Of the People: Voting Is More Effective with Representative Candidates

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16th ACM Conference on Economics and Computation (EC'17)

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23 June 2017





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Of The People Introduction



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"[...] and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

— Abraham Lincoln, 1863.



The central question in this paper:

If a government by the people is to be for the people, how important is it that it also be of the people?

A mapping of Lincoln's vision onto central concepts of the social choice theory:

- Who is the government **of**?
 - Who are the candidates to be aggregated?
- Who is the government by?
 - What are the social choice rules used for aggregation?
- Who is the government **for**?
 - What objective function is to be optimized?



Outline



- 2 Identical distributions on the line
- O Different distributions
- 4 Identical distributions in general metric spaces





Social choice rules

- Voters provide an ordinal ranking of (a subset of) the candidates,
- Aggregate these rankings to produce either a singler winner or a consensus ranking of all (or some) candidates.

Gibbard–Satterthwaite Theorem (1973)

Given a deterministic electoral system that choose a single winner. For every voting rule, one of the following three things must hold:

- The rule is dictatorial.
- The rule limits the possible outcomes to two alternatives only.
- The rule is susceptible to tactical voting.



Circumventing the impossibility of social choice

• A natural model: embedding candidates & voters in a metric space.

- Small distances (cost) model high agreement (utility).
- Introducing a preference order over candidates for each voter.
- Providing an objective function naturally:
 - $\star\,$ the best alternative: the one closest to the voters on average.

• Circumventing the impossibility of social choice through approximation.

- The distortion:
- * How much worse is the outcome of voting than would be the omniscient choice of the best available candidate?



Circumventing the impossibility of social choice

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- $\bullet\,$ The average distance from the population to candidate L: $\approx 0.5.$
- The average distance from the population to candidate R: $\approx 1.5.$
- But R will be elected as the winner in the election.





 Intuitively, when candidates are drawn from the population, we would expect the distortion in the social cost to be better than they are not.



Preliminaries

- Problem instance: $(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q})$.
 - $d_{i,j}$: the distance between *i* and *j* in the metric space.
 - $\mathcal{D} = (d_{i,j})_{i,j}$: the finite metric space.
 - $\boldsymbol{p} = (p_i)_i$: the candidate distribution.
 - $\boldsymbol{q} = (q_i)_i$: the voter distribution.
- $c_i = \sum_j q_j \cdot d_{i,j}$: the social cost of candidate *i* (i.e., the average distance to all voters).
- When candidates i and i' are competing, each voter j votes for arg min_{i,i'} {d(j, i), d(j, i')}.
- w(i, i'): the winner;

$$\star$$
 i wins iff $\sum_{j:d_{i,j}\leq d_{i',j}}\geq 1/2$

• $o(i, i') = \arg \min_{j \in \{i, i'\}} c_j$: the candidate of lower social cost.



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Distortion

• The distortion b/w *i*, *i*':

$$r_{i,i'}=\frac{c_{w(i,i')}}{c_{o(i,i')}}.$$

• We are interested in the expected distortion of the instance ($\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q}$):

$$C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q}) = \mathbf{E}_{i,i'\sim\boldsymbol{p}}[r_{i,i'}] = \mathbf{E}_{i,i'\sim\boldsymbol{p}}\left[\frac{c_{w(i,i')}}{c_{o(i,i')}}\right]$$
$$= 2\sum_{i \leq i'} p_i p_{i'} \cdot \frac{c_{w(i,i')}}{c_{o(i,i')}} + \sum_i p_i^2 \cdot 1.$$



Contribution of this paper

When $\boldsymbol{p} = \boldsymbol{q}$:

- On the simplest metric space: the line (political spectrum):
 max_{D,p} C(D, p, p) = 4 2√2 ≈ 1.1716 (tight).
- On the general metric space:

•
$$\max_{\mathcal{D},\boldsymbol{\rho}} C(\mathcal{D},\boldsymbol{\rho},\boldsymbol{\rho}) \in (\frac{3}{2}, 2-\frac{1}{652}].$$

When $\boldsymbol{p} \neq \boldsymbol{q}$:

- On the simplest metric space: the line (political spectrum):
 - $\max_{\mathcal{D},\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{q}} C(\mathcal{D},\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{q}) = 2$ (tight).
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On identical distributions on the line



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Of The People Identical distributions on the line

The lower bound

$$p_1 = \frac{1}{2} - \epsilon$$
 voters @ $x_1 = -1$, $p_2 = 1 - \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$ voters @ $x_2 = \epsilon$, $p_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} - \frac{1}{2} + \epsilon$ voters @ $x_3 = 1$.



