# Measuring a Priori Voting Power - Taking Delegations Seriously 

Extended Abstract

Rachael Colley<br>IRIT, University of Toulouse<br>Toulouse, France<br>rachael.colley@irit.fr

Théo Delemazure<br>LAMSADE, University<br>Paris-Dauphine,<br>Paris, France<br>theo.delemazure@dauphine.eu

Hugo Gilbert<br>LAMSADE, University<br>Paris-Dauphine,<br>Paris, France<br>hugo.gilbert@lamsade.dauphine.fr


#### Abstract

In this paper, we introduce new power indices to measure the criticality of voters involved in different elections where delegations play a key role, namely, two variants of the proxy voting setting and a liquid democracy setting. We argue that our power indices are natural extensions of the Penrose-Banzhaf index in classic simple voting games; we show that recursive formulas can compute these indices for weighted voting games in pseudo-polynomial time; and we provide numerical results to illustrate how introducing delegation options modifies the voting power of voters.


## KEYWORDS

Voting Power, Interactive Democracy, Voting Games

## ACM Reference Format:

Rachael Colley, Théo Delemazure, and Hugo Gilbert. 2023. Measuring a Priori Voting Power - Taking Delegations Seriously: Extended Abstract. In Proc. of the 22nd International Conference on Autonomous Agents and Multiagent Systems (AAMAS 2023), London, United Kingdom, May 29 - fune 2, 2023, IFAAMAS, 3 pages.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Voting games have been extensively used to study the a priori voting power of voters participating in an election [10], i.e., the power granted solely by the rules governing the election process. Notably, these measures do not consider the nature of the bill nor the affinities between voters. The class of I-power measures (e.g., the Penrose-Banzhaf measure $[3,17]$ ) notably quantify how likely a voter will be influential in the decision's outcome. In simple voting games, an assembly of voters must make a collective decision on a proposal, and each voter may either support or oppose the proposal. The Penrose-Banzhaf measure can be presented as follows: voters are assumed to vote independently from one another; a voter is as likely to vote in favour or against the proposal. It then measures the probability that a voter can alter the election's outcome given this probabilistic model on the other voters.

Simple voting games have been extended in several directions to take into account more realistic frameworks that are more diverse and complex. For example, taking into account abstention [11], several levels of approval [12], or coalition structures [16]. Hence, new power indices have been designed to understand voters' criticality in these frameworks better. However, election frameworks with delegations have been largely unexplored so far with respect to a priori voting power. Yet, frameworks such as proxy-voting [15, 19]

Proc. of the 22nd International Conference on Autonomous Agents and Multiagent Systems (AAMAS 2023), A. Ricci, W. Yeoh, N. Agmon, B. An (eds.), May 29 - 7une 2, 2023, London, United Kingdom. © 2023 International Foundation for Autonomous Agents and Multiagent Systems (www.ifaamas.org). All rights reserved.
or liquid democracy [4,5] have received increasing interest from the AI community due to their ability to provide a more flexible and engaging voting process. While proxy voting allows agents to choose a proxy from a list of representatives who will vote on their behalf $[1,2,7,13,15,19]$, liquid democracy further allows these delegations to be transitively delegated [6, 9, 14, 20]. Hence, studying these new frameworks thoroughly via their distribution of a priori voting power is an interesting research direction. ${ }^{1}$

## 2 MODELS

Let $V$ be a set of $n$ voters taking part in a binary election to decide if some proposal should be accepted or not. Each voter may vote directly (either for (1) or against ( -1 ) the proposal) or delegate their vote to another voter.

Definition 1. A delegation partition of a set $V$ is a map $D$ from $V$ to the possible ballots $\{-1,1\} \cup V$ such that for all $v \in V, D(v) \neq v$. We denote by $D^{-}, D^{+}$, and $D^{v}$ the inverse images of $\{-1\},\{1\}$ and $\{v\}$ for each $v \in V$ under $D$.

In contrast, a direct-vote partition divides the voters such that each partition cell corresponds to a possible voting option. We allow for abstentions, which correspond to situations where a delegator cannot find a voting delegatee to represent them.

Definition 2. $A$ direct-vote partition of a set $V$ is a map $T$ from $V$ to the votes $\{-1,0,1\}$. We let $T^{-}, T^{0}$, and $T^{+}$denote the inverse images of $\{-1\},\{0\}$ and $\{1\}$ under $T$, respectively.

