ESSAI-2024 Self-Governing Multi-Agent Systems L8/10: Consensus

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#### Aims

- learn a mechanism for consensus formation used by classical Athenian assemblies, called thoryvos
- learn how to extend Q-learning algorithm to develop a formal model of thoryvos, called  $\Theta\text{-learning}$
- Objectives
  - bring together political sciences with machine learning to facilitate consensus formation in SGMAS

# Collective Decision Making (Again)

# Consensus vs Majority Rule



#### Dissent

- **Obstructive dissent:** when groups block proposals for the common good in order to protect their own self-interest
- **Productive dissent:** for reformation when current practices diverge from core values

# Majoritarian Voting – Plurality

- Suppose: two alternative candidates
- $\bullet$  Suppose: set of voters create <code>profile</code>  $\langle 0,1,-1,\ldots,1\rangle$
- Some procedural requirements ('nice' requirements)
  - Universality: all possible profiles are admissible inputs
  - Anonymity: permutations produces the same result
  - Neutrality: invert profile, invert result
  - Positive responsiveness: if some voters change their vote in favour of one alternative, the result does not change in favour of the other
- Theorem (May, 1952)
  - An aggregation rule satisfies universal domain, anonymity, neutrality and positive responsiveness if and only if it is a majority rule
- What could possibly go wrong?
- Just add a third alternative...

# Condorcet Winner and Condorcet Loser

• Assume there are *three* candidates,  $C = \{a, b, c\}$ 

• Then a voter's preference (rank order) can be any one of six possible linear orderings over *C* 

Preference	$P_1$	$P_2$	$P_3$	$P_4$	$P_5$	$P_6$
	а	а	b	b	С	С
	b	С	а	С	а	b
	С	Ь	С	а	b	а
# voters	$n_1$	<i>n</i> <sub>2</sub>	n <sub>3</sub>	<i>n</i> 4	<i>n</i> 5	n <sub>6</sub>

- Majority relation ≻<sub>m</sub> which ranks the candidates according to how they fare in one-to-one comparisons
- The Condorcet Winner is the candidate that is maximal in the majority relation ≻<sub>m</sub>, i.e. it wins more one-to-one comparisons that any other candidate
- Condorcet's Paradox: even if each voter's preference ordering is transitive, the majority ordering might not be

- Plurality (relative majority) aggregation rule is simple, intuitive, plausible and most likely to produce a winner
- But (when there are more than 2 alternatives)
  - Can elect the Condorcet Loser
  - Loses information
- So use an alternative method

# Voting Methods

- Methods
  - Plurality, Runoff, Borda Count, Instant Runoff, Approval
  - Copeland Scoring
  - D'Hondt System
- But
  - Different voting methods can produce different results *from the same votes*
  - More complex (to understand and to compute), can give unintended consequences
  - Voting methods are susceptible to strategic manipulation
- From Voting to judgements

- Used in European Parliament Elections in UK
  - Multiple winner election in a constituency
  - Each party submits a ranked list of candidates for *n* winners
  - Each voter votes for a party (not a particular candidate)
  - Method
    - Divide votes-for-party by (number-of-winners-for-party + 1)
    - Party with most votes gets 1 winner
    - Repeat until *n* winners
  - The pursuit of fairness may have unintended consequences...

# Manipulation: Example from Pliny (more or less)

- Death of a Roman Consul: the slaves stand accused of his killing. But:
  - Consul committed suicide  $\rightsquigarrow$  acquittal
  - Slaves assisted suicide  $\rightsquigarrow$  banishment
  - Slaves murdered  $\rightsquigarrow$  death
- The Senate has to decide
  - Acquittal and death are opposites
    - Think guilty (death): banishment is 'preferable' to acquittal
    - Think innocent (acquittal): banishment is 'preferable' to death
  - Doubt (banishment): acquittal is 'preferable' to death
- Three factions in the Senate
  - Faction D: 37%: Death  $\succ$  Banishment  $\succ$  Acquittal
  - Faction B: 35%: Banishment  $\succ$  Acquittal  $\succ$  Death
  - Faction A: 28%: Acquittal  $\succ$  Banishment  $\succ$  Death

- If you are in Faction D: insist on a ternary vote, plurality wins
- If you are in Faction B: insist on pairwise comparison votes, most winning comparisons wins
  - A vs. B: B wins 72 to 28
  - A vs. D: A wins 63 to 37
  - B vs. D: B wins 63 to 37
- If you are in Faction A
  - Realise there are two votes: one for innocence or guilt, and if guilty, another for punishment (death or banishment)
  - So arrange for two votes, but:
    - Have the punishment vote first, and
    - Vote against your own preference
  - Then: Death beats Banishment in the first vote (65 to 35)
  - Acquittal beats Death in the second vote (63 to 37)

# Judgement Aggregation

- Three people share a flat
- Mutually agreed a set of conventional rules, Including
  - If the fridge is dirty, and the cooker is dirty, then the kitchen should be cleaned
- In their judgements:
  - One person thinks the fridge is dirty, but the cooker is clean
  - Another person: the cooker is dirty, but the fridge is clean
  - The third person: both the fridge and the cooker are dirty
- Should the kitchen be cleaned?

	p (fridge dirty)	q (cooker dirty)	$p \wedge q$
Hejhog1	true	false	false
Hejhog2	false	true	false
Hejhog3	true	true	false
Majority	true	true	false

- No end of profound and interesting results
- No end of paradoxes
  - Arrow's Impossibility Theorem
- What to conclude
  - "Dozens of possible voting methods have been devised, ranging from the imperfect to the abysmal" (Monbiot, 2017)
  - "Most systems are not going to work badly all of the time. All I proved is that all can work badly at times" (Arrow, 2008)
  - Maybe we are looking in the wrong place

# We want a **sustainable mechanism** for forming collective agreements (i.e. decisions) in socio-technical systems.

Let's draw some (more) inspiration from history...

