

# Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

## Lecture 12

# Lecture Overview

- 1 Recap
- 2 Voting Paradoxes
- 3 Properties
- 4 Arrow's Theorem

# Social Choice

## Definition (Social choice function)

Assume a set of agents  $N = \{1, 2, \dots, n\}$ , and a set of outcomes (or alternatives, or candidates)  $O$ . Let  $L_-$  be the set of non-strict total orders on  $O$ . A **social choice function** (over  $N$  and  $O$ ) is a function  $C : L_-^n \mapsto O$ .

## Definition (Social welfare function)

Let  $N, O, L_-$  be as above. A **social welfare function** (over  $N$  and  $O$ ) is a function  $W : L_-^n \mapsto L_-$ .

# Some Voting Schemes

- **Plurality**
  - pick the outcome which is preferred by the most people
- **Plurality with elimination** (“instant runoff”)
  - everyone selects their favorite outcome
  - the outcome with the fewest votes is eliminated
  - repeat until one outcome remains
- **Borda**
  - assign each outcome a number.
  - The most preferred outcome gets a score of  $n - 1$ , the next most preferred gets  $n - 2$ , down to the  $n^{\text{th}}$  outcome which gets 0.
  - Then sum the numbers for each outcome, and choose the one that has the highest score
- **Pairwise elimination**
  - in advance, decide a schedule for the order in which pairs will be compared.
  - given two outcomes, have everyone determine the one that they prefer

# Condorcet Condition

- If there is a candidate who is preferred to every other candidate in pairwise runoffs, that candidate should be the winner
- While the Condorcet condition is considered an important property for a voting system to satisfy, there is not always a Condorcet winner
- sometimes, there's a cycle where  $A$  defeats  $B$ ,  $B$  defeats  $C$ , and  $C$  defeats  $A$  in their pairwise runoffs

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# Condorcet example

499 agents:  $A \succ B \succ C$

3 agents:  $B \succ C \succ A$

498 agents:  $C \succ B \succ A$

- What is the Condorcet winner?

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- What is the Condorcet winner?  $B$
- What would win under plurality voting?

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- What would win under plurality with elimination?

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- What is the Condorcet winner?  $B$
- What would win under plurality voting?  $A$
- What would win under plurality with elimination?  $C$

# Sensitivity to Losing Candidate

35 agents:  $A \succ C \succ B$

33 agents:  $B \succ A \succ C$

32 agents:  $C \succ B \succ A$

- What candidate wins under plurality voting?

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- What candidate wins under Borda voting?

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- What candidate wins under plurality voting?  $A$
- What candidate wins under Borda voting?  $A$
- Now consider dropping  $C$ . Now what happens under both Borda and plurality?

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- What candidate wins under plurality voting?  $A$
- What candidate wins under Borda voting?  $A$
- Now consider dropping  $C$ . Now what happens under both Borda and plurality?  $B$  wins.

# Sensitivity to Agenda Setter

35 agents:  $A \succ C \succ B$

33 agents:  $B \succ A \succ C$

32 agents:  $C \succ B \succ A$

- Who wins pairwise elimination, with the ordering  $A, B, C$ ?

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- Who wins with the ordering  $A, C, B$ ?

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- Who wins with the ordering  $A, C, B$ ?  $B$
- Who wins with the ordering  $B, C, A$ ?  $A$



# Another Pairwise Elimination Problem

1 agent:  $B \succ D \succ C \succ A$

1 agent:  $A \succ B \succ D \succ C$

1 agent:  $C \succ A \succ B \succ D$

- Who wins under pairwise elimination with the ordering  $A, B, C, D$ ?

# Another Pairwise Elimination Problem

1 agent:  $B \succ D \succ C \succ A$

1 agent:  $A \succ B \succ D \succ C$

1 agent:  $C \succ A \succ B \succ D$

- Who wins under pairwise elimination with the ordering  $A, B, C, D$ ?  $D$ .

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1 agent:  $B \succ D \succ C \succ A$

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- Who wins under pairwise elimination with the ordering  $A, B, C, D$ ?  $D$ .
- What is the problem with this?

