

Essays on collective decision-making

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Outline



*“We have an agreement in principle.
The question is, do we all have the same principles?”*

- Introduction
- Chapter 2: Primaries on demand
- Chapter 3: A mechanism to pick the deserving winner
- Chapter 4: Does avoiding bad voting rules leads to good ones?
- Chapter 5: Dictatorship versus manipulability

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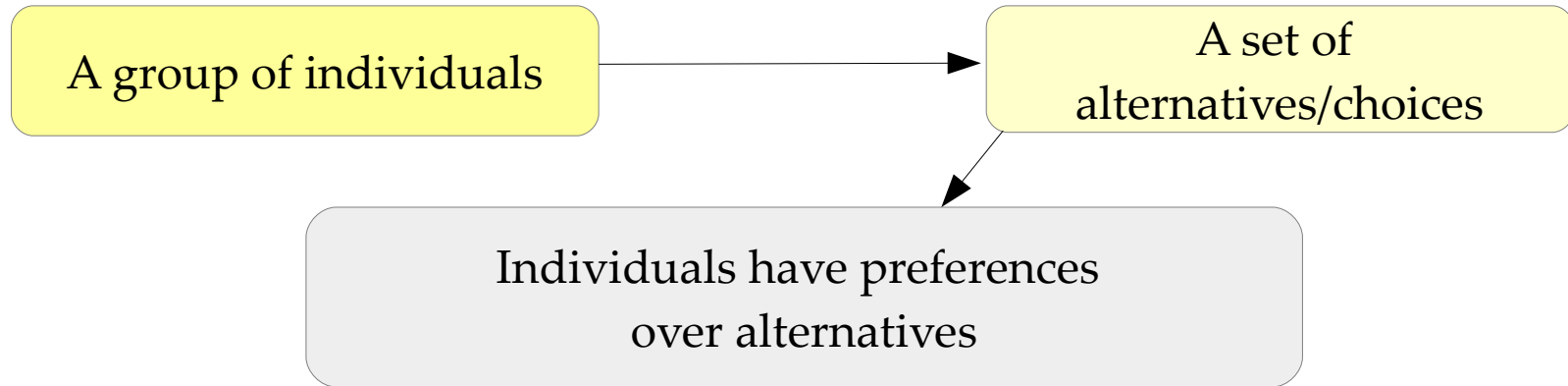
Typical setting of collective decision-making situation:

A group of individuals

A set of
alternatives/choices

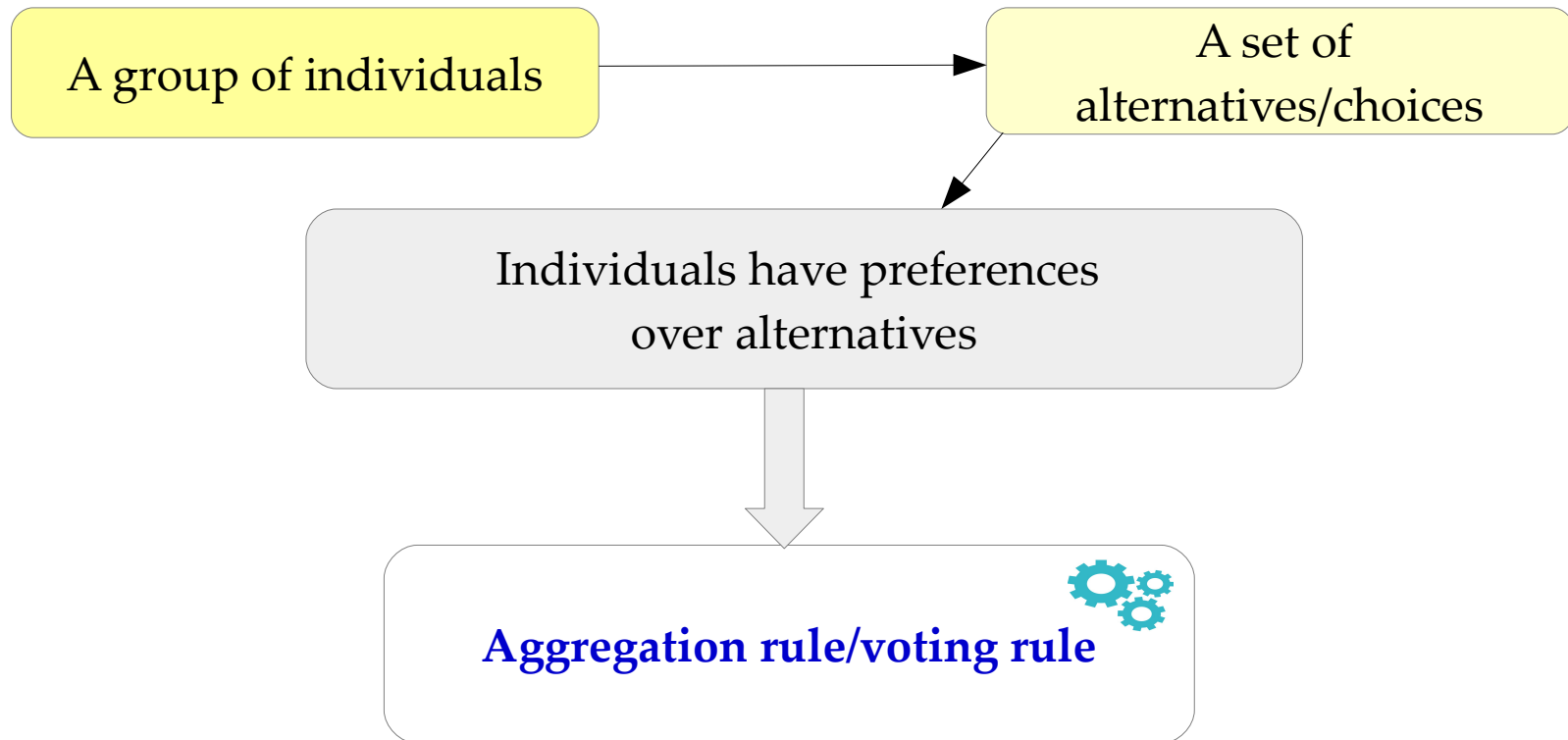
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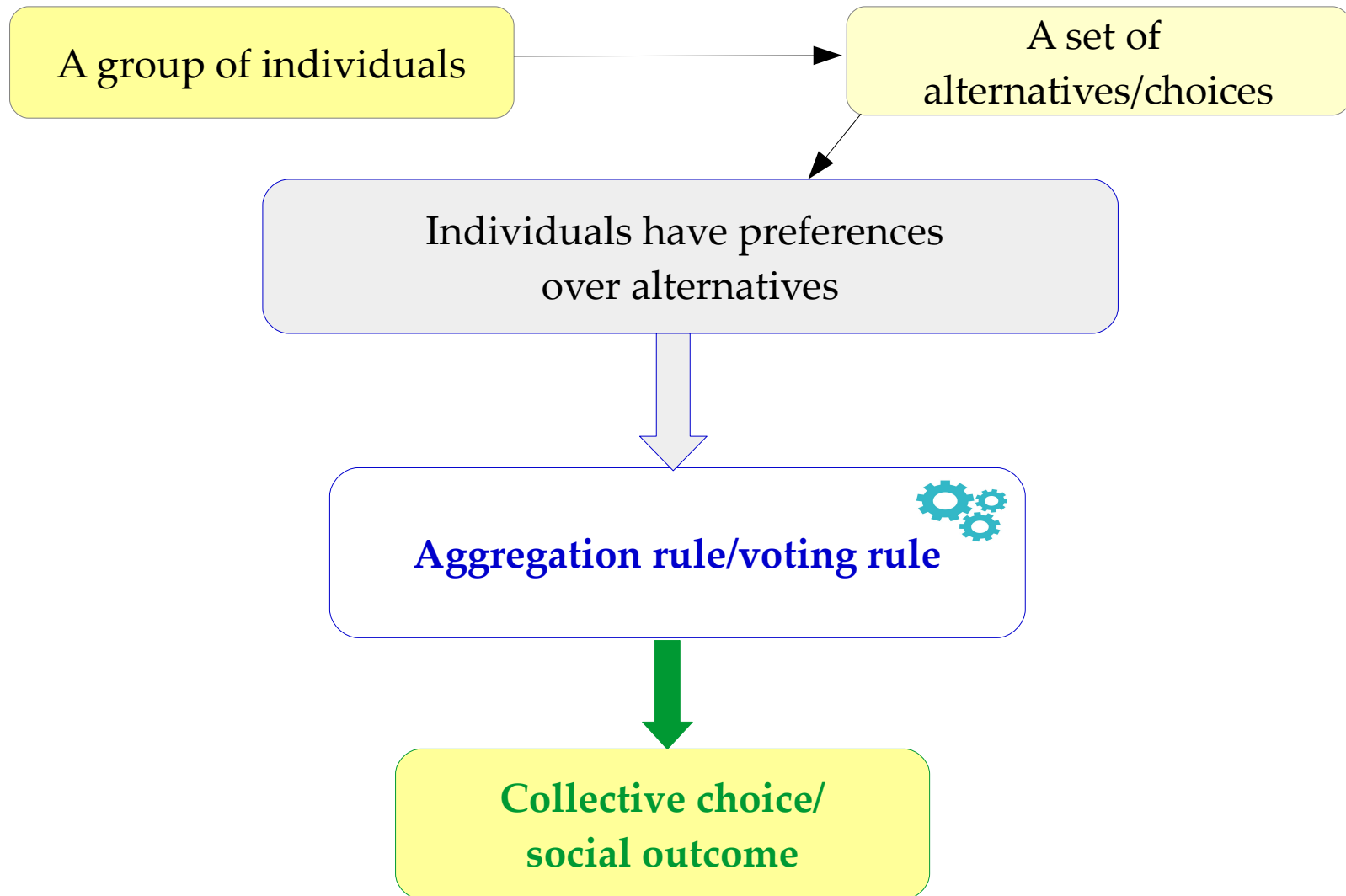
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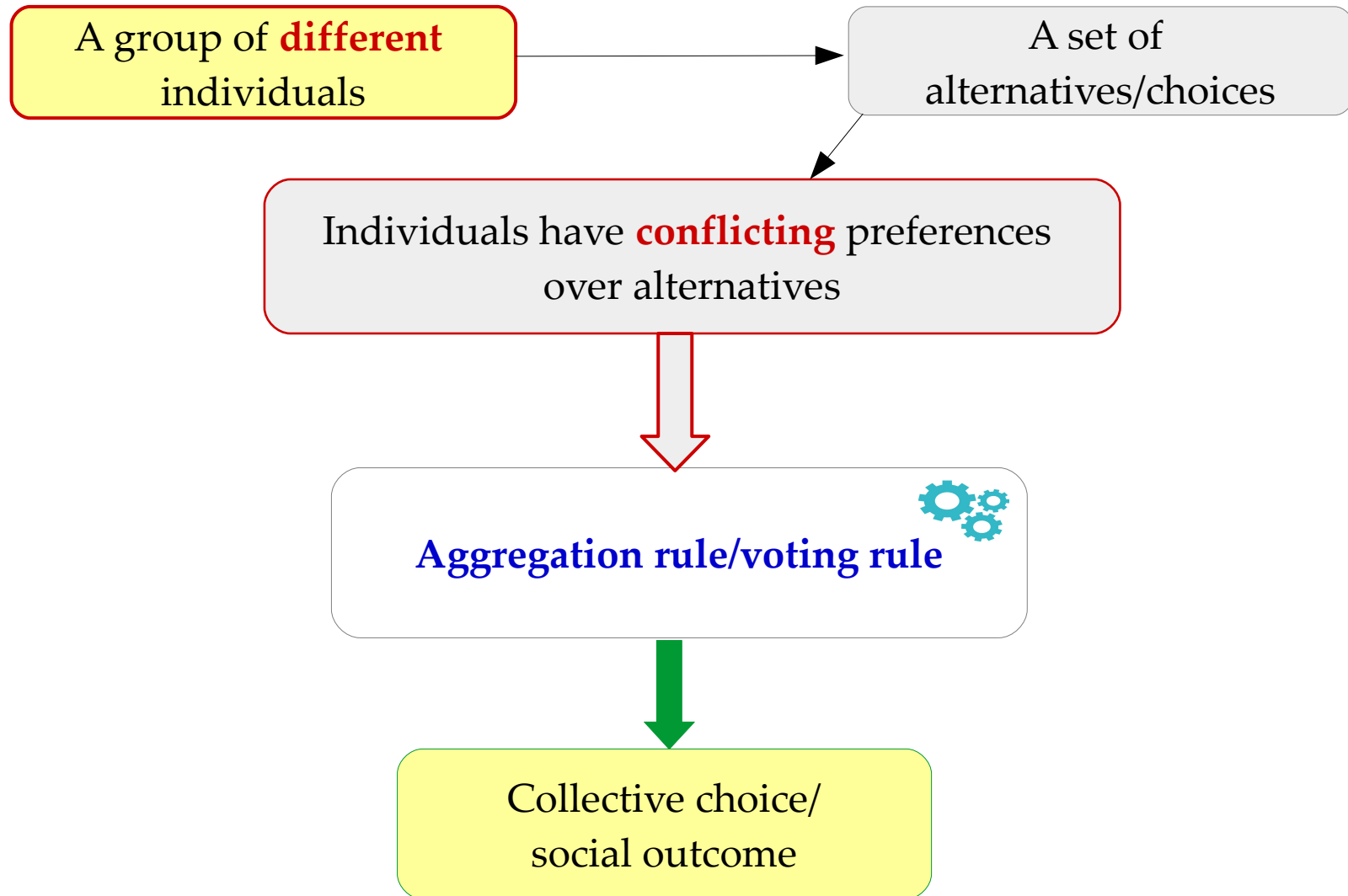
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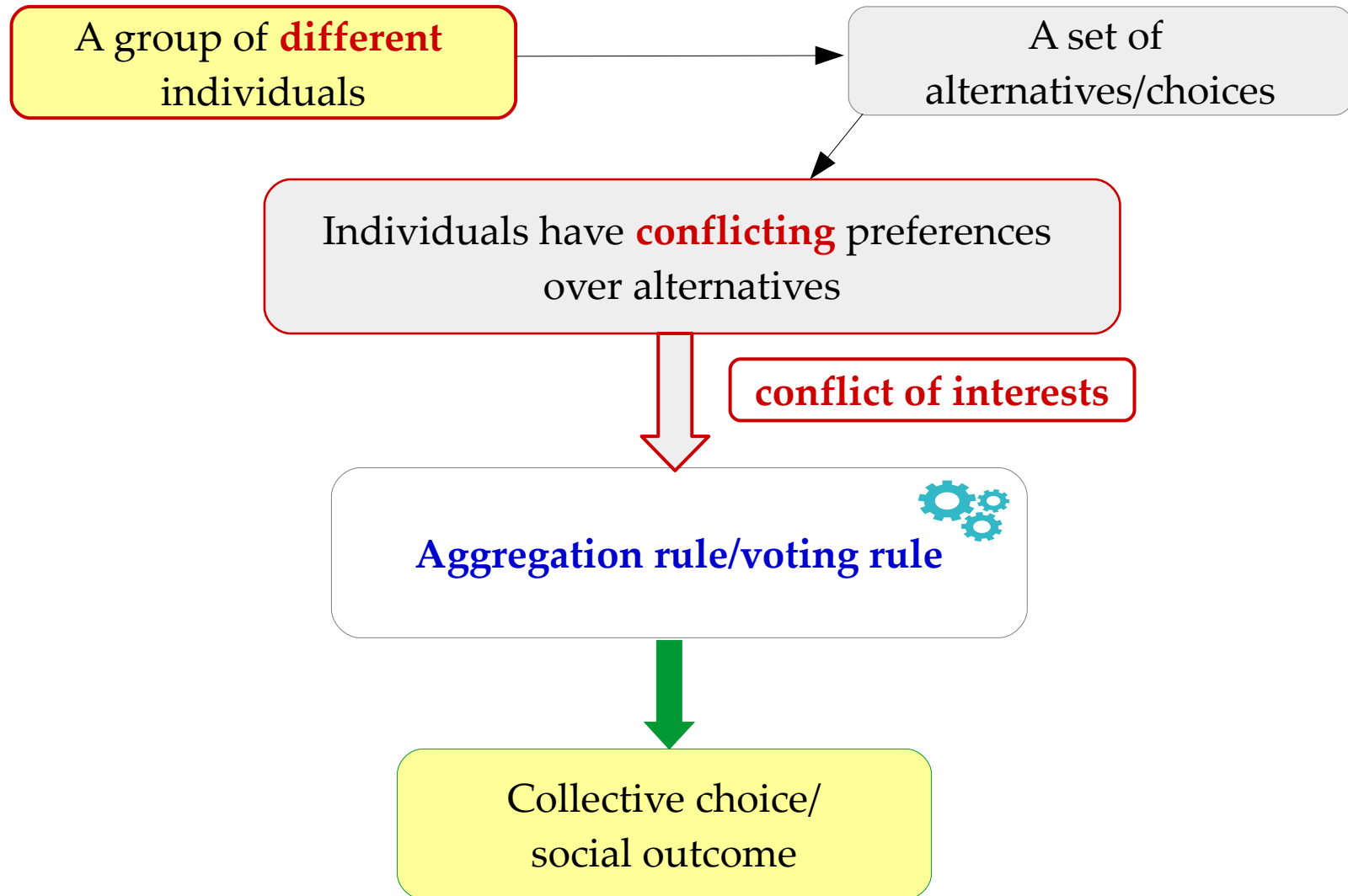
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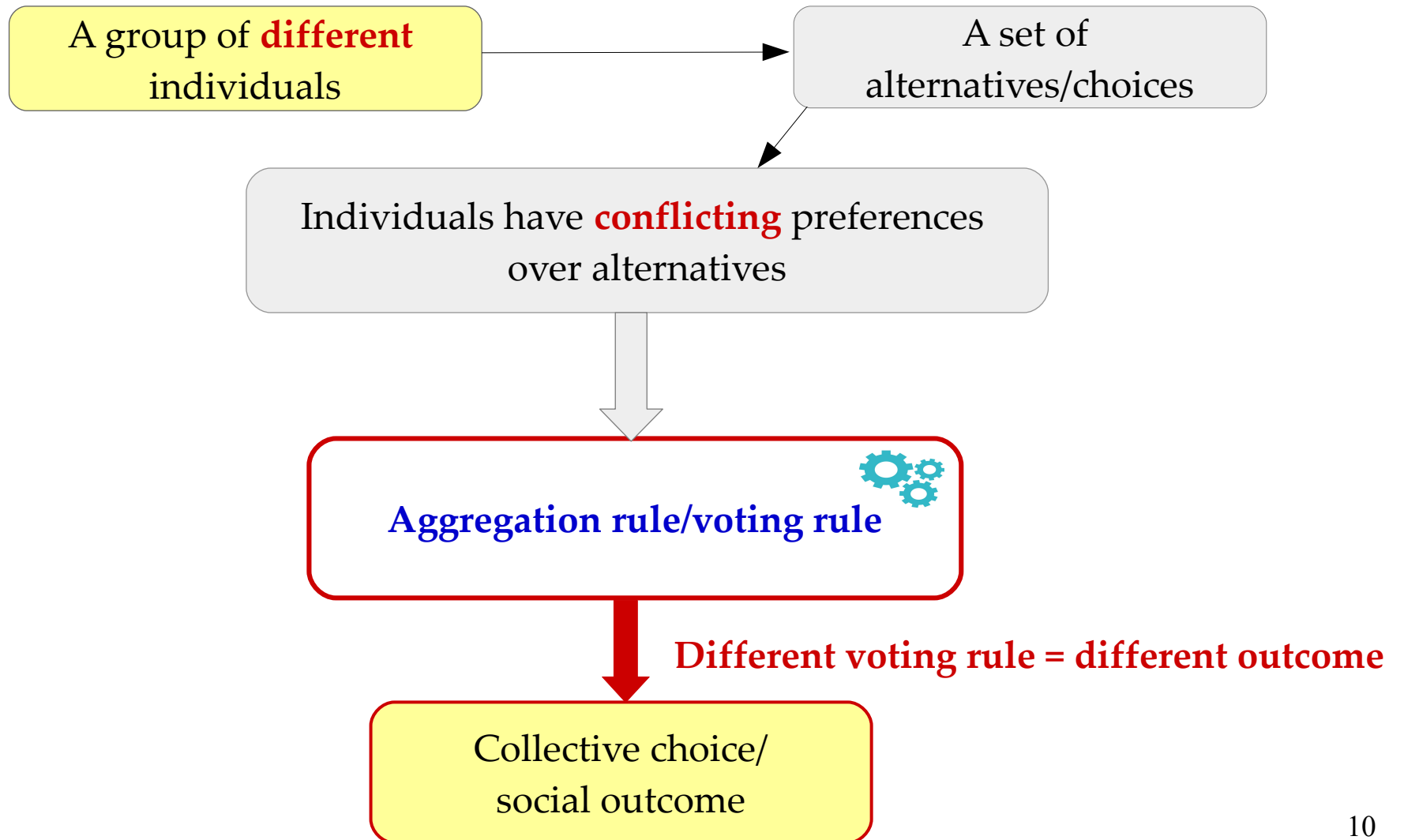
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Introduction

