



Niccolò Machiavelli (1469-1527)

Power and Freedom of Choice,

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September, 2012, at Campione d'Italia

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1. The Concept of Freedom of Choice

X is the set of opportunities.

Z is the power set of X that has X , \emptyset and

all $A, B \subseteq X$ as elements.

R is the Freedom of Choice relation such that,

for all $A, B \in Z$, ARB expresses: "The degree of freedom of choice of A is at least as large as the degree of freedom of B ."

R is a binary relation with respect to the opportunity sets in Z .

Note that

- if **ARB** and **BRA**, then **A/B**: "The degree of freedom of choice of A is **as large as** the degree of freedom of B" (equality relation of freedom of choice)
- if **ARB** and *not* **BRA**, then **APB**: "The degree of freedom of choice of A is **larger than** the degree of freedom of B" (strict freedom of choice relation)

In what follows we look at

- **three specifications of R, i.e., $R_{\#}$, R_{α} , and R_{\subseteq} ,**
- **a power approach, and**
- **a causality interpretation.**

There other concepts comparing sets,

e.g., the **indirect utility approach**: identifying the value of a choice set with its best element.

2. Why should we be interested in R ?

(1) R could have an impact on our wellbeing in addition to the choice as such, i.e., it could be an argument of our utility function. Is there a preference for freedom of choice?

(2) R could be assumed to augment social welfare, e.g., cultural diversity is considered an asset.

(3) R could be of interest if preferences are not fixed (or given) when $A, B \subseteq X$ are offered.

(4) R could be of interest if $A, B \subseteq X$ are fuzzy and elements are not fully fixed.

**(5) R could help to clarify power and causality - and corresponding axioms, properties, conditions, etc.
- Dewey's experience!**

3. $R_{\#}$, the cardinality measure of freedom of choice

Pattanaik and Xu (1990) propose three properties (axioms) that uniquely characterize a binary relation R on opportunity sets in Z .

Given $x, y \in X$:

Property 2.1 (**Simple Anonymity**).

For all x, y in X , $\{x\}I\{y\}$.

(expresses indifference between *no choice* situations)

Property 2.2 (**Simple Strict Monotonicity**). **For all**

distinct $x, y \in X$, $\{x, y\}P\{x\}$

(compares a choice and a *no choice* situation: Having a choice should “increase” freedom of choice)

Property 2.3 (**Simple Independence**). **For all $A, B \in Z$**

and all $x \in X \setminus (A \cup B)$ follows $[ARB \Leftrightarrow A \cup \{x\}RB \cup \{x\}]$

(Is \Leftrightarrow adequate? Element x has to “unrelated.”)

Pattanaik and Xu (1990) proved that the only specification of R that satisfies these properties is the **counting relation** $R_{\#}$, i.e., $A R_{\#} B$ if $|A| \geq |B|$.

Arguments against $R_{\#}$

- (1) $R_{\#}$ **ignores the preferences** of the individuals to whom the set of alternatives are allocated.
- (2) $R_{\#}$ **ignores complementary and substitutional relationships** among the alternatives.
- (3) $R_{\#}$ does not take into account of **differences in value (prices)** between elements of X .
- (4) $R_{\#}$ ignores the **capability** of the decision maker to make use of the various alternatives in X . (See Amartya Sen, 1985.)

4. The α -ordering of Freedom of Choice

Marlies Klemisch-Ahlert (1993) defines an ordering R_{α} such that

for all $A, B \in Z$,

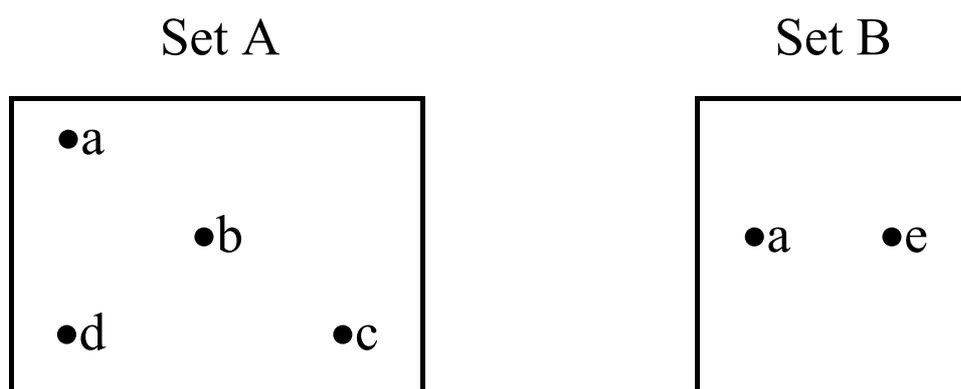
$$(1) AR_\alpha B \Leftrightarrow \sum_{x \in A} \alpha(x) \geq \sum_{x \in B} \alpha(x)$$

