## Cambridge's Single Transferable Vote (STV)



### Getting Into the Weeds

Celeste Landry -- Dec 5, 2017

### Overview of the Weeds

- How Cambridge came to adopt STV
- Factors that contribute to its continued usage
- Contrast with local CO elections in Colorado
- Nuts and bolts Tallying a real election
- Personal observations

### 2017 VOTING METHODS Position LWV of Colorado

The League supports authorizing and implementing **alternatives to plurality voting** that allow people to express their preferences more effectively. The League supports gaining on-the-ground experience with alternative voting methods in order to ascertain whether a voting method results in outcomes that match voters' preferences as recorded on their ballots. The League supports voting methods that can improve the election experience, that encourage honest\* voting rather than tactical\* voting, and that consider ease of implementation.

#### Considerations:

- Some voting methods are intended for single-winner elections, others for multi-winner elections. It is important that the intended use of a voting method match its actual application. Multi-winner voting methods can promote proportional representation which fosters diversity of our elected officials.
- Election officials should conduct post-election analysis to evaluate the voters' usage of the voting method and the election's reflection of voters' stated preferences. There should be sufficient data transparency for example, access to ballot records in anonymous form for an independent analysis to be conducted by other interested groups.

<sup>\*</sup>A voting method encourages "honest" voting when it allows voters to meaningfully support all their preferred candidates, rather than leading them to either not support their favorite or "tactically" indicate a higher preference for a candidate who is not their favorite.

### Plurality Voting Method

#### Single-winner

Vote for one

- chocolate cake
- brownie
- lemon cake
- truffle

Voting different Tallying identical

#### **Multi-winner**

Vote for (up to) three

- chocolate cake
- brownie
- lemon cake
- o truffle
- banana split
- o crème brûlée
- Rice Crispies® treat
- chocolate mousse

### Ranking Voting Method

#### **Single-winner** (inc. IRV)

Rank in order of preference.

One (1) to be elected.

chocol	late	cake

\_\_\_\_ brownie

lemon cake

truffle

Voting identical Tallying different

#### **Multi-winner** (inc. STV)

Rank in order of preference.

Three (3) to be elected.

brownie

\_\_\_ lemon cake

\_\_\_\_ truffle

\_\_\_\_ banana split

\_\_\_ crème brûlée

\_\_\_\_ Rice Crispies® treat

chocolate mousse

# Bucklin voting (aka Grand Junction method):

### Voters <u>rank</u> candidates.

Promoted by James Bucklin of Grand Junction, Colorado

Bucklin's multi-winner version does NOT promote proportional representation.

Dates of implementation in CO:

1911 – Pueblo

1913 – Denver, CO Springs, and Fort Collins

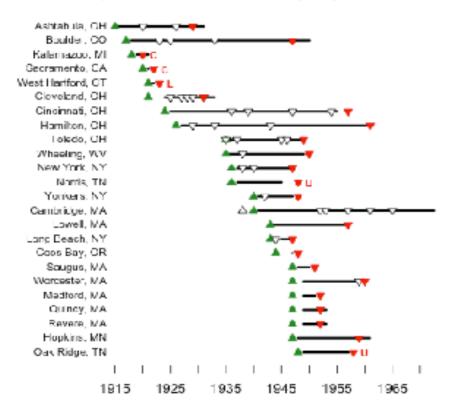
19?? – Grand Junction

Sources: Center for Election Science -- electology.org, Opa Vote --https://www.opavote.com/methods/other

### History of STV in the US

Chart by Jack Santucci, jacksantucci.com, 2017 PhD, Georgetown University

#### Use of proportional representation (STV) in US cities



Emoty triangles: failed adoption (upward) or repeal referends (downward).

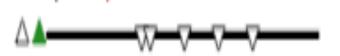
All but New York City included PR in council-manager charters.

Non-referendum repeal methods: C=unconst, by court, L=state legislature, U=unknown.