Problematic nature of social choice/
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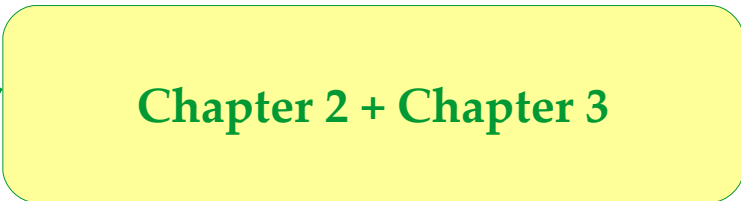
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2 The choice of an **aggregation rule/ voting rule** to transform individual preferences or choices into **collective preference or choice**.

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Chapter 2 + Chapter 3

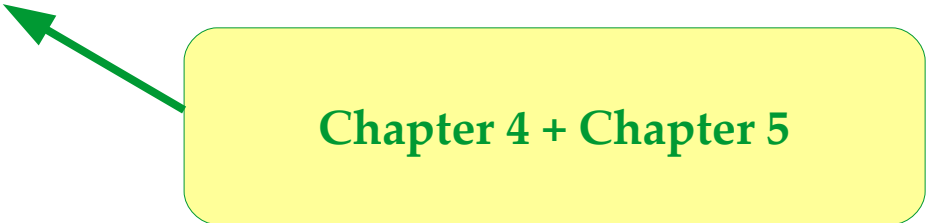
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Chapter 4 + Chapter 5

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Introduction

- Collective decision-making in a model of the intra-party politics.
- A political party, is composed of two factions: a party elite (leadership) and a dissenting faction (non-leadership).
- **Collective decision-making problem:** to choose the party's candidate.
- **Conflict of interests:** each faction wants its own faction's candidate to be the party's candidate.

Background

- This chapter was inspired by a similar problem in Hortalá-Vallve and Mueller, 2015 (HM hereinafter).
- They build a game-theoretical model as a strategic game between the elite faction and the dissenting faction.
- They show how the incorporation of internal democracy (**primaries**) can resolve the intra-party conflict.
- We build on their model but add some extensions.

HM model

- In HM model, the **party elite** is the **first-mover**.
- Elite decides on the institutional setup of the party (strategic top-down calculations).
- Dissenting faction is the last-mover.
- It has only two options: stay or exit the party.
- Two-stage game.
- The elite adopts primaries **only** under the **credible exit threat**.

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Our model

- In our model, the dissenting faction is the first-mover.
- Why?
- We want to explicitly model the internal dissent.
 - We add additional stage to the game, where dissenters can demand primaries (strategic bottom-up calculations).
 - It has three options: stay loyal, demand primaries or exit the party.
 - Three-stage game.

Our model

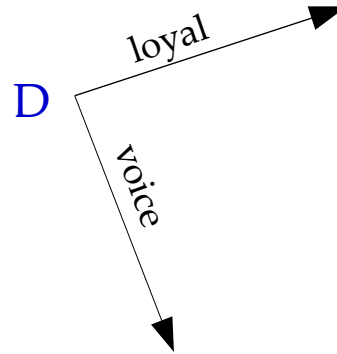
- New structure adds **additional variable** to the analysis:
public cost of intra-party conflict, called **the cost of party disunity**.
- Divided parties lose election. Party unity is important for electoral success.
- We study in addition how the party (dis)unity influences the party's internal democratisation (primaries).

Model: key parameters

- Level of the intra-party conflict
- Electoral bonus (proportionality of electoral system)
- E's *relative strength* inside the party (whether E is in the majority or minority)
- Dimension of public cost of intra-party conflict = cost of party disunity

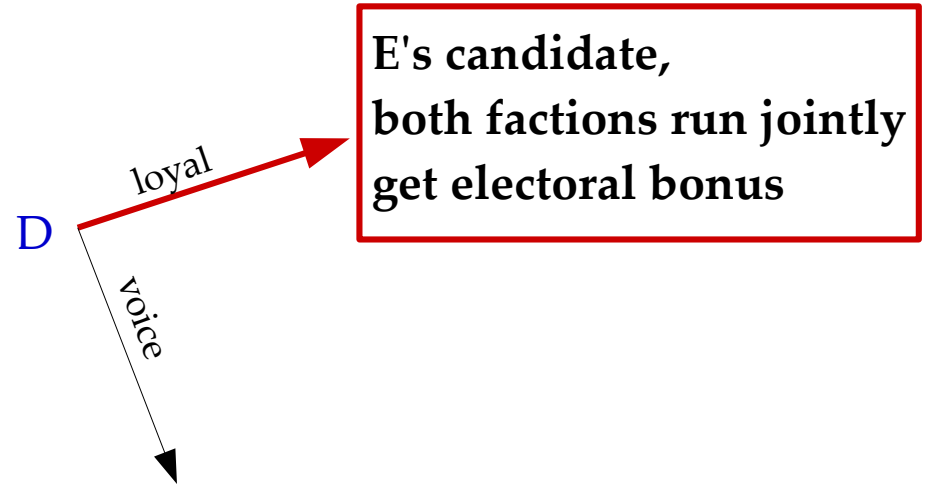
Intra-party game

- By default, the party's candidate belongs to **E**
- **D** can either agree or voice discontent and demand primaries



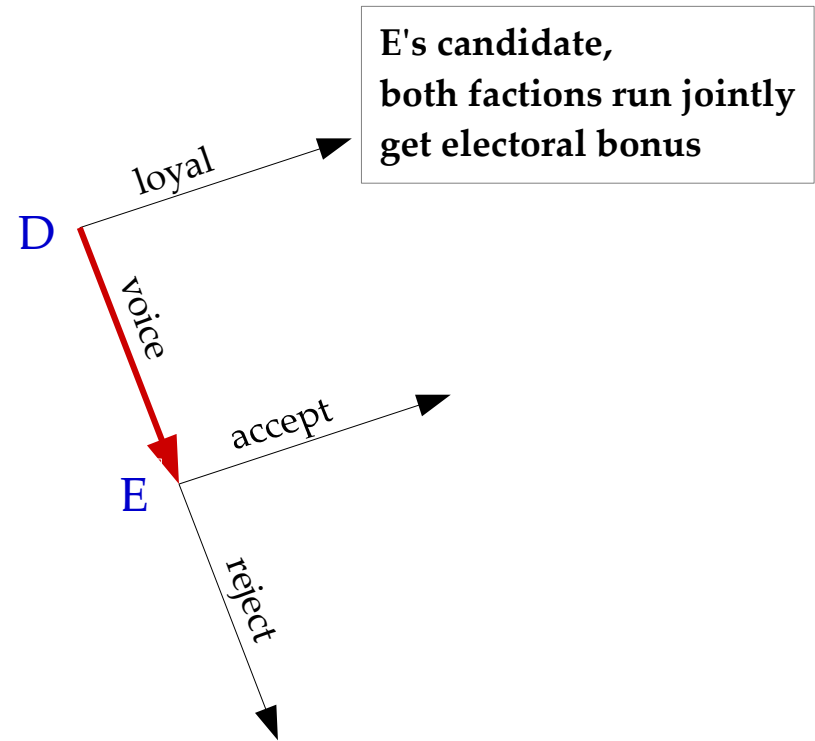
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- If **D** chooses **loyal** → game ends, both factions run jointly



