

# Arrow's theorem and the reverse mathematics of social choice theory

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1. Social decision-making and Arrow's theorem

# Majority rule and the Condorcet paradox

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This is the **Condorcet paradox**.

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One can also work exclusively with **linear orders**. This makes some of the results easier, but also less interesting.

## Definition

Let  $X$  be a set of *alternatives*. If  $R \subseteq X \times X$  is such that

1.  $R$  is transitive, and
  2.  $R$  is strongly connected, i.e.  $(x, y) \in R \vee (y, x) \in R$  for all  $x, y \in X$ ,
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- iv.  $W = \{R : R \text{ is a weak order on } X\}$ .

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# Voters, profiles, coalitions

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# Social welfare functions

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- iii. Non-dictatoriality: There exists no  $d \in V$  such that for all  $f \in \mathcal{F}$  and all  $x, y \in X$ , if  $x <_{f(d)} y$  then  $x <_{\sigma(f)} y$ .

# Arrow's impossibility theorem

## Arrow's impossibility theorem (1950)

Suppose that  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  is a society which satisfies universal domain,  $V$  is finite, and  $|X| \geq 3$ .

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The main thrust of Arrow's theorem and all the associated literature is that there is an unresolvable tension between logicality and fairness. Independent choice requires concentration of power, in sharp conflict with democratic ideals.

(Riker 1982, p. 136)

## 2. Ultrafilters and dictators

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Fishburn's possibility theorem therefore sparked debate amongst social choice theorists concerning the use of non-constructive methods (see e.g. Litak 2018).

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i.  $C \in \mathcal{A}$  is  $\sigma$ -*decisive* if for all  $f \in \mathcal{F}$  and all  $x, y \in X$ ,

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ii.  $d \in V$  is *dictatorial* if  $\{d\}$  is  $\sigma$ -decisive.

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and  $\mathcal{U}_\sigma$  is principal if and only if  $\sigma$  is dictatorial.

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The notion of a decisive coalition forms the basis of an influential analysis of Arrow's theorem in terms of ultrafilters.

## Kirman–Sondermann theorem (1972)

Suppose that  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  is a society which satisfies universal domain,  $|X| \geq 3$ , and  $\sigma : \mathcal{F} \rightarrow W$  is a social welfare function satisfying unanimity and independence. Then there exists an ultrafilter  $\mathcal{U}_\sigma$  on  $\mathcal{A}$  such that

$$\mathcal{U}_\sigma = \{C \in \mathcal{A} : C \text{ is } \sigma\text{-decisive}\},$$

and  $\mathcal{U}_\sigma$  is principal if and only if  $\sigma$  is dictatorial.

This is provable in ZF, and therefore Fishburn's possibility theorem is not provable in ZF, since it implies the existence of a non-principal ultrafilter on  $\mathcal{P}(V)$  for any infinite set  $V$ .



### 3. Countable social choice theory

# Challenges in formalising social choice theory

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- ▶ Definitions need to be tractable in the base theory.

# Approaches to ultrafilters in reverse mathematics

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  - ▶ This path is the one we will follow.

# Voters $V$ , alternatives $X$ , profiles $\mathcal{F}$

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We consider countable sets of profiles  $\mathcal{F}$  coded in the usual way as countable sequences  $\langle f_i : i \in \mathbb{N} \rangle$  where  $f_i : V \rightarrow W$  for all  $i \in \mathbb{N}$ .

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$$x \lesssim_{i(v)} y$$

to mean that  $x \lesssim_R y$  where  $R = f_i(v)$ .



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It will sometimes be necessary to compute unions, intersections, and complementation in a uniform way, so assume that we work only with algebras that have been computably reordered to facilitate this.

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- ▶ We therefore require that for every  $i \in \mathbb{N}$ ,  $f_i$  is  $\mathcal{A}$ -measurable via a uniformising function built into the definition of a society.

## Definition (uniform $\mathcal{A}$ -measurability)

Suppose  $V \subseteq \mathbb{N}$  is nonempty and  $X \subseteq \mathbb{N}$  is finite with  $|X| \geq 3$ , and that  $\mathcal{A} = \langle A_i : i \in \mathbb{N} \rangle$  is a countable algebra of sets over  $V$  and  $\overline{\mathcal{F}} = \langle f_i : i \in \mathbb{N} \rangle$  is a countable sequence of profiles.

