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# A Combinatorial Topology Approach to Arrow's Impossibility Theorem

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Baryshnikov presented a remarkable algebraic topology proof of Arrow's impossibility theorem trying to understand the underlying reason behind the numerous proofs of this fundamental result of social choice theory. We present here a novel combinatorial topology approach that does not use advanced mathematics, while giving a geometric intuition of the impossibility. This exposes a remarkable connection with distributed computing techniques.

We show that Arrow's impossibility is closely related to the index lemma, and expose the geometry behind prior pivotal arguments to Arrow's impossibility. We explain why the case of two voters,  $n = 2$ , and three alternatives,  $|X| = 3$ , is where this interesting geometry happens, by giving a simple proof that this case implies Arrow's impossibility for any finite  $n \geq 2$ ,  $|X| \geq 3$ . Finally, we show how to reason about domain restrictions using combinatorial topology.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The modern field of social choice theory took off with Kenneth Arrow's remarkable 1950 result [3] for the basic problem of democracy: it is impossible to aggregate the individual preferences into a single social preference, under some reasonable-looking axioms<sup>1</sup>. Soon after the publication of Arrow's result alternative proofs began to emerge; starting with Inada [32] in 1954, numerous other proofs followed, and continue to be proposed until recently, e.g. [22, 27].

*Motivation.* Trying to understand the underlying reason behind the many proofs of Arrow's theorem, Baryshnikov [10] presented in 1993 a remarkable different approach, a topological impossibility proof. He discussed in [11] the value of the approach: "*the topology we are exploiting is in fact very geometrical and thus appeals to our intuition much better than dry combinatorial constructions*". However, the goal of providing intuition about the nature of the problem of social choice is hindered by the relatively advanced algebraic topology tools used by Baryshnikov (several attempts at explaining the proof have been made [11, 16, 43]).

Our goal here is to further advance the program of Baryshnikov, while making it accessible to an audience not familiar with algebraic topology. Furthermore, we aim at closing the gap between the literature on topological proofs and combinatorial proofs, which have developed largely independently. We do so by moving from algebraic topology to combinatorial topology, and in doing so discover (and benefit from) remarkable connections with distributed computing.

*Contributions.* First, we provide new proofs of Arrow's impossibility that do not require any acquaintance with algebraic topology. Furthermore, they give a new insight for the reason of the impossibility: the index lemma, an important combinatorial topology result used to compute winding numbers.

Second, we explore the relation between combinatorial arguments and topological arguments. We present a combinatorial topology perspective of the recent pivotal arguments to prove Arrow's impossibility by Geanakoplos [27] and Yu [51] that have received much attention e.g. [50]. Notice that Baryshnikov [10] does not try to explain the relation of his topology proof with previous proofs.

Also, we aim at explaining an intriguing phenomenon, appearing several times in the literature: the case of two individuals and three alternatives is somehow special. Some papers simply treat this case only e.g. [2, 18, 43, 47]. More interestingly, some papers hint at the idea that this is the case where the interesting things happen. Baryshnikov [10,

<sup>1</sup>Social choice theory is a highly developed field, of interest to economics and political science, and more recently to computer science [13]. For an overview, including the importance of Arrow's result, see introductory books such as [26], or more advanced such as [21].

Section 7.1] explains that only the arguments of his proof for triples of alternatives are in fact used, and one could concentrate only on the 2-skeleton of the simplicial complex using one-dimensional (co)homology. Our third result is a simple proof showing that Arrow’s impossibility result for the case of two individuals and three alternatives implies the general case. This result has been shown before under the restriction of finite number of alternatives by Tang and Lin [48] and partially by Akashhi [2], but our proof seems, in addition to more general, more direct.

Finally, we show the usefulness of the combinatorial topology approach to study domain restrictions. We explore the role of contractibility of the space of preference profiles, and provide a very intuitive geometric argument for Arrow’s impossibility based on a domain restriction.

*New intuition behind Arrow’s impossibility and the connection with distributed computing.* Very roughly, the intuition behind our approach, for the base case of two voters and three alternatives  $A, B, C$  is the following (recall that the generalization from the base case is by a simple inductive argument). The first step is to represent the set of possible preferences of the voters,  $N_I$ , as well as the set of possible social preferences,  $N_O$ , as geometric objects built from triangles. These objects are called 2-dimensional simplicial complexes; an introduction to combinatorial topology is in Appendix A. We illustrate the whole set of triangles of  $N_I$  and  $N_O$  in Figure 1 (for  $N_I$  only schematically). Each triangle of  $N_I$  represents a social profile, and it is mapped by the aggregation map  $f$  to a triangle of  $N_O$  representing the corresponding social choice.

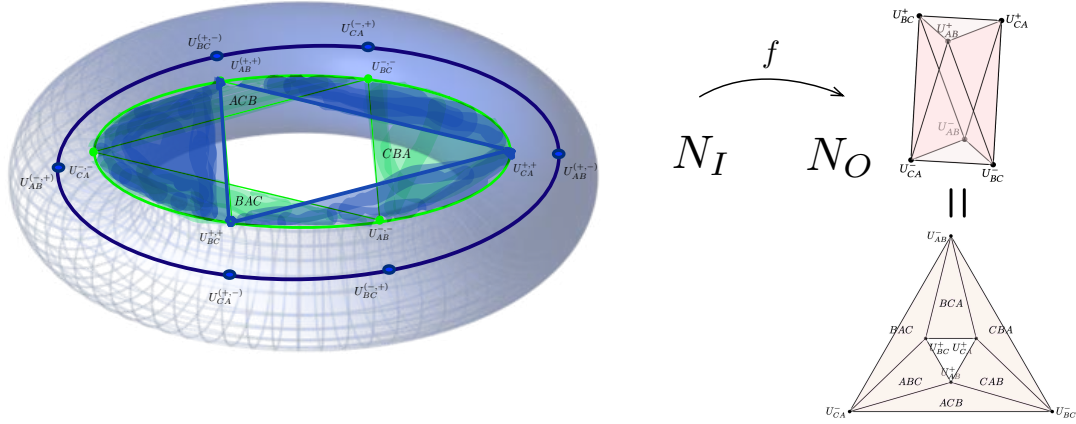


Fig. 1. On the left,  $N_I$  is a torus with 12 additional triangles that form four boundary hollow triangles. Here only 6 of them are shown together with their 2 hollow triangles (attached to the green cycle); the other 6 triangles are omitted for clarity, they are attached to the blue cycle. Instead,  $N_O$  is homeomorphic to a cylinder with two hollow boundary triangles.

The notation  $N_I, N_O$  stands for “input” and “output” complexes, following the notion of a *task* in distributed computing (see Appendix B and [30]). The processes of the task correspond to the pairs of alternatives  $\mathcal{P} = \{AB, BC, AC\}$ , called also *ids*. Thus, we consider *chromatic* simplicial complexes, where the vertices of each triangle are labeled with distinct process ids from  $\mathcal{P}$ . There are four possible individual inputs  $\{++, --, +-, -+\}$ , while the possible individual outputs

are  $\{+, -\}$ . The output complex  $N_O$  consists of all chromatic triangles, with each vertex labeled with an output value from  $\{+, -\}$ , except for the two triangles labeled with the same value. Thus,  $N_O$  is the output complex of the *weak symmetry breaking* task e.g. [14, 35, 39]. Similarly,  $N_I$  consists of all chromatic triangles whose vertices are labeled with input values from  $\{++, --, +-, -+\}$ , except the 16 triangles whose vertices have the same sign in the first or in the second component. Thus,  $N_I$  includes the (torus) complex of the renaming task [15], where every triangle is labeled with distinct values from  $\{++, --, +-, -+\}$ , plus 12 additional triangles where one value repeats twice. We illustrate the whole set of triangles of  $N_I$  and  $N_O$  in Figure 1 (for  $N_I$  only schematically).

The second step is to observe that the aggregation map  $f$ , that decides the social output, is a simplicial map from  $N_I$  to  $N_O$ , which is chromatic (preserves vertex ids). In Section 2.3 we reformulate Arrow's problem in a form analogous to a task specification of distributed computing: we seek an aggregation chromatic simplicial map  $f$  from  $N_I$  to  $N_O$ , that sends vertices with input  $++$  to vertices with output  $+$  and vertices with input  $--$  to vertices with output  $-$ . This comes from the requirement that if both voters prefer an alternative  $x$  over  $y$ , then the social preference should prefer  $x$  over  $y$ . Remarkably, we get a task specification on a *restricted domain* (of all possible quaternary input values). We stress that considering task solvability under restricted domains has been thoroughly studied in distributed computing since [41], as well as in social choice theory, a topic we discuss in Section 6. Arrow's impossibility reformulation Theorem 2.1 says that such an aggregation map  $f$  must be a dictatorship.

The aggregation map  $f$  maps (hollow) boundary triangles to (hollow) boundary triangles. Notice that  $N_O$  is a triangulation of a cylinder with two boundary triangles, while  $N_I$  is a kind of product of two cylinders and has 4 boundary triangles. The index lemma computes the winding number<sup>2</sup> of the boundary triangles of  $N_I$  on the boundary triangles of  $N_O$ . As we shall see, this number is 0 and implies that  $f$  is a projection (on the preferences of one of the two voters, the dictator), assuming that  $f$  satisfies unanimity. The mathematics used is elementary: essentially only basic parity counting operations are needed. Interestingly, the index lemma is also behind the distributed computing impossibilities related to weak symmetry breaking e.g. [14, 28].

*Organization.* First we present the statement of Arrow's theorem, an introduction to combinatorial topology, and how to model Arrow's theorem using combinatorial topology, in Section 2. We then provide two proofs of Arrow's theorem ( $n = 2, |X| = 3$ ), using combinatorial topology, one in Section 3 using the index lemma, and one based on pivotal arguments in Section 4. We present a simple argument to generalize Arrow's theorem from the basis case of  $n = 2, |X| = 3$  in Section 5. The topology approach is suitable for studying restricted domains of preferences, as discussed in Section 6. We focus on the effect of the contractibility of the restricted  $N_I'$ . A domain restriction is used in Section 6.1 to prove Arrow's impossibility with a very simple intuitive geometric argument. In Section 6.2 another domain restriction is described that does allow for a non-dictatorial aggregation, in spite of having a non-contractible restriction  $N_I''$ . In Section 7 we present the conclusions. For lack of space, at the end of the paper an Appendix include some additional details and the remaining proofs.

## 2 ARROW'S IMPOSSIBILITY THEOREM

We start by recalling Arrow's theorem in Section 2.1, we then give an informal presentation of the approach in Section 2.2, and finally we translate it into a combinatorial topology theorem in Section 2.3. An overview of the tools that we use from this branch of topology is in Appendix A, especially simplicial complex and simplicial map.

<sup>2</sup>The *winding number* of a closed curve in the plane around a point is the number of times that the curve passes counterclockwise around the point minus the number of times it passes clockwise. It is important in topology, calculus, analysis, physics, etc. The index lemma is a generalization of Sperner's lemma, which is equivalent to Brouwer's fixed point theorem.

