

# Detecting Gerrymandering with Machine Learning Models

Final Dissertation Presentation

By Andrew Frisby

ID: 201525902

Advisor: Aris Filos-Ratsikas

Second Marker: Alkmini Sgouritsa

August 26, 2022

# Agenda

- ❖ Project Description
- ❖ Aims and Objectives
- ❖ Outputs
- ❖ Evaluation
- ❖ Q&A

# Project Overview

- ❖ Gerrymandering
  - ◊ Manipulation of voters by drawing voting districts that sway elections in favor of one party
  - ◊ Ex.)

	Party A	Party B
Popular Vote Share	49%	51%
Legislative Share	55%	45%
  - ◊ Packing and cracking
- ❖ Current methods measure it with statistics and outlier detection
  - ◊ There is an “absence of any ‘limited and precise standard’ for evaluating partisan gerrymandering” (*Rucho v. Common Cause*)
- ❖ Attempting to create a machine learning (ML) model to use as a standard for evaluating and detecting gerrymandering
  - ◊ A research-based, proof of concept dissertation using both image and numerical data with sophisticated ML models
  - ◊ Models combine both normal neural networks (NNs) and convolutional neural networks (CNNs)

# Aims and Objectives

- ❖ Develop ML model to detect gerrymandering in a district and/or districting plan

  - ❖ Generate realistic districting plans and accompanying demographic data
  - ❖ Score and label generated plans
  - ❖ Implement effective method to combine numerical demographic data and district images in single ML model
  - ❖ Build CNN/NN/combined model
  - ❖ Tune, train, and test model on labeled data

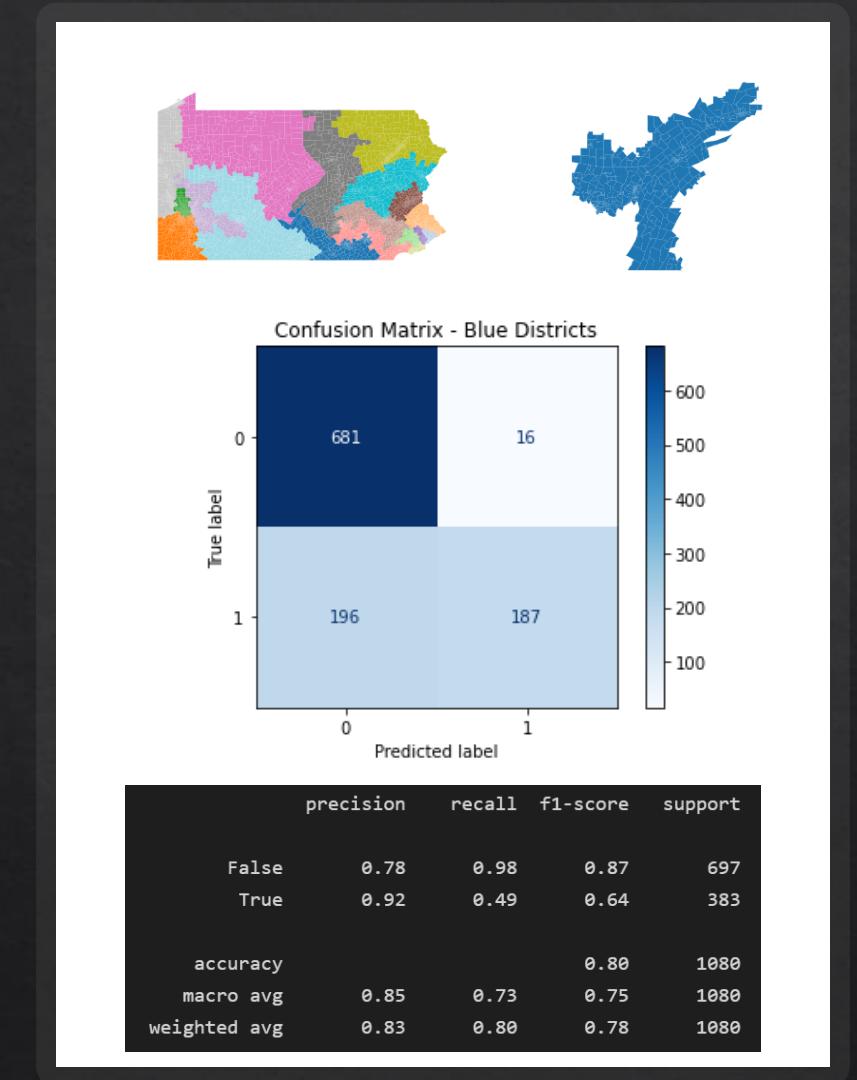
- ❖ Discover most appropriate metrics and metric composites to label data used in model

