

GERRYMANDERING: HIJACKING DEMOCRACY ONE NONCONVEX REGION AT A TIME

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Hamilton College
March 7, 2018



Definition (Gerrymander)

(verb): to manipulate the boundaries of (an electoral constituency) so as to favor one party or class (Paraphrased from the OED)

From the American Mathematical Society statement on Gerrymandering:
www.ams.org/about-us/governance/policy-statements/gerrymandering

The American Statistical Association (ASA) and American Mathematical Society (AMS) attest to the following facts:

- FACT 1:** *Existing requirements for districts generally do not prevent partisan gerrymandering.*
- FACT 2:** *It has become easier to design district plans that strongly favor a particular partisan outcome.*
- FACT 3:** *Modern mathematical, statistical, and computing methods can be used to identify district plans that give one of the parties an unfair advantage in elections.*



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(JUST A LITTLE BIT.)

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- I don't know the reasons our districts up here look the way they do.
- Math doesn't have "the answer"
...but it has some ideas worth thinking about!

- What is a (Fair) District Plan?

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 - Symmetry

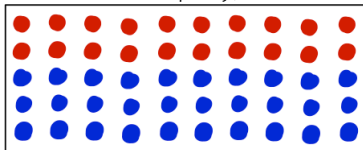
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- Who's Who in the Mathematics of Districting

WHAT IS A (FAIR) DISTRICT PLAN?

EXAMPLE: MY TINY STATE

50 voters across 5 districts recently voted for district representatives (from the Blue or Red party):

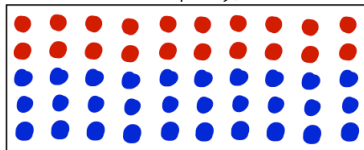


30 voters (60%): Blue party;
20 voters (40%): Red party.

The number of Blue and Red representatives depends on districts:

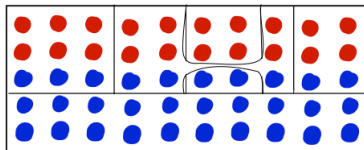
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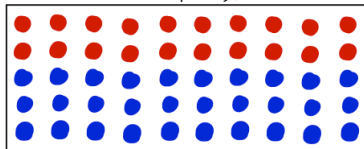
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1 Blue Reps
4 Red Reps
"Anything Goes"

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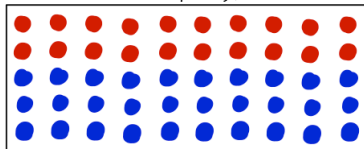


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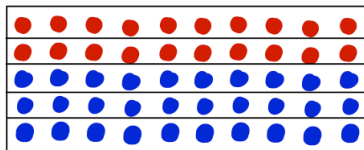
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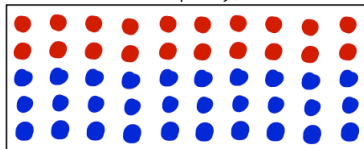
The number of Blue and Red representatives depends on districts:



3 Blue Reps
2 Red Reps
“Proportional Representation”

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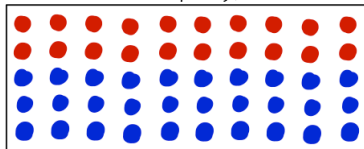


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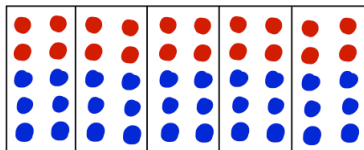
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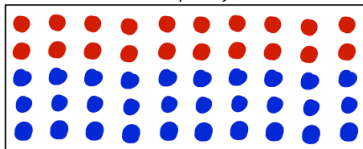
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5 Blue Reps
0 Red Reps
“Blue Gerrymander”

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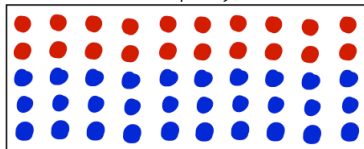


