## Ballot Clustering Algorithms

Kristopher Tapp, Saint Joseph’s University 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 $(3,5,4) \ldots$

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.

173 votes for $(4,2)$.
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* The distance between proxies must correspond to some natural measurement of ballot similarity.

SLATE CLUSTERING: Find the partition of the candidates into two slates $A, B$ such that the ballots are most starkly divided into " $A>B$ types" and " $B>A$ types". Partition the ballots accordingly.

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1 3 6 \text { votes for (3, 5, 4)....}
```


## SLATE A:

3 = Neil Gardiner (SNP)
5 = Ernesta Noreikiene (SNP)
7 = Evelyn Weston (Grn)

```
SLATE B:
1 = Graeme Bruce (C)
2 = Emma Farthing (LD)
4 = Ricky Henderson (Lab)
6= Susan Webber (C)
```

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$$
\begin{aligned}
& 1342 \text { votes for }(1,6) . \\
& 759 \text { votes for }(6,1) \text {. } \\
& 578 \text { votes for }(3,5) \text {. } \\
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4 = Ricky Henderson (Lab)
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- Always forms 2 clusters
- Good for studying polarized elections

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$$
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7 \text { = Evelyn Weston (Grn) }
$$

```
SLATE B:
1 = Graeme Bruce (C)
2 = Emma Farthing (LD)
4 = Ricky Henderson (Lab)
6= Susan Webber (C)
```

- 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)



## Visualizing clusters

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



## Visualizing clusters

MDS Plot of ballots with more than 10 votes.



## Visualizing clusters

Borda Scores of Candidates by Cluster


Candidate Mentions Stacked by Ballot Position


## Metric space wishes

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- Realizable as the distance between proxy points in coordinate space (Euclidean or Manhattan)


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## WISH LIST:

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- Realizable as the distance between proxy points in coordinate space.
- Generalizable to ballots that allow ties.

$$
\text { like: }(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}\right\}, \underbrace{\left\{C_{1}, C_{2}, C_{3}\right\}}_{\text {Unmentioned candidates are group last }})
$$

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or like: SLATE A > SLATE B.


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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:

- $d_{H}=\underline{\text { head-to-head distance }}$
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= ballot graph distance
= weighted disagreement count
= distance between head-to-head proxies
- $d_{B}=\underline{\text { Borda distance }}$
= 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.

The Ballot Graph
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## The Ballot Graph

- Nodes = all possible ballots

$$
\begin{array}{cr}
A B & A C \\
& \\
A B C & A C B
\end{array}
$$

The ballot graph for $\Omega_{3}$

$$
\begin{array}{cccc} 
& A B C & A C B & \\
& & & \\
B A & B A C & C A B & C A \\
& & & \\
B & B C A & C B A & C
\end{array}
$$

The Ballot Graph

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

Example:
ABCDEF $\xlongequal{-}$ ABDCEF in $\Omega_{7}$


## The Ballot Graph

- 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 $=\frac{\# \text { missing }}{2}$
Example:

$$
\mathrm{AB}^{* * * *}---\mathrm{ABC}{ }^{* * *} \text { in } \Omega_{6}
$$

has weight $\frac{3}{2}$


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3 head-to-head changes
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The ballot graph for $\Omega_{3}$

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Distance from $\mathbf{B A}$ to $\mathbf{C}=2.5$



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

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## The weighted disagreement count

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Consider the ballots $\mathbf{A C B}$ and AE in $\Omega_{5}$. Among the 10 comparisons:
$A B, A C, A D, A E, B C, B D, B E, C D, C E, D E$

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Consider the ballots $\mathbf{A C B}$ and $\mathbf{A E}$ in $\Omega_{5}$. Among the 10 comparisons:

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$$

- Strong disagreements have weight 1.


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- Strong disagreements have weight 1.
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So, distance from $\mathbf{A C B}$ to $\mathbf{A E}=$ strong $+\frac{1}{2} \cdot$ weak $=2+\frac{1}{2} \cdot 4=4$.

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So, distance from $\mathbf{A C B}$ to $\mathbf{A E}=$ strong $+\frac{1}{2} \cdot$ weak $=2+\frac{1}{2} \cdot 4=4$.
(We'll see that the $\frac{1}{2}$ weighting convention makes this a valid metric.)

The head-to-head proxy distance
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## The head-to-head proxy distance

In $\Omega_{5}$, head-to-head proxies are in 10-dimensional space. The proxy of ACB is:

## KEY:

$$
.5=\operatorname{win}
$$

$$
-.5=\text { lose }
$$

$$
0=\text { tie }
$$

|  | 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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In $\Omega_{5}$, head-to-head proxies are in 10-dimensional space. The proxies of ACB and AE are:

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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |

$d_{H}(\boldsymbol{A C B}, \boldsymbol{A} \boldsymbol{E})=$ the Manhattan distance between their proxies $=2+\frac{4}{2}=4$.

## The head-to-head proxy distance

Proposition 4.1. For $\mathcal{B}_{1}, \mathcal{B}_{2} \in \Omega_{n}$, the following are equivalent definitions of $d_{H}\left(\mathcal{B}_{1}, \mathcal{B}_{2}\right)$.

1. The ballot graph distance
2. The Manhattan distance between their head-to-head proxies.
