## Ėdouard Lucas:

The theory of recurrent sequences is an inexhaustible mine which contains all the properties of numbers; by calculating the successive terms of such sequences, decomposing them into their prime factors and seeking out by experimentation the laws of appearance and reproduction of the prime numbers, one can advance in a systematic manner the study of the properties of numbers and their application to all branches of mathematics.

# Computational Approaches for Political Redistricting Part IV: Specific State Analyses 

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## MORAL:

## Computational Redistricting is <br> NOT a solved problem!

## Advertisements

(1) VRDI - 6 week summer program for graduate and undergraduate students (Deadline 2/1)

- Application: tinyurl.com/apply-vrdi-2
- Information: gerrydata.org
(2) Contact:
- Email: ddeford at mit.edu
- Website: mggg.org
- Slack channel: GerryChat.slack.com
(3) Research Projects
- Math Problems: tinyurl.com/gerryprojects
- Data Problems: tinyurl.com/GerryChainProjects
(4) IAP Info:
- Resources: people.csail.mit.edu/ddeford/CAPR
- Today 12-1 In-depth state examples


## Outline

(1) Introduction
(2) Preliminaries
(3) Pennsylvania: Partisan Gerrymandering
(4) Virginia: Racial Gerrymandering
(5) Wisconsin: Defining Competitiveness
© Pennsylvania: Preserving Municipalities

## Compactness Measures



## Polsby-Popper

## Theorem (Isoperimetry)

Let $\Omega$ be a bounded open subset of $\mathbb{R}^{2}$ with finite perimeter. Then:

$$
4 \pi A \leq P^{2}
$$

Definition (Polsby-Popper)
The Polsby-Popper score of a district is:

$$
P P(\Omega)=\frac{4 \pi A}{P^{2}}
$$

## (Discrete) Total Perimeter



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## Partisanship Measures



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## Seats-Votes Curves



Figure: Dem \%: [.249,.389,.273,.51]

## Seats-Votes Curves



Figure: Dem \%: [.698,.458,.724,.43,.435,.428,.553,.489,.407,.387,.731,.45]

## Seats-Votes Curves



Figure: Dem \%:

## Partisan Metrics

## Definition (Mean-Median)

Horizontal distance between (.5, .5) and the seats votes curve).
Alternatively, difference between the median and mean of the votes vector.

## Definition (Partisan Bias)

Vertical distance between (.5,.5) and the seats votes curve

## Definition (Partisan Asymmetry)

Integral of the difference between the seats votes curve and its reflection around (.5, .5).

Definition (Efficiency Gap)

$$
\frac{W^{A}-W^{B}}{T}
$$

With equal turnout: twice the seat margin minus the vote margin.

## Partisan Examples

- Utah
- Mean-Median: -. 024
- Efficiency Gap: -. 039
- Asymmetry: . 048
- Pennsylvania
- Mean-Median: . 011
- Efficiency Gap: . 063
- Asymmetry: . 050
- North Carolina
- Mean-Median: . 062
- Efficiency Gap: . 198
- Asymmetry: . 093


## Seats-Votes Asymmetry



## Seats-Votes Asymmetry



## Seats-Votes Asymmetry



## Court History



2011


8th Grade


Gov


538 GOP



Remedial


538 Dem


538 Compact


TS

## Data Setup

- Choice of units: Precincts
- Voting Data: Weighted Senate Results
- Initial Plans: TS/GOV/Enacted
- Demographics: Census


## Theoretical Tool

## Theorem (CFP ${ }^{1}$ )

Let $M=X_{0}, X_{1}, X_{2}, \ldots$ be a reversible Markov chain with a stationary distribution $\pi$ on the state space $\Omega$ and let $G: \Omega \rightarrow \mathbb{R}$ be a ranking function. If $X_{0} \sim \pi$, then for any fixed $k$, the probability that $G\left(X_{0}\right)$ is an $\varepsilon$-outlier from among the list of values $G\left(X_{0}\right), G\left(X_{1}\right), G\left(X_{2}\right), \ldots, G\left(X_{k}\right)$ is at most $\sqrt{2 \varepsilon}$.
${ }^{1}$ M. Chikina, A. Frieze, and W. Pegden: Assessing significance in a Markov chain without mixing, PNAS, (2017).