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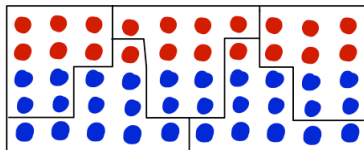
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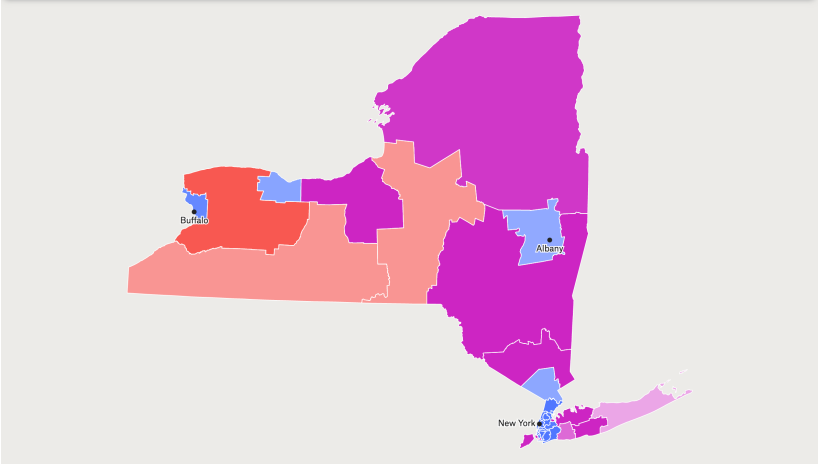
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2 Blue Reps
3 Red Reps
"Red Gerrymander"

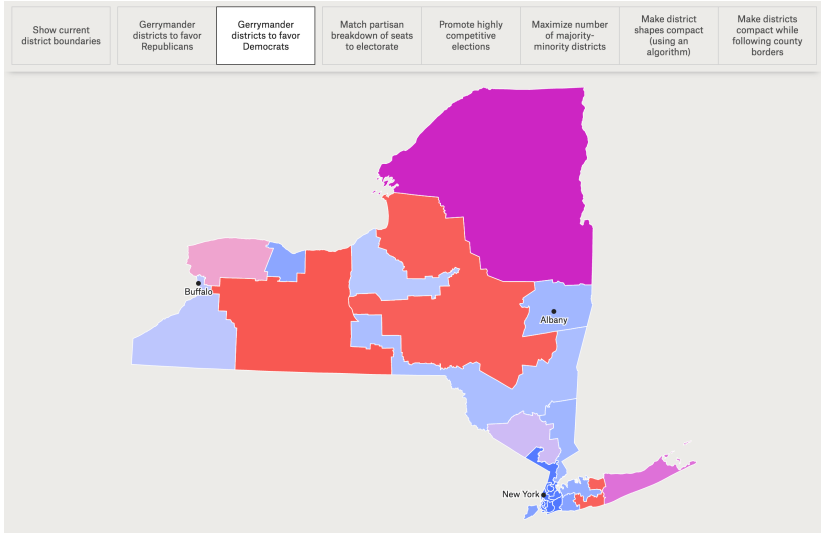
Current Congressional Districts:

- Show current district boundaries
- Gerrymander districts to favor Republicans
- Gerrymander districts to favor Democrats
- Match partisan breakdown of seats to electorate
- Promote highly competitive elections
- Maximize number of majority-minority districts
- Make district shapes compact (using an algorithm)
- Make districts compact while following county borders



<https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-maps/>

A Hypothetical Democratic Gerrymander:



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Federal Government:

“The Equal Protection Clause [of the United States Constitution] demands no less than substantially equal state legislative representation for all citizens, of all places as well as of all races.”

–SCOTUS decision in Reynolds v. Sims, 1964

In practice: District lines are considered suspect if the population of the largest and smallest districts aren't roughly the same (within about a 10% margin)

