

UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM

MASTER THESIS

THIS THESIS IS A WORK IN PROGRESS

Modelling Meta-Agreement through an Agent-Based Model

Author:

Amir Sahrani

Examiner:

Dr. Fernando P. Santos

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Ulle Endriss

Assessor:

Dr. Davide Grossi

*A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Science in Computational Science*

in the

Computational Science Lab
Informatics Institute

May 2, 2025

Declaration of Authorship

I, Amir Sahrani, declare that this thesis, entitled ‘Modelling Meta-Agreement through an Agent-Based Model’ and the work presented in it are my own. I confirm that:

- ☐ This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at the University of Amsterdam.
- ☐ Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated.
- ☐ Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed.
- ☐ Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work.
- ☐ I have acknowledged all main sources of help.
- ☐ Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself.

Signed:

Your signature

Date: May 2, 2025

“The majority, standing in for the people, wills everything and therefore wills nothing”

Joshua Cohen

Abstract

Include your abstract here Abstracts must include sufficient information for reviewers to judge the nature and significance of the topic, the adequacy of the investigative strategy, the nature of the results, and the conclusions. The abstract should summarize the substantive results of the work and not merely list topics to be discussed.

Length 200–400 words.

Acknowledgements

Thank the people that have helped, supervisors family etc.

Declaration of Authorship	i
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Contents	v
List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
List of Algorithms	ix
Abbreviations	x
Symbols	xi
1 Introduction	1
2 Preliminaries	2
2.1 The basic model	2
2.2 Social Choice Functions	3
2.2.1 Axioms	3
2.3 Negative results	4
2.4 Domain Restrictions	5
2.4.1 Single-Peaked profiles	6
3 Literature review	7
3.1 Condorcet Domain	7
3.1.1 Hereditary Domains	8
3.2 The History of Deliberation and Meta-Agreement	9

3.2.1	Deliberation	9
3.2.2	Meta-Agreement	11
3.3	Related Work	13
3.3.1	Deliberative experiments	15
3.3.1.1	America in One Room	15
4	Theoretical Results	16
4.1	Our model	18
4.1.1	Consensus	22
4.2	Agent Based Deliberation	23
4.2.1	Consensus	26
4.3	Agent Based Deliberation	27
5	Methods	30
5.1	Replication	30
5.2	Experiments	30
5.2.1	Voter Mapping	31
5.2.2	DeGroot extension	32
5.2.3	Analysis	32
6	Experimental Results	33
6.1	Replication	33
6.2	DeGroot Model	34
6.2.1	Optimal parameters	35
6.2.2	Convergence	36
6.2.3	Single-peaked Preferences	37
7	Discussion	38
8	Conclusion	39
9	Ethics and Data Management	40
A	Extended Proofs	41
	Bibliography	42

LIST OF FIGURES

3.1	The graph of judgement sets for all preferences over three alternatives, brackets indicate ties.	14
6.1	The proportion of cyclic profiles remaining, 0 indicating that no cyclic profiles were present after deliberation.	34
6.2	Number of unique preferences at the final step of deliberation.	34
6.3	The proportion of Condorcet winners left after deliberation, value above one indicate Condorcet winners emerging during deliberation	34
6.4	Proximity to single-peakedness after deliberation. Proximity to single-peakedness as defined in Section 3.3.	34

LIST OF TABLES

6.1	The parameters of the DeGroot learning based model, as well as their descriptions	35
6.2	Minimum mean values at time step 151 for each candidate selection method, with corresponding bias.	36

LIST OF ALGORITHMS

ABBREVIATIONS

SYMBOLS

N	The set of all voters
X	The set of all alternatives
$>$	A preference relationship
\mathcal{D}	A domain of possible profiles
D	A deterministic deliberative procedure
DB	A deliberative procedure with biased voter
$\mathcal{L}(A)$	Set of all possible preference order over A
R	Set of a preference relations over all candidates
\mathbf{R}	Set of preferences of all voters
f	A function mapping a strict profile to a candidate
\triangleleft	A geometric order over candidates
Ψ	Vector of all policies
ψ	An instance of a policy
S	Vector of support for each policy
Σ	$ A \times \Psi $ matrix estimating support of policies for each alternative

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 2

PRELIMINARIES

We first proceed by giving a short introduction of social choice. We outline the basic model, and restate well known results relevant to the following chapters.

2.1 The basic model

To model elections, or more generally voting games, we represent voters by the set N consisting of n voters. The possible outcomes of an election, we represent with the set A consisting of $|A|$ possible outcomes, from now on we will refer to the outcomes of an election as alternatives. Each voter can represent their preference on alternatives through a preference relation \succsim_i , for example if voter 2 prefers outcome a to outcome b , we write $a \succsim_2 b$. If, however, this voter wants to make it clear a is strictly better than b , we instead write $a \succ_2 b$. When a voter specifies their preferences on the entire set of alternatives we call this a (weak) linear order. We call the set of possible linear orders over the alternatives $\mathcal{L}(A)$, the set of weak linear orders is denoted by $\hat{\mathcal{L}}(A)$. Thus, for an election, all voters report a (weak) linear order, the set of each voters preference is called a profile, denoted by \mathbf{R} . Finally, a rule f decides the outcome of the election based on the profile. We discuss the specifics of these rules in Section section 2.2.

The last general tool we will need is the *majority relation*. Given some profile \mathbf{R} we can construct a majority relationship as follows: for each pair of alternatives x, y , we ask how many people prefer x to y ; if the number of people who prefer x to y is greater than the other way around we write $x \succ_{\text{maj}} y$, if we have an even number of voters, these two number can be equal and this becomes a weak preference, we simply write $x \succsim_{\text{maj}} y$ (defaulting to lexicographical order). We proceed with an example.

EXAMPLE 1: Majority relation

1	2	3	
a	b	a	Given the profile on the left, we first start by comparing a to b , both voters 1 and 3 prefer a to b , thus the majority has prefers a to b . Comparing b to c , the majority prefers b to c . Finally, comparing a to c , a is preferred again. Thus, the majority relation is $a \succ_{\text{maj}} b \succ_{\text{maj}} c$
b	c	c	
c	a	b	

A majority relation can be a-cyclic, and transitive, though neither are guaranteed. An a-cyclic majority profile is simply a majority relation without any cycles, meaning there does not exist a series of alternatives a_1, \dots, a_n such that $a_1 \succ a_2 \succ \dots \succ a_n \succ a_1$. Transitivity is very similar, stating that the preferences between alternatives are transitive in that for any triplet of alternatives x, y, z if $x \succ y$ and $y \succ z$ then $x \succ z$. These notions are similar, but transitivity is a stronger requirement, as it includes indifference.

2.2 Social Choice Functions

In order to decide the outcome of an election, we pick a social choice function f , this function should map all possible profiles to an outcome, thus $f : \mathbf{R} \rightarrow A$. A famous example of a SCF is the plurality rule, which simply elects the alternative voted into first place most often, though simple, it can also lead to a tie. Since the outcome of our SCF is only allowed to be a single alternative, the plurality rule needs to be equipped with a tie breaking mechanism in order to be a valid SCF, we require the tie-breaking to be deterministic.

2.2.1 Axioms

Though any voting rule that outputs one alternative for each profile is valid, for real elections organizers likely will want to ensure the rule has certain nice properties, such as not favoring some alternatives of others. In social choice these properties are called axioms, and the procedure of designing a rule based on axioms is called the axiomatic approach. The name of the property just described is the axiom of neutrality, stating that the voting rule should be neutral with respect to the alternatives. In this work three main axioms are of importance.

Axiom of Surjectivity. A SCF f is surjective, if for every alternative, there exists a profile R such that $f(R)$ elects it.

Axiom of Non-Dictatorship. A SCF f is non-dictatorial, if there does not exist a voter i such that $f(R) = \text{top}(i, R)$ for all profiles R , where $\text{top}(i, R)$ extracts voter i 's most preferred alternative from profile R .

Axiom of Strategyproofness. A SCF f is strategy proof if, for any voter $i \in N$, i cannot report an untruthful preference, and thereby cause the outcome of the elective to improve for them.

Axiom of Anonymity. A SCF f is anonymous if, when the labels of voters are shuffled, the winning alternative stays the same.

Axiom of Neutrality. A SCF f is neutral if, when the labels of the alternatives are shuffled, the winning alternative is the alternative who is ranked the same by each voter as the original winning alternative.

Another way to interpret strategyproofness is that the SCF should maximize the outcome for all voters, as such if a voter reports something which is not their true preference, the outcome will maximize the wrong preference and thus result in an outcome that is worse for you.

There are many more axioms one could reasonably argue for, however, these are enough to lead to the main impossibility result this work focuses on.

2.3 Negative results

Classic social choice theory has many negative results, one such example is the Condorcet cycle. This is a specific profile that results in a cycle in the majority relation, as shown in the following example.

EXAMPLE 2: Condorcet cycle

1	2	3	
a	b	c	Voters 1 and 3 prefer a to b , forming a majority, next voters 1 and 2 prefer b to c , forming another majority. However, voters 2 and 3 prefer c to a forming a majority, and thus creating a cycle.
b	c	a	
c	a	b	

It is not hard to convince oneself that under weak preferences the Condorcet cycle can occur anytime there are 3 or more alternatives and voters. While under strict preferences this can occur anytime the number of alternatives is odd and greater than 3, with the number of voters being a multiple of the number of alternatives. As we will show later, this profile can be the cause of some impossibility results.

One of the major negative results in social choice is that of the Gibbard Satterswaite theorem [1, 2].

Theorem 2.1. [Gibbard-Satterswaite] There exists no resolute Social Choice Function for elections with $|A| \geq 3$ that is surjective, strategyproof, and non-dictatorial.

