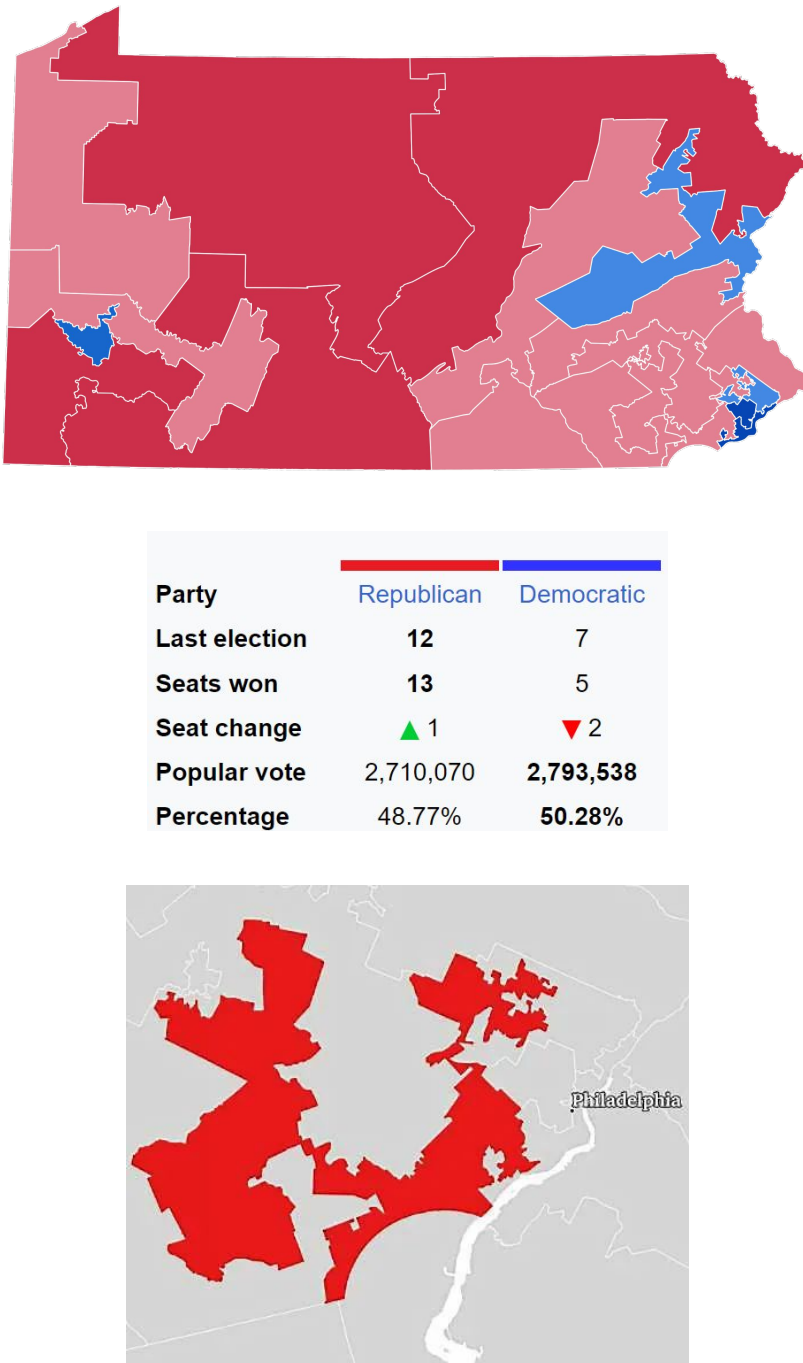


A Novel Approach to Algorithmic Redistricting: Combating Gerrymandering with Artificial Intelligence Tools