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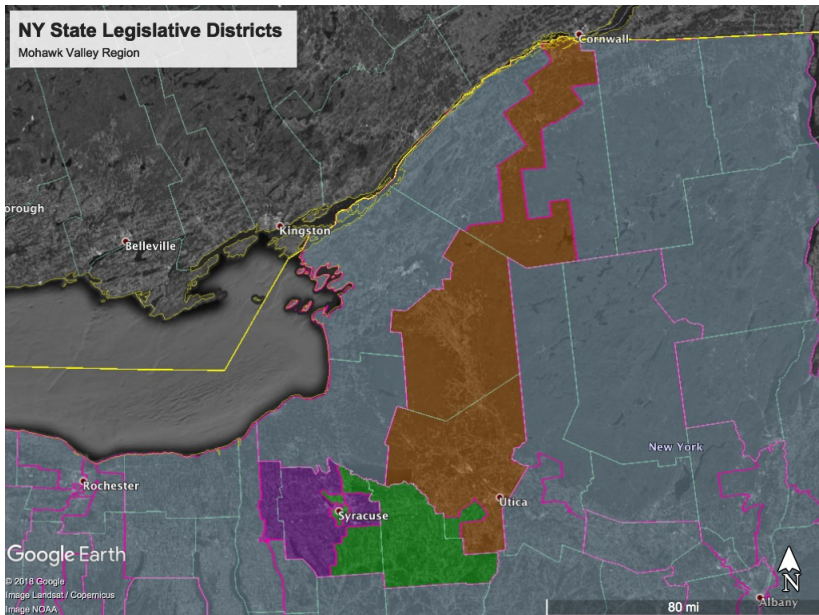
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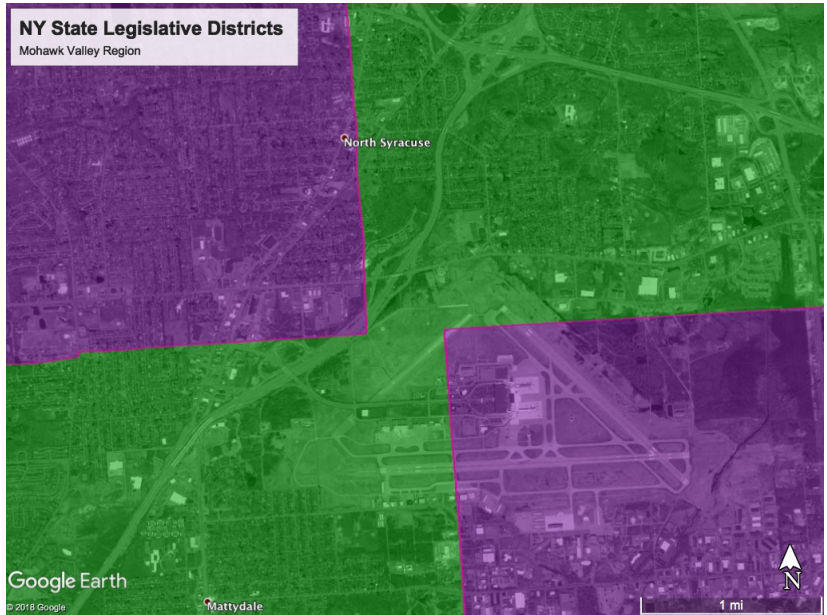
State Criteria:

- Contiguity (no disconnected districts) [NY: all maps]
- Compactness (within reason, residents of districts should live “as close as possible to each other” [NY: congressional maps])
- Community of Interest (common social, economic, or political interests)
- Political Boundaries (no splitting up towns or counties)

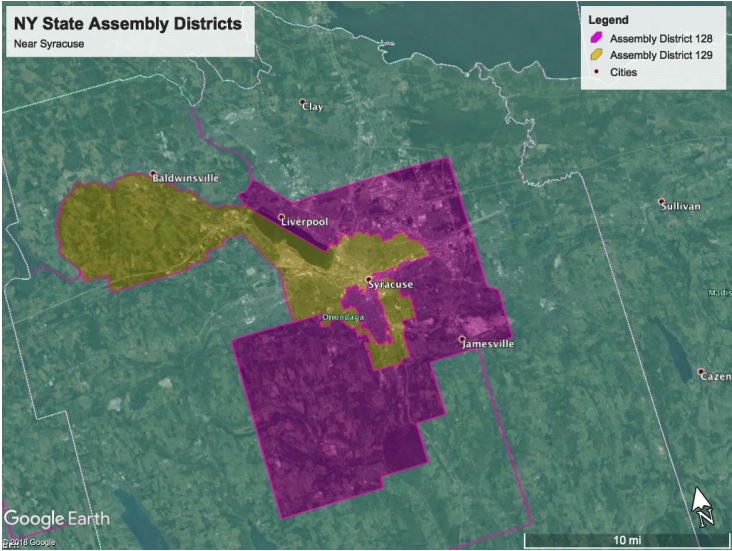
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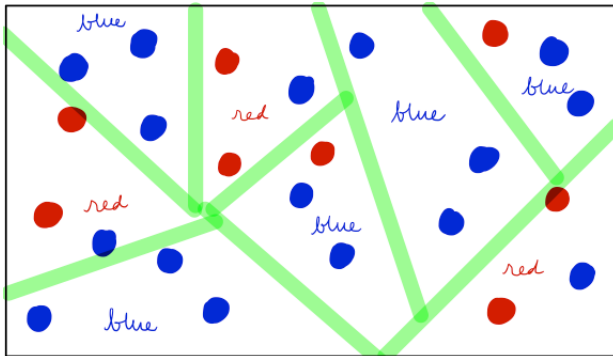


