## **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 vote-getters 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 districts the 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	<b>33.3%</b> 41,735 votes	35.5% 44,042 votes	<b>40.8%</b> 49,945 votes	<b>54.1%</b> 63,384 votes	
Adam Cote	28.3% 35,478 votes	<b>30.3%</b> 37,543 votes	<b>34.8%</b> 42,623 votes	45.9% 53,866 votes	
Betsy Sweet	<b>16.6%</b> 20,767 votes	<b>18.5%</b> 22,987 votes	<b>24.4%</b> 29,944 votes	Defeated	
Mark Eves	<b>14.3%</b> 17,887 votes	<b>15.7%</b> 19,521 votes	Defeated		
Mark Dion	<b>4.1%</b> 5,200 votes	Defeated			
Diane Russell	<b>2.2%</b> 2,728 votes	Defeated			
Donna Dion	<b>1.3%</b> 1,596 votes	Defeated			

Maine, CD-2 Official Results				
Candidate	Round 1	Round 2		
Jared Golden Democrat	<b>45.6%</b> 132,013 votes	<b>50.6%</b> 142,440 votes		
Bruce Poliquin Republican	<b>46.3%</b> 134,184 votes	<b>49.4%</b> 138,931 votes		
Tiffany Bond Independent	<b>5.7%</b> 16,552 votes	Defeated		
Will Hoar Independent	<b>2.4%</b> 6,875 votes	Defeated		

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