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The proposition generalizes to ballots that allow ties, like this

## $A B \quad A C$ AD AE BC BD BE CD CE DE

$$
(\{\boldsymbol{A}, \boldsymbol{E}\},\{\boldsymbol{B}, \boldsymbol{C}, \boldsymbol{D}\}) \quad .5 \begin{array}{llllllllll}
.5 & .5 & 0 & 0 & 0 & -.5 & 0 & -.5 & -.5
\end{array}
$$

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\left(\left\{\begin{array}{lllllllllll} 
& \{A, E\},\{B, C, D\}) & .5 & .5 & .5 & 0 & 0 & 0 & -.5 & 0 & -.5 \\
-.
\end{array}\right.\right.
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## $A B \quad A C$ AD AE BC BD BE CD CE DE

## The generalized ballot graph

$\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}\right\},\left\{C_{1}, C_{2}\right\},\{D\}\right)-\overline{2}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}, C_{1}, C_{2}\right\},\{D\}\right)$

## The generalized ballot graph

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## Adjacent candidate swaps have weight 1, as before:

$$
\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\{B\},\{C\},\{D\}\right) \xrightarrow{\frac{1}{2}}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\{B, C\},\{D\}\right) \xrightarrow{\frac{1}{2}}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\{C\},\{B\},\{D\}\right)
$$

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$\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}\right\},\left\{C_{1}, C_{2}\right\},\{D\}\right)-\frac{\overline{2}}{}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}, C_{1}, C_{2}\right\},\{D\}\right)$

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$$
\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\{B\},\{C\},\{D\}\right) \frac{\frac{1}{2}}{-}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\{B, C\},\{D\}\right) \frac{\frac{1}{2}}{}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\{C\},\{B\},\{D\}\right)
$$

## and truncation has the same weight as before:

$$
\begin{gathered}
(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}\right\},\{\underbrace{\left\{C_{1}, C_{2}, C_{3}, C_{4}\right\}})-\frac{\frac{3}{2}}{}\left(\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\},\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}\right\},\left\{C_{1}\right\},\left\{C_{2}, C_{3}, C_{4}\right\}\right) \\
\text { Missing from ballot }
\end{gathered}
$$

The Borda proxy distance
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## The Borda proxy distance

In $\Omega_{5}$, Borda proxies are in 5-dimensional space. The proxies of ACB is:

|  | A | B | C | D | E |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ACB | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 |

$$
\begin{array}{lllll}
\text { KEY: } & & \\
\frac{}{4} & \frac{}{3} & \\
& \frac{1}{2}
\end{array}
$$

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In $\Omega_{5}$, Borda proxies are in 5-dimensional space. The proxies of ACB and AE are:

|  | A | B | C | D | E |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ACB | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| AE | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| dif $=$ | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | -3 |

$d_{B}(\boldsymbol{A C B}, \boldsymbol{A E})=$ the Manhattan distance between their proxies $=8$.

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|  | A | $\mathbf{B}$ | C | D | $\mathbf{E}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{A C B}$ | 4 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| AE | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| dif $=$ | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | -3 |


$d_{B}(\boldsymbol{A C B}, \boldsymbol{A} \boldsymbol{E})=$ the Manhattan distance between their proxies $=8$.

## Borda vs．head － $1<\frac{d_{B}}{d_{H}} \leq 2$

Borda vs．head－to－head distance

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\begin{abstract}


#### Abstract

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#### Abstract

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## Borda vs. head-to-head distance

- $d_{B}=2 d_{H}$ for adjacent pairs.


## Borda vs. hea - $1<\frac{d_{B}}{d_{H}} \leq 2$.

${ }^{2} d_{H}$ for adjacent pairs.
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## Borda vs. head-to-head distance

- $1<\frac{d_{B}}{d_{H}} \leq 2$.
- $d_{B}=2 d_{H}$ for adjacent pairs.
- After adding an edge for each nonadjacent swap, $d_{B}$ equals twice the graph distance.



## Borda vs. head-to-head distance

- $1<\frac{d_{B}}{d_{H}} \leq 2$.
- $d_{B}=2 d_{H}$ for adjacent pairs.
- After adding an edge for each nonadjacent swap, $d_{B}$ equals twice the graph distance.
- $d_{B}$ penalizes strong disagreements a bit less than $2 d_{H}$.



## Borda vs. head-to-head distance

$$
\begin{aligned}
2 d_{H} & =2 \cdot(\text { strong })+1 \cdot(\text { weak }) \\
d_{B} & =\alpha \cdot(\text { strong })+1 \cdot(\text { weak })
\end{aligned}
$$

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


#### Abstract

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

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PROXY CLUSTERING: Associate each ballot to a proxy point of Euclidean space, and perform a standard clustering algorithm on the proxies.

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 $(3,5,4) . \ldots$

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Borda or head-tohead proxies?
k-means or $k$ medoids?

All choices yield about the same clusters ( $\sim 4 \%$ )

173 votes for $(4,2)$.
152 votes for $(6,1,4)$.
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Only slight differenced between the methods (averaged over elections from 17 wards of Edinburgh)

Proxy cluster methods

|  | 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 |

## 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 $L^{1}$ ).

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

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


SLATE CLUSTERING: Find the partition of the candidates into two slates $A, B$ such that the ballots are most starkly divided into "A>B types" and "B>A types". Partition the ballots accordingly.