  - ❖ Incorporate and develop metrics to label data
  - ❖ Compare results of models using different labeling metrics

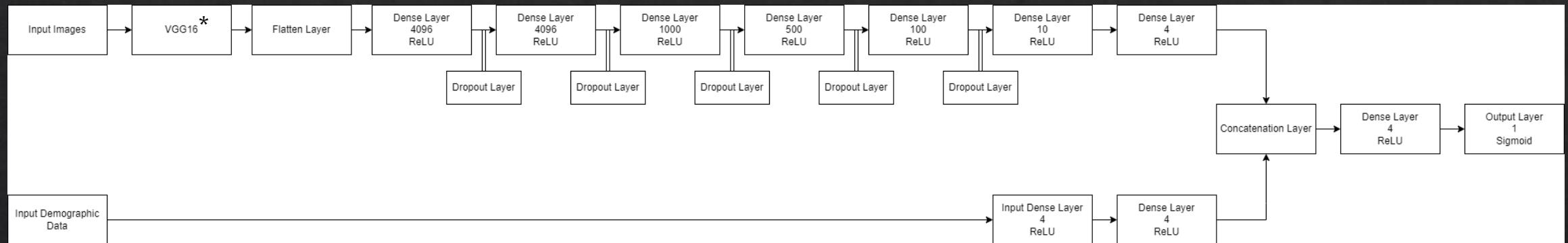
- ❖ Offer a standard for evaluating gerrymandering with machine learning
- ❖ Illustrate power of gerrymandered districts on elections 
  - ❖ Visualize and report election results of most gerrymandered district plans and compare them to non-gerrymandered plans

# Outputs

- ❖ District and statewide images for each generated plan along with accompanying numerical demographic data
- ❖ Combined CNN and NN models that detect gerrymandering in districting plans for the state of Pennsylvania
- ❖ Visualizations of the results



# Outputs - “Basic” Model Architecture



\* VGG16 architecture in backup slides

# Evaluation

- ❖ Proved that machine learning models can reliably and accurately predict gerrymandering
  - ❖ Dependent on metrics used to define and label gerrymandering
    - ❖ Confident that models could produce sufficient results across a wide range of metrics
  - ❖ Achieved relatively high accuracies that improved upon both baseline and initial models
    - ❖ Best models consistently reached 80-86% accuracy
    - ❖ Demographic data and initial VGG16 network proved to be sufficient
  - ❖ Followed original design proposal and development cycle\*
    - ❖ Intentionally vague to allow exploration of a wide range of research questions