#### $\checkmark$

Classical Athenian deliberative assemblies seemed to be quite effective at that.

#### V

So let's look into what were they doing.

# Deliberative assemblies in classical Athens sought **consensus** but "didn't mind" using majority rule.

What was their edge?

#### $\checkmark$

They were using a process called 'Thoryvos'.

#### **Thoryvos:** a process to **detect emergent consensus** in the form of **persistent general agreement** as a prelude to a vote on options (Canevaro 2018).

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That general agreement was inferred from the **vocal expressions** of the citizens (i.e. agents).

- Speakers were **proposing policy** options to the citizens.
- Citizens were **expressing vocally their opinion** and formed thorybos (cheering, heckling, shouting or muttering).
- Proedroi (i.e. moderators) **selected** policy options to put to a vote **based on the vocal expressions**.

### How to Formalise it?



# From Consensus Formation in classical Athens to Markov Decision Processes (MDP)

- We can **extract interesting aspects of thorybos** and use them to design (multi-agent) systems for **sustainable self-governance**.
- We can **feed** their **vocal expression** of agreement (or otherwise) on a policy **into a learning process**.
- We propose to model consensus formation in a deliberative assembly using thorybos as a Markov Decision Process (MDP) and use Reinforcement Learning (RL) to learn how to reach general agreements on diverse preferences with minimal compromises.

# **Problem Specification**

- Consensus through democratic deliberation.
- Aim: mechanism for learning how to reach agreements on the policies and how to maintain those agreements, regardless of what those policies are.
- Examples of use: startups, cohousing projects, community energy grids



The purpose is **not** to identify the **optimal approach**, but to abstract from it, and propose a **mechanism** for reaching consensus and deliberating about the process of reaching consensus.

- states: collective noise (e.g. thoryvos)
- actions: policies

...but agents have preferences (pr) on policies...

• reward: tries to balance out individual with collective good

Two-phased cyclic process comprising by:

- Thorybos: a process of decision making
- Learning: a process of deliberation about the process of decision making



#### ...Yet another hybrid system...

# Θ-Learning: More

Two-phased cyclic process comprising:

- Thorybos: a process of decision making (corresponds to the policy supported by the most, and the number of individuals supporting that policy)
- Learning: a process of deliberation about the process of decision making



## **Experimental Framework**

- Aim: Explore whether Θ-learning can be effective in solving problems of collective decision making.
- Varying Experimental Conditions:
  - Learning Objective
    - Individual: Reinforces individual rationality (aiming for minimising compromises)
    - Collective: Reinforces collective contribution (aiming for reaching a collective agreement)
    - Mixed: Combines both (aiming for reaching **agreement** while maintaining meaningful dissent)
  - Rate of Change of Preferences
    - static
    - dynamic with different speed of change

# Experimental Results - Effect of Learning Objective



-Red Line: amount of the population proposing the winning policy -Black Line: dissent expressed -Yellow Line: agreement reached -Blue Line: compromises made

- The objective of agents, determined by their reward function, strongly relates with whether agents manage to reach a general agreement and the compromises of agents.
- When agents' objective is 'Mixed', Θ-learning provides a mechanism for sustainable self-governance balancing out tensions between consent and compromise.
- When agents' objective is 'Collective', Θ-learning constitutes a mechanism for **consensus formation**.

## Experimental Results - Effect of Rate of Change



- The **speed of change** of the population is **correlated** with the form of **collective agreement** and the level of **compromise**.
- The **immediate reaction** to a change is to prioritise processes that reassure **stability** in the short-term, i.e. reaching an **agreement** regardless of the compromises.

- Depending on the learning objective, **different forms of agreement** and **levels of compromise** can emerge, producing different outcomes in terms of **stability**.
- When agents act individually, dissent is expressed but this leads to instability.
- When agents act **collectively**, a **general agreement** is formed but **dissent is suppressed**, which might lead to **stagnation** due to lack of diversity.
- When **individual and collective objectives** are combined, the group forms a **persistent general agreement** which leads to sustainable (quasi-stable) self-governance.

# Summary

- The synthesis of thorybos with Q-learning provides a fit-for-purpose algorithm for sustainable collective self-governance through meaningful democratic deliberation.
- Legitimate consent produces compromises which turn out to be useful conceptual resources used in future negotiation.
- Legitimate dissent extracts a productive signal out of what might otherwise be regarded as distracting 'noise'.
- **Sustainable** self-governance through democratic participation in deliberation requires combining both.
- Majoritarian decision-making is acceptable if the underlying principle is consensus reached through democratic deliberation (Canevaro, 2018).

The analysis of classical documents can lead to the development of technology that enables a group to achieve sustainable self-governance.

- While in theory no voting procedure can satisfy all the fairness criteria at the same time, this means the challenge is to design a voting procedure that minimizes the likelihood of an unfair outcome
- There are other questions to ask: e.g., it **not just a matter** of how someone gets elected to a position of authority, but why they want it, and what they do with it if they get it
- Preferences are not a timeless, infallible and unquestionable product of votes