How Democratic Is Our Democracy? Using Math to Measure Fairness in Politics DR. BRAD FOX PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS

Using Math to Measure Fairness in Politics

Gerrymandering

Election methods





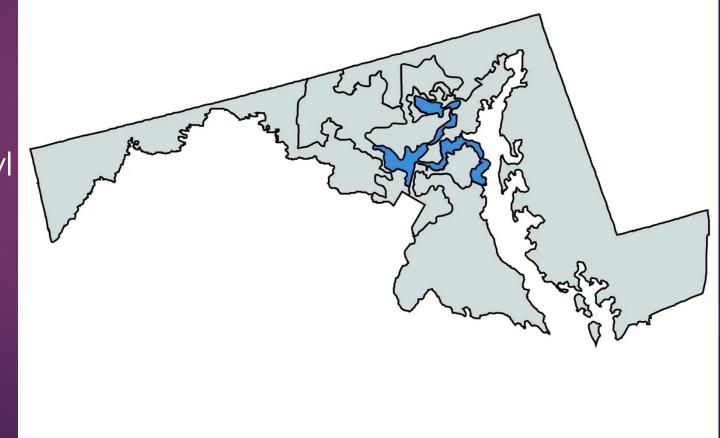
What is Gerrymandering?

- Gerrymandering is the intentional practice of manipulating boundaries through redistricting to gain an advantage to a political party or group.
- Portmanteau for the last name of Governor Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts and the salamander based on the shape of a new voting district in 1812



Gerrymandering Examples

- Democrats have done it in Maryland
- "broken-winged pterodactyl lying prostrate across the state"
- "blood spatter at a crime scene"



Gerrymandering Examples

Republicans have done it here in Tennessee



Gerrymandering Examples

- Republicans have done it here in Tennessee
- The Nashville metropolitan area has been divided into 4 red districts



Why is Gerrymandering Bad?

Creates a discrepancy between partisan representation in government compared the political leanings of that state

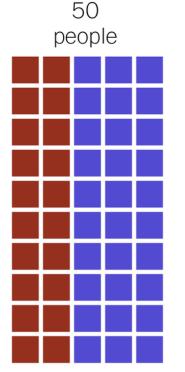
Can effectively disenfranchises minority groups

"We have to end the practice of drawing our congressional districts so that politicians can pick their voters and not the other way around." – Barack Obama

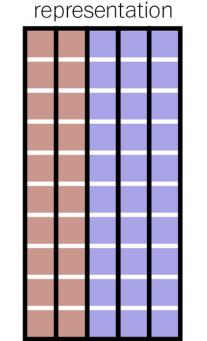
Gerrymandering 101

Packing – concentrating the opposing party's voting power into one or a few districts

Cracking – diluting the voting power of the opposing party's supporters across many districts



60% blue. 40% red



1. Perfect

Three different ways to divide 50 people into five districts

3 blue districts. 2 red districts **BLUE WINS**

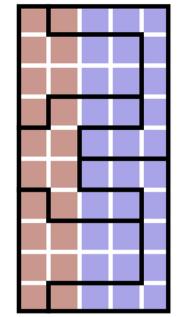
5 blue districts. 0 red districts

2. Compact,

but unfair

BLUE WINS

3. Neither compact nor fair



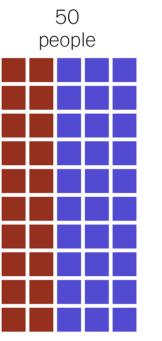
2 blue districts. 3 red districts

RED WINS

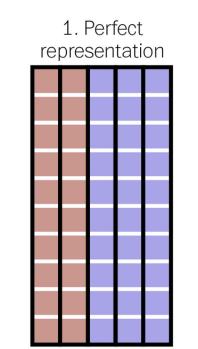
Using Math to Quantify Gerrymandering

- The Efficiency Gap is a measure to quantify the amount of packing and cracking by calculating the percentage of net wasted votes
- Over 7% is considered gerrymandered
- Based on 2022 votes: MD map – 8.1% TN map – 10.9%

Three different ways to divide 50 people into five districts



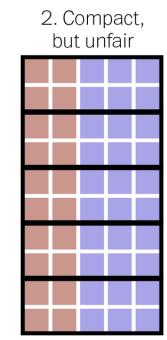
60% blue, 40% red



3 blue districts.

