# EC9D3 Advanced Microeconomics, Part I: Lecture 8 

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## What is Social Choice?

- Normative economics. What is right or wrong, fair or unfair for an economic environment.
- Axiomatic approach. Appropriate axioms describing efficiency, and fairness are introduced.
- Allocations and rules are derived from axioms.
- Beyond economics, social choice applies to politics, and sociology.


## Main Questions

- How does a society/committee/group solve conflicts of interest among its members?
- Is there an "optimal" policy for given interests in society?
(I.e. can we find a desirable social choice function?)
- If there is an "optimal" policy, will it always be implemented?
- Observations seem to suggest that welfare improving policies are oftentimes not the outcome of political decision processes.
- Examples: industrial bargaining, international conflicts.
- How do institutions shape political outcomes?
- How do political institutions affect economic outcomes?


## Social Preferences

- Consider a set of social alternatives $X$, in a society of $N$ individuals.
- Each individual $i$ has preferences over $X$, described by the binary relation $R(i)$, a subset of $X^{2}$.
- The notation $x R(i) y$ means that individual $i$ weakly prefers $x$ to $y$.
- Strict preferences $P(i)$ are derived from $R(i)$ : $x P(i) y$ corresponds to $x R(i) y$ but not $y R(i) x$.
- Indifference relations $I(i)$ are derived from $R(i)$ : $x l(i) y$ corresponds to $x R(i) y$ and $y R(i) x$.


## Social Preferences (2)

- The relation $R(i)$ is complete: for any $x, y$ in $X$, either $x R(i) y$ or $y R(i) x$, or both.
- The relation $R(i)$ is transitive: for any $x, y, z$ in $X$, if $x R(i) y$ and $y R(i) z$, then $x R(i) z$.
- Social preference relation: a complete and transitive relation $R=F(R(1), \ldots, R(N))$ over the set of alternative $X$.
- Social preferences $R$ aggregate the preferences $R(i)$ for all $i=1, \ldots, N$, and satisfies appropriate efficiency and fairness axioms.


## Example: Exchange Economy



- In the exchange economy with 2 consumers and 2 goods, $x$ are such that $x_{j}^{1}+x_{j}^{2}=\omega_{j}^{1}+\omega_{j}^{2}$, where $\omega$ is the endowment and $j$ is the good.


## Example: Exchange Economy (2)



- For individual $i, x l(i) y$ if $\left(x_{j}^{1}, x_{j}^{2}\right)$ and $\left(y_{j}^{1}, y_{j}^{2}\right)$ are on the same indifference curve $I_{i}$.
- The relations $R(i)$ and $P(i)$ are described by the contour sets of the utilities $u_{i}$.


## Example: Exchange Economy (3)



- The line of contracts describes all Pareto optimal alternatives.
- One possible social preference is $R$ such that $x P y$ if and only if $x$ is on the line of contracts, and $y$ is not.


## Example: Pliny the Younger

- Consul Africanius Dexter found slain and his freedmen were accused of killing him.
- Roman Senate decides whether to
a. acquit them
b. banish them
d. put them to death
- Senators hold one of three sets of preferences:

1. $a \succ_{i} b \succ_{i} d$ (Pliny was among these senators)
2. $b \succ_{i} a \succ_{i} d$
3. $d \succ_{i} b \succ_{i} a$

- Consider situation where

3 senators have preferences under 1.,
2 senators possess preferences 2 .,
2 senators possess preferences 3 .

## Example: Pliny the Younger (2)

- Voting procedure:
(1) vote whether guilty ( $b$ or $d$ ) or not guilty (a)
(2) if not guilty, vote whether $b$ or $d$

Outcome: b

- Plurality Voting: all alternatives are put to a vote simultaneously. Outcome: a
- Institutional context of decisions (here voting rule) + individual preferences affects profoundly what outcome people choose.


## Condorcet Paradox

- 2 individuals possess preferences under $1 .\left(a \succ_{i} d \succ_{i} b\right)$,
- 2 individuals possess preferences under 2. $\left(b \succ_{i} a \succ_{i} d\right)$,
- 2 individuals possess preferences under 3. $\left(d \succ_{i} b \succ_{i} a\right)$
- Pairwise voting:
I. first vote $a$ against $b$, then winner against $d$. Outcome: $d$.
II. first vote $a$ against $d$, then winner against $b$. Outcome: $b$.
III. first vote $b$ against $d$, then winner against $a$. Outcome: $a$.
- Agenda-setter (fixing voting rule) determines the outcome.