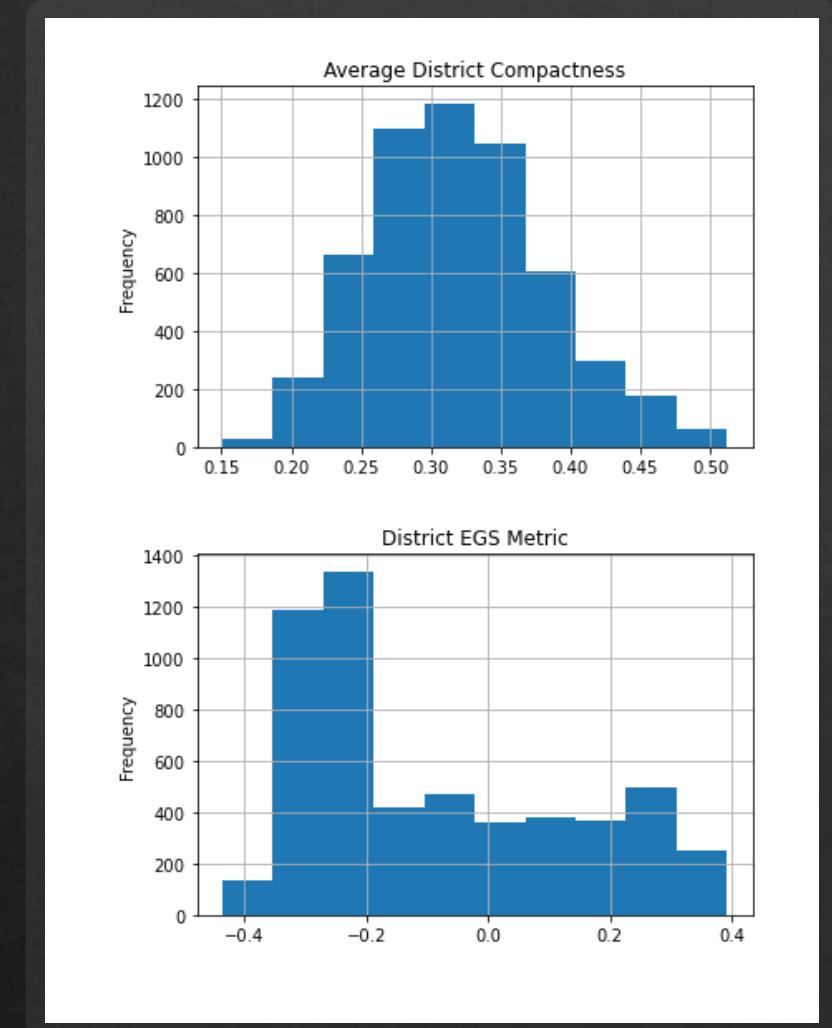
\* Original development cycle in backup slides

# Evaluation - Research Questions

- ◊ Can ML models detect/predict gerrymandering?
- ◊ How can one combine image and numerical data into a ML model?
- ◊ What model architecture(s) is/are most suitable for this prediction?
- ◊ Which demographic features should be included?
- ◊ How do the labeling metrics impact such models?
- ◊ Which metrics are the best for the ML models?
- ◊ Which input images perform better in the ML models, statewide or district?
- ◊ How to preprocess the images to get the best performance?
- ◊ What type of classification model is best? (Binary vs. multiclass)
- ◊ Does the starting districting plan impact the data generation and/or the model results?
- ◊ How do different district colors impact the model?
- ◊ Does oversampling to address the class imbalance impact the model?

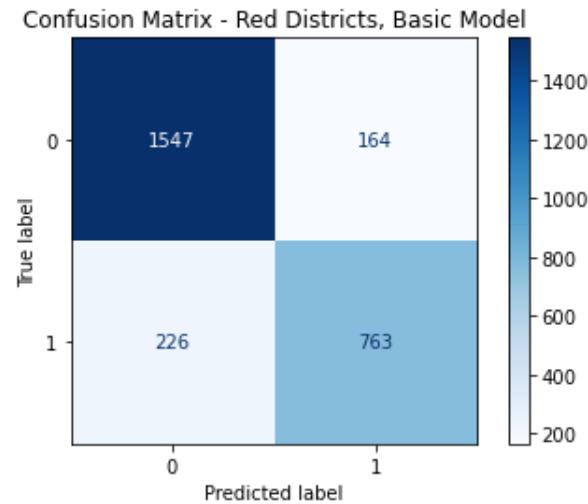
# Evaluation – Changes and Shortfalls

- ❖ GerryChain library memory leak during data generation caused a reduction in planned total observations
- ❖ Balancing of classes required oversampling techniques which hindered the models' performance and were ultimately deemed unnecessary and abandoned
- ❖ Keras Tuner was used for parameter searching/tuning
- ❖ Compactness metrics – majority of data  $<0.50$ , difficult to generate thresholds and labels
- ❖ Partisan metrics – most calculated scores on a statewide level making them obsolete for the district models
- ❖ Extremely long run times
- ❖ Intentions to examine other CNNs, different states, and implications of gerrymandering were not explored due to time constraints



