

# Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

## ✓ Arrow's Impossibility Theorem (Plain Language)

There is no voting system that can convert individual rankings of three or more options into a fair group ranking that satisfies all of the following:

0. Transitivity: the group ranking is logically consistent:  $A > B \ \& \ B > C \Rightarrow A > C$ .
1. **Unrestricted Domain**: The system works for any **combination** of individual preferences.
  2. **Unanimity (Pareto Efficiency)**: If **everyone** prefers option A over B, the group must prefer A over B.
  3. **Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA)**: The group's ranking between A and B should depend only on how people rank A vs. B — not on their views about C.
  4. **Non-Dictatorship**: No single voter always decides the outcome.

four

If a voting system satisfies the first **four** properties, then it must be a **dictatorship** — one person's preferences always determine the group's outcome.

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Majority Vote with **2** candidates is the only "fully fair" election (that satisfies these properties).

## Examples

Voting methods typically give up IIA.  
Though IIA is the most benign of these voting conditions, we shall see that not having it can produce bad results.

### Ex. Plurality

Rule The candidate with the most top choice votes wins (even if he doesn't have a majority).

3 voters (1,2,3), 4 candidates (A,B,C,D), and consider 2 social preference profiles,

$$P_1 = \left( \begin{array}{ccc} R_1 & R_2 & R_3 \\ \hline A & A & C \\ B & B & D \\ C & C & B \\ D & D & A \end{array} \right)$$

and  $P_2 = \left( \begin{array}{ccc} R_1 & R_2 & R_3 \\ \hline B & B & C \\ A & A & D \\ C & C & B \\ D & D & A \end{array} \right)$ .

1 votes for A

2 votes for A

3 votes for C



A wins, C 2<sup>nd</sup>,  
B & D tied for 3<sup>rd</sup>

1 votes for B

2 votes for B

3 votes for C



B wins, C 2<sup>nd</sup>,  
A & D tied for 3<sup>rd</sup>

Voters 1 and 2 changing their preferences of A and B led to a change in the Rankings between A and C, violating IIA.

No one changed her Relative Rankings of A versus C! Voter 1 and 2 still think A is better than C, as before, Yet the rise in ranking of an irrelevant alternative (B) changed the way the social rule (plurality) ranks A relative to C!

Why is that dependence on irrelevant alternatives a bad result? Suppose that  $A$ ,  $B$ ,  $C$  and  $D$  are four different candidates for a job. But we don't know whether they would really be willing to accept the job. So we'll vote, using plurality voting, and then offer the job to the candidates in order : so we'll give it to the candidate with the second-most votes if we are turned down with the candidate with the most votes.

What if candidate  $B$  isn't really interested in the job. How people rank this irrelevant candidate, who won't even accept the job, has changed the ranking of the two candidates who would accept the job,  $A$  and  $C$ . And that does not seem a very attractive property for a choice rule.

# Ex. Ranked Choice Voting

## Rule

1. First-Choice Votes Counted: All voters' first-choice selections are tallied.
2. Majority Check: If a candidate receives more than 50% of these votes, they win.
3. Elimination and Redistribution:
  - If no candidate has a majority, the candidate with the **fewest first-choice votes** is eliminated.
  - Voters who selected the eliminated candidate as their first choice will have their votes transferred to their next preferred candidate who is still in the race.
4. Repeat Rounds: Steps 2 and 3 are repeated until a candidate achieves a majority and is declared the winner.

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$$P_1 = \left( \begin{array}{cccc} 5 & 4 & 3 & 1 \\ \hline A & C & B & B \\ B & B & C & A \\ C & A & A & C \end{array} \right)$$

$$P_2 = \left( \begin{array}{c} P_1, \text{ but} \\ \text{eliminate } C \end{array} \right)$$

Rd 1: A 5, B 4, C 4  
no majority  
eliminate both B and C

A wins, B & C tied for 2<sup>nd</sup>

Rd 1: A 5, B 8  
B > A

- Every voter's ranking of A vs. B stayed the same
- But removing the **irrelevant loser C** flipped the outcome from C wins → B wins

That is a **clear violation of Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA)**.

In Ranked Choice Voting, the group's choice between A and B was **affected by the presence of C**, even though **no one changed their view of A vs. B**.

