

## Computational Social Choice: Autumn 2011

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### Plan for Today

Today's lecture will be devoted to classical *impossibility theorems* in social choice theory. Last week we proved *Arrow's Theorem* using the "*decisive coalition*" technique. Today we'll see two further proofs:

- A proof based on *ultrafilters* (sketch only)
- A proof using the "*pivotal voter*" technique

Then we'll see two further classical impossibility theorems:

- *Sen's Theorem* on the Impossibility of a Paretian Liberal (1970)
- The *Muller-Satterthwaite Theorem* (1977)

The former is easy to prove; for the latter we will again use the "decisive coalition" technique.

## Arrow's Theorem

Recall terminology and axioms:

- SWF:  $F : \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{X})^{\mathcal{N}} \rightarrow \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{X})$
- Pareto:  $N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} = \mathcal{N}$  implies  $(x, y) \in F(\mathbf{R})$
- IIA:  $N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} = N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}'}$  implies  $(x, y) \in F(\mathbf{R}) \Leftrightarrow (x, y) \in F(\mathbf{R}')$
- Dictatorship:  $\exists i \in \mathcal{N}$  s.t.  $\forall (R_1, \dots, R_n): F(R_1, \dots, R_n) = R_i$

Here is again the theorem:

**Theorem 1 (Arrow, 1951)** Any SWF for  $\geq 3$  alternatives that satisfies the *Pareto condition* and *IIA* must be a *dictatorship*.

K.J. Arrow. *Social Choice and Individual Values*. John Wiley and Sons, 2nd edition, 1963. First edition published in 1951.

### Second Proof: Ultrafilters (Sketch)

Kirman and Sondermann (1972) prove Arrow's Theorem via a reduction to a well-known fact about ultrafilters.

An *ultrafilter*  $\mathcal{G}$  for a set  $\mathcal{N}$  is a set of subsets of  $\mathcal{N}$  such that:

- $\emptyset \notin \mathcal{G}$ .
- If  $G_1 \in \mathcal{G}$  and  $G_2 \in \mathcal{G}$ , then  $G_1 \cap G_2 \in \mathcal{G}$ .
- For all  $G \subseteq \mathcal{N}$ , either  $G \in \mathcal{G}$  or  $(\mathcal{N} \setminus G) \in \mathcal{G}$ .

$\mathcal{G}$  is called *principal* if there exists a  $d \in \mathcal{N}$  s.t.  $\mathcal{G} = \{G \subseteq \mathcal{N} \mid d \in G\}$ .

By a known fact, every finite ultrafilter must be principal.

Let  $\mathcal{N}$  be the set of individuals and  $\mathcal{G}$  the set of all decisive coalitions. Note that  $\mathcal{G}$  is principal *iff* there is a dictator (namely the  $d$  generating  $\mathcal{G}$ ).

Proving Arrow's Theorem now amounts to showing that  $\mathcal{G}$  is an ultrafilter: condition  $\emptyset \notin \mathcal{G}$  obviously holds; the rest is similar to last week's proof.

A.P. Kirman and D. Sondermann. Arrow's Theorem, Many Agents, and Invisible Dictators. *Journal of Economic Theory*, 5(3):267–277, 1972.

### Third Proof: Pivotal Voters

Our third proof of Arrow's Theorem is due to Geanakoplos (2005). It employs the "pivotal voter" technique, introduced by Barberà (1980).

Approach:

- Let  $F$  be a SWF for  $\geq 3$  alternatives  $(x, y, z, \dots)$  that satisfies the Pareto condition and IIA.
- For any given profile  $(R_1, \dots, R_n)$ , let  $R := F(R_1, \dots, R_n)$ . Write  $xRy$  for  $(x, y) \in F(R_1, \dots, R_n)$ : society ranks  $x \succ y$ .