# Evaluation – Overall Results

- ❖ Initial model test accuracy: 65.8%
- ❖ Over 40 models generated and tested during development cycle\*
- ❖ Keras-Tuner models typically only performed as good as “basic,” untuned models
- ❖ Best model test accuracy: 86%
  - ❖ 13,500 observations
  - ❖ Red districts, but, overall, color determined not to be contributing factor across models
  - ❖ “Basic” model

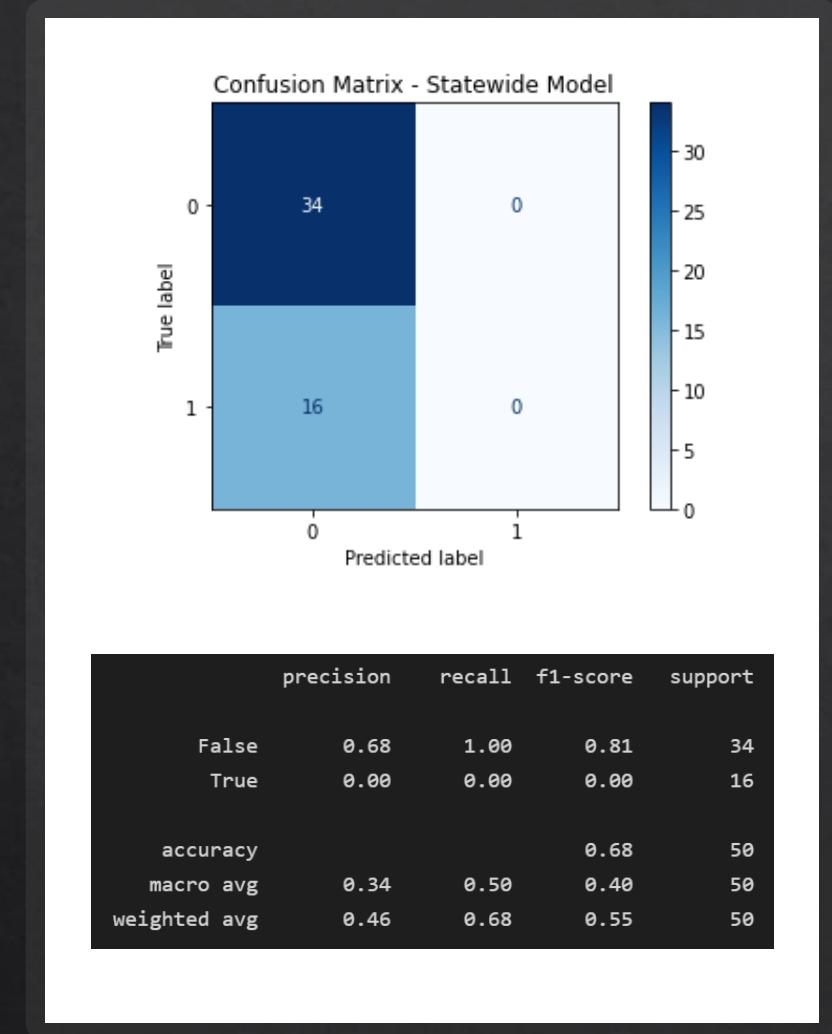


	precision	recall	f1-score	support
False	0.87	0.90	0.89	1711
True	0.82	0.77	0.80	989
accuracy			0.86	2700
macro avg	0.85	0.84	0.84	2700
weighted avg	0.85	0.86	0.85	2700

\* More model results in backup slides

# Evaluation – Statewide Results

- ❖ Initial model test accuracy: 65.8%
- ❖ Statewide model test accuracy: 68%
  - ❖ With oversampling of True class: 53.6%
- ❖ Impacted by data generation limitations and small sample size
  - ❖ Only 250 total observations