## 2.1 Problem statement

Let  $X$  be a set of alternatives,  $|X| \geq 3$ . The set of all strict total orders of  $X$  is denoted by  $W$ . Let  $n \geq 2$  denote the (finite) number of voters, and  $W^n$  be the set of profiles of preferences. Thus,  $\mathbf{R} = (R_1, \dots, R_n) \in W^n$  is a profile, where each  $R_i$  is the order on  $X$  preferred by the  $i$ -th voter,  $R_i \in W$ . An aggregation map  $F$  is a function from  $W^n$  to  $W$  that maps each profile of  $W^n$  to a unique order in  $W$ . For example, if  $X = \{A, B, C\}$ ,  $R_i = A > B > C \in W$  denotes that the  $i$ -th voter prefers  $A$  over  $B$ , and  $B$  over  $C$ . This is also denoted as  $A R_i B R_i C$ , or when no confusion arises, simply by  $ABC$ .

A classic form of Arrow's impossibility theorem states that whenever the set  $X$  of possible alternatives has at least 3 elements, there is no aggregation map  $F$  from  $W^n$  to  $W$  satisfying the following axioms:

- (1) Unanimity. If alternative,  $a$ , is ranked strictly higher than  $b$  for all orderings  $R_1, \dots, R_n$ , then  $a$  is ranked strictly higher than  $b$  by  $F(R_1, \dots, R_n)$ .
- (2) Non-dictatorship. There is no individual  $k$  whose strict preferences always prevail. That is, there is no  $k \in \{1, \dots, n\}$  such that for all  $\mathbf{R} \in W^n$ ,  $a$  ranked strictly higher than  $b$  by  $R_k$  implies  $a$  ranked strictly higher than  $b$  by  $F(R_1, \dots, R_n)$ , for all  $a$  and  $b$ .
- (3) Independence of irrelevant alternatives. For two preference profiles  $\mathbf{R}$  and  $\mathbf{S}$  such that for all individuals  $i$ , alternatives  $a$  and  $b$  have the same order in  $R_i$  as in  $S_i$ , alternatives  $a$  and  $b$  have the same order in  $F(R_1, \dots, R_n)$  as in  $F(S_1, \dots, S_n)$ .

Some formulations of Arrow's impossibility theorem allow ties in the rankings (e.g. [4, 23, 52]). In this sense, it could seem that the framework we present here is not as general as it might be. However, this is not the case e.g. [10, Lemma 1], and indeed previous proofs e.g. [10, 36, 43] of Arrow's impossibility often assume, as we do, strict orders.

## 2.2 Informal overview of the combinatorial topology form of Arrow's theorem

We use the simplicial complexes  $N_I$  and  $N_O$  on which Baryshnikov's framework [10] is based. These simplicial complexes have been explained in detail e.g. [16, 37, 43] where additional details can be found.

The intuition behind these complexes is as follows, for three alternatives and two voters. On the right side of Figure 2, two triangles of  $N_O$  are depicted, labeled  $BAC$  and  $BCA$ . The label  $BAC$  means that society prefers  $B$  over  $A$  and  $A$  over  $C$ . The two triangles share an edge because  $BAC$  and  $BCA$  agree on two pairwise preferences. The first is represented by the vertex  $U_{AB}^-$ , namely  $B$  is preferred over  $A$ , and the second by the vertex  $U_{BC}^+$ , namely  $B$  is preferred over  $C$ . Now,

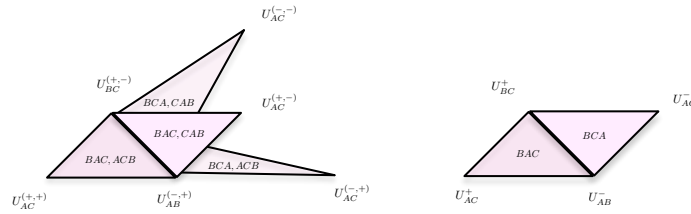


Fig. 2. Four triangles of  $N_I$  and two of  $N_O$ , intersecting in an edge, because they agree on two pairwise preferences,  $AB$  and  $BC$ .

on the left part of Figure 2, an edge is contained in four triangles, representing four different profiles, all sharing their pairwise preferences for  $A, B$  and  $B, C$  (in all 4 triangles, the first voter prefers  $BA$  and  $BC$ , while the second prefers  $AB$  and  $CB$ ).

Cycles (empty triangles) defined by *boundary* edges turn out to be important. An edge in the boundary of a complex is contained in a single triangle because the pair of vertices of the edge determines the third one by transitivity. Consider for example the two pairwise preferences of  $ABC$  given by the vertices  $U_{AB}^+$  and  $U_{BC}^+$  in Figure 1. This edge belongs only to this triangle, since the vertices together determine the order  $ABC$ .

The triangles of  $N_I$  are similarly defined, by using the preferences of two voters. Consider for example the edge representing that both voters prefer  $AB$  and both prefer  $BC$ , given by the vertices  $U_{AB}^{(+,+)}$  and  $U_{BC}^{(+,+)}$  (see Figure 1). This is an external edge because it is contained in the unique triangle where both prefer  $ABC$ . Three such edges (connecting the two former vertices with  $U_{CA}^{(+,+)}$ ) form a hollow triangle, because a Condorcet cycle is created if also both of them prefer  $CA$ . There are edges in  $N_I$  that are internal, for instance when both prefer  $AB$ , while the first voter prefers  $BC$  and the second prefers  $CB$ , see Figure 14b. This edge is contained in two triangles; in the figure, the left triangle correspond to the first voter's preference  $ABC$ , and the second voter's preference  $ACB$ . The other triangle in the figure corresponds to the preferences  $ABC$  and  $CAB$ . There are also internal edges contained in four triangles, as illustrated in Figure 2.

The remarkable insight of the aggregation map  $f$  is that it is a simplicial map: it sends triangles of  $N_I$  to triangles of  $N_O$ , and if two triangles share a vertex (edge) in  $N_I$  then  $f$  must send them to two triangles in  $N_O$  that also share a vertex (edge). This follows from the independence of irrelevant alternatives axiom.

### 2.3 Combinatorial topology form of Arrow's theorem

The main goal of this section is to state Arrow's theorem in the combinatorial topology framework.

We define the two simplicial complexes,  $N_I, N_O$ , for a finite set of alternatives,  $|X| \geq 3$  and  $n \geq 2$  voters. The first one,  $N_I$  represents all possible profiles of preferences, and the second,  $N_O$ , represents all possible social preferences. A simplicial map  $f$  from  $N_I$  to  $N_O$  represents an aggregation map that satisfies the independence of irrelevant alternatives property. As we shall see, if  $f$  sends vertices where everybody prefers  $\alpha$  over  $\beta$ , denoted  $U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+,\dots,+)}$ , to vertices where  $\alpha$  is preferred over  $\beta$  in the social choice, denoted  $U_{\alpha\beta}^+$ , then  $f$  also satisfies the unanimity property. Finally, there is a dictator if  $f$  is a projection, namely, if  $f$  always selects the preference of some voter  $k$ . Intuitively, the following says that Arrow's theorem can be viewed as the existence of a continuous map from  $N_I$  to  $N_O$  preserving unanimity. We will explain in detail the theorem in Sections 2.3.1, 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.

**THEOREM 2.1 (ARROW'S IMPOSSIBILITY).** *Let  $|X| \geq 3$  and  $n \geq 2$ . If  $f : N_I \rightarrow N_O$  is a simplicial map such that for all vertices  $U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+,\dots,+)}$  of  $N_I$ , it holds that  $f(U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+,\dots,+)}) = U_{\alpha\beta}^+$ , then  $f$  is a projection.*

That  $f$  is a projection means that there is a dictator  $k$ , such that,  $f$  returns the preferences of the  $k$ -th voter. That is, as we explain in more detail below, for all vertices  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  of  $N_I$ ,

$$f(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma) = U_{\alpha\beta}^{\sigma(k)},$$

where  $\sigma(k) \in \{+, -\}$  denotes the  $k$ -th sign of the vector of  $n$  signs  $\sigma$ .

**2.3.1 The output complex  $N_O$ .** We define the *output complex*  $N_O$  as follows. Consider the notation  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$ , for  $\alpha, \beta \in X$  and  $\sigma \in \{+, -\}$ . Then,  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  denotes the subset of  $W$ , of all strict orderings on  $X$  such that  $\alpha$  is ranked higher than  $\beta$  if  $\sigma = +$ , and otherwise,  $\beta$  is ranked higher than  $\alpha$ . Notice that  $U_{\alpha\beta}^+$  denotes the same set as  $U_{\beta\alpha}^-$ . The set vertices  $V$  of the output complex  $N_O$  consists of all such subsets of  $W$ , each one identified by one  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$ . A set of vertices of  $V$  forms a simplex of  $N_O$  iff their intersection is nonempty. This family of sets forms a simplicial complex, as it is closed under containment.

As mentioned earlier, for the purposes of this article, it is sufficient to consider  $X$  of size 3. Then, the complex  $N_O$  is depicted in Figure 1 taking  $X = \{A, B, C\}$ . We remark that our discussion holds for any finite  $X$ .

In the case of  $|X| = 3$ ,  $N_O$  is of dimension 2. A facet is a 2-simplex  $\{U_{\alpha_0\beta_0}^{\sigma_0}, U_{\alpha_1\beta_1}^{\sigma_1}, U_{\alpha_2\beta_2}^{\sigma_2}\}$ , which represents the strict order that is compatible with its three vertices, that is, the strict order contained in  $U_{\alpha_0\beta_0}^{\sigma_0} \cap U_{\alpha_1\beta_1}^{\sigma_1} \cap U_{\alpha_2\beta_2}^{\sigma_2}$ . Consider for example the triangle  $ABC$ , and its two vertices  $U_{AB}^+$  and  $U_{BC}^+$ . Notice that  $U_{AB}^+ = \{ABC, ACB, CAB\}$ , and  $U_{BC}^+ = \{ABC, BAC, BCA\}$ . These two vertices form an edge of  $N_O$  because their intersection is not empty. Moreover, it belongs to a single triangle, because the third vertex is unique,  $U_{CA}^- = \{ABC, ACB, BAC\}$ . Indeed, the three vertices intersect in a unique order,  $ABC$ .

There are exactly two triangles that are empty, that do not form a simplex, the external one requiring that  $A > B, B > C, C > A$ , and the central one, requiring that  $A > C, C > B, B > A$ . Furthermore, the boundary edges that belong to a single triangle, are those that by transitivity uniquely imply the third vertex, e.g. the edge  $\{U_{AB}^+, U_{BC}^+\}$  implies the third vertex,  $U_{CA}^-$ . Similarly, a partial order defined by an edge, e.g.  $\{U_{AB}^+, U_{AC}^+\}$ , is compatible with the two vertices that resolve the incomparability of  $B$  and  $C$ , namely,  $U_{BC}^-$  and  $U_{BC}^+$ .

The complex  $N_O$  is the space of output preferences because each one of its facets represents a possible social preference. Such a social preference is decided by an aggregation rule  $f$ , applied to a set of individual preferences of  $W^n$ , which we also represent as a simplicial complex.

