# Measuring a Priori Voting Power 

Taking Delegations Seriously

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## A voting game

Board of directors, each member has a voting weight:

|  | Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Weight | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 17 |
|  | + | + | - | + | + | + | 13 |

Rule: a vote is successful if the sum of weights of voters in favor ( + ) is $\geq q=12$.

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| Weight | $\mathbf{4}$ | $\mathbf{1}$ | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 17 |
|  | + | + | - | + | + | + | 13 |
|  | + | - | + | - | + | - | 10 |

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Bobby never has any power over the outcome of the vote.

## A voting game

European Council of Ministers (1958), each member has a voting weight:

France Luxembourg Germany Italy Belgium Netherlands

| Weight | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Rule: a vote is successful if the sum of weights of voters in favor $(+)$ is $\geq q=12$.

Luxembourg never has any power over the outcome of the vote.

## How to measure the voting power?

- P-power: [Shapley and Shubik, 1954].
- I-power: [Penrose, 1946, Banzhaf III, 1964, Coleman, 1971]


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## More formally

## Binary partition

A binary partition $B$ is a map on $V$ (voters) s.t. $B(i) \in\{-1,+1\}$ for all $i \in V$.

$$
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text { Ann } & \text { Bobby } & \text { Carol } & \text { Dan } & \text { Eve } & \text { Finn } \\
\hline B+{ }^{+} & - & + & - & + & + \\
B^{-}=\{\text {Bobby, } & \text { Dan }\} \text { and } B^{+}=\{\text {Ann, Carol, Eve, } & \text { Finn }\}
\end{array}
$$

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A binary partition $B$ is a map on $V$ (voters) s.t. $B(i) \in\{-1,+1\}$ for all $i \in V$.

## Binary voting rule

A binary voting rule $W$ associates to every binary partition $B$ an outcome $W(B) \in\{-1,+1\}$.

|  | Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn | $W(B)$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $B$ | + | - | + | - | + | + | +1 |

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| $B$ | + | - | + | - | + | + | +1 |
| $B^{\prime} \geq B$ | + | + | + | - | + | + | +1 |

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| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $B$ | + | - | + | - | + | + | +1 |
| $B^{\prime} \geq B$ | + | + | + | - | + | + | +1 |
| $B_{-}$ | - | - | - | - | - | - | -1 |
| $B_{+}$ | + | + | + | + | + | + | +1 |

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## Weighted voting rule (= Weighted Voting Game)

A weighted voting rule with weights $w: V \rightarrow \mathbb{N}$ and a quota $q \in \mathbb{N}$ is such that $W(B)=+1$ if and only if $\sum_{i \in B^{+}} W(i) \geq q$.

|  | Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn | Total | $W(B)$ |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Weights | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 17 |  |
| $B$ | + | - | + | - | + | + | 12 | +1 |

The Penrose-Banzhaf measure is the probability of a voter being able to alter the election's outcome given the following probabilistic model: all binary partitions are equally likely to occur.

## Penrose-Banzhaf measure

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Given a binary voting rule $W$, the Penrose-Banzhaf measure of voter $i \in V$ is defined as:

$$
\mathcal{M}_{i}(W)=\sum_{B \in \mathcal{B}} \mathbb{P}(B) \frac{W\left(B_{i+}\right)-W\left(B_{i-}\right)}{2}
$$

where $\mathbb{P}(B)=1 / 2^{n}$ for all partitions $B$.

| Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn | $W(B)$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
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| $B$ | + | - | - | $?$ | + | + |  |
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| $B$ | + | - | - | $?$ | + | + |  |
| $B_{D^{-}}$ | + | - | - | - | + | + | -1 |
| $B_{D^{+}}$ | + | - | - | + | + | + | +1 |

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where $\mathbb{P}(B)=1 / 2^{n}$ for all partitions $B$.

## Complexity

- \#P-hard in general [Prasad and Kelly, 1990],
- In WVGs, it can be computed by a pseudo-polynomial algorithm that runs in polynomial time w.r.t. $|V|$ and max $_{i \in V} w(i)$ [Matsui and Matsui, 2000].


## A voting game

|  | Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Weight | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| $\mathcal{M}_{i}(W)$ | 0.3125 | 0 | 0.3125 | 0.3125 | 0.1875 | 0.1875 |

Rule: a vote is successful if the sum of weights of voters in favor $(+)$ is $\geq q=12$.

## Liquid Democracy



|  | Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Weight | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 17 |

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## Dan (-)

|  | Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn | Total |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Weight | 4 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 17 |
| Ballots | + | - | A | - | B | C |  |
| Votes | + | - | + | - | - | + | 10 |

Rule: a vote is successful if the sum of weights of voters in favor $(+)$ is $\geq q=12$.

## Motivation behind delegations

Voting models using delegations are getting increasing attention, both in theoretical works and in practice:

- In Proxy Voting (PV), there is a fixed set of representatives to whom voters can delegate their votes.
- In Liquid Democracy (LD), every voter can either vote directly or delegate its voting power to someone else.


## Formal definition

We assume that we have a graph structure $G=(V, E)$ in which each voter $v \in V$ can vote for, against or delegate to a neighbour.

## G-delegation partition

A G-delegation partition $D$ is a map on $V$ (voters) s.t. $D(i) \in\{-1,+1\} \cup \mathrm{NB}_{\text {out }}(i)$.
$N B_{\text {out }}(i)$ : set of out-neighbours of $i \in V$.

| Ann | Bobby | Carol | Dan | Eve | Finn |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $D$ | + | + | $A$ | - | $B$ |$C$

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## Direct vote partition

A direct vote partition $T$ is a map on $V$ s.t. $T(i) \in\{-1,0,+1\}$.