## Ex. Borda Count

Rule With  $M$  candidates, in each profile the 1<sup>st</sup> ranked candidate gets  $M$  points, 2<sup>nd</sup> ranked candidate gets  $M-1$  pts, ..., last gets 1 point.

$$P_1 = \begin{pmatrix} 45g & 55g \\ A & B \\ C & A \\ B & C \end{pmatrix}$$

$$P_2 = \begin{pmatrix} 45g & 55g \\ A & B \\ B & C \\ C & A \end{pmatrix}$$

A gets  $3 \cdot 45 + 2 \cdot 55 = 245$  pts

A: 210 pts

B gets  $3 \cdot 55 + 1 \cdot 45 = 210$  pts

B: 245 pts

C gets  $2 \cdot 45 + 1 \cdot 55 = 145$  pts

C: 110 pts

Social Ranking  $A > B > C$

Social Ranking is  $B > A > C$

Only by moving C in each ballot,  
the social ranking of A and B  
switched, violating IIA.

Implication: Our Super Smash Bros tournament scoring system violates IIA. Justin's performance could impact the social rank order of Ryan and Nick.

## Ex. Pairwise Majority Vote (with 3+ options)

Rule Compare each pair of candidates via majority voting one at a time

$$P_1 = \left( \begin{array}{ccc} R_1 & R_2 & R_3 \\ A & B & C \\ B & C & A \\ C & A & B \end{array} \right)$$

$A > B$  by 2-1

$B > C$  by 2-1

$C > A$  by 2-1

"Condorcet cycle"  $A > B > C > A > \dots$

transitivity is violated

Violating IIA isn't necessarily fatal.

In fact, every practical voting system that avoids dictatorship and works with 3+ candidates violates IIA. Most people accept that tradeoff.

### Why People Like IIA

- **Prevents spoiler effects:** A third candidate (e.g., Nader, Perot) shouldn't flip the election.
- **Encourages stability:** If no one changes their opinion about A vs. B, the result between A and B shouldn't change.
- **Eliminates "irrelevant" manipulation:** You can't game the outcome of A vs. B by tweaking your ranking of C.

So on paper, it looks like a **must-have property**.

## Mathematical setup for Elections

There are  $N$  voters, or individuals, denoted  $[N] = \{1, 2, \dots, N\}$ .  
There are  $\geq 3$  candidates, denoted  $C = \{a, b, c, \dots\}$ .

Each voter  $i$  has a Ranking, or preference, of the candidates defined by a WEAK ORDERING, which is basically a mathematical abstraction of " $>$ ,  $\geq$ , and  $=$ " on the set of candidates that is a REFLEXIVE, COMPLETE, and TRANSITIVE binary relation  $R_i$  on  $C$ . For example,  $a > b > c$  is a ranking where  $C = \{a, b, c\}$ .

Denote the set of all possible Rankings, or weak orderings, by  $\mathcal{R}$ .

A social preference profile, or tuple of ballots, is an  $N$ -tuple containing each voter's ranking, denoted  $(R_1, \dots, R_N) \in \mathcal{P} = \mathcal{R}^N$ , where  $\mathcal{P}$  is the set of social Profiles.

An election Rule or social preference function given by  $E: \mathcal{P} \rightarrow \mathcal{R}$  assigns a social Ranking, or weak ordering, to every possible social profile in  $\mathcal{P}$ . For example, Majority Wins, Rank Choice Voting, Borda Count, etc.

A social preference function  $E$  satisfies

- Unanimity if  $\forall x, y \in C$ , for all social preference profiles  $P = (R_1, \dots, R_N) \in \mathcal{P}$  such that each voter  $i$  ranks  $x$  above  $y$  ( $x >_i y \quad \forall i \in [N]$ ) we must have  $x > y$  in the social ranking  $E(P)$ .

- Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA)

if  $\forall x, y \in C$ , for all pairs of profiles

$P = (R_1, \dots, R_N)$  and  $P' = (R'_1, \dots, R'_N)$  in  $\mathcal{P}$

such that each voter  $i$  ranks  $x$  and  $y$  the same in both  $P$  and  $P'$ ,

$x \geq y$  in the social ranking  $E(P) \iff x \geq y$  in  $E(P')$ .