MATHEMATICAL CRITERIA AND METRICS FOR (PARTISAN) FAIRNESS

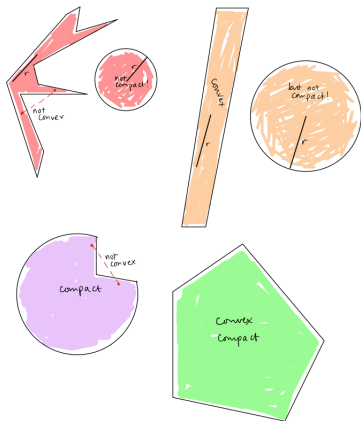
- Proportionality: does the seat breakdown reflect the voters' general preferences?
- Convexity and Compactness: how weird does the map look?
- Efficiency Gap: how many votes are wasted?
- Partisan Symmetry: who wins if voters change parties?

PROPORTIONALITY

If 67% of voters across a region prefer the Party X, then it is fair for $\sim 67\%$ of the seats in that region to go to the Party X.



67% Prefer Blue; Blue Wins 62.5%; Seems Pretty Fair

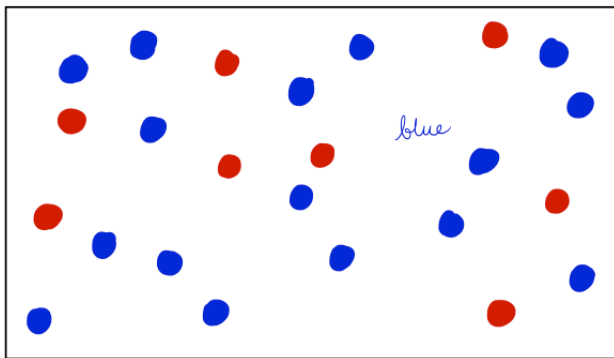


The hope: Convex, compact maps will make it more difficult to gerrymander.

The reality: Unintuitively, it may just make it harder to spot gerrymandering.

Theorem (Ham Sandwich Theorem)

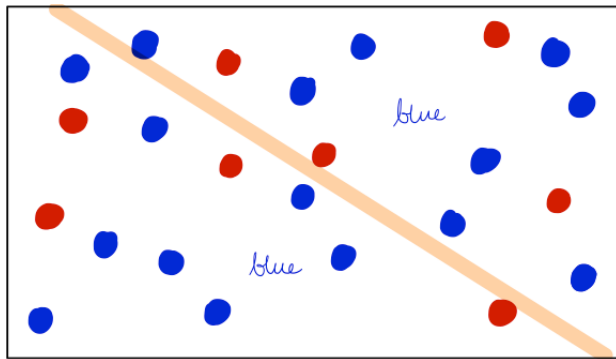
Given two finite sets of points in the plane, blue and red, both with an even number of points and such that no three colored points are collinear, there is a line that simultaneously splits both colors in half.



Blue wins all!

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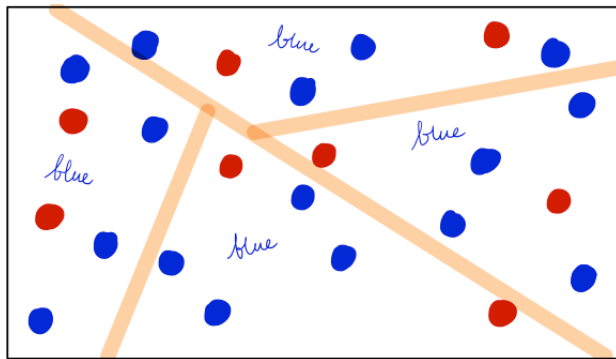
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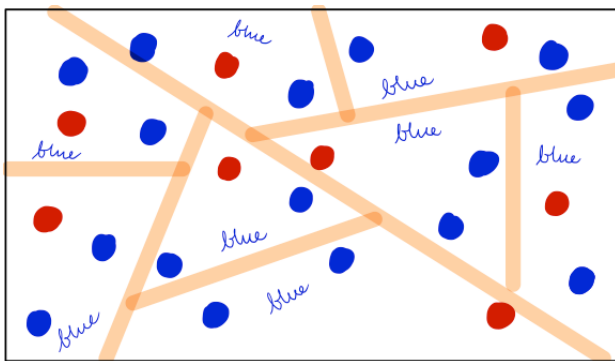


