

The measurements for these hypothetical profiles are shown in Table 3.

	$V$	$S(V)$	$R$	$r$	$\delta$	$LO$	$MM$	$\alpha_S$	$\alpha_V$	$\beta$	$GS$	$PR$	$EG$	$\gamma$
1-proportionality	60.0%	60.9%	1.00	0.8	4.9	11.7%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%	-3.6%	0.0%	10.0%	-1.6%
2-proportionality	60.0%	68.0%	1.92	1.6	1.2	10.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.7%	-2.6%	-9.2%	0.8%	-3.1%
3-proportionality	60.0%	80.0%	2.98	2.4	5.9	10.9%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.2%	-1.7%	-19.8%	-9.8%	-5.5%
Sweep	64.0%	100%	3.46	0.7	N/A	N/A	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%	-0.8%	-34.4%	-20.4%	-37.9%
Competitive	52.0%	83.3%	8.32	8.0	N/A	2.6%	1.3%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.1%	-14.7%	-12.7%	-0.6%
Competitive even	51.0%	70.0%	6.57	5.0	-0.7	0.8%	-0.5%	-1.5%	-0.3%	-1.3%	-0.4%	-5.6%	-4.6%	-1.6%
Uncompetitive	52.3%	60.0%	4.32	0.1	-15.3	-2.9%	-9.2%	-9.6%	-6.7%	-9.2%	-4.6%	-7.6%	-5.3%	-9.8%
Very uncompetitive	52.3%	60.0%	4.35	0.0	-18.1	-8.0%	-19.2%	-10.0%	-12.6%	-10.0%	-8.0%	-7.7%	-5.4%	-10.0%
Cubic	57.0%	80.0%	3.43	1.9	-30.0	-1.6%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.9%	-1.4%	-17.0%	-10.0%	-10.4%
Anti-majoritarian	44.3%	60.0%	-0.98	1.6	-29.0	-15.4%	-9.2%	-9.5%	-8.0%	-7.8%	-3.4%	-11.3%	-17.0%	-14.9%
Classic	50.0%	30.0%	N/A	1.3	31.2	8.8%	6.0%	16.1%	4.9%	16.1%	5.4%	16.1%	16.1%	16.1%
Inverted	30.0%	30.0%	1.60	5.0	-24.6	-23.6%	6.0%	13.2%	3.2%	-9.0%	8.3%	12.0%	-8.0%	-68.5%

Table 3 – Measurements for Hypothetical Plans

Warrington evaluated the plans using first-past-the-post accounting, as opposed to the fractional seat probabilities method that I used, so some of these scenarios may not report as crisply here. To simplify the values, I show the percentages for whole seats in the  $S(\bar{V})$  column.

## 4. Analysis of Metrics

This section evaluates the ten metrics shown in Tables 1–3 above as potential measures of  $PA|SV$ , using the sample plans described in the previous section.

### 4.1. Measures of Partisan Gerrymandering

The first three metrics measure partisan gerrymandering via packing and cracking: declination ( $\delta$ ), lopsided outcomes ( $LO$ ), and mean–median ( $MM$ ) (Warrington 2019). While packing and cracking is an interesting quantity, none of these metrics measures the difference in seat shares. Hence, they are not measures of  $PA|SV$  as I have defined it.<sup>33</sup>

These are their detailed definitions.

Given vote shares by district ( $v = v_1 v_2 \dots v_N$ ), declination ( $\delta$ ) measures a difference in angles:

$$left = (\frac{180}{\pi}) \tan^{-1}(S_B - R_B)/(0.5 - V_B)$$

$$right = (\frac{180}{\pi}) \tan^{-1}(R_A - S_B)/(V_A - 0.5)$$

$$\delta = right - left \tag{6}$$

<sup>33</sup> Even though their units of measure invalidate them as measures of  $PA|SV$ , their measurements sometimes also violate the constraint that super-proportional outcomes can't favor the minority party, e.g., suggesting that the IL 2012 plan favors Republicans.

where:

$$\bar{S} = \sum_1^N p(v_i)$$

$$S_B = \bar{S}/N$$

$$R_A = (1 + S_B)/2$$

$$R_B = S_B/2$$

$$V_A = (\sum_1^n p(1 - v) * (1 - v))/(N - \bar{S})$$

$$V_B = 1 - (\sum_1^n p(v) * v)/\bar{S}$$

$p(v)$  = the fractional seat probability for vote share  $v$

Lopsided outcomes ( $LO$ ) measures a difference in vote shares:

$$LO = (0.5 - V_B) - (V_A - 0.5) \quad (7)$$

Mean–median ( $MM$ ) also measures a difference in vote shares:

$$MM = \text{mean}(v) - \text{median}(v) \quad (8)$$

These measure partisan gerrymandering via packing & cracking but not  $PA|SV$ .

## 4.2. Measures of Partisan Symmetry

The next four metrics measure some aspect of a seats–votes curve: seat bias ( $\alpha_S$ ), vote bias ( $\alpha_V$ ), geometric seat bias ( $\beta$ ), and global symmetry ( $GS$ ). Neither vote bias nor global symmetry measures a difference in seat shares; therefore, they are not measures of  $PA|SV$ .

Both seat bias and geometric seat bias *do* measure differences in seat shares, but they sometimes violate the property that super-proportional outcomes cannot favor minority parties. Among many others, two examples are illustrative: the IL 2012 and TX 2020 plans shown in Fig. 2 and 4, respectively.

- In both cases, seat bias becomes confounded because the seats–votes curves pass the (0.5, 0.5) center point of symmetry<sup>34</sup> on one side of the 45° line of proportionality, where  $S = V$  before crossing over it and reaching the statewide vote share where one party gets a large majority of the votes and an even larger share of the seats.
- $\beta$  also sends the wrong signal for these two plans, because the vote shares where the counterfactual minority seats–votes curves are evaluated – Republican (red) and Democratic (blue) – are well outside the zone of uncertainty around the statewide vote share.

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<sup>34</sup> All symmetric seats–votes curves pass through this point.