In other words, the social ranking between  $x$  and  $y$  won't change if you don't alter any of the relative rankings between  $x$  and  $y$ ; you can freely move other candidates around.

- For a given social preference function  $E$ , an individual  $i$  is decisive for some  $x \in C$  over some  $y \neq x, y \in C$ , if  $x \geq y \implies x > y$  in the social ranking  $E(P)$ .  
Voter  $i$  is a dictator if he is decisive for every  $x$  over every  $y \neq x$ .

**Arrow's Impossibility Theorem** If there are at least 3 candidates and If a social preference function satisfies Unanimity and IIA, then some individual is a dictator.

Proof of Arrow's Theorem  
 (from Mark Fey's 2014 Paper)

Step 1 Identify voter  $i_*$

We will find a voter  $i_*$  who we will show is a dictator!  
 Fix the following two profiles

$$P_{oa} = \begin{pmatrix} R_1 & \cdots & R_n \\ \overset{a}{\underset{\vdots}{\cdots}} & \cdots & \overset{a}{\underset{\vdots}{\cdots}} \\ b & \cdots & b \end{pmatrix} \quad \text{and} \quad P_{ob} = \begin{pmatrix} R_1 & \cdots & R_n \\ \overset{b}{\underset{\vdots}{\cdots}} & \cdots & \overset{b}{\underset{\vdots}{\cdots}} \\ a & \cdots & a \end{pmatrix}$$

where the dotted ranges represent the other alternative candidates in fixed but arbitrary locations.

Unanimity  $\Rightarrow a > b$  in profile  $P_{oa}$   
 and  $b > a$  in profile  $P_{ob}$

Now transform  $P_{oa}$  into  $P_{ob}$  by switching a and b one voter at a time, from left to right, holding all other alternative candidates fixed.

Let individual  $i_*$  be the voter for which the social preference changes from  $a > b$  to something else ( $b > a$ ) for the first time.

Concretely, for the two profiles

$$P_{1a} = \left( \begin{array}{c|c|c} R_1 \cdots R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} \cdots R_n \\ \hline b & \overset{a}{\underset{b}{\cdots}} & b \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{array} \right) \quad \text{and} \quad P_{1b} = \left( \begin{array}{c|c|c} R_1 \cdots R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} \cdots R_n \\ \hline b & \overset{b}{\underset{a}{\cdots}} & a \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{array} \right)$$

the social preference in  $P_{1a}$  is  $a > b$  and in  $P_{1b}$  is  $b > a$ .

Step 2  $\forall c \neq a, b$ , voter  $i_*$  is decisive for  $b$  over  $c$ .

Let  $c \neq a, b$ , The voters in profile  $P_2$

Rank  $a$  and  $b$  (ignoring

all the other candidates) the

same as in profile  $P_1$ ,

so by IIA the social preference in  $P_2$  is  $a > b$ ,

By unanimity,  $b > c$  in  $P_2$ , so by transitivity  $a > c$  in  $P_2$ .

Now, consider the following set of profiles, where the

$$S_2 = \left\{ \begin{pmatrix} R_1 \dots R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} \dots R_n \\ b/c & b & a \\ a & a & b/c \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{pmatrix} \right\} = \mathcal{P}$$

notation  $b/c$  means  
that the candidates  $b$   
and  $c$  can be ranked  
arbitrarily in the  
indicated spot by profiles  
in the set.

$\forall p \in S_2$ , voters in  $P$  rank  $a$  and  $b$  the same (ignoring all  
other candidates) as profile  $P_{1b}$ , and  $b > a$  in  $P_{1b}$ ,

so by IIA  $b > a \quad \forall p \in S_2$ .

Similarly,  $\forall p \in S_2$ , voters in  $P$  rank  $a$  and  $c$  the  
same as profile  $P_2$ , so  $a > c \quad \forall p \in S_2$ .

Hence, by transitivity,  $b > c \quad \forall p \in S_2$ .

Now, let  $p \in \mathcal{P}$  be any profile where  $b >_{i_*} c$ .