J. Geanakoplos. Three Brief Proofs of Arrow's Impossibility Theorem. *Economic Theory*, 26(1):211–215, 2005.

S. Barberà (1980). Pivotal Voters: A New Proof of Arrow's Theorem. *Economics Letters*, 6(1):13–16, 1980.

### Extremal Lemma

Let  $y$  be any alternative.

Claim: For any profile in which every individual ranks  $y$  in an extremal position (either top or bottom), society must do the same.

Proof: Suppose otherwise; that is, suppose  $y$  is ranked top or bottom by every individual, but not by society.

- (1) Then  $xRy$  and  $yRz$  for distinct alternatives  $x$  and  $z$  different from  $y$  and for the social preference order  $R$ .
- (2) By IIA, this continues to hold if we move  $z$  above  $x$  for every individual, as doing so does not affect the extremal  $y$ .
- (3) By transitivity of  $R$ , applied to (1), we get  $xRz$ .
- (4) But by the Pareto condition, applied to (2), we get  $zRx$ .  
Contradiction. ✓

### Existence of an Extremal Pivotal Individual

Fix some alternative  $y$ . We call an individual *extremal-pivotal* if there exists a profile at which it can move  $y$  from the bottom to the top of the social preference order.

Claim: There exists an extremal-pivotal individual  $i$ .

Proof: Start with a profile where every individual places  $y$  at the bottom. By the Pareto condition, so does society.

Then let the individuals change their preferences one by one, moving  $y$  from the bottom to the top.

By the Extremal Lemma and the Pareto condition, there must be a point when the change in preference of a particular individual causes  $y$  to rise from the bottom to the top in the social preference order. ✓

Convention Call the profile just before this switch occurred *Profile I*, and the one just after the switch *Profile II*.

### Dictatorship: Case 1

Let  $i$  be the extremal-pivotal individual from before (for alternative  $y$ ).

Claim: Individual  $i$  can dictate the social preference order with respect to any alternatives  $x, z$  different from  $y$ .

Proof: W.l.o.g., suppose  $i$  wants to place  $x$  above  $z$ .

Let *Profile III* be like *Profile II*, except that (1)  $i$  makes  $x$  its new top choice (that is,  $xR_i y R_i z$ ), and (2) all the others have rearranged their relative rankings of  $x$  and  $z$  as they please. Two observations:

- In *Profile III* all relative rankings for  $x, y$  are as in *Profile I*.  
So by IIA, the social rankings must coincide:  $xRy$ .
- In *Profile III* all relative rankings for  $y, z$  are as in *Profile II*.  
So by IIA, the social rankings must coincide:  $yRz$ .

By transitivity, we get  $xRz$ . By IIA, this continues to hold if others change their relative ranking of alternatives other than  $x, z$ . ✓

## Dictatorship: Case 2

Let  $y$  and  $i$  be defined as before.

Claim: Individual  $i$  can also dictate the social preference order with respect to  $y$  and any other alternative  $x$ .

Proof: We can use a similar construction as before to show that for a given alternative  $z$ , there must be an individual  $j$  that can dictate the relative social ranking of  $x$  and  $y$  (both different from  $z$ ).

But at least in *Profiles I* and *II*,  $i$  can dictate the relative social ranking of  $x$  and  $y$ . As there can be at most one dictator in any situation, we get  $i = j$ . ✓

So individual  $i$  will be a *dictator* for *any* two alternatives. Hence, our SWF must be dictatorial, and Arrow's Theorem follows.

## Other Proofs

- Nipkow (2009) has encoded Geanakoplos' proof in the language of the higher-order logic *proof assistant* ISABELLE, resulting in an automatic verification of the proof.
- We will discuss further approaches to proving Arrow's Theorem using tools from *automated reasoning* later on in the course.

T. Nipkow. Social Choice Theory in HOL: Arrow and Gibbard-Satterthwaite. *Journal of Automated Reasoning*, 43(3):289–304, 2009.

