

# Condorcet Winner - A Statistical Perspective

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## 1 Introduction

## 2 Condorcet Winner: Statistical Formulation and Results for General Case

In this section, we calculate the limiting probability of a Condorcet winner when the voters are independent. Let us define

$$\begin{aligned} m &= \text{Number of Candidates} \\ n &= \text{Number of Voters} \end{aligned}$$

We have  $K = m!$  preference rankings of  $m$  candidates. Let  $p_i$  be the probability that a voter prefers the rank order  $i$ , for  $i = 1, 2, \dots, K$ . Further, we know that  $p_i \geq 0$  and  $\sum_{i=1}^K p_i = 1$ . Let  $N_i$  be the number of voters voting for the  $i$ th preference ranking, for  $i = 1, 2, \dots, K$ . We clearly have  $\sum_{i=1}^K N_i = n$ . Now, it is clear that  $(N_1, N_2, \dots, N_K)$  has a multinomial distribution.

$$P(N_i = n_i, i = 1, \dots, K) = \frac{n!}{n_1! n_2! \dots n_K!} \prod_{i=1}^K p_i^{n_i} \quad (1)$$

where  $n_i$  are nonnegative integers with  $\sum_{i=1}^K n_i = n$ .

It is well known that (see, for example, reference), for  $i = 1, \dots, K$ ,  $j = 1, \dots, K$  and  $i \neq j$ .

$$\begin{aligned} E[N_i] &= np_i, \\ Var[N_i] &= np_i(1 - p_i), \\ Covariance(N_i, N_j) &= -np_i p_j, \\ Correlation(N_i, N_j) &= -\sqrt{\frac{p_i p_j}{(1 - p_i)(1 - p_j)}} \end{aligned}$$

Denote the  $m$  candidates by  $C_1, C_2, \dots, C_m$ . Denote  $C_i Y C_j$ ,  $i \neq j$  if  $C_i$  is preferred to  $C_j$  by a voter. Define  $C_i M C_j$ ,  $i \neq j$  if  $C_i$  beats  $C_j$  by majority rule. i.e., the total number of voters preferring  $C_i$  to  $C_j$  is more than the total number of voters preferring  $C_j$  to  $C_i$ . This fact can be mathematically expressed as

$$a_{1,(i,j)}N_1 + a_{2,(i,j)}N_2 + \dots + a_{K,(i,j)}N_K > 0 \quad (2)$$

where  $a_{l,(i,j)}$ 's are  $\pm 1$ .  $a_{l,(i,j)} = 1$ , if in the preference ranking voted by the  $N_l$  voters,  $C_i Y C_j$ . Similarly  $a_{l,(i,j)} = -1$  if  $C_j Y C_i$  in the preference ranking voted by  $N_l$  voters. Clearly  $\frac{K}{2}$  of the  $a_{l,(i,j)}$ 's are 1 and  $\frac{K}{2}$  of the  $a_{l,(i,j)}$ 's are equal to -1. We define, for example,  $C_1$  to be the Condorcet winner if and only if  $C_1 M C_j$  for each  $j = 2, \dots, m$ . The probability of  $C_1$  is the Condorcet winner is the probability of the joint event

$$\begin{aligned} a_{1,(1,2)}N_1 + a_{2,(1,2)}N_2 + \dots + a_{K,(1,2)}N_K &> 0 \\ a_{1,(1,3)}N_1 + a_{2,(1,3)}N_2 + \dots + a_{K,(1,3)}N_K &> 0 \\ \dots &> 0 \\ \dots &> 0 \\ a_{1,(1,m)}N_1 + a_{2,(1,m)}N_2 + \dots + a_{K,(1,m)}N_K &> 0 \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

For small values  $n$  and  $m$ , this probability can be computed using the multinomial distribution (reference). We are interested in finding  $\lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} P(C_1 \text{ is the Condorcet winner})$  for a given value of  $m$ .

For a given voter  $v$ , for  $i = 1, \dots, m$ ,  $j = 1, \dots, m$ ,  $i \neq j$ , define

$$\begin{aligned} X(i, j, v) &= 1 \text{ if } C_i Y C_j \\ &= -1 \text{ if } C_j Y C_i \end{aligned} \quad (4)$$

For the voter profile  $(N_1, N_2, \dots, N_K)$ ,  $C_iMC_j$  if  $\sum_{v=1}^n X(i, j, v) > 0$ . The above representation has been used in Bell (reference) and Gehrlein (reference). Note that

$$\begin{aligned} \sum_{v=1}^n X(i, j, v) &= a_{1,(i,j)}N_1 + a_{2,(i,j)}N_2 + \dots + a_{K,(i,j)}N_K \\ \lambda_{ij} &= E(X(i, j, v)) \\ &= a_{1,(i,j)}p_1 + a_{2,(i,j)}p_2 + \dots + a_{K,(i,j)}p_K \end{aligned} \quad (5)$$

$$Var(X(i, j, v)) = 1 - \lambda_{ij}^2 \quad (6)$$

Define

$$Z_{ij} = \frac{\sum_{v=1}^n (X(i, j, v) - \lambda_{ij})\sqrt{(n)}\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{ij}^2)}}{i \neq j} \quad (7)$$