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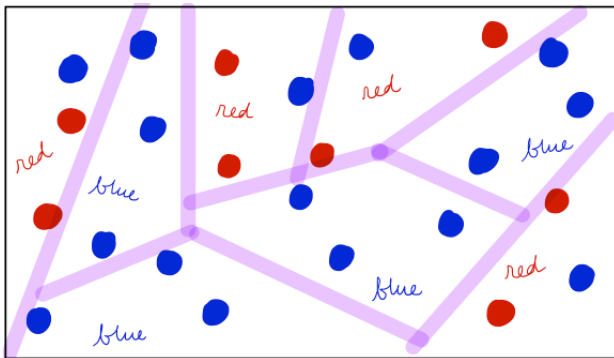
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(Variations allow the minority party to gerrymander convexly, too.)



Red wins half!

- Existence theorems guarantee that there are ways to separate a region into (relatively) convex, compact districts.
- High-power computing makes it possible to actually do so.
- Unintuitively, this makes the problem worse: we can't necessarily eyeball a map to find the problems.

THE EFFICIENCY GAP

Inputs: Vote tallies by district, for each party

- Votes for Blue, Red in the District
- Votes for the District Loser (Lost Votes)
- Votes over 50% for the District Winner (Excess Votes)
- Wasted Votes: Lost + Excess Votes

Output: $EG(\text{District Plan})$, a measure of how large the gap in votes wasted between parties.

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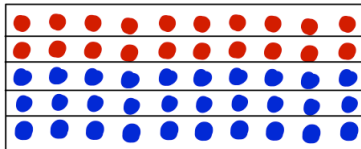
Simplified Efficiency Gap:

Inputs: Vote margins and seats won for a party

Output: $sEG(\text{Party})$, a measure of how disadvantaged a party was after the vote

- Positive: the party was advantaged under this plan
- Negative: the party was disadvantaged under this plan

EXAMPLE EFFICIENCY GAPS: DISTRICT PLAN 1

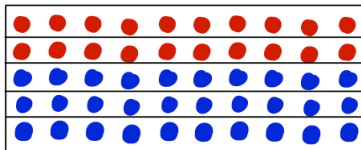


Proportional Representation

Dist.	Total Votes		Lost Votes		Excess Votes		Wasted Votes	
	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R
D 1	0	10	0	0	0	4	0	4
D 2	0	10	0	0	0	4	0	4
D 3	10	0	0	0	4	0	4	0
D 4	10	0	0	0	4	0	4	0
D 5	10	0	0	0	4	0	4	0
Totals	30	20	0	0	12	8	12	8

$$EG(\text{District Plan}) = \frac{12 - 8}{50} = 8\%$$

EXAMPLE EFFICIENCY GAPS: BLUE EG IN DISTRICT PLAN 1



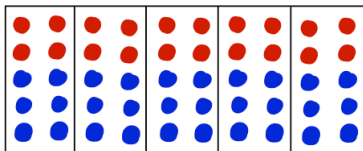
Proportional Representation

Overall Percentages Seats		Overall Percentages Votes	
B	R	B	R
60	40	60	40

$$sEG(\text{Blue}) = (60 - 50) - 2(60 - 50) = -10\%$$

$$sEG(\text{Red}) = (40 - 50) - 2(40 - 50) = +10\%$$

EXAMPLE EFFICIENCY GAPS: DISTRICT PLAN 2

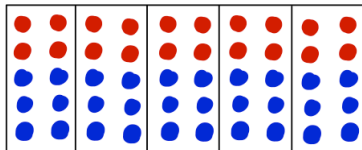


Blue Gerrymander

Dist.	Total Votes		Lost Votes		Excess Votes		Wasted Votes	
	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R
D 1	6	4	0	4	0	0	0	4
D 2	6	4	0	4	0	0	0	4
D 3	6	4	0	4	0	0	0	4
D 4	6	4	0	4	0	0	0	4
D 5	6	4	0	4	0	0	0	4
Totals	30	20	0	20	0	0	0	20

