

## A Proof of Arrow's Theorem

The following proof is used in Austen-Smith and Banks's Positive Political Theory, Volume I. The actual proof of the theorem relies on a lemma, which we will prove first. The lemma requires the following three definitions:

**Definition 1** A coalition  $L \subseteq N$  is **semidecisive for  $(x, y)$**  if  $[x \succ_i y \text{ for all } i \in L \text{ and } y \succ_j x \text{ for all } j \notin L] \Rightarrow x \succ y$ .

**Definition 2** A coalition  $L \subseteq N$  is **decisive for  $(x, y)$**  if  $x \succ_i y \text{ for all } i \in L \Rightarrow x \succ y$ .

**Definition 3** A coalition  $L \subseteq N$  is **decisive** if, for all  $(x, y) \in X \times X$ ,  $x \succ_i y \text{ for all } i \in L \Rightarrow x \succ y$ .

Examples of decisiveness:

- Player  $i$  is a dictator. Then  $i \in L \Rightarrow L$  decisive.
- Majority rule. Then  $|L| > \frac{|N|}{2} \Rightarrow L$  decisive.

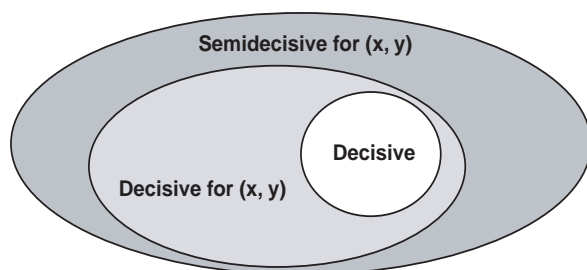


Figure 1: Note that  $decisive \Rightarrow decisive \text{ for } (x, y) \Rightarrow semidecisive \text{ for } (x, y)$ .

**Lemma 1** *Let social welfare function  $F$  be quasitransitive, IIA, and Pareto. Then  $L$  semidecisive for  $(x, y)$  implies that  $L$  is decisive.*

*Proof:* Recall the definition of quasitransitivity:  $x \succ y$  and  $y \succ z \Rightarrow x \succ z$ . Assume that coalition  $L$  is semidecisive for  $(x, y)$ . We will show that  $L$  is also decisive.

Let preference profile  $\rho$  be such that for all  $i \in L$ ,  $x \succ_i z$ .

Now consider a different profile  $\rho'$  such that:

For all  $i \in L$ ,  $x \succ_i y \succ_i z$ , and  
for all  $j \notin L$ ,  $y \succ_j x$  and  $y \succ_j z$ .

Then under profile  $\rho'$  we know that:

$x \succ y$  because  $L$  semidecisive over  $(x, y)$   
 $y \succ z$  by the fact that  $F$  satisfies Pareto  
 $x \succ z$  by quasitransitivity.

Therefore, under our original  $\rho$  we must have that  $x \succ z$  by the assumption of IIA. This is the trickiest part of this proof. It follows because we can assume that the players'  $(x, z)$  rankings are unchanged between  $\rho$  and  $\rho'$ . All members of  $L$  prefer  $x$  to  $z$  under  $\rho$  and  $\rho'$ . However, preferences over  $x$  and  $z$  are unspecified for all  $j \notin L$  under both  $\rho$  and  $\rho'$ . Therefore we can let them be whatever we want, and so we can, without loss of generality, assume that they are the same under  $\rho$  and  $\rho'$ .

Since we have  $x \succ z$  under  $\rho$ , the following condition (\*) follows:

(\*) For all  $z \notin \{x, y\}$ ,  $L$  semidecisive for  $(x, y) \Rightarrow L$  decisive for  $(x, z)$ .

Since decisive implies semidecisive we know that  $L$  is also semidecisive for  $(x, z)$ .

Switching  $z$  and  $y$  we get from (\*) that  $L$  is decisive for  $(x, y)$ .

Now let  $\rho^o$  be any profile such that  $y \succ z$  for all  $i \in L$ .

Let  $\rho^*$  be a different profile such that:

For all  $i \in L$ ,  $y \succ_i x \succ_i z$ .

For all  $j \notin L$ ,  $z \succ_j x$  and  $y \succ_j x$ .

By (\*) we know that  $L$  is decisive for  $(x, z)$ , and so under  $\rho^*$  we get:

$x \succ z$  because  $L$  is decisive for  $(x, z)$

$y \succ x$  because  $F$  satisfies Pareto

$y \succ z$  by quasitransitivity.

By the previous argument (IIA) it follows that  $y \succ z$  under our original  $\rho^o$ . We now get condition (\*\*):

(\*\*) For all  $z \notin \{x, y\}$ ,  $L$  semidecisive for  $(x, y) \Rightarrow L$  is decisive for  $(y, z)$ .

Similarly, switching  $z$  and  $x$  we get that  $L$  is decisive for  $(y, x)$ .

Finally, combining (\*) and (\*\*) we get that for *any* distinct pair  $\{v, w\} \subseteq X \setminus \{x, y\}$ ,

$L$  semidecisive for  $(x, y)$  implies:

$L$  decisive for  $(x, v)$  by (\*)

$L$  decisive for  $(v, w)$  by (\*\*), replacing  $y$  with  $v$ .

It follows that for all ordered pairs  $(x, y) \in X \times X$ ,  $L$  is decisive for  $(x, y)$ . Thus,  $L$  is decisive.

□

**Theorem 1 (Arrow)** Consider any social welfare function  $F$  which always produces a transitive ordering over 3 or more alternatives. Assume at least two voters, and that every voter's preferences form a strict order and satisfy universal domain. Then if  $F$  satisfies Binary Independence and Pareto,  $F$  is a dictator.

*Proof:* Using the previous lemma, it suffices to show that there exists an  $i \in N$  such that  $i$  is semidecisive over some pair  $(x, y) \in X \times X$ .

The Pareto assumption implies that  $N$  is decisive, and thus, semidecisive over every pair.

For every ordered pair  $(a, b) \in X \times X$ , let  $\lambda(a, b)$  be the size of the smallest semidecisive group for  $(a, b)$ . Let  $\lambda$  be the smallest  $\lambda(a, b)$ , so that  $\lambda = \min_{(a,b) \in X \times X} \lambda(a, b)$ .

Suppose  $L$  is semidecisive for  $(x, y)$ , with  $|L| = \lambda$ . If  $\lambda = 1$ , our proof is complete. Assume that  $\lambda > 1$ .

Consider a profile  $\rho$  such that:

For one  $i \in L$ ,  $x \succ_i y \succ_i z$

For all  $j \in L \setminus \{i\}$ ,  $z \succ_j x \succ_j y$

For all  $k \notin L$ ,  $y \succ_k z \succ_k x$ .

Then under  $\rho$  we get that:

$x \succ y$  because  $L$  is semidecisive for  $(x, y)$

$y \succeq z$  because  $L \setminus \{i\}$  is *not* semidecisive

$x \succ z$  by transitivity.

However, this implies that  $i$  is semidecisive for  $(x, z)$ , by IIA. By the previous lemma this implies that Player  $i$  is decisive, and is therefore a dictator.

□