# Another Pairwise Elimination Problem

1 agent:  $B \succ D \succ C \succ A$

1 agent:  $A \succ B \succ D \succ C$

1 agent:  $C \succ A \succ B \succ D$

- Who wins under pairwise elimination with the ordering  $A, B, C, D$ ?  $D$ .
- What is the problem with this?
  - *all* of the agents prefer  $B$  to  $D$ —the selected candidate is Pareto-dominated!

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# Notation

- $N$  is the set of agents
- $O$  is a finite set of outcomes with  $|O| \geq 3$
- $L$  is the set of all possible strict preference orderings over  $O$ .
  - for ease of exposition we switch to strict orderings
  - we will end up showing that desirable SWFs cannot be found *even if* preferences are restricted to strict orderings
- $[\succ]$  is an element of the set  $L^n$  (a preference ordering for every agent; the input to our social welfare function)
- $\succ_W$  is the preference ordering selected by the social welfare function  $W$ .
  - When the input to  $W$  is ambiguous we write it in the subscript; thus, the social order selected by  $W$  given the input  $[\succ']$  is denoted as  $\succ_{W([\succ'])}$ .

# Pareto Efficiency

## Definition (Pareto Efficiency (PE))

$W$  is **Pareto efficient** if for any  $o_1, o_2 \in O$ ,  $\forall i \ o_1 \succ_i o_2$  implies that  $o_1 \succ_W o_2$ .

- when all agents agree on the ordering of two outcomes, the social welfare function must select that ordering.

# Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives

## Definition (Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA))

$W$  is **independent of irrelevant alternatives** if, for any  $o_1, o_2 \in O$  and any two preference profiles  $[\succ'], [\succ''] \in L^n$ ,  $\forall i (o_1 \succ'_i o_2 \text{ if and only if } o_1 \succ''_i o_2)$  implies that  $(o_1 \succ_W([\succ']) o_2 \text{ if and only if } o_1 \succ_W([\succ'']) o_2)$ .

- the selected ordering between two outcomes should depend only on the relative orderings they are given by the agents.



# Nondictatorship

## Definition (Non-dictatorship)

$W$  does not have a **dictator** if  $\neg \exists i \forall o_1, o_2 (o_1 \succ_i o_2 \Rightarrow o_1 \succ_W o_2)$ .

- there does not exist a single agent whose preferences always determine the social ordering.
- We say that  $W$  is **dictatorial** if it fails to satisfy this property.

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# Arrow's Theorem

## Theorem (Arrow, 1951)

*Any social welfare function  $W$  that is Pareto efficient and independent of irrelevant alternatives is dictatorial.*

We will assume that  $W$  is both PE and IIA, and show that  $W$  must be dictatorial. Our assumption that  $|O| \geq 3$  is necessary for this proof. The argument proceeds in four steps.

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 1

Ricordando che P.E e I.I.A hold

**Step 1:** If every voter puts an outcome  $b$  at either the very top or the very bottom of his preference list,  $b$  must be at either the very top or very bottom of  $\succ_W$  as well.

trivialmente, se è P.E. allora segue le preferenze dei players, se fosse altrimenti allora violerebbe P.E

Consider an arbitrary preference profile  $[\succ]$  in which every voter ranks some  $b \in O$  at either the very bottom or very top, and assume for contradiction that the above claim is not true. Then, there must exist some pair of distinct outcomes  $a, c \in O$  for which  $a \succ_W b$  and  $b \succ_W c$ .

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 1

**Step 1:** If every voter puts an outcome  $b$  at either the very top or the very bottom of his preference list,  $b$  must be at either the very top or very bottom of  $\succ_W$  as well.