*Remark 2.1.* For simplicity, we always denote the six vertices of  $N_O$  by the representatives  $U_{AB}^+, U_{AB}^-, U_{BC}^+, U_{BC}^-, U_{CA}^+$  and  $U_{CA}^-$ , as in the figure. We will need in Section 3 all vertices in the same boundary sharing the same sign.

*Remark 2.2.* Consider two *adjacent* 2-simplices, intersecting in an edge. The strict order associated with one simplex and the one associated with the other simplex are equal, modulo permuting two consecutive elements in the strict order. For example, the facet corresponding to  $ABC$  and the one corresponding to  $ACB$  are adjacent: they are equal modulo the permutation of  $B$  and  $C$ . This fact will be a keystone of the proof of Section 4.

**2.3.2 The input complex  $N_I$ .** We define the sets  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$ , with  $\alpha, \beta \in X$  and  $\sigma \in \{+, -\}^n$  as the subset of profiles of  $W^n$  where for each voter  $i$ ,  $\alpha$  is ranked higher than  $\beta$  if  $\sigma(i) = +$ , and otherwise,  $\beta$  is ranked higher than  $\alpha$ . As before,  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  defines the same set of social preferences as  $U_{\beta\alpha}^{-\sigma}$ . The set of vertices of the input complex  $N_I$  consist of all such subsets of  $W^n$ . As in the previous section, a set of vertices is a simplex of  $N_I$  iff their intersection is nonempty.

The complex  $N_I$  is much bigger than  $N_O$ . Whereas  $N_O$  has  $|X|(|X|-1)$  vertices and its dimension is  $(|X|+1)(|X|-2)/2$ ,  $N_I$  has  $|X|(|X|-1)2^{n-1}$  vertices, but it has the same dimension as  $N_O$  (see [10]). So  $N_I$  cannot be drawn in the plane even when  $|X| = 3$ , as  $N_O$ , but a schematic representation is in Figure 1 and Figure 3. Notice, in the remark below, that analogous observations to the ones we made for  $N_O$  hold for  $N_I$  as well.

*Remark 2.3.* First, whereas each 2-simplex of  $N_O$  is a preference, in  $N_I$  each 2-simplex is represented by two individual preferences. Second, consider two adjacent 2-simplices (intersecting in an edge) of  $N_I$ . The individual preferences associated with one simplex and those associated with the other simplex are equal, modulo permuting the preference of two alternatives,  $x, y$ , of one or two voters, without changing the preferences of other alternatives. For example, in Figure 2, the triangles  $BAC, ACB$  and  $BCA, CAB$  are adjacent, because the preferences of both voters over  $A$  and  $C$  are exchanged, and only over  $A$  and  $C$ . This fact will be a keystone of the proof of Section 4.

As an example, consider the inner cylinder in the left of the Figure 3. The front triangle has vertices  $U_{CA}^{(-,-)}, U_{AB}^{(+,+)}, U_{BC}^{(+,+)}$ . It represents that both voters prefer  $ABC$ . The vertex  $U_{AB}^{(+,+)}$  is also contained in its right triangle where both prefer

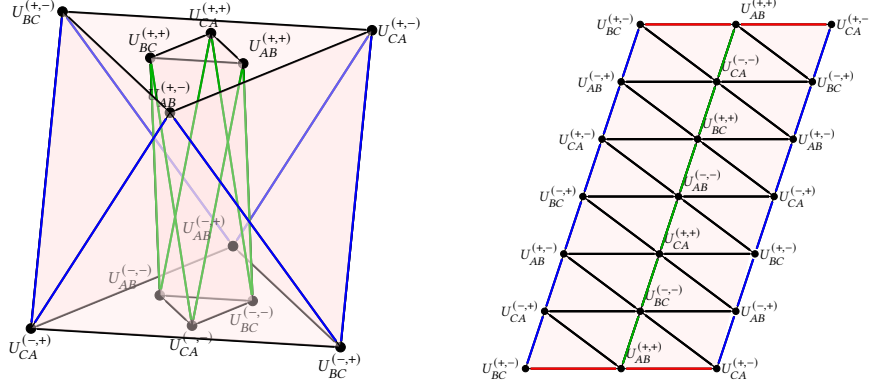


Fig. 3. When  $|X| = 3$  and  $n = 2$ , the complex  $N_I$  can be built using two (cylindrical) copies of  $N_O$  placed one inside the other (in the left side of the figure). The outer cylinder are the unanimous profiles, whereas the inner one are the profiles where the voters have opposite preferences. Additionally, both cylinders are joined through the torus in the right (the torus is folded by identifying vertices according to the coloured edges), so the total number of vertices of  $N_I$  is 12.

*CAB*. The green edge of this triangle,  $\{U_{AB}^{(+,+)}, U_{BC}^{(-,-)}\}$ , is contained in the triangle (in the torus on the right side of the figure) that has also the vertex  $U_{AB}^{(+,-)}$ , representing that the first voter prefers *CAB* but the second prefers *ACB*. Figure 1 illustrates how  $N_I$  consists of a torus, where two “parallel” cycles, a green one and a blue one are identified with some additional triangles (in the figure only the triangles identified with the green one are drawn, for clarity). In the green cycle, 6 vertices are used to add 6 triangles, as “flaps” of the torus (same for the blue cycle).

**2.3.3 The simplicial aggregation map.** Finally, it remains to define an aggregation simplicial map  $f : N_I \rightarrow N_O$  from an aggregation map  $F : W^n \rightarrow W$ . Since  $F$  satisfies the independence of irrelevant alternatives property and  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  is a subset of profiles in  $W^n$  defined purely by the orderings between  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ ,  $f(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma)$  can be defined to be the vertex  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  with the sign  $\sigma$  determined by the ordering of  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  on the social aggregation of any of the profiles in  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$ . In other words,  $f(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma) = \{F(\mathbf{R}) \in W : \mathbf{R} \in U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma\}$ .

The images of the higher dimensional simplices of  $N_I$  can be defined by extension. We only need such simplices being in  $N_O$ . However, this is immediate because a simplex in  $N_I$  is generated iff the intersection of their vertices contain at least one profile. The image of such profile must belong to the intersection of the images of those vertices since the image of a profile is determined by the ordering of pairs of alternatives.

Finally, we get the statement of Theorem 2.1. The independence of irrelevant alternatives property implies that  $f$  is a simplicial map from  $N_I$  to  $N_O$ . Moreover, the unanimity of  $f$  determines the image of the vertices formulated as  $U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+,\dots,+)}$  or  $U_{\alpha\beta}^{(-,\dots,-)}$ .

### 3 IMPOSSIBILITY PROOF BASED ON THE INDEX LEMMA

We present the first of the topological proofs of Theorem 2.1, for  $|X| = 3$ ,  $n = 2$ , using the index lemma. The classic form of the index lemma is in Appendix A. We use a simple generalization, Theorem C.2 described in Appendix C, where in addition to orientability, we assume that each interior edge belongs to an even number of triangles (at least 2). Let  $K$  be an oriented simplicial complex of dimension 2 with each vertex labeled with a color from  $\{0, 1, 2\}$ . The *content*  $C$  of  $K$  is the number of tricoloured triangles in  $K$  counted +1 if the order of the labeling agrees with the orientation and -1



otherwise. The *index*  $I$  of  $K$  is the number of edges  $\overrightarrow{01}$  on the boundary (contained in exactly one triangle) counted +1 if the order of the vertices agrees with the orientation and  $-1$  otherwise. The index lemma states that  $I = C$ .

Assuming  $N_I$  is orientable and we can use the index lemma (we defer the proof to Section C), we present our first proof of Theorem 2.1 here, for the case  $|X| = 3, n = 2$ .

Let  $f : N_I \rightarrow N_O$  be a simplicial map such that for all vertices  $U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+, \dots, +)}$  of  $N_I$ , it holds that  $f(U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+, \dots, +)}) = U_{\alpha\beta}^+$ . We use  $f$  to define a coloring of the vertices of  $N_I$  with colors  $\{0, 1, 2\}$ , and then use the index lemma (Theorem C.2) to show that  $f$  is a projection.

In order to define the coloring of the vertices of  $N_I$ , first we colour them with  $\{+1, -1\}$  according to the image of every vertex by  $f$ . That is, we label  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  with +1 iff  $f(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma) \in N_O$  has the superindex +, and otherwise with  $-1$ . We call it the sign of  $U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma$  and it is denoted by  $s(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma)$ .

Second, we color every vertex of  $N_I$  with one colour  $p \in \{0, 1, 2\}$  following the rule:

$$p(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma) = ID(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma) + s(U_{\alpha\beta}^\sigma) \pmod{3} \quad (1)$$

where  $ID(U_{AB}^\sigma) = 0, ID(U_{BC}^\sigma) = 1$  and  $ID(U_{CA}^\sigma) = 2$  (for every  $\sigma \in \{+, -\}^n$ ).

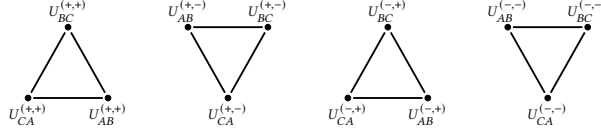


Fig. 4.  $N_I$  has four boundary components generated by Condorcet cycles. A single triangle intersects each boundary edge since each pair of vertices determines the third one by transitivity.

Notice that a cycle of three vertices is 3-coloured if and only if the sign of all of them is the same. This implies that the content  $C = 0$  because no 2-simplex in  $N_I$  can be mapped to one of the holes in  $N_O$ .

We conclude from the index lemma that  $I = 0$ , on the boundary of  $N_I$ , which consists of 4 combinations of Condorcet cycles (see Figure 4). The contribution to the index from the unanimity cycles is +2 (see Figure 5a).

Since the contribution of the unanimity cycles is +2 and  $I = 0$ , the two remaining contributions to  $I$  have to be  $-1$  for each one of the remaining boundary components. So, we can conclude that both have to be tricoloured and mapped on the boundary of  $N_O$ .

Both of these boundary components cannot be mapped on the same boundary of  $N_O$  because if it were the case the simplex  $\{U_{AB}^{(-, +)}, U_{BC}^{(-, +)}, U_{CA}^{(+, -)}\}$  would be mapped on one of the holes of  $N_O$  (see Figure 5b).

Finally, we have all the information we need about the images of the 12 vertices of  $N_I$  to state that  $f$  is a projection. Recall that the images of the first and the fourth boundaries in Figure 4 are determined by the unanimity. If the second boundary is mapped on the inner boundary of  $N_O$  (and the third in the outer), it is straightforward to check that  $f$  is the projection over the first component. On the contrary, if the second boundary is mapped on the outer boundary of  $N_O$  (and the third on the inner), then  $f$  is the projection over the second component.

#### 4 IMPOSSIBILITY PROOF WITH PIVOTAL VOTERS

The second proof of Theorem 2.1 for  $|X| = 3, n = 2$  exposes the geometry behind the combinatorial proofs by Geanakoplos [27] and Yu [51], using pivotal voters, that have received much attention e.g. [50].

