### Multi-district preference modelling

Mark C. Wilson (https://markcwilson.site) joint work with Geoffrey Pritchard Quality and Quantity, 2022

AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01

To study and optimize an *electoral system itself* we must use simulations, because there are simply not enough real elections to provide data.

- To study and optimize an *electoral system itself* we must use simulations, because there are simply not enough real elections to provide data.
- Many states (e.g. UK, USA, Canada) have district-based electoral systems where each district supplies some fixed number of representatives to the state's parliament.

- To study and optimize an *electoral system itself* we must use simulations, because there are simply not enough real elections to provide data.
- Many states (e.g. UK, USA, Canada) have district-based electoral systems where each district supplies some fixed number of representatives to the state's parliament.
- But then, how can we simulate the distribution of votes in a way that is "realistic" but goes beyond historical data?

- To study and optimize an *electoral system itself* we must use simulations, because there are simply not enough real elections to provide data.
- Many states (e.g. UK, USA, Canada) have district-based electoral systems where each district supplies some fixed number of representatives to the state's parliament.
- But then, how can we simulate the distribution of votes in a way that is "realistic" but goes beyond historical data?
- ► This is not obvious, and is essentially unstudied to our knowledge.

- To study and optimize an *electoral system itself* we must use simulations, because there are simply not enough real elections to provide data.
- Many states (e.g. UK, USA, Canada) have district-based electoral systems where each district supplies some fixed number of representatives to the state's parliament.
- But then, how can we simulate the distribution of votes in a way that is "realistic" but goes beyond historical data?
- This is not obvious, and is essentially unstudied to our knowledge.
- Obvious choices that ignore the district structure will give 100% of seats to a party with 51% support, or 51% of seats, neither of which is realistic.

 $\blacktriangleright$  Consider a state partitioned into N districts of equal population.

- ► Consider a state partitioned into N districts of equal population.
- ▶ We focus here on two parties *A*, *B* and plurality voting (each voter gives one vote to some party in her district, and each district elects a single representative).

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- ► Consider a state partitioned into N districts of equal population.
- ▶ We focus here on two parties *A*, *B* and plurality voting (each voter gives one vote to some party in her district, and each district elects a single representative).
- Possible extensions:

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- ► Consider a state partitioned into N districts of equal population.
- ▶ We focus here on two parties *A*, *B* and plurality voting (each voter gives one vote to some party in her district, and each district elects a single representative).
- Possible extensions:
  - preferential voting

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

- ► Consider a state partitioned into N districts of equal population.
- ▶ We focus here on two parties *A*, *B* and plurality voting (each voter gives one vote to some party in her district, and each district elects a single representative).
- Possible extensions:
  - preferential voting
  - more than 2 parties

- ▶ Consider a state partitioned into N districts of equal population.
- ▶ We focus here on two parties *A*, *B* and plurality voting (each voter gives one vote to some party in her district, and each district elects a single representative).
- Possible extensions:
  - preferential voting
  - more than 2 parties
  - larger district magnitude

э



 Voters influence each other's opinions inside districts, and also to a lesser extent between districts.



- Voters influence each other's opinions inside districts, and also to a lesser extent between districts.
- We use a modified Pólya-Eggenberger urn model.



- Voters influence each other's opinions inside districts, and also to a lesser extent between districts.
- ► We use a modified Pólya-Eggenberger urn model.
- Recall the PE model with c colors (parties) and parameter K:



- Voters influence each other's opinions inside districts, and also to a lesser extent between districts.
- ► We use a modified Pólya-Eggenberger urn model.
- ▶ Recall the PE model with c colors (parties) and parameter K:
  - initialize an urn with a configuration of balls (often one of each color);

- Voters influence each other's opinions inside districts, and also to a lesser extent between districts.
- ► We use a modified Pólya-Eggenberger urn model.
- ▶ Recall the PE model with c colors (parties) and parameter K:
  - initialize an urn with a configuration of balls (often one of each color);
  - at each time step, choose a ball uniformly from the urn and replace it along with K more balls of that color.

- Voters influence each other's opinions inside districts, and also to a lesser extent between districts.
- ► We use a modified Pólya-Eggenberger urn model.
- ▶ Recall the PE model with c colors (parties) and parameter K:
  - initialize an urn with a configuration of balls (often one of each color);
  - at each time step, choose a ball uniformly from the urn and replace it along with K more balls of that color.
- ► The PE model has been used to generate artificial data in the single-district case and for special values of *K* it yields some known analytically nice preference distributions.

▶ There is an additional parameter *p*, a probability.