Deven Hagen

Background

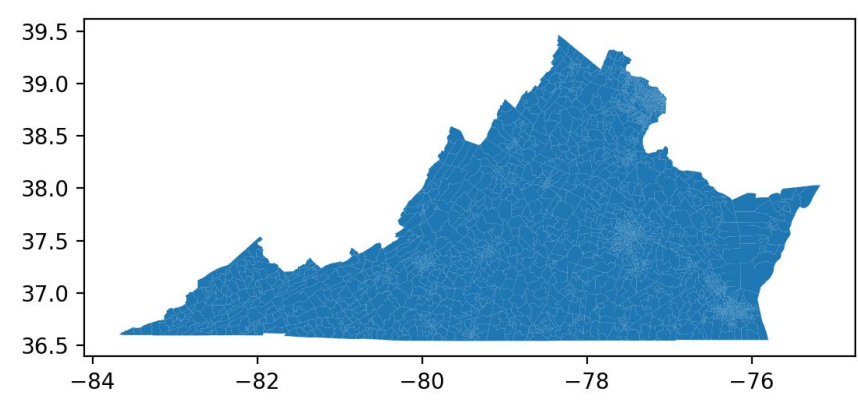
- Each state is apportioned a number of House delegates proportional to its population
- Every ten years, after the Census, each state is divided up into districts that each elect a single representative to Congress every two years until the next Census
- The state legislature is typically tasked with creating the district maps, although some states have started using independent redistricting commissions (IRCs)
- Subject to partisan and racial gerrymandering
 - Gerrymandering: the manipulation of boundaries to benefit a certain group
 - Partisan gerrymandering: maps that give certain political parties more power
 - Racial gerrymandering: maps that dilute the influence of certain demographic groups
- Use of “packing” and “cracking” to rearrange populations in certain ways



Data Preprocessing

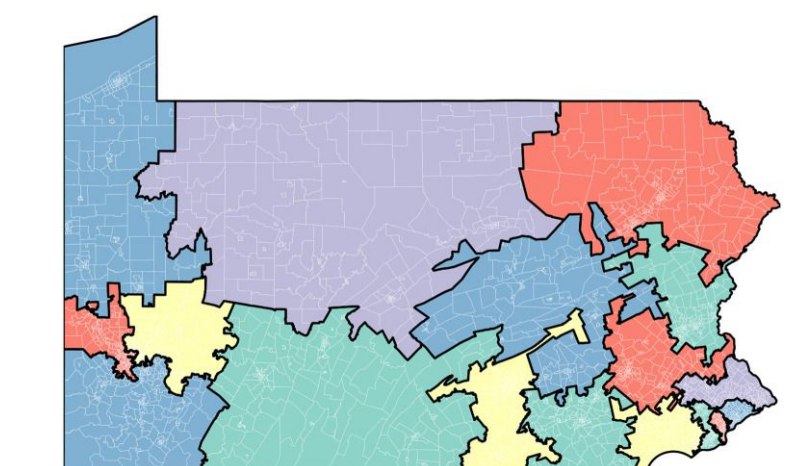
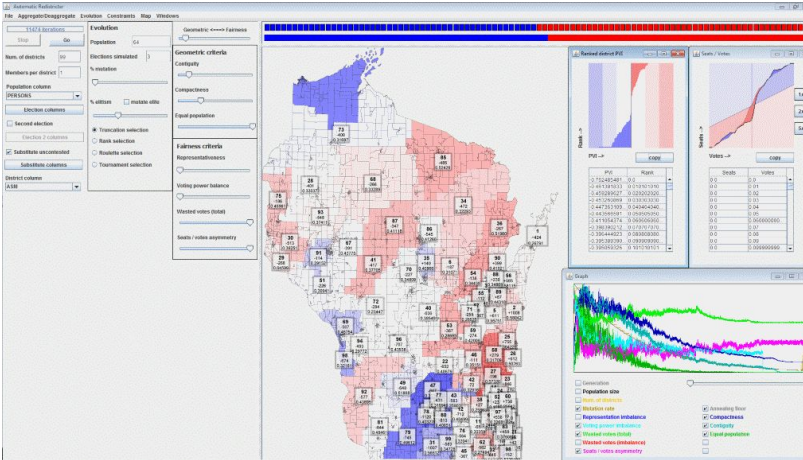
- I used demographic/geospatial precinct data from the Census Bureau and pared down the columns for the essentials
- I used election data from state-specific sources
 - Ex: Virginia Dept. of Elections
- I experimented with two sets of election results
 - Composite of state and national election results 2016-20
 - 2020 presidential election results
- I used the Python library GeoPandas, an extension of Pandas, to handle the geospatial data, combining all of my data into a single “GeoDataFrame”
- In order to ensure that my perimeter and area calculations were correct, I used a Conus Albers projection
 - EPSG:5070
- At this point, I was ready to try implementing some algorithms