α is a mapping that assigns a weight $\alpha(x) > 0$ to every x in X .

More specifically $\alpha: X \rightarrow]0, \infty[$.

An ordering which satisfies (1) is called an α -ordering.

Discuss:



The α -ordering R_α satisfies *Properties 2.2 and 2.3.*, but does satisfy *Property 2.1* only if $\alpha(x) = \alpha(y)$, which is in general not the case.

Klemisch-Ahlert (1993) demonstrated that

R_α satisfies Properties 2.2 and 2.3, and

***Property 2.4.* For all x,y in X , $\{x\}R\{y\} \Leftrightarrow \alpha(x) \geq \alpha(y)$.**

However, a particular specification R_α is **not unique** in satisfying Properties 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4. There many α -orderings that satisfy these properties and it could well be that $A R_{\alpha^*} B$ and $B R_{\alpha^\circ} A$ for $\alpha^* \neq \alpha^\circ$.

5. The Inclusion Ordering R_\subseteq

Definition 2.4. For all $A, B \in Z$ and $B \subseteq A \Rightarrow A R_\subseteq B$.

$B \subseteq A$ if B is a subset of A .

R_\subseteq is the inclusion relation.

R_\subseteq defines an incomplete ordering.

Marlies Klemisch-Ahlert (1993) proved

Lemma 2.1. The inclusion relation R_{\subseteq} is the intersection of all α -orderings R_{α} .

That is if $B \subseteq A$ then $\sum_{x \in A} \alpha(x) \geq \sum_{x \in B} \alpha(x)$

**and thus $AR_{\alpha}B$ irrespective of the α -weights,
given $\alpha: X \rightarrow]0, \infty[$.**

Problem: Why weights? x and y are of different social value! But if x is more important than y then, in fact, $\alpha(y)$ should be smaller than $\alpha(x)$: It is not "good" to have no freedom of choice on important issues.

6. Power Relation π and the PGI

The power relation $i \pi j$ says that i is at least as powerful as j where $i, j \in N$, and N is the set of agents, $i \in N$ is an agent (a player) such that $(1, \dots, i, \dots, n)$, $S \subseteq N$ such that S is a coalition.

Why and how to link freedom of choice to power.

1. In a social context, the **freedom of choice** of i is determined by the set of alternatives which i can guarantee himself "despite resistance".
2. The set of alternatives contains public goods, club goods, goods with substantial externalities, etc. What is the potential of a player i to **design** the public goods in his opportunity set? The answer is with the Public Good Index (PGI).

Framework: A social choice situation ν is given by the voting body (i.e. weighted voting game $\nu = (d, w)$,

decision rule $d = 51$ and

distribution of voting weights

$$w = (w_1, w_2, w_3, w_4, w_5) = (35, 20, 15, 15, 15).$$

Thus we have $\nu = (51; 35, 20, 15, 15, 15)$.

$N = \{1,2,3,4,5\}$ is the set of players

The set of minimum winning coalitions (MWC):

$$M(\nu) = \{\{1,2\}, \{1, 3, 4\}, \{1, 3, 5\}, \{1, 4, 5\}, \\ \{2, 3, 4, 5\}\}$$

The corresponding Public Good Index (PGI) is:

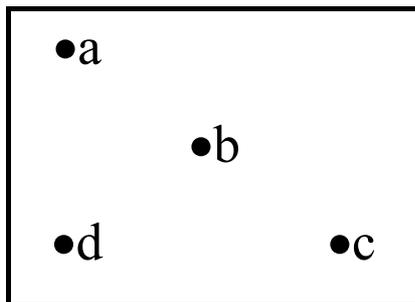
$$h = (4/15, 2/15, 3/15, 3/15, 3/15).$$

We see that PGI violates local monotonicity.