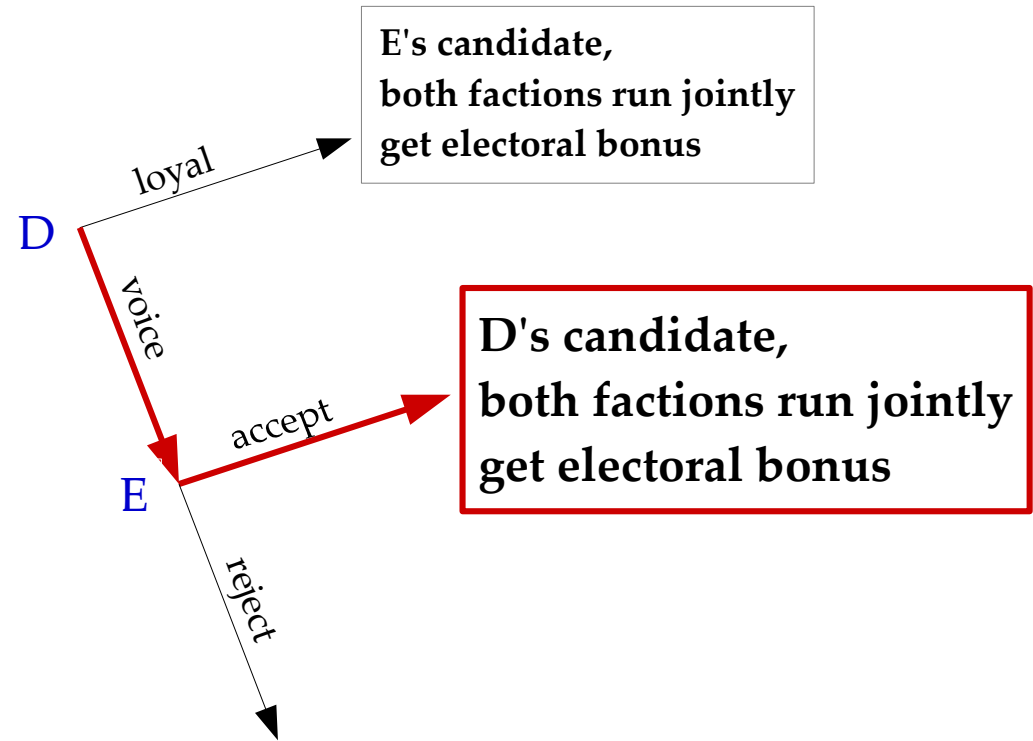
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- If **D** chooses **voice** → next stage, where **E** chooses **accept** or **reject**



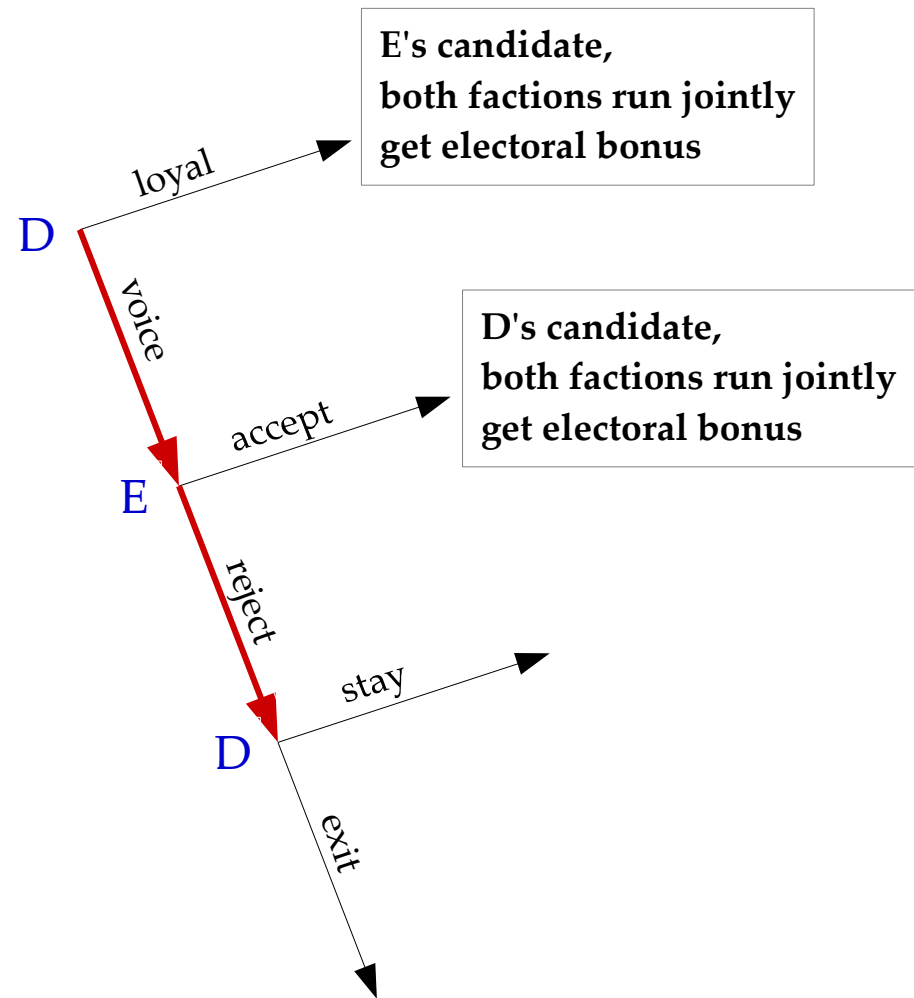
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- If **D** chooses voice → next stage, where **E** chooses accept or reject
- If **E** **accepts** → primaries, **D** wins



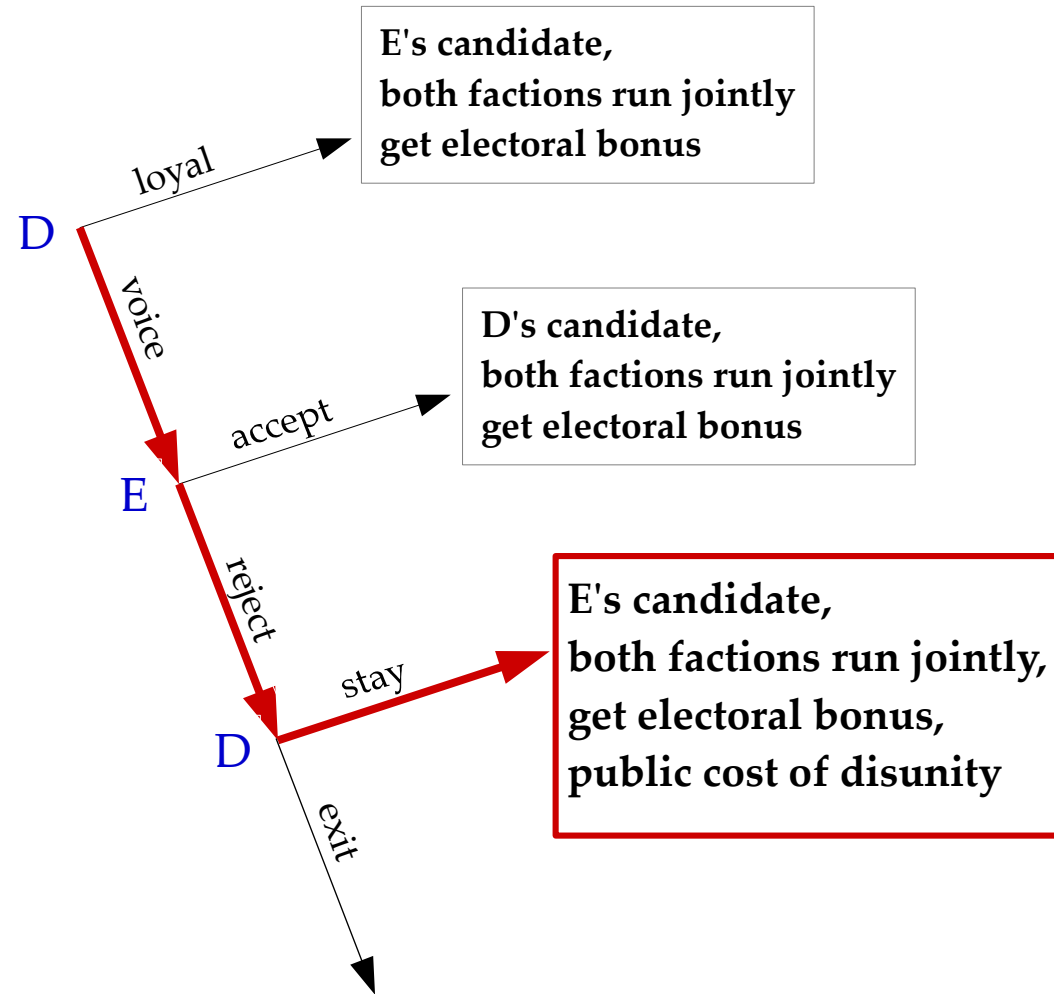
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- If **E rejects** → next stage, **D** chooses **stay** or **exit**



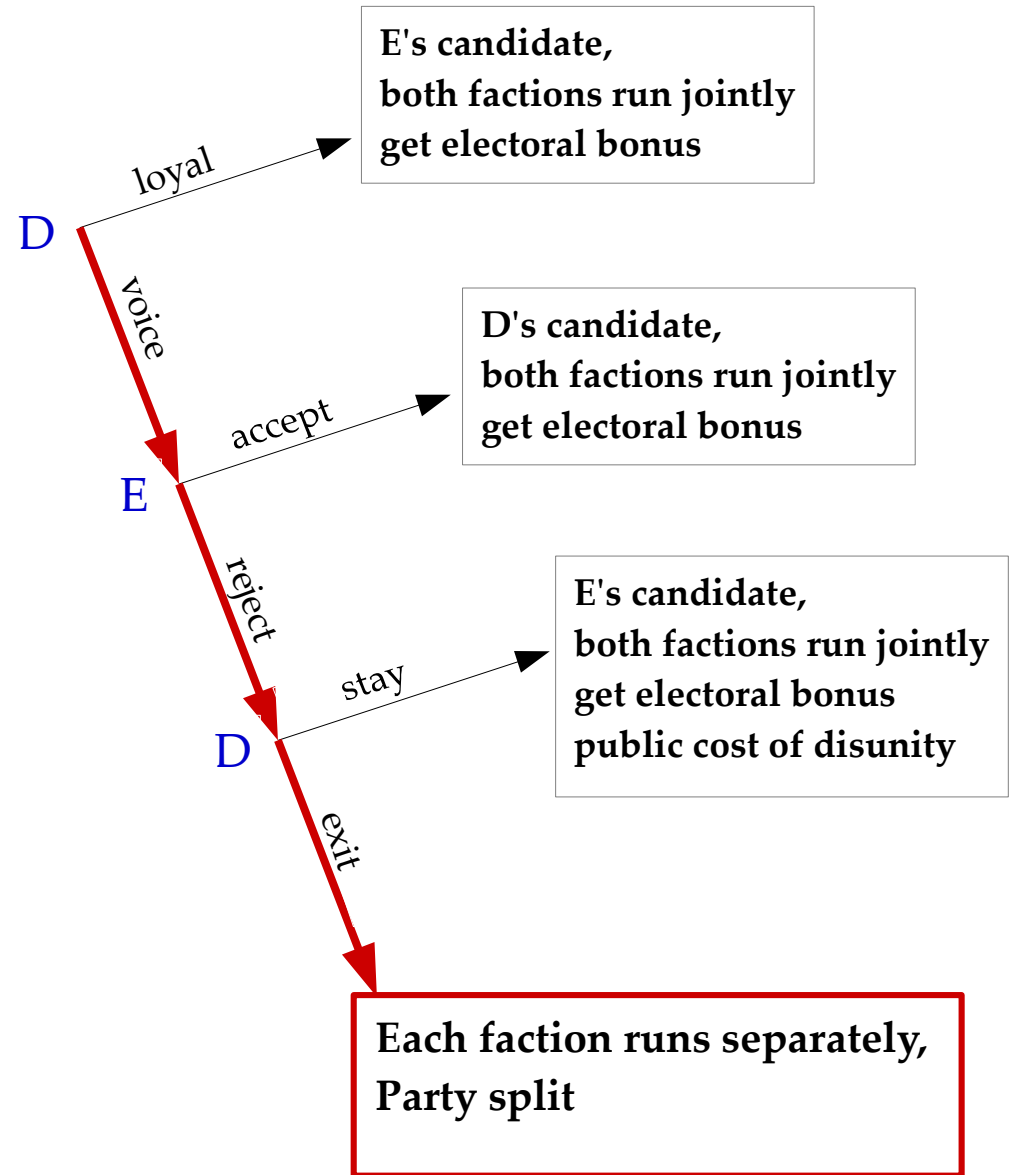
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- If **D** chooses **stay** → public **cost** of unresolved conflict



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- If **E** rejects → next stage, **D** chooses stay or exit
- If **D** chooses stay → public cost of unresolved conflict
- If **D** **exits**, the **party splits**



Results

The solution concept is SPNE.

All our results depend on the relative values of the four key parameters:

- level of the intra-party conflict
- electoral bonus
- relative strength of E
- cost of party disunity

We find two equilibria when the primaries are adopted.