## Ann Bobby Carol Dan Eve Finn

D
A
B C

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Ann Bobby Carol Dan Eve Finn

| $D$ | + | + | A | - | B | C |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $T_{D}$ | + | + | + | - | + | + |

$\Rightarrow A$ G-delegation partition $D$ naturally induces a direct-vote partition $T_{D}$.

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## Direct vote partition

A direct vote partition $T$ is a map on $V$ s.t. $T(i) \in\{-1,0,+1\}$.
Ann Bobby Carol Dan Eve Finn

| $D$ | + | + | $F$ | - | $B$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $T_{D}$ | + | + | 0 | - | + |

$\Rightarrow A$ G-delegation partition $D$ naturally induces a direct-vote partition $T_{D}$.

## Liquid Democracy (LD) Penrose-Banzhaf measure

Given a digraph $G=(V, E)$ and a ternary voting rule W, the LD Penrose-Banzhaf measure of voter $i \in V$ is defined as:

$$
\mathcal{M}_{i}^{l d}(W, G)=\sum_{D \in \mathcal{D}} \mathbb{P}(D) \frac{W\left(T_{D_{i}+}\right)-W\left(T_{D_{i}-}\right)}{2},
$$

where $\mathbb{P}(D)$ is the probability of the $G$-delegation partition $D$ occurring.

- Probability to delegate $p_{d}^{i} \in[0,1]$ and to vote $p_{v}^{i}=1-p_{d}^{i}$.
- If vote: probability to vote for/against: $p_{+}=p_{-}=1 / 2$.
- If delegate: probability to delegate to $j \in \mathrm{NB}_{\text {out }}(i): 1 /\left|\mathrm{NB}_{\text {out }}(i)\right|$.


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If $p_{d}^{i}=0$ for every voter $i \in N$, we have the classic Penrose-Banzhaf index.

## Complexity and computation

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Computing the LD Penrose-Banzhaf:

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Computing the LD Penrose-Banzhaf:

- \#P-hard, even for Weighted Voting Games (WVG).
- For bipartite and complete graphs, it can be computed by a pseudo-polynomial algorithm that runs in polynomial time w.r.t. |V| and $\max _{i \in V} w(i)$.


## Proxy Voting

In Proxy Voting (PV), we have delegatees $i \in V_{d}$ (proxies) and delegators $i \in V_{V}$.


## Complexity

The LD Penrose-Banzhaf can be computed by a pseudo-polynomial algorithm that runs in polynomial time w.r.t. $|V|$ and $m^{2} x_{i \in V} w(i)$.

## Proxy Voting: Experiments



Figure 1: 100 voters, WVG with all weights equal to 1 and $q=50 \%$.

The lower the number of proxies, the more unequal the voting power of the voters.

## Liquid Democracy

In Liquid Democracy, any voter can delegate to any other voter, or vote themselves.


## Complexity

The LD Penrose-Banzhaf can be computed by a pseudo-polynomial algorithm that runs in polynomial time w.r.t. $|V|$ and $\max _{i \in V} w(i)$.

## Liquid Democracy: experiments



Figure 2: Penrose-Banzhaf index of the voters with probability to delegate $p_{d} .100$ voters, WVG with 50 (resp. 30,20 ) voters with weights equal to 1 (resp. 2,5 ) and $q=50 \%$.

When the probability to delegate $p_{d}$ gets higher, the voting weight has less influence on the voting power.

## Criticality distribution and degree distribution



$$
\text { Random graph } G(n, p)
$$

- Undirected.
- Every edge has probability $p$ to exist.

Figure 3: Distribution of the criticality of the voters in the network, from the highest degree to the smallest criticality

## Criticality distribution and degree distribution



Figure 3: Distribution of the criticality of the voters in the network, from the highest criticality to the smallest criticality

## Preferential attachment model

- [Barabási and Albert, 1999].
- Undirected.
- Voters join the network one by one and are more likely to be linked to already popular voters.
- "Rich get richer"


## Criticality distribution and degree distribution



## Small world model

- [Watts and Strogatz, 1998] .
- Undirected.
- Voters on a circle and linked in priority to their neighbours on the circle.

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## Criticality distribution and degree distribution



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## Spatial models

- Directed.
- Voters randomly placed on a 2D-plane (Uniform or Gaussian distribution).
- Voters have a directed edge towards their $k$ nearest neighbours.


## Criticality distribution and degree distribution



Figure 3: Distribution of the criticality of the voters in the network, from the highest criticality to the smallest criticality
$k$-layers models

example with $k=3$ layers.

## Criticality distribution and degree distribution



Figure 3: Distribution of the criticality of the voters in the network, from the highest criticality to the smallest criticality


Figure 4: Distribution of the degree of the voters in the network, from the highest degree to the smallest degree

## Conclusion

This paper continues the tradition of extending the notion of a priori voting power to new voting models.

- We have introduced the Liquid Democracy Penrose-Banzhaf measure to evaluate how critical voters are in deciding the outcome of an election where delegations play a key role.
- Complexity and hardness results, and pseudo-polynomial algorithms for PV and LD.
- Experimental analysis of the criticality in various networks and with varying parameters.


## Conclusion

Further research directions:

- Other delegations models (ranked delegations, including abstention, etc.).
- Finding conditions (like adding or removing neighbours) that affects the power measure.
- Analysing real data, using real networks for instance.


## Thanks for your attention!

Questions?

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