# References

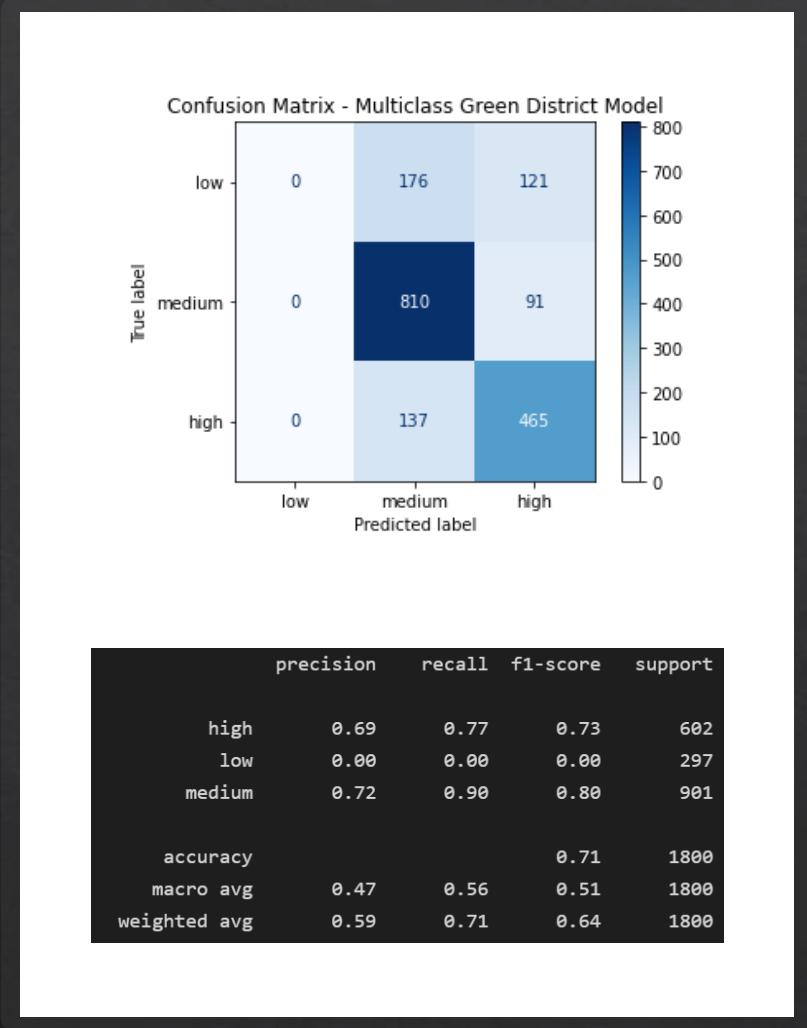
- ◊ Bangia, S. *et al.* (2015) *Quantifying Gerrymandering : Data+ 2015 @ Duke*. Available at: <https://services.math.duke.edu/projects/gerrymandering/index-dataPlus.html> (Accessed: 8 July 2022).
- ◊ Bangia, S. *et al.* (2017) 'Redistricting: Drawing the Line'. arXiv. Available at: <http://arxiv.org/abs/1704.03360> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ Borodin, A. *et al.* (2018) 'Big City vs. the Great Outdoors: Voter Distribution and How It Affects Gerrymandering', in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence. Twenty-Seventh International Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence {IJCAI-18}*, Stockholm, Sweden: International Joint Conferences on Artificial Intelligence Organization, pp. 98–104. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.24963/ijcai.2018/14>.
- ◊ DeFord, D. (2019) 'How to build districting ensembles: A guide to GerryChain'.
- ◊ Fisher, Z. (2017) *Measuring Compactness*. Available at: <https://fisherzachary.github.io/public/r-output.html> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ 'GerryChain' (2022). Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group. Available at: <https://github.com/mggg/GerryChain> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ ul Hassan, M. (2018) 'VGG16 - Convolutional Network for Classification and Detection', 20 November. Available at: <https://neurohive.io/en/popular-networks/vgg16/> (Accessed: 30 June 2022).
- ◊ Herschlag, G., Ravier, R. and Mattingly, J.C. (2017) 'Evaluating Partisan Gerrymandering in Wisconsin'. arXiv. Available at: <http://arxiv.org/abs/1709.01596> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ 'Keras: Multiple Inputs and Mixed Data' (2019) *PyImageSearch*, 4 February. Available at: <https://www.pyimagesearch.com/2019/02/04/keras-multiple-inputs-and-mixed-data/> (Accessed: 18 July 2022).
- ◊ Lewenberg, Y., Lev, O. and Rosenschein, J.S. (2017) 'Divide and Conquer: Using Geographic Manipulation to Win District-Based Elections', p. 9.
- ◊ Li, L. *et al.* (2018) 'Hyperband: A Novel Bandit-Based Approach to Hyperparameter Optimization', p. 52.
- ◊ *Metric Geometry and Gerrymandering Group* (no date). Available at: <https://github.com/mggg> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ *MGGG States* (no date) GitHub. Available at: <https://github.com/mggg-states> (Accessed: 4 July 2022).