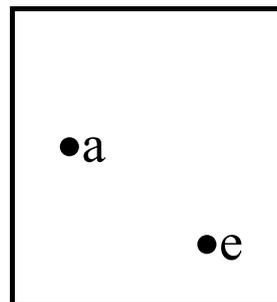
Freedom of choice interpretation:

- Coalitions control the elements in X .
- The elements in X are collective goods.
- The degree of freedom of agent i is equivalent to i 's power to determine the social outcome.

Controlled by 1



Controlled by 2



The PGI corresponds to $R_{\#}$ freedom relation: counting.

Power indices do not take preferences into account.

7. The R_{\subseteq} - equivalence of PGI-ordering

$M_i(u)$ is the set of minimum winning coalitions which have i as a member, $c_i(u)$ is the cardinality of $M_i(u)$ and $c(u)$ is the sum of these cardinalities over all players.

$$h_i(v) = \frac{c_i}{\sum_{i \in N} c_i} \text{ defines the PGI of } i.$$

c_i = number of **decisive sets** which have i as a member = $|M_i(v)|$, i.e., cardinality of $M_i(v)$.

We consider to games u and v , and define

PGI-monotonicity. Given $M_i(u) \supseteq M_i(v)$, a solution h

on the set of all simple games satisfies PGI-

monotonicity if, for any pair of simple games u and v ,

$$(1) \quad h_i(u)c(u) \geq h_i(v)c(v)$$

for all player $i \in N$ holds.

Alonso-Meijide, J.M., Casas-Méndez, B., Holler, M.J., and S.M. Lorenzo-Freire (2008) show that the PGI is the only index which satisfies PGI-monotonicity, symmetry, null player and efficiency.

1. Can we conclude from $M_i(u) \supseteq M_i(v)$ that i has at least as much **freedom of choice** in game u than in game v ?
2. Can we conclude from $M_i(u) \supseteq M_j(u)$ that i has at least as much **freedom of choice** in game u than j ?
3. Can we conclude from $h_i(u) \geq h_j(u)$ that i has at least as much **freedom of choice** in game u than j ?

If $h_i(u) > h_i(v)$, then, in accordance with R_{\subseteq} , we conclude that game u contains more freedom of choice than game v for agent i if $M_i(u) \supset M_i(v)$ and $M(u) \subseteq M(v)$ hold.

“Playing” with $h_i(v) = \frac{c_i}{\sum_{i \in N} c_i}$

If $h_i(u) > h_i(v)$, then, in accordance with $R_{\#}$, we conclude that game u contains more freedom of choice

than game v for agent i if $c_i(u) > c_i(v)$ and $c(u) \leq c(v)$ hold.

Of course, $M(u) \subseteq M(v) \Rightarrow c(u) \leq c(v)$, but the reverse does not “necessarily” hold.



Cesare Borgia (1475-1507)

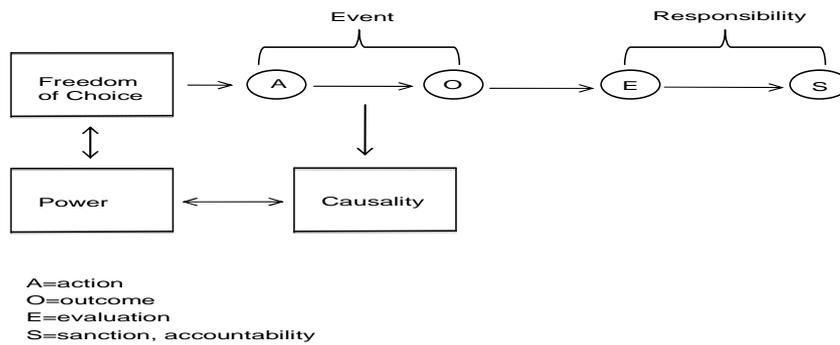
1491 Bishop

1492 Archbishop of Valencia

1493 Cardinal

1507 deadly wounded at Viana when fighting for his
brother-in-law, King John of Navarra

8. Causality and Responsibility



Given a collective decision problem $\nu = (d, w)$. What is the responsibility of i with respect to the choices of ν ?