Voters in  $P$  must rank  $b$  and  $c$  the same as some profile  $p'$  in  $S_2$   
(ignoring all other candidates). Since  $b > c \quad \forall p \in S_2$ ,  $b > c$  in  $p'$ ,

so by IIA we must have  $b > c$  in  $p$ . Since  $p$  was arbitrary,

$\forall p \in \mathcal{P} \quad b >_{i_*} c \Rightarrow b > c$ , so  $i_*$  is decisive for  $b$  over  $c$ .

□

Step 3  $\forall c \neq a, b$ , voter  $i_*$  is decisive for  $a$  over  $c$ .

Let  $c \neq a, b$  and Consider the following set of profiles,

$$S_3 = \left\{ \begin{pmatrix} R_1 & \cdots & R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} & \cdots & R_n \\ \frac{a/c}{a/c} & & \frac{a}{b} & & \frac{a/c}{b} & & \\ b & & b & & b & & \\ c & & c & & c & & \\ \vdots & & \vdots & & \vdots & & \end{pmatrix} \right\} \subseteq \mathcal{P}.$$

By Step 2,  $i_*$  is decisive for  $b$  over  $c$ , so  $b > c \quad \forall P \in S_3$ .

By unanimity,  $a > b \quad \forall P \in S_3$ .

Hence, by transitivity,  $a > c \quad \forall P \in S_3$ ,

Now, let  $P \in \mathcal{P}$  be any profile where  $a >_{i_*} c$ .

Voters in  $P$  must rank  $a$  and  $c$  the same

(ignoring all other candidates) as some profile  $P'$  in  $S_3$ .

Since  $a > c \quad \forall P \in S_3$ ,  $a > c$  in  $P'$ , so by IIA we must have  $a > c$  in  $P$ . Since  $P$  was arbitrary,

$\forall P \in \mathcal{P} \quad a >_{i_*} c \Rightarrow a > c$ , so  $i_*$  is decisive for  $a$  over  $c$ .

□

Step 4  $\forall c \neq a, b$ , voter  $i_*$  is decisive for  $c$  over  $a$ .

Let  $c \neq a, b$ . The voters in profile  $P_4$  rank  $a$  and  $b$  the same (ignoring all other candidates) as in profile  $P_{1a}$ , and  $a > b$  in  $P_{1a}$ , so by IIA  $a > b$  in  $P_4$ .

By unanimity,  $c > a$  in  $P_4$ . Hence, by transitivity,  $c > b$  in  $P_4$ .

Now, consider the following set of profiles,

$$S_4 = \left\{ \begin{pmatrix} R_1 \dots R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} \dots R_n \\ \vdots & c & \vdots \\ b & a & b \\ a/c & b & a/c \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{pmatrix} \right\} \subseteq P.$$

$\forall p \in S_4$ , voters in  $p$  rank  $a$  and  $b$  the same (ignoring all other candidates) as profile  $P_{1b}$ , and  $b > a$  in  $P_{1b}$ , so by IIA  $b > a \quad \forall p \in S_4$ .

Similarly,  $\forall p \in S_4$ , voters in  $p$  rank  $b$  and  $c$  the same as profile  $P_4$ , so  $c > b \quad \forall p \in S_4$ .

Hence, by transitivity,  $c > a \quad \forall p \in S_4$ .

Now, once again, let  $p \in P$  be any profile where  $c >_{i_*} a$ .

Voters in  $p$  must rank  $a$  and  $c$  the same as some profile  $p'$  in  $S_4$  (ignoring all other candidates). Since  $c > a \quad \forall p \in S_4$ ,  $c > a$  in  $p'$ ,

so by IIA we must have  $c > a$  in  $p$ . Since  $p$  was arbitrary,  $\forall p \in P \quad c >_{i_*} a \Rightarrow c > a$ , so  $i_*$  is decisive for  $c$  over  $a$ .

□

Step 5  $\forall c \neq a, b$ , voter  $i_*$  is decisive for  $c$  over  $b$ .

Let  $c \neq a, b$  and Consider the following set of profiles,

$$S_5 = \left\{ \begin{pmatrix} R_1 & \cdots & R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} & \cdots & R_n \\ a & & & c & a & & \\ b/c & & & a & b/c & & \\ \vdots & & & b & \vdots & & \vdots \end{pmatrix} \right\} \subseteq \mathcal{P}.$$

By Step 4,  $i_*$  is decisive for  $c$  over  $a$ , so  $c > a \ \forall P \in S_5$ .

