

# Election manipulation: the average-case

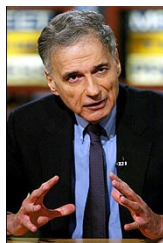
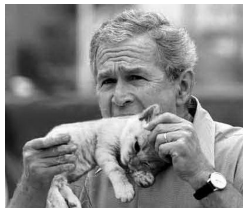
Joint work with Miklós Z. Rácz

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May 15, 2012

## US Election 2000



Votes in Florida

48.84%

48.85%

1.64%

Nader supporters could have

voted strategically and elected Gore.

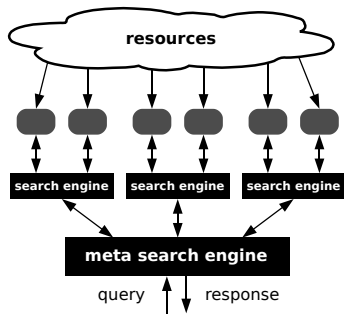
# Artificial Intelligence & Computer Science

## Virtual elections a standard tool in preference aggregation

- ▶ Elections can solve planning problems in multiagent systems (Ephrati and Rosenschein, 1991)
- ▶ Web metasearch engine (Dwork et al., 2001)
  - ▶ engines = voters, web pages = candidates

Threat of manipulation relevant,  
since software agents

- ▶ have computing power,
- ▶ have no moral obligation to act honestly.



# Outline

Social Choice Theory

Quantitative Social Choice

Proof ideas

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# Social Choice Theory

- ▶ **Social Choice Theory** is the theory of collective decision making
- ▶ Originates from **Condorcet's** voting paradox, late 18<sup>th</sup> century
- ▶ Theory developed in **Economics** in 1950-70s
- ▶ Celebrated results are **negative**:
  - ▶ **Arrow's impossibility theorem (1950)**:  
"irrationality" of ranking 3 or more candidates
  - ▶ **Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem (1973-75)**:  
any non-dictatorial way of electing a winner out of 3 or more candidates can be manipulated

# Basic Setup

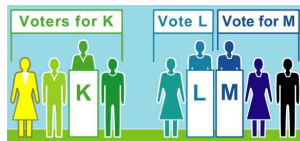
- ▶  $n$  voters,  $k$  candidates
- ▶ Each voter ranks the candidates:  
vote of voter  $i$  denoted by  $\sigma_i \in S_k$
- ▶ Social Choice Function (SCF)  
 $f : S_k^n \rightarrow [k]$  selects a winner:

$$\sigma = (\sigma_1, \dots, \sigma_n) \mapsto f(\sigma)$$

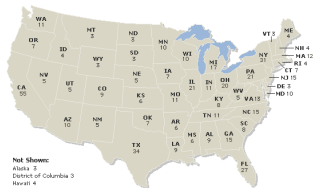
# Examples



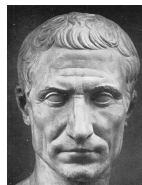
Majority



Plurality



Electoral college



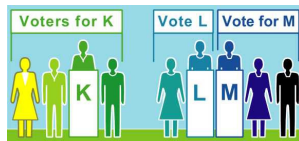
Dictatorship



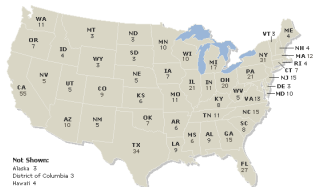
# Examples



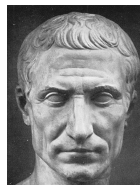
**Majority**  
socially acceptable



**Plurality**  
socially acceptable



**Electoral college**  
socially acceptable



**Dictatorship**  
socially unacceptable

# Manipulation by a single voter

## Definition

The SCF  $f$  is **manipulable** by voter  $i$  if there exist two ranking profiles  $\sigma = (\sigma_i, \sigma_{-i})$  and  $\sigma' = (\sigma'_i, \sigma_{-i})$  such that

$$f(\sigma') \overset{\sigma_i}{>} f(\sigma).$$

That is, a manipulative voter can cast a vote that is not his true preference in order to obtain a more desirable outcome according to his true preference.

# Strategyproof SCFs

- ▶ Ideally, we want the SCF  $f$  to be **nonmanipulable**, a.k.a. strategyproof
- ▶ **Q: When is this possible?**
- ▶ Dictatorship:

$$d_i(\sigma) := \text{top}(\sigma_i)$$

- ▶ ...anything **socially acceptable**?

## 2 candidates

For 2 candidates:  
strategyproofness is equivalent to monotonicity

### Definition

The SCF  $f$  is monotone if for any candidate  $a$ , moving  $a$  up in any coordinate cannot make  $a$  lose.