## Social Choice Functions

From now on we consider aggregators that take a profile of preferences and return one or several “winners” (rather than a full social ranking). This is called a *social choice function* (SCF):

$$F : \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{X})^{\mathcal{N}} \rightarrow 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\}$$

A SCF is called *resolute* if  $|F(\mathbf{R})| = 1$  for any given profile  $\mathbf{R}$ , i.e., if it always selects a unique winner.

Remark: We can think of a SCF as a *voting rule*, particularly if it tends to select “small” sets of winners (we won't make this precise). Voting rules are often required to be resolute ( $\leadsto$  *tie-breaking rule*).

## Alternative Definition

In the literature you will sometimes find the term SCF being used for functions  $F : \mathcal{L}(X)^{\mathcal{N}} \times 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\} \rightarrow 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\}$ . Two readings:

- The input of  $F$  is a profile of preferences (as before) + a set of *feasible alternatives*. The output should be a subset of the feasible alternatives (that is “appropriate” given the preference profile).
- The input of  $F$  is just a profile of preferences (as before). The output is a *choice function*  $C : 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\} \rightarrow 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\}$  that will select a set of winners from any given set of alternatives.

Note:  $\mathcal{L}(X)^{\mathcal{N}} \times 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\} \rightarrow 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\} = \mathcal{L}(X)^{\mathcal{N}} \rightarrow (2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\}) \rightarrow 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\}$

This refinement is not relevant for the results we want to discuss here, so we shall take a SCF to be a function  $F : \mathcal{L}(\mathcal{X})^{\mathcal{N}} \rightarrow 2^{\mathcal{X}} \setminus \{\emptyset\}$ .

### Examples

The *plurality rule* and the *Borda rule* (defined last week) are both examples for voting rules (i.e., for SCFs). A few more examples:

- **Positional scoring rules:** Fix a (decreasing) *scoring vector*  $\langle s_1, \dots, s_m \rangle$ . An alternative gets  $s_k$  points for every voter placing her at position  $k$ . Special cases: *Borda*:  $\langle m-1, m-2, \dots, 0 \rangle$ ; *Plurality*:  $\langle 1, 0, \dots, 0 \rangle$
- **Plurality with runoff:** Each voter initially votes for one alternative. The winner is elected in a second round by using the plurality rule with the two top alternatives from the first round.
- **Condorcet:** An alternative that beats every other alternative in pairwise majority contests is called a *Condorcet winner*. Rule: elect the Condorcet winner if it exists; otherwise elect all alternatives.
- **Copeland:** Run a majority contest for every pair of alternatives. Award +1 point to an alternative for every contest won, and -1 for any contest lost. The alternative with the most points wins.

Note that none of these voting rules is resolute.

### The Pareto Condition for Social Choice Functions

A SCF  $F$  satisfies the *Pareto condition* if, whenever all individuals rank  $x$  above  $y$ , then  $y$  cannot win:

$$N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} = \mathcal{N} \text{ implies } y \notin F(\mathbf{R})$$

### Liberalism

Think of  $\mathcal{X}$  as the set of all possible social states. Certain aspects of such a state will be some individual's private business. Example:

If  $x$  and  $y$  are identical states, except that in  $x$  I paint my bedroom white, while in  $y$  I paint it pink, then I should be able to dictate the relative social ranking of  $x$  and  $y$ .

Sen (1970) proposed the following axiom:

A SCF  $F$  satisfies the axiom of *liberalism* if, for every individual  $i \in \mathcal{N}$ , there exist two distinct alternatives  $x, y \in \mathcal{X}$  such that  $i$  is *two-way decisive* on  $x$  and  $y$ :

$$i \in N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} \text{ implies } y \notin F(\mathbf{R}) \text{ and } i \in N_{y \succ x}^{\mathbf{R}} \text{ implies } x \notin F(\mathbf{R})$$

A.K. Sen. The Impossibility of a Paretian Liberal. *Journal of Political Economics*, 78(1):152–157, 1970.