$$EG(\text{District Plan}) = \frac{20 - 0}{50} = 40\%$$

EXAMPLE EFFICIENCY GAPS: BLUE EG IN DISTRICT PLAN 2



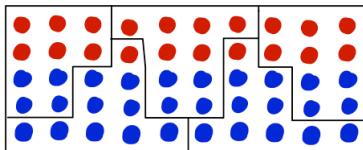
Blue Gerrymander

Overall Percentages Seats		Overall Percentages Votes	
B	R	B	R
100	0	60	40

$$sEG(\text{Blue}) = (100 - 50) - 2(60 - 50) = +30\%$$

$$sEG(\text{Red}) = (0 - 50) - 2(40 - 50) = -30\%$$

EXAMPLE EFFICIENCY GAPS: DISTRICT PLAN 3

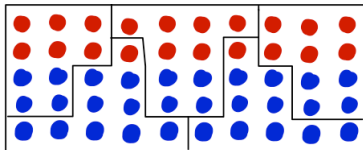


Red Gerrymander

Dist.	Total Votes		Lost Votes		Excess Votes		Wasted Votes	
	B	R	B	R	B	R	B	R
D 1	4	6	4	0	0	0	4	0
D 2	4	6	4	0	0	0	4	0
D 3	4	6	4	0	0	0	4	0
D 4	9	1	0	1	3	0	3	1
D 5	9	1	0	1	3	0	3	1
Totals	30	20	12	2	6	0	18	2

$$EG(\text{District Plan}) = \frac{18 - 2}{50} = 32\%$$

EXAMPLE EFFICIENCY GAPS: BLUE EG IN DISTRICT PLAN 3



Red Gerrymander

Overall Percentages Seats		Overall Percentages Votes	
B	R	B	R
40	60	60	40

$$sEG(\text{Blue}) = (40 - 50) - 2(60 - 50) = -30\%$$

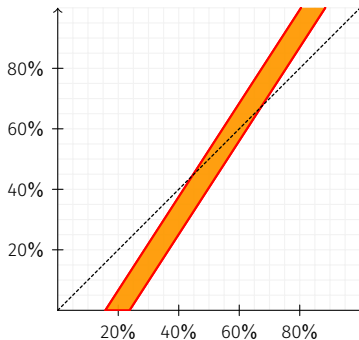
$$sEG(\text{Red}) = (60 - 50) - 2(40 - 50) = +30\%$$

In larger (two party) elections it's possible to approximate the Efficiency Gap for a party using the simplified Efficiency Gap for a Party:

$$\begin{aligned} EG(\textit{District Plan}) &\approx |sEG(\textit{Blue})| \\ &= |sEG(\textit{Red})| \\ &= \frac{|sEG(\textit{Party 1})| + |sEG(\textit{Party 2})| + \dots + |sEG(\textit{Party N})|}{N} \\ &\quad \text{(with more than 2 parties)} \end{aligned}$$

LOW EFFICIENCY GAP VS PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

The recommended range for the Efficiency Gap score is $\pm 8\%$, plotted on the axes below in orange. Proportional Representation occurs on the dotted black line.



- Only for partisan gerrymandering

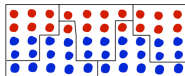
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- False positives **and** false negatives

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- False positives **and** false negatives
- Incompatible with Proportional Representation

Example

In Tiny State, overall voter preference is 60% Blue.

In the Red Gerrymander, 40% of the votes are for Red, who wins 60% of the seats.

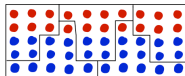


If individual voters change preferences so that 40% of the overall preference is Blue, then there is partisan symmetry if the same districting plan now gives Blue 60% of the seats in most of the scenarios where Blue gets 40% of the vote. But...

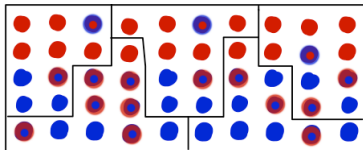
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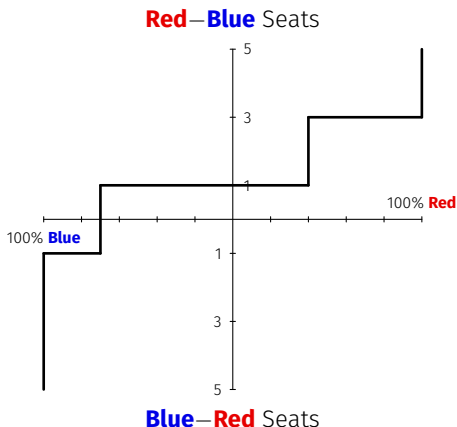
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PARTISAN SYMMETRY: DRAWBACKS