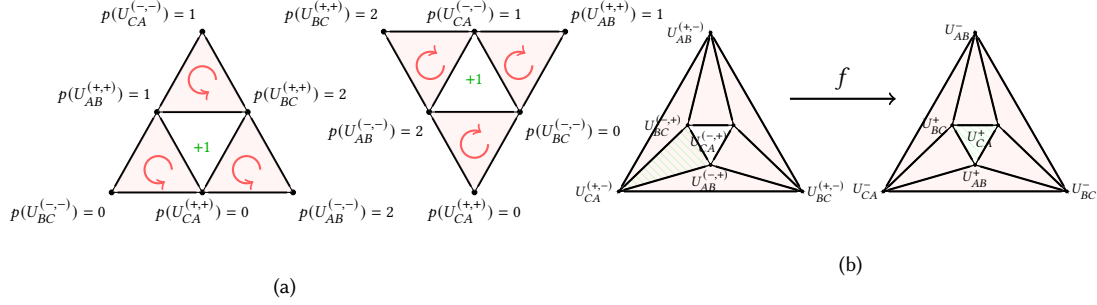


Fig. 5. (a) The contribution of these two boundary components to the index is +2 according with the orientation exposed in Proposition C.3. (b) If these two boundary components of  $N_I$  are mapped on the same boundary component of  $N_O$ , then  $U_{AB}^{(-,-)}$ ,  $U_{BC}^{(+,+)}$  and  $U_{CA}^{(+,+)}$  are also mapped on the same boundary component. That is, a hole.

#### 4.1 Paths and pivotal voters

We say that a sequence of triangles in either  $N_I$  or  $N_O$  is a *path*, if each two consecutive triangles are adjacent (share an edge). Let  $R = R_0, \dots, R_m$  be a sequence of preferences in  $W$  such that every  $R_i$  can be obtained from  $R_{i-1}$  by a permutation of the preference of two alternatives (see Remark 2.2). This sequence induces a path in  $N_O$ .

Similarly, a sequence of profiles  $\mathbf{R} = \mathbf{R}_0, \dots, \mathbf{R}_m$  in  $W^2$  defines a path in  $N_I$ , if  $\mathbf{R}_i$  can be obtained from  $\mathbf{R}_{i-1}$  by a permutation of the preference of two alternatives of at least one of the voters (see Remark 2.3). We will consider here only paths in  $N_I$  where  $\mathbf{R}_i$  is obtained from  $\mathbf{R}_{i-1}$  by a permutation of the preference of two alternatives of exactly one of the voters.

Notice that since the aggregation map  $f$  is a simplicial map, it sends triangles to triangles, and the image of a path in  $N_I$  is a path in  $N_O$ .

We will consider paths in  $N_I$  starting and ending in unanimous profiles. Additionally, such that all triangles in the path share a vertex  $U_{xy}^\sigma$ ,  $x, y \in X$ , for  $\sigma$  consisting of the same sign, either + or -. Notice that since all the triangles share vertex  $U_{xy}^\sigma$ , then all the triangles of the path in  $N_O$  of the image under  $f$  share the vertex  $U_{xy}^\sigma$ , where  $\sigma$  is equal to the single sign in  $\sigma$ .

An example is the path  $\mathbf{R} = \mathbf{R}_0, \dots, \mathbf{R}_4$ , in  $N_I$ , defined on the left of Figure 6. All the triangles in this path contain the vertex  $U_{BC}^{(+,+)}$ , since both voters prefer  $B$  over  $C$ . Additionally, the path starts in the unanimous profile  $ABC, ABC$  and ends in the unanimous profile  $BCA, BCA$ . In the figure there is another example, the path  $\mathbf{R}' = \mathbf{R}'_0, \dots, \mathbf{R}'_4$  starting in the triangle  $BAC, BAC$ , ending in the triangle  $ACB, ACB$ , and around the vertex  $U_{CA}^{(-,-)}$ .

Consider the path  $\mathbf{R}$  of Figure 6, and its depiction in Figure 7. We call such a path *bivalent* because the social choice has to move from  $f(\mathbf{R}_0) = ABC$  to  $f(\mathbf{R}_4) = BCA$ , by the unanimity axiom. The notion of pivotal voter arises in such bivalent paths. The social choice has to exchange the preferences of the pair  $A, B$  and also  $A, C$ , because it starts in the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{(+,+)}, U_{CA}^{(-,-)}\}$  and ends in the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{(-,-)}, U_{CA}^{(+,+)}\}$ . It does not change preferences over  $B, C$ , since the path keeps fixed the vertex  $U_{BC}^{(+,+)}$ .

Consider a sequence of profiles in which the first profile unanimously prefers an alternative  $x$  over another  $y$ , we change at each step the preference of a *single* individual from  $x$  over  $y$  to  $y$  over  $x$  until we arrive at the unanimous profile in which everyone prefers  $y$  over  $x$ . By unanimity, the first profile socially prefers  $x$  over  $y$ , whereas the last one

$y$  over  $x$ . Barberà [8] named the first voter who produces the change on the social preference from  $x$  over  $y$  to  $y$  over  $x$ , the *pivotal voter* of  $y$  over  $x$ . Denote this voter by  $k_{yx}$ .

In Section 4.2, we will use these paths to prove Theorem 2.1. Whereas in Section D we will compare this topological proof based on pivotal voters with the combinatorial ones by Geanakoplos [27] and Yu [51].

#### 4.2 The proof based on pivotal voters

Following Geanakoplos [27] and Yu [51], first, we will prove that all pivotal voters are the same, and the next step will apply a simple argument to see that this pivotal voter is, in fact, a dictator.

*Step 1: all pivotal voters are the same.* Consider the path  $\mathbf{R}$  of Figure 6 and its depiction in Figure 7. Notice that indeed all the triangles of the path share the vertex  $U_{BC}^{(+,+)}$ , and it starts in the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{(+,+)}, U_{CA}^{(-,-)}\}$  and ends in the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{(-,-)}, U_{CA}^{(+,+)}\}$ . Traversing the path, we see that voter 1 changes its preferences twice, first from  $\mathbf{R}_0$  to  $\mathbf{R}_1$  ( $AB$  to  $BA$ ) and then from  $\mathbf{R}_1$  to  $\mathbf{R}_2$  ( $AC$  to  $CA$ ). The next two changes of preferences are by voter 2, from  $\mathbf{R}_2$  to  $\mathbf{R}_3$  ( $AB$  to  $BA$ ) and then from  $\mathbf{R}_3$  to  $\mathbf{R}_4$  ( $AC$  to  $CA$ ). We are interested in comparing  $k_{CA}$  with  $k_{BA}$ .

The fact that the image of this path in  $N_O$  has to exchange the preferences of the pair  $A, B$  and also  $A, C$ , means that the path in  $N_O$  has to cross the triangle  $BAC$ . The figure shows why it has to cross first the edge adjacent to  $U_{CA}^-$ , and then the one adjacent to the vertex  $U_{AB}^-$ , both of this edges incident on  $U_{BC}^+$ . The social preference has to change to  $B$  over  $A$  before it changes  $C$  over  $A$ , and given that in the path  $\mathbf{R}$  the first changes are by voter 1, followed by the changes by voter 2, we conclude that that  $k_{BA} \leq k_{CA}$ .

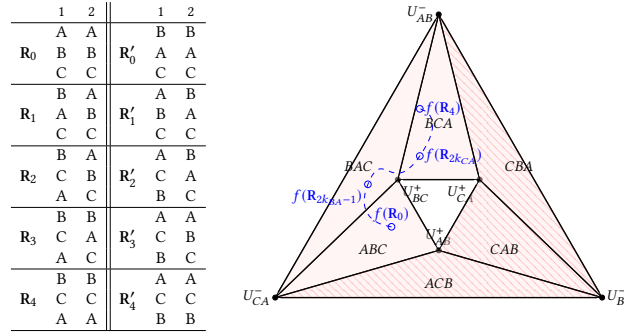


Fig. 6. In the left side, the sequences  $\mathbf{R}$  and  $\mathbf{R}'$  are defined. Writing an alternative on the top on another means that the one on top is preferred to the one in the bottom. On the right side there is a graphical representation of the paths defined by  $f(\mathbf{R})$ .

This argument can be repeated using any path analogous to  $\mathbf{R}$  around the green cycle in Figure 7, even in the opposite direction, such as  $\mathbf{R}'$ . That is, taking any two of the three unanimous green triangles labeled  $ABC$ ,  $BCA$  or  $CAB$ , and the corresponding bivalent path connecting them clockwise (that preserves along the path the vertex in the intersection of the two selected triangles). This proves three inequalities  $k_{yx} \leq k_{zx}$ , for the corresponding  $x, y, z \in X$ . Conversely, taking the three unanimous blue triangles labeled  $BAC$ ,  $CBA$  and  $ACB$  and the corresponding bivalent paths connecting them counterclockwise (as  $\mathbf{R}'$ ), we obtain three additional inequalities  $k_{xy} \leq k_{xz}$  for some  $x, y, z \in X$ . Joining the six inequalities we obtain that  $k_{BA} \leq k_{CA} \leq k_{CB} \leq k_{AB} \leq k_{AC} \leq k_{BC} \leq k_{BA}$ . So, there is a unique pivotal voter.

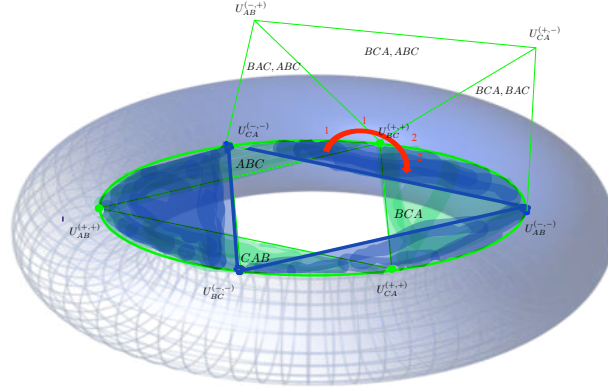


Fig. 7. The sequence  $\mathbf{R} = \mathbf{R}_0, \dots, \mathbf{R}_4$  in the complex  $N_I$ . The red curved arrow shows the order in which these triangles appear in  $\mathbf{R}$ , and it indicates that voter 1 changes its preference twice and then voter 2 changes its preference twice. For clarity, the triangle  $\mathbf{R}_0$  is labeled with  $ACB$ , and the triangle  $\mathbf{R}_4$  is labeled with  $CBA$ .

Surprisingly, as we will see on Section 6.1, the triangles conforming these six bivariant paths constitute a minimal subsimplex  $N'_I$  of  $N_I$  (see  $N'_I$  in Figure 9) that causes an impossibility. This is, the cylinder  $N'_I$  contained in the torus is sufficient to connect the unanimity vertices and the vertices with opposite pairwise preferences leading to an impossibility result. Whereas we use here 6 paths going across the 12 triangles of  $N'_I$ , in Section 6.1 they have been joined together in a single closed path. Using this closed path we will describe a geometric argument for the impossibility. Cutting this closed path in 6 paths, we have connected the geometrical arguments with the classical pivotal argument.