### The Impossibility of a Paretian Liberal

Sen (1970) showed that liberalism and the Pareto condition are incompatible (recall that we required  $|\mathcal{N}| \geq 2$ , which matters here):

**Theorem 2 (Sen, 1970)** *No SCF satisfies both liberalism and the Pareto condition.*

As we shall see, the theorem holds even when liberalism is enforced for only two individuals. The number of alternatives does not matter.

Again, a surprising result (but easier to prove than Arrow's Theorem).

A.K. Sen. The Impossibility of a Paretian Liberal. *Journal of Political Economics*, 78(1):152–157, 1970.

### Proof

Let  $F$  be a SCF satisfying Pareto and liberalism. Get a contradiction:

Take two distinguished individuals  $i_1$  and  $i_2$ , with:

- $i_1$  is two-way decisive on  $x_1$  and  $y_1$
- $i_2$  is two-way decisive on  $x_2$  and  $y_2$

Assume  $x_1, y_1, x_2, y_2$  are pairwise distinct (other cases: easy).

Consider a profile with these properties:

- (1) Individual  $i_1$  ranks  $x_1 \succ y_1$ .
- (2) Individual  $i_2$  ranks  $x_2 \succ y_2$ .
- (3) All individuals rank  $y_1 \succ x_2$  and  $y_2 \succ x_1$ .
- (4) All individuals rank  $x_1, x_2, y_1, y_2$  above all other alternatives.

From liberalism: (1) rules out  $y_1$  and (2) rules out  $y_2$  as winner.

From Pareto: (3) rules out  $x_1$  and  $x_2$  and (4) rules out all others.

Thus, there are no winners. Contradiction. ✓

### Monotonicity

Next we want to formalise the idea that when a winner receives increased support, she should not become a loser.

We focus on *resolute* SCFs. Write  $x^* = F(\mathbf{R})$  for  $\{x^*\} = F(\mathbf{R})$ .

- **Weak monotonicity:**  $F$  is weakly monotonic if  $x^* = F(\mathbf{R})$  implies  $x^* = F(\mathbf{R}')$  for any alternative  $x^*$  and distinct profiles  $\mathbf{R}$  and  $\mathbf{R}'$  with  $N_{x^* \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} \subseteq N_{x^* \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}'}$  and  $N_{y \succ z}^{\mathbf{R}} = N_{y \succ z}^{\mathbf{R}'}$  for all  $y, z \in \mathcal{X} \setminus \{x^*\}$ .
- **Strong monotonicity:**  $F$  is strongly monotonic if  $x^* = F(\mathbf{R})$  implies  $x^* = F(\mathbf{R}')$  for any alternative  $x^*$  and distinct profiles  $\mathbf{R}$  and  $\mathbf{R}'$  with  $N_{x^* \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} \subseteq N_{x^* \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}'}$  for all  $y \in \mathcal{X} \setminus \{x^*\}$ .

The latter property is also known as *Maskin monotonicity* or *strong positive association*.

### Example

Even *weak monotonicity* is not satisfied by some common voting rules. Consider *plurality with runoff* (with any tie-breaking rule).

27 voters:  $A \succ B \succ C$   
 42 voters:  $C \succ A \succ B$   
 24 voters:  $B \succ C \succ A$

$B$  is eliminated in the first round and  $C$  beats  $A$  66:27 in the runoff. But if 4 of the voters in the first group *raise  $C$  to the top* (i.e., join the second group), then  $B$  will win.

But other procedures (e.g., *plurality*) do satisfy weak monotonicity. How about *strong monotonicity*?

### The Muller-Satterthwaite Theorem

Strong monotonicity turns out to be (desirable but) too demanding:

**Theorem 3 (Muller and Satterthwaite, 1977)** Any *resolute* SCF for  $\geq 3$  alternatives that is *surjective* and *strongly monotonic* must be a *dictatorship*.

Here, a resolute SCF  $F$  is called *surjective* if for every alternative  $x \in \mathcal{X}$  there exists a profile  $\mathbf{R}$  such that  $F(\mathbf{R}) = x$ .