```
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1 3 6 \text { votes for (3, 5, 4)....}
```


## SLATE A:

3 = Neil Gardiner (SNP)
5 = Ernesta Noreikiene (SNP)
7 = Evelyn Weston (Grn)

```
SLATE B:
1 = Graeme Bruce (C)
2 = Emma Farthing (LD)
4 = Ricky Henderson (Lab)
6= Susan Webber (C)
```

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$$
\begin{aligned}
& 1342 \text { votes for }(1,6) . \\
& 759 \text { votes for }(6,1) . \\
& 578 \text { votes for }(3,5) . \\
& 494 \text { votes for }(4) . \\
& 403 \text { votes for }(3,5,7) \text {. } \\
& 285 \text { votes for }(1,6,2) \text {. } \\
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METHOD: Exhaustively try all partitions to find the one with the best score.
SCORE $=$ the sum of the distances of the ballots to " $A>B$ " or " $B>A$ " (whichever is closest)

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|  | $A_{1} A_{2}$ | $B_{1} B_{2}$ | $B_{1} B_{3}$ | $B_{2} B_{3}$ | $A_{1} B_{1}$ | $A_{1} B_{2}$ | $A_{1} B_{3}$ | $A_{2} B_{1}$ | $A_{2} B_{2}$ | $A_{2} B_{3}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A_{1} B_{2} A_{2}$ | .5 | -.5 | 0 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | -.5 | .5 |
| $\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\}>\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}\right\}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 |
| $\operatorname{dif}=$ | .5 | -.5 | 0 | .5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

METHOD: Exhaustively try all partitions to find the one with the best score.
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| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $A_{1} B_{2} A_{2}$ | .5 | -.5 | 0 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | -.5 | .5 |
| $\left\{A_{1}, A_{2}\right\}>\left\{B_{1}, B_{2}, B_{3}\right\}$ | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .5 |
| dif $=$ | .5 | -.5 | 0 | .5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

METHOD: Exhaustively try all partitions to find the one with the best score.
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Borda Scores of Candidates by Cluster


Candidate Mentions Stacked by Ballot Position