Now let's modify  $[\succ]$  so that every voter moves  $c$  just above  $a$  in his preference ranking, and otherwise leaves the ranking unchanged; let's call this new preference profile  $[\succ']$ . We know from IIA that for  $a \succ_W b$  or  $b \succ_W c$  to change, the pairwise relationship between  $a$  and  $b$  and/or the pairwise relationship between  $b$  and  $c$  would have to change. However, since  $b$  occupies an extremal position for all voters,  $c$  can be moved above  $a$  without changing either of these pairwise relationships. Thus in profile  $[\succ']$  it is also the case that  $a \succ_W b$  and  $b \succ_W c$ . From this fact and from transitivity, we have that  $a \succ_W c$ . However, in  $[\succ']$  every voter ranks  $c$  above  $a$  and so PE requires that  $c \succ_W a$ . We have a contradiction.

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 2

**Step 2:** There is some voter  $n^*$  who is **extremely pivotal** in the sense that by changing his vote at some profile, he can move a given outcome  $b$  from the bottom of the social ranking to the top.

| | | |  
b b b b

so we take one  $b$  at the bottom and transfer it to the top

b  
| | |  
b b b

and we iterate until one player will change effectively the outcome

Consider a preference profile  $[\succ]$  in which every voter ranks  $b$  last, and in which preferences are otherwise arbitrary. By PE,  $W$  must also rank  $b$  last. Now let voters from 1 to  $n$  successively modify  $[\succ]$  by moving  $b$  from the bottom of their rankings to the top, preserving all other relative rankings. Denote as  $n^*$  the first voter whose change causes the social ranking of  $b$  to change. There clearly must be some such voter: when the voter  $n$  moves  $b$  to the top of his ranking, PE will require that  $b$  be ranked at the top of the social ranking.

sempre perchè altrimenti violerebbe P.E.

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 2

**Step 2:** There is some voter  $n^*$  who is **extremely pivotal** in the sense that by changing his vote at some profile, he can move a given outcome  $b$  from the bottom of the social ranking to the top.

Denote by  $[\succ^1]$  the preference profile just before  $n^*$  moves  $b$ , and denote by  $[\succ^2]$  the preference profile just after  $n^*$  has moved  $b$  to the top of his ranking. In  $[\succ^1]$ ,  $b$  is at the bottom in  $\succ_W$ . In  $[\succ^2]$ ,  $b$  has changed its position in  $\succ_W$ , and every voter ranks  $b$  at either the top or the bottom. By the argument from Step 1, in  $[\succ^2]$   $b$  must be ranked at the top of  $\succ_W$ .

**Profile  $[\succ^1]$  :**

$b$	$b$	$b$	$c$	$b$
$c$	$a$	$a$	$c$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$a$	$c$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

non può finire nel mezzo, finisce per forza su.  
per contraddizione, se è nel mezzo è circondato da  $a$  e da  $c$ . consideriamo uno scenario in cui  $c$  è sempre su  $a$ , ma questo non cambia la relative position tra  $a$  e  $b$  e  $c$  e  $b$  e poi qualcosa che non ho capito

**Profile  $[\succ^2]$  :**

$b$	$b$	$b$	$c$	$b$
$c$	$a$	$a$	$c$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$a$	$c$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 3

**Step 3:**  $n^*$  (the agent who is extremely pivotal on outcome  $b$ ) is a dictator over any pair  $ac$  not involving  $b$ .

We begin by choosing one element from the pair  $ac$ ; without loss of generality, let's choose  $a$ . We'll construct a new preference profile  $[\succ^3]$  from  $[\succ^2]$  by making two changes. First, we move  $a$  to the top of  $n^*$ 's preference ordering, leaving it otherwise unchanged; thus  $a \succ_{n^*} b \succ_{n^*} c$ . Second, we arbitrarily rearrange the relative rankings of  $a$  and  $c$  for all voters other than  $n^*$ , while leaving  $b$  in its extremal position.

Profile  $[\succ^1]$  :

$b$	$b$	$a$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$c$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^2]$  :

$b$	$b$	$b$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$c$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^3]$  :

$b$	$b$	$a$	$c$	
$a$	$c$	$c$	$a$	$c$
$c$	$a$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Put  $a$  on the top of  $b$   
cambiamo poi  $a$  e  $c$  come vogliamo per gli altri ma lasciando  $b$  al top



# Arrow's Theorem, Step 3

**Step 3:**  $n^*$  (the agent who is extremely pivotal on outcome  $b$ ) is a dictator over any pair  $ac$  not involving  $b$ .