STV in Cambridge, MA -- Dec 5, 2017, Denver Press Club -- C. Landry

### Massachusetts Plan E

Cambridge, MA



1938 – Vote for a better, more proportionally representative way to elect officials. (Failed)

1940 – Replace the (corrupt) "strong mayor" system with a "strong city manager – weak mayor" system. (Succeeded)

### Cambridge's STV Elections

City Council – elect 9 members

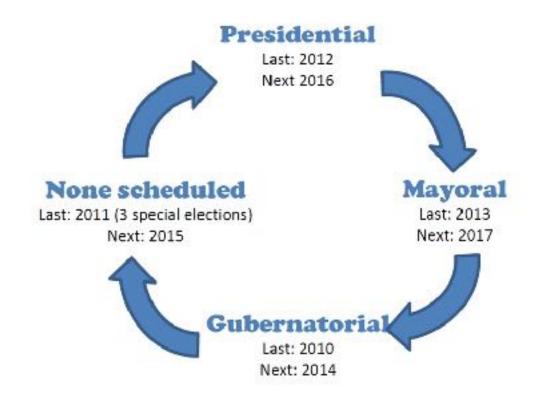
The city council chooses one of their members to be the city mayor.

**School Committee** – elect 6 members

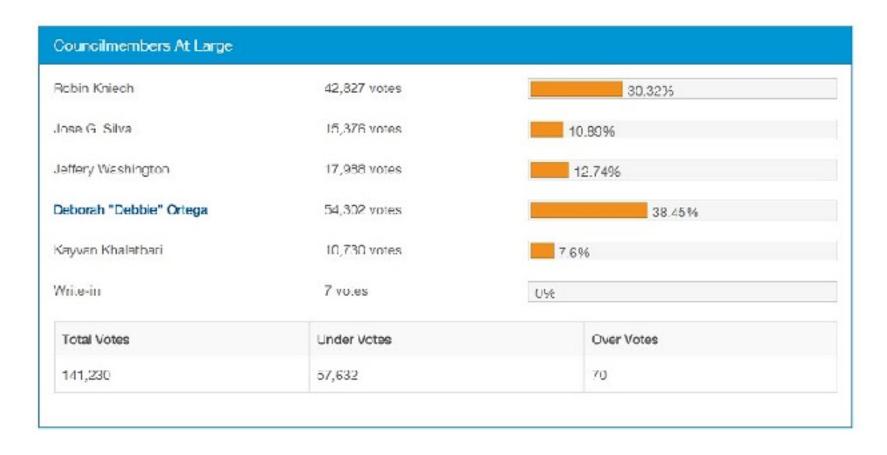
The mayor is the 7<sup>th</sup> member of the school cmte.

### Minneapolis 4-yr Election Cycle

from "The 2013 Municipal Elections: An Analysis & Recommendations"



# 2015 Councilmember At Large (2 elected) - Denver



### Why study Cambridge's 9-winner and 6-winner elections?

1) Other multi-winner elections in Colorado with more than 2 or 3 winners.

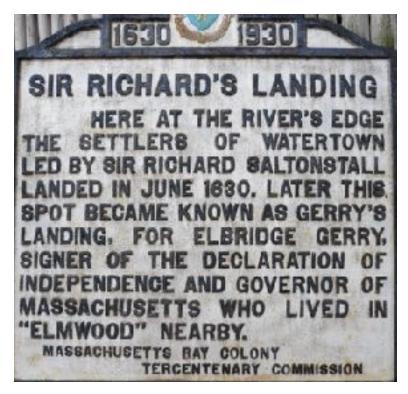
City councils: Boulder, Lafayette, Telluride, etc.

2) Move toward proportional representation with large multi-winner districts rather than geographical (ward) representation.

Denver – 13 council members

Fair Representation Act

### STV -> End of gerrymandering?



Elbridge Gerry (1744 – 1814)

STV is a type of voting method which promotes proportional representation.

Therefore, STV used in "large" districts to elect multiple representatives reduces or eliminates gerrymandering.