By unanimity,  $a > b \ \forall P \in S_5$ .

Hence, by transitivity,  $c > b \ \forall P \in S_5$ .

Now, let  $P \in \mathcal{P}$  be any profile where  $c >_{i_*} b$ .

Voters in  $P$  must rank  $b$  and  $c$  the same

(ignoring all other candidates) as some profile  $P'$  in  $S_5$ .

Since  $c > b \ \forall P \in S_5$ ,  $c > b$  in  $P'$ , so by IIA we must have  $c > b$  in  $P$ . Since  $P$  was arbitrary,

$\forall P \in \mathcal{P} \ c >_{i_*} b \Rightarrow c > b$ , so  $i_*$  is decisive for  $c$  over  $b$ .

□

Step 6 voter  $i_*$  is decisive for  $a$  over  $b \Leftrightarrow b$  over  $a$ .

Consider the following set of profiles,

$$S_6 = \left\{ \begin{pmatrix} R_1 \dots R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} \dots R_n \\ \vdots & \begin{matrix} a \\ c \\ b \end{matrix} & \vdots \\ a/b & a & a/b \\ \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \end{pmatrix} \right\} \subseteq \mathcal{P}.$$

By Step 3,  $i_*$  is decisive for  $a$  over  $c$ , and by Step 5,  $i_*$  is decisive for  $c$  over  $b$ .

Hence,  $\forall P \in S_6, a > c$  and  $c > b$ , so by transitivity  $a > b \quad \forall P \in S_6$ .

Now, let  $P \in \mathcal{P}$  be any profile where  $a >_{i_*} b$ .

Voters in  $P$  must rank  $a$  and  $b$  the same (ignoring all other candidates) as some profile  $P'$  in  $S_6$ .

Since  $a > b \quad \forall P \in S_6, a > b$  in  $P'$ , so by IIA we must have  $a > b$  in  $P$ . Since  $P$  was arbitrary,  $\forall P \in \mathcal{P} \quad a >_{i_*} b \Rightarrow a > b$ , so  $i_*$  is decisive for  $a$  over  $b$ .

The argument for  $b$  over  $a$  is the same, swapping the position of  $a$  and  $b$ .  $\square$

Step 7 Individual  $i_*$  is a dictator.

We must show  $i_*$  is decisive for every  $x$  over every  $y \neq x$ . We have shown  $i_*$  is decisive for  $b$  over  $y \forall y \neq b$  (Step 2 and 6), for  $x$  over  $b \forall x \neq b$  (Step 5 and 6), for  $a$  over  $y \forall y \neq a$  (Step 3 and 6), for  $x$  over  $a \forall x \neq a$  (Step 4 and 6).

The only case remaining is  $x \neq a, b$  and  $y \neq a, b$ . Let  $x \neq a, b$  and  $y \neq a, b$ . Consider the following

set of profiles,

$$S_7 = \left\{ \begin{pmatrix} R_1 \dots R_{i_*-1} & R_{i_*} & R_{i_*+1} \dots R_n \\ \frac{x/y}{x/y} & \frac{x}{a} & \frac{x/y}{a/b} \\ a/b & a & a/b \\ \vdots & b & \vdots \\ & y & \end{pmatrix} \right\} \subseteq \mathcal{P}.$$

Since  $i_*$  is decisive for  $x$  over  $a$ ,  $a$  over  $b$ , and  $b$  over  $y$ ,  $\forall P \in S_7$  we have  $x > a > b > y$ , so by transitivity  $x > y \forall P \in S_7$ .

Now, let  $P \in \mathcal{P}$  be any profile where  $x >_{i_*} y$ .

Voters in  $P$  must rank  $x$  and  $y$  the same

(ignoring all other candidates) as some profile  $P'$  in  $S_7$ .

Since  $x > y \forall P \in S_7$ ,  $x > y$  in  $P'$ , so by IIA we must have  $x > y$  in  $P$ . Since  $P$  was arbitrary,

$\forall P \in \mathcal{P} x >_{i_*} y \Rightarrow x > y$ , so  $i_*$  is decisive for  $x$  over  $y$ .  $\square$