# Arrow's Theorem 

Mark C. Wilson<br>UMass Amherst

HCSSIM Prime Time Theorem 2022-07-06

## Motivating example

- Suppose that after you have heard all the Prime Time talks this summer, you each rank them from most to least interesting.
- Suppose you, as a group, then want to rank them in a single list, to summarize the group's opinion.
- Q: Which is the best way to do this? What does that even mean? What properties should a group ranking have?
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## Preferences

- There is a set $V$ of $n$ voters and a set $A$ of $m$ alternatives that they can rank.
- Each voter has a complete strict ranking of all alternatives, from top to bottom choice.
- We write $i>j$ to mean that for the given voter, $i$ is strictly preferred to $j$.
- Putting all these together gives us a preference profile.
- Formally, a profile is a function from $V$ to $L(A)$, where $L(A)$ is the set of all possible rankings of $A$.
- Q: how many possible preference orders are there? how many profiles? how big is this for $m=3, n=2$ ?


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## Profile example

## Example

The alternatives are pizza toppings: anchovy, ham, pineapple. The voters are Dweezil, Ahmet, Diva, and Moon. One day their profile is:

| Dw | A | D | M |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ham <br> anchovy <br> pineapple | pineapple <br> anchovy <br> ham | anchovy <br> ham <br> pineapple | pineapple <br> ham <br> anchovy |

A year later it is:

| Dw | A | D | M |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ham <br> pineapple <br> anchovy | anchovy <br> pineapple <br> ham | anchovy <br> pineapple <br> ham | pineapple <br> ham <br> anchovy |

## Social welfare function

- A social welfare function (SWF) is a function that takes each profile and outputs a societal ranking, which is just an element of $L(A)$.
- We write $i \succ j$ to mean that $i$ is strictly preferred to $j$ in the societal ranking.
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- (dictatorship) Choose one voter and output their ranking.
- (Kemeny) If everyone has the same (unanimous) ranking, return that one. Otherwise return the unanimous profile that is closest (in some well defined sense) to the input.
- (Borda) Give $m$ points each time an alternative is ranked first, $m-1$ points each time it is ranked second, ..., 1 point if ranked last. Rank in decreasing order of total score.



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## Useful terminology

- For a fixed pair $j, k$ of distinct alternatives, a profile is $(j, k)$-unanimous if all voters agree $j>k$.
- For a fixed pair $j, k$ of distinct alternatives, two profiles are $\{j, k\}$-equivalent if for each voter, the relative ranking of $j$ and $k$ is the same in each profile.
- Q: Check these on the pizza topping example above. Which are satisfied?
- For a fixed pair $j, k$ of distinct alternatives, a voter $v$ is $\{j, k\}$-decisive if the relative ranking of $j$ and $k$ in the societal ranking always agrees with $v$ 's ranking.
- A dictator is a voter who is decisive over all pairs of alternatives.


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## Desirable properties of a SWF

- Unanimity: for each $j, k$, if the profile is $(j, k)$-unanimous then the SWF ranks $j \succ k$.
- In other words, if all voters agree that $j>k$, then we must have $j \succ k$.
- Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives (IIA): for each $j, k$, if two profiles are $\{j, k\}$-equivalent, then in the societal ranking the relative ranking of $j$ and $k$ is the same.
- In other words, the relative societal ranking of $j$ and $k$ depends only on their relative rankings by individuals, and not by their actual position in the ranking.


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## IIA example

- After finishing dinner, Professor $X$ decides to order dessert. The waiter tells her there are two choices: apple pie and blueberry pie.
- Professor X orders the apple pie. After a few minutes the waiter returns and says that they also have cherry pie. - Professor X says "In that case I'll have the blueberry pie.' - This seems unreasonable!


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## The simple case $m=2$

- In this case we are really just voting for the top societal alternative.
- We can use the usual majority rule: whichever alternative is top-ranked more often.
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## Theorem (Arrow, 1951)

Suppose that $m \geq 3$ and $n \geq 2$. Then every social welfare function that satisfies both Unanimity and IIA is a dictatorship.

This was a big surprise when first proved! The proof I present was published by Yu (2012), simplifying previous proofs.