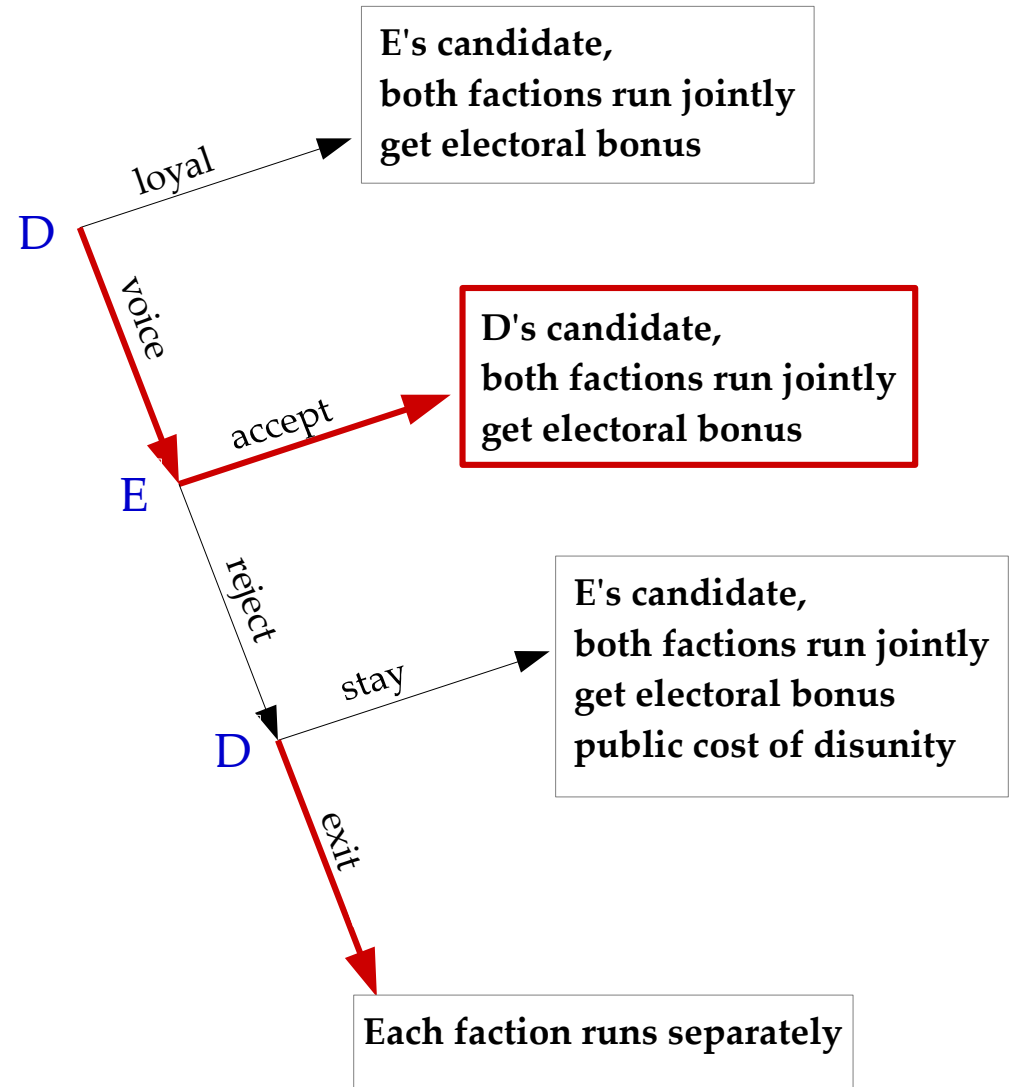
Primaries

- Two types of primaries:

- **Primaries with threat**

Conditions:

- **Credible exit threat** from the dissidents (**internal pressure**)
- High public **cost of intra-party conflict**, high cost of disunity (**external pressure**)



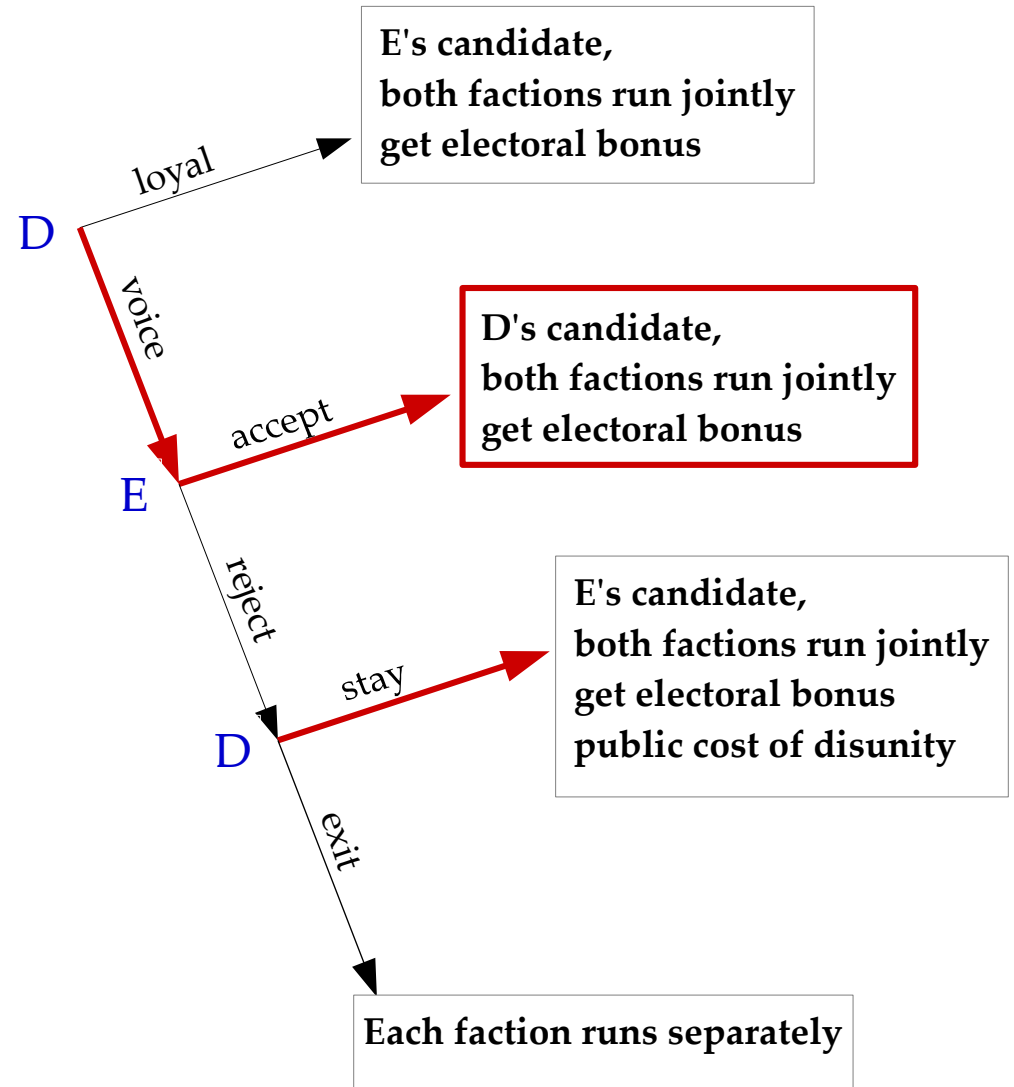
Primaries

- Two types of primaries:

- **Primaries no threat**

Conditions:

- **No internal nor external pressure**
- Voluntary adoption of primaries by the party elite
- Requires **high ideological cohesion** between both factions
- **Low cost of disunity**



Final remarks

- Primaries are adopted in two cases:
 - 1 There is an **internal** and **external** pressure to adopt primaries.
 - **Internal pressure: D's threat to exit the party.**
 - **External pressure: public cost of intra-party conflict.**
- As the cost of disunity **decreases**, the likelihood of this type of primaries increases.

Final remarks

- Primaries are adopted in two cases:

2 E's initiative to adopt primaries when both factions are close ideologically.

New results in comparison with HM model:

- Primaries occur when there is **no exit threat** from the dissidents.
 - Primaries are more likely when the elite and the dissenting faction are **more ideologically closer**.
- The cost of disunity needs to be sufficiently low.

Final remarks

- Additional factor influencing the adoption of primaries – **cost of party disunity.**
- The cost of party disunity is inversely related to the proportionality of electoral system.

Final remarks

- In highly **disproportional (majoritarian) electoral systems** , electoral bonus of running jointly is the highest (equivalently, the public cost of intra-party conflict is high)



Party elite is willing to adopt primaries in order to conceal factional divisions from the public.

Final remarks

- In **proportional electoral systems**, electoral bonus is minimal (equivalently, public cost of intra-party conflict is small)



Party elite is willing to adopt primaries if there is a high ideological cohesion between both factions.

Outline



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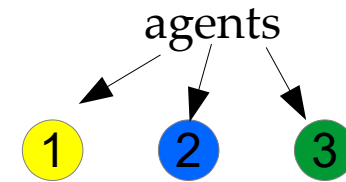
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Motivation

- Voting = strategic game.
- Some individuals may be tempted to manipulate the final outcome.
- Which can lead to a **suboptimal decision for the group**.
- **The goal**: to avoid this kind of situations.

Problem

- A group of agents choosing a winner among themselves
- Voters = candidates



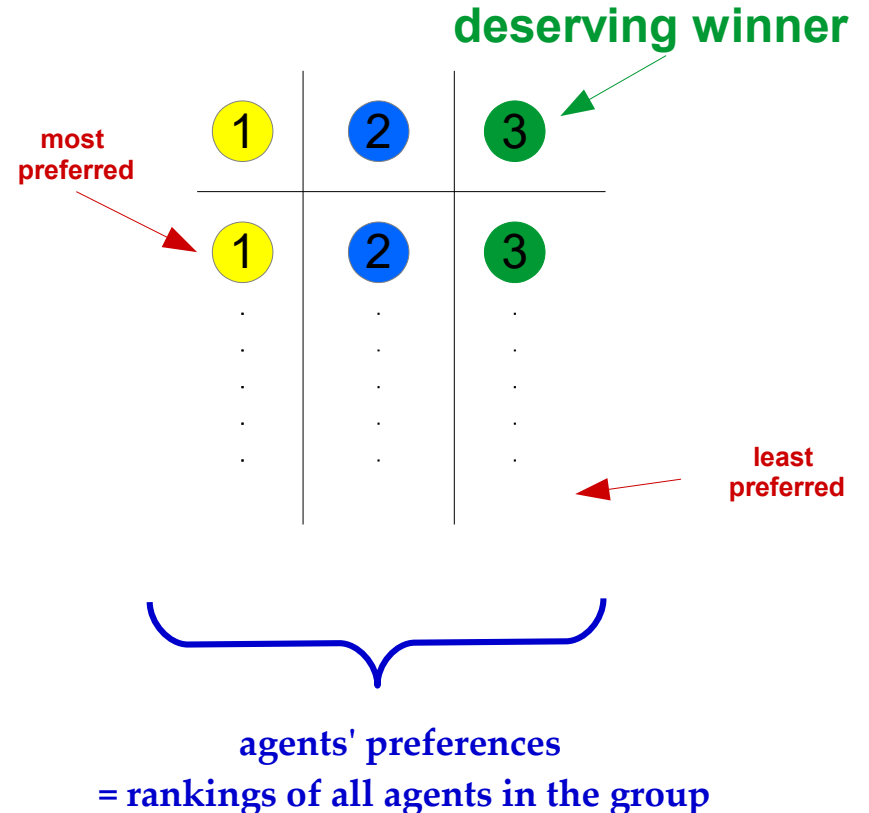
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- There exist a **deserving winner** = desirable outcome



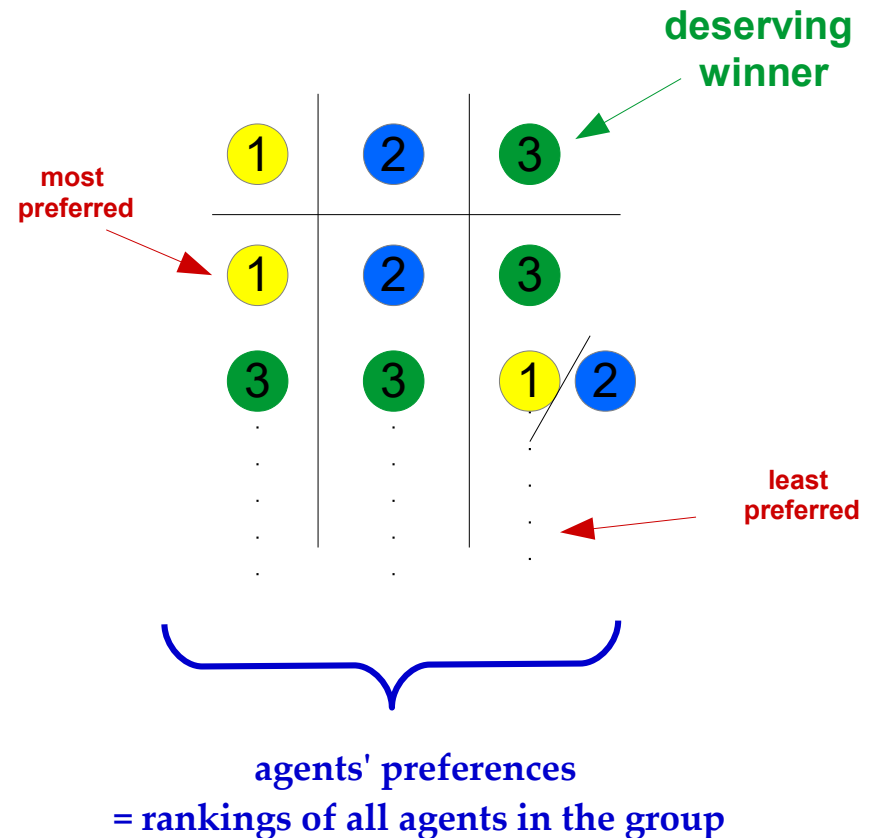
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- Each agent is **selfish**: he always wants to be the winner