## Why is Single Transferable Vote successful in Cambridge?

Repetition – STV election every odd year

Single method – STV for both (all) races

Tallying – separate ballot for each race,
now computerized tallying

### 1979 Cambridge Ballots

DIRECTIONS TO V	OTERS {	{} DIRECTIONS TO VOTERS
DO NOT USE X MARKS.	1	DO NOT USE X MARKS.
Mark your choices with NUMBERS only	}	Mark your choices with NUMBERS only.
Put the figure 1 apposite your first apposite your second choice, the figure 3 choice, and so on. You may mark as many	epposite your third }	Put the figure 1 opposite your first choice, the figure 2 opposite your second choice, the figure 3 opposite your third choice, and so on. You may mark as many choices as you please.
Do not put the same figure opposite m you spoil this ballot, return it for cancel officer in charge of the ballots and get and	lation to the election ?	Do not put the same figure opposite more than one name. If you spoll this ballot, return it for cancellation to the election officer in charge of the ballots and get another from him.
CITY COUNCILLORS For Term	of Two Years	SCHOOL COMMITTEE For Term of Two Years
AGEE, DAVID HORR, 28 Hurbut St.		ATTLES, HENRIETTA S., 39 Bishop Alien Drive
BENTUBO, RICHARD A., 3 Austin Park		BERMAN, SARA MAE, 23 Fayotto St. Gaseville Building
CARAGIANES, CHARLES J., 4 William St.		BLACKMAN, DAVID C., 129 Foyer-weather St.
CLINTON, DANIEL J., 31 Rockingham St.		CARROLL, ROBERT A., 5 Elsworth Park
CRANE, KEVIN P., 16 Alberta Terrace	CANCION IL 100 10 410C1 ION	FANTINI, DONALD A., 15 Day St. 1255//2"
DANEHY, THOMAS W., 19 Richard Ave.	CAMBBITE FOR MANAGEMEN	FITZBERALD, JAMES F., 137 Orio St.
DUEHAY, FRANCIS H., 26 Lowell St.	CRAMICALLING MALICIPIA	HOLWAY, DAVID JEFFREY, 20 Novembegs St. "MARKED
FRISDLI, LAWRENCE W., 4 Avon St.	CRAMINATE FOR REGISTRON	KENNEDY, DAVID P., 63 Sixth St.
GRAHAM, SAUNDRA, 189 Western Ave.	CARCONTS FOR AS VACTOR	KOOCHER, GLENN STEPHEN, 43 Lee St. Deckur to
HUNT, DONALD J., 61 Garfield St.		MAYNARD, JOSEPH E., 2145 Harvard St. PROSECULAR
JONES, WILLIAM C., 160 Nortolk St.		RAGNO, NICHOLAS R., 74 Gore St.
LaTREMOUILLE, ROBERT J., 4 Trowbridge Pl	ace	WOLF, ACIDE K., 48 Hugo Ave.
MCGURK, JAMES L., 101 Aubum St.		
OKUN, DOUGLAS R., 334 Welden St.		

# Why is Single Transferable Vote successful in Cambridge?

Repetition – STV election every odd year
Single method – STV for both (all) races
Tallying – separate ballot for each race,
now computerized tallying
Voters' voice – rankings = # of candidates

### 2017 Optical Scan Ballot

#### CANDIDATES FOR CITY COUNCIL

#### for Term of Two Years Instructions to Voters

Mark your choices by completely filling in the numbered ovals like this using a black pen.

- Fill in the number one 2 oval next to your first choice.
- Fill in the number two (a) oval next to your second choice.
- Fill in the number three <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> oval next to your third choice, and so on.
- You may fill in as many choices as you please.
- Fill in no more than one oval per candidate.
- Fill in no more than one oval per column.

To vote for a write-in candidate:

- Fill in a numbered oval next to the name you have written, showing your choice as a number for a candidate.
- Record write-ins from the top line down.

If you spoil this ballot, return it for cancellation to the election officer in charge of the ballots and get another from such officer.

Only one vote per candidate. Only one v	vote per column.	DO NOT USE RE	D TO MARK BALLOT	
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By law, candidates' names are rotated on ballots at polls, and may appear in a different order than on this Specimen ballot.

# Why is Single Transferable Vote successful in Cambridge?

Repetition – STV election every odd year
Single method – STV for both (all) races
Tallying – separate ballot for each race,
now computerized tallying
Voters' voice – rankings = # of candidates
Sales pitch – proportional representation

# 2017 City Council Election with Proportional Representation

4 women, 5 men elected

2 candidates won in the 1<sup>st</sup> round: the mayor (African-American lesbian) and a female Muslim lawyer

If you have #1 votes from 1/10 of the electorate, you can get elected.