Geoffrey Pritchard & M.C. Wilson

Multi-district preference modelling AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01

- ▶ There is an additional parameter *p*, a probability.
- We start with some initial voter distribution of black and white balls (voters for party A or B) across all districts, which need not be symmetric in any way. Then at each step, we:

イロト 不得下 イヨト イヨト 二日

- ▶ There is an additional parameter *p*, a probability.
- We start with some initial voter distribution of black and white balls (voters for party A or B) across all districts, which need not be symmetric in any way. Then at each step, we:
  - choose a district D<sub>1</sub> to add a voter;

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- ▶ There is an additional parameter *p*, a probability.
- We start with some initial voter distribution of black and white balls (voters for party A or B) across all districts, which need not be symmetric in any way. Then at each step, we:
  - choose a district D<sub>1</sub> to add a voter;
  - ▶ with probability 1 p, let D<sub>2</sub> = D<sub>1</sub>, but with probability p choose D<sub>2</sub> uniformly from all districts other than D<sub>1</sub>;

- ▶ There is an additional parameter *p*, a probability.
- We start with some initial voter distribution of black and white balls (voters for party A or B) across all districts, which need not be symmetric in any way. Then at each step, we:
  - choose a district D<sub>1</sub> to add a voter;
  - ▶ with probability 1 p, let D<sub>2</sub> = D<sub>1</sub>, but with probability p choose D<sub>2</sub> uniformly from all districts other than D<sub>1</sub>;
  - choose uniformly a voter from  $D_2$ ;

- ▶ There is an additional parameter *p*, a probability.
- We start with some initial voter distribution of black and white balls (voters for party A or B) across all districts, which need not be symmetric in any way. Then at each step, we:
  - choose a district D<sub>1</sub> to add a voter;
  - ▶ with probability 1 p, let D<sub>2</sub> = D<sub>1</sub>, but with probability p choose D<sub>2</sub> uniformly from all districts other than D<sub>1</sub>;
  - choose uniformly a voter from  $D_2$ ;
  - add K copies of this voter to  $D_1$ .

### Realistic-looking data is easily obtained (p = 0.1)



One of these is UK Labour in 2010, the others are simulations.

Geoffrey Pritchard & M.C. Wilson

AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01

# Realistic-looking data is easily obtained (p = 0.1)



Geoffrey Pritchard & M.C. Wilson

Multi-district preference modelling AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01

Realistic-looking data is easily obtained (p = 0.2)

Figure: Vote share vs seat share for party A: p = 0.2



Geoffrey Pritchard & M.C. Wilson

Multi-district preference modelling

AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01



We use these ideas to investigate:

Geoffrey Pritchard & M.C. Wilson

Multi-district preference modelling AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01

イロト イヨト イヨト イヨト

= 990



#### We use these ideas to investigate:

election forecasting;

### We use these ideas to investigate:

- election forecasting;
- swing models;

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト

€ 990

#### ► We use these ideas to investigate:

- election forecasting;
- swing models;
- campaign management.

<ロト <回ト < 回ト < 回ト < 回ト -

#### We use these ideas to investigate:

- election forecasting;
- swing models;
- campaign management.
- There are potentially many other applications involving the votes-seats mapping (tradeoff between proportionality and decisiveness, gerrymandering, etc).

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

#### We use these ideas to investigate:

- election forecasting;
- swing models;
- campaign management.
- There are potentially many other applications involving the votes-seats mapping (tradeoff between proportionality and decisiveness, gerrymandering, etc).
- We recommend using this method for all situations where simulated data for such electoral systems is needed.

- 4 回 ト 4 回 ト - 三日

Given district vote shares x<sub>i</sub> at one election and an overall state-level change in vote share, a swing model predicts the district-level vote shares x'<sub>i</sub>.

イロト 不得下 イヨト イヨト 二日

- Given district vote shares x<sub>i</sub> at one election and an overall state-level change in vote share, a swing model predicts the district-level vote shares x'<sub>i</sub>.
- The most commonly used are uniform swing, which is constant over districts, and proportional swing which is increasing in x<sub>i</sub>.

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- Given district vote shares x<sub>i</sub> at one election and an overall state-level change in vote share, a swing model predicts the district-level vote shares x'<sub>i</sub>.
- The most commonly used are uniform swing, which is constant over districts, and proportional swing which is increasing in x<sub>i</sub>.
- We can test these out by running our urn process for a while, starting with a fixed election result, to generate a constellation of nearby elections. If our simulated elections are realistic, this should give useful information.

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- Given district vote shares x<sub>i</sub> at one election and an overall state-level change in vote share, a swing model predicts the district-level vote shares x'<sub>i</sub>.
- The most commonly used are uniform swing, which is constant over districts, and proportional swing which is increasing in x<sub>i</sub>.
- We can test these out by running our urn process for a while, starting with a fixed election result, to generate a constellation of nearby elections. If our simulated elections are realistic, this should give useful information.
- We find that neither swing model is good, and district-level swing should be decreasing in x<sub>i</sub>.