We also need to obtain the correlation coefficient between  $X(i, j, v)$  and  $X(i, l, v)$ ,  $i \neq j$ ,  $i \neq l$  and  $j \neq l$ . To express correlation, we first define

$$\begin{aligned} a_{v,(i,j),l} &= 1 \text{ if in the preference ranking corresponding to } N_v, \\ &\quad C_iYC_j \text{ and } C_iYC_l \\ &\quad \text{or } C_jYC_l \text{ and } C_lYC_i \\ &= -1 \text{ Otherwise} \end{aligned} \quad (8)$$

Covariance matrices are defined by the following equation.

$$Covariance(X(i, j, v), X(i, l, v)) = E[X(i, j, v), X(i, l, v)] - \lambda_{ij}\lambda_{il}$$

The Correlation between  $X(i, j, v)$  and  $X(i, l, v)$  is given by

$$\begin{aligned} P_{jl}^{(i)} &= \frac{E(X(i, j, v).X(i, l, v)) - \lambda_{ij}\lambda_{il}}{\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{ij}^2)(1 - \lambda_{il}^2)}} \quad j = 1, \dots, m, \\ &\quad l = 1, \dots, m \text{ and } j \neq l \\ &= \frac{\sum_{v=1}^K a_{v,(i,j),l}N_v - \lambda_{ij}\lambda_{il}}{\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{ij}^2)(1 - \lambda_{il}^2)}} \end{aligned}$$

The probability that  $C_iMC_j$  is given by

$$P\left(\sum_{v=1}^n X(i, j, v) > 0\right) \implies P\left(Z_{ij} > \frac{-\sqrt{n}\lambda_{ij}}{\sqrt{1 - \lambda_{ij}^2}}\right), \text{ from 7.}$$

The probability that  $C_i$  is the Condorcet winner is therefore given by the joint probability

$$P[Z_{ij} > \frac{-\sqrt{n}\lambda_{ij}}{\sqrt{1-\lambda_{ij}^2}}, j = 1, \dots, m, i \neq j]. \quad (9)$$

By multivariate central limit theorem applied to independent summands  $Z_{ij}, j = 1, \dots, m, i \neq j$ , the joint distribution of  $(Z_{i1}, \dots, Z_{i,i-1}, Z_{i,i+1}, \dots, Z_{iK})$  tends as  $n \rightarrow \infty$  to the multivariate normal distribution with zero mean vector, unit variances and correlation matrix  $P_i = (P_{jl}^{(i)})$ . Let us write

$$\delta_{ij} = \begin{cases} -\infty & \text{if } \lambda_{ij} > 0 \\ \infty & \text{if } \lambda_{ij} < 0 \\ 0 & \text{if } \lambda_{ij} = 0 \end{cases}$$

Denote by  $L(h_1, h_2, \dots, h_{m-1}; P)$  the multivariate normal probability

$$P(Z_1^* \geq h_1, Z_2^* \geq h_2, \dots, Z_{m-1}^* \geq h_{m-1})$$

where  $(Z_1^*, Z_2^*, \dots, Z_{m-1}^*)$  has the multivariate normal distribution with zero mean vector, unit variances and Correlation matrix  $P$ . Then we have

$$\begin{aligned} \lim_{n \rightarrow \infty} P[Z_{ij} > -\frac{\sqrt{n}\lambda_{ij}}{\sqrt{1-\lambda_{ij}^2}}, j = 1, \dots, m, i \neq j] \\ = L(\delta_{i1}, \delta_{i2}, \dots, \delta_{i,i-1}, \delta_{i,i+1}, \dots, \delta_{iK}; P_i). \end{aligned}$$

The limiting probability of a Condorcet winner is then

$$P(\infty, m) = \sum_{i=1}^m L(\delta_{i1}, \delta_{i2}, \dots, \delta_{i,i-1}, \delta_{i,i+1}, \dots, \delta_{iK}; P_i).$$