Proof. ... □

2.4 Domain Restrictions

Many negative results are a consequence of a few ill-behaved profiles, if one can argue such profiles do not occur in the real election, there is some hope of constructing SCF's satisfying our axioms. To speak more formally about profiles "not occurring", we introduce Domain restrictions, for this we use the definition by Elkind et al. [3].

DEFINITION 1: *Domain*

Given a set of voters N , alternatives A , and conditions C , the domain \mathcal{D} of an election is the set of all profiles R such that all conditions C are satisfied.

This definition is different from usual definitions in social choice in so far as it talks about allowed profiles instead of allowed votes.

As stated earlier, the Condorcet profile is one such ill-behaved profile, as each alternative, holds a majority preference over another alternative. Naturally one might consider if this profile might even come up in practice, since though conceivable it seems generally unlikely that there exists a perfect split in opinions. Quite naturally one of the first "solutions" one might consider is when the number of voters is not a multiple of the number of alternatives, though this is hardly a useful solution since it only prevents Condorcet cycles, it is the first example of a domain restriction, we define it as follows

DEFINITION 2: $\mathcal{D}_{\text{No-tie}}$

Let X be the set of alternatives and N be the set of voters, of size n such that $n \neq k \cdot |X|$ for any $k \in \mathbb{N}$. We call this domain $\mathcal{D}_{\text{No-tie}}$.

This allows us to state our first proposition.

Proposition 2.2. The plurality rule never returns a $|X|$ -way tie between alternatives when applied to $\mathcal{D}_{\text{No-tie}}$

Proof. Assume, for the sake of contradiction, the plurality in fact does return a tie this must mean that all alternatives were ranked first an equal number of times, call this k ,

necessarily then, we have need exactly $k \cdot |X|$ voters, but this leads to a contradiction, as this would no longer be inside $\mathcal{D}_{\text{No-tie}}$. \square

This is a simple result, but it serves as an example on how we can use the properties of the domain to prove things about the election. Gaertner [4] establishes 2 ways in which a domain can be restricted. Firstly we can restrict the domain to a number of voters or alternatives, which is what we did in $\mathcal{D}_{\text{No-tie}}$. Secondly, the domain can be restricted to have a certain structure, such as being single-peaked.

2.4.1 Single-Peaked profiles

In a election the alternatives might represent a axis, such that a voters is prefers an alternative more if they are closer to them on the axis. For example, if the alternatives represent free-trade vs regulation, we can imagine that a voter that is of the opinion that free trade is of ultimate importance will prefer alternatives more the more the are on the side of free trade. More generally, we call a profile single-peaked if there exists an axis on which we can place the alternative such that all voters' preferences have a single peak on this axis. Definition 3 makes this notion formal.

DEFINITION 3: *Single-Peaked Profiles*

A profile P is single-peaked, if given some ordering \triangleleft over the alternatives, it holds that for all voters i , and all $a, b, c \in X$, if $a \triangleleft b \triangleleft c$, then either $a \succ_i b$ or $c \succ_i b$, but never both.

In this chapter we explore previous results, as well as introducing relevant concepts.

3.1 Condorcet Domain

If our goal is to prevent Condorcet cycles, or in general have transitive majority relations, the best we could hope to do is to apply our domain restriction such that our domain contains all profiles P such that P has a (weak) Condorcet winner. We call this domain $\mathcal{D}_{\text{Condorcet}}$. Under this domain, let $f_{\text{Condorcet}}$ be the Condorcet Rule, which picks a Condorcet winner. Then $f_{\text{Condorcet}}$ is strategyproof over $\mathcal{D}_{\text{Condorcet}}$ [3].

Proof. (Elkind et al. [3]). Assume, for the sake of a contradiction, we have profiles $P = (>_1 \dots >_i \dots >_n)$ and $P' = (>_1 \dots >_{i'} \dots >_n)$ such that:

$$f_{\text{Condorcet}}(P) = a, \quad f_{\text{Condorcet}}(P') = b, \quad \text{and } a \neq b$$

Then under P a strict majority $N' \subseteq N$ have $a > b$, but $i \notin N'$, thus in P' , N' is still a majority preferring a to b , but this is in contradiction to b winning in P' . \square

This result is strengthened by Campbell and Kelly [5, 6], showing that for an odd number of alternatives, $f_{\text{Condorcet}}$ is the only voting rule over $\mathcal{D}_{\text{Condorcet}}$ that is Strategyproof, Surjective and Non-dictatorial.

When Surjectivity is strengthened to Neutrality, and Non-dictatorship to Anonymity, $f_{\text{Condorcet}}$ is the only Strategyproof voting rule over $\mathcal{D}_{\text{Condorcet}}$ for an odd number of voters [7].

3.1.1 Hereditary Domains

Though this result is positive, we might wonder how stable it is, for this we need to define a notion of stability. One natural way to think about it is as follows: suppose one of the alternatives or voters drops out, do we keep the nice structure of the domain? If this is true we call a domain *Hereditary*.

DEFINITION 4: *Hereditary* (Elkind et al. [3])

A domain restriction onto \mathcal{D} is *hereditary* if, for every profile $P \in \mathcal{D}$, and every profile P' , that can be obtained by deleting voters and alternatives from P , P' is also in \mathcal{D}

$\mathcal{D}_{\text{Condorcet}}$ is not hereditary, this is easy to see through an example:

EXAMPLE 3: $\mathcal{D}_{\text{Condorcet}}$ is not hereditary

v_1	v_2	v_3	v_4
a	b	c	a
b	c	a	c
c	a	b	b

We can see that in this example, a is the weak Condorcet winner, as it beats b and is tied with c , however if we remove voter 4, we return to the original Condorcet cycle.

A domain not being hereditary means that the nice properties of the domain can be unstable, as the number of voters and alternatives might not be known or could be manipulated. Instead, we might want to look at hereditary domains. The first hereditary domain we present, will also be the main focus of this thesis. This is the domain of all single-peaked profiles.

Proposition 3.1. (Elkind et al. [3]). \mathcal{D}_{SP} is hereditary.

Proof. (Voter Deletion). If we remove a voter, this does not affect the other voters, thus the profile is still single-peaked. ✓

(Alternative Deletion). Consider any voter i and their single-peaked vote, if we remove some alternative x , to this voter all alternatives which voter i preferred to x stay in the same position, while all other alternatives move up one rank, thus preserving the order, and single-peakedness. ✓ □

Instead of ordering the alternatives, we can imagine instead ordering the voters, such that we have a leftmost and rightmost voter, and all other voters can be placed between

them based on their difference. In this case, a profile is single-crossing if, for any alternative a , its preference relation to another any alternative b flips at most once when traversing the voters in order \triangleleft .

DEFINITION 5: Single-Crossing Profiles (Elkind et al. [3])

A profile P is single-crossing w.r.t. some ordering \triangleleft , if for any $a, b \in X$, $\{i \in N : a \succ_i b\}$ and $\{i \in N : b \succ_i a\}$ are both intervals over $[n]$. A profile P is single crossing if the votes can be permuted such that it is single crossing w.r.t. some ordering.

Similar to single-peaked profiles, the domain of single-crossing profiles, \mathcal{D}_{SC} is also hereditary

Proposition 3.2. \mathcal{D}_{SC} is hereditary

Proof. (Voter Deletion). Deleting a voter preserves the ordering between voters, as such this cannot introduce a new crossing between alternatives. ✓

(Alternative Deletion). If we remove an alternative, the voters' rankings of the other alternatives does not change, thus preserving single-crossing. ✓ □

As to goal is to ensure we find ourselves in nicely structured domains, we need some mechanism through which we can ensure this is the case. Deliberation is the mechanism of choice, we will now provide a brief overview of the literature surrounding deliberation.

3.2 The History of Deliberation and Meta-Agreement

We have provided an overview of different domain restrictions and their properties, showing they avoid Condorcet cycles. Some argue however, that Condorcet cycles are empirically rare. The next section is dedicated to explaining why this is so through examining the historical ideas around deliberation and deliberative democracy, as well as that of Meta-Agreement.

3.2.1 Deliberation

Though deliberation is intuitively familiar, namely the process of multiple people talking through a problem with the goal of coming to an agreement, compromise or solution, providing a definition that is both clear and consistent with the literature in Political Science, Philosophy and Social choice is difficult. This intuition leaves some of the reasons for and goals of deliberation, as stated in the literature, unmentioned.

Freeman [8] gives an overview of deliberative democracy, in which he shares the intuitive idea that a deliberative democracy contains open discussion, open legislative deliberation and a pursuit of the common good. He also notes that there is no common agreement on the central features of a deliberative democracy, one account is that of deliberative democracy simply involving discussion among the public before voting. Another similar account is that this voting must not only be preceded by deliberation, but also general communication, all of which intended to change people's preferences. He further proceeds to give a more detailed conception of deliberative democracy, according to which a deliberative democracy is one in which political agents or their representatives

1. Aim to collect, deliberate and vote
2. Represent their sincere and informed judgements
3. Vote and deliberate on measures beneficial to the common good on the citizens
4. Are seen and see each other as political equals
5. Have Constitutional rights and their social means enable them to participate in public life
6. Are individually free, such that they have their own freely determined conceptions of the good
7. Have diverse and disagreeing conceptions of the good
8. Recognize and accept their duty as democratic citizens, and do not engage in public argument on the basis of their particular moral views incompatible with public reason.
9. Agree reason is public, in so much as it is related to and advances common interests of citizens
10. Agree that their common interest lies primarily in freedom, independence and equal status as citizens.