Many examples of monotone SCFs:

- ▶ Majority
- ▶ Electoral college
- ▶ Borda count
- ▶ etc.

## 3 or more candidates

For **3 or more candidates**: no such examples.

### Theorem (Gibbard-Satterthwaite, 1973-75)

*Every SCF that takes on at least three values and is not a dictator is manipulable.*

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# Is there a way around manipulation?

Two lines of research:

- ▶ Are there SCFs where it is *hard* to manipulate?
- ▶ Can manipulation be avoided with *good probability*?

**Assumption:** large number of voters and/or candidates.

# Computational hardness of manipulation

**Idea:** election is vulnerable to manipulation only if it can be **computed efficiently**.

- ▶ Bartholdi, Tovey, Trick (1989): there exists a voting rule, such that it is NP-hard to compute a manipulative vote.
- ▶ Bartholdi, Orlin (1991): manipulation is NP-hard for Single Transferable Vote (Oakland mayor elections)
- ▶ ...many other developments...
- ▶ **Problem:** relies on NP-hardness as a measure of computational difficulty
- ▶ Is it hard *on average*?  
What if it is *typically* easy to manipulate?



# Quantitative Social Choice

**Basic question:** is it possible to avoid manipulation with very good probability?

↪ Random rankings

- ▶ **Kelly, 1993:** Consider people voting **uniformly** and **independently** at random; i.e.  $\sigma \in S_k^n$  is **uniform**.
- ▶ **Q:** What is the probability of manipulation?

$$M(f) := \mathbb{P}(\sigma : \text{some voter can manipulate } f \text{ at } \sigma)$$

- ▶ **Gibbard-Satterthwaite theorem:** If  $f$  takes on at least 3 values and is not a dictator, then

$$M(f) \geq \frac{1}{(k!)^n}$$

- ▶ If manipulation is so unlikely, perhaps we **do not care?**

# Quantitative Social Choice

If  $f$  is “close” to a dictator  $\rightsquigarrow M(f)$  can be very small  
Quantifying distance:

$$\mathbf{D}(f, g) = \mathbb{P}(f(\sigma) \neq g(\sigma))$$

$$\mathbf{D}(f, G) = \min_{g \in G} \mathbb{P}(f(\sigma) \neq g(\sigma))$$

**Assumption:**  $f$  is  $\varepsilon$ -far from nonmanipulable functions:

$$\mathbf{D}(f, \text{NONMANIP}) \geq \varepsilon$$

**Conjecture (Friedgut, Kalai, Nisan (2008))**

If  $k \geq 3$  and  $\mathbf{D}(f, \text{NONMANIP}) \geq \varepsilon$ , then

$$M(f) \geq \text{poly}(n, k, \varepsilon^{-1})^{-1},$$

and a random manipulation works.

In particular: manipulation is easy on average.

# Results

## Theorem (Friedgut, Kalai, Keller, Nisan (2008,2011))

For  $k = 3$  candidates, if  $\mathbf{D}(f, \text{NONMANIP}) \geq \varepsilon$  then

$$M(f) \geq c \frac{\varepsilon^6}{n}.$$

If, in addition,  $f$  is *neutral*, then

$$M(f) \geq c' \frac{\varepsilon^2}{n}.$$

**Neutrality** of  $f$ : treats all candidates in the same way, i.e. is invariant under permutation of the candidates.

**No computational consequences**, since  $k = 3$ .

**Note:** some dependence on  $n$  is needed, see e.g. plurality:  $O(n^{-1/2})$  probability of manipulation.

## Results, cont'd

### Theorem (Isaksson, Kindler, Mossel (2009))

If  $k \geq 4$  and  $f$  is *neutral*, then  $\mathbf{D}(f, \text{NONMANIP}) \geq \varepsilon$  implies

$$M(f) \geq \text{poly}(n, k, \varepsilon^{-1})^{-1}.$$

Moreover, the trivial algorithm for manipulation works.

Computational consequences.

Removing neutrality:

### Theorem (M, Rácz (2011))

If  $k \geq 3$  and  $\mathbf{D}(f, \text{NONMANIP}) \geq \varepsilon$ , then

$$M(f) \geq \text{poly}(n, k, \varepsilon^{-1})^{-1}.$$

Moreover, the trivial algorithm for manipulation works.