In  $[\succ^1]$  we had  $a \succ_W b$ , as  $b$  was at the very bottom of  $\succ_W$ . When we compare  $[\succ^1]$  to  $[\succ^3]$ , relative rankings between  $a$  and  $b$  are the same for all voters. Thus, by IIA, we must have  $a \succ_W b$  in  $[\succ^3]$  as well. In  $[\succ^2]$  we had  $b \succ_W c$ , as  $b$  was at the very top of  $\succ_W$ . Relative rankings between  $b$  and  $c$  are the same in  $[\succ^2]$  and  $[\succ^3]$ . Thus in  $[\succ^3]$ ,  $b \succ_W c$ . Using the two above facts about  $[\succ^3]$  and transitivity, we can conclude that  $a \succ_W c$  in  $[\succ^3]$ .

Profile  $[\succ^1]$  :

$b$	$b$	$c$		
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^2]$  :

$b$	$b$	$b$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^3]$  :

$b$	$b$	$c$	$a$	
$a$	$c$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$c$	$a$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 3

**Step 3:**  $n^*$  (the agent who is extremely pivotal on outcome  $b$ ) is a dictator over any pair  $ac$  not involving  $b$ .

Now construct one more preference profile,  $[\succ^4]$ , by changing  $[\succ^3]$  in two ways. First, arbitrarily change the position of  $b$  in each voter's ordering while keeping all other relative preferences the same. Second, move  $a$  to an arbitrary position in  $n^*$ 's preference ordering, with the constraint that  $a$  remains ranked higher than  $c$ . Observe that all voters other than  $n^*$  have entirely arbitrary preferences in  $[\succ^4]$ , while  $n^*$ 's preferences are arbitrary except that  $a \succ_{n^*} c$ .

Profile  $[\succ^1]$  :

$b$	$b$	$c$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^2]$  :

$b$	$b$	$b$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^3]$  :

$b$	$b$	$a$	$c$	
$a$	$c$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$c$	$a$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^4]$  :

$b$	$b$	$c$	$c$	
$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$	$a$
$c$	$a$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 3

**Step 3:**  $n^*$  (the agent who is extremely pivotal on outcome  $b$ ) is a dictator over any pair  $ac$  not involving  $b$ .

In  $[\succ^3]$  and  $[\succ^4]$  all agents have the same relative preferences between  $a$  and  $c$ ; thus, since  $a \succ_W c$  in  $[\succ^3]$  and by IIA,  $a \succ_W c$  in  $[\succ^4]$ . Thus we have determined the social preference between  $a$  and  $c$  without assuming anything except that  $a \succ_{n^*} c$ .

Profile  $[\succ^1]$  :

$b$	$b$	$a$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^2]$  :

$b$	$b$	$b$	$c$	
$c$	$a$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$a$	$c$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^3]$  :

$b$	$b$	$a$	$c$	
$a$	$c$	$c$	$a$	$a$
$c$	$a$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

Profile  $[\succ^4]$  :

$a$	$c$	$b$	$c$	
$c$	$b$	$a$	$a$	$a$
$b$	$a$	$b$	$b$	$b$
1	$n^*-1$	$n^*$	$n^*+1$	$N$

# Arrow's Theorem, Step 4

**Step 4:**  $n^*$  is a dictator over all pairs  $ab$ .

Consider some third outcome  $c$ . By the argument in Step 2, there is a voter  $n^{**}$  who is extremely pivotal for  $c$ . By the argument in Step 3,  $n^{**}$  is a dictator over any pair  $\alpha\beta$  not involving  $c$ . Of course,  $ab$  is such a pair  $\alpha\beta$ . We have already observed that  $n^*$  is able to affect  $W$ 's  $ab$  ranking—for example, when  $n^*$  was able to change  $a \succ_W b$  in profile  $[\succ^1]$  into  $b \succ_W a$  in profile  $[\succ^2]$ . Hence,  $n^{**}$  and  $n^*$  must be the same agent.