## Condorcet Paradox (2)

- Transitivity of preferences: for all $i$, if $a \succ_{i} b$ and $b \succ_{i} d$, then $a \succ_{i} d$.
- On social/group level, pairwise majority voting yields $a \succ_{G} d \succ_{G} b$.
- Transitivity would suggest: $a \succ_{G} b$.
- However, pairwise majority voting gives $b \succ_{G} a$.
- We obtain Condorcet Cycle: $a \succ_{G} d \succ_{G} b \succ_{G} a$
- Condorcet Paradox: Although individual preferences are transitive, there need not exist a transitive social preference.
- Condorcet Winner: An alternative $x$ is called a Condorcet Winner, if it beats any other alternative in a pairwise vote.


## Relevance of Condorcet Cycles

- Thought experiment: $n$ persons, $m$ alternatives.
- We assign preferences over the $m$ alternatives randomly to all persons.
- What is the likelihood that we encounter a Condorcet Cycle in pairwise voting among all possible pairs of alternatives?

|  | $n=3$ | $n=5$ | $n=25$ | $\cdots$ | $n=\infty$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $m=3$ | 0.056 | 0.069 | 0.084 |  | 0.088 |
| $m=5$ | 0.16 | 0.2 | 0.242 |  | 0.251 |
| $m=8$ | 0.271 | 0.334 | 0.359 |  | 0.415 |
| $m=49$ |  |  |  |  | 0.841 |

## The Case of Two Alternatives

- Suppose that there are only two alternatives: $x$ is the status quo, and $y$ is the alternative.
- Each individual preference $R(i)$ is indexed as $q$ in $\{-1,0,1\}$, where 1 is a strict preference for $x$.
- The social welfare rule is a functional

$$
F(q(1), \ldots, q(N)) \text { in }\{-1,0,1\} .
$$

## May's Axioms

- AN: The social rule F is anonymous if for every permutation $p$,

$$
F(q(1), \ldots, q(N))=F(q(p(1)), \ldots q(p(N))) .
$$

- NE: The social rule $F$ is neutral if $F(q)=-F(-q)$.
- PR: The rule $F$ is positively responsive if $q \geq q^{\prime}, q \neq q^{\prime}$ and $F\left(q^{\prime}\right) \geq 0$ imply that $F(q)=1$.


## May's Theorem

- A social welfare rule $F$ is majoritarian if:
. $F(q)=1$ if and only if:
$n^{+}(q)=\#\{i: q(i)=1\}>n^{-}(q)=\#\{i: q(i)=-1\}$,
. $F(q)=-1$ if and only if $n^{+}(q)<n^{-}(q)$,
. $F(q)=0$ if and only if $\left.n^{+}(q)=n^{-}(q)\right)$.


## Theorem

A social welfare rule is majoritarian if and only if it is neutral, anonymous, and positively responsive.

## May's Theorem

Proof: Clearly, majority rule satisfies the 3 axioms.
By AN, $F(q)=G\left(n^{+}(q), n^{-}(q)\right)$.
If $n^{+}(q)=n^{-}(q)$, then $n^{+}(-q)=n^{-}(-q)$, and so, by NE:
$F(q)=G\left(n^{+}(q), n^{-}(q)\right)=G\left(n^{+}(-q), n^{-}(-q)\right)=F(-q)=-F(q)$.
This implies that $F(q)=0$.
If $n^{+}(q)>n^{-}(q)$, pick $q^{\prime}$ with $q^{\prime}<q$ and $n^{+}\left(q^{\prime}\right)=n^{-}\left(q^{\prime}\right)$.
Because $F\left(q^{\prime}\right)=0$, by PR, it follows that $F(q)=1$.
When $n^{+}(q)<n^{-}(q)$, it follows that $n^{+}(-q)>n^{-}(-q)$, hence $F(-q)=1$ and by NE, $F(q)=-1$.

## Multiple Alternatives: Arrow's Axioms

- U. Unrestricted Domain. The domain of $f$ must include all possible $(R(1), \ldots, R(n))$ over $X$.
- WP. Weak Pareto Principle. For any $x, y$ in $X$, if $x P(i) y$ for all $i$, then $x P y$.
- ND. Non-Dictatorship. There is no individual $i$ such that for all $x, y$, if $x P(i) y$, then $x P y$, regardless of the relations $R(j)$, for $j$ other than $i$.


## Arrow's Axioms

- IIA. Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives. Let $R=F(R(1), \ldots, R(N))$, and $R^{\prime}=F\left(R^{\prime}(1), \ldots, R^{\prime}(N)\right)$.