A delegation partition $D$ naturally induces a direct-vote partition (denoted $T_{D}$ ) by resolving the delegations. First, we let voters in $D^{-}$, and $D^{+}$also be in $T^{-}$, and $T^{+}$, respectively. Thereafter, for some $\circ \in\{-,+\}$, if $v^{\prime} \in D^{v}$ and $v \in T^{\circ}$, then $v^{\prime} \in T^{\circ}$. This continues until no more voters can be added to $T^{+}$or $T^{-}$. The remaining unassigned agents in $T$ abstain and thus are in $T^{0}$. With this procedure, agents receive their delegate's vote unless their delegation leads to a cycle.

Next we define a partial ordering $\leq$ among direct-vote partitions: if $T_{1}$ and $T_{2}$ are two direct-vote partitions of $V$, we let: $T_{1} \leq T_{2} \Leftrightarrow$ $T_{1}(x) \leq T_{2}(x), \forall x \in V$.

Definition 3. A ternary (resp. binary) voting rule is a map $W$ from the set $\{-1,0,1\}^{n}\left(\right.$ resp. $\left.\{-1,1\}^{n}\right)$ of all direct-vote partitions (resp. all direct-vote partitions without abstention) of $V$ to $\{-1,1\}$ satisfying the following conditions:
(1) $W(\mathbb{1})=1$ and $W(-\mathbb{1})=-1$ where $\mathbb{1}=(1, \ldots, 1)$;
$\times n$
(2) Monotonicity: $T_{1} \leq T_{2} \Rightarrow W\left(T_{1}\right) \leq W\left(T_{2}\right)$.

[^0]Weighted voting games (WVGs). WVGs make it possible to express ternary voting rules compactly. In a WVG, there is a quota $q \in(0.5,1]$ and a map $w: V \longrightarrow \mathbb{N}_{>0}$ assigning each voter a positive weight. Given a set $S \subseteq V$, we set $w(S)=\sum_{i \in S} w(i)$. In a WVG, we have that $W(T(V))=1$ iff $w\left(T^{+}\right)>q \times w\left(T^{+} \cup T^{-}\right)$.

Voting games with delegations. We let $V$ be divided into a set of $n_{v}$ delegatees $V_{v}$, and a set of $n_{d}=n-n_{v}$ delegators $V_{d}=V \backslash V_{v}$. In the proxy voting setting, $V_{v}$ is given in the input and has been previously determined, e.g., by an election or sortition. Settings $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$ and $\mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$ differ in the options available to agents in $V_{d}$. While in $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$, each delegator can only delegate to one of the delegatees, in $\mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$, they can also vote directly. In both settings, voters in $V_{v}$ may only vote directly. The third setting is Liquid Democracy (LD), in which delegations are transitive, and delegators can delegate to delegatees through other delegators. The set of delegatees is not a priori fixed in this setting. While in the LD setting, all delegationpartitions may arise (referring to them as acceptable), the $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$ and $\mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$ settings can only lead to specific delegation-partitions called $P V_{\alpha}$-partitions and $P V_{\beta}$-partitions.

Definition 4. Given a non-empty set $V_{v} \subseteq V, a \mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$-partition (resp. $P V_{\beta}$-partition) $P$ is a delegation partition $D$ for which $D(v) \in$ $\{-1,1\}$ if $v \in V_{v}$, and $D(v) \in V_{v}\left(\right.$ resp. $\left.D(v) \in V_{v} \cup\{-1,1\}\right)$ otherwise.

Let $\mathcal{D}^{\alpha}$, (resp. $\left.\mathcal{D}^{\beta}, \mathcal{D}^{l d}\right)$ denote the set of $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$-partitions (resp. $\mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$-partitions, delegation partitions). The $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}, \mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$, and LD settings induce three models where delegations play a significant role and are increasingly permissive. We measure a priori voting power in these settings. As with the intuition behind the standard Penrose-Banzhaf index, we also invoke the principle of insufficient reason.