DISTRICT	DISTRICT NAME	ADIPCP	CWP	WHITE	HSWPAC	BLACK	ASIAN	P
5.1E+10	100 Chesapeake	1257	2890	2890	79	10	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Atlantic	1519	1271	1447	47	181	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Greenbergs	2890	1746	1699	50	49	13	0
5.1E+10	100 New Church	2890	2736	1857	76	1347	82	0
5.1E+10	100 Scales	1244	969	831	4	117	1	0
5.1E+10	100 Forester	1742	1041	836	36	184	4	0
5.1E+10	100 Scales	411	302	288	0	18	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Popocate	1806	1370	627	13	876	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Scales	1002	1340	1307	100	811	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Accreted	2698	2007	1448	109	446	14	0
5.1E+10	100 Tangle	440	315	315	0	0	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Scales	219	2007	2070	212	467	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Bottom	1156	983	824	18	98	28	0
5.1E+10	100 Scales	1851	1197	732	28	420	22	0
5.1E+10	100 Wachapre	1009	878	663	30	140	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Palmer	2753	2664	1296	28	1743	4	0
5.1E+10	100 Woodcock	4043	3235	2440	30	569	174	0
5.1E+10	100 Branchard	2365	1865	1550	30	505	0	0
5.1E+10	100 Agnes-Hurt	4533	2616	1657	156	805	53	0
5.1E+10	100 Scales	4439	3555	3155	70	195	159	0
5.1E+10	100 Northside	5516	4593	3542	242	336	164	0