### 3 Condorcet Winner: Some Special Cases

First we assume that all preference rankings for a voter are equally likely. This implies that  $p_i \equiv 1/K$ , for  $i = 1, \dots, K$ . For this For this case, symmetry conditions imply that  $\lambda_{ij} \equiv 0$  for  $i = 1, \dots, m, j = 1, \dots, m$  and  $i \neq j \Rightarrow \delta_{ij} \equiv 0$ . For this case, it can be verified that  $P_i \equiv P^*$  where  $P^*$

is the  $(m - 1) \times (m - 1)$  equicorrelated matrix with equal correlation value  $= 1/3$ . The limiting probability of a Condorcet winner is therefore given by

$$P(\infty, m) = L(0, 0, \dots, 0; P^*) \quad (10)$$

The expression 10 for general  $m \geq 4$  candidates, we believe is new. This expression for  $m = 3$  was obtained by Gilband(1952) (reference) as  $\frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{2\pi} \arcsin(\frac{1}{3})$ . For  $m \geq 4$ , several researchers have obtained approximate values for expression 10 based on simulation studies. See for example Gehrlein(1969), Jones et al (1995) (refernces). The expression 10 shows that the limiting probability for  $m$  candidates can be obtained by an evaluation of positive orthant probabilities for  $(m - 1)$  dimensional multivariate normal distribution with zero mean vector, unit variances and equicorrelated correlation matrix with all correlations equal to  $1/3$ . Several papers in statistical literature deal with such evaluations. See, for example, David and Mallows(1961), Sondhi (1961), Placket (1954), Johnson and Kotz (1972) and Bacon (1963) (references). Bacon(1963) derives explicit expressions for the positive orthont probabilities for a few small values of  $m$  for multivariate normal distribution with equicorrelated correlation matrix with all correlations equal to  $\rho$ . He also derives a recursive relation to calculate the probabilities for successive values of  $m$ . Such expressions involve the evaluation of multiple integrals without known closed form expressions. Denote the expression 10 by  $P(m)$ . Using the expressions from Bacon (1963) (reference), the values of  $P(m)$  for some small values of m are

$$\begin{aligned} m = 3, \quad P(3) &= \frac{3}{4} + \frac{3}{2\pi} \arcsin(\frac{1}{3}) \\ m = 4, \quad P(4) &= \frac{1}{2} [1 + \frac{6}{\pi} \arcsin(\frac{1}{3})] \\ m = 5, \quad P(5) &= \frac{5}{16} [1 + \frac{12}{\pi} \arcsin(\frac{1}{3}) + \frac{24}{\pi^2} \int_0^{\frac{1}{3}} \arcsin(\frac{\lambda}{1+2\lambda}) \frac{d\lambda}{\sqrt{(1-\lambda^2)}}] \\ m = 6, \quad P(6) &= \frac{3}{16} [1 + \frac{20}{\pi} \arcsin(\frac{1}{3}) + \frac{120}{\pi^2} \int_0^{\frac{1}{3}} \arcsin(\frac{\lambda}{1+2\lambda}) \frac{d\lambda}{\sqrt{(1-\lambda^2)}}] \\ m = 7, \quad P(7) &= \frac{7}{64} [1 + \frac{30}{\pi} \arcsin(\frac{1}{3}) + \frac{36}{\pi^2} \int_0^{\frac{1}{3}} \arcsin(\frac{\lambda}{1+2\lambda}) \frac{d\lambda}{\sqrt{(1-\lambda^2)}} \\ &\quad + \frac{720}{\pi^3} \int_0^{\frac{1}{3}} \int_0^{\frac{\mu}{1+2\mu}} \arcsin(\frac{\lambda}{1+2\lambda}) \frac{d\lambda}{\sqrt{(1-\lambda^2)}} \frac{d\mu}{\sqrt{(1-\mu^2)}}] \end{aligned}$$

For  $m \geq 7$ , Bacon provides an approximation believed to be reasonably close to the true value. Figure 1 shows the plot of  $P(\infty, m)$  for increasing values of  $m$ . It can be seen that  $P(\infty, m) \rightarrow 0$ , as  $m \rightarrow \infty$  at the rate of  $\frac{1}{m}$  (reference May). It is clear that  $P(\infty, m)$  monotonically decreases to a limit.

## 4 Condorcet Winner: Special Case $m = 3$ candidates

May(1971) (reference) discussed the case of 3 candidates to obtain the limiting probability of a Condorcet winner. We drastically improve and give a compact solution utilizing the results of Section 2. Suppose the 6 rankings are

rankings	Number of Voters	Probabilities
$C_1 C_2 C_3$	$N_1$	$p_1$
$C_1 C_3 C_2$	$N_2$	$p_2$
$C_2 C_1 C_3$	$N_3$	$p_3$
$C_2 C_3 C_1$	$N_4$	$p_4$
$C_3 C_1 C_2$	$N_5$	$p_5$
$C_3 C_2 C_1$	$N_6$	$p_6$