2 red districts

BLUE WINS



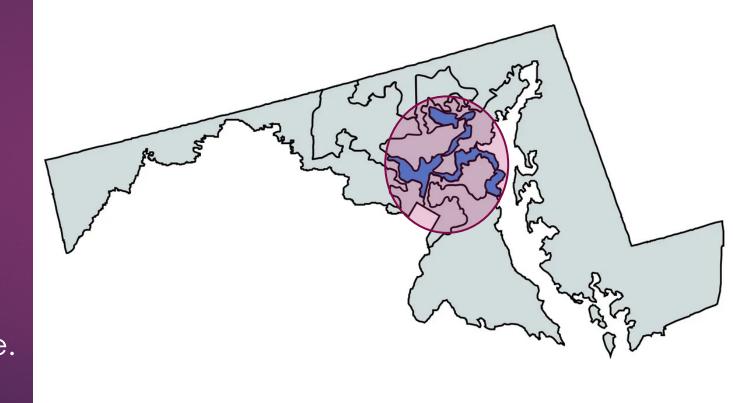
5 blue districts, 0 red districts BLUE WINS

3. Neither compact nor fair

2 blue districts, 3 red districts RED WINS

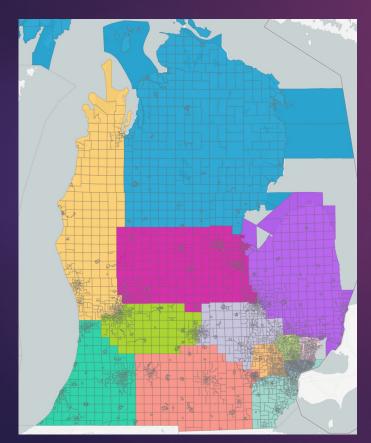
Using Math to Quantify Gerrymandering

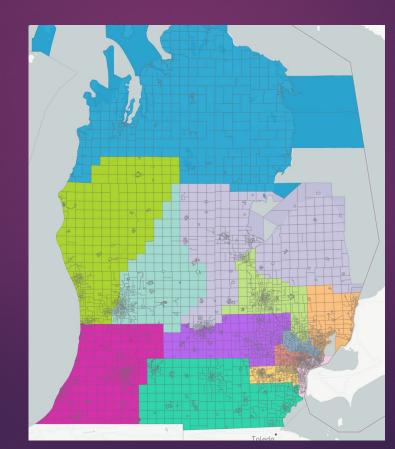
- Ideally, districts should be compact
- The Roeck Method: Draw the smallest circle that a given district will fit completely within. The Roeck score is the ratio between the area of the district and the area of the circle.