- ◊ *Redistricting Report Card Methodology* (2021). Available at: <https://gerrymander.princeton.edu/redistricting-report-card-methodology> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ Robert, C.P. (2016) 'The Metropolis-Hastings algorithm'. arXiv. Available at: <http://arxiv.org/abs/1504.01896> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).
- ◊ *Rucho v. Common Cause* (2019) Oyez. Available at: <https://www.oyez.org/cases/2018/18-422> (Accessed: 6 July 2022).
- ◊ Simonyan, K. and Zisserman, A. (2015) 'Very Deep Convolutional Networks for Large-Scale Image Recognition'. arXiv. Available at: <http://arxiv.org/abs/1409.1556> (Accessed: 30 June 2022).
- ◊ *sklearn.model\_selection.GridSearchCV* (no date) scikit-learn. Available at: [https://scikit-learn.org/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.model\\_selection.GridSearchCV.html](https://scikit-learn.org/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.model_selection.GridSearchCV.html) (Accessed: 1 July 2022).
- ◊ *sklearn.model\_selection.RandomizedSearchCV* (no date) scikit-learn. Available at: [https://scikit-learn.org/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.model\\_selection.RandomizedSearchCV.html](https://scikit-learn.org/stable/modules/generated/sklearn.model_selection.RandomizedSearchCV.html) (Accessed: 1 July 2022).
- ◊ Smith, R. (2019) 'Duke Mathematics Has Its Day in Court', 25 March. Available at: <https://today.duke.edu/2019/03/duke-mathematics-has-its-day-court> (Accessed: 6 July 2022).
- ◊ Stephanopoulos, N.O. and McGhee, E.M. (no date) 'Partisan Gerrymandering and the Efficiency Gap', *The University of Chicago Law Review*, p. 70.
- ◊ Team, K. (no date) *Keras documentation: Keras Applications*. Available at: <https://keras.io/api/applications/> (Accessed: 7 July 2022).
- ◊ *TIGER/Line Shapefiles* (no date) Census.gov. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/geographies/mapping-files/time-series/geo/tiger-line-file.html> (Accessed: 6 July 2022).
- ◊ Ye, A. (2020) *Turning Non-Image Data into Images for Classification is Surprisingly Effective*, Medium. Available at: <https://towardsdatascience.com/turning-non-image-data-into-images-for-classification-is-surprisingly-effective-70ce82cfcc27> (Accessed: 29 June 2022).