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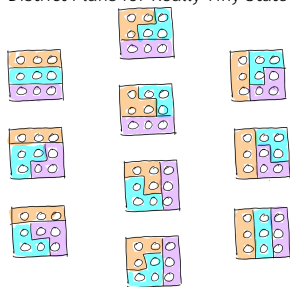
- A criterion for fairness without an associated metric (yet)
- Only for partisan gerrymandering
- More difficult to understand than a single number:



SAMPLING

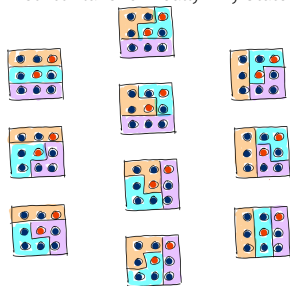
- Use parallel processing algorithm to create the space of all districting plans (subject to constraints).

District Plans for Really Tiny State



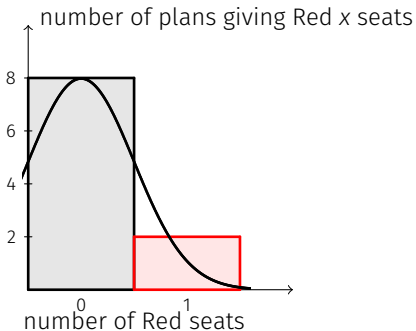
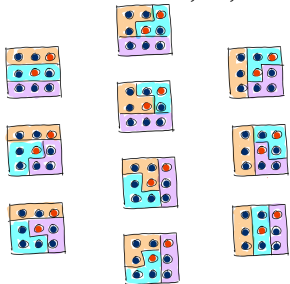
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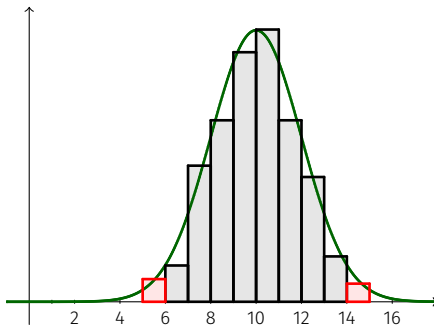
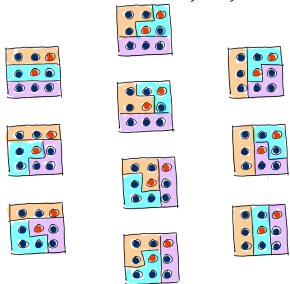
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- Use parallel processing algorithm to create the space of all districting plans (subject to constraints).
- Feed in data to determine outcomes in each plan.
- Central Limit Theorem: with enough districting plans, the outcome data will be normally distributed – statistically detectable outliers!

District Plans for Really Tiny State



Hypotheses like racial gerrymandering, socioeconomic gerrymandering, can be tested in the space of all possible districts as long as there is appropriate census data.

Instead of trying to use one number to rank a districting plan in the abstract, we can rank a district plan's likelihood to have occurred randomly.

WHO'S WHO

Tufts Gerrymandering/Convex Geometry: Mira Bernstein & Moon Duchin,
<http://sites.tufts.edu/gerrymandr/>

Software for Sampling: Princeton

<https://imai.princeton.edu/research/files/redist.pdf>

Generally interesting political math: AMS Capital Currents Blog (esp. Karen Saxe) <https://blogs.ams.org/capitalcurrents/author/ksaxe/>

1. Bernstein, Mira; Duchin, Moon. *A Formula Goes to Court: Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap*. Notices of the American Mathematical Society, October 2017.
2. Duchin, Moon. *Gerrymandering Metrics: How to Measure? What's the Baseline?* Preprint: [arXiv:1801.02064](https://arxiv.org/abs/1801.02064)
3. Soberón, Pablo. *Gerrymandering, Sandwiches, and Topology*. Notices of the American Mathematical Society, October 2017.
4. Ballotpedia. <https://ballotpedia.org/Redistricting>
5. Autoredistrict. <http://autoredistrict.org/>
6. FiveThirtyEight: Atlas of Redistricting.
<https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-maps/>
7. Fifield, Benjamin; Higgins, Michael; Imai, Kosuke; Tarr, Alexander. *A New Automated Redistricting Simulator Using Markov Chain Monte Carlo*. Preprint: <https://imai.princeton.edu/research/files/redist.pdf>