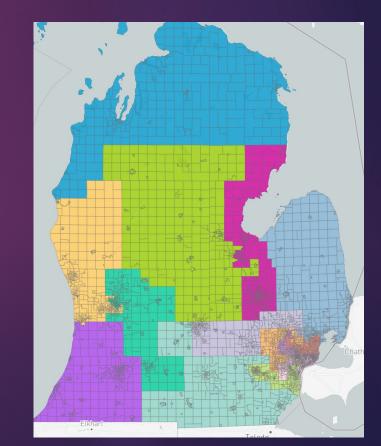


Pop Quiz Time

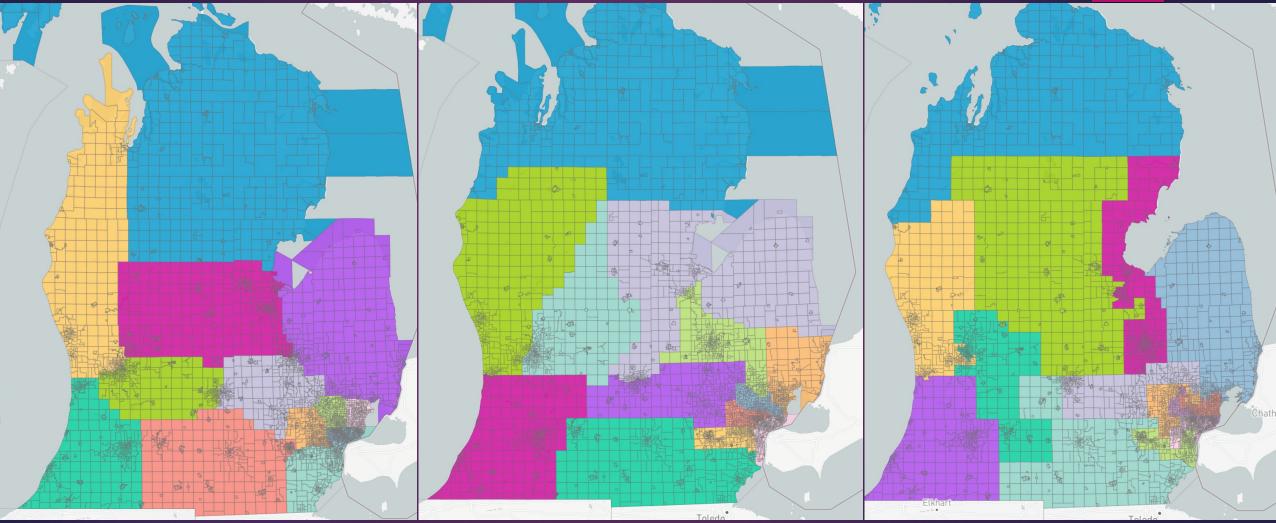
Which of the following district maps of Michigan are gerrymandered?