All incumbents got re-elected.

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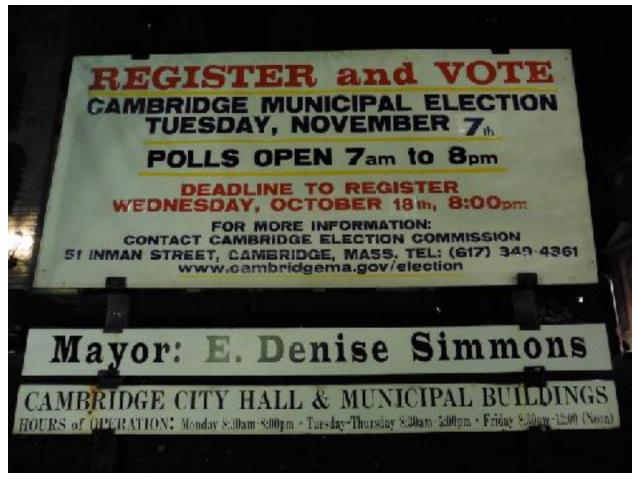
Tallying – separate ballot for each race,
now computerized tallying

**Voters' voice** – rankings = # of candidates **Sales pitch** – proportional representation **Data/Pride** – Robert Winters' website

## Cambridge Factors that Concern ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS

In-person voting on Election Day is standard.

### Vote at Polls on Election Day



STV in Cambridge, MA -- Dec 5, 2017, Denver Press Club -- C. Landry

## Cambridge Factors that Concern ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS

In-person voting on Election Day is standard.

**Incumbency status** is noted on the ballots.

Rotate candidate names on the ballots.

No need to pre-file as a write-in candidate.

### 2017 Ballot Detail

Note: write-in candidates and name rotation



By law, candidates' names are rotated on ballots at polls, and may appear in a different order than on this Specimen ballot.

## Cambridge Factors that Concern CANDIDATES

All terms are two years long

Substantial **salary** for elected officials \$80K for city council \$40K for school cmte

History of slate endorsements

### Sample 2017 City Council Slate

Vote for all 5 in order of your preference.



Dennis Carlone, Sumbul Siddiqui, Vatsady Sivongxay, Jan Devereux, Quinton Zondervan (from L to R)

Cambridge Residents Alliance <a href="http://www.cambridgeresidentsalliance.org/">http://www.cambridgeresidentsalliance.org/</a>

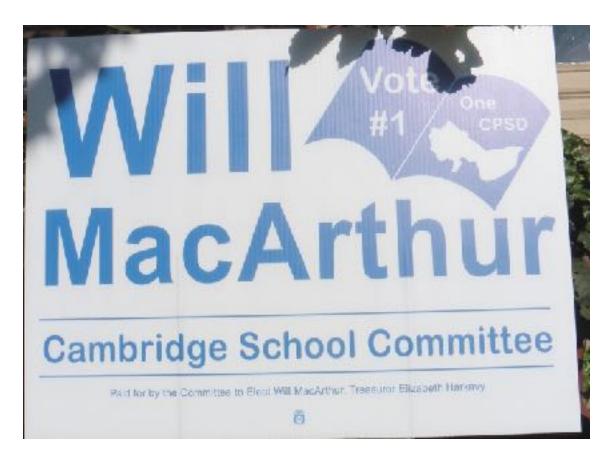
### Campaign Sign -- Siddiqui



## Campaign Sign – Incumbent Simmons



### Campaign Sign – MacArthur



### Nuts and Bolts of Cambridge STV

http://rwinters.com/elections/supplement.htm

- Droop Quota  $\approx 1/(\# \text{ of seats } + 1)$  of the votes  $\rightarrow$  Round up
- Cincinnati Method to transfer surplus votes when a candidate surpasses the quota
  - requires a ballot order → Random Draw of Precincts
  - votes never transfer to a winner
- Under 50 votes → simultaneous elimination
- Tiebreaker
- Filling a later vacancy

## Modern Fractional Vote Transfers vs Cincinnati Method

Modern implementations of STV with software allow for a fractional transfer of votes so that if the voter's 1st-choice candidate surpasses the quota, then a fraction of each vote for that candidate stays with the candidate and the remaining fraction of the unitary vote goes to the next eligible candidate on the ballot.

