

# Computational Social Choice 2023

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## Plan for Today

Complexity theory is a core tool in computational social choice.  
Today we briefly review some representative examples of its use:

- Winner determination
- Strategic manipulation
- Possible winners

## Winner Determination

The most fundamental algorithmic problem in voting theory is that of determining the winners under a given voting rule for a given profile.

Here's what we would expect to find:

- Winner determination is easy (polynomial-time computable) for rules such as Plurality, Veto, Borda, Copeland, ...
- Winner determination seems difficult (at least NP-hard) for rules such as Slater and Kemeny

Exercise: *How would you define this winner determination problem?*

## The Winner Determination Problem

For a basic complexity analysis, best to state this as a decision problem:

WDP( $F$ )

**Input:** Profile  $\mathbf{R} \in \mathcal{L}(A)^n$  of preferences and alternative  $x^* \in A$

**Question:** Is it the case that  $x^* \in F(\mathbf{R})$ ?

Exercise: Explain how this relates to the problem of computing  $F(\mathbf{R})$ .

Exercise: Why is asking “ $X^* = F(\mathbf{R})$ ?” for  $X^* \subseteq A$  a bad idea?

## Examples

Let's briefly look at three examples highlighting interesting features of the winner determination problem . . .

The topic is treated in depth in Chapters 3–5 of the *Handbook*.

F. Brandt, V. Conitzer, U. Endriss, J. Lang, and A.D. Procaccia (eds), *Handbook of Computational Social Choice*. Cambridge University Press, 2016.

## Complexity of the Banks Rule

Under *Banks*, an alternative wins if it is a top element in an inclusion-maximal *acyclic subgraph* of the *majority graph* induced by the profile.

We state this (not very surprising) result without proof:

**Theorem (Woeginger, 2003):**  $\text{WDP}(\text{Banks})$  is *NP-complete*.

NP-membership obvious. NP-hardness from GRAPH 3-COLOURING.

G.J. Woeginger. Banks Winners in Tournaments are Difficult to Recognize. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 2003.

## Easiness of Computing Some Banks Winner

We have seen that checking whether  $x$  is a Banks winner is NP-hard. So computing *all* Banks winners is also NP-hard.

But computing just *some* Banks winner is easy! Algorithm:

- (1) Let  $S := \{a_1\}$  and  $i := 1$  (alternatives  $A = \{a_1, \dots, a_m\}$ )
- (2) While  $i < m$ , repeat:
  - Let  $i := i + 1$
  - If the majority graph restricted to  $S \cup \{a_i\}$  is acyclic, then let  $S := S \cup \{a_i\}$
- (3) Return the top element in  $S$  (it is a Banks winner)

O. Hudry. A Note on “Banks Winners in Tournaments are Difficult to Recognize” by G.J. Woeginger. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 2004.

## Complexity of Ranked Pairs

Under *Ranked Pairs*, we order the ranked pairs in  $A \times A$  by the number of voters supporting them; then lock in pairs in this order but skip pairs that would create cycles; and finally elect the top alternative.

Need to specify how we *break ties* in this order on pairs.

**Fact:** For lexicographic tie-breaking,  $\text{WDP}(\text{RankedPairs})$  is in  $P$ .

Observe that lexicographic tie-breaking violates neutrality. A more principled approach would be *parallel-universe tie-breaking*. But:

**Theorem (Brill and Fisher, 2012):** For parallel-universe tie-breaking,  $\text{WDP}(\text{RankedPairs})$  is NP-complete.

NP-memb. obvious (witness: order on pairs). NP-hardness from SAT.

M. Brill and F. Fischer. The Price of Neutrality for the Ranked Pairs Method. AAI-2012.



## Complexity of the Dodgson Rule

Dodgson (a.k.a. Lewis Carroll, author of *Alice in Wonderland*) proposed:

*If a Condorcet winner exists, elect it. Otherwise, for each alternative  $x$  compute the number of **adjacent swaps** in the individual preferences required for  $x$  to become a Condorcet winner. Elect the alternative(s) that minimise that number.*

Well over 100 years after its invention, the WDP of this rule turned out to be complete for a complexity class thought to lack natural problems:

**Theorem (Hemaspaandra et al., 1997):** *Winner determination for the Dodgson rule is complete for **parallel access to NP**.*

E. Hemaspaandra, L. Hemaspaandra and J. Rothe. Exact Analysis of Dodgson Elections: Lewis Carroll's 1876 Voting System is Complete for Parallel Access to NP. *Journal of the ACM*, 1997.

## Complexity as a Barrier to Manipulation

Every voting rule can be manipulated in some profiles. But even when it is *possible* to manipulate, maybe actually doing so is *difficult*?

If manipulation is computationally intractable for  $F$ , then  $F$  might be considered *resistant* (albeit still not *immune*) to manipulation.

Most interesting when winner determination is tractable. At the very least, we would like to see a *complexity gap* between manipulation (undesired behaviour) and winner determination (desired functionality).

V. Conitzer and T. Walsh. Barriers to Manipulation in Voting. In F. Brandt et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Computational Social Choice*. CUP, 2016.