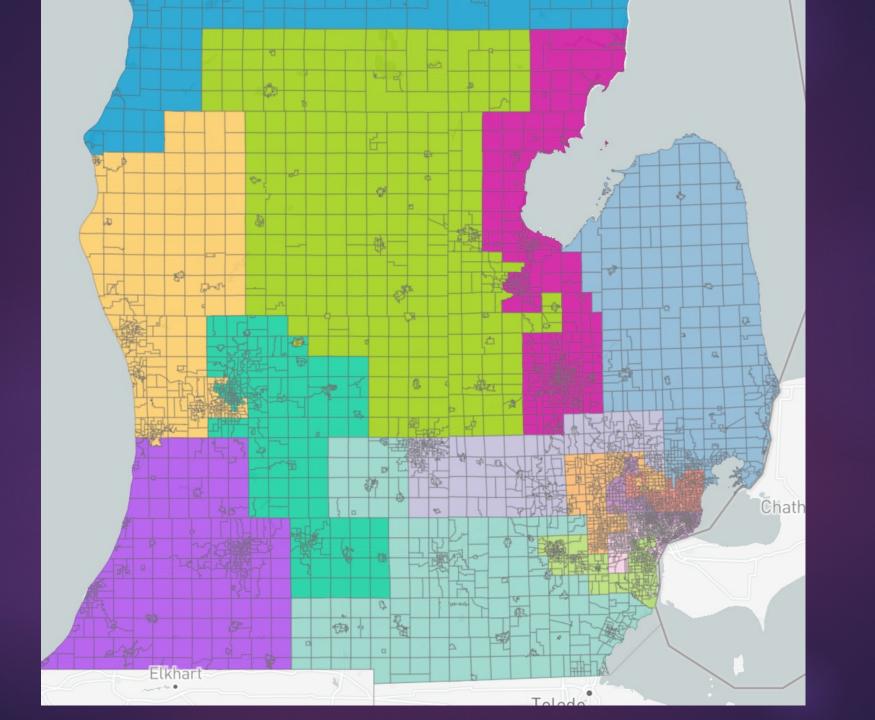




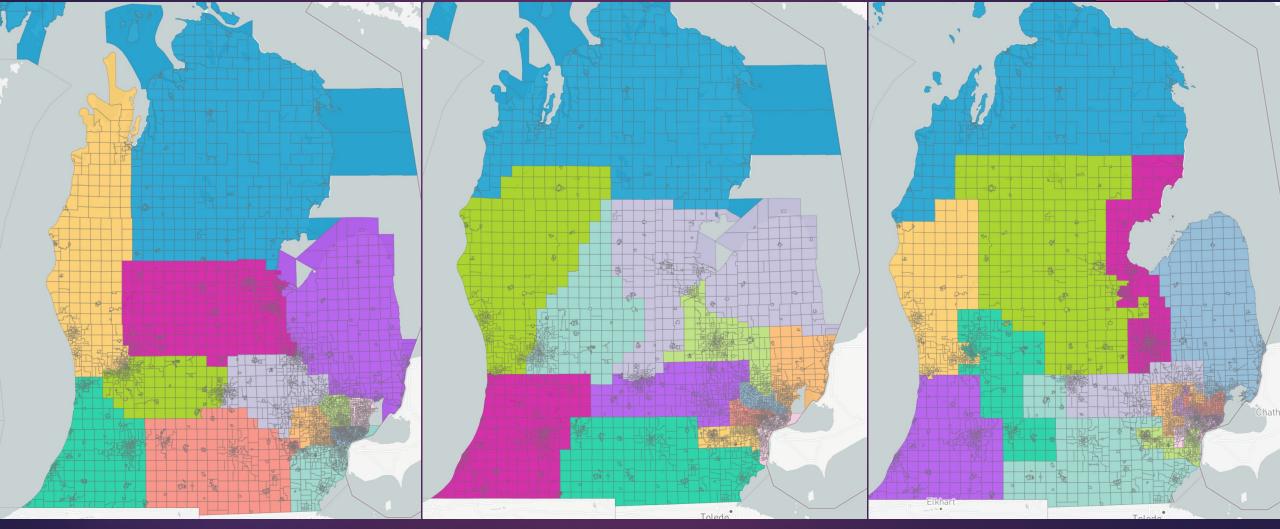


Pop Quiz Time





Pop Quiz Time – Michigan 55 D/45 R



11 Dem, 2 Rep

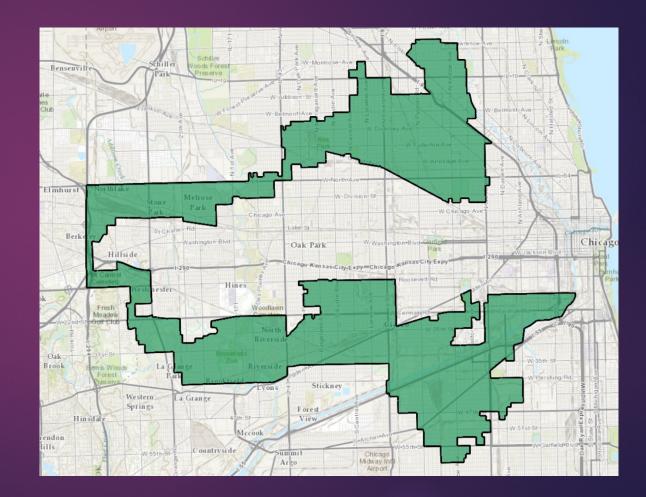
5 Dem, 8 Rep

Actual – 7 Dem, 6 Rep

Can Weird Districts Be Good?