It can be verified that

$$\begin{aligned}
 \lambda_{12} &= p_1 + p_2 + p_5 - p_3 - p_4 - p_6 \\
 \lambda_{13} &= p_1 + p_2 + p_3 - p_4 - p_5 - p_6 \\
 \lambda_{21} &= p_3 + p_4 + p_6 - p_1 - p_2 - p_5 \\
 \lambda_{23} &= p_1 + p_3 + p_4 - p_2 - p_5 - p_6 \\
 \lambda_{31} &= p_4 + p_5 + p_6 - p_1 - p_2 - p_3 \\
 \lambda_{32} &= p_2 + p_5 + p_6 - p_1 - p_3 - p_4
 \end{aligned}$$

The three correlation matrices  $P_1, P_2, P_3$  are given by:

$$P_1 = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & \frac{(p_1 + p_2 + p_4 + p_6 - p_3 - p_5) - \lambda_{12} \lambda_{13}}{\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{12}^2)(1 - \lambda_{13}^2)}} \\ \frac{(p_1 + p_2 + p_4 + p_6 - p_3 - p_5) - \lambda_{12} \lambda_{13}}{\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{12}^2)(1 - \lambda_{13}^2)}} & 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

The (1,2) entry of  $P_1$  is  $P_{23}^1$ .

$$P_2 = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & \frac{(p_2 + p_3 + p_4 + p_5 - p_1 - p_6) - \lambda_{21} \lambda_{23}}{\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{21}^2)(1 - \lambda_{23}^2)}} \\ \frac{(p_2 + p_3 + p_4 + p_5 - p_1 - p_6) - \lambda_{21} \lambda_{23}}{\sqrt{(1 - \lambda_{21}^2)(1 - \lambda_{23}^2)}} & 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

The (1,2) entry of  $P_2$  is  $P_{13}^2$ .

$$P_3 = \begin{pmatrix} 1 & \frac{(p_1+p_3+p_5+p_6-p_2-p_4)-\lambda_{31}\lambda_{32}}{\sqrt{(1-\lambda_{31}^2)(1-\lambda_{32}^2)}} \\ \frac{(p_1+p_3+p_5+p_6-p_2-p_4)-\lambda_{31}\lambda_{32}}{\sqrt{(1-\lambda_{31}^2)(1-\lambda_{32}^2)}} & 1 \end{pmatrix}$$

The (1,2) entry of  $P_3$  is  $P_{12}^3$ . The probability of a Condorcet winner is

$$L(\delta_{12}, \delta_{13}, P_{23}^1) + L(\delta_{21}, \delta_{23}, P_{D13}^2) + L(\delta_{31}, \delta_{32}, P_{12}^3) \quad (11)$$

. By considering the 27 possibilities with which  $\lambda_{12}$ ,  $\lambda_{13}$  and  $\lambda_{23}$  can take zero, positive and negative values, we can simplify the expression further. The table 1 shows the 27 possible cases and the corresponding limiting value of the probability of a Condorcet winner. A set of different values is obtained for varying values of  $p_i$ 's. It is also to be noted that for a few alternatives the values of 0 and 1 are obtained for the limiting probability of a Condorcet winner. See alternatives 7 and 17 in Table 1

It can be verified that case 7, for example, is reached when  $p_1 = p_2 = p_5 = \frac{1}{6}$ ;  $p_3 = \frac{2}{5}$  and  $p_6 = \frac{1}{10}$ . Case 17 is reached when  $p_1 = \frac{3}{22}$ ,  $p_2 = \frac{3}{22}$ ,  $p_3 = \frac{9}{44}$ ,  $p_4 = \frac{13}{44}$ ,  $p_5 = \frac{5}{22}$  and  $p_6 = 0$ .

Number	$\lambda_{12}$	$\lambda_{13}$	$\lambda_{23}$	Probability of a Winner
1	0	0	0	$\frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{23}^1) + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{13}^2) + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{12}^3)$
2	0	0	+	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{23}^1)$
3	0	0	-	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{23}^1)$
4	0	+	0	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{13}^2)$
5	0	-	0	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{13}^2)$
6	0	+	-	$\frac{1}{2}$
7	0	+	+	1
8	0	-	+	$\frac{1}{2}$
9	0	-	-	1
10	+	0	+	$\frac{1}{2}$
11	+	+	0	1
12	+	0	-	1
13	+	-	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
14	+	+	+	1
15	+	-	-	1
16	+	+	-	1
17	+	-	+	0
18	+	0	0	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{12}^3)$
19	-	0	0	$\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{2\pi} \arcsin(P_{12}^3)$
20	-	0	+	1
21	-	0	-	$\frac{1}{2}$
22	-	+	0	$\frac{1}{2}$
23	-	+	+	1
24	-	+	-	0
25	-	-	0	1
26	-	-	+	1
27	-	-	-	1

Table 1: Condorcet Winner Probabilities