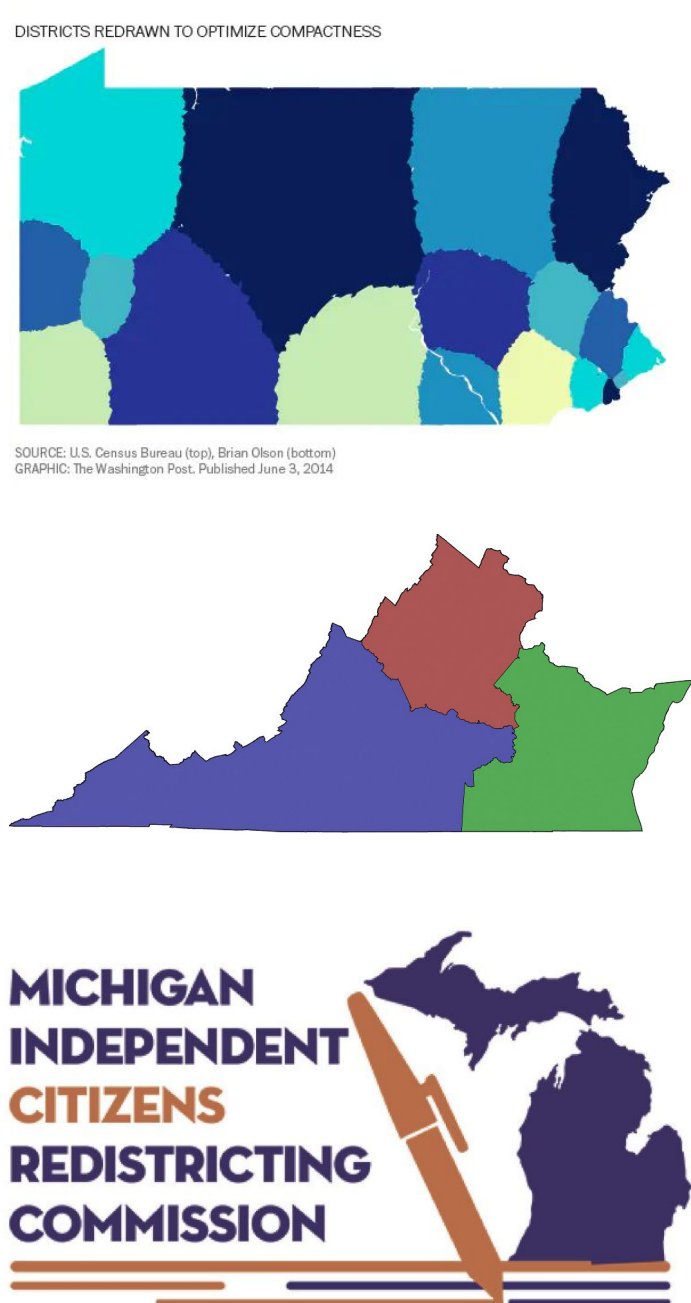
Unsuccessful Attempts

- At first, I attempted to implement a genetic algorithm
 - Had seen examples of this before, such as with the Auto-Redistrict website
- Struggled with creating a way to “merge” maps, which is an important part of a genetic algorithm
 - Breeding stage
- Decided to shift toward an implementation of Haas et al.’s Seed-Fill-Shift-Repair
- Because my dataset was quite large, and because manipulating a GeoDataFrame is not very efficient, it took forever to run, despite my time-saving strategies
 - Ex: pickling, creating a graph of neighboring precincts, combining steps in the algorithm
- The districts in maps created by SFSR are also quite jagged, which isn’t ideal
- Eventually found GerryChain



Existing Solutions

- Many attempts to use computers/algorithms to improve upon human mapmaking and allow for more fair solutions
 - Brian Olsen’s compactness-focused approach
 - Auto-Redistrict (genetic algorithm)
- While these are excellent and effective, the redistricting process is complex and subjective, so creating more unique algorithms will strengthen the process
- Independent redistricting commissions can use the suggestions of algorithms when creating maps
 - Provides impartial guidance that is not binding
- Goal is to come up with a novel algorithm that is demonstrated to meaningfully improve upon current maps



GerryChain

- GerryChain - Python library for using Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods in the redistricting sphere
 - Relatively recent - last updated in 2024
- Stores state precincts as a graph, allowing for much faster runtime
- Allowed me to easily create initial partitions of a state with population-balanced districts
- Has built-in ways to calculate statistics of interest through its *metrics* sublibrary
- I decided to use the SingleMetricOptimizer, which allows the user to optimize a certain value
 - Can accomplish this through either Short Bursts, Simulated Annealing, or Tilted Runs
 - I chose Short Bursts, because this method seemed to work best for me
- To move forward, however, I would need to come up with my own unique heuristic that would provide the novelty in my project

```
from gerrychain import Graph, Elect
from gerrychain.updaters import cut
from gerrychain.metrics import compactness
from gerrychain.proposals import rec
from gerrychain.tree import recursi
from gerrychain.accept import always
from gerrychain.constraints import
from gerrychain.optimization import
from gerrychain.metrics import partisan im
```

```
total_population = sum([graph.nodes()[pop_col] for n in graph.nodes()])
assignment = recursive_tree_partition(
    graph,
    total_population//1,
    pop_col,
    0.05)
initial_partition = graph.partition(graph, assignment, mypartitions)
```