Illinois' 4th District

- Connects two Hispanic neighborhoods
- Elected the first Latino member of Congress in the Midwest



Voting Methods

- Plurality Method (Popular Vote)
 - Vote for a single candidate, winner receives the most votes



Voting Methods

- Plurality Method (Popular Vote)
 - Vote for a single candidate, winner receives the most votes
- Elimination Method (Ranked Choice Voting)
 - 1. All voters rank every candidate

BALL	OT	-	_	-
	1	2	3	4
	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0

- ▶ 2. If a candidate has a majority of first-place votes, they win
- ▶ 3. The candidate with the fewest first-place votes is eliminated
- 4. Redistribute the eliminated candidate's ballots and return to step 2

Ranked Choice Voting in the U.S.

- Two states Maine and Alaska use RCV for some statewide elections
- Alaska will use RCV in the 2024 Presidential election
- 47 cities use RCV for local elections such as NYC, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Minneapolis
- Five states including Tennessee have banned the use of RCV in any state or municipal elections

Using Math to Measure Election Fairness

Fairness Criteria – conditional scenarios where a specific outcome is expected

Majority Criterion

- If a candidate receives a majority of first-place votes, then they should win the election
- Unfavorable Majority Criterion
 - If a candidate receives a majority of last-place votes, then they should NOT win the election

Fairness Criteria Violations?



Using Math to Measure Election Fairness

- Condorcet Criterion
 - If a candidate is preferred by voters in pairwise competition over EVERY other candidate, then they should win the election
- Monotonicity Criterion
 - If a candidate would win an election, then after changes in ballots are made that favor that candidate, they should still win the election.

Four candidates in a Dean election: Karen Meisch (M), Kallina Dunkle (D), Jackie Vogel (V), and Leong Lee (L)

80 CoSTEM faculty voters

# of voters	25	22	17	16
1 st choice	М	V	L	D

Plurality Method – Dean Meisch wins the election

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	V	L	D	D	V
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L
3 rd choice	V	L	D	М	V	М
4 th choice	L	Μ	Μ	V	Μ	D

Elimination Method

Round 1: M – 25, V – 22, L – 17, D – 16, Dunkle is eliminated

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	V	L	D	D	V
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L
3 rd choice	V	L	D	Μ	V	М
4 th choice	L	М	Μ	V	Μ	D

Elimination Method

- ▶ Round 1: M 25, V 22, L 17, D 16, Dunkle is eliminated
- ▶ Round 2: M 25, V 22, L 33, Vogel is eliminated

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	\vee	L	D	D	\vee
2 nd choice	D	D	\vee	L	L	L
3 rd choice		L	D	Μ	\vee	М
4 th choice	L	М	Μ	\vee	Μ	D

Elimination Method

- ▶ Round 1: M 25, V 22, L 17, D 16, Dunkle is eliminated
- ▶ Round 2: M 25, V 22, L 33, Vogel is eliminated

▶ Final Round: M – 25, L – 55, Lee is the winner

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	V	L	D	D	V
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L
3 rd choice	V	L	D	М	V	М
4 th choice	L	М	М	V	Μ	D

- Were either of these outcomes unfair?
 - No candidate had a majority of first-place votes, so the Majority Criterion is satisfied
 - Meisch has 45 last place votes, so the Plurality Method violated the Unfavorable Majority Criterion

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	V	L	D	D	V
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L
3 rd choice	V	L	D	М	V	М
4 th choice	L	Μ	Μ	V	Μ	D

- Was the Elimination Method fair?
 - Condorcet Criterion?

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	\vee	L	D	D	\vee
2 nd choice	D	D	\vee	L	L	L
3 rd choice	\vee	L	D	Μ	\vee	М
4 th choice	L	Μ	М	\vee	Μ	D

- Was the Elimination Method fair?
 - ► Dunkle wins 53 to 27 over Meisch

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice		V	L	D	D	V
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L
3 rd choice	V	L	D	Μ	V	Μ
4 th choice	L	Μ	M	V	M	D

Was the Elimination Method fair?
 Dunkle wins 53 to 27 over Meisch
 Dunkle wins 41 to 39 over Vogel