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If there exists  $\theta : \mathbb{N} \times X \times X \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$  such that for all  $m \in \mathbb{N}$ ,  $x, y \in X$ ,

$$\{v : x \lesssim_{m(v)} y\} = A_{\theta(m,x,y)},$$

then we say  $\mathcal{F}$  is *uniformly  $\mathcal{A}$ -measurable* via  $\theta$ .

# Quasi-partition embedding: sketch

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- ▶ This leads us to the idea of a *quasi-partition*, a finite sequence  $s \in \text{Seq}$  of indexes in  $\mathcal{A}$  in which overlaps are allowed.
- ▶ Say  $\mathcal{A}$  is *quasi-partition embedded* into  $\mathcal{F}$  if there is a map  $e$  such that for any quasi-partition  $s \in \text{Seq}$  and permutation  $p$  of  $W$  with  $|s| \leq |p|$ ,  $f_{e(p,s)}$  is a profile which sends the elements that appear in (only) a given set in the quasi-partition to a unique weak order.

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1. A *permutation* of the set  $W$  of (codes for) weak orders over  $X$  is a finite sequence  $p \in \text{Seq}$  such that for all  $R \in W$  there exists a unique  $i < |p|$  such that  $p(i) = R$ . If  $p$  is a permutation of  $W$  we write  $p \in \text{Perm}(W)$ .

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3.  $\mathcal{A}$  is *quasi-partition embedded* into  $\mathcal{F}$  via  $e$  if there exists a function  $e : \text{Perm}(W) \times \text{QPart}(|W|) \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$  such that for all  $v \in V$ ,

$$f_{e(p,s)}(v) = \begin{cases} p(i) & \text{if } (\exists! i < |s| - 1)(v \in A_{s(i)}), \\ p(|s| - 1) & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

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## Definition

$\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  is a *countable society* if  $V \subseteq \mathbb{N}$  is nonempty,  $X \subseteq \mathbb{N}$  is finite with  $|X| \geq 3$ ,  $\mathcal{A} = \langle A_i : i \in \mathbb{N} \rangle$  is an atomic countable algebra, and  $\mathcal{F} = \langle f_i : i \in \mathbb{N} \rangle$  is a countable sequence of profiles such that

1.  $\mathcal{F}$  is uniformly  $\mathcal{A}$ -measurable, and
2.  $\mathcal{A}$  is quasi-partition embedded into  $\mathcal{F}$ .

A countable society is *finite* if  $V$  is finite, and *infinite* otherwise.

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If the following additional condition is satisfied then we say  $\sigma$  is *non-dictatorial*:

3. For all  $v \in V$  there exists  $i \in \mathbb{N}$  and  $x, y \in X$  such that  $x <_{i(v)} y$  and  $y \lesssim_{\sigma(i)} x$ .

# Arrow's theorem and related statements in $\mathcal{L}_2$

## Definition

The *Kirman–Sondermann theorem for countable societies* (KS) is the statement that for all countable societies  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  and all social welfare functions  $\sigma$  for  $\mathcal{S}$ , the set

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*Fishburn's possibility theorem for countable societies* (FPT) is the statement that for all countably infinite societies  $\mathcal{S}$  there exists a non-dictatorial social welfare function  $\sigma$  for  $\mathcal{S}$ .

## 4. Proving Arrow's theorem



# Almost $\sigma$ -decisive coalitions

We say that  $A_n$  is *almost  $\sigma$ -decisive for  $x, y$  at  $i$*  if

$$x <_{i[A_n]} y \wedge y <_{i[A_n^c]} x \wedge x <_{\sigma(i)} y,$$

and  $A_n$  is *almost  $\sigma$ -decisive* if for all  $i \in \mathbb{N}$  and  $x, y \in X$ ,

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## Definability lemma for $\sigma$ -decisiveness

The following is provable in  $\text{RCA}_0$ . Suppose  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  is a countable society. Then there exists  $g : \mathbb{N} \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$  and  $x, y \in X$  such that the following are equivalent for all  $n \in \mathbb{N}$ .

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## Theorem

*KS is provable in  $\text{RCA}_0$ .*

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**Conjecture.**  $\theta$  is provable in  $\text{I}\Delta_0 + \text{exp}$ .