Q&A

# Backup

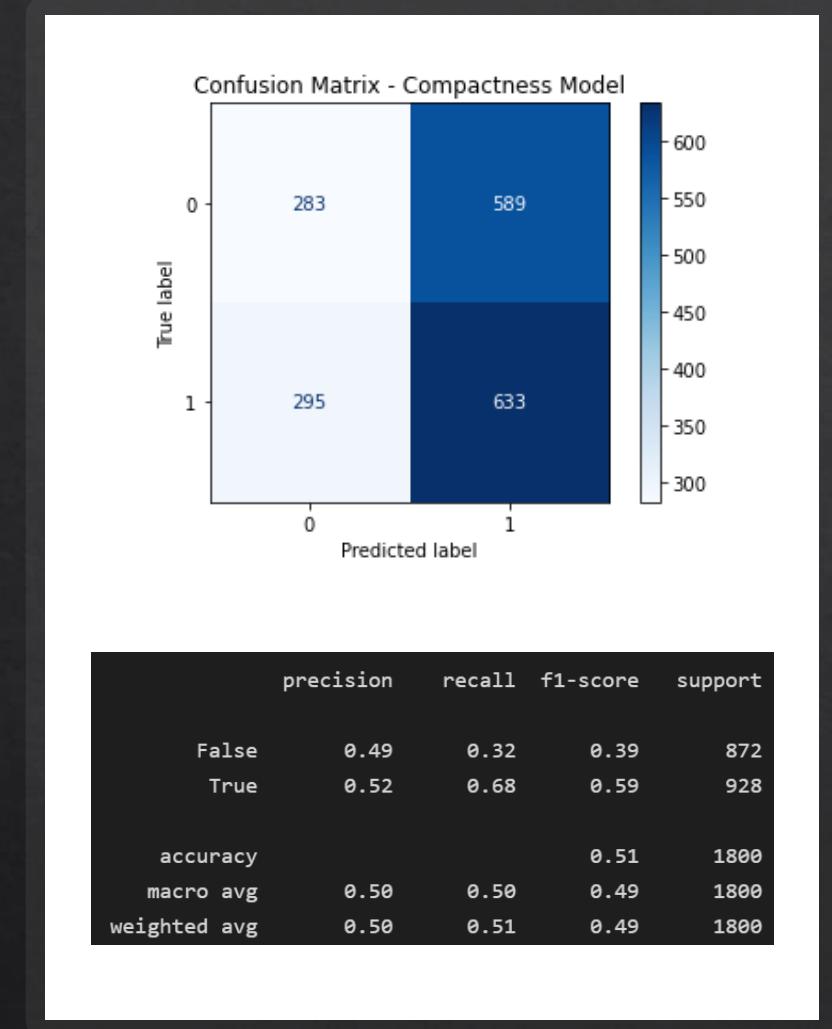
# Evaluation – Multiclass Results

- ❖ Baseline accuracy: 50%
- ❖ Best multiclass model test accuracy: 70.8%
  - ❖ Low, Medium, and High classes labeled by EGS metric
  - ❖ Low:  $[-0.5, 0.5]$
  - ❖ Medium:  $[\mu - 1 \text{ std}, -0.5] \cup [0.5, \mu + 1 \text{ std}]$
  - ❖ High:  $[-1, \mu - 1 \text{ std}] \cup [\mu + 1 \text{ std}, 1]$
  - ❖ Other labeling methods caused massive drops in accuracy
- ❖ More sensitive to size of data



# Evaluation – Compactness Results

- ❖ Baseline accuracy: 51.5%
- ❖ Statewide model test accuracy: 50.9%
- ❖ Very poor accuracy
- ❖ Illustrates difficulty of using compactness metrics for labeling data