And: a SCF  $F$  is a *dictatorship* if there exists an  $i \in \mathcal{N}$  such that  $F(R_1, \dots, R_n) = \text{top}(R_i)$  for every profile  $(R_1, \dots, R_n)$ .

Remark: Above theorem, which is what is nowadays usually referred to as the Muller-Satterthwaite Theorem, is in fact a corollary of their main theorem and the Gibbard-Satterthwaite Theorem.

E. Muller and M.A. Satterthwaite. The Equivalence of Strong Positive Association and Strategy-Proofness. *Journal of Economic Theory*, 14(2):412–418, 1977.

## Proof

We use again the “decisive coalition” technique. Full details are available in the review paper cited below.

Claim: Any resolute SCF for  $\geq 3$  alternatives that is surjective and strongly monotonic must be a dictatorship.

Let  $F$  be a SCF for  $\geq 3$  alt. that is surjective and strongly monotonic.

Proof Plan:

- Show that  $F$  must be *independent* (to be defined).
- Show that  $F$  must be *Pareto* efficient.
- Prove a version of Arrow’s Theorem for SCFs.

U. Endriss. Logic and Social Choice Theory. In J. van Benthem and A. Gupta (eds.), *Logic and Philosophy Today*, College Publications. In press (2011).

## Independence

Call a SCF  $F$  *independent* if it is the case that  $x \neq y$ ,  $F(\mathbf{R}) = x$ , and  $N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} = N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}'}$  together imply  $F(\mathbf{R}') \neq y$ .

That is, if  $y$  lost to  $x$  under profile  $\mathbf{R}$ , and the relative rankings of  $x$  vs.  $y$  do not change, then  $y$  will still lose (possibly to a different winner).

Claim:  $F$  is independent.

Proof: Suppose  $x \neq y$ ,  $F(\mathbf{R}) = x$ , and  $N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} = N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}'}$ .

Construct a third profile  $\mathbf{R}''$ :

- All individuals rank  $x$  and  $y$  in the top-two positions.
- The relative rankings of  $x$  vs.  $y$  are as in  $\mathbf{R}$ , i.e.,  $N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}''} = N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}}$ .
- Rest: whatever

By strong monotonicity,  $F(\mathbf{R}) = x$  implies  $F(\mathbf{R}'') = x$ .

By strong monotonicity,  $F(\mathbf{R}') = y$  would imply  $F(\mathbf{R}'') = y$ .

Thus, we must have  $F(\mathbf{R}') \neq y$ . ✓

## Pareto Condition

Recall the Pareto condition: if everyone ranks  $x \succ y$ , then  $y$  won’t win.

Claim:  $F$  satisfies the Pareto condition.

Proof: Take any two alternatives  $x$  and  $y$ .

From surjectivity:  $x$  will win for *some* profile  $\mathbf{R}$ .

Starting in  $\mathbf{R}$ , have everyone move  $x$  above  $y$  (if not above already).

From strong monotonicity:  $x$  still wins.

From independence:  $y$  does not win for *any* profile where all individuals continue to rank  $x \succ y$ . ✓

## Plan for the Rest of the Proof

We now know that  $F$  must be a SCF for  $\geq 3$  alternatives that is *independent* and *Pareto* efficient. We want to infer that  $F$  must be a *dictatorship*.

Call a coalition  $G \subseteq \mathcal{N}$  *decisive* on  $(x, y)$  iff  $G \subseteq N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} \Rightarrow y \neq F(\mathbf{R})$ .

Proof plan:

- Pareto condition =  $\mathcal{N}$  is decisive for all pairs of alternatives
- Lemma:  $G$  with  $|G| \geq 2$  *decisive* for all pairs  $\Rightarrow$  some  $G' \subset G$  as well
- Thus (by induction), there’s a decisive coalition of size 1 (a *dictator*).