Firstly, why suddenly talk about deliberative democracy? how is this different from deliberation. Secondly, does this imply that this is already the case? Or should we aim to achieve a deliberative democracy?

These features allow us to be more precise when we talk about a deliberative democracy, and in turn be more careful about what deliberation must entail. Cohen [9] further argues that deliberation is needed for democratic legitimacy. By this he means that without deliberation, a democracy is simply the will of the majority, but since majority rule is unstable, it is simply a reflection of the particular institutional constraints at the time. He further goes on to describe the *ideal deliberative procedure* as follows

What does it mean to be unstable in this context? Elaborate on "particular institutional constraints"

1. Ideal deliberation is *free*, participants regard themselves as only bound by the results of the deliberation, and the preconditions thereof. Participants act in accordance with the decision made through deliberation, and it being agreed on is sufficient reason to do so.
2. Ideal deliberation is *reasoned*, parties are required to state their reasons for advancing proposals.
3. In ideal deliberation, parties are *equal*, both formally and substantively. There are no rules that single individuals out, and existing distributions of power do not lend a party the opportunity to contribute to deliberation.
4. Ideal deliberation aims to arrive at *consensus*, which can be rationally defended.

3.2.2 Meta-Agreement

Consensus, sometimes referred to as substantive agreement, then seems like a natural goal for deliberation. Elster [10] argues that this is not only the goal, but through unanimous agreement this process completely replaces voting, thereby circumventing Arrow's impossibility theorem: "Or rather, there would not be any need for an aggregation mechanism, since a rational discussion would tend to produce unanimous preferences." (p. 112). Though it would be desirable to circumvent Arrow's impossibility theorem, in practice people, even after deliberation might not, indeed often do not, come to full substantive agreement. List [11] instead proposed another lens through which we can analyze deliberation and the type of agreement it induces.

Under *Meta-agreement* individuals do not need to agree on their most preferred outcome, instead they only need to agree on the dimensions of the problem. To contrast this with substantive agreement, under which individuals do not need to conceive of the problem in the same way, all they need is to agree on the same outcome. This means that under substantive agreement, voters can agree outcome $a > b$ for different reasons, while under meta-agreement, if voters disagree on $a > b$ it must be for the same reason.

According to List [11] there are three hypotheses that need to be satisfied for deliberation to induce meta-agreement:

- D1 Deliberation leads people to discover a single *issue*-dimension
- D2 Deliberation lets people place all possible alternatives in this *issue*-dimension

D3 After this deliberation, people update their preferences by picking a preferred outcome, and all other rankings are based on the distance to this outcome in the *issue-dimension*

All these are necessary conditions for *meta-agreement*, from this is it also clear to see that, given that there is exactly 1 *issue-dimension*, single-peaked profiles are, by definition, a direct consequence. This is the main reason meta-agreement is desirable, as it lets us circumvent the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem [1, 2] through restricting the domain of preference profiles to the single-peaked domain \mathcal{D}_{SP}

List et al. [12] provide empirical evidence for this theory of deliberation, showing deliberation increases proximity to single-peakedness (PtS), which they define as $S = \frac{m}{n}$ where $n = |N|$ and m is the largest subset of voters such that their profile is single-peaked. Furthermore, they also introduce the notion of salience, which represents to what extent a topic is salient in the voting population. In order to test whether deliberation increases single-peakedness *through* meta-agreement, they test the following four hypotheses: (H1) deliberation increases proximity to single-peakedness. (H2')¹ high salience issues show less increase in PtS than low salience issues. (H3) Effective deliberation, in the sense that more is learned during deliberation, results in bigger increases of PtS. (H4) All things equal, the increase is largest for issues with natural *issue-dimensions*. They find support for all these hypothesis, showing that on low-moderate salience issues PtS increases following deliberation. As well as showing that individuals learning most show the greatest movement towards single-peakedness.

It is important to note that these claims simply predict what will happen, there is not much explanatory power to these claims. Little is known about to process be which voters signal the issue dimensions, nor how they decide on which ones to present.

Furthermore, Ottonelli and Porello [13] show meta-agreement to be a stronger requirement than it may seem at a first glance. Firstly for (D1) to hold, the *issue-dimension* must hold some semantic meaning, as otherwise it is unclear how people can exchange conceptualization of the problem otherwise. Furthermore, the issues must consist of 2 semantic issues, otherwise with only 1 dimension voters simply reach substantive agreement. A further restriction on these two dimensions is that they need to be opposite, with opposite justifications. If this is not the case, a voter can agree with both justifications, and thereby introduce a new dimension "balance", which then violates the conditions under which single-peaked profiles guarantee the existence of fair, strategyproof voting rules. D2 requires that all voters share the exact same semantic understanding of the

¹This is a test for a corollary. H2 states that the rate of increase of proximity to single-peakedness decreases. This is not experimentally testable, however since high salience means some sort of deliberation has happened before, they expect this to approximate this affect.

dimension, and the outcome associated with each alternative. Finally D3 requires D1 and D2 to have happened before in order. Clearly D3 is the weakest of the three.

Thus, meta-agreement as a means for single-peaked profiles is still quite restrictive, needing multiple forms of unanimity, and only applying to problems with certain properties. Nonetheless, meta-agreement could still provide explanatory power to deliberation.

3.3 Related Work

Rad and Roy [14] model deliberation and its effect on single-peakedness, though they argue single plateauedness is a more accurate term. To this end, they model each voter to have preferences order, and deliberation being the process of all voters announcing their preferences, after which all other voters update their current preference towards that of the announced ranking, in doing so they might have a bias towards their own preference, as such they try to minimize the distance between their current preference and the announced one. This process repeats until all voters have announced their opinion once, this happens for a number of rounds. The preference a voter adopts when updating must lie between their current profile and the announced profile, which profiles are considered to be “between” is defined by the distance metric used. They considered three metrics, the Kemeny-Snell (KS) [15], Duddy-Piggins (DP) [16], and Cook-Seiford (CS) [17]. Both KS and DP depend on the judgement set resulting from the voters preferences, the KS distance is then defined as the number of binary swaps a judgement set needs to undergo before it becomes the target judgement set, an example for such a swap would be going from $(a > b)$ to $\neg(a > b)$. The DP distance is defined on the graph of judgement sets, where 2 sets share an edge if there is no judgement set between them. Since KS and DP share their notion of betweenness, we introduce their betweenness as follows.

DEFINITION 6: *J-Betweenness*

A judgement set J_i is between preferences J_j and J_k if for every proposition about $x, y \in A$, J_i either agrees with J_j or J_k .

Figure 3.1 shows a graph used for the DP distance in the case of 3 alternatives, for simplicity the associated preferences are used to label the judgement sets.

The CS distance is simpler and is simply defined as the number of positions two voters disagree on, and a preference is between two others if for each position it agrees with one of the two preferences.

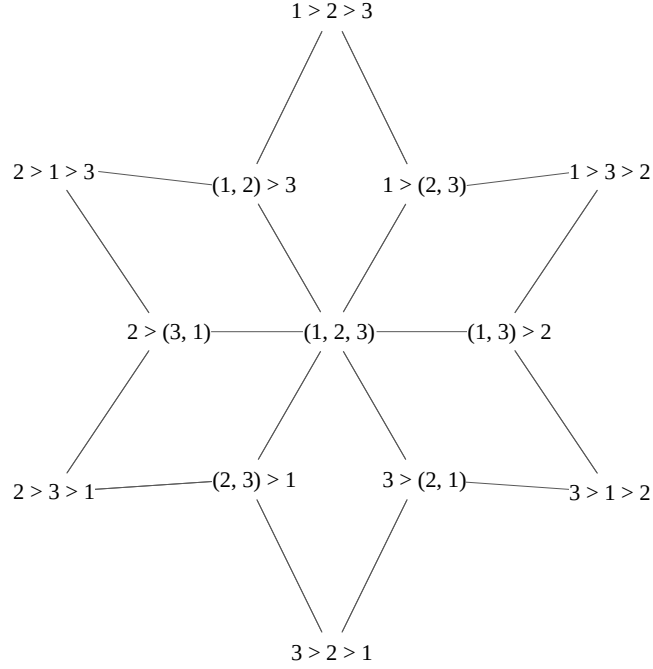


FIGURE 3.1: The graph of judgement sets for all preferences over three alternatives, brackets indicate ties.

Each distance has different trade-offs, CS is the simplest, but might exaggerate the distance when there are many alternatives, for example if 2 voters agree on the relative ranking of all but 1 alternative, which one voter happens to rank first, thereby shifting all other profiles right. The KS distance, using judgement sets instead of raw profiles captures this more effectively, while still being relatively easy to compute, but in cases of more disagreement, it is likely to over count the distance, since the binary changes to not capture logical necessities. For example, swapping $(a > b)$ to $\neg(a > b)$ must result in $(b > a)$ becoming true (in the case of strict preferences), thus one might reasonably conclude this should only count as 1 step. DP improves upon this, but in doing so becomes much harder to compute, mainly through the cost of constructing the full graph of judgement sets, which grows in $O(2^n)$ in the number of vertices, where n is the number of alternatives. This can easily be verified by noting that the number of judgements sets over n alternatives is $O(2^{n^2})$, where there is a proposition for each pair of alternatives, and a binary choice on each proposition.