## Classical Results

The seminal paper by Bartholdi, Tovey and Trick (1989) starts by showing that manipulation is in fact *easy* for a range of commonly used voting rules, and then presents one system (a variant of the Copeland rule) for which manipulation is NP-complete. Next:

- We first present a couple of these easiness results, namely for *plurality* and for the *Borda rule*.
- We then mention a result from a follow-up paper by Bartholdi and Orlin (1991): the manipulation of *STV* is *NP-complete*.

J.J. Bartholdi III, C.A. Tovey, and M.A. Trick. The Computational Difficulty of Manipulating an Election. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 1989.

J.J. Bartholdi III and J.B. Orlin. Single Transferable Vote Resists Strategic Voting. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 1991.

## Manipulability as a Decision Problem

Need to formulate manipulability as a decision problem:

$\text{MANIP}(F)$

**Input:** Ballots for all but one voter and alternative  $x^*$ .

**Question:** Is there a ballot for the final voter such that  $x^*$  wins?

To find out what the best winner achievable for the manipulator is, she has to solve  $\text{MANIP}(F)$  for all  $x^*$ , in order of her preference.

Remark: This formulation of the *decision problem* cannot be used to solve the *search problem* of computing the manipulating ballot. As our focus here is on intractability results, this is ok.

Remark: We assume that the *manipulator knows* all the other ballots. This unrealistic assumption is intentional: if manipulation is hard even under such favourable conditions, then all the better.

## Manipulating the Plurality Rule

Recall: under *plurality*, the alternative(s) ranked first most often win(s).

The plurality rule is easy to manipulate (trivial):

- Simply vote for  $x^*$ , the alternative to be made winner by means of manipulation. If manipulation is possible at all, this will work. Otherwise manipulation is not possible.

Thus:  $\text{MANIP}(\textit{plurality})$  can be decided in *polynomial* time.

General:  $\text{MANIP}(F) \in \text{P}$  for any rule  $F$  with polynomial winner determination problem and polynomial number of ballots.

## Manipulating the Borda Rule

Recall: under *Borda*, you submit a ranking of all alternatives and thereby award  $m-k$  points to the alternative ranked in position  $k$ .

Remark: We now have superpolynomially-many possible ballots.

But Borda still is easy to manipulate. Use a *greedy algorithm*:

- Place  $x^*$  (the alternative to be made winner through manipulation) at the top of your ballot.
- Then inductively proceed as follows: Check if any of the remaining alternatives can be put next on the ballot without preventing  $x^*$  from winning. If yes, do so. (If no, manipulation is impossible.)

After convincing ourselves that this algorithm is indeed correct, we see that  $\text{MANIP}(\textit{Borda})$  can be decided in *polynomial* time.

J.J. Bartholdi III, C.A. Tovey, and M.A. Trick. The Computational Difficulty of Manipulating an Election. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 1989.

## Intractability of Manipulating STV

Recall: *Single Transferable Vote* (STV) works by eliminating plurality losers until an alternative is ranked first by  $> 50\%$  of the voters.

**Theorem (Bartholdi and Orlin, 1991):**  $\text{MANIP}(\text{STV})$  is *NP-compl.*

Proof: Omitted. But try to get an intuition for why this is intractable.

For example, it is often not optimal to put the alternative  $x$  you want to win at the top of your ballot (by ranking  $y$  at the top, you may be able to eliminate  $z$ , which may be a stronger competitor than  $y$ ).

J.J. Bartholdi III and J.B. Orlin. Single Transferable Vote Resists Strategic Voting. *Social Choice and Welfare*, 1991.

## Coalitional Manipulation

It rarely is the case that a *single* voter really can make a difference. So we should look into *manipulation by a coalition* of voters.

Variants of the problem:

- Ballots may be *weighted* or *unweighted*.  
Examples: countries in the EU, shareholders of a company
- Manipulation may be *constructive* (making alternative  $x^*$  win) or *destructive* (ensuring  $x^*$  does not win).



## Decision Problems

Next, we consider two decision problems, for a given voting rule  $F$ :

CONSTRUCTIVEMANIPULABILITY( $F$ )

**Input:** List of weighted ballots; set of weighted manipulators;  $x^* \in A$ .

**Question:** Are there ballots for the manipulators such that  $x^*$  wins?

DESTRUCTIVEMANIPULABILITY( $F$ )

**Input:** List of weighted ballots; set of weighted manipulators;  $x^* \in A$ .

**Question:** Are there ballots for the manipulators such that  $x^*$  loses?

## Constructive Manipulation under Borda

In the context of coalitional manipulation with weighted voters, we can get hardness results for elections with small numbers of alternatives:

**Theorem (Conitzer et al., 2007):** *For Borda, constructive coalitional manipulation with weighted voters is NP-complete for  $\geq 3$  alternatives.*

Proof: We have to prove NP-membership and NP-hardness:

- NP-membership: easy (if you guess ballots for the manipulators, we can check that it works in polynomial time)
- NP-hardness: for three alternatives by reduction from PARTITION (next slide); hardness for more alternatives follows

V. Conitzer, T. Sandholm, and J. Lang. When are Elections with Few Candidates Hard to Manipulate? *Journal of the ACM*, 2007.