5. The strength of Fishburn's possibility theorem

# Non-dictatoriality conditions

## Definition

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- i.  $\sigma$  is *k-non-dictatorial* if for all  $s \in V^{<\mathbb{N}}$  with  $|s| \leq k$  there exist  $j \in \mathbb{N}$  and  $x, y \in X$  such that for all  $i < |s|$ ,  $x <_{j(s(i))} y$  and  $y \lesssim_{\sigma(j)} x$ .

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$\text{FPT}^k$ ,  $\text{FPT}^{<\mathbb{N}}$ , and  $\text{FPT}^+$  are the statements obtained from  $\text{FPT}$  by replacing the condition of non-dictatoriality with the conditions of *k-non-dictatoriality* (for some fixed  $k \geq 1$ ), *finite non-dictatoriality*, and the *cofinite coalitions property* respectively.

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The equivalence of 1, 2, 3, and 4 uses  $\Sigma_1^0$  induction on the bounds of finite coalitions to show that any non-dictatorial  $\sigma$  has the cofinite coalitions property.

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All that remains is to show in  $\text{RCA}_0$  that  $\text{FPT}$  implies  $\text{ACA}_0$ , and that  $\text{FPT}$  can be proved in  $\text{ACA}_0$ .

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# Non-principal ultrafilters and $ACA_0$

The following well-known result lies at the heart of the equivalence between  $ACA_0$  and FPT.

## Lemma

*The following are equivalent over  $RCA_0$ .*

- 1. For every countable atomic algebra  $\mathcal{A}$  over an infinite set  $V$ , there exists a non-principal ultrafilter  $\mathcal{U}$  on  $\mathcal{A}$ .*
- 2.  $ACA_0$ .*



# Reversing FPT to $\text{ACA}_0$

Working in  $\text{RCA}_0 + \text{FPT}$ , fix a countably infinite atomic algebra  $\mathcal{A}$ .

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Let  $V = \mathbb{N}$  and  $X = 3$ .

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Let  $V = \mathbb{N}$  and  $X = 3$ . By the lemma, there exists a countably infinite society  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$ .

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## Lemma

*The following is provable in  $RCA_0$ . Suppose  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  is a countable society and  $\mathcal{U}$  is an ultrafilter on  $\mathcal{A}$ .*



## Lemma

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Working in  $ACA_0$ , let  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  be a countably infinite society. By our earlier lemma, there exists a non-principal ultrafilter  $\mathcal{U}$  on  $\mathcal{A}$

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Working in  $ACA_0$ , let  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  be a countably infinite society. By our earlier lemma, there exists a non-principal ultrafilter  $\mathcal{U}$  on  $\mathcal{A}$ , so by our partial converse to KS there exists a non-dictatorial social welfare function  $\sigma_{\mathcal{U}}$  for  $\mathcal{S}$ .  $\square$

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iii. Conversely, all our reversal does is show that a non-dictatorial  $\sigma$  computes  $\mathcal{S}'$ , via the usual Kirby construction. Can this be strengthened?

## 6. Coda: Strategic voting theorems

# Social choice functions and the Gibbard–Satterthwaite theorem

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## Gibbard–Satterthwaite theorem

If  $\mathcal{S}$  is a finite society and  $c$  is a social choice function for  $\mathcal{S}$  which is immune to strategic voting, then  $c$  is dictatorial.

# Manipulability and strategyproofness

## Definition

Suppose  $\mathcal{S} = \langle V, X, \mathcal{A}, \mathcal{F} \rangle$  is a countable society and  $c : \mathbb{N} \rightarrow X$  is a social choice function for  $\mathcal{S}$ .

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## Theorem (Pazner and Wesley 1977)

*If  $\mathcal{S}$  is an infinite society there exists a non-dictatorial, strategyproof social choice function  $c$  for  $\mathcal{S}$ .*



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## Theorem (Mihara 2000)

*There exists a countably infinite society  $\mathcal{S}_M$  and a non-dictatorial social choice function  $c_M$  for  $\mathcal{S}_M$  which is individually but not coalitionally strategyproof.*

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**Question.** What is the strength of the statement that for every countably infinite society there exists an *individually* strategyproof social choice function?

Thank you!

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