Apart from these distances, they also define a voter as a tuple of a (weak) preference and a bias (towards their current position) $v = \langle r, b \rangle$, with $b \in \mathbb{R}_{[0,1]}$. Finally, a deliberation step $D_s : V \times r \rightarrow V$, with V being a set of voters and s being one of the spaces (KS, DP, CS). A round of deliberation consists of n deliberation steps, where each voter has announced their opinion once. We formulate this procedure in the following program:

```

input : Set of Voters  $V$ , metric space  $s$ 
output: Updated set of Voters  $V$ 

 $V_u \leftarrow V$  // Set of unannounced voters (references to  $V$ )
while  $|V_u| > 0$  do
    Select a random  $v \in V_u$ 
     $V_u \leftarrow V_u \setminus \{v\}$ 
     $V \leftarrow D_s(V, v, r)$  // Update voters based on  $v$ 's preference

```

The deliberation step D_s then updates all voters such that their new preference minimize the following formula.

$$r = \sqrt{bd_s(r_i, r')^2 + (1 - b)d_s(r_j, r')^2} \quad (3.1)$$

Where r_i, r_j are the voters and the announced preference, respectively, and r' is the voters new preference.

We present a replication and extension of their work Chapter 6. Furthermore, we present novel (negative) results based on this model in Chapter 4.

Though this model is simple and captures some communication of preferences, if we attempt to use it to model meta-agreement, it seems to be lacking in at least two important ways. Firstly, agents do not conceive of anything relating to the structure of the problem. They simply announce their preferences, and all other listen and update accordingly, thereby moving to some sort of substantive agreement. Secondly, the model presupposes that all opinions are equally defensible, and that each voter is equally able to formulate this defense. To address this we formulate a new model in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 Deliberative experiments

We now present some empirical studies showcasing the effects of deliberation in voting populations

3.3.1.1 America in One Room

In the model of deliberation of Rad and Roy [14], outlined in Section 3.3, aim to model deliberation and show that deliberation results in nicely structured profiles which allow for strategy proof voting rules. One important caveat, given by the authors as well, is all participants should honestly and truthfully participate in deliberation. We now provide a formal statement, showing deliberation does not prevent strategic behavior.

Proposition 4.1. The process of deliberation over $|A| \geq 3$ through deterministic deliberation procedure $D : \mathcal{L}(A)^n \rightarrow \mathcal{L}(A)^n$, followed by voting with voting rule f cannot be surjective, strategyproof and non-dictatorial.

Proof. Assume, towards a contradiction, such a pair of deliberative procedure (D) and voting rule (f) exists. Any deterministic deliberation procedure D could, in principle, be embedded into a voting rule $f'(\mathbf{R}) = f(D(\mathbf{R}))$, such that the voting rule simulates D before applying f , which would result in voting rule f' being surjective, strategyproof and non-dictatorial. This is a contradiction, by the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem [1, 2]. \square

We extend upon this result, showing the inclusion of biases in voters does not mitigate the negative result. For this we define DB as follows:

DEFINITION 7: *Biased Deliberation*

A deliberative procedure with biases $DB : \mathcal{L}(A)^n \times \mathbb{R}_{[0,1]}^n \rightarrow \mathcal{L}(A)^n$ is an extension on a standard deliberative procedure. DB has access to the bias each voter has to their own opinion.

We now proceed with a corollary on Proposition 4.1. Towards this we assume biases are true, in the sense that a voter cannot help but be 'convinced' by the presented profiles as much as their bias allows for this. We think this assumption is a weak and natural in the light of the current model. Furthermore, a violation of this assumption would not imply the following corollary to be false, instead the bias itself becomes a point of strategy, allowing voters to pretend to be more hardheaded than they in fact are.

Corollary 4.2. A deliberative procedure with biases, followed by voting with any voting rule f , cannot be surjective, strategyproof and non-dictatorial

The proof of this follows from a reduction of the biased Deliberation DB to general deliberation D .

Proof. Take any election consisting of biased deliberation DB and voting rule f , since biases \mathbf{b} are true by assumption, they must be fixed, meaning that \mathbf{b} is not reported but some fact of the matter. If this election was immune to strategic manipulation, then a deliberative procedure D could embed this \mathbf{b} , and simulate biased deliberation DB, resulting in $D'(\mathbf{R}) = \text{DB}(\mathbf{R}, \mathbf{b})$. As a direct corollary to Proposition 4.1, such a D' cannot be surjective, strategyproof and non-dictatorial, showing a contradiction. \square

This result is independent of the metric space chosen. From here we now show that even if we take the deliberation procedures on its own, it still not immune to strategic manipulation. For this we restate strategyproofness as follows:

DEFINITION 8: *Strategyproofness of Deliberation*

A deliberation procedure is strategyproof if there exists no voter i such that there is a profile \mathbf{R} , in which i misreporting their preference R_i as R'_i results in the profile after deliberation $D(\mathbf{R})$ is further from the i 's original preference than if they had reported R'_i . This distance is measured as

$$\text{Dist}(R_i, D(\mathbf{R})) \geq \text{Dist}(R_i, D(\mathbf{R}')).$$

Where the Dist function is simply the sum of all distances between R_i and all preferences in \mathbf{R} .

One important note is that in the final profile, the preferences of voter i might not be the same as it was before the deliberation. That is why the distance is calculated w.r.t. i 's original preference. Intuitively this could be read as i misreporting their preference to prevent even their own mind from being changed. Using this definition, we show that the deliberative procedures, under the metric spaces KS , DP , CS are not strategyproof. Stated as follows:

Proposition 4.3. Deliberation under distance measures KS , DP , CS is not strategyproof, for $n \geq 2$ and $m \geq 3$.

We provide a proof by construction, we show how to do this for KS and DP , as they share the same profiles for this proof. The proof for CS is laid out in Appendix A

Proof. Assume the following population: we have voter 1 whose bias is 1, and all other voters $j \neq 1$ have bias 0.5. Furthermore, we have $\text{Dist}(R_1, R_j) = 2$ for all j . Voter 1 now has the option to report R'_1 instead, which has $\text{Dist}(R'_1, R_j) = 4$ and $\text{Dist}(R'_1, R_1) = 2$. If voter 1 reports R'_1 , then all j will update towards 1's true preference, as using equation (3.1) we get $r(R_j, R'_1, R_1) = 4$, while $r(R_j, R'_1, R_j) = r(R_j, R'_1, R'_1) = 16$.

Resulting in $\text{Dist}(R_1, D(R_1, \mathbf{R}_{-1})) = 2(n-1) > \text{Dist}(R_1, D(R'_1, \mathbf{R}_{-1})) = 0$.

Since 1 has a bias of 1, the order of the deliberation has no effect.

We now show that for distance measures KS and DP , there exists these 3 preference orderings such that the necessary profile can be constructed. We use the following profiles:

$$R'_1 = a > c > b > \dots > m,$$

$$R_1 = a > b > c > \dots > m,$$

$$R_j = b > a > c > \dots > m.$$

As we are only allowing strict preferences, both distance metrics behave the same locally, with the distance of two profiles being 2 whenever one is 1 swap of alternatives away from the other. This means that R_i and R_j have a distance of 2, as well as R'_1 and R_1 having a distance of 2. In this case the total distance from R'_1 to R_j is simply the sum of the local distances for both distance metrics, thus satisfying our requirements.

□

These results show it is likely frivolous to attempt to design a strategy proof deliberation procedure of the likes shown. Instead, focus is now brought to modeling 'ideal' deliberation, as laid out in Section 3.2.2. We provide the following mathematical formulations to the four tenants laid out. *Freedom*: voters can report any preference, *Reason*: voters are rational, *Equality*: no voter has special rights *Consensus*: voters deliberate aim to reach consensus. Which we extend with *Honesty*: Voters represent their true beliefs and preferences only.

4.1 Our model

In an attempt to model meta-agreement through deliberation, our model needs to make a proper distinction between the 'substantive level' and the 'meta level'. In order to do

so, we propose the following, let $\Psi = \{\psi_1, \dots, \psi_k\}$ denote the set of policies that could be implemented, where each $\psi_i \in \mathbb{R}^m$. A voter $i \in N$, at the base level has support for these policies, represented as an integer on an interval over \mathbb{R} . At a meta level, however, a voter has an understanding of which policies are supported by which alternatives. This is modelled as matrix, representing the estimated support for each policy for a candidate, thus voter i has $\Sigma_i(\psi_j, x)$, which returns these voters' estimated support of ψ_j by alternative x .

This model does not explicitly model $D1$, the discovery of a common issue dimension, on the one hand, if the alternatives can be reduced to a line, this model should be able to capture this, even if this one line crosses through multiple issue dimension. For example if all issues are strongly (negatively) correlated on the side of the alternatives, but not on the voters, this model allows for the voters to recognize this by properly estimating the alternatives' support matrices, while voters themselves can keep an uncorrelated support vector. In the case that the actual issue dimension is simply not included in Ψ , our model would not be able to discover this new dimension, even if human deliberation feasibly could. More straightforwardly, if we the measured support is irrelevant to the true issue dimension(s), our model cannot recover the true issue dimension.

More specifically, our model is adapted from the DeGroot learning model, which originally strictly models probability distributions. In that model, a voter is a node in a graph, and deliberation can be modeled as a Markov chain. In our model, we keep voters as nodes on a graph, as well as a Markov chain, however, instead of a probability distribution, a voter has a support vector $S_i \in \mathbb{R}_{[0,1]}^{|\Psi|}$, and estimated support matrix $\Sigma_i \in \mathbb{R}_{[0,1]}^{|A| \times |\Psi|}$.

Note that this does not mean that all policies have to have any (estimated) support, nor that an alternative can only support a specific number of policies, in principle there can be alternatives that represent the status quo, and thus do not support any policies, and there can be alternatives that are estimated to support all policies. Let $S = [S_1, \dots, S_n]^T$ denote the population opinion, which has shape $|N| \times |\Psi|$.