For any $x, y$, if every individual $i$ ranks $x$ and $y$ in the same way under $R(i)$ and $R^{\prime}(i)$, then the ranking of $x$ and $y$ must be the same under $R$ and $R^{\prime}$.

- This axiom requires some comments.
- In some sense, it requires that each comparison can be taken without considering the other alternatives at play.
- The axiom fails in some very reasonable voting rules.


## Borda Count

- Suppose that $X$ is a finite set.
- Let $B_{i}(x)=\#\{y: x P(i) y\}$.
- The Borda Rule is: $x R y$ if and only if

$$
B_{1}(x)+\ldots+B_{N}(x) \geq B_{1}(y)+\ldots+B_{N}(y)
$$

- This rule does not satisfy IIA.
- Consider 2 agents and $\{x, y, z\}$ alternatives.
$x P(1) z P(1) y, y P(2) x P(2) z$ yields $x P y$. $x P^{*}(1) y P^{*}(1) z, y P^{*}(2) z P^{*}(2) x$ yields $y P^{*} x$.


## Arrow Impossibility Theorem

## Theorem <br> If there are at least 3 alternatives in $X$, then the axioms of Unrestricted Domain, Weak Pareto and Independence of Irrelevant Alternatives imply the existence of a dictator.

## Proof: (Geanakoplos 1996).

Step 1. Consider any arbitrary alternative $c$. Suppose that $x P(i) c$ for any $x$ other than $c$, and for any $i$.

By Weak Pareto, it must be that $x P c$ for all such $x$.

## Arrow Impossibility Theorem (2)

Step 2. In order, move $c$ to the top of the ranking of 1 , than of 2 , all the way to $n$.

Index these orders as $\left(P_{1}(1), \ldots, P_{1}(N)\right), \ldots,\left(P_{N}(1), \ldots, P_{N}(N)\right)$.
By WP, as $c P_{N}(i) x$ for all $i$ and $x$ other than $c$, it must be that $c P_{N} x$ for all $x$ other than $c$.

The alternative $c$ is at the top of the ranking.
Because $c$ is at the top of the ranking $P$ after raising it to the top in all individual $i$ ' s ranking $P(i)$, there must be an individual $n$ such that $c$ raises in $P$, after raising $c$ to the top in all rankings $P(i)$ for $i$ smaller or equal to $n$.

We let this ranking be $\left(P_{n}(1), \ldots, P_{n}(N)\right)$.

## Arrow Impossibility Theorem (3)

We now show that $c$ is raised to the top of $P_{n}$ for the ranking $\left(P_{n}(1), \ldots, P_{n}(N)\right)$, i.e. when raising $c$ to the top of $P(i)$, for all $i<n$.

By contradiction, say that $a P_{n} c$ and $c P_{n} b$.
Because $c$ is at the top of $P_{n}(i)$ for $i<n$, and at the bottom of $P_{n}(i)$ for $i>n$, we can change all $i$ 's preferences to $P^{*}(i)$ so that $b P^{*}(i) a$.

By WP, bP*a.
By IIA, $a P^{*} c$ and $c P^{*} b$.
By transitivity $a P^{*} b$, which is a contradiction.
This concludes that $c$ is at the top of $P_{n}$, i.e. when raising $c$ to the top of $P(i)$ for all individuals $i<n$.

## Arrow Impossibility Theorem (4)

Step 3. Consider any $a, b$ different from $c$.
Change the preferences $\left(P_{n}(1), \ldots, P_{n}(N)\right)$ to $\left(P^{*}(1), \ldots, P^{*}(N)\right)$ such that $a P^{*}(n) c P^{*}(n) b$, and for any other $i, a$ and $b$ are ranked in any way, as long as the ranking of $c$ (either bottom or top), did not change.

Compare $P_{n-1}$ to $P^{*}$ : by IIA, $a P^{*} c$.
Compare $P_{n+1}$ to $P^{*}$ : by IIA, $c P^{*} b$.
By transitivity, $a P^{*} b$, for all $a, b$ other than $c$.
Because $a, b$ are arbitrary, we have: if $a P^{*}(n) b$, then $a P^{*} b$. $n$ is a dictator for all $a, b$ other than $c$.

## Arrow Impossibility Theorem (5)

Step 4. Repeat all previous steps with an arbitrary allocation d, playing the role of $c$.

Because, again, it is the ranking $P_{n}$ of $n$ which determines whether $d$ is at the top or at the bottom of the social ranking, we can reapply step 3 .