NESS concept: necessary element of a sufficient set – then the Banzhaf index expresses responsibility.

This is called the **Weak NESS** test. (See Braham and van Hees, 2009.)

The normalized Banzhaf index is defined as

$$\beta_i(v) = \frac{\beta_i'(v)}{\sum_{i \in N} \beta_i'(v)} = \frac{\# \text{ swings}(i)}{\sum_{i \in N} \# \text{ swings}(i)}$$

EDS concept: element of a decisive set – then PGI expresses responsibility. – Necessary elements: Minimum winning coalitions only

This is called the **Strong NESS** test. (See Braham and van Hees, 2009.)

Weak or strong causation?

9. An illustration:

Given a five-person committee $N = \{1,2,3,4,5\}$,
two alternatives: $\{x, y\}$.

x is chosen if either

- (i) 1 votes for x , or
- (ii) at least three of the players 2-5 vote for x .

Then, taking care of **decisive sets**, we get

$$h^\circ = \left(\frac{1}{13}, \frac{3}{13}, \frac{3}{13}, \frac{3}{13}, \frac{3}{13}\right)$$

Imagine that x stands for polluting a lake and the lake is polluted, is h° an adequate sharing rule of the costs for cleaning the lake?

Taking care of **sufficient sets**, we get

$$b = \left(\frac{11}{23}, \frac{3}{23}, \frac{3}{23}, \frac{3}{23}, \frac{3}{23}\right)$$

b looks much more convincing than the result proposed by h° , doesn't? But what is about y .

If y represents “no pollution,” then the set of decisive sets consists of all subsets of N formed of the actions of 1 and the actions of two agents out of $\{2, 3, 4, 5\}$.

Then

$$h^* = \left(\frac{2}{6}, \frac{1}{6}, \frac{1}{6}, \frac{1}{6}, \frac{1}{6}\right)$$

and

$$b^* = \left(\frac{11}{23}, \frac{3}{23}, \frac{3}{23}, \frac{3}{23}, \frac{3}{23}\right)$$

Proper and nonproper games – does it matter?

Note that game v° is improper

...results might be over-determined.

Conclusion: The h -values indicate that it seems to matter what issue we analyze and what questions we raise while for the Banzhaf index we have $b^\circ = b^*$.

10. A case

... that **Ronald Dworkin** “uses several times involves a class of plaintiffs suing a number of pharmaceutical companies, who over a long period manufactured a drug the plaintiffs took during pregnancy (to prevent miscarriage).¹ The manufacturers do not deny that they continued manufacturing and advertising the drug after it became clear that it had carcinogenic side effects, but each company says that unless a particular plaintiff can actually prove that *its* batch of pills caused her cancer, she has no remedy against that particular company.”

¹Sindell v. Abbott Laboratories, 20 Cal.3d 588,607 P.2d 924 (1980).

There is a causality problem!?

Is this right? Or may a court do what the California courts did and award damages against the companies on the basis of their proportionate share of the market **without proof of particular causality?**” (p.57f)²

Questions:

1. Were the drugs still sold after the judgement?
2. Were the drugs improved?
3. Is the market-share allocation fair and efficient?

Rose-Ackerman, Susan (1990), “Market-share allocations in tort law: Strengths and weaknesses,” *Journal of Legal Studies* 19, pp. 739-746.

1. The level of damage payments (i.e. compensation) determined by marginal damages.
2. Quality is a “local public good.” Improvement needs collective action or regulation.

Using power indices instead of market shares to allocate responsibility - and damage payments?

...in case of collective decision making through voting, e.g., in the EU???

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² Waldron, Jeremy (2006), “How Judges Should Judge”, *Review of Justice in Robes*, by **Ronald Dworkin**, Belknap Press/Harvard University, New York *Review of Books*, 53(13) August 10, 54-59.



“A few years ago, I’d read *The Prince* and I liked it a lot. Much of what Machiavelli said made sense, but certain things stick out wrong – like when he offers the wisdom that it’s **better to be feared than loved**, it kind of makes you wonder if Machiavelli was thinking big. I know what he meant, but sometimes in life, **someone who is loved can inspire more fear than Machiavelli ever dreamed of.**” (Dylan, 2005, p.140f)

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