In order to extract a ballot from this matrix, we assume a voter ranks the alternatives such that the most preferred alternative has the smallest distance between the estimated support matrix for that alternative and her own. We further allow this distance to be weighted, such that a voter may have one or more policies they think are more important. We normalize these weights such that the sum of weights is 1.

Next we define the deliberative procedure, for which we will provide two models. Firstly a simpler model, which stays closer to the original DeGroot model, using only a transition matrix. Secondly we extend this model to be an Agent Based model, in which

we allow agents to have additional properties. In both models we allow voters to deliberate on both their own support vector and the estimated support matrix, capturing deliberation on substantive basis as well as a meta basis, respectively.

Firstly, a deliberative step can be modelled using a transition matrix T , defined as follows:

$$T = \begin{bmatrix} t_{11} & \dots & t_{1n} \\ \vdots & \ddots & \vdots \\ t_{n1} & \dots & t_{nn} \end{bmatrix}$$

Here each t_{ij} represents how much voter i trusts the opinion of voter j , in order for this to be a proper stochastic matrix, all rows must sum to one, and have non-negative entries. Although this last requirement could be seen as unrealistic, as a voter might actively distrust another voter and update away from their opinion.

Using this, we can now model the opinions of voters after a deliberative step as a matrix multiplication on some matrix M :

$$M^{(1)} = TM^{(0)} \tag{4.1}$$

Each entry in the matrix then is simply a linear combination of the other entries in that same column in $M^{(0)}$. In the case of $M = \Sigma$, this means that voter i 's support vector becomes a linear combination of all support matrices, weighted by the trust in each voter. Deliberation can now be modelled by taking powers of the trust matrix, T^t , representing t deliberation steps. This matrix now represents how much each voter i has learned from the other voters, and can then be used to right multiply both the support and the estimated support matrix to calculate a voters beliefs after deliberation.

Finally, we provide an example of the first deliberation round in example 4.2, since it is identical for both S and Σ , we only show it for Σ . The example also shows how voters can initially agree on their support for policies, while disagreeing on their preferred candidates, using meta-agreement to come to a consensus.

EXAMPLE 4: DeGroot deliberation

We have voters $N = \{1, 2\}$, events $\Psi = \{\psi_1, \psi_2\}$, and candidates $A = \{a, b\}$. The voters both think that $\psi_1 = 1, \psi_2 = 0$, meaning that they fully support the first policy and reject the second, they estimate the support by alternatives as:

1	ψ_1	ψ_2	2	ψ_1	ψ_2
a	0.5	0	a	1	0.9
b	0.5	1	b	1	0.1

We can encode this into the estimated support matrices as follows:

$$\Sigma_1 = \begin{bmatrix} 0.5 & 0 \\ 0.5 & 1 \end{bmatrix} \quad \Sigma_2 = \begin{bmatrix} 1 & 0.9 \\ 1 & 0.1 \end{bmatrix}$$

This results in voter 1 preferring candidate b over candidate a , while voter 2, prefers a . Intuitively, since voter 1 thinks ψ_1 is equally supported by each alternative, while ψ_2 is not supported by a , it makes sense for them to prefer candidate a . Looking at the distances, we see that the absolute distance between voter 1 and alternative a is 0.5, while for alternative b it is 1.5. For voter 2 we see that the distance to a is 0.9, while for alternative b it is 0.1. Thus, voter 2 prefers b to a .

Now deliberating with the following trust matrix:

$$T = \begin{bmatrix} 0.3 & 0.7 & 0.2 & 0.8 \end{bmatrix}$$

We get the following updated opinions:

$$\begin{aligned} \Sigma^{(1)} &= T \Sigma^{(0)} \\ &= T \begin{bmatrix} \Sigma_1 & \Sigma_2 \end{bmatrix}^T \\ &= \begin{bmatrix} (0.3\Sigma_1 + 0.7\Sigma_2) & (0.2\Sigma_1 + 0.8\Sigma_2) \end{bmatrix}^T \\ &= \begin{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} 0.85 & 0.63 \\ 0.85 & 0.37 \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} 0.9 & 0.72 \\ 0.9 & 0.18 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}^T \end{aligned}$$

These new estimates are not yet in full consensus, however, looking at their corresponding ballots there is consensus on their most preferred alternative, as they both agree that alternatives support ψ_1 equally, while b supports ψ_2 less.

4.1.1 Consensus

In using a single trust matrix for both support and estimated support matrices, we either have both meta and substantive agreement, or neither. But using two matrices would require justification. Maybe here we can introduce biases again, were we assume the original trust matrix, but we add some kind of "meta" bias and "substantive" bias, where these biases reflect how much they are willing to change their minds. In terms of analysis this would not really make things different, but for experimentation we might be able to argue that people might be more willing to change their views on the meta level, and we can experiment with lower substantive bias.

Using this model of deliberation, meta-agreement can be seen as some estimated support matrix over all policies. If the goal of deliberation is meta-agreement, then the study of interest becomes the dynamics of convergence towards a unified estimate.

We present a summary of results relating to strongly connected graphs, as well as graphs for which there exists only closed and strongly connected subsets of nodes. For other results we refer to Golub and Jackson [18]. Firstly we focus on the strongly connected graphs.

Proposition 4.4. (Golub and Jackson [18]). For a strongly connected matrix T , the following properties are equivalent:

- o T is Convergent
- o T is Aperiodic
- o There exists a left eigenvector s for matrix T , with corresponding eigenvalue 1, whose entries sum to one, such that for every P_i , we have

$$\left(\lim_{t \rightarrow \infty} T^t P \right)_i = sP$$

This result is positive for studying the convergence dynamics, as no knowledge of the initial distribution is needed to determine convergence, it allows us to simply verify one of these three properties on the network. Though strongly connected graphs might be a strong requirement, in the case of small scale (in person) deliberation, this might be realistic. Fortunately, even outside this setting it might be possible to reach convergence. For this we first define what a closed set of nodes is.

DEFINITION 9: Closed set of Nodes

A set of Nodes $C = \{1, \dots, n\}$ is closed if for each $i, j \in C$ we have $T_{ij} \geq 0$ and for each $i \in C, j \notin C$ we have $T_{ij} = 0$

Using this definition, if each node is part of a closed set, we can form the following proposition

Proposition 4.5. (Golub and Jackson [18]). If for each $i \in N$, i is a member of a closed set in the graph, and each closed set is strongly connected, T is convergent.

4.2 Agent Based Deliberation

I have not thought about the following section much yet, I think in principle the elements in orange might be interesting, but I could also easily see them being too complicated to implement while also being not very useful. Everything else I have some more confidence in.

For the Agent Based model, we allow for granularity in how voters update their support, as well as evolving the trust matrices. Firstly, each voter now has a knowledge score, an importance vector, and a history. These additional properties allow for the following, firstly with a knowledge score, we can inform the transaction of ideas between two voters, for example, more knowledgeable voters could be more convincing. Secondly using the importance vector, we can guide conversation, two voters deliberating might place emphasis on discussing policies they deem most important, and might be more open to changing their minds on less important policies. Finally using the history, the trust matrix can be updated to allow voters to trust people they have successfully interacted with more. We will now define how these interactions occur based on the trust matrix.

During each time step t , voter i picks a conversational partner, where the probability of talking to some voter j is determined by the T_{ij} . Once each voter has picked their conversational partner, groups are formed to contain all voters in a chain of conversation, for example if voter 1 decided to speak to voter 2 and voters 2 and 3 decide to talk to each other, they end up talking between the three of them. It is important to note that a voter can "talk to themselves", which results in them not talking at all unless it so happens that someone speaks to them. All voters now update their history to include their current conversational partners. During the conversation, the first step is to determine whether to discuss on the meta or the substantive level, randomly decided, where the probabilities are proportional T.B.D.. Then, each voter announces their (estimated) support on a subset of the policies, this subset is determined by her importance vector, where she announces her support on that topic with probability proportional to the importance. As a result all voters update their views, based on their knowledge, the knowledge of the announcer, the voter's importance placed on the policy and finally the trust they have in the opinion of the announcer. We capture by minimizing the following formula, adapted from Rad and Roy [14]:

$$\sqrt{k_i \iota_{i,j} b_i d(S_i, j, S_i, j')^2 - ((1 - k)(1 - \iota_{i,j})(1 - b_i) d(S_i, j, S_i, j')^2)} \quad (4.2)$$

Where k_i is voter i 's knowledge, normalized to be between 0 and 1, $\iota_{i,j}$ is the importance she places on policy ψ_j , and b_i is the biases she has towards her own opinion.

The following updates seem useful to allow us to capture how voters don't just change their opinion, but their general attitudes towards each other and the policies as well. The aim to use this to allow us to capture the following:

- Voters becoming more knowledgeable (This was observed in the America in one room experiment)
- Voters grouping together, essentially creating "friendships" with people they talked to before. I might want to change the model to also allow people do trust people less under some circumstances
- Change the importance the place on policies as a function of the "social group"

Furthermore, I would use this to argue why small scale deliberation with strangers is as beneficial as it is, since people do not know each other, all these are "uniform", and they get to interact more sincerely. This apposed to broad interaction people have in their daily lives where they interact with similar people, and place importance accordingly.

