# RANKED-CHOICE VOTING and 

Other Alternative Electoral Systems

## LWV New Castle County September 23, 2019 Jack Nagel

## Basic Components of Any Electoral

 System- Objective-how many winners to be chosen?
- Balloting method-how do voters express their preferences?
- Decision rule-how are votes combined to determine winner(s)?


## How Many Winners?

- Not in a particular election (trip to the polls), which may involve a long ballot, but as a result of a particular vote
- Multiple winners
- Common for legislatures or councils
- At-large or even nationwide
- Or multi-member districts (M)
- Single winners
- Executive elections
- Single-member district legislatures (SMDs)


## Balloting Methods

- Categorical (binary)
- Candidate receives or does not receive your vote
- All votes count equally
- Conventionally, vote for M, but there are other categorical balloting methods as well (approval voting, limited voting)
- Ranked Choice (preferential)
- Rank the candidates in order of your preference: 1, 2, 3,......
- How many to rank may be discretionary or a complete ranking may be mandatory (many Australian elections)
- Score (range) voting
- Assign each candidate a score from a specified range (e.g., 0 to 10, or 1 to 5)


## Decision Rules

- Plurality: whoever gets the most votes wins; if more than one to be chosen, the top M votegetters win
- Majority: to win, a candidate must get at least $50 \%$ of the votes plus 1
- Proportional (for multi-winner elections): number of seats for a particular group (usually a party) proportional to number of votes
- Quota formulas
- Divisor formulas


## The Conventional U.S. System

- Single-winner elections, even for legislatures (SMDs)
- Choose-one voting
- Plurality rule
- Various names:
- First-past-the-post
- Plurality voting (a misnomer)
- For legislatures, SMD plurality


## Alternatives for Multi-winner Elections

- Party-list PR
- Mixed-member proportional (MMP)
- Single transferable vote (STV)


## Party list PR

- Many European and Latin American countries, plus others
- Vote for a list of candidates determined by the party you choose
- Lists may be nationwide (Israel, Netherlands) or from regional districts
- Closed or open lists
- Seats proportional to votes, often with a threshold requirement


## Mixed-member Proportional (MMP)

- Germany, New Zealand, Scotland, Wales, London; much interest in Canada
- Typically, two votes—one for a constituency representative chosen by conventional plurality; the other for a party list
- List seats allocated by a compensatory formula, so that overall representation is proportional to party votes
- The best of both worlds?


## Single Transferable Vote (STV)

- Ranked choice voting in multi-member districtsthe MMD version of IRV—a source of confusion
- Ireland, Australian Senate, Cambridge MA, Fair Representation Act (proposed reform of US House)
- Typically 3 to 5 member districts
- Winners determined by quota, with a complicated system of vote transfers if necessary
- Vote for individuals, not parties


## Reforms for single-winner elections

- If it ain't broke, why fix it?
- Choose-one plurality works fine if there are only 2 candidates
- But if more than 2 candidates, or potentially more than 2, lots of problems


## Problems of conventional plurality with multiple candidates

- Winner may have plurality less than a majority
- Worse, most voters may heartily dislike the winner (majority split between 2 or more losers)
- Spoiler effects—entry of third candidate changes who wins
- Leads to worry about wasted votes, pressure (moral or legal) to discourage candidates
- Winner-take-all system promotes highly adversarial, zero-sum politics


## Single-winner reforms

- Runoff (two-round system)
- Majority required to win in first round
- If none, top 2 (usually) advance to runoff
- France (et al.), some southern U.S. states
- Approval voting
- Approval ballot, usually with plurality rule
- Some non-governmental associations; recent adoption in Fargo ND; effort in St. Louis
- Promoted by Center for Election Science
- Ranked Choice Voting (RCV or IRV)
- Australian House of Representatives, Irish presidency
- Many US cities in recent years: San Francisco, Oakland, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Portland ME, etc.
- Promoted by FairVote


## RCV-IRV

- Ranked-choice ballot
- Majority required to win
- If no majority among first preferences, eliminate candidate with fewest first preference
- Transfer those ballots to voters' second choices
- Repeat if necessary until a candidate has majority of votes


## Maine's Adoption of RCV-IRV

- Spear-headed by Maine LWV
- Approved by a referendum in 2016
- A challenge to Maine Supreme Court blocked implementation for state offices in general elections
- But was used in 2018 for primaries and for general election to US Senate and House
- Current effort to extend to presidential primaries

| Democratic Gubernatorial Primary Results |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Candidate | Round 1 | Round 2 | Round 3 | Round 4 |
| Janet Mills | $\begin{gathered} 33.3 \% \\ 41,735 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 35.5 \% \\ 44,042 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 40.8 \% \\ 49,945 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{5 4 . 1} \% \\ 63,384 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ |
| Adam Cote | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{2 8 . 3 \%} \\ 35,478 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 30.3 \% \\ 37,543 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 34.8 \% \\ 42,623 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{4 5 . 9} \% \\ 53,866 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ |
| Betsy Sweet | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{1 6 . 6} \% \\ \text { 20,767 votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{1 8 . 5} \% \\ 22,987 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \mathbf{2 4 . 4 \%} \\ 29.944 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | Defeated |
| Mark Eves | 14.3\% <br> 17,887 votes | $\begin{gathered} 15.7 \% \\ 19.521 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | Defeated |  |
| Mark Dion | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{4 . 1 \%} \\ 5,200 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | Defeated |  |  |
| Diane Russell | $\begin{gathered} \mathbf{2 . 2 \%} \\ \text { 2,728 votes } \end{gathered}$ | Defeated |  |  |
| Donna Dion | $\begin{gathered} 1.3 \% \\ 1,596 \text { votes } \end{gathered}$ | Defeated |  |  |


| Maine, CD-2 <br> Official Results <br> Candidate Round 1 $^{\text {Round 2 }}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jared Golden <br> Democrat | $\mathbf{4 5 . 6} \%$ | $\mathbf{5 0 . 6} \%$ |
| Bruce Poliquin | 132,013 votes | 142,440 votes |
| Republican | $\mathbf{4 6 . 3} \%$ | $\mathbf{4 9 . 4 \%}$ |
| Tiffany Bond <br> Independent | $\mathbf{5 . 7} \%$ | Defeated |
| Will Hoar | 16,552 votes |  |
| Independent | $\mathbf{2 . 4} \%$ | Defeated |

For discussion:
What are the pros and cons of RCV-IRV?