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice		\vee	L	D	D	\vee
2 nd choice	D	D	\vee	L	L	L
3 rd choice		L	D	Μ	\vee	M
4 th choice	L	Μ	Μ	\vee	Μ	D

- Was the Elimination Method fair?
 - Dunkle wins 53 to 27 over Meisch
 - Dunkle wins 41 to 39 over Vogel
 - Dunkle wins 61 to 19 over Lee
 - Dunkle is favored over all candidates, so the Condorcet Criterion was violated by BOTH methods

# of voters	25	20	17	8	8	2
1 st choice	М	V	L	D	D	V
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L
3 rd choice	V	L	D	М	V	М
4 th choice	L	М	Μ	V	Μ	D

Elimination Method Revisited – Some Vogel supporters moved Lee up to their top choice

# of voters	25	11	17	8	8	2	9
1 st choice	М	V	L	D	D	V	L
2 nd choice	D	D	V	L	L	L	V
3 rd choice	\vee	L	D	Μ	V	М	D
4 th choice	L	Μ	Μ	V	Μ	D	М

- Elimination Method Revisited Some Vogel supporters moved Lee up to their top choice
 - Round 1: M 25, V 13, L 26, D 16, Vogel is eliminated

# of voters	25	11	17	8	8	2	9
1 st choice	М	\vee	L	D	D	\vee	L
2 nd choice	D	D	\vee	L	L	L	\vee
3 rd choice	\vee	L	D	Μ	\vee	М	D
4 th choice	L	Μ	Μ	\vee	Μ	D	М

- Elimination Method Revisited Some Vogel supporters moved Lee up to their top choice
 - ▶ Round 1: M 25, V 13, L 26, D 16, Vogel is eliminated
 - ▶ Round 2: M 25, L 28, D 27, Meisch is eliminated

# of voters	25	11	17	8	8	2	9
1 st choice	Μ	\vee	L	D	D	\vee	L
2 nd choice	D	D	\vee	L	L	L	\vee
3 rd choice	\vee	L	D	M	\vee	Μ	D
4 th choice	L	M	M	\vee	Μ	D	M

Elimination Method Revisited – Some Vogel supporters moved Lee up to their top choice

- ▶ Round 1: M 25, V 13, L 26, D 16, Vogel is eliminated
- ▶ Round 2: M 25, L 28, D 27, Meisch is eliminated
- ▶ Final Round: L 28, D 52, Dunkle is the winner
- This violates the Monotonicity Criterion

A Better Voting Method?

Method of Pairwise Comparisons

- Compare all candidates in head-to-head competition, winner is the candidate that wins the most matchups
- Would always satisfy the Majority, Unfavorable Majority, Condorcet, and Monotonicity Criteria

A Better Voting Method?

- Borda Method (points-based system)
 Used in Top 25 polls
 - For an election with n candidates, a 1st place vote earns a candidates n points, second place n-1 points, ..., last place 1 point
 - Candidate who earns the most points wins

FCS Coaches Poll

RANK	TEAM	TREND	POINTS
1	📸 S. Dakota St. (26) 9-0	_	650
2	🚸 Furman 8-1	_	612
3	🏨 Montana 8-1	_	603
4	🚪 Idaho 7-2	▲1	575
5	Amontana St. 7-2	▲ 3	533
6	South Dakota 7-2	▲ 6	492
7	NC Central 8-1	▲ 2	491
8	Relaware 7-2	▼2	386
9	K Florida A&M 8-1	4	378
10	Incarnate Word 7-2	▼6	368
11	Sacramento St. 6-3	▼4	355
12	North Dakota 6-3	▲ 3	346
13	🦇 N. Dakota St. 6-3	▼3	324
14	🕹 Austin Peay 7-2	▲ 3	304

A Better Voting Method?

Extended Borda Method

- Used in Mario Kart and NASCAR
- ▶ Points difference between 1st and 2nd > 2nd and 3rd ≥ 3rd and 4th...
- Candidate who earns the most points wins
- Versions are used in Iceland, Kiribati, and Nauru