EXAMPLE 5: A

ter the conversation step, a voter can update her knowledge, importance and trust. Firstly a voter's knowledge increases as **T.B.D.**, the importance on each topic increases, and is renormalized. Finally a voter's trust in their conversational partners increases with some amount, distributed over all the conversational partners in their group at time t , and is again renormalized. This trust updating allows us to capture two things: People can get into (small) echo chambers, where a voter can start to distrust everyone but themselves (or a small selection of people). This however, also lets us model exposure effects, where a voter can come to trust people after their first interaction with them.

$$\Sigma_1 = \begin{bmatrix} 0.5 & 0 \\ 0.5 & 1 \end{bmatrix} \quad \Sigma_2 = \begin{bmatrix} 1 & 0.9 \\ 1 & 0.1 \end{bmatrix}$$

This results in voter 1 preferring candidate b over candidate a , while voter 2, prefers a . Intuitively, since voter 1 thinks ψ_1 is equally supported by each alternative, while ψ_2 is not supported by a , it makes sense for them to prefer candidate a . Looking at the distances, we see that the absolute distance between voter 1 and alternative a is 0.5, while for alternative b it is 1.5. For voter 2 we see that the distance to a is 0.9, while for alternative b it is 0.1. Thus, voter 2 prefers b to a .

Now deliberating with the following trust matrix:

$$T = \begin{bmatrix} 0.30.70.20.8 \end{bmatrix}$$

We get the following updated opinions:

$$\begin{aligned} \Sigma^{(1)} &= T \Sigma^{(0)} \\ &= T \begin{bmatrix} \Sigma_1 & \Sigma_2 \end{bmatrix}^T \\ &= \begin{bmatrix} (0.3\Sigma_1 + 0.7\Sigma_2) & (0.2\Sigma_1 + 0.8\Sigma_2) \end{bmatrix}^T \\ &= \begin{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} 0.85 & 0.63 \\ 0.85 & 0.37 \end{bmatrix} & \begin{bmatrix} 0.9 & 0.72 \\ 0.9 & 0.18 \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}^T \end{aligned}$$

These new estimates are not yet in full consensus, however, looking at their corresponding ballots there is consensus on their most preferred alternative, as they both agree that alternatives support ψ_1 equally, while b supports ψ_2 less.

4.2.1 Consensus

In using a single trust matrix for both support and estimated support matrices, we either have both meta and substantive agreement, or neither. But using two matrices would require justification. Maybe here we can introduce biases again, were we assume the original trust matrix, but we add some kind of "meta" bias and "substantive" bias, where these biases reflect how much they are willing to change their minds. In terms of analysis this would not really make things different, but for experimentation we might be able to argue that people might be more willing to change their views on the meta level, and we can experiment with lower substantive bias.

Using this model of deliberation, meta-agreement can be seen as some estimated support matrix over all policies. If the goal of deliberation is meta-agreement, then the study of interest becomes the dynamics of convergence towards a unified estimate.

We present a summary of results relating to strongly connected graphs, as well as graphs for which there exists only closed and strongly connected subsets of nodes. For other results we refer to Golub and Jackson [18]. Firstly we focus on the strongly connected graphs.

Proposition 4.6. (Golub and Jackson [18]). For a strongly connected matrix T , the following properties are equivalent:

- o T is Convergent
- o T is Aperiodic
- o There exists a left eigenvector s for matrix T , with corresponding eigenvalue 1, whose entries sum to one, such that for every P_i , we have

$$\left(\lim_{t \rightarrow \infty} T^t P \right)_i = sP$$

This result is positive for studying the convergence dynamics, as no knowledge of the initial distribution is needed to determine convergence, it allows us to simply verify one of these three properties on the network. Though strongly connected graphs might be a strong requirement, in the case of small scale (in person) deliberation, this might be realistic. Fortunately, even outside this setting it might be possible to reach convergence. For this we first define what a closed set of nodes is.

DEFINITION 10: Closed set of Nodes

A set of Nodes $C = \{1, \dots, n\}$ is closed if for each $i, j \in C$ we have $T_{ij} \geq 0$ and for each $i \in C, j \notin C$ we have $T_{ij} = 0$

Using this definition, if each node is part of a closed set, we can form the following proposition

Proposition 4.7. (Golub and Jackson [18]). If for each $i \in N$, i is a member of a closed set in the graph, and each closed set is strongly connected, T is convergent.

4.3 Agent Based Deliberation

I have not thought about the following section much yet, I think in principle the elements in orange might be interesting, but I could also easily see them being too complicated to implement while also being not very useful. Everything else I have some more confidence in.

For the Agent Based model, we allow for granularity in how voters update their support, as well as evolving the trust matrices. Firstly, each voter now has a knowledge score, an importance vector, and a history. These additional properties allow for the following, firstly with a knowledge score, we can inform the transaction of ideas between two voters, for example, more knowledgeable voters could be more convincing. Secondly using the importance vector, we can guide conversation, two voters deliberating might place emphasis on discussing policies they deem most important, and might be more open to changing their minds on less important policies. Finally using the history, the trust matrix can be updated to allow voters to trust people they have successfully interacted with more. We will now define how these interactions occur based on the trust matrix.

During each time step t , voter i picks a conversational partner, where the probability of talking to some voter j is determined by the T_{ij} . Once each voter has picked their conversational partner, groups are formed to contain all voters in a chain of conversation, for example if voter 1 decided to speak to voter 2 and voters 2 and 3 decide to talk to each other, they end up talking between the three of them. It is important to note that a voter can "talk to themselves", which results in them not talking at all unless it so happens that someone speaks to them. All voters now update their history to include their current conversational partners. During the conversation, the first step is to determine whether to discuss on the meta or the substantive level, randomly decided, where the probabilities are either simply split exactly between meta level and substantive level discussion, or proportional to the disagreement on each level, as measured by the sum of all pair wise distances on the support vectors or estimated support matrices for the substantive level and meta level respectively. Then, each voter announces their (estimated) support on a subset of the policies, this subset is determined by her importance vector, where she announces her support on that topic with probability proportional to the importance. As a result all voters update their views, based on their knowledge, the knowledge of the announcer, the voter's importance placed on the policy and finally the

trust they have in the opinion of the announcer. We capture by minimizing the following formula, adapted from Rad and Roy [14]:

$$\sqrt{(1 - (k_j - k_i))b_i d(S_i, S')^{\iota_i + \iota_j} - (1 - (k_i - k_j))(1 - b_i)d(S_j, S')^{\iota_j + \iota_i}} \quad (4.3)$$

Where k_i is voter i 's knowledge, normalized to be between 0 and 1, $\iota_{i,j}$ is the importance she places on policy ψ_j , and b_i is the biases she has towards her own opinion.

The following updates seem useful to allow us to capture how voters don't just change their opinion, but their general attitudes towards each other and the policies as well. The aim to use this to allow us to capture the following:

- Voters becoming more knowledgeable (This was observed in the America in one room experiment)
- Voters grouping together, essentially creating "friendships" with people they talked to before. I might want to change the model to also allow people do trust people less under some circumstances
- Change the importance the place on policies as a function of the "social group"

Furthermore, I would use this to argue why small scale deliberation with strangers is as beneficial as it is, since people do not know each other, all these are "uniform", and they get to interact more sincerely. This apposed to broad interaction people have in their daily lives where they interact with similar people, and place importance accordingly.

After the conversation step, a voter can update her knowledge, importance and trust. Firstly a voter's knowledge increases as T.B.D., the importance on each topic increases, and is renormalized. Finally, a voter's trust in their conversational partners increases with some amount, distributed over all the conversational partners in their group at time t , and is again renormalized. This trust updating allows us to capture two things: People can get into (small) echo chambers, where a voter can start to distrust everyone but themselves (or a small selection of people). This however, also lets us model exposure effects, where a voter can come to trust people after their first interaction with them.

I think that we can use the agent based framework to get some simple results that make intuition more formal. For example as I just mentioned, echo chambers can be a result of consecutive isolation of small groups or individuals. I did not write any of these out as the specifics will strongly depend on the updating functions as well as which parameters we end up including. I think that we can use the agent based framework to get some simple results that make intuition more formal. For example as I just mentioned, echo chambers can be a result of consecutive isolation of small groups or individuals. I did

not write any of these out as the specifics will strongly depend on the updating functions as well as which parameters we end up including.

We proceed with the methods used to replicate the paper by Rad and Roy [14], as well as the experimental setup of our own model. Links to the data used for these experiments can be found in Chapter 9. The programs are implemented using Ocaml, and Python.

5.1 Replication

We implement the model as described in Section 3.3, agents are only allowed strict preferences over all candidates. All experiments are done with 3 alternatives, and 51 voters. The number of voters is specifically chosen to be an odd number, as this prevents perfect ties between alternatives. We measure all evaluations relating to strict preferences, as reported by Rad and Roy [14], in addition to those we also measure the number of Condorcet winners.

5.2 Experiments

We aim to replicate the findings by the America in One Room experiments [19], to this end we use two models. Firstly we use the adapted DeGroot model as laid out in Section 4.1, then we extend these results using our Agent Based model. The original experiment had a control group as well as the experimental group. To model the control group, we map all the voters onto a graph of academic citations in physics [20]. We explain this mapping in the next section, as well as its computational difficulties. The experimental group is simply modelled as a densely connected network, the weights of the edges, and thus the values of the trust matrix, are generated using three methods: *Uniform*, *Credibility-based*, *Knowledge-Based*. *Uniform* spreads the weight uniformly amongst all neighbors of some node, *Credibility-based* spreads the trust proportional to

that neighbors outgoing edges, finally, Knowledge-based spreads the trust proportional to the influencing voter's knowledge, meaning that for voter i , they trust voter j more if j is more knowledgeable.

5.2.1 Voter Mapping

In order to simulate realistic information flow through the control group, we aim to use a natural graph structure, as well as a natural mapping from voters to nodes. Firstly, in order to generate the graph, a starting graph is taken, for example the graph of academic citations, and the TIES [21] algorithm is then used to sample exactly n nodes from this graph. The TIES Algorithm first samples an edge, and adds both the source and target node to the new graph, these stage is called the sampling stage. After the desired number of nodes has been reached, we proceed to the induction step, during which all the edges that exist between the sampled nodes in the original graph are added to the new graph. This algorithm allows for the use of large, natural graphs, by scaling them down to the number of nodes desired.