Again, we have: if $a P^{*}(n) b$, then $a P^{*} b$.
$n$ is a dictator for all $a, b$ other than $d$.

Because $n$ is a dictator for all $a, b$ other than $c$, and $n$ is a dictator for all $a, b$ other than $d$, we obtain that $n$ is a dictator for all comparisons.

## A Diagrammatic Proof

- We assume that preferences are continuous.
- Continuity. For any $i, x$, the sets $\{y: y R(i) x\}$ and $\{y: x R(i) y\}$ are closed.
- Complete, transitive and continuous preferences $R(i)$ can be represented as continuous utility functions $u_{i}$.
- We aggregate the utility functions $u$ into a social welfare function $V(x)=F\left(u_{1}(x), \ldots, u_{N}(x)\right)$.
- PI. Pareto indifference. If $u_{i}(x)=u_{i}(y)$, for all $i$, then $V(x)=V(y)$.
- If $V$ satisfies $U$, IIA, and $P$, then there is a continuous function $W$ such that: $V(x)>V(y)$ if and only if $W(u(x))>W(u(y))$.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (2)

- The welfare function depends only on the utility ranking, not on how the ranking comes about.
- The axioms of Arrow's theorem require that the utility is an ordinal concept (OS) and that utility is interpersonally noncomparable (NC).
- If $u_{i}$ represents $R(i)$, then so does any increasing transformation $v_{i}\left(u_{i}\right)$. All transformations $v_{i}$ must be allowed, independently across $i$.
- The function $W$ aggregates the preferences $\left(u_{i}\right)_{i=1, \ldots, n}$ if and only if the function $g(W)$ aggregates the preferences $\left(v_{i}\left(u_{i}\right)\right)_{i=1, \ldots, n}$ where $g$ is an increasing transformation.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (3)

Proof: Suppose that $N=2$ (when $N>2$ the analysis is a simple extension)

Pick an arbitrary utility vector $u$.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (4)

By weak Pareto, $W(u)>W(w)$ for all utility indexes $w$ in III, and $W(w)>W(u)$ for all utility indexes $w$ in I.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (5)

Suppose that $W(u)>W(w)$ for some $w$ in II.
Applying the transformation $v_{1}\left(w_{1}\right)=w_{1}^{*}$ and $v_{2}\left(w_{2}\right)=w_{2}^{*}$, the OS/NC principle implies that $W(u)>W\left(w^{*}\right)$.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (6)

This concludes that for all $w$ in II, either $W(u)<W(w), W(u)=W(w)$, or $W(u)>W(w)$.

It cannot be that $W(u)=W(w)$ because transitivity would imply $W\left(w^{*}\right)=W(w)$.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (7)

Suppose that $W(u)>W(w)$. In particular, $W(u)>W\left(u_{1}-1, u_{2}+1\right)$.
Consider the transform $v_{1}\left(u_{1}\right)=u_{1}+1, v_{2}\left(u_{2}\right)=u_{2}-1$.
By the OS/NC principle, $W(v(u))>W\left(v_{1}\left(u_{1}-1\right), v 2\left(u_{2}+1\right)\right)=W(u)$.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (8)

By repeating the step of quadrant II, the transform $v_{1}\left(w_{1}\right)=w_{1}^{*}$ and $v_{2}\left(w_{2}\right)=w_{2}^{*}$, OS/NC principle implies $W(u)<W\left(w^{*}\right)$ for all $w^{*}$ in IV.


## A Diagrammatic Proof (9)

The indifference curves are either horizontal or vertical. Hence there must be a dictator.

In the figure, agent 1 is the dictator.


## Social Choice Functions

- The Arrow theorem concerns the impossibility to find a social preference order that satisfies minimal requirements.
- But the object of social choice may be restricted to find simply a socially optimal alternative rather than to rank all possible alternatives.
- We will show that a similar impossibility result holds when considering social choice functions.


## Social Choice Functions (2)

- Let $\bar{R}$ be a subset of the set of all profile of preferences $R=(R(1), \ldots R(N))$.
- A social choice function $f$ defined on $\bar{R}$ assigns a single element to every profile $R$ in $\bar{R}$.
- The function $f$ is monotonic if, for any $R$ and $R^{\prime}$ such that $x=f(R)$ maintains its position from $R$ to $R^{\prime}$ we have that $x=f\left(R^{\prime}\right)$.
- The alternative $x$ maintains its position from $R$ to $R^{\prime}$, if $x R(i) y$ implies $x R^{\prime}(i) y$ for all $i$ and $y$.