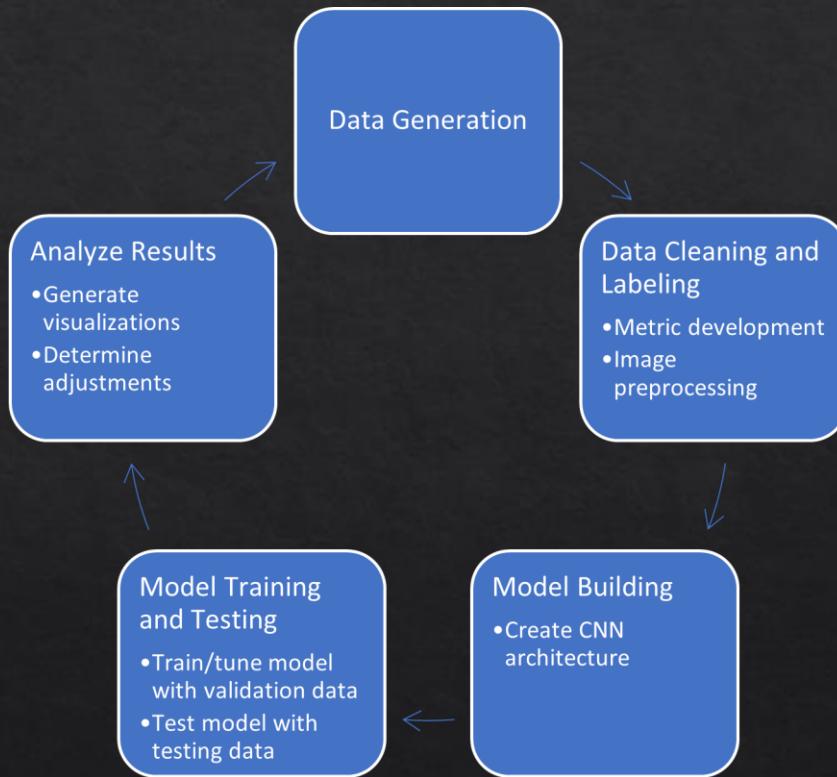


# Evaluation – Future Work

- ❖ Explore metrics and labeling process even more
- ❖ Replace and/or build own data generation module
- ❖ Add more demographic/numerical data
- ❖ Incorporate voter registration into data and/or metric
- ❖ Generate data and build models for different state(s)
  - ❖ Synthetic “grid state” as well
- ❖ Spend more time with the statewide models
- ❖ Use recall as model metric instead of accuracy
- ❖ Evaluate feature importance scores within the models
- ❖ Explore possibilities for unsupervised learning

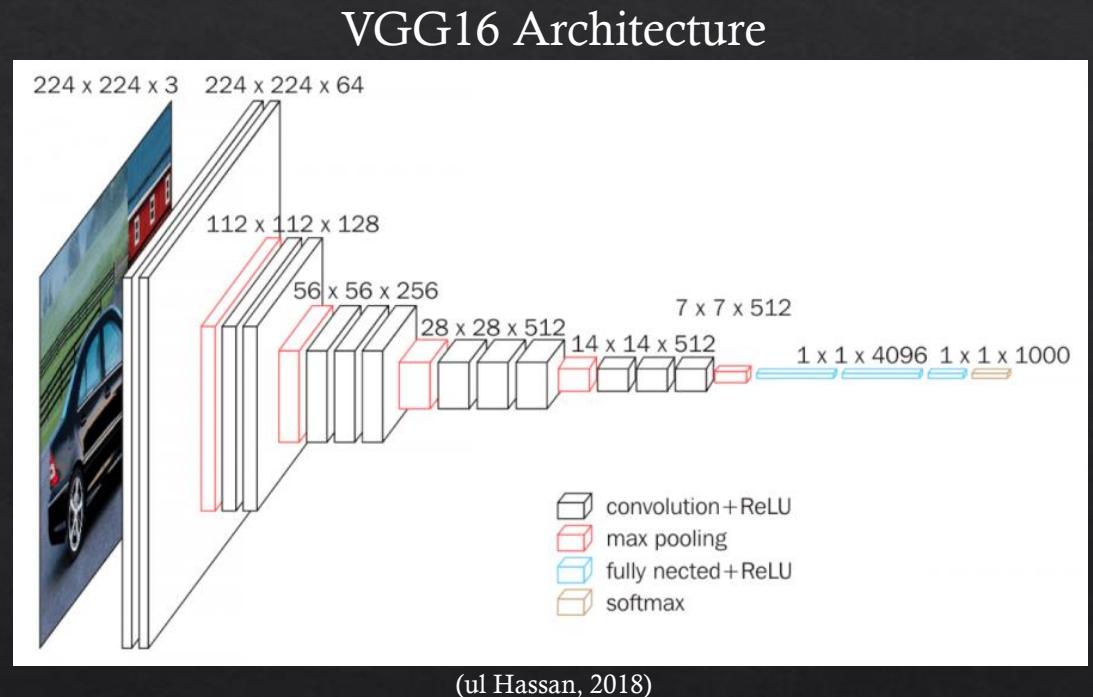
# Development and Implementation

- ❖ Standard predictive modeling development cycle
- ❖ Trial-and-error in beginning stages
- ❖ Transfer learning with VGG16
- ❖ Initially, two models using:
  - ❖ District image data 
  - ❖ State image data 
  - ❖ Numerical demographic data in both
    - ❖ Total district population
    - ❖ White population
    - ❖ Black population
    - ❖ Area of district
- ❖ Each will use different sets of metrics to label data
- ❖ Will adjust future models based on analysis of initial results



# Development and Implementation - CNN

- ❖ Transfer learning with VGG16 CNN initially
- ❖ Adjust model as needed based on initial model accuracies
- ❖ Additional pre-built CNNs to consider
  - ❖ VGG19
  - ❖ ResNet
  - ❖ EfficientNet
  - ❖ Etc... ([Keras CNNs](#))
- ❖ Must develop strategy to combine the numerical demographic data into CNN



# Outputs - “Basic” Model Architecture