#### Figure: Local minus national swing versus original vote share in District 1: p = 0.1



Image: A match a ma

DQC

For example, for the 2017 UK election in England, we can use the exact 2015 results, a national poll estimate, and a swing model to get a point estimate of the vote shares in each district.

- For example, for the 2017 UK election in England, we can use the exact 2015 results, a national poll estimate, and a swing model to get a point estimate of the vote shares in each district.
- In order to be more confident, we can downscale the resulting data to, say, 50 voters per district and run the urn model, say 100 times.

- For example, for the 2017 UK election in England, we can use the exact 2015 results, a national poll estimate, and a swing model to get a point estimate of the vote shares in each district.
- In order to be more confident, we can downscale the resulting data to, say, 50 voters per district and run the urn model, say 100 times.
- This gives 100 different simulated elections each based on a realistic starting point.

- For example, for the 2017 UK election in England, we can use the exact 2015 results, a national poll estimate, and a swing model to get a point estimate of the vote shares in each district.
- In order to be more confident, we can downscale the resulting data to, say, 50 voters per district and run the urn model, say 100 times.
- This gives 100 different simulated elections each based on a realistic starting point.
- The method seems to work quite well (in this example it was more accurate than prediction markets and professional forecasters (ElectionsEtc site)).

Table: Forecast seats won by Conservative party using perfect national exit poll (100 simulated elections)

Nation	Real	Point	Minimum	Median	Maximum
England	296	299	280	295.5	309
Scotland	13	16	6	12	19
Wales	8	9	4	9	14

Table: Forecast seats won by Conservative party using pre-election opinion poll (100 simulated elections)

Nation	Real	Point	Minimum	Median	Maximum
England	296	308	295	312	326
Scotland	13	16	8	12	18
Wales	8	9	4	9	13

Suppose that the Conservatives had resources equivalent to adding 240 extra voters to the downscaled England districts (this is only 1% more voters overall and there are over 500 districts).

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- Suppose that the Conservatives had resources equivalent to adding 240 extra voters to the downscaled England districts (this is only 1% more voters overall and there are over 500 districts).
- Is it better to concentrate all the voters in the most marginal seats, or spread them more thinly?

- Suppose that the Conservatives had resources equivalent to adding 240 extra voters to the downscaled England districts (this is only 1% more voters overall and there are over 500 districts).
- Is it better to concentrate all the voters in the most marginal seats, or spread them more thinly?
- ► For each odd number w from 1 to 99, we added voters only to districts in which the number of wins out of the 100 simulations above was between 50 w/2 and 50 + w/2.

- Suppose that the Conservatives had resources equivalent to adding 240 extra voters to the downscaled England districts (this is only 1% more voters overall and there are over 500 districts).
- Is it better to concentrate all the voters in the most marginal seats, or spread them more thinly?
- ► For each odd number w from 1 to 99, we added voters only to districts in which the number of wins out of the 100 simulations above was between 50 w/2 and 50 + w/2.
- ► As *w* increases, we distribute resources over more and more districts which include those that are more and more lopsided.

\* 同下 \* ヨト \* ヨト - ヨ

- Suppose that the Conservatives had resources equivalent to adding 240 extra voters to the downscaled England districts (this is only 1% more voters overall and there are over 500 districts).
- Is it better to concentrate all the voters in the most marginal seats, or spread them more thinly?
- ► For each odd number w from 1 to 99, we added voters only to districts in which the number of wins out of the 100 simulations above was between 50 w/2 and 50 + w/2.
- ► As *w* increases, we distribute resources over more and more districts which include those that are more and more lopsided.
- Results are shown in Figure 3, which clearly indicates that neither extreme yields best results.

- 4 回 ト 4 三 ト - 三 - シック

Figure: Campaign management simulations. Extra seats (L) and probability of majority (R), by width.



Geoffrey Pritchard & M.C. Wilson

Multi-district preference modelling

AMS Eastern Sectional, Amherst, 2022-10-01

The basic model has few parameters and yet is flexible enough to produce realistic-looking data, which allows for analyses involving counterfactual elections to proceed credibly.

イロト 不得 トイラト イラト 二日

- The basic model has few parameters and yet is flexible enough to produce realistic-looking data, which allows for analyses involving counterfactual elections to proceed credibly.
- The districts need not be geographically based.

イロト イポト イヨト イヨト 二日

- The basic model has few parameters and yet is flexible enough to produce realistic-looking data, which allows for analyses involving counterfactual elections to proceed credibly.
- ► The districts need not be geographically based.
- Ask if you want to see the code I aim to release it publicly "as time permits".