and Policy Results

This data makes it clear: **advocates** for education, health care, a clean environment or a clean government all should work for better voting rules.

If those urgent needs overwhelm us, we neglect the essentials, the **structural roots** of our problems. At the root, we often get poor public policies, due to poor representation, due to poor election laws.

The link between voting rules and **quality of life** is clear in this data from nations. It's likely true for cities too, and for other democratic groups.

Consequences: Legislatures with fewer women tend to give less attention to health care, child care, education, and other social needs. Run-down schools and city hospitals are one blight; a class of citizens with inferior education and health are another.

Many countries elect more women now than they did 10 or 20 years ago. But the relative positions of countries change little – unless a country changes its voting rule as New Zealand did in 1996.

* **New Zealand and Germany** elect half of their MPs by PR, and half by Single-Winner Districts. The SWDs elect few women; but in the same election, the PR lists elect three times as many women.

Ireland elects fewer women than other PR countries partly because it elects fewer reps in each district – it is closer to using single-winner districts.

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Stable Democracies		% Women	% Turnout	Health Rank	Math Score	% Poverty	Murders / M
PR	page 14	37	77	19	501	12.1	10
Sweden	14	47	86	23	502	4	-
Iceland	10	43	86	15	506	-	17
Finland	13	42	72	31	548	4	28
Netherlands	150	41	80	17	528	12	11
Norway	8.7	36	83	11	490	-	11
Denmark	15	38	83	34	513	3	11
Spain	6.7	36	70	7	480	17	12
Belgium	8.4	35	93	21	520	10	-
New Zealand*	51,1	45-15	81	41	522	15	11
Germany*	299,1	39-13	78	25	504	16	12
Austria	19	32	86	9	505	6	-
Switzerland	7.8	28	47	20	530	9	9
Greece	5.7	17	77	14	459	13	7
STV		33	89	29	516	12.9	14
Australian Senate	6	36	95	32	520	12	15
Ireland	4	13	69	19	501	16	9
Instant Runoff		27	95	32	520	12.0	1
Australian House	1	27	95	32	520	12	15
Runoff	page 10	18	89	1	496	8.0	17
France	1	12	89	1	496	8	17
Plurality	page 4	18	49	34	482	18.8	35
Canada	1	21	55	30	527	15	15
United Kingdom	1	25	58	18	495	10	14
USA	1	17	47	37	474	21	42

The worst numbers are in bold.

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FAQ Three

The *third* common question many people ask is, “Can we make these changes?” Yes, positive changes are happening! More and more places are adopting Instant Runoff Voting, usually through referendums. The vote is often 2 to 1 in favor of strong democracy.

✓ **FairVote**, the Center for Voting and Democracy, is the best source for current news and data on voting reform in American cities, states and colleges.



Data Definitions and Sources

Seats per election district; Inter-Parliamentary Union
Women % of main legislature; Inter-Parliamentary Union.
Turnout % International Foundation for Electoral Systems.
Health Rank first is best; World Health Organization.
Math Score Program for Int'l Student Assessment, OECD.
Poverty % of children below half of median income; OECD.
Murder Rate per million; 7th UN Survey of Crime Trends.
 Averages for voting rules are weighted by population.

Do female reps tend to raise education and health results?
 Do these raise low incomes and so lessen violent crime?
 Our Web pages show more data and sources.

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An index as review is on page 32.

Please send your notes to us:

VotingSite @gmail.com