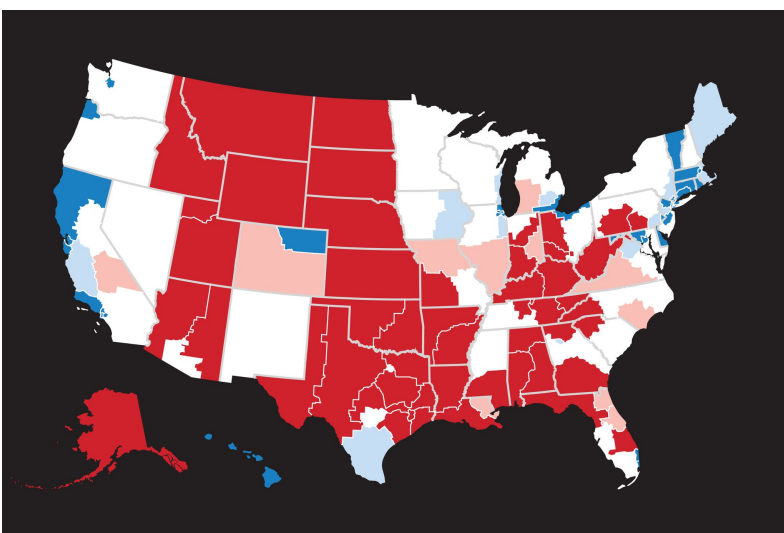
Heuristic Development and Implementation

- Common considerations in the redistricting process:
 - Population balance: The districts should have roughly equal populations
 - Contiguity: Each district should be one piece, with no holes or tears
 - Compactness: The districts should have a large area to perimeter ratio
 - Partisan bias: The map should not benefit one party over the other
 - Racial bias: The map should not disenfranchise any racial group
- I set a population balance of 0.75% and a contiguous set of districts as my map constraints
- To measure compactness, I used the average Polsby-Popper score for a district, equal to $4\pi \times \text{area} / \text{perimeter}^2$; a circle has a value of 1, the maximal value
- To measure partisan bias, I used a compound statistic formed from the average of three metrics: partisan bias, efficiency gap, and mean-median difference
- Because African-Americans tend to vote strongly for Democrats, partisan and racial bias go hand-in-hand, so I expected my heuristic to combat racial bias as well
- In my heuristic, I actually used 1 minus the average district Polsby-Popper score, as well as the absolute value of the average of the three partisan bias metrics, so that I could minimize the overall heuristic as opposed to maximizing it
- I used a scaling factor on the compound partisan bias metric so that both terms would have influence on the algorithm
- Heuristic:

$$20 * (\text{abs}(\text{efficiency_gap}) + \text{abs}(\text{mean_median}) + \text{abs}(\text{partisan_bias})) / (3 + (\text{num_districts} - \text{polsby_popper}))$$