## Experimental Setup

- In order to apply the theorem we need a reversible chain
- Uniform over permissible
- Metropolis-Hastings
- Lots of choices to make!


## Compactness



Figure: Average of reciprocal Polsby-Popper scores

## Other Constraints

- Population Balance:
- All within 1\%
- MH - L2
- VRA Compliance
- Preserve two Philadelphia regions
- Geoclusters more broadly
- County Splits:
- Entropy of Counties split Districts
- Entropy of Districts split Counties


## Other Constraints

- Population Balance:
- All within $1 \%$
- MH - L2
- VRA Compliance
- Preserve two Philadelphia regions
- Geoclusters more broadly
- County Splits:
- Entropy of Counties split Districts
- Entropy of Districts split Counties
- Glue together with linear coefficients for MH weighting


## Initial Results

## Gerrymandering Detected!

## Problem Reformulation

- Move from Local to Global MCMC steps
- Reformulate constraints
- Weaker population bound
- Discrete instead of continuous compactness
- Tree steps instead of single edge flip
- Many seeds instead of single long walk
- More election data
- More comparison plans


## Problem Reformulation

- Move from Local to Global MCMC steps
- Reformulate constraints
- Weaker population bound
- Discrete instead of continuous compactness
- Tree steps instead of single edge flip
- Many seeds instead of single long walk
- More election data
- More comparison plans
- Better Geography?


## Pennsylvania Landscapes




## Initial Results

## Gerrymandering Detected?

## Legal History



## Data Collection

- Choice of units: Blocks
- Voting Data: Prorated Presidential Results
- Initial Plans: (rounded) Enacted/Rep/Dem/Princeton
- Demographics: Virginia DLS


## Tree Seeds Ensemble



## Research Question?

- What is best possible representation?
- What are impacts of packing?
- Is it possible to avoid packing?
- Partisan consequences of unpacking?


## Proposed Plans



## Seed Comparison



## Full State Possibilities



## Full State Possibilities



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## The 37\% line

BVAP\% by CBC Membership


## Compactness


(a) Single Edge

(b) Single Edge

(c) Tree Walk

## Compactness



## Initial Results

## Gerrymandering Detected?

## Legal History



## Competitiveness

## Definition (Competitive)

At least $x \%$ of districts are within $y \%$ of $z$. Where $z \in\{.5$, state mean, state median, plan mean, plan median \}

## Data Collection

- Choice of units: Wards
- Voting Data: All Statewide
- Initial Plans: Enacted plans
- Demographics: Census


## Senate Seats


(a) SEN12

(b) SEN16

## Senate Mean-Median


(a) SEN12

(b) SEN16

## Senate Efficiency Gap


(a) SEN12

(b) SEN16

## Senate 12 Box Plots



## Senate 16 Box Plots



## Senate 12 EG Competitiveness



## Senate 12 EG Competitiveness



## Senate 12 EG Competitiveness



## Senate 12 EG Competitiveness



## Senate 12 MM Competitiveness



## Senate 12 MM Competitiveness



## Senate 12 MM Competitiveness



## Senate 12 MM Competitiveness



## Initial Results

## Gerrymandering Detected?

## Legal History

- Pressure for algorithmic version of municpality preservation
- Substitute for compactness
- Allows weaker population bounds
- Enforces a multiscale viewpoint on the redistricting problem


## Levels of Resolution

- Blocks
- Precincts
- Wards
- Municipalities
- Counties


## Blocks



## Counties



## Municipalities



## Precincts


(a) Pennsylvania

(b) Pittsburgh

(c) Philadelphia

## Wards



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## Putting Them Together


(a) Pennsylvania

(b) Allegheny

(c) Pittsburgh

## Putting Them Together



## Comparison of BPOP Districts



## Comparison of BPOP Districts



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## Initial Results

## Better Representation Possible?

## MORAL:

## Computational Redistricting is <br> NOT a solved problem!

## The End

## Thanks!

