# **Ballot Clustering Algorithms**

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joint with Moon Duchin & David Shmoys



There are standard algorithms to cluster points of Euclidean space.

What about ranked choice ballots?



# Edinburgh Ward 2 (Petland Hills): 7 candidates, 11315 ballots, 1238 distinct ballots.

1342 votes for (1, 6). 759 votes for (6, 1). 578 votes for (3, 5). 494 votes for (4). 403 votes for (3, 5, 7). 285 votes for (1, 6, 2). 254 votes for (1, 6, 4). 219 votes for (5, 3). 173 votes for (4, 2). 152 votes for (6, 1, 4). 144 votes for (5, 3, 7). 136 votes for (1, 6, 4, 2). 136 votes for (3, 5, 4)...



1=Graeme Bruce (C), 2 = Emma Farthing (LD), 3 = Neil Gardiner (SNP), 4 = Ricky Henderson (Lab), 5 = Ernesta Noreikiene (SNP), 6= Susan Webber (C), 7 = Evelyn Weston (Grn). **PROXY CLUSTERING**: Associate each ballot to a proxy point of Euclidean space, and perform a standard clustering algorithm on the proxies.

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\* Any number of clusters is allowed.

\* The distance between proxies must correspond to some natural measurement of ballot similarity.

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#### **SLATE A:**

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#### **SLATE B:**

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#### **SLATE B:**

- 1 = Graeme Bruce (C)
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- Always forms 2 clusters
- Good for studying polarized elections
- How should we sort (3,2,4,7)?

## Visualizing clusters



## Proxy clustering (with Borda proxies and k-means)



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#### MDS Plot of ballots with more than 10 votes.



#### Visualizing clusters

## Slate clusters



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- Interpretable as a natural and intuitive "similarity" of the ballots.
- Realizable as the distance between proxy points in coordinate space.
- Generalizable to ballots that allow ties.
- Based on familiar concepts like head-to-head comparisons or Borda points.

## Metric space wishes

**GOAL**: Find a *good* metric on  $\Omega_n$  = the set of possible ballots on n candidates.

## WE'LL STUDY TWO METRICS:

•  $d_H = \underline{head-to-head\ distance}$ 

•  $d_B = Borda \, distance$ 

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- $d_H = \underline{head-to-head\ distance}$ 
  - = ballot graph distance
  - = weighted disagreement count
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  - *= shift count*
  - *= distance between Borda proxies*
  - = distance in augmented ballot graph

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## And we'll show that $d_H$ and $d_B$ are very similar.

• Nodes = all possible ballots

AB AC

A

ABC ACB

BA BAC CAB CA

- Nodes = all possible ballots
- An edge of weight 1 if related by an adjacent swap.

Example:

ABCDEF 
$$\stackrel{1}{---}$$
 ABDCEF in  $\Omega_7$ 



A

- Nodes = all possible ballots
- An edge of weight 1 if related by an adjacent swap.
- An edge if related by removing/adding final candidate.
   Weight = <sup># missing</sup>/<sub>2</sub>

Example:

AB\*\*\*\* --- ABC\*\*\* in 
$$\Omega_6$$
  
has weight  $\frac{3}{2}$ 



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Example: 3 head-to-head changes  $AB^{****} --- ABC^{***} in \Omega_6$ has weight  $\frac{3}{2}$ 



- Nodes = all possible ballots
- An edge of weight 1 if related by an adjacent swap.
- An edge if related by removing/adding final candidate.
   # missing

Weight =  $\frac{\# missing}{2}$ 

### Distance from **BA** to **C** = 2.5



- Nodes = all possible ballots
- An edge of weight 1 if related by an adjacent swap.
- An edge if related by removing/adding final candidate. Weight =  $\frac{\# missing}{2}$

Between a *complete* ballot and its reversal, the bullet path ties.



## The weighted disagreement count

Consider the ballots **ACB** and **AE** in  $\Omega_5$ . Among the 10 comparisons:

AB, AC, AD, AE, BC, BD, BE, CD, CE, DE

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So, distance from ACB to AE =  $strong + \frac{1}{2} \cdot weak = 2 + \frac{1}{2} \cdot 4 = 4$ .

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(We'll see that the  $\frac{1}{2}$  weighting convention makes this a valid metric.)

In  $\Omega_5$ , head-to-head proxies are in 10-dimensional space. The proxy of **ACB** is:

| KEY: |        |
|------|--------|
| . 5  | = win  |
| 5    | = lose |
| 0    | = tie  |

|     | AB | AC | AD | AE | BC | BD | BE | CD | CE | DE |
|-----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| ACB | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | 5  | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | 0  |

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|       | AB | AC | AD | AE | BC | BD | BE | CD | CE | DE |
|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| ACB   | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | 5  | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | 0  |
| AE    | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | 0  | 0  | 5  | 0  | 5  | 5  |
| dif = | 0  | 0  | 0  | 0  | 5  | .5 | 1  | .5 | 1  | 5  |

 $d_H(ACB, AE) =$  the Manhattan distance between their proxies =  $2 + \frac{4}{2} = 4$ .

**Proposition 4.1.** For  $\mathcal{B}_1, \mathcal{B}_2 \in \Omega_n$ , the following are equivalent definitions of  $d_H(\mathcal{B}_1, \mathcal{B}_2)$ .

- 1. The ballot graph distance
- 2. The Manhattan distance between their head-to-head proxies.
- 3. The weighted disagreement count.