## Proof stage 1: Pivotal voter exists, for each pair of alternatives

- Order the voters in some fixed way $v_{1}, \ldots, v_{n}$ and consider an arbitrary pair of distinct alternatives $i, j$.
- Choose any $(i, j)$-unanimous profile. By Unanimity, $i \succ j$ in the societal ordering.
- Swap $i$ and $j$ in each voter's order in turn. After all have been done, the societal order says $j \succ i$, by Unanimity.
- The first voter for which the societal ordering of $i$ and $j$ flips is called pivotal for $(i, j)$.
- By IIA, it doesn't matter which $(i, j)$-unanimous profile we use - the same voter, say $v$, is found each time. Call this voter's position $n_{i j}$


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## Proof stage 2: four profiles

- Choose a third alternative $k$, and start with any profile $P$. Without loss of generality, assume that $j>k$ in $v$ 's ranking.

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> Profile P is {j,k}-equivalent to a profile P' ranking i at the
    bottom for all voters strictly before v,i at the top for all
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P Profile P}\mp@subsup{P}{}{\prime}\mathrm{ is {i,k}-equivalent to a profile P}\mp@subsup{P}{}{\prime\prime}\mathrm{ ranking j at the
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- Profile $P$ is $\{j, k\}$-equivalent to a profile $P^{\prime}$ ranking $i$ at the bottom for all voters strictly before $v, i$ at the top for all voters after $v$, and $i$ in the middle for $v$.
$\Rightarrow$ Profile $P^{\prime}$ is $\{i, k\}$-equivalent to a profile $P^{\prime \prime}$ ranking $j$ at the top for all voters strictly before $v$, and ranking $j$ in the middle for voters $v$ and later.
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## The four profiles

| $<$ | $v$ | $>$ |  | $<$ | $v$ | > |  | $<$ | $v$ | > |  | $<$ | $v$ | > |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ | : |  | : | $\vdots$ | $i$ |  | $j$ | : | $i$ |  | $k$ | : | $i$ |
|  | $j$ |  |  |  | $j$ |  |  |  | $i$ |  |  | $i$ | $i$ |  |
| $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ | $\rightarrow$ | $\vdots$ | : | $\vdots$ | $\rightarrow$ |  | $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ | $\rightarrow$ | . | $\vdots$ | : |
|  | $k$ |  |  |  | $i$ |  |  |  | $j$ | $j$ |  |  | $j$ | $j$ |
|  | $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ |  | $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ | $\vdots$ |  |  | $\vdots$ |  |  | $\cdots$ | $\vdots$ | : |
|  |  |  |  | $i$ | $k$ |  |  | $i$ | $k$ | $k$ |  | j | $k$ | $k$ |

## Proof stage 3: pivotal voter for $(i, j)$ is decisive over $\{j, k\}$

- In $P^{\prime \prime}$, we must have $j \succ k$ by unanimity. We also have $i \succ j$ since $v$ is pivotal for $(i, j)$. Thus $i \succ k$.
Thus in $P^{\prime}$ we have $j \succ i$ because $v$ is pivotal, and $i \succ k$ by $\{i, k\}$-equivalence. Thus $j \succ k$.
- Hence in $P, j \succ k$.
- Since $P$ was arbitrary, $v$ is decisive over $\{j, k\}$
- Hence $j \succ k$ in $P^{\prime \prime \prime}$ so we have not yet reached the pivotal voter for $(j, k)$ - in other words, $n_{j k} \geq n_{i j}$


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- Hence $j \succ k$ in $P^{\prime \prime \prime}$ so we have not yet reached the pivotal voter for $(j, k)$ - in other words, $n_{j k} \geq n_{i j}$.


## Proof stage 4: Pivotal voter is a dictator

- Since $i, j, k$ are arbitrary, we have for all distinct $i, j, k$

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n_{j k} \geq n_{i j} \geq n_{k i} \geq n_{j k}
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Thus all the $n_{i j}$ are equal, and hence $v$ is pivotal for all pairs of alternatives.

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- This ends the proof!


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- Arrow was the youngest Nobel Economics winner, largely for this result.
- Arrow's Theorem leads quickly to the Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem, which says that if we are choosing a unique winner instead of ranking, and every candidate can win in some situation, then the only way to avoid incentives for strategic voting is to have a dictator.
- Many neople were shocked by such results, believing that they make democracy impossible.
- Eventually it was realized that maybe IIA is not such a reasonable assumption.
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## Further reading

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