So, it is not needed the domain containing all preferences and, consequentially, the whole complex  $N_I$ , to apply the arguments contained in this section.

*Step 2: the pivotal voter is a dictator.* It remains to prove that  $f$  is a projection over the  $k$ -th component. That is,  $f(U_{xy}^\sigma) = U_{xy}^{\sigma(k)}$ . However, this is immediate to see taking the definition of pivotal voter (for  $n = 2$ ). When there are two voters, being a pivotal voter and a dictator is equivalent. The Figure 8 shows, as an example, how to use the definition of a pivotal voter to compute  $f(U_{xy}^{(+,-)})$  when  $k = 1$  and  $k = 2$ .

	$S_0$	$S_1$	$S_2$		$S'_0$	$S'_1$	$S'_2$
Case $k = 1$	$y \ y$ $x \ x$	$x \ y$ $y \ x$	$x \ x$ $y \ y$	Case $k = 2$	$y \ y$ $x \ x$	$x \ y$ $y \ x$	$x \ x$ $y \ y$
Social pref.	$yx$	$xy$	$xy$	Social pref.	$yx$	$yx$	$xy$

Fig. 8. The table on the left represents a sequence of profiles  $\mathbf{S} = S_0, S_1, S_2$  starting from unanimity profile of  $y$  over  $x$  to  $x$  over  $y$  in which the pivotal voter is  $k = 1$ . Since  $k = 1$  is the pivotal voter, the social preference changes in the first step, so  $f(U_{xy}^{(+,-)}) = U_{xy}^+$ . The table on the right represents the converse situation, when  $k = 2$ .

In Appendix D, we further discuss the correspondence of pivotal with the simplicial complex setting.

## 5 REDUCTION TO THE CASE OF $n = 2$ AND $|X| = 3$

We have proved Arrow's impossibility Theorem 2.1 for  $|X| = 3, n = 2$ . The proof of Theorem 2.1 for  $|X| \geq 3, n \geq 2$  follows directly from Lemma 5.1 and 5.2, given that the case  $|X| = 3, n = 2$  has been proved.

LEMMA 5.1. *Let the number of voters be any  $n \geq 2$ . Arrow's impossibility theorem for  $|X| = 3$  implies it for  $|X| \geq 3$ .*

The proof of the previous lemma (in Appendix E.1), contrary to the ones in [2, 48], is not inductive. This fact makes possible reducing the cases of any cardinality of  $X$  to  $|X| = 3$  in a single step.

LEMMA 5.2. *Let the number of alternatives be any  $|X| \geq 3$ . If Arrow's impossibility theorem is true for  $n = 2$  then it is true for  $n > 2$ .*

PROOF. The proof is by induction on  $n$ . By hypothesis, the theorem is true when  $n = 2$ . Suppose that it is true for  $n - 1$  and we will prove it for  $n$ .

Let  $F^n : W^n \rightarrow W$  an aggregation map satisfying unanimity and independence of irrelevant alternatives. We will prove that  $F^n$  is dictatorial in three steps:

**Step 1:** We define the aggregation map on  $W^{n-1}$ ,  $F_1^{n-1}(R_1, \dots, R_{n-1}) := F^n(R_1, \dots, R_{n-1}, R_1)$ . Since  $F_1^{n-1}$  satisfies unanimity and independence of irrelevant alternatives, the induction hypothesis guarantees that it has a dictator  $k_1$ . We will prove that if  $k_1 \neq 1$ , then  $k_1$  is also a dictator for  $F^n$ .

Suppose  $\mathbf{R} \in W^n$  and  $xR_k y$ . If the ordering of  $R_1$  and  $R_n$  coincides on  $\{x, y\}$ , then  $xF^n(\mathbf{R})y$  because  $F_1^{n-1}$  has  $k_1$  as a dictator. Otherwise, we can suppose without loss of generality that  $xR_1 y, yR_n x$ . Then, let  $z \in X$  be an auxiliary alternative and let  $\mathbf{R}' \in W^n$  be a profile which coincides with  $\mathbf{R}$  over  $\{x, y\}$ ,  $xR'_{k_1} zR'_{k_1} y$  and  $z$  is below  $x$  and  $y$  for the remaining voters.

Since  $R'_1$  and  $R'_n$  agrees on  $\{y, z\}$  and  $k_1$  is a dictator for  $F_1^{n-1}$ , we have that  $zF^n(\mathbf{R}')y$ . Moreover,  $xF^n(\mathbf{R}')z$  because of the unanimity. Using the transitivity we obtain that  $xF^n(\mathbf{R}')y$ , and applying the independence of irrelevant alternatives we obtain that  $xF^n(\mathbf{R})y$ . So,  $k_1$  is a dictator of  $F^n$  (if  $k_1 \neq 1$ ).

**Step 2:** We define  $F_2^{n-1}(R_1, \dots, R_{n-1}) := F^n(R_1, \dots, R_{n-1}, R_2)$ . Using the inductive hypothesis,  $F_2^{n-1}$  has a dictator  $k_2$ . If  $k_2 \neq 2$ , apply a symmetric reasoning to the one in step 1 to deduce that  $k_2$  is the dictator of  $F^n$  (if  $k_2 \neq 2$ ).

**Step 3:** If  $k_1 = 1$  and  $k_2 = 2$ , we show that  $n$  is the dictator of  $F^n$ . Let  $\mathbf{R} \in W^n$  be a profile with  $xR_n y$ . Consider  $z \in X$ , and  $\mathbf{R}' \in W^n$  coinciding with  $\mathbf{R}$  over  $\{x, y\}$ ,  $xR'_n zR'_n y$ ,  $xR'_1 z$  and  $zR'_2 y$ . Using that 1 (resp. 2) is the dictator of  $F_1^{n-1}$  (resp.  $F_2^{n-1}$ ) and the independence of irrelevant alternatives, we obtain that  $xF^n(\mathbf{R})z$  (resp.  $zF^n(\mathbf{R})y$ ). So, using transitivity, we obtain that  $xF^n(\mathbf{R})y$ . Finally we conclude that  $n$  is the dictator of  $F^n$  (if  $k_1 = 1$  and  $k_2 = 2$ ).  $\square$

The reader may wonder why Lemma 5.2 is inductive, instead of applying some direct argument extending from  $n = 2$  to any number of voters (as we have done in Lemma 5.1). If such argument existed, it would allow to extend the theorem to infinite number of voters. However, this is not possible because Arrow's impossibility is not true when  $n$  is infinite [23]. Further discussion about related work is in Appendix E.2.

## 6 APPLYING THE COMBINATORIAL TOPOLOGY APPROACH TO DOMAIN RESTRICTIONS

There is an extensive literature on the subject of domain restrictions, going back at least to Black [12] and Arrow [4], and still very active today [9]. Arrow's impossibility applies to *universal domains*, where all possible individual preferences are considered. Many researchers have proved that it is possible to aggregate on some non-universal domains (see, e.g. [25, 38]). However, there is no general rule characterising the domains in which aggregation is possible. We illustrate here how the combinatorial topology approach can shed some light on this topic, focusing on contractibility of the restricted domain of  $N_I$ . We describe the arguments here less formally, to concentrate on the geometric intuition.

### 6.1 Arrow's impossibility using domain restrictions

We illustrate the use of the index lemma and winding numbers with a domain restriction that exposes clearly a geometric reason for Arrow's impossibility. Namely, the following provides the third proof of Theorem 2.1 for  $|X| = 3$  and  $n = 2$ .

Consider the domain restriction of Figure 9, a triangulated cylinder. It is obtained by removing a cylinder from the torus universal domain on the right of Figure 3, and removing also both of the concentric cylinders on the left of the figure, corresponding to unanimous profiles and those where the voters have opposite preferences. In Figure 9 all the triangles marked are removed from the torus: from top to bottom, the triangles  $CAB, ABC, ACB, ABC$ , etc. Thus, only the triangles on the left remain, which form a cylinder, just as  $N_O$ , except that the cylinder of  $N_I$ 's restricted domain is subdivided into 12 triangles while  $N_O$  consists of 6 triangles. Denote by  $N_I'$  the resulting restricted domain.

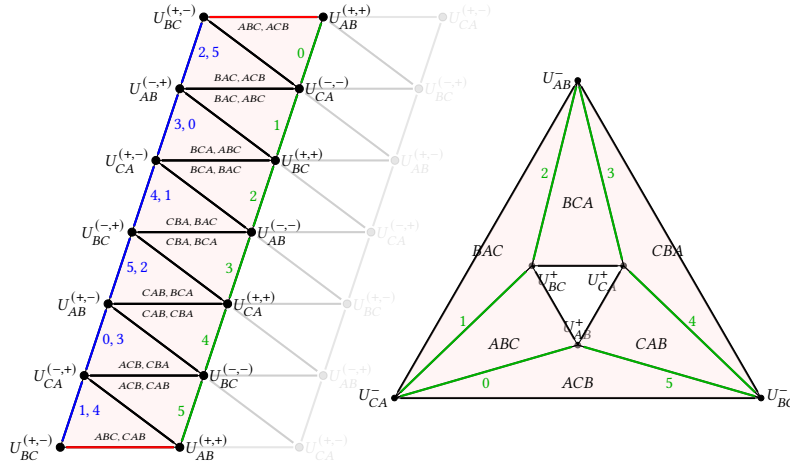


Fig. 9. On the left is  $N_I'$ , a domain restriction on  $N_I$ , resulting in a cylinder and how the green cycle is mapped to  $N_O$ . Inside of each triangle of  $N_I'$  is the corresponding individual preference; the top triangle is  $ABC, ACB$ , the next one  $BAC, ACB$ , and so on. The blue cycle has two labels on each of its edges; the first one is the social choice where the first voter is the dictator, from top to bottom, 2, 3, 4, 5, 0, 1. With the second labels, the second voter is the dictator.

Now, Arrow's geometric impossibility becomes clear:  $N_I'$  is wrapped once around  $N_O$ , and the wrapping is determined by the green cycle in  $N_I'$ , due to unanimity. In the figure the image of the green cycle in  $N_I'$  is shown on  $N_O$ . This implies that the blue cycle, which is parallel to the green cycle, also has to wrap once around the cylinder, going in the same direction. There are two options for the aggregation function, labeled on the blue edges; to map the first (from top to bottom) blue edge to the edge 2 or to 5, the next one to 3 or 0 in  $N_O$ , and so on. In the first option the first voter is the dictator, in the second option the second voter is (in either case, the blue cycle goes on top of the green cycle of  $N_O$ ).