Once the proper graph is generated, we calculate the pairwise shortest paths between all nodes, as well as the distance in voter opinions. We then find a bijection between the voters and the nodes such that the difference between the shortest path distance and the opinion distance is minimized.

We now proceed to show that mapping voters to a graph as just described is NP-Hard, we call this problem Distance based Voter Mapping. We prove two statements regarding its complexity.

Theorem 5.1. Distance based Voter mapping is NP-Hard, when using the ℓ_2 -norm

Proof. The proof follows from a reduction to the Quadratic Assignment Problem.

Assume we have matrix A containing all the distances between each pair of voters, and matrix B containing all shortest paths in graph G . Mapping the voters from A to nodes in B requires finding a bijection f such that it minimizes the following expression:

$$\begin{aligned} & \sum_i \sum_j \sqrt{(A_{i,j} - B_{f(i),f(j)})^2} \\ & \propto \sum_i \sum_j A_{i,j}^2 - 2A_{i,j}B_{f(i),f(j)} + B_{f(i),f(j)}^2 \\ & = C - \frac{1}{2} \sum_i \sum_j A_{i,j}B_{f(i),f(j)} + \sum_i \sum_j B_{f(i),f(j)}^2 \end{aligned}$$

In the first step, we note that minimizing the term in the square root is equivalent to

minimizing the square root itself. In the last step we note that the sum of both matrices is a constant thus we are minimized in the product of entries in the two matrices, thus the structure of the problem is identical to QAP. We now note that The only restriction we have on the distance matrix A , is that the voters can be embedded in a Euclidian space, however even under this constraint QAP remains NP-Hard [22]. \square

Corollary 5.2. Distance Based Voter mapping is NP-Hard, when using the ℓ_1 -norm

Proof. First assume that matrices A and B , representing the same matrices as before, are now binary matrices. Under this assumption the ℓ_1 - and ℓ_2 -norms are identical. Under this –strong– restriction, we have reduced the problem to 0-1-QAP, which is NP-Hard [23]. \square

Despite these negative results, we enlist the help of QAP-solver [24] to find solutions, using the Fast Approximate QAP Algorithm [25]. We find the solver does not consistently find better solutions. Given the number of simulation ran, it is infeasible to attempt to refine solutions to consistently be better than random solutions.

5.2.2 DeGroot extension

1. List Graph used
 - Prove mapping is computationally hard?
2. List parameters to be varied
3. Mention metrics of interest

5.2.3 Analysis

1. Explain data set, as well has what a proper simulation should look like
 - Similar trends for control vs treatment \rightarrow Find pivotal voters to maximally disperse information?
2. Statistical Tests
 - Effect of single issue voters (e.g. all share similar importance vectors, for example as result of recent event) on single-peakedness
 - Effect of difference graphs, twitter vs academia etc.
 - Condorcet winners?
 - Num alternatives vs proximity to single peakedness
3. sensitivity analysis
 - Explain sensitivity analysis, Sobol indices

We first present a full replication and extension of the work by Rad and Roy [14]. Then we present the simulations based on our model of meta-deliberation, as well as the results of the sensitivity analysis on both models. All code for the replication, main experiment and visualizations can be found in [this Repository](#).

6.1 Replication

We are able to fully replicate the results found by Rad and Roy [14], in Figure 6.1 we see that while the bias is less than 0.73, all metric results in a-cyclic preferences. We also replicate the behavior of the KS metric, where biases in the range of 0.73-0.85, show even some initial a-cyclic profiles can become cyclic. Figure 6.2 Further explains this by showing that within this range we always observe 3 unique profile for the KS metric, while DP and CS have already settled on 6 profiles, thereby representing all possible preferences. Figure 6.3 shows KS introduces ambiguity in the case that there was a Condorcet winner, resulting in losing the original nice profile. Finally, the proximity to single-peakedness shows a slightly more positive note for the KS metric, showing that while the DP and CS bottom out to the minimum proximity to single-peakedness, KS stays relatively close. Though this should be taken with a grain of salt, as it is likely a consequence of the unique preferences being smaller.

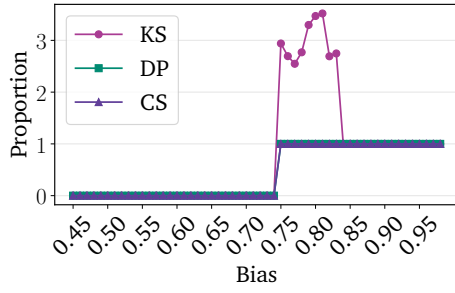


FIGURE 6.1: The proportion of cyclic profiles remaining, 0 indicating that no cyclic profiles were present after deliberation.

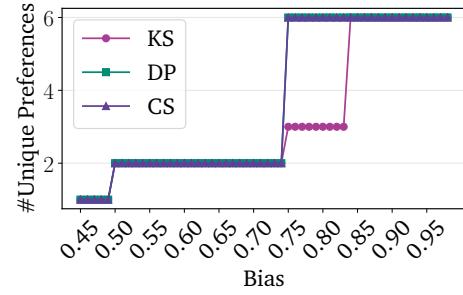


FIGURE 6.2: Number of unique preferences at the final step of deliberation.

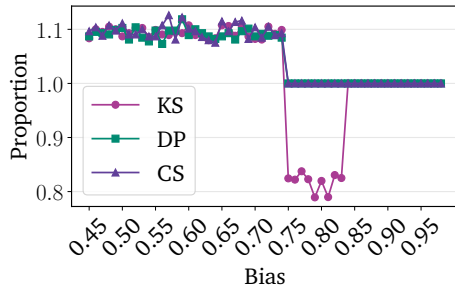


FIGURE 6.3: The proportion of Condorcet winners left after deliberation, value above one indicate Condorcet winners emerging during deliberation

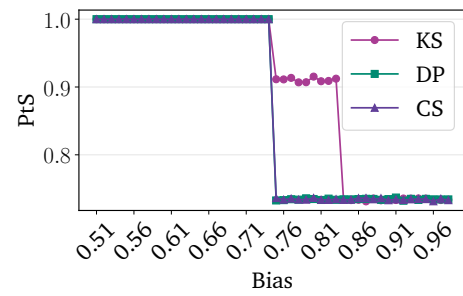


FIGURE 6.4: Proximity to single-peakedness after deliberation. Proximity to single-peakedness as defined in Section 3.3.

6.2 DeGroot Model

We now present the results of our model based on the DeGroot learning process. The deliberation group, which is supposed to represent a small group with deeper talks with everyone on the group, is analysed first. The deliberation group is modelled as a dense graph, with a few voters. Though the original data supplied group numbers, for these experiments voters were assigned to their groups arbitrarily. In terms of the final measures, we focus on whether the final profiles are cyclic, whether they have a Condorcet winner, how many unique profiles there are, and their proximity to being singly peaked. Proximity to single peakedness is measured in two ways. When the simulation size allows for it, we measure the proximity in terms of the number of voters that would need to be removed for the full profile to become singly peaked. This particular method is NP-complete [26], though it allows for a 2-approximation, we cannot reliably use it for larger groups, given the sheer number of simulation necessary. The other notion of proximity, which we will always measure, is the proximity in terms of the number of candidates that need to be removed for the profile to become singly peaked. This can

Parameter	Description
Number of Voters	The number of voters in the simulation, representing either the deliberation group, or the control population.
Number of Candidates	The number of candidates to be voted on.
Candidate Generator	The way the candidates are generated. Either a random voter is selected for each candidate, or 10 random voters get averaged into one candidate.
Bias	The bias all voters have towards their own opinion.
Time steps	The number of deliberation "steps" the voters undergo.

TABLE 6.1: The parameters of the DeGroot learning based model, as well as their descriptions

be done in $O(|V| \cdot |C|^3)$ [27], though the implementation used is that of the PrefTools library [?], which implements a slower $O(|V| \cdot |C|^5)$ algorithm [26].

We use the AMERICA IN ONE ROOM dataset [19] for the support vectors of all voters. As this dataset does not contain full preference rankings, we validate the explanatory power of the model as follows. We aim to show that under different numbers of voters and candidates and different ways to generate candidates, we can find bias factors and deliberation times which minimize the error of our model. Through showing these positive results for multiple different (plausible) scenarios we argue that model does capture the learning process. We then proceed to analyse the results in relation to this dataset, interpreting the optimal bias values, as well as looking at the rate of converges given "optimal" parameters. For this analysis, all configurations were run 100 times.

6.2.1 Optimal parameters

Between the deliberation group and the control group, if we look at the final time step, we find that both perform best if the bias is set to be around 1, though this differs based on the other parameters. This seems to indicate that for both smaller and larger groups, a voter's opinion is in some sense equally important as the of *all* other voters she comes in contact with. In other words, it does not seem to matter how many people disagree with a voter, her own opinion holds a constant relative importance.