# Why is removing neutrality important?

- ▶ **Anonymity vs. neutrality:**
  - ▶ conflict, coming from tie-breaking rules
  - ▶ common SCFs anonymous  $\rightsquigarrow$  not neutral
- ▶ In virtual election setting, **neutrality can be not natural**, e.g.:
  - ▶ (meta)search engine might treat websites in different languages in a different way
  - ▶ child-safe (meta)search engine:  
cannot have adult websites show up
- ▶ Sometimes candidates cannot be elected from the start
  - ▶ Local elections in Philadelphia, 2011
  - ▶ Dead man on NY State Senate 2010 election ballot  
(he received 828 votes)

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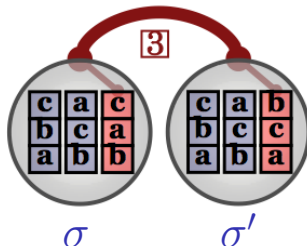
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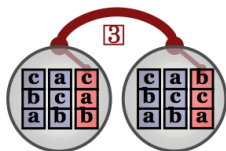
# Rankings Graph

- ▶ **Vertices:** ranking profiles  $\sigma \in S_k^n$
- ▶ **Edges:** if differ in one coordinate, i.e.  
 $(\sigma, \sigma')$  is an edge in voter  $i$  if  $\sigma_j = \sigma'_j$  for all  $j \neq i$ , and  $\sigma_i \neq \sigma'_i$

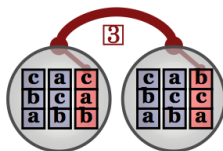


- ▶ SCF  $f : S_k^n \rightarrow [k]$  induces a partition of the vertices
- ▶ Manipulation point can only occur on a boundary
- ▶ **Boundary** between candidates  $a$  and  $b$  in voter  $i$ :  $B_i^{a,b}$ .

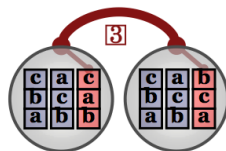
# Boundary edges

 $\sigma$  $\sigma'$  $f(\sigma) = a$  $f(\sigma') = b$ 

This edge is  
**monotone** and  
**nonmanipulable**.

 $\sigma$  $\sigma'$  $f(\sigma) = a$  $f(\sigma') = c$ 

This edge is  
**monotone-neutral**  
 and **manipulable**.

 $\sigma$  $\sigma'$  $f(\sigma) = b$  $f(\sigma') = c$ 

This edge is  
**anti-monotone**  
 and **manipulable**.



# Isoperimetry

Recall:  $k \geq 3$ , uniform distribution,  $\mathbf{D}(f, \text{NONMANIP}) \geq \varepsilon$ .

## Lemma (Isoperimetric Lemma, IKM (2009))

There exist two voters  $i \neq j$  such that  $B_i^{a,b}$  and  $B_j^{c,d}$  are big, i.e.

$$\mathbb{P}\left(\left(\sigma, \sigma^{(i)}\right) \in B_i^{a,b}\right) \geq \frac{\varepsilon}{\text{poly}(n, k)}, \quad \mathbb{P}\left(\left(\sigma, \sigma^{(j)}\right) \in B_j^{c,d}\right) \geq \frac{\varepsilon}{\text{poly}(n, k)},$$

where  $c \notin \{a, b\}$ .

If  $f$  is neutral, may assume  $\{a, b\} \cap \{c, d\} = \emptyset \rightsquigarrow \text{IKM (2009)}$

Now: assume  $B_1^{a,b}$  and  $B_2^{a,c}$  are big.

# Fibers

- ▶ Partition the graph further, into so-called *fibers*
- ▶ Fibers are already used in Friedgut, Kalai, Keller, Nisan (2008,2011)
- ▶ Ranking profile  $\sigma \in S_k^n$  induces a vector of preferences between  $a$  and  $b$ :

$$x^{a,b} \equiv x^{a,b}(\sigma) = \left( x_1^{a,b}(\sigma), \dots, x_n^{a,b}(\sigma) \right)$$

where  $x_i^{a,b}(\sigma) = 1$  if  $a \stackrel{\sigma_i}{>} b$ , and  $x_i^{a,b}(\sigma) = -1$  otherwise.

- ▶ A *fiber*:  $F(z^{a,b}) := \{\sigma : x^{a,b}(\sigma) = z^{a,b}\}$
- ▶ Can partition the graph according to fibers:

$$S_k^n = \bigcup_{z^{a,b} \in \{-1,1\}^n} F(z^{a,b})$$

## Small and large fibers

Can also partition the boundaries according to the fibers:

$$B_1(z^{a,b}) := \left\{ \sigma \in F(z^{a,b}) : f(\sigma) = a, \exists \sigma' \text{ s.t. } (\sigma, \sigma') \in B_1^{a,b} \right\},$$

Distinguish between *small* and *large* fibers for boundary  $B_1^{a,b}$ :

### Definition (Small and large fibers)

Fiber  $B_1(z^{a,b})$  is *large* if

$$\mathbb{P} \left( \sigma \in B_1(z^{a,b}) \mid \sigma \in F(z^{a,b}) \right) \geq 1 - \text{poly} \left( n, k, \varepsilon^{-1} \right)^{-1},$$

and *small* otherwise.