Problem

- A group of agents choosing a winner among themselves
- Voters = candidates
- There exist a **deserving winner** = **desirable outcome**
- Each agent is **selfish**: he always wants to be the winner
- If an agent is not chosen, he prefers the deserving winner to be chosen (**impartiality**)



The goal

To design a **voting mechanism** (a game form)
that always chooses the **deserving winner**

We apply a mechanism design approach

Background

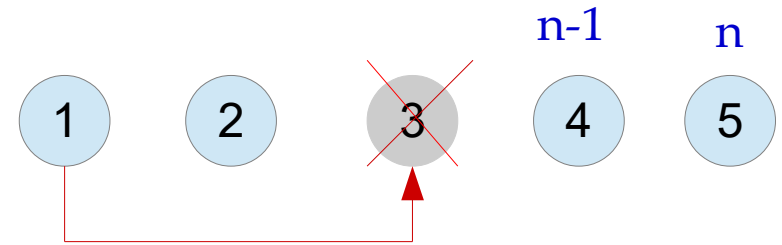
- This chapter was inspired by the work of Amorós (2011)
- A sequential mechanism where agents take turns to *announce* an individual to be the winner
- The winner is always the **deserving winner**
- Needs at least **four** individuals to work

Background

- This chapter was inspired by the work of Amorós (2011)
- A sequential mechanism where agents take turns to **announce** an individual to be the winner
- The winner is always the **deserving winner**
- Needs at least **four** individuals to work
- We propose an *alternative* mechanism
- A sequential mechanism where agents take turns to **veto** an individual *not to be* the winner
- The winner is always the **deserving winner**
- Needs at least **three** individuals to work

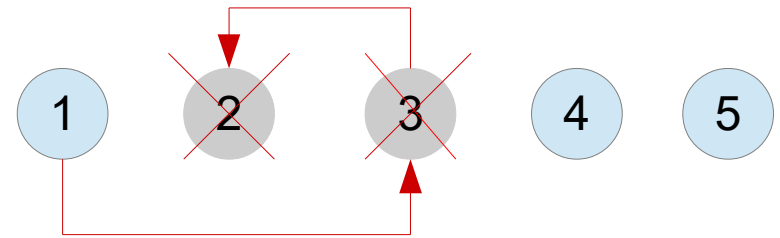
The veto mechanism

- There are n agents, who are placed in an arbitrary linear ordering from 1 to n
- Take turns to **veto** an agent from 1 till $n-1$



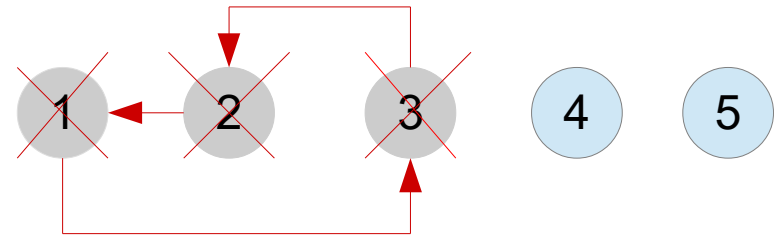
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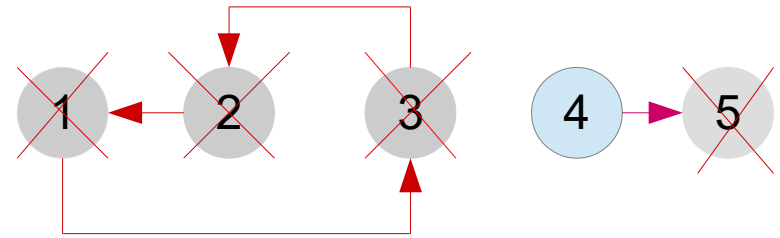
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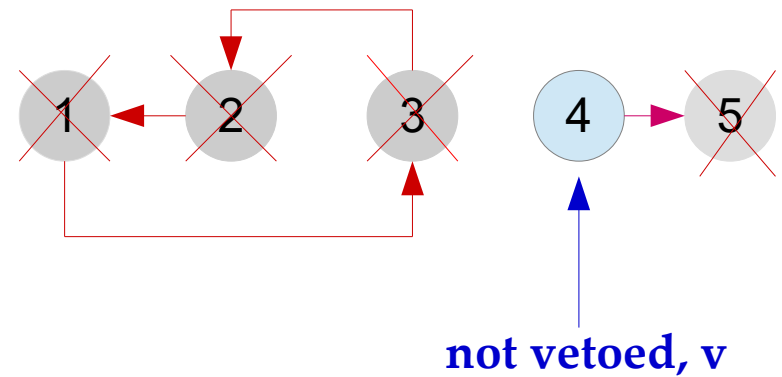
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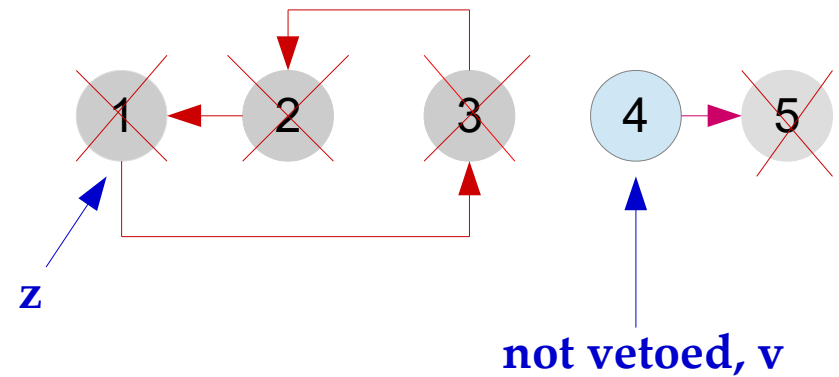
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- After $n-1$ has made his veto, there only remains one not vetoed agent, **v**



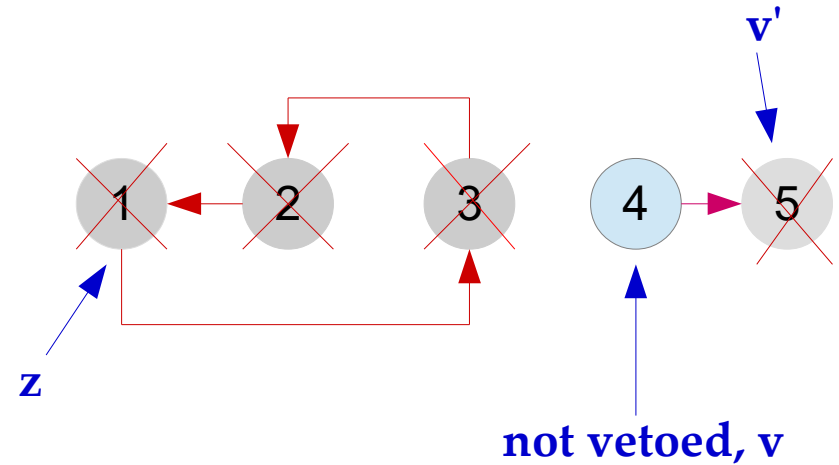
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The veto mechanism

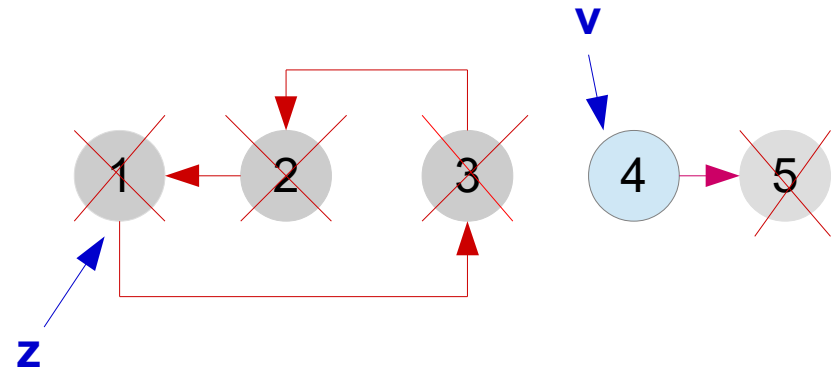
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- Let **v'** be an agent vetoed by **v**



The veto mechanism

Picking rules:

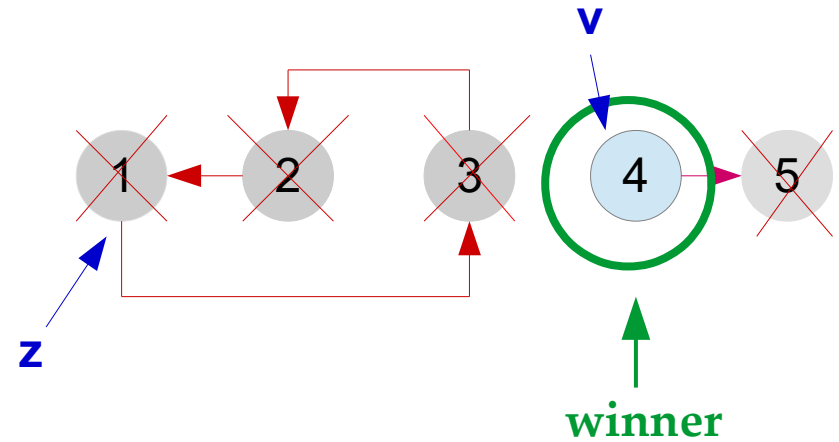
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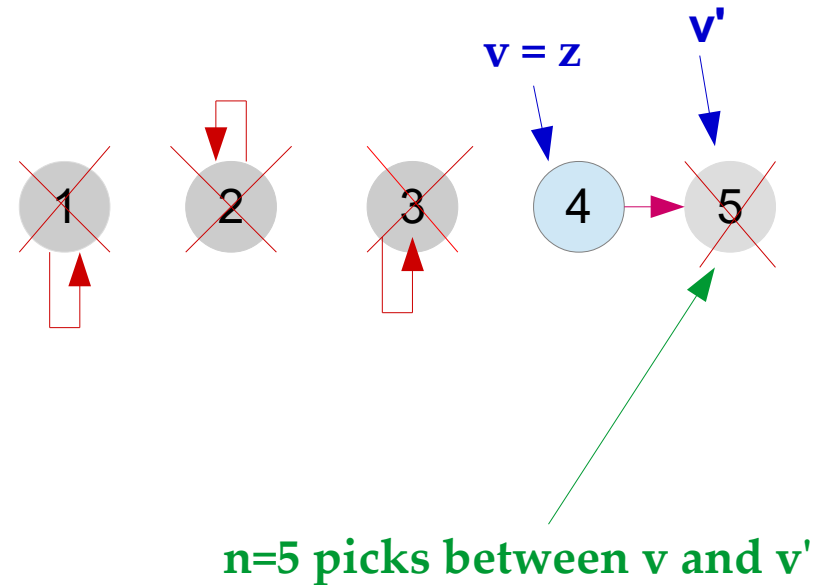
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The veto mechanism

Picking rules:

- If no z exists or if $z \neq v$, then v is chosen as the winner
- If $v = z$, then the last individual n picks between v and v' .



Results

- The veto mechanism always chooses the deserving winner.
- Even if he has been vetoed before.

Observations

- The veto mechanism asks agents from 1 to $n-1$ to cast a veto.
- The last n agent does not veto anyone.
- However, n has his role to choose the winner, which happens if some agent **vetoed the deserving winner.**

Observations

- If some agent vetoes the deserving winner, all subsequent agents do not veto this agent (he is not vetoed, v)
- Then $z = v$ and so the last agent n picks the winner between v and v' (the deserving winner)

Final remarks

- Works with at least three agents.
- Uses **veto rule**, allows the agents to express **negative** preferences.

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joint with D. Bednay and A. Tasnádi, Corvinus University of Budapest

- Chapter 5: Dictatorship versus manipulability

Motivation

- Voting – the most common way to reach a decision.
- Aggregation rule is a voting rule.
- There are a lot of voting rules. Which rule is the *best*?
- Important: to select a voting rule that will reflect the “will of the people”.
- **Axiomatic approach:** evaluate voting rules according to a set of certain desirable properties (axioms).

Motivation

- **Negative results** from the two cornerstone theorems of social choice theory:
 - Arrow's Impossibility Theorem (Arrow, 1951)
 - Gibbard-Satterthwaite Theorem (Gibbard, 1973; Satterthwaite, 1975)

Motivation

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No voting procedure that fairly chooses a winner for more than three alternatives and satisfying unrestricted domain, Pareto efficiency, independence of irrelevant alternatives and non-dictatorship.

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No voting procedure that fairly chooses a winner for more than three alternatives and satisfying unrestricted domain, Pareto efficiency, independence of irrelevant alternatives and non-dictatorship.



The only voting method satisfying certain desirable properties = **dictatorship**.

Motivation

- **Negative results** from the two cornerstone theorems of social choice theory:
 - Gibbard-Satterthwaite Theorem (Gibbard, 1973; Satterthwaite, 1975)

*The only voting rule for at least three alternatives that is strategy-proof (immune to manipulation) is **dictatorship**.*

Motivation

- **Negative results** from the two cornerstone theorems of social choice theory:
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dictatorship

Motivation

- **Dictatorial voting rule \rightarrow bad.**

Motivation

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If we get away from a *bad* voting rule will we obtain a *good* one?

Motivation

- **Dictatorial voting rule** → **bad.**

If we get away from a *bad* voting rule will we obtain a *good* one?

- This chapter tries to answer this question.

Motivation

- **Our goal:** to get away from “bad” dictatorial voting rule.
- We search for *least-dictatorial* voting rules.
- We construct a **distance function (a metric)** between Social Choice Functions (SCF).

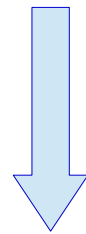
Background

- *Distance-based approach*: to explain voting rules in terms of the distance function.