### 6.2 Eluding Arrow's impossibility while preserving non-contractibility

It has been argued that the existence of a rule that permits aggregation is related to contractibility of a topological space. For the existence case in the continuous setting (which is different from our Arrovian setting), Chichilnisky and Heal [17], and a 1954 topology theorem by Eckmann [19] show that, for a general class of domains, contractibility is necessary and sufficient. Building on this result and Baryshnikov [10], for weak orders, Tanaka [47] shows a connection

with Brouwer's fixed point theorem, in the case of  $n = 2$  and  $|X| = 3$ . Baryshnikov [10] and other authors such as Lauwers [36] and Baigent [43] hypothesised in subsequent publications that the aggregation on non-universal domains could be equivalent to the contractibility of the induced input simplicial complex. That is, the aggregation à la Arrow on a domain  $D \subseteq W^n$  would be possible iff the induced complex  $N'_I$  is contractible. Moreover, they added that the well-known case of single-peaked preferences (in which aggregation is possible) contractibility is satisfied.

Next, we present a domain of preferences that proves that Baryshnikov's hypothesis above is not true. That is, the domain  $N''_I$  represented in Figure 10 is not contractible and it allows non-dictatorial aggregation maps.

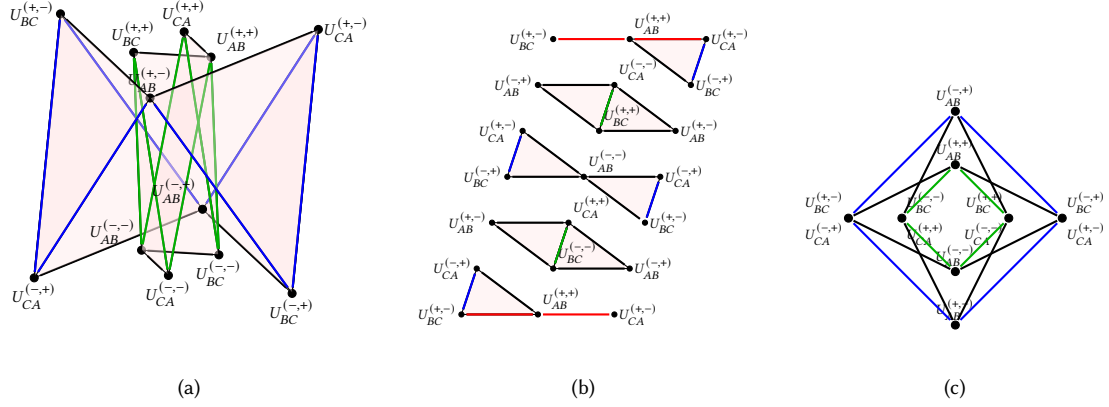


Fig. 10. The restricted domain  $N''_I$  is the union of the simplicial complexes represented in (a) and (b) according the identifications defined by vertices' labeling and colours. The simplicial complex  $N^*$  is represented in (c). The colours of the edges (resp. the labelings of the vertices) show where the edges (resp. the vertices) of  $N''_I$  have been compressed in  $N^*$ .

This restricted domain  $N''_I$  corresponds to a polarised society where political parties are classified as left-wing and right-wing parties. Assume that every left-wing voter will prefer all left-wing parties over all right-wing parties (vice-versa for right-wing voters). *A priori* we do not know if a voter is right-wing or left-wing.

We focus on the case in which there are two right-wing parties  $\{A, B\}$  and one left-wing party  $C$  and two voters ( $n = 2$ ). This way,  $N''_I$  can be compared with the previous examples and proofs on this article.

The polarised domain restriction deletes the profiles in which a voter has  $C$  as the middle preferred party. For example, no voter will have the preference  $ACB$  because it prefer the right-wing party  $A$  over the left-wing party  $C$  and  $C$  over the right-wing party  $B$ . Formally, applying this restriction means deleting from Figure 3 the edges of the form  $\{U_{CA}^{(+,\cdot)}, U_{BC}^{(+,\cdot)}\}$ ,  $\{U_{CA}^{(-,\cdot)}, U_{BC}^{(-,\cdot)}\}$ ,  $\{U_{CA}^{(\cdot,+)}, U_{BC}^{(\cdot,+)}\}$  and  $\{U_{CA}^{(\cdot,-)}, U_{BC}^{(\cdot,-)}\}$  and all triangles containing them, and we obtain the simplicial complex  $N''_I$  represented in Figure 10.

There are non-dictatorial aggregation rules for  $N''_I$ . One of these rules is defined by two local dictators. The first voter is a local dictator between the right-wing parties  $A$  and  $B$ , whereas the second voter is a local dictator between a right-wing party and the left wing-party  $C$ . Formally, this aggregation map  $F$  is defined for every profile  $\mathbf{R}$  in the domain as:

$$AF(\mathbf{R})B \Leftrightarrow AR_1B, \quad AF(\mathbf{R})C \Leftrightarrow AR_2C, \quad BF(\mathbf{R})C \Leftrightarrow BR_2C.$$

Using the fact that  $AF(\mathbf{R})C \Leftrightarrow BF(\mathbf{R})C$ , it is straightforward to check that  $F$  is well defined (i.e.  $F(\mathbf{R})$  is transitive and complete for every  $\mathbf{R}$ ). Additionally,  $F$  is unanimous, non-dictatorial and satisfies the independence of irrelevant alternatives.

It remains to check that  $N_I''$  is not contractible. In Figure 10,  $N_I''$  has been drawn deleting a triangle on each of the concentric cylinders of  $N_I$ , and from the torus they only remain four pairs of triangles that join both cylinders. To see that  $N_I''$  is not contractible, we apply contractions to  $N_I''$  obtaining a new topological space  $N^*$  (that is non-contractible). This contractions consist on contracting first the eight triangles placed in the former torus (Figure 10b) to eight edges (black edges in Figure 10c). Second, we contract both cylinders (Figure 10a) into two concentric circles (green and blue edges in Figure 10c).

## 7 CONCLUSIONS

We have given new proofs of Arrow's theorem consisting of two parts. The first part deals with the base case of two voters and three alternatives, and we presented three different versions: using the index lemma, using pivotal voters, and using domain restrictions. The second part proves the general case by a simple reduction to the base case.

The first part shows that any aggregation function is dictatorial, because in essence it is mapping a torus onto a cylinder, in a continuous way, respecting unanimity. The argument sheds light on the remarkable algebraic topology proof of Baryshnikov [10], and makes it accessible to a wider audience. Furthermore, it connects it to standard proofs of Arrow's theorem based on pivotal arguments, by explaining how the paths of such arguments move along the torus and the cylinder.

The structure of our proofs, in two parts, tries to explain that the interesting structure happens in the base case. We have considered domain restrictions on the base case, showing that there is a domain restriction where Arrow's impossibility is derived from the geometry in an intuitive way, and there is another domain restriction where it does not hold, yet it is not contractible.

We hope that bringing in combinatorial topology to social choice problems opens interesting opportunities for future work. These tools have been encountering many applications recently. Some examples are in concurrency [1], image processing [7], political structures [40], data analysis [33] and wireless networks [44].

In particular, combinatorial topology has been very useful in distributed computing [30]. We described some analogies that are worth exploring, since computing processes that communicate with each other need to agree on one of their inputs in many applications. Remarkably, while Sperner's lemma is the key to the impossibilities of tasks where processes need to reach agreement such as *consensus*, *set agreement* [5], *vector consensus* [42] and *interactive consistency* [24] (where domain restrictions are studied), for Arrow's impossibility, the key is the index lemma, as it is for tasks related to renaming and weak symmetry breaking [14, 28]. Here we studied only Arrow's setting, where the aggregation map is defined directly on the input complex; it would be interesting to explore the case where the agents can communicate with each other and subdivisions of the input complex arise. Notice that the index lemma is preserved under subdivisions e.g. [28, Corollary 4]. However, we are not aware of a distributed task where the impossibility is proved in dimension 2, and then extended easily to any dimension.

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## A COMBINATORIAL TOPOLOGY

Algebraic topology is a deep and highly developed branch of mathematics, studying algebraic invariants of topological spaces, such as homology groups. When the spaces are composed of individual cells attached to each other in a simple way, we have combinatorial topology, which has been gaining importance more recently as more and more applications are discovered, and the fact that such invariants can be computable. Here we use only elementary notions that can be found in books such as [29, 30], for more advanced treatments see [34, 46].

An *abstract simplicial complex* is a family of sets that is closed under taking subsets, that is, every subset of a set in the family is also in the family. The elements of the sets are called *vertices*. A set of the simplicial complex is called a *simplex*, and its *dimension* is  $d$  if it has  $d + 1$  elements; we say it is a  $d$ -simplex. In this paper we consider only simplicial complexes of dimension 2, meaning that each simplex contains at most 3 elements.

An abstract simplicial complex is a purely combinatorial object. It can be seen as a generalization of a graph; in our case, in addition to edges consisting of pairs of vertices, we allow also triangles consisting of triples of vertices. However, in topology a simplicial complex is often embedded in Euclidean space, to represent a discretization of a geometric object. In the case of simplicial complexes of dimension 2, a triangulation. Thus, we think of the simplices of size 3 as triangles, the simplices of size 2 as edges, and the simplices of size 1, also called vertices, as points, as illustrated in Figure 1. Notice that if a triangle is in the complex, so are its three edges, and its three vertices; the family of sets is indeed closed under containment.

A *simplicial map* is a function from the vertices of one simplicial complex  $K$  to the vertices of another simplicial complex,  $K'$ , that preserves simplices: it sends sets of vertices that belong to a simplex of  $K$ , to sets of vertices that belong to a simplex of  $K'$ ; thus, it respects the simplicial structure. A simplicial map is a discrete version of a continuous map.

Quoting from Henle [29],

*“The combinatorial method is used not only to construct complicated figures from simple ones but also to deduce properties of the complicated from the simple. In combinatorial topology it is remarkable that the only machinery needed to make these deductions is the elementary process of counting!”*

The index lemma illustrates this point. Here we describe the basic version of [29]. We will generalize it in Section 3 and use it to prove Arrow’s theorem. Consider the following simplicial complex, consisting of a polygon of any number of sides, triangulated. The vertices are labeled arbitrarily, with labels 0, 1, 2. The *content*  $C$  is the number of triangles labelled 0, 1, 2, counted by orientation: it counts +1 if its labels read 012 in a counterclockwise direction around the triangle, and counts  $-1$  if they clockwise around the triangle. The *index*  $I$  is the number of edges labeled 01 around the boundary of the polygon counted by orientation: and edge counts +1 if it reads 01 counterclockwise around the polygon, and  $-1$  if it reads 01 clockwise. In the figure,  $I = C = -1$ . The index lemma says that this is always the case,  $I = C$ . This simplicial complex from [29] illustrates the index lemma, highlighting the three complete triangles.

The miracle of the index lemma is that the proof is a very simple parity counting argument (see Theorem C.2), despite the fact of being at the core, of the study vector fields and other areas [29]. Furthermore, it implies Sperner’s lemma (which is equivalent to Brouwer’s fixed point theorem). For the general case of the index lemma see [20].

As we explain in Section C, the assumption needed for the proof of Section 3 is that the boundary of the complex consists of exterior edges belonging to a single triangle, and each interior edge belongs to an even number of triangles (at least 2), and additionally, it is orientable (Definition C.1). An example of a such an orientable complex, is the triangulated torus in Figure 11, after removing one triangle, say  $cef$ , with boundary the edges of this triangle. An example of such a complex, but which is not orientable is the Möbius strip; more precisely, no triangulation of the Möbius strip is orientable.