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|                                 | AB | AC | AD | AE | BC | BD | BE | CD | CE | DE |
|---------------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
|                                 |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |    |
| $( \{ A, E \}, \{ B, C, D \} )$ | .5 | .5 | .5 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 5  | 0  | 5  | 5  |

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|  | AB | AC | AD | AE | BC | BD | BE | CD | CE | DE |
|--|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|
| ({ <b>A</b> . <b>E</b> },{ <b>B</b> . <b>C</b> . <b>D</b> }) | .5 | .5 | .5 | 0  | 0  | 0  | 5  | 0  | 5  | 5  |

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$$(\{A, E\}, \{B, C, D\}) \quad .5 \quad .5 \quad .5 \quad 0 \quad 0 \quad 0 \quad -.5 \quad 0 \quad -.5 \quad 0 \quad -.5 \quad -.5$$

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1. The ballot graph distance

### How is this defined for generalized ballots?

- 2. The Manhattan distance between their head-to-head proxies.
- 3. The weighted disagreement count.

$$(\{A, E\}, \{B, C, D\}) \qquad .5 \qquad .5 \qquad .5 \qquad 0 \qquad 0 \qquad 0 \qquad -.5 \qquad 0 \qquad -.5 \qquad 0 \qquad -.5 \qquad -.5$$

The generalized ballot graph

Half the product of the sizes of the merged sets

# $(\{A_1, A_2\}, \{B_1, B_2, B_3\}, \{C_1, C_2\}, \{D\}) \xrightarrow{\overline{2}} (\{A_1, A_2\}, \{B_1, B_2, B_3, C_1, C_2\}, \{D\})$

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Adjacent candidate swaps have weight 1, as before:

 $(\{A_1, A_2\}, \{B\}, \{C\}, \{D\}) \xrightarrow{\frac{1}{2}} (\{A_1, A_2\}, \{B, C\}, \{D\}) \xrightarrow{\frac{1}{2}} (\{A_1, A_2\}, \{C\}, \{B\}, \{D\}))$ 

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and truncation has the same weight as before:

$$(\{A_1, A_2\}, \{B_1, B_2\}, \{C_1, C_2, C_3, C_4\}) \xrightarrow{\frac{3}{2}} (\{A_1, A_2\}, \{B_1, B_2\}, \{C_1\}, \{C_2, C_3, C_4\})$$
  
Missing from ballot Missing from ballot

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|       | Α | В | С | D | E  |
|-------|---|---|---|---|----|
| ACB   | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0  |
| AE    | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3  |
| dif = | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | -3 |

#### $d_B(ACB, AE) =$ the Manhattan distance between their proxies = 8.

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- After adding an edge for each nonadjacent swap,  $d_B$  equals twice the graph distance.
- $d_B$  penalizes strong disagreements a bit less than 2  $d_H$ .



$$2 d_H = 2 \cdot (strong) + 1 \cdot (weak)$$

$$d_B = \alpha \cdot (strong) + 1 \cdot (weak)$$

For  $\alpha \in [1,2]$  that depends on the pair of ballots.

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Only slight differenced between the methods (averaged over elections from 17 wards of Edinburgh)

|        | methous |       |       |       | l i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i |        |
|--------|---------|-------|-------|-------|---|--------|
|        | MeanB   | MeanH | MedoB | MedoH | Slate                                   | Random |
| MeanB  | 0       | 0.014 | 0.052 | 0.039 | 0.077                                   | 0.431  |
| MeanH  | -       | 0     | 0.050 | 0.036 | 0.081                                   | 0.431  |
| MedoB  | -       | -     | 0     | 0.032 | 0.076                                   | 0.429  |
| MedoH  | -       | -     | -     | 0     | 0.077                                   | 0.428  |
| Slate  | -       | -     | -     | -     | 0                                       | 0.429  |
| Random | -       | -     | -     | -     | -                                       | 0.459  |
|        |         |       |       |       |   |        |

#### Proxy cluster methods

#### k-means

- Center = centroid (center of mass)
- Minimizes summed squared  $L^2$  distances of data points to their centers.

### k-medoids

- Centers are data points
- Minimizes summed distance of data points to their center with respect to arbitrary metric (we use L<sup>1</sup>).



2-medoid clusters with head-to-head proxies.

Medoids: (3,5,7) and (1,6)



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METHOD: Exhaustively try all partitions to find the one with the best score.

|                                    | $A_1A_2$ | $B_1B_2$ | <b>B</b> <sub>1</sub> <b>B</b> <sub>3</sub> | <b>B</b> <sub>2</sub> <b>B</b> <sub>3</sub> | $A_1B_1$ | <i>A</i> <sub>1</sub> <i>B</i> <sub>2</sub> | <i>A</i> <sub>1</sub> <i>B</i> <sub>3</sub> | $A_2B_1$ | $A_2B_2$ | $A_2B_3$ |
|------------------------------------|----------|----------|---|---|----------|---|---|----------|----------|----------|
| $A_1 B_2 A_2$                      | .5       | 5        | 0   | .5  | .5       | .5  | .5  | .5       | 5        | .5       |
| $\{A_1, A_2\} > \{B_1, B_2, B_3\}$ | 0        | 0        | 0   | 0   | .5       | .5  | .5  | .5       | .5       | .5       |
| dif =                              | .5       | 5        | 0   | .5  | 0        | 0   | 0   | 0        | 1        | 0        |

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