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A voting rule can be characterised in terms of a **goal state** (e.g. unanimity, Condorcet winner) and a **metric** used in measuring the distance between the observed state and the goal state.



Distance rationalization of voting rules.

Notations and notions

- A set of voters $N = \{1, \dots, n\}$.
- A set of alternatives $A = \{1, \dots, m\}$.
- A preference \succ_i as a linear order in \mathbf{P} (the set of all preference relations) of voter i in N .
- A voting rule (a SCF) for n voters is a function $f: \mathbf{P}^n \rightarrow A$.
- Ties are broken by an anonymous tie-breaking rule.

Notations and notions

- $F = A^{P^n}$ is the set of all SCFs (Borda, plurality, etc)
- $D = \{d_1, \dots, d_n\}$ is a set of dictatorial voting rules and d_i is the dictatorial rule with voter i as a dictator.
- D is a subset of F

Distance function

Definition:

Let f and g be two distinct SFCs.

The **distance function** counts the number of preference profiles on which f and g choose **different alternatives**.

Formally,

$$\rho(f, g) = \#\{\gamma \in \mathcal{P}^n \mid f(\gamma) \neq g(\gamma)\}$$

Distance function: example

- Consider the preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3	\succ_4
a	a	b	c
b	b	c	b
c	c	a	a

Let f be plurality rule.

Let g be a Borda count.

tie-breaking rule: $b > a > c$

Distance function: example

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\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3	\succ_4
a	a	b	c
b	b	c	b
c	c	a	a

tie-breaking rule: $b \succ a \succ c$

Let f be plurality rule.

Then a is the plurality winner.

Let g be a Borda count.

Distance function: example

- Consider the preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3	\succ_4
a	a	b	c
b	b	c	b
c	c	a	a

tie-breaking rule: $b > a > c$

Let f be **plurality** rule.

Then a is the plurality winner.

Let g be a **Borda** count.

Then b is the Borda winner.

Distance function: example

- Consider the preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3	\succ_4
a	a	b	c
b	b	c	b
c	c	a	a

tie-breaking rule: $b \succ a \succ c$

Let f be plurality rule.

Then a is the plurality winner.

Let g be a Borda count.

Then b is the Borda winner.

$$d(f, g) = 1, \text{ since } f(\succ) \neq g(\succ)$$

Distance function between f and g counts 1 on this preference profile, since the two SCFs f and g choose different alternatives.

Least-dictatorial voting rules

Definition:

The set of least-dictatorial voting rules are the rules for which the **distance function** is the **greatest** for the closest dictatorial rule.


- Formally,

$$\mathcal{F}_{ld} = \left\{ f \in \mathcal{F} \mid \forall f' \in \mathcal{F} : \min_{i \in N} \rho(f, d_i) \geq \min_{i \in N} \rho(f', d_i) \right\}$$

Least-dictatorial voting rules

- Consider the following preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3
b	a	a
c	b	b
b	c	c

dictator 

Let f be plurality rule

Let g be the Borda rule


Let d_2 be dictatorial rule

tie-breaking rule: $a > b > c$

Least-dictatorial voting rules

- Consider the following preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3
b	a	a
c	b	b
b	c	c

dictator 

$f(\succ) = a$ is the plurality winner

$g(\succ) = b$ is the Borda winner

$d_2(\succ) = a$

Let f be plurality rule

Let g be the Borda rule


Let d_2 be dictatorial rule

tie-breaking rule: $a > b > c$

Least-dictatorial voting rules

- Consider the following preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3
b	a	a
c	b	b
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dictator 

Let f be plurality rule

Let g be the Borda rule

Let d_2 be dictatorial rule

tie-breaking rule: $a > b > c$

$f(\succ) = a$ is the plurality winner

$g(\succ) = b$ is the Borda winner

$d_2(\succ) = a$

$f(\succ) = d_2(\succ) \quad q(f, d_2) = 0$

$g(\succ) \neq d_2(\succ) \quad q(g, d_2) = 1$

Least-dictatorial voting rules

- Consider the following preference profile \succ :

\succ_1	\succ_2	\succ_3
b	a	a
c	b	b
b	c	c

dictator

Let f be plurality rule

Let g be the Borda rule

Let d_2 be dictatorial rule

$f(\succ) = a$ is the plurality winner

$g(\succ) = b$ is the Borda winner

$d_2(\succ) = a$

$f(\succ) = d_2(\succ) \quad \rho(f, d_2) = 0$

$g(\succ) \neq d_2(\succ) \quad \rho(g, d_2) = 1$

What is left to see is what happens on all preference profiles and calculate the distances.

Least-dictatorial voting rule

- The **reverse-plurality** rule is the least-dictatorial voting rule.

- The algorithm to find it:

Step 1: if there is a unique alternative being the fewest times on the top (incl. 0 cases), then choose it.

Step 2: If not, disregard those alternatives that are not the fewest times on the top, and select the chosen alternative based on the given tie-breaking rule.

Balanced voting rules

- *Alternative*: to get as close as possible to **all** dictators at the same time.
- The **balanced** solution with respect to all dictators.
- We minimize the sum of the distances to all **n** dictators.

Balanced rules

Definition:

The set of balanced rules are rules for which the distance measure is the smallest.

$$\mathcal{F}_b = \left\{ f \in \mathcal{F} \mid \forall f' \in \mathcal{F} : \sum_{i \in N} \rho(f, d_i) \leq \sum_{i \in N} \rho(f', d_i) \right\}$$

Equivalent formulation of the balanced rules → they maximize the number of cases in which a top alternative of a voter is chosen.

Balanced rule

- The **plurality rule** = the balanced rule.
- The plurality rule can be considered as a kind of *compromise* between all dictatorial rules.

Final remarks

- We were motivated by the negative results from the two cornerstone theorems in social choice theory, both of which point to **dictatorship**.
- We asked: what rule will we obtain if we get away from dictatorial rule.
- We searched for the *least-dictatorial* rules.

Final remarks

- We found that the rule that is furthest away from the closest dictatorial rule is **reverse-plurality rule** (the least-dictatorial rule).
- It still violates many desirable properties.
- This questions the necessity to completely eliminate *dictatorial component* of a voting rule.

Final remarks

- **Opposite approach:** to look for the rule balancing between all dictators → **balanced rules.**
- We were maximizing the sum of the distances to all dictators → “collective” dictatorship.
- We found that the **plurality rule** and the balanced rule are the same.
- Plurality rule *minimizes* collectively the distances from the dictatorial rules.

Open questions

- Consider other metrics.

$$\rho_w(f, g) = \sum_{\succ \in \mathcal{P}} w(\succ) \underbrace{1_{f(\succ) \neq g(\succ)}}_{\text{whether two alternatives differ}}$$

weight function

- Consider all distribution of preference profiles, not just the top alternatives.

Outline



*“We have an agreement in principle.
The question is, do we all have the same principles?”*

- Introduction
- Chapter 2: Primaries on demand
- Chapter 3: A mechanism to pick the deserving winner
- Chapter 4: Does avoiding bad voting rules leads to good ones?
- **Chapter 5: Dictatorship versus manipulability**

joint with D. Bednay and A. Tasnádi, Corvinus University of Budapest

Motivation

**Gibbard-Satterthwaite Theorem (Gibbard, 1973;
Satterthwaite, 1975):**

for at least three alternatives, every universal and resolute social choice function is either **dictatorial** or **manipulable**.

When choosing a voting rule → dilemma between **dictatorship** and **manipulability**.

Motivation

Two incompatible properties: **dictatorship** and **manipulability**.

1) Can we know to what degree a voting rule is manipulable?

2) And to what degree a voting rule is dictatorial?

Motivation

Positive answer to the first question:

- Strategy-proofness can be measured by counting the number of profiles on which SCF is manipulable.
- Nitzan-Kelly index of manipulability, **NKI** (Nitzan 1985; Kelly 1993).
- A voting rule is less manipulable for which NKI is the smallest.
- For more see Aleskerov and Kurbanov, 1999; Aleskerov et al. 2011, 2012 among others.

Motivation

- In this chapter we try to answer to the second question.
- Based on Bednay, Moskalenko and Tasnádi (2017) we can define [non-dictatorship index](#).

Notations (from Chapter 4)

Non-dictatorship index (NDI):

counts the number of profiles for which a SCF f chooses different alternative than the closest dictatorial voting rule d_i .

- Formally,

$$NDI(f) = \min_{i \in N} \rho(f, d_i)$$

Our goal

To explore the relationship between **manipulability** and **non-dictatorship** indices, NKI and NDI.

For the following voting rules:

- Plurality
- Borda count
- Copeland
- Black's procedure
- k-Approval voting rule ($k = 2$ and $k = 3$)

Our goal

To explore the relationship between **manipulability** and **non-dictatorship** indices, NKI and NDI.

For the following voting rules:

- Plurality → chooses alternative ranked first by max number of voters
- Borda count → chooses alternative with the highest Borda score
- Copeland → chooses alternative that beats other alternatives by pairwise comparison
- Black's procedure → chooses a Condorcet winner if exists, otherwise chooses a Borda winner
- k-Approval voting rule ($k = 2$ and $k = 3$) → chooses alternative admitted to be among k best by a max number of voters

Our goal

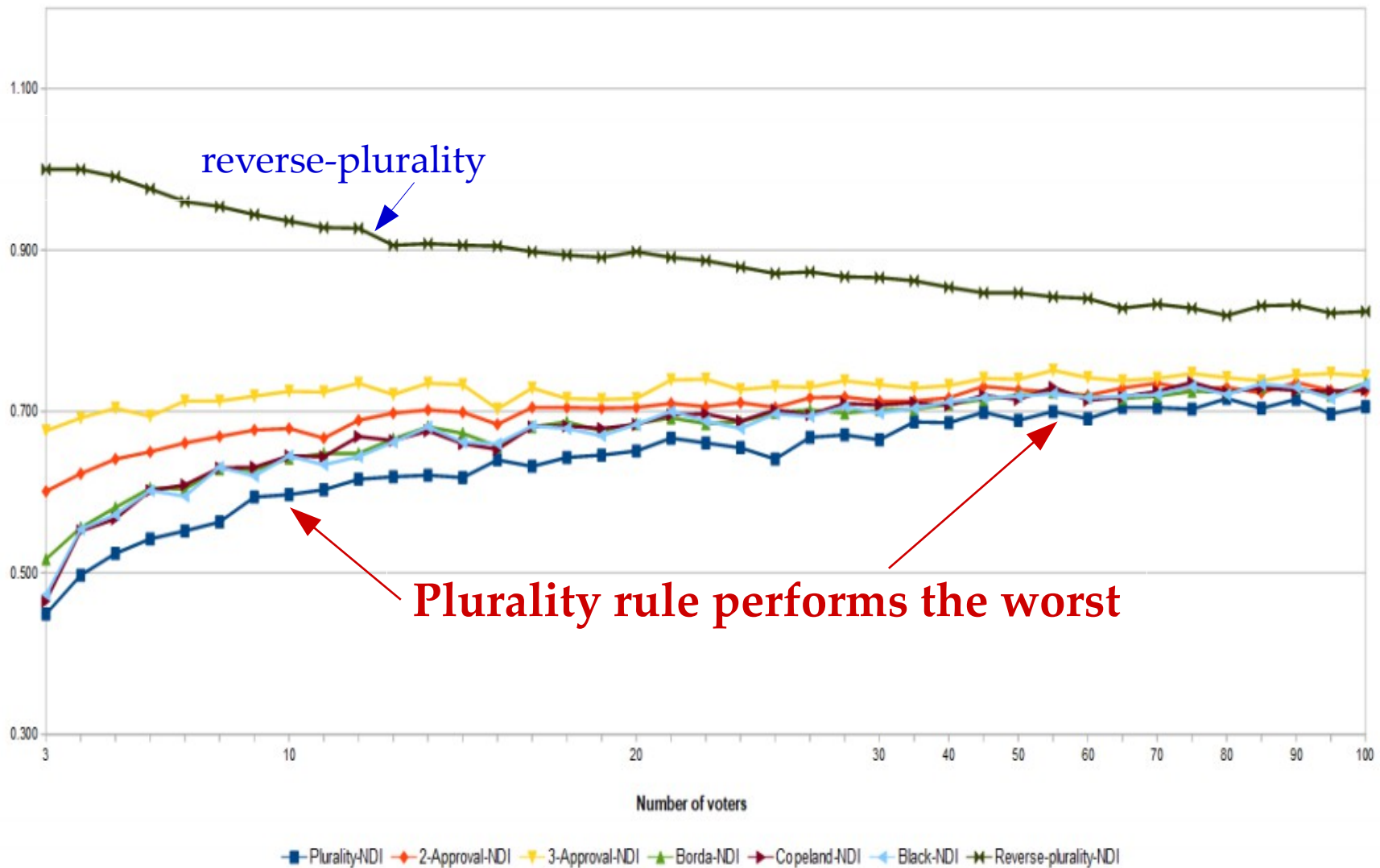
- Less manipulable voting rule has the smallest NKI.
- Similarly, less dictatorial voting rule has the highest NDI.
- Ideal combination = small NKI and high NDI.

Computation scheme

- Information about **NKI**s is taken from <http://manip.hse.ru/index.html> (created by F. Aleskerov et al.).
- For **NDI** we write our own program.
- We calculate NDIs for **three, four and five alternatives**.
- Up to 100 voters, by generating 1000 random preference profiles , where each profile is selected with the same probability.