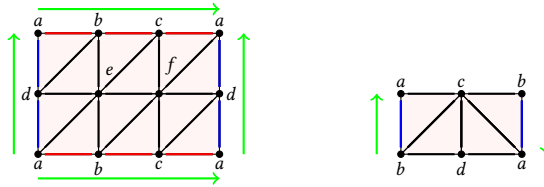
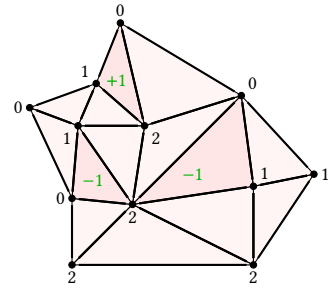


Fig. 11. The triangulated torus on the left has 6 vertices. The triangulated Möbius strip on the right has only 4 vertices (the left edge  $ab$  is the same as the right edge  $ab$ ), the boundary consists of edges  $ac$ ,  $ad$ ,  $bd$  and  $bc$ . The colouring on the edges shows the pairing of the gluing whereas arrows the direction of it.

## B TASKS AND DISTRIBUTED COMPUTING

There are many good books about distributed computing e.g. [6, 45]. Here we give a very brief introduction to the notion of a task, and its representation using simplicial complexes, following the overview of the topology approach to distributed computing [30], and provide more details about the analogy with Arrow’s theorem.

A task is a specification of a concurrent problem, namely, a problem to be solved by a set of individual computing processes communicating with each other. Each process runs its own sequential program code, that includes instructions

to communicate with other processes. Typical ways of communicating is by sending messages or by writing and reading a shared memory. A task is a distributed version of a function. When there is a single computing process, the function  $f$  specifies, for each possible initial input  $x$ , the value  $f(x)$  that the process should compute. In a distributed system composed of several processes, each one gets only part of the input  $x$ . Thus, we may think of  $x$  as a vector  $(x_1, x_2, \dots, x_n)$ , for  $n$  processes, where initially process  $i$  gets as input  $x_i$ , and does not know what the inputs of the the other processes are. Then, the processes run their individual programs, communicating with each other, and eventually produce individual local output values, defining a vector  $(y_1, y_2, \dots, y_n)$ , where  $y_i$  is the output value of process  $i$ . The task defines an input output relation  $\Delta$ , that specifies, for each possible input vector  $x$ , a set of legal output vectors  $y$ . A classic example is binary *consensus*, where the possible inputs  $x_i$  are taken from the set  $\{0, 1\}$ , and there are only two possible output vectors: either everybody decides 0 or everybody decides 1. Then,  $\Delta(x)$  states that if everybody starts with the same input, then everybody decides that input, else, it is valid to decide either of the two output vectors.

A task can be defined in terms of simplicial complexes [30]. For a set of processes  $\{id_1, \dots, id_k\}$ , a set  $\sigma = \{(id_1, x_1), \dots, (id_k, x_k)\}$  is used to denote the input values, or output values, where  $x_i$  denotes the value of the process with identity  $id_i$ , either an input value or an output value. The elements of  $\sigma$  are pairs, called *vertices*. And they are said to be colored by the identities  $id_i$ 's. A set  $\sigma$  as above is called a *chromatic simplex*, because the vertices are colored with distinct ids. If the values are input values, it is an *input simplex*, if they are output values, it is an *output simplex*. An *input vertex*  $v = (id_i, x_i)$  represents the initial state of process  $id_i$ , while an *output vertex* represents its decision. The *dimension* of a simplex  $\sigma$ , denoted  $\dim(\sigma)$ , is  $|\sigma| - 1$ , and it is *full* if it contains  $n$  vertices, one for each process. A subset of a simplex, which is a simplex as well, is called a *face*. The set of possible input simplexes forms a *complex* because its sets are closed under containment. Similarly, the set of possible output simplexes also form a complex.

The dimension of a complex  $K$  is the largest dimension of its simplexes, and  $K$  is *pure* of dimension  $k$  if each of its simplexes is face of a  $k$ -dimensional simplex. In distributed computing, the simplexes (and complexes) are *chromatic*, since each vertex  $v$  of a simplex is labeled with a distinct process identity, and we usually get pure complexes. The set of processes identities in an input or output simplex  $\sigma$  is denoted  $ID(\sigma)$ .

A *task*  $T$  for  $n$  processes is a triple  $(I, O, \Delta)$  where  $I$  and  $O$  are pure chromatic  $(n - 1)$ -dimensional complexes, and  $\Delta$  maps each simplex  $\sigma$  from  $I$  to a subcomplex  $\Delta(\sigma)$  of  $O$ , satisfying:

- (1)  $\Delta(\sigma)$  is pure of dimension  $\dim(\sigma)$ ,
- (2) For every  $\tau$  in  $\Delta(\sigma)$  of dimension  $\dim(\sigma)$ ,  $ID(\tau) = ID(\sigma)$ ,
- (3) If  $\sigma, \sigma'$  are two simplexes in  $I$  with  $\sigma' \subset \sigma$  then  $\Delta(\sigma') \subset \Delta(\sigma)$ .

We say that  $\Delta$  is a *carrier map* from the input complex  $I$  to the output complex  $O$ .

Thus, each input simplex  $\sigma \in I$  defines an initial configuration of the distributed system. After the processes run their local algorithms and communicate with each other, they eventually stop, and end up in a final configuration  $\sigma'$ . The simplex  $\tau'$  is of the same form of the input and output simplexes, except that in a pair  $(id_i, x_i)$ ,  $x_i$  denotes the final local state of process  $id_i$ . This local state  $x_i$  determines the output value decided by the process  $id_i$ , and is denoted by  $\delta(id_i, x_i)$ .

Actually, there may be many possible runs all starting on input  $\sigma$ , because of possible failures, different speed of execution of the processes, etc, The set of all possible final configurations can also be represented as a chromatic complex, denoted  $\mathcal{P}(\sigma)$ . The *protocol complex*,  $\mathcal{P}$ , is the union of  $\mathcal{P}(\sigma)$ , over all  $\sigma \in I$ . The task is solved, if there exists a chromatic simplicial map  $\delta$  from  $\mathcal{P}$  to  $O$  respecting  $\Delta$ , such that  $\delta(\mathcal{P}(\sigma))$  is contained in  $\Delta(\sigma)$ . The simplicial map  $\delta$  is chromatic in the sense that it sends vertices to vertices preserving ids.

This approach to the theory of distributed computing is so successful, because the solvability of a task depends on the topological properties of the protocol complex, and how they relate to the topological properties of the task. Furthermore, the protocol complex preserves topological properties of the input complex. How well this topological properties are preserved, depends on the specific assumptions about the distributed system model: how many processes can fail, what types of failures are possible, how the processes communicate with each other, and their relative speed of execution. Many different models have been analyzed, and the topological properties preserved by their protocol complexes identified [30].

Remarkably, in the most basic model, called *wait-free*, if we denote the protocol complex after  $t$  rounds of communication by  $\mathcal{P}_t$ , then  $\mathcal{P}_{t+1}$  is a chromatic subdivision of  $\mathcal{P}_t$ . The main theorem [31] is that a protocol in the wait-free model solves a task  $(\mathcal{I}, \mathcal{O}, \Delta)$ , if and only if there exists a chromatic subdivision of  $\mathcal{I}$  and a chromatic simplicial map from the subdivision to  $\mathcal{O}$  respecting  $\Delta$ .

Notice that the protocol complex  $\mathcal{P}_t$  is equal to the input complex  $\mathcal{I}$ , when  $t = 0$ , before any communication takes place. This is precisely the situation corresponding to Arrow's setting. In this case, a 0-round protocol solves a task if and only if there exists a chromatic simplicial map  $f$  from  $\mathcal{I}$  to  $\mathcal{O}$  respecting  $\Delta$ . This explains the analogy of distributed computing with Arrow's impossibility theorem, in the form of Theorem 2.1, where the input/output relation is requiring only that  $f(U_{\alpha\beta}^{(+,\dots,+)} ) = U_{\alpha\beta}^+$ .

### C INDEX LEMMA AND THE COMPLEX $N_I$

Here we present the generalized version of the index lemma, and show that it holds on  $N_I$ .

*Definition C.1.* Let  $K$  be a simplicial complex of dimension 2 satisfying that every simplex of dimension 1 has a single or an even number of 2-simplices containing it. An *orientation on  $K$*  is an orientation on every 2-simplex satisfying that the induced orientations on the 1-simplices by the 2-simplices have to be opposite by pairs.



Fig. 12. The simplicial complex on the left is oriented because the induced orientations on the inner edge are opposite. However, the right one is not because it has three orientations in one direction and one on the opposite direction.

As in the original framework, let  $K$  be an oriented simplicial complex of dimension 2 with each vertex labeled with a color from  $\{0, 1, 2\}$ . The content  $C$  of  $K$  is the number of tricoloured triangles in  $K$  counted +1 if the order of the labeling agrees with the orientation (see the right side of Figure 13) and  $-1$  otherwise. The index  $I$  of  $K$  is the number of edges  $\vec{01}$  on the boundary counted +1 if the order of the vertices agrees with the orientation and  $-1$  otherwise. Now, we can state and prove the index lemma for oriented simplicial 2-complexes.

**THEOREM C.2 (INDEX LEMMA).** *Let  $K$  be a 3-colored oriented simplicial complex of dimension 2. Then, the index  $I$  is equal to the content  $C$ .*

PROOF. Let  $S$  be the number of edges  $\overrightarrow{01}$  counted according to the orientation. We will prove that  $I = S$  and  $C = S$ . First, we will see that the contribution of every interior edge  $\overrightarrow{01}$  is equal to 0. Since every interior edge has an even number of incident 2-simplices, by definition of being oriented, their contribution is 0. Then  $I = S$ .

For every triangle in the complex, the contribution is only non-zero if the triangle is tricoloured. If it is not tricoloured, it is 0 because, in case it has at least one 0 and one 1, the third vertex has to be coloured by 0 or 1, then one edge compensates the other. Otherwise, if it is tricoloured, its contribution is the same as the content's contribution (see Figure 13).

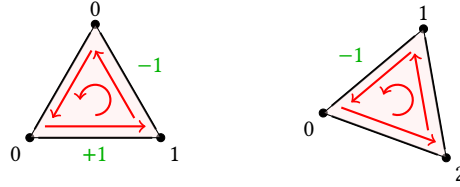


Fig. 13. On the left, the contribution of the simplex is 0 because the two edges  $\overrightarrow{01}$  compensate each other. On the right, the contribution of the tricoloured triangle is  $-1$ .

□

Now we provide  $N_I$  with an orientation. Recall that we assume that the number of alternatives is  $|X| = 3$  and the number of voters is  $n = 2$ .