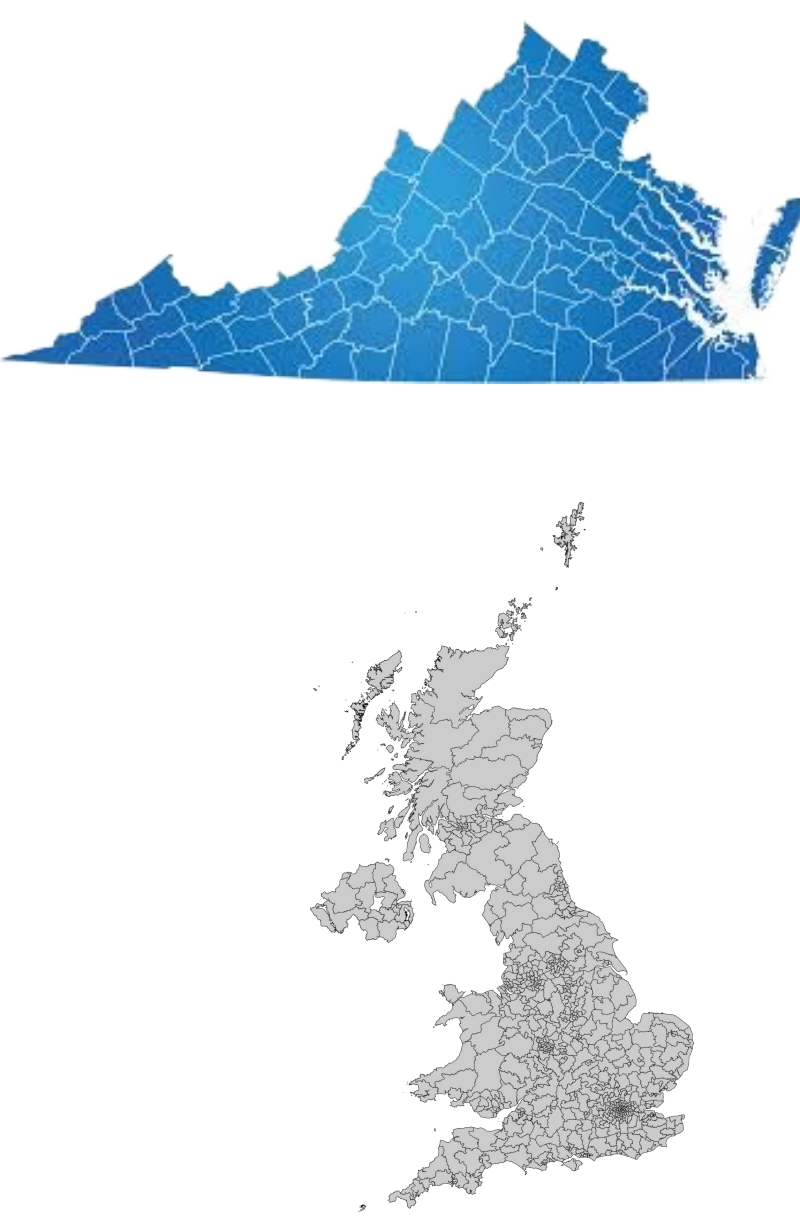
Conclusion

- I was able to successfully create a novel approach for automated redistricting that combats gerrymandering
- My algorithm can be used in concert with others to increase fairness in the redistricting process, hopefully in conjunction with IRCs
- Eventually, it is possible that algorithms could take over the process entirely, although we are not at that stage yet
- Limitations
 - I used precincts as the building blocks for districts in my algorithm
 - Cannot make districts of ideal size
 - My heuristic is certainly not comprehensive yet
 - Will work to make it more complex
 - It may be impossible to find a “perfect heuristic”