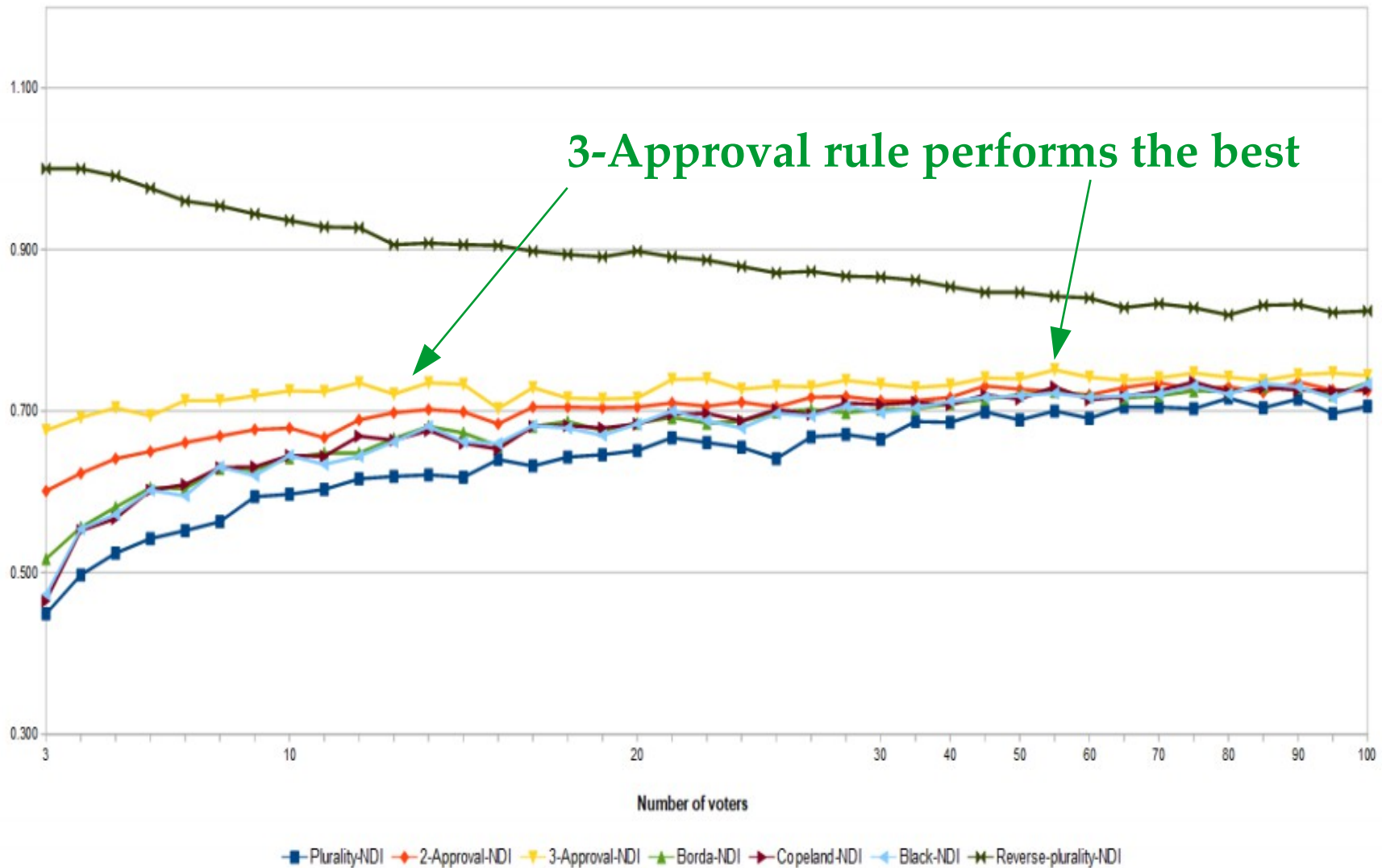
NDI for five alternatives

NDI (m = 5)



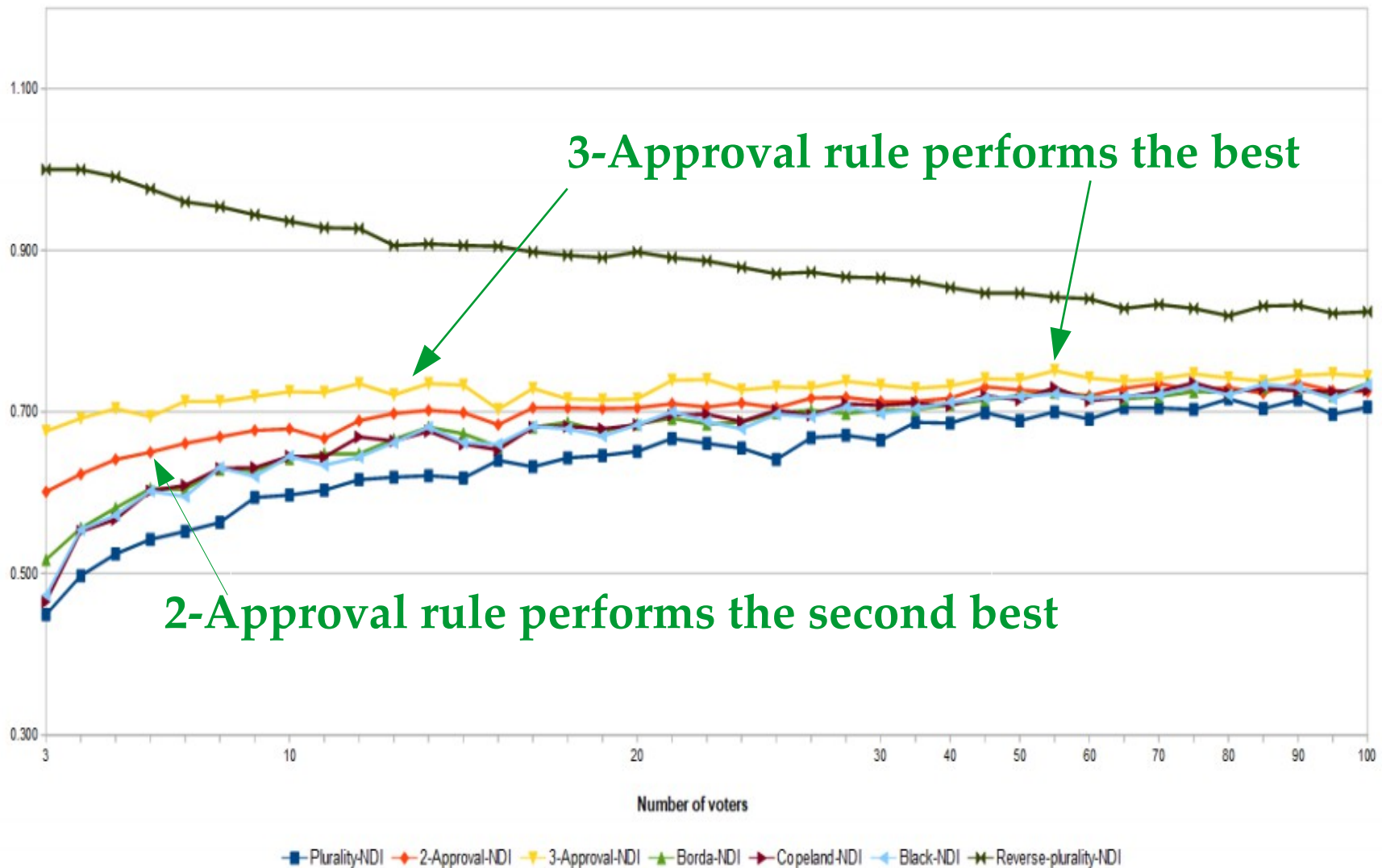
NDI for five alternatives

NDI (m = 5)



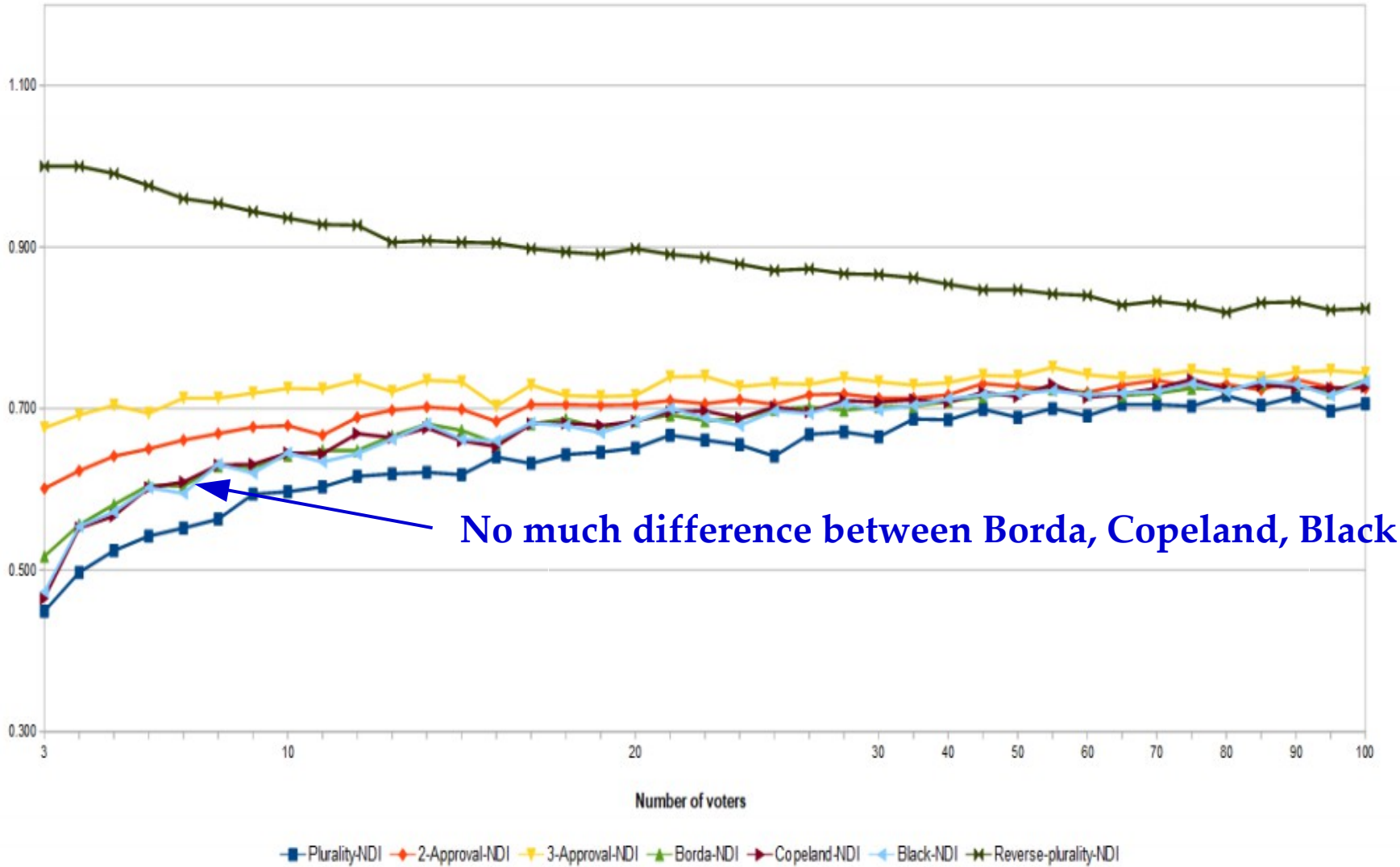
NDI for five alternatives

NDI (m = 5)



NDI for five alternatives

NDI (m = 5)

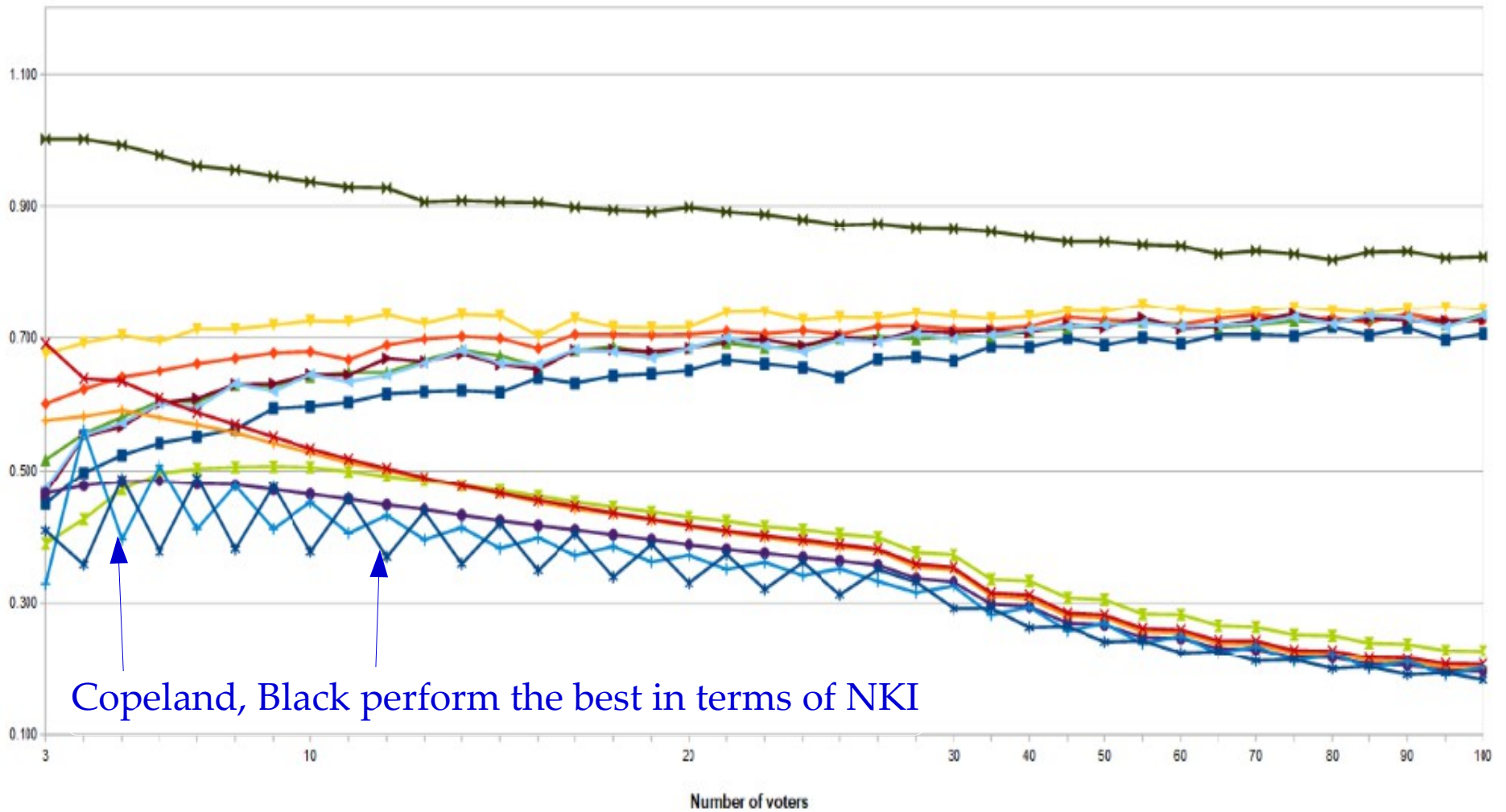


Observations

- Reverse-plurality serves as a benchmark (though it is outperformed by reverse dictatorial, which is not anonymous)
- Plurality rule performs the worst
- 3-approval voting rule is the best from the investigated voting rules
- Borda, Black and Copeland lie between plurality and 3-approval voting rules without clear difference between them
- If we add now NKI, do they converge to the same limit?