PROPOSITION C.3. *The complex  $N_I$  is orientable.*

PROOF. We will define an orientation on  $N_I$  as follows. For every 2-simplex  $\Delta = \{U_{AB}^{\sigma_1}, U_{BC}^{\sigma_2}, U_{CA}^{\sigma_3}\}$  we define its parity as the product of all the signs of  $\sigma_1, \sigma_2$  and  $\sigma_3$ . For instance, if  $\sigma_1 = (+, +), \sigma_2 = (+, -)$  and  $\sigma_3 = (-, -)$ , the parity is  $-1$  (see Figure 14a). We define the orientation of this 2-simplex as clockwise ( $AB \rightarrow CA \rightarrow BC \rightarrow AB$ ) if its parity is  $-1$  and ( $AB \rightarrow BC \rightarrow CA \rightarrow AB$ ) if its parity is  $1$ .

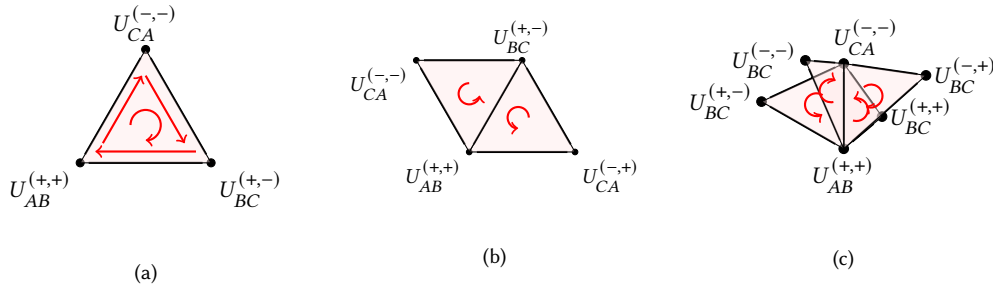


Fig. 14. (a) Since the parity of the triangle is negative, the orientation is  $U_{AB}^{(+,+)} \leftarrow U_{BC}^{(+,-)} \leftarrow U_{CA}^{(-,-)}$ . (b) Two triangles sharing the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{(+,+)}, U_{BC}^{(+,-)}\}$ . (c) Four triangles sharing the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{(+,+)}, U_{CA}^{(-,-)}\}$

This is an orientation because for every non-boundary edge, there are an even number of 2-simplices containing it, and they are paired by their opposite induced orientations. For example, consider the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{\sigma_1}, U_{BC}^{\sigma_2}\}$ , this edge

only can be completed with a vertex indexed as  $U_{CA}^{\sigma_3}$  for some compatible  $\sigma_3 \in \{+, -\}^n$  constrained by the transitivity property. That is, for every component  $i \in \{1, \dots, n\}$ , if  $\sigma_1(i) = \sigma_2(i) = +$  (resp.  $\sigma_1(i) = \sigma_2(i) = -$ ), then  $\sigma_3(i) = +$  (resp.  $\sigma_3(i) = -$ ). However, if  $\sigma_1(i)$  and  $\sigma_2(i)$  have different signs, both signs are compatible in  $\sigma_3(i)$ . We can conclude that the admissible  $\sigma_3$  are exactly  $2^k$  (where  $k$  is equal to the number of voters  $i$  on the third situation). And, since by hypothesis  $\{U_{AB}^{\sigma_1}, U_{BC}^{\sigma_2}\}$  is not in the boundary,  $k > 0$ .

Second, we can pair these  $2^k$  2-simplices saying that  $\{U_{AB}^{\sigma_1}, U_{BC}^{\sigma_2}, U_{CA}^{\sigma_3}\}$  and  $\{U_{AB}^{\sigma'_1}, U_{BC}^{\sigma'_2}, U_{CA}^{\sigma'_3}\}$  are paired if  $\sigma_3$  and  $\sigma'_3$  are equal on each component but one. Then the parity associated to every triangle of a pair is opposite to the other member, so, their contribution on the edge  $\{U_{AB}^{\sigma_1}, U_{BC}^{\sigma_2}\}$  determined by the induced orientations is also opposite.  $\square$

## D PIVOTAL VOTERS AND PATHS IN $N_I$

In this section, we further discuss the correspondence of the pivotal setting with the simplicial complex setting of Section 4.

To discuss the role of pivotal voters and the paths defined by sequences, consider as an example the path  $\mathbf{R}$  defined in Figure 6. This path starts and ends in the inner cylinder of  $N_I$ , that is, the unanimity simplices (see Figure 3). Obviously, this cylinder is identified with  $N_O$  because of the unanimity property of the aggregation map  $f$ . The remaining simplices  $\{\mathbf{R}_1, \mathbf{R}_2, \mathbf{R}_3\}$  of the path link the inner cylinder with the outer one (see the complex at the right of Figure 15).

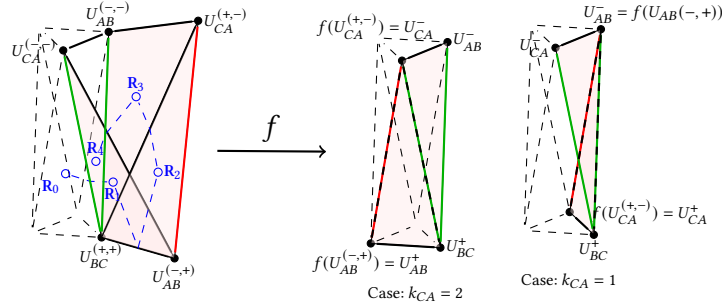


Fig. 15. The figure in the right represents the simplices  $\{\mathbf{R}_1, \mathbf{R}_2, \mathbf{R}_3\}$  linking the inner cylinder of  $N_I$  (green edges) with the outer cylinder (red edge) and the path  $\mathbf{R}$ . The figure in the middle represents the folding of the hinges and the inner cylinder when  $k_{CA} = 2$ ; the one on the left, when  $k_{CA} = 1$ .

When the aggregation map  $f$  is applied, the inner cylinder remains invariant because we have identified it with  $N_O$ , but the outer cylinder and the links (the torus joining both cylinders) are compressed into the inner cylinder. We have to imagine the simplices between the cylinders (from Figure 3), the ones linking the cylinders, playing the role of “hinges”, folding into each other so that the two cylinders fit together.

In Figure 15 we can see that the *hinge*  $\{\mathbf{R}_1, \mathbf{R}_2, \mathbf{R}_3\}$  can fold two ways. It folds one way or another depending on the value of  $k_{CA}$ . Notice that its folding also determines the value of  $f(U_{AB}^{(-,+)})$ , and this determination of the folding is the geometrical representation of the inequality  $k_{CA} \leq k_{BA}$ , proved in Section 4.2. Moreover, the simplex  $\mathbf{R}_3$  also belongs to another hinge, which at the same time will represent an inequality. So, all hinges are connected and they constrain each other foldings. Consequently, there are only two possible ways to fold and fit both cylinders together: the two projections.

## E ADDITIONAL DETAILS ABOUT THE REDUCTION TO THE CASE OF $n = 2$ AND $|X| = 3$

### E.1 The missing proofs

**Lemma 5.1** Let the numbers of voters be any  $n \geq 2$ . Arrow's impossibility theorem for  $|X| = 3$  implies it for  $|X| \geq 3$ .

**PROOF.** Suppose that Arrow's theorem is true when  $|X| = 3$ . We prove that for any  $X$  (with  $|X| \geq 3$ ) and any  $F : W^n \rightarrow W$  satisfying unanimity and independence of irrelevant alternatives,  $F$  is dictatorial.

Given  $F$ , choose three distinct alternatives  $x, y, z \in X$  and denote  $\overline{W}_0$  the set of all strict orders over these three alternatives. Define an aggregation map  $\overline{F} : \overline{W}_0^n \rightarrow \overline{W}_0$  as follows. The image of a profile  $(\overline{R}_1, \dots, \overline{R}_n) \in \overline{W}_0^n$  by  $\overline{F}$  is the restriction of the ordering  $F(R_1, \dots, R_n) \in W$  on the set  $\{x, y, z\} \subseteq X$ , where for each  $i$ ,  $R_i$  is any extension of  $\overline{R}_i$  from  $\overline{W}_0$  to  $W$ . Notice that the definition of  $\overline{F}$  does not depend on the chosen extension because of the independence of irrelevant alternatives of  $F$ . Moreover, it is easy to check that  $\overline{F}$  satisfies unanimity as well as independence of irrelevant alternatives. So, it follows that  $\overline{F}$  is dictatorial because we have supposed that Arrow's theorem is true when  $|X| = 3$ . It remains to prove that  $F$  is also dictatorial.

If  $k$  is the dictator of  $\overline{F}$ , we will prove that it is also a dictator for  $F$ . Consider a profile  $\mathbf{R} = (R_1, \dots, R_n) \in W^n$  where  $aR_k b$  for some  $a, b \in X$ . Then take a profile  $\mathbf{R}' = (R'_1, \dots, R'_n) \in W^n$  satisfying that, for every  $i$ ,  $xR'_i bR'_i aR'_i y$  if  $bR_i a$ , and  $aR'_i yR'_i xR'_i b$  if  $aR_i b$ .

Since  $k$  is a dictator of  $\overline{F}$  and  $yR'_k x$  ( $k$  prefers  $a$  over  $b$  in  $R_k$ ), we know that the image by  $\overline{F}$  of the restriction of  $\mathbf{R}'$  over  $\overline{W}_0^n$  prefers  $y$  over  $x$ , hence  $F(\mathbf{R}')$  also prefers  $y$  over  $x$ . Moreover, by unanimity, it holds that  $aF(\mathbf{R}')y$  and  $xF(\mathbf{R}')b$ . Then, we obtain that  $aF(\mathbf{R}')b$  from the relations  $aF(\mathbf{R}')yF(\mathbf{R}')xF(\mathbf{R}')b$  using the transitivity. Finally, using the independence of irrelevant alternatives, we obtain that  $aF(\mathbf{R})b$ . Since this happens for every pair  $a, b \in X$ ,  $k$  must be the dictator of  $F$ .  $\square$

### E.2 Related work on inductive proofs

There are several works in which the proof of Arrow's theorem is only for  $|X| = 3$  and/or  $n = 2$  (e.g. [2, 18, 43, 47]). Using Lemma 5.1 and 5.2, all these proofs are extended to  $|X| \geq 3$  and/or  $n \geq 2$ .

A few works have used inductive arguments over the number of voters or alternatives. In the fifties, Weldon [49] proved an impossibility theorem under a set of non-Arrovian axioms. Unlike our case, he could set the initial case of his inductive argument on the trivial case  $n = 1$  (instead of  $n = 2$ ). More recent works [2, 48] use inductive arguments using the base case  $|X| = 3, n = 2$ , as we do. However, our proof is more general. That is, whereas the results of Akashi [2, Lemma 1] and Tang and Lin [48, Lemma 1] are constrained to finite sets of alternatives, Lemma 5.1 works also for infinite  $X$ . In addition, the inductive step in [48, Lemma 2] is proved by contradiction using a large family of maps, while Lemma 5.2 uses only two, and using an explicit map that helps to understand the inductive step.