That is, without information about the voters or the nature of the proposal, we assume they are equally likely to vote in favour or against the proposal. Moreover, in ignorance of any concurrence or opposition of interests between voters, we assume that all choices of voters' for their delegation are equally likely and that the voters' behaviours are independent. These assumptions lead to the following probabilistic model: in the LD (resp. $\mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$ ) setting, each voter (resp. voter in $V_{d}$ ) may vote with probability $p_{v}$ or delegate to another voter with probability $p_{d}=1-p_{v}$. In $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$, this is predetermined by $V_{v}$. In all three models, if a voter votes, they are equally likely to vote in favour of or against the proposal. In the proxy settings (resp. LD setting), if a voter delegates, they may delegate to any member of $V_{v}$ (resp. any other voter) with probability $1 / n_{v}$ (resp. 1/(n-1)).

## 3 OUR RESULTS

We want to measure how critical a voter is in determining the outcome. Given our probabilistic models on acceptable delegation partitions, we consider the probability that a voter can change the outcome decided by a voting rule.

Definition 5. Given a set $V$ of voters, a voting rule $W$ (and a set $V_{v} \subseteq V$ of delegatees in the PV settings), the $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}, \mathrm{PV}_{\beta}$, and LD Penrose-Banzhaf measures, respectively $\mathcal{M}_{i}^{\alpha}(W), \mathcal{M}_{i}^{\beta}(W), \mathcal{M}_{i}^{l d}(W)$
of voter $i \in V$ are defined as:

$$
\mathcal{M}_{i}^{\gamma}(W)=\sum_{D \in \mathcal{D}^{r}} \mathbb{P}(D) \frac{W\left(T_{D_{i}^{+}}\right)-W\left(T_{D_{i}^{-}}\right)}{2}
$$

with $\gamma \in\{\alpha, \beta, l d\}$, where $\mathbb{P}(D)$ is the probability of the delegation partition $D$ occurring, and $D_{i}^{+}$(resp. $D_{i}^{-}$) is identical to $D$ with the only possible difference being that i supports (resp. opposes) the proposal.

We make some remarks. 1) The definition of the measure is different for voters in $V_{d}$ in the $\mathrm{PV}_{\alpha}$ setting as their ability to be critical depends on if there are two proxies with different votes. A full discussion on this point has been deferred to [8]. 2) Our power measures correspond to the probability that the voter is critical: $\mathbb{P}(i$ is critical $)=\mathcal{M}_{i}^{\gamma}(W)$ for $\gamma \in\{\alpha, \beta, l d\}$. 3) Observe that our power measures extend the standard Penrose-Banzhaf measure (consider $V_{v}=V$ or $p_{d}=0$ ) and that they are not normalized (i.e., summing over the agents does not yield 1 ). The corresponding voting power indices can be found by normalizing over voters.

On the computational aspect, definition 5 requires summing on all acceptable delegation partitions. In [8], we provide more compact formulas by grouping voters making similar choices. Despite this, the exact computation of these measures is \#P-hard due to the fact that they extend the standard Penrose-Banzhaf measure [18]. More positively, we show that in WVGs, they can be computed in pseudopolynomial time, similarly to the Penrose-Banzhaf measure. This is proven using a dynamic programming approach.

Theorem 1. Given a $W V G$ with weight function $w$ and quota-ratio $q$, a set of voters $V_{v} \subseteq V$ (for the PV settings), and a voter $i$, measures $\mathcal{M}_{i}^{\alpha}, \mathcal{M}_{i}^{\beta}$, and $\mathcal{M}_{i}^{l d}$ can be computed in pseudo-polynomial time.

## 4 SOME COMMENTS ON NUMERICAL TESTS

We performed numerical tests on our power measures to test their impact and the relationships between their parameters. We observed several noticeable trends. First, there is a flattening effect on the power measures as $p_{d}$ increases. By this, we mean that the difference between the lowest and highest measure of power in the WVG (for any agent) becomes smaller. This flattening, in our LD setting, is due to all voters having the same available voting actions, no matter their weights. Notably, there cannot be dummy agents when $p_{d}>0$, as for any agent, the delegation partition where all other voters delegate to them has a positive probability. Secondly, in the LD setting, we see that when the probability of delegating increases, so does the probability of being critical. When $p_{d}$ increases, the number of direct voters decreases, and the expected total weight of a voting agent increases. Hence, they are more likely to be critical when they vote directly. In the PV settings, as expected, only the criticality of voters in $V_{v}$ increases with $p_{d}$, while it decreases for voters in $V_{d}$. Third, in the PV settings, we observed that the criticality of voters in $V_{v}$ (resp. $V_{d}$ ) decreases (resp. increases) with $\left|V_{v}\right|$. Indeed, when there are few delegatees, these voters are likely to receive more delegations. On the other hand, when the number of delegatees increases, delegators have more options.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Rachael Colley acknowledges the support of the ANR JCJC project SCONE (ANR 18-CE23-0009-01).