Cincinnati Method transfers only whole votes, no fractional votes. Counting by hand, you could move the entire ballot to another candidate's pile.

### **Comparing Vote Transfers**

#### **Fractional Vote Transfers**

- 1. lemon cake (eliminated)
- 2. chocolate cake (winner)
- 3 brownie
- 4 truffle
- Part of unitary vote to chocolate cake and rest of vote goes to brownie

#### Cincinnati Method

- 1. lemon cake (eliminated)
- 2. chocolate cake (winner)
- 3 brownie
- 4 truffle
- Single vote is transferred to brownie

### Mpls Board of Estimate and Taxation 2009 – Elect 2 members

Candidate	Round 1	Round 2	Round 2	Round 3	Round 3	Round 4	Round 4	Round 5	Round 5	Final Round
		Distributed surplus: Becker		Defeated Swartwood and Write-in		Defeated Martens		Defeated Townsend and Wilkie		Percentage
	First preference votes	Vote Change (+ Added, - Subtracted)	Grand Total	Vote Change (+ Added - Subtracted)	Grand Total	Vote Change (+ Added - Subtracted)	Grand Total	Vote Change (+ Added - Subtracted)	Grand Total	May not sum to 100% due to rounding
Becker	16728	-6030.4440	10697.5560	0.0000	10697.5560	0.0000	10697.5560	0.0000	10697.5560	33.34%
Martens	2778	342.8355	3120.8355	152.5955	3273.4310	-3273.4310	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.00%
Swartwood	975	185.6575	1160.6575	-1160.6575	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.00%
Townsend	2323	908.4600	3231.4600	133.0375	3364.4975	309.5765	3674.0740	0.0000	3674.0740	11.45%
Wheeler	6107	1132.6910	7239.6910	250.3665	7490.0575	617.3695	8107.4270	0.0000	8107.4270	25.27%
Willkie	2950	577.1605	3527.1605	205.2475	3732.4080	366.0280	4098.4360	0.0000	4098.4360	12.77%
Write-in	225	16.5830	241.5830	-241.5830	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.00%
Exhausted	-	2867.0565	2867.0565	660.9935	3528.0500	1980.4570	5508.5070	0.0000	5508.5070	17.17%
TOTAL	32086		32086.0000		32086.0000		32086.0000		32086.0000	

### 2017 Computer Glitch

For first time in 15 years, a few of the 128KB memory cards didn't upload. It took 1 ½ hours to rescan ballots with different memory cards.

Cambridge uses 21-year-old voting machines. New machines are scheduled for the 2018 election.

### 2017 School Committee 1st Count

Count #1 votes.

To get quota, divide 20,708 votes by 7. Result = 2958.3

Round up to next integer. Quota is 2959 votes.

Final Official	4-4
Final Official	1st
Candidate	Count
Nolan, Patricia M.	3458
Bowman, Manikka L.	2768
Fantini, Alfred B.	2728
Dexter, Emily R.	2378
Kelly, Kathleen M.	1882
Kimbrough, Laurance V.	1856
Cronin, Fran Albin	1572
Crutchfield, Jake W.	1039
Kadete, Elechi M.	846
Weinstein, David J.	797
MacArthur, Will	795
Mitros, Piotr Flawiusz	511
Write-Ins	78
Exhausted	0
Total valid ballots	20708
Quota = 2959	
Invalid ballots	1744
Total ballots	22452

### 2017 School Committee 2nd Count

Choose 499 ballots for Nolan according to the Random Draw of Precincts and transfer those votes to the #2 choice.

		Nolan			
Final Official	1st	surplus			
Candidate	Count				
Nolan, Patricia M.	3458	-499	2959		
Bowman, Manikka L.	2768	109	2877		
Fantini, Alfred B.	2728	38	2766		
Dexter, Emily R.	2378	95	2473		
Kelly, Kathleen M.	1882	85	1967		
Kimbrough, Laurance V.	1856	24	1880		
Cronin, Fran Albin	1572	52	1624		
Crutchfield, Jake W.	1039	19	1058		
Kadete, Elechi M.	846	18	864		
Weinstein, David J.	797	30	827		
MacArthur, Will	795	12	807		
Mitros, Piotr Flawiusz	511	17	528		
Write-Ins	78	0	78		
Exhausted	0	0	0		
Total valid ballots	20708	0	20708		
Quota = 2959					
Invalid ballots	1744				
Total ballots	22452				

### 2017 School Committee 3rd Count

Transfer votes for candidates with fewer than 50 votes to the next choice on the ballot.