## Proof of NP-hardness

We use a reduction from the NP-complete PARTITION problem:

PARTITION

**Input:**  $(w_1, \dots, w_n) \in \mathbb{N}^n$

**Question:** Is there a set  $S \subseteq \{1, \dots, n\}$  s.t.  $\sum_{i \in S} w_i = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n w_i$ ?

Let  $K := \sum_{i=1}^n w_i$ . Given an instance of PARTITION, we construct an election with  $n + 2$  weighted voters and three alternatives:

- two voters with weight  $\frac{1}{2}K - \frac{1}{4}$ , voting  $(a \succ b \succ c)$  and  $(b \succ a \succ c)$
- a coalition of  $n$  voters with weights  $w_1, \dots, w_n$  who want  $c$  to win

Clearly, each manipulator should vote either  $(c \succ a \succ b)$  or  $(c \succ b \succ a)$ .

Suppose there does exist a partition. Then they can vote like this:

- manipulators corresponding to elements in  $S$  vote  $(c \succ a \succ b)$
- manipulators corresponding to elements outside  $S$  vote  $(c \succ b \succ a)$

Scores:  $2K$  for  $c$ ;  $\frac{1}{2}K + (\frac{1}{2}K - \frac{1}{4}) \cdot (2 + 1) = 2K - \frac{3}{4}$  for both  $a$  and  $b$

If there is no partition, then either  $a$  or  $b$  will get at least 1 point more.

Hence, manipulation is feasible iff there exists a partition. ✓

## Destructive Manipulation under Borda

**Theorem (Conitzer et al., 2007):** *For Borda, destructive coalitional manipulation with weighted voters is in P.*

Proof: Let  $x^*$  be the alternative the manipulators want to lose.

For every  $y \neq x^*$ , simply try everyone ranking  $y$  at the top and  $x^*$  at the bottom. If none of these  $m - 1$  attempts work, nothing will. ✓

V. Conitzer, T. Sandholm, and J. Lang. When are Elections with Few Candidates Hard to Manipulate? *Journal of the ACM*, 2007.

## Critique of the Approach

Such complexity results provide interesting insights into the dynamics of strategic manipulation. *But do they really offer protection?*

NP-hardness is a *worst-case* notion and cannot rule out the possibility that problem instances encountered in practice are easy to solve.

Research suggests that it might be impossible to find a voting rule that is *usually* hard to manipulation—for a some definition of “usual”.

V. Conitzer and T. Walsh. Barriers to Manipulation in Voting. In F. Brandt et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Computational Social Choice*. CUP, 2016.

## Possible Winners

Suppose we have not yet elicited all individual preferences in full.

**Possible Winner Problem:** *Is there a way in which to complete the preferences so that  $x^*$  wins under rule  $F$ ?*

Important problem due to the rich variety of possible interpretations:

- Some *individuals* did not vote yet.
- Some new *alternatives* have entered the field (say, new proposals).
- When *eliciting* preferences (costly!), we can stop once *possible* = *necessary winners* (alternatives winning for *all* completions).

Exercise: *How does this relate to *coalitional manipulation*?*

K. Konczak and J. Lang. *Voting Procedures with Incomplete Preferences*. Proc. Multidisciplinary Workshop on Advances in Preference Handling 2005.

C. Boutilier and J.S. Rosenschein. Incomplete Information and Communication in Voting. In F. Brandt et al. (eds.), *Handbook of COMSOC*. CUP, 2016.

## Complexity of the Possible Winner Problem

Rich literature on the complexity of the possible winner problem.

$\text{POSSWIN}(F)$

**Input:** Profile  $\mathbf{R}$  of partial ballots and alternative  $x^*$ .

**Question:** Is  $x^*$  a possible winner for  $\mathbf{R}$  under voting rule  $F$ ?

Two examples (without proof) to give an impression:

**Theorem (Betzler and Dorn, 2010):**  $\text{POSSWIN}(\textit{plurality})$  is in  $P$ .

**Theorem (Xia and Conitzer, 2008):**  $\text{POSSWIN}(\textit{Borda})$  is NP-compl.

N. Betzler and B. Dorn. Towards a Dichotomy for the Possible Winner Problem in Elections Based on Scoring Rules. *J. Computer and System Sciences*, 2010.

L. Xia and V. Conitzer. Determining Possible and Necessary Winners under Common Voting Rules Given Partial Orders. AAI-2008.

## Summary

We saw some representative examples for the use of complexity theory in the analysis of voting rules, for three different scenarios:

- Winner determination
- Strategic manipulation
- Possible winners

It's generally *good practice*, for any new problem you put forward, to also analyse its computational complexity.

At the same time, it's important not to read too much into (negative) complexity results. *Is worst case relevant? Might heuristics work?*

**What next?** Social choice in richer models of decision making.