Future Work and Next Steps

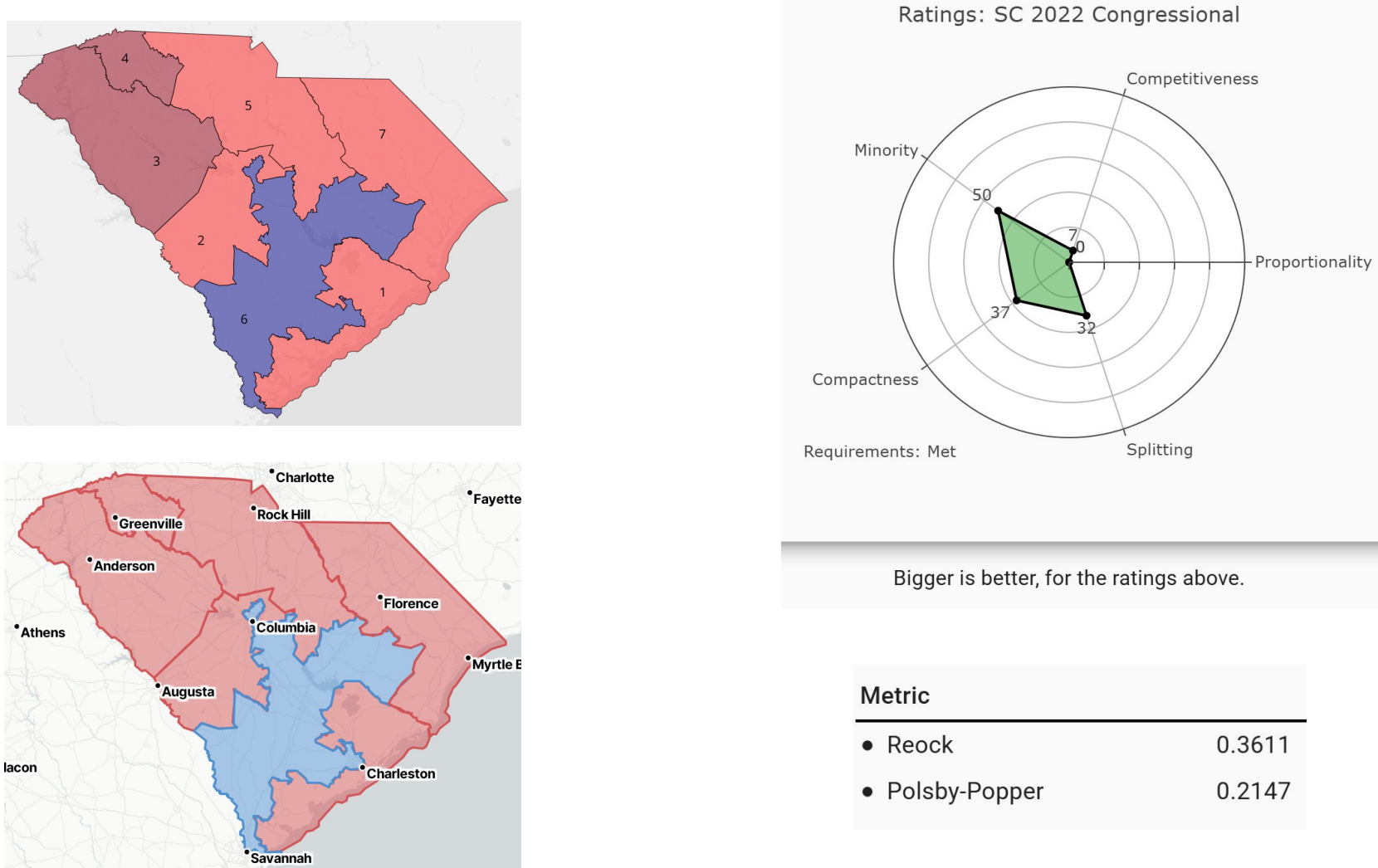
- Make heuristic more complex
 - Take into account other considerations
 - County splitting, competitiveness
- The next redistricting cycle isn’t until 2030, but I hope to contact existing independent redistricting commissions and provide them with my algorithm
- Potentially put up a website that would allow users to create maps that are optimized for certain metrics
- Examine the merits of this approach with redistricting for state legislatures
 - Gerrymandering is just as prevalent at the state level and oftentimes worse
- Research whether it can be scaled to other countries, potentially with multiparty systems
 - Most have independent commissions, but my algorithm can still help them