•
$$c_1 = p_2 d_{1,2} + p_3 d_{1,3} = p_2 + 2p_3 + O(\epsilon) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} + O(\epsilon).$$

•
$$c_3 = p_1 d_{1,3} + p_2 d_{2,3} = 2p_1 + p_2 - O(\epsilon) = 2 - \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}} - O(\epsilon).$$

•
$$c_2 = p_1 d_{1,2} + p_3 d_{2,3} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2}}$$
.
* $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) = (1 - 2p_1 p_3) \cdot 1 + (2p_1 p_3) \cdot \frac{c_3}{c_1} = 4 - 2\sqrt{2} - O(\epsilon)$.



Of The People Identical distributions on the line

The upper bound (line)

Theorem 3

Let the underlying metric space be the line. For any distribution \boldsymbol{p} , we have $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) \leq 4 - 2\sqrt{2}$.



Characterizing the structure of voting on the line

Given a distribution p one the line with support size n, we label the support points as $1, \ldots, n$.

• $m \triangleq$ the index of the median, $L \triangleq \{1, \dots, m-1\}$ and $R \triangleq \{m+1, \dots, n\}$.

*
$$p_L < 1/2 < p_L + p_m$$
 and $p_R < 1/2 < p_m + P_R$.

Lemma 4

If two candidates (x, y) are drawn, the one closer to m wins the election.

Lemma 5

If x, y are on the same side of the median m (including one of them being the median), then the one closer to m has smaller social cost.



Lemma 4

If two candidates (x, y) are drawn, the one closer to *m* wins the election.

WLOG, assume d_{x,m} < d_{y,m} and x ∈ L ∪ {m}.
If y ∈ L:



Lemma 5

If x, y are on the same side of the median m (including one of them being the median), then the one closer to m has smaller social cost (i.e., $c_x \leq c_y$ if $d_{x,m} < d_{y,m}$).

 Intuitively, x has smaller social cost because > 1/2 of the population need to first get to x before getting to y.



• By Lemmas 4 & 5, we can rewrite $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p})$ as

$$C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) = \sum_{i \in [n]} p_i^2 + \sum_{i,j \in [n], i < j} 2p_i p_j r_{i,j}$$
$$= 1 + \sum_{i \in L, j \in R} 2p_i p_j (r_{i,j} - 1).$$

* The pairwise distortion can be larger than 1 only if two candidates are on different sides of *m*.



• By Lemmas 4 & 5, we can rewrite $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p})$ as

$$egin{aligned} \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{D},oldsymbol{p},oldsymbol{p}) &= \sum_{i\in[n]} p_i^2 + \sum_{i,j\in[n],i< j} 2p_i p_j r_{i,j} \ &= 1 + \sum_{i\in L,j\in R} 2p_i p_j (r_{i,j}-1). \end{aligned}$$

 \star The pairwise distortion can be larger than 1 only if two candidates are on different sides of *m*.



Of The People Identical distributions on the line

Proof of the upper bound $4 - 2\sqrt{2}$



r_i = ∑_j p_jr_{i,j}: the expected distortion conditioned on one of the candidates being *i*.
y* ≜ arg max_{y∈R} r_y, x* ≜ arg max_{y∈L} r_x



Proof of the upper bound $4 - 2\sqrt{2}$ (contd.)