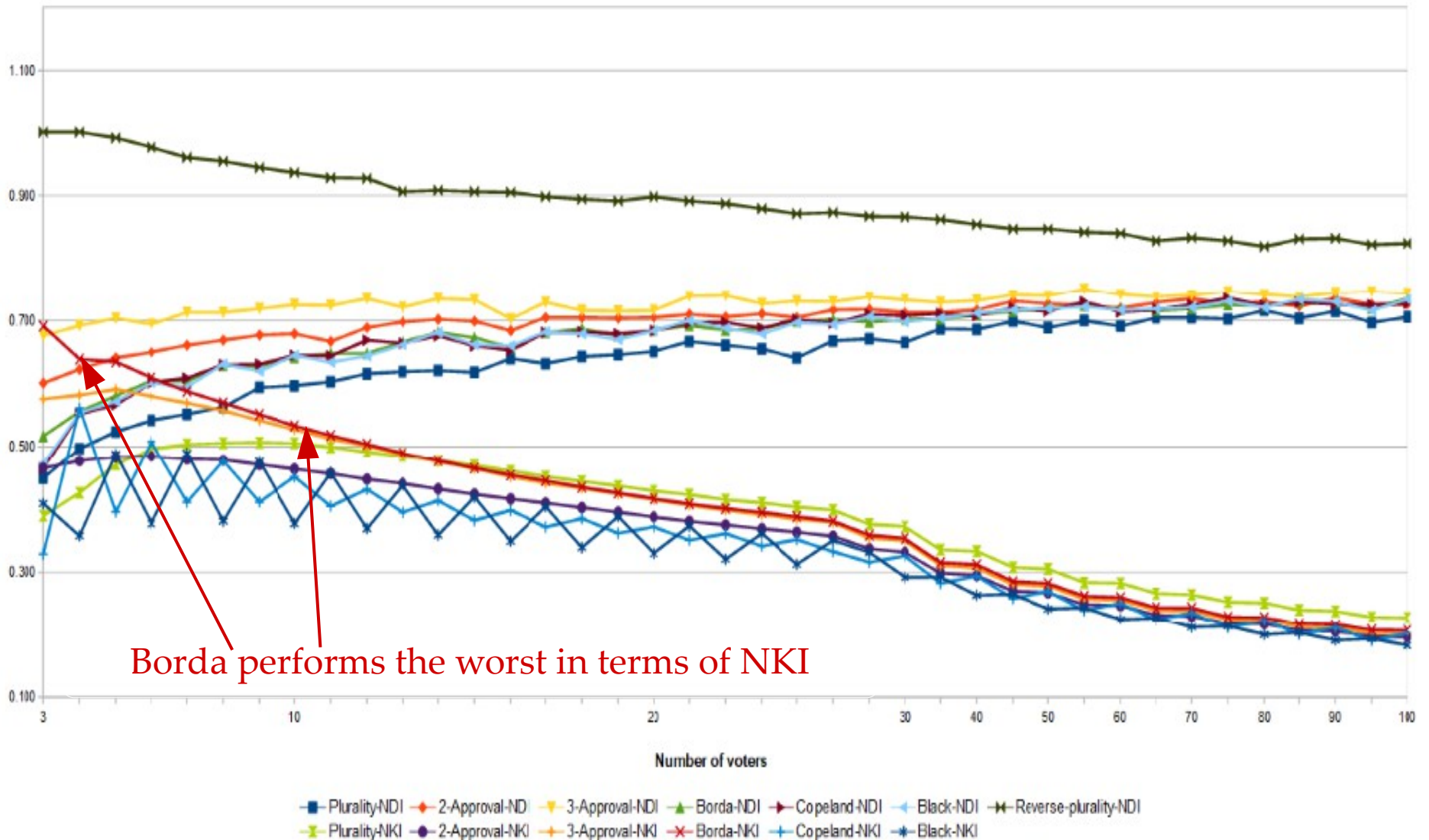
NDI and NKI for five alternatives

NDI and NKI (m = 5)



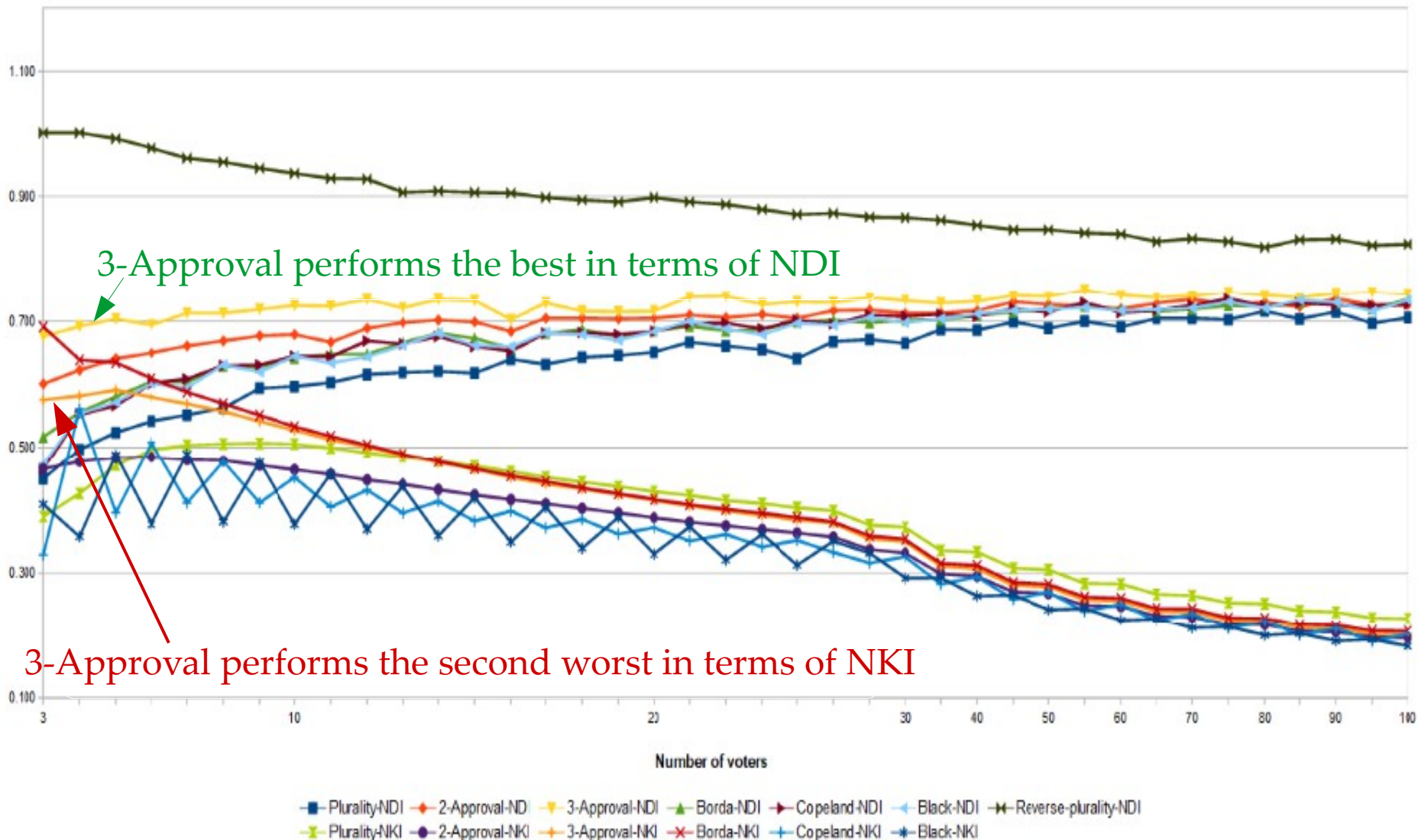
NDI and NKI for five alternatives

NDI and NKI (m = 5)



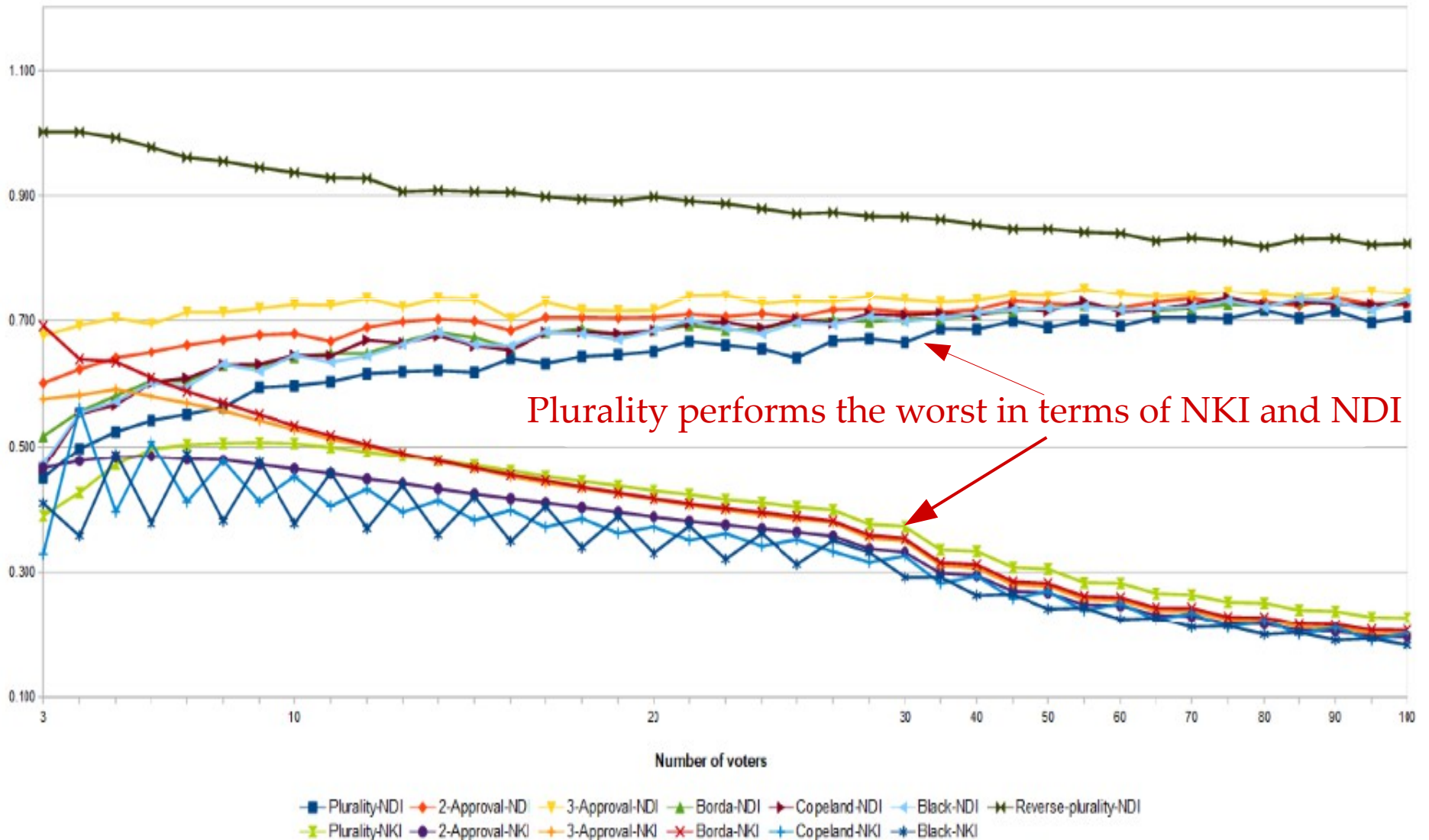
NDI and NKI for four alternatives

NDI and NKI (m = 5)



NDI and NKI for four alternatives

NDI and NKI (m = 5)



Observations and remarks

- NDI and NKI move in different directions → plausible and positive sign of our non-dictatorship index.
- There is no voting rule which performs the best in terms of both indices.
- In both cases, plurality rule performs the worst.
- 3-Approval voting performs the best in terms of NDI, however, it is the second worst in terms of NKI.

Conclusions

- Both undesirable properties of dictatorship and manipulability are incompatible.
- It could be helpful and informative to classify the voting rules in terms of their degree of manipulability and distance to dictatorship.
- There could be different ways of measuring the dictatorial component of a voting rule.
- We have chosen a straightforward distance based approach.

- Chapter 3 is published as “A mechanism to pick the deserving winner” in *Economics Bulletin*, 2015.
- Chapter 4 is published as “Does avoiding bad voting rules lead to good ones” in *Operations Research Letters*, 2017.
- Chapter 2 and Chapter 5 are submitted and under review.

Thank you