Research Question

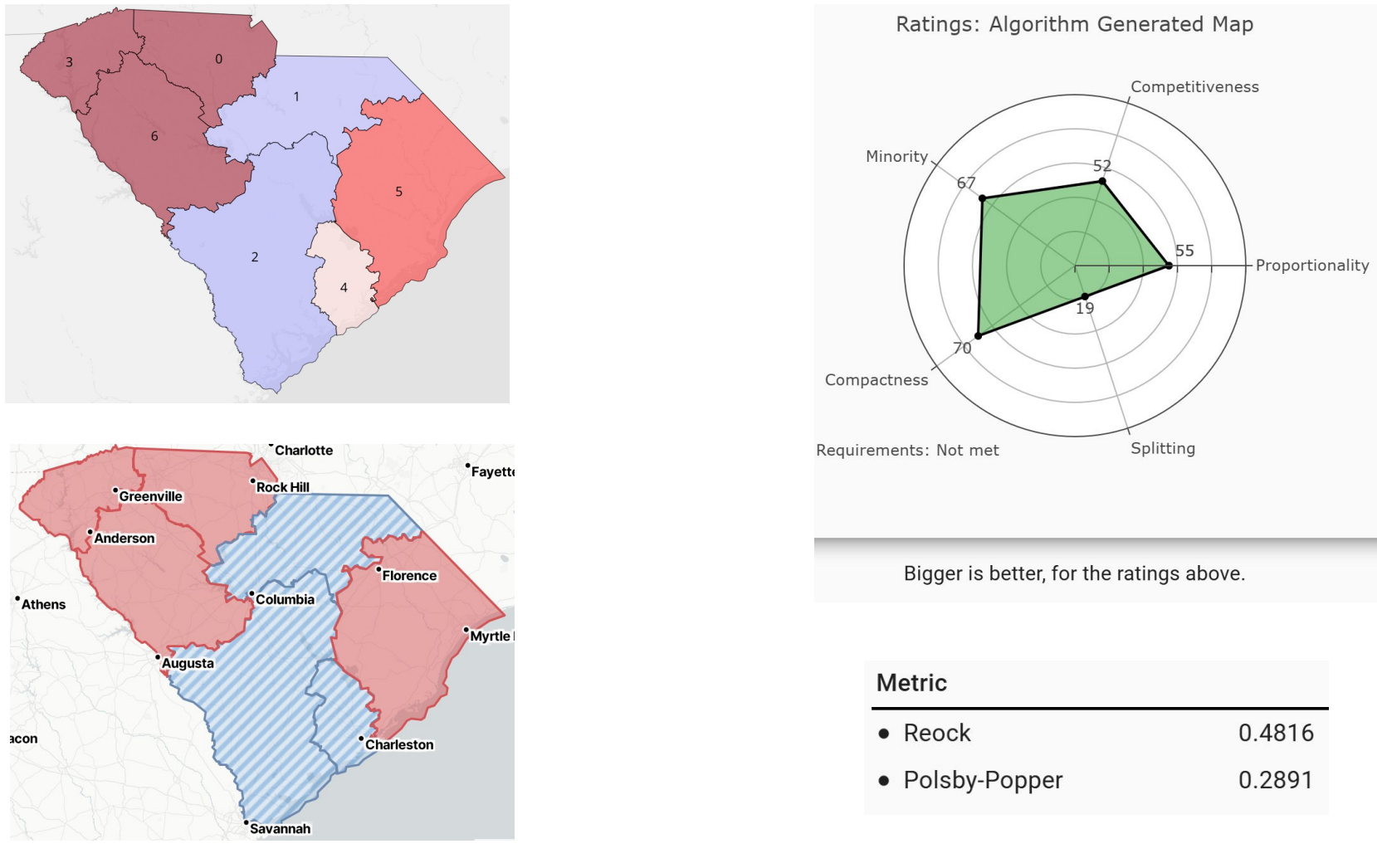
Can I create a new algorithm that will improve upon existing maps in certain states, as measured using selected metrics that encompass partisan bias, racial bias, competitiveness, and compactness?

South Carolina: Current Map



Metric	Value	Favors Democrats in this % of Scenarios ^a	More Skewed than this % of Historical Plans ^a	More Pro-Democratic than this % of Historical Plans ^a
Efficiency Gap	19.3% Pro-Republican	<1%	99%	1%
Declination	0.51 Pro-Republican	<1%	91%	5%

South Carolina: My Algorithm’s Map



Metric	Value	Favors Democrats in this % of Scenarios ^a	More Skewed than this % of Historical Plans ^a	More Pro-Democratic than this % of Historical Plans ^a
Efficiency Gap	5.0% Pro-Republican	34%	51%	22%
Declination	0.02 Pro-Democratic	68%	6%	54%

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