• We can rewrite $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p})$ as

$$C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) = 1 + \sum_{i \in L, j \in R} 2p_i p_j (r_{i,j} - 1)$$

= 1 + 2 $\sum_{i \in L, j \in [n]} p_i p_j (r_{i,j} - 1)$
= 1 - 2 p_L + 2 $\sum_{i \in L} p_i r_i$,

or

$$C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) = 1 - 2p_R + 2\sum_{i \in R} p_i r_i.$$



Of The People Identical distributions on the line



• For all $1 \le i, j \le y^*$,

$$r'_{i,j} = \frac{c'_{w(i,j)}}{c'_{o(i,j)}} = \frac{c_{w(i,j)} - \sum_{y > y^*} p_y d_{y,y^*}}{c_{o(i,j)} - \sum_{y > y^*} p_y d_{y,y^*}} \ge \frac{c_{w(i,j)}}{c_{o(i,j)}} = r_{i,j}.$$



Proof of the upper bound $4 - 2\sqrt{2}$ (contd.)

- By Lemmas 6, 7, and 8, the worst-case instance has support size \leq 3.
- WLOG, let x₁ = 0, x₃ = 1, x₂ > 1/2.
- If $x_2 \neq m$ (not the median), the socially better candidate would always win (i.e., $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) = 1$).
- If x_2 is the median, since $x_2 > 1/2$, x_3 wins x_1 since $d_{x_3,m} < d_{x_1,m}$.

• For the worst-case, x_1 must have lower cost than x_3 .

Then we have

$$egin{aligned} \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{D},oldsymbol{p},oldsymbol{p}) &= (1-2
ho_1
ho_3)\cdot 1 + 2
ho_1
ho_3\cdot rac{c_3}{c_1} \ &= (1-2
ho_1
ho_3) + 2
ho_1
ho_3\cdot rac{
ho_1+
ho_2(1-x_2)}{
ho_2x_2+
ho_3}. \end{aligned}$$

• It is maximized by taking $x_2 \rightarrow \frac{1}{2}$, $p_1 \rightarrow \frac{1}{2}$.

• $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) \leq (1 - p_3) + p_3 \cdot \frac{3 - 2p_3}{p_2/2 + p_3} \leq 4 - 2\sqrt{2}$, maximized at $p_3 = \frac{\sqrt{2} - 1}{2}$.



Distortion for different distributions $oldsymbol{p} eq oldsymbol{q}$



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A lower bound



• With prob. 1/2, we draw two different candidates \rightarrow distortion 3 – $O(\epsilon)$.

- With prob. 1/2, we draw two candidates from the same location \rightarrow distortion 1.
- * The expected distortion: $2 O(\epsilon) \rightarrow 2$ as $\epsilon \rightarrow 0$.

Of The People Different distributions



Theorem 9

For all instances $(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q})$, we have $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q}) \leq 2$.



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Required Lemmas for Theorem 9

Lemma 10

Let i = w(i, i'). Then $c_i \leq 3c_{i'}$.

Main ideas:

- *i* beats $i' \Rightarrow \geq 50\%$ voters are at least close to *i* as to *i*';
- For any j who is at least close to i as to i', we have $d_{i',i} \leq d_{i',j} + d_{j,i} \leq 2d_{i',j}$ (triangular inequality).

Lemma 11

For any $1 \le \alpha \le 3$ and any instance $(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q})$, if $r_{i,j} = \frac{c_{w(i,j)}}{c_{o(i,j)}} \le \alpha$ for all (i, j), then $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q}) \le \frac{1+\alpha}{2}$.



Proof of Lemma 11

- Consider an instance $(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q})$ and its associated cost \boldsymbol{c} .
 - WLOG, assume that $c_1 \leq c_2 \leq \ldots \leq c_n$.
- For each candidate *i*, let $\ell_i \triangleq \max\{j \mid c_j \leq \alpha c_i\}$.
- Since $r_{i,j} \leq \alpha$ for all i, j, we have w(i, j) = o(i, j) whenever $j > \ell_i$ (cost ratio = 1).

 \triangleright

$$\mathcal{C}(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{q}) - 1 \leq 2 \sum_{i < j \leq \ell_i} p_i p_j \cdot \left(\frac{c_j}{c_i} - 1\right) \triangleq \hat{\mathcal{C}}(\boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{c}, \alpha).$$

* $\hat{C}(\boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{c}, \alpha)$ can be maximized by moving probability mass so that c_i and c_j are at most a factor α for every *i* and *j* in the support of \boldsymbol{p} .