**Notation:**

$\text{Lg} \left( B_1^{a,b} \right)$ : union of large fibers for the boundary  $B_1^{a,b}$

$\text{Sm} \left( B_1^{a,b} \right)$ : union of small fibers for the boundary  $B_1^{a,b}$

# Cases

**Recall:** boundaries  $B_1^{a,b}$  and  $B_2^{a,c}$  are big.

**Cases:**

- ▶  $\text{Sm} \left( B_1^{a,b} \right)$  is big
- ▶  $\text{Sm} \left( B_2^{a,c} \right)$  is big
- ▶  $\text{Lg} \left( B_1^{a,b} \right)$  and  $\text{Lg} \left( B_2^{a,c} \right)$  are both big

# Large fiber case

Assume  $\text{Lg} (B_1^{a,b})$  and  $\text{Lg} (B_2^{a,c})$  are both big.

Two steps:

- ▶ **Reverse hypercontractivity** implies that the *intersection* of  $\text{Lg} (B_1^{a,b})$  and  $\text{Lg} (B_2^{a,c})$  is also big
- ▶ **Gibbard-Satterthwaite** implies that if  $\sigma \in \text{Lg} (B_1^{a,b}) \cap \text{Lg} (B_2^{a,c})$ , then there exists manipulation point  $\hat{\sigma}$  “nearby”:  $\sigma$  and  $\hat{\sigma}$  agree in all except perhaps two coordinates.

$\rightsquigarrow$  many manipulation points.

## Small fiber case (sketch)

Assume  $\text{Sm} \left( B_1^{a,b} \right)$  is big.

1. By **isoperimetric theory**, for every small fiber  $B_1 \left( z^{a,b} \right)$ , the size of the boundary,  $\partial B_1 \left( z^{a,b} \right)$ , is comparable:

$$\left| \partial B_1 \left( z^{a,b} \right) \right| \geq \text{poly} \left( n, k, \varepsilon^{-1} \right)^{-1} \left| B_1 \left( z^{a,b} \right) \right|$$

2. If  $\sigma \in \partial B_1 \left( z^{a,b} \right)$  in some direction  $j \neq 1 \rightsquigarrow$  there exists a manipulation point  $\hat{\sigma}$  “nearby”, i.e.  $\sigma$  and  $\hat{\sigma}$  agree in all but two coordinates

3. If  $\sigma \in \partial B_1 \left( z^{a,b} \right)$  in direction 1, then either there exists a manipulation point  $\hat{\sigma}$  “nearby”, or fixing coordinates 2 through  $n$ , we have a dictator on the first coordinate.

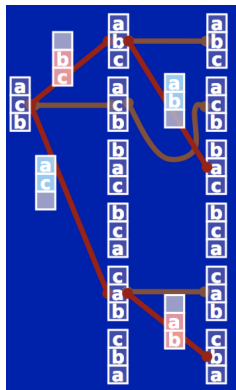
4. Look at the boundary of the set of dictators  
 $\rightsquigarrow$  manipulation point nearby.

# Subtleties...

- ▶ We cheated in a few places...
- ▶ Most importantly, when we apply Gibbard-Satterthwaite, we lose a factor of  $(k!)^2$ ...
- ▶ OK for constant number of candidates, but not for large  $k$ .

# Refined rankings graph

- ▶ To get polynomial dependency, use **refined rankings graph**
- ▶  $(\sigma, \sigma') \in E$  if  $\sigma, \sigma'$  differ in a **single voter** and an **adjacent transposition**
- ▶ Need to prove: **geometry = refined geometry**, up to **poly(k)** factors.
- ▶ Need to prove: combinatorics still works
- ▶ Gives manipulation by permuting only a few adjacent candidates
- ▶ Much of the work in this case - a quantitative version for one voter.





# Open Problems

- ▶ Q1: Among anonymous functions which minimizes probability of manipulation?
- ▶ Q2: Is the dependency on  $k$  needed?
- ▶ Q3: Better dependency on  $k, n$  and  $\epsilon$ .
- ▶ Note: All questions above sensitive to the definition of manipulability.
- ▶ A few options: Probability the is a manipulating voter, expected number of manipulating voters, expected number of manipulation edges.
- ▶ Other product distributions?
- ▶ Non-product distributions?

# Take aways

- ▶ **Robust impossibility theorems:**  
manipulation is computationally  
easy on average
- ▶ **Interesting math** involved



Thank you!