## REFERENCES

[1] Ben Abramowitz and Nicholas Mattei. 2019. Flexible Representative Democracy: An Introduction with Binary Issues. In Proceedings of the Twenty-Eighth International Foint Conference on Artificial Intelligence, IfCAI 2019, Macao, China, August 10-16, 2019. 3-10.
[2] Dan Alger. 2006. Voting by proxy. Public Choice 126, 1 (2006), 1-26.
[3] John F Banzhaf III. 1964. Weighted voting doesn't work: A mathematical analysis. Rutgers L. Rev. 19 (1964), 317.
[4] J. Behrens, A. Kistner, A. Nitsche, and B. Swierczek. 2014. The principles of LiquidFeedback. Interacktive Demokratie, Berlin.
[5] Markus Brill. 2018. Interactive Democracy. In Proceedings of the 17th International Conference on Autonomous Agents and MultiAgent Systems, AAMAS 2018, Stockholm, Sweden, Fuly 10-15, 2018. 1183-1187.
[6] Markus Brill and Nimrod Talmon. 2018. Pairwise Liquid Democracy. In Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence, IfCAI 2018, July 13-19, 2018, Stockholm, Sweden. 137-143.
[7] Gal Cohensius, Shie Mannor, Reshef Meir, Eli A. Meirom, and Ariel Orda. 2017. Proxy Voting for Better Outcomes. In Proceedings of the 16th Conference on Autonomous Agents and MultiAgent Systems, AAMAS 2017, São Paulo, Brazil, May 8-12, 2017, Kate Larson, Michael Winikoff, Sanmay Das, and Edmund H. Durfee (Eds.). ACM, 858-866.
[8] Rachael Colley, Théo Delemazure, and Hugo Gilbert. 2023. Measuring a Priori Voting Power - Taking Delegations Seriously. CoRR abs/2301.02462 (2023).
[9] Bruno Escoffier, Hugo Gilbert, and Adèle Pass-Lanneau. 2019. The Convergence of Iterative Delegations in Liquid Democracy in a Social Network. In Algorithmic Game Theory - 12th International Symposium, SAGT 2019, Athens, Greece,

September 30-October 3, 2019, Proceedings. 284-297.
[10] Dan S Felsenthal, Moshé Machover, et al. 1998. The measurement of voting power. Books (1998).
[11] Josep Freixas. 2012. Probabilistic power indices for voting rules with abstention. Mathematical Social Sciences 64, 1 (2012), 89-99.
[12] Josep Freixas and William S Zwicker. 2003. Weighted voting, abstention, and multiple levels of approval. Social choice and welfare 21, 3 (2003), 399-431.
[13] James Green-Armytage. 2015. Direct voting and proxy voting. Constitutional Political Economy 26, 2 (2015), 190-220.
[14] Anson Kahng, Simon Mackenzie, and Ariel D. Procaccia. 2018. Liquid Democracy: An Algorithmic Perspective. In Proceedings of the Thirty-Second AAAI Conference on Artificial Intelligence, (AAAI-18), New Orleans, Louisiana, USA, February 2-7, 2018. 1095-1102.
[15] James C Miller. 1969. A program for direct and proxy voting in the legislative process. Public choice 7, 1 (1969), 107-113.
[16] Guillermo Owen. 1981. Modification of the Banzhaf-Coleman index for games with a priori unions. In Power, voting, and voting power. Springer, 232-238.
[17] Lionel S Penrose. 1946. The elementary statistics of majority voting. Fournal of the Royal Statistical Society 109, 1 (1946), 53-57.
[18] Kislaya Prasad and Jerry S Kelly. 1990. NP-completeness of some problems concerning voting games. International fournal of Game Theory 19, 1 (1990), 1-9.
[19] Gordon Tullock. 1992. Computerizing politics. Mathematical and Computer Modelling 16, 8-9 (1992), 59-65.
[20] Yuzhe Zhang and Davide Grossi. 2021. Power in liquid democracy. In Proceedings of the 35th AAAI Conference on Artificial Intelligence (AAAI). 5822-5830.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The complete version of this work (including full proofs) can be found in [8].