Proof of Lemma 11 (contd.)

$$2\sum_{i< j\leq \ell_i} p_i p_j \cdot \left(\frac{c_j}{c_i}-1\right) \triangleq \hat{C}(\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{c},\alpha).$$

- Suppose that there exists a pair i < j in the support of **p** with $j > \ell_i$, i.e., $c_j > \alpha c_i$.
- Consider moving ϵ (or $-\epsilon$) prob. mass from p_i to p_j , call the resulting prob. vector $p(\epsilon)$.
- Note that Ĉ(p(ε), c, α) is a linear function of ε (our choice of i, j avoids the bilinear term p_ip_j).
- The expression is maximized by moving all the prob. mass from one of *i* and *j* to the other.



Proof of Lemma 11 (contd.)

$$2\sum_{i< j\leq \ell_i} p_i p_j \cdot \left(\frac{c_j}{c_i}-1\right) = 2\sum_{i< j} p_i p_j \cdot \left(\frac{c_j}{c_i}-1\right) \triangleq \hat{C}(\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{c},\alpha).$$

- Assume that $\operatorname{support}(\boldsymbol{p})$ is $n' \geq 3$, and associated costs are $c_1 < c_2 < \ldots < c_{n'}$.
- Consider all terms except c_2 as constants, then $\hat{C}(\boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{c}, \alpha)$ is of the form $\beta_1 + \beta_2 c_2 + \beta_3/c_2$, with $\beta_2, \beta_3 \ge 0$, which is convex in c_2 .
- It attains the maximum at $c_2 = c_1$ or $c_2 = c_3$.
 - In either case, we can merge the prob. mass of point 2 with 1 or 3, reducing the support size by 1 without decreasing Ĉ(p, c, α).
 - By repeating such merges, we eventually arrive at a distribution with support size 2 and c₂ ≤ αc₁.

Finally, we have

$$egin{aligned} \mathcal{C}(\mathcal{D},oldsymbol{p},oldsymbol{q}) &= 1 + \hat{\mathcal{C}}(oldsymbol{p},oldsymbol{c},lpha) \leq 1 + 2 p_1 (1-p_1) \cdot (lpha-1) \ &\leq 1 + rac{1}{2} (lpha-1) = rac{1+lpha}{2}. \end{aligned}$$



On identical distributions in general metric spaces



Theorem 12

The worst-case distortion $\sup_{(\mathcal{D},\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{p})} C(\mathcal{D},\boldsymbol{p},\boldsymbol{p})$ is between $\frac{3}{2}$ and $2 - \frac{1}{652}$.



Proof of Theorem 12 (lower bound)

•
$$n+1$$
 points: $\{0, 1, ..., n\}$.

•
$$p_0 = \frac{1-\epsilon}{2}$$
, $p_i = \frac{1+\epsilon}{2n}$ for all $i > 0$.

• $d_{0,i} = 1$ for all i > 0, and $d_{i,j} = 1 - \epsilon$ for all i, j > 0.



•
$$c_0 = \frac{1}{2} + O(\epsilon), \ c_i = 1 - O(1/n) - O(\epsilon) \ \text{for } i > 0.$$

- Candidate 0 loses to any other candidate in the election.
- The expected distortion is at least $(\frac{1}{2} - O(\epsilon)) \cdot (2 - O(\epsilon) - O(1/n))) + \frac{1}{2} \cdot 1 = \frac{3}{2} - O(\epsilon) - O(1/n) \rightarrow \frac{3}{2}.$

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Proof of Theorem 12 (upper bound)

• Let
$$\delta = \frac{1}{326}$$
.

- Case I: all pairwise elections have distortion $\leq 3 \delta$.
 - By Lemma 11, the overall expected distortion $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) \leq (1 + \alpha)/2 \leq 2 \delta/2 = 2 1/652.$
- Case II: \exists some pair of candidates with distortion $\geq 3 \delta$.
 - By Lemma 13, the overall expected distortion $\leq \frac{3}{2} + 9\sqrt{\delta} \leq 2 \frac{1}{652}$.

Lemma 13

Assume that $\delta \leq \frac{1}{100}$. Let $(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p})$ be an instance with maximum pairwise distortion $3 - \delta$. Then, $C(\mathcal{D}, \boldsymbol{p}, \boldsymbol{p}) \leq \frac{3}{2} + 9\sqrt{\delta}$.



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