Lots of exhausted ballots.

<b>—</b>						
	l	Nolan				
Final Official	1st	SU	surplus		under 50	
Candidate	Count	2nd	Count	3rd Coun		
Nolan, Patricia M.	3458	-499	2959	0	2959	
Bowman, Manikka L.	2768	109	2877	5	2882	
Fantini, Alfred B.	2728	38	2766	1	2767	
Dexter, Emily R.	2378	95	2473	4	2477	
Kelly, Kathleen M.	1882	85	1967	1	1968	
Kimbrough, Laurance V.	1856	24	1880	1	1881	
Cronin, Fran Albin	1572	52	1624	3	1627	
Crutchfield, Jake W.	1039	19	1058	1	1059	
Kadete, Elechi M.	846	18	864	1	865	
Weinstein, David J.	797	30	827	1	828	
MacArthur, Will	795	12	807	0	807	
Mitros, Piotr Flawiusz	511	17	528	1	529	
Write-Ins	78	0	78	-78	0	
Exhausted	0	0	0	59	59	
Total valid ballots	20708	0	20708	0	20708	
Quota = 2959						
Invalid ballots	1744					
Total ballots	22452					

### 2017 School Committee 4th Count

Eliminate Mitros.

Votes
transfer to
the next
continuing
candidate
on each
ballot.

		Nolan				Mitros	
Final Official	1st	su	rplus	under 50		transfer	
Candidate	Count	2nd	Count	3rd	Count	4th Count	
Nolan, Patricia M.	3458	-499	2959	0	2959	0	2959
Bowman, Manikka L.	2768	109	2877	5	2882	69	2951
Fantini, Alfred B.	2728	38	2766	1	2767	20	2787
Dexter, Emily R.	2378	95	2473	4	2477	89	2566
Kelly, Kathleen M.	1882	85	1967	1	1968	28	1996
Kimbrough, Laurance V.	1856	24	1880	1	1881	34	1915
Cronin, Fran Albin	1572	52	1624	3	1627	47	1674
Crutchfield, Jake W.	1039	19	1058	1	1059	32	1091
Kadete, Elechi M.	846	18	864	1	865	42	907
Weinstein, David J.	797	30	827	1	828	52	880
MacArthur, Will	795	12	807	0	807	57	864
Mitros, Piotr Flawiusz	511	17	528	1	529	-529	0
Write-Ins	78	0	78	-78	0	0	0
Exhausted	0	0	0	59	59	59	118
Total valid ballots	20708	0	20708	0	20708	0	20708
Quota = 2959							
Invalid ballots	1744						
Total ballots	22452						

### Personal Observations

When adopting STV for an election,

- Separate ballots
- Let # of rankings = # of candidates 1
  (Equation for # of rankings updated after the talk. Thanks to Rob Richie for an insight.)
- Use fractional transfers!

Emotionally hard to change from voting for 5 candidates to having a unitary vote. "The #1 choice is overwhelmingly the most important choice" in STV.

### Multi-Winner Voting Strategies

Richie: "I sometimes vote for only one candidate even though I'm allowed to vote for more than one." [bullet voting]

Landry: "Sometimes I like 6 candidates, but I'm only allowed to vote for 5 so I consider voting for the 5 that most need my vote even if that means that I don't vote for my favorite."

### Website Resources

- lwvbc.org, then Teams at Work, then Voting Methods Team (inc. slides from this talk)
- https://www.cambridgema.gov/Departments/ electioncommission
- Robert Winters' website: <a href="http://rwinters.com/elections/index.html">http://rwinters.com/elections/index.html</a>
- Minneapolis ranked voting reports: <a href="http://vote.minneapolismn.gov/rcv/rcv-history">http://vote.minneapolismn.gov/rcv/rcv-history</a>