### About Decisiveness

Recall:  $G \subseteq \mathcal{N}$  **decisive** on  $(x, y)$  iff  $G \subseteq N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} \Rightarrow y \neq F(\mathbf{R})$

Call  $G \subseteq \mathcal{N}$  **weakly decisive** on  $(x, y)$  iff  $G = N_{x \succ y}^{\mathbf{R}} \Rightarrow y \neq F(\mathbf{R})$ .

Claim:  $G$  weakly decisive on  $(x, y) \Rightarrow G$  decisive on *any* pair  $(x', y')$

Proof: Suppose  $x, y, x', y'$  are all distinct (other cases: similar).

Consider a profile where individuals express these preferences:

- Members of  $G$ :  $x' \succ x \succ y \succ y'$
- Others:  $x' \succ x, y \succ y'$ , and  $y \succ x$  (note that  $x'$ -vs- $y'$  is not specified)
- All rank  $x, y, x', y'$  above all other alternatives.

From  $G$  being weakly decisive for  $(x, y) \Rightarrow y$  must lose

From Pareto  $\Rightarrow x$  must lose (to  $x'$ ) and  $y'$  must lose (to  $y$ )

Thus,  $x'$  must win (and  $y'$  must lose). By independence,  $y'$  will still lose when everyone changes their non- $x'$ -vs- $y'$  rankings.

Thus, for *any* profile  $\mathbf{R}$  with  $G \subseteq N_{x' \succ y'}^{\mathbf{R}}$  we get  $y' \neq F(\mathbf{R})$ .  $\checkmark$

### Contraction Lemma

Claim: If  $G \subseteq \mathcal{N}$  with  $|G| \geq 2$  is a coalition that is decisive on all pairs of alternatives, then so is some nonempty coalition  $G' \subset G$ .

Proof: Take any nonempty  $G_1, G_2$  with  $G = G_1 \cup G_2$  and  $G_1 \cap G_2 = \emptyset$ .

Recall that there are  $\geq 3$  alternatives. Consider this profile:

- Members of  $G_1$ :  $x \succ y \succ z \succ \text{rest}$
- Members of  $G_2$ :  $y \succ z \succ x \succ \text{rest}$
- Others:  $z \succ x \succ y \succ \text{rest}$

As  $G = G_1 \cup G_2$  is decisive,  $z$  cannot win (it loses to  $y$ ). Two cases:

- (1) The winner is  $x$ : Exactly  $G_1$  ranks  $x \succ z \Rightarrow$  By independence, in any profile where exactly  $G_1$  ranks  $x \succ z, z$  will lose (to  $x$ )  $\Rightarrow G_1$  is weakly decisive on  $(x, z)$ . Hence (previous slide):  $G_1$  is decisive on all pairs.
- (2) The winner is  $y$ , i.e.,  $x$  loses (to  $y$ ). Exactly  $G_2$  ranks  $y \succ x \Rightarrow \dots \Rightarrow G_2$  is decisive on all pairs.

Hence, one of  $G_1$  and  $G_2$  will always be decisive.  $\checkmark$

### Summary

We have by now see three important impossibility theorems, establishing the incompatibility of certain desirable properties:

- **Arrow:** Pareto, IIA, nondictatoriality
- **Sen:** Pareto, liberalism
- **Muller-Satterthwaite:** surjectivity, strong monotonicity, nondictat.

We have discussed these results in two formal frameworks (none of the results heavily depend on the choice of framework):

- social welfare functions (**SWF**)
- (resolute) social choice functions (**SCF**)

This has also been an introduction to the **axiomatic method**:

- formulate desirable properties of aggregators as axioms
- explore the consequences of imposing several such axioms

### What next?

As discussed, the impossibility theorems we have seen can also be interpreted as axiomatic characterisations of the class of dictatorships.

Next week we will see **characterisations** of more attractive (classes of) voting rules:

- using (again) the axiomatic method; and
- using different methods.