Looking at the deliberation group, we show the best bias values in the following table:

Here it is clear that generally the model performs best when both the number of candidates and the number of voters are low. We also not that though the error of the different candidate generators are comparable, they in general the Sample methods seems to results in larger errors, meaning that the model is less well able to capture

$n_{\text{candidates}}$	n_{voters}	MSE (Sample)	MSE (Voter)	Bias (Sample)	Bias (Voter)
3	9	0.00747	0.00733	1.3	1.3
3	11	0.00951	0.00969	1.2	1.0
3	13	0.00978	0.01080	1.2	1.2
3	15	0.01409	0.01231	1.3	0.9
5	9	0.03244	0.05191	0.8	1.1
5	11	0.05640	0.05591	1.4	0.9
5	13	0.07609	0.08720	1.1	0.8
5	15	0.06716	0.07476	0.9	0.9
7	9	0.07412	0.18686	1.3	1.2
7	11	0.12538	0.17129	1.2	1.3

TABLE 6.2: Minimum mean values at time step 151 for each candidate selection method, with corresponding bias.

circumstances where the alternative's opinions are not represented in the deliberating population. Finally, we see that The distribution of best biases skews to values around 1.3, thus indicating that even while deliberating, people tend to hold their opinion to be *more* important than that of all other voters.

We investigate this discrepancy between the two candidates generation methods now, to this end we look at the difference in error for all tested configuration.

6.2.2 Convergence

From Chapter 4, we have seen that in the limit some matrices are convergent, while some are not, in particular if the matrix is aperiodic, this it is convergent. For the matrices in these simulations, we cannot guarantee aperiodicity. Thus, we resort to the following, instead of looking at the matrices directly, we instead look at the distance between the estimated support matrix, and the true support matrix, where the distance in the element wise ℓ_2 norm. We do the same for the support vectors and the true opinions.

....

We find

6.2.3 Single-peaked Preferences

We now proceed to look at distance to single peaked profiles, look at both voter removal and candidate removal. We show that for optimal bias, as deliberation progresses we see an increase in the proximity to single peakedness.

...

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 9

ETHICS AND DATA MANAGEMENT

A new requirement for the thesis is that there must be a short section in which you reflect on the ethical aspects of your project. This requirement is related to one of the final objectives that a graduated student of the Master of Computational Science must meet: “The graduate of the program has insight into the social significance of Computational Science and the responsibilities of experts in this field within science and in society”. You don’t need to devote an entire chapter to this; a short section or paragraph is sufficient.

I acknowledge that the thesis adheres to the ethical code (<https://student.uva.nl/en/topics/ethics-in-research>) and research data management policies (<https://rdm.uva.nl/en>) of UvA and IvI.

The following table lists the data used in this thesis (including source codes). I confirm that the list is complete and the listed data are sufficient to reproduce the results of the thesis. If a prohibitive non-disclosure agreement is in effect at the time of submission “NDA” is written under “Availability” and “License” for the concerned data items.

Short description	Availability	License
America In One Room	https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/ERXBAB	CC0 1.0

APPENDIX **A**

EXTENDED PROOFS

Finally, for CS , R_1 and R_j stay the same, while $R'_1 = c > a > b > \dots > m$, resulting in $\text{Dist}_{CS}(R'_1, R_j) = |2 - 2| + |1 - 3| + |3 - 1| = 4$.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- [1] Allan Gibbard. Manipulation of Voting Schemes: A General Result. *Econometrica*, 41(4):587–601, 1973. ISSN 0012-9682. doi: 10.2307/1914083.
- [2] Mark Allen Satterthwaite. Strategy-proofness and Arrow’s conditions: Existence and correspondence theorems for voting procedures and social welfare functions. *Journal of Economic Theory*, 10(2):187–217, April 1975. ISSN 0022-0531. doi: 10.1016/0022-0531(75)90050-2.
- [3] Edith Elkind, Martin Lackner, and Dominik Peters. Preference Restrictions in Computational Social Choice: A Survey, May 2022.
- [4] Wulf Gaertner. Domain restrictions. In *Handbook of Social Choice and Welfare*, volume 1 of *Handbook of Social Choice and Welfare*, pages 131–170. Elsevier, January 2002. doi: 10.1016/S1574-0110(02)80007-8.
- [5] Donald E. Campbell and Jerry S. Kelly. Non-monotonicity does not imply the no-show paradox. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 19(3):513–515, 2002. ISSN 0176-1714.
- [6] Donald E. Campbell and Jerry S. Kelly. Correction to “A Strategy-proofness Characterization of Majority Rule”. *Economic Theory Bulletin*, 4(1):121–124, April 2016. ISSN 2196-1093. doi: 10.1007/s40505-015-0066-8.
- [7] Donald E. Campbell and Jerry S. Kelly. Anonymous, neutral, and strategy-proof rules on the Condorcet domain. *Economics Letters*, 128:79–82, March 2015. ISSN 0165-1765. doi: 10.1016/j.econlet.2015.01.009.
- [8] Samuel Freeman. Deliberative Democracy: A Sympathetic Comment. *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, 29(4):371–418, 2000. ISSN 1088-4963. doi: 10.1111/j.1088-4963.2000.00371.x.

- [9] Joshua Cohen. Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy. In *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Routledge, 2002. ISBN 978-0-203-98682-0.
- [10] Jon Elster. The market and the forum: Three varieties of political theory. In *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Routledge, 2002. ISBN 978-0-203-98682-0.
- [11] Christian List. Two Concepts of Agreement. *The Good Society*, 11(1):72–79, 2002. ISSN 1538-9731.
- [12] Christian List, Robert C. Luskin, James S. Fishkin, and Iain McLean. Deliberation, Single-Peakedness, and the Possibility of Meaningful Democracy: Evidence from Deliberative Polls. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(1):80–95, January 2013. ISSN 0022-3816, 1468-2508. doi: 10.1017/S0022381612000886.
- [13] Valeria Ottonelli and Daniele Porello. On the elusive notion of meta-agreement. *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, 12(1):68–92, February 2013. ISSN 1470-594X. doi: 10.1177/1470594X11433742.
- [14] Soroush Rafiee Rad and Olivier Roy. Deliberation, Single-Peakedness, and Coherent Aggregation. *American Political Science Review*, 115(2):629–648, May 2021. ISSN 0003-0554, 1537-5943. doi: 10.1017/S0003055420001045.
- [15] John G Kemeny and James L Snell. Preference ranking: An axiomatic approach. *Mathematical models in the social sciences*, pages 9–23, 1962.
- [16] Conal Duddy and Ashley Piggins. A measure of distance between judgment sets. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 39(4):855–867, 2012. ISSN 0176-1714.
- [17] Wade D. Cook and Lawrence M. Seiford. Priority Ranking and Consensus Formation. *Management Science*, 24(16):1721–1732, December 1978. ISSN 0025-1909. doi: 10.1287/mnsc.24.16.1721.
- [18] Benjamin Golub and Matthew O. Jackson. Naïve Learning in Social Networks and the Wisdom of Crowds. *American Economic Journal: Microeconomics*, 2(1):112–149, February 2010. ISSN 1945-7669. doi: 10.1257/mic.2.1.112.
- [19] James Fishkin, Valentin Bolotnyy, Joshua Lerner, Alice Siu, and Norman Bradburn. Can Deliberation Have Lasting Effects? *American Political Science Review*, 118(4):2000–2020, November 2024. ISSN 0003-0554, 1537-5943. doi: 10.1017/S0003055423001363.
- [20] Ryan A. Rossi and Nesreen K. Ahmed. The network data repository with interactive graph analytics and visualization. In *AAAI*, 2015.

- [21] Nesreen K. Ahmed, Jennifer Neville, and Ramana Kompella. Network Sampling: From Static to Streaming Graphs. *ACM Trans. Knowl. Discov. Data*, 8(2):7:1–7:56, June 2013. ISSN 1556-4681. doi: 10.1145/2601438.
- [22] Maurice Queyranne. Performance ratio of polynomial heuristics for triangle inequality quadratic assignment problems. *Operations Research Letters*, 4(5):231–234, February 1986. ISSN 0167-6377. doi: 10.1016/0167-6377(86)90007-6.
- [23] Viswanath Nagarajan and Maxim Sviridenko. On the Maximum Quadratic Assignment Problem. *Mathematics of Operations Research*.
- [24] Pauli Virtanen, Ralf Gommers, Travis E. Oliphant, Matt Haberland, Tyler Reddy, David Cournapeau, Evgeni Burovski, Pearu Peterson, Warren Weckesser, Jonathan Bright, Stéfan J. van der Walt, Matthew Brett, Joshua Wilson, K. Jarrod Millman, Nikolay Mayorov, Andrew R. J. Nelson, Eric Jones, Robert Kern, Eric Larson, C. J. Carey, İlhan Polat, Yu Feng, Eric W. Moore, Jake VanderPlas, Denis Laxalde, Josef Perktold, Robert Cimrman, Ian Henriksen, E. A. Quintero, Charles R. Harris, Anne M. Archibald, Antônio H. Ribeiro, Fabian Pedregosa, and Paul van Mulbregt. SciPy 1.0: Fundamental algorithms for scientific computing in Python. *Nature Methods*, 17(3):261–272, March 2020. ISSN 1548-7105. doi: 10.1038/s41592-019-0686-2.
- [25] Joshua T. Vogelstein, John M. Conroy, Vince Lyzinski, Louis J. Podrazik, Steven G. Kratzer, Eric T. Harley, Donniell E. Fishkind, R. Jacob Vogelstein, and Carey E. Priebe. Fast Approximate Quadratic Programming for Graph Matching. *PLOS ONE*, 10(4):e0121002, April 2015. ISSN 1932-6203. doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0121002.
- [26] Gábor Erdélyi, Martin Lackner, and Andreas Pfandler. Computational Aspects of Nearly Single-Peaked Electorates. *Proceedings of the AAAI Conference on Artificial Intelligence*, 27(1):283–289, June 2013. ISSN 2374-3468. doi: 10.1609/aaai.v27i1.8608.
- [27] Tomasz Przytycki. *Algorithms and Experiments for (Nearly) Restricted Domains in Elections*. PhD thesis.