## Social Choice Functions

- The social choice function f is weakly Paretian if $y \neq f(R)$ whenever there is $x$ s.t. $x R(i) y$ for all $i$.
- An individual $n$ is dictatorial for $f$ if, for every $R, f(R) \in\{x: x R(n) y$ for all $y \in X\}$.


## Theorem

Suppose that there are at least three distinct alternatives. Then any weakly Paretian and monotonic social function defined on the whole domain of preferences is dictatorial.

## Arrow Theorem for Social Choice Functions

Proof. The result is shown as a corollary of Arrow impossibility theorem.

We derive a social rule $F(R)$ from $f$, using the properties of $f$ on all $\bar{R}$.

We show that $F$ satisfies all Arrow axioms but ND.

Step 1. Given a subset $X^{\prime}$ of $X$ and $R$, we say that $R^{\prime}$ takes $X^{\prime}$ to the top from $R$, if for every $i$,
. $x P^{\prime}(i) y$ for all $x$ in $X^{\prime}$ and $y$ not in $X^{\prime}$;
. $x R(i) y$ if and only if $x R^{\prime}(i) y$ for all $x, y$ in $X^{\prime}$.

## Arrow Theorem for Social Choice Functions (2)

Step 2. If both $R^{\prime}$ and $R^{\prime \prime}$ take $X^{\prime}$ to the top from $R$, then $f\left(R^{\prime}\right)=f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$.

In fact, by WP, $f\left(R^{\prime}\right)$ is in $X^{\prime}$.
Because $f\left(R^{\prime}\right)$ maintains its position from $R^{\prime}$ to $R^{\prime \prime}, f\left(R^{\prime}\right)=f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$ by monotonicity.

Step 3. For every $R$, we let $x F(R) y$ if $x=f\left(R^{\prime}\right)$ when $R^{\prime}$ is any profile that takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top of profile $R$.

By Step 1, F is well defined.

## Arrow Theorem for Social Choice Functions (3)

Step 4. Because $f$ is weakly Paretian, if $R^{\prime}$ takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top from $R$, then $f(R)$ in $\{x, y\}$.

By step 1 and 2, either $x F(R) y$ or $y F(R) x$ (but not both).
Hence $F$ is complete.

Step 5. Suppose that $x F(R) y$ and $y F(R) z$.
If $R^{\prime \prime}$ takes $\{x, y, z\}$ to the top of $R$, then $F\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$ in $\{x, y, z\}$, because $f$ is weakly Paretian.

Say by contradiction that $y=f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$.
Consider $R^{\prime}$ that takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top from $R^{\prime \prime}$.
By monotonicity, $f\left(R^{\prime}\right)=y$.

## Arrow Theorem for Social Choice Functions (4)

But $R^{\prime}$ also takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top from $R$.
This contradicts $x F(R) y$. In sum, $y \neq f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$.
Similarly $z \neq f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$, by contradiction with $y F(R) z$.
Thus $x=f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$.
Let $R^{\prime}$ take $\{x, z\}$ to the top from $R^{\prime \prime}$.
By monotonicity, $x=f\left(R^{\prime}\right)$.
But $R^{\prime}$ also takes $\{x, z\}$ to the top from $R$, and hence $x F(R) z$.
Hence $F(R)$ is transitive.

## Arrow Theorem for Social Choice Functions (5)

Step 6. The social rule $F($.$) satisfies Weak Pareto.$
In fact, if $x R(i) y$ for all $i$, then $x=f\left(R^{\prime}\right)$ whenever $R^{\prime}$ takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top from $R$.

Thus $x F(R) y$, by step 1 .

Step 7. The social rule $F($.$) satisfies IIA.$
In fact, if $R$ and $R^{\prime}$ have the same ordering for $x, y$, and $R^{\prime \prime}$ takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top of $R$, then it also takes $\{x, y\}$ to the top of $R^{\prime}$.

Hence, $x=f\left(R^{\prime \prime}\right)$ implies: $x F(R) y$ and $x F\left(R^{\prime}\right) y$.

## Arrow Theorem for Social Choice Functions (6)

Step 8. The social choice function $f$ is dictatorial.
By Arrow theorem, there is an agent $i$ such that for every profile $R$, we have $x F(R) y$ when $x R(i) y$.

Thus if $x R(i) y$ for all $y$, then $x=f(R)$.
This final step concludes the proof.

We have shown how to construct the social rule $F(R)$ starting from the social choice function $f$.

Applying Arrow's theorem, we have shown that there is a dictator for $F(R)$, and so $f$ is dictatorial.

